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## I

WESTERN CHRISTENDOM AND ITS  
ENVIRONMENT IN THE TENTH AND  
ELEVENTH CENTURIESTHE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SECURITY OF WESTERN  
CHRISTENDOM

Viewed from the standpoint of comparative history, Christendom in these two centuries seems to have been a fairly united and uniform community of faith, at least in the West, and in spite of numerous lost struggles on the margins its existence was not seriously threatened from outside.

Following the controversies between Paschasius Radbertus of Corbie and his supporters on the one hand and the theologians like Hrabanus Maurus, Ratramnus, or Gottschalk on the other over the Eucharist there were no serious disputes over dogma.<sup>1</sup> Not until the debate over Berengar of Tours's doctrine of the Eucharist in the middle of the eleventh century was there a revival of such disputes, and from then on early scholastic theology developed through a series of dogmatic controversies.<sup>2</sup> Ancient relicts of paganism, residual elements of the old religions, and, still more, the continuing pagan practices of the newly converted proved hard to eradicate; but these things were not a serious threat to the Christian peoples. From the acceptance of Christianity to its internalisation,<sup>3</sup> to a genuine absorption of Christian faith and morality, as these were then understood, there often lay a long and winding path. Heresies occurred here and there from the eleventh century on, but in the period

<sup>1</sup> Haendler, *Frühmittelalter*, 59.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 139 and 318–19.

<sup>3</sup> W, Baetke, 'Die Aufnahme des Christentums durch die Germanen', *WuG*, 9 (1943), 143; Kahl, 'Heidnisches Wendentum', 73; Lammers, 'Formen', 23–46.

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under discussion they were not yet a serious danger.<sup>4</sup> More frequent were meaningless accusations of heresy in the course of political or ecclesiastical propaganda, but even these were not so numerous or so hate-filled as they were to become from the late eleventh century on. In general they were countered by an affirmation of the correctness of one's own belief and by accusations against one's opponent.

Apostasy from the Christian church was very rare. If a Christian converted to Judaism he became the object of intense attention.<sup>5</sup> It is a rare event to find Archbishop Fulco of Rheims writing that in the regions attacked by the Vikings only those who accepted paganism and the protection of the barbarians could retain their homesteads in safety.<sup>6</sup> The newly converted, by contrast, frequently reverted to their old beliefs in the course of pagan reactions in their newly Christianised country. The history of the spread of Christianity in England, Scandinavia, Hungary, and the Slavonic lands is full of such reverses. Here there may have been fluctuations barely visible to us, especially where political struggles allowed first one and then the other side to come out on top in rapid succession, so that for most the overwhelming priority was to anticipate the changes. The Islamic rulers of Spain and Sicily tolerated other religions of the book, as is well known, so that the Christian church in those parts was able to preserve its faith and its organisation.<sup>7</sup> But, as in all countries controlled by Islam, the Christians were second-class citizens and were exposed to a variety of pressures in the course of time. There were also periods of tension, with persecutions, destruction of churches, and punitive taxation, especially following acts of provocation by Christians.<sup>8</sup> The Spanish peninsula saw numerous Islamicisations and re-Christianisations.

Christian Europe was sorely afflicted and suffered severe damage through the attacks of various heathen peoples: Saracens, Norsemen, Magyars, and Slavs. But for a long time after Charles Martel drove off the Islamic attack in the eighth century, the heart of western Christendom was neither seriously nor permanently threatened in its existence, in

<sup>4</sup> Grundmann, *Ketzergeschichte*, 8ff.

<sup>5</sup> Alpert of Metz, *Libri duo de diversitate temporum*, MGH SS IV.721.

<sup>6</sup> *Historia Remensis* IV 3, MGH SS XIII.563; see Tellenbach, 'Thronfolge', 295 n. 286.

<sup>7</sup> F. Cabrol, 'Mozarabe', *DACL* XII/1, col. 390f.; de Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, 369ff.; there were, however, Islamic groups who were less tolerant, such as the Almoravids in Spain (*ibid.*, 843); Villada, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 29ff.; Dufourcq, 'Coexistence', 211ff.; Amari, *Storia*, 619ff., especially 627: the position of the lower orders was often so much more favourable under the Moslems in Sicily that many fled from those cities which had remained Christian, or even converted to Islam.

<sup>8</sup> De Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, 439f., who speaks of a 'collective delirium'.

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fact not until the Mongol onslaught in the thirteenth century. Even in northern Spain the small Christian lordships managed to survive the pressure from a culturally and politically dominant Islam in spite of all the dangers.

The most serious loss was the conquest of Sicily in the ninth century by the Aghlabites of northern Africa, completed by the fall of the last Byzantine bastion, Taormina, in 903. Under the new Fatimid dynasty (909) the Arabs made several attempts to establish a foothold in southern Italy. They sometimes managed to hold bridgeheads for several years, but were never able to establish themselves there permanently. The political and ecclesiastical arrangements in southern Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries were complicated by the rivalries between a number of powers – the Byzantine emperor, the Lombard princes, the Arab invaders – and by the occasional incursions of the Roman pope and the western emperor.<sup>9</sup> Not until the coming of the Normans was the Italian south definitively freed from the influence of Islam and of the Greek Orthodox church (regarded from 1054 on as schismatic) and permanently won for western Christendom and the Roman church. In Spain, recent research has shown that from the time of Abd ar-Rahman III (912–61) there was an explosion of conversions from Christianity to Islam. At the beginning of the tenth century only a quarter of the Christian population had been converted; by 1100 the figure was 80 per cent.<sup>10</sup>

It has been debated whether England, Scotland, and Ireland were in danger during the Viking era of breaking away from the Carolingian and Mediterranean cultural circle in which they had previously moved and joining a Nordic one; whether there was a possibility of the North Sea's becoming a Scandinavian sea and of England's becoming Danish and pagan.<sup>11</sup> The behaviour of the Vikings in the Christian kingdoms they afflicted and the way in which Christianity penetrated their own country and finally came to dominate there do not suggest that this was ever very likely. When in the person of William the Conqueror the Frankicised Normans in England drove back the Danish element, which had been powerful under Cnut, the ties between England and western and central Europe were secured, while for Europe the Scandinavian north became more peripheral.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> This constellation of forces has to be borne in mind if a one-sided view is to be avoided; see Hiestand, *Byzanz*.

<sup>10</sup> T. F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton 1979), 33f., 42ff. and the table on 35.

<sup>11</sup> Deanesly, *Pre-Conquest Church*, 283ff.

<sup>12</sup> Musset, 'Relations', 82.

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True, there were admittedly repeated clashes between heathens and Christians, with great losses on both sides and sometimes annihilation for the losers. But it was only the Christian and Islamic powers which had a sufficiently developed social order to be able to extend their lordship on a permanent basis, and only they as representatives of higher religions with universal claims were in a position to proselytise among peoples with a gentile organisation. Scandinavian, Slav, or Magyar paganism did not call Christianity as such in question, apart from the occasional pagan reaction in newly converted territories. Such paganisms could survive tenaciously, but their ethnicity prevented them from becoming missionary systems of belief.<sup>13</sup> In the Viking lordships in Christian heartlands like northern France and England paganism did not survive for long, because pagans in Christian surroundings rapidly became Christian.<sup>14</sup>

Saracens, Norsemen, and Magyars attacked Christian countries not to conquer them or to make converts but to take plunder. The main motive for the Slavs was to take revenge for attacks on them. The Christians were often only able to stave off attacks by negotiations and economic or political concessions. Payments of tribute were probably more frequent than we know of. Pope John VIII bought off the Saracens; Charles the Bald and Charles the Fat bought off the Vikings; Henry I bought off the Magyars.<sup>15</sup> The treaty which Duke Arnulf of Bavaria made with the Hungarians in 926 was probably also accompanied by payments.<sup>16</sup> Such tribute-payments were the more questionable in that they merely served to divert pagan plundering expeditions to other Christian countries. That was not all. Christian princes allied themselves with pagans against other Christians frequently enough. The best-known case is the alliance between Henry II and the pagan Liutizi against the Christian duke of Poland.<sup>17</sup> Already in the tenth century the pagan Slavs of Rügen had been used as auxiliaries in the wars against the Abodrites.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Kahl, 'Heidnisches Wendentum', 88 and 98, draws the distinction between universal and gentile religion; see also Lammers, 'Formen', 180f.

<sup>14</sup> Prentout, *Essai*, 111; Sawyer, *Age of the Vikings*, 3f.; Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, 137.

<sup>15</sup> Tellenbach, 'Thronfolge', 295 n. 286; the examples could easily be multiplied. See e.g. H. Büttner, 'Die Ungarn, das Reich und Europa bis zur Lechfeldschlacht des Jahres 955', *ZBLG*, 19 (1956), 449; G. Fasoli, 'Points de vue sur les incursions hongroises en Europe au Xe siècle', *CCM*, 2 (1959), 29 and 31; Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, 196.

<sup>16</sup> Reindel, *Liutpoldinger*, 106ff.

<sup>17</sup> Hirsch, Pabst and Bresslau, *Jahrbücher Heinrichs II.*, 1.256ff.; Brüske, *Untersuchungen*, 47; W. H. Fritze, 'Beobachtungen zu Entstehung und Wesen des Liutizenbundes', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands*, 7 (1958), 1–38. Another well-known example is the alliance between Byzantium and the Sicilians, already Moslems, against Otto II; see Amari, *Storia*, 376.

<sup>18</sup> Wenskus, *Studien*, 194.

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Italy and Spain in particular saw rapid shifts of alliances between Christians and non-Christians against enemies of their own or other faiths. In southern Italy Lombards, Byzantines, Saracens, and the rulers of the lands to the north were partners in rapidly changing coalitions.<sup>19</sup> Constantine VII sought to win not only Otto the Great but also the Ummayyad Caliph Abd ar-Rahman an-Nasir in Cordoba for a broadly based alliance against the Abbasids in 949.<sup>20</sup> A Tuscan margravine calling herself 'Queen Bertha of Rome' pursued a project which similarly transcended religious boundaries.<sup>21</sup> In Spain, for example, Sancho I the Fat of León (956–8) reconquered his capital with the help of Muslim troops and drove out his rival Ordoño IV.<sup>22</sup> He had had to promise the caliph ten border fortifications as a reward for the help, but on his ally's death he broke his promise. In the eleventh century as well Christians and Muslims frequently made common cause, for example in the attempt to ward off the attacks of the Almoravids.<sup>23</sup>

The Swedish king Olaf Tax-King had been baptised in 1008 by the English missionary bishop Siegfried, but he was king over both the Christian Gauts and the heathen Svear. Most of the warriors whom he sent to help his son-in-law Olaf the Saint to conquer Norway are said to have been pagans; Olaf allegedly refused to accept their aid. The army with which Cnut conquered England was also mostly heathen. Even Robert Guiscard's troops at the siege of Salerno in 1076 included Saracens, while the core of al-Mansur's army included both Berber contingents and Arabised Christian soldiers.<sup>24</sup>

It is well known that many Christian princesses of the early middle ages married heathen or Muslim rulers. And Christian nobles repeatedly took refuge temporarily or permanently among pagan peoples. Arnulf of Bavaria fled with his family to the Magyars before his advancing stepfather Conrad I, as his son Eberhard may also have done in the face of Otto the Great.<sup>25</sup> The best-known example is that of Wichmann, the nephew of

<sup>19</sup> Chalandon, *Domination*, 12f.; Gay, *L'Italie méridionale*, 136f.

<sup>20</sup> Hiestand, *Byzanz*, 207.

<sup>21</sup> G. Levi della Vida, 'La corrispondenza di Berta di Toscana col Califfo Mustafi', *RSI*, 67 (1954), 21ff.; Hiestand, *Byzanz*, 110ff.

<sup>22</sup> Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, 174ff.

<sup>23</sup> De Valdeavellano, *Historia de España*, 840; Menéndez Pidal, *Spanien des Cid*, 30ff. and 78. The Cid fought together with Christians and Muslims against his Christian opponents.

<sup>24</sup> Seegrün, *Papsttum*, 53; Larson, *Canute*, 163; for the Berber contingents and Arabised Christian mercenaries in al-Mansur's army see Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, 224, and for Robert Guiscard's Greek, Roman, and Saracen troops in the army besieging Salerno in 1076 see Chalandon, *Domination*, 244.

<sup>25</sup> Reindel, *Liutpoldinger*, 107ff. and 187; Hóman, *Ungarisches Mittelalter*, 126.

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Hermann Billung, who even led pagans against his own Christian countrymen, and died while doing so.<sup>26</sup>

In spite of the harshness of these conflicts between creeds and the contemptuous judgements of Christian authors about the inferiority and indeed the repulsiveness of the heathen, one should not ignore the rich and varied opportunities for contact, even if contacts were the exception rather than the rule. In the middle ages pagans, regardless of their race and their state of development, were regarded not only as being worthy of baptism but also as being obliged to accept it.

ON THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSION IN  
EUROPE IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

In the second volume of his *History of the Expansion of Christianity* Kenneth Scott Latourette described the period between 500 and 1500 as 'the thousand years of uncertainty', an interpretation assessed in a suggestive review by Ernest Benz entitled 'World History, Church History, and the History of Mission'.<sup>27</sup> Such an interpretation is valid only in secular terms; it is based on statistics, namely on the increases and decreases in the numbers of Christians and of the countries they inhabited or controlled. How can one assess the religious growth or decline of church or faith, things which are not open to human judgement? Such considerations may seem surprising against the background of the traditional view of mission in the period we are considering. This sees these two centuries as marking progress in the 'Christianisation' of our part of the world, a progress which has shaped Europe's development down to the present day. From the beginning of the tenth century east central Europe, eastern Europe, and Scandinavia became Christian, though in many cases there had been earlier traces of Christianity. Taking all these lands together it would be better to see the period of mission as lying between the middle of the ninth century and the early thirteenth century, for only then were the last remnants of paganism eliminated in north Europe and among the Slavs of the Elbe and Baltic regions. Taking western Christianity as a whole it is also significant that the crucial advance of the Spanish reconquista came at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

<sup>26</sup> On Wichmann's exiles see Dümmler, *Jahrbücher Ottos I.*, 250, 266f., 292, 387, 433.

<sup>27</sup> E. Benz, 'Weltgeschichte, Kirchengeschichte und Missionsgeschichte', *HZ*, 173 (1952), 1–22. K. D. Schmidt, *Grundriß der Kirchengeschichte*, 5th edn (Göttingen 1949), 49ff., wrote from the conventional point of view of European rather than global church history about the two 'great missionary victories', namely the conversions of the Germans and of the Slavs.

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The acceptance of Christianity in numerous countries and regions, peoples and tribes, was seldom easy or rapid; it was mostly slow, uneven, and faced powerful and stubborn resistance and hence many setbacks. The concept of mission did not have the same connotations in this period as in the first centuries of Christianity, or in our own time. Nowhere was it a spontaneous movement from one family or community to the next, gripping souls, converting them (*metanoia* in the terminology of the early church), and filling them with an enthusiasm which itself could be passed on. Mission was rarely unintentional, unorganised. It was supported and planned by Christian princes and nobles conscious of their calling to spread the rule of Christ, by bishops and their clerical assistants or by monasteries and monks in fulfilment of the obligation to 'go forth and teach all peoples'. Christianity was inspired by the claim to be the one true religion for all mankind. Jesus Christ had appeared on earth to save men's souls for eternal life. The news of this was to be brought to those who did not yet know it. The Christian God was the only God; other beings which were called god or gods were recognised as existing, but they were devils, demons, or idols, and to serve them was not only an intellectual but also a moral error. Later interpretations saw Augustine as already having argued for the need to compel idolators, by force if necessary, in an interpretation of the phrase *coge intrare* in Luke 14: 23 which reversed its sense, though Augustine had restricted this to heretics and schismatics.<sup>28</sup> Gregory the Great went beyond this, and called Sardinian peasants who worshipped stones 'enemies of God', and their attitude 'guilt, sin, treachery, obstinacy'. They were to be punished by being made to pay higher dues and compelled to walk the true path.<sup>29</sup> Gregory could even praise 'indirect' missionary warfare.<sup>30</sup>

In considering the religion of heathen times a distinction has been made between mythology and a true religion. The primitive worship of natural forces in waters, trees, stones, and the stars and weather becomes confined to the lower orders with the arrival of higher religions, and there it has the role of stubborn superstition or secondary belief, as seen in the stone-worship of the Sardinians just cited. Such subliminal religious feelings, in reality more like fears, can survive for millennia, and not just among the uncultured 'people'.

The tough resistance to Christianity which we find in our period,

<sup>28</sup> See E. Fascher, 'Zur Problematik von Lc. 14.23', *Evangelische Dialoge*, 27 (1956), 12ff.; Kahl, 'Compellere', 273 n. 339.

<sup>29</sup> 'hostes Dei . . . culpa, peccatum, perfidia, obstinatio': *Gregorii I Registrum* 1 23 and 26, MGH Epp. 1.257f. and 261. Kahl, 'Baustein', 57ff.; Kahl, 'Altschonisches Recht', 37.

<sup>30</sup> *Gregorii I Registrum* 1 73, MGH Epp. 1.93; Erdmann, *Entstehung*, 8 and n. 12.

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especially in Scandinavia and among the Slavs of the Elbe and Baltic, had other roots. These peoples long had no sense of the complete otherness of Christianity. Their gods were tribal or ethnic gods with limited areas of authority. They could not easily understand the idea that there is only one God who rules everywhere, especially as the missionaries and victorious armies with whom they were confronted and who themselves still believed in the existence of devils tended to depict the Christian God as the most powerful rather than as the only god. One had to reckon not just with the power of the new god but with that of the old ones as well.<sup>31</sup> For this reason there were several examples of pro-Christian, even baptised rulers who relapsed into paganism. Adam of Bremen reports of the earliest Christian king in Sweden, Eric (c. 1000), that he reverted to heathenism.<sup>32</sup> His son Olaf Tax-King (995–1021/2) was baptised by the English missionary bishop Siegfried in 1008, as has already been noted, and the Gauts largely accepted Christianity, while the Svear stuck to their religion. When he came to destroy their chief shrine at Uppsala, the Swedes prevented him, being still afraid of their old gods. A compromise was reached: Olaf, should he wish to be a Christian, should take the best part of the country and introduce Christianity there, but he was not to force anyone to renounce the cult of the traditional gods.<sup>33</sup> Evidently it was long uncertain which of the gods was the most powerful. As late as the early twelfth century the Anglo-Danish monk Ælnoth wrote in his 'Legend of Cnut': 'It seems that the Svear and Gauts pay lip-service to the Christian religion, as long as everything goes well and in accordance with their wishes. But when the storms of tribulation come upon them – harvest failure, drought, bad weather, invasion, or fire – then they persecute the religion which they had seemingly just venerated.'<sup>34</sup>

This kind of fearful uncertainty is probably the main reason why the spread of Christianity in the high middle ages was only with difficulty crowned with final success. Besides this, the military campaigns and demands for tribute by Christian neighbours, coupled with the harshness of their rule once they had conquered, often gave paganism extra strength. We can often see, moreover, how in dynastic disputes claimants would be supported by a heathen or by a Christian party.<sup>35</sup> Religious differences

<sup>31</sup> Kahl, 'Heidnisches Wendentum', 88f.; Rehfeldt, *Todesstrafen*, 22.

<sup>32</sup> Adam of Bremen, *Gesta* II 28, p. 99; Seegrün, *Papsttum*, 53.

<sup>33</sup> Adam of Bremen, *Gesta* II 58, pp. 118f.

<sup>34</sup> Cited by Andersson, *Schwedische Geschichte*, 53.

<sup>35</sup> A well-known example is that of Svein Forkbeard, who conquered his father Harold Bluetooth in 985 with the help of a heathen party. Harold was probably killed in the decisive battle. See Maurer, *Bekehrung*, I. 246f. One might think also of the appalling



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could easily be coupled with those of power and politics, both in civil wars and in wars with neighbouring peoples.

We do not know much about what pagans thought of the Christian religion, but they were probably predisposed by their polytheism not to regard the gods of other peoples as devilish.<sup>36</sup> The history of their conversion reveals the pagan Germans as comparatively tolerant, and there were not many Christian martyrs. The Germans expected their gods to punish blasphemers themselves, as many examples show. If they did not do so, their potency was called in question, something which could be exploited by Christian missionaries. Ungracious gods are always perceived as dangerous; one must seek to win the favour of one's own god in order to find help and protection against them. Christians, by contrast, always saw it as a crime to venerate gods other than the one Christian God. Heathens are gentiles, infidels, pagans, unfeeling, heretics, schismatics, apostates.

We do indeed find distinctions in medieval thought between the less and the more guilty, for example, the notion that heretics and apostates were worse than and should be dealt with more severely than heathens. Compassion and goodwill were to be shown primarily towards those who allowed themselves to be converted easily. But one should bear in mind that this whole phraseology was polemical in origin, designed for the writing of apologetic literature and hence aggressive in tone. Paganism was persecuted in west Scandinavia and in Hungary more cruelly than elsewhere after the triumph of Christianity, not because it took more reprehensible forms from a theological or ethical point of view but simply because a different missionary style had been practised in these regions from that customary in east Scandinavia or among most of the western Slav tribes.<sup>37</sup> The Liutizi were denounced, not just as heathens but as apostates in memory of their relapse in 983, because they put up tough resistance for centuries to Christian mission. This justified war and atrocities, culminating in Bernard of Clairvaux's phrase – which may be interpreted in various ways – of 'baptism or death'.<sup>38</sup> The terror used

struggles for the throne in Hungary in the decade following the death of Stephen I; see Hóman, *Ungarisches Mittelalter*, 256.

<sup>36</sup> Lange, 'Studien', 164ff. is illuminating on the nature of north Germanic polytheism, which allowed the choice of a special god. The fact that a 'duel' could take place between Christ and Thor rather than among many gods by no means implies that monotheistic thinking was at work.

<sup>37</sup> On the differences between the styles of mission practised in eastern and in western Scandinavia see Kahl, 'Altschonisches Recht', 26ff.

<sup>38</sup> Kahl, 'Compellere', 227; Wenskus, *Studien*, 157; Lotter, 'Bemerkungen', 400ff.; F. Lotter, *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs* (Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 23, Sigmaringen 1977), 10.

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against heathens could not in practice be clearly distinguished according to its intentions: first to secure the elimination of paganism and then to bring about conversion. Neither its exponents nor its recipients were in reality able to observe or keep to such distinctions. To deprive heathens of their religion or cult was only possible if they were simultaneously to be given (or have enforced on them) some kind of alternative. Or were they to live, 'depaganised', as atheists until they deigned to accept conversion? Such distinctions are theoretical constructs which are of little use for understanding reality.<sup>39</sup>

We have already seen that in these centuries there was no permanent front between Christianity and heathenism, even though there was often bloody fighting and violent oppression. Just as a Christian king in Sweden had to leave the pagan shrine at Uppsala untouched and move his ruling seat to Sigtuna,<sup>40</sup> so also might Christians and heathens coexist under Viking rule in England and Ireland. Viking armies might be made up of heathen and Christian warriors, just as in Spain they could be composed of Islamic Berbers and Christian Mozarabs. Even among the west Slavs, where the conflicts between Christians and heathens were at their bitterest, there were Christian princes ruling over populations where the majority were heathen. The Abodrite prince Henry had to abandon the attempt to convert his people to Christianity and content himself with a small Christian church and a single priest in his city of Old Lübeck. Prince Pribislaw-Henry had a small chapel in his fortification of the Brandenburg, not far distant from the temple of the three-headed god, Triglav.<sup>41</sup>

We must thus reckon with the possibility of long transition periods in which coexistence between Christianity and Islam or heathenism was possible.<sup>41</sup> The most significant example is probably the history of the Norwegian king, Hakon the Good, who was baptised and brought up in England but could not impose Christianity on Norway and was forced by

<sup>39</sup> This is not directed against the well-founded distinctions made by Kahl in his works, especially in 'Compellere'; it is simply meant to remind us of the fact that these distinctions were applied as needed. It was not a matter of religious or legal integrity to claim that it was justifiable to proceed more severely against the Liutizi because their ancestors of fifty or a hundred years ago had been compelled to accept baptism. Such a theory of apostasy was invented in order to put the blame on the enemy for the adoption of a more ruthless style of warfare, as so often in history.

<sup>40</sup> See above, pp. 8f.

<sup>41</sup> Guttman, 'Germanisierung', 419; Brüske, *Untersuchungen*, 17f.; Kahl, 'Heidnisches Wendentum', 102ff.; Lammers, 'Formen', 196; Lotter, 'Bemerkungen', 417; R. Schmidt, 'Rethra. Das Heiligtum der Liutizen als Heiden-Metropole', *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. H. Beumann (Vienna 1973-4), II.393 in particular.

<sup>42</sup> Dufourcq, 'Coexistence', 211.