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A Few Remarks on the so Called First Stage of Christianization of the Eastern Coast of the Baltic Region

Historiography has presented not a single model of the codification of Christianization¹. Without naming them all, it is important to emphasize that the stages of Christianization are arranged in regard to the stages of consolidation of Christianization, thus, to the stages of the expansion of Christianization;

- 1) the beginning of Christianization, when the first written and archaeological sources, permitting to speak about the expansion of Christianity towards one region or the other, were fixated². That is the primary intrusion and consolidation of Christianity through Christian missions³;

¹ Cf. H.D. Kahl, *Die ersten Jahrhunderte des missionsgeschichtlichen Mittelalters. Bausteine für eine Phänomenologie bis ca. 1050*, in: *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters (Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte)*, hrsg. K. Schäferdiek, Köln–Wien 1978, p. 40; Cf. H. Łowmiański, *Religia Słowian i jej upadek (VI–XII w.)*, Warszawa 1979, pp. 263, 270, 282.

² In the most recent historiography the stage of the beginning of Christianity has got an “introductory” period—the first contacts of pagan society with Christianity. That particular beginning of Christianization is presented in the book compiled by N. Berend, more about that – N. Berend, *Introduction*, in: *Christianization and the rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus’ c. 900–1200*, ed. N. Berend, Cambridge 2007, pp. 6, 10–12.

³ More about first missions among Balts in the end of the 10th – in the beginning of the 11th century – Jan Kanapariusz, *Świętego Wojciecha żywot pierwszy*, Gdańsk 2009; Bruno z Kwerfurtu, *S. Adalberti Pragensis episoci et martyris vita alterna*, Monumenta Poloniae historica, Nova Series, T. IV, Vol. II, Warszawa 1969; *1009 metai: šv. Brunono Kverfurtiečio misija*, ed. I. Leonavičiūtė, Vilnius 2006; in historiography more about that: I. Wood, *The Missionary Life. Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1050*, Harlow 2001,

the consolidation takes place in certain points-most often in the residences of political and social elite, in the castles⁴ while in other places of the country the society observe pagan traditions⁵. By the way, at this

pp. 207–244; G. Labuda, *Święty Wojciech. Biskup – męczennik, patron Polski, Czech i Węgier*, Wrocław 2000; B. Śliwiński, *The Christianization of Prussia: the Polish contribution until the introduction of the Teutonic Order*, in: *Castri Dominae Nostrae Litterae Annales*, Vol. I: *Christianization of the Baltic region*, ed. J. Gąssowski, Pułtusk 2004, pp. 42–47; E. Gudavičius, *Brunonas Kverfurtietis ir Lietuva*, in: *1009 metai*, pp. 9–65; J. Tyszkiewicz, *Brunon z Querfurtu w Polsce i krajach sąsiednich w tysiąclecie śmierci*, Pułtusk 2009; G. Białuński, *Misja prusko-litewska biskupa Brunona z Kwerfurtu*, Olsztyn 2010; *Bruno z Kwerfurtu. Osoba – dzieło – epoka*, ed. M. Dygo, W. Falkowski, Pułtusk 2010. More about influence of Orthodox mission in to East Baltic Rim – E. Tönnisson, *Estland und die Europäisierung 11–12. Jahrhundert*, in: *Culture Clash or Compromise? The Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea area 1100–1400 AD* (Acta Visbyensia vol. XI), Visby 1998, pp. 38–42.

⁴ Cf. good examples from Prussia: *Preußisches Urkundenbuch. Politische Abteilung*. Bad. I: *Die Bildung des Ordensstaates* (later abbreviated as PUB), hrsg. R. Philippi, C.P. Wölky, Königsberg 1882, T. I, Vol. 1, No. 134: „[...] in ecclesis parrochialibus et capellis ipsarum dicti episcopatus [...]”; *ibidem*, No. 177: „[...] quia ibi liberos agros non habent fratres, dare tenebuntur parrochiali ecclesia, in villis ad minus centum mansorum [...]”; *ibidem*, No. 218; *Codex Diplomaticus Warmienseis, oder, Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermland*, ed. C.P. Woelky, J.M. Saage, Mainz, 1860, T. I, No. 46: „[...] capellam in castro de novo construere proponant opere sumptuoso, ad quod fidelium subsidium esse dinoscitur per plurimum oportunitum. [...] ut per subventionem uestram dicta capella consumari in laudem crucifixi ualeat et honorem [...]”. Its true, that other researchers supposed that first churches in time of Christianization was build in the places of pagans sanctuaries, more about discussion – D.A. Sikorski, *Od pogańskich sanktuariów do chrześcijańskich kościołów na Słowiańszczyźnie Zachodniej*, in: *Sacrum pogańskie – sacrum chrześcijańskie. Kontynuacja miejsc kultu we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie Środkowej*, ed. K. Bracha, C. Hadamik, Warszawa 2010, pp. 408–426. Cf. J. Sikora, *Miejsca sacrum pogańskiego i chrześcijańskiego oraz procesy chrystianizacji Polski Centralnej we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Sacrum pogańskie – sacrum chrześcijańskie...*, pp. 270–283.

⁵ P. Urbańczyk, S. Rosik, *Poland* (but in contents: „The kingdom of Poland, with an Appendix on Polabia and Pomerelia between paganism and Christianity”, i.e. different titles), in: *Christianization and the rise of christian monarchy*, pp. 276–277, 279, 292, 307. The same happened in Great Moravia and later in Bohemia, more about that – J. Klápště, *The Czech Land in Medieval Transformation*, Leiden–Boston 2012, pp. 20–21, 36–43, 45–46. Cf. the presentation of the primary phase of Christianization of the historic region of Lithuania Samogitia in the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries, distinguished by M. Banaszak, *Chrzest Żmudzi i jego reperkusje w Konstancji*, in: *Chrzest Litwy: geneza, przebieg, konsekwencje*, ed. M.T. Zahajkiewicz, Lublin 1990, pp. 57–60. Also see about the first phase of Christianization in Scandinavia – W. Duczko, *The Missionary Period of Christianization in Viking-age Denmark and Sweden*, in: *Christianization of the Baltic region* (Castrum dominae nostrae litterae annales I), ed. J. Gąssowski, Pułtusk 2004, pp. 121–139; M.H. Gelting, *The kingdom of Denmark*, in: *Christianization and the rise of Christian*

- stage it would be appropriate to speak about the changes, which paganism itself could be undergoing, as a religion and as paganism and as a way of life. In historiography there is an idea that Christianity could have possibly had an influence on paganism itself, where, similar to Christianity, the images of chief god and a few other gods (most often three of them) started to be formed, sacred places, imitating Christian churches, appeared etc.⁶.
- 2) the consolidation of Christianity, when the first church structures, Christian communities appear, the way of life begins to transform, world outlook, burial customs undergo changes⁷. The monasteries of missions and dioceses are being established, first parishes begin to be created. The first and the second stages are usually conceived as the first stage of Christianization or, in other words-the period of Christian missions. During that time both paganization (*abrenuntiatio diaboli*) and adoption of Christian truths (*confessio fidei*) were taking place⁸. That particular period will be discussed further.
- 3) the ultimate consolidation of Christianity, with a transformed world outlook, way of life, church structures etc.⁹. It is quite often added that the

Monarchy, pp. 77–87; S. Bagge, S.W. Nordeide, *The kingdom of Norway*, in: *Christianization and the rise of Christian Monarchy*, pp. 129–141; N. Blomkvist, S. Brink, T. Lindkvist, *The kingdom of Sweden*, in: *Christianization and the rise of Christian Monarchy*, pp. 176–184; A. Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia. Vikings, merchants and missionaries in the remaking of Northern Europe*, New Haven–London 2012, pp. 128–137, 161–167.

⁶ P. Urbańczyk, *Władza i polityka we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Wrocław 2008, pp. 158–202; H. Łowmiański, op. cit., pp. 146–154, 183–198, 239–263. Cf. the most recent literature – L.P. Słupecki, *Pagan Temple – Christian Church. The problem of old Norse Temples*, in: *Between Paganism and Christianity in the North*, ed. L.P. Słupecki, J. Morawiec, Rzeszów 2009, pp. 29–40. About the Christian influence on the gods of Rodogost – S. Rosik, *Interpretacja chrześcijańska religii pogańskich Słowian w świetle kronik niemieckich XI–XII wieku (Thietmar, Adam z Bremy, Helmold)*, Wrocław 2000, pp. 100–123. In Lithuanian historiography more about that – M. Ščavinskas, *Kryžius ir kalavijas. Krikščioniškųjų misijų sklaida Baltijos jūros regione X–XIII amžiais*, Vilnius 2012, pp. 71–73, 104–107.

⁷ H. Łowmiański, op. cit., pp. 282, 358–365; J. Kłoczowski, *U podstaw chrześcijańskiej kultury: chrześcijaństwo zachodnie wczesnego średniowiecza*, in: *Narodziny średniowiecznej Europy*, ed. H. Samsonowicz, Warszawa 1999, pp. 87–114.

⁸ H. Łowmiański, op. cit., p. 271; S. Rosik, „*Abrenuntiatio diaboli*” in *Missionary Practice during the Conversion of Pomerania*, in: *Meetings with Emotions: Human Past between Anthropology and History. (Historiography and Society from the 10th to 20th century)*, ed. P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2008, pp. 41–49.

⁹ J. Kłoczowski, *U podstaw chrześcijańskiej kultury...*, pp. 87–114; H. Łowmiański, op. cit., pp. 300–316.

period of Christian missions is over at that moment and the process of “deepening” (or the period of romanization, latinization) of Christianity begins, when Christianity consolidates from the top to the bottom among common people (“silent” majority) as well. In this stage, the society, as it has been noticed, becomes Christian. True, it is difficult to distinguish the relationship of a simple man, for example, a peasant, with Christianity and those superstitions, known to him from the past times¹⁰. Did the “Christianization” of the superstitions really take place and how did it go on—it is a problem closely related to so called “folk” Christianity (folk piety) and its concept in historiography¹¹. This particular “folk” Christianity could adapt certain cultural elements of pagan times, thus adapting to local conditions. The attention should be paid to the fact that in the above mentioned attitudes of the bishop of Samland and in the attitudes of Riga Church province there is no talk about pagan burials, i.e. burning of the dead or the burial together with the weapons, work tools or animals, which was to be renounced by the converts, who had surrendered to Teutonic Order in Christburg (1249), or Livonian converts¹². All this allows to view *ritus gentilium* as *antiquae superstitio*, which had to be avoided by local Christians in Prussia and in Livonia, not as “pure” pagan rituals¹³.

¹⁰ H. Łowmiański, op. cit., pp. 288–289, 294–295, 300–302, 313.

¹¹ C. Caldwell Ames, *Authentic, True, and Right. Inquisition and the Study of Medieval Popular Religion*, in: *Christianity and Culture in the Middle Ages. Essays to honor John van Engen*, ed. D.C. Mengel, L. Wolverton, Notre Dame, Indiana 2015, pp. 87–88, 91–107; P. Biller, *Popular religion in the Central and Late Middle Ages*, in: *Companion to Historiography*, ed. M. Bentley, London–New York 1997, pp. 215–222, 223–228. Cf. reception of the folk piety in Later Medieval Europe more about that – S. Bylina, *Religijność późnego średniowiecza. Chrześcijaństwo a kultura tradycyjna w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XIV–XV w.*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 91–105, 113–126.

¹² Cf. PUB, No. 218; Die Provinzialsynoden von Elbing und Ryga gehalten 1427 und 1428, *Pastoralblatt für Diözese Ermland*, 1898, Bd. 30, §22, p. 80: „[...] quo sacra cimiteria contempnendo preeligunt se in campis silvestribus cum feris sepeliri, ac etiam in quibusdam locis prophanis, ubi ipsorum parentes et amici sue gentilitatis temporibus sunt sepulti”. The ordinance of the bishop of Samland Michael Junge – *Baltų religijos ir mitologijos šaltiniai*, ed. N. Vėlius, Vilnius 1996, T. I, pp. 481–482. Cf. other ordinances, rules and statutes of the bishops from Bohemia and Poland – *Slovanské pohanství ve středověkých pramenech*, ed. J. Dynda, Praha 2017, pp. 275–276, 282–285, 290–293, 323–328. In historiography more about that – A. Radzimiński, *The Contribution of the Teutonic Order to the evangelization of Prussia. Some Remarks based on Synod Legislation*, „Lithuanian Historical Studies”, Vol. 11: 2006, pp. 71–88; idem, *Chryścianizacja i ewangelizacja Prusów. Historia i źródła*, Toruń 2011, pp. 26–36, 39–42.

¹³ This view complemented by M. Brauer view in to so-called paganism in the 15th century Prussia, more about that – M. Brauer, *Die Entdeckung des „Heidentums” in Preußen*.

It is true that we may distinguish more stages of Christianization based on these parameters, e.g. syncretism or co-living of two religions (christian and pagan), partially Christianity and partially paganism, temporary or “permanent” Christianity and other periods¹⁴.

It is undisputed that the concept (*syncretism*) is even more controversial. Frequently, instead of that concept, the terms *inculturation* and *acculturation* are employed, suggesting an overcoming of formerly prevalent cultural forces and their adjustment to new conditions¹⁵. Certainly, syncretism did not denote the henotheistic state as it may appear at first glance for converts who from the very beginning conceived the Christian God as the mightiest of all deities¹⁶. Had this, indeed, been the case, the unconverted part of society could have been affected by it but not the members of society, who had already adopted Christianity because pagans commenced to perceive Christ as the mightiest deity, rising above all the others. The sources connected with the Baltic region point to a pagan attitude, not a Christian henotheistic one; Christianity itself, being a monotheistic religion, rejected the possibility of the existence of other deities¹⁷.

Die Prußen in den Reformdiskursen des Spätmittelalters und der Reformation (Europa im Mittelalter, Bd. 17), Berlin 2011, pp. 131–148, 272–273. The same can be said about medieval Poland as well, more about that – S. Bylina, *Problem tzw. reliktyw pogaństwa w polskich kościelnych źródłach normatywnych XIV–XV wieku*, in: *Sacrum pogańskie – sacrum chrześcijańskie...*, pp. 365–370.

¹⁴ H. Zoll-Adamikowa, *Przyczyny i formy recepcji rytuału szkieletowego u Słowian nadbałtyckich we wczesnym średniowieczu*, „Przegląd Archeologiczny”, T. 35: 1988, s. 220–226; A. Pollex, *The Change of burial rites of the Polabian Slaves*, in: *Christianization of the Baltic region*, pp. 113–115. Cf. M. Kosman, *Pogaństwo, chrześcijaństwo i synkretyzm na Litwie w dobie przedreformacyjnej*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, No. 1 (115): 1972, pp. 103–137.

¹⁵ About acculturation/inculturation and its various aspects during Medieval period – W. Haubrichs, *Identität und Name. Akkulturationsvorgänge in Namen und die Traditionsgesellschaften des frühen Mittelalters*, in: *Die Suche nach den Ursprüngen. Von der Bedeutung des frühen Mittelalters*, ed. W. Pohl, Wien 2004, pp. 85–105; R. MacKitterick, *Akkulturation and the writing history in the early middle ages*, in: *Akkulturation. Probleme einer germanisch-romanischen Kultursynthese in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter*, ed. D. Hägermann, W. Haubrichs, J. Jarnut, C. Gieffers, Berlin–New York 2004, pp. 381–395.

¹⁶ More about henotheism – L.M. West, *Towards Monotheism*, in: *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, ed. P. Athanassiadi, M. Frede, Oxford 1999, pp. 21–40.

¹⁷ Cf. a textbook example – *Vita Ansgarii auctore Rimberto*, in: *Monumentis Germaniae Historicis, SS rer. Germ.* (later abbreviated as – *MGH*), ed. G. Waitz, Hanoverae 1884, cap. 30. More example from early medieval time – J. Rusell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity. A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation*, New York–Oxford 1994, pp. 23–24.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the process of Christianization “expands” through several centuries for some historians and archaeologists and in the first stage of Christianization there is a talk about the existing “superficiality” of Christianity in convert societies. Thus, the beginning of the Christianization of Sweden is seen in the missionary work of St. Ansgar by some (and totally justified). However, the end of the Christianization of Sweden is related to the creation of Uppsala archdiocese in the 12th century by some other researchers¹⁸. Thus, a period of several centuries long, from the 9th to the 12th century, is being created. The same is possible to be said about Denmark: the beginning of Christianization is most often related to the mission, performed by Ebo of Reims in the 9th century and the baptism of Harald Klak and the end of the Christianization is related to the establishment of the archdiocese of Lund in the beginning of the 12th century, though the network of dioceses and churches had existed before¹⁹. The beginning of the Christianization of Pölabian Slaves is not rarely related to the 10th century, when emperor Otto the Great began to establish the first dioceses of the missions and churches²⁰ and was over in the 12th century, when the territories of Western Slaves were ultimately joined in²¹ and “enchurched” (German historiography applies a special term for that *Einkirchung*)²². Also, this territory (as well as Scandinavian regions) experienced so called the period of “pagan reaction” (apostasy)²³. All of this presumably had an influence on the “superficiality” of Christianity in its primary stage. The similar ideas about a long-lasting Christianization or the “superficiality” of Christianity, existing in the first stage of Christianization were also expressed while speaking about the conversion of Prussians and local people in Livonia, which had also undergone the periods of apostasies²⁴.

¹⁸ N. Blomkvist, S. Brink, T. Lindkvist, op. cit., pp. 173–174, 176–178, 186, 193, 204; P. Sawyer, *The proces of Sandinavian Christianization in the tenth and eleventh centuries*, in: *The Christianization of Scandinavia*, ed. B. Sawyer, P. Sawyer, I. Wood, Alingsås 1987, pp. 74–75, 82–83.

¹⁹ More about that – M.H. Gelting, op. cit., pp. 80–82, 95–96, 109–110.

²⁰ G. Labuda, *Fragmety dziejów Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej*, Poznań 1975, pp. 182–199.

²¹ F. Lotter, *The crusading idea and the conquest of the region East of the Elbe*, in: *Medieval frontier societies*, ed. R. Bartlett, A. Mac Kay, Oxford 1989, pp. 267–273.

²² H.D. Kahl, *Zur Problematik der mittelalterlichen Vorstellung der „Christianisierung“*, in: *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der Christianisierung und Kolonisierung des Ostseegebietes*, Toruń 1983, p. 126; H. Fuhrmann, *Deutsche Geschichte im hohen Mittelalter* (Deutsche Geschichte, Bd. 2), Göttingen, 2003, pp. 147–148; M. Borgolte, *Die mittelalterliche Kirche*, München 2004, p. 11.

²³ P. Urbańczyk, S. Rosik, op. cit., pp. 302–303.

²⁴ Cf. A. Radziwiński, *The Contribution of the Teutonic Order...*, pp. 84–88; A. Radziwiński, *Chrystianizacja i ewangelizacja Prusów*, pp. 60–61; T. Kala, *Rural Society*

The situation with Poland is slightly different. Despite a very obscure commemoration of the baptism of *prince of Wisle* in the 9th century²⁵, the beginning of Christianization is related to the baptism of Duke Mieszko I²⁶. Very soon there followed the consolidation of a Christian state of Boleslaus the Brave and the establishment work of the independent church province of Gniezno²⁷. In comparison to Denmark and Sweden, the appearance of an independent metropolis in Poland, sanctioned by universal Medieval powers, was rather rapid. This breakthrough was followed by so called the period of “pagan reaction” and a new wave of Christianization, related to the re-organising of the metropolis of Gniezno in the second half of the 11th century, the establishments of new dioceses etc.²⁸. The example of Poland demonstrates, that, despite similarities, Christianization there, especially in its primary stage, thus, before the so called pagan reaction, was going on in a dynamic way and rapidly enough.

In any case such a division into the stages witnesses the search for the “pure” shapes of Christianization, being *a priori* inclined that such “pure” shapes do really exist. Therefore, it is quite often argued that the first, thus, Christian wave of missions, includes:

- missions performed by missionaries, i.e. evangelisation;
- the establishment of the first churches/chapels;
- the establishment of the first monasteries of the missions and the first dioceses of the missions;
- the transformation of the burial customs;
- the coexistence of the old (pagan) and Christian traditions;
- Christianity is accepted by the sociopolitical elite while a part of the society remain in paganism or in partial paganism;
- Christianity is just trying to penetrate the daily life and such situation can influence the appearance of “pagan reaction”.

and religious Innovation: Acceptance and Rejection of Catholicism among the Native Inhabitants of Medieval Livonia, in: *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic frontier*, ed. A.V. Murray, Farnham 2009, pp. 184–189; A. Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade. Holy War and Colonisation*, London–New York 2013, pp. 247, 287–290.

²⁵ P. Urbańczyk, S. Rosik, op. cit., p. 265.

²⁶ G. Labuda, *Mieszko I*, Wrocław 2009, pp. 97–114; S. Trawkowski, *Początki Kościoła w Polsce za panowania Mieszka I*, in: *Polska Mieszka I. W tysiąclecie śmierci twórcy państwa i Kościoła polskiego 25 V 992 – 25 V 1992*, ed. J.M. Piskorski, Poznań 1993, pp. 51–72; P. Urbańczyk, S. Rosik, op. cit., pp. 274–276. Cf. A.P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An introduction to the medieval history of the Slavs*, Cambridge 1970, p. 117.

²⁷ P. Urbańczyk, S. Rosik, op. cit., pp. 274–276.

²⁸ Ibidem, pp. 284–285, 289, 299–300.

In other words, there is an opinion, that supposedly the establishment of Christianity in its first stage was “superficial”, “shallow”, “exterior”, more “demonstrative”, possessing a political shade, otherwise Christianity itself wouldn’t have extended throughout several centuries and wouldn’t have experienced “pagan reactions” and pagan relics wouldn’t have remained in the daily environment of the society. According to historiography, only the latinization and romanization of the christianised society allows to speak about the end of the process of the Christianization of the society²⁹. By that time, based on the viewpoint of some researchers, there was the process of syncretism or even the process of coexistence of two religions-Christianity and paganism, which extended longer than Christian missions’ times³⁰. Even more, supposedly the dualism of these two religions later had turned into a certain “dualism” of Christianity: supposedly the elite confessed canon Christianity, while the Christian piety of the common people was presumably more syncretic than Christian. In the recent historiography Latvian archaeologist Vytaut Mužnieks wrote about that once again while discussing the introduction of Christianity to Livonia in the 13th–16th centuries³¹. As it is known, Russian historiography has been trying for a long time to confirm the thesis that allegedly there used to exist the coexistence of two religions (in Russian: „двоеверие“) during the time of Christianization and later, when pagan part was attributed a major role³². Polish historian H. Łowmiański,

²⁹ Cf. J.C. Russell, op. cit., p. 36: “If Christianization efforts in a folk-religious society do not result in a substantial and discernible reorientation of the world-view of the society toward a Christian soteriological-eschatological world-view, then Christianization cannot be said to have occurred“. Cf. H. Łowmiański, op. cit., p. 282: „[...] ku końcowi wieku XII osiągnął decydujące efekty we wszystkich niemal stronach Słowiańszczyzny i doprowadził do pełnej w zasadzie chrystianizacji możnych, rycerstwa i grodzian, a zapewne przeniknął głęboko również w szeregi ludności wieśniaczej”.

³⁰ H. Valk, *Christianization and Changes in Faith in the Burial traditions of Estonia in the 11th–17th Centuries AD*, in: *Rom und Byzanz im Norden, Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.–14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. M. Müller-Wille, Stuttgart 1997, Bd. II, pp. 40–50; idem, *Christianisation in Estonia: a Process of Dual-Faith and Syncretism*, in: *The Cross goes North. Processes of Conversion in Northern Europa, AD 300–1300*, ed. M. Carver, York 2003, pp. 574–578; A. Pluskowski, op. cit., pp. 287–291; H. Janson, *Pagani and Christiani. Cultural Identity and Exclusion around the Baltic in the Early Middle Ages*, in: *The reception of Medieval Europe in the Baltic Sea Region. Papers of the XIIth Visby Symposium held at Gotland Univeristy, Visby* (Acta Visbyensia XII), ed. J. Staecker, Visby 2009, pp. 172–173, 178–182.

³¹ V. Mužnieks, *The co-existence of two traditions in the territory of present-day Latvia in the 13th–18th Centuries: Burial in Dress and in a Shroud*, in: *The Archaeology of Death in post-medieval Europe*, ed. S. Tarlow, Warsaw 2015, pp. 93–95, 102–106.

³² Б.А. Рыбаков, *Язычество древней Руси*, Москва 1987, pp. 5–6, 482–486, 498–501, 556, 599–560, 652–653, 656, 660–661, 737–739, 745–746, 761–765, 769–770, 782. Cri-

following the German historiography, stated that pagan religion experienced the influence of Christianity, not opposite³³. S. Rosik argues that even that experience should be discussed slightly, since a modern times researcher encounters *interpretatio romana* and *interpretatio christiana*, medieval literature tops, discussing paganism³⁴. In any case, it complicates a lot the distinguishing of the so called phase of syncretism in the context of the general first stage of Christianization (hereby we are not going to analyze the archaeological material since the interpretation of the archaeological artifacts is a separate problem).

Surely, instead the concept of syncretism it is possible to use the concepts of “acculturation” or “culture diffusion”³⁵. In case of acculturation there is a talk that a part of the society could overtake a certain part of another culture. In case of diffusion, there is a talk about the dispersion of culture and its merge with another culture. However, are these concepts likely to be straightforwardly adapted to the process of Christianization? Actually, we could discuss what kind of Christianity was dispersing towards the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. It is even possible to state that God’s idea, brought by Christianity, was conceived differently by different layers of society. Thus, the missionaries of the middle of the 12th century and the 13th century (primarily Cistercians) represented *spirituales novae* movement³⁶ (this movement should not be mistaken with *devotio moderna* movement, taking place in the end of the 14th century and in the 15th century), therefore, the idea of God carried to the pagans was slightly different from the idea of God, brought to Swedish people by St. Ansgar. Or, as it is sometimes argued, warriors (knights), merchants and other “common people” travelled to the Eastern coast of the Baltic region alongside missionaries³⁷. Knights, especially crusaders and the knights of the Teutonic Order brought the idea of *militia Dei* to the lands of the Balts and Finns, which was closely related to the ideology of Crusades and the conception of the Holy War in general. However, the idea of God and dogmas of Christianity were conceived by the majority of “common” people the way

tical view of this thesis – А.Е. Мусин, *Христианизация Новгородской земли в IX–XIV веках. Погребальный обряд и христианские древности*, Санкт-Петербург 2002, pp. 43–44, 51, 60.

³³ H. Łowmiański, op. cit., pp. 190–195.

³⁴ S. Rosik, *Interpretacja chrześcijańska...*, pp. 26–42, 226–235, 281–303.

³⁵ N. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom. Jew, Muslims and ‘Pagans’ in Medieval Hungary c. 1000 – c. 1300*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 224–225, 243.

³⁶ More about that – J. Kłoczowski, *Cystersi w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej wieków średnich*, in: *Cystersi w społeczeństwie Europy Środkowej*, ed. A.M. Wyrwa, J. Dobosz, Poznań 2000, pp. 27–53.

³⁷ M.R. Munzinger, *The profits of the Cross: merchant involvement in the Baltic Crusade (c. 1180–1230)*, “Journal of Medieval History”, 32: 2006, pp. 164–165.

they were presented in the *exempla* of the 12th–13th centuries, in didactic examples, i.e. in these examples the idea of God was less “theologised”, thus, more “simplified”³⁸.

However, such terms as “syncretism”, “acculturation”, “cultural diffusion” make us think that there is another side, i.e. paganism. Therefore, J. Russel described the “germanization” of Christianity in the Middle Ages, providing the examples of acculturation of Christianity and paganism³⁹. Thus, paganism was presented as ideology, equal to Christianity, when cultural-religious “trades” were taking place between them. There shouldn’t be any doubt about the existence of pagan ideology in Baltic and Finnish societies, however, it remains unclear if that, what is supposedly known by us, is really true. Not expanding on this, essentially different topic, it can be stated, however, that the definition of paganism, as a religion and culture, based on *interpretatio romana* and *interpretatio christiana* is very complicated. We are not certain that the sources on paganism, pagan customs and even rituals, mostly written by Christians, relate the “truth”, but not what Christian authors wanted to hear, influenced by a medieval comprehension about antic paganism or the vision of paganism, found in the Holy Scripture⁴⁰. If there exist such numerous doubts, is there any possibility to oppose Christianity, which is well known, to paganism, the information of which is rather fragmented or the information about which is presented based on the above mentioned models of *interpretatio romana* and *interpretatio christiana*? To be more precise, what kind of acculturation, syncretism or cultural diffusion should be discussed about having in mind the Eastern Coast of the Baltic region in particular?

Let us take the painfully known case of the burning of the body of the Livonian nobleman Caup, described by the 13th century chronicler Henry of Livonia⁴¹. The whole previous historiography unanimously confirm that the

³⁸ More about that – M. Ščavinskas, *Christianisation and cura animarum in the First Christian Communities in Livonia and Prussia during the Period of the Crusades*, in: *Verbum movet, exemplum trahit. The Emerging Christian Community in the Eastern Baltic = Krikščioniškiosios bendruomenės tapimas Rytų Baltijos regione* (Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis, Vol. XXXIII), ed. M. Ščavinskas, Klaipėda 2016, pp. 53–54, 59–64.

³⁹ J.C. Russell, op. cit., pp. 37–40, 43–44.

⁴⁰ More about medieval view to paganism – H. Goetz, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religionen und christlich-abendländisches Selbstverständnis im frühen und hohen Mittelalter (5.–12. Jahrhundert)*, Berlin 2013, pp. 144–187. About so-called dialectic of Christianization („Dialektik von Christianisierung“) in Medieval written sources – M. Brauer, op. cit., pp. 35–40, 147–149, 234.

⁴¹ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* (later abbreviated as HCL), in: MGH. SS rer. Germanicarum, T. 31, ed. L. Arbusow, A. Bauer, Hannover, 1955, Lib. III, XXI, § 4: „Caupo vero

burning of a Christian Caup is the most evident case of syncretism, since the burnt body was buried in the church of Cubbesele⁴². Such a conclusion is based on the ideas of the archaeologists that the burning of the body in the Baltic region in medieval times was just a pagan phenomenon. Of course, before Christianity, Livs, as well as a part (not all) of their neighboring pagan tribes, used to burn their deceased. However, how did it happen that the abbot of Dünamünde Bernard, the *prepositus* of Riga John, other Christian clergy and even Count Albert participated in the supposedly pagan burning of Caup's body? It should be bared in mind that Henry of Livonia described Caup's death as an idealized one (or as *mors precciosa*): he even managed to receive Christian Sacraments and die the way appropriate for a Christian-surrounded by the beloved ones and the clergy⁴³.

From the description, provided by Henry of Livonia it becomes evident that the burning of the body of Christian Caup was performed in winter time during the expedition to Estonia. This particular circumstance provides the answer to the question why the body of the deceased was burnt and later, after the war was over, buried in the church of Cubbesele: there was no intention to bury Caup together with the others, killed in the war, (most probably due to his nobleness and dedication to the Christians, besides, he died just after the battle, not during the battle), but the transportation of the body could have caused additional problems-how to preserve the body so it did not disintegrate⁴⁴. Thus

lancea perforatus per latus utrumque, fideliter passionem Domini commemorans sumptisque Dominici corporis sacramentis in sincera confessione christiane religionis emisit spiritum, divisus primo bonis suis omnibus ecclesiis per Lyvoniam constitutis. Et luctum habuerunt super eum tam comes Albertus quam abbas et omnes, qui erant cum eis. Et combustum est corpus eius, et ossa delata in Lyvoniam et sepulta in Cubbesele⁴²”.

⁴² T.K. Nielsen, *Mission and Submission. Societal Change in the Baltic in the Thirteenth Century*, in: *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology* (Studia Fennica Historica 9), ed. T.M.S. Lehtonen, K.V. Jensen, J. Malkki, K. Ritari, Helsinki 2005, p. 227: “Caupo’s exemplary status as a transitional figure between paganism and Christianity was further enhanced through the story of his funeral. [...] Thus, Caupo’s funeral displays obviously syncretistic feature, with the application of both pagan and Christian burial rituals“; M. Tamm, *Martyrs and Miracles: Depicting Death in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, in: *Crusading and Chronicle writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier. A companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, ed. M. Tamm, L. Kaljundi, C.S. Jensen, Farnham 2011, p. 142: “As noted by Torben Nielsen, Caupo’s funeral displays obvious syncretistic features [...]“ . Cf. C.S. Jensen, *How to Convert a Landscape: Henry of Livonia and Chronicon Livoniae*, in: *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic frontier*, p. 158. In Lithuanian historiography: V. Žulkus, *Kuršiai Baltijos jūros erdvėje*, Vilnius 2004, p. 188.

⁴³ T.K. Nielsen, op. cit., p. 227; M. Tamm, op. cit., pp. 137–138.

⁴⁴ More about that – M. Ščavinskas, *Kryžius ir kalavijas...*, pp. 155–159.

the burning of the body of christian Caup demonstrates not the presence of syncretism or the “superficiality” of Christianity, but rather separate and very rare cases, when, due to certain circumstances, extraordinary behaviors were applied, i.e. unusual ones, but, providing the conditions of the war expedition, rational. By the way, according to chronicler Hermann von Wartberge, analogically, during the crusade to Lithuanian district of Upytė in 1375 (now – the district of Panevėžys), the Marshal of the Livonian Order Robin gave the order to burn the warriors, killed by Lithuanians, also seeking to protect the deceased from mutilation⁴⁵.

Both these examples are symptomatic, demonstrating how from the first sight “evident facts” can be perceived in a totally different way. Let us take one more fact from the same chronicle by Henry of Livonia. A well known by everybody the episode with Cistercian monk Theodoric, who was imprisoned in Üxküll’s castle by the order of the Meinhard’s, first Bishop of Livonia and tried to escape from the lands, inhabited by Livs and to inform the Pope about the deplorable situation of the Church in Livonia⁴⁶. The most interesting fact in this episode is how Theodoric did this. He, pretending that he was traveling to give the sick people the sacrament of the anointment of the ail, avoided the persecution of the Livs, left Livonia and successfully reached Rome. Why did Theodoric choose to perform such a “holy mischief”? Would such a mischief be possible if Livs did not know anything about sacraments, their meaning for Christians and the converts, who had received Christianity? And, if Livs knew about them, are we allowed to call this knowledge “superficial”? By the way, St. Otto of Bamberg also discussed the meaning of the church sacraments during his mission to Pomerania⁴⁷. And this means that during the time of the missions all necessary Christian truths and models how to live a Christian life were provided. To be more exact, the missionaries presented the converts Christian truths, the examples of Christian way of life and theological explanations to

⁴⁵ Hermann de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, in: *Scriptores rerum Prusicarum* (later abbreviated as SRP), ed. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke, Leipzig 1863, Bd. II, p. 109: „Eodem anno post nativitatis Marie frater Robyn, lantmarscalcus Livonie, ivit contra Letwinos in Opithen. [...] Mane factio lantmarscalcus cum suis invenerunt corpora cesa nuda spoliata, que conflagrarunt ulterius procedentes”.

⁴⁶ HCL, Lib. I, §12: „Unde pro captando consilio domino pape clam nuncium suum, fratrem Theodericum de Thoreyda, direxit. Qui vindens se de terra exire non posse, pio dolo vicit Lyvonum insidias, vectus equo, habens stolam, librum, aquam benedictam, quasi infirmum visitaturus; et hanc vie sue causam viatoribus interrogantibus pretendens, terram exeundo evasit et ad summum usque pontificem pervenit”.

⁴⁷ More about that – S. Rosik, *Convertio gentis Pomeranorum. Studium świadectwa o wydarzeniu (XII wiek)*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 591–601, 613, 615.

the extent they were able to. The conception of Christian death was among them, therefore the meaning of the sacrament of the anointment of the ail was familiar to the Livs.

Another question is if the converts embraced the presented information to a high quality level. From the above presented example of Cistercian Theodoric, the presumption can be made that the embracing of Christian truths was not so “superficial”, otherwise, the case of “holy mischief” would not have worked. Also, the example of Caup’s death, even though idealized by chronicler Henry of Livonia, demonstrates that the representatives of the high society of that time surely had an opportunity to get acquainted to Christian truths. The more so that the officials of the highest rank in Livonia would rather often become the godparents of some noblemen. As an example, the godfather of one Estonian nobleman *Kyriawanus* became the Magister of the Sword Order Rodolph⁴⁸. Therefore the baptism of the noblemen and the people of their surroundings were paid a greater attention to. It is evident that the people from the surrounding of Caup could possibly be familiar with Christianity not superficially, but by the capacity they were able to, the socio-cultural environment permitted to and by the perception of Christianity of converts themselves. The above mentioned Henry of Livonia states that pagans were inclined to cooperate with residing Christians, the same way Christians were inclined to cooperate with pagans⁴⁹. The same is mentioned by Peter of Dusburg⁵⁰. The future converts could get acquainted to Christian way of life through daily contacts, trade, warship etc. and that allowed them to better embrace Christian truths after the missions had begun. On the other hand, pagan Prussians had a lot of trade, war and cultural contacts with Christian countries before the 13th century. Not speaking about the archaeological data of such contacts, it is worth mentioning that Prussians used to be hired by Polish dukes, thus taking part in their inner wars⁵¹, and the Polish dukes, excluding the mission of St. Adalbert-Wojciech of Prague, even before the 13th century were trying to Christianize neighboring Prussian lands⁵². It is most likely that the first Christian sanctuaries in

⁴⁸ HCL, Lib. III, XXIII, § 7. Ibidem, Lib. I, § 2, Lib. III, IX, § 2.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, Lib. I, § 2, Lib. III, IX, § 2.

⁵⁰ Peter von Dusburg, *Chronicon terrae Prussiae* (later abbreviated as PDC), in: *SRP*, ed. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, Leipzig, 1861, Lib. III, 70 (new edition in *Monumenta Poloniae historica. Nova series*, Cracoviae 2007, T. XIII).

⁵¹ J. Powierski, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie do 1230 r. ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem roli Pomorza Gdańskiego*, Toruń 1968, pp. 73–115, 124–169; H. Łowmiański, *Prusy – Litwa – Krzyżacy*, ed. M. Kosman, Warszawa 1989, pp. 97–124; G. Białyński, *Studia z dziejów plemion pruskich i jaćwieskich*, Olsztyn 1999, pp. 7–120.

⁵² B. Śliwiński, op. cit., pp. 49–58.

Prussia, dedicated to St. Adalbert, were established at that time, which is most probably mentioned in the bull of Innocent III Godfrey, abbot of Lekno⁵³. It is quite possible that the church, mentioned in Christburg Capitulation Act (1249) was dedicated to the above mentioned saint⁵⁴. These and the data mentioned above demonstrate that it was not complicated for the pagan Balts to get acquainted to Christianity and its essential truths and that this process had already begun before the 13th century. It is important to emphasize that Christian missions and pastoral care were taking place at the same time already in the first stage of Christianization, what is mentioned by Henry of Livonia⁵⁵, not only during the period of romanization or latinization, as it is common to believe.

Not seldom the text of Henry of Livonia makes the impression of the “superficial” adoption of Christianity, in which the term “received baptism” had the meaning of 1) giving of the promise that baptism will be received, 2) the action of *prima signatio*, performed while becoming a catechumen and 3) the action of baptism itself. Thus, Henry of Livonia, while describing the missionary work of bishop Meinhard, after naming concrete Livs of Holm, who received baptism, already in the next episode told that none of them received baptism⁵⁶. Most probably, they had received *prima signatio* or they had been applied the ritual of depaganisation. By the way, the promise to receive baptism demonstrates that the ritual of baptism was not performed immediately, much later, meanwhile the catechesis of the future converts was being performed. On the other hand, there is an episode in the chronicle of Henry of Livonia about the Livians, who were trying to wash away the water of baptism in the

⁵³ PUB, No. 4: „Cum enim partes illas pro quibusdam fratribus liberandis, qui ab ipsis paganis tenebantur alligati vinculis, accessisset, et dominus terre illius ipsum recepisset benigne ac dimisisset liberos eius fratres, demonstrans eidem nihilominus beati martyris Alberti sepulcrum [...]”.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, No. 218: „Promiserunt eciam illi de Pomezania quod infra proximum Pentecosten ecclesias edificabunt in locis inferius nominatis [...] in Chomor Sancti Adalberti”. More about that, including sources and historiography review – R. Wenskus, *Zur Lokalisierung der Prußenkirchen des Vertrages von Christburg 1249*, in: idem, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zum frühen und preußischen Mittelalter. Festgabe zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. H. Petze, Sigmaringen 1986, pp. 377, 380–381. Cf. S. Szczepański, *Chomor Sancti Adalberti (1249) a możliwości lokalizacji terenowej wybranych kościołów Pomezanii*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, No. 1 (279): 2013, pp. 23–24, 35–37, 40.

⁵⁵ HCL, Lib. X, § 15; Lib. XXIX, § 3.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, Lib. I, § 9: „Consummato autem castro secundo oblita iuramenti mentita est iniquitas sibi, nec est usque ad unum, qui fidem suscipiat. Turbatur nimirum predicantis animus, presertim cum pedetentim rebus suis exipilatis, colaphizata familia ipsum suis de finibus exterminare decernant, baptismum, quem in aqua susceperant, in Duna se lavando removere putant”.

river Daugava, but the Livs of Holm, who had promised to receive baptism, did the same washing when Meinhard was still alive⁵⁷. By the way, even though Livs had just promised to receive baptism, the chronicler, while describing the first scene of their washing, used the words “baptismum, queum in aqua susceperant”, which shows that the chronicler equated the promise to receive baptism and the performed act of depaganisation to baptism itself and the retrieval from it-to apostasy. In this case, the return of the apostates to Christianity is also considered as baptism. It is evident, that it becomes clear only from the context what kind of „receiving of baptism“ was had in mind concretely. All this should have been kept in mind while discussing the “superfision” of Christianity on the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea.

Let us take one more, a different kind of example, this time from the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg. There is a well known passage of this chronicler about the Komtur of Christburg, who had allegedly been blessed by the Crucified one⁵⁸. This fact is presented by the chronicler among others, which had taken place in the beginning of the 13th century in Prussia. There is no doubt that this plot could have come from the *exempla*⁵⁹ of the 13th century, but that fact is not of the greatest importance. It is more important that this miracle was spread by the Chaplain of the Christburg castle Henry. And that means that both newcomers Christians and converts themselves could have been influenced by the miracles of that sort. The more so that Peter of Dusburg himself argued that the pastoral care and evangelization among the converts was performed not only by Franciscans and Dominicans but by the priests of the Teutonic Order as well⁶⁰. Thus, during the first phase of christianisation there again rises the influence of “folk“ Christianity on the converts through the miracles. To be more exact, even in the first phase of Christianisation Prussian converts encountered the “folk“ conception of Christianity, apart from abstractised Chris-

⁵⁷ Ibidem, Lib. II, § 8: „Iam vela ventus depulit, et ecce perfidi Lyvones de balneis consuetis egressi Dune fluminis aqua se perfundunt, dicentes: »Hic iam baptismatis aquam cum ipsa christianitate removemus aqua fluminis et fidem susceptam exfestucantes post Saxones recedentes transmittimus«”.

⁵⁸ PDC, Lib. III, 69: „De isto fratre Henrico Stangone commendatore de Cristburgk refertur indubitanter, quod dum ipse in capella flexis genibus ante altare rogaret Deum, ut ostenderet ei aliquo signo, si ejus gratiam meruisset, crucifixus ligneus, coram quo oravit, extendit brachium suum, et cruce signando ipsum benedixit, quo signo viso contentus recessit. Hoc vidit et publicavit frater Heindricus ejusdem castri sacerdos, qui tunc orando in quodam capelle angulo latitabat”.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange, Coloniae–Bonnae–Bruxelis 1851, Dist. VIII, cap. 13.

⁶⁰ PDC, Lib. III, 90.

tian truths. Such a “simplified“ means of cognition of Christianity, not distorting Christian dogmas, was both more comprehensible not only to the Christians, arriving to the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea from Latin Europe and to the local converts as well. The above mentioned example from the chronicle by Peter of Dusburg is also characteristic by the fact that medieval Church had a very careful attitude towards different “folk“, thus, “noncanon“ miracles, i.e. there should be a certain amount of them and they had to encourage piety and add to a better knowledge of the Christian truths⁶¹. In this case, it is not important that the miracle, presented by Peter of Dusburg, could be more closely related to the idealized Christian life of the knight-monk, presented to the brothers of the Teutonic Order⁶². Since priest Henry spread that news among the entire society, not only among the knights and the people from their surroundings.

Speaking about so-called first stage of Christianization, it should not be forgotten that already during the time of the Christian missions to the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, there was a demand to converts Balts and Finns to bury their deceased in a Christian way (the concept of death was undergoing a certain transformation)⁶³. It is generally accepted that the first churches were built not in wastelands but in specific locations associated with the nobility (they could be named ‘residences’). The atmosphere was favorable to the spread of Christianity. This is attested by the Christianisation of Livonia. Here, as in Prussia, Üxküll’s (modern – Ikšķile) castle and the natural environment of converts (such as Holme (modern – Mārtiņšala) and Kokenhusen (modern – Koknese)) became the centres of Christianity⁶⁴. A Livonian convert Caupo, who possessed Traidēn’s (modern – Turaida) castle, should also be mentioned⁶⁵.

One of the first churches was founded in Turaida, in which Christian cemetery had been open since the 13th century. Christian cemeteries were also established near Kubesele (there was buried Caupo) and Holme churches⁶⁶.

⁶¹ Not seldom “non-canon” miracles were related to magical actions. More about the interpretation in the Law of Canon of the Middle Ages – P. Hersperger, *Kirche, Magie und „Aberglaube“*. *Superstitio in der Kanonistik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2010, pp. 283, 353, 355, 385–386, 446.

⁶² J. Wentz, *Der Deutschordenspriester Peter von Dusburg und sein Bemühen um die geistige Bildung der Laienbrüder*, in: *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden* (Ordines militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica XIII), ed. R. Czaja, J. Sarnowsky, Toruń 2005, pp. 119–120, 122.

⁶³ The consecration of the graveyards is mentioned both by Henry of Livonia and Peter of Dusburg, HCL, Lib. II, § 2; PDC, Lib. III, 54.

⁶⁴ More about that – C.S. Jensen, op. cit., pp. 152–158–161, 163.

⁶⁵ HCL, VII, § 3.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, Lib. I, § 6–7, Lib. II, § 2.

Analogously, the development of Christian cemeteries and graves, in which Christian symbols were encountered, is recorded in Pomerania, in which active missionary movement took place in the first half of the 12th century⁶⁷. Archaeological material shows that Christian burials increased in Prussia at the turn of the 13th century⁶⁸. The same must be said about the first parishes and Christian burials in Poland at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries⁶⁹. Its important, that in Culm area, a missionary diocese was present which allowed the first parochial churches and other places of worship (chapels)⁷⁰ to satisfy the requirements of pastoral services, catechesis and spread of Christianity⁷¹ (metaphorically labelled as *curae animarum* – soul care)⁷².

Also was a demand to converts Balts and Finns not to work at weekends (the Liturgical Calendar appears), to observe the rules of fasting at certain periods (the appearance of the mode of eating), to perform religious practices etc.⁷³. The analogical requirements were expressed to Pomeranian people by

⁶⁷ M. Rębkowski, *Chryścianizacja Pomorza Zachodniego: studium archeologiczne*, Szczecin 2007, pp. 144, 147–160.

⁶⁸ К.Н. Скворцов, *Могильник Мутино V–XIV вв. (Калининградская область). По результатам исследований 2008 г.* (Материалы охранных археологических исследований, Т. 15), Москва 2010, Vol. 1, pp. 31.

⁶⁹ Z. Kurnatowska, *Początki organizacji parafialnej polskiego Kościoła*, in: *Kościół w monarchiach Przemysławów i Piastów. Materiały z konferencji naukowej Gniezno 21–24 września 2006 roku*, ed. J. Dobosz, Poznań 2009, pp. 38–44.

⁷⁰ *Przywilej chełmiński 1233 i 1251*, ed. K. Zielińska-Melkowska. Toruń, 1986, cap. 7, p. 40; *PUB*, T. I, Bd. 1, No. 105, 134, 177; *Historiography – M. Biskup, Parafie w państwie krzyżackim*, in: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach i Inflantach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XVI wieku*, ed. R. Czaja, A. Radzimiński, Toruń 2013, pp. 81–84; A. Radzimiński, *Geneza oraz ukształtowanie się organizacji kościelnej (1206–1409)*, in: *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach...*, p. 159. Cf. K. Białokórska, *Święty Chrystian – „Primus episcopus Prusciae“ i jego misyjne biskupstwo. Kilka uwag o perspektywach i potrzebie dalszych badań*, in: *Grudziądz miastem Chrystiana. Materiały posesyjne*, ed. K. Zielińska-Melkowska, Grudziądz 2002, pp. 24–25.

⁷¹ More about pastoral services in the Teutonic Order – E. Feistner, *Zur Katechese der Ritterbrüder in den Anfängen des Deutschordensstaates*, in: *Cura animarum. Seelsorge im Deutschordensland Preußen*, ed. S. Samerski, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013, pp. 107–109.

⁷² More about the method of operation of parishes during the spread of Christianization and parishes – M. Dygo, *Studia nad początkami władztwa zakonu niemieckiego w Prusach (1226–1259)*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 234–235. Cf. E. Wiśniowski, *Badania nad początkami i rozwojem średniowiecznej sieci parafialnej na ziemiach polskich*, „*Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio F, Historia*”, 45: 1990, pp. 45–48.

⁷³ *PUB*, No. 218: „[...] promiserunt, quod ipsi vel heredes eorum in mortuis comburendis vel subterrands cum equis sive hominibus uel cum armis seu vestibus vel quibuscunq; aliis preciosis, vel eciam in aliis quibuscunq; ritus gentilium de cetero non servabunt. [...]

Otto of Bamberg in the 12th century⁷⁴. The similar situation was seen in Scandinavia⁷⁵. The same requirements, though expressed in a more simple way, were also presented to the newly-baptized of the Ösel islands⁷⁶. In this case, there is a very characteristic hint by chronicler Peter of Dusburg, that one Prussian (semb), by the name of *Bonse* encouraged other Prussians to renounce Christianity since he was not allowed to have two wives⁷⁷ (Christians acknowledged only a monogamous marriage of the converts⁷⁸). Thus, there was a striv-

Promiserunt eciam, quod nullus eorum de cetero filiam suam vendet alicui matrimonio copulandam, et quod nullus uxorem filio suo emet uel sibi; nam ex hoc talis inter ipsos consuetudo, sicut intelleximus inolevit, qualis nec inter gentes, ut videlicet uxorem patris sui aliquis habeat. [...] Promiserunt eciam, quod, quamecito puer alicuius natus fuerit vel ad minus infra octo dies, si tam diu potest absque mortis periculo reservari, ipsum baptizandum facient ad ecclesiam deportari et a presbitero baptizari. [...] Preterea promiserunt neophiti sepepredicti, quod omnes utriusque sexus, tam juvenes quam adulti, in Quadragesima a carnibus et lacticiniis abstinebunt, et in sexta feria a carnibus similiter abstinebunt, et prout poterunt, ieiunabunt, et dies dominicos et festivos ab omni servili opere observabunt; et confessiones suas ad minus semel in anno facient proprio sacerdoti, et in Pascha recipient sacratissimum corpus Christi, et alia facient et cavebunt”.

⁷⁴ *Vita Prieflingensis*, in: *Pomniki dziejowe Polski*, ed. K. Liman, J. Wikarjak, Warszawa 1966, Vol. II, T. VII, cz. 1, Lib. II, § 21: „[...] scilicet ut sexta feria abstineant a carne et lacte more caeterorum christianorum; dominica die vacent ab omni opere malo, et ad ecclesiam divinum officium audituri veniant, ibique orationibus studiose insistant. [...] et unusquisque contentus sit una uxore, ne sepeliant mortuos Christianos iner paganos in silvis aut in campis, sed in cimiteriis, sicut mos est omnium Christianorum, ne fustes ad sepulchra eorum ponant, omnem ritum et pravitatem paganam abiciant domos ydolorum non construunt, phytonissam non aderant, sortilogii non sint, ne quid etiam immundum comedant, non morticinum, non suffocatum neque ydolothyum neque sanguinem animalium [...]”.

⁷⁵ A. Sanmark, *Power and Conversion – A Comparative Study of Christianization in Scandinavia*, Uppsala 2004, pp. 205–277.

⁷⁶ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch. Nebst regesten*, ed. F.G. Bunge, Reval 1853, Bd. 1, No. 159: „[...] praedicti apostatae in hoc tandem univrsaliter et finaliter conveniunt: Quod si ecclesia subscriptam formam sine omni permutatione violenta in perpetuum ab ipsis acceptare dignaretur, vellent redire devoto animo et prompta voluntate ad catholicae fidei, a qua diabolico instinctu recesserant, unitatem”.

⁷⁷ PDC, Lib. III, cap. 190: „Hic Bonse voluit habere manifeste duas uxores, et quia fratres hoc prohibuerunt, provocatus in iram, ommnes quasi Pruthenos ad apostasiam incitavit”.

⁷⁸ PUB, No. 218: „Item promiserunt, quod duas uxores similiter vel plures de cetero non habebunt; sed una sola contenti cum ipsa contrahet unusquisque sub testimonio competenti et matrimonium illud in ecclesia statutis temporibus cum sollempnitate debita publicabit. Promiserunt eciam, quod nullus eorum de cetero filiam suam vendet alicui matrimonio copulandam, et quod nullus uxorem filio suo emet uel sibi; nam ex hoc talis inter ipsos consuetudo, sicut intelleximus inolevit, qualis nec inter gentes, ut videlicet uxorem patris sui aliquis habeat”.

ing to the consolidation of all norms of Christian life even in the first phase of Christianization. The above mentioned episode by Peter of Dusburg with the semb, who wanted to have more than one wife, indicates that the real implementation was not so far distanced from the ideal pursuit. We can also remember another episode about white horses given as a gift to a Prussian by the name *Dorge*, which he allegedly did not want to raise because of superstitions⁷⁹. This superstition, after several horses died, was ultimately rejected. This means that at least in separate cases, even in the first phase of Christianization, there existed a certain real “depth” of Christianity, a fight with the superstitions and a real consolidation of the norms of Christian life.

Finally, one more remark. Christianity was advancing towards the Baltic region not only theologically abstracted, but also in the form of “folk piety”, which has been mentioned above. The souls of converts carried by angels (as well as the souls of other Christians), resting in eternal peace⁸⁰, miraculous healing of the sick⁸¹, worship of the saints⁸², the formation of the local sanctuaries⁸³ etc., which was described by both Henry of Livonia and Peter of Dusburg, demonstrates certain forms of “folk piety”, noticed not only in medieval *exempla*, but on the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea as well. All these images were to reach the converts already during the first phase of Christianization⁸⁴. Thus, converts had to confront not only the formed changeable *spirituales novae* idea of God, but also “folk” Christian superstitions (*superstitio*), a “simplified” portrait of God, the role of the saints in Christian life and a lot of other things. The examples, presented in this article, reflecting different aspects of perception of Christianity and its embracing show that even during the first phase of Christianization the essential and main transformation, permitting to consolidate the norms of Christian life and Christian mentality among the converts during the time of Christian missions had to take place.

⁷⁹ PDC, Lib. III, cap. 6.

⁸⁰ HCL, Lib. I, § 10, Lib. III, cap. X, § 5; PDC, Lib. III, cap. 86, cap. 92.

⁸¹ HCL, Lib. I, § 10.

⁸² PDC, Lib. III, cap. 6, cap. 36.

⁸³ HCL, Lib. III, cap. X, § 5, cap. XXIX, § 5; PDC, Lib. III, cap. 36.

⁸⁴ M. Ščavinskis, *Christianization and cura animarum...*, pp. 52–54, 62–65.

Streszczenie

Kilka uwag na temat tak zwanego pierwszego etapu chrystianizacji wschodniego wybrzeża Morza Bałtyckiego

W historiografii omówiony został niejeden model chrystianizacji wschodniego wybrzeża Morza Bałtyckiego. Najczęściej wyróżnia się okresy chrystianizacji, biorąc pod uwagę poziom zakorzenienia chrześcijaństwa w konkretnej społeczności. Badacze często twierdzą, że na pierwszym etapie wprowadzanie chrześcijaństwa było „powierzchowne”, „płytkie”, „zewnątrzne”, raczej „demonstracyjne”, miało odcień polityczny, w przeciwnym wypadku chrystianizacja nie trwałaby kilka stuleci, nie miałyby miejsca „pogańskie reakcje” na nią oraz w życiu codziennym nie przetrwałyby przejawy pogaństwa. Zgodnie z historiografią, jedynie latynizacja lub romanizacja chrystianizowanej społeczności, tj. chrystianizacja ludu, pozwala mówić o zakończeniu procesu. W artykule omówiony został pierwszy etap, zwany inaczej etapem misji. Postawiono pytanie, czy jakościowo i na ile jakościowe warunki stworzono konwertytom do zapoznania się z chrześcijańskimi prawdami. Z przytoczonych w artykule, opierających się na źródłach przykładów wynika jasno, że pierwsze misje miały miejsce równoległe z działalnością duszpasterską, chrześcijaństwo docierało na wschodnie wybrzeże Morza Bałtyckiego nie tylko w formie steologizowanej, ale też w tak zwanej formie ludowej. Na przykład, historia spalenia i pochówku ciała starosty (*nobilem*) Liwów Kaupa (*Caupo*), opisana przez kronikarza Henryka Łotysza, pokazuje, że konwertyci starali się, myśląc o wieczności, przestrzegać praw chrześcijańskich, przekazanych przez misjonarzy i innych duchownych. Spalenie ciała Kaupa uznaje się za przypadek niezwykły, nie zaś „powierzchowny” przejaw chrześcijaństwa.

Z przedstawionych w artykule danych wynika, że na pierwszym etapie chrystianizacji konwertyci Prusowie oraz nowo ochrzczeni Liwowie zetknęli się z „ludową” koncepcją chrześcijaństwa (cuda, wędrówki dusz zmarłych, wizje, w których objawiał się sam Bóg, Matka Boska i in.), a nie jedynie z teologicznie wyabstrahowanymi prawdami chrześcijańskimi. Taki „uproszczony” sposób poznawania chrześcijaństwa, niewypaczający dogmatów, był bardziej zrozumiały zarówno dla chrześcijan przybyłych na wschodnie wybrzeże Morza Bałtyckiego z łacińskiej Europy, jak i dla samych miejscowych konwertytów. Ci ostatni na pierwszym etapie chrystianizacji byli zachęceni do grzebania swoich zmarłych po chrześcijańsku (pojawiają się pierwsze cmentarze chrześcijańskie, na nich kaplice i inne obiekty sakralne), powstrzymywania się od pracy w dni świąteczne (pojawia się kalendarz liturgiczny), przestrzegania w odpowiednim czasie postu (pojawienie się reżimu żywieniowego), praktyk religijnych i in.

Przytoczone w artykule przykłady, ukazujące różne aspekty rozumienia i przyswajania chrześcijaństwa, pokazują, że już w pierwszym okresie chrystianizacji, w trakcie misji, musiały zajść zasadnicze zmiany, które pozwoliły zakorzenić się normom życia chrześcijańskiego oraz mentalności chrześcijańskiej wśród konwertytów. Zmusza to do przemyślenia na nowo znaczenia tak zwanego pierwszego etapu chrystianizacji w całym procesie chrystianizacyjnym oraz kwestii „głębi” chrześcijaństwa podczas misji.