

# COMMUNICATING CRUSADE. LIVONIAN MISSION AND THE CISTERCIAN NETWORK IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY\*

Marek Tamm

In this article, I would like to raise the question of how and to what extent did contemporary information about the conquest and Christianization of Livonia reach Western Europe? This specific question is, of course, located within the broader context of the history of medieval communication, in general, and the history of the communication of the crusades, in particular.<sup>1</sup> In discussions about medieval communication, it is very important to keep in mind its oral and conservative character. Even though the significance of the written and visual channels of the time should definitely not be underestimated, it was the immediate oral contact between addresser and addressee that dominated in the medieval communication act. It is not possible to speak about mass communication in the strict sense of the term in the Middle Ages, although from the thirteenth century on, ever more wide-spread preaching began to acquire certain features characteristic of mass communication.<sup>2</sup> The contribution of the crusades into the evolution of communication is indeed remarkable, even if it did not entail principal changes in the nature of communication channels. As one of the most prominent students of medieval communication, Sophia Menache, has aptly put it: “The Crusades present one of the earliest examples of what has since come to be known as the use of mass media, whose impact in medieval society is hardly questionable.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed, although a bit dated, bibliography of the works on medieval communication, listing 1580 items, see Marco Mostert, “A Bibliography of Works on Medieval Communication”, *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. by Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 193–318. As promised by the author, an expanded and corrected bibliography will appear in the second edition of *New Approaches*, which is in preparation.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance David D’Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 98. See also her article “Communications”, *The Crusades*:

In recent years, the communication of crusades has attracted increasing attention from scholars, although more extensive treatments are still to be written. It is the propaganda of the crusades<sup>4</sup>, primarily everything connected with preaching<sup>5</sup>, that has attracted the interest of historians more than anything else. The communication of the crusades in a broader sense – their logistic and organizational aspect – has also been studied in greater detail.<sup>6</sup> Less attention, however, has been paid to the “circulation of news”<sup>7</sup> concerning the crusades – the ways and means whereby information from remote theatres of war reached diverse audiences back home. In that context, the crusade to Livonia constitutes an interesting case, the analysis of which might broaden our understanding of the communication of crusades in the first half of the thirteenth century, in general.

So far, studies of the Livonian mission have focused mainly on the communication paths on the Riga-Rome axis – on the movement of written information between the Livonian bishops, the Masters of the Order of the Sword Brethren, and the popes in Rome.<sup>8</sup> Although the papal missives to

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*An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Alan V. Murray, 4 vols (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), I, 265–269.

<sup>4</sup> See for instance Colin Morris, “Propaganda for War: The Dissemination of the Crusading Ideal in the Twelfth Century”, *Studies in Church History*, 20 (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1983), 79–101; J. J. van Moolenbroek, “Signs in the Heavens in Groningen and Friesland in 1214: Oliver of Cologne and Crusading Propaganda”, *Journal of Medieval History*, 13:3 (1987), 251–271; Rudolf Hiestand, “The Military Orders and the Papal Crusading Propaganda”, *The Military Orders, 3: History and Heritage*, ed. by Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 155–166.

<sup>5</sup> See for instance Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land (1095–1270)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1991); Cristoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jeannine Horowitz, “Les exempla au service de la prédication de la croisade au XIIIe siècle”, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique*, 92:2 (1997), 367–394; *Crusade, Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, ed. by Christoph T. Maier (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229: Preaching in the Lord’s Vineyard* (Rochester, New York: York Medieval Press/Boydell Press, 2001).

<sup>6</sup> See for instance Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 106–143. A few years ago, three Danish medievalists published a pioneering article on the role of communication at different levels in the process of organizing crusades in the Baltic region, see Carsten S. Jensen, Kurt V. Jensen, John H. Lind, “Communicating Crusades and Crusading Communications in the Baltic Region”, *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 49:2 (2001), 5–25.

<sup>7</sup> I am referring to the important collection of articles, *La circulation des nouvelles au Moyen Age*, ed. by Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1994).

<sup>8</sup> The relations between Livonia and the Roman Curia have been recently studied in depth by Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254* (Leiden,

Livonia, which as a general rule were preceded by a local initiative, should by no means be underestimated, it was in all probability not through this channel that the most adequate information usually was passed on. Correspondence between Riga and Rome was first and foremost of a political nature, and aimed not so much at reflecting reality as at influencing it.<sup>9</sup> “On the whole”, as Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt has recently summarized, “the Curia was not well informed about people and events in the eastern Baltic region as it had to rely on biased and fragmented information from its few supplicants”.<sup>10</sup>

True enough, it was not only through local bishops and Masters of the Sword Brethren that Rome received information about events in Livonia. A most intriguing reference is to be found, for instance, in the *Gesta Innocentii III* (composed around 1204–09), the anonymous author of which asserts that the archbishop of Denmark, Anders Sunesen (d. 1228), had in the autumn of 1207, after a winter spent in Riga, sent to Pope Innocent III a detailed account of the triumphs of the Livonian Christian mission in which he optimistically claimed “that whole of Livonia had been converted to the Christian faith and no one remained there who had not accepted the sacrament of baptism, and the neighbouring peoples were, for the most part, ready for this”.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, Sunesen’s account has not been preserved.<sup>12</sup> That account may, however, have been the main source

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Boston: Brill, 2007), and by Barbara Bombi, *Novella plantatio fidei. Missione e crociata nel nord Europa tra la fine del XII e i primi decenni del XIII secolo* (Rome: Istituto storico per il Medio Evo, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> This fact was first pointed out with full poignancy by Ernst Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1971).

<sup>10</sup> Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, “Riga and Rome: Henry of Livonia and the Papal Curia”, *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, ed. by Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi, Carsten Selch Jensen (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming in 2010). It must of course be emphasized that communication between Riga and Rome was not restricted to correspondence only, but involved various immediate contacts, too, at least after the Cistercian Theoderic’s first visit to Rome in 1196. Those immediate contacts culminated in 1215, with the participation in the IV Lateran Council of both Albert, Bishop of Livonia, and Theoderic, Bishop of Estonia; see *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* [HCL], XIX, 7, ed. by Leonid Arbusow, Albert Bauer, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex MGH separatim editi* (Hanover: Hahn, 1955), 131–132.

<sup>11</sup> *Gesta Innocentii III*, VIII, ed. by David Gress-Wright, *The Gesta Innocentii III. Text, Introduction and Commentary* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1981), 315. English trans. by James M. Powell, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 235.

<sup>12</sup> In addition to *Gesta Innocentii*, echoes of that letter of Sunesen can also be seen in Innocent III’s missive to the clerics of Germany, of Jan. 5, 1208, in *Fontes Historiae Latviae Medii Aevi* [FHLMA], ed. by Arveds Švābe, 2 vols (Riga: Latvijas Vēstures Institūta

for the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Lübeck, Arnold (d. c. 1213), who around 1210 included in his *Chronicle of the Slavs* a brief survey of the early phases of the Livonian mission.<sup>13</sup> Here we have the first contemporary record of events in Livonia written outside the country, which for its most recent data relies very probably on oral reports, too.

The most reliable way for the Pope to learn about what went on in the theatres of holy war would have been to gather information via his official representatives – the papal legates.<sup>14</sup> Yet the papal legate William of Modena (d. 1251) arrived in Livonia only in 1225, when an important part of the events were past.<sup>15</sup> Judging by the flood of letters from Rome to Riga immediately after William's mission, however, it can be presumed that as far as the communicational aspect is concerned, his trip must have been highly successful.<sup>16</sup>

Those top-level channels of communication, however, should not be allowed to eclipse the grass-root level contacts, as it were, between Livonia and the rest of the world. Henry's chronicle shows that the new Christian colony was on a regular seasonal basis visited by numerous crusaders and pilgrims, who doubtlessly brought along diverse information about recent events.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, this communication has not left sufficient written traces for it to be reconstructed. It is only through the *Chronicle*

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Apgådiens, 1937–1940), vol. 1, 31–32, no. 46. See Leonid Arbusow, “[Ein verschollener Bericht des Erzbischofs Andreas von Lund a. d. Jahr 1207 über die Bekehrung Livlands]”, *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1910* (Riga, 1911), 4–6.

<sup>13</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* 14 (Hannoverae: Hahn, 1868), V, 30, 213–214. A well argued case for Sunesen's letter of 1207 having been Arnold's main source has been made by Kaspar Kolk, “Lüübeki Arnold: Liivimaa pööramisest”, *Tuna. Ajalookultuuri ajakiri*, 1 (2004), 70–83; 2 (2004), 37–57 (here 2 (2004), 50–57).

<sup>14</sup> See for instance, Christine Schuchard, “Päpstliche Legaten und Kollektoren nördlich der Alpen”, *Kommunikation und Mobilität im Mittelalter: Begegnungen zwischen dem Süden und der Mitte Europas (11.–14. Jahrhundert)*, ed. by Siegfried de Rachewiltz, Josef Riedmann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995), 261–275.

<sup>15</sup> HCL, XXIX, 2–8, 208–214. See also Gustav Adolf Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina, Bischof von Modena 1222–1234: Päpstlicher Legat in den nördlichen Ländern († 1251)* (Helsingfors: Finska vetenskaps-societeten, 1929), 73–142.

<sup>16</sup> *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch* [LUB], ed. by Friedrich Georg von Bunge et al., 12 vols in 2 series (Reval et al.: Kluge und Ströhm et al., 1853–1914), vol. 1, nos 91–95, cols 109–115.

<sup>17</sup> Closer prosopographic information on members of the noble classes among the crusaders and pilgrims to Livonia can be found in the classical study by Astaf von Transehe-Roseneck, *Die ritterlichen Livlandfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Würtzburg: Holzner, 1960).

of the World (written around 1240–60)<sup>18</sup> by the former Benedictine turned Franciscan, Albert of Stade (d. 1256/60) – which includes eleven short reports of the mission in Livonia – that we can glean some idea of it.<sup>19</sup> In all likelihood, Albert's information on the current state of the mission in Livonia derives mainly from the Cistercian Baldwin of Aulne (d. 1243), the papal legate to Livonia and later Bishop of Semgallia, who in 1232 ordained Albert the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Stade.<sup>20</sup> Albert's information on the visits of crusaders and pilgrims to Livonia, on the other hand, was most probably obtained from Adolf, count of Holstein (d. 1261), whose 1238 trip to Livonia is also mentioned in the *Chronicle*.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, one should not exclude the possibility of Albert having had contact with other Livonian crusaders, too.

The forefront of the Livonian mission was, from the very beginning, held by German merchants, who doubtlessly exchanged not only various goods but also information.<sup>22</sup> Also the Order of the Sword Brethren, established in Riga in 1202, might have had some international contacts. However, it was only after the Sword Brethren were merged with the Teutonic Order in 1237 that we can speak about the communicative breakthrough of the Livonian knights.<sup>23</sup> Yet neither in the case of the merchants nor of the militant monks can the lack of relevant written sources from the early decades of the thirteenth century be considered a valid reason for us to make argumented claims about how information on the Livonian mission may have moved through their mediation.

The preaching and recruiting trips of Livonian bishops to Germany, the Netherlands, and even further afield, undoubtedly also played a signifi-

<sup>18</sup> *Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto*, ed. by Johann Martin Lappenberg, MGH Scriptorum, 16 (Hannover: Hahn, 1859), 271–379. On Albert of Stade, see the recent important study by Gerda Maeck, *Die Weltchronik des Albert von Stade. Ein Zeitzeugnis des Mittelalters. Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung Albert von Stade* (Lehrte: G. Maeck, 2001).

<sup>19</sup> I am hoping to analyze these reports in greater detail in a separate article discussing the reflections of the Livonian mission in 13th-century European historiography.

<sup>20</sup> Maeck, *Die Weltchronik des Albert von Stade*, 11.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, 295. On Adolf of Holstein, see Transehe-Roseneck, *Die ritterlichen Livlandfahrer*, 80–81.

<sup>22</sup> See most recently Detlef Kattinger, "Lübeck, Visby und Riga in der Handelsdiplomatie des Gemeinen Kaufmanns im 13. Jahrhundert", *Fernhandel und Handelspolitik der baltischen Städte in der Hansezeit*, ed. by Norbert Angermann, Paul Kaegbein (Lüneburg: Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 2001), 9–40; Mark R. Munzinger, "The Profits of the Cross: Merchant Involvement in the Baltic Crusade (c. 1180–1230)", *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006), 163–185.

<sup>23</sup> See Friedrich Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres milicie Christi de Livonia* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1965).

cant role in mediating information on events in Livonia into other regions. Henry's *Chronicle of Livonia* mentions the yearly voyages of Bishop Albert of Livonia (d. 1229) across the Baltic Sea, in order to recruit fresh members into his new Christian colony.<sup>24</sup> As we shall see below, Theoderic (d. 1219), the later Bishop of Estonia, and Bernard (d. 1224), the Bishop of Semailia – both former Cistercians – were also very active travellers. But numerous other high clerics of Livonia have left their traces in diverse German and other sources, too.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, scarcity of sources does not allow us to make any particularly plausible conjectures about the communicative significance of their voyages, either.

In view of the relatively limited number of channels available for communicating with the outside world, as well as of the scarcity of surviving sources, it seems to me that the role of religious orders – primarily of the Cistercians, but also of the mendicant orders – as mediators of information, has so far been somewhat underestimated in the historiography of the Christianization of Livonia. As far as the Cistercians are concerned, historians have focused mainly on the local dimension of their activities, which frequently has also resulted in a mistaken exaggeration of their political importance in the conquest of Livonia.<sup>26</sup> In my opinion, the activities of the Cistercians should be studied with a much stronger than usual emphasis on their international context, in which they figure as mediators of new values, customs, and contacts between Christian Europe and Livonia. Up to the 1230s, the Cistercian Order held a crucial position in integrating Livonia with the Christian world. Later that role was relatively quickly assumed by the newly established mendicant orders even better fit for that task. In the following decades, reports about the new Christian region on the Eastern shores of the Baltic began to reach the learned public in the West mainly via the Dominicans and the Franciscans.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See Gisela Gnegel-Waitschies, *Bischof Albert von Riga: ein Bremer Domherr als Kirchenfürst im Osten (1199–1229)* (Hamburg: A. F. Velmede, 1958), 168–174.

<sup>25</sup> The first – as well as last – systematic collector of the data so far has been Friedrich Georg von Bunge, *Livland, die Wiege der Deutschen Weihbischöfe* (Leipzig: Bidder, 1875).

<sup>26</sup> On this particular point, see the recent and important discussion by Nicolas Bourgeois, “Les Cisterciens et la croisade de Livonie”, *Revue historique*, 307:3 (n. 635) (2005), 521–559.

<sup>27</sup> For an analysis of mendicant information on the Eastern Baltic region in the middle of the thirteenth century, see Marek Tamm, “Uus allikas Liivimaa ristiusustamisest. Ida-Baltikumi kirjeldus *Descriptiones terrarum*’is (u. 1255)”, *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 12 (2001), 872–884; Marek Tamm, “Signes d’altérité. La représentation de la Baltique orientale dans le *De proprietatibus rerum* de Barthélemy l’Anglais (vers 1245)”, *Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Outi Merisalo (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d’études médiévales, 2006), 147–170.

In the present article, I focus on the spread of news about the Livonian mission in Western Europe in the first decades of the thirteenth century. In that circulation of news – although certainly never very extensive – the central role, I propose, was played by the Cistercians through whom information about the events in Livonia reached the broadest circles in the shortest time. I fully agree with the recent comment of Christopher Tyerman that “The Cistercian network helped prevent Livonia descending into complete provincialism”.<sup>28</sup> The network having been mainly oral, we can only search for scanty written traces of it, at present. The best chance for doing this is offered by two extremely well informed Cistercian authors of the first half of the thirteenth century, the monks Caesarius of Heisterbach (d. c. 1240) in Germany and Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (d. 1251/52) in France, an analysis of whose reports on Livonia constitutes the gist of this essay.<sup>29</sup> But I will begin from further afield, in order to build up a general context for this analysis.

### *The Cistercian network of communication and papal policy*

Founded in 1098, the Cistercian Order had by the year 1150 nearly 330 monasteries; fifty years later, their number was around 530, and by 1250 it had risen to approximately 650.<sup>30</sup> The huge success resulted from their very well-considered organization and efficient leadership. This has allowed Richard Southern to describe the Cistercian Order as “one of the masterpieces

<sup>28</sup> Christopher Tyerman, “Henry of Livonia and the Ideology of Crusading”, *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier* (forthcoming). See also some interesting remarks made in the same vein by Reinhart Staats, “Bernhard von Clairvaux, die Zisterzienser und das Baltikum”, *Estnische Kirchengeschichte im vorigen Jahrtausend*, ed. by Riho Altnurme (Kiel: Wittig, 2001), 62–72, especially 63.

<sup>29</sup> For a more thorough discussion of the Cistercian information on Livonian crusade, see Marek Tamm, “Livonian Crusade and the Cistercian Stories in Early Thirteenth Century”, *A Storm Against the Infidel: Crusading in the Iberian Peninsula and the Baltic Region in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, Torben K. Nielsen (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming in 2010).

<sup>30</sup> Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent State University Press, 1977), 36–51; Robin A. Donkin, *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978), 21–29; Gerhard B. Winkler, “Die Ausbreitung des Zisterzienserordens im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert”, *Die Zisterzienser: Ordensleben zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit*, ed. by Kaspar Elm, Peter Joerissen, Hermann Josef Roth (Bonn: Habelt, 1980), 87–92; René Locatelli, “L’expansion de l’ordre cistercien”, *Bernard of Clairvaux. Histoire, mentalités, spiritualité* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 103–140; Marcel Pacaut, *Les moines blancs: histoire de l’ordre de Cîteaux* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), 142–147.

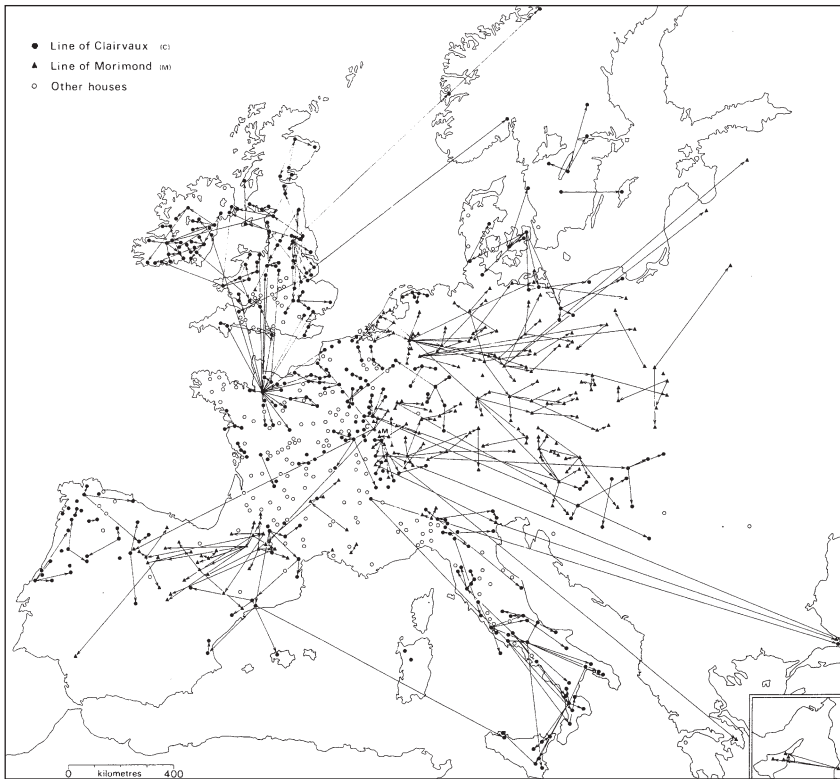


Figure 1. The Cistercian settlement in Europe, 1098–1675: line of Clairvaux and of Morimond.<sup>31</sup>

of medieval planning”.<sup>32</sup> The Cistercians made sure that all their abbeys anywhere in the Christian world observed the same rule, used the same liturgy and conformed to the same demands. The key to such unity was the annual General Chapter of the Order, gathering traditionally at Cîteaux on 14 September, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Participation in the General Chapter was compulsory to all abbots of Cistercian monasteries. Another feature contributing to the integration of the Cistercian network was the system of affiliations between mother and daughter houses.

<sup>31</sup> Source: Robin A. Donkin, *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978), fig. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Richard W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), 255. See also some interesting remarks on the novelty of the Cistercian network by Arnulf Grübler, *Technology and Global Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 56–58.



The rules obliged the abbot of the mother house annually to visit daughter houses, in order to ensure observance of unified rules of life.<sup>33</sup>

By the end of the twelfth century, however, the Cistercian Order was not only an extensive and well-integrated international organization, but also constituted one of the earliest examples of a modern communication system through which information passed very effectively from one end of Christendom to the other. The Cistercians considered close contacts and immediate relations to be extremely important. “In contrast to black monks of the eleventh and twelfth centuries”, writes Caroline Walker Bynum, “Cistercians expand the attention paid to interpersonal relations”.<sup>34</sup> And although the Cistercians held literary culture in very high esteem, the prevalent mode of communication in the Order was oral and consisted of story-telling.

One of the foremost students of the narrative tradition of the Cistercians, Brian Patrick McGuire, has considered it justified to speak about “the Cistercian storytelling revolution” of the end of the twelfth to the beginning of thirteenth centuries.<sup>35</sup> He writes: “The great bulk of materials shows how the Cistercians were among the greatest storytellers of their age, eager to gather from every corner of Europe tales of religion, sin, salvation, conversion, devil, Mary, and communion that could encourage their members to work ever harder in the common effort for salvation.”<sup>36</sup> From this point of view, the gatherings of the Order’s General Chapter were far more than mere discussions of administrative problems, offering, as they did, an opportunity for intense exchange of news and stories. In the figurative expression of James France: “These annual gatherings acted as a clearing-

<sup>33</sup> At the same time it must be emphasized that, contrary to common perceptions, the centralized network of Cistercian houses did not develop overnight but demanded at least half a century of systematic work. Constance Hoffman Berman has recently demonstrated quite convincingly that it was not before 1150 that the General Chapter acquired central significance in the activities of the Order, while the clear-cut system of affiliation evolved only during the last decades of the 12th-century. See Constance Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), esp. XI–XIII, 103–107.

<sup>34</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, “The Cistercian Conception of Community”, Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 59–81 (80).

<sup>35</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, “Cistercian Storytelling – A Living Tradition: Surprises in the World of Research”, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 39:3 (2004), 281–309 (281).

<sup>36</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, “A Lost Clairvaux Exemplum Collection Found: The *Liber visionum* compiled under Prior John of Clairvaux (1171–1179)”, *Analecta cisterciensia*, 39 (1983), 26–62 (49), repr. in his *Friendship and Faith: Cistercian Men, Women, and Their Stories, 1100–1250* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), ch. IV.

house through which the lifeblood was transmitted to the furthest corners of the Cistercian world.”<sup>37</sup>

But even more intensely than at the General Chapter itself, information and stories were probably exchanged on the way to and from Cîteaux. As McGuire puts it: “one can justly speak of the road to and from Cîteaux as full of stories.”<sup>38</sup> And it was not only on the road of Cîteaux that stories were exchanged, but also during the regular visitations of daughter houses and on other voyages which will probably have been rather frequent in the work of the abbots, particularly those of missionary regions, as proven by the travels of the Livonian abbots.

The wide reach and effective organisation of the Cistercian network made them a very desirable partner for the papal Curia. Close cooperation between Rome and Cîteaux began in 1145, with the election as Pope of the former Cistercian Eugene III (1145–53). It was Innocent III (1198–1216), however, who wished to make most extensive use of the Cistercians in enforcing his politics.<sup>39</sup> He desired to use the Cistercians on all the main frontiers of Christendom: in crusades to the Holy Land, reconquest of the Pyrenean peninsula from the Muslims, fight against the heretics of Southern France, and in conversion of pagans in the new regions of mission. Yet the rule of the Cistercian order strictly prohibited monks from preaching without special leave from the General Chapter.<sup>40</sup>

In the spring of 1200, Innocent launched a minor campaign in order to persuade the Cistercians to cooperate with the clerics of Livonia.<sup>41</sup> The most

<sup>37</sup> James France, *The Cistercians in Scandinavia* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1992), 311.

<sup>38</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, “Friends and Tales in the Cloister: Oral Sources in Caesarius of Heisterbach *Dialogus Miraculorum*”, *Analecta cisterciensia*, 36 (1980), 167–247 (225), repr. in his *Friendship and Faith*, ch. II.

<sup>39</sup> Brenda Bolton, “For the See of Simon Peter: The Cistercians at Innocent III’s Nearest Frontier”, *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, ed. by Judith Loades (Bangor, Gwynedd: Headstart History, 1990), 1–20, repr. in her *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), ch. II.

<sup>40</sup> Michele Maccarone, “Primo romano e monasteri dal principio del secolo XII ad Innocenzo III”, *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente (1123–1215)* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1980), 49–132 (122). See also Brenda Bolton, “Via ascetica: A Papal Quandary?”, *Studies in Church History*, 22 (Oxford, 1985), 161–191, repr. in her *Innocent III*, ch. VI; John C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216): To Root Up and to Plant* (University of Notre-Dame Press, 2009), 152–154.

<sup>41</sup> See Tadeusz Manteuffel, “La mission balte de l’ordre de Cîteaux”, *La Pologne au Xe Congrès international des sciences historiques à Rome* (Warszawa, 1955), 107–123 (108–109), Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, 41–42; Marie-Humbert Vicaire, “Vie commune et apostolat missionnaire: Innocent III et la mission de Livonie”, *Dominique et ses prêcheurs* (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1977), 180–197 (193);

important of his three relevant letters is that sent to the General Chapter held in April, 1200, whereby he called on the abbots to allow their monks to missionary work in Livonia:

Your Order including by the grace of God many brothers suitable for this work [i.e. preaching to the pagans – M.T.], we are reminded of having oftentimes asked and on several occasions urgently called on your organization and having admonished you, urging you in our apostolic missives not only to allow, but even to send to the accomplishment of this work such of your monks and lay brothers whom our venerable brother the Bishop [Albert – M.T.] [...] or his envoys would command [...].<sup>42</sup>

The Order's official answer to the papal letter remains unknown, but the General Chapter of September of the same year explicitly prohibits on pain of expulsion all unauthorized departure of monks and lay brothers from their monasteries, as well as preaching activities.<sup>43</sup>

Bishop Albert apparently did not heed the opposition of the Order, since at the General Chapter of 1209, the abbot of Fossa Nuova was charged with the task of presenting to the Pope, amongst other issues, the complaint that (referring to papal privileges) the Bishop of Livonia had been luring their monks and lay brothers to missionary work without leave from their abbots.<sup>44</sup> Since on 30 October 1213, the Pope confirmed the right of the

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Michele Maccarrone, "I papi e gli inizi della cristianizzazione della Livonia", *Gli inizi del cristianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia*, ed. by Michele Maccarrone (Vatican City: Libreria editrice Vaticana, 1989), 31–80 (58–60), repr. in his *Nuovi studi su Innocenzo III*, ed. by Roberto Lambertini (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1995), 369–419 (397–99); Bernhart Jähnig, "Zisterzienser und Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht in Livland und Preußen zu Beginn der Missionszeit", *Die Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht im Mittelalter*, ed. by Zenon Hubert Nowak (Torun: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1990), 71–86 (80); Wolfgang Bender, "Bernhard II. zur Lippe und die Mission in Livland", *Lippe und Livland: mittelalterliche Herrschaftsbildung im Zeichen der Rose*, ed. by Jutta Prieur (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2008), 147–168 (151).

<sup>42</sup> Innocent III, letter to *Abbatibus et monachis ordinis cisterciensis, quod onus predicationis in partibus Livonie, si per episcopum Livoniensem sint vocati, suscipere non recusent*, ed. by Leonid Arbusow, *Römischer Arbeitsbericht I* (Riga, 1928), no. 2, 322 (FHLMA, vol. 1, no. 31, 21). In addition to that, there is a letter from Innocent III to an unknown Cistercian abbot from the same time, in which the Pope asks for monks to be sent to assist the Bishop of Livonia (Arbusow, *Römischer Arbeitsbericht I*, no. 9, 336), and another letter to the abbot of Riddagshausen concerning a monk who on the Pope's orders must be allowed to go to preach in Livonia (Arbusow, *Römischer Arbeitsbericht I*, no. 3, 322–323). All translations from Latin are mine unless otherwise noted.

<sup>43</sup> *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786 [Statuta]*, ed. by Marie Joseph Canivez, 8 vols (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933–41), vol. 1, 251 (1200/12).

<sup>44</sup> *Statuta*, vol. 1, 364 (1209/35).

new Bishop of Estonia, Theoderic, to use Cistercians in missionary work in Livonia, we may presume that the General Chapter's complaint went unheeded in the Curia.<sup>45</sup> But the activities of the Cistercians in Livonia go somewhat further in time from those papal calls and require, in the interests of later analysis, a brief survey of their own.

### *The Cistercian plantation in Livonia*

The Cistercian network that had sprung up in France began to expand towards the Baltic Sea quite early, already in the first decades of the twelfth century. While the Danish house of Esrum (c. 1150), a daughter of Clairvaux, colonized the southern shore of the Baltic, the eastern shore was planted mainly by the German houses of the Morimond filiation. The first Cistercian community in Germany was founded in Altenkamp near Cologne in 1123, but its overflowing population led to the foundation of numerous other houses in rapid succession.<sup>46</sup>

But even before the first Cistercian monasteries sprang up on the Eastern coast of the Baltic, individual Cistercian monks had begun to sow the seeds of the new faith there. The Cistercian mission in Livonia started in 1187 when the first Bishop of Livonia, Meynard (d. 1198), who had been ordained a year before, invited the Cistercian Theoderic, probably a former monk of Loccum in Saxony, to become his assistant.<sup>47</sup> Theoderic became one of the leading figures of the Livonian mission, spending a record thirty-two years in the new Christian colony. After the death of Bishop Meynard in August 1196, the former abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Loccum, Bertold, was elected as his successor. Bertold may possibly have arrived

<sup>45</sup> LUB, I, no. 34, cols 40–41 (41).

<sup>46</sup> For a survey of the Cistercian history in northeastern Germany, see the still valuable study by Franz Winter, *Die Cistercienser des nordöstlichen Deutschlands*, 3 vols (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Berthes, 1868–71), especially the first volume. For a more recent survey, see Joseph Gottschalk, "Die Bedeutung der Zisterzienser für die Ostsiedlung, besonders in Schlesien", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 15:1 (1966), 67–106; David H. Williams, "East of the Oder (An English Introduction to its Medieval Cistercian Settlement and Economy)", *Cîteaux. Commentarii cistercienses*, 29:3–4 (1978), 228–267.

<sup>47</sup> HCL, I, 10, 4–5. Earlier historiography, beginning with Paul Johansen, has often regarded the monk Fulco of Montier-la-Celle, who was ordained bishop of the Estonians by archbishop Eskil of Lund in 1167, as the first Cistercian missionary in Livonia. See Paul Johansen, *Nordische Mission, Revels Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1951), 94. His initial monastery having, however, been an old Benedictine house established in the seventh century, there is no reason whatsoever to regard Fulco as a Cistercian. See Bourgeois, "Les Cisterciens et la croisade de Livonie", 526–538.

as a Cistercian missionary in Livonia already in 1193 or 1194; having been ordained bishop in Bremen, he probably returned to Livonia in the spring of 1197. Bertold's bishophood, however, proved extremely short-lived: he was killed on 24 July 1198, in a skirmish with the Livs.

The Livonian mission got a fresh impetus at the beginning of the next century, with the arrival of the third bishop, Albert, a former canon in Bremen, who had been ordained into his new position in March, 1199. It was during Albert's rule that the permanent plantation of Cistercians in Livonia took place. The clearest proof of this is the establishment of the Cistercian abbey of Dünamünde (*Daugavgrīva*) near Riga around the year 1205. Probably at the beginning of 1205, Albert appoints Theoderic the abbot of this monastery.<sup>48</sup> The abbey of Mount St. Nicholas established in the mouth of the Düna (*Daugava*) river was completed in its original shape and manned with monks in 1208, when a delegation of Cistercians headed by Florence Abbot of Marienfeld arrived.<sup>49</sup> The plans for establishing Dünamünde, however, were probably extant already in 1200–01, when Theoderic may have launched the relevant negotiations with the monastery of Marienfeld. In the autumn of 1203, the General Chapter of the Order discusses the request of the abbot of Marienfeld to establish a new daughter house – by which Dünamünde is probably meant.<sup>50</sup> This suggests that contrary to the opinion of earlier historiography, we should regard Marienfeld, not Pforte as the mother house of Dünamünde.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Henry of Livonia mentions the establishment of the monastery of Dünamünde on two occasions, under both 1202 and 1205; see HCL, VI, 2, 17; IX, 7, 29. The second date will probably be correct. On the history of Dünamünde abbey, see most recently Lore Poelchau, *Die Geschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Dünamünde bei Riga (1205–1305)* (St-Ottilien: EOS-Verl., 2004). See also Wolfgang Schmidt, "Die Zisterzienser im Baltikum und in Finland", *Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Vuosikirja*, 29–30, 1939–1940 (Helsinki, 1941), 1–286 (32–68).

<sup>49</sup> HCL, XII, 5, 61. Henry does not specify the home monastery of Florence, but most likely he was the third abbot of Marienfeld, in Westphalia (1194–1211).

<sup>50</sup> *Statuta*, vol. 1, 287 (1203/16).

<sup>51</sup> The argument over Dünamünde's filiation goes far back in time and has not found a quite unanimous answer even now. See Friedrich von Keussler, "Die Genealogie des Zisterzienserklosters zu Dünamünde", *Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands*, 14 (1890), 111–128; Winter, *Die Cistercienser des nordöstlichen Deutschlands*, vol. 1, 307–308; Schmidt, "Die Zisterzienser im Baltikum und in Finnland", 33–36; Paul Johansen, "Lippstadt, Freckenhorst und Fellin in Livland. Werk und Wirkung Bernhards II. zur Lippe im Ostseeraum", *Veröffentlichungen des Provinzialinstituts für Westfälische Landes- und Volkskunde*, 1:7 (1955), 97–160 (105–107); Bernhart Jähmig, "Die Anfänge der Sakraltopographie von Riga", *Studien über die Anfänge der Mission in Livland*, ed. by Manfred Hellmann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), 123–158 (140–141); Holger Kunde, *Das Zisterzienserkloster Pforte: die Urkundenfälschungen und die frühe*

Dünamünde, however, did not remain the last Cistercian foothold in Livonia. Probably around 1230, construction work began on another Cistercian monastery in Falkenau (*Kärkna*), in the bishopric of Tartu, near the estuary of the Amme river.<sup>52</sup> The first buildings were presumably completed in 1233, when the first community of monks arrived there from the mother house of Pforte. Only a year later a Russian campaign ravaged the monastery. The damage, however, seems not to have been great, since in the 1240s we again find the monastery active.

### *Livonian mission and the Cistercian authors*

As mentioned earlier, the contemporary Cistercian reports of the history of the mission in Livonia can be found in the texts of Caesarius of Heisterbach and of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines. But before we turn to the content of these reports, a brief sketch of the two authors' lives and works is in order.

Caesarius was born around 1180 in Cologne, where he also received primary education at the local cathedral school.<sup>53</sup> In 1198, he converted and at the beginning of the next year entered the Cistercian monastery of Heisterbach. Shortly after concluding his novitiate, Caesarius became novicemaster himself. It seems that he remained schoolmaster till the end of his life (c. 1240), dedicating his spare time to writing.<sup>54</sup> In order to understand Caesarius' work, it is very important to keep in mind his broad circle of communication and his frequent travels, enabled by his post as novicemaster.

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*Geschichte bis 1236* (Cologne et al.: Böhlau, 2003), 240–244; Poelchau, *Die Geschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Dünamünde bei Riga*, 11–12.

<sup>52</sup> See Schmidt, "Die Zisterzienser im Baltikum und in Finland", 131–151. Most recently, see Heinz von zur Mühlen, "Falkenau", *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 vols (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003), vol. 4, cols 239–240; Kaur Altoa, "Kärkna klooster", *Eesti arhitektuur*, ed. by Villem Raam, vol. 4 (Tallinn: Valgus, 1999), 80–81; Mariina Viia, "La mission des cisterciens en Livonie", *Mille anni sicut dies hesterna... Studia in honorem Kalle Kasemaa*, ed. by Marju Lepajõe, Andres Gross (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2003), 194–203 (197–198); Kersti Markus, "Misjonär või mõisnik. Tsistertslaste roll 13. sajandi Liivimaal", *Acta Historica Tallinnensia*, 14 (2009), 3–30.

<sup>53</sup> Caesarius' life and work has attracted the attention of numerous scholars, among the more important of them first of all the studies of Fritz Wagner should be mentioned, see Fritz Wagner, "Studien zu Caesarius von Heisterbach", *Analecta cisterciensia*, 20 (1973), 79–95; Fritz Wagner, "Der rheinische Zisterzienser und Predigtschriftsteller Caesarius von Heisterbach", *Cistercienser Chronik*, 101 (1994), 93–111; Fritz Wagner, "Caesarius von Heisterbach: Mittelalterliches Leben in Rheinland", *Cistercienser Chronik*, 103 (1996), 55–63.

<sup>54</sup> See McGuire, "Friends and Tales in the Cloister", 173, n. 13.

Caesarius left behind a rich literary heritage, which according to a list drawn up by himself consisted of thirty-six titles, all in all. But his overwhelmingly most popular work is the *Dialogus miraculorum*, written in the years 1219–23. It is preserved in more than a hundred medieval manuscripts, as well as in numerous early printed books and translations into vernaculars.<sup>55</sup> The *Dialogue on Miracles* is divided into twelve books and presented as a dialogue between a monk and a novice, including a total of 746 stories. Soon after the completion of *Dialogus*, Caesarius began work on a new collection of miracle stories apparently left unfinished. Only two first ones of his intended *Eight Books of Miracles* (*Libri VIII miraculorum*) have been preserved.<sup>56</sup> The book, written in the years 1225–27, is no longer presented in dialogue form but as a simple collection of miracles.

Unlike the work of Caesarius, that of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines did not receive much recognition from his contemporaries. Therefore, the biographical information on him is scanty and mainly conjectural.<sup>57</sup> It is generally agreed that Alberic must have been born around 1170, but opinions differ as to the place of his birth; traditionally, he has been considered a native of France, but recently Mireille Chazan has argued that more probably he came from the vicinity of Liège, belonging to the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> The great number of manuscripts explains why there still is no critical edition of the *Dialogus miraculorum*. The best edition so far, which was used in the present article, too, is still: *Caesarii Heisterbacensis ... Dialogus miraculorum* [DM], ed. by Joseph Strange, 2 vols Coloniae: Lempertz, 1851). Also the recent German-Latin edition of *Dialogus miraculorum* is based on Strange's work, see Caesarius von Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum – Dialog über die Wunder*, transl. by Nikolaus Nösges and Horst Schneider, 5 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

<sup>56</sup> These materials have been published, "Die beiden ersten Bücher der *Libri VIII miraculorum* des Caesarius von Heisterbach' [*Libri*], *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, ed. by Alfons Hilka, 2 vols (Bonn, 1933–37), vol. 2, 1–222.

<sup>57</sup> Alberic of Trois-Fontaines has undeservedly been left out of scholarly focus. The most valuable studies so far would be those by Mireille Chazan. See Mireille Schmidt-Chazan, "Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, un historien entre la France et l'Empire", *Annales de l'Est*, 36 (1985), 163–192; Mireille Chazan, "L'usage de la compilation dans les chroniques de Robert d'Auxerre, Aubri de Trois-Fontaines et Jean de Saint-Victor", *Journal des savants* (1999), 261–294; Mireille Chazan, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle: de Sigebert de Gembloux à Jean de Saint-Victor (XIIe–XIVe siècle)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), esp. 360–369. Still useful is the introduction of Paul Scheffer-Boichorst to his edition of Alberic's *Chronicle*, see *Albrici monachi Trium Fontium Chronica, a monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis interpolata* [*Albrici Chronica*], ed. by Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, MGH SS, vol. 23 (Hannover: Hahn, 1874), 631–673. But see also A. B. Nitert, "Matière de France and the World Chronicle of Aubri de Trois Fontaines", *Aspects de l'épopée romane: mentalités, ideologies, intertextualités*, ed. by Hans van Dijk and Willem Noomen (Groningen: Forsten, 1995), 409–418.

<sup>58</sup> Schmidt-Chazan, "Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, un historien entre la France et l'Empire", 189–191.

That would explain the unusually intense focus of his chronicle on events in the territory of the Empire. Presumably at the beginning of the thirteenth century, Alberic became a monk and joined the Cistercian monastery of Trois-Fontaines in the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne, Champagne. As far as we know, Alberic remained a monk in Trois-Fontaines till the end of his days, and died there at some point after 1252.

Alberic's life's work was the writing of a voluminous universal history, which nevertheless he could not quite complete. The narrative of the chronicle breaks off abruptly with October 1241. Its composition is strictly annalistic, but unlike earlier authors, Alberic does not limit himself to just one entry per event but frequently copies into his chronicle the views of several authors. The first part of the chronicle, presenting the history of the world from Creation up to the year its writing began in about 1227, is compiled mainly on the basis of other texts; yet already from the 950s onwards, Alberic occasionally takes the stand of an *auctor* having a personal opinion of the events. The text gains complete independence with the year 1223, where the earlier chronicles at Alberic's disposal ended.<sup>59</sup> Alberic's chronicle is written with clearly practical purposes in mind, giving special heed to the preachers' interests. Yet his work was not crowned by success. We know of only two medieval manuscripts of the chronicle, both deriving from the fourteenth century. But we do not have the original text of the chronicle, only its doubly interpolated version.

Alberic's work contains a total of nine entries on events in Livonia for the years 1194–1232, a majority of them concerning the activities of the Cistercians, as well as changes of spiritual power. Caesarius of Heisterbach makes thirteen references to Livonia in his works, albeit in a few cases only to specify the background of his informants. He presents seven Livonian stories in his *Dialogus miraculorum*, four in *Libri VIII miraculorum*, and one each in his *Vita sancti Engelberti* and *Homeliae*.<sup>60</sup> But before we go on

<sup>59</sup> Schmidt-Chazan, "Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, un historien entre la France et l'Empire", 183.

<sup>60</sup> Caesarius' reports on Livonia have long been drawing historians' attention, yet it was only in 1982 that the first comprehensive survey was published of such miracles in the complete works of Caesarius of Heisterbach, see Lore Wirth-Poelchau, "Caesarius von Heisterbach über Livland", *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 31:4 (1982), 481–498. For the earlier studies, see Eduard Pabst, "Von einem Mirakel im Stifte Lüttich. Anno 1223 und wie es dem Bischof von Livland dabei ergangen", *Beiträge zur Kunde Est-, Liv- und Kurlands*, 1:1 (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1868), 62–66; Hermann von Bruiningk, "Livländischen aus den Fragmenten der *Libri VIII Miraculorum* des Caesarius von Heisterbach", *Sitzungsberichte des Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde des Ostseeprovinzen Russlands* (Riga, 1905), 226–230; Wolfgang Schlüter, "Beiträge zu den Zeugnissen über den Aufenthalt Livländischer Bischöfe und Äbte in Deutschland", *Sitzungsberichte der*



to examine the content of these reports, I would attempt to identify the Livonian informants of Caesarius and Alberic.

### *Livonian informants of the Cistercian authors*

The genre of *exemplum* chosen by Caesarius required authentication of each story with the name of a trustworthy informant. Therefore, it is not surprising that Caesarius was “very much concerned with giving ‘name and address’ for the sources of his stories”.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, it is not always possible to identify all of Caesarius’ Livonian contacts, since frequently his reference to the source remains too vague. What can be said with some certainty is that Caesarius’ information mainly came from the Livonian Cistercians, primarily Bernard of Lippe. Bernard is without doubt one of the most prominent and influential figures in the history of Cistercians in Livonia.<sup>62</sup> Born around the year 1140, he made in his youth a brilliant military career and perpetuated then his name as a founder of the Cistercian

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*Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft* 1904 (Dorpat, 1905), 38–44; Leonid Arbusow, “Zeitgenössische Parallelberichte zum *Chronicon Livoniae* Heinrichs von Lettland”, *Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft*, 30 (Dorpat, 1938), 40–46 (42–43). I have previously examined more closely three of Caesarius’ stories taking place in Livonia, see Marek Tamm, “Les miracles en Livonie et en Estonie à l’époque de la christianisation (fin XIIème – début XIIIème siècle)”, *Quotidianum Estonicum: Aspects of Daily Life in Medieval Estonia*, ed. by Jüri Kivimäe, Juhan Kreem (Krems: Gesellschaft für Erforschung der materiellen Kultur des Mittelalter, 1996), 29–78. Barbara Bombi has recently dwelt on most of Caesarius’ Livonian miracles, unfortunately, however, failing to notice the studies mentioned above; see Barbara Bombi, “The Authority of Miracles: Caesarius of Heisterbach and the Livonian Crusade”, *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 305–325.

<sup>61</sup> Brian Patrick McGuire, “The Cistercians and the Rise of the Exemplum in Early Thirteenth Century France: A Reevaluation of *Paris BN MS lat. 15912*”, *Classica et mediaevalia. Revue danoise de philologie et d’histoire*, 34 (1983), 211–267 (214), repr. in his *Friendship and Faith*, ch. V.

<sup>62</sup> The colourful Bernard of Lippe left behind numerous written traces which have been studied by many scholars with well-grounded interest. For a good introduction, see the recent collection of articles, *Lippe und Livland: mittelalterliche Herrschaftsbildung im Zeichen der Rose*. Among the earlier scholarship, see primarily Eduard Winkelmann, “Des Magister Justinus’ Lippiflorium. Nebst Erörterungen und Regesten zur Geschichte Bernhard II. von der Lippe, des Abts von Dünamünde und Bischofs der Selonen”, *Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete des Geschichte Liv-, Ehst- und Kurlands*, 11 (Riga, 1865), 418–496; Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, “Herr Bernhard von der Lippe als Ritter, Mönch und Bischof”, *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Althertumskunde*, 29 (1871), 107–235; Johansen, “Lippstadt, Freckenhorst und Fellin in Livland”, *passim*; Werner Goetz, “Herr Bernhard II. von Lippe”, *Gestalten des Hochmittelalters: personengeschichtliche Essays im allgemeinhistorischen Kontext*, ed. by Werner Goetz (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983), 272–289; Ulrich Meier, “Fast ein Heiliger: Bernhard II. zur

monastery of Marienfeld (1185) and of the cities of Lippstadt and Lemgo. It had been Bernard's wish to go on a crusade to the Holy Land, but apparently he eventually decided to accompany the new Bishop of Livonia, Bertold, on his crusade to Livonia in 1198. After his return from Livonia, he gave up secular life and at some point before 1200 entered the monastery of Marienfeld as a monk. In 1211 he returned to Livonia and was appointed the successor of Theoderic at the head of Dünamünde. Already in the summer of 1213 he headed off for Germany to recruit new crusaders and missionaries, returning to Riga only in 1217 to participate in a great campaign to Saccala in Estonia.<sup>63</sup> Next year, he left Livonia again, probably visiting the Roman Curia and staying thereafter for a longer time in Germany and Holland. In the autumn of 1218, Otto Bishop of Utrecht and Bernard's own son, ordained him Bishop of Semailia, thus culminating his career as a Cistercian. After that, Bernard once again travelled for a while to Livonia, returning to Germany in 1220. At the beginning of 1223, he arrived in his new see in Semailia, accompanied by a number of crusaders.<sup>64</sup> On 29 or 30 April 1224, Bernard died, probably in his episcopal residence in Mesoten (Mežotne), at the age of almost eighty-five.

Caesarius explicitly names Bernard as his informant on four occasions,<sup>65</sup> but tentatively he may be considered the source of yet another four stories. On three occasions, Caesarius refers to an anonymous "Bishop of Livonia", whom we should on at least two occasions identify as Bernard.<sup>66</sup> In addition to that, Caesarius makes two references to an "abbot of Livonia" in his *Dialogus miraculorum*, without specifying the name.<sup>67</sup> Here the "abbot" could stand equally well for either Theoderic or Bernard, but taking into account Theoderic's death in 1219, when Caesarius had only begun to write his book, Bernard would appear the more likely candidate. True, on two occasions Caesarius also says his source was "Theoderic, Bishop of

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Lippe", *Heiliges Westfalen: Heilige, Reliquien, Wallfahrt und Wunder im Mittelalter*, ed. by Gabriela Signori (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2003), 79–110.

<sup>63</sup> HCL, XXI, 1–4, 140–144.

<sup>64</sup> HCL, XXVII, 1, 193.

<sup>65</sup> DM, IX, 37, vol. 2, 193 (*Bernardus de Lippa, abbas Livoniae*); DM, X, 35, vol. 1, 243 (*Bernardus de Lippa, quandoque abbas, nunc episcopus in Livonia*); Libri, I, 21, 45 (*episcopus Livoniae, vir ordinis Cisterciensis*); Libri, I, 31, 57 (*Bernardus de Lyppe, tunc abbas in Livonia et postea episcopus*).

<sup>66</sup> DM, IX, 4, vol. 2, 170 (*episcopus Livoniae*); *Homeliae*, no. 234 (*episcopus Livonie*), ed. by Alfons Hilka, *Die Wundergeschichten des Caesarius von Heisterbach*, vol. 1, 159, cf. Libri, I, 1, 16 (*episcopus Livoniae*).

<sup>67</sup> DM, XI, 35, vol. 2, 297 (*abbas Livoniae*); DM, XI, 18, vol. 2, 287 (*abbas Livoniae*).

Livonia".<sup>68</sup> But although Caesarius would have us believe that he received his information from Theoderic in person, we shouldn't rule out the possibility that actually those stories reached him also via Bernard.<sup>69</sup>

Alberic of Trois-Fontaines' oral sources of information have attracted only very limited attention, as compared to those of Caesarius.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, the author's own scarce references and the map of his probable journeys allow for some relatively sound assumptions as to where he obtained his information on the Livonian mission. As Mireille Chazan has informedly assumed, we should look towards the see of Liège – which Alberic probably came from and which he repeatedly visited on his later travels – in order to find Alberic's Livonian contacts.<sup>71</sup> Thus, in view of some of his remarks in the chronicle, we should consider it very likely that he visited also the Cistercian monastery of Aulne-sur-Sambre in the bishopric of Liège.<sup>72</sup> As it is well known, one of the former monks of this monastery, Baldwin, played an important role in the history of Livonia in early 1230s.<sup>73</sup> Baldwin came to Livonia on the bequest of Cardinal Deacon Otto (d. c. 1250), whom the Pope had entrusted with settling the power struggle that had broken out after the death of Bishop Albert in 1229. Baldwin's first steps were successful, but already in the summer of 1231 new hostilities broke out between the Bishop and the Order of the Sword Brethren over new conquests in Curo-nia, causing Baldwin to seek refuge in Dünamünde monastery. Thereupon, however, he travelled to Rome and obtained, at the beginning of 1232, from the Pope the powers of plenipotentiary legate to Livonia and the surround-

<sup>68</sup> DM, VIII, 13, vol. 2, 93 (*Theodericus, episcopus Livoniae*); DM, VIII, 80, vol. 2, 149 (*Theodericus, episcopus de Livonia*).

<sup>69</sup> The same opinion is held by Wirth-Poelchau, "Caesarius von Heisterbach über Livland", 492–493; a different view is argued by Bombi, "The Authority of Miracles", 315. Theoderic visited Cologne twice (in 1213 and 1216), so theoretically he may indeed have met Caesarius.

<sup>70</sup> One can only point to a few references by Paul Scheffer-Boichorst in his introduction to the edition of Alberic's chronicle, and to the brief but very significant comments of Mireille Chazan, see Schmidt-Chazan, "Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, un historien entre la France et l'Empire", 174–182.

<sup>71</sup> Schmidt-Chazan, "Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, un historien entre la France et l'Empire", 178.

<sup>72</sup> *Albrici Chronica*, 849, *sub anno* 1166.

<sup>73</sup> The sources for reconstructing Baldwin's activities in Livonia are relatively few and one-sided, for some attempts see Winter, *Die Cistercienser des nordöstliche Deutschlands*, vol. 1, 254–260; Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm of Sabina*, 159–163; Johansen, *Die Estlandliste des Liber census Daniae*, 702–733; Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*, 269–301. But see also Anti Selart, *Livland und die Rus' im 13. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007), 126–138; Anti Selart, "Balduin von Alna, Dänemark und Rußland. Zur politischen Geschichte Livlands in den 1230er Jahren", *Acta Visbyensia* (forthcoming).

ing regions.<sup>74</sup> In 1233, Baldwin was back in Livonia. Very soon, however, he met with opposition from the Order of the Sword Brethren, which was not prepared to give up its Curonian lands. Baldwin also lacked the support of the new Bishop of Riga, Nicolas, thus getting in fact caught between the two ruling powers. Baldwin's mission failed completely in February 1234, when his adversaries managed to achieve his recall and the restoration of William of Modena as legate. Having presented his complaints to the Pope in Rome, Baldwin returned to Aulne. Around 1240, he joined the court of Emperor Baldwin II of Constantinople who rewarded him with the metropolitan see of Verissa; he died in 1243.

Keeping in mind that Alberic mentions the name of Baldwin of Aulne twice in his chronicle, clearly mediating the latter's vision of the events in question<sup>75</sup>, we can quite plausibly assume that Baldwin indeed was his main source on events in Livonia. Sources prove that Baldwin stayed in the bishopric of Liège on two occasions after the beginning of his Livonian mission, first in 1232 and then in 1237–39, apparently acting as vicar bishop.<sup>76</sup> It was probably during one of these stays that the two men met there. But we shouldn't rule out the possibility of Alberic's information on the earlier phase of the Livonian mission coming from Theoderic, bishop of Estonia, whose stay in the bishopric of Liège is documented for the years 1213, 1216, and 1217.<sup>77</sup>

### *Caesarius of Heisterbach and the Livonian mission*

As noted above, Caesarius refers to Livonia in his works a total of thirteen times. Those stories can roughly be divided into three: on three occasions, the events take place in Livonia; on four occasions they concern the Livonian mission, and in the remaining cases they involve clerics based in Livonia. In the following, I shall focus mainly on the stories reflecting the mission in Livonia, taking, however, a short look also at such episodes as are associated with Livonia mainly through Caesarius' source of information.

<sup>74</sup> LUB, I, no. 115, cols 152–153.

<sup>75</sup> *Albrici Chronica*, 916, *sub anno* 1225; 930, *sub anno* 1232.

<sup>76</sup> See Félix Rousseau, "L'expansion wallonne et lorraine vers l'Est, aux XIe et XIIe siècles", *Les Dialectes Belgo-Romans*, 1 (1937), 171–198, repr. in his *A travers l'histoire de Namur, du Namurois et de la Wallonie* ([Hamburg]: Crédit communal de Belgique, 1977), 103–130 (187–188).

<sup>77</sup> Bunge, *Livland, die Wiege der Deutschen Weihbischöfe*, 18; Rousseau, "L'expansion wallonne et lorraine vers l'Est, aux XIe et XIIe siècles", 187; see also Schmidt-Chazan, "Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, un historien entre la France et l'Empire", 178.

All three Livonian miracles recorded by Caesarius are associated with the sacraments – with communion, baptism and confession, respectively. The first miracle tells us “of a lay brother of Livonia who was very eager to make his communion and found the host in his mouth”.<sup>78</sup> Caesarius emphasizes that the protagonist of the story is a native of the country “who had lately embraced the faith”, giving indirect proof of the success of the Cistercian mission in Livonia. Caesarius pays great attention in his work to the discipline of the lay brothers, especially to their desire to take part in the monks’ liturgy. On most occasions, his sympathy seems to lie with the lay brothers, since as a rule their desire is rewarded with divine consolation.<sup>79</sup> The same happy fate, as Caesarius sees it, befell a Livonian lay brother of Dünamünde: “And lo! the gracious Lord condescended to come down by the sacrament from the altar into his mouth without the help of the priest.” In the context of medieval miracles of the Eucharist, the case of Dünamünde is of course not uncommon; rather, we have here one variant of a widely spread motif<sup>80</sup>, whereof Caesarius himself has recorded other versions elsewhere.<sup>81</sup>

The following two Livonian stories were recorded by Caesarius in his *Libri VIII miraculorum*. The first one concerns the miraculous power of confession and sets on centre stage the elder of the Livs of Toreida, Caupo. This is the longest story of the Livonian mission that Caesarius has recorded, and belongs to the genre of travels in the otherworld, highly popular in the Middle Ages. The story begins with one of Caupo’s servants falling very ill but nevertheless remaining unwilling to confess his sins to Caupo, regardless of the latter’s repeated requests, being “afraid to reveal his secret actions to his master’s eyes”. Thereupon the servant breathed his last, but to the great agitation of everybody present, came back to life a few hours later. Upon Caupo’s questioning as to where he had been and what he had seen, the servant replies with a description worthy of Dante’s pen. He was taken by the “angel of our Lord” to various places of punish-

<sup>78</sup> DM, IX, 37, vol. 2, 193. English transl. by Henry von Essen Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland, Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, vol. 2 (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1929), 139–140.

<sup>79</sup> See Brian Patrick McGuire, “Written Sources and Cistercian Inspiration in Caesarius of Heisterbach”, *Analecta cisterciensia*, 35 (1979), 227–282 (277), repr. in his *Friendship and Faith*, ch. I.

<sup>80</sup> Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1969), n. 2659. For medieval eucharistic miracles in general, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture (c. 1150–1500)* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 108–129.

<sup>81</sup> See for instance DM, IX, 38, vol. 2, 194.

ment and had to experience many incredible tortures.<sup>82</sup> Since this story, too, presents a variant of a widely spread type of the *exempla*,<sup>83</sup> it would probably not be very fruitful to seek from it accurate information on the religious practices and world picture of the Livs. What Caesarius' story does vividly reflect, however, is the difficulty of establishing the new culture of confession in Livonia.

Another miracle story in Caesarius' *Libri VIII miraculorum* describes a mass baptism that had taken place in Livonia: When Livonia first received the faith of Christ, the number of those converted to the Christian faith was so great that the priests, who were not many in their number, were not able to baptize them all at the same time. Therefore they are said to have gone around them, carrying the vessels of holy water on their hands, sprinkling them with the water and saying: "We baptize you in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Caesarius seems to think it a miracle that such a baptism could have effect, although from Henry's *Chronicle of Livonia* we get the impression that this kind of ceremony would have been a rather routine proceeding.<sup>84</sup> Caesarius' considers, however, necessary to add that "the Livs baptized in the described manner were [...] for safety's sake christened anew by three immersions, as the customs of the church prescribe it".<sup>85</sup>

Of those episodes associated with Livonia that take place outside the region, the most interesting is doubtlessly the opening story of the *Libri VIII miraculorum*.<sup>86</sup> The miracle happens in the small town of Hasbengau, in the diocese of Liège, around Easter, 1223. A local woman confesses that ten years earlier, she had not swallowed the host when receiving communion, but had hidden it, wrapped into three pieces of cloth, into a flaw in the church wall. The priest orders the woman to show where she had hidden the wafer, inviting the Bishop of Livonia – accidentally sojourning nearby, in order to consecrate a church – to be his witness. In the presence of the bishop and the clerics accompanying him, the wafer is taken out of its hiding place and lain on the altar, where it is discovered that three drops of blood have appeared onto the pieces of cloth. When the wafer is unwrapped, it is discovered that it has been changed into a bleeding piece of Christ's body. Fascinated by the miracle, the Bishop of Livonia pleaded the other clerics "for permission to bring the host to Livonia

<sup>82</sup> *Libri*, I, 31, 56–58.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, nos 1188, 2314, 2944, 4539a.

<sup>84</sup> See for instance, HCL, XIV, 11, 85.

<sup>85</sup> *Libri*, II, 18, 98–99.

<sup>86</sup> *Libri*, I, 1, 16–19.

in order to strengthen the young faith of its people". The Bishop's plea was not granted; however, he was given two of the three pieces of cloth that had been wrapped around the host, both displaying a drop of blood. Although Caesarius does not specify the name of the said Bishop of Livonia, it can only be either Bernard of Lippe or Albert of Buxhoeveden. Knowing as we do that Bernard headed to Livonia in early spring of 1223, whereas Albert spent another year in Germany, Albert will be the most likely candidate for protagonist of the story.<sup>87</sup>

"Theoderic, Bishop of Livonia", painted in very positive colours, appears twice in the miracle stories of Caesarius.<sup>88</sup> Of great value is Caesarius' report that it was Theoderic who – with papal permission – recruited monk Peter of Himmerod to carry out missionary work in Livonia. What is interesting about the relevant chapter, however, is the fact that, except for the reference to Peter's departure for Livonia, the information about the wondrous visions befalling the monk of Himmerod repeats nearly verbatim the *Liber Miraculorum* of the monastery of Himmerod.<sup>89</sup> Thus, we have here an interesting example of the blending of written and oral information. Theoderic's name again surfaces in the *Dialogus miraculorum* a few chapters later, in a story "of Theoderic bishop of Livonia, who saw St Mary Magdalene helping the widows, and St Margaret helping the virgins when they were taking the veil".<sup>90</sup>

Another valuable report of the course of the mission in Livonia is offered by Caesarius in the form of an *exemplum* in his homilies on the birth and childhood of Christ, completed in 1225. In order to illustrate his theological message of charity, Caesarius says, he wants to add "an *exemplum* of the King of Denmark, now imprisoned, told to us last year by the Bishop of Livonia". One night a monk of the bishop's saw the King of Denmark conversing with the Virgin Mary. Next to them, there were three logs, placed so that the upmost was supported by two lower ones. The Virgin explained this parable

<sup>87</sup> This opinion is shared by earlier authors, see Pabst, "Von einem Mirakel im Stifte Lüttich", 65; Gnegel-Waitschies, *Bischof Albert von Riga*, 144; Wirth-Poelchau, "Caesarius von Heisterbach über Livland", 491. But see Bombi, "The Authority of Miracles: Caesarius of Heisterbach and the Livonian Crusade", 317, who believes that the bishop in question was Bernard of Lippe. Neither can we exclude the possibility that Caesarius refers to Bishop Hermann of Buxhoeveden, but there is no information about his travelling to Liège in 1223.

<sup>88</sup> DM, VIII, 13, vol. 2, 92–93 and VIII, 80, vol. 2, 149.

<sup>89</sup> Bruno Griesser, "Ein Himmeroder *Liber Miraculorum* und seine Beziehungen zu Caesarius von Heisterbach", *Archiv für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 4 (1952), 257–274 (271–273).

<sup>90</sup> DM, VIII, 80, vol. 2, 149. English transl. *The Dialogue on Miracles*, vol. 2, 83.

to the King: as soon as one of the lower logs is pulled out, the others will fall, too. The monk at once saw the meaning of the vision and in the morning, told it to the other monks: the upmost log is Livonia, the lower two are the Danes and the Germans, meant to govern Livonia jointly on equal terms. Because the King of Denmark, however, still did not want to share his power over Livonia with the Germans, saying that “he would rather rule with the pagans than with them”, it is not surprising, as Caesarius notes, that shortly afterwards he was imprisoned by Henry of Schwerin.<sup>91</sup>

While discussing this story, we should emphasize Caesarius’ sound information of the political events and tensions on the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. As we know, the King of Denmark was imprisoned by his own vassal Count Henry of Schwerin on May 1223, and was released on December 1225. In all likelihood, the “Bishop of Livonia” must here be taken to signify Bernard of Lippe who, as will be recalled, died in April 1224 and may have met Caesarius during his last voyage to Germany, in 1223. The King of Denmark’s Livonian campaign took place in June 1219; after a victorious battle nearby of present-day Tallinn, the King returned to Denmark at the end of the summer.<sup>92</sup>

Caesarius’ remaining six stories associated with Livonia do not so much offer information on the course of the mission of Livonia as testify to the integration of the Livonian Cistercians, primarily of Bernard of Lippe, into the communication network of the Order. In the *Dialogus miraculorum*, Caesarius tells three stories in quick succession, all associated with confession and all probably obtained via Bernard.<sup>93</sup> The story of the “venerable bishop of Livonia” who had, with his own eyes, seen Christ on the altar, reached Caesarius along more interesting paths. The first to hear of this miracle from the bishop’s own mouth was Lambert, Dean of the Holy Apostles in Cologne, who, as Caesarius specifies, “told this story to the provost of Ober-Pleiss, and he told it to me”. The witness of this miracle will very likely have been Bishop Albert, since, as Caesarius claims, the bishop told Lambert of this episode when “they were going together to the imperial court”.<sup>94</sup> In February 1207, Albert indeed visited the court of Philip of Swabia (d. 1208) in Gelnhausen and received Livonia in fief from him.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>91</sup> *Homeliae*, no. 234, 159–60.

<sup>92</sup> On the Danish campaign of 1219 to Livonia, see most recently John H. Lind, Carsten Selch Jensen, Kurt Villads Jensen and Ane L. Bysted, *Danske korstog: krig og mission i Østersøen* (København: Høst & Søn, 2004), 199–215.

<sup>93</sup> DM, X, 25, vol. 2, 243; X, 35, vol. 2, 243; XI, 18, vol. 2, 287.

<sup>94</sup> DM, IX, 4, vol. 2, 170.

<sup>95</sup> HCL, X, 17, 47, see Gnegel-Waitschies, *Bischof Albert von Riga*, 79.



These thirteen stories of Caesarius, connected with Livonia, are a valuable testimony to the relatively good integration of the Cistercians – and later on, the bishops – of Dünamünde into the Cistercian network, particularly of the Westphalian region of North Germany which constituted the main hinterland of the Livonian mission. Less colourful but also valuable information of how the Cistercian network operated in furthering information about Livonia is offered by the universal chronicle of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines.

### *Alberic of Trois-Fontaines and the Livonian mission*

Turning to Alberic's work, we immediately see a shift of genre and of the text's character, because it is not usual of medieval historiography – unlike exemplary literature – to advertise its sources of information nor generally to exaggerate with supernatural happenings. As noted above, Alberic sticks to a strictly annalistic form in his chronicle, gathering under each year, to the best of the author's knowledge, reports of the more significant events in various parts of the world. Most of the information is copied out of earlier chronicles, while the events of the author's own day are mainly reported on the strength of oral sources. All the information about Livonia, as noted above, derives from the immediate witnesses of the mission.

Livonia first appears on the map in Alberic's chronicle in 1194, in connection with Bertold's missionary work there: "In those days, the venerable abbot of the Cistercian Order, Bertold, was very busy preaching to the pagans of Livonia, situated between Sweden, Prussia, and Poland." Alberic adds that Bertold was appointed second Bishop of Livonia after Meynard, who had died a martyr.<sup>96</sup> This brief notice contains many interesting details. First, it is worth stressing that Livonia appears on the chronicler's horizon with the arrival there of the first influential Cistercian missionary. Second, it is interesting that Alberic crowns Meynard with the martyr's palm, although according to Henry of Livonia he died peacefully in his bed.<sup>97</sup> Yet when we examine that notice in the general context of the chronicle, we find that Alberic felt a very keen interest in martyrdom so that the same honour is given to almost all the first bishops of Livonia. The final point of interest about this entry is the date chosen by Alberic, since Bertold was ordained bishop only in 1197 and Alberic is alone in claiming that he had

<sup>96</sup> *Albrici Chronica*, 872, *sub anno* 1194.

<sup>97</sup> HCL, I, 14, 7.

begun already his missionary work in Livonia a couple of years earlier.<sup>98</sup> Alberic's detailed information might thus point to Theoderic, assistant of Bertold, whom Alberic would have had repeated opportunities to meet in Liège, as noted above. At the same time, of course, the possibility of later events entered under earlier dates – a frequent feature in Alberic's chronicle – should not be ruled out.

The next entry on the Livonian mission is found *sub anno* 1201, when Alberic reports Bertold's martyrdom and the appointment of his successor Albert as new bishop. As for the latter, the chronicler reports that he "began the construction of a new town called Riga and founded a Cistercian monastery".<sup>99</sup> Here, too, we must thus note that in Alberic's view, the main newsworthy item is Albert's contribution into the founding of the Dünamünde monastery – a fact also pointing to hindsight, since the actual foundation work began three or four years later than stated in the entry. Yet on several occasions Alberic clearly lumps the events of a longer period together under one year, so his chronology should not be taken too strictly.

Next time the events on the eastern shore of the Baltic are noted in the entry for 1207. To begin with, Alberic for the first time describes the course of missionary work in Prussia, focusing solely on the activities of the Cistercians.<sup>100</sup> Right after that, Alberic's eyes turn to Livonia. By way of introduction, he repeats the contents of the previous entry, noting Bishop Bertold's martyrdom and the fact that he was succeeded by a canon of Bremen, Albert, "a good and pious man" who began to build the town of Riga. After that, however, Alberic introduces a new Cistercian figure – Bernard of Lippe – to his readers: "He [Bishop Albert – M.T.] was joined in preaching by a marvellous and noble man, Count Bernard of Lippe from Westphalia, who became second abbot of the monastery of Dünamünde or the estuary of St. Nicholas; later, he was ordained first Bishop of Semgallia." But Alberic also takes notice of Bernard's sons: "He had three sons, all bishops: Gerhard Archbishop of Bremen, Otto Bishop of Utrecht, and Bernard Bishop of Paderborn."<sup>101</sup> Bernard of Lippe's family repeatedly attracts the attention of his contemporaries due to the fact that all its members except the youngest son Hermann II made distinguished clerical careers.<sup>102</sup> Surpris-

<sup>98</sup> See Bernd Ulrich Hucker, "Die Zisterzienserabt Bertold, Bischof von Livland, und der erste Livlandkreuzzug", *Studien über die Anfänge der Mission in Livland*, 39–64 (43).

<sup>99</sup> *Alberici Chronica*, 879, *sub anno* 1201.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, 887, *sub anno* 1207.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>102</sup> Bernard's clerical dynasty is noted, for instance, by Albert of Stade, who writes in his chronicle *sub anno* 1218 of a marvellous thing (*mira res*), namely Otto, Bishop of

ingly Alberic calls Bernard count, although by the time of his arrival in Livonia he had long turned his back on secular life. Besides, the chronicler of Trois-Fontaines once again anticipates the course of events, since in 1207, it would still be four years before Bernard landed in Riga, and a full eleven years before he was ordained Bishop of Sempgallia.

Eight more years pass on the pages of the chronicle before Alberic again takes notice of the course of the mission in Livonia. First, *sub anno* 1215, he claims that “dominus Theoderic, first Bishop of Estonia, was martyred in Livonia”. Then he dwells on Theoderic’s successors, presenting valuable information about the creation of the first bishoprics in this new Christian colony. Alberic tells us that Theoderic was succeeded by master Hermann, “first Bishop of Ugaunia” (*primus episcopus Ogonie*), and Gottfried, Prior of Pforte monastery, “Bishop of the Maritime region and of Ösel” (*episcopus circa maritima et Osilie insule*). Next came Wesselin, Bishop of Revalia, and Ostrad, Bishop of Vironia.<sup>103</sup> This dispassionate list actually reflects a serious power struggle over Estonia between Riga and Lund, which had started with the Danish campaign of 1219 to Tallinn and lasted for many years.<sup>104</sup>

The next entry concerning Livonia is short and unexpected: we are again told in just one sentence that in 1221, “Theoderic Bishop of Estonia was martyred in Livonia and died in the name of Christ”.<sup>105</sup> In view of Alberic’s possible acquaintance with Theoderic and his predilection for martyrdoms, this belatedly offered piece of old news comes, however, as no surprise. Hereby it could be said, in anticipation, that Theoderic makes one more appearance on the pages of the chronicle, this time in the entry for 1232, in connection with the conflict between Baldwin of Aulne and the Order of the Sword Brethren.

The remaining entries in the chronicle concerning Livonia probably all derive from Baldwin of Aulne, whose name is first mentioned in the entry for 1225, in connection with the strife surrounding his future master, Baldwin II of Constantinople.<sup>106</sup> Under the year 1228, Alberic notes that Bishop William of Modena (d. 1251) was sent to Prussia as papal legate, and that he

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Utrecht, ordaining his own father Bernard of Lippe Bishop of Sempgallia, whereafter the two together ordain Bernard’s second son Gerhard Archbishop of Bremen, who in his turn next ordains his brother Bernard Bishop of Paderborn. See *Annales Stadenses*, 360, *sub anno* 1218. Bernard of Lippe’s episcopal family is also dwelt on in the anonymous chronicle of Laon, completed around 1220: *Chronicon universale anonymi Laudunensis*, MGH SS, 25 (Hannover: Hahn, 1882), 455, *sub anno* 1213.

<sup>103</sup> *Albrici Chronica*, 902, *sub anno* 1215.

<sup>104</sup> See HCL, XXIII, 11, 168; XXIV, 2, 170–172; XXVIII, 1–2, 199–201.

<sup>105</sup> *Albrici Chronica*, 912, *sub anno* 1221.

<sup>106</sup> *Albrici Chronica*, 916, *sub anno* 1225.

“won not by force, but by his ingenuity and wisdom numerous pagans over to the Christian faith and mostly learned their language”. Alberic claims also that William translated into “their barbaric tongues” Donatus’s *Ars Grammatica*.<sup>107</sup> As we know, Pope Honorius III first confirmed William as his legate to Livonia and Prussia on 31 December 1224, and next spring the legate arrived in Riga.<sup>108</sup> His first mission ended at the close of 1226, but already towards the end of 1228 or at the beginning of 1229 he travelled to Prussia on a new mission from the Pope.<sup>109</sup> Reports on William’s activities in Prussia are relatively scarce; therefore Alberic’s testimony is very important, even if we have no opportunities for checking its trustworthiness.

Alberic’s last three entries on the events of Livonia all concern the power struggle that broke out after the death of Bishop Albert, centering around the figure of Baldwin of Aulne. First Alberic reports, *sub anno* 1229, that after the death of Bishop Albert of Riga in Livonia, two candidates aspired to the honour of succeeding him.<sup>110</sup> The Cistercian chronicler is soundly informed here, since after Albert’s death on 17 January 1229, a struggle indeed broke out for his episcopal see. The Riga cathedral chapter elected Canon Nicolas of Magdeburg as new bishop, whereas the Archbishop of Bremen, desiring to re-establish his metropolitan rights over Riga, appointed Canon Albert Suerbeer of Bremen into the same office. With both parties appealing to the Pope in Rome, in April 1230, Gregory IX delegated, as said earlier, the settling of this issue to his legate Otto, Cardinal Deacon of San Nicola in carcere Tulliano, who in his turn delegated it to Baldwin of Aulne. A year later, Alberic writes in his chronicle, Cardinal Otto had travelled to Denmark and, determined to put an end to the power strife in Livonia, confirmed Nicolas, Canon of Magdeburg, as Bishop of Riga.<sup>111</sup> What Alberic does not note, however, is that the arrival of Nicolas in Riga put an end to Baldwin of Aulne’s first mission as the papal vice legate in Livonia, whereupon Baldwin travelled to Rome in order to apply for new and more extensive powers from the Pope for continuing his activities in Livonia. This trip and Baldwin’s conflict with the Sword Brethren are treated by Alberic at greater length in his last and longest entry about the course of the mission on the eastern coast of the Baltic. Relying in all likelihood on Baldwin’s own testimony, Alberic describes how the former Cistercian of Aulne revealed to the Roman Curia the profligate and wealthy

<sup>107</sup> *Ibidem*, 921, *sub anno* 1228.

<sup>108</sup> LUB, I, no. 69, cols 73–75; HCL, XXIX, 2, 208.

<sup>109</sup> See Donner, *Kardinal Wilhelm of Sabina*, 147–156.

<sup>110</sup> *Albrici Chronica*, 925, *sub anno* 1229.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibidem*, 927, *sub anno* 1230.

life “without law or rule” led by the Sword Brethren, which they attempted to conceal by outwardly following the rule of the Templars. Upon this testimony, the Pope confirmed Baldwin Bishop of Semgallia and “legate to the whole of Livonia”. Alberic gives no further account of the fortunes of Baldwin’s new mission in Livonia, but he does conclude his entry with a short survey of the history of the Bishopric of the Semgallia, mentioning Baldwin’s two predecessors, Bernard of Lippe and Lambert (d. 1231), and with a description of the Semgallians’ origins going back to the days of Ancient Rome.<sup>112</sup>

Reports about Livonia in Alberic’s chronicle cease nine years before the date where the chronicle itself breaks off. The probable cause of it might be that Alberic last (and quite possibly first) met Baldwin in 1232, when the newly ordained Bishop of Semgallia stayed for a short while in Liège. After that, Alberic lost access to information about Livonia, and the chronicle was discontinued before he could find a new source of information.

### *Conclusions*

Towards the middle of the twelfth century, the international network of the Cistercian Order – which can be regarded as the first communication system in the history of Europe to have grown to such scope and efficiency – took on its provisional form. On papal initiative, this rapidly growing network was harnessed into the service of the Holy War at a relatively early date. Together with the crusade movement, the Cistercian network rapidly expanded towards the Baltic Sea, reaching Livonia at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The crusade in Livonia was clearly overshadowed by other, bigger theatres of the Holy War. Thus, the Cistercian network had a very important role in helping to keep Livonia at least marginally in the picture for the learned public of Europe. The extent and success of that huge work are, however, extremely difficult to estimate in modern times because of its predominantly oral nature. The few opportunities we have for estimating it are offered by two valuable testimonies from the first decades of the thirteenth century, the reports of Caesarius of Heisterbach and Alberic of Trois-Fontaines on the course of the mission in Livonia.

The character of Caesarius’ and Alberic’s reports is determined by the genre in which they are presented. Guided by his interests, Caesarius has collected and recorded only such reports from Livonia as could be pre-

<sup>112</sup> *Albrici Chronica*, 930, *sub anno* 1232.

sented in the form of a miracle story. Regardless of the stereotyped constraints of the chosen genre, Caesarius' stories do offer unique information about the early phase of the Christianization of Livonia and reflect the local Cistercians' active participation in the communication circles of their order. Unlike Caesarius, Alberic does not pay much attention to miraculous events in Livonia, emphasizing rather the importance of the Cistercians in preaching the Lord's word and their great sacrifices (i.e. numerous martyrs). Characteristically of a medieval chronicler, Alberic is interested primarily in the exchange of rulers and in power struggles, wherefore his chronicle offers valuable information on the shaping of episcopal authority in Livonia and Estonia.

Understandably, we have no way of estimating how representative Caesarius' and Alberic's written reports of the mission of Livonia could be. Do they represent merely the visible part of the iceberg of thirteenth-century oral communication, or were the contacts of the Livonians really limited to just the two Cistercian authors? In view of our general knowledge of the medieval communication network of the Cistercians and its efficiency, I personally find the first assumption the more plausible of the two.

MAREK TAMM (b. 1973) is Associate Professor of Cultural History in the Estonian Institute of Humanities, Tallinn University, and Researcher in Medieval Studies in the Institute of History, Tallinn University.

*KOKKUVÕTE: Ristisõja kommunikatsioon. Liivimaa misjon ja tsistertslaste võrgustik 13. sajandil*

Käesolev artikkel esitab küsimuse, kuidas ja mil määral jõudis kaasaegne informatsioon Liivimaa vallutamise ja kristianiseerimisest piirkonnast kaugemale. Seda konkreetset küsimust vaadeldakse laiemas keskaja kommunikatsiooni ajaloo kontekstis ja ristisõdade kommunikatsiooni ajaloo kontekstis kitsamalt. Pärast üldist ülevaadet Liivimaa ristisõja kommunikatsiooni erinevatest kanalitest, keskendutakse artiklis Liivimaa misjonit puudutavate teadete levikule Lääne-Euroopas 13. sajandi alguskümnenditel. Kuigi see teadete ringlus ei olnud kindlasti kunagi väga laiaulatuslik, väidab

artikkel, et selles oli keskse tähtsusega roll tsistertslastel, kelle vahendusel levis teave Liivimaal toimuvast kõige kiiremini ja kõige ulatuslikumalt.

1098. aastal alguse saanud tsistertslaste võrgustik laienes koos risticõja liikumisega kiiresti Läänemere suunal ja ulatus 13. sajandi alguses Liivimaale. Esimesed tsistertslased jõudsid siia juba 12. sajandi viimastel kümnenditel, kohe misjoni alguses, ent ordu institutsionaalne kohalolu sai alguse 13. sajandi esimestel aastatel, kui Riia lähedale rajati Dünamünde (*Daugavgrīva*) klooster. Kuigi pole põhjust alahinnata Liivimaa tsistertslaste lokaalset rolli uue kristliku piirkonna pööramisel ja vallutamisel, siis vähemalt sama suurt tähelepanu väärrib nende tegevus väljaspool uut kolooniat – risticõja jutlustamine, misjonäride värbamine ja Liivimaa sündmuste vahendamine laiemasse ringi.

Kuna tsistertslaste võrgustiku toimimine oli loomult suuline, siis saab tänapäeval otsida vaid tollase teabeliikumise nappe kirjalikke jälgi. Selleks pakuvad kõige parema võimaluse kaks 13. sajandi esimesel poolel tegutsenud väga hästi informeeritud tsistertslasest autorit: Heisterbachi kloostri munk Caesarius (surn. u 1240) Saksamaal ja Trois-Fontaines'i kloostri munk Aubri (surn. 1251/52) Prantsusmaal, kelle Liivimaa teadete eritlus on artikli keskne eesmärk. Kui Caesarius esitab kokku kolmteist Liivimaaga seotud lugu, siis Aubri mainib sündmuse Liivimaal kokku üheksas sissekandes.

Caesariuse ja Aubri teadete iseloom on suuresti ära määratud žanrist, milles need on esitatud: esimene kirjutas Liivimaa misjonist oma ime-lugude kogumikes (*Dialogus miraculorum*, *Libri VII miraculorum* jt), teine aga maailma ajaloole pühendatud kroonikas. Lähtuvalt oma huvist, on Caesarius kogunud ja talletanud seega vaid neid juhtumeid Liivimaalt, mida on võimalik esitada imelooa. Vaatamata valitud žanri stereotüüpsest sunnist, esitavad Caesariuse jutustused kummatigi unikaalset teavet kristianiseerimise varasest faasist ja kajastavad Liivimaa tsistertslaste aktiivset osalust ordu suhtlemisringis. Caesariuse panus on aga seda suurem, et tema teoseid, eriti *Dialogus miraculorum*'it, tabas juba kaasajal suur menu, nii et tema teated Liivimaa misjonist jõudsid võrdlemisi kiiresti väga laia ringi. Erinevalt Caesariusest ei ole Aubri tähelepanu pööratud mitte imeliste juhtumitele Liivimaal, vaid pigem tsistertslaste tähtsuse toonitamisele jumalasõna jutlustamisel ja nende suurtele ohvritele (terve rida märtreid). Keskaegsele kroonikule iseloomulikult huvitavad Aubrid ennekõike valitsejate vahetumine ja võimukonfliktid, mistõttu pakub tema kroonika väärtuslikku teavet piiskopivõimu kujunemisest Liivi- ja Eestimaaal. Loomulikult on Aubri annalistlikud sissekanded osaliselt tema informantide

nägu, sest ligemale kolmandikus Liivimaad puudutavast teabest on Trois-Fontaines'i kroonik keskendunud oma kaasmaalasest orduvenna Aulne'i Baudouini seiklustele.

Mõistagi puudub meil võimalus hinnata, kui esinduslikud on Caesariuse ja Aubri kirjalikud teated Liivimaa misjonist. Kas need moodustavad tollasest suulisest kommunikatsioonist vaid jäämäe veepealse osa või piirdusidki liivimaalaste kontaktid nende kahe tsistertsii kirjamehega? Arvestades meie üldisi teadmisi tsistertslaste keskaegsest kommunikatsioonivõrgust ja selle efektiivsusest, peetakse artiklis tõenäolisemaks esimest võimalust.