

DENMARK AND THE BALTIC CRUSADE,  
1150-1227

Thesis for the Degree of Ph.D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
Peep Peter Rebane  
1969

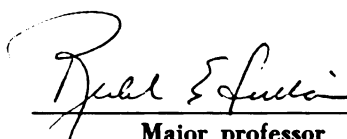


This is to certify that the  
thesis entitled  
DENMARK AND THE BALTIC CRUSADE  
1150-1227  
presented by

Peep Peter Rebane

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in History

  
Major professor

Date Oct 15, 1969

## ABSTRACT

### DENMARK AND THE BALTIC CRUSADE, 1150-1227

By

Peep Peter Rebane

It is generally acknowledged that the crusading movement of the twelfth century signified a mental and physical outpouring of the civilization of Western Europe. While much attention has been lavished on the Eastern Crusades, much less space has been devoted to an equally important extension of European culture, namely, the conversion of the Baltic and Finnish natives of northeastern Europe. While the Latin expeditions to the Near East may have been more spectacular, they produced on the whole little or no lasting effect among the conquered. The German and Scandinavian drang nach Osten, on the other hand, although slow and arduous, permanently brought the lands around the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea into the fold of Western European civilization.

By the late twelfth century, the Danes as well as the nobles and traders of North Germany had begun to eye the Baltic lands as possible areas of economic and political exploitation. As the natives of these areas were pagans, a further impetus for conquest came from the Roman Catholic Church, which desired the conversion of all the heathens of Europe. As early as 1164 the Danes thus

Peep Peter Rebane

supported an abortive mission by Fulco, the first bishop of Estonia, to convert the natives of that country.

While the Danish mission failed, Germans from the Hamburg-Bremen area were more successful. In 1184 they established a missionary church at Üxküll on the Düna River. Despite some early setbacks, the German colony grew, especially after 1198 when Albert von Buxhövden was named bishop of Üxküll. With the help of a newly established crusading order, the Knights of the Sword, the Germans pushed north into Estonia. Now, however, quarrels broke out over the spoils between the episcopal party and the Order. Thus weakened by dissension and faced with a determined native counterattack supported from Russia, the Germans were forced to turn to Denmark for aid.

The Danish nation had since 1170 experienced a period of great vitality caused by a combination of outstanding leadership of Church and State and their mutual cooperation. Led by King Valdemar II and Archbishop Anders Sunesen of Lund, Denmark became during the two first decades of the thirteenth century the leading power in northern Europe. The Danish successes were viewed with favor by the Roman papacy, which desired to make Denmark its secular arm in northern European politics. Thus when called on by the Germans to aid the Christian cause in Livonia, the Danes, encouraged by the papacy, responded in 1219 by invading Estonia.

The erstwhile Christian allies soon fell out over



a division of the spoils, with Denmark gaining the lion's share. By 1222 it appeared that Denmark would become the ruler of the whole Baltic region. Suddenly, however, disaster struck--Valdemar II was captured and imprisoned by his German adversaries. Deprived of its leadership, Denmark could offer little resistance when its enemies in Germany and Estonia despoiled the country of its possessions. The papacy, which had supported the Danish claims, tried to salvage part of the Danish colony by establishing a papal state in Estonia. In the end, however, even the papal rule collapsed and all of the lands of the Eastern Baltic became German colonies.

In retrospect, Denmark's attempt to spread its power and influence in the Eastern Baltic reveals not only the manner of Danish politics but also the general attitude with which Europe viewed its relations with its borderlands and their inhabitants. While Denmark itself gained little in the way of territory, its involvement in Baltic affairs during a critical era aided considerably in the establishment of a westward-looking, Roman Catholic civilization in this part of Europe.

DENMARK AND THE BALTIC CRUSADE,

1150-1227

By

Peep Peter Rebane

A THESIS

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

1969

66 774  
4-27-70

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author would like to express his gratitude to Professor Richard E. Sullivan, Chairman of the Department of History at Michigan State University, for his assistance in the preparation of this dissertation. Dr. Sullivan's unswerving interest in the progress of this study and his invaluable suggestions and criticisms made the dissertation possible. I would also like to thank my wife who patiently proofread and typed much of this work while undoubtedly often wondering if it would ever reach a successful conclusion.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	iv
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Chapter	
I. THE BALTIC AND THE DANISH MISSION IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY . . . . .	4
II. IMPERIAL POLITICS AND THE GERMANS IN LIVONIA . . . . .	32
III. THE GROWTH OF DANISH POWER AND THE KNIGHTS OF THE SWORD . . . . .	70
IV. THE ESTONIAN WARS AND THE COMING OF THE DANES . . . . .	101
V. THE YEARS OF DANISH PREEMINENCE . . . . .	126
VI. THE COLLAPSE OF DANISH IMPERIALISM . . . . .	144
CONCLUSION . . . . .	185
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY . . . . .	188
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	206
MAPS . . . . .	226

## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AD</u>	<u>Annales Danici medii aevi.</u> Edited by E. Jørgensen. København, 1920.
<u>Alberich von Trois</u>	<u>Alberich von Trois Fontaines. Chronica Alberici monachi Trium-Fontium a monacho Novi Monasterii Holensis interpolata.</u>
<u>Albert zu Stade</u>	<u>Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto.</u>
<u>Arnold</u>	Arnold von Lübeck. <u>Slavekrönike.</u>
<u>BD</u>	<u>Bullarium Danicum.</u>
<u>Beiträge</u>	<u>Beiträge zur Kunde Est-, Liv- und Kurlands.</u> Edited by Estländische Literarische Gessellschaft. Reval, 1873-1938.
<u>DRB</u>	<u>Danmarks Riges Breve.</u>
<u>Henry</u>	Heinrich von Lettland. <u>Livländische Chronik.</u>
<u>Livonica</u>	Hildebrand, H., ed. <u>Livonica.</u>
<u>Mitt.</u>	<u>Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Ehst- und Kurlands.</u> Edited by Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands. Riga, 1840-92. After Vol. XV (1892), the title is <u>Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte.</u> Riga, 1892-1933.
<u>Potthast</u>	<u>Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab anno 1198 ad annum 1304.</u> Edited by A. Potthast.
<u>R.Chr.</u>	<u>Livländische Rheimchronik.</u>
<u>SB G.E.G.</u>	<u>Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft. Tartu.</u>

ABBREVIATIONS (continued)

<u>SB Riga</u>	<u>Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ost- seeprovinzen Russlands.</u>
<u>UB</u>	<u>Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkunden- buch.</u>
<u>Verhandlungen G.E.G.</u>	<u>Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft. Tartu.</u>

## INTRODUCTION

It is generally acknowledged that the crusading movement of the twelfth century signified a mental and physical outpouring of the civilization of Western Europe. While much attention has been lavished on the various Eastern Crusades, much less space has been devoted to an equally important, if less spectacular, extension of European culture, namely, the conquest and conversion of the Baltic, Finnish, and Slavic natives of northeastern Europe. While the Latin victories and defeats in the Near East may have been more spectacular, they were on the whole of short duration and produced little or no lasting effect among the conquered. The German and Scandinavian drang nach Osten, on the other hand, slow, arduous, and exceedingly painful as it was, permanently brought the lands around the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea into the fold of Western European civilization and the Roman Catholic Church.

Although economic and military contacts between the Baltic and Finnish peoples and Western Europe had existed since early Roman days, it was not before the late twelfth century that Denmark and Germany, the major powers of northern Europe, were able to make a concerted effort

to gain a permanent foothold in the Eastern Baltic. By this time the political situation in Denmark had been stabilized by the conclusion of a series of civil wars which had brought a line of capable and aggressive rulers to the Danish throne. These rulers now began to look for aggrandizement abroad. Although in Germany a royal program of expansion was lacking, by the middle of the twelfth century lesser North German nobles and the traders of several semi-independent German cities began to search for new areas of economic and political exploitation.

To the profit motive was also added the pious desire to convert the pagan natives in the borderlands of Europe. Beginning as isolated missionary ventures, the conversion movement gathered momentum until by the year 1200 it had become a full-fledged crusade with all its implications of conversion by force and acquisition of lands. In the process there was to develop in the Baltic a keen competition between the Danes and the Germans for land and spiritual influence, a struggle which received further impetus from the interest shown in these matters by the papacy and the German emperors.

This study will examine the Danish attempts to establish control over Estonia and Livonia and discuss the reasons why this venture failed even though Denmark rather than the competing German powers received the backing of the Roman Curia whenever a dispute arose between them. The Danish empire which resulted from this burst of



activity was, however, short-lived, lasting less than ten years. Still, by 1227, when the Danish power in Estonia was broken by the Germans, the Catholic forces of Western Europe had gained a firm foothold in the lands of the Baltic, bringing them and their peoples into the Western European cultural, political, and religious community.

## CHAPTER I

### THE BALTIC AND THE DANISH MISSION IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The lands on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea and around the Gulf of Finland were inhabited in the twelfth century by peoples of two basic linguistic groups, the Balts and the Finns. The Balts, being quite distinct from the Slavs, consisted of the Prussians who occupied the Baltic coast from the Vistula River to the Niemen, the Lithuanians on the upper and lower Niemen and its tributaries, and the Letts. The latter were divided between the Lettgalls, north of the Düna River, and the Selones, between the Düna and the Lithuanians. Other lesser tribes such as the Semgalls also inhabited this same general area.

The Finnish peoples and their linguistic cousins inhabited an enormous area of land on the Volga and in northern Russia. On the Baltic, the Finnish tribes were composed of the Kurs, northwest of the Lettgalls, and the Livs, for whom the area is named Livonia or Livland. North of the Livs and the Lettgalls resided the Estonians and north of the Gulf of Finland, the Finns proper.

All of the above-mentioned peoples were pagan and had little civilization as we construe it. Politically

they were organized on a tribal basis with officials known as elders, probably larger landholders, exercising some vague leadership over the members of the tribe. The population consisted mostly of free peasants who owned their own lands and owed few if any obligations, either economic or political, to anybody. When the various tribes were not raiding each other, they carried out expeditions against the surrounding countries. Occasionally outside military pressure forced one of the tribes to pay a more or less permanent tribute to a foreign overlord. This, for instance, was the case with the Tholowa Letts, who owed loyalty to the Russian princes of Pleskau (Pskov).<sup>1</sup>

Economic intercourse had existed between the peoples of the Baltic and continental Europe since early Roman days. By the twelfth century, the European demand for amber, furs, and wax had led to the establishment of permanent trade relations between the two

---

<sup>1</sup>For a more comprehensive discussion of the Baltic and Finnish tribes, consult the following works and their bibliographies: Leonid Arbusow, Frühgeschichte Lettlands (Riga, 1933); Albert Bauer, "Semgallen und Upmale in Frühgeschichtlicher Zeit," in Baltische Lande, ed. by Albert Brackmann et al., I (Leipzig, 1939), 307-29; Paul Johansen, "Kurlands Bewohner zu Anfang der historischen Zeit," in Baltische Lande, ed. by Albert Brackmann et al., I (Leipzig, 1939), 263-307; Friedrich C. H. Kruse, Urgeschichte des estnischen Volkstammes (Leipzig, 1846); Heinrich Laakmann, "Estland und Livland in frühgeschichtlicher Zeit," in Baltische Lande, ed. by Albert Brackmann et al., I (Leipzig, 1939), 307-30; Edgar V. Saks, Aestii (Montreal and Heidelberg, 1960); Phillip Schwartz, Kurland im 13. Jahrhundert (Leipzig, 1875); A. H. Snellmann, "Die Ostseefinnen zur Zeit ihrer Unabhängigkeit," Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyshen Aikakauskirja, XVI (1896), 1-163.

areas.<sup>2</sup> One is especially struck by the numerous references, both in written records and artifacts, to the activities of the various Scandinavian peoples in the Baltic. It is not the purpose of this study to repeat the names of all the Vikings who according to the runes and sagas either had traveled "eastward" to trade or to seek booty. It often becomes hard to tell the merchants from the freebooters as the two occupations tended to merge into one.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Additional and more extensive information dealing with early trading and military activities in the Baltic are discussed in the following works: Ture A. J. Arne, "La Suede et Orient," Archives d'études orientales, VIII (Uppsala, 1914), *passim*; Birger Nerman, Die Verbindungen zwischen Skandinavien und dem Ostbaltikum in jüngerer Eisenzeit (Stockholm, 1929); Arnolds Spekke, The Ancient Amber Route and the Geographical Discovery of the Eastern Baltic (Stockholm, 1957). Lauritz Weibull, "St. Knut i Österled," Scandia, XVIII (1946), 84-101, is especially valuable for early trade treaties between Scandinavia and Russia.

<sup>3</sup>Runic inscriptions dealing with Scandinavians in the Baltic are discussed in Oscar Montelius, "Svenska Runstenar om färden Österut," Fornvännen, IX (1914), 81-114. Pertinent excerpts from Nordic and Islandic sagas are collected in Fontes Historiae Latviae Medii Aevii, ed. by A. Svabe and A. Attementes, I (Riga, 1937-40), Nos. 2-18. Trade in the Baltic is reconstructed with the help of numismatics by N. Bauer, "Die Russischen Fünde abendländischer Münzen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," Zeitschrift für Numismatik, XXIX (1929), 1-187, and XL (1930), 187-223; A. M. Tallgren, "Zur Archeologie Eestis. II. Von 1000 bis etwa 1250 n. Cr.," Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis. B. Humaniora, VIII (1925), *passim*; Oscar Montelius, Sveriges Förbindelser med andra Länder i Förhistorisk Tid (Stockholm, 1898); Friedrich Braun, "Das historische Russland im nordischen Schrifttum des X-XIV Jahrhunderts," in Festschrift für Eugen Mogk (Halle, 1924), pp. 150-96. Theories have been advanced that actual migrations from Scandinavia to the Baltic countries, especially the islands off the Estonian coast, took place: Otto von Friesen, "Forntida Utvandlingar från Sverige,"

1951  
 1952  
 1953  
 1954  
 1955  
 1956  
 1957  
 1958  
 1959  
 1960  
 1961  
 1962  
 1963  
 1964  
 1965  
 1966  
 1967  
 1968  
 1969  
 1970  
 1971  
 1972  
 1973  
 1974  
 1975  
 1976  
 1977  
 1978  
 1979  
 1980  
 1981  
 1982  
 1983  
 1984  
 1985  
 1986  
 1987  
 1988  
 1989  
 1990  
 1991  
 1992  
 1993  
 1994  
 1995  
 1996  
 1997  
 1998  
 1999  
 2000  
 2001  
 2002  
 2003  
 2004  
 2005  
 2006  
 2007  
 2008  
 2009  
 2010  
 2011  
 2012  
 2013  
 2014  
 2015  
 2016  
 2017  
 2018  
 2019  
 2020  
 2021  
 2022  
 2023  
 2024  
 2025  
 2026  
 2027  
 2028  
 2029  
 2030  
 2031  
 2032  
 2033  
 2034  
 2035  
 2036  
 2037  
 2038  
 2039  
 2040  
 2041  
 2042  
 2043  
 2044  
 2045  
 2046  
 2047  
 2048  
 2049  
 2050  
 2051  
 2052  
 2053  
 2054  
 2055  
 2056  
 2057  
 2058  
 2059  
 2060  
 2061  
 2062  
 2063  
 2064  
 2065  
 2066  
 2067  
 2068  
 2069  
 2070  
 2071  
 2072  
 2073  
 2074  
 2075  
 2076  
 2077  
 2078  
 2079  
 2080  
 2081  
 2082  
 2083  
 2084  
 2085  
 2086  
 2087  
 2088  
 2089  
 2090  
 2091  
 2092  
 2093  
 2094  
 2095  
 2096  
 2097  
 2098  
 2099  
 2100  
 2101  
 2102  
 2103  
 2104  
 2105  
 2106  
 2107  
 2108  
 2109  
 2110  
 2111  
 2112  
 2113  
 2114  
 2115  
 2116  
 2117  
 2118  
 2119  
 2120  
 2121  
 2122  
 2123  
 2124  
 2125  
 2126  
 2127  
 2128  
 2129  
 2130  
 2131  
 2132  
 2133  
 2134  
 2135  
 2136  
 2137  
 2138  
 2139  
 2140  
 2141  
 2142  
 2143  
 2144  
 2145  
 2146  
 2147  
 2148  
 2149  
 2150  
 2151  
 2152  
 2153  
 2154  
 2155  
 2156  
 2157  
 2158  
 2159  
 2160  
 2161  
 2162  
 2163  
 2164  
 2165  
 2166  
 2167  
 2168  
 2169  
 2170  
 2171  
 2172  
 2173  
 2174  
 2175  
 2176  
 2177  
 2178  
 2179  
 2180  
 2181  
 2182  
 2183  
 2184  
 2185  
 2186  
 2187  
 2188  
 2189  
 2190  
 2191  
 2192  
 2193  
 2194  
 2195  
 2196  
 2197  
 2198  
 2199  
 2200  
 2201  
 2202  
 2203  
 2204  
 2205  
 2206  
 2207  
 2208  
 2209  
 2210  
 2211  
 2212  
 2213  
 2214  
 2215  
 2216  
 2217  
 2218  
 2219  
 2220  
 2221  
 2222  
 2223  
 2224  
 2225  
 2226  
 2227  
 2228  
 2229  
 2230  
 2231  
 2232  
 2233  
 2234  
 2235  
 2236  
 2237  
 2238  
 2239  
 2240  
 2241  
 2242  
 2243  
 2244  
 2245  
 2246  
 2247  
 2248  
 2249  
 2250  
 2251  
 2252  
 2253  
 2254  
 2255  
 2256  
 2257  
 2258  
 2259  
 2260  
 2261  
 2262  
 2263  
 2264  
 2265  
 2266  
 2267  
 2268  
 2269  
 2270  
 2271  
 2272  
 2273  
 2274  
 2275  
 2276  
 2277  
 2278  
 2279  
 2280  
 2281  
 2282  
 2283  
 2284  
 2285  
 2286  
 2287  
 2288  
 2289  
 2290  
 2291  
 2292  
 2293  
 2294  
 2295  
 2296  
 2297  
 2298  
 2299  
 2300  
 2301  
 2302  
 2303  
 2304  
 2305  
 2306  
 2307  
 2308  
 2309  
 2310  
 2311  
 2312  
 2313  
 2314  
 2315  
 2316  
 2317  
 2318  
 2319  
 2320  
 2321  
 2322  
 2323  
 2324  
 2325  
 2326  
 2327  
 2328  
 2329  
 2330  
 2331  
 2332  
 2333  
 2334  
 2335  
 2336  
 2337  
 2338  
 2339  
 2340  
 2341  
 2342  
 2343  
 2344  
 2345  
 2346  
 2347  
 2348  
 2349  
 2350  
 2351  
 2352  
 2353  
 2354  
 2355  
 2356  
 2357  
 2358  
 2359  
 2360  
 2361  
 2362  
 2363  
 2364  
 2365  
 2366  
 2367  
 2368  
 2369  
 2370  
 2371  
 2372  
 2373  
 2374  
 2375  
 2376  
 2377  
 2378  
 2379  
 2380  
 2381  
 2382  
 2383  
 2384  
 2385  
 2386  
 2387  
 2388  
 2389  
 2390  
 2391  
 2392  
 2393  
 2394  
 2395  
 2396  
 2397  
 2398  
 2399  
 2400  
 2401  
 2402  
 2403  
 2404  
 2405

Combining the talents of the explorer, the merchant, and the pirate, the Scandinavians pushed eastward. Occasionally our sources indicate some attempts to conquer and rule permanently the Baltic lands. Thus, sometime between 1018 and 1035, King Knut (Canute) the Great is reputed to have conquered Estonia, while in 1095, King Erik Eijegood of Denmark styled himself Duke of Estonia.<sup>4</sup> In short, by 1100 the lands and peoples on the eastern shore of the Baltic were well known to the Scandinavians.

By the middle of the twelfth century, the Germans also had become active in the Baltic. At this time, an organized merchant class appeared in many North German towns which directed its trade toward Russia and the surrounding areas. These burghers found support for their activities not from among the Holy Roman emperors, whose interests lay in Italy, but from among the dukes of Saxony. Of these rulers, the one most often credited with laying the foundation for the subsequent German

---

Uplands Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift, Bd.6, Heft 35  
(n.d.).

<sup>4</sup>Annales Danici Medii Aevii, ed. by Ellen Jørgensen (Köbenhavn, 1920), p. 69 (hereafter cited as AD); Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Aevii, ed. by J. Langebeck et al. (Köbenhavn, 1772-1834), I, 159, and II, 388, 427 (hereafter cited as SRD). The information about King Erik may be found in Petri Olai, Gesta Danorum, in SRD, I, 119. Hans Oldekop, Die Anfänge der katholischen Kirche bei den Ostseefinnen (Reval, 1912), pp. 34-36; Michael von Taube, "Russische und Litauische Fürsten an der Düna zur Zeit der deutschen Eroberung Livlands," Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven, N.F. XI (1935), 379.

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

1000000

successes in the Baltic was Duke Henry the Lion. The duke cultivated the friendship of the growing merchant class by facilitating trade in his own territories and by securing trading privileges for German merchants in the Baltic.<sup>5</sup> Most noteworthy in this connection was Duke Henry's re-chartering of the town of Lübeck in 1159 and his success in 1161 in obtaining equal rights for traders of German origin in Wisby, the greatest trading center of northern Europe.<sup>6</sup> Thanks to Duke Henry and other North

---

<sup>5</sup>Helmoldus, The Chronicle of the Slavs, trans. by F. J. Tschau (New York, 1935), LXXXVI (hereafter cited as Helmoldus). Friedrich Koch, "Livland und das Reich bis zum Jahre 1225," Quellen und Forschungen zur Baltische Geschichte, Heft 4 (Posen, 1943), 6, and Fritz Rörig, "Reichssymbolik auf Gotland," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, LXIV (1940), 1-67, both argue that Duke Henry was actually acting as an agent of the empire and not for personal gain. Yet Helmoldus, LXXXVIII, states that his activities were motivated by the desire for financial gain rather than a desire to spread Christianity. Of course the two motives are not mutually exclusive. Cf. N. G. Heine, "Östersøproblemer omkring 1200," Humanistiske Studier, II (1942), 11.

<sup>6</sup>Fritz Rörig, "Heinrich der Löwe und die Gründung Lübecks," Deutsche Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters, I (1937), 408-56; Rörig, "Reichssymbolik auf Gotland," 1-67. The treaty granting rights of private jurisdiction, own police force, etc., is printed in Hansische Urkundenbuch, ed. by K. Höhlbaum and K. Kunze (Leipzig, 1876-1939), II, No. 15. Also see Friedrich Benninghoven, Der Orden der Schwertbrüder (Köln, 1965), p. 18; Paul Johansen, "Die Bedeutung der Hanse für Livland," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, LXV-LXVI (1940-41), 3-4; Koch, p. 5. The importance of Lübeck and its traders to the economic welfare of Germany and the Baltic trade cannot be underestimated. The Hohenstaufen emperor Fredrick I gave the town vast privileges despite the fact that it had been one of the staunchest supporters of Duke Henry the Lion and the Welfs; Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, ed. by J. M. Lappenberg (Hamburg, 1842), I, No. 33. Fredrick I also made his own chaplain the bishop of Lübeck; Arnold von Lübeck, Slavekrönike, ed. and trans. by P. Kirkegaard



German nobles, the towns and traders of North Germany flourished and became ubiquitous in the Baltic sea region.<sup>7</sup>

Although the Scandinavian and German traders were the first to spread European civilization into the Baltic, the Roman Catholic Church did not lag far behind. The Church viewed the continued existence of a large block of pagans in Europe as a blemish on its record which it wanted to rectify. To the Church, the merchants were the medium by which its missionaries could reach the pagans. To the merchants, the conversion of the pagans of the Baltic implied the imposition of Western spiritual and political rule, acts which would facilitate orderly and peaceful trade. As a result, we soon find the two groups working together to extract military support for their plans from the secular rulers of Western Europe.

---

(Köbenhavn, 1885), III:4-6, 30 (hereafter cited as Arnold).

<sup>7</sup>L-K. Goetz, Deutsche-Russische Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters (Lübeck, 1922), pp. 443-45; Paul Johansen, "Die Bedeutung der Hanse für Livland," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, LXV-LXVI (1940-41), 3-5; Wilhelm Koppe, "Die Anfänge der Hanse, Gotland und das Reich," Jomsburg, IV (1940), 173-75. For various treaties between Germans, Swedes, and Russians of Novgorod, see Hansische Urkundenbuch, I, Nos. 48, 50. Later German historians were to claim that the Baltic and its peoples were "discovered" by the German traders. For criticisms of this theory, see Albert M. Ammann, "Kirchenpolitische Wandlungen im Ostbaltikum bis zum Tode Alexander Newskis," Orientalia Christiana Analecta, CV (Rome, 1936), 101; Paul Johansen, "Die Legenden von der Aufseglung Livlands durch Bremer Kaufleute," in Europe und Übersee, ed. by Otto Brunner (Hamburg, 1961), passim; Weibull, "St. Knut i Österled," p. 85; Hugo Yrwing, "Till frågan om Tyskarna på Gotland under 1100-talet," Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, LXXIV (1954), 411-21.

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

1000

Since the Holy Roman emperors during the twelfth century preferred to turn the thrust of their attention toward Italy and Sicily, the lead of the eastern crusade was taken over by the monarchs of the Scandinavian countries and the lesser nobility and traders of North Germany.<sup>8</sup> The first organized attempt to convert the pagans of Eastern Europe was the crusade against the Wends preached by St. Bernard of Clairvaux at the imperial Reichstag of March, 1147. The expedition was joined by several German princes and bishops as well as contingents of Danes and Poles. Despite papal precautions to maintain control of the venture, its direction was soon taken over by the secular nobility and the spiritual mission of conversion was converted into a secular mission of conquest. Although the expedition as a whole was a failure, it had great psychological significance, as the idea of a northern crusade, preached by the Church and carried out by the secular powers, had been planted in the minds of the

---

<sup>8</sup>Friedrich Baethgen, "Die Kuria und der Osten im Mittelalter," Deutsche Ostforschung, I (1942), 310-11; Theodor Mayer, "Das Kaisertum und der Osten im Mittelalter," Deutsche Ostforschung, I (1942), 291-309. For a general discussion of German eastward expansion, see Hermann Aubin, "Die Ostgränze des alten deutschen Reiches," Historische Vierteljahresschrift, XXVIII (1934), 225-72; Clara Redlich, "Nationale Frage und Ostkolonisation im Mittelalter," Rigaer Volkstheoretische Abhandlungen, Heft 2 (Berlin, 1934). The question whether the Germans should have been more interested in eastward rather than southward expansion is discussed by Gerhard Sappok, "Die Deutsche Ostpolitik im Rahmen der Reichspolitik," Jomsburg, IV (1940), 141-73; Konrad Schünemann, "Ostpolitik und Kriegsführung im frühen Mittelalter," Ungarische Jahrbüchern, XVII (1937), 31-56.

2000

2001

2002

2003

2004

2005

2006

2007

2008

2009

2010

2011

2012

2013

2014

2015

2016

2017

2018

2019

2020

2021

2022

2023

2024

2025

2026

2027

2028

Germans and the Scandinavians, especially the Danes.<sup>9</sup>

During the years following the crusade to Wenden, the movement to Christianize the pagans of the Eastern Baltic found its most active proponents among the Scandinavian peoples. Although Christianity had come relatively late to Scandinavia, by 1150 it was not only firmly entrenched, but the Church hierarchy exercised a large degree of influence on the political structure of the Scandinavian countries. The latter half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth centuries produced especially in Denmark a remarkable degree of Church-State cooperation that was lacking in Europe in general and in Germany in particular. The Danish Church had also become imbued with a strong French spiritual influence, especially as expounded by St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the

---

<sup>9</sup>The crusading bull of April 11, 1147, is printed in Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, ed. by G. Lisch (Schwerin, 1863), I, No. 43; the crusade itself is best described in Helmoldus, LXII-LXVII. Saxo Grammaticus, Saxo Grammatici Gesta Danorum, ed. and trans. by J. Olrik and A. Raeder (Köbenhavn, 1925), XIV, ascribes political motives to the participating Danes and Poles. The best discussion of the Wendish crusade and its future implications is found in Margret Bunding-Naujoks, "Das Imperium Christianum und die deutschen Ostkriege vom zehnten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert," in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke, ed. by H. Beumann (Darmstadt, 1963), pp. 65-120, especially pp. 96-120. Also see Benno Abers, "Zur Papstlichen Missionspolitik in Lettland und Estland zur Zeit Innozenz III," Commentationes Balticae, IV-V (1956-57), 4. The psychological reasons behind the crusading ideal as applied in the Baltic are explored in Helmut Beumann, "Kreuzzugsgedanke und Ostpolitik in höhen Mittelalter," Historische Jahrbücher, LXXII (1953), 112-32. For possible participation by Russians in this crusade, see Michael von Taube, "Russische und Litauische Fürsten . . .," p. 379.

Cistercians. An integral part of St. Bernard's brand of Christianity was his advocacy of crusades and the founding of monasteries in pagan lands.<sup>10</sup> The Danish-French cultural ties found an expression in the political field in 1192 by the marriage of Philip Augustus and Ingeborg.<sup>11</sup> It was largely due to the harmonious relations between the Danish Church and State that the Danes were able to carry on a strong missionary effort in the Baltic and it was for this same reason that the papacy in its quest for a secular power to aid it in the spread of Christianity turned to this Scandinavian power.<sup>12</sup>

In Denmark the relationship between the Church and the State was decided by internal political circumstances and by Denmark's relations with the various political

---

<sup>10</sup>Benninghoven, pp. 4-16; W. Schmidt, "Die Zisterzienser im Baltikum und in Finland," Finsk Kyrkohistoriska Samfundets Årsskrift, XXIX-XXX (1939-40), 8-17.

<sup>11</sup>Matts Dreijer, "Kristendomens genombrott i Norden," Åländsk Odling, XX (1959), 41. For a good survey of the role of the Cistercians in Scandinavia see W. Schmidt, passim; and Franz Winter, Die Cistercienser im nordöstlichen Deutschland, 3 vols. (Gotha, 1868-71). Benninghoven, Der Orden der Schwertbrüder, stresses the role of the Cistercians in the founding of the Knights of the Sword but also gives much information concerning Cistercian activities in general.

<sup>12</sup>Fritz Blanke, "Die Entscheidungsjahre der Preussenmission," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII (1928), 34-40; Dreijer, p. 70; Albert Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands (9th ed.; Berlin, 1958), IV, 627; Sigvard Skov, "Aerkebisp Anders Sunesen og påvestolen," Scandia, XIX (1948), II, 171; Niels Skyum-Nielsen, "Aerkekonge og Aerkebiskop," Scandia, XXIII (1955-56), 16-17.

powers of Germany. Within Denmark, the monarchy was hard at work trying to centralize its rule, a task which involved the suppression of the free peasantry. In the process, the Danish kings were forced to delegate authority and power to their local representatives. Since the feudal nobility was small in number, the kings had to turn to the Danish Church for advisors and officials. Hence, as royal power grew in Denmark, so did the power of the Danish Church, especially that of the archbishops of Lund. In short, a strong centralized Danish state was beneficial to both the Crown and the Church, and cooperation between the two powers came naturally.<sup>13</sup>

In foreign policy the two institutions also had a common goal, namely, independence from German domination. Since the late eleventh century, Denmark had been considered as a more or less permanent fief of the Holy Roman Empire, and in 1131 one of the contestants for the Danish throne had in return for imperial aid become a vassal of the German emperor. This homage was renewed in 1152.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup>For the growth of royal power, see Heine, pp. 9-12; Arnold N. Hammar, "Om kyrkan i Skåne under Katholicismen," Acta Universitatis Lundensis, IV (1867), 93-94. Regarding Church-State cooperation in the suppression of the free peasantry, see Hammar, p. 93; Hal Koch, "Danmarks Konger, 1042-1340," in Danmarks Konger, ed. by Knut Fabricius (Köbenhavn, 1944), pp. 49-53; Hans T. Olrik, Absalon (Köbenhavn, 1908), I, 11-13; Niels Skyum-Nielsen, Kirkekampen i Danmark 1241-1290 (Köbenhavn, 1963), p. 15.

<sup>14</sup>Hal Koch, "Danmarks Konger, 1042-1340," pp. 60, 64; Halvdan Koht, "The Scandinavian Kingdoms until the End

When Valdemar I became king of Denmark in 1157, he at first appeared to remain loyal to his overlord, Emperor Fredrick I, even to the point of supporting the imperial anti-pope Victor III against Pope Alexander III. This temporarily cost Valdemar I the support of the fervently Gregorian archbishop of Lund, Eskil, who went into exile in France. Yet by 1167 the king and the archbishop had resolved their differences, undoubtedly to prevent a renewed civil war in Denmark. The reconciliation was symbolically sealed in 1170 at Ringsted when Eskil crowned Valdemar's son, the future Knut VI.<sup>15</sup> This event, the first time that a Danish monarch was anointed by a churchman, signalled the beginning of seventy years of collaboration between the two powers. When Valdemar I died in 1182, Knut VI refused to do homage to Fredrick I and was supported in his decision by the Danish Church hierarchy.<sup>16</sup>

---

of the Thirteenth Century," in Cambridge Medieval History, ed. by J. B. Bury et al. (Cambridge, 1957), VI, 386-87.

<sup>15</sup>J. Oskar Andersen, "Aerkebispevalget i Lund 1177," Scandia, XXIII (1955-56), 102; Hammar, p. 18; Koch, "Danmarks Konger," pp. 70-71; Hans Patze, "Die Frieden von Christburg vom Jahre 1249," Jahrbuch für Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands, VII (1958), 418, believes that Alexander III's friendly disposition toward Eskil was caused by the fact that the latter had been the Pope's staunchest and most consistent supporter in his fight against the anti-pope Victor III. Patze believes this is the reason why Alexander III a few years later was to support the Danish missionary efforts in the Baltic.

<sup>16</sup>Andersen, p. 102; Heine, p. 49; Koch, "Danmarks Konger, 1042-1340," pp. 70-71.



1971 106

1972 107

1973 108

1974 109

1975 110

1976 111

1977 112

1978 113

1979 114

1980 115

1981 116

1982 117

1983 118

1984 119

1985 120

1986 121

1987 122

1988 123

1989 124

1990 125

1991 126

1992 127

1993 128

1994 129

1995 130

1996 131

1997 132

1998 133

1999 134

The position taken by the Danish clergy was, however, not completely unselfish. Although Lund had been made an independent archbishopric in 1104, pressure from the strongly pro-imperial archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen had forced the weak Innocent II in 1133 to place Lund under the metropolitan rule of the German archbishop.<sup>17</sup> This order was really never carried out and in 1137 an independent archbishopric was resurrected in Lund under Eskil.<sup>18</sup> Despite this setback, Hamburg-Bremen constantly strove to reassert its leadership in Scandinavia and over the missionary effort that was carried out by the Nordic Church.<sup>19</sup> Archbishop Eskil in turn set out to make Lund the leading center of Christianity in Northern Europe, and as a result a conflict of interest became unavoidable. In 1164 the stature of Lund was greatly increased by the creation of an archbishopric at Upsala, Sweden, under the spiritual rule of Eskil.<sup>20</sup> These events then provided

---

<sup>17</sup>The documents making Lund an archbishopric are printed in SRD, V, No. 623; documents concerning the brief return of Lund to the metropolitanship of Bremen can be found in Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, Nos. 144-148. Also see comments by Dreijer, p. 45.

<sup>18</sup>Dreijer, p. 45.

<sup>19</sup>Georg C. Dehio, Geschichte des Erzbistums Hamburg-Bremen bis zum Ausgang der Mission (Berlin, 1877), II, 50-110; Dreijer, p. 41; Günter Glaeske, Die Erzbischöfe von Hamburg-Bremen als Reichsfürsten 937-1258 (Hildesheim, 1962), *passim*. For the demands of Bremen to Lund, see Lauritz Weibull, Nordisk Historia (Stockholm, 1948), II, 34-35.

<sup>20</sup>Upsala became an archbishopric on August 5, 1164. Diplomatarium Suecanum, ed. by J. G. Liljegren

201  
202  
203  
204  
205  
206  
207  
208  
209  
210  
211  
212  
213  
214  
215  
216  
217  
218  
219  
220  
221  
222  
223  
224  
225  
226  
227  
228  
229  
230  
231  
232  
233  
234  
235  
236  
237  
238  
239  
240  
241  
242  
243  
244  
245  
246  
247  
248  
249  
250  
251  
252  
253  
254  
255  
256  
257  
258  
259  
260  
261  
262  
263  
264  
265  
266  
267  
268  
269  
270  
271  
272  
273  
274  
275  
276  
277  
278  
279  
280  
281  
282  
283  
284  
285  
286  
287  
288  
289  
290  
291  
292  
293  
294  
295  
296  
297  
298  
299  
300  
301  
302  
303  
304  
305  
306  
307  
308  
309  
310  
311  
312  
313  
314  
315  
316  
317  
318  
319  
320  
321  
322  
323  
324  
325  
326  
327  
328  
329  
330  
331  
332  
333  
334  
335  
336  
337  
338  
339  
340  
341  
342  
343  
344  
345  
346  
347  
348  
349  
350  
351  
352  
353  
354  
355  
356  
357  
358  
359  
360  
361  
362  
363  
364  
365  
366  
367  
368  
369  
370  
371  
372  
373  
374  
375  
376  
377  
378  
379  
380  
381  
382  
383  
384  
385  
386  
387  
388  
389  
390  
391  
392  
393  
394  
395  
396  
397  
398  
399  
400  
401  
402  
403  
404  
405  
406  
407  
408  
409  
410  
411  
412  
413  
414  
415  
416  
417  
418  
419  
420  
421  
422  
423  
424  
425  
426  
427  
428  
429  
430  
431  
432  
433  
434  
435  
436  
437  
438  
439  
440  
441  
442  
443  
444  
445  
446  
447  
448  
449  
450  
451  
452  
453  
454  
455  
456  
457  
458  
459  
460  
461  
462  
463  
464  
465  
466  
467  
468  
469  
470  
471  
472  
473  
474  
475  
476  
477  
478  
479  
480  
481  
482  
483  
484  
485  
486  
487  
488  
489  
490  
491  
492  
493  
494  
495  
496  
497  
498  
499  
500  
501  
502  
503  
504  
505  
506  
507  
508  
509  
510  
511  
512  
513  
514  
515  
516  
517  
518  
519  
520  
521  
522  
523  
524  
525  
526  
527  
528  
529  
530  
531  
532  
533  
534  
535  
536  
537  
538  
539  
540  
541  
542  
543  
544  
545  
546  
547  
548  
549  
550  
551  
552  
553  
554  
555  
556  
557  
558  
559  
560  
561  
562  
563  
564  
565  
566  
567  
568  
569  
570  
571  
572  
573  
574  
575  
576  
577  
578  
579  
580  
581  
582  
583  
584  
585  
586  
587  
588  
589  
590  
591  
592  
593  
594  
595  
596  
597  
598  
599  
600  
601  
602  
603  
604  
605  
606  
607  
608  
609  
610  
611  
612  
613  
614  
615  
616  
617  
618  
619  
620  
621  
622  
623  
624  
625  
626  
627  
628  
629  
630  
631  
632  
633  
634  
635  
636  
637  
638  
639  
640  
641  
642  
643  
644  
645  
646  
647  
648  
649  
650  
651  
652  
653  
654  
655  
656  
657  
658  
659  
660  
661  
662  
663  
664  
665  
666  
667  
668  
669  
670  
671  
672  
673  
674  
675  
676  
677  
678  
679  
680  
681  
682  
683  
684  
685  
686  
687  
688  
689  
690  
691  
692  
693  
694  
695  
696  
697  
698  
699  
700  
701  
702  
703  
704  
705  
706  
707  
708  
709  
710  
711  
712  
713  
714  
715  
716  
717  
718  
719  
720  
721  
722  
723  
724  
725  
726  
727  
728  
729  
730  
731  
732  
733  
734  
735  
736  
737  
738  
739  
740  
741  
742  
743  
744  
745  
746  
747  
748  
749  
750  
751  
752  
753  
754  
755  
756  
757  
758  
759  
760  
761  
762  
763  
764  
765  
766  
767  
768  
769  
770  
771  
772  
773  
774  
775  
776  
777  
778  
779  
780  
781  
782  
783  
784  
785  
786  
787  
788  
789  
790  
791  
792  
793  
794  
795  
796  
797  
798  
799  
800  
801  
802  
803  
804  
805  
806  
807  
808  
809  
810  
811  
812  
813  
814  
815  
816  
817  
818  
819  
820  
821  
822  
823  
824  
825  
826  
827  
828  
829  
830  
831  
832  
833  
834  
835  
836  
837  
838  
839  
840  
841  
842  
843  
844  
845  
846  
847  
848  
849  
850  
851  
852  
853  
854  
855  
856  
857  
858  
859  
860  
861  
862  
863  
864  
865  
866  
867  
868  
869  
870  
871  
872  
873  
874  
875  
876  
877  
878  
879  
880  
881  
882  
883  
884  
885  
886  
887  
888  
889  
890  
891  
892  
893  
894  
895  
896  
897  
898  
899  
900  
901  
902  
903  
904  
905  
906  
907  
908  
909  
910  
911  
912  
913  
914  
915  
916  
917  
918  
919  
920  
921  
922  
923  
924  
925  
926  
927  
928  
929  
930  
931  
932  
933  
934  
935  
936  
937  
938  
939  
940  
941  
942  
943  
944  
945  
946  
947  
948  
949  
950  
951  
952  
953  
954  
955  
956  
957  
958  
959  
960  
961  
962  
963  
964  
965  
966  
967  
968  
969  
970  
971  
972  
973  
974  
975  
976  
977  
978  
979  
980  
981  
982  
983  
984  
985  
986  
987  
988  
989  
990  
991  
992  
993  
994  
995  
996  
997  
998  
999  
1000

the basis for the continued hostility between Lund and Bremen that was to culminate in a contest as to which archbishopric was to convert and rule the pagans of the Eastern Baltic. With Bremen taking a pro-imperial stand in German politics, the Danish kings lost no time in supporting the efforts of Lund. As far as the Danes were concerned, spiritual and political independence from Germany went hand in hand.<sup>21</sup>

The missionary activities of the Danish Church received an additional stimulus from its intellectual and spiritual contacts with France and the Cistercian reform movement there. Numerous Danes studied in Paris, and as early as 1147 there were enough of them in that city to form a distinct Danish colony.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, the

---

(Stockholm, 1829), I, No. 70; Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum 1304, ed. by P. Jaffe (Berlin, 1851), II, No. 11048 (hereafter cited as Jaffe); Ingvar Andersson, "Upsala Årkestifts tillkomst," Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, LXXXIV (1961), 389-410; Dreijer, pp. 47, 50-51; Paul Johansen, Nordische Mission, Revals Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland (Stockholm, 1951), p. 90.

<sup>21</sup>In 1158, Emperor Fredrick I made the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen the metropolitan of all of Northern Europe; Diplomatarium Suecanum, I, No. 40. The anti-pope Victor III also made similar pronouncements which was an added reason for the anti-imperial stand taken by the Danish Church. The classical treatment of Hamburg-Bremen in North European politics is the work by Dehio. Also see Bernhard Schmeidler, Hamburg-Bremen und Nord-Ost Europa von 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert (Lübeck, 1918), as well as many of the works dealing with the history of Livonia. Primary sources may be found in Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Bremen, ed. by O. H. May (Hannover-Bremen, 1937), Vol. I; and Bremisches Urkundenbuch, ed. by W. von Bippen et al. (3 vols.; Bremen, 1873-1880).

<sup>22</sup>Arnold, III:5, tells that the Danes excelled in the humanities, theology, and law.

Cistercian brand of monasticism was rapidly spreading through Denmark and Sweden. Archbishop Eskil himself was educated in France and kept up especially good relations with the monastery of Clairvaux. When he finally retired, he became a monk at Clairvaux and was eventually buried in the cloister vault.<sup>23</sup> It may also be noted that the first archbishop of Upsala was the Cistercian Stephen whom Eskil consecrated at Sens in the presence of Pope Alexander III.<sup>24</sup>

After Eskil, the next two archbishops of Lund were also bound to France by cultural and spiritual ties. Absalon (1177-1201) had been a student in Paris and if Eskil had been a personal friend of St. Bernard himself, Absalon became a close friend of Abbot William of St. Genevieve. William was later to become abbot of the Danish monasteries of Eskilsö and Aebelholdt, ending up his career as a diplomat in the service of King Knut VI.<sup>25</sup> Finally, Archbishop Anders Sunesen (1201-22) was probably

---

<sup>23</sup>For a general discussion of Archbishop Eskil, see J. P. F. Köningsfeldt, "De katholske erkebiskopper biskoper i Danmark," in Historiske Aarsbøger, ed. by C. Molbech (Köbenhavn, 1951), III, 4-5; Andersen, p. 102; Valdemar Ammundsen, "Anders Sunesen," Kirkehistoriska Samlingar, R.5, Bd.3 (1907), p. 651.

<sup>24</sup>Diplomatarium Suecanum, I, No. 70; Ingvar Andersson, "Det Lundensiska Primatet över Sverige," Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, LXXXV (1965), 324-28; Andersson, "Upsala Årkestifts tillkomst," pp. 389-410.

<sup>25</sup>Olrik, Absalon, I, 19-50, discusses the French influence. Laurents P. Fabricius, Denmarks Kirkehistoria (Köbenhavn, 1934), I, 180-88.

the most educated of the three prelates and enjoyed a distinguished teaching career in France.<sup>26</sup> By 1200, the spirit of the Cistercians, with their dual stress of holiness and aggressive expansion of Christianity, was firmly established in Denmark. The country had acquired the necessary spiritual stimulus and the political-spiritual organization needed to be able to extend its influence outside Denmark. We shall see that there existed considerable precedence that this expansion would be directed toward the countries of the Eastern Baltic and that the movement would have religious overtones.

As early as 1069 or 1070, Sven Estridsson, king of Denmark, is reputed to have built a church in Kurland.<sup>27</sup> During this time Finland seems to have held the main attention of the Scandinavian missionaries, especially the Swedes.<sup>28</sup> We are told of a crusade in 1130

---

<sup>26</sup>For the life of Anders Sunesen, see below, pp. 70-75. Note that his older brother, Peder Sunesen (d. 1214), bishop of Roskilde and Chancellor of King Valdemar II, also was educated in France; Köningsfeldt, p. 21.

<sup>27</sup>Concerning Sven Estridson, see Adam von Bremen, Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesie Pontificum, ed. and trans. by F. J. Tschau (New York, 1959), IV:16 (hereafter cited as Adam von Bremen). See also Ilmar Arens, "Zur Frage der ersten Berührungen mit Christentum," Estonia Christiana. Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, XV (1965), 28-29; Johansen, Nordische Mission, pp. 88-89.

<sup>28</sup>Ammann, p. 99, states that when the archbishopric of Uppsala was established in 1164, there occurred a definite division of the prospective missionary areas between the Danes and the Swedes. The latter reserved Finland for themselves. Ammann bases his belief on Diplomatarium Suecanum, I, No. 87, which is a papal bull



to southern Finland and a similar venture in 1142, the latter possibly led by Archbishop Eskil. St. Erik, king of Sweden, in 1155 took his troops on a crusade to the land of the Finns and in 1158 the town of Åbo was founded by Swedes.<sup>29</sup> These expeditions elicited a vigorous reaction from the local pagans. Saxo tells us that in 1170 there was a great raid by Estonian pirates to the island of Öland from where the attackers were barely dislodged. Somewhat later, in 1187, the ancient Swedish capital and spiritual center, Sigtuna, was destroyed and the bishop of Linköping killed by some Finnish or Karelian raiders.<sup>30</sup>

Some historians have made the claim that the

---

that directs the Swedes to build castles in Finland for the protection of the Christians there. Although Ammann does not state it outright, he suggests that the moving force behind this missionary work was the papacy.

<sup>29</sup>For the crusade of 1130, see Saxo, XIV, with comments by Dreijer, p. 60. For the confrontation with the Russians in 1142, see The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016-1471, trans. by R. Mitchell (London, 1914), p. 17, for A.D. 1142; Dreijer, p. 58. The crusade of 1155 is mentioned in the Chronicle of Novgorod, p. 24, for A.D. 1155; Sven Tunberg, "Erik den Helige, Sveriges Helgokonung," Fornvännen, XXXVI (1941), 257-76. The whole problem of the early missions in Finland is treated in Lauritz Weibull, "När och hur Finland blev Svenskt," Scandia, XIII (1940), 1-21; Oldekop, pp. 38-39, 45.

<sup>30</sup>For the Estonian raid to Öland, see Saxo, XVI. The destruction of Sigtuna in 1187 is discussed by I. P. Saskoljskij, "Sigtunskij pohod 1187," Istoričeskiye Zapiski, XXIX (1949), 135-63, who maintains the raiders came from a combined Russian-Finnish fleet. Adolf Schück, "Sigtunas förhärjning, 1187," Fornvännen, XLVIII (1953), 215-19, maintains that there were actually two separate attacks, one in 1187, the other in 1188. Both were carried out by Finnish tribes. Arens, p. 27, however, maintains that the raiders were Estonians.



Scandinavian missionary activities must have been quite successful, since the Greek Orthodox Church in 1165 created an archbishopric in Novgorod, a step otherwise unheard of in the Orthodox Church.<sup>31</sup> Presumably this new official would lead a countermission to the pagans, since the Russians had been notoriously lax in spreading the Christian faith to their neighbors.<sup>32</sup> In short, it is clear that by 1170 the Scandinavians had begun to extend their political and spiritual rule to the Eastern Baltic. As of yet, these activities had been sporadic and uncoordinated, backed neither by sufficient military support nor official Church sanctions. To acquire these ingredients, however, only time was needed and in 1170 the first organized Danish mission in the Baltic, backed by the papacy, took place. It is known as the mission of Fulco.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup>In 1164, a Swedish fleet of 55 ships raided Russia and tried to take Novgorod. They were defeated after a great battle on Lake Ladoga. This Swedish raid may well have been the immediate cause for the establishment of the archbishopric of Novgorod. Chronicle of Novgorod, p. 24, for A.D. 1164; Oldekop, pp. 38-39 and p. 38 n. 45.

<sup>32</sup>The establishment of the archbishopric of Novgorod is documented in Finlands Medeltidsurkunder, ed. by R. T. Hausen (Helsingfors, 1910), No. 23 (hereafter cited as FMU); Dreijer, pp. 49-51.

<sup>33</sup>There are indications that the papacy was quite familiar with both the religious and political situations in Scandinavia. Kjell Kumelin, "Sveriges kristnande i slutskedet," Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, LXXXII (1962), 249-97; Jarl Gallen, "Kring det s.k. Florensdokumentet från omkring år 1120," Historisk Tidskrift för Finland,

The mission of Fulco remains surrounded by a haze of mystery primarily due to the lack of documents and inaccurate or unknown dating of those that have survived. What does remain clear, however, is that this was the first time the papacy actively backed and helped organize a Danish crusade, calling for the forceful conversion of the Baltic pagans. The venture began sometime between 1161 and 1167 while Archbishop Eskil was in France and became friends with Abbot Peter of Celle, a Cistercian monastery near Troyes.<sup>34</sup> Sometime during this period, probably in 1167, we hear that one Fulco, a monk from Celle, was ordained Estonum Episcopus, supposedly at the request of Archbishop Eskil.<sup>35</sup>

XLIII (1958), 1-26.

For an extended discussion of the early Scandinavian missionary effort, the following may be consulted: Arens, pp. 30-34, 40-41; Benninghoven, p. 16, especially p. 16 n. 14, and the material referred to therein. See also the persuasive arguments advanced in Johansen, Nordische Mission, pp. 72-94, for an early and purposeful Scandinavian mission in the Baltic.

<sup>34</sup>Lauritz Weibull, "Påven Alexander III's Septembrev till Norden," Scandia, XIII (1940), 90-98; Laurits P. Fabricius, "Sagnet om Danebrog og de ældste forbindelser med Estland," Kirkehistoriska Samlinger, R. 6, Bd. 1 (1935), 499-500. Peter of Celle (1115-1183) became abbot of St. Remi in 1162 and in 1181 was ordained Bishop of Chartres; Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche (Freiburg, 1963), VIII, 355.

<sup>35</sup>Liv-, Est- und Curländische Urkundenbuch, ed. by F. G. Bunge et al. (Reval and Riga, 1853), I, No. 5, and VI, No. 2713 (hereafter cited as UB). There is some debate over the year in which Fulco was ordained. Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 90, and Benninghoven, p. 16, hold out for 1167, while Arens, p. 35, and Oldekop, p. 51 n. 3, favor 1164/65. One is inclined to accept the later date, since in 1164/65 Archbishop Eskil was

The sequence of events now becomes uncertain. It seems that Fulco in 1169 appeared in Rome to secure official papal permission to preach a crusade, a request without which any such endeavor would surely fail to attract enough support to succeed. For some undetermined reason he first failed to receive the permission to preach but, after a personal appeal by Abbot Peter, Pope Alexander III reversed his decision and confirmed Fulco's ordination as bishop of Estonia.<sup>36</sup> Fulco himself had in the meantime gone to Denmark to see Eskil.<sup>37</sup> The next time we hear about the missionary bishop is in a series of papal bulls dated September 9, 11, and 17 of either 1171 or 1172. The main document is the bull of September 11, in which Alexander III, in order to aid Fulco's task, calls on all kings, lords, and Christians in Denmark, Norway, and

---

involved with the establishment of the archbishopric of Uppsala and since an ordination in 1164 would leave six years between that date and when the Pope was petitioned for confirmation. UB, VI, No. 2713.

<sup>36</sup>The first petition is printed in Diplomatarium Suecanum, I, No. 43; UB, III, Reg. 1a. The second successful petition is in Diplomatarium Suecanum, I, No. 44; UB, I, No. 2. For varying interpretations concerning the mission of Fulco, the following works may be consulted: Arens, pp. 34-43; Abers, pp. 3-5; Ammann, pp. 99-100; Fabricius, "Sagnet om Danebroge," pp. 499-503; Johansen, Nordische Mission, pp. 90-93; Weibull, "Påven Alexander III's Septemberbrev," pp. 90-98.

<sup>37</sup>Fulco appears to have been present with the Danish forces when they captured Rügen in 1169, as he is among those who sign a letter from Eskil to Alexander III describing the capture. Bullarium Danicum (1198-1316), ed. by Alf Krarup (Köbenhavn, 1931), No. 239 (hereafter cited as BD); Fabricius, "Sagnet om Danebroge," p. 500.

Sweden to grasp their arms and combat the Estonians and other pagans of the Baltic. Those who heeded the call would receive the same indulgences as those who visited the holy graves in Rome. Anyone who might fall in battle with the pagans was granted total absolution from his sins. For the first time, the battle against the pagans of Northern Europe had been put on an equal basis with the fight against the infidel in the Holy Land and Spain.<sup>38</sup>

Additional bulls indicate that the mission was well planned. On September 9, the pope asked the archbishop of Trondheim and the bishop of Stavanger to send a monk named Nicolaus, "by birth an Estonian," to aid Fulco, and on September 17, a general appeal was made to all Christians to help the bishop of Estonia with monetary contributions as he apparently had run out of funds.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup>UB, I, No. 5; Diplomatarium Suecanum, I, No. 55; Jaffe, No. 12117.

<sup>39</sup>Bull of September 9: UB, I, No. 4; Diplomatarium Suecanum, I, No. 60; that of September 17: UB, I, No. 6. There are also two undated letters from Abbot Peter, probably from 1170, the first of which asks the lords and bishops of Sweden to aid Fulco; UB, I, No. 2. The second advises the archbishop of Lund that Fulco would, as soon as the time of year (weatherwise) was right, appear in his diocese; UB, I, No. 3. There has been considerable argument over the nationalities of Fulco and Nicolaus, some of which has been based on dubious linguistic and legendary evidence. Arens, pp. 36-39, 40-43, and especially p. 41 n. 106; Johansen, Nordische Mission, pp. 87-93. Jalmari Jaakkola, "Suomen esimmainen piispa," Turun Historiallinen Arkisto, XI (1951), 83-111, has attempted to equate Fulco with Folquinus, a semi-mythical bishop of Finland who came from Sweden. Others have erroneously made him a Frenchman: Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 93; Gottlieb Ney, "Valdemar Sejrs Färdtag till Estland 1219," Svio-Estonica, XV (1960), 85 n. 10. The correct explanation is probably

An additional undated bull permitted Fulco to consecrate churches and to ordain clergy.<sup>40</sup> In 1172 Fulco again was in Denmark but from this time on his activities are almost impossible to trace. Some have held that there actually was a crusade to Estonia and perhaps to Finland, but reliable and direct sources concerning this are lacking. At the latest in 1178 Fulco was back in France, and in 1180 his old superior, Abbot Peter, describes him as being alive and well. Apparently the first Danish-papal venture into the Baltic lands left no lasting or visible results.<sup>41</sup>

---

that Fulco is a latinization of the old Danish-Swedish name Folke; Arens, p. 37. Fulco was probably a Danish national who had entered the monastery at Celle at the urging of Eskil between the years 1161-67. At this time Eskil was in exile in France and visited Celle, and Fulco thus could have been one of the Danish clergymen who accompanied the archbishop in his flight. There need be no arguments concerning the fact that Nicolaus was an Estonian by birth, yet there is some question as to how he came to end up as a monk in a Norwegian monastery. Arens, p. 41, assumes he went freely with a group of Gothland traders since he desired to learn about Christianity. Paul Johansen, Die Estlandlister des "Liber Census Daniae" (Köbenhavn and Reval, 1933), I, 87, states that Nicolaus was a prisoner of war. One more possible explanation seems, however, also to be possible. Since St. Nicolaus was the traditional guardian saint of seamen, the monk Nicolaus might well have been a shipwrecked Estonian sailor, saved somewhere in Scandinavia, who had assumed, or was given, the name of the saint who had saved his life.

<sup>40</sup>UB, III, Reg. 6a.

<sup>41</sup>Fulco's presence in Denmark in 1172 can be deduced from a letter from Archbishop Eskil to the pope: Repertorium Diplomaticum Regni Danici Mediaevalis, ed. by K. Erslev et al. (Köbenhavn, 1894), I, No. 36 (hereafter cited as R.D.R.D.M.). In 1178 Fulco was back in France, as Abbot Peter at Fulco's behest wishes good luck to the

There are several pertinent questions with regard to the mission of Fulco that have not been satisfactorily answered. First, did Fulco ever go to Estonia or, for that matter, Finland? Secondly, if he did go, what if anything did he accomplish, and if the mission failed, what were the reasons for the failure? The historians who have claimed that Fulco did in fact actively preach in Estonia or Finland claim that he "must" have gone there since "the preparations for the mission were so extensive that they could not have been left unexploited."<sup>42</sup> Those who claim that the mission never got off the ground have dismissed Fulco as a weak, unstable character, a puppet of Abbot Peter, who would not have succeeded even if he would have shown up in Estonia.<sup>43</sup> Most of the scholars who argue that there was a crusade buttress their arguments by referring to questionable sixteenth- and seventeenth-century folklore and place-names which suggest the presence of priests and monks in Estonia and Finland. These linguistic evidences could of course fit any priest or missionary, and there is no way of fixing

---

new archbishop, Absalon. The tone of the letter, while friendly, also hints that Abbot Peter feels that Absalon could have done more to aid Fulco; UB, I, No. 7. In 1180, Abbot Peter once again thanks Absalon for his kindness to Fulco. UB, I, No. 8.

<sup>42</sup>Arens, pp. 38-39, 43; Benninghoven, p. 17; Fabricius, "Sagnet om Danebrog," p. 503. Jaakkola, pp. 83-111, believes Fulco went to Finland.

<sup>43</sup>Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 93.

the exact dates involved. Obviously it is hard to arrive at any definite conclusions without additional information.

Not to attempt an answer to these problems is, however, also unacceptable. It must be admitted that it seems rather unlikely that after all the elaborate preparations and the strong papal backing provided for the mission it never left Denmark. The case for an actual mission having taken place is reinforced by the content of an undated letter from Abbot Peter to Archbishop Eskil, informing the latter that Fulco would go to his diocese as soon as the "season of the year" was right.<sup>44</sup> In addition, the bull of September 17, 1171 or 1172, asking for monetary support for Fulco, indicates that some funds and efforts had been expended on the mission.<sup>45</sup> Abbot Peter also relates that Fulco had complained about the wildness of the countryside and the ferociousness of the natives, indicating that Fulco must have been in touch with pagans in some uncivilized country.<sup>46</sup> Finally, there exists a seventeenth-century Swedish transcript of a now lost twelfth-century letter in which one Folquinus Svecus is mentioned as a bishop in (sic) Finland, that is, visiting Finland.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup>UB, I, No. 3.

<sup>45</sup>UB, I, No. 6.

<sup>46</sup>UB, I, No. 3.

<sup>47</sup>FMU, I, No. 36. Also see Arens, pp. 38-39. On September 9, 1171, the pope wrote to the archbishop of

Perhaps the event known as the mission of Fulco may be reconstructed in the following manner. Fulco, a monk of Danish origin, now in the monastery at Celle, was at the suggestion of Abbot Peter given papal support to work through the Danish Church for the conversion of the Estonian and Finnish tribes in the Baltic. This area was well known to the Scandinavians who would thus be in the best position to make the venture successful. Apparently the mission was to be a peaceful one, that is, conversion was to be brought about through preaching.<sup>48</sup> Fulco was to reach his destination with the help of the Gothland traders, who plied the Baltic, hence the reference to the "right season."<sup>49</sup> Some of these traders probably often wintered in the various Baltic lands and hence held Christian services, and perhaps even built small chapels near their residences.<sup>50</sup> A Christian per se was in all likelihood not an uncommon sight in this area of the Baltic.

---

Uppsala and Guthrom Jarl, one of the great Swedish nobles, telling them to aid the Christians in Finland who have been taken in by the pagans that had accepted Christianity only in order to reap material benefits, e.g., food, weapons, etc.; FMU, I, No. 24; Diplomatarium Suecanum, I, No. 59.

<sup>48</sup>There is no reason to assume, as Benninghoven does, that this was to be a warlike expedition; Benninghoven, p. 16.

<sup>49</sup>See Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 76, for a list of various examples of peaceful coexistence between the Gothland traders and the Estonians and Finns; UB, I, No. 3.

<sup>50</sup>Johansen, Nordische Mission, pp. 76-94.



Assuming thus that Fulco traveled to Estonia and/or Finland, what were the effects of his mission? One may conjecture that he arrived in Estonia in the company of the traders and began to preach. But while the Estonians, who benefited economically from the presence of the traders, had been willing to permit them to worship as they pleased, the pagans would not tolerate active proselytizing. The only way in which the missionary could gain the ear of the native was apparently by offering him some form of material reward, most often the construction of a stone castle or better weapons. Even this, however, would not guarantee that the neophytes would remain true to the new faith.<sup>51</sup>

Failing to achieve the desired results, Fulco now left for Finland with a group of traders, but had no more success in that country than he had had in Estonia. Of course there may have been a few converts in both countries but not enough to warrant the establishment of a more permanent church organization. It is probably the general failure of the mission that accounts for the paucity of sources concerning the venture. If there had been even the smallest measure of success, this would undoubtedly have been reported either by Fulco or some

---

<sup>51</sup>Note the similarities in the difficulty of gaining converts in Estonia and Finland and, a few years later, in Livonia. FMU, I, No. 24; Diplomatarium Suecanum, I, No. 59; UB, I, No. 6; Benninghoven, p. 19. Also see below, pp. 34, 41.

of his backers.

It has been variously claimed that the guiding hand behind the mission of Fulco was Abbot Peter of Celle or the archbishop of Lund or even the Danish king.<sup>52</sup> All these theories, however, lack firm documentary proof. Abbot Peter's role was probably that of a middleman, Fulco being a monk in his monastery. The abbot could hardly have benefited from a venture so far from France. On the other hand, if Fulco was sponsored by Eskil of Lund for the purpose of enlarging his archdiocese or by Valdemar I to enlarge his political domain, one is at a loss to explain why there is no evidence that either of these men gave any support whatsoever to the bishop of Estonia.

It has been suggested that Archbishop Eskil was ill at the time and thus could not help his protégé. However, Eskil found enough strength during these years to travel to Flanders and France. In any case, the very vigorous and militant Absalon became archbishop of Lund in 1177 and he also failed to help the missionary bishop.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, Valdemar I, a king powerful enough to conquer Rügen and to fight Lübeck and the Wends, could certainly have provided aid for Fulco's mission had he so desired. Valdemar I knew well who the Estonians

---

<sup>52</sup>Benninghoven, p. 16; Dreijer, p. 50; Schmidt, p. 20.

<sup>53</sup>Fabricius, "Sagnet om Danebroge," pp. 502-503; UB, I, Nos. 7-8.

were and where they lived, as witnessed by a raid in 1184 to Estonia by the Danish army.<sup>54</sup> The instigator of the mission has to be sought elsewhere, probably in Rome. It is not farfetched to suggest that Pope Alexander III, having won his fight against the anti-pope and desiring to glorify his pontificate, saw in a successful eastern crusade a way to enlarge papal rule and increase papal prestige. Since the Danish Church had been his most consistent supporter, Alexander III believed he could work through that institution. Apparently Archbishop Eskil originally agreed to guide the mission of Fulco, but when the cost of supporting such a venture dawned on the Danish leaders, they quietly tried to forget their past promises. Both Eskil and Valdemar I were more interested in the tangible rewards to be found in North Germany than in a highly questionable and costly venture in an unknown land, and they quietly extricated themselves from an uncomfortable agreement.

The Curia must have also been disappointed in the failure of Fulco's mission, yet a precedent had been set for a future effort to convert the Baltic pagans with the help of the Danes. The fact that both the papacy and the Danish state were politically opposed to the German emperor and any extension of his power served to tie the two parties closer together. If the lands of the

---

<sup>54</sup>Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 93.

Eastern Baltic were to be conquered or converted, Rome would rather see the establishment of a Danish sphere of influence in this area than the growth of a pro-imperial power. This problem became acute in the latter half of the twelfth century, as the Germans once again had become active in Baltic trade and colonization.

CHAPTER II

IMPERIAL POLITICS AND THE GERMANS

IN LIVONIA

During the years immediately following the mission of Fulco, the Danes turned their attention once again to imperial politics, trying to free themselves from imperial control and to extend their lands in Northalbingia and Wenden. As a result, the lead in Baltic colonization was picked up by the traders and missionaries of North Germany whose interests came to focus especially on the area around the Düna River known as Livonia.<sup>1</sup>

Merchants from various nations, including Germans, had for a long time been dealing with the natives of the Baltic and with the Russians. They operated mostly from the city of Wisby in Gothland or from Lübeck.<sup>2</sup> Although

---

<sup>1</sup>For Denmark's war against the Wends, the following articles are unsurpassed: Oskar Eggert, "Dänish-Wendische Kämpfe in Pommern und Mecklenburg," Baltische Studien, N.F. XXX (1928), 1-74; and "Die Wendenzüge Waldemars I und Knuts VI von Dänemark," Baltische Studien, N.F. XXIX (1927), 1-157.

<sup>2</sup>For the eastern trade, see the following works and their bibliographies: Francis Balodis, "Handelswege nach dem Osten und die Wikinger in Russland," Antikvariska Studier, LXV (1948), 317-65; Leopold-Karl Goetz, Deutsch-Russische Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters (Lübeck, 1922); Arthur Winckler, Die Deutsche Hanse in Russland (Berlin, 1886).

this intercourse had so far been limited to an exchange of goods, the merchants were Christians and this inevitably led to attempts to pass on the blessings of the true faith to the native pagans. As we shall see, the results of the conversion attempts were to vary.<sup>3</sup>

In 1180, when one group of German traders returned in the spring to one of their annual trading places at Üxküll on the Düna River, there was among them an Augustinian canon from Segeberg, one Meinhardt, whose duty it was to administer to the spiritual needs of the merchants.<sup>4</sup> Apparently this man decided that the Livonian

---

<sup>3</sup>Johansen, Nordische Mission, pp. 76-94.

<sup>4</sup>Arnold, V:30; Heinrich von Lettland, Livländische Chronik, ed. by Leonid Arbusow and A. Bauer (Hannover, 1955), I:2 (hereafter cited as Henry). The chronicle is also available in an English translation: The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, trans. by J. A. Brundage (Madison, Wis., 1961). Henry's chronicle is the single most important source for the history of the Baltic lands during this era. The best critical edition is the one edited by Arbusow and Bauer. For other editions, however, see L. Arbusow and A. Bauer, ed., Livländische Chronik by Heinrich von Lettland (Hannover, 1955), pp. xliv-li. Henry was a German priest, probably from Magdeburg, who wrote his history of Livonia as a tribute to the Christian Church of his adopted homeland. For a brief summary of various historical problems connected with Henry's work, see the introduction to Arbusow's and Bauer's edition. A recent and complete survey of works dealing with Henry is Leonid Arbusow, "Die Forschungen über das Chronicon Livoniae Heinrichs von Lettland, 1920-1930," Latvijas Universitātes Raksti. Philo. Ser., I (1931), 6, 373-90. Also see Paul Johansen, "Die Chronik als Biographie. Henrich von Lettlands Lebensgang und Weltanschauung," Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, N.F. I (1953), 1-24. The debate over Henry's nationality has been particularly bitter. For representative points of view, see Leonid Arbusow, "Die 'Umvolkung' des deutschen Chronisten Heinrich von Lettland," Jomsburg, III (1939), 223-27; Vilis Bilkins, "Problemet om 'Henricus de Lettis' nationalitet,"

soil was fertile for the planting of a new Christian crop, and after receiving permission from the prince of Polozk, the Greek Orthodox overlord of the Livs, Meinhardt built a church at Üxküll and began to preach.<sup>5</sup> He had some success in winning converts, yet it is interesting to note that the inhabitants had to be bribed by the promise of the construction of a stone and mortar fort before they would accept baptism.<sup>6</sup> Meinhardt now returned to Germany, went to Bremen, appeared before the archbishop, Hartwig II, and outlined his plan for a mission among the Livs. The idea was accepted by the archbishop, and Meinhardt was named bishop of Üxküll.<sup>7</sup> In 1188 his status was confirmed by Pope Clement III and, at the request of Hartwig II, the new bishopric was placed under the metropolitanship of Bremen.<sup>8</sup>

The subordination of Bishop Meinhardt to the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen raises the problem of deciding

---

Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, LXXXII (1962), 35-49. Concerning Henry's literary skills, note Leonid Arbusow, "Das entlehnte Sprachgut in Heinrichs Chronicon Livoniae," Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters, VIII (1950), 100-53.

<sup>5</sup>Henry, I:4-5; Haralds Biezais, "Das friedliche Zeitabschnitt der katolischen Mission in Lettland bis zum Jahre 1196," Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift, LVI (1956), 15. About the first convert see Henry, I:4, 10; Johansen, "Die Bedeutung," p. 5 n. 3.

<sup>6</sup>Henry, I:4-5 and I:7; Benninghoven, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup>Arnold, V:30; Henry, I:8.

<sup>8</sup>UB, I, No. 9-10; Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 247.

where the initiative for the Livonian mission originated. Some historians have claimed that this initiative came from the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen and hence Bishop Meinhardt and his successors were simply tools of the expansionistic policies of Bremen.<sup>9</sup> "The impulse of Meinhardt was part of Bremen's desire to recoup the lost leadership in the North. . . ."<sup>10</sup> Others have disagreed with this interpretation and maintained that the Livonian mission was started by the "holy desire" of one pious monk, Meinhardt. His early success, however, convinced his superior, Archbishop Hartwig II, that the Eastern Baltic was a perfect area in which to expand the power and prestige of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen.<sup>11</sup> There seems to be little doubt that the idea of a mission among the Livs can be credited to Meinhardt but that he realized that he needed both psychological and material backing to make his project a success. For this support he turned to the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, long experienced in missionary activities.<sup>12</sup> Hartwig II and his

---

<sup>9</sup>Dehio, II, 164; H. Grüner, "Missionsmethode und Erfolg bei der Christianisierung Livlands," Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift, XLI (1914), 158.

<sup>10</sup>Albert Bauer, "Der Livlandkreuzzug," in Baltische Kirchengeschichte, ed. by R. Wittram (Göttingen, 1956), I, 26.

<sup>11</sup>Gisela Gnegel-Waitschies, Bischof Albert von Riga (Hamburg, 1958), pp. 41-44. Note also that the next two bishops of Üxküll were both consecrated by Hartwig II; Henry, II:1, II:6.

<sup>12</sup>Ammann, pp. 103-04; Bauer, "Der Livlandkreuzzug," points out how the methods used by Meinhardt to gain



advisors, on the other hand, having been deprived of their supremacy over the Scandinavian Church and with it the missions that emanated from these churches, must have realized that a flourishing mission in Livonia would increase their own prestige. Due to subsequent disorders in Bremen, the banishment of Hartwig II, and the confused political situation in the empire, no substantial aid was ever given the Livonian mission and Bremen's control over the Livonian Church remained tenuous at best.<sup>13</sup> Since Denmark at this time was not active in Estonia, German expansion into Livonia proceeded undisturbed for several years to come, but it was inevitable that a conflict between the two powers would develop as soon as the Danes became aware that their traditional political and

---

converts, e.g., the use of gifts, pledges, hostages, are very much like the means commonly employed by Bremen in its mission work; Hauck, IV, 654-55. Manfred Hellman, Das Lettenland im Mittelalter (Münster and Köln, 1954), p. 115, feels, however, that it was the papacy who was the moving force behind Meinhardt.

<sup>13</sup>Hartwig's early career and election are described in Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto, in MG SS, ed. by J. M. Lappenberg (Hannover, 1859), XVI, p. 347 (hereafter cited as Albert zu Stade); Arnold, III:13; Bremisches Urkundenbuch, I, Nos. 48-53; Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 65; Dehio, II, 104. His involvement in German politics is detailed in Arnold, III:13, III:22, V:1, V:3, 21-22; May, pp. 623, 643, 649; Dehio, II, 91-98. Hartwig's quarrels with his subjects and his banishments are described in the following: Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 273; Arnold, V:30, V:11, V:21. Flight to England in 1192: May, p. 655; Dehio, II, 149. As an example of the confusion of Bremen politics, we may note the treaty signed in 1194 at Hildesheim between Archbishop Hartwig II and his own cathedral chapter in which Hartwig promised not to use the monies of the diocese without the chapter's permission; Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 301.

spiritual interests in the Baltic were being threatened by the same forces that opposed them in North Germany. One must now look at the development of the German colony on the Düna River in order to understand the future history of this region.<sup>14</sup>

When Bishop Meinhardt returned to Livonia in 1187, he brought with him as his main advisor and helper a Cistercian monk named Theoderic, a man who later was to play an extremely important role in Livonian history.<sup>15</sup> The two men worked hard at converting the native pagans and, while achieving some success, found the Livs on the whole hostile, even to the point of threatening to kill the missionaries.<sup>16</sup> Ultimately their position became so desperate that in 1193 an envoy of Meinhardt, probably Theoderic, traveled to Rome and received from the Curia the permission to recruit monks from various monasteries for missionary work in Livonia.<sup>17</sup> The events in that country must, however, have taken a turn for the worse,

---

<sup>14</sup>As the papacy was mainly interested in the spread of Christianity, regardless of what power was involved, and as the future hostilities between Bremen and Denmark had not come to a head, there was nothing incongruous about the papal support for the Livonian mission.

<sup>15</sup>Henry, I:10. Concerning Theoderic, see more fully pp. 61-66.

<sup>16</sup>While Pope Clement III speaks only of successes in Livonia, Henry clearly indicates otherwise; UB, I, No. 10 from October 1, 1188, and UB, I, No. 11 from April 27, 1193; Henry, I:10-13.

<sup>17</sup>UB, I, No. 11; Benninghoven, p. 23 and p. 23 n. 13.

since in 1195 or 1196 Bishop Meinhardt made provisions to flee Livonia together with the other Christians. Somehow he was convinced by the Livs to stay, but on the whole the future of the colony remained in serious jeopardy.<sup>18</sup>

In 1196, probably on August 14 or October 11, Bishop Meinhardt died in Livonia.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile several important developments occurred outside the colony. In 1195 or 1196, Theoderic once again went to Rome where he received a crusading bull from the pope. Apparently Theoderic next traveled to Sweden and preached a crusade there, since in 1196 an army led by Theoderic and the Swedish jarl, Birger Brosa, and consisting of some Gothlanders and Germans set out for Kurland. Blown off course by a storm, the crusaders landed instead in the Estonian province of Viru. Here, to the great disappointment of

---

<sup>18</sup>Henry, I:11-13. There is an interesting notice in Henry, I:10-11, where he states that the Livs asked Meinhardt to stay because they feared the invasion of a Christian army. Henry further states that some Germans, Danes, and Norwegians had promised the bishop armed support if he needed it. Apparently the local pagans had had some previous experience with crusading forces, since by all indications Meinhardt's own mission had been peaceful. At the same time it is obvious that besides the Germans, there were also Scandinavians present in this area, exactly where is not known. Johansen, Nordische Mission, pp. 97-98, may be correct when he assumes that Theoderic during his journey to Estonia had talked to traders present there about possible armed assistance. In this case, Meinhardt's decision to flee to Germany via Estonia and Gothland was a sound one and would also indicate that Scandinavians lived in Estonia on a semi-permanent basis.

<sup>19</sup>Henry, I:14; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 7 n. 9; Benninghoven, p. 26.

the Germans, the jarl was satisfied to collect tribute from the natives, upon which he sailed back home.<sup>20</sup> Despite the failure of the expedition, Theoderic got to know the Scandinavian leaders, an experience which he was later to draw upon.

While this interlude was taking place in Estonia, some of the Christian Livonians had sent word to the archbishop of Bremen, asking the latter to provide them with a qualified successor to Meinhardt. In 1197, with the help of Theoderic, a candidate for bishop of Üxküll was chosen and consecrated.<sup>21</sup> The new bishop, Berthold, abbot of Loccum, initially objected to his own nomination, an understandable reaction considering that he had worked in Livonia as a missionary under Meinhardt. He finally was convinced to accept the post and left for his new see to continue the work of his predecessor.<sup>22</sup> To his

---

<sup>20</sup>Henry, I:12. While the bull itself is lost, its general content is reported by Henry, I:13. Note also AD, pp. 92-93, 130, and 134, where a Danish crusade in 1196 or 1197 to Estonia is mentioned. Henry is disdainful of the Swedes for being satisfied with tribute rather than conversion, a fault which he also blames the Russians for; Henry, I:13, XVI:2, XXVIII:4.

<sup>21</sup>For the correct date, see Arbusow and Bauer, p. 7 n. 9.

<sup>22</sup>Henry, II:1-2. Berthold is mentioned as the abbot of Loccum on November 2, 1187; Jaffe, No. 16030. It is possible that Berthold may have been a missionary in Livonia under Meinhardt: Arnold, V:30; Livländische Rheimchronik, ed. by Leo Meyer (Paderborn, 1876), v. 491-95 (hereafter cited as R.Chr). Concerning his election, consult Leonid Arbusow Sr., "Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert," Jahrbücher für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik (1911-13), p. 18;

chagrin, he found that the Livs proved less than receptive to his preaching and actively plotted to do away with him. Getting wind of the plan, Bishop Berthold fled to Germany. From there he proceeded to Rome, where he received a new crusading bull from the pope. Berthold now took what has been considered a crucial and fateful step. He gathered an army of crusaders from Saxony, Frisia, and Westphalia and invaded Livonia in force.<sup>23</sup> In one of the ensuing battles at the fort of Holm on the Düna River, Bishop Berthold was, on July 24, 1198, killed and torn limb from limb by the infuriated Livs.<sup>24</sup> Despite the loss of their leader, the German knights won the day. Many of the Livs

---

Fritz Schönebohm, Die Besetzung der livländischen Bistümer bis zum Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts (Giessen, 1909), pp. 303-304. For the earlier life of Berthold, see Benninghoven, p. 22 and p. 22 n. 10. Henry, II:2 tells that the Livs accused Bishop Berthold of coming to Livonia because he was poor. Did this mean that the natives had had experiences with greedy Christian missionaries or perhaps with Christian armies that collected tribute in the name of the faith? That not all came to preach was of course certain.

<sup>23</sup>Henry, II:3-4; Arnold, V:30. We do not have the bull Henry refers to. The army was probably collected in Lübeck. For an estimation of the strength of the crusaders, see Benninghoven, Excuse I, pp. 388-405. The decision to use force in Livonia had a great impact on the whole missionary concept in eastern Europe: Beumann, "Kreuzzugsgedanke," pp. 112-32; Fritz Blanke, "Die Missionsmethode des Bischofs Christian von Preussen," Altpreussische Forschungen, IV (1927), 20-42; Hermann Dörries, "Fragen der Schwertmission," in Baltische Kirchengeschichte, ed. by R. Wittram (Göttingen, 1956), pp. 17-25; Carl Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens (Stuttgart, 1935).

<sup>24</sup>Henry, II:6; Arnold, V:30. The date is from Albert zu Städe, p. 353; Schönebohm, p. 304.



were converted by the crusaders and their clergy; indeed, several monks remained in Livonia when the main force left for Germany. The majority of the Livs immediately recanted, washed off their baptism in the waters of the Düna, and by 1199 had forced almost all of the remaining Christians to flee to Saxony.<sup>25</sup> The one positive result of Bishop Berthold's attempt to convert the natives was the decision that from that time on, the pagans were to be converted by the sword rather than by preaching.<sup>26</sup>

In 1199 it seemed as if the whole German effort in Livonia had been lost. Most of the missionaries had fled, most of the Livs had recanted, and the few Christian merchants who had remained bought their security by bribing the natives. Yet at this very bleak moment, the future of the colony was placed in the hands of a man whose personality and abilities were to alter permanently the future history of the whole Eastern Baltic. On March 28, 1199, Albert von Buxhövdén, canon of the Bremen cathedral chapter and a nephew of the archbishop, Hartwig II, was consecrated as the third bishop of Üxküll.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup>Henry, II:7-10. The leader of the crusading army may have been the famous German warrior and later monk and bishop, Bernhard zu Lippe: Benninghoven, pp. 29-34, especially p. 31 n. 46; UB, VI, Reg. 13a.

<sup>26</sup>See above, n. 23.

<sup>27</sup>The best biography of Bishop Albert is undoubtedly the work by Gisela Gnegel-Waitschies, Bischof Albert von Riga. While the main source for Albert's life is Henry, see also other contemporary sources listed by Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 11-17. For the election of Albert,

Before his death, Bishop Albert was to create in the Eastern Baltic a powerful western, Roman Catholic, German colony. Indeed, he should rank as one of the greatest diplomats, administrators, and statebuilders of the thirteenth century. Albert's attempt to establish his personal rule in Livonia permanently decided the political as well as the psychological future of the Baltic states.<sup>28</sup>

When he was consecrated, Bishop Albert's chances of even getting to occupy his see looked bleak. To

---

see Henry, III:1; Albert zu Stade, pp. 354-55; R.Ch., v. 590. Most scholars have accepted the date March 28, 1199, for Albert's election, mainly based on the arguments presented by Robert Holtzmann, "Studien zur Heinrich von Lettland," Neues Archiv, XLIII (1920), 187-90. Arbusow and Bauer, p. xxix n. 1, place the event in the beginning of March. Albert was probably consecrated by Hartwig II personally, but cf. Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 43 and p. 43 n. 212.

<sup>28</sup> Bishop Albert's personality and his conception of the Livonian mission have been interpreted in several opposing ways. Ammann, p. 126, believes that while Albert's basic philosophy was to convert by preaching, he became the "victim of tragic circumstances," e.g., resistance on the part of the natives, and had to use more forceful means. Other historians insist that Albert was always more of a secular prince than a missionary, a practical politician who used all means available to reach his goal, the establishment of a personal theocracy: Hauck, IV, 631; Hellmann, p. 121. Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 48, neatly summarizes this position. She considers Bishop Albert to have gone to Livonia with a premeditated plan to set up a personal colony and would not permit anything or anyone to stand in his way. Albert Bauer, pp. 27, 29, and 306 nn. 10-13, offers the most damaging indictment of the whole German missionary effort. He claims that in every German expansion program, the clergy automatically subscribed to the idea of acquisition of territory by force and that Albert saw to it that the natives were converted "per bella plurima."



succeed, he needed aid in the form of men and material, and these he could raise only with the help of official papal sanction. In addition, the support or at least the friendly neutrality of Denmark was essential in light of the fact that the Danes exerted considerable influence in Lower Saxony, an area from which Albert hoped to recruit most of his pilgrims. Denmark also controlled Lübeck, the only port from which men and materials in any quantity could be shipped to Livonia. In 1199, however, Albert's plans were endangered, not by the Danes but by political developments in Germany which threatened to end the mission before it even got started.<sup>29</sup>

In 1198 there occurred the double election of Otto IV, younger son of Henry the Lion, and Philip of Swabia, brother of the deceased emperor, Henry VI, to the imperial throne.<sup>30</sup> Of the two men, Philip was the more attractive personality and he received the support of a majority of

---

<sup>29</sup>For Albert's relations with the archbishopric of Bremen, see Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 29-31, 34-36, 41-42. Still Gnegel-Waitschies does not feel that Albert was an agent of Bremen: Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 40 n. 180. For Albert's relations with Denmark, see Dehio, I, 197-98, II, 24; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 51.

<sup>30</sup>The most inclusive books on the German political turmoil are Eduard Winkelmann, König Phillip von Schwaben (Leipzig, 1873) and König Otto IV von Braunschwig (Leipzig, 1878); Arthur Dietrichs, Staufen und Welfen (3rd ed.; Jena, 1938); Karl Hampe, Deutsche Geschichte in der Zeit der Salier und Staufer (9th ed.; Leipzig, 1945). The most convenient and scholarly summary is Austin L. Poole, "Philip of Swabia and Otto IV," in Cambridge Medieval History, ed. by J. B. Bury et al. (Cambridge, 1957), VI, 44-79.

:

22

—

2

2

22

22

—

10

3

222

22

—

—

2

2

.

1

2

27

۷۷

10

the German nobles, among them the princes of Franconia, Saxony, and Swabia, as well as those of Bavaria and Thuringia.<sup>31</sup> On March 8, 1198, Philip was elected emperor at Mühlhausen near Erfurt by a large and representative gathering of nobles.<sup>32</sup>

The anti-Hohenstaufen elements were not prepared to give up the struggle so easily. Led by Adolf, the archbishop of Köln, they met in February of 1198 and, pressured by the English ambassador, nominated Otto as their candidate. After his formal election on June 9, the Welf forces marched on Aix-la-Chapelle where Otto was crowned emperor on July 12, 1198.<sup>33</sup> Despite the Welfish countermove, it was Philip who during 1198 emerged as the militarily stronger of the two claimants.<sup>34</sup> As the German princes who had been in Spain on a crusade began returning home, they were immediately faced with the decision of choosing sides.

Archbishop Hartwig II and Duke Adolf of Holstein

---

<sup>31</sup>Arnold, VI:1-2; Diederichs, p. 21.

<sup>32</sup>Poole, p. 46.

<sup>33</sup>Johannes Haller, "Innocent III und Otto IV," in Pabstum und Kaisertum, ed. by Albert Brackmann (München, 1926), p. 478; Winkelmann, König Phillip, pp. 206, 210; Poole, pp. 47-49, especially p. 47 n. 2, p. 49 n. 1.

<sup>34</sup>The contested election also had aspects of international politics, as Otto IV was supported by England and Philip hastened to revive the Hohenstaufen-Capetian alliance on June 29, 1198. Poole, p. 49; Diederichs, pp. 21, 24; Haller, "Innocent III und Otto IV," p. 484.

1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 9  
 10  
 11  
 12  
 13  
 14  
 15  
 16  
 17  
 18  
 19  
 20  
 21  
 22  
 23  
 24  
 25  
 26  
 27  
 28  
 29  
 30  
 31  
 32  
 33  
 34  
 35  
 36  
 37  
 38  
 39  
 40  
 41  
 42  
 43  
 44  
 45  
 46  
 47  
 48  
 49  
 50  
 51  
 52  
 53  
 54  
 55  
 56  
 57  
 58  
 59  
 60  
 61  
 62  
 63  
 64  
 65  
 66  
 67  
 68  
 69  
 70  
 71  
 72  
 73  
 74  
 75  
 76  
 77  
 78  
 79  
 80  
 81  
 82  
 83  
 84  
 85  
 86  
 87  
 88  
 89  
 90  
 91  
 92  
 93  
 94  
 95  
 96  
 97  
 98  
 99  
 100  
 101  
 102  
 103  
 104  
 105  
 106  
 107  
 108  
 109  
 110  
 111  
 112  
 113  
 114  
 115  
 116  
 117  
 118  
 119  
 120  
 121  
 122  
 123  
 124  
 125  
 126  
 127  
 128  
 129  
 130  
 131  
 132  
 133  
 134  
 135  
 136  
 137  
 138  
 139  
 140  
 141  
 142  
 143  
 144  
 145  
 146  
 147  
 148  
 149  
 150  
 151  
 152  
 153  
 154  
 155  
 156  
 157  
 158  
 159  
 160  
 161  
 162  
 163  
 164  
 165  
 166  
 167  
 168  
 169  
 170  
 171  
 172  
 173  
 174  
 175  
 176  
 177  
 178  
 179  
 180  
 181  
 182  
 183  
 184  
 185  
 186  
 187  
 188  
 189  
 190  
 191  
 192  
 193  
 194  
 195  
 196  
 197  
 198  
 199  
 200  
 201  
 202  
 203  
 204  
 205  
 206  
 207  
 208  
 209  
 210  
 211  
 212  
 213  
 214  
 215  
 216  
 217  
 218  
 219  
 220  
 221  
 222  
 223  
 224  
 225  
 226  
 227  
 228  
 229  
 230  
 231  
 232  
 233  
 234  
 235  
 236  
 237  
 238  
 239  
 240  
 241  
 242  
 243  
 244  
 245  
 246  
 247  
 248  
 249  
 250  
 251  
 252  
 253  
 254  
 255  
 256  
 257  
 258  
 259  
 260  
 261  
 262  
 263  
 264  
 265  
 266  
 267  
 268  
 269  
 270  
 271  
 272  
 273  
 274  
 275  
 276  
 277  
 278  
 279  
 280  
 281  
 282  
 283  
 284  
 285  
 286  
 287  
 288  
 289  
 290  
 291  
 292  
 293  
 294  
 295  
 296  
 297  
 298  
 299  
 300  
 301  
 302  
 303  
 304  
 305  
 306  
 307  
 308  
 309  
 310  
 311  
 312  
 313  
 314  
 315  
 316  
 317  
 318  
 319  
 320  
 321  
 322  
 323  
 324  
 325  
 326  
 327  
 328  
 329  
 330  
 331  
 332  
 333  
 334  
 335  
 336  
 337  
 338  
 339  
 340  
 341  
 342  
 343  
 344  
 345  
 346  
 347  
 348  
 349  
 350  
 351  
 352  
 353  
 354  
 355  
 356  
 357  
 358  
 359  
 360  
 361  
 362  
 363  
 364  
 365  
 366  
 367  
 368  
 369  
 370  
 371  
 372  
 373  
 374  
 375  
 376  
 377  
 378  
 379  
 380  
 381  
 382  
 383  
 384  
 385  
 386  
 387  
 388  
 389  
 390  
 391  
 392  
 393  
 394  
 395  
 396  
 397  
 398  
 399  
 400  
 401  
 402  
 403  
 404  
 405  
 406  
 407  
 408  
 409  
 410  
 411  
 412  
 413  
 414  
 415  
 416  
 417  
 418  
 419  
 420  
 421  
 422  
 423  
 424  
 425  
 426  
 427  
 428  
 429  
 430  
 431  
 432  
 433  
 434  
 435  
 436  
 437  
 438  
 439  
 440  
 441  
 442  
 443  
 444  
 445  
 446  
 447  
 448  
 449  
 450  
 451  
 452  
 453  
 454  
 455  
 456  
 457  
 458  
 459  
 460  
 461  
 462  
 463  
 464  
 465  
 466  
 467  
 468  
 469  
 470  
 471  
 472  
 473  
 474  
 475  
 476  
 477  
 478  
 479  
 480  
 481  
 482  
 483  
 484  
 485  
 486  
 487  
 488  
 489  
 490  
 491  
 492  
 493  
 494  
 495  
 496  
 497  
 498  
 499  
 500  
 501  
 502  
 503  
 504  
 505  
 506  
 507  
 508  
 509  
 510  
 511  
 512  
 513  
 514  
 515  
 516  
 517  
 518  
 519  
 520  
 521  
 522  
 523  
 524  
 525

2000

joined the forces of Philip, primarily due to their fear of Denmark, which was leaning toward the Ottonian camp.<sup>35</sup> Otto suffered setback after setback, and by early 1199 Philip was the undisputed leader of Germany. It was at this stage that outside forces, specifically Denmark and the papacy, entered German politics on Otto's side, and this intervention was to keep Germany in turmoil for an additional two decades and in the process affect the developments in the Baltic.<sup>36</sup>

It was noted earlier that Denmark had been unable to follow up on its early missionary and colonization efforts in the Baltic due to its involvement in North German politics, and yet it was exactly this involvement that ultimately was to direct the attention of the Danish State and Church once again to Estonia and Livonia. A brief review of German-Danish relations during the last half of the twelfth century will serve to clarify the positions the various parties took by the year 1199.

Denmark had always contested with both the emperor and the dukes of Saxony over the territories of Northalbingia, Wenden, and Schleswig-Holstein, and usually found itself on the losing end of the struggle. The fall of Duke Henry the Lion in 1180 removed the most able of

---

<sup>35</sup>Koch, p. 11; Winkelmann, König Phillip, pp. 148-50.

<sup>36</sup>Haller, "Innocent III und Otto IV," p. 485; Koch, p. 11; Winkelmann, König Phillip, pp. 148-49.

Denmark's political opponents in North Germany. The predominantly Italian-oriented foreign policy of the Hohenstaufen emperors permitted the Danish kings to reassert their independence of the Empire and even to expand southward into Germany. Fearing each other less than a powerful new dynasty in Saxony, Valdemar I and Emperor Fredrick I had even cooperated in the capture of Lübeck, the city crucial to the Baltic trade.<sup>37</sup>

Soon, however, the two erstwhile allies fell out. Fredrick I sought to force Denmark to renew its pledge of homage to the Empire by inciting Duke Bogislav of Pomerania to rebel against Valdemar I, but without success.<sup>38</sup> The new Danish king, Knut VI, who succeeded to the throne in May, 1182, refused to do homage to Fredrick, and a Danish army, led by Archbishop Absalon of Lund, crushed Duke Bogislav's rebellion in 1185.<sup>39</sup> By 1187 the counts of Mecklenburg and Holstein had pledged homage to Knut VI, who now adopted the title "King of Danes and Slavs." Archbishop Absalon, in turn, was hailed as a national

---

<sup>37</sup>Arnold, II:21; Helmoldus, I:85; Johansen, "Die Bedeutung der Hanse," pp. 1-55; Paul Kallmerten, Lübische Bündnis-politik von der Schlacht bei Bornhöved bis zur dänischen Invasion unter Erich Menved (Kiel, 1932), p. 57; Koch, p. 18.

<sup>38</sup>Saxo, XV:5; Heine, p. 49.

<sup>39</sup>Saxo, XV:5: Duke Bogislav did homage in 1185; Arnold, III:7; Valdemar Sejr, ed. by Adolf Jörgensen (Köbenhavn, 1879), p. 4; SRD, III, 260; Heine, p. 49.

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

33

34

35

36

37

38

hero.<sup>40</sup>

The continuing success of Danish arms was especially disturbing to the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. Not only had he lost the spiritual control of Scandinavia to the archbishop of Lund, but it now looked as if the Danes were going to curtail seriously the political influence of Hamburg-Bremen in North Germany. In addition to these points of friction, internal developments in Hamburg-Bremen during the 1190's and the role that the archbishopric was going to play in the German expansion into the Baltic were to draw that power into direct conflict with Denmark.<sup>41</sup>

In 1185, one Hartwig of Uthleden was rewarded for his services as the notary of Duke Henry the Lion by being elected as the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen.<sup>42</sup> Hartwig II's rule was to be less than peaceful. Constantly quarreling with the burghers of Bremen, Hartwig was twice driven out of the city and in 1192 was forced to seek refuge in England.<sup>43</sup> At this juncture, the Bremen

---

<sup>40</sup>Arnold, III:7, III:5. Knut VI now took the title "King of Danes and Slavs": Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, pp. 3-4; Heine, p. 49.

<sup>41</sup>The classic treatment of Hamburg-Bremen is the work by Dehio. See also the book by Schmeidler and most secondary work about Livonia; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 34-41; Glaeske, p. 189.

<sup>42</sup>Arnold, III:13; Bremisches Urkundenbuch, I, Nos. 48-53; Dehio, II, 104.

<sup>43</sup>Arnold, V:11, V:21, V:30; Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 273; May, p. 655; Dehio, II, 149.



cathedral chapter, over the protests of the burghers, elected as archbishop the Danish bishop of Schleswig, one Valdemar. The choice could not have been a worse one as far as Danish-Bremen relations were concerned.<sup>44</sup>

Bishop Valdemar of Schleswig was an illegitimate son of King Knut V of Denmark and hence a cousin of King Knut VI. In 1180, Valdemar had been made bishop of Schleswig and regent of South Jutland by King Valdemar I, but the bishop was not satisfied with his position and set out to obtain the Danish throne by intrigue and armed invasion. Bishop Valdemar sought aid for his project among Denmark's enemies, particularly from the Hohenstaufens. To Emperor Henry VI, aiding Bishop Valdemar appeared to be an excellent way of undercutting a resurgent Danish-Welf alliance and, if the bishop would be successful in obtaining the Danish throne with his help, Denmark might yet be made a permanent part of the Empire. To King Knut VI and the Danes, the election of Bishop Valdemar as the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen thus appeared as a direct threat to the ruling house of Denmark. The archbishop of Lund, on the other hand, viewed a hostile and pro-imperial Hamburg-Bremen as a menace to his spiritual supremacy in Scandinavia.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup>Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab anno 1198 ad annum 1304, ed. by August Potthast (2 vols.; Berlin, 1874-75), No. 2034 (hereafter cited as Potthast).

<sup>45</sup>For Bishop Valdemar's ancestry and early schemes to obtain the Danish throne see Arnold, III:22, Jørgensen,



The reaction of Knut VI was direct and dramatic. Learning of the bishop-elect's plans, the king in 1193 captured Bishop Valdemar and imprisoned him for the next thirteen years in a Danish castle.<sup>46</sup> When the bishop was finally freed in 1206 through the intervention of the Danish Queen Dagmar, he was to lose no time in picking up his previous policy of trying to gain the Danish throne.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, with their candidate imprisoned and fearful of the growing power of the disenchanted burghers, the cathedral chapter of Hamburg-Bremen in July 1194 recalled Hartwig II, but retained the effective rule of the diocese in their own hands.<sup>48</sup> One of the chapter members who for the next five years actually governed Hamburg-Bremen was Albert, the future bishop of Üxküll and Riga, who undoubtedly gained great experience in

---

Valdemar Sejr, p. 8. Most Danish historians hold a very unfavorable opinion of Valdemar. Dehio, II, 109-11, believes him to be a self-seeking and power-hungry political adventurer. Olrik, Absalon, II, 82-85, is representative of most historians when he treats the bishop as a power-hungry schemer and traitor. Rudolf A. Usinger, Deutsch-Dänische Geschichte (Berlin, 1863), p. 63, sees him as a weakling used by others for their own purposes. Valdemar might have seen his election to the archbishopric of Bremen as the first step toward the Danish throne: Glaeske, p. 198.

<sup>46</sup>Arnold, V:21, V:17; Albert zu Stade, p. 352.

<sup>47</sup>Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 8. The papacy made several requests of the Danish king to have Valdemar freed: BD, No. 36; Danmarks Riges Breve, ed. by Frantz Blatt et al. (Köbenhavn, 1958), Raekke 1, Bd.4, No. 83 (hereafter cited as DRB).

<sup>48</sup>Arnold, V:21-22; Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, Nos. 301-307.



politics during this period.<sup>49</sup>

During the 1190's Denmark and Hamburg-Bremen also became involved in the power struggle between Otto IV and Philip of Swabia. We have noted how Hartwig II, after fighting several years on the side of the Welfs, decided in 1198 to join Philip and the Hohenstaufens. The archbishop had reached the conclusion that since Philip appeared to be the stronger of the two contestants and the Welfs were moving toward an alliance with the Danes, he could best help himself and his diocese by opting for Philip.<sup>50</sup>

Knut VI was meanwhile moving toward an alliance with the Welf camp, since his main enemies in North Germany, Duke Adolf of Holstein and Archbishop Hartwig II, were supporting the Hohenstaufens.<sup>51</sup> War soon broke out between Denmark and Duke Adolf and, after some indecisive fighting during 1199 and 1200, in 1201 the duke made a last concerted attempt to expel the Danes from his territories. Failing to receive the expected aid from the Hohenstaufen forces, Adolf was decisively defeated in September, 1201, at Stellau by Duke Valdemar of Schleswig,

---

<sup>49</sup>Leonid Arbusow, "Die deutsche Einwanderung im 13. Jahrhundert," in Baltische Lande, ed. by A. Brackmann et al. (Leipzig, 1939), I, 359; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 34-39.

<sup>50</sup>Dehio, II, 117; Glaeske, p. 24; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 36.

<sup>51</sup>Albert zu Stade, p. 354.

brother of Knut VI and the future Valdemar II. This victory permitted Knut VI to take over all of Northalbingia, including the town of Hamburg.<sup>52</sup> Early in 1202, the Welfs, represented by Henry, the Count Palatinate, and the new Danish king, Valdemar II, concluded an agreement whereby in exchange for Stade, Otto IV would recognize the Danish holdings in Northalbingia. The Danes were now firmly in the Welf camp.<sup>53</sup>

It was amidst this confused political situation that Bishop Albert had to prepare for the future of his colony in Livonia. The recruitment of an adequate number of pilgrims and crusaders and their transportation to Livonia depended on political stability in Saxony and the neutrality of the Danes. While the latter had not, during the years immediately following the mission of Fulco, made any concerted effort to colonize or convert the Baltic natives, they had kept up their traditional trading and military activities in this area.<sup>54</sup> While their main

---

<sup>52</sup>Arnold, III:12-14, 22, VI:14, VI:17; Albert zu Stade for 1201; Dehio, II, 105; Usinger, p. 61; Winkelmann, König Phillip, pp. 241-43. Cf. Redlich, p. 46, who states that the aggressor was Valdemar. Note that one of the reasons Duke Adolf failed to receive the expected aid from the Hohenstaufens was that he had made futile overtures to the Welfs: Koch, p. 18; Usinger, p. 95.

<sup>53</sup>Glaeske, p. 204; Dehio, II, 117-19; Winkelmann, König Phillip, pp. 246, 276.

<sup>54</sup>Expeditions were made to Wenden (1182), Wolgast (1184), and Sclavia (Wenden) (1189): AD, pp. 92-93. Also see both articles by Eggert and Heine, pp. 35 and 49. The Scandinavians and the pagans often cooperated with each other even though other Christians were fighting with

object of interest was still North Germany, the Danes in 1184, the same year that Meinhardt established his church in Üxküll, raided Estonia.<sup>55</sup> In 1186 the Norwegian crown-prince, Erik, led a fleet of five ships to the Estonian province of Wiek.<sup>56</sup> In 1191 the Danes were busy invading Finland and a few years later, probably in 1196, Knut VI himself led an expedition to Estonia. Although one cannot call these raids for tribute and booty a part of a grand imperial design, they most certainly kept the Baltic lands in the focus of Scandinavian politics.<sup>57</sup> In addition, the Danes in 1202 secured control of Lübeck, the southern terminus of the Baltic trade and missionary route, an event which had great significance for both the Danes and the

---

the same pagans: Henry, VII:1 (1203), XIV:1 (1210), XIV:3 (1215), XXX:1 (1226).

<sup>55</sup>The raid was undertaken by men from the province of Scania. Saxo, XVI:4, claims it was led by Archbishop Absalon, but this is questionable since Absalon the same year led the army in Germany that defeated Bogislav: Arnold, III:7.

<sup>56</sup>Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 93.

<sup>57</sup>For the raid to Finland in 1191, see AD, pp. 92-93. An extended discussion of this and other Danish expeditions to Finland may be found in G. Kerkonen, "De Danska kårstågens hamnar i Finland," Svenska Litteratürsällskapets Skrifter (1952), pp. 219-58; Johan Wilhelm Ruuth, "Några ord om de äldsta Danska medeltidsannaler som innehålla uppgifter om tåget till Finland 1191 och 1202," Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Litteratürsällskapet i Finland, C (1911), 227-38. Concerning the expedition in 1196 to Estonia, see AD, pp. 92-93. The date for this expedition varies in some chronicles: Heine, p. 49. Koch, p. 10, believes that the only reason Knut VI did not continue his "imperialistic schemes" in Estonia was that he fought in Pomerania. There is nothing to substantiate *this* contention.

Germans.<sup>58</sup>

Significantly enough, the Danes at this time thought of resurrecting the independence of the old bishopric of Hamburg and separating it from Bremen. Such a move, if approved by the papacy, would enable Denmark to revive the old claims of Hamburg to missionary areas in northeast Germany. If Bremen's work would now be preempted by Hamburg, would this not also mean that any eastern missionary venture emanating from Bremen, such as the Livonian colony, also would be automatically under the spiritual overlordship of Hamburg and its Danish backers? Bishop Albert, being a suffragan of Bremen, would thus find himself under the metropolitanship of the archbishop of Lund, an event which he would like even less than being controlled by Bremen.<sup>59</sup>

There is no reason to believe that Albert was not aware of the Scandinavian, especially the Danish, activities in Estonia and Finland, as well as the implications of the Danish control of Lübeck and Hamburg. As a result, one of Albert's first acts upon becoming bishop in 1199 was to travel to Gothland, where he signed up 500

---

<sup>58</sup>Arnold, VI:13; Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck, ed. by F. Aschenfeldt (Lübeck, 1843-1905), I, No. 14, 11, 12. Koch claims that as early as 1190 there was a pro-Danish party in Lübeck but that the pro-German forces won out: Koch, p. 11 n. 81; Usinger, p. 47; Johansen, "Die Bedeutung," pp. 1-55; Rörig, "Reichssymbolik auf Gotland," p. 27.

<sup>59</sup>Dehio, II, 125; Glaeske, pp. 207-208. For the *split* between Hamburg and Bremen, see Heine, pp. 36-42.



crusaders, and then to hasten to see King Knut VI, Duke Valdemar, and Archbishop Absalon.<sup>60</sup> He was cordially received by the Danish leaders, but beyond this we know nothing about the proceedings of this meeting. Despite attempts by scholars to make this into a conference where the Baltic lands were divided up among Albert and the Danes, it appears to have been more in the nature of a courtesy call by a relatively unknown German bishop on the leaders of the most powerful Baltic power. Bishop Albert of course could have been hoping that the meeting would have permitted him an opportunity to sign up a few more crusaders or receive material and moral support from the Danish secular and spiritual leaders.<sup>61</sup>

While Bishop Albert had 500 men ready to follow him to Livonia, he still needed a papal bull sanctioning his undertaking and officially permitting him to preach a

---

<sup>60</sup>Henry, III:3; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 49-50; Koch, pp. 9-11.

<sup>61</sup>Several historians maintain that Bishop Albert as early as 1199 recognized Denmark's "rights" to Estonia: Benninghoven, p. 37; Koch, pp. 10-11; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 52-55. The very lack of any information regarding the meeting between Albert and the Danes, especially in the Danish annals, indicates its relative lack of importance. Anyway, it seems ludicrous that the Danish king should have needed to ask a minor German Church official for permission to trade in an area where they had been active for years. Koch's contention that ". . . as of yet Archbishop Absalon and Bishop Albert had the same aims, . . ." i.e., to spread Christianity, might well be true. However, to claim that Absalon welcomed the mission of Albert since he himself had no way of expanding the power of Lund seems absurd in light of continuing Danish victories and Absalon's leadership in Germany.

crusade. This type of bull, granting absolution of sins to the Livonian crusaders similar to the indulgences granted those who went to the Holy Land, would insure enough participation to make his mission a success. After having himself appeared in Rome, Bishop Albert on October 5, 1199, received from Innocent III exactly the type of document he had asked for.<sup>62</sup>

Innocent III threw himself fully into the task of converting the pagans of Northern Europe. The pope believed that by extending the spiritual rule of the papacy in this area he could strengthen his hand in the struggle to free the Roman Church from the Hohenstaufens.<sup>63</sup> The time was right for a concerted effort in this direction, especially since the dual election of 1198 gave Innocent III a chance to make his influence felt in German politics. The pope chose to support Otto IV, and the papacy and Denmark remained for a long time the only

---

<sup>62</sup>For the role of the Gothland traders, see Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 49-50. The crusading bulls were directed to various German counties: UB, I, No. 12; Pott-hast, No. 842; Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 321. Two other bulls were directed to Mecklenburg and the Elbe region, respectively: Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, ed. by G. Lisch (Schwerin, 1863), Nos. 161, 164; Leonid Arbusow, Römischer Arbeitsbericht I. Acta Universitatis Latviensis, XVII (Riga, 1928), p. 321 n. 1 (hereafter cited as Arbusow, RA). For the role of Albert, see also Benninghoven, pp. 37-38 and p. 38 n. 2.

<sup>63</sup>Innocent III continued the policies of his predecessor: UB, III, No. 10a; Henry, I:11-12, II:3; Brundage, ed., Chronicle of Livonia, p. 29 n. 18. Perhaps Innocent III wanted to supervise personally the Livonian mission.

outstanding supporters of the Welf candidate.<sup>64</sup> Since the German mission in Livonia, however, did not appear to be directly involved in imperial politics, Innocent saw nothing politically inconsistent in his support of Bishop Albert.

Albert, on the other hand, felt that the more powers he could get to back his venture, the better chance of success he would have, even if some of the backers were bitter enemies among themselves. As a result, on December 25, 1199, we find Bishop Albert in Magdeburg in the company of Philip of Swabia.<sup>65</sup> Undoubtedly his decision to seek help from the Hohenstaufens was influenced by his uncle, Hartwig II.<sup>66</sup>

In addition to preaching a crusading sermon in the Magdeburg cathedral, Albert showed Innocent III's bull to Emperor Philip, who now took the lands of all prospective Livonian crusaders into his imperial protection, undoubtedly a great boon to Albert's recruitment problems.<sup>67</sup> Philip could make this promise easily since he

<sup>64</sup>The papacy attempted to secure Danish aid for Otto in December, 1203: BD, Nos. 38, 41.

<sup>65</sup>Henry, III:4; K. H. von Busse, "Bischof Albert von Riga und der deutsche König Phillip der Hohenstaufen," Mitt., VIII (1855), I, 87-89; Amman, p. 109; Winkelmann, König Phillip, pp. 149-50.

<sup>66</sup>Arnold, V:21; Glaeske, p. 194; Koch, pp. 11-12 and p. 12 n. 41.

<sup>67</sup>Henry, III:4; Albert zu Stade, p. 355; Amman, p. 110; Koch, pp. 11-12 and p. 12 n. 41.

appeared at this time the sure winner in the struggle for the German throne and to have the friendship of one additional prelate could only help him. Whether Albert saw the emperor again early in 1200 at Hildesheim and/or Goslar is uncertain, but early that same year he arrived for the first time in Livonia together with twenty-three ships loaded with pilgrims and traders. The German expansion into the Eastern Baltic had started.<sup>68</sup> While this paper will not attempt to go into detail about the day-to-day life of the Livonian colony, several events occurred between 1200 and 1206 which merit closer examination as they bear directly or indirectly on future Danish and papal involvement in the Baltic.<sup>69</sup>

The appearance of the crusaders' fleet on the Düna River led to several skirmishes with the native Livs but through the use of diplomacy, generously mixed with treachery, Bishop Albert captured the native leaders and forced them to give up their sons as hostages. These young boys were sent to Germany to be educated as clergymen.<sup>70</sup> Before the bishop left in the fall of 1200 for his

---

<sup>68</sup>Winkelman, König Phillip, p. 152. Albert's arrival in Livonia is in Henry, IV:1; Astaf von Transehe-Roseneck, "Die Ritterlichen Livlandsfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts," Mitt., XXI (1928), V, 297-338.

<sup>69</sup>The main source for this period is Henry, IV-X. The best survey is Leonid Arbusow, Sr., Grundriss der Geschichte Liv- Esth- und Kurlands (3rd ed.; Riga, 1908). Consult also Benninghoven, pp. 39-91; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 56-81; Koch, pp. 13-20.

<sup>70</sup>Henry, IV:4. This was a regular German custom: Johansen, "Die Chronik als Biographie," p. 11. In 1226 a

customary winter tour of Germany, during which he raised pilgrims for the coming year, he received from the Livs the site of the future city of Riga, which was to become the center of all German activities in years to come.<sup>71</sup>

At the same time that the bishop left for Germany, Theoderic was sent to Rome to secure from the pope additional authorization to preach a crusade and once again the request was granted by the Curia.<sup>72</sup>

After the ice on the Baltic had melted in the spring of 1201, Bishop Albert returned to Livonia. During the twelve months that he remained in the country, several

---

school for the specific purpose of educating sons of pagans was established in Wisby by Cardinal Wilhelm of Modena: UB, III, No. 73a.

<sup>71</sup>The life of the Livonian colony was closely tied to two dates, the arrival of the pilgrim fleets in the spring when the ice melted and the departure of the non-residents and merchants in the fall before the ice formed. Hence the regularity of arrivals and departures. Henry's chronology is based on the arrival of the spring fleets. For the founding of Riga see Henry, IV:5, V:1; Albert zu Stade, p. 283; Alberich von Trois Fontaines, Chronica Alberici monachi Trium-Fontium a monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis interpolata, ed. by P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in MG SS (Hannover, 1874), XXIII, 674-75 (hereafter cited as Alberich von Trois); Heinrich Laakmann, "Zu Gründungsgeschichte Rigas," in Baltische Lande, ed. by A. Brackmann et al. (Leipzig, 1939), pp. 350-60.

<sup>72</sup>Henry, IV:6-7. This bull has not survived. The bull to Albert of April 19, 1201, is probably also a result of Theoderic's second visit to Rome: UB, I, No. 13; Potthast, No. 1323. The importance to the colony of the merchants is mirrored in a lost bull, which forbade all (Christian) merchants from using the "old" trading posts in Sengallia and directed them to deal with the "new" ones, i.e., those in Livonia: Henry, IV:7. Those who defied this papally sanctioned monopoly were severely punished: Henry, IV:7; Johansen, "Die Bedeutung der Hanse," p. 10; Rörig, "Reichssymbolik," p. 27.

important steps were taken to insure the future of the colony. In 1201, the city of Riga was founded on the Düna and fast became the center of both German spiritual and economic activities. The seat of the bishopric was transferred from Üxküll to Riga. To insure his personal position, Albert began a policy of enfeoffment of the surrounding territory, awarding two important local castles to his personal followers. His purpose was to lay the foundation for a permanent power structure, tied to the bishop through feudal ties.<sup>73</sup>

At the same time that he was establishing a power base for future expansion, Bishop Albert kept up his search for ways to attract yearly pilgrims to Livonia, people without whom the colony was in constant peril. We have already noted how papal bulls and imperial blessings were acquired to facilitate the recruitment of new crusaders. Albert now hit upon a psychologically attractive way to lure volunteers eastward.<sup>74</sup> When the new cathedral of Riga was built, he dedicated it and all of

---

<sup>73</sup>Henry, V:1-2; Alberich von Trois, p. 674; Albert zu Stade, p. 283; UB, I, Nos. 21, 67; Rörig, "Reichssymbolik," p. 52. Gnegel-Waitschies contends that the traders picked the site for Riga and that the development of a city was crucial to Albert since all bishops needed a city as their residence: Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 57 and p. 57 n. 279. Also see Benninghoven, p. 52.

<sup>74</sup>In April, 1200, Innocent ordered the Cistercians, the most experienced colonizers and missionaries of Europe, to aid Bishop Albert: Arbusow, RA, I, p. 321; Schmidt, p. 23. Concerning the spread of the Cistercians into Northern Europe at this time, see also Winter, Die Cistercienser, passim; and Schmidt, pp. 14-16, 22.

Christian Livonia to St. Mary.<sup>75</sup> Since the worship of St. Mary was at this time strong among the German clergy and nobility, Albert succeeded in attracting additional forces to his colony.<sup>76</sup> The dedication of Livonia to St. Mary also placed the colony under the direct protection of the papacy, although to maintain that the pope now "owned" the colony seems rather farfetched.<sup>77</sup>

The most momentous decision affecting the future of Livonia was, however, made in 1202 while Bishop Albert was in Germany. In that year an organization, the Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia, better known as the Knights of the Sword or Swordbrothers, was founded.<sup>78</sup> The dispute over the origin and the founder of this order has waxed hot and heavy for several hundred years, since various primary sources have assigned the honor of founding the Swordbrothers to either Bishop Albert or Theoderic. The fact that the Knights of the Sword later were to become the foremost rivals of the bishop of Riga, working to

---

<sup>75</sup>Henry, VI:3; also Henry, IX:7, XXV:2.

<sup>76</sup>Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 64; Johansen, "Die Chronik als Biographie," pp. 19-20.

<sup>77</sup>Koch, p. 14.

<sup>78</sup>The order was first called Knights of the Sword in the Rheimchronik, v. 721, 2033. The chronicle was written around 1290. For various other names for the order, see Benninghoven, pp. 62-63; especially p. 62 n. 1; Friedrich G. von Bunge, Baltische Geschichtsstudien II: Der Orden der Schwertbrüder (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 13-18; Theodor Grentrup, "Der Zizterzienser Dietrich in der altlivländischen Missions," Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft, XL (1956), 268.

further their own material interests, has further confused the debate over the reason for their establishment.

The most recent work dealing with these problems has, however, apparently solved the inherent contradictions. In short, the precedents for the Knights of the Sword can be found among the early German crusading orders in Spain and the Holy Land, from where the idea was picked up and promoted by the Cistercians. Hence the logical founder of the order was Theoderic of Treiden. He had been in close contact with continental Cistercians and had friends among the German crusaders who had returned from the East. Albert appears to have accepted a fait accompli upon his return to Livonia in 1203, and in the beginning voiced no objections since the problem of how to secure a permanent military force for Livonia appeared to have been solved. That the Swordbrothers were shortly to begin to pursue a policy of conquest independent of and often hostile to the bishop of Riga was a development which neither its founder nor its titular overlord, Bishop Albert, could have foreseen.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup>The definitive work about the Knights of the Sword is undoubtedly F. Benninghoven's Der Order der Schwertbrüder. See Benninghoven, pp. 39-44, 52, for an excellent discussion of the primary sources and other works concerned with the problem of the founding of the Knights of the Sword. For the relationship between the order and Bishop Albert, see Benninghoven, p. 52 n. 60, and pp. 53-54. Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 66, claims that the proof that Albert founded the Knights is to be found in their subordination to the bishop of Riga. Benninghoven, however, has indicated that this oath of obedience is questionable. Also, if Theoderic had hopes of becoming



For the purpose of this study, a few important particulars concerning the Swordbrothers and the circumstances surrounding their organization bear further scrutiny. Since the Knights of the Sword adopted a modified version of the rule of the Knights Templars, they stood in a special direct relationship to the papacy, independent from the intermediary Church hierarchy, including Bishop Albert. The oath of obedience which they took to the bishop was more or less a voluntary agreement between two equal powers and, as time was to show, entailed in no way a lord-vassal relationship. Ultimately the legal relationship between the bishops of Riga and their supporters and the Swordbrothers would become very complicated and a source of outright hostilities.<sup>80</sup>

The role of Theoderic of Treiden, not only as the founder of the order but as administrator, diplomat, and liaison man with the Roman Curia, also becomes extremely crucial. Theoderic was a Cistercian monk from the monastery of Loccum from which he had been recruited by Bishop Meinhardt, with whom he left for Livonia.<sup>81</sup> Here

---

bishop, he himself might have written the provision of loyalty into the rule of the Swordbrothers.

<sup>80</sup>Benninghoven, p. 53, is convinced that the only legal arbiter between the two powers was the Roman Curia. He also contends that before 1207, the Knights did not pay homage to Albert: Benninghoven, pp. 79-80 and p. 79 n. 15.

<sup>81</sup>The main source for Theoderic's life is Henry, passim; there is no biography of him. See also Johansen, Nordische Mission, pp. 94-104; Greentrup, passim; Benninghoven, pp. 20-27, 39-55. Juhan Luiga, "Läti Hendriku

Theoderic worked among the Livs on the lower Aa River, having considerable success converting the natives. He also made a missionary journey into Estonia, but the circumstances surrounding his journey are unclear.<sup>82</sup> His talents as a diplomat were soon recognized by his superiors and he was assigned to make several trips to Rome, notably in 1193 and 1195/96, where he secured the pope's aid for the Livonian mission.<sup>83</sup> It might be interesting to speculate if Theoderic, while in Rome in 1195, met Anders Sunesen, the future archbishop of Lund, who also was at the Curia that same year. If this assumption is true, it would serve to explain the subsequent close relationship between Theoderic and the Danish Church.<sup>84</sup>

---

Kroonika Kriitika," Eesti Kirjandus, XX (1926), 496, claims Theoderic was in Livonia between 1170 and 1184 but does not offer any proof to substantiate his claim.

<sup>82</sup>Henry, I:10.

<sup>83</sup>For the 1193 journey, see UB, I, No. 11; Benninghoven, p. 23. For Theoderic's travels in 1195/96, see Henry, I:13; Benninghoven, p. 26 and p. 26 nn. 22-23. Johansen, Nordische Mission, pp. 98-99, combines the trips of 1193 and 1195, but Benninghoven's claim that there were two separate journeys is more convincing: Benninghoven, p. 26 n. 22. I also believe that the Danish expedition mentioned in AD, pp. 92-93, 130, and 134, and assigned to 1196 was not the same as the Swedish-German-Danish venture mentioned in Henry. This must be so, since Henry specifically names as the leader of the 1197 crusade a Swedish duke, while the Danish annals state that the 1196 crusade was led by King Knut VI. This should be a point where no error could have been made. Johansen's claim that the king's name is a later interpolation has no real basis in fact, as it seems hard to believe that every one of the Danish chroniclers would have made the same interpolation.

<sup>84</sup>Ammundsen, pp. 652-53; Frederik Hammerich, En Skolastiker og en Bibeltheolog fra Norden (Köbenhavn, 1865), pp. 41-49.

Both the Danish expedition of 1196 to Estonia, led by Knut VI, and the meeting of 1199 between Bishop Albert and the Danish leaders may well have been results of Theoderic's persuasiveness.

We know little of Theoderic's activities between 1197 and 1200 but he probably remained in Scandinavia, possibly in Denmark. Perhaps he was in Rome in 1198/99 and was responsible for obtaining a bull which directed the Cistercians in Europe to go and aid the bishop of Riga in Livonia.<sup>85</sup> We next find him in Rome at the behest of Bishop Albert, where he obtained the above-mentioned crusading bull of April 19, 1201.<sup>86</sup> In 1202 Theoderic was back in Livonia where he founded the Knights of the Sword, an act which proved of questionable value to Bishop Albert, although beneficial to the German expansion as a whole. The next year Theoderic was named abbot of the proposed new Cistercian monastery at Dünamunde. It is interesting to speculate whether this appointment was a reward for Theoderic's activities on behalf of the colony

---

<sup>85</sup>The three bulls from Innocent III in April, 1200: Arbusow, RA, I, pp. 321-22; Benninghoven, pp. 41-42; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 59. There were additional directives from the pope to the Cistercians at this time: Arbusow, RA, I, p. 336 n. 9, p. 322 n. 2, and RA, IV, p. 312.

<sup>86</sup>UB, I, No. 13; Arbusow, RA, I, p. 323 n. 4; Benninghoven, p. 44, claims Theoderic made two trips to Rome in 1200: Henry, V:6, where the papal prohibitions against the trade with Semgallia are listed. Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 95, claims that Theoderic was a lobbyist for the Gothland traders and worked in their interest. Also see n. 72 above.

or whether Bishop Albert saw this appointment as a way of removing a potential rival. Theoderic had apparently presumed that after the deaths of Meinhardt and Berthold he was next in line for bishop of Üxküll and Albert's election must have been a keen disappointment to him. However, if Theoderic's appointment was meant to remove him from the political scene, we will see that it had little effect on the industrious monk.<sup>87</sup>

Immediately after his nomination, the new abbot left for Rome together with Caupo, the neophyte elder of the Livonians.<sup>88</sup> Once again his travels bore fruit as a papal bull in 1204, addressed to Hartwig II, confirmed the founding of the Knights of the Sword and granted Albert additional privileges.<sup>89</sup> At this time we also notice a distinct change in Bishop Albert's relations with Bremen,

---

<sup>87</sup>Henry is confused about the chronology involved in the founding of Dünamunde. Henry, VI:3, claims that Theoderic was named abbot in 1202, but Albert was in Germany that year. Since the mother cloister and the general chapter of the Cistercian order had to elect formally the abbot or at least consent to the nomination, and Henry does not refer to Theoderic as "Abbot" before 1206, his nomination could not have occurred before 1204. The construction of the monastery was begun in 1205 and the first monks moved in in 1208: Henry, IX:7, XII:5. Benninghoven, pp. 43-45, 53-54, 94, and especially p. 43 n. 20, p. 53 n. 61. Benninghoven also believes that the idea of a monastery was conceived by Theoderic. Grentrup, p. 270.

<sup>88</sup>Henry, VII:5-6; R.Ch., v. 304-406.

<sup>89</sup>Henry, IX:6; UB, I, No. 14; Potthast, No. 2299, dated October 12, 1204. Also Caesarius von Heisterbach, Dialogus Miraculorum, ed. by J. Strange (Köln, 1851), VIII:13 (hereafter cited as Caesarius, DM).

as Theoderic apparently had been instructed to ask the papacy to make Albert an archbishop, thereby freeing him from the metropolitanship of Bremen. For the time being, however, this request was refused.<sup>90</sup> Still, other important privileges were granted the Livonian mission. For the poor and ailing, a pilgrimage to Livonia was now equated, as far as absolution of sins was concerned, with a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.<sup>91</sup>

Despite all papal aid, the four years following the founding of the Knights of the Sword found the future of Livonia still uncertain. The number of German inhabitants was small, Riga having a permanent population of about one thousand people, and the Swordbrothers numbering perhaps fifty to one hundred men.<sup>92</sup> The natives, including Livs, Letts, Estonians, Semgalls, Kurs, and Lithuanians, were much more numerous and remained for the most part hostile. To this should be added the constant threat of Russian intervention, especially by the princes of Polozk, Gercike, and Kukenhusen. The latter became increasingly suspicious as they began to grasp that what

---

<sup>90</sup>H. Bruiningk, "Livländische aus den Fragmenten der Librii VIII Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach," SB RIGA (1904), pp. 226-28; Ammann, p. 115.

<sup>91</sup>UB, I, No. 14; Koch, pp. 12, 17. Concerning the visit see also a letter from Innocent III to the bishop of Constantinople from January 21, 1204: Potthast, No. 2382.

<sup>92</sup>For a statistical reconstruction of the population, see Benninghoven, Excurs I, pp. 44-55, 383-411.

had originally started out as a missionary outpost was acquiring all the earmarks of a spreading and grasping German colony.<sup>93</sup> The natives, while politically less sophisticated and at war with each other, also began to sense that the newcomers had arrived to stay and expand. As a result, even the local tribes began to form alliances with each other and the Russians to stop the German advance.

The raids and counter-raids between the Germans and their enemies are far too numerous to be discussed in detail, but a few examples might be noted. In 1203 there occurred a united attack by the princes of Polozk, Gercike, and the Semgalls on Üxküll and the fort of Holm. The expedition was caused by the loss of tribute paid by the Livs at Holm to the Russians, a tribute which now was paid to Riga.<sup>94</sup> Although the attack failed, Theoderic was sent to Rome to secure more aid. Albert spent 1204 in Germany

---

<sup>93</sup>Meinhardt had by asking permission to preach recognized the overlordship of the prince of Polozk. Albert did the same: Henry, I:3, VII:7. For the question of tribute and the legal and political implications involved, see F. Keusslar, "Zur Frage der Beziehungen der russischen Fürsten zu den Eingebornen der gegenwärtigen Osteeprovinzen im XII und XIII Jahrhundert," SB Riga (1891), pp. 116-19; F. Keussler, Der Ausgang der ersten russischen Herrschaft in der gegenwärtigen Osteeprovinzen (St. Petersburg, 1897), p. 38 n. 1; Hellmann, p. 55; Taube, "Russische und Litauische Fürsten," passim.

<sup>94</sup>Henry, VI:7, VII:7-8; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 69-70; F. Keussler, "Die Tributpflichtigkeit der Landschaft Tolowa an die Pleskauer," Mitt., XIV (1886), pp. 81-110.

gathering crusaders.<sup>95</sup> The bishop's endeavors met with success, as a large number of pilgrims, including his brother Rothmar, accompanied him when he returned to Riga in the spring of 1205. That same year also saw an attack by the Germans on a Lithuanian force, which was returning from a raid in Estonia, and the start of the construction of the monastery of Dünamunde.<sup>96</sup> The Livs along the Düna were converted and the Liv forts of Üxküll and Lennewarde were secured. The Russian princeling Vjačko of Kukenhusen was so impressed that he made peace with the Germans, who now could claim to have secured their hold on the lower Düna.<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>95</sup>Henry, VII:5-6, VIII:1-3. It is during this trip that Caupo is presented to the pope: Potthast, No. 2382; Patrologiae cursus completus, ed. by J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844-64), 215 Sp. 513c (hereafter cited as Migne); Amman, p. 116. The bull recognizing the Knights of the Sword and granting absolution is in UB, I, No. 14. Albert was permitted to recruit monks from European monasteries for work in Livonia: Henry, IX:6; Arnold, V:30.

<sup>96</sup>Henry, IX:1-5. The leader of the Germans was probably the provost of the cathedral chapter of Riga, Engelbert, a half-brother of Bishop Albert who had been in Livonia since 1200-01: Henry, VI:3. Another leader of the Christians was another brother of Albert's, Theoderic, who came to Livonia in 1203 and eventually married the daughter of the prince of Pleskau: Henry, VII:1; Transehe-Roseneck, pp. 310-14; Arbusow, "Livlands Geitstlichkeit" (1900), p. 59. A third brother of Albert, Rothmar, arrived in 1208 and in 1224 became the provost of the cathedral chapter of the bishopric of Tartu: Henry, IX:6, XXVIII:8. It would appear that a "family policy" of ruling Livonia was at least contemplated if not implemented.

<sup>97</sup>Henry, IX:9-10; Benninghoven, p. 70, believes that at this time a shift from "defensive" to "offensive" warfare took place. It is difficult to see the difference between the two.

Bishop Albert also felt that it was necessary for him to secure the goodwill of Prince Vladimir of Polozk and therefore sent Theoderic on a diplomatic mission to Vladimir's court. The expected peace treaty did not materialize but instead the abbot learned of a Russian-Liv-Lithuanian plot to destroy the Germans.<sup>98</sup> Forewarned, the Germans beat back this and a subsequent attack by the Russians and a simultaneous Liv rebellion. When Albert left for Germany in 1206, a third attack on the German possessions was carried out but was lifted when the Russians received word that a fleet of ships had been sighted in the Düna estuary. Once again Riga had been saved, however this time not by a German convoy but rather by a Danish fleet under the leadership of the archbishop of Lund.<sup>99</sup> The Danes had once more become active in Baltic politics.

---

<sup>98</sup>Henry, X:1, X:5-9. The Russians generally did not demand conversion to Christianity. It is interesting to note that the Russian envoy to Riga was one Stephen, a Greek-Orthodox deacon: Henry, X:3. Albert's refusal to deal with a mere envoy suggests that he now refused to pay tribute and so considered himself an equal among the princes: Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 76. Hellmann, p. 122, argues that the attempt to secure the friendship of the Russians was prompted by Albert's recognition of a Danish threat to Livonia as early as 1203. There is no proof for this theory: Henry, VII:7-8, IX:10.

<sup>99</sup>Henry, X:12.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE GROWTH OF DANISH POWER AND THE KNIGHTS OF THE SWORD

The reappearance of the Danes in force in the Baltic in 1206 was prompted by several factors, the most important of which were the emergence of new energetic leaders in Denmark and the decision of the papacy to seek a closer allegiance with that country in order to use it as the secular arm of Rome in Northern Europe.

In 1202, Valdemar II Sejr (the Victorious) was crowned king of Denmark. Born in 1169, he was the younger brother of Knut IV and had since 1187 been the duke of Schleswig. During the Danish wars in Wenden and Pommernia, the young duke, together with Archbishop Absalon, had been the actual leader of the Danish armies and administered the conquered territories.<sup>1</sup> Hence, when he was crowned king on Christmas Day of 1202 by the new archbishop of Lund, Anders Sunesen, he had already had

---

<sup>1</sup>There is no biography of this great medieval Danish king. For a history of Valdemar II's life composed of contemporary sources, see Adolf D. Jörgensen, Valdemar Sejr; Hal Koch, "Danmarks Konger, 1042-1340," pp. 81-86. For Valdemar's activities in Germany, see Jörgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 3; Heine, p. 26; Winkelmann, König Phillip, p. 241.

considerable military and administrative experience.<sup>2</sup>

Valdemar II continued the conquest of North Germany where he secured Wagrien, Holstein, and Ratzeburg. These lands were given as royal fiefs to the king's nephew, Albert of Orlamünde, who became one of Valdemar's most trusted and loyal supporters.<sup>3</sup>

King Valdemar II's career was to coincide almost exactly with that of another outstanding Danish leader, Anders Sunesen, the man who succeeded Absalon as the archbishop of Lund. Anders' life forms in a sense a microcosm of Danish cultural history, its ties with the continent, and the relationship of Church and State in Denmark. Anders was one of eight children born to Sune Ebbesen, one of Valdemar I's great nobles in Sjælland. Sune had been intimately involved in Danish politics, having been one of the regents during the minority of Knut VI and a military hero in the campaigns against the Wends.<sup>4</sup> The Ebbesen family was also closely connected with the Danish

<sup>2</sup>AD, pp. 94-95; Arnold, VI:13-16.

<sup>3</sup>Albert zu Stade for 1201. Duke Albert was also a nephew of the anti-Danish Duke Bernhard of Saxony. While Duke Albert held his lands as fief from King Valdemar, they were under the spiritual overlordship of the archbishop of Bremen: Koch, pp. 18-19; Usinger, pp. 119-21; Winkelmann, König Phillip, pp. 273-75.

<sup>4</sup>Ammundsen, p. 651. For a listing of the primary sources on the life of Archbishop Anders, see Ammundsen, p. 650. Also see works by Frederik Hammerich, p. 7; Hal Koch, "Anders Sunesen," in Dansk Biografisk Lexicon, ed. by P. Engelstoft (Köbenhavn, 1942), XXIII, 142-46; Skov, passim.

Church hierarchy, Archbishop Absalon being an uncle of Sune Ebbesen and Anders' older brother, Peter, having in 1191 become bishop of Roskilde.<sup>5</sup>

Anders Sunesen was born around 1167 and appears to have at a very early age elected to become a priest. His earliest education is not known, but the strong French influence in Denmark led him to continue his studies in Paris. Here he attended the University of Paris, beginning about 1182, and later taught at the same institution. Anders appears to have continued his studies at Bologna and in England before returning once again to Paris to teach at the university there.<sup>6</sup> Sometime around 1192 he returned to Denmark and became the provost of the cathedral chapter of Roskilde and the chancellor to Knut VI.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>For Peder Sunesen, consult Hammerich, pp. 8, 51; Koch, "Anders Sunesen," p. 81; Köningsfeldt, p. 21. Peder was active not only as a priest but also as a statesman. He had been the chancellor of Knut VI and, as bishop of Roskilde, in 1198 led an army against Otto of Brandenburg. The army was defeated and Peder was wounded and captured. In 1198 he was freed and returned to Denmark. Later, in 1208, he partook in an expedition to Sweden and was the only one of the Sunesen brothers to escape with his life. He died on October 29, 1214: AD, p. 93; Arnold, VI:9. One should also note that an older brother of Anders, Thorbjörn, who died in the battle mentioned above, was the keeper of the castle where Bishop Valdemar of Schleswig was interred.

<sup>6</sup>Concerning the travels and studies of Anders, see Saxo, X; Arnold, V:18; Ammundsen, p. 652; Hammerich, pp. 16, 33-38. Perhaps while at Bologne, Anders met the future Innocent III, since both men attended the University of Bologne at about the same time. This personal contact may account for the excellent personal relations between the pope and the archbishop.

<sup>7</sup>Ammundsen, p. 652; Koch, "Anders Sunesen," p. 142.

In his capacity as chancellor, Anders undertook between 1193 and 1196 a mission of peculiar and important nature. In 1192 Knut VI's sister, Ingeborg, had been married to King Philip Augustus of France, who within a year had set her aside for Agnes of Moran.<sup>8</sup> Queen Ingeborg appealed to the pope and, to strengthen her position, Knut VI sometime in 1193 sent Anders Sunesen to Rome to persuade the Curia to intervene in the queen's behalf. Together with Abbot Wilhelm of Eskilsö, Anders appeared before Celestine III in 1194 and presented his case. The Danish envoys had little success with the pope, a tired old man who was under pressure from Emperor Henry VI. The Danish representatives were apparently afraid of violence which was threatened against them, and in the spring of 1195 slipped out of Rome.<sup>9</sup> Traveling via Ostia and Pisa, the Danes reached France where they were promptly arrested by the duke of Burgundy, but the abbots of Citeaux and Clairvaux forced their release after seven days in captivity. Finally, in 1196 the envoys reached Denmark.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>Hammar, p. 41.

<sup>9</sup>Ammundsen, pp. 652-53; Hammerich, pp. 41-49. This is the time at which Anders perhaps met Theoderic, who was also at the Curia during 1194-95. The Danish expedition to Estonia in 1196 may well have been a result of Theoderic's and the Curia's persuasiveness and the 1199 visit by Bishop Albert to Denmark an outgrowth of this early contact between the future bishops of Lund and Estonia. See above, pp. 37, 53-54 and notes.

<sup>10</sup>SRD, VI, 52-53, 59-60, 69-70.

On his return, Anders Sunesen busied himself with day-to-day activities and writing. In his position as chancellor he was probably present at the meeting between Knut IV, Absalon, and Bishop Albert in 1199.<sup>11</sup> When Absalon died in March, 1201, his testament named Anders Sunesen as his successor. After a canonical election had reached the same conclusion, the pope confirmed the proceedings, and on November 23, 1201, Anders Sunesen was consecrated archbishop of Lund.<sup>12</sup> The following year saw the new prelate accompany his two brothers on an expedition to Finland and on Christmas Day, 1202, he crowned Valdemar II as the new king of Denmark.<sup>13</sup> Both the Danish

---

<sup>11</sup>Henry, III:2; Hammerich, p. 3. While this paper will discuss Anders Sunesen primarily in light of his involvement in Danish and international politics, it must be pointed out that the archbishop was also an avid preacher, educator, and church reformer. He also was the author of two major religious works, the Hexaameron and De Septem Sacramentis, as well as some poetry dedicated to St. Mary: Arnold, V:18; Ammundsen, pp. 661-63; Hammerich, pp. 52-54. Like most Scandinavian bishops, he faced major difficulties in his diocese over the collection of the tithe and the enforcement of clerical celibacy. Attempts to correct these abuses were met with open rebellions on the part of the peasantry: Ammundsen, pp. 659-60; Hammerich, pp. 61, 63-64. Archbishop Anders has also been credited with the formulation of a new law code for the province of Scania, but the most recent scholarship on the subject denies him any originality in this endeavor: Stig Iuul, "Anders Sunesen som lovgiver og juridisk författare," Svensk Juristtidning, XXXIII (1948), I, 10-11.

<sup>12</sup>DRB, R.1, Bd.4, Nos. 36, 38: Arnold, V:17. Absalon's testament is printed in DRB, R.1, Bd.4, No. 32, and SRD, V, 424.

<sup>13</sup>The expedition of 1202 is only mentioned in the Danish language version of the Ryd-Yearbook: Gammeldanske Kröniker, ed. by Marcus Lorenzen (Köbenhavn, 1887-1918),

State and Church had now acquired outstanding and experienced leaders who trusted each other and were to contribute greatly to the growing power and influence of Denmark in international politics.

The endeavors of King Valdemar II and Archbishop Anders to expand Danish power were greatly aided by their friendly and close relations with the papacy, especially that of Innocent III. The latter attempted to secure Danish support for Otto IV and in return granted favors to the Danish State and Church. Having first remained neutral in the struggle between Otto IV and Philip of Swabia, Innocent III decided in 1201 to declare for Otto since the latter had foresworn any claims on Italy.<sup>14</sup> As Otto's position in Germany was almost untenable, the pope had to find powerful supporters for him and his choice fell on Denmark. Despite some early friction over Holstein, Valdemar II decided he had less to fear from Otto than the Hohenstaufens and as a result a formal treaty was signed in 1203 between the Welfs and Denmark. In it Otto recognized Valdemar's conquests in Northalbingia while the Danes promised him men and material help.<sup>15</sup>

---

p. 113. For a debate concerning the authenticity of this entry, see Heine, p. 50 and p. 74 n. 8. The coronation is mentioned in AD, pp. 95-95; Arnold, VI:16.

<sup>14</sup>Haller, "Innocent III und Otto IV," pp. 475-507; cf. Koch, p. 19, who feels Innocent supported Otto because he believed Philip to be the weaker of the two contenders.

<sup>15</sup>Heine, p. 35; Koch, p. 19. The friction arose when Valdemar gave Holstein to Duke Albert of Orlamünde instead of his brother-in-law, Wilhelm of Saxony: Usinger,

Innocent III showed his appreciation of the Danish action in 1207 when Bishop Valdemar was once again elected as the archbishop of Bremen upon the death of Hartwig II. Backed by Hohenstaufen arms and with the emperor's approval, Bishop Valdemar made a triumphal entry into Bremen despite Danish protests.<sup>16</sup> It should be noted that both Bishop Albert and his cousin, Bishop Dietrich of Lübeck, supported the election of Bishop Valdemar.<sup>17</sup> When indirect pressure on Philip and Bishop Valdemar failed to remove the latter, Innocent III excommunicated Valdemar and permitted the Danes to set up a pro-Danish bishop to a separate archbishopric of Hamburg.<sup>18</sup>

---

pp. 119-21; Winkelmann, König Phillip, pp. 273-75. Innocent's request for aid in BD, No. 38, and the friendship treaty in BD, No. 41; Heine, p. 37; Helene Tillman, Papst Innozenz III (Bonn, 1954), p. 123.

<sup>16</sup>Albert zu Stade for 1208: Arnold, VII:10; Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 365. Philip asked the pope to confirm the election: BD, No. 62, DRB, R.1, Bd.4, No. 127. For the date see Dehio, II, p. 129 n. 6; Hauck, IV, 745. The Danes sent a delegation to Rome to protest the election: DRB, R.1, Bd.4, No. 133; Glaeske, p. 209.

<sup>17</sup>Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, Nos. 378, 379; Dehio, II, 126-28.

<sup>18</sup>Innocent III first tried peacefully to get Philip to drop his support of Bishop Valdemar: BD, No. 65; Potthast, No. 3300. When this did not succeed he was excommunicated: BD, No. 63; Potthast, No. 2399; Glaeske, p. 209. The new archbishop of Hamburg was one Burchardt of Stumpfenhausen, a canon from Bremen: AD, pp. 96-97; Albert zu Stade, p. 354; Arnold, VII:10-11; Glaeske, pp. 211-12. King Valdemar II invested the new bishop. Ammann, p. 122, believes that Denmark's interest in Bremen was motivated by the desires of Valdemar II and Anders Sunesen to use the trading facilities of the city to subjugate Livonia.

While the papacy was busy trying to strengthen the political ties between itself and the Danish monarchy, it also increased the power of the archbishop of Lund. A series of papal bulls from 1204 gave Archbishop Anders virtually all the powers of a papal legate.<sup>19</sup> Finally in 1206, Anders was also given the right "to confirm a bishop . . . in any town which would be cleansed from . . . paganism" (" . . . in civitate, quam ad cultum fidei catholicae redegerit, catholicum possit ordinaire episcopum").<sup>20</sup> This grant was not unusual in light of Danish and Swedish activities in Finland, but it would assume a much greater significance in light of the events of 1206 which were to follow.

As Henry of Livonia tells it:

At the same time [1206], the Danish king, with a great army that he had been collecting now for three years came to Oesel. With him came Archbishop Anders of Lund. . . .

The Danes landed on Oesel and built a fort, but since no one dared to remain in the face of possible attack by the natives, the fort was burned and the king and the army returned to Denmark. The archbishop of Lund and Bishop Nicholas of Schleswig, who was the king's chancellor, and their retinue went, however, to Riga where they remained during the winter of 1206/07. According to Henry, the

---

<sup>19</sup>BD, Nos. 43, 45, 46, 51. They are all dated November, 1204. Hammerich, p. 57; Skov, pp. 169-70.

<sup>20</sup>BD, No. 49; DRB, R.1, Bd.4, No. 109.



season was spent in "divine contemplation" and in April, 1207, the Danish prelates returned home via Gothland.<sup>21</sup>

It has in general been suggested that the 1206 expedition was the first step of a larger Danish plan to make the Baltic Sea a mare nostra and to place the lands surrounding it under Danish political and spiritual rule. No real proof has been offered for these claims except vague statements such as "it was in line with Danish interests in Estonia" or the presumption that the pagans mentioned in the bull from 1206, referred to above, were Estonians.<sup>22</sup> These assumptions are weak in several respects. Henry's statement that the Danes spent three years preparing for this expedition has been explained by claiming that the crusade was in response to a raid by Oeselian pirates on the Danish province of Lyster in 1203.<sup>23</sup> It seems, however, unlikely that Valdemar II, who in 1204 invaded Norway and in 1205 and 1206 successfully fought in Wenden, would have needed three years to prepare for a raid on a single, albeit a powerful, pirates' nest.<sup>24</sup> In addition, Henry's information that Valdemar II

---

<sup>21</sup>Henry, X:13; Richard Hausmann, Das Ringen der Deutschen und Dänen um den Besitz Estlands (Leipzig, 1870), p. 2.

<sup>22</sup>Benninghoven, pp. 76-77; Hausmann, p. 2; Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 100; Koch, pp. 19, 21; Skov, p. 171.

<sup>23</sup>Henry, VII:1-5; Arens, p. 29 n. 26; Benninghoven, p. 75; Koch, p. 21.

<sup>24</sup>Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 4; AD, pp. 96-98; Frederik Hammerich, Danmark i Valdemarernes Tid (Köbenhavn, 1865), pp. 121-22.

personally led the Danish crusaders appears incorrect, since none of the Danish annals mention his involvement and the same year finds the royal armies fighting in Germany.<sup>25</sup> If Valdemar would indeed have taken three years to prepare this expedition and led it himself, it also seems difficult to explain why the Danes had so few men and supplies that they could not hold one single fort.<sup>26</sup> In short, it is hard to see how the crusade of 1206 could have been part of a grand imperial design of the Danish monarchy.

We may, however, obtain a better perspective of this expedition by considering the role of Archbishop Anders and examining his actions following his return to Denmark in 1207. It should be recalled that Anders' predecessor, Absalon, had become a national hero and increased the prestige of the Danish Church by leading armies against the pagan Wends. Archbishop Anders, who was by nature more devoted to the pen than the sword, might well have seen a combination crusade-retaliatory raid as an excellent way to strengthen his popularity at home and to

---

<sup>25</sup>Ammundsen, p. 657, and Hausmann, p. 2, believe Valdemar II led the army. If this was the case, it should have been noted in the royal chronicle. Instead we find the Danish royal armies in Saxony fighting Duke Bernhard: Skov, p. 173 and p. 173 n. 4; Hammerich, Danmark, p. 123; Usinger, p. 193; Heine, p. 50.

<sup>26</sup>Henry, X:13. Henry's description of the great reputation of the Oeselians may be correct, but one should also remember that Henry was anti-Danish and wrote his chronicle with the purpose of extolling the German achievements in Livonia.

expand the power of Lund.<sup>27</sup> To claim that Anders Sunesen conscientiously revived a Danish "Eastern Policy" finds no basis in fact. Rather, the new archbishop tried to pursue the traditional aggressive policies of a Scandinavian "frontier" bishop as exemplified by Absalon.<sup>28</sup>

A further insight into the motives for Anders' activities on Oesel and in Riga may be gathered by examining actions he undertook there and upon his return home. While in Riga, the archbishop ordered the provost, Engelbert, to send out baptizing priests and accepted hostages from the Livs, Woten, and Letts.<sup>29</sup> Upon his return to Denmark in 1207, Anders wrote a letter to Innocent III in which he claimed that all of Livonia had been converted and that he, Anders, archbishop of Lund, acting as legate, had directed this conversion.<sup>30</sup> This has been interpreted

---

<sup>27</sup>The sources stress the non-violent character and bookwormishness of Archbishop Anders: Arnold, V:18, and call him ascetic, humble, peaceful, honest, learned, etc.: Hammerich, pp. 38, 51, 59, 85. Especially sharp is the contrast with the former archbishop, Absalon: Hans T. Olrik, Konge og praestestand i den Danska Middelalderen (Köbenhavn, 1892-95), I, 105. Others have stressed the militancy of Anders, i.e., Heine, p. 50.

<sup>28</sup>Hausmann, pp. 2-4; Skov, p. 171. Henry's statement that the winter was spent in theological discussions has been scoffed at by many scholars, but given Anders' training there might be considerable truth in this claim.

<sup>29</sup>Henry, X:13-14.

<sup>30</sup>Henry, XI:1. The letter is printed by Leonid Arbusow, "Ein verschollener Bericht des Erzbischofs Andreas von Lund a.d. Jahr 1207 über die Bekehrung Livlands," SB Riga (1910), pp. 4-6; "Interea (1207) venit ad ipsum (papam) ex parte Lundensis archiepiscopi quem legatum direxerat ad convertendos paganos quod tota Livonia

by

on

fac

171

180

181

182

183

184

185

186

187

188

189

190

191

192

193

194

195

196

197

198

199

200

201

202

203

204

by German historians as an unwarranted intrusion by Anders on the spiritual domain of Bishop Albert and proof of the fact that the subsequent Danish invasion of Estonia in 1219 was only the climax of Danish imperial designs.<sup>31</sup>

A careful examination of the sources, however, suggests another, more plausible answer. In discussing Anders' stay in Livonia, Raynaldi, in the Annales ecclesiastici for the year 1207, already calls the archbishop a legate.<sup>32</sup> Taking into account the extensive powers Anders had received in 1204, the bull of 1206 regarding the conversion of the pagans, and the fact that Bishop Albert pursued a pro-Hohenstaufen policy, it is entirely probable that Innocent III already in 1206 considered Archbishop Anders his legate in the Baltic.<sup>33</sup> The 1206 crusade to Oesel now represents a combination of papal policy to convert the pagans through a trusted ally and the traditional missionary activities of Lund.<sup>34</sup>

---

erat ad fidem Christi conversa. . . ." Livonia was in fact almost completely converted by this time: Henry, XI:5; Caesarius von Heisterbach, Dialogus Miraculorum, III, 98-99; Bruiningk, "Livländische aus den Fragmenten," pp. 229-30.

<sup>31</sup>Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 78 and p. 78 n. 418; Hellman, p. 216.

<sup>32</sup>Raynaldi, Tome 13, a. 1207 @4: ". . . Quem in Livoniam ad traducendos ad Christum ethnicos legatum miserat," cited by Hausmann, p. 2, and Heine, p. 51.

<sup>33</sup>The appropriate bulls from 1204 are in BD, Nos. 43, 45, 46. Also see DRB, R.1, Bd.4, No. 109; Potthast, No. 2652; DRB, R.1, Bd.4, No. 110; BD, No. 51.

<sup>34</sup>Before Anders Sunesen went to Oesel, he held a church synod in Odense on May 2-3, 1206: AD, p. 96;

One may also speculate that the papacy was aware of the Danish plans for a crusade in 1206 and that the bull giving Archbishop Anders the right to place a bishop in newly converted lands was granted by Rome with this particular expedition in mind. If so, it is entirely possible that the outstanding candidate for the position was Abbot Theoderic, and another aim of the crusade could have been an attempt to secure Oesel as a bishopric for him. Theoderic's relations with Denmark were good and he of course eventually did become bishop of Estonia and used Danish help to claim his diocese.<sup>35</sup> The Scandinavian interest in the Baltic had once again taken the form of active political intervention.

During the time that Archbishop Anders Sunesen was in Livonia, King Valdemar II continued his wars in Germany and remained loyal to his ally, Otto IV. The latter's ineptitude and personal stubbornness, however, eventually alienated even Innocent III, who in early 1208 declared for Philip of Swabia and offered him the imperial crown.<sup>36</sup> At this point the totally unforeseen death of Philip occurred at the hands of a personal enemy. To prevent a renewal of civil war, all interested parties including

---

Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 4. Fabricius, "Sagnet om Danebroge," p. 509, believes that the Danish expedition was actually a semi-private army raised by the archbishop and his friends: Skov, pp. 173-74.

<sup>35</sup>See below, pp. 122-23.

<sup>36</sup>Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 5; Poole, p. 71.

the papacy declared their support of Otto IV, who, on November 11, 1208, was unanimously elected king.<sup>37</sup> Upon renouncing all spiritual claims in the Empire and granting the pope all his territorial claims in Italy, Otto IV received in late 1209 the imperial crown from the hands of Innocent III in Rome.<sup>38</sup> Soon, however, Otto began to renege on his promises to the pope and this led to his excommunication in November, 1210, and the public proclamation of the ban on March 20, 1211.<sup>39</sup> Innocent III now put forth as his candidate to the imperial throne the young Fredrick of Sicily, who by late 1212 had achieved control of most of Germany. After Fredrick was crowned on December 9, 1212, by Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz, all Germany, except the extreme northeast, joined his party.<sup>40</sup> All of these events in imperial politics were to have repercussions in Denmark and Livonia.

Although Otto's victory in 1208 should at first glance have been welcomed by the Danes, indications soon appeared that Otto's loyalty to previous agreements was shortlived. The Danish defection to the side of Fredrick II a few years later almost became a matter of necessity.

---

<sup>37</sup>Diederichs, pp. 21-23; Poole, p. 71.

<sup>38</sup>Poole, pp. 72-74.

<sup>39</sup>For a general discussion of German politics in this era, see Winkelmann, König Otto IV, pp. 248-309.

<sup>40</sup>Diederichs, pp. 21-24; Winkelmann, König Otto IV, pp. 249-55.

[illegible]



For instance, Otto began negotiations with the archbishop of Magdeburg, who was interested in replacing both Bremen and Lund as the spiritual leader of Northern Europe. In return for aid, Otto IV secretly promised Count Adolf of Schauenburg, a friend of the archbishop of Magdeburg and an old Hohenstaufen supporter, that he, Otto, would help the count to get his lands back from the Danes, with the help of force if necessary.<sup>41</sup> For the time being, the treaty was kept a secret and the Danes felt secure enough to try to extend their influence northward into Sweden and southward into Prussia.

The Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish royal houses were all in one way or another related to each other, and throne struggles thus became Scandinavian rather than internal affairs. In Sweden a quarrel broke out between the Sverker family and the followers of one Erik Knutsson, with King Sverker the Younger receiving the backing of the Danes and the archbishop of Uppsala. In 1207, King Sverker and Archbishop Valerius were forced to flee to Denmark and seek refuge at the court of Valdemar II. Archbishop Anders was especially interested in this affair since Valerius was his suffragan bishop and Sverker was married to one of his nieces.<sup>42</sup>

As a result of a combination of Danish royal and

---

<sup>41</sup>DRB, R.1, Bd.4, No. 142; Koch, p. 31; Usinger, p. 147 n. 1; Winkelmann, König Otto IV, p. 105.

<sup>42</sup>Skov, pp. 181-84.

Sunesen family interests, a Danish army led by Bishop Peder Sunesen and his brothers, Ebbe, Jakob, and Lars, invaded Sweden in early 1208. They were, however, severely defeated at Lena in late January, 1208, and Ebbe and Lars Sunesen were killed. Despite the defeat of this semi-private army, Innocent III wrote a letter on November 13, 1208, to the Swedish bishops of Västermanland, Linköping, and Skara, telling them to excommunicate Erik Knutsson if he did not relinquish the Swedish crown. The appeal was in vain and King Sverker the Younger died in 1210 while making an abortive effort to reconquer Sweden. Erik Knutsson solved his problems by marrying Rikissa, a daughter of Valdemar II, reconciling himself with Archbishop Valerius, and having the latter crown him.<sup>43</sup>

This solution to the struggle for the Swedish throne pleased all parties, including Innocent III, who appears to have begun to look more and more to the Scandinavian countries as the centers of missionary activity among the Baltic pagans. A papal bull from 1209 granted Anders Sunesen his request to consecrate "a good man" with previous preaching experience in Finland as the bishop of

---

<sup>43</sup>BD, No. 69; DRB, R.1 Bd.4, No. 146. The battle of Lena is described in DRB, R.1 Bd.4, No. 150. The death of Sverker and the marriage of Rikissa are mentioned in AD, pp. 98-99. Also see Johan W. Ruuth, "Paavi Innocentio III: en Extharum Kirjeesta 30 p:ltä lohak 1209," Historiallinen Arkisto, XXII (1911), I, 1-15; Skov, pp. 184-85; Tunberg, "Erik den Helige," pp. 276-77.

Finland. The same document also stated that Finland was converted and that there had been several bishops in that country.<sup>44</sup>

While Danish spiritual rule was growing in Northern Scandinavia, Valdemar II set his sights once again on Germany. Although an attack on Bremen by the king's ally, Bishop Burckhardt of Hamburg, failed, Innocent III in 1209 once again excommunicated the bishop-elect Valdemar, who now was driven out from Bremen.<sup>45</sup> The time was right for further expansion south as far as Valdemar II was concerned and he found support for his plans in Rome. A series of papal bulls from 1209 and 1210 urged the king to go on a crusade, told all Christians in Denmark to support him, and placed Valdemar II and Denmark under papal protection.<sup>46</sup> Mindful of the fact that the North German princes had on several previous occasions taken advantage of the absence of the Danish king to attack his possessions, Valdemar II also got Innocent III to issue bulls directing Otto IV and his vassals to refrain from attacking Denmark while the king was on this

---

<sup>44</sup>BD, No. 72; DRB, R.1 Bd.4, No. 161; Fabricius, "Sagnet om Danebrog", pp. 492-94.

<sup>45</sup>Potthast, Nos. 3760-3761; Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 202; Koch, p. 32; Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup>The crusading bull is dated October 31, 1209: BD, No. 73; DRB, R.1 Bd.4, No. 164. The other bulls are dated January 30 and May 7, 1210: BD, Nos. 76-77; DRB, R.1 Bd.4, Nos. 163, 173.

crusade.<sup>47</sup>

The result of all these preparations was a rather abortive expedition to Samland in Prussia. Although as a result of the crusade Duke Mestwin of Pommern recognized Valdemar II as his overlord, the Danes gained no territory. The claim that Valdemar's interest in this area was caused by his desire to control the trade routes from the Weichel and Pregel areas to the interior of Russia seems very reasonable, although the suggestion that he was actively cooperating with the Lithuanians in this endeavor is open to question.<sup>48</sup> It is more important, however, to explain the extraordinary concern that the papacy showed in protecting and aiding the Danish monarchy. The reason was probably that Otto IV, despite previous promises, was beginning an aggressive Italian policy and that the pope sought to tie Valdemar II closer to himself, especially since he was planning to set up young Fredrick II as the papal candidate to the German throne.<sup>49</sup> All of these

---

<sup>47</sup>BD, No. 74; DRB, R.1 Bd.4, No. 164--dated October 31, 1209. Bd, No. 76; DRB, No. 172--dated January 30, 1210. The Danish lands had been attacked in 1196 while Knut VI was in Estonia and in 1205 when Valdemar II fought in Wenden: AD, p. 96; Usinger, pp. 82, 152-53.

<sup>48</sup>Usinger, p. 215, claims the expedition is due to dynastic policies; Michael von Taube, "Internationale und Kirchenpolitische Wandlungen im Ostbaltikum und Russland zur Zeit der deutschen Eroberung Livlands," Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, III (1938), 15-20; Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 5; AD, pp. 98-99.

<sup>49</sup>See above, pp. 82-83 and notes.

developments, especially the growing power of Denmark and her friendly relationship with the papacy, were closely watched by Bishop Albert of Riga, who by this time was experiencing difficulties of his own.

The predicaments which were to threaten Bishop Albert's work in Livonia were connected with his involvement in German politics and his relations with the Knights of the Sword. During the winter of 1206-07, while Archbishop Anders Sunesen sojourned in Riga, Bishop Albert was traveling in Germany, preaching and gathering pilgrims and crusaders. While his reaction to the Danish crusade of 1206 is not known, Albert on February 2, 1207, placed himself firmly in the Hohenstaufen camp by having himself enfeofed as a Reichsfürst by Philip of Swabia.<sup>50</sup> Whether this decision was prompted by fear of Danish intervention in Livonia or the growing power of the Knights of the Sword, or perhaps both, is not clear. In any event, a direct relationship to the German king and his promise of monetary and material aid would greatly strengthen the position of Bishop Albert.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps his fear of the

---

<sup>50</sup>Henry, X:16. For the date and location of this event, see Holtzmann, pp. 209-11; Benninghoven, p. 74; Hausmann, p. 5 n. 3. Others have preferred April 8 at Sinzig: Eduard Winkelmann, "König Phillip von Deutschland und Bischof Albert von Livland," Mitt., XI (1865), II-III, 312; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 47 n. 4. For a thorough discussion of the terms of the ceremony and the wording of the agreement, see Koch, pp. 21-26.

<sup>51</sup>Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 80, and Koch, pp. 22-23, believe Albert was motivated by his fear of the Danes, although Koch also feels that the rising fortunes of

growing power of Denmark in North Germany also prompted Albert in 1207 to support the candidacy of Bishop Valdemar for the position of archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen.<sup>52</sup> The anti-Danish and anti-papal actions of Albert were later to cost him dearly.

The growing ambition of the Knights of the Sword to become an independent political power in Livonia also got Bishop Albert involved in Danish and papal politics. The Knights, in their attempts to free themselves from the burdensome control of the bishop, made overtures to the Danes, the Welfs, and the papacy. As we shall see, the Order was eventually successful in becoming independent of any outside power, but its quarrels with Bishop Albert weakened Livonia internally and opened up the possibility of outside intervention.

The first discord between the bishop and the Order surfaced in June of 1207 when Albert returned to Riga. The Knights of the Sword demanded one-third of Livonia and, in a rather prophetic request, the same proportion of "the other lands or tribes roundabout, not yet

---

Philip in German politics influenced the bishop's decision: Ammann, p. 121; cf. Benninghoven, pp. 76-77, who claims it was intended to forestall cooperation between the Knights of the Sword and the Danes.

<sup>52</sup>Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, Nos. 328-329. Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 79, 81, is of the opinion that Albert's support of Bishop Valdemar marked the end of his policy of cooperation with Denmark. This seems questionable in light of the lack of any prior Danish support for Albert: Amman, pp. 121-22; Hellmann, p. 120.

converted . . . [but who] . . . might be subjected to Christianity in the future."<sup>53</sup> Although Albert opposed this strengthening of an order whose ultimate loyalty was questionable, he had little choice since the Knights were still the only permanent military force in the colony. Hence the lands along the Düna were divided up according to the Order's demands while the status of the unconquered lands was left undecided.<sup>54</sup> The Knights remained subordinated to the bishop, but only in a spiritual sense, and the exact relationship between the two powers remained hazy.

In any case, the Knights of the Sword had now become a legally recognized political power with a definite geographical base.<sup>55</sup> This base they constantly strove to enlarge, an effort which led them into a war with the Estonian tribes to the north of Livonia, and this, plus their attempts to find a more lenient overlord than Bishop Albert, involved the Order in Danish-German-papal politics. The question of the place of the Knights of the Sword in the Baltic power structure was far from

---

<sup>53</sup>Henry, XI:3; Arnold, V:30.

<sup>54</sup>For details concerning the division, consult Benninghoven, pp. 78-80; Koch, pp. 27-28; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 49 n. 6.

<sup>55</sup>Concerning the legal relations between the two parties, see Benninghoven, pp. 78-80 and p. 79 n. 15, p. 80 n. 17; cf. Koch, p. 28; Georg Rathlef, Das Verhältnis des livländischen Ordens zu den Landesbischöfen und zur Stadt Riga (Dorpat, 1875), pp. 4-7.

settled, especially in the light of their constant aggression north and east.<sup>56</sup>

The remainder of the years 1207 and 1208 was taken up with the buttressing and enlargement of the Livonian colony. The prince of Kukenhusen submitted to Bishop Albert in 1207 and a Lithuanian attack on Treiden was beaten back that same year.<sup>57</sup> The following year saw the beginning of the wars with the Estonians. Apparently Albert did not want to get involved in this area, but preferred to expand along the Düna River to the east and south. Pursuant to this aim, the forts of Seeleburg and Kukenhusen were attacked by the bishop and his men and the lands divided up among Albert's followers.<sup>58</sup> During 1209, Albert secured a further ally when Wsevolod of Gercike was forced to become a vassal of the bishop. All in all, Albert had by early 1210 secured considerable land and allies in Livonia and his position appeared secure were

---

<sup>56</sup>Henry, XI:3. Albert cleverly, or realistically, stated that "since he could not give what he did not have," he denied their claims. The matter was not settled before 1210: UB, I, Nos. 16, 17.

<sup>57</sup>Henry, XI:2; Hellmann, p. 126; Arbusow, "Die deutsche Einwanderung," p. 358.

<sup>58</sup>Henry, XI:5-6; X:8-9, XII:1, XIII:1. The land division is explained in Arbusow and Bauer, p. 66 n. 5. For the reluctance of Albert to get involved in Estonia, see Benninghoven, p. 98; Hellmann, pp. 128-30; Koch, p. 29. It is possible that the German merchants who desired trade along the Düna rather than an uncertain war in Estonia influenced Albert in his policies: Benninghoven, pp. 52-53; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 84-86; Hellmann, pp. 129-31; Heinrich Laakmann, "Zur Geschichte Heinrichs von Lettland und seiner Zeit," Beiträge, XVIII (1933), II, 57-59.



it not for the fact that two years earlier, in 1208, the Knights of the Sword had started a war in Estonia, a war which was eventually to involve outside powers.<sup>59</sup>

The Estonian tribes had since ancient times warred with the Letts and Livs and in the process had in 1200 robbed a German merchant caravan traveling through the Estonian province of Ugandi. At the insistence of the German traders, Bishop Albert had finally in 1208 sent one of his priests to the Estonians with the purpose of negotiating the return of the stolen goods, but this was refused.<sup>60</sup> The traders and the Letts, who over the years had suffered most from the Estonian raids, appealed to the Knights of the Sword for help in punishing the Ugandians. This was an undertaking which suited the plans of the Swordbrothers to acquire territory free from the overlordship of the bishop of Riga.<sup>61</sup>

The subsequent raid by a combined German-Lett force to Ugandi and the burning of the fort at Otepää led to an Estonian counterattack in which natives from the provinces of Sakala and Ugandi joined. These events were

---

<sup>59</sup>Henry, XIII:4, UB, I, No. 15. For the legal relationships between Albert and the Russian prince, see Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 88-89 and p. 89 n. 479; Ammann, p. 118; Hellmann, pp. 131-33; Taube, "Russische und Litauische Fürsten," pp. 391, 434-36; Livländische Güterurkunden, ed. by H. Bruiningk and N. Busch (Riga, 1907), No. 2.

<sup>60</sup>Henry, XI:7.

<sup>61</sup>Henry, XII:6, describes the wars of 1208.

so disturbing to Hermann, the bishop's bailiff at Treiden, that he worked out a year-long truce between the Estonians and the Letts and Livs.<sup>62</sup> While this may have been in accordance with Albert's wishes, it did not please the Knights of the Sword.

The return of Albert in 1209 with a large number of pilgrims did nothing to alleviate the growing friction between himself and the Order.<sup>63</sup> In fact, the antagonism became stronger during 1209 when the old Master of the Knights of the Sword, Wenno, was murdered and a much more aggressive member, Volquin, was made Master.<sup>64</sup> The Knights and their allies among the Letts invaded Ugandi, a move opposed by Albert and the Livs. The outcome was that the bishop sent his priest Alabrand to make peace with the Estonians. Alabrand achieved his goal, but the Knights of the Sword and their allies refused to accept it and prepared for a continuation of hostilities.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup>Henry, XII:6; Benninghoven, pp. 94-96. The first open clash between the policies of Bishop Albert and the Knights occurs at this time: Hellmann, pp. 128, 134-35; cf. Koch, p. 30. Once again the influence of the merchants was important as they pressured both Albert and the Swordbrothers into action against the Estonians: Johansen, "Die Bedeutung," p. 11.

<sup>63</sup>Henry, XIII:1. For the origins and names of the pilgrims, see Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 86-87, esp. p. 87 n. 465.

<sup>64</sup>Henry, XIII:2; R.Ch., vv. 687-716. The reasons for this murder are far from clear. For a discussion of possible motives and for the background of Volquin, see Benninghoven, pp. 98-104, pp. 96-97; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 92-93.

<sup>65</sup>Henry, XIII:5.

Before Albert left for Germany during Easter of 1210, he scored a diplomatic triumph which he hoped would help him contain the Knights and secure the country from other enemies. He secured the marriage of his brother, Theoderic von Buxhövden, to the daughter of Prince Vladimir Mstislavič of Pleskau, a maneuver which secured the line of the Düna.<sup>66</sup> Another result of the alliance was an attack by the duke of Novgorod, Mstislavič Udaloj, and Vladimir of Pleskau on the Ugandian fort of Otepää. The fort was taken and the Russians made at this time an attempt to baptize the Estonians into the Greek-Orthodox faith, but without much success.<sup>67</sup>

After Albert's departure, the Knights of the Sword continued their wars against the Estonians. After beating back a Kur attack on Riga and a Lithuanian raid on Kukenhusen, the Germans once again marched into Ugandi and burned Otepää in July of 1210. An Estonian counterattack inflicted a severe defeat on the Swordbrothers, Livs, and

---

<sup>66</sup>The exact date is not known but may be approximated from Henry, XIV:2, 10, XV:13. Prince Vladimir later paid dearly for his associations with the Germans, as he was driven from Pleskau by its citizens: Henry, XV:13; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 100 n. 8.

<sup>67</sup>Henry, XIV:2, 10, XV:13. The sequence of the Russian invasion is unclear since the Russian sources tell of two separate expeditions: The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016-1471, trans. by R. Mitchell (London, 1914), pp. 19, 52. For possible explanations, see Arbusow and Bauer, p. 73 n. 5; Benninghoven, p. 105 n. 4; Taube, "Russische und Litauische Fürsten," p. 456. The Russians from Pleskau attempted to baptize the Letts in 1208: Henry, XI:7; Ammann, pp. 129-30; cf. Hellmann, p. 137.

Letts, and forced the Germans to sign a peace treaty with the prince of Polozk in order to secure their rear.<sup>68</sup>

Having acquired a new ally, the Germans pursued the war against the Estonians even more vigorously during 1211. The town of Viljandi (Fellin) was besieged and taken and the defeated Estonians promised to keep the peace and accept baptism.<sup>69</sup> The settlement did not last long, as six separate Estonian armies ravaged Livonia in April, 1211.<sup>70</sup> In June, Bishop Albert returned to Riga with a large number of pilgrims, including the bishops of Ratzeburg, Wenden, and Paderborn, and shortly thereafter a great battle was fought with the Estonians near Treiden which resulted in a victory for the Germans and brought peace to the countryside.<sup>71</sup> For Bishop Albert, however, the peace only meant that he now had to confront the growing power of the Knights of the Sword, which at this time was manifest in a political settlement decided by Innocent III in Rome.

The Knights of the Sword had not been pleased with the land settlement of 1207 and turned for help in this matter to the pope. When Bishop Albert sailed for Germany

---

<sup>68</sup>Henry, XIV:5, 7-9; Benninghoven, pp. 106-108; Hellmann, p. 128; Koch, p. 30.

<sup>69</sup>Benninghoven, pp. 104-13 with notes and maps; Henry, XIV:11, XV:1-2.

<sup>70</sup>Henry, XIV:12.

<sup>71</sup>Henry, XV:1-2; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 98-99.

in April, 1210, he was accompanied by Volquin, the Master of the Knights.<sup>72</sup> They brought their disagreements to the attention of Innocent III, who in October 1210 settled the quarrel in favor of the Order. They were to receive one-third of the Livonian and Latvian territories and have no other obligations toward the bishop except to help protect him against his enemies. In any area to be conquered by the Knights of the Sword in the future, they were to be totally independent from the bishop.<sup>73</sup> This decision permitted the Swordbrothers a free hand in their conquest of Estonia and recognized them as a legally constituted power in Livonia.<sup>74</sup> The reason behind the papal decree was probably a desire to keep the various powers in Livonia divided and not to let any one of them become too powerful.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps the papacy was even preparing the ground for the eventual rule of this area directly by Rome.<sup>76</sup> In addition to a desire for more papal control over the mission, Bishop Albert's pro-Hohenstaufen policies, his relations with Philip of Swabia, and his support of the

---

<sup>72</sup>Henry, XIV:1, XV:2; Arnold, V:30.

<sup>73</sup>UB, I, Nos. 16, 17; Koch, p. 35.

<sup>74</sup>Benninghoven, pp. 113-14; Laakman, "Zur Geschichte Heinrichs," pp. 67-69.

<sup>75</sup>Aubin, pp. 132-33.

<sup>76</sup>Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 95; Koch, p. 35. Benninghoven makes the interesting observation that Innocent III's difficulties with the Templars made him suspicious of the motives of the Knights of the Sword: Benninghoven, pp. 114-15.

anti-Danish Bishop Valdemar made Innocent III less favorable to the bishop's claims.<sup>77</sup>

Albert was, however, not completely defeated, nor did Innocent III intend to let the Knights of the Sword gain complete domination in Livonia. As a result, Albert was given the right to consecrate a bishop for the areas which might be won by the Swordbrothers. The man Albert chose in 1211 to become the bishop of Estonia was Abbot Theoderic of Dünamunde.<sup>78</sup> Whether Albert assumed that Theoderic would form a counterweight to the Knights of the Sword remains unclear, but there is no doubt that there was no man better suited to handle this difficult task.<sup>79</sup>

The actual division of the lands was carried out in May, 1211, under the supervision of the bishops of

---

<sup>77</sup>Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 94-95; Hellmann, p. 135.

<sup>78</sup>Henry, XV:4; UB, I, No. 35. The bull itself is lost. I agree with Benninghoven, p. 117 n. 40, that Theoderic's diocese was to include all, not only part, of Estonia: Arbusow and Bauer, p. 92 n. 1; cf. Koch, p. 36 n. 170, who believes that only the eastern part of Estonia was under Theoderic, the seat of the bishopric being located in Leal. Theoderic's replacement as abbot of Dünamunde was Bernhard zu Lippe, a famous German warrior and a crusader in Livonia in 1197: Arbusow and Bauer, p. 88 n. 2, and the sources referred to therein. Concerning the problem of Theoderic's diocese and title, consult also the following: Grentrup, p. 273; Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 101.

<sup>79</sup>Bishop Albert also granted the Riga merchants extensive rights, hoping in this manner to assure their loyalty: Hansische Urkundenbuch, ed. by K. Höhlbaum and K. Kunze (Leipzig, 1876-1939), I, 88; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 101.

Riga, Paderborn, Verden, and Ratzeburg.<sup>80</sup> Since this partition involved only the Livonian territory, a second division was made later that same year which disposed of Gercike.<sup>81</sup> The decision as to what to do with the Estonian provinces of Sakala and Ugandi, now in the process of being conquered by the Knights of the Sword, proved more difficult. Two Livonian and four Latvian expeditions had brought about the surrender of Sakala and, in the process, the province was devastated. As if the horrors of war were not gruesome enough, a pestilence of unknown origin, followed by a severe famine, engulfed Livonia and Estonia. Despite this, in late 1211 and early 1212, one Russian and two Liv armies invaded northern Estonia while an Estonian expedition raided Pleskau.<sup>82</sup> The combination of war and natural disasters so exhausted all parties involved that in May of 1212, after the return of Bishop Albert from Germany, a general peace was signed between the Estonians and the Germans and their native allies. It was to last for three years.<sup>83</sup> The province of Sakala was, however, divided up between the bishop and the

---

<sup>80</sup>UB, I, No. 18.

<sup>81</sup>UB, I, No. 23; Benninghoven, pp. 117-18; Nicolai Busch, "Ueber eine bisher unbeachtete Ausfertigung der Urkunde über die Theilung Lettland vom Jahr 1211," SB Riga (1897), pp. 79-80.

<sup>82</sup>Henry, XV:7-10; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 98 n. 4, p. 99 n. 2.

<sup>83</sup>Henry, XV:11, XVI:1, XVIII:5, 7.

Swordbrothers.<sup>84</sup>

The Knights of the Sword were now caught in a dilemma. Having freed themselves from the overlordship of Albert, they found themselves and their newly won territories in danger of becoming subservient to Bishop Theoderic of Estonia. The latter had in 1211 and 1212 actively fought against the Estonians, attempting to take possession of his diocese.<sup>85</sup> To counter this development, the Knights petitioned Innocent III for a bishop of their own choosing, but on January 25, 1212, the pope turned down their request.<sup>86</sup>

Having been rebuffed in Rome, the Knights turned to Emperor Otto IV. Although he could not give them direct aid, the emperor on January 27, 1212, confirmed all of the holdings of the Swordbrothers and granted them all lands which they might conquer in the future.<sup>87</sup> This did not satisfy the Order, as they sought out the emperor at Helmstadt and, on July 7, 1212, prevailed upon him to issue a new document which specifically confirmed the Swordbrothers' holdings in Sakala and Ugandi and endorsed

<sup>84</sup>Henry, XV:11, XVI:1; UB, I, No. 25.

<sup>85</sup>Henry, XV:7; UB, I, No. 19; Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 101.

<sup>86</sup>UB, I, No. 24; Arbusow, RA III, p. 80; Benninghoven, p. 120.

<sup>87</sup>UB, I, No. 19; Böhmer, No. 462. For the exact date see UB, VI, Reg. p. 3 n. 24 and p. 138 n. 24. There has been some debate over the genuineness of this document: Koch, p. 37 n. 178.



the papal land-division bull of 1210.<sup>88</sup> The practical effect of all this maneuvering was to remove all the lands held by the Order from the control of the bishops of Riga and Estonia.<sup>89</sup> Since Otto IV, however, had been excommunicated in March, 1211, his association with the Knights of the Sword made the latter suspect in the eyes of the papacy. As we shall see, Innocent III was shortly to take steps to lessen the power of the Order in Livonia.

Meanwhile, Bishop Albert was happy that peace had been made with the Estonians. During the summer of 1212, he and Prince Vladimir of Polozk settled their differences over tribute moneys and trading rights.<sup>90</sup> A Liv and Lett rebellion, caused by the mistreatment of the natives by some of the brothers of the Knights of the Sword, was put down, and Albert strengthened his prestige by serving as the arbiter of the quarrel.<sup>91</sup> By the end of the year 1212, Bishop Albert could indeed feel that, despite the advances made by the Knights of the Sword, he was still the ruler of Livonia. Little did he know that the Knights, by their never-ending attempts to carve out an independent territory for themselves in Estonia, were to draw the German colony once again into Danish and Roman politics.

---

<sup>88</sup>UB, I, No. 25; Koch, p. 39 n. 186.

<sup>89</sup>Benninghoven, p. 128; Koch, p. 40.

<sup>90</sup>Henry, XVI:2; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 109-10.

<sup>91</sup>Henry, XVI:3-5.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE ESTONIAN WARS AND THE COMING OF THE DANES

While Bishop Albert of Riga had hoped that the peace with the Estonians and the papal rejection of a separate bishopric for Sakala and Ugandi would mean that the expansion of the Knights of the Sword had been halted, events were soon to prove him wrong. While Livonia enjoyed relative peace from external attacks between 1212 and 1215, internal conflicts between the bishop and the Order continued and eventually led to the intervention by outside powers.<sup>1</sup>

Early in 1213 the bishop and the Swordbrothers carried out a new division of the lands along the Düna by which the Knights of the Sword were shut out from any possible expansion southward into Lithuania. Hence the Order was forced to concentrate its activities in a northerly direction, toward Estonia.<sup>2</sup> We have noticed, however, that the Order had received the provinces of Sakala and

---

<sup>1</sup>A series of abortive Lithuanian attacks took place in 1213: Henry, XVI:8, XVII:2, 5.

<sup>2</sup>Henry, XVI:7; UB, I, No. 38; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 112; Hellmann, p. 141; Koch, p. 41; cf. Benninghoven, pp. 129-30, especially p. 130 n. 14.

Ugandi from the hands of Otto IV. As the latter was under the Church's ban, the Knights of the Sword must have been concerned over what effect Otto's status had on the legality of their title to the two Estonian provinces. Neither could the Order expect any material help from Otto, who himself was fighting a losing battle in Germany against Fredrick II. Hence the Order was obliged to look around for new and better protectors for their conquests. Sometime during the summer of 1213, envoys of the Knights of the Sword appeared once again in Rome with a petition for the pope asking for a separate and independent bishopric for the territories of Sakala and Ugandi. The envoys presented a list of grievances against Bishop Albert and probably foreswore their past allegiances to the now disgraced Otto IV. The result was two papal bulls directing Abbot Bernhard zu Lippe to make sure that the bishop of Riga did not overstep his rights and privileges.<sup>3</sup> More important, however, were two other bulls issued at the same time, the first confirming the territorial claims of the Knights of the Sword to Sakala and Ugandi, the second directing Archbishop Anders Sunesen of Lund to consecrate a bishop for the above-mentioned areas.<sup>4</sup> The Knights of the Sword acquiesced in the decision.

---

<sup>3</sup>UB, I, Nos. 27-28, both dated October 11, 1213. The political situation in Germany is summarized in Winkelmann, König Otto IV, pp. 248-309.

<sup>4</sup>BD, Nos. 91, 93; UB, I, Nos. 29, 30.

The motives of the parties involved in these proceedings are far from clear. On April 4, 1212, Anders Sunesen had been made papal legate with broad jurisdiction in Northern Europe, presumably including the Baltic area.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that the Knights of the Sword, having been denied their own bishop and laboring under the handicap of their past association with the discredited Welfs, found an alliance with the Danish archbishop a perfect way to increase their standing in the eyes of Rome.<sup>6</sup> According to existing Scandinavian custom, an archbishop had only the rights of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and collection of the tithe in the territories of the subordinate bishops but no territorial claims over them.<sup>7</sup> This circumstance suited the Order perfectly. However, the suggestion that the relationship between Anders Sunesen and the Order dated back to the archbishop's stay in Riga in 1206-07, and that he saw here a possibility to renew "the traditional Danish mission in Estonia," seems to have no firm basis in fact.<sup>8</sup> More likely Innocent III pursued

---

<sup>5</sup>BD, No. 82; DRB, R.1 B.5, No. 13; Arbusow, RA, III, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup>Benninghoven, p. 131; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 113.

<sup>7</sup>Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 102.

<sup>8</sup>Amman, p. 149, suggests that already the Danish expedition of 1206 was instigated by the papacy: Koch, p. 42. Gnegel-Waitschies' statement that the Knights of the Sword consulted Anders Sunesen before they petitioned the pope is questionable: Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 113.

a policy of preventing any one German faction from gaining absolute power in Livonia. By giving Archbishop Anders, an affirmed ally of the papacy, the power to appoint ecclesiastical officials in Estonia, the Curia assured itself of a voice in Baltic affairs.<sup>9</sup>

The fortunes of one other individual were profoundly touched by the proceedings at Rome. As originally construed, the diocese of Bishop Theoderic was to include all of Estonia. The appointment of one or more bishops for the provinces of Sakala and Ugandi would naturally lessen the power of Theoderic, and so he decided to seek redress for his grievances at the Curia. A few weeks after the Knights of the Sword had obtained their grants, Theoderic appeared in Rome and convinced the pope that the latter had been deceived into believing that Sakala and Ugandi were land areas outside Estonia proper. As the bishop's relations with the Curia were old and close, he received at least partial compensation.<sup>10</sup> While Innocent III permitted the directives to Anders Sunesen and the Order to stand, he confirmed Theoderic's election and directed a series of bulls to various bishops in Germany telling them to support the missionary efforts of the

---

<sup>9</sup>Koch, p. 42. Perhaps Abbot Bernhard zu Lippe was to be the candidate of the Knights of the Sword for the new bishopric.

<sup>10</sup>Benninghoven, p. 132; Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 102.

bishop of Estonia.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Theoderic's bishopric was declared independent from any metropolitan, including Bremen, thus by implication placing the lands of the bishop of Estonia directly under the papacy, or its legate, in this case probably Archbishop Anders Sunesen.<sup>12</sup> Five months later, a representative of Bishop Albert, or perhaps he himself, appeared in Rome where he also was granted exemption from the rule of Bremen.<sup>13</sup> One gets the distinct feeling that Innocent III once again tried to limit the strength of the various Livonian powers and keep the way open for more direct papal intervention.

Early in 1214, Bishop Albert, Bishop Theoderic, and the representatives of the Knights of the Sword all returned to Riga together, a journey which must have been interesting to say the least.<sup>14</sup> Albert was to remain in Livonia a very short time and was not to return until 1216. The person in charge of the colony was Bishop Philip of Ratzeburg, under whose leadership a new land division was carried out and the Tholowa Letts brought over to Roman Catholicism.<sup>15</sup> Peace had now reigned in the

---

<sup>11</sup>UB, I, Nos. 32-35, 37.

<sup>12</sup>UB, I, No. 37.

<sup>13</sup>UB, I, No. 26; Arbusow, RA, III, p. 295, RA, IV, p. 83.

<sup>14</sup>Henry, XVIII:1; Benninghoven, p. 133 n. 30.

<sup>15</sup>Henry, XVIII:1-3; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 119-21; Laakmann, "Zur Geschichte Heinrichs," pp. 82-84.

country for three years but war was about to erupt again, this time on a more violent level than ever before.

As the peace with the Estonians expired early in 1215, fighting was soon resumed and a German army ravaged the province of Wiek.<sup>16</sup> In March, an expedition to Sakala captured Leola, the fort of the foremost Estonian elder, Lembitu.<sup>17</sup> A three-pronged Estonian counteroffensive failed due to the arrival of a pilgrim fleet led by Count Burchard of Oldenburg and during the summer of 1215 the people of Sakala and Ugandi were baptized a second time.<sup>18</sup> Hard pressed, the Estonians sought aid from the Russian prince, Vladimir of Polozk.<sup>19</sup> Only the sudden death of the prince prevented a combined Estonian-Russian attack and, on the return of the Bishops Albert and Theoderic in 1216, the Germans carried their raids to the provinces of Harju and Reval.<sup>20</sup> With the subjugation of new territory, a land division again became necessary by which Albert, Theoderic, and the Knights of the Sword each received

---

<sup>16</sup>Henry, XVIII:5.

<sup>17</sup>Henry, XVIII:7.

<sup>18</sup>Henry, XIX:1-4.

<sup>19</sup>Koch, p. 47.

<sup>20</sup>Henry, XIX:10. His successor, the Lithuanian prince Boris, had difficulties claiming the throne: E. Bonnell, Russisch-Livländische Chronographie von der Mitte des neunten Jahrhunderts bis 1410 (St. Petersburg, 1862), p. 32; Taube, "Russische und Litauische Fürsten," pp. 400-401; Hellmann, pp. 145-48. Albert and Theoderic arrived in Riga in May or June: Benninghoven, p. 139 n. 55; Henry, XX:2.

one-third of the spoils. This closing of the ranks by these erstwhile enemies can be explained by the appearance of a new enemy from Russia.<sup>21</sup> Before discussing the Russian invasion which contributed to Danish intervention in Livonia, a brief summary of the activities of Bishops Albert and Theoderic in the years 1214 through 1216 would be relevant to later events.

Between November 11 and 30, 1215, a great Church council was held at the Lateran in Rome, which both Bishop Albert and Bishop Theoderic attended.<sup>22</sup> Here they won several great boons for themselves and the Livonian Church. Both bishops were made independent from any metropolitan, Livonia was officially declared the land of St. Mary, and permission to preach a crusade was extended.<sup>23</sup> By these decrees, Innocent III strengthened the independent positions of Bishops Albert and Theoderic and insured the potential growth of the Livonian colony under their leadership.<sup>24</sup>

Before returning to Livonia, Bishop Albert also

---

<sup>21</sup>Henry, XX:2-4; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 137 n. 1; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 122.

<sup>22</sup>Henry, XVIII:1, XIX:7; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 127 n. 3.

<sup>23</sup>Henry, XIX:7; Hermann Krabbo, "Die deutschen Bischöfe auf dem Vierten Laterankonzil 1215," Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, X (1907), 275-300; Jakob Werner, "Die Theilnehmerliste des Laterankonzils von J. 1215," Neues Archiv, XXXI (1905), 575-95.

<sup>24</sup>Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 117; Koch, p. 42.



sought out the new emperor, Fredrick II, at Hagenau.<sup>25</sup> The purpose of his visit was to renew the old ties between the Hohenstaufens and Bishop Albert, which dated back to 1207. Albert may also have believed that he could secure the support of Fredrick II against the Knights of the Sword who, as mentioned before, had been supporters of Otto IV.<sup>26</sup> Fredrick gave verbal encouragement to the bishop of Riga and Albert returned to Livonia in early 1216 in time to meet the threat of the Russian attack.<sup>27</sup>

The Russians had been involved in Livonian affairs since the beginning of the colony, but they had on the whole ignored the presence of the Germans. In 1208, the people from Pleskau had tried to convert some of the Latvians, and in 1210 Mstislav of Novgorod and Vladimir of Pleskau raided the province of Harju and the area around the fort of Otepää.<sup>28</sup> Some of the tension between the Roman Catholics and the Greek Orthodox surfaced in 1212, when Vladimir of Polozk summoned Bishop Albert to appear before him. At the subsequent meeting, the prince demanded that the Germans stop baptizing the Livonians, whom he considered to be Russian subjects. Although a peace between Albert and Vladimir was eventually agreed

---

<sup>25</sup>Henry, XX:1; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 135 n. 1.

<sup>26</sup>UB, I, Nos. 19, 25; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 117.

<sup>27</sup>Henry, XX:1; Benninghoven, p. 139 n. 55.

<sup>28</sup>Henry, XI:7. Hellmann, p. 137, believes this to be a calculated anti-German move: Henry, XIV:2.

to, it was clear that the Russians viewed the activities of the Germans with deepening suspicion. While the prince and the bishop parlayed, the Novgoroders renewed their raids in northern Estonia.<sup>29</sup> An interesting role in this period was played by Prince Vladimir of Pleskau, the man who was the father-in-law of Theoderic, the brother of Bishop Albert. After having been ousted from Pleskau by his subjects in February, 1212, allegedly because of his pro-German sentiments, Vladimir sought refuge with his son-in-law and was appointed bailiff in Idumäe.<sup>30</sup> He managed to make himself unpopular in Livonia, went back to Pleskau but was driven out a second time, and again fled to Livonia. By 1214 he had, however, once again returned to Russia.<sup>31</sup>

Vladimir, once again the prince of Pleskau, now became the outstanding anti-German leader among the Russian princes. In late 1216, he and Mstislav of Novgorod, angered by the German missionary work in Ugandi, gathered together a great army and despoiled the land around the fort at Otepää. The Germans decided that war with the Russians was inevitable and resolved to put up a united front against the danger. The first step was a division

---

<sup>29</sup>Henry, XVI:2, 8, XV:8; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 98 n. 4, p. 99 n. 2; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 109-10.

<sup>30</sup>Henry, XV:13, XVI:7; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 100 n. 8.

<sup>31</sup>Henry, XVII:4, 6, XVIII:2; Koch, p. 48.

of the conquered Estonian provinces and the income from them into thirds by Bishop Albert, Bishop Theoderic, and the Order.<sup>32</sup> Next the Germans built a strong fort at Otepää near the Russian border, garrisoning it with troops. In addition, the Knights of the Sword, the followers of Albert, and the Ugandians in January, 1217, raided the territory around Novgorod, reaping a rich harvest of booty. The Germans and their Lett and Liv allies also undertook an expedition into the Estonian provinces of Järva and Viru, where they killed and plundered until the natives sued for peace.<sup>33</sup>

The German activities led to the mobilization of a great army by the prince of Novgorod, who was joined by Vladimir of Pleskau and his men. Calling for Estonian support, which materialized in great numbers, the combined force besieged the German garrison in Otepää. A German relief force was severely beaten and the garrison was forced to surrender.<sup>34</sup> Although a peace treaty was signed between Bishop Albert and the Russians, the Estonians in the German occupied territories rebelled and together with the Russians plotted the destruction of the German

---

<sup>32</sup>Henry, XX:3-4.

<sup>33</sup>Henry, XX:7-8.

<sup>34</sup>Henry, XX:4-5, 8; I. Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' starsego i mladsego izvodo, ed. by A. N. Nasonov and M. N. Tichomirov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), for year 6725 (hereafter cited as Novgorod I).

colony.<sup>35</sup> The situation appeared so desperate that Bishop Albert early in 1217 left Riga and hurried to Germany to try to recruit pilgrims. Among those who heeded the call was Count Albert of Orlamünde, the right-hand man of King Valdemar II. In many ways, his arrival in Livonia marked the beginning of the Danish attempt to carve out a permanent foothold in the Eastern Baltic.<sup>36</sup>

The Danes had, after their semi-successful crusade to Prussia in 1210, concentrated their attention on Lower Saxony. Here they were faced with the problem of what to do about the resurgent power of Bishop Valdemar in Bremen and the growing hostility of Otto IV. The latter had decided to terminate his alliance with Denmark and as early as 1210 he began to conspire secretly with the anti-Danish nobles of North Germany. When Bishop Valdemar in 1212 reoccupied Bremen with the aid of Duke Bernhard of Saxony, Otto IV supported their plans.<sup>37</sup> Sometime in August or September of that same year, Otto IV also made an alliance with Margrave Albert II of Brandenburg in which the emperor promised to help the margrave against Valdemar II in return for help against Fredrick II.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup>Henry, XXI:1.

<sup>36</sup>Henry, XXI:1.

<sup>37</sup>DRB, R.1 B.5, No. 11; Albert zu Stade, p. 357; Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 13; Amman, p. 145; Koch, p. 43.

<sup>38</sup>DRB, R.1 Bd.5, No. 17.

In 1214 open warfare broke out between Otto's supporters and Valdemar II, with the Danes getting the better of the fight.<sup>39</sup> The Battle of Bouvines on July 23, 1214, resulted in the defeat of Otto's forces and the collapse of the Welf party in Germany, although the emperor and a few followers carried on the struggle for a few more years.<sup>40</sup> Otto tried in 1215 to invade Holstein but was forced to retreat by Valdemar II and his forces.<sup>41</sup> The following year Valdemar II invaded and harried the lands of Otto's brother, the Count Palatinate Henry, until the inhabitants bought him off with money and hostages.<sup>42</sup> The ultimate result of this anti-Welf activity by the Danes was a treaty signed in late 1214 at Metz between Fredrick II and Valdemar II in which the Hohenstaufen gave the title to all the German lands north of the Elbe and Elde Rivers to the Danish monarch. Although the agreement

---

<sup>39</sup>Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 6. Also see Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 218.

<sup>40</sup>Poole, "Philip of Swabia and Otto IV," 77-79. In 1214 Valdemar II married Berengaria, the daughter of the king of Portugal. Since she was also the sister of Ferrand, count of Flanders, some have felt that this was a political marriage designed to tie the Danes closer to the Welfs. This seems unlikely in light of the worsening relations between Otto IV and Valdemar II: Heine, p. 45; Usinger, p. 157. Cf., however, Christian Bruun, Berengaria af Portugal (Kjöbenhavn, 1893), especially p. 26, where personal attraction is claimed as the reason for the marriage.

<sup>41</sup>DRB, R.1 Bd.5, No. 42; Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, pp. 6, 8; AD, pp. 100-106.

<sup>42</sup>Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, pp. 6-8.

did not add anything to what Valdemar II already possessed, it gave official imperial sanction to the Danish occupation of a large area of North Germany.<sup>43</sup> The treaty was later confirmed by both Pope Innocent III and Honorius III.<sup>44</sup> Denmark found itself once again on the side of the winning candidate in the German throne struggle. Equally important, however, was the Danish success in dislodging Bishop Valdemar from Bremen.

Although Innocent III had in 1210 appointed Gerhard of Osnabrück to the position of archbishop of Bremen and told the Bremen cathedral chapter to accept him, Gerhard had found it impossible to overcome the resistance of Bishop Valdemar and his supporters.<sup>45</sup> Finally, after the battle of Bouvines and Danish attacks on the territories under Bremen, the latter being carried out at the request of the pope, Archbishop Gerhard was able to claim his diocese.<sup>46</sup> The victory of Gerhard is important in that the Danes now no longer had to worry about the machinations of Bishop Valdemar. By the end of 1216, then, Denmark was in secure possession of its German territories

---

<sup>43</sup>DRB, R.1 Bd.5, No. 48; Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 218; Heine, p. 45.

<sup>44</sup>By Innocent III on May 14, 1216: DRB, R.1 Bd.5, No. 83. By Honorius III on January 31, 1217: DRB, R.1 Bd.5, No. 106.

<sup>45</sup>DRB, R.1 Bd.4, No. 176; Jörgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 13; Albert zu Stade, p. 356; Glaeske, pp. 212-13.

<sup>46</sup>Glaeske, pp. 220-23. Bishop Valdemar fled to Frisia: Albert zu Stade, p. 356; Koch, pp. 46-47.

and ready to use its power in some other enterprise.<sup>47</sup>

Foremost among the men who had helped to bring Denmark to its prominent position in North European politics was Count Albert of Orlamünde, a nephew of King Valdemar II and his most loyal and capable vassal.<sup>48</sup> Sometime during 1215, the count had taken the cross, perhaps to journey to the Holy Land, perhaps to crusade against pagans in Northern Europe. The second alternative had several advantages from Count Albert's point of view. Prussia and Livonia were closer to home and a speedy return was possible in case any of the count's enemies decided to take advantage of his absence to attack Denmark. In addition, the prospects for land and glory were greater in the Baltic region, especially since the pope had officially called upon the Danes to help in the effort to convert Livonia.<sup>49</sup> Hence, when Bishop Albert appeared in Germany in 1217 searching for crusaders, Count Albert was ready to answer the call.

In the spring of 1217, the count arrived in Riga together with Abbot Bernhard zu Lippe. It is probable that Count Albert was actually recruited by Abbot Bernhard

---

<sup>47</sup>Usinger, pp. 164-74, summarizes political developments in North Germany during this era.

<sup>48</sup>Arbusow and Bauer, p. 141 n. 3.

<sup>49</sup>On December 29, 1215, the pope permitted Count Albert and ten of his men to exchange their crusading vows for an expedition to Livonia: DRB, R.1 Bd.5, No. 61; UB, No. 39. Call for aid is in DRB, R.1 Bd.5, No. 101.

since the count had been planning an expedition to Livonia as early as 1216 while Bishop Albert was still in Livonia.<sup>50</sup> Abbot Bernhard appears at this time to have been interested in obtaining a bishopric located in the Estonian province of Leal and he may have had hopes of directing the activities of Count Albert toward this particular region.<sup>51</sup> In any case, a crusade suited all of the members of the expedition.

When the pilgrims arrived in Riga, the military situation in Estonia was critical. While waiting for the expected Russian reinforcements, the Estonians during the summer of 1217 gathered together the largest army the country had seen so far. Led by the Sakalian elder Lembitu, the Estonian army marched toward the fort of Viljandi expecting to effect a juncture with the Russian forces. The promised aid, however, failed to materialize, partly because Prince Mstislav Mstislavič of Novgorod had begun a war with the king of Hungary and his successor in Novgorod, Svjatoslav Mstislavič-Borisovič of Smolensk, did not arrive in that city before August 1, 1217.<sup>52</sup> The Germans and their allies marched out against the Estonians

---

<sup>50</sup>UB, I, No. 39; BD, No. 115; Benninghoven, p. 144; cf. Heine, p. 53. For Count Albert, see also Transehe-Roseneck, pp. 322-23.

<sup>51</sup>Benninghoven, p. 144 and p. 144 n. 5. Bishop Albert had on September 21, 1217, received the right to put in additional bishops in his territory: UB, I, No. 40.

<sup>52</sup>Henry, XXI:2; Novgorod I, pp. 58-60.



and on September 21 and 22, 1217, a great battle was fought on the Paala River near Viljandi. The Christian forces, led by Count Albert and Master Volquin, won a decisive victory over the united Estonian armies. Among those who fell on the battlefield were the Estonian elder Lembitu and the Livonian leader Caupo.<sup>53</sup>

The battle of Paala River broke the back of the united Estonian resistance, especially since Lembitu appears to have been the only leader able to unite the various Estonian provinces. Following Paala, both the Sakalians and the Järvians sent tribute to Riga and asked for peace.<sup>54</sup> While it is true that the Oeselians made counter-raids to Livonia in 1217 and 1218, they were unable to reverse the previous losses. The Russian army of 16,000 men which finally arrived in 1218 met with equally meager success. After a fourteen-day campaign in Ugandi, including an unsuccessful siege of the fort of Wenden, the Russian forces hurried home upon learning of a Lithuanian attack on the city of Pleskau.<sup>55</sup>

One additional incident connected with Count Albert's stay in Livonia should be mentioned. After the defeat of the Estonians at Paala, the count built a large

<sup>53</sup>Henry, XXI:2-4; R.Chr., vv. 1384-87; Benninghoven, pp. 147-49.

<sup>54</sup>Henry, XXI:5-6.

<sup>55</sup>Henry, XXI:5, 6, XXII:8-9. For the Russian invasion, see Henry, XXII:2-6; Novgorod I, pp. 59-60, for the year 6727.

war engine and several times called on the Germans and their allies to follow him on an expedition to Oesel. Although Henry of Livonia claims that nothing came of the expedition because rains melted the ice between Oesel and the mainland, it should also be noted that Count Albert made several requests for aid, indicating that the Germans were less than eager to go to Oesel.<sup>56</sup> One may speculate that the primary objective of Count Albert's crusade had always been Oesel and that he almost accidentally became involved in the mainland wars. This would agree well with the traditional Danish attempts to subdue the feared pirates that inhabited this island. In any case, both Count Albert and Abbot Bernhard returned to Denmark in May, 1218, before the arrival of the Russian army. The defense of Livonia was left to the Knights of the Sword and a small army of pilgrims, led by Count Henry Borewin, which had arrived earlier that same year.<sup>57</sup>

One of the first things that Count Albert did after his return to Denmark was to seek out Valdemar II and inform him about the political and military situations in Livonia and Estonia. Whether the king himself now decided to intervene actively in the affairs of the Eastern Baltic, or whether other interested parties suggested an expedition to Estonia, remains unclear. Whichever was

---

<sup>56</sup>Henry, XXI:5.

<sup>57</sup>Henry, XXII:1; Benninghoven, pp. 149, 153.

the case, Valdemar II held on July 24, 1218, an imposing Diet in Schleswig at which his son was crowned king of Denmark.<sup>58</sup> Present were all the great lords of Denmark, including Count Albert, several Danish bishops, the pro-Danish bishops of Lübeck, Ratzeburg, and Kamnin, as well as Bishop Albert of Riga, Bishop Theoderic of Estonia, and Abbot Bernhard zu Lippe.<sup>59</sup> While Henry of Livonia explains the presence of Bishop Albert by stating that he had come to beg for Danish assistance and arms in the face of the threatening Estonian-Russian alliance, the actual political and military situation does not support this conclusion. In light of the fact that Bishop Albert must have learned of the defeat of the Estonians at Paala from Abbot Bernhard, there would have been no need for a desperate plea for help from Valdemar II.<sup>60</sup> Bishop Albert was astute enough politically to know that the king would in all certainty demand some sort of remuneration, either territory or political influence, as the price for Danish aid. On the other hand, to conclude that Valdemar II forced Bishop Albert to come to the Diet to rubber-stamp a previously planned invasion of Estonia seems equally

---

<sup>58</sup>Henry, XXII:1. For the date, see Arbusow and Bauer, p. 147 n. 3.

<sup>59</sup>AD, pp. 104-105, 140, 151; Chronica Iutensis, in Scriptores minores Danicae medii aevi, ed. by M. C. Gertz (Köbenhavn, 1917), I, 442; Hausmann, p. 13; Usinger, p. 22.

<sup>60</sup>Benninghoven, p. 153.

faulty.<sup>61</sup> It is hard to see how Valdemar II could have forced the bishop of Riga to appear and it is equally hard to imagine the powerful king having to use a complicated subterfuge such as this to justify an attack on the lands of pagan natives who long had had both militant and peaceful relations with the Danes.<sup>62</sup> We shall see, however, that both Albert and Valdemar had enough reason to justify the agreements reached in Schleswig which led to the Danish invasion of Estonia the following year.

As far as Bishop Albert was concerned there were several reasons which may have caused him to turn to Valdemar II for help. The bishop may have remembered the numerous occasions when apparent military successes in both Estonia and Livonia had melted away overnight and that, while it was true that the Estonians had apparently been defeated, the Russian invasion was still to come and a reversal in fortunes was a real possibility.

In addition, Bishop Albert had his troubles with both the archbishop of Bremen and the archbishop of Magdeburg. The former was still intent on exerting his metropolitan claims to Riga. One way in which Archbishop Gerhard of Bremen tried to achieve this end was by closing the port of Lübeck to the pilgrims going to Livonia. Since

---

<sup>61</sup>Benninghoven, pp. 153-54.

<sup>62</sup>It is hard to believe, as Ney claims, that Bishop Albert and Archbishop Anders "managed" to "talk Valdemar II into going to Estonia": Ney, "Valdemar Sejrs Fälttåg," p. 86.

the yearly pilgrim fleets were the lifeblood of the German colony, Archbishop Gerhard probably hoped by this action to force Bishop Albert of Riga to submit to his demands. There are no indications that Valdemar II was involved in this affair, although he and Bishop Gerhard had sometime in 1218 signed a treaty of alliance.<sup>63</sup> After a sharp papal reprimand, Gerhard was forced to open the port but he kept on pressing the claims of Bremen to Riga.<sup>64</sup>

Also, the archbishop of Magdeburg, head of the oldest German center of eastern mission activities, showed at this time an interest in enlarging his influence in the Baltic. In 1217 he had received a papal bull placing Livonia under his metropolitanship, a step confirmed early in 1219 by Emperor Fredrick II.<sup>65</sup> These claims were, however, never put into effect due to a lack of resources.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup>DRB, R.1 Bd.5, No. 146.

<sup>64</sup>On April 30, 1218, the Bremen cathedral chapter was told not to force its rule on Riga: Livonica, ed. by H. Hildebrand (Riga, 1887), No. 2. The reprimand was repeated in October, 1219, and December, 1223: UB, I, Nos. 44, 57.

<sup>65</sup>The papal bull is dated April 26, 1217: Livonica, No. 1. The imperial edict was issued on March 19, 1219: UB, III, No. 42a. It is not clear what the imperial edict means by the phrase "the lands around Livonia." Hausmann, p. 28 n. 6, and Bonnell, Chronographie, p. 121, claim it to be an anti-Danish move on the part of Fredrick II, while Hans Patze, "Der Frieden von Christburg vom Jahre 1249," Jahrbuch für Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands, VII (1958), 42-43, feels the edict is part of Fredrick II's efforts to bring all Christians under the rule of the empire.

<sup>66</sup>See Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 124-26, for a hypothetical alliance between Bishop Albert and Magdeburg. If

In t  
poli  
the  
Albe  
com  
  
tha  
and  
act  
sid  
or  
per  
mer  
Si  
si  
co  
re  
la  
t.  
A.  
c  
-  
A  
w  
t  
  
a  
i  
I  
E

In the summer of 1218, however, the threats, spiritual, political, and military, posed by Bremen, Magdeburg, and the Russians must have appeared very real to Bishop Albert. The one power strong enough to counteract this combination was Valdemar II.

It is of course also possible, indeed probable, that the king himself was looking for new lands to conquer and that a formal request for aid made up his mind to take action in Estonia. While Bishop Albert may have envisioned Danish aid to be in the form of a transitory raid or a one-year crusade, Valdemar II was planning a more permanent settlement in the Baltic, perhaps the establishment of a strongpoint to guard the trade routes to Russia. Since we do not have any details about the actual discussions carried on in Schleswig, we can only surmise what concessions, if any, Bishop Albert made to Valdemar II in return for the latter's assistance.<sup>67</sup> The Danes were later to claim all of Estonia on the basis of the negotiations of 1218, but it is hard to imagine that Bishop Albert would have agreed to such a drastic move without consulting the Knights of the Sword or the people of

---

Albert's goal, however, was an independent archbishopric, why should he have substituted the rule of Magdeburg for that of Bremen and foiled his chances?

<sup>67</sup>Henry, XXIII:10, XXIV:2. Hausmann, pp. 15-16 and p. 15 n. 3, contains a good summary of various older interpretations; Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 103; Laakmann, "Estland und Livland," pp. 246-47, claims that Estonia was already given away in 1199.

Riga.<sup>68</sup>

The most satisfactory deduction from the limited information known is that Bishop Albert agreed that if Valdemar II would invade Estonia, he could claim whatever territory the Danish arms could conquer.<sup>69</sup> This conclusion is supported by the papal bull from October 9, 1218, which granted Valdemar's request to place under his rule and church all those lands which he could win with his resources and army. Hence, the exact division of Estonia remained to be decided in the future, something which in the next few years would lead to armed conflict between the Danes and the Germans.<sup>70</sup>

One more individual figured prominently at the Diet in Schleswig. This was Bishop Theoderic of Estonia, who at the meeting decided to join the Danes.<sup>71</sup> It is not hard to understand how the bishop arrived at his decision. Having twice failed to gain his diocese with the help of

---

<sup>68</sup>Henry, XXIII:10, XXIV:2; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 128.

<sup>69</sup>Benninghoven, p. 154; Hausmann, p. 16.

<sup>70</sup>DRB, R.1 Bd.5, No. 145; UB, III, No. 46a. The Danish-German rivalry is discussed below in Chapter VI. An interesting if slightly emotional and superficial account of the competition for lands is Arthur Vööbus, "Christianization or War of Conquest," Estonia Christiana. Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, XV (1965), 45-78.

<sup>71</sup>Henry, XXIII:2; Adolf D. Jörgensen, "Om Danebrogens Oprindelse," Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift, R.4 Bd.5 (1875-77), p. 457, believes Bishop Theoderic to be responsible for getting the papacy to grant the above-mentioned bull to Valdemar II.



German forces, Theoderic hoped he would have better luck with Danish support.<sup>72</sup> The bishop had since early in his career maintained good relations with the Scandinavian Church and might have felt that the subordination to the archbishop of Lund was preferable to rule by Riga.<sup>73</sup>

Bishop Theoderic may indeed have suggested and arranged the meeting between Bishop Albert and Valdemar II, perhaps with the help of Archbishop Anders Sunesen. After all, the bishop of Estonia had in 1187, while still a monk, talked various Swedes into going on a similar venture.<sup>74</sup>

The loss of Theoderic was to Bishop Albert more than the loss of an old co-worker. One of the prerequisites for the pallium that Albert had continually sought was the existence of subordinate bishops. Having seen Theoderic fall under the control of the archbishop of Lund, Albert found a new ally in Abbot Bernhard. On the day following the Diet at Schleswig, Bishop Albert

---

<sup>72</sup>He had previously tried in 1212 and 1216: Henry, XV:7, XX:2, 5-8.

<sup>73</sup>Johansen, Nordische Mission, pp. 99-100.

<sup>74</sup>Ney, "Valdemar Sejrs Fälttåg," p. 95, and Gottlieb Ney, "Revals Uppkomst ur stadtsgeographisk synpunkt," Svensk Geografisk Årsbok, XXX (1954), 119, maintains that Archbishop Anders Sunesen was behind the meeting in Schleswig. According to Ney, Skov, p. 194, and Weibull, "St. Knut i Österled," pp. 99-101, it was the trading interests of the Scanian provinces, in which Lund was located, that motivated Anders Sunesen to push for the Danish invasion of Estonia in 1219. There is, however, no evidence that once the Danes conquered Estonia, trade with the east increased or that the archbishop facilitated such trade: Johansen, Nordische Mission, p. 103.

consecrated Bernhard bishop of Selonia (Semgallia) on the basis of a papal bull issued to him in 1217.<sup>75</sup> Not only did this action create the subordinate bishop that Albert desired, but Bishop Bernhard was an experienced warrior and politician who until his death in 1224 was to remain Albert's staunchest supporter. One of the new bishop's sons was also the bishop of Utrecht while a second became in late summer, 1219, the new archbishop of Bremen.<sup>76</sup>

There was to be one more pleasant surprise for Bishop Albert this summer. Among those pledged to come to Livonia as pilgrims was the young duke of Saxony, Albert of Anhalt. The duke, a loyal supporter of Otto IV, had upon the Welf's death become one of the staunchest supporters of Fredrick II and had by 1217 become the marshall of the empire. Although a nephew of Valdemar II, Duke Albert had remained loyal to the German side of his family and had become definitely hostile toward the Danes.<sup>77</sup> If Bishop Albert had second thoughts about having asked for help from the Danish king, the pledge of Duke Albert must have made him rest easier.

The ultimate result of the activities of 1218 was

---

<sup>75</sup>Henry, XXIII:4; Friedrich von Bunge, Livland die Wiege der Deutschen Weihbischöfe. Baltische Geschichtsstudien I (Leipzig, 1875), p. 26 n. 4. The papal bull is printed in UB, I, No. 40.

<sup>76</sup>Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 130; Usinger, pp. 179-85.

<sup>77</sup>Koch, p. 52 n. 246, claims that Duke Albert is a spokesman for the interests of Fredrick II. See also Benninghoven, pp. 158-66.

a two-fold invasion of Estonia and Livonia in the following year. Into the harbor at Riga sailed Bishop Albert, Duke Albert, and a large number of German pilgrims, while in the north, a large Danish fleet under the command of King Valdemar II dropped anchor off the coast of the province of Reval. The stage was set for the rise and fall of the first Danish Empire in Estonia.

## CHAPTER V

### THE YEARS OF DANISH PREEMINENCE

When in the summer of 1219 King Valdemar II landed in the Estonian province of Reval he was supported by one of the greatest fleets ever assembled in the Baltic. It consisted of more than one hundred ships, carrying perhaps 3000 men.<sup>1</sup> In addition to Valdemar II himself, a long list of notables accompanied the expedition, among them Archbishop Anders Sunesen, Bishop Theoderic of Estonia, the bishops of Schleswig and Roskilde, and Duke Wizlaw of Rügen.<sup>2</sup> The invaders encamped near the old Estonian fort of Lindanisa, which they tore down and replaced with a new one.<sup>3</sup> The natives of the provinces of Reval and Harju

---

<sup>1</sup>The sources for Valdemar's expedition are conveniently printed together in Ney, "Valdemar Sejrs Fältåg," p. 104. Also see AD, pp. 104-105; Henry, XXIII:2; Petri Olai, SRD, VIII, 459-60; Albert zu Stade, p. 357. I tend to accept the estimates of the Danish troop strength given by Benninghoven, pp. 156-57 and p. 156 nn. 18-19, rather than the unrealistic figures of 1,500 ships and 40,000 men proposed by Ney in his article.

<sup>2</sup>Henry, XXIII:2; AD, pp. 104-105. Wizlaw I was the son of Duke Jaromar I of Rügen, a Danish vassal: C. Hamman, "Die Beziehungen Rügens zu Dänemark," Greifswalder Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, IV (1933), 7, 9, 18, 35-38.

<sup>3</sup>Henry, XXIII:2. The question of who founded the city of Reval and when has elicited considerable controversy, primarily between Western and Russian

pretended to make peace with the Christians but three days after the landing, on the evening of June 15, the Estonians attacked the Danish camp. The forces of the king were routed and put to flight, but a quick counterattack by Duke Wizlaw and his Slavs saved the day for the Christians.<sup>4</sup> The natives fled the battlefield with many casualties, but neither did the Danes escape unharmed. Among the Christian casualties, the foremost was the loss of Bishop Theoderic, whose tent the Estonians had mistaken for that of the king and whose throat was slit.<sup>5</sup> The death of Theoderic necessitated the appointment of a

---

historians. The latter, in attempting to prove that the Estonians have always been part of Russia, insist that the city is of Russian origin. For a good scholarly summary of the various points of view, see Ney, "Revals Uppkomst," *passim*. The Russian version can be found in I. P. Saskoljskij, "Fragen der ältesten Geschichte Revals," Isvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serija Istorii i Filosofii, VIII (1951), IV, 382-83. The most convincing argument about the origin of Reval (Tallinn) is stated by Johansen, who believes that the city began as an ancient Estonian-Swedish trading site: Johansen, Nordische Mission, Revals Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland, *passim*. For a debate concerning the name of the city, Reval, which has a bearing on the founding of the settlement, consult Gustav Must, "Zur Herkunft des Stadtnames Reval," Finnische-Ugrischen Forschungen, XXX (1951), III, 303-11; and Per Wieselgren, "Namnet Reval," Meijerbergs Arkiv för Svensk Ordforskning, VII (1947), 88-116.

<sup>4</sup>Henry, XXIII:2; Petri Olai, SRD, VIII, 451. For an analysis of the battle, see Johansen, Nordische Mission, pp. 38-43 and maps. There is a traditional legend that the Danish national flag, the Dannebrog, fell from heaven during this battle and helped the Danes win the fight: Fabricius, "Sagnet om Dannebrog," *passim*; Jörgensen, "Om Dannebrogens Oprindelse," *passim*.

<sup>5</sup>Henry, XXIII:2.

successor to the bishopric of Estonia and raised the question as to who should appoint him, the archbishop of Lund or the archbishop of Riga. The outcome would determine whether the Danes or the Germans would become the spiritual overlords of Estonia. The Danes quickly replaced the deceased Theoderic with his chaplain, Wesselin, but consecrated him bishop of Reval rather than bishop of Estonia.<sup>6</sup> By late fall, when the Danish fort was finished, Valdemar II returned to Denmark, leaving Archbishop Anders Sunesen in charge of the new Danish settlement.<sup>7</sup>

No doubt Bishop Albert of Riga viewed the appointment of Wesselin with alarm, but he soon set out to establish his own influence in Estonia. In late fall or early winter of 1219, he sent word via Samland and Prussia to his brother, Hermann, the abbot of the monastery of St. Paul in Bremen, appointing the latter bishop of Estonia.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>Henry, XXIII:2; Alberich von Trois, p. 245. Wesselin was probably the chaplain of Theoderic, not the chaplain of Valdemar II: Benninghoven, p. 158 n. 24. Cf. Schönebohm, Die Besetzung der livländischen Bistümer, p. 39, who believes Wesselin to be chaplain of Valdemar II. Wesselin was confirmed by Honorius III on March 19, 1220: UB, I, No. 49.

<sup>7</sup>Regesta Diplomatica Historiae Danicae, ed. by Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab (Havniae, 1847), No. 663; Johansen, Die Estlandlister, pp. 62-67.

<sup>8</sup>Henry, XXIII:11; UB, I, No. 61; Albert zu Stade, p. 357. The pope confirmed his election on April 18, 1220: UB, VI, No. 2515; Potthast, No. 6227; Schönebohm, p. 39. The land route via Prussia would have been used if appointment came during the winter when the Baltic was

The bishop-elect traveled to Magdeburg, where he was consecrated by Archbishop Albrecht II. This was probably done in order to prevent the archbishop of Bremen from having any claims to the spiritual rule of Estonia. The archbishop of Magdeburg was also at this time moving toward an alliance with the Hohenstaufens, a party to which Bishop Albert traditionally belonged.<sup>9</sup> Bishop Hermann was, however, for several years unable to set foot in his new bishopric since, as we shall see, Valdemar II prevented his departure from Germany.<sup>10</sup>

While the Danes were busy in Estonia, Bishop Albert and Duke Albert had in July, 1219, landed in Riga with their army.<sup>11</sup> During late 1219 and early 1220, they carried out a partially successful crusade in Semgallia.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, the Knights of the Sword were busy invading and despoiling the territory around Pleskau. Having reaped a rich harvest in Russia, the Order next turned their attention toward Estonia and despite a peace treaty attacked the province of Järva. The Järvians in turn suggested that a joint attack should be made on the province of

---

frozen or if Lübeck was blockaded by the Danes: Arbusow and Bauer, p. 168 n. 5.

<sup>9</sup>Hausmann, p. 28 and p. 28 n. 6; Koch, p. 53.

<sup>10</sup>Henry, XXIII:11.

<sup>11</sup>Henry, XXIII:1; Benninghoven, pp. 158-60.

<sup>12</sup>Henry, XXIII:3-5, 8; Bauer, "Semgallen und Upmale," pp. 308-11.

Viru.<sup>13</sup> The Knights of the Sword decided it was an excellent idea and called upon the episcopal forces for aid. The result was a combined German attack on Viru which resulted in the submission of the province and the baptism of its leaders.<sup>14</sup> In early 1220, a great German-Liv-Lett army, led by Master Volquin and Duke Albert, renewed its attack on Estonia. The province of Harju was forced to submit and an Oeselian army on its way to raid Järva was soundly beaten at Kareda.<sup>15</sup>

It was during this expedition that the first confrontation between the Danes and the Germans in Estonia occurred. The raid had carried the Livonian forces close to the Danish castle at Reval and Master Volquin had sent greetings to Archbishop Anders Sunesen. The archbishop, while thanking the Germans for aiding in the defeat of the native pagans, demanded that the hostages taken in Harju be turned over to him as ". . . all Estonia belonged to the Danish king, since it had been given to him by the bishops of Livonia." Volquin, obviously embarrassed and surprised, replied that he was unaware of any such bargain and stated that all of Estonia, except Reval and Oesel, had been conquered by the Germans. Still, he freed the

---

<sup>13</sup>Henry, XXIII:5-6.

<sup>14</sup>Henry, XXIII:7. Hausmann, p. 22, suggests that the bishop's contingent joined the expedition to secure their own claims to this territory.

<sup>15</sup>Henry, XXIII:9-10; Johansen, Die Estlandlister, pp. 60-62; Benninghoven, pp. 162-65.



hostages ". . . as a sign of honor to the Danish king, . . ." but hastened to add that this act should in no way be interpreted as a renunciation of the German claims.<sup>16</sup> It is obvious that Bishop Albert had not fully informed the Order about the negotiations in Schleswig in 1218, a fact which the Knights of the Sword were not to forget.<sup>17</sup>

Apparently the negotiations in Schleswig had failed to make exact provisions for the division of Estonia. Since it was held by the Danes and the Germans that the conversion of a native tribe would bring that particular tribe under the political and spiritual rule of the country that had converted it, a race to convert the Estonian pagans developed between the Danish and German priests. The contest made a farce of the sacrament of baptism, since mounted patrols moved from village to village, handing out consecrated water to village leaders and telling them to sprinkle it on all women and children.<sup>18</sup> When the German priests complained to Anders Sunesen that their Danish counterparts were unfairly "working German territory," the archbishop replied by writing to Bishop Albert and telling him to keep his priests out of Estonia since he, the bishop of Riga, himself had given the country to the Danes. Albert in turn

---

<sup>16</sup>Henry, XXIII:10.

<sup>17</sup>Benninghoven, pp. 165-66.

<sup>18</sup>Henry, XXIV:1-6; R.Ch., vv. 1179-1216; Hausmann, pp. 25-26; Vööbus, pp. 53-54.

replied that they, the Germans, had been there long before the Danes.<sup>19</sup> One may conclude from this exchange that, while Bishop Albert recognized that the Danes had some rights to parts of Estonia, he was not willing to concede any territory that his forces could secure. Archbishop Anders in turn tried to win more land by threats and diplomacy since he apparently did not possess the manpower necessary to take all of the disputed territory by force.

While Anders Sunesen faced the Germans in Livonia directly, Valdemar II also tried in various ways to curtail the growth and prosperity of the Livonian colony. Since the yearly pilgrim fleets from Germany were the lifeblood of the German colony, the king in late 1219 closed the harbor of Lübeck to all pilgrims headed for Livonia. This prevented the departure of, among others, Bishop Hermann. As a result of Valdemar II's action, and prompted by an envoy of Bishop Albert, Honorius III on October 29, 1219, directed a bull to the Danish ruler asking him to cease all harassment of the pilgrims.<sup>20</sup> Apparently Valdemar II did not pay any attention to the papal directive, as the pontiff was forced to repeat his admonition on April 18 of the following year. It should be noted that both bulls were very friendly in tone, indicating that Honorius III did not in any way want to

---

<sup>19</sup>Henry, XXIV:2.

<sup>20</sup>DRB, R.1 Bd.5, No. 159; UB, I, No. 46.

disturb his friendly relationship with Denmark.<sup>21</sup>

The situation in Estonia remained confused. Even the papacy failed to follow a consistent policy in regard to the conflicting claims. On the one hand Bishop Wesselin was given the right to use Cistercians and other monks to further the progress of his church, an act which in fact confirmed his status as a bishop.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, Bishop Albert's possessions in Estonia, Semgallia, and Selonja were confirmed, his freedom from Bremen was reiterated, and he was permitted to fix the borders for a bishopric in Leal, the diocesan seat of his brother Hermann.<sup>23</sup> It would seem as if the papacy intended to prevent any one Baltic faction from gaining the upper hand, thus leaving the Curia with the option of intervening directly in Baltic affairs. The uncertainty of the political and religious situation in Estonia, however, prompted Valdemar II to take personal action.

In early 1220, the Danish king appeared once again in Reval.<sup>24</sup> Citing the continued quarrels between the Danish and German priests, Valdemar summoned Bishop Albert and the Knights of the Sword to appear before him. While

---

<sup>21</sup>DRB, R.1 Bd.5, No. 160; UB, I, No. 52; Henry, XXIV:4; Hausmann, pp. 29-31; Heine, p. 55; Benninghoven, p. 167.

<sup>22</sup>UB, I, Nos. 49-50.

<sup>23</sup>UB, I, Nos. 43-45, 47, 51; Livonica, No. 3.

<sup>24</sup>AD, p. 105; Albert zu Stade, p. 357. Cf. Henry, XXIV:2; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 133.

the Order complied with the king's request, Bishop Albert hurriedly left the country to seek aid for his colony.<sup>25</sup> Valdemar II meanwhile attempted to tie the Order to himself by negotiating a treaty with its representatives. The Knights were to receive as their part of Estonia the provinces of Sakala, Ugandi, and five smaller counties.<sup>26</sup> This division would effectively eliminate the territorial claims of both Bishop Albert and Bishop Hermann.<sup>27</sup> Bishop Bernhard, who acted as the regent during Albert's absence, managed, however, to persuade the Order to drop its negotiations with Valdemar II and instead reaffirm the old 1216 division of Estonia into thirds between the Order and the bishops.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the failure of this alliance with the Knights of the Sword, it appeared in 1220 that the Danes would become the uncontested rulers of Estonia. They pacified and baptized the people of Reval and Harju. Shortly thereafter, the Järvians and the Vironians were forced into accepting Danish rule.<sup>29</sup> Archbishop Anders Sunesen felt so secure that he consecrated one Ostrad as

---

<sup>25</sup>Henry, XXIV:2.

<sup>26</sup>Henry, XXIV:2; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 171 n. 5.

<sup>27</sup>Henry, XXIV:2; Benninghoven, pp. 168-69; Hausmann, p. 33.

<sup>28</sup>Henry, XXIV:2; the previous division: Henry, XX:4.

<sup>29</sup>Henry, XXIV:2.

bishop of Järva and Viru while adding Harju to the bishopric of Wesselin.<sup>30</sup> During the year 1220, Denmark also secured part of the coastal province of Wiek or Maritima. This area came into their possession as the result of an unsuccessful Swedish attempt to carve out a slice of Estonia around Leal.

In the spring of 1220, a Swedish army led by the Swedish king, John Sverkerson, Duke Charles of Östergötland, and Bishop Charles of Linköping landed near the fort of Leal, the diocesan seat of Bishop Hermann. Despite warnings from Riga that this territory belonged to the Germans, the Swedes proceeded to baptize the people and build churches in the area around Leal. The newcomers apparently had the tacit support of the Danes in Reval, as they conferred with the latter in a peaceful manner.

Lulled into a false sense of security by their initial successes, the Swedes were unprepared for the pagan reaction which followed. On August 8, 1220, the Oeselians besieged the Swedish fort and set fire to it. Despite a stiff resistance, the fort fell and most of the garrison including Duke Charles and Bishop Charles were killed. The survivors made their way to a nearby Danish fort. The Danish forces now moved into Wiek but, as we shall see, they were never fully able to subjugate the province to their rule and it remained a bone of

---

<sup>30</sup>Alberich von Trois, p. 902--wrongly dated at 1215; Henry, XXIV:2.

contention between them and the Germans.<sup>31</sup> The Danes also continued to harass the German priests in Järva. It was in search of a solution for all these problems that Bishop Albert, after having left Livonia to avoid seeing Valdemar II, late in 1220 arrived in Rome.<sup>32</sup>

The journey had not been easy for the Rigan prelate. After having made his way from Riga to Lübeck, he was forced to flee secretly from the latter city as Valdemar II's agents were ready to seize him there. When Bishop Albert finally arrived in Rome in November of 1220, he found that Valdemar II's envoys had preceded him at the Curia and convinced the pope not to aid the bishop of Riga.<sup>33</sup> Nor was Albert more successful in convincing the new emperor, Fredrick II, in aiding his cause. The emperor, busy with preparations for his own crusade to the Holy Land, not only denied Albert any aid but also instructed him to make peace with the Danes and the Russians.<sup>34</sup>

Having thus failed to secure any outside assistance for his cause, and finding a renewed Danish blockade of Lübeck effectively shutting off the flow of pilgrims to

<sup>31</sup>Henry, XXIV:3; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 171 n. 5.

<sup>32</sup>Henry, XXIV:4.

<sup>33</sup>Henry, XXIV:4. On November 16, 1220, Honorius III took Denmark into his protection: BD, Nos. 171, 176.

<sup>34</sup>Henry, XXIV:4; Benninghoven, p. 170.

Livonia, Bishop Albert must have spent a disheartening winter together with Bishop Hermann in Westphalia.<sup>35</sup> Finally, the two brothers decided that the only way they could retain their diocese was by submitting themselves to Valdemar II's rule. In March, 1221, Bishop Albert and Bishop Hermann appeared before the Danish king and Bishop Albert committed both Livonia and Estonia to the king's power, provided that his subordinates in Riga, the citizens of Riga, and the Livs and Letts would agree to this.<sup>36</sup> Apparently both Valdemar II and Albert believed that this would only be a matter of routine.<sup>37</sup> After having received the submission of the two German prelates, Valdemar II now permitted them and a few pilgrims to sail from Lübeck to Livonia. In the summer of 1221 it looked as if the German rule in Livonia was about to collapse and be replaced by Danish domination of this area.<sup>38</sup>

The German cause now suddenly received a boost from a most unlikely source. In April, 1221, the

---

<sup>35</sup>Henry, XXIII:11; Bunge, Weihbischöfe, p. 14.

<sup>36</sup>Henry, XXIV:4, XXIII:11; Koch, pp. 54-55; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 138 n. 780. Note that the Knights of the Sword are not mentioned in the agreement.

<sup>37</sup>Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 138 and notes; she insists that this is an example where a feudal lord has to ask the permission of his vassals before an important decision. Cf. Laakmann, "Estland und Livland," p. 248, who believes the insertion of this clause to be a clever diplomatic trick on the part of Bishop Albert, as he knew in advance he would not get the consent of the Germans in Livonia.

<sup>38</sup>Henry, XXV:1; Usinger, p. 206.

Oeselians, bolstered by supporting contingents from the mainland, attacked Reval and besieged it for fourteen days. Only the arrival of four merchant ships, which the Estonians mistakenly believed to be part of a larger Danish fleet, saved the city.<sup>39</sup> The attack by the natives convinced Archbishop Anders Sunesen, who was in charge of the Danish forces, that he could not hold Estonia, not to mention both Estonia and Livonia, with the Danish forces that he had at his disposal. As a result, the archbishop held a meeting in Reval with Bishop Albert and the Knights of the Sword at which Anders Sunesen promised to work for the restoration of Livonia to German rule in return for a peace treaty and a united attack on the pagan natives and the Russians.<sup>40</sup> These negotiations also saw the Order receive possession of Sakala and Ugandi but with the provision that the spiritual rights, such as the collection of the tithe, were reserved for Bishop Albert.<sup>41</sup>

Valdemar II was apparently unaware of the negotiations between Anders Sunesen and Bishop Albert and was expecting that the latter would return to Livonia with the message that the country now belonged to Denmark as agreed to in the 1221 meeting in Denmark.<sup>42</sup> The Germans in

---

<sup>39</sup>Henry, XXIV:7; AD, p. 105 (Annales Lundensis for 1220).

<sup>40</sup>Henry, XXV:1.

<sup>41</sup>Henry, XXV:1.

<sup>42</sup>See above, pp. 136-37.



Livonia, as well as the Livs and Letts, however, bitterly opposed Bishop Albert's decision and threatened to leave the colony rather than to submit to Danish rule. Their determination to resist Danish encroachment was of course strengthened by the obvious weakness of the Danes, as demonstrated by the above-mentioned attack on Reval and the subsequent negotiations.<sup>43</sup> The Danish king meanwhile had sent one of his knights, Gottschalk, to Livonia where he was to become the bailiff of Riga. Not only did the Germans on Gothland refuse him a pilot for his ship, but the Livonians literally drove him from the colony and, being denied a pilot also when leaving, Gottschalk had great difficulty making his way back to Denmark.<sup>44</sup>

Fearful of a Danish reaction, the Germans in Riga, the merchants, Livs, and Letts now banded together in an anti-Danish treaty. It should be noted that they also swore to help each other against all of their other adversaries, a provision probably aimed against the Knights of the Sword, with whom the burghers and merchants of Riga were not always on the best of terms.<sup>45</sup> The events of 1222 were, however, to prove that cooperation was ultimately to prove more advantageous than dissension.

---

<sup>43</sup>Henry, XXV:1; Benninghoven, p. 171, believes that the German traders were the leaders of the anti-Danish sentiment in Livonia.

<sup>44</sup>Henry, XXV:2.

<sup>45</sup>Henry, XXV:3.

The threat to the Livonian colony in late 1221 and early 1222 came not from Denmark but from Russia and Lithuania. Armies from these countries ravaged Livonia, although without great success. The Germans united to retaliate and in the winter of 1221-22 they plundered the areas around Novgorod and Pleskau, despoiling especially the Greek-Orthodox churches in the area.<sup>46</sup> Also the Letts, Sakalians, and Ugandians carried out raids in Russia, the Ugandians plundering as far north as Ingermanland. As Henry of Livonia says: "For all the harm which the Russians had brought upon the Livonians, they received double or triple that year."<sup>47</sup> The German colony also received an unexpected respite from the Russian attacks as the result of the Tartar victory at Kalka in 1222. The Russian losses at this engagement seriously curtailed the abilities of the princes of Novgorod, Smolensk, and Polozk to fight on the western front. Instead, these rulers renewed the peace treaty of 1212 with the Rigans.<sup>48</sup>

The one place where the political and military picture remained unclear was in Estonia. The Knights of the Sword had built forts in Sakala and Ugandi and were

---

<sup>46</sup>Henry, XXV:3-5.

<sup>47</sup>Henry, XXV:5.

<sup>48</sup>Henry, XXVI:1. The treaty that was renewed was originally signed in 1212: Henry, XVI:2; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 186 n. 2.

administering this area as agreed to in the treaty of 1221 with Anders Sunesen.<sup>49</sup> The king, however, had not as yet given his opinion about this treaty and he must have learned about it not only from Gottschalk but also from Archbishop Anders, who due to ill health returned to Denmark in the summer of 1221.<sup>50</sup>

Valdemar II once again resorted to personal intervention, and in the summer of 1222 together with Count Albert of Orlamünde led a Danish army to Oesel.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps the king reasoned that not only were the Oeselians one of Denmark's oldest enemies, but it was they who were jeopardizing the Danish holdings in Estonia, as their attack on Reval had proven. The Danes began to erect a stone fort on the island to serve as a permanent strongpoint in the planned campaign to pacify the islanders.<sup>52</sup>

To the camp of Valdemar II now came Bishop Albert,

<sup>49</sup>Henry, XXV:5. Note that the Order followed the agreements with the bishop of Riga, and saved part of the taxes for Albert.

<sup>50</sup>BD, No. 172. Anders Sunesen retired to Ivö in Scania in 1223: DRB, R.5 Bd.1, No. 202. For debates concerning what was wrong with Anders Sunesen, see Hammerich, p. 108; Otto Rydbeck, "Tre Lundensiske Arkebiskopar," Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. Årsberättelse (1941), pp. 149-211; Carl M. Fürst, "Arkebiskop Andres Sunesson," Ymer, XXVIII (1908), 69-82. Peder Saxeson was named to the archbishopric on January 11, 1224: Diplomatium Suecanum, I, No. 220.

<sup>51</sup>Henry, XXVI:1-2; Albert zu Stade, p. 357; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 187 n. 6.

<sup>52</sup>Henry, XXVI:2. For the location of the fort, see Armin Tuulsee, "Die Bürgen in Estland und Lettland," Verhandlungen, G.E.G., XXXIII (1942), 58.

Master Volquin, and other German representatives from Livonia, and they began to negotiate with the king in an attempt to clarify the confused political situation in Estonia and Livonia. Our knowledge of the negotiations is superficial. Apparently Valdemar II in the beginning insisted on his rights to both Estonia and Livonia, based on his deliberations with Bishop Albert in 1221. The Germans denied his claims, stating that they had been instructed to reject the treaty by the people of Livonia.<sup>53</sup> After taking counsel with his advisors, Valdemar II agreed to return Livonia to the undisputed rule of Bishop Albert. The Estonian provinces of Sakala and Ugandi were given as royal fiefs to the Knights of the Sword with Bishop Albert retaining the spiritual rights in these areas. Both Bishop Albert and the Order did homage to Valdemar II for their Estonian holdings and vowed to help the Danes against the pagans and the Russians. To seal the treaty further, a mixed Danish-German garrison under the leadership of Bishop Albert's brother Theoderic was left in charge of the half-finished fort on Oesel.<sup>54</sup>

One may speculate that Valdemar II agreed to this settlement because he had come to realize that his own forces were neither adequate in number nor strong enough

---

<sup>53</sup>Henry, XXVI:3.

<sup>54</sup>Henry, XXVI:2. Note that Hermann received no territory.

to rule both Estonia and Livonia effectively and at the same time fight the dissident natives and the Russians. Despite the concessions which Valdemar II made, he, however, still directly held the largest part of Estonia whereas the remaining areas were held as royal fiefs by the Knights of the Sword. In late 1222, Valdemar II had reached the pinnacle of his power both in the Baltic and in North Germany. Then within the span of a few months, two events occurred which toppled not only the Danish power in Estonia but also Denmark's rule of Lower Saxony. These events were an all-out Estonian rebellion in late 1222 and the abduction and imprisonment in May, 1223, of Valdemar II himself.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE COLLAPSE OF DANISH IMPERIALISM

The fleet of Valdemar II had barely departed from Oesel before the natives of the island rebelled and attacked the half-finished Christian fort. The Oeselians had recourse now to a number of paterells or stone-throwing machines which they had built after the design of similar instruments that the Danes had given to their Estonian subjects in Viru. The mixed Danish-German garrison was unable to withstand the assault and was forced to surrender. Bishop Albert's brother Theoderic and seven Danes were kept as hostages by the Oeselians while the remainder of the garrison was allowed to depart for Reval. The victorious islanders now called on all the mainland Estonians to join them in casting off the Christian yoke.<sup>1</sup>

Soon the inhabitants of the provinces of Harju and Wiek joined the rebellion, as did the natives of Viru and Järva. The Estonians now vented their fury on their conquerors, especially upon the bailiffs and priests. The treatment of the Christians varied. Several Danes, including priests, who lived in the Harrian fort of

---

<sup>1</sup>Henry, XXVI:3-4; Albert zu Stade, p. 358.

Warbola were killed by the Harrians, while the Vironians and Järvians were satisfied with sending their priests back to Reval.<sup>2</sup> In Sakala on January 29, 1223, the Estonians in the fort of Viljandi seized and killed all the brothers of the Knights of the Sword, their servants, and the German merchants, including the bailiff Maurice. A few of the knights were spared to be later traded for the Estonian hostages held in Riga.<sup>3</sup> Next, the Sakalians marched into Järva where they seized the Danish bailiff, Hebbus, and his fellow officials and brought them back to Viljandi where they were tortured to death.<sup>4</sup>

The Estonian elders of Viljandi now sent messages to Ugandi, especially to the two major forts of Otepää and Tartu (Dorpat), asking the inhabitants to join their cause which the latter did. The members of the Knights of the Sword were imprisoned or, as in the case of the bailiff John, slain.<sup>5</sup> The belongings of the Christians were divided up among the natives. The hatred of the natives was especially directed toward the religious policy of the conquerors as witnessed by the killing of the priests, the disinterment of the bodies of those who had been buried

---

<sup>2</sup>Henry, XXVI:4-5.

<sup>3</sup>Henry, XXVI:5, XXVI;9.

<sup>4</sup>Henry, XXVI. The bailiffs were probably the most hated of the foreign officials: Henry, XI:4, XXV:2; UB, I, No. 54.

<sup>5</sup>Henry, XXVI:7; R.Ch., vv. 775, 1365-67.



in cemeteries and their subsequent cremation. Wives, whom the natives had been forced to send away due to the Christian insistence on monogamy, were taken back and houses and forts were cleaned with brooms and water to erase any trace of the sacrament of baptism. Indeed, the Sakalians sent messengers to Riga, suggesting that peace be established, but stating categorically that they would never accept the Christian faith ". . . so long as a boy a year old or a cubit high remained in the land."<sup>6</sup>

While the Danish castle of Reval now remained the only Estonian stronghold in the hands of the Christians, the natives realized that their own forces were not sufficiently strong to drive out all the foreigners. Hence, early in 1223 they made peace with the Russians of Novgorod and Pleskau, giving them part of the captured booty and admitting Russian forces to several of their forts. The Estonians also proceeded to build more war engines and fortify their strongholds in anticipation of a Christian counterattack.<sup>7</sup> A combined Estonian army also besieged the castle at Reval, but the Danish garrison managed after a long and hard struggle to drive off the attackers.<sup>8</sup> By the spring of 1223, however, the Christian position in

---

<sup>6</sup>Henry, XXVI:8-9.

<sup>7</sup>Henry, XXVI:8.

<sup>8</sup>Henry, XXVI:11. The garrison was probably led at this time by Bishop Tuvo of Rippen: Chronica Ecclesia Rippensis, in SRD, VII, 192; Bonnell, Chronographie, p. 4.

Estonia and Livonia was precarious to say the least.

As the rebellion had occurred in Estonia, it was the Knights of the Sword who among the Christian forces had suffered the most. They had lost their Estonian territories and about one-third of their membership. Although the Order tried to recoup its territorial losses in late spring of 1223 through an expedition to Ugandi, they were finally forced to call upon the episcopal forces for aid. The price for help, however, was the resurrection of the divisions of Estonia made in 1216 and 1220, whereby Bishop Albert and Bishop Hermann each would receive one-third of the lands.<sup>9</sup> The Order had no choice but to agree. Now a German army, aided by Lett and Liv troops, marched into Estonia and without success besieged Viljandi and another Estonian fort. It was apparent that the Christian forces were still too weak to wrest control of the country from the Estonians.<sup>10</sup>

Help, however, was on its way in the form of an unusually large complement of pilgrims, led by Bishop Bernhard of Semgallia, which arrived in Riga during April of 1223.<sup>11</sup> With the arrival of these new forces, the fortunes of war turned in favor of the Germans. First

---

<sup>9</sup>Henry, XXVI:13. The division of 1220 is noted in Henry, XXIV:2.

<sup>10</sup>Henry, XXVI:13.

<sup>11</sup>Henry, XXVII:1. Bishop Bernhard was last in Livonia in 1220. For his itinerary, see Benninghoven, p. 184 n. 7; Henry, XXIV:2.

the Christian forces pursued and defeated a large Estonian army at the Ümera River.<sup>12</sup> The victors next besieged the fort at Viljandi and forced it to surrender after a bitter fifteen-day struggle. While the Estonians in the fort were permitted to leave after having promised to accept Christianity, the Russian members of the garrison were all hanged as a warning to their countrymen. Subsequently several smaller native forts in Sakala and Ugandi surrendered without resistance and the German forces returned to Riga victorious and with much booty.<sup>13</sup>

The Russians now made their belated entry into the war. An army led by Jaroslav Vsevolodovič, the brother of the grand-prince of Suzdal, and Vladimir of Pleskau and numbering some 20,000 men from Novgorod, Pleskau, and Suzdal, marched into Ugandi. After reinforcing the garrisons of Otepää and Tartu, the Russians decided to march on Riga but were instead persuaded by the Oeselians to attack the Danes at Reval. The subsequent four-week siege of the Danish castle was unsuccessful, although Estonian forces from the mainland provinces aided in the attack and the most modern western siege techniques and war engines were used. Disgusted, the Russians returned home, but not before extensively plundering the province of Reval.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>Henry, XXVII:1; R.Chr., vv. 1132-34; Benninghoven, pp. 184-85 and p. 184 n. 8 and maps.

<sup>13</sup>Henry, XXVII:1-3. The siege took place between August 1 and 15: Benninghoven, pp. 185-86.

<sup>14</sup>Henry, XXVII:3; Novgorod I, p. 61 for the year 6731 (1223); Bonnell, Chronographie, p. 41; Hausmann, p. 54.

The initiative in the war now passed to the Germans.

The one strongpoint that remained in the hands of the Estonians was the fort of Tartu in the province of Ugandi. Not only was the fort strongly built but in the fall of 1223, the prince of Novgorod had sent the former ruler of Kukenhusen, Vjačko, and some two hundred men to lead the defense of this Estonian bastion. The errand of Vjačko was not totally altruistic, e.g., to help the Estonians against the Germans, but the prince was told that he could retain Tartu and all the lands he could subject for himself.<sup>15</sup>

In the meantime, the Knights of the Sword were attempting to recapture at least part of their former territories without the aid of the episcopal forces so as to give them undisputed control over part of Estonia. Late in 1223 and again shortly after Easter in 1224, the Order tried to capture Tartu but was driven off. Their only success came in Järva where the province's inhabitants sued for peace.<sup>16</sup> Obviously the Knights of the Sword were still too weak to re-conquer Estonia by themselves and were forced to wait for help from Riga.

In January, 1224, the armies of Bishop Albert also went into the field. A contemplated attack on Tartu was initially discarded in favor of an expedition into Harju,

---

<sup>15</sup>Henry, XXVII:5.

<sup>16</sup>Henry, XXVII:4, XXVIII:1.

where with some Danish aid the fort of Lone was captured. After the fall of Lone and the surrender of three lesser forts in the area, the Germans turned the native hostages taken in the campaign over to the Danes, thereby recognizing the latter's claim to Harju.<sup>17</sup> The people of Järva and Viru now made peace with the Germans, but they were forced to swear allegiance to Riga.<sup>18</sup> It should be pointed out that the lead in the reconquest of Estonia had now been taken over by Bishop Albert and his forces and that the power of the Knights of the Sword was being constantly diminished. If the Order had hoped that its overlord in Sakala and Ugandi, Valdemar II of Denmark, would be able to help it, this dream was shattered when in early 1224 the news arrived in Livonia that Valdemar II had been captured and imprisoned by Count Henry of Schwerin.

The sudden reversal of Danish fortunes in 1223 was totally unexpected, yet it was to reveal the basic weakness of the Danish State and to have serious repercussions for Danish ambitions in Germany and Estonia. The chain of events which led to the undoing of Denmark's empire started in the early 1220's when Valdemar II had forced the only daughter of Count Gunzelin of Schwerin to marry his illegitimate son Nicholas. Both Nicholas and

---

<sup>17</sup>Henry, XXVII:6; Benninghoven, p. 187; Hausmann, p. 56.

<sup>18</sup>Henry, XXVII:6.

his wife soon died, leaving an infant son in whose name Valdemar claimed half of Schwerin. When Count Gunzelin himself died in early 1221, Count Albert of Orlamünde seized the rest of Schwerin. Thus when Gunzelin's brother, Count Henry of Schwerin, or Henry the Black as he is known, returned from a crusade to the Holy Land, he found all of Schwerin in the possession of the Danes.<sup>19</sup>

Seeking clarification of the political situation in Schwerin, Count Henry sought out Valdemar II in May, 1223. The king happened at this time to be hunting with the crown prince and a few bodyguards on the uninhabited island of Lyö in the Little Belt. During the night of May 6, after an evening of drinking together with the king, Count Henry and his men attacked Valdemar's camp, killed the watchmen, and after a brief struggle captured the king and his son. First disabling the Danish ships, the count and his party hid in the woods during the night to avoid detection and the following morning made their way back to the mainland. Hurrying across Danish territory, the Germans brought their royal prisoners to the fortress of Dannenberg, where they were incarcerated.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup>For a good background of the dispute between Valdemar II and Count Henry: C. P. Paludan-Müller, "Underhandlingerne om Kong Valdemar den Andres Fangenskab," Danska Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter, 5 R. Historiske og Filosofiske Afdelningen, 4 Delen, III (1869), 96-99.

<sup>20</sup>AD, p. 107; Albert zu Stade, p. 358; Sächsische Weltchronik, in MG SS. Deutsche Chroniken II, ed. by L. Weiland (Hannover, 1877), p. 244; Usinger, pp. 295-97.

The news of the capture of the king of Denmark spread rapidly throughout Germany. Among those who rushed to take advantage of the temporary weakness of the Danes were Bishop Albert and his brother Bishop Hermann, who in July of 1223 sought out the royal prisoner at Dannenberg.<sup>21</sup> Here the two bishops obtained permission from the helpless Valdemar II for Bishop Hermann to go to Livonia and take possession of his diocese.<sup>22</sup> It would seem that Hermann's bishopric was, however, not to encompass all of Estonia but rather was to be located in the southern part of that country so as not to conflict with the dioceses of Wesselin and Ostrad. This is probably the reason why Hermann adopted the title of bishop of Leal-Tartu instead of bishop of Estonia and why Henry of Livonia states that Hermann returned to his bishopric in (sic) Estonia.<sup>23</sup> It was probably also at this time that Valdemar II was informed of the Estonian rebellion which had deprived him of all territories with the exception of Reval. Before Bishop Albert returned to Riga he also received a new crusading bull from the pope, but his request to become archbishop was once again denied.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup>Henry, XXVIII:1. The bishops saw the king about July 15, 1223: Usinger, p. 422.

<sup>22</sup>Henry, XXVIII:1, XXIII:11.

<sup>23</sup>Henry, XXVIII:1; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 200 n. 4; Hausmann, p. 58 n. 2; Heine, p. 59; Ammann, p. 173. Cf. Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 144.

<sup>24</sup>The bull is dated January 27, 1223: Livonica, No. 9; Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 467.

Thus greatly encouraged by the events in Germany, Bishop Albert returned to Livonia after a two-year absence in April of 1224. With him came his brother, Bishop Hermann, and a large complement of pilgrims, many of whom had undoubtedly been retained in Lübeck by the blockade of Valdemar II.<sup>25</sup> Albert's first order of business was to secure the gains that the episcopal party had made at the expense of the Knights of the Sword during his stay in Germany. The victory of the bishops was expressed in a new division of the Estonian lands, carried out between July 21 and 24, 1224, whereby Bishop Albert received Wiek and Bishop Hermann was assigned Ugandi and Sakala. Hermann's bishopric was to be centered in the yet to be conquered town of Tartu. The Order for its part had to suffer the humiliation of receiving Sakala and the smaller counties of Nurmegunde, Mocha, and half of Waiga as fiefs from Bishop Hermann with all the restrictions that his overlordship entailed.<sup>26</sup> The territories around the Düna were also redivided at this time, with Bishop Albert receiving the lion's share of the lands.<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that the provinces of Viru and Järva were not mentioned in the land division, probably because there was

---

<sup>25</sup>Henry, XXVIII:1; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 172; UB, I, No. 59.

<sup>26</sup>Henry, XXVIII:2; UB, I, Nos. 61-63; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 146-47; Hausmann, p. 60.

<sup>27</sup>Henry, XXVIII:9; UB, I, No. 70; Benninghoven, p. 188 and p. 188 nn. 28-29.



still some question as to whether they belonged to the Danes or to the Germans. Reval and Harju, on the other hand, had long been considered Danish property.<sup>28</sup>

Although Estonia had already been divided up, the owners were as of yet unable to feel secure in their possessions since Tartu still remained in the hands of Prince Vjačko and his Estonian-Russian garrison. These "criminals," traitors," and "murderers" were according to Henry of Livonia "the root of all evils" that befell the country.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, the first order of business for Bishop Albert was to capture Tartu. Since Bishop Bernhard zu Lippe had died shortly after Albert's arrival in 1224, the latter now personally took over the leadership of the combined German armies and on August 15 besieged the fort.<sup>30</sup> A fierce battle ensued which lasted for several days. After being repulsed many times, the crusaders finally breached the walls with the help of a siege tower and poured into the fort. A massacre followed in which all of the defenders, including Vjačko, were killed, nor were the women and children spared. Only one man, a vassal of the grand prince of Suzdal, was left alive and sent back to Russia to spread the word of the German victory. A Russian relief army which arrived after Tartu had fallen

---

<sup>28</sup>Henry, XXVIII:7.

<sup>29</sup>Henry, XXVIII:3.

<sup>30</sup>Henry, XXVIII:5.

returned home "in violent sorrow and indignation."<sup>31</sup>

The fall of Tartu had far-reaching consequences. The Oeselians returned Bishop Albert's brother Theoderic and sued for peace. The mainland Estonians, the Kurs, the Sengall, and the Russians all made peace with the Rigans.<sup>32</sup> "It was the bishop's twenty-seventh year [1225] and now the land of the Livonians reposed in the tranquillity of peace."<sup>33</sup> The Knights of the Sword took possession of Sakala and their other lands, appointed priests, and collected the tithe and taxes.<sup>34</sup> Bishop Hermann entered Tartu and designated the town as the seat of his diocese. He also founded a monastery there, built up the fort at Otepää, called in priests to convert and educate the natives of Ugandi, and enfeoffed several men with lands in his province. The victory of the Christian forces appeared complete.<sup>35</sup>

Several problems, however, still remained unsettled in the Eastern Baltic as far as Bishop Albert was concerned. What about the Danes who still held parts of North Estonia? Would they once again be able to dominate Estonian affairs if Valdemar II regained his freedom?

---

<sup>31</sup>Henry, XXVIII:2-6; Novgorod I, p. 61, for the year 6732 (1224).

<sup>32</sup>Henry, XXVIII:7.

<sup>33</sup>Henry, XXIX:1.

<sup>34</sup>Henry, XXVIII:9.

<sup>35</sup>Henry, XXVIII:8.

While the ambitions of the Knights of the Sword appeared stymied, they might once again rise to challenge the authority of the bishop of Riga. The only way in which Albert could have assured his supremacy over the Christians in Estonia and Livonia would have been through his elevation to the position of archbishop. This request had, however, once again been denied by Rome.<sup>36</sup> The one solution for all of these uncertainties was the intervention of a higher, outside authority. Consequently in the fall of 1224, Bishop Albert sent the priest Maurice to Rome with a request for a papal legate.<sup>37</sup> On December 31, 1224, Pope Honorius III granted Bishop Albert's appeal and named Bishop Wilhelm of Modena legate for Holstein, Gothland, Rügen, Bornholm, and the Eastern Baltic from Prussia to Estonia.<sup>38</sup> The mission of Bishop Wilhelm was destined to affect greatly all the parties in the Estonian-Livonian controversy, but perhaps most of all the Danes.

While the papal legate was making his way to Riga, negotiations for the release of Valdemar II had begun in Germany. Surprisingly enough, the Danes were quite apathetic in their attempts to free their king. Only Count Albert of Orlamünde and Otto of Lüneburg, Valdemar II's

---

<sup>36</sup>Livonica, Nos. 10, 11.

<sup>37</sup>Henry, XXIX:2; Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit," (1901), p. 66.

<sup>38</sup>UB, I, No. 69; Preussisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 53.

German vassals, worked actively for his release. Perhaps the lack of any effective leadership in Denmark itself may have been responsible for this unexplainable lack of activity. The king's sons were minors, Archbishop Anders Sunesen was ill and in retirement, and the chancellor, Bishop Peder Jakobsson of Roskilde, was on a crusade to the Holy Land.<sup>39</sup> One may speculate that Valdemar II in his drive to centralize royal power had effectively eliminated a lower strata of nobles that might have taken charge when the central leadership was removed.

Although Pope Honorius III demanded the immediate release of Valdemar II, the first negotiations did not take place before August or September of 1223 at the court of Emperor Frederick II's son, King Henry VII. Since the king was a minor, the leading power at the meeting was Archbishop Engelbert of Köln, who was assisted by various other German prelates and nobles. The North German princes who had been a party to the kidnapping were also present, led by Count Henry of Schwerin and Count Adolf IV of Schauenburg.<sup>40</sup> After a lengthy debate, Count Henry

---

<sup>39</sup>BD, No. 172. Bishop Peder Jakobson died in Flanders in 1225: AD, pp. 104-107, 157; Arnold, VI:13. Heine, p. 60, also suggests that the trading interests in the province of Scania, who presumably were interested in expansionism, had been replaced by Jutland nobles. The latter were interested in farming and hence opposed to external conquests.

<sup>40</sup>Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 290; Annales Coloniensis in Jørgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 58; Paludan-Müller, "Underhandlingerne," pp. 101-102.

offered on September 24, 1223, to free King Valdemar II for, among other things, 52,000 marks silver, the withdrawal of Danish troops from Schwerin, and last but not least Danish renunciation of all lands south of the Eider River.<sup>41</sup> This last condition was especially dear to Fredrick II as it would in effect nullify the Treaty of Metz of 1214. We shall see that the emperor was to make sure that a provision for the return of the North German lands to the empire was made part of any treaty freeing Valdemar II.<sup>42</sup>

Although an agreement had thus been reached, Count Henry had never intended to honor the treaty, fearing the revenge of a free Valdemar II. Hence, the count continued to hold his prisoners under guard, hoping thereby to obtain further concessions from the Danes. Honorius III, outraged at the delay, issued a series of bulls to various leading individuals, including the archbishop of Köln and the emperor, ordering them to punish the count of Schwerin. The papal fury was of no avail. Fredrick II, not wanting to incur the wrath of the papacy by openly siding with the North German princes, yet very interested in breaking the Danish hold on Northern Germany, in early 1224 sent the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Hermann von Salza,

---

<sup>41</sup>Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 290.

<sup>42</sup>Paludan-Müller, "Underhandlingerne," pp. 101, 106.

as his personal representative to the negotiations.<sup>43</sup>

The preliminary treaty which this capable and shrewd diplomat worked out in July, 1224, was to include provisions designed to protect Count Henry of Schwerin from Danish reprisals. According to the terms of the agreement, Valdemar II promised to go on a crusade within two years of his release. If he was unable to go because of illness or should he die, Valdemar II was to pay the Teutonic Order (sic) 25,000 marks silver. The lands south of the Eider were to be returned to the empire and Valdemar II and Count Albert of Orlamünde were to do homage to the emperor for their respective lands. Hostages were to be given to Count Henry, who could hold them for ten years, and he was also to receive 40,000 marks silver in ransom.<sup>44</sup> Although Count Albert and some other Danish nobles had in fact come with money to pay the ransom, once they saw the rest of the German demands, they abruptly broke off the negotiations and returned to Denmark.<sup>45</sup> All further attempts at negotiations later in 1224 proved

---

<sup>43</sup>The bulls of Honorius III are printed in BD, No. 178 (to Fredrick II on November 2, 1223); BD, Nos. 175-77 (to Archbishop Engelbert of Köln, bishop of Verden, and bishop of Lübeck, respectively). On November 2, 1223, the pope told Lübeck to remain loyal to Valdemar II: BD, No. 179; Jörgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 58; Paludan-Müller, "Underhandlingerne," p. 108; Usinger, pp. 302-31.

<sup>44</sup>Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 305.

<sup>45</sup>Annales Coloniensis, in Jörgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 58.

fruitless.<sup>46</sup>

Since diplomacy had failed to bring about the release of Valdemar II, warfare broke out in the summer of 1224 between Count Albert and Count Henry. Among the North German princes who came to the aid of the count of Schwerin were Archbishop Gerhard II of Bremen and Count Adolf IV of Schauenburg. Both had claims to parts of Holstein, Count Adolf's father having been driven out by Valdemar II, who in turn had given the lands to Count Albert of Orlamünde. In December of 1224, the united armies of the counts of Schwerin and Schauenburg and of the archbishop of Bremen attacked Holstein. Count Albert of Orlamünde and Otto of Lüneburg, the leaders of the Danish forces, decided to wager the outcome of the war on a single battle. This proved to be a less than brilliant decision as Count Henry and his forces totally defeated the Danes at the battle of Mölln in January of 1225. Count Albert of Orlamünde himself was captured and led in chains to join his royal overlord.<sup>47</sup>

The defeat of Albert of Orlamünde ended any chance

<sup>46</sup>Albert zu Stade, p. 358; Sächsische Weltchronik, p. 249. Paludan-Müller, "Underhandlingerne," p. 110, believes that the German princes would not agree to any treaty that would permit Count Albert of Orlamünde to retain his lands.

<sup>47</sup>Albert zu Stade, p. 359; Sächsische Weltchronik, p. 244; Jörgensen, Valdemar Sejr, p. 59; Fritz Rörig, "Die Schlacht bei Bornhöved," Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, XXIV (1927), 286-87.

the Danes might have had to negotiate for the release of Valdemar II on their own terms. In Holstein people flocked to the banner of Count Adolf IV; the city of Lübeck expelled its Danish garrison in May of 1225, while Hamburg had opened its gates as early as February.<sup>48</sup> By the end of 1225, hardly any of Holstein remained under Danish rule.<sup>49</sup> There was little else that the Danes could do but agree to the German conditions for the release of their king. By November 17, 1225, a new treaty had been worked out whereby Valdemar II was to pay 45,000 marks silver as ransom, surrender the queen's jewels, deliver to the Germans cloth and furs valued in excess of 50,000 marks, deliver armor and weapons sufficient to outfit one hundred knights, and supply the horses for them. The king was also to surrender three of his sons and forty sons of Danish nobles as hostages to the count of Schwerin and give up all claims to Schwerin itself. Finally, the lands south of the Elbe-Eider line were to be returned to the emperor's jurisdiction. With the delivery of the hostages and an initial payment of 6,000 marks silver, King Valdemar II was finally freed on December 21, 1225.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup>Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck, ed. by Fr. Aschenfeldt (Lübeck, 1843-1905), I, Nos. 29, 31, 34; Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, p. 421.

<sup>49</sup>Rörig, "Die Schlacht," p. 287; Usinger, pp. 332-40; Eduard Winkelmann, Kaiser Friedrich II (Leipzig, 1889-97), pp. 441-43.

<sup>50</sup>Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 317; Albert zu Stade, p. 359; Sächsische Weltchronik, p. 246; Paludan-Müller, "Underhandlingerne," pp. 116-33.



The long imprisonment of the king had, however, sapped enough Danish strength to weaken considerably their colony in Estonia. The fragility of the Danish imperialism in the Baltic became obvious when Bishop Wilhelm of Modena arrived in Livonia in 1225 and began to redraw the political map of the Eastern Baltic.<sup>51</sup>

While it is probably true, as Henry of Livonia claims, that Bishop Wilhelm came at Bishop Albert's request to settle the internal quarrels in Livonia, the extensive powers granted the legate suggest that he was expected to do more than to just act as an arbitrator.<sup>52</sup> If it is true, as some historians have suggested, that the papacy desired to establish in the Baltic area a church state, governed directly from Rome, it could hardly have chosen a better man than Wilhelm to prepare the ground.<sup>53</sup> Experienced in diplomacy, full of vigor and energy, yet personable and friendly, the former vice-chancellor of the Curia made a great impact on the future

---

<sup>51</sup>The life and work of Bishop Wilhelm has been extensively treated in recent historical literature. The most outstanding work is Gustav A. Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina, Bischof von Modena, 1222-1234 (Helsingfors, 1929). Also valuable are discussions concerning the legate by Ammann, pp. 175-83, 186, 198, 251-53; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 155-57.

<sup>52</sup>Henry, XXIX:2; Arbusow and Bauer, p. 208 n. 1. Note the extensive power granted to the legate: UB, I, No. 69.

<sup>53</sup>Ammann, pp. 179-80; Hauck, IV, 639.

history of Livonia.<sup>54</sup>

By the time Bishop Wilhelm arrived in Riga in July of 1225, the papacy had indeed decided to take a more active role in directing the spiritual life of the Baltic lands and its future growth.<sup>55</sup> While the true faith was to be spread by the sword if necessary, care should also be taken that the neophytes would be protected against oppression by their conquerors. The Christian rulers apparently deprived the neophyte natives of their lands and other property and extended illegal tithes and taxes. The charge of depriving the natives of their personal freedom was leveled even against Bishop Albert himself. A whole series of papal admonitions dating back to the earliest years of the German mission clearly shows that the natives frequently were worse off after their conversion than before, an ironic contradiction to the Church's own teachings.<sup>56</sup> In connection with the question of

---

<sup>54</sup>For a detailed description of Bishop Wilhelm's personal characteristics, consult Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, pp. 1-25.

<sup>55</sup>Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, pp. 87-88; Benninghoven, p. 194 and notes.

<sup>56</sup>See, e.g., Henry, XVI:3, 6, XXV:2, XXIX:2-3, 5; UB, I, No. 97; Livonica, Nos. 20, 21. For a somewhat emotional but interesting account of the injustices perpetrated on the natives, see Vööbus, pp. 59-67; O. Sild, "Eestlaste vabaduste järkjärguline kokuvarisemine keskajal," Eesti Kirjandus, XX (1926), 10-27, 78-94, 141-60; J. Sitska, "Kuidas orjus meile tuli," Eesti Kirjandus, XII (1917), 1-11. Even Bishop Albert's successor as the bishop of Riga, Nicolaus, was accused of enslaving the natives: UB, I, No. 123.

neophyte rights and the more active policy of the papacy, a debate has ensued over two documents, one issued by Emperor Fredrick II in March of 1224, the other by Pope Honorius III on January 3, 1225. These so-called "Baltic Manifestos" both guaranteed that conversion to Christianity would in no way circumscribe the personal freedom of the neophyte nor lower his social position. The neophyte would only be required to be subservient to God and the Roman Catholic Church, and in the case of the emperor's proclamation, to the empire. If these documents were to be put into effect, the powers of such intermediary officials as governors, bishops, crusading orders, and the like would be seriously curtailed.<sup>57</sup>

Some scholars have subsequently argued that the manifestos were signs that the emperor and the pope had agreed to cooperate in a united venture to bring all the people of Europe into a larger Christian Imperium. Others have claimed that rather than being signs of unity, the manifestos were competitive documents, the emperor and the pope each trying to secure the allegiance of the Baltic peoples by offering them certain privileges and rights.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup>The imperial edict is printed in Preussisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 52, and UB, I, No. 112. The papal bull may be found in Preussisches Urkundenbuch, I, No. 54.

<sup>58</sup>Gustav A. Donner, "Das Kaisermanifest an die ostbaltische Völker vom März 1224," Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins, XXVII (1928), I, 1-10; Erich Caspar, Hermann von Salza (Tübingen, 1924), pp. 25-28. Koch, p. 258 n. 269, gives an excellent comparison of the positions of Donner and Caspar.

This writer, however, feels that both Fredrick II and Honorius III also had more immediate reasons for issuing their respective documents at the times that they did. The imperial declaration was put forth at a time when King Valdemar II was imprisoned and the emperor's right-hand man, Grand Master Hermann von Salza, had been sent to take charge of the negotiations for his release. As Fredrick II was in Germany trying to reclaim all lands held by the Danes, it would have been equally appropriate for him to lay claim to the Danish territories in the Baltic. One may also note that Bishop Albert and his brother Bishop Hermann had for a long time been friends and unswerving supporters of the Hohenstaufens and would welcome their protection. Hence, the imperial manifesto, while undoubtedly reflecting the old dream of one Christian empire, was basically a politically motivated, anti-Danish proclamation.<sup>59</sup>

Honorius III, on the other hand, has been correctly credited with being the first pope to involve the papacy directly in the Baltic crusade. Although the idea of conversion by force was not abandoned, the Curia began to show increased concern for the well-being of the neophyte natives. When Bishop Wilhelm became the first direct representative of Rome in the Baltic lands, the papal bull that preceded his arrival stated the aims of

---

<sup>59</sup>Ammann, pp. 179-80; Koch, p. 58 n. 269.

his superiors. The neophytes would maintain their political independence, social standing, and civil liberties under the protection of the chair of St. Peter. This was simply another way of saying that while other powers might seek to suppress the natives, the papacy sought to improve their lot. The pope's hint that a spiritual allegiance to Rome did not entail political subservience to a western temporal power became important later when attempts were made to bring the peoples of northwestern Russia into the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. The papal manifesto was in fact a Roman "position paper" on the aims of the pope in the Baltic.<sup>60</sup>

While Bishop Albert himself had asked for the Roman legate, he must have suspected that any papal intervention in Livonia might limit his own power and influence in the colony. Albert apparently decided to insure himself against any such occurrence. As a result, at the very moment when Bishop Wilhelm was arriving in Riga, Bishop Hermann departed Livonia for Germany. Here the bishop of Tartu sought imperial aid for himself and his brother, not only against internal enemies such as the Danes and the Knights of the Sword, but undoubtedly also against the Curia.<sup>61</sup> The brothers were successful, as King Henry VII on November 6, 1225, invested Bishop

---

<sup>60</sup>See below, pp. 173-75.

<sup>61</sup>Benninghoven, p. 196 and p. 196 n. 9; Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, p. 139; cf. Schönebohm, p. 312.

Hermann with the bishopric of Tartu, enfeofed him with Sakala, Ugandi, and his other lands, and made him a Reichsfürst with all the privileges and rights which this entailed.<sup>62</sup> At the request of Bishop Hermann, a similar boon was granted to Bishop Albert. The latter was also made a Reichsfürst, and the episcopal holdings in Livonia, Lettland, Leal, and Wiek were confirmed and officially made a mark or province of the Holy Roman Empire. This completed the process Bishop Albert had initiated in 1207 when he was enfeofed by King Philip of Swabia, and Livonia was first taken into imperial protection.<sup>63</sup> Any power that now might attempt to deprive either Albert or Hermann of their lands or privileges would in fact be attacking a part of the empire and therefore would have to answer to the emperor.

It was against this background of Danish and Livonian affairs that Bishop Wilhelm of Modena in the fall of 1225 set out to arrange the affairs of the Eastern Baltic. Since this study stresses Danish affairs, it will not dwell extensively upon the various internal disputes among different Livonian factions that the legate was called upon to settle, especially since these have been treated in detail in other studies.<sup>64</sup> An indication, however, of

---

<sup>62</sup>UB, I, Nos. 64, 68; Benninghoven, p. 196 n. 10.

<sup>63</sup>UB, I, No. 67. Koch, Excurs II, proves beyond doubt that the document should be dated 1225.

<sup>64</sup>Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, pp. 97-140; Benninghoven, pp. 190-206.

how the legatine decisions altered the relative strength of the Livonian powers is in order. In Riga, Bishop Wilhelm granted the burghers various municipal privileges, including the right to elect their own mayor and aldermen, and confirmed the use of the Gothland trading privileges. The result was that the influence of Bishop Albert in municipal politics was reduced.<sup>65</sup>

The disagreements between the Knights of the Sword and the bishop also came in for scrutiny. The legate decreed that while each party would retain the lands which it previously had held, all future conquests would be divided equally among the bishop of Riga, the Order, and the citizens of Riga. All crusading expeditions had to be carried out together and no one group was to attempt any campaigns by itself. The members of the Order did not individually have to swear allegiance to Bishop Albert, as this was to be done by the Master of the Order only. The knights, vassals, priests, and natives could, however, appeal their grievances to the bishop of Riga. Benninghoven concludes from these and other decisions that the loser in these settlements was the episcopal party, as its power remained relatively stable while both the Knights of the Sword and the burghers of Riga acquired the potential for future growth. In fact, Bishop Albert had been

---

<sup>65</sup>UB, I, Nos. 75, 80, 82, 89; UB, III, Nos. 82, 82a; Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, pp. 90-95; Ammann, p. 175; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 154-55.

reduced from a position of dominance to one of equality with the other two factions.<sup>66</sup>

It appears also that the Order at this time began to cooperate closely with the burghers and traders of both Riga and the various North German towns. In Riga, members of the Order were given seats on the city council, while the Knights of the Sword pledged to assist the burghers militarily. There are also signs that the Order acquired lands in Germany and cooperated with the traders of that country. Benninghoven points out that the similar semi-military way of life and mutual desire for further conquests in the East made an alliance between the two groups natural. It is probable that the papacy correctly assumed that if Roman Catholicism was to be spread aggressively eastward, the Order and the burghers-traders would form the spearhead of any such venture and hence their interests would have to be looked after.<sup>67</sup>

Before reaching the decisions discussed above, Bishop Wilhelm made sure that he fully comprehended the political and religious situation in Livonia and Estonia. He accomplished his objective through a series of three fact-finding missions which took him from one end of the colony to the other. His first journey in late summer of

---

<sup>66</sup>UB, I, Nos. 74, 83, 84; UB, III, Nos. 73b, 74, 85a, 87a, 87b; Benninghoven, pp. 198-206; Hellmann, pp. 155-56; Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 154-57.

<sup>67</sup>Benninghoven, pp. 206, 216; Johansen, "Die Bedeutung," pp. 90-91; Kallmerten, p. 88.



1225 carried the legate through the episcopal lands along the Düna and around Tartu.<sup>68</sup> At the end of this trip, the legate visited the lands of the Knights of the Sword, including Sakala and Viljandi. His second journey took him to the territories of the Düna region, where he preached until his return to Riga in August of 1225. Everywhere he went the legate preached to both the natives and the Germans, constantly admonishing the former to learn the word of God and the latter not to suppress the neophytes.

Bishop Wilhelm's third journey was connected with the most thorny and delicate problem in the Baltic--the continuing conflict between the Danes and the Germans in Estonia. It appears that in 1224 the Danes were once again in possession of the provinces they had held before the rebellion of 1222-23. Already during Wilhelm's journey to Viljandi in the summer of 1225 the existing tensions had surfaced as Danish and Estonian representatives from Wiek had appeared before the legate, the latter offering to place themselves under the legate or Riga if Bishop Wilhelm would guarantee them protection against the Danes and the Oeselians. The legate apparently at this

---

<sup>68</sup>Gnegel-Waitschies, pp. 153-54, maintains that Bishop Wilhelm was aware of the 1224 land divisions since he carefully avoided the lands of the Order during his first journey. She also believes that the tour was arranged by Albert to convince the legate that the bishop had enough subordinates to be named archbishop.

<sup>69</sup>Henry, XXIX:2-3, 5.

time took no action except to receive both delegations and listen to their arguments.<sup>70</sup> Soon, however, the time of petitions came to an abrupt end.

In the fall of 1225, supposedly at the request of the elders of the province of Viru, the vassals of Bishop Hermann, led by one Johannes von Dolen, invaded that province. Claiming that Viru had originally been conquered by the Germans, they expelled the Danes and occupied the local forts.<sup>71</sup> Since Bishop Wilhelm was also the legate for Viru, he was forced to intervene. By threatening ecclesiastical censure, he forced both the Danes and the Germans to evacuate the contested land and to transfer the title of Viru to the papacy. Shortly thereafter, Wilhelm also forced the Danes to hand over the provinces of Harju, Järva, and Wiek into papal hands. After Bishop Wesselin had in person delivered the titles to the legate in Riga, Wilhelm sent his own priests and pilgrims into Viru to rule that province.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup>Henry, XXIX:3. Hausmann, p. 64, believes that the legate already at this time took Wiek under papal control.

<sup>71</sup>Henry, XXIX:6. Concerning Johannes von Dolen, see also Henry, XXVIII:8; K. H. von Busse, "Die Burg Odenpäh und ihre frühere Bedeutung," Mitt., VI (1852), 326.

<sup>72</sup>Henry, XXIX:6; UB, I, Nos. 88, 117; Johansen, Die Estlandlister, p. 702; Hausmann, pp. 64-66. Bishop Wesselin was in Riga in December of 1225. I agree with Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, p. 104, that only one journey to Riga is involved as the passage in Henry, XXIX:4, is in the nature of a summary of events. Cf., however, Hausmann, p. 64.

Early the next year, the legate, together with various German notables from Livonia, set out to inspect the new areas under his control.<sup>73</sup> Bishop Wilhelm traveled through Sakala and Järva to Viru where at the fort of Tharwanpe he met with some Danish representatives from Reval and arranged a peace between them and the Germans and Estonians. In Viru itself, the legate tried to organize some kind of native local rule by appointing elders and judges from among the local inhabitants.<sup>74</sup> From Viru, he proceeded to the Danish castle at Reval. Once there, the legate demanded that the Danes surrender to him certain hostages they had taken in Viru. Since the possession of hostages signified political influence, the Danes resisted Wilhelm's request and the latter had to resort to an interdict before the hostages were finally delivered to him. Now, however, the Danes somehow exerted enough pressure on Wilhelm that he returned Harju to Danish rule while Viru, Järva, and Wiek were again confirmed as belonging to the papacy.<sup>75</sup> By late February, 1226, Bishop Wilhelm had returned to Riga and left his chaplain, one

---

<sup>73</sup>Henry, XXIX:7. The legate was accompanied by, among others, Bishop Lambert of Sengallia, the provost of the Riga cathedral chapter, John, citizens of Riga, and members of the Knights of the Sword. Bishop Lambert was the successor of Bishop Bernhard zu Lippe, who died in April, 1224: Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit" (1901), p. 51.

<sup>74</sup>Henry, XXIX:7.

<sup>75</sup>Henry, XXIX:7; Hausmann, p. 66 and p. 67 n. 1.

Master Johannes, in charge of the papal territories in Estonia.<sup>76</sup> On March 4 or 8, Bishop Wilhelm held a synod in Riga, which was attended by all the leading ecclesiastics, including Bishop Wesselin of Reval, and then in late April of 1226 prepared to leave Livonia, his task apparently completed.<sup>77</sup>

One may pause here a moment to reflect on what the first legatine mission to the Baltic had accomplished. Some scholars have argued that Bishop Wilhelm created in Estonia a true papal state, ruled by Rome through a vicelegate and some native officials. This state was to be expanded through future conquests under papal direction.<sup>78</sup> Others have denied any such scheme by pointing out that according to Bishop Wilhelm's own decisions, any future conquest would be under the rule of the German crusaders. Hence, a papal state would have served no real purpose.<sup>79</sup> A third theory suggests that Bishop Wilhelm actually wanted the disputed areas of Estonia to go to the Germans and the establishment of legatine rule was a temporary

---

<sup>76</sup>Henry, XXX:2. Master Johannes was named vicelegate by Bishop Wilhelm: UB, I, Nos. 117, 147, 152; Livonica, No. 21; Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, p. 63 n. 2.

<sup>77</sup>Henry, XXIX:8, XXX:1; Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, pp. 119-21. There exists a dispute whether the synod took place on March 4 or 8: Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, pp. 118-19; Holtzmann, "Studien," p. 186 n. 5.

<sup>78</sup>Benninghoven, p. 198.

<sup>79</sup>Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, pp. 79-86, 108-14 and notes.

subterfuge to hide the true motives of the legate.<sup>80</sup>

All three of these hypotheses, and this is what they are, have some merit to them. Primarily due to the lack of any detailed information about the thoughts of Rome on this subject, it is hard to reach any firm conclusions as to the aim of the papacy. Although Bishop Wilhelm arrived in Italy in late 1227, the Curia never made an attempt actually to rule its lands in Estonia. Apparently, the creation of a papally controlled buffer zone between the Danes and the Germans was intended as an interim solution until Bishop Wilhelm and his superiors reached a final decision as to what to do with the land. As we shall see, events in Estonia moved so fast that the Curia really had no opportunity to act.

There are also indications that in addition to the continued effort at converting the native pagans, the papacy was considering the feasibility of extending Roman Catholicism to northwestern Russia. Already in 1224 Honorius III had ordered the Russians to aid the Germans in the conversion of the natives.<sup>81</sup> In 1225, Bishop Wilhelm met with several Russian princes in Riga, and they must have discussed this matter further as the pope in 1227 directed a bull to the Russian princes in which he asked the latter if they still desired a Roman legate to be sent

---

<sup>80</sup>Hausmann, p. 68 and p. 68 n. 3.

<sup>81</sup>UB, I, No. 66.

to them as they had previously indicated to Bishop Wilhelm.<sup>82</sup> If indeed an attempt to bring the Russians into the Roman Catholic fold was in the works, a united Christian front in Estonia and Livonia became an absolute necessity and only papal intervention and mediation could reconcile the hostilities between the various contending factions.<sup>83</sup>

One must conclude that despite his diplomatic ability, Bishop Wilhelm seriously misread the political situation in the Eastern Baltic. The attempt to create a united Christian front by placing the disputed areas under papal rule was probably Bishop Wilhelm's own idea, but the legate failed to realize that it was only his personal presence that forced the Danes and the Germans to come to terms. As we shall see, once he left the country, hostilities would immediately break out again. This was not the heartland of Europe, where ecclesiastical pressure was sufficient to manage men who were more accustomed to settling disputes with the sword rather than at a conference

---

<sup>82</sup>UB, I, No. 95; Henry, XXIX:3-4.

<sup>83</sup>Ammann, pp. 176-77; Benninghoven, p. 205; Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, p. 103; Gnegel-Waitschies, p. 152. Modern Russian scholars agree that the papacy wanted to spread Roman Catholicism to Russia. To them, however, the papal aims are simply a manifestation of early Western imperialism against the "freedom-loving" Russian people: V. T. Pasuto, "O politike papskoj kurii na Rusi (XIII vek)," Voprosy Istorii, V (1949), 52-76; I. P. Saskoljskij, "Die päpstliche Kurie als Hauptorganizador der Kreuzfahrer-Aggression 1240-1242 gegen Russland," Istoričeskije Zapiski, XXXVII (1957), 169-88.

table. In this remote frontier area, the mere possession of a disputed piece of property vindicated one's action in obtaining it. The attempt to establish papal rule in Estonia proved unworkable since it failed to provide for any realistic means, such as a working administration and military force, to sustain itself. Little wonder then that the Danes and the Germans came to blows over the papal territories even before the legate had left the country.

While Bishop Wilhelm had left Riga in late April of 1226, he had been forced to wait for almost a month for favorable winds in the port city of Dünamunde.<sup>84</sup> Johannes von Dolen, the vassal of Bishop Herman who once before had been involved in the fighting in Viru, believing the legate to be on the high seas, attacked the lands of Master Johannes and captured one of the Vironian forts under papal control.<sup>85</sup> Upon hearing of this, Bishop Wilhelm banned Johannes, confiscated his fief and castle near Riga, and gave them to the burghers of the city.<sup>86</sup> The legate next proceeded to Wisby where, angered by an encounter with an Oeselien pirate fleet returning with captives from Sweden, he proceeded to preach a crusade

---

<sup>84</sup>Henry, XXX:1; UB, I, No. 116; UB, III, No. 18; Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, pp. 130-33.

<sup>85</sup>Henry, XXX:2; UB, I, No. 88; Livländische Güterurkunden, No. 11.

<sup>86</sup>UB, I, No. 88; Hausmann, p. 70 n. 2.

against the islanders.<sup>87</sup>

The response to the legatine call was indicative of the political views held by the Baltic powers. Only the German traders gathered their arms and horses and left for Riga. The Swedes on Gothland maintained their traditional neutrality while the Danes refused to listen to the legate, considering Oeselians affairs none of Wilhelm's business.<sup>88</sup> Some of these German crusaders from Gothland were probably also among the men whom Bishop Wilhelm in the summer of 1226 sent to aid his vice-legate Johannes in Viru and Wiek where warfare had again broken out, this time between Johannes and the Danes. Peace was finally restored through the mediation of the Rigans in order that all the Christian forces could be utilized in the impending invasion of Oesel.<sup>89</sup>

As soon as the ice between Oesel and the mainland became strong enough to support an army, the plans for the subjugation of the island were put into motion. On January 20, 1227, a Christian army of some 13,000 men gathered at the mouth of the Pärnu River. While Master Volquin of the Knights of the Sword was the actual leader of

---

<sup>87</sup>Henry, XXX:1. Bishop Wilhelm was in Wisby on July 6, 1226: Liv-, Est- und Curländische Urkunden-Regesten, ed. by F. G. Bunge (Leipzig, 1881), p. 258; UB, III, No. 73a.

<sup>88</sup>Henry, XXX:1; UB, I, No. 94; Benninghoven, p. 217.

<sup>89</sup>Henry, XXX:2; Johansen, Die Estlandlister, pp. 702-705.



the expedition, nominal leadership was vested in the vice-legate Johannes, whose squire, Gandulfin, marched with a papal banner in front of the army.<sup>90</sup> Also Bishop Albert, as well as Letts and mainland Estonians, partook in the expedition.<sup>91</sup> When the castle of Moone fell to the Christians after some bitter and bloody fighting, the Oeselians at the main fort of Valjala decided to surrender. This for all practical purposes ended all resistance on the island. During the following weeks, over 20,000 people were baptized so that by February of 1227. all Estonians were under Christian control.<sup>92</sup>

It remains unclear if Oesel was placed under the rule of the vice-legate or whether it was divided up among the Knights of the Sword, Bishop Albert, and the city of Riga according to the decision of Bishop Wilhelm in 1225. It should be pointed out that from this point on, it becomes much more difficult to reconstruct the events that took place in Estonia and Livonia, since the chronicle of Henry ends with the capture of Oesel. Hence, we know little of when and why a new conflict between the Danes and

---

<sup>90</sup>Livonica, No. 21 @ 5.

<sup>91</sup>Henry, XXX:3.

<sup>92</sup>Henry, XXX:3-6; R.Chr., vv. 1613-62. The chronicle of Henry ends with the expedition to Oesel. We are from here on deprived of our most valuable source for Estonian-Livonian history. The events of the next few years become extremely difficult to reconstruct as we lack any direct knowledge of the events that occurred.

the Germans erupted in 1227. Probably the reasons for these new hostilities were the continued weakness of the papal territories in Estonia on the one hand and the renewed Danish-German conflict in Germany on the other.<sup>93</sup>

After winning his freedom late in 1225, Valdemar II had set out to recoup his losses in North Germany. The king's task was made easier in July of 1226 when Pope Honorius III told him that the oath he had given to uphold the terms of his release was not binding since it was given under duress.<sup>94</sup> The disunity of the North German princes enabled Valdemar II and Otto of Lüneburg to capture Hamburg and occupy Ditmarschen. Finally, a coalition made up of the duke of Saxony, the counts of Schwerin and Holstein, Archbishop Gerhard II of Bremen, and the city of Lübeck was formed to oppose Denmark.<sup>95</sup> Now the resistance to the Danish forces stiffened and, in the spring of 1227, Valdemar II was forced to withdraw to northern Holstein. Here, near a place called Bornhöved, the king turned to face his opposition.<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup>By January 29, 1228, a new bishopric of Oesel-Wiek had been created and the Cistercian abbot of Dünamunde, Godfried, had been named bishop. Bishop Godfried, at the advice of Bishop Albert, granted the Knights of the Sword one-third of his lands: UB, III, 99a. In the fall of 1228, the bishopric of Oesel-Wiek was confirmed as an imperial fief by Henry VII: UB, VI, No. 2718; Schönebohm, pp. 341-42.

<sup>94</sup>AD, p. 152; BD, No. 204; Usinger, pp. 348-65.

<sup>95</sup>Albert zu Stade, p. 360; Sächsische Weltchronik, p. 248; Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, I, p. 338.

<sup>96</sup>Usinger, pp. 369-71.

The fighting in Germany spread to Livonia and became part of a Danish-German conflict which was fought along the whole length of the Baltic. As the German opponents of Valdemar II in Livonia held interests similar to those of the king's enemies in North Germany, especially in the areas of trade, the formation of a united anti-Danish front was a natural development. Sometime before July, 1227, Bishop Albert, Master Volquin, and the Oeseliens (sic) signed a treaty with the city of Lübeck wherein all the parties promised not to make a separate peace with Valdemar II.<sup>97</sup> This treaty was, however, not the cause but rather the result of the open warfare which had broken out in Estonia.

The papal lands, loosely held by Master Johannes and a few pilgrims, were a tempting target for outsiders. As the pilgrims did not constitute a permanent military force, Johannes found that he had to start collecting the tithe to raise money to hire troops. Slowly, the papal provinces, especially Viru, also became settled by German nobles, some apparently receiving their lands as fiefs from Johannes. These Germans began to undermine the rule of the native Estonian officials, an activity which in Viru led to a rebellion and the deaths of several Germans.

---

<sup>97</sup>Johansen, Die Estlandlister, pp. 708-709; UB, I, No. 98. It may be noted that, as early as January 17, 1227, the German traders in Wisby asked for, and received, a papal bull protecting them against all enemies. This may very well have been aimed against Valdemar II: UB, I, No. 94.

The Vironians called in the Knights of the Sword as rulers and protectors, while the Danes, aware of the political vacuum in the legatine lands, attacked the Germans. All of this activity took place sometime between February and June of 1227.<sup>98</sup> The confusion and the fighting which ensued ultimately undid the rule of the vice-legate and he called on the Order for assistance.<sup>99</sup> The Knights of the Sword invaded Viru and then, at the command of Master Johannes himself, besieged the castle at Reval.<sup>100</sup> The attack apparently surprised the Danish garrison, which at this time was commanded by the Danish prince Knut, and lacking provisions, they surrendered.<sup>101</sup> Somewhere along the line, a few of the Danes were killed and others later had to be ransomed.<sup>102</sup> The Danes handed over the castle and the province to the vice-legate and sailed for Denmark. Master Johannes now proceeded to do something very irregular. Realizing that his own rule in Estonia had in fact if not in name come to an end, and apparently favorably inclined toward the Germans, Johannes in late 1227 left for Italy. Before leaving, however, he officially

---

<sup>98</sup>Johansen, Die Estlandlister, pp. 705-708; Livonica, No. 21 @ 12 and 20.

<sup>99</sup>UB, I, No. 98.

<sup>100</sup>UB, I, No. 147; Livonica, No. 21 @ 15.

<sup>101</sup>Moritz Brandis, Lieffländische Geschichte (Riga, 1842), pp. 114-15; Johansen, Die Estlandlister, pp. 707-709.

<sup>102</sup>UB, I, No. 145.

gave the provinces of Reval, Harju, Järva, and Viru to the Knights of the Sword to be ruled by them in the name of the pope. By a similar agreement, the province of Wiek was granted to Bishop Albert.<sup>103</sup> All Danish territory in Estonia was now in German hands. The faction that benefited the most from the expulsion of the Danes was the Order, which now became the biggest landholder in Estonia-Livonia.<sup>104</sup>

Not only in Estonia but also in Germany the Danish fortunes sank to an all-time low. On July 22, 1227, Valdemar II fought a great battle with his German enemies at Bornhöved, south of Kiel. The engagement remained in doubt until, during the battle, the king's auxiliaries from Ditmarschen deserted to the enemy and turned on the Danish rear. The Danes suffered some 4,000 casualties in a losing cause. Valdemar II, wounded in one eye, was rescued by one of his knights, but Otto of Lüneburg and three Danish bishops were taken prisoner.<sup>105</sup> The battle of Bornhöved ended the Danish rule of the lands south of the Eider River and for several years, although not

---

<sup>103</sup>UB, I, No. 146; Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm, p. 63.

<sup>104</sup>In the province of Viru, and probably also in Harju, a special arrangement was in force as there were in this province numerous vassals who were almost independent from any ruler: Benninghoven, pp. 220, 239-41; Georges Wrangell, Die Harrisch-Wierische Ritterschaft und andere historische Ansätze (Reval, 1914), pp. 1-14.

<sup>105</sup>AD, pp. 106-07; Rörig, "Die Schlacht," passim.

permanently, stifled Danish imperialism. Adolf IV of Schauenburg received Holstein, while the count of Schwerin made himself sovereign of his ancestral territories.<sup>106</sup>

Due to these great difficulties so close to home, Valdemar II scarcely had the time or ability to do much about the loss of his provinces in Estonia. The Knights of the Sword, on the other hand, rushed to obtain legal confirmation of their acquisitions. This confirmation would hardly be obtainable in Rome since the lands appropriated by the Order technically still belonged to the papacy, and, in addition, the papacy always had tended to side with Denmark. Therefore, the Knights of the Sword instead turned to the Hohenstaufens for protection.<sup>107</sup> On July 1, 1228, King Henry VII granted to the Order "by his royal grace" the castle and province of Reval and the provinces of Harju, Järva, and Viru, as fiefs of the empire with all rights and for all times.<sup>108</sup> There are also indications that the man whom the Order wanted as their overlord was Duke Albert of Saxony, the old anti-Danish crusader.<sup>109</sup>

By 1228, an era in the history of the lands of the

---

<sup>106</sup>Usinger, pp. 374-78; Winkelmann, Friedrich II, pp. 506-508.

<sup>107</sup>Benninghoven, p. 221.

<sup>108</sup>UB, I, No. 100; Hausmann, p. 81; Johansen, Die Estlandlister, pp. 710-11.

<sup>109</sup>Benninghoven, pp. 221-22, especially p. 222 nn. 59-60.

Eastern Baltic had come to an end. Although the Danes were to regain parts of northern Estonia in 1238 and rule it for several more years, they were merely its nominal overlords. The inhabitants, with the exception of the native peasants, were all Germans. The Danish overseas empire that a Valdemar II or Anders Sunesen may have dreamed of had proven to be an unworkable, unrealistic illusion.

## CONCLUSION

In retrospect, Denmark's attempt to spread its power and influence to the pagan lands of the Eastern Baltic reveals not only the manipulations and manners of Danish politics but also the general attitude with which Europe viewed its relations with its borderlands and their inhabitants.

Although organized Christianity and political stability had come relatively late to Denmark, between the years 1150 and 1230 the Danish nation experienced a period of great vitality caused by a combination of outstanding leadership of State and Church and their mutual cooperation. This internal harmony was unmatched in contemporary Western Europe and enabled Denmark to undertake foreign ventures in search of both secular and spiritual glory.

The Danish expansion followed a common pattern of early raids for booty, interspersed with isolated attempts at settlement and conversion, followed by organized wars of conquest and conversion. If the Danes were eventually to fail where the Germans succeeded--in the establishment of a permanent settlement in the Baltic--it was due to Denmark's failure to advance its political and economic



institutions to a stage where the country could support an overseas empire. This is clearly if painfully illustrated by the apathy that gripped Denmark when its leading personalities, due to imprisonment or age, were unable to guide the nation. Underneath a veneer of political sophistication, Denmark had essentially still remained a nation where the personality of the king was needed to keep the State functioning effectively.

Successful colonization would also have required the resettlement in the new lands of a substantial number of farmers and artisans. This never occurred in Danish Estonia, where the population remained a mixture of native farmers and German vassals. Even the Danish military and spiritual leaders in Estonia were, with the exception of the top echelon, mostly drawn from the German possessions of Denmark. Ultimately, when Danish-German confrontations occurred in the colony, blood proved thicker than political allegiance.

As the inability of Denmark to sustain its leadership in Baltic affairs became more and more evident, the papacy, which had formerly worked to convert the Baltic pagans through the friendly and capable Danish Church, tried to assume direct rule over the newly converted territories. This last attempt was itself doomed to failure due to the lack of any effective means of running a papal state a thousand miles from Rome. In all cases, the Germans were the beneficiaries of Danish and papal labors.

Although the empire that the Danes established in Estonia did not last long in terms of years, it was founded at a time when the Christians in Livonia desperately needed help against external and internal enemies. The mixture of cooperation and competition that developed between the Danes and the Germans served to egg on the Christians in their attempts to convert and conquer the native pagans.

In short, Denmark tried and failed in the early thirteenth century to become an imperialistic power. While the country itself gained little in the way of territory, Denmark's involvement in Baltic affairs during this critical era aided considerably in the establishment of a westward-looking, Roman Catholic civilization in this part of Europe.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Although the study of Baltic history is a relatively unknown field in America, in Europe extensive research has been carried out for a long time in this area. As a result, most of the primary source material concerning Livonian and Estonian history can be found in one or another of the great source collections published at the end of the nineteenth century in Germany and the Scandinavian countries. The most extensive of these is Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch, edited by F. G. von Bunge et al. (6 vols.; Reval and Riga, 1853-75). For this study, Volume I, containing documents up to the year 1300, and Volumes III and VI, which contain corrigenda, are the most applicable. Documents that came to light after the publication of the Urkundenbuch can be found in various other collections such as Livonica, edited by H. Hildebrand (Riga, 1887), and Livländische Güterurkunden, edited by H. Bruiningk and N. Busch (Riga, 1907). Materials in the Vatican archives pertaining to Livonian history were extensively researched and later published by Leonid Arbusow in his Römischer Arbeitsbericht I-IV in Acta Universitatis Latviensis, XVII and XX (Riga, 1928-29) and Acta Universitatis Latviensis. Philologorum et

philosophorum ordinis serie, I:3 (Riga, 1929-31) and II:4 (Riga, 1931-33).

A few important documents were also printed separately in various learned journals. Such is the case with Archbishop Anders Sunesen's letter to Pope Innocent III in 1207, which Leonid Arbusow published in "Ein verschollener Bericht des Erzbischofs Andreas von Lund a.d. Jahr 1207 über die Bekehrung Livlands," SB Riga (1910), pp. 4-6.

Probably the most important source for Baltic history in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century is Heinrich von Lettland, Livländische Chronik, edited by L. Arbusow and A. Bauer (Hannover, 1955). This straightforward and rather unbiased eyewitness account of the first thirty years of the Christian conquest of the Baltic provides the scholar with a keen insight into the political and social life of Estonia and Livonia. It also provides an otherwise unobtainable glimpse of the life of the natives of the Baltic lands. Of the various editions, the one by L. Arbusow and A. Bauer is to be preferred, as it contains an accurate text as well as an impressive scholarly apparatus with comments and cross-references to other sources. The English translation by J. Brundage (Madison, Wisc., 1961) suffers from bad editing and factual errors. It also lacks the commentary provided by the German edition.

Additional information, especially about the

Knights of the Sword, can be obtained from the Livländische Rheimchronik, edited by L. Meyer (Paderborn, 1876), although this late thirteenth-century chronicle has meager and confused information about the early period of Livonian history. Such diverse sources as Cesarius von Heisterbach, Dialogus Miraculorum, edited by J. Strange (Köln, 1851), and Annales Dünamundenses, edited by K. Hohlbaum, in Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft, VII (1873), pp. 55-56, also provide bits and pieces of information, especially about the various personalities associated with the Cistercian order.

While all the above-mentioned sources touch upon the Danish phase of Livonian history, there exists no comprehensive collection of Danish documents dealing with Baltic affairs. The great compendium of materials dealing with the medieval period of Danish history, Scriptores Rerum Danicarum medii aevii, edited by J. Langebeck et al. (9 vols.; Köbenhavn, 1772-1834), is difficult to use and out of date. Much more convenient for the thirteenth century is the recent edited compilation of the main Danish chronicles by E. Jörgensen called Annales Danici medii aevii (Köbenhavn, 1920). For the activities of Valdemar II, the collection of excerpts from chronicles and complete documents known as Valdemar Sejr, edited by A. D. Jörgensen (Köbenhavn, 1879), is without equal. An attempt to re-create the life of the Danish king, Jörgensen's work contains not only quotes from Danish year-books, but also

excerpts from such diverse chronicles as Albert zu Stade and Annales Coloniensis.

Recently the Danes have begun work on what promises to become the outstanding edition of documents dealing with Denmark's foreign relations in the Middle Ages. This monumental work, as of yet incomplete, consists of two parallel editions. The first, Diplomatarium Danicum, edited by N. Skyum-Nielsen et al. (Köbenhavn, 1957- ), gives the various documents in their original languages while the second, Danmarks Riges Breve, edited by F. Blatt et al. (Köbenhavn, 1957- ), provides a Danish translation of the same materials. Both editions maintain a high scholarly standard and contain extensive commentaries. It should be hoped that this work, in which the volumes dealing with the years 1200-23 have appeared, will soon be completed. Papal bulls dealing with Denmark are conveniently gathered in another excellent collection, the Bullarium Danicum (1198-1316), edited by A. Krarup (Köbenhavn, 1931).

For Danish-German relations in Germany proper, one may in addition to the Danish sources also turn to various German chronicles such as Adam von Bremen, History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, edited and translated by F. J. Tschau (New York, 1959); Arnold von Lübeck, Slavekrönike, edited and translated by P. Kirkegaard (Köbenhavn, 1885); and especially Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto, edited by K. Höhlbaum, in Monumenta Germaniae SS,

XVI (Hannover, 1859), pp. 271-365. Arnold von Lübeck also discusses the early settlement of Livonia, Bishop Albert, and the Danish leaders. Further information may also be gained from the documents printed in the various collections dealing with the histories of North German bishoprics and towns. One may here cite Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch, edited by J. M. Lappenberg (Hamburg, 1842), and Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch, edited by G. Lisch (Schwerin, 1863).

Finally, one should not forget the Russian and papal materials that pertain to the Baltic crusade of the Danes and the Germans. Although the year-books of Novgorod and Pleskau are brief, they provide a check on the accuracy of the Latin sources. While most papal documents pertaining to Danish and Livonian history can be found in the source collections of those countries, Regesta pontificum Romanorum an anno 1198 ad annum 1398, edited by A. Potthast (2 vols.; Berlin, 1874-75), occasionally fills the voids of the national collections.

There also exists an abundance of secondary material dealing with Baltic history. Unfortunately for the English-speaking individual, most of them are written in German or one of the Scandinavian languages. Works dealing with the pre-Christian period are numerous, and a few representative examples will suffice to indicate the approaches taken by various scholars. Ture A. J. Arne, "La Suede et Orient," Archives d'études Orientales, VIII

(Uppsala, 1914), traces the activities of the Scandinavian Vikings in the east, while Birger Nerman, Die Verbindungen zwischen Skandinavien und dem Ostbaltikum in jüngerer Eisenzeit (Stockholm, 1929), concentrates on the cultural impact of the Scandinavians on the Baltic peoples. Numismatics and runes are used by N. Bauer, "Die Russischen Fünde abendländische Münzen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," Zeitschrift für Numismatik, XXIX (1929), 1-187, XL (1930), 187-223, and O. Montelius, "Svenska Runstenar om färden Österut," Fornvännen, IX (1914), 81-114, respectively, to show the frequent intercourse between the peoples on the opposite shores of the Baltic Sea. E. Saks, in his Aestii (Montreal and Heidelberg, 1960), has tried to show that the Estonians originally inhabited the whole Baltic coast from Prussia to the Finnish Gulf.

In any discussion of the period of conversion and conquest, one major work must be mentioned at the very outset. Friedrich Benninghoven's Der Orden der Schwertbrüder (Köln, 1965) promises to remain the definitive work on the Knights of the Sword, surpassing such older studies as F. von Bunge, Der Orden der Schwertbrüder (Leipzig, 1875). Benninghoven's monograph is not only an outstanding history of the Order but also an astute political and cultural analysis of the first fifty years of German rule in Livonia. The book also discusses the genealogies of all the members of the Knights of the Sword, German and Danish politics, as well as assorted other problems.



Excellent maps and statistics only add to the value of this work.

Two of the leading personalities in Livonian history are discussed in G. Gnegel-Waitschies, Bischof Albrecht von Riga (Hamburg, 1958), and G. A. Donner, Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina, Bischof von Modena (Helsingfors, 1929). Before the work by Gnegel-Waitschies, no biography existed of the leading figure of Livonian colonization. This work incorporates the most recent materials on the subject and portrays Albert as an ambitious diplomat and empire builder. Donner, on the other hand, deals with the life of a personality whose career as a papal legate was not only limited to Livonia. Wilhelm's activities in the colony are, however, discussed in detail, especially his work as an exponent of a peaceful papal "eastern policy." In the same vein, the work by Albert M. Ammann, "Kirchenpolitische Wandlungen im Ostbaltikum bis zum Tode Alexander Newskis," Orientalia Christiana Analecta, CV (Roma, 1936), stresses the activities of the Roman Catholic Church in Livonia and Finland as a prelude to a papally planned extension of Latin Christianity to Russia. The works of both Donner and Ammann have been attacked by Soviet historians like I. P. Saskoljskij and V. T. Pasuto, who, in their respective articles, "Die päpstliche Kurie als Hauptorganizador der Kreuzfahrer-Aggression 1240-1242 gegen Russland," Istoričeskije Zapiski, XXXVII (1957), 169-88, and "O politiker

papskoj kurii na Rusi (XIII vek)," Voprosy Istorii, V (1949), 52-76, maintain that a peaceful attempt to convert Russia never existed, only the aggressive designs of Western feudal imperialists.

The best introduction to early Baltic history is the collective work Baltische Lande, edited by A. Brackmann et al. (Leipzig, 1939). The articles in Baltische Lande are all written by acknowledged experts in their fields, which range from a study of the Baltic languages to the art and architecture of the churches of Estonia and Latvia. Still unsurpassed are the contributions of Leonid Arbusow, "Die mittelalterliche Schriftüberlieferung als Quelle für die Frühgeschichte der ostbaltischen Völker," pp. 167-203; Albert Bauer, "Sengallen und Upmale in frühgeschichtlicher Zeit," pp. 307-29; and Heinrich Laakmann, "Estland und Livland in frühgeschichtlicher Zeit," pp. 204-62. One should, however, keep in mind that the book was written during the 1930's and thus is tinged somewhat with German nationalism.

The prolific writings of Paul Johansen deserve a special mention. The two most important of his works are Die Estlandlister des "Liber Census Daniae" (2 vols.; Köbenhavn and Reval, 1933), and Nordische Mission, Revals Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland (Stockholm, 1951). The first book is an extremely able reconstruction of Estonian political history and geography based on a list of Estonian place names composed by early Danish

missionary monks. The second book attempts to show how Estonian culture was greatly influenced by Swedish traders and settlers. Johansen even believes that the city of Tallinn originated from a wintering place for Swedish merchants. In addition to these major works, Johansen has contributed works on Henry of Livonia, "Die Chronik als Biographie. Heinrich von Lettlands Lebensgang und Weltanschauung," Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, N.F. I (1953), I:1-24, and on the role of the Hansa in Livonian history, "Die Bedeutung der Hanse für Livland," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, LXV-LXVI (1940-41), 1-55.

Other less encompassing but equally important studies deal with one or more aspects or personalities in Estonian-Livonian history. Several works trace the backgrounds and careers of the various German spiritual and secular officials who were active in Livonia. What Fritz Schönebohm, Die Besetzung der livländischen Bistümer bis zum Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts (Giesen, 1909), does for the spiritual leaders, Astaf von Transehe-Roseneck, Die Ritterlichen Livlandsfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts (Würzburg, 1960), does for the secular crusaders. The early towns and forts of Estonia and Livonia have been studied by several archeologists and geographers, among them Eric Laid, Eesti Muinaslinnad (Tartu, 1923); Armin Tuulse, "Die Burgen in Estland und Lettland," Verhandlungen G.E.G., XXXIII (1942); and John Leighly, "The Towns of Medieval Livonia," University of California Publications in

Geography, VI, No. 7 (1944), 235-314.

Many a page has been devoted to the relationship between the Baltic lands and Germany. The foremost among these is Friedrich Koch, "Livland und das Reich bis zum Jahre 1225," Quellen und Forschungen zur Baltische Geschichte, Heft 4 (Posen, 1943), which discusses a whole spectrum of questions from the reasons behind the German drang nach Osten through the relationship of the German colony in Livonia with the Holy Roman Empire. Unfortunately the work was never completed as the author was killed in World War II. The ways in which the struggle for the imperial throne at the turn of the thirteenth century affected the colonization of the Baltic lands is discussed in the three biographies by Eduard Winkelmann, König Otto IV von Braunschweig (Leipzig, 1878), König Phillip von Schwaben (Leipzig, 1873), and Kaiser Friedrich II (Leipzig, 1889-97). Winkelmann has also contributed an important article, "König Phillip von Deutschland und Bischof Albert von Livland," Mitt., XI (1865), II-III, 307-15, which analyzes the relationship between King Philip and Bishop Albert. The same problem is treated in K. H. von Busse, "Bischof Albert von Riga und der deutsche König Phillip der Hohenstaufen," Mitt., VIII (1855), I, 87-94.

Several specialized works deal with the various North German powers that became involved in Livonian affairs. The foremost treatment of the role of

Hamburg-Bremen in Baltic and German politics is still Georg C. Dehio, Geschichte des Erzbistums Hamburg-Bremen bis zum Ausgang der Mission (2 vols.; Berlin, 1877). This may be supplemented by a more recent study of the careers of the individual archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, Günter Glaeske's Die Erzbischöfe von Hamburg-Bremen als Reichsfürsten, 937-1258 (Hildesheim, 1962). Glaeske especially stresses the role that the archbishopric played in imperial politics.

Since the Hansa was eventually to play a large role in the Baltic economic and political picture, various writings have attempted to trace the origins of this union of trading cities and to show the importance of the merchants to the growth and spread of German settlements. Johansen, in the article on the Hansa mentioned above, arrives at the conclusion that the traders were indeed the driving force behind the whole German eastern policy and that their desires often dictated the policies of such powers as Bishop Albert and the Knights of the Sword. The role of the pre-Hanseatic traders is also discussed by Willy Hoppe, "Die Hanse und der Osten," Hansische Volkshefte, Heft 14 (Bremen, 1927), and, in a more scholarly fashion, by Wilhelm Koppe, "Die Anfänge der Hanse, Gotland und das Reich," Jomsburg, IV (1940), 173-81.

Many Scandinavian scholars, however, feel that works such as Fritz Rörig's "Reichssymbolik auf Gotland," Hansische Gesichtsblätter, LXIV (1940), 1-67, unduly

overemphasize the role of the Germans in the Baltic trade. Both Lauritz Weibull, "St. Knut i Österled," Scandia, XVIII (1946), 84-101, and Hugo Yrwing, "Till frågan om Tyskarna på Gotland under 1100-talet," Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, LXXIV (1954), 411-21, have pointed out that it was the Scandinavian Vikings and the traders who were the pioneers of the Russian and eastern trade.

In addition, the Swedish and Danish writers have emphasized the early missionary activities of Scandinavian rulers and clergy among the Baltic pagans. Thus, Matts Dreijer, in "Kristendomens Genombrott i Norden," Ålansk Odling, XX (1959), 34-84, discusses not only the early organization in Scandinavia itself but also how especially the Danish Church almost immediately after its own inception began missionary work in Finland. The role of the papacy in the direction of the missionary activities of the Swedish rulers is stressed in Sven Tunberg's "Erik den Helige, Sveriges Helgokonung," Fornvännen, XXXVI (1941), 275-76. While Jalmari Jaakkola, "Suomen ensimmäinen piispa," Turun Historiallinen Arkisto, XI (1951), 83-111, attempts to prove that Fulco was the first bishop of Finland, J. W. Ruuth, "Några ord om de äldsta Danska medeltidsannalerna som innehålla uppgifter om tåget till Finland 1191 och 1202," Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, C (1911), 227-38, discusses the various Danish crusades to Finland.

The best general discussion of Danish foreign

policy around the turn of the thirteenth century is N. G. Heine, "Östersöoproblemer omkring 1200," Humanistiske Studier, II (Aarhus, 1941), 9-85. Although Heine's claim that Valdemar II established a modern centralized state in Denmark is open to criticism, his analysis of the Danish attempt to establish political supremacy over North Germany, Norway, Sweden, and the Baltic merits close attention. Unfortunately there is no biography of Valdemar II. The life of the Danish king can only be found in collective works such as Hal Koch, "Danmarks Konger, 1042-1340," in Danmarks Konger, edited by K. Fabricius (Köbenhavn, 1944), pp. 48-102, or Fredrick Hammerich, Danmark i Valdemarernes Tid (Köbenhavn, 1848). To this may be added articles dealing with certain specific incidents in Valdemar's life, such as C. P. Paludan-Müller, "Underhandlingerne om Kong Valdemar den Andens Fångenskab," Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter, R.5 Hist. og Philo. Afdelingen, D.4, III (1869), 94-113, where the king's imprisonment and release are analyzed, and Christian Bruun, Berengaria af Portugal (Kjöbenhavn, 1893), which discusses the ruler's personal life.

More has been written about Anders Sunesen, yet a complete biography is lacking. Valdemar Ammundsen's "Anders Sunesen," Kirkehistoriska Samlingar, R.5 Bd.3 (1907), 650-64, is a general although scholarly exposition, while Frederik Hammerich, En Skolastiker og en Bibeltheolog fra Norden (Köbenhavn, 1865), treats the

archbishop as a theologian and a scholar. Although Stig Iuul, "Anders Sunesen som lovgiver og juridisk författare," Svensk Juristtidning, XXXIII (1948), I, 6-21, minimizes Anders Sunesen's talents as a lawyer, his pious and peaceful personality is stressed. A completely different picture of the archbishop is gained from Sigvard Skov's article, "Erkebisp Anders Sunesen og påvestolen," Scandia, XIX (1948), II, 169-95. Here the author maintains the archbishop was a fighter for papal universalism who, guided by Rome, directed Valdemar II's imperialistic ventures in the Baltic. Although Niels Skyum-Nielsen's book, Kirkekampen i Danmark, 1241-1290 (Köbenhavn, 1963), deals with the violent quarrels which broke out between Valdemar II's successors and the Danish Church, it is valuable in that it also shows the unique cooperation between the two powers while Anders Sunesen and Valdemar II were alive.

The Danish period of Estonian history has drawn the attention of both Scandinavian and German scholars. Although the titles of Laurents P. Fabricius' and A. D. Jörgensen's articles, "Sagnet om Danebroge og de aeldste förbindelser med Estland," Kirkehistoriska Samlingar, R.6 Bd.1 (1935), 485-533, and "Om Danebroges Oprindelse," Dansk Historisk Tidskrift, R.4 Bd.5 (1875-77), 415-59, suggest that they deal with the legend surrounding the Danish national flag, which states that the flag fell from heaven during the battle of Tallinn in 1219, they actually



deal with a much wider range of subjects, including the eleventh-century activities of the Danes in the Baltic.

While the Danish invasion of Estonia in 1219 and the subsequent conflicts with the Germans are treated in all major works dealing with Livonian history, Richard Hausmann's Das Ringen der Deutschen und Dänen um den Besitz Estlands (Leipzig, 1870) deals specifically with the wars between the Danes and the Germans in Estonia between 1219 and 1227. Gottlieb Ney, "Valdemar Sejrs Fälttåg till Estland 1219," Svio-Estonica, XV (1960), 79-102, concentrates on the military aspects of the invasion while a second work by the same author, "Revals uppkomst ur stadsgeographisk synpunkt," Svensk Geografisk Årsbok, XXX (1954), 103-32, analyzes the definitions of a "city" and then proceeds to discuss the founding of Tallinn. Denmark's relations with Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are best described by Rudolf A. Usinger, Deutsch-Dänische Geschichte (Berlin, 1863), the only work of its kind. Fritz Rörig, in his "Die Schlacht bei Bornhöved," Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, XXIV (1927), 281-99, describes the circumstances surrounding the crucial battle of 1227 in Holstein.

The role of the Church in the Baltic crusade has been viewed both favorably and unfavorably. Haralds Biezais, "Der friedliche Zeitabschnitt der katolischen Mission in Lettland bis zum Jahre 1196," Kyrkohistorisk

Årsskrift, LVI (1956), 13-29, holds that the early missionary attempts, like that of Meinhardt, were on the whole peaceful. Ilmar Arens, "Zur Frage der ältesten Berührungen mit Christentum," Estonia Christiana. Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, XV (1965), 25-43, takes a similar view, while Arthur Võõbus, "Christianization or War of Conquest," Estonia Christiana. Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, XV (1965), 45-78, considers the whole crusading movement in the Baltic simply a land-grabbing expedition. Albert Bauer, "Der Livlandkreuzzug," Baltische Kirchengeschichte, edited by R. Wittram (Göttingen, 1956), I, 26-34, is especially harsh on Bishop Albert and his methods of conversion.

The whole crusading ideal has been examined in detail by Carl Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens (Stuttgart, 1935). Two representative works which deal with the crusading movement in the Baltic are Helmut Beumann, "Kreuzzugsgedanke und Ostpolitik im hohen Mittelalter," Historische Jahrbücher, LXXXII (1953), 112-32, and Hermann Dorries, "Fragen der Schwertmission," in Baltische Kirchengeschichte, edited by R. Wittram (Göttingen, 1956), I, 17-25.

A large part of the Church's missionary effort in the North was carried out by the regular clergy, especially the Cistercians. The main work in this field is W. Schmidt, "Die Zisterzienser im Baltikum und in Finland,"

Finska Kyrkohistoriska Samfundets Årsskrift, XXIX-XXX (1939-40), 1-286.

The crusaders also had to deal with the Russians. We have already noted how the works by Ammann and Donner have suggested that the papacy was interested in bringing the Greek Orthodox peoples of Russia under Roman control. Edward Winter, in Russland und das Papsttum (Berlin, 1960), claims that the papal mission in Livonia was the western part of a two-pronged attempt to unite the Eastern and Western Church. Winter considers the capture of Constantinople in 1204 the other part of this plan. Soviet historians have seen nothing peaceful or holy about the papal pretensions, as the work by Saskoljiskij, "Die papstliche Kurie als Hauptorganizador der Kreuzfahrer-Aggression 1240-1242 gegen Russland," Istoričeskiye Zapiski, XXXVII (1957), 169-88, will attest to.

Finally, a few more works deserve to be mentioned that do not fit into any specific category. Thus Michael von Taube's articles, "Internationale und Kirchenpolitische Wandlungen im Ostbaltikum und Russland zur Zeit der deutschen Eroberung Livlands," Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, III (1938), 11-46, and "Russische und Litauische Fürsten an der Düna zur Zeit der deutschen Eroberung Livlands," Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven, N.F. XI (1935), 367-502, are invaluable in showing the ties between the Russian and Scandinavian royal families. A whole series of articles are devoted



to various problems connected with the chronicle of Henry of Livonia. Of these one may mention Leonid Arbusow's "Die Forschungen über das Chronicon Livoniae Heinrichs von Lettland, 1920-1930," Latvijas Universitātes Raksti. Philo. Ser., I (1931), 6, 373-390, an excellent summary of past research, and the same author's study of Henry's literary style, "Das entlehnte Sprachgut in Heinrichs Chronicon Livoniae," Deutsche Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters, VIII (1950), 100-53. Robert Holtzmann, "Studien zu Heinrich von Lettland," Neues Archiv, XLIII (1920), 161-212; XLIV (1922), 365-67, is an attempt to unravel the chronology of Henry's work.

There are of course many other works dealing with the founding of the Christian colonies on the shores of the Baltic. The fact that they have not been mentioned in this bibliographical essay should not be construed to mean that they are of little or no value. They have, on the contrary, added to the writer's understanding of this important era and have enabled him to write this study in the proper framework of medieval mentality.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### A. Primary Sources

Adam von Bremen. History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. Edited and translated by Francis J. Tschau. New York, 1959.

Alberich von Trois Fontaines. Chronica Alberici monachi Trium-Fontium a monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis interpolata. Edited by P. Scheffer-Boichorst. In MG SS, XXIII (Hannover, 1874), pp. 674-950.

Annales Danici medii aevi. Edited by Ellen Jörgensen. Köbenhavn, 1920.

Annales Dünamundenses. Edited by K. Hohlbaum. In Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft, VII (1873), p. 56.

Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto. Edited by J. M. Lappenberg. In MG SS, XVI (Hannover, 1859), pp. 271-365.

Arbusow, Leonid. Römischer Arbeitsbericht I-IV. In Acta Universitatis Latviensis, XVII and XX (Riga, 1928-29) and Acta Universitatis Latviensis. Philologorum et philosophorum ordinis serie I:3 (Riga, 1929-31) and II:4 (Riga, 1931-33).

Arnoldi abbatis Lübecensis Chronica. Edited by J. M. Lappenberg. In MG SS, XXI (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 100-250.

Arnold von Lübeck. Slavekrönike. Edited and translated by P. Kierkegaard. Köbenhavn, 1885.

Bonnell, E. Russisch-liwländische Chronographie von der Mitte des neunten Jahrhunderts bis 1410. St. Petersburg, 1862.

Brandis, Moritz. Lieffländische Geschichte. In Monumenta Livoniae antiqua, III (Riga and Leipzig, 1842), pp. 1-195.

Bremisches Urkundenbuch. Edited by W. von Bippen and D. R. Ehmeck. 3 vols. Bremen, 1873-80.

- Bullarium Danicum (1198-1316). Edited by A. Krarup.  
Köbenhavn, 1931.
- Cesarius von Heisterbach. Dialogus miraculorum. Edited  
by J. Strange. Köln, 1851.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Homiliae. Edited by F. J. Coppenstein. Köln,  
1615.
- Chronica Iutensis, in Scriptores minores Danicae medii  
aevi, I (Köbenhavn, 1917), pp. 440-45.
- The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia. Edited and translated  
by J. A. Brundage. Madison, Wisc., 1961.
- Cross, Samuel H., and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, ed. The  
Russian Primary Chronicles. Cambridge, Mass., 1953.
- Danmarks Riges Breve. Edited by F. Blatt et al. Köben-  
havn, 1957-- (incomplete).
- Diplomatarium Danicum. Edited by N. Skyum-Nielsen,  
L. Weibull et al. Köbenhavn, 1957-- (incomplete).
- Diplomatarium Suecanum. Vol. I. Edited by J. G. Lil-  
jegren. Stockholm, 1869.
- Est- und Livländische Brieflade. Edited by F. G. von  
Bunge et al. 4 vols. Reval, 1856-87.
- Finlands Medeltidsurkunder. Edited by R. T. Hausen.  
Helsingfors, 1910.
- Fontes historiae Latviae medii aevii. Edited by A. Svabe  
and A. Attementes. 2 vols. Riga, 1937-40.
- Gesta Innocentii III Romani Pontificis, in Patrologiae  
cursus completus. Patrologia Latina. Edited by J. P.  
Migne, CCXIV. Paris, 1844-64.
- Gammeldanske Kröniker. Edited by Marcus Lorenzen. Köben-  
havn, 1887-1918.
- Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch. Vol. I. Edited by J. M.  
Lappenberg. Hamburg, 1842.
- Hansische Urkundenbuch. Edited by K. Höhlbaum and  
K. Kunze. 11 vols. Leipzig, 1876-1939.
- Heinrich von Lettland. Livländische Chronik. Edited by  
L. Arbusow and A. Bauer. Hannover, 1955.

Helmoldus. The Chronicle of the Slavs. Translated by F. J. Tschau. New York, 1935.

Hildebrand, Hermann, ed. Livonica (vornähmlich aus dem 13. Jahrhundert, im Vaticanischen Archiv). Riga, 1887.

Jørgensen, Adolf D., ed. Valdemar Sejr. Köbenhavn, 1879.

Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Edited by F. G. von Bunge et al. 6 vols. Reval and Riga, 1853-75.

Liv-, Est- und Kurländische Urkunden-Regesten. Edited by F. G. von Bunge. Leipzig, 1881.

Livländische Güterurkunden. Edited by H. Bruiningk and N. Busch. Riga, 1907.

Livländische Rheimchronik. Edited by Leo Meyer. Paderborn, 1876.

Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch. Vol. I. Edited by G. Lisch. Schwerin, 1863.

Monumenta Estoniae antiquae. Edited by J. Hurt. 3 vols. Helsingfors, 1904-07.

Monumenta Livoniae antiqua. 5 vols. Riga, Dorpat, and Leipzig, 1835-47.

Napiersky, Carl E. Russisch-livlaendische Urkunden. St. Petersburg, 1868.

Nestors Russiske Krönike. Edited and translated by C. W. Smith. Köbenhavn, 1869.

I. Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodo. Edited by A. N. Nasonov and M. N. Tichomirov. Moscow and Leningrad, 1950.

Novgorod's Letopis. The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016-1471. Translated by R. Mitchell with introduction by C. R. Beazely and A. A. Shakmatov. London, 1914.

Olrik, H. J., ed. Kröniker fra Valdemarstiden. Köbenhavn, 1900-01.

Petri, Olaus. Olai Petri Svenska Krönika. Edited by G. E. Klemming. Stockholm, 1870.

Polnoe sobranie russkich letopisej. (Complete collection of Russian year-books.) St. Petersburg, 1846-1930.



Preussisches Urkundenbuch. Vol. I. Edited by R. Philippi and K. R. Wolky. Königsberg, 1882.

Regesta Imperii. Edited by J. F. Böhmer and J. Ficker. Innsbruck, 1879-81.

Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum 1198. Edited by Philip Jaffe. Berlin, 1851.

Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab anno 1198 ad annum 1304. Edited by August Potthast. 2 vols. Berlin, 1874-75.

Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Bremen. Vol. I. Edited by O. H. May. Hannover-Bremen, 1937.

Repertorium diplomaticum regni Danici mediaevalis. Edited by K. Erslev et al. København, 1894-1934.

Russow, Balthasar. Chronik der Prouintz Lyfflandt. Edited and translated by E. Pabst. Reval, 1845.

Saxo Grammaticus. Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum. Edited by J. Olrik and A. Raeder. København, 1925.

Sächsische Weltchronik. Edited by L. Weiland. In MG SS. Deutsche Chroniken II. Hannover, 1877.

Scriptores minores historiae Danicae medii aevi. Edited by M. C. Gertz. 2 vols. København, 1917.

Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii aevi. Edited by J. Langebeck et al. 9 vols. København, 1772-1834, 1879.

Scriptores rerum Livonicarum. Edited by E. Frantzen. 2 vols. Riga and Leipzig, 1853.

Sveriges Traktater. Edited by O. S. Rydberg. 4 vols. Stockholm, 1877-88.

Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck. Edited by F. Aschenfeldt. Lübeck, 1843-1905.

## B. Secondary Sources

Abers, Benno. "Zur päpstlichen Missionspolitik in Lettland und Estland zur Zeit Innozenz III," Commentationes Balticae, IV-V (1956-57), 3-18.

Ammann, Albert M. "Kirchenpolitische Wandlungen im Ostbaltikum bis zum Tode Alexander Newskis," Orientalia Christiana Analecta, CV (Roma, 1936).



Ammundsen, Valdemar. "Anders Sunesen," Kirkehistoriska Samlingar, R.5 Bd.3 (1907), 650-64.

Andersen, J. Oskar. "Aerkebispevalget i Lund 1177," Scandia, XXIII (1955-56), 101-14.

Andersson, Ingvar. "Det Lundensiska Primatet över Sverige," Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, LXXXV (1965), 324-28.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Uppsala Ärkestifts tillkomst," Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, LXXXIV (1964), 389-410.

Arbusow, Leonid, Sr. Grundriss der Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Kurlands. 3rd edition. Riga, 1908.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert," Jahrbücher für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik (1900), pp. 33-80; (1901), pp. 1-160; (1902), pp. 39-74; (1911-13), pp. 1-432.

Arbusow, Leonid, Jr. "Das entlehnte Sprachgut in Heinrichs Chronicon Livoniae," Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters, VIII (1950), 100-53.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Die deutsche Einwanderung im 13. Jahrhundert," in Baltische Lande. Edited by Albert Brackman et al. Leipzig, 1939. I, 355-83.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Die Forschungen über das Chronicon Livoniae Heinrichs von Lettland, 1920-1930," Latvijas Universitātes Raksti. Philo. Ser., I (1931), 6, 373-90.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Die frühesten Eindrücke der deutschen Livenmission um 1200 auf abenländische Zeitgenossen," Baltische Monatshefte (1936), 561-66.

\_\_\_\_\_. Frühgeschichte Lettlands. Riga, 1933.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Die mittelalterliche Schriftüberlieferung als Quelle für die Frühgeschichte der ostbaltischen Völker," in Baltische Lande. Edited by Albert Brackman et al. Leipzig, 1939. I, 167-203.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Die 'Umvolkung' des deutschen Chronisten Heinrich von Livland," Jomsburg, III (1939), 223-27.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Ein verschollener Bericht des Erzbischofs Andreas von Lund a.d. Jahr 1207 über die Bekehrung Livlands," SB Riga (1910), pp. 4-6.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Zeitgenössische Parallelberichte zum Chronicon Livoniae Heinrichs von Lettland," Verhandlungen. G.E.G., XXX (1938), 40-47.

- Arbusow, Leonid, Jr. "Zur Würdigung der Kultur Altlivlands im Mittelalter und 16. Jahrhundert," Historische Zeitschrift, CLI (1935), 18-47.
- Arens, Ilmar. "Zur Frage der ältesten Berührungen mit Christentum," Estonia Christiana. Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, XV (1965), 25-43.
- Aubin, Hermann. "Die Ostgränze des alten deutschen Reiches," Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXVIII (1934), 225-72.
- Baethgen, Friedrich. "Die Kuria und der Osten im Mittelalter," Deutsche Ostforschung, I (1942), 291-330.
- Balodis, Francis. "Handelswege nach dem Osten und die Wikinger in Russland," Antikvariska Studier, LXV (1948), 317-65.
- Balzani, Ugo. The Popes and the Hohenstaufens. London, 1901.
- Bauer, Albert. "Der Livlandkreuzzug," in Baltische Kirchengeschichte. Edited by R. Wittram (Göttingen, 1956), I, 26-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Semgallen und Upmale in frühgeschichtlicher Zeit," in Baltische Lande. Edited by Albert Brackmann et al. Leipzig, 1939. I, 307-29.
- Bauer, N. "Die Russischen Fünde abendländischer Münzen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts," Zeitschrift für Numismatik, XXIX (1929), 1-187; XL (1930), 187-223.
- Benninghoven, Friedrich. Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Köln, 1965.
- Beumann, Helmut, ed. Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters. Darmstadt, 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kreuzzugsgedanke und Ostpolitik im hohen Mittelalter," Historische Jahrbücher, LXXII (1953), 112-32.
- Biereye, W. "Das Bistum Lübeck bis zum Jahre 1254," Zeitschrift die Verein für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, XXV (1929), 1-30.
- Biezais, Haralds. "Der friedliche Zeitabschnitt der katolischen Mission in Lettland bis zum Jahre 1196," Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift, LVI (1956), 13-29.

- Bilkins, Vilis. "Problemet om 'Henricus de Lettis' nationalitet," Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, LXXXII (1962), 35-49.
- Björk, David K. "Three Hansa Towns and their Archives--Bruges, Lübeck, Tallinn," Pacific Historical Review, IX (1940), 297-306.
- Blanke, Fritz. "Die Entscheidungsjahre der Preussenmission," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVII (1928), 18-40.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Missionsmethode des Bischofs Christian von Preussen," Altpreuussische Forschungen, IV (1927), 20-42.
- Blomquist, Ragnar. Lunds Historia. Gleerup, 1951.
- Blumfeldt, Evald. "Umwertung der Geschichte in Soviet-Estland," in Die Baltischen Völker in ihren europäischen Verpflichtung. Edited by Hans von Rimscha. Hannover, 1958. Pp. 3-17.
- Brackmann, Albert, Carl Engel et al., ed. Baltische Lande. Leipzig, 1939. (Only Vol. I was published.)
- Brackmann, Albert. Magdeburg als Hauptstadt des deutschen Ostens im frühen Mittelalter. Leipzig, 1937.
- Braun, Friedrich. "Das historische Russland im nordischen Schriftum des X-XIV Jahrhundert," in Festschrift für Eugen Mogk. Halle, 1924. Pp. 150-96.
- Bruiningk, Hermann. "Livländisches aus den Fragmenten der Librii VIII Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach," SB Riga (1904), pp. 226-30.
- Bruun, Christian. Berengaria af Portugal. Kjöbenhavn, 1893.
- Bunding-Naujoks, Margret. "Das Imperium Christianum und die deutschen Ostkriege vom zehnten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert," in Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke. Edited by H. Beumann. Darmstadt, 1963. Pp. 65-120.
- Bunge, Friedrich G. von. Baltische Geschichtsstudien I: Livland die Wiege der Deutschen Weihbischöfe. Leipzig, 1875.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Baltische Geschichtsstudien II: Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Leipzig, 1875.



- Busch, Nicolai. "Ueber eine bisher unbeachtete Ausfertigung der Urkunde über die Theilung Lettland vom Jahr 1211," SB Riga (1897), pp. 80-81.
- Busse, K. H. von. "Bischof Albert von Riga und der deutsche König Phillip der Hohenstaufen," Mitt., VIII (1855), I, 87-94, 191-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Burg Odenpäh und ihre frühere Bedeutung," Mitt., VI (1852), III, 323-54.
- Caspar, Erich. Hermann von Salza und die Gründung des Deutschordensstatts in Preussen. Tübingen, 1924.
- Chudzinski, Erich. Die Eroberung Kurlands durch den Deutschen Orden im 13. Jahrhundert. Borna-Leipzig, 1917.
- Clark, J. G. D. "The Earliest Settlements of the West Baltic Area in the Light of Recent Research," Pre-historic Society Proceedings, n.s. XVI (1950), 87-100.
- Dahlmann, Friedrich C. Geschichte von Dänemark. 7 vols. Hamburg, 1840-1902.
- Dehio, Georg C. Geschichte des Erzbistums Hamburg-Bremen bis zum Ausgang der Mission. 2 vols. Berlin, 1877.
- Diederichs, Arthur. Staufer und Welfen. 3rd edition. Jena, 1938.
- Donner, Gustav A. "Das Kaisermanifest an die ostbaltischen Völker vom März 1224," Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins, XXVII (1928), I:1-10.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina, Bischof von Modena, 1222-1234. Helsingfors, 1929.
- Dörries, Hermann. "Fragen der Schwertmission," in Baltische Kirchengeschichte. Edited by R. Wittram. Göttingen, 1956. Pp. 17-25.
- Dreijer, Matts. "Kristendomens Genombrott i Norden," Äländsk Odling, XX (1959), 34-84.
- Eggert, Oskar. "Dänisch-Wendische Kämpfe in Pommern und Mecklenburg," Baltische Studien, N.F. XXX (1928), 1-74.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Wendenzüge Waldemars I und Knuts VI von Dänemark," Baltische Studien, N.F. XXIX (1927), 1-152.

- Engelmann, August Y. Chronologische Untersuchungen aus der russisch-livländischen Geschichte des XIII und XIV Jahrhunderts. Riga, 1860.
- Erdmann, Carl. Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens. Stuttgart, 1935.
- Erslev, Kristian S. Kilderne til Danmarks historie i Middelalderen. Köbenhavn, 1892.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Valdemarernas Storhetstid. Köbenhavn, 1898.
- Fabricsius, Knud. Fra Saxo til Povl Helgesen. Köbenhavn, 1930.
- Fabricsius, Laurents P. Danmarks Kirkehistorie. Vol. I. Köbenhavn, 1934.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sagnet om Danebrog og de aeldste förbindelser med Estland," Kirkehistoriske Samlinger, R.6 Bd.1 (1935), 485-533.
- Fürst, Carl M. "Ärkebiskop Anders Sunesson," Ymer, XXVIII (1908), 69-82.
- Gallén, Jarl. "Kring det s.k. Florensdokumentet från omkring år 1120," Historisk Tidskrift för Finland, XLIII (1958), 1-26.
- Gardiner, Rolf. "German Eastward Policy and the Baltic States," Contemporary Review, CXLV (1934), 324-31.
- Gimbutas, Marija. The Balts. London, 1963.
- Glaeske, Günter. Die Erzbischöfe von Hamburg-Bremen als Reichsfürsten, 937-1258. Hildesheim, 1962.
- Gnegel-Waitschies, Gisela. Bischof Albrecht von Riga. Hamburg, 1958.
- Goetz, Leopold-Karl. Deutsch-russische Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters. Lübeck, 1922.
- Gorski, Karol. "The Monastic States on the Coasts of the Baltic," Baltic and Scandinavian Countries, III (1937), 43-50.
- Grentrup, Theodor. "Der Zizterzienser Dietrich in der altlivländischen Mission," Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft, XL (1956), 265-81.



- Grüner, H. "Missionsmethode und Erfolg bei der Christianisierung Livlands," Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift, XLI (1914), 156-61.
- Haldacher, Anton. "Ueber den Zeitpunkt der Exkommunikation Otto's IV," Römisches Historische Mitteilungen, Heft III (1958-60), 132-85.
- Haller, Johannes. Das Papsttum--Idee und Wirklichkeit. 3 vols. Stuttgart, 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Innocent III und Otto IV," in Papsttum und Kaisertum. Edited by Albert Brackmann. München, 1926. Pp. 475-507.
- Hammann, C. "Die Beziehungen Rügens zu Dänemark," Greifswalder Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, IV (1933).
- Hammar, Arnold N. "Om kyrkan i Skåne under Katholicismen," Acta Universitatis Lundensis, IV (1867), 1-148.
- Hammerich, Frederik. Danmark i Valdemarernes Tid (1157-1375). Köbenhavn, 1848.
- \_\_\_\_\_. En Skolastiker og en Bibeltheolog fra Norden. Köbenhavn, 1865.
- Hampe, Karl. Deutsche Geschichte in der Zeit der Salier und Staufer. 9th edition. Leipzig, 1945.
- Hansen, A. "Bischof Albert und seine Orden," Verhandlungen G.E.G., II (1850), 1-35.
- Harnack, Otto. "Livlands als Glied des deutschen Reiches vom dreizehnten bis sechzehnten Jahrhundert," Preussische Jahrbücher, LXVII (1891), V:364-78.
- Hartung, J. "Die Territorialpolitik der Magdeburger Erzbischöfe Wichman, Ludolf und Albrecht (1152-1232)," Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg, XXI (1886), 1-58.
- Hasse, Paul. "Der Kampf zwischen Lübeck und Dänemark vom Jahre 1234 in Sage und Geschichte," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, IV (1874), 117-48.
- Hasselblatt, R. "Die Metropolitanverbindung Revels mit Lund," Mitt., XIV (1890), IV:461-66.
- Hauck, Albert. Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands. 9th edition. Berlin, 1958.

- Hausmann, Richard. Das Ringen der Deutschen und Dänen um den Besitz Estlands. Leipzig, 1870.
- Hehn, Jürgen von. "Aus der baltischen historischen Arbeit," Jahrbuch für Geschichte Osteuropas, III (1955), 250-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sowietisierung der baltischen Geschichte," Osteuropa, III (1953), 394-95.
- Heine, N. G. "Östersöoproblemer omkring 1200," Humanistiske Studier, II (Aarhus, 1941), 9-85.
- Hellmann, Manfred. Das Lettland im Mittelalter. Münster and Köln, 1954.
- Hofmeister, Adolf. Der Kampf um die Ostsee vom 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Greifswald, 1931.
- Holtzmann, Robert. "Studien zu Heinrich von Lettland," Neues Archiv, XLIII (1920), 161-212; XLIV (1922), 365-67.
- Hoppe, Willy. "Die Hanse und der Osten," Hansische Volkshefte, Heft 14 (Bremen, 1927).
- Iuul, Stig. "Anders Sunesen som Lovgiver og juridisk författare," Svensk Juristtidning, XXXIII (1948), I:6-21.
- Jaakkola, Jalmari. "Suomen ensimmäinen piispa," Turun Historiallinen Arkisto, XI (1951), 83-111.
- Johansen, Paul. "Die Bedeutung der Hanse für Livland," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, LXV-LXVI (1940-41), 1-55.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Chronik als Biographie. Heinrich von Lettlands Lebensgang und Weltanschauung," Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, N.F. I (1953), I:1-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Die Estlandlister des "Liber Census Daniae." 2 vols. København and Reval, 1933.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Legenden von der 'Aufseglung' Livlands durch Bremer Kaufleute," in Europe und Übersee. Edited by Otto Brunner. Hamburg, 1961. Pp. 21-35.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Eestlane Tallinna linnaarhiivi allikate kajastuses," Ajalooline Ajakiri, XIII (1934), 180-88.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kurlands Bewohner zu Anfang der historischen Zeit," in Baltische Lande. Edited by Albert Brackmann et al. Leipzig, 1939. I, 263-306.

Johansen, Paul. Nordische Mission, Revals Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland. Stockholm, 1951.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Siedlung und Agrarwesen der Esten im Mittelalter," Verhandlungen G.E.G., XXIII (1925).

Jørgensen, Adolf D. "Om Danebroges Oprindelse," Dansk Historisk Tidsskrift, R.4 Bd.5 (1875-77), 415-59.

Jørgensen, Adolf D., ed. and trans. Valdemar Sejr. København, 1879.

Jørgensen, Ellen, ed. Middelalderlig historisk Litteratur paa Modersmålet. København, 1930.

Jürgens, Adolf. "Skandinavien und Deutschland in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart," Hansischer Geschichtsverein. Pfingstblätter, Blatt 12 (n.d.).

Kallmerten, Paul. Lübische Bündnis-politik von der Schlacht bei Bornhöved bis zur dänischen Invasion unter Erich Menved. Kiel, 1932.

Kempf, Friedrich. Papstum und Kaisertum bei Innocenz III. Roma, 1954.

Kerkonen, G. "De Danska Kårstågens Hamnar i Finland," Svenska Litteratursällskapets Skrifter (1952), 219-58.

Keussler, F. "Zu Frage der Beziehungen der russischen Fürsten zu den Eingebornen der Gegenwärtigen Ostseeprovinzen im XII und XIII Jahrhundert," SB Riga (1891), pp. 116-19.

Kirchner, Walther. The Rise of the Baltic Question. Newark, Del., 1954.

Koch, Friedrich. "Livland und das Reich bis zum Jahre 1225," Quellen und Forschungen zur Baltische Geschichte, Heft 4 (Posen, 1943).

Koch, Hal. "Anders Sunesen," in Dansk Biografisk Lexicon. Edited by P. Engelstoft. København, 1942. XXIII, 142-46.

\_\_\_\_\_. Danmarks Kirke gennem Tiderne. København, 1949.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Danmarks Konger, 1042-1340," in Danmarks Konger. Edited by Knut Fabricius. København, 1944. Pp. 48-102.

- Koczy, Leon. "The Baltic Policy of the Teutonic Order," Baltic Countries, II (1936), 149-77, 322-23.
- Koht, Halvdan. "The Scandinavian Kingdoms Until the End of the Thirteenth Century," in Cambridge Medieval History. Edited by J. B. Bury et al. Cambridge, 1957. VI:362-92.
- Köningsfeldt, J. P. F. "De Katholske Erkebiskopper og Biskoper i Danmark," in Historiske Aarsbøger. Edited by C. Mølbech. København, 1951. III:1-18.
- Koppe, Wilhelm. "Die Anfänge der Hanse, Gotland und das Reich," Jomsburg, IV (1940), 173-81.
- Krabbo, Hermann. "Die deutschen Bischöfe auf dem Vierten Laterankonzil 1215," Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, X (1907), 275-300.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Kirchenprovinz Bremen nach den römischen Bistumsverzeichnissen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," Historische Vierteljahrsschrift, IX (1906), 516-20.
- Kreutzwald, Fredrich. "Revals ältester Name Lindanisse, vom estnischen Standpunkte beleuchtet," Verhandlungen G.E.G., III (1854), I:46-48.
- Kruse, Friedrich C. H. Urgeschichte des estnischen Volkstammes. Leipzig, 1846.
- Kruus, Hans. "Suurteos Eesti Keskaja Kohta," Ajalooline Ajakiri, XIII (1934), 37-46.
- Kumelin, Kjell. "Sveriges kristnande i Slutskedet," Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, LXXXII (1962), 249-97.
- Laakmann, Heinrich. "Estland und Livland in frühgeschichtlicher Zeit," in Baltische Lande. Edited by Albert Brackmann. Leipzig, 1939. I, 204-62.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Gründungsgeschichte Rigas," in Baltische Lande. Edited by Albert Brackmann et al. Leipzig, 1929. I, 350-54.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Zur ältesten Geschichte des Bisthums Ösel-Wiek," Verhandlungen G.E.G., XXX (1938), 321-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Zur Geschichte Heinrichs von Lettland und seiner Zeit," Beiträge, XVIII (1933), II:57-102.
- Läffler, L. F. "Till 700-årsminnet af slaget vid Lena," Fornvännen, III (1908), 44-48, 92-101, 153-77.

- Laid, Erik. Eesti Muinaslinnad. Tartu, 1923.
- Leighly, John. "The Towns of Medieval Livonia," University of California Publications in Geography, VI, No. 7 (1944), 235-314.
- Liiv, Otto. "Bibliografischen Übersicht der wichtigsten literatur über estnisches archivmaterial in ausländischen Archiven," International Committee of Historical Sciences. Bulletin, IV, No. 2 (June, 1932), 223-33.
- Loewis of Menar, Karl von. Karte von Livland in Mittelalter. Reval, 1895.
- Luiga, Juhan. "Läti Hendriku kroonika kriitika," Eesti Kirjandus, XX (1926), 482-515.
- Mayer, Theodor. "Das Kaisertum und der Osten im Mittelalter," Deutsche Ostforschung, I (1942), 291-309.
- Mettig, C. Geschichte der Stadt Riga. Riga, 1897.
- Montelius, Oscar. "Svenska Runstenar om Färden Österut," Fornvännen, IX (1914), 81-114.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Sveriges Förbindelser med andra Länder i fornhistorisk Tid. Stockholm, 1898.
- Moora, Hans. "Über die Entstehung und das Alte Revals," Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Toimetised, II (1953), 167-74.
- Must, Gustav. "Zur Herkunft des Stadtnames Reval," Finnische-Ugrischen Forschungen, XXX (1951), III: 303-11.
- Nerman, Birger. Die Verbindungen zwischen Skandinavien und dem Ostbaltikum in jüngeren Eisenzeit. Stockholm, 1929.
- Ney, Gottlieb. "Revals uppkomst ur stadsgeographisk synpunkt," Svensk Geografisk Årsbok, XXX (1954), 103-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Valdemar Sejrs Fälttåg till Estland 1219," Svio-Estonica, XV (1960), 79-102.
- Oldekop, Hans. Die Anfänge der katolischen Kirche bei den Ostseefinnen. Reval, 1912.
- Olins, Peter. The Teutonic Knights in Latvia. Riga, 1928.

- Olrik, Hans T. Absalon. 2 vols. Köbenhavn, 1908.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Anders Sunesen, Aerkkebiskop og Skolastiker," Dansk Biografisk Lexikon, XVI (Köbenhavn, 1901), 585-89.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Konge og praestestand i den Danske middelalder. 2 vols. Köbenhavn, 1892-95.
- Oppermann, C. J. A. The English Missionaries in Sweden and Finland. London, 1937.
- Orthbandt, Eberhardt. Die Zeit der Staufer. Stuttgart, 1965.
- Paludan-Müller, Caspar P. Studier til Danmarks Historie i det 13de Aarhundrede. 4 vols. Köbenhavn, 1869.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Underhandlingerne om Kong Valdemar den Andens Fangenskab," Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter, R.5, Hist. og Philo. Afdelingen, 4 D., III (1869), 94-113.
- Pasuto, V. T. "O politiki papskoj kurii na Rusi (XIII vek)," Voprosy Istorii, V (1949), 52-76.
- Patze, Hans. "Der Frieden von Christburg vom Jahre 1249," Jahrbuch für Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands, VII (1958), 39-91.
- Paucker, H. G. Estlands Geistlichkeit in geordneter Zeit und Reihefolge. Reval, 1849.
- Pflugk-Harttung, J. von. "Über Archiv und Register der Papste," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XII (1891), 248-78.
- Poole, Austin L. "Philip of Swabia and Otto IV," in Cambridge Medieval History. Edited by J. Bury et al. Cambridge, 1957. VI:44-79.
- Rathlef, Georg. Das Verhältniss des livländischen Ordens zu den Landesbischöfen und zur Stadt Riga. Dorpat, 1875.
- Redlich, Clara. "Nationale Frage und Ostkolonisation im Mittelalter," Rigaer Volkstheoretische Abhandlungen, Heft 2 (Berlin, 1934).
- Reh, Paul, "Das Verhältniss des deutschen Ordens zu den preussischen Bischöfen im 13. Jahrhundert," Zeitschrift des West-Preussischen Geschichtsvereins, XXXV (1896), 35-147.

Rohköhl, Martin. "Albert Suerbeer, Erzbischof von Livland, Estland und Preussen," Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte, XLVII (1917), 68-90.

Rörig, Fritz. "Die Schlacht bei Bornhöved," Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, XXIV (1927), 281-99.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Heinrich der Löwe und die Gründung Lübecks," Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters, I (1937), II:408-56.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Reichssymbolik auf Gotland," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, LXIV (1940), 1-67.

Runstedt, Hans-Gerd. Die Hanse und der Deutsche Orden. Weimar, 1937.

Ruuth, Johan W. "Några ord om de äldsta Danska medeltidsannalerna som innehålla uppgifter om tåget till Finland 1191 och 1202," Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, C (1911), 227-38.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Paavi Innocentio III: en Extharum kirjeesta 30 p: lta lohak 1209," Historiallinen Arkisto, XXII (1911), I:1-15.

Rydbeck, Otto. "Tre Lundensiske Ärkebiskopar," Kungeliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. Årsberättelse (1941), 149-211.

Saks, Edgar V. Aestii. Montreal and Heidelberg, 1960.

Sappok, Gerhard. "Die deutsche Ostpolitik des Hochmittelalters in Rahmen der Reichspolitik," Jomsburg, IV (1940), 141-73.

Saskoljskij, I. P. "Die papstliche Kurie als Hauptorganizator der Kreuzfahrer-Aggression 1240-1242 gegen Russland," Istoričeskije Zapiski, XXXVII (1957), 169-88.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Fragen der ältesten Geschichte Revals," Isvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serija Istории i Filosofii, VIII (1951), IV:382-83.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Neuen Material über den Schwedenzug gegen Russland, 1240," Isvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Serija Istории i Filosofii, VIII (1951), III:267-76.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Sigtunskij pohod 1187," Istoričeskije Zapiski, XXIX (1949), 135-63.

Schmeidler, Bernhard. Hambrug-Bremen und Nord-Ost Europa von 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert. Lübeck, 1918.

Schmidt, W. "Die Zisterzienser im Baltikum und in Finland," Finska Kyrkohistoriska Samfundets Årsskrift, XXIX-XXX (1939-40), 1-286.

Schönbach, A. E. "Eine Beschreibung Deutschlands um 1240," Mitteilungen des Institute für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVII (1906), 54-90.

Schönebohm, Fritz. Die Besetzung der livländischen bistümer bis zum Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts. Giessen, 1909.

Schück, Adolf. "Sigtunas förhärjning, 1187," Fornvännen, XLVIII (1953), 215-19.

Schünemann, Konrad. "Ostpolitik und Kriegesführung im frühen Mittelalter," Ungarische Jahrbüchern, XVII (1937), 31-56.

Schwartz, Phillip. Kurland im 13. Jahrhundert. Leipzig, 1875.

Schwemer, Richard. Innocenz III und die deutsche Kirche während des Thronstreites von 1198 bis 1205. Strassburg, 1882.

Sild, O. "Eestlaste vabaduste järkjärguline kokkuvärsimine keskajal," Eesti Kirjandus, XX (1926), 10-27, 78-94, 141-60.

Sitska, J. "Kuidas orjus meile tuli," Eesti Kirjandus, XII (1917), 1-11, 49-56.

Skov, Sigvard. "Erkebisp Anders Sunesen og påvestolen," Scandia, XIX (1948), II:169-95.

Skyum-Nielsen, Niels. "Aerkekonge og aerkebiskop," Scandia, XXIII (1955-56), 1-102.

\_\_\_\_\_. Kirkekampen i Danmark 1241-1290. Köbenhavn, 1963.

Snellmann, A. H. "Die Ostsee-finnen zur Zeit ihrer Unabhängigkeit," Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aika-kauskirja, XVI (1896), 1-163.

Smissen, Johannes van der. "Olaf der Heilige auf Oesel," Inland, No. 35 (1849), pp. 600-604.



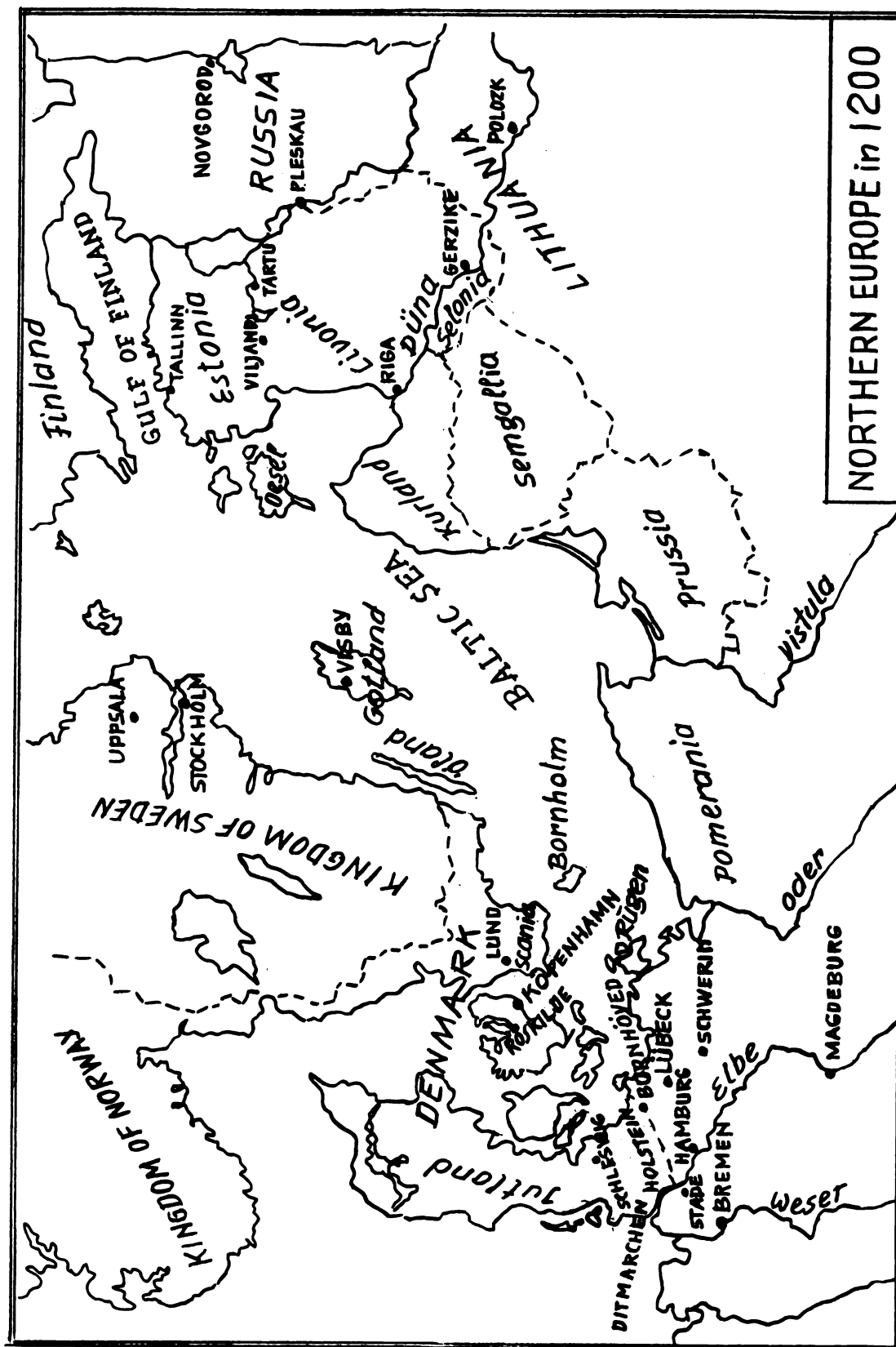
- Spekke, Arnolds. The Ancient Amber Route and the Geographical Discovery of the Eastern Baltic. Stockholm, 1957.
- Stern, C. von. "Livlands Ostgrenze im Mittelalter von Peipus bis zur Düna," Mitt., XXIII (1926), 195-240 and map.
- Sybel, Heinrich von. "Deutschland und Dänemark im dreizehnten Jahrhundert," Historische Zeitschrift, XII (1864), 1-21.
- Tallgren, A. M. "Zur Archeologie Eestis. II. Von 500 bis etwa 1250 n. Cr.," Acta et Commentationes. Universitatis Dorpatensis. B. Humaniora, VIII (1925).
- Taube, Arved von. "Die Schlacht auf dem Eise des Peipus am 5 April 1242," Jomsburg, VI (1942), 57-64.
- Taube, Michael von. "Internationale und Kirchenpolitische Wandlungen im Ostbaltikum und Russland zur Zeit der deutschen Eroberung Livlands," Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, III (1938), 11-46.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Russische und Litauische Fürsten an der Düna zur Zeit der deutschen Eroberung Livlands," Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven, N.F. XI (1935), 367-502.
- Thompson, James W. "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," American Journal of Theology, XX (1916), 205-30.
- Tillmann, Helene. Pabst Innozenz III. Bonn, 1954.
- Transehe-Roseneck, Astaf von. Die Ritterlichen Livlandsfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts. Würzburg, 1960.
- Tunberg, Sven. "Erik den Helige, Sveriges Helgokonung," Fornvännen, XXXVI (1941), 257-76.
- Tuulse, Armin. "Die Burgen in Estland und Lettland," Verhandlungen G.E.G., XXXIII (1942).
- Uluots, Jüri. "Eestlaste lepingud vöörastega XIII sajandil," Õigus, XVI (1935), 75-94; XVII (1936), 49-72.
- Urban, William. "The Baltic Crusade of the Thirteenth Century." Unpublished dissertation, University of Texas, 1967.
- Usinger, Rudolf A. Deutsch-Dänische Geschichte. Berlin, 1863.



- Vibaek, Marius. Den Danske handels historie indtill Reformationen. Köbenhavn, 1932.
- Virkkunen, A. H. "Itämeren Suomalaiset Saksalaisen Valloituksen Aikana, 1159-1229," Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja, XIX (1907), 1-167.
- Võõbus, Arthur. "Christianization or War of Conquest," Estonia Christiana. Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, XV (1965), 45-78.
- Weibull, Curt J. Lübeck och Skånemarknaden. Lund, 1922.
- Weibull, Lauritz. "När och hur Finland blev Svenskt," Scandia, XIII (1940), 1-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Påven Alexander III's Septemberbrev til Norden," Scandia, XIII (1940), 90-98.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "St. Knut i Österled," Scandia, XVIII (1946), 84-101.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Tiden for Absalon's tillträde till ärkebiskopsdomet Lund," Scandia, XIII (1940), 99-107.
- Werner, Jakob. "Die Teilnehmerliste des Laterankonzils von J. 1215," Neues Archiv, XXXI (1905), 575-95.
- Wieselgren, Per. "Namnet Reval," Meijerbergs Arkiv för Svensk Ordforskning, VII (1947), 88-116.
- Winckler, Arthur. Die Deutsche Hanse in Russland. Berlin, 1886.
- Winkelmann, Eduard. Kaiser Friedrich II. Leipzig, 1889-97.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "König Phillip von Deutschland und Bischof Albert von Livland," Mitt., XI (1865), II-III:307-15.
- \_\_\_\_\_. König Phillip von Schwaben (1198-1208). Leipzig, 1873.
- \_\_\_\_\_. König Otto IV von Braunschweig. Leipzig, 1878.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Livländische Forschungen," Mitt., XI (1865), II-III:307-40.
- Winter, Edward. Russland und das Papsttum. Berlin, 1960.
- Winter, Franz. Die Cistercienser im nordöstlichen Deutschland. 3 vols. Gotha, 1868-71.

- Wittram, Reinhard. Baltische Geschichte. München, 1954.
- Wittram, Reinhard, ed. Baltische Kirchengeschichte.  
Göttingen, 1956.
- Wrangell, Georges. Die Harrisch-Wierische Ritterschaft  
und andere historische Ansätze. Reval, 1914.
- Yrwing, Hugo. "Till frågan om Tyskarna på Gotland under  
1100-talet," Svensk Historisk Tidskrift, LXXIV (1954),  
411-21.
- Zur Mühlen, Heinrich von. Studien zur älteren Geschichte  
Revals. Zeulenroda, 1937.
- Zutis, J. "Die russisch-estnischen Beziehungen vom 9. bis  
14. Jahrhundert," Istorik Marksist, III (1940), 20-30.







MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293100626401