

Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier

A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia

Edited by

MAREK TAMM

Tallinn University, Estonia

LINDA KALJUNDI

Tallinn University, Estonia

CARSTEN SELCH JENSEN

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

ASHGATE

Contents

<i>List of Maps, Figures and Table</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of Contributors</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>xvii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xxvii</i>
<i>A Note on Names</i>	<i>xxix</i>
<i>Modern Equivalents of Place Names and Regional Names</i>	<i>xxxix</i>
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	<i>xxxiii</i>

Introduction: Henry of Livonia, The Writer and His Chronicle <i>James A. Brundage</i>	1
--	---

PART I: REPRESENTATIONS

1 Henry of Livonia and the Ideology of Crusading <i>Christopher Tyerman</i>	23
2 Sacred History, Profane History: Uses of the Bible in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia <i>Jaan Undusk</i>	45
3 <i>Henricus</i> the Ethnographer: Reflections on Ethnicity in the Chronicle of Livonia <i>Jüri Kivimäe</i>	77
4 Henry the Interpreter: Language, Orality and Communication in the Thirteenth-century Livonian Mission <i>Alan V. Murray</i>	107
5 Martyrs and Miracles: Depicting Death in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia <i>Marek Tamm</i>	135

- 6 Henry of Livonia on Woods and Wilderness 157
Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen
- 7 'Verbis non verberibus': The Representation of Sermons in the
Chronicle of Henry of Livonia 179
Carsten Selch Jensen

PART II: PRACTICES

- 8 Riga and Rome: Henry of Livonia and the Papal Curia 209
Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt
- 9 The Notion of a Missionary Theatre: The *ludus magnus* of
Henry of Livonia's Chronicle 229
Nils Holger Petersen
- 10 Bigger and Better: Arms Race and Change in War Technology
in the Baltic in the Early Thirteenth Century 245
Kurt Villads Jensen
- 11 Mechanical Artillery and Warfare in the Chronicle of Henry
of Livonia 265
Ain Mäesalu
- 12 An Archaeological Reading of the Chronicle of Henry of
Livonia: Events, Traces, Contexts and Interpretations 291
Valter Lang and Heiki Valk
- 13 Ösel and the Danish Kingdom: Revisiting Henry's Chronicle
and the Archaeological Evidence 317
Marika Mägi

PART III: APPROPRIATIONS

- 14 The Use and Uselessness of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia
in the Middle Ages 345
Anti Selart

15	The <i>Chronicon Livoniae</i> in Early Modern Scholarship: From Humanist Receptions to the Gruber Edition of 1740 <i>Stefan Donecker</i>	363
16	Henry's Chronicle in the Service of Historical Thought: Editors and Editions <i>Tiina Kala</i>	385
17	The Chronicler and the Modern World: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic Crusades in the Enlightenment and National Traditions <i>Linda Kaljundi, with the collaboration of Kaspars Kļaviņš</i>	409
	The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia: A Selected Bibliography <i>Compiled by Marek Tamm</i>	457
	<i>Index</i>	473

List of Maps, Figures and Table

Maps

1	Medieval Baltic Region	<i>xxxiv</i>
2	Languages of the Eastern Baltic Lands c. 1200 (simplified)	<i>xxxv</i>
3	Main campaigns in Livonia according to Henry's Chronicle, 1208–17	<i>xxxvi</i>
4	Main campaigns in Livonia according to Henry's Chronicle, 1218–27	<i>xxxvii</i>
12.1	Estonian strongholds from the mid-eleventh to early thirteenth centuries	294
12.2	The besieging constructions from 1223 south of Fellin stronghold	297
12.3	Hillfort at Keava	304
12.4	The crusaders' raid on Harria in 1224	307
13.1	Trade routes to Byzantium and the East crossing thirteenth-century Livonia	318
13.2	Ösel at the beginning of the thirteenth century	320

Figures

2.1	The combinations of the narrative structure 'the happy return to home' in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia	71
4.1	Extrapolated numbers of tokens of language use in instances of direct speech	127
11.1	The quarrels of the great crossbow and ordinary crossbow bolts from 1223, unearthed during the excavation of hills next to the fort of Fellin (Est. Viljandi) Photograph: Herki Helves © Museum of Viljandi	274
11.2	The best-known drawing explaining the working principle of the counterweight trebuchet. R. Payne-Gallwey, [London, 1903]	280
11.3	A drawing of a siege catapult. R. Payne-Gallwey, [London, 1903]	284

- 12.1 Crossbow bolts from 1223 from Fellin. Photograph by Heiki Valk, 2009 © Heiki Valk 298
- 12.2 A besieger's spade from 1223 from Fellin. Photograph by Heiki Valk, 2001 © Heiki Valk 299
- 12.3 Profile brick from Fellin from before 1223, probably from the church mentioned by Henry of Livonia. Photograph by Heiki Valk 2001 © Heiki Valk 300
- 12.4 The stronghold at Lohu. Photograph by Ants Kraut © National Heritage Board, Tallinn 303
- 12.5 Heap of fire-cracked stones at the edge of Sangaste hillfort plateau – probably 'ammunition' against a crusaders' raid in early 1224 Photograph © Heiki Valk 311
- 16.1 *Stemma codicum* of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia 390
- 17.1 Ludwig von Maydell, 'Erste Landung der Bremer Kaufleute in der Düna. 1156' ('The First Landing of the Bremen Merchants on the Daugava. 1156'), in *Fünzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. 1 (Tartu, 1839). Copperplate engraving © Art Museum of Estonia 416
- 17.2 Ludwig von Maydell, 'Wie der Sturm der Ehsten auf die lettische Burg Beverin abgeschlagen wird. Ad 1207' ('How the Storming of the Estonians Was Beaten Back at the Latvian Hillfort of Beverina. AD 1207'), in *Fünzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. 1 (Tartu, 1839). Copperplate engraving © Art Museum of Estonia 420
- 17.3 Ludwig von Maydell, 'Gefecht mit den Oesellschen Seeräubern. Ad 1202' ('A Fight with the Öselian Pirates. AD 1202'), in *Fünzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. 1 (Tartu, 1839). Copperplate engraving © Art Museum of Estonia 421
- 17.4 A monument of Lembitu in Suure-Jaani (Estonia). Sculptor: Amandus Adamson. Bronze. 1926 © Estonian Film Archives 432
- 17.5 Ott Kangilaski, 'Muhu linnuse vallutamine' ('The Siege of Muhu Stronghold'). The painting is based on an illustration in the first volume (1935) of the pre-war standard 'Estonian History'. Watercolour. 1941. © Estonian History Museum 439
- 17.6 A monument to Meelis and Vetseke in Tartu, Estonia. Sculptor: Olav Männi. Bronze. Designed 1950, erected in Tartu in 1980 © Tartu City Museum 443

17.7	Scene from the opera 'Kaupo' at the Estonia Theatre, Tallinn (Estonia), 1932. Composer: Adolf Vedro. Kaupo: Karl Viitol; the Monk: Aleksander Kikas © Estonian Film Archives	454
------	--	-----

Table

4.1	Instances of direct speech in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia	122
-----	---	-----