Chapter 17

The Chronicler and the Modern World: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic Crusades in the Enlightenment and National Traditions

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Introduction

When the author of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia ended his text in 1227, rejoicing: 'return with joy, O Rigans! Brilliantly triumphal victory always follows you,'[2] he had completed a founding narrative for the new Christian colony in Livonia. Considering its strong legitimizing agenda, the chronicle could have provided a magnificent example of the functionality of historiography in the construction of regional identities.[3] However, Henry's role in making memory for the elite communities in medieval Livonia was soon minimized due to the rivalry of the archbishopric of Riga and the Teutonic Order.[4] The chronicle excited little curiosity until the late Enlightenment.[5] In the nineteenth century, it was, nevertheless, rediscovered as the *Ur*-text of the Baltic communities, progressively overshadowing all other medieval and early modern chronicles. Yet, as in the medieval period, the modern adoption of Henry's narrative of things past has not meant merely embracing it with joy.

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2 HCL XXX.6, p. 222; Brundage, p. 246.

3 Cf. Patrick J. Geary, 'Reflections on Historiography and the Holy: Center and Periphery', in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (ca 1000–1300)*, ed. Lars Boje Mortensen (Copenhagen, 2006), pp. 323–30 (here 323).

4 See Chapter 14 by Anti Selart in this volume.

5 See Chapter 15 by Stefan Donecker in this volume.

This chapter discusses the dialogue between Henry's chronicle and the Baltic-German, Latvian and Estonian national cultural memories from the nineteenth century to the present, arguing that the uses of the chronicle also reflect broader tendencies in the uses of history in the region of present-day Estonia and Latvia. 'Cultural memory' is a useful category for analysing appropriation histories. According to Jan Assmann's definition, it 'comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose "cultivation" serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image'.[6] However, when analysing nationalist perspectives on Henry, one must consider the cultural roots of nationalism. Departing from the idea that Western nationalism is a symptom of the Enlightenment,[7] this chapter will briefly also discuss the Enlightenment view of the Livonian Middle Ages. In addition, the last part of the chapter analyses the relationship of the 'young nations' to the chronicler himself.

While each of these perspectives of Baltic conversion history differed considerably, the Middle Ages remain a central theme in the historical narrative of them all. For the Baltic-Germans, the crusades and Henry's chronicle constituted their founding legend, thus being of paramount importance for their historical identity. According to the Romanticist and nationalist trends, the Livonian crusade was conceptualized as a part of the civilizing mission of spreading the German *Kulturraum*. The chapter's prime focus, however, is Henry's chronicle's relations with the Latvian and in particular the Estonian cultural memory. Likewise, encouraged by nineteenth-century nationalism, Romanticism, as well as Enlightenment tradition, modern nations are identified with the tribes described by Henry.[8] Thus, for the young nations the crusades signified the waning of a golden age. Not surprisingly, then, their interpretations often conflict with Baltic-German medievalism, while still centred on the same phenomena: crusade and crusaders (harsh critique of crusading vs. crusade understood as a civilizing endeavour), and ancient local society and culture (mythical golden age of *bons sauvages* vs. brute barbarianism). The genealogy of these imageries shall be discussed, as well as their relationship to contemporary socio-cultural ideals and anxieties. Drawing on Homi Bhabha's remarks on how 'cultural translation' often does not result in comprehension, but rather

[6] Jan Assmann, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique* 65 (1995), 125–33 (here 132). For a discussion on history as a form of cultural or social memory, see also Peter Burke, 'History as Social Memory', in his *Varieties of Cultural History* (Ithaca, 1997), pp. 43–59.

[7] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 2nd rev. edn (London and New York, 2006), esp. pp. 5–36.

[8] For Henry's tribal representation, see Chapter 3 by Jüri Kivimäe in this volume.

in conflict and anxiety in the (post)colonial situation,[9] the chapter follows the process and struggles of 'translating' the chronicle for the Latvian and Estonian audience.

Enlightenment Heritages and National Traditions

Even though most of the known manuscripts of Henry's chronicle date to the early modern period (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), it had little influence on the scholars of an era that witnessed the rise of *ars historica* as a critical discipline. As Anthony Grafton has remarked, this period produced remarkable changes in the attitudes towards historical knowledge, including an understanding that scholars must construct the past from the sources on offer.[10] Even if scholars knew of Henry's chronicle, very few used it in their reconstructions of the Livonian past. The best-known early modern Livonian historian who made significant use of Henry was Thomas Hiärn (1638–78).[11] This changed only after the Enlightenment. Ironically, the reception of a chronicle written in Latin, loaded with biblical-liturgical analogies, and striving for the legitimization of the church coincided with the gradual fall of the sacred language and fragmentation of religious communities – which was in turn the first precondition for the rise of nationalism.[12]

In eighteenth-century Livonia, the enthusiasm towards medieval history can be explained with the uses of the Middle Ages for political and moral comment, as well as social rivalry within the nobility.[13] The critique was also linked to abolishing or reforming the serfdom of the Latvian and Estonian peasants, as the origins of slavery were seen to lie in the crusades. In addition, these views had a religious dimension that combined ideas about 'natural religion' with criticisms

[9] Homi Bhabha, 'How Newness Enters the World: Postmodern Space, Postcolonial Times and the Trials of Cultural Translation', in his *The Location of Culture* (London and New York, 2007), pp. 303–7.

[10] Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 1–61 (here 32–3).

[11] Hiärn wrote his Swedish-minded chronicle in the 1670s. See Thomas Hiärn, *Ehst-, Lyf- und Lettländische Geschichte* (Riga, Dorpat and Leipzig, 1835), and Chapter 15 by Stefan Donecker in this volume for further references.

[12] Cf. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 19.

[13] Hubertus Neuschäffer, 'Geschichtsschreibung im Zeitalter der Aufklärung', in *Geschichte der deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Georg von Rauch (Cologne and Vienna, 1986), pp. 63–86 (here 73–5). For an introduction into the Baltic Enlightenment's view of local history, see Kaspars Kļaviņš, 'The Baltic Enlightenment and Perceptions of Medieval Latvian History', JBS 29/3 (1998), 213–24.

of the church. Thus, the Enlightenment histories of the Livonian 'Dark Ages' on one hand centred on the negative conceptualization of the crusades, crusaders and Catholic church, and, on the other, on the *bons sauvages* style depictions of the natives. And as these representations became central in social debate, they also contributed considerably towards enlivening the reuse of Henry's chronicle.

The core ideas of the Baltic Enlightenment were produced by three authors: Garlieb Helwig Merkel (1769–1850), August Wilhelm Hupel (1737–1819) and Heinrich Johann von Jannau (1753–1821).[14] They also designed the critical image of the Livonian Middle Ages that (especially in Merkel's version) had great impact on the Estonian and Latvian national histories. Not surprisingly, the Enlightenment authors devoted much effort towards representations of the ancient natives. The later nationalist authors eagerly reused these, even though the discourse of the 'noble savage' was designed for discrediting the nobility.[15] While Merkel's account of the culture and religion of the Old Latvians relied on a mishmash of borrowings,[16] in the Estonian case he departed from *T(h)arapita*, 'the great god of the Öselians' who is mentioned five times in Henry's chronicle.[17] While according to Henry it is a name, since the seventeenth century it has been interpreted as a war cry: 'Taar(a), help us' (Est. *Taar(a) avita*), or even 'Thor, help us' (Est. *Thor avita*), linking it to the fashionable Scandinavian mythologies. Merkel was not alone in this interest, as already by that period *Tharapita* was on its way to becoming one of Henry's most significant contributions to Estonian cultural memory. The identification with Thor was established in the late seventeenth-century chronicles of Thomas Hiärn and Christian Kelch (1657–

[14] Merkel's *Die Letten vorzüglich in Liefland am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1797) and *Die Vorzeit Lieflands. Ein Denkmal des Pfaffen- und Rittergeistes* (Berlin, 1798) provided the most influential treatment of ancient natives and the Baltic Middle Ages. Hupel discussed it in the first volume of *Topographische Nachrichten von Lief- und Ehstland* (Riga, 1774). Jannau used historical interpretation for developing political and social arguments in his *Geschichte der Sklaverey und Charakter der Bauern in Lief- und Ehstland* (Riga, 1786).

[15] Cf. Hayden White, 'The Noble Savage Theme as Fetish', in his *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London, 1985), pp. 183–96 (here 191). In the Estonian context, this shift in meaning has also been pointed out by Jaan Undusk, 'Kolm võimalust kirjutada eestlaste ajalugu. Merkel – Jakobson – Hurt', *Keel ja Kirjandus* 11–12 (1997), 721–34 and 797–811 (here 728–9).

[16] He especially relied on descriptions of the Old Prussians by other medieval chroniclers. Merkel adapted the description of the Old Prussians from 'The Deeds of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen' (around 1070) by Adam of Bremen, and from the works of several later historians who, in turn, have used *Chronicon terrae Prussiae* (around 1320s) of Peter of Dusburg.

[17] HCL XXIV.5, p. 175, XXX.4, p. 218, XXX.5 (twice), pp. 220, 221, XXX.6, p. 222.

1710).[18] This tradition preserved well into the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: it was used by Johann Daniel Gruber (1686–1748) for the first edition of Henry's chronicle, by Johann Gottfried Arndt (1713–67) for its first German translation, and also by Merkel and Hupel.[19] Later it also gained a spatial dimension: in 1836, Georg Magnus Knüpffer (1785–1863), the minister of Väike-Maarja, localized the Ebavere hill as the starting point of *Tharapita*'s flight to Ösel, basing the argument on his reading of Henry.[20] Even today, the Ebavere legend remains widely appropriated in local heritage tourism.

Merkel's representations of the ancient socio-political world were shaped on the model of the Greek *polis*, another contemporary ideal. In presenting the political system of the ancient Estonians as republican, he presents Henry's ambiguous reference to a meeting in Raikküla as a proto-parliament where the nation gathered once a year for discussing common matters.[21] Later, the interpretation became essential for the national tradition. Merkel also interpreted Henry as putting forward an idea that would later become one of the favourite motifs of Estonian national history writing: the extraordinary bravery and die-hard resistance of the ancient Estonians during the crusades.[22] For instance,

[18] Hiärn, *Ehst-, Lyf- und Lettlandische Geschichte*, p. 31. Christian Kelch, *Liefländische Historia* (Reval, 1695), p. 26. One should also point to the impact of Johann Wolfgang Boecler's *Der Einfältigen Ehsten Abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* (Reval, 1685) on the spread of the Thor interpretations, especially in the nineteenth century; see Aivar Põldvee, '"Lihtsate eestlaste ebausukombed" ja Johann Wolfgang Boecleri tagasitulek. Lisandusi kiriku, kirjanduse ja kommete ajaloole', in *Ajalookirjutaja aeg*, ed. Piret Lotman (Tallinn, 2008), pp. 141–227.

[19] *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis, seu chronicon Livonicum vetus ...*, ed. Johann Daniel Gruber (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1740), p. 149; *Der Liefländischen Chronik Erster Theil von Liefland unter seinen ersten Bischöfen ...*, trans. Johann Gottfried Arndt (Halle, 1747), p. 166. For the *Tharapita* interpretations, see Ants Viires, 'Taara avita!', in his *Kultuur ja traditsioon* (Tartu, 2001), pp. 48–68, and also Urmas Sutrop, 'Taarapita – The Great God of the Oeselians', *Folklore* 26 (2004), 27–64.

[20] 'There was there a mountain and a most lovely forest in which, the natives say, the great god of the Oeselians, called Tharapita, was born, and from which he flew to Oesel.' HCL XXIV.5, p. 175; Brundage, pp. 193–4. See Georg Magnus Knüpffer, 'Der Berg des Thorapilla: Ein historischer Besuch', *Das Inland* 22 (1836).

[21] Describing 'the first raid to Harrien' (1216), Henry mentions that: '... they entered the province of Harrien which is in the midst of Esthonia. There every year all the people round about were accustomed to assemble at Raela to make decisions.' HCL XX.2, p. 135; Brundage, p. 156. See Merkel, *Die Vorzeit Lieflands*, pp. 248–9. Merkel similarly argued that ancient Latvians had developed political society to a level similar to that of the Greek republics.

[22] The transfer of this motif from Merkel to national history writing has also been pointed out in Ea Jansen, 'Friedrich Ludwig von Maydells "Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte

Henry often emphasizes the pride and stubbornness of the pagan Estonians, using expressions such as they 'still held up their heads and would obey neither the Germans nor the other nations'.[23] This and several similar passages have been (and still are) of great significance for the construction of the Estonian national identity and have often been appropriated in the glorification of the national character. In the original context, however, stubbornness was seen as a negative feature, demonstrating an opposition to the true faith and the right order of the world, and bearing allusions to the revolting tribes of the Old Testament.[24]

Interpreting the crusades as a struggle between the church and republicanism, or tyranny and liberty, Merkel also made way for the popular later concept of the crusades as a native 'fight for freedom'.[25] This leads us to the criticism of the medieval Catholic church and crusading, which, together with the view of the Middle Ages as a dark period, relied on key authors such as Voltaire (1694–1778), David Hume (1711–76), Denis Diderot (1713–84) and Edward Gibbon (1737–94). In the Baltic context, it also drew upon Johann Gottlieb Herder (1744–1803).[26] Similarly to positive representations of the natives, this negative strategy later gained importance for Latvian and Estonian nationalism. Thus, for these young communities Enlightenment authors provided guidelines for imagining both 'us' and 'them': the indispensable antipode of the noble savages are the 'sword missionaries' who used religion to justify the cruel conquest of the crusades. In addition, stressing that medieval missionaries were sowing the

der deutschen Ostseeprovinzen Russlands"', in *Vier deutschbaltische Künstler: Carl Siegismund Walther, Friedrich Ludwig von Maydell, August Georg Wilhelm Pezold, Gustav Adolf Hippius*, ed. Anne Lõugas (Tallinn, 1994), pp. 29–38 (here 31).

[23] HCL XVI.8, p. 112; Brundage, p. 132; cf. Job 15:26.

[24] Linda Kaljundi, *Waiting for the Barbarians: The Imagery, Dynamics and Functions of the Other in Northern German Missionary Chronicles, 11th–Early 13th Centuries. The* Gestae Hamaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum *of Adam of Bremen,* Chronica Slavorum *of Helmold of Bosau,* Chronica Slavorum *of Arnold of Lübeck, and* Chronicon Livoniae *of Henry of Livonia* (unpublished MA dissertation, Tartu University, 2005), pp. 183–6.

[25] See Anti Selart, 'Muistne vabadusvõitlus', *Vikerkaar* 10–11 (2003), 108–20 (here 110).

[26] Herder specifically addressed the Livonian crusades, blaming the Teutonic Order for wars and serfdom. See Johann G. Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), p. 689. However, the authors of the Baltic Enlightenment also presented views that were less critical of the church. Hupel's version of the Livonian crusades (that also relies on Henry) is one such restrained and less emotional account. According to him, serfdom was not an immediate consequence of the crusades, but rather developed over a longer period. See Indrek Jürjo, *Aufklärung im Baltikum. Leben und Werk des livländischen Gelehrten August Wilhelm Hupel (1737–1819)* (Cologne, 2006).

papal faith also enabled the modern Lutheran church to distance itself from the burden of violent Christianization.

Descriptions of the Baltic *bons sauvages* were also influenced by New Worlds' wild men discourse. This supported the anti-slavery rhetoric, as many authors claimed that medieval conquerors had subjugated the Baltic indigenous population to a level similar to that of peoples in the African and American colonies. Such comparisons contributed to the legend of the 'discovery of the Baltic' by German merchants from Bremen who spontaneously arrived by ship in the twelfth century, mirroring the later Columbian finding of America. Merkel also used this motif, first appropriated by the early modern Livonian chroniclers: Johann Renner (1525–83), Balthasar Russow (1536–1600) and Franz Nyenstede (1540–1622). The legend was based on an interpolation of Henry's chronicle that Paul Johansen has dated to the years 1548–78.[27] In the Hannover manuscript (the basis of Gruber's edition) and several others, there stood a sentence in the final chapter referring to the year 1226 and stating that 'Many and glorious things happened in Livonia at the time when the heathen were converted to the faith of Jesus Christ during the past 67 years when the Bremen merchants first discovered the Livonian port ...'[28] Depending on the method of calculation, the 'discovery' was made either in the year 1159 or 1158.

To make a small excursion, it was only the discovery of the Zamoyski manuscript in 1862 that showed the story was groundless. However, the colonizing legend became a popular theme in nineteenth-century Baltic-German Romanticism and, not surprisingly, in Bremen. Peter Janssen (1844–1908), a German historical painter, made a mural painting for the Bremen neo-gothic bourse hall (*Neue Börse* (1864), destroyed in World War II), titled 'The Colonization of the Baltic Coast' (1872) that depicted Bremen's citizens as the founders of Riga. Janssen, in turn, relied on the Baltic-German artist Ludwig von Maydell (1795–1846) (see below). His engraving 'The First Landing of the Bremen Merchants on the Daugava' shows European merchants offering mirrors, colourful cloths and other small trade to the indigenous people, similar to the discourse on encounters with peoples of the New World (see Figure 17.1). The reuse of the discovery motif is a good example of how the ideological meaning can change in different contexts. While in Enlightenment circles it was used

[27] Paul Johansen, 'Die Legende von der Aufsegelung Livlands durch Bremer Kaufleute', in *Europa und Übersee: Festschrift für Egmont Zechlin*, ed. Otto Brunner and Dietrich Gerhard (Hamburg, 1961), pp. 42–68.

[28] 'Multa quidem et gloriosa contigerunt in Livonia temprore conversionis gentium ad fidem Iesu Christi per annos LXVII. praeteritos, ex quibus primo inventus est a mercatoribus *Bremensibus* portus *Livonicus* ...', *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis*, ed. Johann Daniel Gruber, p. 177.

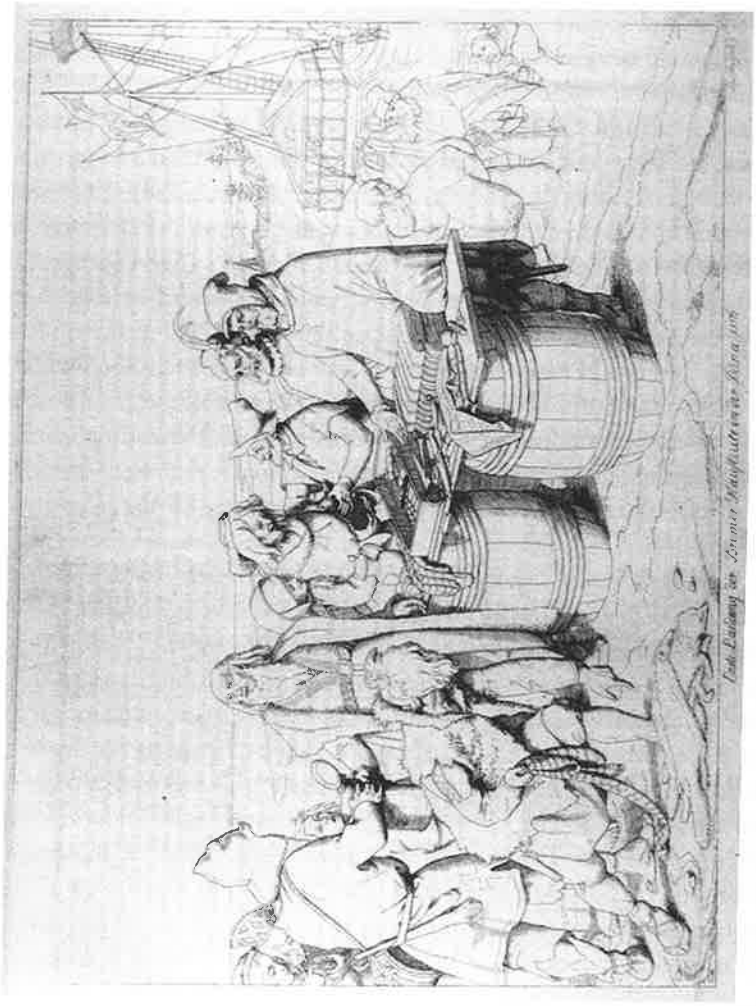

Figure 17.1 Ludwig von Maydell, 'Erste Landung der Bremer Kaufleute in der Düna. 1156' ('The First Landing of the Bremen Merchants on the Daugava. 1156'), in *Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. 1 (Tartu, 1839). Copperplate engraving © Art Museum of Estonia

for criticizing colonization, in late nineteenth-century writing it was integrated into the legitimization narrative of the Baltic colonies. However, as previously indicated, the Baltic Enlightenment had its strongest impact on Estonian and Latvian nationalisms. To briefly summarize, Enlightenment heritages taught the young nationalists not just to conceptualize history, but also to understand it as a tool for social criticism and rivalry. Equally influential to national movements was the positive conceptualization of folk culture, which in the Baltics was also inspired by Herder. Next to establishing many canonical features of the ancient past and indigenous culture, the Enlightenment tradition also shaped the future appropriation of Henry's repertoire of events, characters, themes and motifs.

The Nineteenth-Century Nationalist Utopias

Henry's chronicle came into the limelight of historical debate in the era of romantic historicism and nationalism. As argued by Ann Rigney, this period picked up the Enlightenment interest in culture and antiquarianism and fed it into emergent nationalism with its interest in identity politics and folk culture.[29] One can speak of the encounter and conflict of at least two different traditions of re-using Henry: the Baltic-German and the Estonian/Latvian. This subchapter mainly focuses on the uses of Henry by the latter, discussing the chronicle's role in the narrative of the young Latvian and, especially, Estonian nations, as well as its appropriation in the various mediums of cultural memory.

One cannot examine the young nationalist histories, however, without the context of German Romanticism. The Romantic yearning for the past became attractive for the Baltic-Germans as a part of the *Kulturnationalismus* and later as part of the counter-reaction to Russification in the late nineteenth century (the nationalist politics of Imperial Russia that promoted assigning Russians to administrative positions, the use of the Russian language and the Orthodox church). In the Baltic provinces, the arrival of German Romanticism meant abandoning the Enlightenment critique of the past and the restoration of the Middle Ages' glory.[30] Indeed, in the nineteenth century, German history *was*

[29] Ann Rigney, *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism* (Ithaca and London, 2001), p. 8.

[30] See also Heinrich Bosse, 'Geschichtschreibung des baltischen Biedermeier', in *Geschichte der deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. Georg von Rauch (Cologne and Vienna, 1986), pp. 103–19; and Wilhelm Lenz, '"Alt-Livland" in der deutschbaltischen Geschichtschreibung, 1870–1918', in ibid., pp. 203–32. For the uses of history against Russification, see Irene Neander, 'Carl Schirren als Historiker', in ibid., pp. 175–202.

medieval history; the latter almost becoming the metonym for the nation.[31] The Middle Ages thus absorbed most of the energies of German historians. The period saw not only the professionalization of history, but also the establishing of the national canon of sources for identifying a specifically German past. In the Baltics, Romantic nationalism and professionalization went hand in hand, as fascination with the Middle Ages produced a wave of source publications. In this new canon, Henry's chronicle gained a prominent place for the first time in its history, though it remained 'relatively young in a historiographical sense', as Tiina Kala puts it.[32] However, now Henry's chronicle had found its way to various series of source editions that aimed to mark the historical identity of the Baltic-Germans. The first nineteenth-century edition of Henry's chronicle (with a facing German translation) was published in the series *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*.[33] Yet, in the age of *Quellenforschung*, the study of Henry's chronicle had its heyday when the *Codex Zamoscianus* was found in 1862. This discovery seemingly fulfilled the dream to reconstruct a text that was as close as possible to the lost original. After one more edition and German translation in 1874, the new reconstruction of the chronicle was published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* series and accepted into the canon of the German past.[34]

The Baltic-German community also sought other ways of establishing continuity with the medieval past. Besides scholarly institutions, publications and source editions, it also included the restoration of medieval ruins and the spread of historicist architecture. These activities showed a desire to construct a common, durable and specific German past. Perhaps not surprisingly, 'built' medievalism is lacking in the tradition of the new nations, who contrasted themselves with medieval heritage and did not possess the resources for monumentalizing their version of the past.[35] Furthermore, their appropriations of the medieval period have never much used any visual arts: as the Estonian historian Ea Jansen has put it, the national historiography prefers to paint

[31] Peter Fritzsche, 'The Archive', *History and Memory* 17 (2005), 15–44 (here 19–20).

[32] See Chapter 16 by Tiina Kala in this volume.

[33] *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis: Heinrich's des Letten älteste Chronik von Livland*, ed. and trans. August Heinrich Hansen, in *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*, vol. I) (Riga and Leipzig, 1853).

[34] *Heinrici Chronicon Lyvoniae*, ed. Wilhelm Arndt (MGH rer. Germ. 23) (Hanover and Leipzig, 1874), pp. 231–332. Before that, in 1865 Carl Schirren had published *Der Codex Zamoscianus, enthaltend Capitel I–XXIII, 8 der Origines Livoniae* (Dorpat, 1865). Schirren's work was used for a German translation, *Heinrich's von Lettland Livländische Chronik*, trans. Eduard Pabst (Reval, 1867). For a detailed overview of the editing history, see Chapter 16 by Tiina Kala in this volume.

[35] See Linda Kaljundi, 'Muinasmaa sünd', *Vikerkaar* 8–9 (2008), 98–112.

its pictures with words.[36] The Baltic *Biedermeier*, however, included visual appropriations of the crusading past. The best-known illustrations of Henry's chronicle were made by Friedrich Ludwig von Maydell for his series of engravings 'Fifty Pictures from the German Baltic Provinces of Russia' (1839, 1842), which were influenced by German Romantic and *Biedermeier* artists.[37] Maydell's work illuminates the abandonment of Enlightenment critique of the Middle Ages and the rise of a Romantic cult of forefathers that lauds the crusaders' heroic spirit and devotion to higher ideals. Moreover, it also provides an interesting example of a new cultural translation of Henry's chronicle.

At a first viewing, the engravings seem to represent one of the most contradictory readings of Henry. The lyric and decorative images depict graceful and beautiful figures with a bourgeois cosiness, yet, at the same time praise the sword mission with violent *mise-en-scène*. The seeming contradiction can be explained from the *Kulturträger* perspective that presumed native barbarism. The artist had adopted the common belief that culture is not only righted but also obliged to fight barbarianism. According to Maydell the pillar of culture was the Christian religion and church. Thus, his binary interpretation and justification of the Livonian crusades came very close to Henry's version.[38] His engravings therefore oppose cruel and unwise heathens and laud pious and brave Christian knights and martyrs, thematize the conflict between culture and barbarianism, promote Christianity over paganism and serve to legitimize colonialism. Good examples of this approach are the images 'Theodoric in Danger of Becoming Sacrificed to Gods in 1192' and 'The Missionaries Hacking the Sacred Groves of the Estonians in 1220', which draw on scenes from Henry.[39] As most of Maydell's visualizations of the past are based on Henry's chronicle (to a lesser extent, he also used the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* and Thomas Hiärn's chronicle), the

[36] Jansen, 'Friedrich Ludwig von Maydells "Fünfzig Bilder ..."', pp. 32–3.

[37] Friderich Ludwig von Maydell, *Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. I (Tartu, 1839), vol. II (Tartu, 1842). Maydell was especially influenced by the popular Adrian Ludwig Richter (1803–83), 'a painter of the German people', and Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeldt (1794–1872), a member of the Nazarene movement who had illustrated the *Niebelungenlied* and the Bible. Konrad Maier has even compared Maydell's series to Ludwig Richter's illustrations for Eduard Duller's *Die Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* (Leipzig, 1840): see Konrad Maier, 'Rahvuskultuur eesti kunstis? 19. sajandi keskpaigast I maailmasõjani', in *Rahvuskultuur ja tema teised*, ed. Rein Undusk (Tallinn, 2008), pp. 151–73 (here 154).

[38] As argued in Jansen, 'Friedrich Ludwig von Maydells "Fünfzig Bilder ..."', pp. 33–8.

[39] 'Der Mönch Theodorich in Gefahr den Goetzen geopfert zu werden. A° 1192', 1839; 'Missionære hauen die Götzenbäume der Ehsten um A° 1220', 1842. See respectively HCL I.10, pp. 4–5, and HCL XXIV.5, p. 175. All Maydell's images referred to here are

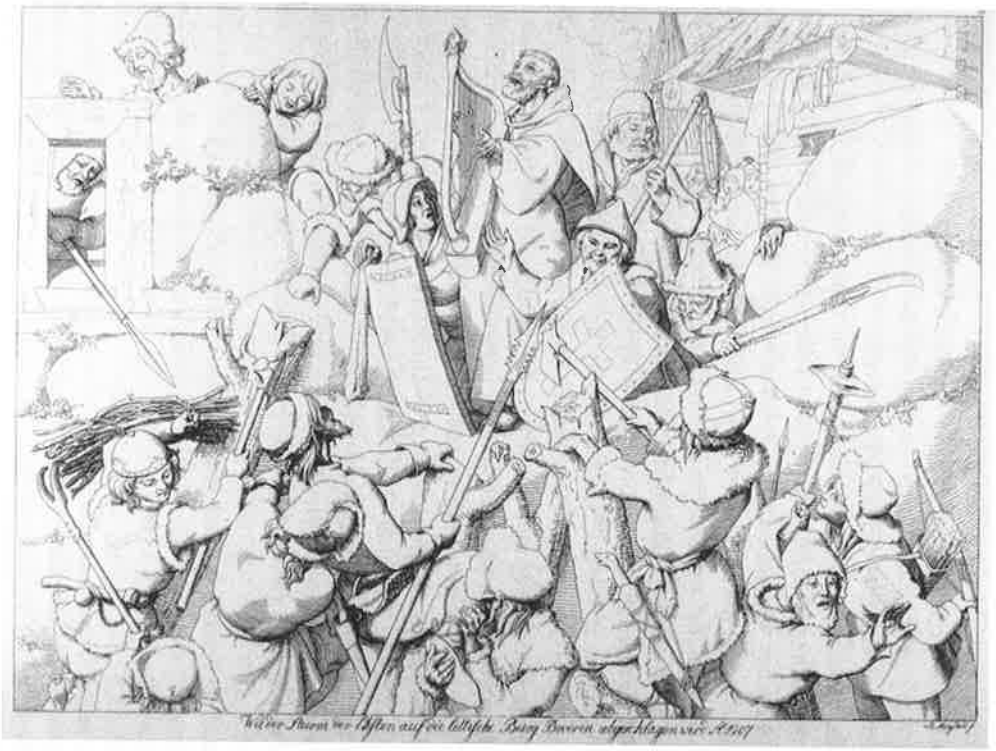

Figure 17.2 Ludwig von Maydell, 'Wie der Sturm der Ehsten auf die lettische Burg Beverin abgeschlagen wird. Ad 1207' ('How the Storming of the Estonians Was Beaten Back at the Latvian Hillfort of Beverina. AD 1207'), in *Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. 1 (Tartu, 1839). Copperplate engraving © Art Museum of Estonia

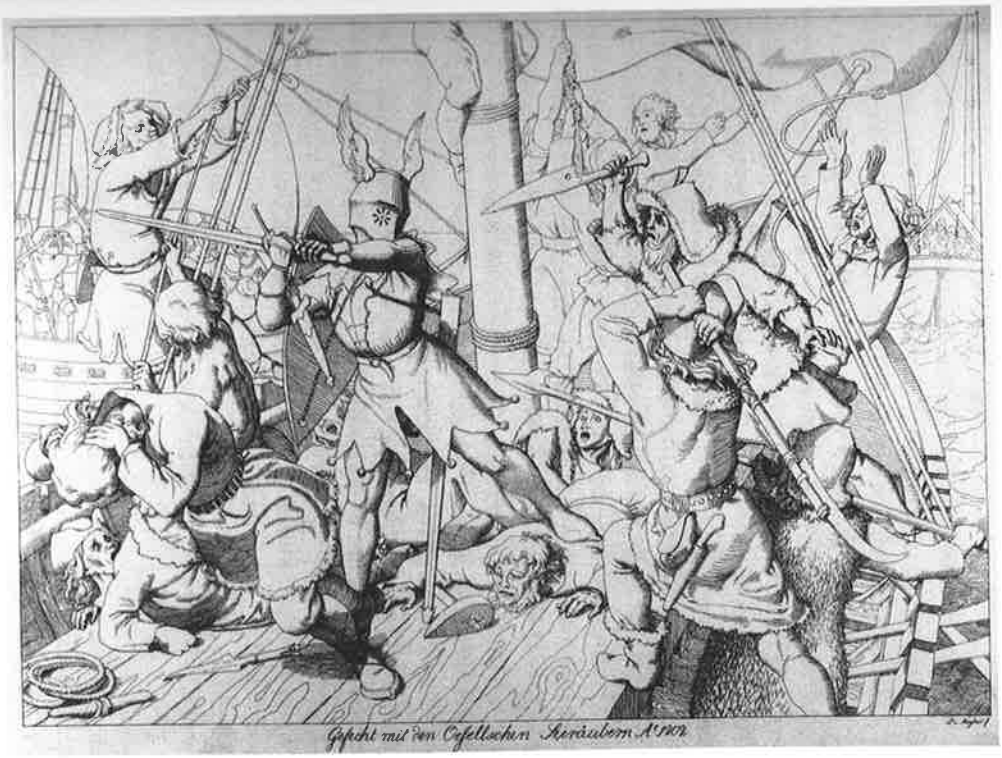

Figure 17.3 Ludwig von Maydell, 'Gefecht mit den Oesellschen Seeräubern. Ad 1202' ('A Fight with the Öselian Pirates. AD 1202'), in *Fünfzig Bilder aus der Geschichte der deutschen Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands*, vol. 1 (Tartu, 1839). Copperplate engraving © Art Museum of Estonia

series sheds light on what the Romantics considered to be the most spectacular moments of Henry's narrative. Indeed, the advertisement annotation of the image series states that the artist had much trouble in choosing the scenes that would be both historically significant and picturesque.[40] Most of the engravings depict the founding moments of the colony and the course of conquest. Maydell has chosen either significant or dramatic and dynamic events from the chronicle, such as the siege of Beverin that also depicts the chronicler himself 'singing prayers to God on a musical instrument' (1208) (see Figure 17.2), a battle with the Öselian pirates who return from a raid to Blekinge (1203) (see Figure 17.3), or the siege of Dorpat (1224).[41] Next to these, Maydell also presents some of the more peaceful moments from colonial history: the 'discovery of Livonia' by the Bremen merchants (see Figure 17.1), Bishop Albert laying the first stone of Riga (1201), Theodoric presenting Caupo to Innocent III (1203), or the liturgical performance in Riga (1204).[42] Maydell also favoured baptism scenes that helped to stress the German role in transmitting culture. In the spirit of the forefathers' cult, the artist praised the great crusading heroes and especially Bishop Albert. He also sympathized with Caupo, the Livish chieftain who allied with the German crusaders and was presented by Henry as a model of a faithful convert (also discussed below).

In an indication that the reading of Henry at those times was not clearly polarized, Maydell's illustrations of the chronicle were also used for Estonian-language popular histories. For example, a peasants' calendar (1861–62) published four of Maydell's engravings that depicted chronicle scenes and showed the colonizer (and not the colonized) in a favourable light.[43] Moreover, during the Baltic *Biedermeier* the Enlightenment view on indigenous culture did not entirely disappear. Romanticism and Herderianism produced not only an idealization of the German forefathers, but also a curiosity towards the ancient past and folk culture of the natives, which became the object of study for

[40] Jansen, 'Friedrich Ludwig von Maydells "Fünfzig Bilder ..."', p. 30.

[41] 'Wie der Sturm der Ehsten auf die lettische Burg Beverin abgeschlagen wird. Ad 1207' (sic) (1839); 'Gefecht mit den Oesellschen Seeräubern. Ad 1202' (sic) (1839); 'Belagerung und Erstürmung Dorpats A° 1223' (1842). For the siege of Beverin, see HCL XII.6, pp. 63–4; Brundage, pp. 84–6 (here 85). For the naval battle with the Öselians, see HCL VII.2, pp. 19–20. For the siege of Dorpat, see HCL XXVIII.5–6, pp. 202–5. Next to German victories, Maydell also depicted the victory of the Danes in Reval in 1219.

[42] For the founding of Riga, see HCL V.1, p. 15; for Caupo's visit to the pope, see HCL VII.3, pp. 20–21; and for the liturgical *ludus magnus*, see HCL IX.14, p. 32.

[43] 'Kuidas rahvas meie Maal risti-ussuliseks sanud', in *Ma-rahwa kassuline Kalender* (Tartu, 1861–62).

Estophiles. Tellingly, next to his visualizations of the barbarianism of the natives' ancient culture, Maydell also illustrated Estonian folktales.[44]

While Maydell's series was a significant attempt to use the positive conceptualization of the medieval past – and Henry's chronicle in particular – for creating a Baltic-German identity, the reception of his work was not too enthusiastic and the series remained unfinished.[45] Yet, due to a lack of visualizations of the crusades, Maydell's images are used to this date, often in ideologically opposite contexts: for example, in Estonian school history textbooks that proclaim a completely different view of the crusades to Maydell.[46]

This alternative view of the crusades relates to the rise of young nations, a phenomenon by no means uncommon in the nineteenth century.[47] From the 1850s on, new nationalist movements in the Baltic region were backed not only by the general rise of nationalism in Europe, but also by the bettering of the legal and socio-economic situation of the local peasantry. Also capitalizing on increasing literacy rates, the spread of print-Estonian and Latvian, and the growth of a small but energetic intelligentsia supported nationalist sentiment. Similarly with such national revivals, the use of history played a crucial role in nation building. It was during this period that the core structure of Latvian and Estonian national historical writing was established. Even if the turning of Henry's pagan barbarians into noble savages and noble crusaders into brute barbarians had its roots in Enlightenment tradition, these ideas were adapted by, and for, a new kind of historical narrative.[48] As argued by Benedict Anderson, the Enlightenment clearly had a powerful impact, above all in providing an

[44] Maydell illustrated Estonian folktales by the well-known Estophile Friedrich Robert Fachlmann, such as 'The Song of Vanemuine' and 'Dawn and Twilight', and also belonged to the Learned Estonian Society (Ger. *Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft*). See also Jansen, 'Friedrich Ludwig von Maydells "Fünfzig Bilder ..."', p. 33.

[45] Due to the small number of subscribers, Maydell managed to publish only 22 images instead of the 50 engravings he initially planned.

[46] See, for instance, Mait Kõiv and Priit Raudkivi, *Keskaeg. Ajalooõpik 7. klassile*, vol. 2 (Tallinn, 2004), pp. 106, 109.

[47] For a brief introduction, see Toivo U. Raun, 'Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Estonian Nationalism Revisited', *Nations and Nationalism* 9 (2003), 129–47.

[48] For an overview of the Estonian historical consciousness, see Ants Viires, 'Eestlaste ajalooteadvus 18.–19. sajandil', *Tuna* 3 (2001), 20–36. The impact of Merkel's ideas on the making of Estonian national history is discussed in Undusk, 'Kolm võimalust kirjutada eestlaste ajalugu'. See also Undusk, '"Wechsel und Wiederkehr" als Prinzipien des Weltgeschehens: Zu Merkels Geschichtsideologie', in *'Ich werde gewiß große Energie zeigen.' Garlieb Merkel (1769–1850) als Kämpfer, Kritiker und Projektmacher in Berlin und Riga*, ed. Jörg Drews (Bielefeld, 2000), pp. 133–47. Merkel's *Die Vorzeit Lieflands* was translated into Estonian slightly later, in 1909.

arsenal of ideological criticism of imperial and *ancien régimes*, but 'it did not create in itself the kind, or shape, of imagined community for the objects of its admiration or disgust'.[49] In Latvia and Estonia, as elsewhere, local activists played the decisive role in accomplishing this task. In their narrative, the Middle Ages became just as central as in the Enlightenment and Baltic-German version of the past.[50]

As the birth of Latvian and Estonian histories coincided with the rise of Henry's chronicle, it was natural that this work would become the *Ur*-text for national narratives. One could even conclude that with the emergence of nationalism, Estonian and Latvian history writing has been producing cultural translations of the chronicle. The following section discusses how their narratives, archetypes for victories and losses, images for heroes, enemies and traitors, have developed a vivid, yet tense dialogue with Henry's chronicle. In examining Henry's role in the new traditions, however, one should consider a few significant aspects. The construction of national histories was born not of concord with this text, but rather out of conflict, discomfort and disagreement. For the young nations, Henry's mentioning of the Latvians and Estonians enabled them to enter into the realm of written history. The crusading chronicle, however, also became a source for constructing a national tragedy narrative. Hence entering written history is closely associated with the loss of ancient paradise. One should also take into account that in the beginning, young nationalists possessed little funding and could not rely upon elite circles to invent and establish their traditions. Drawing on the model put forth by the Czech scholar, Miroslav Hroch, they remained in the position of 'non-dominant ethnic groups' and lacked the features of a fully formed nation: political autonomy, standardized language for expressing forms of high culture and an established class structure. As the tradition of a state was lacking, national revival was based to a great extent upon ethnographic heritage and folklore.[51] Therefore national histories also had to rely on imaginary sphere, primarily using fictive, vocal and performed mediums.

[49] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 65.

[50] For an overview of the crusading narrative in the Estonian historiography, see Sulev Vahtre, *Muinasaja loojang Eestis. Vabadusvõitlus 1208–1227* (Tallinn, 1990), pp. 23–46; Selart, 'Muistne vabadusvõitlus'; and in the Latvian historiography, see Kaspars Kļaviņš, 'Die Interpretationen des Mittelalters in Lettland während des nationalen Erwachens der Letten', *Baltica: Die Vierteljahresschrift für Baltische Kultur* 3 (2000), 10–21; Kaspars Kļaviņš, 'Die Idee des Mittelalters als Beispiel des wechselnden Wertesystems in Lettland während des 20. Jahrhunderts', *Baltica: Die Vierteljahresschrift für Baltische Kultur* 1 (2001), 17–26.

[51] Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations* (New York, 2000).

To the Estonian-speaking audience, history was first introduced in eighteenth-century calendars.[52] The same century also introduced medieval history, as the preface to the first Estonian Bible translation (1739) gave an overview of the advent of the Christian faith to the Estonians. It emphasized the piety and peaceful aims of Bishop Meinhard, blamed his successors for the violent mission that distanced the people from Christian faith and, as one might expect from a Lutheran Bible, praised only the Reformation as having brought the light of faith to the people.[53] This continued the tradition already established by the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lutheran chroniclers (Balthasar Russow and others). The first manifest construction of Estonian history, however, was the national epic *Kalevipoeg* ('Kalev's Son') (1853/62) by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–82), a writer and a leading figure of the nationalist movement. It is a tale about the waning of a golden age that ends with the arrival of 'iron men' on Estonian shores and thus provides an allegory of crusade. Even more explicit references to the crusades can be found in the Latvian national epic poem *Lāčplēsis* ('Bear-slayer') (1888) by Andrejs Pumpurs (1841–1902), a poet and prominent figure in the Young Latvia movement. *Lāčplēsis* is a Romantic adventure tale comprised of fashionable ethnography and several elements from Henry's chronicle, such as even the figure of Henry himself (see below). Both epics longed for a 'golden age' and stressed the violence of conquest – and these features also remained central to the traditions of the national historical writing established in the mid nineteenth century.

It was Carl Robert Jakobson (1841–82), leader of a group of more radical nationalists, who formulated the core of the Estonian narrative.[54] In his so-called 'First Fatherland Speech' (1868), titled 'The Ages of Light, Darkness and Dawn of the Estonian People', Jakobson established the traditional structure of Estonian history. He divided it into three periods: the light of ancient freedom, the darkness of slavery and the present age of dawn, following the trope according to which, in Europe, the new nationalisms began to imagine themselves as

[52] See Endel Annus, *Eesti kalendrikirjandus 1720–1900* (Tallinn, 2000).

[53] The author of the preface was likely Anton Thor Helle (1683–1748), a translator of the Bible, clergyman and linguist. As the same preface was used in all the prints of the Estonian-language Bible until the early twentieth century (altogether tens of thousands of copies), its impact on the popular historical consciousness can hardly be overestimated. See Viires, 'Eestlaste ajalooteadvus', p. 24.

[54] Carl Robert Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, ed. Rudolf Põldmäe (Tallinn, 1991). Of great importance in the representation of the crusades was the first volume of his school textbook *Kooli lugemise raamat* (Tartu, 1867) that enjoyed 15 editions during its publication run.

'awakening from sleep'.[55] For Estonian-language history, Jakobson's militant tone marked a significant change, especially when compared to the earlier Lutheran calendar histories that called on their readers for piety and obedience. Even though Jakobson's narrative derives from the Enlightenment, now the *sauvages* were the subject and not the object of inquiry. Nationalist historians identified with Henry's 'ferocious heathens' and aimed to write the historical narrative from the perspective of these fierce men.

Establishing the young nations as historical agents was closely bound to affirming that the Estonians and Latvians (who at that time held a low social status in the Baltic provinces of the Russian empire) were ancient *Kulturnationen*. Showing that he had learned his Merkel, Jakobson argued that '[the ancient times] show us the Estonian people in a spirit so high, as we see it only amongst the most highly educated ancient peoples'.[56] In the process of elevating the Estonian past with that of the ancients, Henry gained a central place. Indeed, Jakobson's speech was subtitled 'Notes from the Old Books of Time' and the author eagerly refers to the chronicle of 'Henry the Latvian'. So, in creating the image of ancient Estonians, Jakobson undertook what we might call a nationalist translation of Henry's chronicle and established the central traits of a future Estonian re-reading of this text. As in the Enlightenment interpretation, Henry's positive signs were turned into negative, and vice versa: the light of the true faith became the night of slavery, and the darkness of heathenism the golden light of the ancient paradise, the pious crusaders the cruel conquerors, and the savage barbarians the noble heroes. Still, some elements of the chronicle were adopted almost in their entirety. These include the bellicosity of the ancient Estonians. Relying on Henry's image of the warlike pagans, Jakobson emphasized the military and masculine values of his people. Yet, he also stressed orderliness, which is something not associated with the pagans in medieval texts: the organization of space (Jakobson gives lengthy descriptions of the ancient system of hillforts), as well as a social and spiritual order (by pointing, for example, to a rather clear-cut pantheon of gods). Jakobson reveals his aims in the summation of his re-interpretation of the chronicle: 'that much we can at least learn from [Henry's] letters that the Estonian people had their own priests

[55] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 195.

[56] Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, p. 17. Other nationalists also used comparison to the Greeks, commonplace during the Enlightenment. For instance, Jakob Hurt argued that: 'In their heroic spirit and love for one's fatherland the ancient Estonians do not lack behind the ancient Greeks and Romans.' Jakob Hurt, *Pildid isamaa sündinud asjust* (Tartu, 1879), p. 71. Hurt was a pastor and a leader of the moderate nationalists. His *Pildid isamaa sündinud asjust* was another popular and influential history book, presenting, however, a slightly more balanced critical assessment of the crusades.

and temples, and that they had their own kings or elders ruling over them, who lived in secure strongholds.'[57]

Jakobson and nationalist writing in general also referenced Henry's meagre representations of Estonian paganism as a worship of sacred groves, mixing them with Romantic constructions such as the mythologies by Friedrich Robert Faehlmann (1798–1850), an influential Estophile and folklore enthusiast. While these ideas hearken to Enlightenment enthusiasm towards ancient religion, they differ considerably from the calendar histories that judged paganism negatively. As in earlier times, in the nationalist imagery Henry's mention of *Tharapita* played a key role in constructing the ancient pantheon, remaining one of the chronicle's main contributions to Estonian historical Romanticism. In the period when these mythologies proliferated, Faehlmann's *Estonian Folktales* (1840), Kreutzwald's national epic *Kalevipoeg*, as well as his other folk poems, all served to contribute towards the Estonian image of *Taara* as it came to be comprised in national Romantic historicism (and is still known today).[58] There were also attempts to establish a link between the chronicle and oral heritage, though it is now known that the few Taara poems which folklore collectors reported at the time were fabrications.[59]

Equally important for national history were the images of antagonists: the crusaders, Catholic clerics and, especially, the Sword Brethren.[60] The narrative of 'our paradise', as Jakobson calls it,[61] was constructed hand-in-hand with that of the bloody crusades and sword mission. These were likewise profoundly influenced by Merkel's and other kindred authors' conceptualization of the Middle Ages as a 'dark age'. As excerpts from Henry's chronicle were often used to confirm the cruelty of conquest, one could also speak about a certain transfer of violence from the medieval contexts to modernity. Similarly to the majority of crusading chronicles, Henry's text represents an environment of abundant violence that has been used to create analogies with biblical histories. In the nineteenth century, however, these depictions gained a wholly different meaning due to

[57] Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, p. 19.

[58] Still interpreting *Tharapita* as a war cry, Faehlmann and Kreutzwald established *Taara* as the name of the god. Nevertheless, this version was chosen from among several alternatives, such as *Thor* (the above-discussed link to the Scandinavian pantheon remained prominent), *Toor(o)*, or *Taar*. For the genesis of Taara in the writings of Estophiles, see Viires, 'Taara avita!', pp. 52–6.

[59] Viires, 'Taara avita!', p. 54.

[60] Cf. Juhan Kreem, 'The Teutonic Order in Livonia: Diverging Historiographical Traditions', in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001), pp. 467–80.

[61] Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, p. 10.

different sensibilities, representational needs and contexts. Jakobson's speech illustrates the uses of medieval violence towards modern aims: during Bishop Albert's reign 'there almost did not pass a year when people's blood would not have bled like creeks of water'.[62] Another strategy of the national history was the claim of the hypocrisy of the mission, a trend already seen in both Reformation and Enlightenment critique. Again Henry's chronicle was useful in establishing this connection, especially in his account of the Rigan and Danish rivalry in northern Estonia during the 1220s.[63] In national cultural memory, Henry's rather problematic representation of this ritual rivalry has been taken on face value and become known as 'the baptism competition'. The negative views of the medieval church can be explained in that several leading national activists had been trained as Lutheran pastors. They were well versed in the Lutheran and Enlightenment critique of the Middle Ages and applied this knowledge to mitigate the fact that the ancient Estonian pagans whom they identified as their forefathers had actually fought against Christianity. The seeming contradiction was overcome by stressing that these figures had revolted against the papal faith, a doctrine considered even more harmful than original paganism.[64]

As the national discourse had therefore arrived at the opposite of what Henry had been striving for, this explains its tense relationship with the chronicle. The founders of Estonian and Latvian national histories who established the relationship between the old texts and the young nations also developed an opposition towards 'other' and 'our' sources. Not only were historical agents divided between 'us' and the 'other', but also documents written in 'alien' languages (Latin, Low-German, and so on) were considered as manifestations of an 'alien' spirit. With the existence of only 'alien' texts telling 'us' about 'our' ancient history, this vacuum helped to inspire the creation of an archive of 'our own' sources: the collection of folklore and archaeological heritage that spread rapidly in the late nineteenth century. Jakob Hurt (1839–1907), the propagator of this movement, tellingly proclaimed that the Baltic chronicles revealed only

[62] Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, p. 24.

[63] HCL XXIV.2; Brundage, p. 189; HCL XXIV.5; Brundage, p. 193. After the Danes had established themselves in northern Estonia (1219) and many of the Estonians accepted Christianity from them, rivalry over the ecclesiastical rule of the region grew serious. Henry takes part in this quarrel, presenting the Danes as having performed their mission in an unorthodox manner. It is a good example of the value of (arguably) unorthodox rituals. See Linda Kaljundi, '(Re)Performing the Past: Crusading, History Writing and Rituals in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia', in *The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds: Uncanonical Chapters of the History of Nordic Medieval Literature*, ed. Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Lars Boje Mortensen (Turnhout, forthcoming).

[64] A good example of this approach is Hurt, *Pildid isamaa sündinud asjust.*

the outer history of the Estonian people, while the inner history still needed to be discovered from the 'living source' of folklore. To support this argument, he published several collections of folk poems under the title *Monumenta Estoniae antiquae*.[65] Similar ideas supported the revival of popular culture in Latvia, notably the collection of folk songs by Krišjānis Barons (1835–1923), a writer, folklorist and leading national activist.[66]

Though this environment had opened up alternatives for the constructions of ancient past, it served to delegitimize 'alien' documents (such as Henry's chronicle). This is reflected in the lamentations about the lack and, at the same time, unreliability of written sources about the ancient period. Carl Robert Jakobson states that: '[t]hese times stand too far from us so that we could get a full picture of Estonian people's laws and customs at that time. ... Of men of our people only Henry the Latvian tells us, who was yet brought up in Germany and looked at many things through different glasses than we would have liked.'[67] Hence, next to the joy over finding a historical narrative of ancient times and the eagerness to learn more about 'our' past, there also looms a hesitant and distrustful attitude towards the chronicle and its author.

Nevertheless, disagreement with Henry's version of the past did not mean neglecting the chronicle. Rather, the rise of the Estonian, as well as Latvian, national histories brought along a boom in the chronicle's appropriations. This included the translation of the text into Estonian and Latvian when the young nations adopted source publications as a medium of cultural memory – even though they did it at a less demanding scholarly level. The Estonian translation was made by a leading figure in the national heritage movement and popular history, Jaan Jung (1835–1900) and published in 1881–84.[68] The first Latvian translation appeared in 1883 and was made by the historian and ethnographer Matīss Siliņš (1861–1942),[69] suggesting the chronicle's growing relevance.

[65] Cf. Undusk, 'Kolm võimalust kirjutada eestlaste ajalugu', pp. 807–10. For Jakob Hurt's collections of folklore, see *Vana kannel*, vols 1–2 (Tartu, 1875–86) and *Setukeste laulud* (Helsinki, 1904–07).

[66] Krišjānis Barons's opus magnum is the six-volume collection of Latvian folklore *Latvju dainas* (vol. 1, Jelgava, 1894, vols 2–6, St Petersburg, 1903–15) that contains 217,996 songs.

[67] Jakobson, *Kolm isamaa kõnet*, p. 19.

[68] *Läti Hendriku Liiwi maa kroonika ehk Aja raamat*, 4 vols, trans. Jaan Jung (Tartu, 1881–83). Tellingly, in the preface Jung admits: 'I have had more trouble in writing this book than one could judge from its appearance.' Jaan Jung, 'Eessõna', in *Läti Hendriku Liiwi maa kroonika*, vol. 1, p. 5. Initially, he had translated the chronicle from the German version, but due to pressure from the publisher, he had to undertake a new translation from Latin – even though his meagre knowledge of Latin likely necessitated a great reliance on the German.

[69] *Latviešu Indrika kronika*, trans. Matīss Siliņš (Riga, 1883).

'Let this small book go and proclaim with its feeble words to the beloved Estonian people their oldest known history,' Jung proclaims with considerable enthusiasm in the preface.[70] The chronicle's wide-scale acceptance, however, did not proceed as easily as Jung had wished. In fact, the task of translating Henry for the Estonian and Latvian audiences continued to include more than merely linguistic problems.

By the late nineteenth century, historical *belles-lettres* had become the key medium for presenting history to the wider audience. In the case of young nations, the particular attraction of the Walter Scott style of historical fiction seems to lie not only in the coherent account of events and the possibility for identification, but also in 'a promise of another historical narrative'.[71] Moreover, these novels could be examined as kinds of 'imperfect histories', a term Ann Rigney has coined, relying on Foucauldian scarcity principle. Here historical fiction may play a role as (an imperfect) history for those who, by choice or necessity, do not have access to alternative accounts.[72] In the Estonian case, the landmark stories of Eduard Bornhöhe (1862–1923) dealt not with the crusades, but with the so-called St George's Night Uprising (1343–45) and drew on later chroniclers, such as Balthasar Russow and Christian Kelch. The uprising gained meaning and symbolic significance only as the continuation of the struggle against the German conquerors that had been lost during the crusades.[73] Amongst the authors who sought to follow Bornhöhe's lead, Andres Saal (1861–1931) contributed greatly to the narrative and imagery of the crusading period.[74] For verifying the adventures of his fictional heroes, Saal re-evoked many of scenes, characters and *topoi* from Henry's chronicle and so paved their way into the story-world of Estonian historical fiction. Saal's novels also remarkably popularized the image of the *Taara* religion. Departing from

[70] Jung, 'Eessöna', p. 6.

[71] Rigney, *Imperfect Histories*, p. 53.

[72] Rigney, *Imperfect Histories*, pp. 54–5.

[73] Eduard Bornhöhe, *Tasuja* ('The Avenger') (1880) and *Villu võitlused* ('The Battles of Villu') (1890). In the later cultural memory, Bornhöhe's fictive protagonist, 'The Avenger' (Est. Tasuja, or Jaanus) has sometimes been portrayed as seizing the mantle of national hero from Henry's chronicle's Lembitu. The novel also has a few indirect borrowings from Henry's chronicle in depicting the ancient Estonians: in one place the dog of the antagonist, a young German baron, is called 'Tarapita' for mocking the local culture.

[74] Saal's most influential historical novels were: *Wambola: Jutustus wanast Eesti ajaloost (1209–1212)* (Tartu, 1889); *Aita: jutustus Liiwi ja Eestirahwa wabaduse wõitlusest 12. aastasaja lõpul* (Tallinn, 1892); *Leili, üks pagana naine: Jutustus Liiwirahwa wabaduse wõitlusest 13. aastasaja algul* (Paide, 1892–93). He also published a two-volume history book, *Päris ja prii*, in which the first volume, *Eesti rahva pärisorjuse ajalugu 1215–1819* (Rakvere, 1891) focused mainly on the crusades.

the spirit of revenge that proliferates Bornhöhe's work, Saal's writing presents melancholic and sentimental stories about the loss of ancient paradise.

Historical novels represent national imagination at work, and are thus best understood against a backdrop of the contemporary society of their author.[75] The overwhelming representation of the medieval period as a struggle against the Germans corresponded well with the situation in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Estonia and Latvia. Historical fiction also projected upon the past an image of a national community with markedly peasant characteristics, that likewise matched the contemporary experiences of its readership. However, early historical fiction also created a pantheon of ancient heroes and nobility. Amongst these, the natives mentioned by Henry gained a prominent place and could be located in many period novels to affirm the deeds of fictive characters. Saal's novels illustrate this tendency particularly well. In addition, the Enlightenment heritage contributed to this story-world. A good example of this is Garlieb Merkel's tale *Wannem Ymanta* (1802) with its protagonist, the Livish chieftain Ymanta.[76]

All these ancient heroes, including characters from Henry's chronicle who had been reanimated during the nationalist movement, found great momentum during the Estonian and Latvian War of Independence (both 1918–20), which followed World War I, the collapse of the Russian Empire and the Russian Civil War. These wars were fought against not only the Soviet Red Army, but also the German *Landeswehr*, and thus the analogies to crusade ideally suited a propaganda need. The 'Red' side also drew upon ancient heroes. For example, during the Russian Civil War, one group of Red Latvian soldiers formed a 'Regiment of Ymanta'. Such appropriations, however, were more prominent on the White side. In Estonian military ideology, Lembitu became the central ancient hero and his name was bestowed upon a gunboat and armoured car. In Henry's chronicle, Lembitu is presented as the most powerful Estonian chieftain who was based in Saccala. The chronicler mentions him eight times, more than any other Estonian.[77] The rise of Lembitu within Estonian cultural memory had only begun to originate in the late nineteenth century. Though the first nationalist historians had also mentioned him, it is only with the

[75] See Miroslav Hroch, 'Historical Belles-lettres as a Vehicle of the Image of National History', in *National History and Identity: Approaches to the Writing of National History in the North-East Baltic Region, 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Michael Branch (Helsinki, 1999), pp. 97–110 (here 100–101).

[76] Garlieb Helwig Merkel, *Wannem Ymanta: Eine lettische Sage* (Leipzig, 1802).

[77] In Henry's chronicle, Lembitu is mentioned in HCL XIV.12, p. 86, XV.7, p. 94, XV.9, p. 99, XV.10, p. 100, XVIII.7, p. 120, XIX.1, p. 122, XXI.2–3, pp. 141–3, XXV.2, p. 180.

Figure 17.4 A monument of Lembitu in Suure-Jaani (Estonia). Sculptor: Amandus Adamson. Bronze. 1926 © Estonian Film Archives

novelists that Lembitu was reimagined as a symbolic figure. Even after the War of Independence, several war machines (for instance, a submarine) were named *Lembit(u)* and his image continued to be held up as the national and masculine ideal, as well as an important model for the soldiers of the new state's army.[78] While hardly any monuments to the crusades in Estonia and Latvia were produced during the interwar period, an exception was the re-use of the ancient heroes on the monuments erected to honour the War of Independence. In 1926, a figure of Lembitu was used for one such monument erected in Suure-Jaani (see Figure 17.4). This town is located next to the Lõhavere hillfort, which is believed to be 'the fort of Lembit, which is called Leole' mentioned in Henry's chronicle.[79] Also the Freedom Monument in Riga (1935, sculptor Kārlis Zāle [1888–1942]), which commemorates the soldiers killed during the War of Independence, depicts on its relief *Guards of the Fatherland* an ancient Latvian warrior who stands between two kneeling modern soldiers. Once more, this leads us to the functionality of the ancient past in promoting identity within new states.

[78] For the uses of Lembitu as a military role model, see Selart, 'Muistne vabadusvõitlus', pp. 112–13.

[79] HCL XVIII.7, p. 120; Brundage, p. 139.

Independent and Soviet Histories

The founding of the Estonian and Latvian states brought along changes in the crusading narrative and its memory at all policy levels of official nationalism. This affected education, the writing of history, militarism, propaganda and other affirmations of national identity. After 1934, when Konstantin Päts (1874–1956) and Kārlis Ulmanis (1877–1942) established authoritarian regimes in Estonia and Latvia, state-managed nationalism produced conservative policies that were adapted from the popular nationalism that had preceded them. Anti Selart has pointed to a change in the meaning of the 'ancient fight for freedom'. First its goal was argued to have been the abolishment of serfdom, but it gradually became linked with a desire for political independence.[80] Along with this development, the concept of ancient independent states was born as the new states sought to claim ownership of their heritage. The first use of this strategy can be seen as early as in their successive declarations of independence.[81] In both countries the narratives of the lost war against the crusaders (re-christened 'the ancient fight for freedom', Est. *muistne vabadusvõitlus*) and the victorious War of Independence (literally 'Freedom War', Est. *Vabadussõda*, Latv. *Latvijas brīvības cīņas*) were bound together.[82] The Latvian silent film *Lāčplēsis* (1930, directed by Aleksandrs Rusteiķis) visualizes the amalgamation well: while its opening scene presents motives and characters from the epic, its following scenes depict the 1905 revolution, World War I and the War of Independence all as part of the same fight.[83]

[80] Selart, 'Muistne vabadusvõitlus', p. 110.

[81] For a brief analysis of the use of history in the 'birth certificates' of the first Estonian republic, see Sulev Vahtre, 'Die Geschichtschreibung und die Historiker in Estland in den Kritischen Jahren 1918/1919 und 1987/1989', JBS 25/2 (1994), 147–52.

[82] Karsten Brüggemann, 'Estnische Erinnerungsorte: Die Schlacht von Wenden gegen die Baltische Landeswehr im Juni 1919 als Höhepunkt der nationalen Geschichte', *Eurozine* (2004), online at: <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2004-03-09-brueggemann-de.html> (6 June 2010). In the Estonian case, a good example of this is the official history of the War of Independence that starts with a brief introduction and images about 'the ancient independence and fight for freedom': see *Eesti Vabadussõda 1918–1920*, vol. 1 (Tallinn, 1937), pp. 11–14. Even though the concept of a 'fight for freedom' had been used in describing the crusading period by the early twentieth century, the term 'ancient war for freedom' became commonplace only after 1920. For its genesis, see Selart, 'Muistne vabadusvõitlus', pp. 112–14.

[83] Stefan Donecker, 'Collective Memory and Historical Myths in Latvian Cinema: The Silent Movie Lacplesis (1930)', in *Transformationsprozesse im Ostseeraum und die osteuropäische Erfahrung*, ed. Imbi Sooman (Vienna, 2005).

As argued by the Latvian historian Ilgvars Misāns, while Latvian national history was focused on the crusades, what interested the historians most were the Latvian warriors and their continuous fight against foreign conquerors from the medieval period on. Differing from the Estonian case, in Latvia the first stage of the ancient fight for freedom did not end with Henry's chronicle (1227). Rather, the Latvians have often been identified with the Semgallians who resisted the Teutonic Order until the 1290s. Due to the confrontation with Baltic-Germans, the studies into the crusades inspired large public interest whilst simultaneously binding it tightly with nationalist-Romantic wishful thinking.[84] During the interwar period, one of the few voices that differed from this imbalanced approach was Vilis Biļķins (1887–1974), a student of Leonid Arbusow Jr and a scholar of Henry's chronicle.[85]

In the Estonian case, the concept of an 'eternal fight for freedom' was to become the trigger for the historical narrative as a whole. According to the discourse, the fight to regain the freedom lost to the crusaders continued with the rebellion of St George's Night, the modern 'peasant wars', and was only to be realized with the War of Independence and the founding of a modern nation state.[86] Stressing that the ancient war was a first step in what was to be a long and eventually victorious national fight against foreign invasion also enabled coming to terms with the fact that the catalysing event in Estonian national history was a lost war. The crusades became symbolically associated with heroic resistance rather than defeat. This reimaging was well suited for the nationalist-pedagogical need of the late 1930s. A leading historian of the period, Hans Kruus (1891–1976), monumentalized this interpretation in a three-volume *Estonian History* (1935–40), of which he was chief editor. In these volumes 'the ancient fight for freedom' is put into the service of present national interests and presented as an everlasting source of national pride that 'lasts as long as the Estonian nation lives and fights'.[87]

[84] Ilgvars Misāns, '"Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk" Die darstellung der ostbaltischen Kreuzzüge in der lettischen Geschichtschreibung', in *Lippe und Livland: Mittelalterliche Herrschaftsbildung im Zeichen der Rose*, ed. Jutta Prieur (Bielefeld, 2008), pp. 185–207, esp. 187–91.

[85] Differently from other national histories, in his main study, *Die Spuren von Vulgata, Brevier und Missale in der Sprache von Heinrichs Chronikon Livoniae* (Riga, 1928), and in his other works on Henry's chronicle, Vilis Biļķins places emphasis on the religious motivation of the crusaders.

[86] For an analysis of the 'eternal fight for freedom' as a narrative template, see Marek Tamm, 'History as Cultural Memory: Mnemohistory and the Construction of the Estonian Nation', JBS 39/4 (2008), 499–516.

[87] *Eesti ajalugu I: Esiajalugu ja muistne vabadusvõitlus*, ed. Hans Kruus and Harri Moora (Tartu, 1935), p. 376. For an introduction to Hans Kruus's views, see Sirje Kivimäe

The prominence of crusading granted Henry's chronicle a visible role in the national history. Yet, the making of an ancient Estonian proto-state and equating the crusades with modern politics (as a proto-aggression) also meant another round of rather radical rereadings of his chronicle. The most colourful examples of this are the writings of the Estonian public intellectual and psychiatrist Juhan Luiga (1873–1927), especially his lengthy 'Critique of Henry the Latvian's Chronicle'.[88] In it he argues that the present version of Henry's chronicle radically differs from the original, being full of alterations and interpolations. According to Luiga, Henry wrote the chronicle for Bishop Albert of Riga (1199–1229), but when Albert died, the Order intervened and had it rewritten as it suited them better.[89] Moreover, he suggests that there existed an earlier missionary chronicle, which he calls the 'Chronicle of Theodoric'. Though Luiga's approach was more extreme than those of the mainstream, the ideas he presented were not unique. Rather, they vocalized a yearning typical to Estonian cultural memory, that of the need for another historical narrative. His article seeks to fulfil two dreams: first, that the preserved chronicles would be exposed as forgery, and second, that there could be found some other, previously unknown chronicle or document, that could falsify the existing narrative. The article introduces numerous interpolations which Luiga believes to have discovered that, according to him, give the chronicle 'a misleading tone and our history an unreal shape'.[90] In so doing, he argues, they stress the barbarity of the Estonians and cover up their attempts to establish peace in the region. Luiga's aims, as well as the anxieties and dreams related to ancient Estonia that he seeks to redress, are revealed well in the following: '[I]f we leave aside the chronicle's interpolations, Estonian statehood reveals itself much more complete, developed to a quite high level, Estonian foreign policy shows much more planning, system and the relationship to the neighbours is much more "civilised", natural, humane.'[91] Even

and Jüri Kivimäe, 'Hans Kruus und die deutsch-estnische Kontroverse', in *Zwischen Konfrontation und Kompromiss*, ed. Michael Garleff (Munich, 1995), pp. 155–70.

[88] Juhan Luiga, 'Läti Hendriku kroonika kriitika', *Eesti Kirjandus* 4 (1922), 127–39; 5 (1922), 145–60; 6 (1922), 193–202; 7 (1922), 217–28; 9 (1922), 289–309; 12 (1922), 385–407; 1 (1923), 19–37; 2 (1923), 63–72; 4 (1923), 151–7; 5–6 (1923), 211–43; 11 (1923), 495–530; 10 (1926), 481–515.

[89] Similarly, Luiga argued that the Teutonic Order had changed the accounts of the St George's Night Uprising (1343–45). See his *Eesti vabadusvõitlus 1343–1345: Harju mäss* (Tallinn, 1924).

[90] Luiga, 'Läti Hendriku kroonika kriitika', *Eesti Kirjandus* 4 (1922), p. 133.

[91] Luiga, 'Läti Hendriku kroonika kriitika', *Eesti Kirjandus* 9 (1922), p. 289. Luiga was especially fascinated with Lembitu and argued against Henry's representation in his 'Lembitu välispoliitika', *Eesti Kirjandus* 8 (1921), 9 (1921), 10 (1921), 11 (1921), and 'Lembitus Wytamas', *Eesti Kirjandus* 1 (1921).

the defeat of the Estonians Luiga explains as a society being ahead of their time, as their democratic 'people's government' was destroyed by the more aggressive (and pre-modern) feudal system.

Indeed, an important element for the image of an Estonian proto-state was the idea of 'ancient democracy'. To augment this description, Henry's mention of the meeting in Raikküla (see above) continued to be widely appropriated. An especially ardent propagator of Raikküla as a proto-parliament was Jüri Uluots (1890–1945), an Estonian statesman, legal historian and theorist who advanced notions of the historical continuity of the Estonian republic as an heir of the ancient Estonia.[92] Interestingly, in Latvia an opposite trend can be identified. Unlike the Estonian interpretation emphasizing the egalitarianism of the ancient society, Latvian historians and archaeologists, such as Francis Balodis (1882–1947), strove to find traces of the ancient nobility.[93] The quest for the Lettgallian, Semgallian, and Curonian nobility and kings drew on Henry's use of terms such as *rex*.[94] This helped to inspire ideas about the Lettgallian/Latvian kingdom of Gerzike (Latv. Jersika). Visvaldis (Vissewalde, Vsevolod), called the king of Gerzike by Henry, gained a prominent place in the national pantheon.[95] In the Soviet period the interpretations became unified, as it was argued that the formation of early feudalism existed all over the Late Iron Age Baltics. Today the Latvian and Estonian visions again suggest exactly the opposite: in Estonia the egalitarian model has been replaced by ideas about socially differentiated society, and Latvian researchers have come to question the existence of a strong nobility.[96]

[92] HCL XX.2, p. 135. Uluots interpreted Henry's description of the Raikküla meeting as a proof of 'the democratic organisation of the ancient Estonian state' that, according to him, was a confederation of land-states (Est. *maariik*). See Jüri Uluots, 'Eesti muistest riiklikust ja ühiskondlikust korrast', *Looming* 6 (1932); 'Vana-Eesti rahvakoosolekutest', *Õigus* 18/8 (1937), 337–43. His ideas of its legal continuity are put forward in *Die Verträge der Esten mit den Fremden im XIII Jahrhundert* (Tartu, 1937).

[93] For an historiographical overview, see Andris Šnē, 'Stammesfürstentum und Egalität: Die sozialen Beziehungen auf dem Territorium Lettlands am Ende der prähistorischen Zeit (10.–12. Jahrhundert)', *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 3 (2008), 33–56.

[94] Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', pp. 190–91. For a discussion of Henry's socio-feudal terminology, see Enn Tarvel, 'Die Interpretation der sozialhistorischen Terminologie in den livländischen Geschichtsquellen des 13. Jahrhunderts', in *The European Frontier: Clashes and Compromises in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jörn Staecker (Lund, 2004), pp. 311–14.

[95] Visvaldis was also portrayed (1935) by the prominent Latvian painter, Ludolf Liberts (1862–1959).

[96] See Šnē, 'Stammesfürstentum und Egalität'; Heiki Valk, 'Estland im 11.–13. Jahrhundert. Neuere Aspekte aus Sicht der Archäologie', *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 2 (2008), 57–86.

The 1930s were characterized by the favouring of 'national scholarly disciplines' such as archaeology, ethnography, folkloristics or history. Scholars in these areas were dedicated to reconstructions of the 'authentic' and the 'ancient' (folklore, religion, customs, and so on), understood as the base of national values and culture. Specialization thus secured Henry a more neutral role in the national canon as the oldest source dealing with Estonian language, ethnography and folklore, and as a guidebook for archaeological material. The late 1930s, however, bore witness to the co-development of national scholarly disciplines and historical fiction, which also aimed at reconstructions of the ancient way of life.[97] This period saw a boom in historical novels that replaced tragic victim perspectives with militant narratives of past glory. Not surprisingly, the most victorious scene from Henry's chronicle (from the Estonian perspective) was now appropriated for fiction. In 1934, Mait Metsanurk published *Ümera jõel* ('On the Ümera River'). It retells the story of the Ümera (Latv. Jumara) battle (1210) where, according to Henry, Estonian troops caught the joint army of the Sword Brethren, Lettgallians and Livs by surprise and destroyed it.[98] Indeed, it provides one of the very few victories in the record of Estonian nationalist history. There were also other novels that drew on Henry to contribute to the story-world of the crusades.[99] The most illuminating examples of 1930s fiction, however, are the Viking novels. They are part of a wider trend of distancing from the German *Kulturraum* (the former colonizer) and promoting the Scandinavian orientation (the short-lived but idealized colonizer), which spread in both Estonia and Latvia.[100] This enthusiasm towards paganism, the Vikings and the Nordic race also reflects the general spirit of the time, and was, for instance, widely appropriated in Nazi Germany. In the Estonian (as well as Latvian) case there is a lack of sources on the Viking period and this enabled more flexible mythmaking. The desire to construct a joint history with Scandinavia also suggested a move away from the German-minded Henry (moreover, due to the rivalry between Riga and Lund it would be difficult to find anything pro-Scandinavian from his chronicle) and transformed the relationship to the chronicle. The Viking

[97] As has also been pointed out in Tiina Ann Kirss, 'Taking Sigtuna: Precolonial Time and Estonian Historical Fiction of the 1930s', *Interlitteraria* 13 (2008), 214–28 (here 224).

[98] Mait Metsanurk, *Ümera jõel* (Tartu, 1934). Henry of Livonia narrates the first battle of Ümera in HCL XIV.8, p. 79–81. Henry even mentions several of the fallen Christians by name and calls it 'martyrdom'.

[99] One of the most prominent crusading novels that dealt with events related to Lembitu was *Loojak* ('Decline') by Karl August Hindrey. See his *Loojak, I: Nõid* (Tartu, 1938), *Loojak, II: Lembitu* (Tartu, 1938).

[100] Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', p. 188.

novels therefore present compelling counter-narratives to colonial humiliation. In the words of the literary theorist Tiina Ann Kirss, 'the constructed past, the precolonial golden age is a substitute that compensates, rhetorically and ideologically, for later complexes of inferiority, marginality, subalterity'.[101] Yet, demonstrating that Henry's narrative of subjection did not vanish entirely, the most emblematic Viking novel, *Läänemere isandad* ('Lords of the Baltic Sea') (1936) by August Mälk starts by adapting a colonial scene from Henry's chronicle. Mälk's protagonists, the Öselians, see at the trading centre of Üxküll (Latv. Ikšķile) the first coming of the Saxon merchants and missionaries to the Livish settlements along the Düna (Latv. Daugava, Est. Väina) River.[102]

Thus the Estonian cultural memory was able to considerably expand its narrative sphere and strategies. However, not many additions were added to the existing record in this visualization of the past. This scarceness may seem striking, especially when compared to the experience of neighbouring young nations.[103] The reason may lie with an ideological opposition on the part of the artists, or the lack of victorious moments in the national historical narrative.[104] Even as late as the 1920s–30s the ancient past was narrated rather than visualized, and thus the Estonian cultural memory did not encompass almost any known visualizations of the crusades, or Henry's chronicle, save a small number of illustrations to fiction and textbooks. From among these the drawings and paintings in the standard 'Estonian History' (1935–40) have become stock illustrations of the Estonian Middle Ages, and reproduced on countless occasions. Interestingly, 'The Siege of Muhu Stronghold' by Ott Kangilaski (1911–75) has been most widely reproduced (see Figure 17.5). It is a historic genre painting depicting one of the final scenes of the chronicle, the capture of the hillfort in Moon (Est. Muhu) (1227).[105] Even though from the perspective of national narrative it visualizes a decisive loss in the 'ancient fight for freedom', it likely owes its popularity to the dynamics and dramatics of the battle scene (and perhaps also

[101] Kirss, 'Taking Sigtuna', p. 216. The most influential of the Viking novels were Karl August Hindrey, *Urmas ja Merike* ('Urmas and Merike') (Tartu, 1935–36) and August Mälk, *Läänemere isandad* ('Lords of the Baltic Sea') (Tartu, 1936).

[102] Borrowing from HCL I.2, p. 2 and his books I and II in general. This connection has also been pointed out in Kirss, 'Taking Sigtuna', p. 222.

[103] See Derek Fewster, *Visions of Past Glory: Nationalism and the Construction of Early Finnish History* (Helsinki, 2006), esp. pp. 188–284.

[104] As has been suggested in Tiina Abel, 'Between Scylla and Charybdis: International and Vernacular in the Estonian Art of the 1930s', in *Modernity and Identity: Art in 1918–1940*, ed. Jolita Mulevičiute (Vilnius, 2000), pp. 141–55.

[105] HCL XXX.4, pp. 217–19.

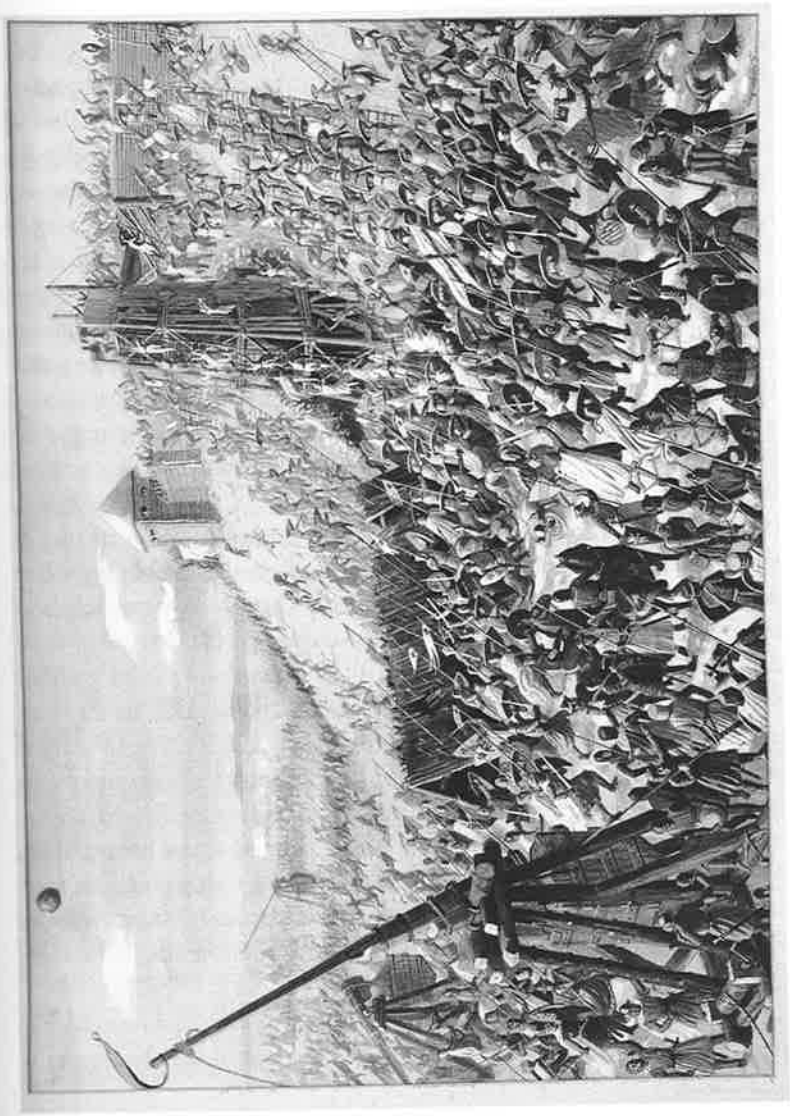

Figure 17.5 Ott Kangilaski, 'Muhu linnuse vallutamine' ('The Siege of Muhu Stronghold'). The painting is based on an illustration in the first volume (1935) of the pre-war standard 'Estonian History'. Watercolour. 1941. © Estonian History Museum

to the decorative beige-red colour scheme), suggesting that even losses can be represented magnificently.

Next to national disciplines and fiction, performances became another chief medium in the appropriation of Henry's chronicle. Already in the early twentieth century, the crusades had inspired one of the first Estonian operas, Artur Lemba's *Lembitu tütar* ('The Daughter of Lembitu', libretto by the prominent poetess Anna Haava [1864–1957]) (1908). In the 1930s a tradition was established of re-performing the 'ancient fight for freedom' in open-air plays. Quite tellingly, such performances found their way into the repertoire of song festivals that were (and still are) prominent celebrations of Estonian nationalism and identity.[106] During the 1938 song festival, an open-air performance 'For the Freedom of the Land' (by the poet Henrik Visnapuu [1890–1951] and composer Eugen Kapp) was performed. Hellar Grabbi (b. 1929), later a prominent figure in the Estonian exile community, remembers attending the event as a small boy: 'Horsemen galloped from one side of the song festival ground to the other, warriors cried out and ran through the people, battle-axes whirled, spears zipped by and at the song festival stage merciless sword fights took place, women in folk costumes sang and Estonian chieftains gave speeches.'[107]

The 1920–30s also witnessed the (re)construction and (re)performance of ancient pagan 'land religion' (Est. *maausk*) or 'Taara religion'. Officially registered in 1932 as the religious society 'Grove' (Est. *Hiis*),[108] it is a good example of modernity's longing for the ancient. The new cult began its chronology from the proclamation of the Estonian republic (1918), yet sought to embody 'ancient' values and practices. Not surprisingly, the cult possessed a strong ritual component, suggesting a need for performances of authenticity. The identity of the movement was thus constructed hand in hand with its ritual system (the performance of ancient rites [Est. *taigad*]). In Latvia during the 1920s the *Dievturi* movement was established, which likewise aimed at the revival of the ancient religion (owing much to Merkel's pantheon of Latvian gods). In both Estonia and Latvia these movements were re-enlivened in the 1990s, when rapid social and ideological changes again created a longing for authentic and ancient values and practices.

During the 1920–30s the Latvian and Estonian narrative and imageries of the crusades expanded in ways that were more coherent and one-sided. Paradoxically

[106] See Kristin Kuutma, 'Cultural Identity, Nationalism and Changes in Singing Traditions', *Folklore* 7 (1998), 12–26.

[107] Hellar Grabbi, *Vabariigi laps* (Tartu, 2008), p. 172. The play has been published as Henrik Visnapuu, *Maa vabaduse eest* (Tallinn, 1938).

[108] A good overview of the society's activities was published in its journal, *Hiis* ('Grove'): see 'Taara avitab', *Hiis* 4 (1933), 87–91.

the pre-war nationalist scheme was also used during the Soviet period. Narratives about the peasant fight against German overlords matched the principal subject of historical materialism, that is, class struggle.[109] The early Soviet period also produced the first Marxist interpretation of Henry's chronicle by the Latvian historian Jānis Zutis (1893–1962).[110] According to the Soviet narrative, victory was achieved not with the War of Independence, but with the establishment of the Soviet regime (1940, 1944). The opposition of the natives and the 'German robber-conquerors' also relied on World War II propaganda that drew analogies between Nazi troops and the Teutonic Knights and German crusaders. This, in turn, continued from the nineteenth-century *Drang nach Osten* critiques.[111] As a result, one can notice a certain radicalization of enemy images. Indeed, as the Soviet historiography was characterized by a strong anti-German attitude, the pre-war principles of national history were adopted without many problems.[112]

Next to class struggle, the ancient Russian and Estonian-Latvian friendship was the other subject favoured in the Soviet teaching of history.[113] In this context, the Baltic crusades were conceptualized as part of the militant aggression into Eastern Europe by Western European feudalism and the papal church. According to this version, the Russians' role in Baltic medieval history was

[109] For a brief introduction, see Jüri Kivimäe, 'Re-writing Estonian History?', in *National History and Identity: Approaches to the Writing of National History in the North-East Baltic Region, 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Michael Branch (Helsinki, 1999), pp. 205–12 (here 209).

[110] Yan Zutis, Очерки по историографии Латвии, vol. 1: Прибалтийско-немецкая историография (Riga, 1949).

[111] See Wolfgang Wippermann, *Der 'deutsche Drang nach Osten': Ideologie und Wirklichkeit eines politischen Schlagwortes* (Darmstadt, 1981); Hans-Heinrich Nolte, *'Drang nach Osten': Sowjetische Geschichtsschreibung der deutschen Ostexpansion* (Frankfurt am Main, 1976).

[112] As also argued by Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', pp. 191–8. For the Soviet historiography, cf. Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, *Aleksandr Nevskij. Heiliger – Fürst – Nationalheld. Eine Erinnerungsfigur im russischen kulturellen Gedächtnis (1263–2000)* (Cologne, 2004). Indeed, the best-known comparisons of the Baltic crusades to present-day politics are the films 'Alexander Nevsky' (1938) and 'Ivan the Terrible' (1944–46) by the Soviet director Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948).

[113] This tradition is not new, but rather had already been introduced to Estonian-language histories during the Czarist period of the late nineteenth century and relied to a great extent on Henry's remarks about the cooperation of the Estonians and the Russians. See Viires, 'Eestlaste ajalooteadvus', pp. 32–4. Likewise, in Latvia, accounts of the Russian influence in Lettgallian lands were appropriated from Henry. Illuminating examples of this approach during the Soviet period are the official standard post-war Estonian and Latvian histories, respectively *Eesti NSV ajalugu, I*, ed. Gustav Naan and Artur Vassar (Tallinn, 1955) and *Latvijas PSR vēstures*, ed. Jānis Zutis (Riga, 1953).

understood as that of a saviour of local peoples in their fight against foreign conquerors and colonizers (similar to the image of the Red Army in World War II). In the Estonian cultural memory, it was again a work of historical fiction, Enn Kippel's (1901–42) youth novel *Meelis* (1941), that gave the most prominent affirmation of this eternal friendship. In this piece an Estonian boy, Meelis (a fictive character), fights together with Vetseke (Russ. Vyachko, a character from Henry's chronicle) against the Germans. The main protagonist, Meelis, illustrates well a plot device taken from Henry in Estonian historical novels: the stories of young boys who are held hostage by Germans and later return to continue the fight. These rely on Henry's accounts of how the native chieftains had to grant peace by handing over their sons (a pattern also used in the Latvian tradition, see below). Vetseke, originally a vassal of Polotsk and a Prince of Kokenhusen (or Kukenois, Lavt. Koknese), according to Henry at first became a vassal of Bishop Albert, yet, after a failed attempt to take Riga with the Polotskians, fled to Russia. In 1223, after an Estonian uprising against the Rigan Christians, Vetseke was granted men and money by Novgorod to establish himself in Dorpat. The crusaders, however, managed to take Dorpat in 1224 and Vetseke was killed along with the other defenders of the fort. While for Henry Vetseke is 'like a snare and a great devil',[114] for the Soviet historiography his action during the defence of Dorpat was a symbol of the two nations' friendship against a common enemy (the German colonizers). In 1980, this joint heroism was made manifest in space. As a part of Tartu's 950th jubilee year programme, there was erected near the ancient hillfort a monument to Meelis and Vetseke, which had originally been designed by the sculptor Olav Männi (1925–80) as early as 1950 (see Figure 17.6). Indeed, during the Soviet period a few other monuments were constructed to commemorate the fight against the thirteenth-century German conquerors. In Estonia, the greatest was the monument for the defenders of Saccala in 1217–1223 (erected in 1969, authors Renaldo Veeber and Ülo Stöör) that was placed in Lõhavere, in the area that had previously also been used for monumentalizing the links between the ancient fight for freedom and the War of Independence (see above).

Regarding the presence of the chronicle's text itself, the first twentieth-century Estonian translation of Henry's chronicle was produced by an exile publisher in Stockholm in 1962. In the Soviet Estonia a new, facing translation appeared in 1982 and in Latvia only in 1993.[115] Though the Estonian 1982

[114] HCL XXVIII.2, p. 201; Brundage, p. 221. Vyachko is also mentioned in HCL IX.10, p. 30–31, XI.2, p. 48, XIII.1, pp. 66–7, XXV.2, XXVII.5, p. 197–8, XXVIII.1, p. 199, XXVIII.3, p. 201, XXVIII.5, p. 203.

[115] *Henriku Liivimaa kroonika*, trans. Julius Mägiste (Stockholm, 1962). *Henriku Liivimaa kroonika*, trans. Richard Kleis, ed., notes and introduction Enn Tarvel (Tallinn, 1982). *Indriķa hronika*, trans. Ābrams Feldhūns, notes and introduction Ēvalds Mugurēvičs (Riga, 1993). See also Chapter 16 by Tiina Kala in this volume.

Figure 17.6 A monument to Meelis and Vetseke in Tartu, Estonia. Sculptor: Olav Männi. Bronze. Designed 1950, erected in Tartu in 1980
© Tartu City Museum

edition had a large print-run (15,000 copies) typical of Soviet publishing, it sold out almost immediately. During the Soviet period, however, only a few studies were conducted into the chronicle itself. Emblematic of the attitude towards Henry is *Hõbevalge* ('Silverwhite', 1976), a popular book by Lennart Meri (1929–2006), the later President of Estonia. This mythologizing reconstruction of the ancient history of the Baltic Sea region demonstrates the enthusiasm of the late 1970s and early 1980s towards the ethnic and Finno-Ugric past. It sought to advance an alternative history of ancient Estonia, presenting a mishmash of associations from Kaali meteorite to the fourth-century BC Greek geographer Pytheas of Massilia, as well as Arabian chronicles, and placed the Estonians in the centre of European history. Meri was not unaware that his vision of ancient glory differed considerably from Henry's version of the past. 'Henry does not lie. He keeps silence. ... We should appreciate more highly his ability to keep silence

in a captivating and truth-like manner.'[116] Indeed, the book is a remarkable sign of another, equally confident meta-narrative shift, as it openly replaces Henry's chronicle with folklore and favours narratives that better suit a poetic vision.

During the period of regaining independence in the Baltic in 1991, the usage of history played an important role in the project that in Estonia has been called the creation of a 'republic of historians'.[117] The metaphor of 'national re-awakening' was used, linking the contemporary-era time to that of the nineteenth-century nationalist 'awakening'. This included nationalist guidelines being reapplied to the writing of history.[118] A good example of the restoration of traditional nationalist history was 'The Waning of the Ancient Times in Estonia: The Fight for Freedom in 1208–1227' (1990) by Professor Sulev Vahtre (1926–2007). The book offers an almost line-by-line translation of Henry's chronicle into a national historical narrative, revealing the level to which traditional, positivistic historical discourse depends on the chronicle. To this point, it has also remained the only Estonian book in which the crusades have been introduced to a wider audience.

New values that were propagated especially before Latvia and Estonia joined the European Union, however, complicated history writing. On one hand, the crusades still dominated medieval history and were represented as a lost tragic 'ancient fight for freedom'. On the other, a 'Europeanization' narrative has complemented the traditional story. That these narratives can exist in parallel, but not in dialogue, is shown in a recent history textbook where the chapter following the traditional representation of the 'ancient fight for freedom' is titled 'Estonia joins Western Europe'.[119] Another example of this contradiction is the return of the sculpture of Henry's main protagonist, Bishop Albert, to Riga Cathedral. The figure, made by Karl Bernewitz (1897), disappeared during World War I. In 2001, the exiled Baltic-Germans donated its replacement to the city for its 800th jubilee. The gift was received with mixed feelings, however. While the sculpture fit well within the conjuncture of Europeanization, the subject featured has been viewed as an antagonistic figure in the national history.[120]

[116] Lennart Meri, *Hõbevalge* (Tallinn, 1976), pp. 412, 415.

[117] Marek Tamm, '"Vikerkaare ajalugu?" Märkmeid üleminekuaja Eesti ajalookultuurist', *Vikerkaar* 7–8 (2006), 136–43.

[118] Such as the popular 'Homeland Story': see Mart Laar, Lauri Vahtre and Heiki Valk, *Kodu lugu, I–II* (Tallinn, 1989). Cf. Linda Kaljundi, '"Ein sicherer Halt": Zum Verhältnis von Geschichte und Analogieprinzip in "Kodu Lugu"', *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 4 (2009), 238–48.

[119] Eha Hergauk, Mart Laar and Maria Tilk, *Ajalugu 5. klassile*, 2nd rev. edn (Tallinn, 2002).

[120] Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', p. 205.

Since the 1990s, and to a greater degree in the 2000s, the views of historians, art historians and archaeologists on the crusades and conversion have significantly altered, influenced by the boom in studying 'the making of Europe' and the emergence of more neutral concepts such as cultural encounters.[121] Plurality has also increased in the popular culture of medievalism. This has included the appropriations of the crusades into popular media (though certainly, one could argue that the focus of memory conflicts has shifted to World War II and post-war history). There exists a growing tendency to perform events of ancient and medieval warfare, including those from Henry's chronicle. Next to professional staging, the popularity of re-enactment has added a new dimension to the relationship with Henry's past: the striving for personal and bodily experience. Such embodiment is closely linked to other fairly new aspects of popular medievalism designed to lead to the sensuous consumption (feeling, touching, smelling, and so on) of the Middle Ages, such as medieval markets, villages or restaurants. As it has elsewhere, in the Baltic countries hedonism has eased the tensions created by the dichotomies of the nationalist narrative.

Author, Author

There still exists, however, one significant body of issues that needs to be addressed in the history of the appropriations of Henry's chronicle – namely, that of the chronicler himself. Taking up from the earlier discussion, one could characterize Henry's chronicle as a marker of colonial trauma. It allowed for young nations to enter the sphere of written history and catalyse their own historical narrative. Yet, the chronicle also struck a wound in the ego of the young nations. Such uneasy relations resulted in complicated liaisons with Henry. The chronicler became a rather Janus-like figure. On the one hand, Henry was 'the father' of Latvian and Estonian history. On the other, he was a tyrant and stranger, one whose language and mind we do not understand – but whom our young and fragile national egos have had to accept and adapt, as well as continuously fight against and falsify.

The first problematic has traditionally been the question of Henry's nationality. It was Johann Daniel Gruber who created the tradition of 'Henry

[121] For an introduction into the range of new studies, consult the bibliography of this volume, CCBF and CCMBF. Also the 'Culture Clash or Compromise' (1996–2005) project lead by Nils Blomkvist at Gotland University College and its numerous publications had a major role in changing the focus of Baltic medieval studies. For a broader perspective, see Sven Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic', in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. Helen Nicholson (London, 2005), pp. 172–203.

the Latvian' (*Henricus Lettus*, *Henricus de Lettis*), as he stated in the first print edition of *Chronicon Livoniae* (1740) that its author was a Latvian.[122] The subsequent German translators of the chronicle, Johann Gottfried Arndt (1747) and August Hansen (1853), maintained this view and referred to *Heinrich von Lettland*.[123] The studies written in other European languages took over the concept of 'Henry the Latvian' (or, *Henri le Letton*, or, *Henryk Lotewski*) and this was preserved well into the 1930s.[124] However, the Baltic-German scholars who initially stressed Henry's local origins were also amongst the first to question his nationality, such as Paul Eduard Jordan (1825–94).[125] As previously argued, in the late nineteenth century, competition amongst Latvians and Estonians and the pressures of Russification had complicated the Baltic-Germans' status. In these circumstances, and with the Romantic yearning for the German Middle Ages, it suited the Baltic-German community better that the famous chronicler be a German. When, in turn, Latvian historians started to claim Henry's origin, the dispute over the chronicler's nationality became a major feature of Baltic-German and Latvian polemics. Even though it is often difficult to ascertain the origin of medieval authors, parties have often appropriated these figures to aid in the reaching of their political goals. The dispute is also reflected in the historiography of the region, though a positive result of those arguments has been in-depth studies of the chronicle.

Not surprisingly, Henry's ethnicity has played a great role in Latvian national cultural memory. In the nineteenth century, Latvian national Romanticists regarded Henry as having been Latvian. For this they did not have to destroy any old, or create new, historiographical traditions, but could easily use the already

[122] *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis, seu chronicon Livonicum vetus* ..., pp. II–IV. See also Chapter 3 by Jüri Kivimäe in this volume.

[123] See *Der Liefländischen Chronik Erster Theil von Liefland unter seinen ersten Bischöfen*; and *Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis: Heinrich's des Letten älteste Chronik von Livland*.

[124] See, for instance, Jean Meuvret, *Histoire des Pays Baltiques: Lituanie–Lettonie, Estonie–Finlande* (Paris, 1934), p. 49; Henryk Łowmianski, *Studja nad początkami społeczenstwa i panstwa litewskiego*, vol. 1 (Vilnius, 1931), p. XII; N. de Baumgarten, 'Polotzk et la Lithuanie. Une page d'histoire', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 2/1–2 (1936), 223–53 (here 227). Every so often, one still meets 'Henry the Latvian' in international scholarly writing: see, for instance, Thierry Canava, 'Les peuples fenniques dans la Chronique d'Henri le Letton', *Etudes finno-ougriennes* 26 (1994), 99–119; Endre Bojtár, *Foreword to the Past: A Cultural History of the Baltic People* (Budapest, 1999), p. 122; and *Enrico di Lettonia Chronicon Livoniae. La crociata del Nord (1184–1227)*, trans., notes and introduction Piero Bugiani (Livorno, 2005), esp. pp. XXXIX–XLV.

[125] Paul Jordan, 'Ueber den sogenannten Heinrich den Letten', *Das Inland* 23/14 (1858), cols 221–5.

existing version of Henry's origins. Yet, this interpretation has traditionally posed a problem, one that has not been fully resolved until the present period. Should Latvia be acknowledged as the heir to Livonia? In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Enlightenment stereotypes dominated the Latvian cultural memory. At the forefront were narratives of how German traders, missionaries and crusaders subjugated the natives into slavery. Yet, when dealing with the crusades as Henry described them, it is difficult to omit that from the start the Livs, Lettgallians and Wends had allied with the German newcomers and thus participated in the genesis of Livonia. Latvian nationalists dealt with this inconvenient problem by condemning the 'collaborationism' of Caupo, but kept silent over the cooperation of the Lettgallians and Germans. Meanwhile, although middle-class Latvians had largely adopted German language and socio-cultural habits, the ideological and political gap between Latvians and Baltic-Germans kept widening. In this situation, 'Henry the Latvian' remained one of the few remaining bridges across the cultural divide. For example, Andrejs Pumpurs, in his otherwise strongly anti-German national epic *Lāčplēsis*, depicted Henry as a Latvian youth who was educated in Germany and became a Christian priest in his native land. The epic recounts how Caupo took him 'with him to Germany, to learn the "German wisdom"':

> The youths that Caupo brought
> With him to German shore
> Stayed with the monks who taught,
> And learned in cloisters more.
> Among them in that place
> One's later fame has grown;
> Although *of Latvian race*,
> As '*Henry*' he is known.[126]

This interpretation seems to suit well the assumption that priests were recruited from among the local population and corresponds with Henry's account of Livish leaders handing over about 30 boys to Bishop Albert (a motif that has also been quite widely used in Estonian historical fiction). Although the chronicle tells of Livs, not Lettgallians, the nineteenth-century nationalists did not differentiate the peoples who had been living on the territory of contemporary Latvia. Later, in the 1930s, a heated discussion on Henry's origins began anew when Arveds Švābe (1888–1959), the founder of the Latvian national historiography,

[126] Andrejs Pumpurs, *Bearslayer: The Latvian Legend*, trans. Arthur Cropley, ed. Arthur Cropley, Ausma Cimdiņa and Kaspars Kļaviņš (Riga, 2007), p. 152 (our emphasis).

published an article 'Who Was Henry the Latvian?' (1938).[127] In it, he put forward several new arguments to prove the Latvian origins of Henry.

The Estonians also presented another closely related problem. The attitude of late nineteenth-century Latvian nationalists towards the Estonians was sympathetic. Unfortunately, upon reading Henry's chronicle, it is difficult to ignore the violent wars between Lettgallians and Estonians, and the Lettgallians' frequent and bloody raids into Estonia. These were dealt with in significant pieces of nationalist Romanticist poetry that always suggested Estonian aggression and claimed that it was only the peaceful policies of Lettgallians that managed to cease the conflict. These poems also often reference fragments of the chronicle that mention Henry's close ties with Lettgallians. An interesting example of this is the epic ballad *Beverīnas dziedonis* ('The Beverin Singer') by the poet Auseklis (Miķelis Krogzemis [1850–79]). The ballad is based on the fragment that describes how the Estonians besieged the Lettgallians' fort in Beverin (1208). Auseklis, however, called the Estonians 'brothers' in order to underline the tragic character of such a war. According to the chronicle, a priest (likely Henry himself) took part in defending the fort, not with fighting, but rather with 'singing prayers to God on a musical instrument'.[128] The ballad was written for the first Latvian Song Festival (1873) as a hymn praising the victory of spiritual might over military might. Later, in 1891 and 1900, the national Romanticist composer Jāzeps Vītols (1863–1948) used the ballad for a choral song still sung at Latvian Song Festivals today. In Auseklis's poetry, Henry is depicted as an old Latvian priest, Waidelott (an image that Latvian national Romanticism borrowed from Old Prussian mythologies) with grey hair and a white beard and resembling the mythological national patriarch depicted on the flag of the Song Festival.

Disputes over Henry's nationality only calmed down after World War II. By then, Latvian scholars had lost interest in the question of Henry's ethnicity, partly due to the destruction of the Baltic-German community as a result of the *Umsiedlung* (expatriation) and war that had brought, at a high price, an end to the confrontation between the German and Latvian communities. The official Soviet histories treated Henry as a 'proponent of the aggressive crusaders', and Latvian scholars in exile regarded him as a medieval priest whose ethnicity was not relevant. Differently from the first republic of Latvia, however, when Henry was not portrayed in fiction, after World War II the version of Henry's Lettgallian or Livish origin survived almost exclusively in Latvian literature. Moreover,

[127] Arveds Švābe, 'Kas bija Latviešu Indriķis', *Senatne un Māksla* 4 (1938), 11–38. See also his 'Latviešu Indriķis un viņa hronika', in *Straumes un avoti*, vol. 2 (Riga, 1940), pp. 121–220.

[128] HCL XII.6, pp. 63–4; Brundage, p. 85.

during the Soviet period, it became an important symbol of opposition and/or collaboration. Vizma Belševica's (1931–2005) poem *Indriķa Latvieša piezīmes uz Livonijas hronikas malām* ('The Notations of Henry the Latvian in the Margins of the Livonian Chronicle' [1969]) became a manifesto of Latvian resistance, as it could be interpreted as suggesting similarities between papal and Soviet imperialism. In the poem, Henry (identified as a Latvian or Liv) writes the chronicle according to the conquerors' needs, yet suffers deeply as a patriot and, furthermore, curses 'his' people as a 'traitorous', 'servile and slavish' nation.[129] The poem also uses many citations from the chronicle. Later, in 1985, the prose of Jānis Kalniņš (1922–2000) used Henry to address tendentious history writing.[130] This was not a new tradition. Already the founding father of the study of Latvian national history, Jānis Krodznieks (1851–1924), had blamed Henry for collaboration, even though in many debates with Baltic-German historians Krodznieks had defended his local origin.[131]

Next to Henry himself, one of his characters is also closely bound to the theme of collaboration. This is the previously mentioned Caupo, the Livish chieftain who became a prototype for 'traitor'. Henry writes that he accepted baptism, travelled to Rome, met with Pope Innocent III and, upon his return, fought in the name of Christianity against his Livish countrymen. As a symbol for collaborator, Caupo was introduced in Merkel's story *Wannem Ymanta* (1802) (discussed above) that shows him to have been a selfish man motivated by a will to power.[132] In the Latvian cultural memory, Caupo was a stereotypical collaborator that shows up not only in *belles-lettres*, art and music, but also in political journalism and literature. This began to change only during the late 1980s and 1990s. In this period, it began to be asked whether Caupo perhaps was not a 'traitor' (also his role in Soviet narratives), but a 'visionary' who wanted to join his people with those of Western Europe. During recent decades, he has thus become both the symbol of European integration and the object lesson of Euro-scepticism.[133]

[129] Vizma Belševica, *Gadu gredzeni* ('Annual Rings') (Riga, 1969). See Gunars Saliņš, 'On Allegory: Vizma Belševica's Poem "The Notations of Henricus de Lettis in the Margins of the Livonian Chronicle"', *Lituanus* 16/1 (1970), 22–32.

[130] Jānis Kalniņš, *Hronists un velns* (Riga, 1985).

[131] See Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', pp. 186–7.

[132] See Detlef Henning, 'From Kangars to Rubiks: The Long Line of Traitors in the Historical Political Culture of Latvia', JBS 37/2 (2006), 179–93 (here 181–2).

[133] Henning, 'From Kangars to Rubiks', p. 181. See also Agita Misane, 'Velreiz par Kaupo vesturi sko un literaro dzlvi', *Karogs* 2 (2001), 194–206, and Misāns, 'Wir waren immer ein Kriegervolk', pp. 203–5.

The image of 'Henry the Latvian' today has not lost its symbolic meaning in Latvian fiction. Jānis Lejiņš's (1954) decorated trilogy *Zīmogs sarkanā vaskā* ('A Seal in Red Wax' [2001–09]) draws on Henry's chronicle amongst other sources. It focuses on the life of Tālivaldis (Thalibald, Thalibaldus), a Lettgallian chieftain who likely ruled over the Tālava region and the strongholds of Trikāta and Beverina. He represents one of the few characters from the chronicle whose biography, as presented by Henry, is well suited for the basing of a dramatic and adventurous protagonist.[134] The books have been welcomed for their unifying national and rather conservative message, as the author addresses the key issues of modern nationalism, such as the relationship between big and small nations, and forgotten ancient national values and (semi-mystic) skills.[135] In the beginning of the new millennium, Henry's text was also transformed into a rock opera *Indriķa hronika* ('The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia') (2000). Here the author of the libretto, Māra Zālīte, aimed at addressing the great conflicts of the modern world, the genesis of which she traces back to the thirteenth century. In a similar vein, she uses the character of 'Henry the Latvian' in an allegorical way to interpret the history of the Baltics in the twentieth century.[136]

As the Estonians have never had to wonder seriously whether Henry was an Estonian, their relationship with Henry is not as complicated as it has been in Latvia. The beginning of Henry's cultural translation into an emerging Estonian narrative was marked by an eagerness to learn the sources of ancient history. Jaan Jung, the author of the chronicle's first translation into Estonian, advances one possible way to overcome the anxiety that characterizes the later rather disdainful and distrustful attitude towards Henry. Taking a patronizing stand, Jung argues that: 'altogether Henry the Latvian is very childish in his faith and mind, which is not surprising considering his times, because at that time everybody had such a childish faith, and even more so he as he was a priest.'[137] Curiously, an example of a similar attitude and one of the more enthusiastic calls for the study of Henry's chronicle can be found in a book by a prominent folklorist, Matthias Johann Eisen (1857–1934). Eisen authored the first Estonian biographical series 'Significant Men'. Its sixth volume (1884) is dedicated to 'Henry the

[134] Tālivaldis (T(h)alibald, T(h)alibaldus) is mentioned in HCL XII.6, p. 61; HCL XV.7, pp. 93–4; XVII.2, p. 113 (capture by and escape from the Lithuanians); XVIII.3, p. 116; XVIII.5, p. 119; XIX.3, p. 126 (torture and death at the hands of the Estonians).

[135] Ieva Kolmane, 'Kirjandus kriisiaja Lätis', *Vikerkaar* 7–8 (2010), 112–16 (here 115). The books of the trilogy are Janis Lejinš, *Brāļi* ('Brothers' [Riga, 2001]), *Ķēniņš* ('The King' [Riga, 2004]), *Rūnas* ('Runes' [Riga, 2009]).

[136] Māra Zālīte, 'Indriķa hronika. Librets rokoperai pēc "Indriķa hronikas" u.c. vēstures avotu motīviem', in Māra Zālīte, *Sauciet to par teātri* (Riga, 2001), pp. 455–519.

[137] Jung, 'Eessõna', p. 5.

Latvian' and Heinrich Stahl (c. 1600–1657), the author of the first grammar of the Estonian language (1637). Eisen laments the lack of sources for the 'ancient life and ways of the Estonian people', and on the 'complete darkness that covers everything from you, so that you see nothing'.[138] He continues with Henry's eulogy, as in him: 'we have found the first book of time that gives quite a lot of messages about the Estonian people. ... As here we for the first time find the true knowledge, this book of time and its writer are very worthy of attention and it is the duty of every son of the fatherland and a lover of one's people to introduce himself to them both.'[139]

As the opposition between 'our' and 'other' sources gradually began to dominate, however, Henry's chronicle came to be regarded as something alien. Moreover, it could be argued that Henry himself had been brushed aside and had not had any prominent position within Estonian cultural memory. The controversial father figure does not have a face: his only function seems to be to provide an eyewitness confirmation of the beginning of Estonian history and disappear the next moment. Thus, Henry's lower place can be understood when compared to the prominent role afforded to the other great Livonian chronicler, Balthasar Russow (c. 1536–1600). The national tradition considers Russow as Estonian, namely due to a suite of four novels, *Kolme katku vahel* ('Between Three Plagues', 1970–80), by Jaan Kross (1920–2007), one of the most important authors contributing to the cultural memory.[140] Henry is instead taken for a German and a spokesperson of the German perspective, even though he is still widely called *Lāti Henrik* (which translates as both 'Henry the Latvian' and 'Henry of Latvia'). A good example of this approach is Karl August Hindrey's novel *Nõid* ('Witch' [1938]) which presents Henry (here a Germanized Lettgallian) as a zealous representative of the colonial gaze.[141]

There was a group of authors, however, which showed considerably greater interest or even sympathy towards the contributions of 'alien' agents and perspectives. These were the post-war exiled writers. The previously discussed Estonian translation of Henry's chronicle from 1962 was published jointly by two exile publishing houses, *Vaba Maa* ('A Free Land') and *Maarjamaa* ('The

[138] Matthias Johann Eisen, *Tähtsad mehed*, vol. 6 (Tartu, 1884), p. 3.

[139] Eisen, *Tähtsad mehed*, pp. 4–5.

[140] Jaan Kross, *Kolme katku vahel*, 4 vols (Tallinn, 1970, 1972, 1977, 1980). Kross drew on the hypothesis of the historian Paul Johansen: see Paul Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow als Humanist und Geschichtsschreiber*, ed. Heinz von zur Mühlen (Cologne, 1996). Russow has also been personified in Estonian cultural memory by the legendary opera singer Georg Ots (1920–75), who portrayed him in a TV film 'Between Three Plagues' (1970), written by Jaan Kross.

[141] Hindrey, *Loojak, I: Nõid*.

Land of Mary'). The latter was founded to introduce the Catholic tradition in Estonian. According to its founder, Vello Salo (b. 1925), in publishing Henry's chronicle they aimed to relieve the us-and-them dichotomy and the anti-clerical attitudes in the cultural memory.[142] Similar tendencies can also be found in exile historical fiction. The best example of this is Ain Kalmus's (1906–2001) trilogy about the Christianization of Estonia. Contrasting with the previous tradition, his novels' protagonists accept Christianity voluntarily. Kalmus has chosen his main characters from among the first documented Christian Estonians: he focuses on Nicolaus (according to a letter [1170] by Pope Alexander III [1159–81], he was appointed the assistant of Fulco, the missionary bishop of Estonia) and Tabelinus, the baptized Estonian who is mentioned three times by Henry.[143] Developing these elements into a fictive plot, Kalmus abandoned the antagonism of the pagan and Christian world and pondered on the question of alternative histories, posing the counterfactual question of whether Estonia could have been Christianized without violence. While Kalmus's novels draw on Henry, another central exiled author, Bernard Kangro (1910–94) also addressed the problem of non-violent conversion in constructing a counter-narrative to Henry. This was the fictive diary of Andreas Sunesen, the archbishop of Lund (r. 1201–28) who led the Danish crusade to Estonia (1219).[144] Kangro's Andreas openly confronts his text with Henry's chronicle and remarks that the Danes 'should have appointed some young literate who would have written down all the important things ... As I knew that Albert of Bremen [that is, Bishop Albert] had chosen priest Henricus who at once recorded all the important events.' Once again, this reveals the desire for the existence and/or discovery of another chronicle of the Livonian crusades. Kangro's Andreas does not keep silent that he has 'serious doubts that Heinricus writes as it pleases Albert'.[145] One prominent author of the exile community, the cultural anthropologist and writer Ilmar Talve (1919–2007), wished to write a novel about Henry, but

[142] Vello Salo, 'Veri ja vesi. Mõtteid ühe vana raamatu puhul', *Maarjamaa* 2 (1962). I would like to thank Vello Salo for providing this material (Linda Kaljundi).

[143] Ain Kalmus, *Jumalad lahkuvad maalt* ('Gods Leave the Land') (Lund, 1956), *Toone tuuled üle maa* ('Toonela Winds Blow over the Land') (Lund, 1958), *Koju enne õhtut* ('Home before Evening') (Lund, 1964). For Henry's information, see HCL XXIII.7, p. 161; XXIV.1, p. 170. Later Henry also mentions 'the province of Tabellinus', HCL XXIX.7, p. 213.

[144] Bernard Kangro, *Kuus päeva: Andreas Sunepoja päevaraamat ja pihtimused* ('Six Days: The Diary and the Confessions of Andreas Sunesen') (Lund, 1980, 2nd edn Tallinn, 2006). Interestingly, there is another Estonian historical novel that reveals a similar longing for a non-existent Danish crusading source and presents a fictive diary of Andreas Sunesen: Jaan Kross, *Väljakaevamised* ('Excavations') (Tallinn, 1990).

[145] Kangro, *Kuus päeva*, p. 279.

failed.[146] So Henry was not able to achieve an elevated status, even within such favourable literary circles.

It has only been since the 1990s that authors have started to take an interest in Henry. In the contemporary setting, one meets him quite often, particularly in plays and films: in Endel Nirk's (b. 1925) play *Tabelinus* (1990), in a summer theatre performance *Soolaev* ('Marsh-ship', 2005) and a Monty Python-style parody film *Malev* (2005).[147] These works present rather different images. As *Tabelinus* stresses the moral superiority of the Estonians (also perhaps echoing the mood of the late 1980s and early 1990s), here Henry is still the rather grey side character, a naive justifier of aggression. But 'Marsh-ship' presents a significant alteration to this image. The play was staged in Soontagana and holds as truth the belief that Henry wrote most of his chronicle there. In a saga that unfolds from the Livonian crusades to World War II, Henry as a character was not limited to being the author of his chronicle, but he was made into the love interest of one of the leading female characters. Furthermore, Henry shortly afterwards became a central character in the play *Henrik* ('Henry', 2006) by the journalist, writer and historian Andrei Hvostov (b. 1963). In this provocative work, Henry challenges the nationalist narrative of Estonian history, using his eyewitness authority.[148]

These appearances of a figure who had previously been very much in the shadows of discourse also indicate the shift in the Estonian historical *belles-lettres* towards more private stories and marginalized viewpoints. This represents quite a transition when compared to the 1930s, when panoramic narratives and heroes who symbolized their nation dominated the genre. We might also call it another meta-narrative turn, as it presents a more relaxed attitude towards Henry's chronicle. The aforementioned texts and performances give voice to previously silenced figures, including Henry and the native Christians he mentions. The heroism of national symbol figures (such as Lembitu) is, in turn, questioned or even ridiculed, especially in Hvostov's play, *Henrik* and the film, *Malev*. In the film, Henry is mocked as an exaggerated stereotype of a medieval

[146] *Eesti kirjandus paguluses XX sajandil*, ed. Piret Kruuspere (Tallinn, 2008), p. 172.

[147] Endel Nirk, *Tabelinus* (Tallinn, 1990). *Soolaev* ('Marsh-ship') was written by Triin Sinissaar and performed in 2005 and 2006 in Soontagana by Folk Theatre *Loomine* ('Creation'), who mostly perform Estonian and Finno-Ugric folklore heritage. Henry was played by the popular actor Indrek Sammul. The film *Malev* (Estonia, 2005) was directed by Kaaren Kaer. In 1991 there was also staged the first part of the above-mentioned *Tabelinus* trilogy by Ain Kalmus, *Jumalad lahkuvad maalt* ('Gods Leave the Land'), directed by Peeter Tammearu, Ugala Theatre.

[148] Andrei Hvostov, *Henrik* (Tallinn, 2006). See Linda Kaljundi, 'Tagasitulek isa juurde', *Looming* 10 (2006), 1579–84.

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

chronicler who struggles to record the things taking place around him. It was even advertised with the slogan 'Henry the Latvian lied!' Yet, as it makes fun of the nationalist history and presents the national heroes as dumb barbarians (abandoning the nationalist reinterpretation of the chronicle and sometimes coming quite close to Henry's images of the Estonians as the uncivilized other), a more accurate slogan might have been: 'Henry the Latvian was right after all!'[149]

Recent novels touching upon the Baltic crusades illuminate similar tendencies. Some familiar plots have been substantially altered, notably the Henry-based storylines of Estonian boys taken into hostage. Rather than the traditional pattern where the youngsters return to continue the fight against the crusaders, in 2000s fiction they decide to stay in Europe.[150] In addition, Rein Raud's (b. 1961) novel *Kaupo* (1990) brought into focus the archetypical Judas

[149] Linda Kaljundi, 'Malev (Der Trupp), Komödie', *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 2 (2007), 219–25.

[150] In Tõnu Õnnepalu's *Flandria päevik* ('Flanders Diary') (Tallinn, 2007) the once hostage decides to remain in a monastery in Flanders; and in Tiit Aleksejev's crusade novel *Palveränd* ('The Pilgrimage') (Tallinn, 2008) a similar figure even joins a crusade. See Linda Kaljundi, 'The Historian Who Came in from the Cold', *ELM: Estonian Literary Magazine* 30 (2010), 8–14.

figure. In the Estonian cultural memory, Caupo has traditionally represented the antipode of Lembitu, though his status as reviled figure has not always been so clear-cut. Already in the 1930s there were a few performances seeking to explain his decision 'to join the Europeans'.[151] Raud significantly elaborates the character and admits in the foreword: 'Caupo is a sign with a negative meaning. Even though my novel is an attempt to understand this sign from his own perspective, I ask the reader not to forget the historical negativity of Caupo – nor the fact that also we become unambiguous signs despite whether our intentions bear the fruits that during our lifetime we hoped they would.'[152]

In conclusion, the rhetoric of dichotomies appears to have strong survival potential. The Enlightenment effectively reused Henry's presentation of a radical clash of cultures. It also led the way in the national reading of Henry's chronicle and towards the introduction of political and ethnographic interpretations of this text, which used the chronicle as a source for the critique of the crusades and, hence, present social relations, and as a source of folk traditions. As young nations were eager to construct their ancient past, the earliest narrative source of the region quickly obtained a special place in the narratives of national history. Its *topoi* started to circulate in cultural memory and political rhetoric, and the text was introduced to a wider audience. However, nationalist readings of Henry's chronicle have included both acceptance of and resistance to this text. Indeed, many of its stereotypes have been turned upside down, while other elements have also been almost fully adapted and made into symbols of authenticity. Nevertheless, these appropriations have made Henry's chronicle into a device for the creation of hybrid cultural traditions.[153] And, as the excursion to the Latvian, and above all Estonian, cultural memories has hopefully shown, one should not expect these new traditions to be uniform. They are ambivalent and anxious, full of internal tensions and contradictions. There is no clear and easy way of escaping an identity that derives from the process of negation, differentiation and displacement, relying on the uncomfortable union of the perspective of the

[151] The 1937 play 'Caupo' presents Lembitu as a stagnant backcountry patriot and Caupo as the progressive leader of the Livs, 'a proud and vivacious Estonian tribe ... that brought European culture to the Baltics' (cited in Vello Salo, 'Kaupo ja Lembitu ehk Eestlane ja kristlane ehk Paavst tuleb Eestisse', *Postimees*, 10 September 1993). The author of the play was Minister of Economic Affairs Leo Sepp (1892–1942) under the pen name of Rein Sarvesaare. In the season 1932/33 there premiered in the Estonia Theatre Adolf Vedro's opera 'Kaupo' (libretto by Georg Tuksam) which focuses on (and tries to explain) the dramatic moment when Caupo decides that to continue the fight would be hopeless and instead becomes an ally of the crusaders. See Figure 17.7.

[152] Rein Raud, *Kaupo* (Tallinn, 1990), p. 3.

[153] Cf. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p. 107.

colonizer and the colonized, as well as the mutilating acceptance of the colonizer's discourse. The same holds for the relationship to its author that makes manifest the double-face and effects of the colonizer: for the young nations, Henry has been at the same time a father and an exploiter, a just ruler and a despot.

The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia: A Selected Bibliography

Compiled by Marek Tamm

Next to the editions and translations of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, this bibliography aims to list as fully as possible the research (books, articles, and so on) on the chronicle itself, as well as the studies where the chronicle holds a central place as the primary source. Essays in the present volume are not included in the listing. I am grateful to Carsten Selch Jensen, Martin Jänes, Linda Kaljundi and Anti Selart for their help in compiling the bibliography.

1. Editions and Translations of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia in Chronological Order

Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis, seu chronicon Livonicum vetus ..., ed. Johann Daniel Gruber (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1740).

Der Liefländischen Chronik Erster Theil von Liefland unter seinen ersten Bischöfen ..., trans. Johann Gottfried Arndt (Halle, 1747; 2nd edn 1753).

Origines Livoniae sacrae et civilis: Heinrich's des Letten älteste Chronik von Livland, ed. and trans. August Heinrich Hansen, in *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*, vol. I (Riga and Leipzig, 1853; repr. Riga, 1857).

Heinrich's von Lettland Livländische Chronik, ein getreuer Bericht, wie das Christentum und die deutsche Herrschaft sich im Lande der Liven, Letten und Ehsten Bahn gebrochen, trans. Eduard Pabst (Reval, 1867).

Heinrici Chronicon Lyvoniae, ed. Wilhelm Arndt, in *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, vol. 23 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1874), pp. 231–332 (repr. Leipzig, 1925).

Heinrici Chronicon Lyvoniae, ed. Wilhelm Arndt and Georg Heinrich Pertz, in *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hanover, 1874).