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Master's Thesis

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<u>The Settlement Triangle</u>

<u>The Regions of Riga, Tallinn and Tartu</u>

<u>Longue Durée and Courte Durée in the Context of the Establishment of the Catholic World System</u>

<u>900 AD to 1250 AD</u>

Supervisor: Anti Selart, PhD

Tartu 2017

I have written this Master's thesis independently. All viewpoints of other authors, literary sources and data from elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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Abstract

This thesis covers the long and short term change across the economic, societal, political, religious and technological spheres between the years 900 AD and 1250 AD. Providing a thorough overview of new and old literature on the subject. Introduced in this thesis is a new dimension to the historiography based on the French Annales school model that seeks to evolve the discussion of the motivation of Christendom to colonize and convert the settlement region. The settlement triangle between Rīga, Tallinn and Tartu was at the forefront of these changes during this period and as such is the primary focus of this work.

Key words = Livonia, 900 AD to 1250 AD, Estonia, Latvia, Late Iron Age, Early Middle Age, Historiography,.

For it is the recognition that human society develops and changes at different rates in relation to different underlying forces and that all the elements within any human situation interact with each other[1].

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[1]Fernand Braudel, The *Mediterranean and the Ancient World* (Penguin 2002) xvi.

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Lastly and with the most sincerity I would like to thank my Mother and Father who have provided me with a lifetime of love and support. In that spirit this thesis could not have come together without them. I hope that they enjoy reading it.

Christopher S. Boskovski

Tartu, 2017.

Contents

Introduction and Description of the Research Objectives (Research Questions)

The purpose of this thesis is to research and present the longue durée and courte duréechanges within the defined geographic region (hereafter referred to as the settlement triangle or settlement region) between the settlements of Rīga, Tallinn and Tartu. Between the years 900 AD and 1250 AD. This time period will be divided into two chronological sections. Viking Age to Late Iron or Early Middle Age (900 AD to 1200 AD) and the period between 1200 AD and 1250 AD. The longue durée/courte durée distinction will be described further in the thesis, but at this time it is appropriate to define the time period each distinction covers. For the purposes of this thesis longue duréeis the primarily long term changes that took place between 900 AD and approximately 1200 AD, these changes may not have taken place with any speed, but rather continued to evolve in some form over the course of the stated time period. The courte duréechange, then is the drastic, cataclysmic changes which took place between approximately 1200 AD and 1250 AD. This courte durée change also has the potential to influence the longue duréechange areas by accelerating their development.

The choice of this topic is the result of the author's interest in studying change over a long period in defined geographic areas. This type of research is most effective when comparatively little is known about some aspects of the wider region. By studying a defined geographic settlement area the potential exists to extrapolate the results to discuss regional level changes in areas where information may be scarce. This thesis will explore what the author would call five important and necessary facets of a society. These five facets or change areas are technology, economy, politics, religion and societal organization. This thesis classifies the facets into primarily courte durée or primarily longue durée, but within each facet there are elements of both classifications. As an example, economy is given the longue durée classification by this thesis since the primary discussion of this facet is the long term change. By the same token however there was short term change to the

economic situation. The thesis will address the secondary classification of each change facet to some extent.

Within this framework the author will attempt to answer the research questions presented in this thesis which are; to describe the initial state of the five facets in the year 900 AD. What are the evolutions in the facet areas by the year 1250 AD? What is the state of the settlement region and the facets in the year 1250 AD? What is courte durée change? How did the catholic and native world systems interact using the prism of culture, clash and compromise? And lastly the author will also introduce and discuss a new potential approach to classification of the region. As well as the crusader motivation to enter the region in the first place. The expected aim of the thesis is to discover and discuss the five change facets, the state of these facets at various chronological points and to determine the courte durée and longue durée factors within the context of the establishment of the catholic world system. This thesis also expects to discuss the clash and eventual compromise of the catholic and native world systems. Aside from the above questions this thesis will examine what the author calls the stability argument and how re-creating the catholic world system would have been a unifying and primary motivator for all the social classes present in the region. The author will use the syllogism form to put forward this rationale. Related to this, what were the prima facie motivations of the social classes in the settlement region?

This topic of research is relevant to the larger historical understanding of the Baltic Sea Region and contains novel aspects. This thesis topic has not been covered in the exact way that the author intends. Though facets of this work have been studied in depth by professional scholars and archaeologists. By researching this topic the author hopes to add some new information and or outlooks to the study of the early history of Estonia and the Baltic Region as a whole. To accomplish this research task the author has consulted a variety of primary source (primary text and archaeological) and secondary (research literature) sources to synthesize existing information and scholarly viewpoints. The author will contribute an original motivation approach, that of the stability principle to the existing literature as well as discuss the longue durée and courte durée changes in a way which has not been attempted previously.

The structure of the thesis is as follows; literature review and historiographical reviews. The place of this work in the existing literature and the influences of existing literature on this work. Introduction and discussion of the main research questions in the context of a chronological division, the stability argument and classification system. Findings and conclusions.

An outline of the definitions of the five change areas are given below.

These two terms have been defined as long term change in society over a long term period and short term cataclysmic change over a short period. This thesis treats long term change as extending from at least 900 AD (and in many cases before even that) and short term change can be seen to start with the coming of Meinhard into the settlement triangle. Before discussing the changes themselves it seems prudent to include the reasoning behind the labeling of each of the five facets into primarily courte durée, longue durée or a combination.

Economics shows continuous activity in several of the same profit areas across several hundred years. Iron production[2], crafting[3], trade[4] (foreign and domestic), raiding[5] and farming[6] are all activities which show near continuous practice from the Viking Age

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[2]Jüri Peets, Ancient Times/ Muinasaja Teadus Volume 12: *The Power of Iron*. (Institute of History, 2003), 51. Archaeological evidence shows iron production in Estonian portion of settlement triangle from at least the Roman Iron Age.

[3] Peets, *The Power of Iron*, 56. Furnace remains date from 1st to 3rd centuries implying that iron production and associated crafting from that period.

[4]Signe Horn Fuglesang, "*A Critical Survey of Theories on Byzantine Influence in Scandinavia.*" In Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.-14. Jahrhunderts. Internationale Fachkonferenz der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Verbindung mit der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Kiel, 18.-25. September 1994, edited by Michael Müller-Wille (Stuttgart, 1997), 53.

[5] Ain Mäesalu, "*Could Kedipiv in East Slavonic Chronicles be Keava Hill Fort?*"Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 11 No. 1 (2012): 197.

[6]Eppie R Jones et al "*The Neolithic Transition in the Baltic Was Not Driven by Admixture with Early European Farmers*" Journal of Current Biology Volume 27, Issue 4 (2017). Farming was present from at least the Bronze Age and was arrived at by different methods than farming in other parts of Europe.

through to the end of the thesis' focus. There was acceleration of economic activity as a whole around the late 1100s[7], but this does not erase the longue durée classification.

In a similar bit of reasoning technology also shows near continuous evolution across areas in which the historian has knowledge. Weapons, farming, crafting/blacksmithing all existed from the Viking Age through the focus area of the thesis. Similar to economy there was an acceleration with the start of the 13th century. This acceleration is exemplified by new and more technology reaching the region.

Social change is a primarily courte durée facet. The dominant social system which existed from the Viking Age to the year 1200 AD was displaced in a comparatively short amount of time by the crusaders at the highest levels. The catastrophic changes to the leadership structure and the ideology behind it is what makes this a primarily courte durée area of change.

Political change essentially follows the same reasoning as social change. The dominant political system prior to 1200 AD was displaced in a relatively quick fashion. Groups that resisted the change would eventually be defeated and incorporated into the new system. Both the political and social changes exist as part of what the author calls medieval colonization. By its method of practice and timeline medieval colonization is a series of courte durée changes.

"However, at this level we cannot talk of the creation of a political organisation. The Latvian archaeologist A. Šnē also ascertained that a distinction must be made between the development of social structures and the emergence of political structures."[8] This is indicative of opinion differences in the literature. This thesis tends towards the notion that there was some sort of native political power and native political leaders.

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[7]Rolf Hammel-Kiesow, "The Early Hansas," In *A Companion to the Hanseatic League* , edited by Donald J. Harreld, (Brill, 2015), 22.

[8]Marius Ščavinskas *"Some Notes on the Issue of the Development of Balt Society in the Ninth to the 13th Centuries in the Context of the Socio-Political Structures of the Baltic Region." Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 19* (2013): 93.

Religion walks a fine line between longue durée and courte durée. There is some evidence of longer term influence or changes to the native religion before Catholicism. But at the same time the change after Meinhard is very much a courte durée change in the same vein as politics or social. This is in keeping with the changeover of world systems, which in this time period take religion, politics and social changes as being part and parcel of the catholic world system.

Chapter 1.0: Literature Review

This following literature review will break the sources used into the following main categories, primary literature which includes chronicles, documentary sources and archaeological findings (as well as written interpretations) and secondary literature which is works of scholars in the field of history (historiography). All other non-historical sources referenced can also be considered secondary literature. Within all categories the sources named will be analyzed for their use to the author, their importance to the historical record and their limitations. Primary source chronicles will be considered in the English language version if present. A short note on ethnicity which is mentioned at times in this thesis. The ethnic terms used to describe distinct groups are merely labels,the ethnic identities were certainly not static, neither in towns of Old Livonia, nor anywhere else.[9] As such this above citation should be kept in mind when reading the following works.

<u>Primary Source Chronicles</u>

Henry's Chronicle of Livonia[10] was written sometime in the 1220s AD and covers the period of history in the settlement area between Rīga, Tallinn and Tartu circa 1180 AD and 1227 AD. The original language of writing was Latin[11]. It is one if not the most important primary text sources for the study of the settlement triangle. The first modern publication by Johann Daniel Gruber[12] saw a modern reawakening of interest in the chronicle. Previously Henry's work had been little known, though copies were probably extant in the settlement triangle. Since its republication opinions on Henry and his work have fluctuated. Going from downright dismissal in the earlier years[13] to the current scholastic climate

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[9]Arvi Haak, "Problems in Defining Ethnic Identity in medieval Towns of Estonia on the Basis of Archaeological Sources," *Interarchaeologica 4* (2015): 23.

[10]James A. Brundage, trans. *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia.* (Columbia University Press, 2003).

[11] Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer, eds. *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis Separatim Editi: Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae.* (Hannover, 1955).

[12]Johann Daniel Gruber, ed. *Origines Livoniae Sacrae et Civilis seu Chronicon Livoniae.* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1740).

[13]Stefan Donecker, "The Chronicon Livoniae in Early Modern Scholarship: From Humanist Receptions to the Gruber Edition of 174" in *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia.* Jensen, C.S.; Kaljundi, L.; Tamm, M. (Ed.)*.* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing

which sees Henry's work regarded as one of the touchstone primary sources, though there are issues with the work itself[14], in the opinion of the author of this thesis there is an inherent bias, limited scope and failure to mention some groups or events. As there is little in the way of primary text material for this early time period Henry is a prominent source, but some schools of thought can over rely on this single source. For better or worse Henry is a main source of information for the very early period of the expansion into the Baltic region by the crusaders, military religious orders and other soldiers, of both Danish and North Germanic extraction. Henry himself was likely a Germanic or germanised cleric[15] operating in the region at least between the dates covered by his work. Henry was known to have some skill with languages and served as an aid to a papal legate named William of Modena and possibly others. Not much else is known about Henry's life and after the conclusion of the chronicle Henry like many others vanishes into the shadows of history. The most likely outcome was that he operated a parish in the region until his death, since he had been known to operate one[16].

The importance of the work itself to any modern scholar of the history of this region cannot be overstated. Henry is the first to write about the settlement triangle from therein and covers a pivotal time in the region's history. Before Henry, nothing is known to be written inside the settlement triangle. As such his work can be considered the start of recorded history from within the settlement triangle. Henry's style is in line with other early chronicles of what is today considered North-Eastern Europe. It is straight forward in its retelling of events, but is also biased by several factors, most notably religion or ties to political communities. The main portion of the chronicle covers the military actions of the first three bishops of Uexkull and later Rīga. As well as the economic and religious

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2011), 363-365. In these pages Donecker discusses the history of reception to Henry's text. The early dismissals of Henry's work to the eventual acceptance is detailed in these pages.

[14]Anti Selart "*The Use and Uselessness of the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia in the Middle Ages*." In *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, edited by Jensen, C.S. et al. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011)

[15] Jüri Kivimäe, "Henricus the Ethnographer: Reflections on Ethnicity," in *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, ed. Jensen C.S. et al. (*Farnham: Ashgate Publishing*, 2011), 80.

[16]Kivimäe "Henricus the Ethnographer,"80-81.

ventures of Henry and others to convert the natives. Henry is by no means a complete source, but provides illumination on some issues where without him there would be nothing at all.

Henry is obviously a devout catholic or writes in the voice of one, he also provides little information about himself in the text which complicates the work of the historian to further determine his nature and possible personal biases. What can be said about Henry is that he is not overly fond of people of non-Catholic religion(s) and takes a pastoral position on the various native political groups. The various native political groups for Henry are portrayed as loyal in the case of the political groups allied to the crusader orders and as godless savages when they are not following the will of the newly imposed local hierarchy. Henry also makes references to the perceived treachery of some of the native political groups and early on in the chronicle the dislike of the new religion that was introduced to them. Henry is also a main source for the early reporting on technological changes in the settlement region during the incursion, though archaeological evidence indicates that there was technological change pre-dating Henry. Henry also discusses the outcomes of the societal and political changes introduced by the crusaders. Within the wider context Henry was writing at a time when the so called "Northern Crusades" were in full swing. The much more popular crusades to the holy land were faltering with the failure of the fourth crusade to firstly get to the holy land and secondly to actually fulfill its original mission.

Henry is one of the two major surviving primary chronicles written in the moment about the settlement and changes taking place in the triangle. Henry's Chronicle shows the beginning of the overall changes taking place in the region all the way to the general "acceptance" of the crusader rule and catholic world system. When reading Henry the reader should get a sense of the establishment of a new world system in the region. The sense of smallness of the foreigners in a region where technical superiority can be argued to be on the crusader's side, but in terms of numbers and friends they are very much lacking. While not exactly at the start of all the changes Henry does come in before the establishment of the military religious orders and sees history through the eyes of the conquerors of the region. Within the chronology of the region Henry is very important for

establishing a historical base. Though Henry is by no means a totally perfect source, it is the source which exists and therefore it is the source which must be used at least nominally to get an idea of what was happening or not happening at the time.

An aspect of Henry that is important is obviously what Henry relates to the reader, but also what he leaves out. The tone that Henry takes for the most part comes off as a well-meaning man motivated by religion. Due to this "good" motivation Henry sees the need to promote what he considers the "correct" religion. This pastoral attitude is common in much of the related primary source documents and other chronicles from the time period. In this time period society and religion went hand in hand. In Henry's mind promoting Catholicism was akin to promoting certain societal values or political affiliations that he was born into or was naturalized to accept. Henry does not relay everything. His discourse on the Danish involvement is at times incomplete or oblique[17], whether writers on the topic agree with the chronicler or disagree and oppose him; whether they naively trust the text of the chronicle of subject it to sophisticated source criticism[18]. There is a lot to be found by reading the lines as written and reading between them.

Though not strictly part of the literature review there is enough scholarship in the English and German languages on the origins of Henry, his ethnicity, mother language and history to warrant mention. Understanding Henry helps the reader and the historian to understand his writing better. Scholarship on this issue has for the most part agreed that Henry himself was a cleric who could speak a variety of languages[19]. His writing in the chronicle is very hands off and he makes little mention of himself or of his personal life. In some instances though Henry does refer to himself as being part of the Germanics or rather having some relation to the knights[20]. Henry does not call himself a native at any point, but does talk about how when German knights and allied natives die during a battle that we lost two of

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[17]Marika Mägi, "*Osel and the Danish Kingdom: Revisiting Henry's Chronicle and the Archaeological Evidence*" in: *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia,* ed. *Jensen, C.S.; Kaljundi, L.; Tamm, M*. (*Farnham: Ashgate Publishing*, 2011),317.

[18] Selart "*The Use and Uselessness*" 346.

[19] Kivimäe "*Henricus the Ethnographer*"80-81.

[20] Kivimäe "*Henricus the Ethnographer*"79-80.

our knights and two natives[21]. Scholarship on the issue seems to think that Henry was or identified as a Germanic of some sort. In fact Murray makes reference to two sources[22] to support his argument that Henry was actually of Germanic extraction and was from a place called Papendorp.[23]

In some English language sources Henry is sometimes referred to as Henry of Latvia or Henry of the Latvians. This has been shown by Kivimäe in the Ashgate companion to be a biased translation most likely brought upon by nationalist tendencies of the translator[24]. History records Henry as acting as a translator for William of Modena, a papal legate who is mentioned several times within Henry's work and in related secondary sources. Likewise Henry's method is generally agreed upon to have been recollection, though the author and some other scholars are of the opinion that some form of note taking or onsite recording of events must have been present. The author would hazard to hypothesize that Henry must have had some form of taking notes since as a translator for a papal legate he must have been dealing with some documents. Despite being a relatively straightforward chronicle it is a treasure trove for historians and related scholars. The scholastic opinion on the chronicle itself has improved much since it was reintroduced into the academic sphere almost three centuries ago. The biases in Henry, that of the foreigner filled with religious obligation is one which does not shine through very often in an obvious way in the chronicle, but rather is an relevant and noticeable undercurrent within the text. Recent scholarship from such authors as Alan V. Murray[25] and Jüri Kivimäe[26] have discussed the long running debates between various national bases as to the origin of Henry. The more modern consensus seems to be that Henry if he was not Germanic was educated in that

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[21] Kivimäe "*Henricus the Ethnographer*"79-80.
[22] These sources are quoted by Alan V. Murray in his work *Henry of Livonia and the Wends of the Eastern Baltic*. They are reproduced here to firstly show scholarly consent of the quoted viewpoint and secondly for the convenience of interested readers. H. HILDEBRAND (1887), Livonica, vornämlich aus dem 13. Jahrhundert im Vaticanischen Archiv, Riga, p. 49 and M. PERLBACH (1886), Urkunden des rigaschen Capitel-Archives in der Fürstlich Czartoryskischen Bibliothek zu Krakau, in Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Estund Kurlands, 13 pp. 1-23
[23] Alan V. Murray, "*Henry of Livonia and the Wends of the Eastern Baltic: Ethnography and Biography in the Thirteenth Century Livonian Mission,*"Studi Medievali 54(2) (2013): 811.
[24] Kivimäe "*Henricus the Ethnographer*" 80.
[25] Murray (A.V.) *Henry of Livonia and the Wends of the Eastern Baltic,"* 807-808.
[26] Kivimäe "*Henricus the Ethnographer*" 80.

system or thought of himself as a Germanic. Linguistic scholarship derived from the original text by such scholars as Leonid Arbusow[27], Alex Murray[28] and Susan Reynolds[29] puts more evidence behind Henry being Germanic either ethnically or culturally. A notable example is that Henry in the odd time he refers to himself would refer to the natives fighting with the crusaders as the other, and identify with the Germanic (crusader) knights. This would indicate that he was Germanic or had become so thoroughly germanised that he thought himself one of them.

The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle the second main primary source chronicle was written in or around 1300 AD inside the settlement triangle. This second chronicle covers the years ca.1143 AD to ca.1290 AD making it start in a similar period to Henry, but later, it is not likely that the author had access to Henry's Chronicle, considering the confusion of dates the Rhymer presents in the earlier portions of their text. It is possible that an oral account or a smaller work current scholars are unaware of gave the Rhymer some insights about the events which took place before 1227 AD. In the original German language version this chronicle is written as the title suggests in rhymes. In the English translation the rhyming element is dropped in favour of prose to hopefully better convey the underlying meaning of the original. In this form the chronicle shares many of the same traits with Henry, though they are vastly different in the original language. A fairly straightforward style and a decent retelling of the time period that it is concerned with. The author of the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle is not named and is sometimes referred to in the secondary literature as the Rhymer. Some scholars have put forward the idea that the author was a member of a military religious order in the region[30]. At the time after 1236 AD[31] the author would likely

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[27] Leonid Arbusow, *"Das Entlehnte Sprachgut in Heinrichs "Chronicon Livoniae: Ein Beitrag zur Sprache Mittelalterlicher Chronistik," Deutsches Archiv fur Erforschung des Mittelalters Zeitschriftenband Volume 8* (1951): 100-153.
[28] Alexander C. Murray, *Germanic Kinship Structure: Studies in Law and Society in Antiquity in the Early Middle Ages* (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto, 1983).
[29] Susan Reynolds, *Government and Community* Chapter IV in The New Cambridge Medieval History Vol. IV part 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1995).
[30] Jerry C. Smith and William L. Urban trans., *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle (Uralic and Altaic Series Volume 128 to 130* Reprinted as the above title by Routledge, 1997). Xxii.
[31] Battle of Saule and crippling of the Sword Brothers leads to the amalgamation of said order with the Teutonic Knights to form the Livonian Order.

have been a member of the Livonian Order (which was created from the remnants of the Sword Brothers and fused with the Teutonic Order after the Battle of Saule and later treaty by the same name). Since masters and other "officer" class members are mentioned it is likely that the author was a line brother or castle commander. While the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle overlaps in the time period it covers with Henry it is of more value for the later part of the work which Henry does not cover. Though the different perspectives make each chronicle useful in its own way. The Rhymer at points seems to be confused on dates and correct timelines earlier in his work which makes sense as he would have had that information second hand at best.

The chronicle itself does take the stance of the Livonian Order and primarily discusses military and political actions, related to this order. Overall it is a valuable source thought there is some scholarly debate on its purpose, from an actual chronicle in the historical sense to some kind of mix of instructional text and chronicle. If the work was meant as an instructional text it is possible that it was disseminated in an oral form to members of the Livonian Order as a tischbuch[32] in the 1300s[33]. Other scholars dispute this premise with Murray putting forward the thought that it was meant to be a history of the Livonian Order and/or a call to crusade[34]. Together both of these main primary source chronicles provide some sort of picture, though limited of life in the settlement triangle between the years 1143 AD and 1290 AD. Its primary value to this thesis is its historical record past the end of Henry's Chronicle. Its biases are all the same ones as Henry, with the added one of aggrandizing the religious military orders and degrading the clerics.

Aside from the two major chronicles mentioned above a series of other chronicles were consulted. These chronicles cover a larger time period and geographic location when taken as a whole. These chronicles may only be sporadically mentioned, but are still important for scholars of this region to consider. The tangentially relevant works as follows. Chronicles

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[32] Instructional or vocational text which at the time period in question would have been recited out loud at meal times.

[33] Smith and Urban, *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle,* xxi.

[34] Alan V. Murray, "*The Structure, Genre and Intended Audience of the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle"* in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500* ed. Alan V. Murray (Ashgate, 2001), 250.

from Adam of Bremen[35], Arnold of Lübeck's Chronicle Slavorum[36] Saxo's Chronicle of the Danes[37] and later Hermann von Wartberge's Chronicle of Livonia[38] and The Chronicle of Balthasar Russow[39] give some insight into the mind of the merchants and groups who would later be active in some parts of the settlement triangle and subsequently hold influence. Other chronicles from east of the settlement triangle include the Chronicle of Novgorod[40] and the Russian Primary Chronicle[41] and the Pskov Third Chronicle[42]. The scope of this thesis being very narrow not all of the chronicles consulted by the author yielded pertinent information. They are included for the sake of a comprehensive literature review of the historical area.

Aside from the chronicles the next segment of the primary source literature is collections of primary documents, such as trade treaties, charters and in some cases religious documentation. Generally these sources form the literature or documentary basis along with archaeological findings for historians to write and think about the region in question. These documentary sources have a lot of positive attributes. The treaties and trade documents[43] are generally more clinical than chronicles, which removes some aspects of the possible bias. Scholars in the 19th century have compiled massive amounts of these primary documentary sources. As Friedrich Georg von Bunge does just that in his 1853 first release[44] of documentary sources used and republished as a main primary source collection up until the present day. This thesis will primarily reference the summary work he later

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[35]Bernhard Schmeidler, ed., *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte* (Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1917).

[36]J.M Lappenberg ed., *Chronica Slavorum* (Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1868).

[37]Peter Fisher, trans., *The History of the Danes Books I-IX*. (D.S. Brewer Publishing 2008).

[38]Hermann von Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*. (Leipzig. S. Hirzel, 1863).

[39] Jerry C. Smith, Jürgen Eichhoff and William L. Urban, trans., *The Chronicle of Balthasar Russow: Wisconsin Baltic Studies 2*. (Baltic Studies Center Madison Wisconsin, 1988).

[40] Alexei Alexandrovich Shakhmmatov Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes trans., *The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016 – 1471* (Camden Third Series London, 1914).

[41] Samuel Hazzard Cross, Olgred P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, trans., *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text.* (The Medieval Academy of America, 1953).

[42] David Savignac. trans., ed., The Pskov 3rd Chronicle: Edited Translated and Annotated (Crofton Press, 2015).

[43] Valentin L. Janin, "*Mitteilungen auf ungewohnlichem 'Papier' –Die Birkenrinden-dokumente von Novgorod*"In *Novgorod Das mittlelalterliche Zentrum und Umland im Norden Russlands* edited by Michael Muller-Wille.(Neumunster: Waehholtz-Verlag, 2001).

[44] Friedrich Georg von Bunge ed. *Liv-Estund-Kurlandisches Urkundenbuch* (Reval, 1852).

released which is updated from the original[45]. Chronicles also tend to focus on a great-man style of relating events, whereas documentary sources can focus on the "common" merchant or dispute which can be helpful in getting a fuller picture of the society. The sources that have religious affiliation[46] tend to retain some of the same biases seen within Henry, but given the power of the institutional church in the time period having more insight into the actions of its members is helpful for any historian. In this instance the Bible and other official church documents can also be considered documentary sources.

Archaeological Interpretation(s) and Secondary Historical Scholarship

Leaving primary sources behind the secondary literature on the settlement triangle and its related areas is totally made up of contributions by the academic community in the form of various types of historical research. Historiography (part of historical research), both in a factual and methodological sense gives additional weight to the historical works produced by scholars. The historiography of the settlement triangle has evolved over the years. The main type of historiography this thesis uses will be the annals school. Created and popularized by 20th century French historians Marc Bloch and Fernand Braudel this school focuses on longue durée or long term change in a society. Within this school the implied concept of courte durée or short term change is also very relevant for this thesis. The author of this thesis chooses to define courte durée as cataclysmic or society altering short term change which took place around the start of the northern crusades. This change type results in the imposition of the catholic world system onto the settlement triangle. The school itself has been one of the favorite choices of medieval and other historians since its inception. Annals takes the approach of Leopold von Ranke[47] and blends it with its signature awareness of history as a long uncut flow. Historians can discuss sections of history and divide it, but there is not necessarily any inherent division. Due to the nature of the sources

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[45]*Friedrich Georg von Bunge ed., Liv-, Est- und Kurländische Urkundenregesten bis zum Jahre 1300* (*Leipzig, 1881).*

[46] S. Lowenfeld. Ed. *Epistolae Pontificum Romanorum Ineditae* Lipsiae (Viet et Comp, 1885).

[47] Leopold von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (German History in the Age of the Reformation) Volume 1 (Duncker and Humblot, 1839).

the elder school of the great-man theory of Thomas Carlyle[48] also has to be to an extent employed though in a heavily modified form, but as his critic Herbert Spencer[49] pointed out it is also important to keep the society as a whole in mind. Great-men may shape a society, but in the end their actions are also a reaction to the long and short term changes in a society. The effects of previous decisions on their daily lives and the possible future effects of the decisions that they may make in the present. Lastly the economic motivation which the author argues can be said to be one of the oldest driving factors of history played a large role in the advancement into and discovery of the settlement triangle region. Aside from the historiographical basis of this thesis a short note on nationalist historiography may also be prudent. Within the settlement triangle region there had been trends towards nationalist historiography, a notable example being the usage of Henry of Latvia vs. Henry of Livonia[50]. More German centered examples see the incursion of the region as some type of national achievement[51]. Thankfully these schools of thought have fallen out of favour or been otherwise marginalized.

Within the secondary literature there are works in a variety of languages, the most prolific and the largest amount being in the German language, with English as a distant second. Russian, Latvian and Estonian works are represented, though in some cases to a lesser degree. Within the realms of the secondary literature there are long term survey texts by authors such as Andres Kasekamp[52] and Michael North[53]. Scholarship related directly to Henry and the Rhymer also exists with papers by Jüri Kivimäe[54], Marek Tamm[55] and others appearing in edited volumes published in recent memory. Other scholars such as Mark R.

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[48] Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (James Fraser, 1841).

[49] Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology* (D. Appleton and Company, 1896).

[50] Kivimäe "*Henricus the Ethnographer*" 79.

[51] William L. Urban, "*The Organization of the Defence of the Livonian Frontier in the Thirteenth Century*" Speculum Volume 48, No.3 (1973).

[52] Andres, Kasekamp. *A History of the Baltic States* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2010).

[53] Michael, North. *The Baltic: A History (*Harvard University Press, 2015).

[54] Kivimäe "*Henricus the Ethnographer*".

[55] Marek Tamm, *Martyrs and Miracles: Depicting Death in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* in: Jensen, C.S.; Kaljundi, L.; Tamm, M. (Ed.). *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011)

Munzinger[56] have produced works which summarize and discuss debates within the secondary literature that have taken place in the last century or so. Scholars such as Leonid Arbusow and Paul Johansen have debated the impact of economic motivation vs the impact of religious motivation. How much did the merchants influence the Baltic Region in the Early Medieval Ages? This question has been discussed within academic circles for some time. Munzinger in his synthetic paper attempts to answer this question or otherwise bridge the gap which exists between primarily religious and primarily economic motivation. While scholars such as Alan V. Murray[57] have published on the ethnic or cultural origins and education of Henry and other important figures. Published works which have covered the region in a military sense. Authors such as Eric Christiansen[58] and William L. Urban[59] published works on the military religious orders and the "northern crusades" in the later part of the 21st century. Very recent related scholarship related to religion in the time period has been published by Anti Selart[60] and others. Scholarship on settlement changes by Heiki Valk[61] is also present.

In the 1990s debate regarding the questions of europeanization, colonization and nationalism pertaining to the Baltic Region and its history was taking place in the academic community. Taking a small cue from much earlier works debating the impact of the crusaders and merchants on the region, this new wave debated the concept of cultural acceptance and (proto) nationalism. In the hugely important 1996 Visby Symposium this concept was put forth in the conference's published volume. Works published just a bit earlier by Robert Bartlett[62] also included the europeanization and colonization questions

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[56] Mark R. Munzinger, "*The Profits of the Cross: Merchant Involvement in the Baltic Crusade (c.1180 to 1230),*" Journal of Medieval History Volume 32, Issue 2 (2006).

[57] Alan V. Murray, "*Catholic Missionaries in the Evangelization of Livonia, 1185-1227.*" In *Quis est qui ligno pugnat? Missionari ed evangelizazzione nell'Europa tardoantica e medievale (secc. IV-XIII) / Quis est qui ligno pugnat? Missionaries and Evangelization in Late Antique and Medieval Europe (4th-13th Centuries),* edited by E. Piazza, (Alteritas - Interazione tra i popoli, 2016).

[58] Eric, Christiansen. *The Northern Crusades: Second Edition* (Penguin Books, 1998).

[59] William L. Urban. *The Teutonic Knights: A Military History* (Greenhill Books, 2003).

[60] Anti, Selart. *Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century* (Brill, 2015).

[61] Heiki Valk. Ed. Ancient Times/ Muinasaja Teadus Volume 24: *Strongholds and Power Centres East of the Baltic Sea in the 11th and 13th Centuries* (Tartu University Institute of History, 2014).

[62] Robert Bartlett. *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (Penguin Books, 1994).

laying some ground work for the conference. The 1998 volume Culture, Clash and Compromise[63] was important for discussing how the concepts of the native cultures, compromising and accepting some of the newer foreign culture when it became expedient for them to do so. Other related works would follow up on this Europeanization concept and expand upon it such as Nils Blomkvist in his more recent work[64]. Within the geographic region the author of this thesis proposes to cover there is not work of similar form, and definitely not from the concept of discovery.

Aside from the written sources both during after the events in the settlement triangle archaeology also plays a very important role in the research of the long term changes in the settlement triangle. Rivo Bernotas[65], paper on medieval brick making being an example of more niche archaeological interpretation and research. More general archaeological interpretive texts exist such as the excellent Estonian Archaeology IV[66] which provides an overview of the research which has taken place within the modern context. Smaller works by Ivar Leimus[67] have also proved important. Scholars such as Jüri Peets[68] and noted archaeologist Evald Tõnisson have produced results on iron production/consumption and many aspects realted to hill forts. The more recent related scholarship of Aleksander Pluskowski[69] blend the fields of archaeology and history. More archaeological research is also present in Andris Caune and Ieva Ose's volume[70] and Ulf Fransson's[71] edited works

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[63] Nils Blomkvist. *"Culture Clash or Compromise? The Medieval Europeanization Process of the Baltic Rim Region (1100-1400 AD)"* In *Culture Clash or Compromise* Acta Visbyensia XI edited by Nils Blomkvist. Ekblad &Co. Vastervik, 1998.

[64] Nils Blomkvist, *Discovery of the Baltic: The Reception of a Catholic World System in the European North (AD 1075-1225) (*Brill, 2005).

[65] Rivo Bernotas, "Brick Making in Medieval Livonia: The Estonian Example*"Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 17 No. 2* (2013).

[66] Andres Tvauri, *Estonian Archaeology IV: The Migration Period, Pre-Viking Age and Viking Age in Estonia* (University of Tartu Press, 2012).

[67] Ivar Leimus, Mauri Kiudsoo and Ülle Tamla .*The Viking Age hoard of Linnakse: Some observations*. in: Martin Allen, Elina Screen (Ed.). *Early Medieval Monetary History: Studies in Memory of Mark Blackburn* (UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2012). (Studies in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland)

[68] Jüri Peets, Ancient Times/ Muinasaja Teadus Volume 12: The Power of Iron. (Institute of History, 2003).

[69] Alkesander Pluskowski, *The Archaeology of the Prussian Crusade: Holy War and Colonization* (Routledge, 2013).

[70] Andris Caune and Ieva Ose *Encyclopedia of German Castles of Latvia* (Riga 2004).

[71] Ulf Fransson et al. *Cultural Interaction Between East and West: Archaeology, Artefacts and Human Contacts in Northern Europe* Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 44(Stockholm University Press, 2007).

on east/west relations and cultural contact in Rīga and Northern Europe. Local Estonian scholars such as Mauri Kiudsoo and Valter Lang have also contributed in the field of archaeology and related research. It is also important to keep in the mind the changing face of archaeological thought and how the interpretation of finds has changed over the course of hundreds of years. Šnē in his 2005 paper gives a good account of this evolution[72]. Lastly memory and its impact of the fields of history and archaeology have been discussed in a 2009 paper by Lang[73].

When Pluskowski's most recent book was released it was interesting for the author of this thesis as its blend of archaeological and historical writing and sources prompted some interesting discussions and thoughts. A historical work written by an archaeologist is interesting, but not unusual in fields that straddle history and pre-history. It drove home that fact that this time period straddles the line between history and archaeology. In such a way that the historian needs the work of the archaeologist to fully understand the time period and geographic context. Within the source list for this thesis there are several works by archaeologists. Excavations have been done in the Baltic Region for many years the Estonian Journal of Archaeology[74] has covered a wide range of archaeological questions from reconstruction of siege weapons[75] to detailed investigations involving dental records. The have been detailed works regarding manufacture[76], to analysis of jewelry and other finds[77]. Along with that detailed published works on excavations and finds have also been produced[78].The primary text sources regarding the Baltic Region are slim and regarding the

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[72]Šnē Andris (2005) Understanding Power: On the Study of Late Prehistoric Social and Political Structures in Latvia in Interarchaeologia 1: Culture and Material Culture (53-71) Tartu, Riga, Vilnius

[73] Valter Lang. "*Archaeology and its Wastebasket: Remembering, Forgetting, and Recycling its Archaeological Research*"*Interarchaeologia 3: Memory, Society, and Material Culture* (2009)

[74] Published since 1997.

[75] Tanel Saimre, "*Trebuchet – A Gravity Operated Siege Engine.*"*Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 10, No. 1* (2006).

[76] Andres Tvauri, "*Loode-Vene päritolu slaavi keraamika Eestis 11.-16. Sajandil*"*Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 4 No.2* (2000).

[77] Ana Pešková. "*Byzantine Pendant Reliquary-Crosses from the Territory of Medieval Rus'*" in *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence Volume 2* Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, (Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Kraków - Leipzig - Rzeszów – Warsaw, 2012).

[78] Andres Tvauri. *Ancient Times/ Muinasaja Teadus Volume 10: Prehistoric Tartu: A Study of the Settlement History of the Tartu Prehistoric Hillfort and Settlement* (*Tartu University Press, 2001*).

settlement triangle specifically even less exists. Archaeological sources for this thesis help to fill in some gaps left open in the text sources and to further validate other claims these same sources make. There is also very often interesting and novel independent research into finds[79]. In general the sources are well represented and most modern historians make full use of this related academic field. Within this paper archaeological sources will be included were they are relevant to proving historical text source claims or where no other information exists. The historian and the archaeologist are partners who rely on each other to do good work in their fields, combined the fullest possible picture can be presented. "The archaeologist should spend time trying to understand the importance of a location in time"[80], the historian should be doing something very similar.

Chapter 1.1: Theoretical Framework

This thesis will use the historical methodology of primary source analysis, from written primary sources, archaeological evidence and archaeological interpretation. This thesis will also use relevant secondary source analysis. Some aspects outside of history, such as discourse on colonialism, its related matters and philosophy will also be used. Modern texts on colonialism, especially the modern variant often draw aspects of other academic disciplines. As such they cannot be considered purely historical works. The Annals school of historiography will be the primary theoretical basis for this thesis. This school was pioneered by March Bloch[81], Lucian Febvre[82] and Fernand Braudel[83] in the 20th century. The primary focus of the first generation of this school was the longue durée change in society. This thesis will use this method along with the implied opposite of longue durée, taken to mean change in a given society over a long period of time. The implied opposite courte durée, taken to mean a single or series of cataclysmic changes in a short period of

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[79] Jana Limbo, "*Dental Pathologies in Individuals from Pada Cemetery (12th to 13th Centuries)*" *Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 8 No. 1* (2004).

[80] Mehdi Mortazavi, "*Irresponsibility in Archaeology*" *Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 14, No.2* (2010): 150

[81] Marc Bloch, *Les Caracteres Originaux de L'Histoire Rurale Francais Librairie* (Armand Colin, 1968).

[82] Lucian Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief: The Religion of Rabelais* (Harvard University Press, 1985).

[83] Fernand Braudel, *Le Mediterranee et le Monde Mediterranee a L'Epoque de Philippe II* (Armand Colin, 1949).

time. Together this division will provide a fuller picture of the events and reasons for them taking place. This thesis uses the concept of medieval colonialism to broadly account for the motivation for the facet (change areas) changes in the settlement region. The working definition for medieval colonialism in this thesis is – the transplanting or recreation of the motherland along with all facets of the associated world system in a new geographic region[84]. This can be juxtaposed to modern colonisation which can be given the following working definition – to enrich the motherland at all costs at the expense of the colonized (across all facet areas)[85].

Along with medieval colonization, the definition of which was inspired by Robert Bartlett's work[86] two concepts from scholar Nils Blomkvist will also be employed. The concept of a world system[87] which can be defined as the overreaching religious, political and social similarities which existed in parts of what is today western, central and southern Europe. The second concept used from Blomkvist is also the main point of his work *The Discovery of the Baltic[88]*. The idea of a study about a defined geographic space and within a particular descriptive area are what inspired this paper to focus on the settlement triangle and the five change facets. Blomkvist focussed on the Baltic Rim region and used the lens of discovery or Europeanization. This thesis uses themes articulated and discussed by Blomkvist as part of its ideological base. As a result this thesis will in some way continue to evolve the themes discussed by Blomkvist. Specifically those themes of world system implementation and defined geographic discourse. The focus and use of the settlement triangle is based off of the Baltic Rim designation of Blomkvist. The author of this thesis thinks that the next logical geographic area for discussion is that of the settlement triangle. Likewise the author disagrees with the use of Europeanization in this time period, but thinks that a narrow focus on mechanical change within the relevant time frame can provide a newer perspective. In the composition of this work sources concerning modern colonization were consulted to help draw the distinction between the medieval concept and the modern one. Other sources

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[84] Bartlett. *The Making of Europe*. The definition is based on themes discussed in the above volume.
[85] Ronald J. Horvath. "*A Definition of Colonialism*" *Current Anthropology Volume 13 No. 1 (1972)*: 45-46.
[86] Bartlett. *The Making of Europe.*
[87] Blomkvist. "*Culture Clash or Compromise?*
[88] Blomkvist, *Discovery of the Baltic.*

dealing with topics such as post-colonialism[89] and decolonization[90] were consulted in the writing of this thesis. The aim of these consultations was to see if it was possible to identify medieval versions of these modern concepts. Unfortunately the author has come to the conclusion that post-colonialism was not present in the settlement triangle and a medieval version can also not be identified in this time period. A modern definition of post-colonialism is the transition from the status of colony to former colony. There is of course a historical element to this, but modern scholarship on the subject usually contains aspects other than history. As such major post-colonial works are inherently interdisciplinary[91]. Given the way that medieval colonialism functioned this transition did not take place. Likewise decolonization which can broadly be defined as the unravelling of colonialism did not take place within the settlement triangle during the scope or after the scope of this thesis. Medieval versions of these concepts would require the colonizer to relinquish or give up some control of the colonized region. As history has shown the settlement triangle did not achieve native rule for many centuries. When it did achieve finally achieve native rule it would frankly be preposterous to discuss the decolonization of the region in the context of military religious orders and early catholic clerics.

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[89] Sarah Harrison. "*What is Postcolonial Literature?*" In *Teaching the God of Small Things in Wisconsin* (University of Wisconsin, 2012).
[90] Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "*Thinking Through the Decolonial Turn: Post-Continental Interventions in Theory Philosophy and Critique an Introduction*" *Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World 1(2)* (2011).
[91] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (Routledge, 1995).

Chapter 2.0: Longue and Courte Durée between the Viking and Early Medieval Ages 900 AD to 1200 AD

The upcoming sections discuss the changes themselves in the context of the five areas described above. The discussion is divided into two sections 900 AD to 1200 AD representing the Viking Age/Late Iron Age and Early Medieval Age. The subsequent section 1200 AD to 1250 AD represents what is in the author's opinion the start of the medieval age and the colonization, conversion in earnest. This is in keeping with some aspects of the historiography which see the coming of Bishop Albert as the start of the "violent" portion of the crusades, though the author of the thesis rejects the "peaceful", "violent" distinction.

Introduction

Within the settlement triangle the changes from the Viking Age (900 AD to 1050 AD) through to the end of the Late Iron/Early Medieval Age (1050 AD to 1200 AD) show longue durée changes in the areas of economy and technology, while the other three change areas would experience courte durée change in the later part of the Late Iron Age. The longue durée change areas would see acceleration towards the end of the Late Iron Age while the courte durée changes would find genesis in the coming of Meinhard to the settlement region. Henry's Chronicle describes Meinhard "in the monastery of Segeburg there was a man of worthy life, and with venerable grey hair, Meinhard by name a priest of the Order of Saint Augustine"[92]. Meinhard was an important figure in the start of the courte durée changes within the settlement triangle.

The situation which existed at the start of the Viking Age in the year 800 AD is of course different from the situation which existed in the year 1200 AD in the Early Medieval

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[92] HCL I.II p 2 Brundage p 25

period. Settlements which would be prominent in the Viking Age, Iru[93], Rõuge[94] and Daugmale[95] would be abandoned by 1200 AD. Other settlements such as Tartu would see their importance increased.

This section will detail the longue and courte durée changes within the five areas taking the early Viking Age as a base and then looking at what (if anything) was different by the year 1200 AD and if so how.

Situation in the Settlement Triangle In The Viking Age

Before entering into discussion of the longue durée and courte durée facets of change within the settlement triangle, it would be prudent to provide a baseline description of the region. This will enable the forthcoming sections about the changes themselves to be able to be compared against this baseline. Within the settlement triangle at the start of the Viking Age there existed a mixed economy which contained iron production, crafting, farming, blacksmithing and internal/external trade. In terms of technology there was importing of technology into the region[96] as well as production of certain technologies (usually man portable) inside the settlement region[97]. There were pre-Catholic religion(s) present in the settlement area. Given what little is known about them, they likely belonged to the type generally classified as an Indo-European nature (abstract) god worshipping type[98]. It was also very likely multi-theist[99]. Primary source documents and archaeological

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[93] Tvauri, *Estonian Archaeology IV*, 46. Abandoned by start of 11th century

[94] Tvauri, *Estonian Archaeology IV* , 50. Last evidence of occupation end of 10th century.

[95]Guntis Zemītis. "*10th-12th Century Daugmale: The Earliest Urban Settlement Along the Lower Daugava and Forerunner of Riga.*" In Fransson Ulf et al. *Cultural Interaction Between East and West: Archaeology, Artefacts and Human Contacts in Northern Europe* Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 44.(Stockholm University Press, 2007), 283. Archaeological evidence shows end of occupation at end of 12th century.

[96] Tvauri, *Estonian Archaeology IV*, 215.

[97] Ain Lavi, "*Pohja-Tartumaa Rauatoost Muinas-Ja Varakeskajal*"*Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 3 No.1* (1999): 62.

[98] Edgar C. Polomé, "*Indo-European Religion and the Indo-European Religious Vocabulary*" in *Sprung from Some Common Source: Investigations into the Pre-History of Language*, ed. Sydney M. Lamb and E. Douglas Mitchell (Stanford University Press, 1991), 74.

[99] Vitolds Muižnieks, "*Chapter VI: Beliefs and Traditions*" in *On the Road to Becoming Latvian*, ed. Vitolds Muižnieks (National History Museum of Latvia, 2016), 129.

research support both the nature worship aspect and the multi-deity aspect. The organization of the religion(s) themselves are unknown, but later sources distinguish a priest like class and some types of rituals associated with oath taking/breaking and war-like activities.[100]At the start of the Viking Age there may have been some small amount of Christian influences, but this is debated by scholars[101]. Society was comprised of larger ethnic groups, Livs, Letts, Esthonians and others. These groups likely used a clan based system of division[102]. There was likely conflict between these groups inside the settlement triangle[103]. From the independent research for this thesis. There was also conflict between groups inside the settlement region and outside the settlement region. Politically there was some external pressure, but it does not appear to have been overwhelming. Rus' and Scandinavian groups may have had some tributary control, but this was not long lasting or very in-depth. Politically the hierarchy would remain similar to that of the Late Iron Age. The various social classes that the author thinks were present have already been outlined earlier in this thesis. Generally it can be said that the longue durée changes involved increasing amounts of foreign influence in the settlement region. With this increased amount of influence came acceleration towards the end of the Late Iron Age. For the courte durée change areas the situation in general was drastically altered by the crusaders in the late iron or early medieval ages. Settlements and the occupancy of them changed between the Viking Age and Medieval Age. Settlements were newly built, were abandoned or were expanded. The settlement region was likely not safe and raiding was probably a constant in the lives of many of the people who lived in the region. Still there was a functioning society that did evolve over the three hundred year period between the Viking and Early Medieval Ages.

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[100] Torben K. Nielsen, "*Mission and Submission Societal Change in the Baltic in the Thirteenth Century.*"*Studia Fennica Historica 9* (2005): 223-224.

[101] Tõnno Jonuks and Tuuli Kurisoo "*To Be or Not To Be… A Christian: Some New Perspectives on Understanding the Christianization of Estonia*"*Electronic Journal of Folklore Volume 55* (2013): 69.

[102] Kristjan Oad. "Structures and Centres of Power in Estonia in 1200 AD: Some Alternative Interpretations."In *Ancient Times/ Muinasaja Teadus Volume 24: Strongholds and Power Centres East of the Baltic Sea in the 11th and 13th Centuries,* edited by Heiki Valk.(Tartu University Institute of History, 2014), 240.

[103] Eva Eihmane "*The Baltic Crusades: A Clash of Two Identities.*" In *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier,* edited by Alan V. Murray. (Ashgate, 2009), 46.

<u>Economy</u>

There has been some form of economic or barter based interaction present in the region long before the Viking Age and even before the birth of Christ.[104] This barter based interaction and exchange as the base of forming partnerships was also present in the Latvian portion of the settlement triangle[105]. Economic activity within and without the settlement triangle had been taking place in the longue durée classification since at least the start of the Viking Age. There were likely two major reciprocal trade routes that serviced the settlement region. West to east trading shown to be present in the Viking Age via archaeological evidence "the most popular type of spearhead types (Petersen E and M) and axe types (Petersen C and M) in Viking age Estonia were Scandinavian like. All the sword hilt types found in Estonia originated in Germanic areas or followed Germanic examples"[106] and by Viking Age hoards in the vicinity of the future settlement of Tallinn[107]. There was also a north to south trade route which consisted mostly movement of natural resources such as beaver pelts south via the Volga Bulgars[108]. All of these trade routes appeared to be reciprocal. Archaeological evidence shows that Byzantine goods did make their way north into the settlement triangle[109]. These trade routes and there continued usage into the medieval period show longue durée economic activity on a foreign/domestic axis. Within the settlement triangle there was also a domestic economic system which remained more or less consistent from the Viking Age into the Early Medieval Age. This domestic economic system consisted of farming, crafting, iron production and raiding which made up the majority of the economy. The production of iron in this period would have increased when compared at the start of the Viking Age and the start of the Early

[104] Alexander Zhulnikov, "*Exchange of Amber in Northern Europe in the III Millennium BC as a Factor for Social Interactions," Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 12 No.1* (2008): 3-5.

[105] Andrejs Vasks, "Latvia as Part of a Sphere of Contacts in the Bronze Age," Archaeologia Baltica Volume 13 (2010): 153.

[106] Tvauri, *Estonian Archaeology IV*, 206.

[107] Ivar Leimus, Mauri Kiudsoo and Ülle Tamla .*The Viking Age hoard of Linnakse: Some observations*. in: Martin Allen, Elina Screen (Ed.). *Early Medieval Monetary History: Studies in Memory of Mark Blackburn* (UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2012). (Studies in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland)

[108] Ivar Leimus, "*Millennium Breakthrough North Goes West"Tuna Ajalookultuuri Ajakiri: Ingliskeelne eriväljaanne "Past"* (2009): 9.

[109] Dieter Quast, Ülle, Tamla and Stephanie Felten "*Two Fifth Century AD Byzantine Silver Bowls from Estonia," Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 14 No. 2* (2010): 110-112.

Medieval Age. Jüri Peets gives the approximate figures of iron production in Estonia in the 8th to 9th centuries as "1500-2000 tons".[110] This can be compared to the production numbers he gives for the 12th to 14th centuries as "3000 to 4000 tons"[111]. Now by unpacking these numbers it can be said that the production in the 8th to 9th centuries was roughly 750 to 1000 tons per year (assuming equal production). Compared to the 12th to 14th centuries production numbers which would assume approximately 1000 tons a year. The numbers then would seem to be comparable when adjusted for a two hundred year period vs a two hundred a fifty year period. The production levels did increase slightly from 750-1000 tons to 1200 tons (3000 tons divided by 2.5(centuries)). With the excess amount of iron in the region, Peets giving the figure at "2000 tons"[112] it is then likely that external trading was taking place during the entirety of the production of iron within the Estonian settlement region. The production of iron and its dispersal was a part of the native economic structure within the region for several centuries. It was likely a large part of the economy as well since the amount of labour required to gather the materials to produce the iron would have been significant. In the Daugava region of the settlement triangle iron production also took place as mentioned prior to the Viking Age. In the early medieval period there is less evidence "the only find from Latvia came from Old Rīga where the remains of one iron-smelting furnace built of stone and clay and dating from the 12th-13th centuries were discovered"[113]. The fact that Rīga contained an iron production center is not surprising given the intent with which it was established. The lack of other production sites though would lead the author of the thesis to suggest that iron or the finished goods where then imported to the Rīga settlement, possibly from geographically western principalities or later on from the Estonian portion of Livonia. Regardless regarding the economic activity of iron production in the settlement triangle it can be said to have existed in a longue durée format to the middle of the 14th century.

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[110] Peets,The Power of Iron, 135.
[111] Peets,The Power of Iron. 135.
[112] Peets, The Power of Iron, 135.
[113] Peets, The Power of Iron, 81-82.

Crafting in this time period remained relatively static. With the abundance of iron there existed material for jewellery and weapons to be created for sale. There were common regional types of jewellery "in the Viking Age, penannular brooches were widespread in a large area around the Baltic Sea. We can see common traits in the form and ornamentation of these brooches in several countries, including Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland and Scandinavia, where there is a long history of investigation"[114]. Aside from iron based crafting there also existed pottery creation. By the Late Iron Age pottery types which had existed in the Viking Age had fallen out of use. Newer types of pottery where being created and introduced into the settlement triangle. "Wheel-thrown pottery spread to Estonian from Northwest-Russia where it came into use in the 10th century"[115]. Examples of this pottery type only appear in the Tartu settlement "in the early layers of the Tartu hill-fort and the settlement site nearby"[116]. These finds can be dated to the 11th century and likewise are possibly due to Rus' influence on the settlement. Tartu having seen a fort built circa 1030 AD by Yaroslav the Wise[117]. This would comply with passages in Henry's Chronicle regarding the hierarchy in the region prior to Albert von Buxhoeveden. As well as pottery production, jewellery production existed within the triangle in this period. By the Late Iron Age jewellery had been a long established craft within the settlement triangle. Pins, broaches and various types of ringed ornamentations had been worn since at least the Viking Age, if not earlier. Items and jewellery and new styles also were imported into the region. "Archaeological finds in Estonia also include Scandinavian style cast bracelets with wavy ornamentation…there is no evidence that such bracelets were used in Estonia before the beginning of the 11th century."[118] There is also evidence of importing from the western regions as "cuff-shaped sheet bronze bracelets have only been found in Estonia is the cairn grave at Lihula, Läänemaa…This is a Baltic style of jewellery that was used by the

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[114] Baiba Vaska, "Artistic Influence or Close Trading Contacts? Latgallian Penannular Brooches and Gotland (the Ninth to Eleventh Century)," Archaeologia Baltica Volume 23 (2016): 199.
[115] Tvauri, *"Loode-Vene,"* 115.
[116] Tvauri, *"Loode-Vene,"* 115.
[117] Timofey Guimon, *"Estonia in the 10th to 12th Centuries in the Novgorod Chronicle"Forschungen zur Baltischen Geschichte Volume 10* (2015): 32.
[118] Tvauri, *"Loode-Vene,"* 163.

Semgallians and the Latgalians in the 8th-10th centuries."[119] These foreign styles of jewellery coming into use in the settlement triangle later than their initial creation shows that there was some form of transfer between the native groups in the region. Regarding earlier mentioned penannular broaches "The contacts between Latgallians and Gotland or Scandinavia were possibly long-standing, lasting about three centuries. If Latgallian artisans were themselves producing this kind of penannular brooch, then they were not creating new forms, but imitating existing ones"[120]. This transfer could have been peaceful, it could have been facilitated by the merchants or it could have come about as a result of a raid. Whatever the reason, transfer the items and ideas did, re-enforcing the idea that long term exchange existed in the settlement region on the eve of the crusades and in some cases long before that.

Aside from static economic activities there existed two more dynamic and violent economic avenues which were much more fluid in comparison to domestic production of resources. Raiding and trading. Raiding, a practice which had longue durée continuity from the Viking Age was continued in the Late Iron Age. Henry's Chronicle makes numerous references to raiding in the time of Meinhard and subsequently of Albert. From the frequency Henry relays raiding to the reader it can be suggested that the settlement triangle was not overly stable and/or that raiding served an economic dimension. This economic dimension is suggested by several passages in the early parts of Henry, such as "the next winter the Lithuanians, after having laid waste Livonia, took many into captivity"[121]. Within the Germanic Principalities raiding for such economic gain had fallen out of fashion by the late 12th century, but this practice continued within the settlement region. The raiding did not decrease right away and would continue into the times of Albert and beyond. Trading externally had of course been present in the settlement region before 1050 AD, by the late 1100s the economy was accelerating[122]. This acceleration was advanced further by Meinhard who brokered agreements for the import of previously unseen technology into the

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[119] Tvauri, "*Loode-Vene,*" 163.
[120] Vaska "Artistic Influence," 199.
[121] HCL I.VI p 3 Brundage p 26.
[122] Hammel-Kiesow, "*The Early Hansas,*" 22.

settlement triangle[123]. Changing economic situations within the settlement region would see continuous domestic settlement triangle activity, with rapidly changing foreign interaction(s) outside of it. The economic activities which took place within the triangle generally remained consistent in terms of the type of activity, but the output of goods in some areas changed. Differing styles of crafting[124] or weapons. More iron being produced. All of these instances seem to support the idea that the economic situation was accelerating[125]. The trading potential and strength of the region would continue to improve into the medieval period. There existed by the end of the Late Iron Age a noticeable number of interactions between foreign merchants and what the author calls native economic specialists. Scholars suggest that, "it is possible to conclude that wealth and social differences among this thin layer of traders in the tenth to 12th centuries were evident (in areas adjacent to the settlement triangle)[126].

There was a system in place within the larger Baltic and Nordic region that helped merchants identify each other[127]. This system was known to be both visual with pins and dress of a certain style, as well as a system of weights[128] which seemed to have been in common usage by merchants of different ethnic groups. Now the natives of the settlement triangle would likely have participated in this system. But their exact role is not directly known. Based on research the author of this thesis would argue that the specialist economic class only interfaced with foreign merchants in regards to the west-east[129] and east-west[130] trade routes. The north-south route was known to be a series of transactions between

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[123] Smith and Urban, *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle,* 4.

[124] Tvauri, *Estonian Archaeology IV*, 178.

[125] Hammel-Kiesow, *"The Early Hansas,"* 22.

[126] Vladas Žulkus *"Armed and Expected. Traders and Their Ways in Viking-Time" Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 8* (2007): 310.

[127] Ingrid Gustin, *"Trade and Trust in the Baltic Sea Area During the Viking Age."* In *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World,* edited by James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibbon, 25-40. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 37 (Maney Publishing, 2015), 36-37.

[128] Gustin, *"Trade and Trust," 31*.

[129] Elena Rybina. *"Contacts Between Novgorod and Riga According to Archeological and Written Sources."* In *The Hansa town Riga as mediator between East and West proceedings of an international scientific conference dedicated to 70 years of archaeological research in Riga held in Riga, Latvia, on 23-25 September 2008*, edited by Andris Caune. (Institute of History of Latvia, 2009).

[130] Andris Šnē. *"Hanseatic League and the Eastern Baltic."* in *The German Hanse in Past and Present Europe* edited by Hanno Brand. (Hanse Passage/Castel International Publishers Groningen, 2007), 100.

merchant groups. According to Adam of Bremen there was merchant activity in the Baltic region from at least the 11th century.[131] There is no reason to doubt that local merchants or people acting in this capacity undertook at least the first step of that trade route. The native economic specialist class which existed before 1200 AD likely patronized or ran trading centers such as Daugmale. Both Daugmale[132] and previously (though at times concurrently) Iru[133] would have also been likely interface points for foreign/domestic merchant exchange. Rõuge likewise served this function with it being a starting point for international trade before its fading. Otepää would then assume the dominant role in the region until the rise of Tartu in the 13th century. Iru has been argued by scholars to have potentially been an international trading center in the Viking Age[134]. Similarly Daugmale would have served this niche. Iru would fade before 1200 AD, but Daugmale it has been argued seems to have existed as an important trading center in the 10th and 11th centuries[135] at least and fading only near the rise of Rīga in the late 12th century. In a similar vein the Port of the Semgallians which is mentioned by Henry[136] could have been a native ran trading center similar to Iru. There is little information about this port, but it was deemed important enough to petition the Pope to place it under interdict in the early 1200s[137]. A port of this importance then would likely have been an important or well-known trading center. The interdict tells the historian that foreign merchants used the port, but it is also possible that like Rõuge this native port was more domestically inclined, but still an outlet for foreign commerce. Archaeological evidence at Daugmale suggests that it was a native settlement with foreign merchant interaction[138]. Daugmale was also a production center with

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[131] Francis J. Tschan, trans., *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen* (Columbia University Press, 2002), 198-199.

[132] Andris Caune, "*Archaologische Zeugnisse von Riga vor den 13. Jahrhundert*"*Archaeologia Lituana Volume 9* (2008): 75.

[133] Marika Mägi. "*Iru Linnusest Puha Birgitta Kloostrini. Merenduslik kultuurmaastik Pirita joe alamjooksul*"*Studies on Art and Architecture 4(16)* (2007): 17.

[134] Mauri Kiudsoo "*Iru Hill Fort- A Trading Centre During the Final Iron Age?*" In *Ancient Times/ Muinasaja Teadus Volume 24: Strongholds and Power Centres East of the Baltic Sea in the 11th and 13th Centuries,* edited by Heiki Valk. (Tartu University Institute of History, 2014), 170.

[135] Daniel Gunnarson "*The Distribution of Bronze Artefacts of Viking Age Eastern Baltic Types Discovered on Gotland*" (MA diss., Gotland University School of Culture, Energy and Environment, 2013.) 54.

[136] HCL IV.VI-VII pp 14-15 Brundage p 37 (J)

[137] HCL IV.VII p 15 Brundage p 38 (J)

[138] Zemītis. "*10th-12th Century Daugmale,*" 279.

archaeological finds suggesting jewellery production (bull's head medallion)[139] . It is possible then that the Port of the Semgallians operated under a similar structure. After the interdict it is not mentioned again by Henry. The author thinks that this implies the settlement or whatever existed there was primarily native and only interfaced with external foreign merchants. Once the foreign merchants went somewhere else the settlement either lost importance or faded like Daugmale or that it contracted and became a smaller native only settlement. Since the Semgallian Port was seen as a detriment to the future of Rīga[140] likely it suffered a similar fate to that of Daugmale. By 1200 AD the importance of the specialized native economic class was likely under increasing threat by foreign imports. The increase of foreign merchants in the region coupled with the start of the crusade proper would have reduced their importance within the new emerging social order.

Technology

The technological changes which took place within the Viking Age can be described as importing and then copying of certain technologies. In regards to weapons technology the sword blades were imported and expensive items in the Viking age, but became increasingly standardized as time went on.[141] But there had been weapons development in the settlement region from the final Paleolithic era.[142] This type of advancement in technology is characteristic of the longue durée changes which took place between the Viking and Early Medieval Ages. The types of technology which were slowly improved consisted mostly of man portable weapons and crafts. As time went on man portable weapons technology, i.e. sword blades, spear points and the like saw local blacksmiths start to copy more and more[143].Some types of technologies were unknown to the native groups in the settlement region or could not easily be copied, such as stone

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[139] Dagnija Svarāne, *Petijumi Latvijas Seno Metalu Tehnologija 11.-17. Gadsimts* (Latvijas Vestures Instituta Apgads Riga, 2013), 225.

[140] HCL IV.VII p 15 Brundage p 38 (J)

[141] Tvauri, *Estonian Archaeology IV*, 186.

[142] Ilga Zagorska,"*The Earliest Antler and Bone Harpoons from the East Baltic*"*Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 7* (2006): 178.

[143] Vytautas Kazakevičius, "*On One Type of Baltic Sword of the Viking Period*"*Archaeologica Baltica Volume 2* (1997): 120-121.

fortifications.[144]Crafting of oval beads and belt buckles from molds also took place, though this production seems to have been limited to Mežotne[145] which was a settlement near Rīga. Archaeological evidence also shows importing of molds in this period[146]. Other types of technology maintained production through multiple centuries, the spurs produced in settlements along the Daugava River are dated by archaeologists to the 12th and 13th centuries.[147] While other technology types such as pottery benefited from newly introduced technology already in the 10th century. Despite this advancement there are still examples of handmade pottery in the settlement of Daugmale in the 12th century.[148] These piecemeal changes to different technological sectors show the constantly evolving nature of technology in the region.

Meinhard had made an agreement with the native Livs of Ikšķileto facilitate and partially pay for the construction of stone fortifications around the settlement[149]. With these stone fortifications Meinhard reasoned that the Livs and the clerics would have a better defensive option than fleeing into the woods[150]. As part of the deal the natives agreed to be baptised[151]. After the construction of the walls the natives refused baptism and caused Meinhard problems. This portion of the chronicle is important for several reasons. If one agrees on the three native social classes present within the region than Meinhard's deal making gives the historian valuable information about his role and status in the society. This thesis would argue that Meinhard occupied a slot in the Livish or regional hierarchy which would have been analogous to the specialized class slot of the natives. The three tiered class structure of the native political groups (leader, specialized and common) would have had to be able to interface with foreigners. Foreign interaction had been present in the Viking Age and would only continue to increase as time went on. Foreign merchants likely

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[144] Bernotas, "Brick Making in Medieval Livonia,"140.
[145] Svarāne, *Petijumi Latvijas,* 220.
[146] Svarāne, *Petijumi Latvijas,* 220.
[147] Svarāne, *Petijumi Latvijas,* 233.
[148] Andris Šnē, "*The Economy and Social Power in the Late Prehistoric Chiefdoms of Eastern Latvia*" *Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 6* (2006): 72.
[149] HCL I.V-VI p 3 Brundage p 26 (A)
[150] HCL I.V p 3 Brundage p 26 (B)
[151] HCL I.V p 3 Brundage p 26 (K)

occupied a slot which was roughly parallel to the native specialized class[152]. Meinhard was not a merchant, he had no temporal goods to trade. Yet he came with the merchants to the region[153]. It is therefore likely that Meinhard occupied an ad-hoc position in Livish society. The Chronicle of Balthasar Russow reports that merchants came to the region before Meinhard and after difficulties established themselves in a somewhat peaceful relationship[154]. Russow's Chronicle has its issues, but Henry's own work supports the idea that there was a pre-existing merchant presence before Meinhard. This position and Meinhard's level of acceptance in the society was not immediate and he took care to ensure his own safety as well as that of any converts[155]. He had some social capital though, "after receiving, therefore the permission of the king [prince] Vladimir of Polozk, to whom the Livs, while still pagan paid tribute"[156]. Yet he was not able to get the majority of the natives to convert of their own free will. Attempts at what are essentially bribes likewise did not work. So it can be inferred therefore that Meinhard occupied a lower tier in the hierarchy, but not the lowest tier. He was able to purchase land[157], and engage in business dealings. He was also seemingly free to proselytize the natives in the region. The issues Meinhard encountered in the opinion of the author were due to his attempting to overreach his position in society. The hierarchy that Meinhard was part of did not have a native equivalent in the settlement triangle but there may have been a native equivalent to a priest. The Chronicle of Henry mentions a "pagan priest".[158] While the natives may have been aware of Christianity as early as the Late Iron Age, there is debate about what exactly the process of Christian influence might have been.[159] Regardless Meinhard was able to facilitate the importation of new technologies into the region. Stone work and lime mortar

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[152] HCL II.X p 11 Brundage p 34 (L)
[153] HCL I.II p 2 Brundage pp 25-26 (C)
[154] Jerry C. Smith, Jürgen Eichhoff and William L. Urban, trans., *The Chronicle of Balthasar Russow: Wisconsin Baltic Studies 2*. (Baltic Studies Center Madison Wisconsin, 1988), 10-11.
[155] Carsten Selch Jensen, "*The Early Stage of Christianisation in Livoniain Modern Historical Writings and Contemporary Chronicles"* Studia *Fennica Historica* 9 (2005): 209.
[156] HCL I.II p 2 Brundage p 26 (D)
[157] HCL I.VI p 3 Brundage p 26 (E)
[158] HCL I.X p 4 Brundage p 28 (F)
[159] Jonuks, and Kurisoo,"*To Be or Not To Be… A Christian,"* 70.

did not exist in the settlement triangle before Meinhard[160]. Its introduction was the central piece of the technological acceleration of Meinhard.

The passages in Henry's Chronicle dealing with the first attempt of the Semigallians to pull down the stone fortifications[161] have been shown by scholars to be a folktale which is also present in other sources[162]. The use of this story in Henry's Chronicle is likely to illustrate the technological and or moral superiority of the crusaders.

Politics

The courte durée changes in the political arena were started by Meinhard, but cemented by Albert. Before these changes there was a political system which existed within the region. This political system was likely more or less unchanged at a local level up until the Late Iron Age. The system of organization was that of larger ethnic groups which were then likely sub-divided into smaller political units. It has been suggested that these political groups were likely clan based[163]. This is a position shared by this work. The groups themselves then have been theoretically subdivided into certain social classes which are mentioned in Chapter Four. Of the classes relevant for discussion to the political situation, the leadership class and potentially the native specialist (religious) class are the two prominent ones. This social organization would persist throughout the Viking and Late Iron Ages. In some instances in the 12th century and potentially before there was another political layer on top of the native political groups. Henry mentions that the Prince of Polozk had a tributary relationship over some parts of the region[164]. Tartu is notable as its archaeological history shows larger amounts of Rus' interaction than in other settlements[165]. There was also the building of the fort of Yuryev by the Rus'[166]. Henry reports that Polozk held tributary control over large sections of the southern settlement

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[160] John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000 – 1714* (Routledge, 2005), 168.
[161] HCL I.VI p 3 Brundage pp 26-27 (G)
[162] Marvin L. Colker, "*America Rediscovered in the Thirteenth Century?"Speculum Volume 54* (1979).
[163] Oad. "Structures and Centres of Power." 240.
[164] HCL I.III p 2 Brundage p 26 (D)
[165] Tvauri, "*Loode-Vene,*" 115-118.
[166] Samuel Hazzard Cross, Olgred P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, trans., *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text.* (The Medieval Academy of America, 1953), 136.

triangle. Lastly prior to Meinhard and Albert the settlement of Kokenhusen was under Rus'
control, though they would later be dislodged by the expanding crusading forces[167].

The native political system while divided into clan based units, still did have the potential
to be united along "ethnic lines" to combat invaders[168]. Aside from this crusade era political
interaction seems to indicate that there was at the start a good amount of autonomy held at
the clan group level. This holdover so early in the Meinhard period would then likely
indicate that a similar situation did indeed exist in the earlier periods. The day to day
political structure of the Viking Age then would be these clan based groups which existed
in a more or less autonomous state, though there was potential to ally with other political
groups for a larger purpose. Certainly by the Late Iron Age the political system had become
able to have another tier added to it. Which is what is seen with the tributary relationship
held by some Rus' princes. This relationship of course was not overly onerous to the
natives and the influence on them seems to have been relegated to locations geographically
closer to the Rus' prince's native settlements. Given that the Prince of Polozk did not mind
Meinhard preaching to the natives under his "control" then it could be inferred that the
world system of the Rus' did not view religious adherence as a necessary component of
allegiance. Rather in the time of Meinhard there was enough goodwill between Polozk and
Meinhard for Polozk to allow missionary work[169].

Meinhard's entrance to the region is also the start of the courte durée shift in the politics of
the settlement triangle. With Meinhard's entrance into the region a new, but small political
group took shape. That of the crusaders. The merchants themselves did not necessarily
violently interact with the native groups previously, but "for some of the Germans and
certain of the Danes and Norwegians and each of the trading groups had promised that if
necessary they would bring an army"[170]. This can be taken as some evidence that
Meinhard's presence in the region created or exacerbated existing tensions. Archaeological
evidence in the Latvian portion suggests that conflict was significant in the periods before

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[167] Selart. Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century, 100-101.
[168] HCL XV.II-III pp 88-89 Brundage p 108 (M)
[169] Selart. Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century, 81.
[170] HCL I.XI p 6 Brundage p 29.

Meinhard[171]. In other passages in Henry's Chronicle Meinhard is warned of threats of violence against him by baptised locals[172]. This can be taken as further evidence of the divide present at the time. This divide between adherents or allies of Meinhard and adherents to the status quo is the definite catalyst for the courte durée changes. Meinhard then in the political sense can be said to lay the foundation for the establishment of Rīga and the subsequent crusader state which would emerge in the next one hundred and fifty years. The tributary relationship between the settlement triangle's political units and the Prince of Polozk was being challenged by a new catholic world system championed by Meinhard and supported by the merchants active in the region. By the year 1200 AD the attempted political changes made by Meinhard and later Berthold had enabled the crusader political system to slot into place over some of the native political systems. Some native groups were seemingly willing to allow this religious conversion first and then later more tangible symbols such as magistrates by the 1230s[173] . The autonomous nature of the native political units at the time enabled a wide range of differing treatments towards the crusaders. The crusader political system then also had the eventual advantage or disadvantage of brining the native groups who allied with Meinhard into the wider catholic political system. Before the coming of Meinhard the interactions between the native political groups and foreign political forces was limited. Previous attempts prior to Meinhard to establish the catholic world system in the region had either never materialized[174] or were undertaken for temporal purposes[175].

Compared to the longue durée facets the courte durée changes within the political sphere came about quickly and either displaced or incorporated the native systems solely to the benefit of the crusader political system. The establishment of this system was also in a way

[171] Andris Šnē, "*Warfare and Power in the Late Prehistoric Societies in the Territory of Latvia (10th to 12th Centuries)"Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 8*(2007): 258.
[172] HCL I.XI p 6 Brundage p 29 (N).
[173] Andris Šnē "*The Emergence of Livonia: The Transformations of Social and Political Structures in the Territory of Latvia During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries."* in *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier* edited by Alan V. Murray (Ashgate, 2009), 65.
[174] Peter Peep Rebane. "*Denmark, the Papacy and the Christianization of Estonia"* in *Gli Inize del Cristianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia* (1989): 176-178.
[175] Christopher Tyerman (2006) *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Harvard University Press, 2006), 685.

the establishment of the catholic world system. Within the settlement triangle linking the newly formed political system to the catholic political sphere drastically altered the course of the native political groups. Overall these drastic and sometimes violent changes came about in a relatively short space of time compared to the predominant pre-crusader political system. This pre-crusade clan system of smaller tangentially allied clan groups with its alliances based on mutual need or ethnicity and not necessarily on shared religion was subsumed by the catholic political system.

Societal

The societal system in the region in the Viking Age was in some sense very similar to the one at the end of the Late Iron/start of the Early Medieval Age, but at the same time it was also very different. The native social classes present in the Viking Age did undergo changes by the early medieval age. The native social classes present in the Viking Age, leadership, specialists (economic), specialists (religious) and common where all present by the year 1200 AD. Though there were some changes in the role of these classes in the society.

The native leadership class in and of itself did undergo change, though the amount of change by 1200 AD was dependant on the course of action taken by each clan leader or group. The native leadership class had been present in essentially the same form from the Viking Age to the year 1200 AD. The leadership class's change is very tied into the culture, clash and compromise principle[176]. Up until Meinhard the native leadership class as a whole was fairly autonomous. Previous tributary rulers the Rus' did not seem to overly govern the region, leaving the native clan leaders generally on their own. With Meinhard you see a choice start to emerge. Allow a new leadership tier, the crusaders over the existing one (compromise)[177] or reject it (clash)[178]. By 1200 AD the chronicles show examples of both.

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[176] This principle, articulated by Blomkvist essentially states that when confronted with a new culture the groups in the settlement region could chose to clash, ie fight to outsiders in an attempt to preserve their culture. Compromise means that they chose to give up some or all of their native culture for other benefits, such as money or military assistance.

[177] Smith and Urban, *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle,* 16. (livs and letts stood with crusaders)

[178] HCL Introduction James A. Brundage p 9 Columbia University Press 2003

The native common class can be said to have remained static in societal position[179]. They also remained more or less static in life style. The world system of Meinhard would not really affect them outside of which religion they worshipped.

Native specialist class (economic) underwent changes, likely negative ones. As merchants and trading were present in the settlement region from the Viking Age onwards a native economic class likely did exist. Local merchants in the Latvian portion of the triangle are present in the archaeological record via grave finds from the tenth century[180]. Archaeological evidence certainly shows the existence of such a social class in the Late Iron Age which saw easily distinguishable archaeological evidence of whatŠnē calls specialized craftsmen[181]. Their exact role might not be known, but the author would argue that they held one of two functions. They were source producers who then sold or transported their own goods[182] or they occupied a role more akin to the foreign merchants. In this role they would have sourced items either on their own (then transporting them) or by trading with the producer of the goods. In either function the native economic class would interact with foreign merchants. Due to the repeated nature of these economic interactions and the transport routes present the earlier discussion of merchant identification and trade routes in the pre-crusade era again become relevant. It is likely that the native economic class would be a gateway for new symbols. The cross symbol is said to have appeared in archaeological records from the 11th century[183]. Or potentially ideas to enter into the settlement triangle. It is possible that the merchants both foreign and domestic communicated to each other about things other than trading. The sustained stays of merchants in the period of Meinhard may suggest that similar practices had been taking place earlier. The furs flowing south from Rõuge from at least the 9th century are a good example[184] of potential earlier domestic merchant travels. By the end of the Late Iron Age

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[179] Andris Šnē, "*The Medieval Peasantry: On the Social and Religious Position of the Rural Natives in Southern Livonia 13th to 15th Centuries"Ajalooline Ajakiri ½ (123/124)* (2008): 90.
[180] Šnē, "*The Economy and Social Power,"* 73.
[181] Šnē, "*The Economy and Social Power,"* 71.
[182] Leimus, "*Millennium Breakthrough,"* 9.
[183] Jonuks, and Kurisoo,"*To Be or Not To Be… A Christian*," 76.
[184] Leimus, "*Millennium Breakthrough,"* 8.

and the shift in trading settlements from being under native control to that of the crusaders the role of the native economic classes would start to wane.

The native specialist class (religious) underwent a similar trajectory of changes to that of the native economic class. Prior to Meinhard's coming the native religious classes likely held more sway within the region. As little is known about the religious organization of the natives in the settlement region little is known about their clerical hierarchy, if one even existed. Henry makes one reference to what is called a pagan priest[185]. He also describes rituals used as wards against the crusaders. Scholarly analysis of the native religion(s) seems to indicate that there was a potential for mixing religious ideas prior to the crusades[186], though an in-depth discussion of religious practice and status will be left for the subchapter on religion. In a discussion about the societal role of the native specialist class (religion) it can be said that their role decreased, then was eventually overrun by the catholic hierarchy on paper at least. Their role would continue to exist into the 1200s, but this would be increasingly marginalized within crusader controlled areas and vilified were it existed in "pagan" regions. Eventually this role would be forced underground as some form of nature worship was kept alive in at least the Estonian portion of the settlement triangle[187]. Though scholars on the topic seem to indicate that nationalism and other much later factors could have tainted the perception of it in early scholarly sources.

By the Late Iron Age/Early Medieval Age the courte durée societal changes were starting to emerge towards. The foreign merchants' active in the region had brought with them influences, however small from the lands to the west of the settlement triangle. The status-quo native world system conflicted with the catholic world system. The previous tributary relationship allowed the native groups to keep their own religion. Henry's Chronicle does not refer to the Rus' around the year 1200 AD as pagan[188]. It does however refer to the Livs as pagan[189]. It can be put forward then that the Rus' imposed a tributary relationship, but

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[185] HCL I.X p 4 Brundage p 28 (O).

[186] Jonuks, and Kurisoo,"*To Be or Not To Be… A Christian*," 76-77.

[187] Tõnno Jonuks, "*Holy Groves in Estonian Religion*"*Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 11, No. 1* (2007): 24-25.

[188] HCL I.III p 2 Brundage p 26 (H).

[189] HCL I.III p 2 Brundage p 26 (H).

they did not convert the native groups in a meaningful way in this period[190]. So the world system of the Rus' was different than the world system of the Catholics. The divide can be said to be the imposition of religion along with the world system. The Rus' had influence on the settlement region in the Late Iron Age, but they did not appear to want to impose their religion on the region to the extent the crusaders did.

Socially Meinhard can be considered a crusader. There has been scholarly debate about Meinhard's peacefulness or lack thereof though. The modern consensus seems to be that Meinhard was not peaceful in his intentions[191] .Though this concept is in some sense still debated[192]. The author of this thesis would argue that Meinhard was not inherently peaceful as he courted armed support from his entry into the region. There then should be no issue to refer to Meinhard as the first or one of the first crusader leaders in the settlement triangle. The social changes within the region like with the political changes should be considered courte durée changes. Meinhard's arrival can therefore be considered the start point for the societal and political change areas.

Settlements

Between the Viking Age and Late Iron/Early Medieval Age the settlement patterns within some parts of the triangle changed (Iru, Rõuge, Daugmale), but remained consistent in some other areas (Tartu[193], Tallinn region[194]). While some like Viljandi[195]did not see rapid

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[190] Torben K. Nielsen. "*Sterile Monster? Russians and the Orthodox Church in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia."* In *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier,* edited by Alan V. Murray(Ashgate, 2009), 242.
[191] Selart. Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century, 77-79.
[192] Andrezej Radzimiński, *"Church Divisions of Livonia."* In *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia,* edited by Roman Czaja and Andrzej Radzimiński. (Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2015), 254.
[193] Marika Mägi "*Bound for the Eastern Baltic: Trade and Centres AD 800-1200"* In *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World,* edited by James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibson. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monography 37 (Maney Publishing, 2015), 55 (since at last 8th century ad).
[194] Muru Merle, Rosentau Alar et Al "*Sea Level Changes and Neolithic Hunter-Fisher-Gatherer in the center of Tallinn, Southern Coast of the Gulf of Finland, Baltic Sea."* SAGE Publications (2016): 1. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0959683616678462.
[195] Heiki Valk, "*The Genesis of Viljandi (Fellin): archaeological data."* In *Riga und der Ostseeraum. Von der Gründung 1201 bis in die Frühe Neuzeit,* edited by *Misans, I.; Wernicke, H*. (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 2005), 98.

improvement until after 1200 AD. Some settlements had existed prior to the Viking Age and continued to exist up to and past 1200 AD. Tartu is a relevant example of a settlement which was extant prior to or in the early Viking Age and remained extant well past the year 1200 AD. Archaeological evidence suggests that Tartu was inhabited long before 1030 AD. In 1030 AD there is a written record of Yaroslav the Wise establishing a fort on or near the settlement site[196]. The Rus' did not control the fort and site for long though. Tartu would go on to be a regionally important town up to the end of, and after the Late Iron Age[197]. After the dissolution of Rõuge, while Tartu was extant it was not the most important site in the general region. Current archaeological opinion names the site of Otepääas one if not the dominant centers prior to the crusades[198] and the rise of Tartu's importance in that period. Regarding Rīga this full form quotation gives an accurate depiction of the area before the establishment of the crusader settlement. "Archaeologists have discovered within the limits of Old Rīga the remains of two 12th-century Liv villages that covered relatively small areas. One of these was located next to the bank of the Daugava, while the other was adjacent to the lowest bend in the River Rīga. The native population, which had settled part of the naturally delimited area of land between the River Daugava and the meandering lower course of the River Rīga, was subsequently forced to make space next to the villages for a fortified settlement of German merchants and crusaders. By the beginning of the 13th century, as the newly established settlement merged with the villages, the medieval town of Rīga came into being in the area between the two rivers"[199].

By the end of the Late Iron Age some of the settlements of long standing and economic importance in the Viking Age and earlier lost prominence or were abandoned. Iru[200], Rõuge[201] and Daugmale[202] had all ceased to be of importance by 1200 AD. These three

[196] Samuel Hazzard Cross, Olgred P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, trans., *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text.* (The Medieval Academy of America, 1953), 136.
[197] Phillippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa* (Stanford University Press, 1970), 128.
[198] Tvuari "Estonian Archaeology IV" 43.
[199] Māris Zunde, "*The Historical Waterfront Revetments of Rīga in the Light of Dendrochronological Dating*"*Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 21–22* (2015): 148.
[200] Tvauri, *Estonian Archaeology IV*, 46. Abandoned by start of 11th century.
[201] Tvauri, *Estonian Archaeology IV*, 50. Last evidence of occupation end of 10th century.
[202] Zemītis. "*10th-12th Century Daugmale,*" 283. Archaeological evidence shows end of occupation at end of 12th century.

settlements were key economic and social centers when they were active. Rõuge located in the south of the settlement region was a start point for the north-south trading which was funneled to the Byzantine Empire. It was also a larger fort and currently a trove of archaeological information. The fort and settlement of Iru located on the western Estonian coast may have been an important international trading center in the Viking[203]. Daugmale was a larger settlement complex located on the Daugava River downstream from Ikšķile. It's economic importance and time of its decline leads the author of this thesis to agree with scholars who view it as a forerunner to Rīga[204]. In terms of regional importance and economic activity Daugmale was in its heyday prior to the year 1200 AD.

Other settlements expanded or had structures built upon them for the first time in this time period. The building of the fort on Toompea Hill in the settlement which would eventually become Tallinn[205] predates the Danish construction on the site. Ikšķile which would later receive stone fortifications shortly after the arrival of Meinhard. The organization of the Viking Age settlements and fortifications within the region show that there was an internal economic and technological progression in the pre-crusade era. This is shown by settlements which rose and fell without known interference by outside actors. Areas such as Rõuge[206] which was relevant in the Middle Iron Age and possibly later and Iru[207] declined due to internal settlement triangle factors as foreign influence was not as dramatic in this period. Tartu remained inhabited and relatively important throughout the entirety of the time discussed. Re-aligning of settlements before the crusades can be taken as a symptom of the longue durée facet of economy. Rõuge and Iru were established and well known trading posts, but when other settlements in their vicinities rose in prominence then the older ones declined. Longue durée economic changes had the power to affect the settlement areas themselves. Despite some settlements failing after a time the general area in which

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[203] Kiudsoo "*Iru Hill Fort- A Trading Centre,*"170.
[204] Zemītis. "*10th-12th Century Daugmale,*" 283.
[205] Kala Tiina Kala, "*Estonia from the 13th to the 16th Centuries.*" In *Estonia Identity and Independence*, edited by Jean-Jacques Subrenat. (Rodopi Press, 2004), 51.
[206] Andres Tvauri. "*Investigation of the Middle Iron Age*"In *Estonian Archaeology 1: Archaeological Research in Estonia 1865-2005* edited by Heiki Valk. (University of Tartu Press, 2006), 111.
[207] Kiudsoo "*Iru Hill Fort- A Trading Centre,*"168.

they existed remained economically or otherwise important. Iru and the Harju region being examples of this.

Religion

In religious terms there are two main changes to discuss in the Late Iron Age. The longue durée change is the increasing amount of foreign religious influence on the region. The import of the cross symbolism into the triangle has been dated via archaeological sources to start around the end of the 11th century and appear in wealth deposits[208]. This timeline would support the possibility that the foreign merchants brought the cross symbols into the settlement region. It is also a possibility that the foreign merchants brought knowledge of Catholicism into the region earlier than the archaeological evidence proves[209]. The courte durée religious change in the Late Iron Age is the importing of the catholic hierarchy and world system into the region. Meinhard was the first bishop known to take up residence in the settlement region and therefore the first representative of the catholic world system. The native groups may have been familiar with some aspects of Catholicism by the Late Iron Age. "However, cross symbolism created, used and reinterpreted locally indicates that the symbol that was most widespread in the Late Iron Age, had a meaning also in officially pagan Estonia and the purport most likely derived from the general Christian framework"[210]. The author of this thesis would agree in principle that the cross symbol held some importance in the region, it is not known exactly what if any Christian influence deeply affected the religion(s) of the native groups. It is also possible that this symbol in the period before 1200 AD was seen as a type of foreign ornamentation. Regarding the Latvian portion of the settlement triangle some scholars think that "the heathen and egalitarian societies of present-day Latvia (and also Estonia) were incorporated into the world of Latin Christendom in the course of the crusades during the 13th century. There is no reason to consider the eastern Baltic as a target for the catholic missionaries before the late

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[208] Jonuks, and Kurisoo,"*To Be or Not To Be… A Christian*," 72.
[209] Jonuks, and Kurisoo,"*To Be or Not To Be… A Christian*," 90-91.
[210]Jonuks, and Kurisoo,"*To Be or Not To Be… A Christian*," 75.

12[th]century"[211]. The grave finds with this symbol seem to represent that some level of wealth was held by the deceased[212]. Wealthy members of the society could have interacted more with foreign merchants and adopted the symbol as a fashionable ornamentation. The presence of jewellery in the settlement triangle in the Late Iron Age is well documented. The cross symbol could potentially be seen as another facet of this aspect.

This is not to discount the possibility of some Christian influence on the native religion. It is possible as some scholars suggest that there was an alternate type of Christianity that was presumably invented by the natives[213]. There is no concrete proof or this, Henry who for all his faults is reporting the church sanctioned narrative of the conquest and archaeological evidence which does not suggest pre-crusade churches[214]. Which could have been the merchants, but there is no evidence. Henry refers to the natives as pagan. If the natives converted right away or where practicing some form of Christianity that the institutional church recognized then there would have been no need for the violence. No chronicle mentions churches or catholic shrines as being present in the settlement triangle before the coming of the crusaders. If there was a native Christianity it was lumped in as a pagan faith. The various kingdoms of Poland accepted baptism in 966 AD to in part avoid warfare[215]. The Rus' are referred to multiple times by Henry as not pagan and other scholars have discussed the mental gymnastics of later Popes to attempt to justify a "crusade" against the Rus princes[216] who in earlier sources had not been considered pagan and therefore would be exempt from crusade.

The establishment of the new catholic hierarchy despite its effectiveness of lack thereof was still a courte durée influence on the leadership class of the native societies. In the passages of Henry's Chronicle dealing with Meinhard, the faithful baptized crusader allies

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[211]Andris Šnē, Faith, Society and identity: Religious and Social Identity in Latvia on the Eve and Early Stages of the Crusades in Interarchaeologica 4 (2015): 147. In this same paper Šnē also puts forward the viewpoint that Orthodox (read Rus') Christianity had no effect on the natives.

[212] Jonuks, and Kurisoo,"*To Be or Not To Be… A Christian*," 73.

[213] Jonuks, and Kurisoo,"*To Be or Not To Be… A Christian*," 90-91.

[214] Russow Erki, et al. "*Medieval Archaeology of the European Context.*" in *Estonian Archaeology 1: Archaeological Research in Estonia 1865-2005* edited by Heiki Valk (University of Tartu Press, 2006), 159.

[215] Norman Davies, *God's Playground A History of Poland: Volume 1: The Origins to 1795* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 16.

[216] Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147-1254* (Brill, 2007), 190-191.

and those who betrayed their baptism is a distinction which is made fairly early on[217]. This religious distinction would in the time of Albert be further highlighted as the largest division within the native power structures.

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[217]HCL I.XI p 6 Brundage p 29 (I)

Chapter 3.0: The Catholic and Pagan World Systems Collide: Advent of Courte Durée in the Settlement Triangle (1200 AD to 1250 AD)

Taking the Viking Age as a basis for comparison, the Late Iron and Early Medieval Ages can then be called the start of the crusader project within the settlement triangle. There is no question that the arrival of Bishop Albert von Buxhoeveden was the event which started the movement in earnest[218]. Much has been said about Albert in the works of many scholars for hundreds of years. Within the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia he is a large figure and many of the most important choices revolved around him. Albert was not the direct successor to Meinhard, rather he is the third bishop in the region (if one does not count Fulco). The second bishop Berthold was killed in battle fairly soon after his arrival[219]. As such he did not accomplish much.

Albert was a driving force of the courte durée change across all five facet areas. He is responsible for the founding of Rīga on land which was shown to him by the natives around 1201 AD[220] and presumably acquired by Albert. Various other changes were carried out directly by him or by his subordinates regarding the aggrandizement of Rīga, Livonia and their own temporal positions.

<u>Economic</u>

The establishment of Rīga was the establishment of what became the major trading center in the settlement triangle. The end of Daugmale is right around the time that Rīga was founded so it can be said that there is continuity in that sense[221]. There are three major reasons why Rīga was initially so successful. First it was the base and power center of the crusaders who hailed from the Germanic principalities[222]. Second, efforts were made to

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[218] Smith and Urban, *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle,* 8-10.
[219] HCL II.VI p 10 and II.IV p 9 Brundage pp 32-33 (P).
[220] HCL IV to V (inclusive) pp 13-16 Brundage pp 37-39.
[221] Zemītis. "*10th-12th Century Daugmale,*" 282-283.
[222] HCL V.I pp 15-16 Brundage pp 38-39 (Q)

ensure that foreign economic interaction was channelled through Rīga[223]. There existed before Rīga and presumably during the lifespan of Daugmale a trading center which is called the Port of the Semgallians by Henry[224]. The Semgallians were an ethnic and political unit which were located to the west/south west of Rīga[225]. The Semgallians offered long standing resistance to the Livonian crusaders, lasting until just about the end of the 13th century[226]. Upon a visit to Rome to consult the Pope Innocent III[227] Theodoric of Treiden was able to have the port of the Semgallians placed under interdict[228]. This ports location is the cause of some debate amongst modern scholars as no definitive answer for location, or size can be given. This thesis would argue that it functioned in a similar way to Iru or Daugmale. What this means is that all catholic merchants (i.e. the vast majority) were ordered by the pope to no longer do business in or around this location. This was done to increase the economic profile of Rīga. Third was an issue of accessibility. Water based transport and economic activity were more efficient in this time period. The kogge which was the preferred boat of the merchants was able to access Rīga via the harbour and the gulf of Rīga in a much easier manner than Uexküll[229]. This is due to a series of rapids being extant on the Daugava River south of Rīga, but north of Uexküll[230]. This made transport via water much lengthier as goods had to be transferred to smaller boats. With Rīga this issue no longer existed. The type of kogge which was used was unable to traverse the rapids due to the clinker design and general size[231]. These were not problems with Rīga. In fact the

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[223] HCL IV.VII p 15 Brundage p 38. merchants place independent interdict on the Semgallian Port

[224] Kristin Ilves, *Sea and Seafaring in the Chronicles."* In *The Second International Colloquium of Fishery, Trade and Piracy. Baltic and North Sea in the Middle Ages and Later*. (University of Helsinki Press, 2007), 211-212.

[225] William L. Urban "*A Historical Overview of the Crusade to Livonia*"in *Online Reference Book for Medieval Studies* (Online Resource, copyright 1999).

[226] Donald R. Shumaker "*The Clash Between Pagans and Christians: The Baltic Crusades from 1147-1309*" (Research diss.,Ohio State University, 2014.) 38.

[227] Reigned 1198 AD to 1216 AD.

[228] HCL IV.VI-VII pp 14-15 Brundage p 38 (J).

[229]Frederick Martin Hocker, "*The Development of a Bottom-Based Shipbuilding Tradition in Northwestern Europe and the New World"* (PhD diss., Texas A&M University, 1991.) 110-115.

[230] Jensen, "*The Early Stage of Christianisation in Livonia,"* 208.

[231] Jillian R. Smith, "*Hanseatic Cogs and Baltic Trade: Interrelations Between Trade Technology and Ecology"* (MA diss., University of Nebraska at Lincoln, 2010.) 45.

kogges could be used militarily in and around Rīga and Henry reports instances of this taking place[232].

Compared to the previous ages there was an acceleration of economic interaction within the settlement region. The increasing interconnectedness brought upon the region due to the implementation of the catholic world system increased the flow of trade and capital both into and via the settlement triangle. Around Rīga sources "indicate that there was a lack of timber resources in the surrounding region by AD 1255, with a subsequent increase in the exploitation of woodlands along the Daugava River and its tributaries"[233]. This acceleration is also present in the Estonian portion of the triangle sources "likewise suggest an increase in agricultural activity during the Late Iron Age, intensifying in the medieval period, although the chronological resolution of the pollen data remains an issue"[234]. The increased flow of trade was tied to the growing importance of the North Germanic Hansa[235] within what is today Northern and Eastern Europe. Iron production increased overall within the Estonian portion of the settlement triangle[236] possibly due to the ongoing conflicts. Crafting of consumer goods changed as well, new designs and increasing intricacy of grave goods in the early 1200s is notable when compared to the Viking Age variants[237]. Farming remained static[238] as an important economic segment for the native populaces. This also applied to the Latvian portion of the triangle which had long seen farming as an important part of the economic structure[239] Though some new techniques made their way into the region increasing productivity. Raiding also remained as an area of economic activity when

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[232] HCL XIX.II pp 123-124 Brundage pp 142-143 (R).

[233] Alex Brown and Aleksander Pluskowski, "Medieval Landscape Transformation in the Southeast and Eastern Baltic: Palaeoenvironmental Perspectives on the Colanisation of Frontier Landscapes" *Vol. 20* (2013): 34.

[234] Brown and Pluskowski, "Medieval Landscape Transformation, "36.

[235] Anti Selart, "*Non German Literacy in Medieval Livonia."* In *Use of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy II*, edited by Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, vol. 28 (Brepols, 2014), 43-44.

[236] Peets, The Power of Iron, 135-136.

[237] Heiki Valk "*From the Iron Age to the Middle Age: Local Nobility and Cultural Changes in Estonia in the 13th Century."* In *The Reception of Medieval Europe in the Baltic Sea Region Acta Visbyensia XII,* edited by Jorn Staecker. (Gotland University Press*,* 2009), 278-279.

[238] Šnē, "*The Medieval Peasantry,"* 90.

[239] Šnē, "*The Economy and Social Power,"* 69-70.

compared to the Viking Age[240]. Raiding between the native groups and against the crusaders was still taking place up to the time of Albert[241]. Eventually the crusaders would also join in raids with their native allies[242], on their own[243] or allowing rival pagans passage through their territory to raid each other[244]. It is interesting as the practice of raiding for economic gain had gone out of fashion in the North Germanic, Polish and Danish regions prior to the crusade in the north[245]. Rather conflicts based on proselytizing to pagans were becoming more common[246]. Raiding, from the available sources potentially may have increased due to the crusader forces being a factor, but overall it seems that the crusaders initially at least worked with allied native groups and raided only pagans. Though the definition of a pagan was more fluid in some instances[247]. Raiding then continued as what appears to be a viable economic and military activity into the 1200s. Blacksmithing likewise improved from new techniques both in smelting and in fabrication. It remained an essential economic niche in the 1200s[248]. Pottery making in a similar format improved in some sense from techniques brought in from outside the settlement triangle[249]. Despite the shift in economy and technology sometimes old technologies may have been preferred. Archaeologists have found only ten examples of metal moulds in what is today Latvia that date from the medieval period.[250]

Danish expansion into the region came into full force in 1219 AD[251] and their economic presence in the region was therefore heavily increased[252]. This in turn increased the foreign

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[240] Marika Mägi,*"Ships are their Main Strength" Harbour Sites, Arable Lands and Chieftains on Saaremaa"Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 8, No.2* (2004): 129.
[241] HCL XIX.IV-V pp 126-127 Brundage pp 147-149.
[242] HCL XIX.III-IV pp 125-127 Brundage pp 146-147.
[243] Smith and Urban, *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle,* 10.
[244] HCL IX.I-II pp 25-26 Brundage pp 47-48.
[245]Mikołaj Gładysz, The *Forgotten Crusaders: Poland and the Crusader Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Brill, 2012.) 73.
[246] Darius von Güttner-Sporzynski, Poland, Holy War and the Piast Monarchy 1100-1230 (Brepols, 2014.)2.
[247] Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes,* 190-191.
[248] Peets,The Power of Iron, 139.
[249] David R.M. Gaimster "*The Baltic Ceramic Market c.1200-1600: An Archaeology of the Hanse*" *Fennoscandia Archaeologica XVI* (1999): 62.
[250] Svarāne, *Petijumi Latvijas ,* 225.
[251] Ane L. Bysted et al, *Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades 1100-1522* (Brepols, 2012.) .195

economic participation within the settlement region. The Danish expansion also helped to cement the east-west, west-east trading networks which were becoming more and more pronounced with the advent of the crusade in the region. The north-south trading route though viable in the Viking Age seems to have taken a back seat to the other two routes regarding the settlement region. The east-west, west-east[253] routes would continue to remain profitable for several hundred years while the north-south route did not see the same increase. Though by 1250 AD all three of these trade routes were well established. The north-south route[254] is not well represented in Henry, but other sources indicate that it served various soldiers and merchants well enough from areas adjacent to the settlement region[255]. In comparison then to the Viking Age the major trade routes, via water, land, and mixed are all present into the 1200s. In fact newer methods of entering the settlement region opened up as the crusader state expanded and the various pagan groups were subjugated[256].

Other economic centers of the Viking Age, Rõuge and Iru both faded well before the time of Albert. Iru was replaced in a functional sense, albeit with a large gap by the founding of Danish Tallinn in 1219[257], while Rõuge's economic niche was supplanted eventually by Tartu as a premier economic center in the south east part of the triangle. Comparing prominent Viking Age settlements to Late Iron/Early Medieval the exact settlements are for the most part different, but existed in the same general geographic area. Iru vs Tallinn, Rõuge vs Tartu and Daugmale vs Rīga. The general geographic location of these settlements then may have been the important factor for the trading and economic activity which went on. In the early 1200s it is possible that the status of native merchants held up, but as the crusades went on the crusaders continued to take more territory the importance of the crusader merchants would have increased. This comparison is made to international

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[252] Nils Hybel and Bjørn Poulsen,*The Danish Resources c. 1000-1500 Growth and Recession* (*Brill, 2007*). xx (see footnote 21 in cited text)

[253] Mauri Kiudsoo, "*Viking Age Votive Deposits from Varja, North-East Estonia"Archaeological Fieldwork in Estonia 2014* (2014): 102-103.

[254] Fuglesang, "*A Critical Survey of Theories*" 53.

[255] Selart. Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century, 37.

[256] As the general region came under greater foreign influence and therefore less danger to foreign merchants, more travel/trade routes would become usable.

[257] HCL XXIII.I-II pp 154-155 Brundage p 173.

based trading. As the native persons who dealt domestically could still hypothetically hold on to their niches past 1250 AD and potentially in the case of some occupations or social niches did in fact do so.

When compared with the Viking and Late Iron Ages overall, the period of Albert then can be said to bear longue durée continuity in economic terms. Major economic activities within the settlement region did not change in their basic form, but rather slowly improved in terms of techniques and size[258]. The coming of the crusaders and in general the period around the turn of the 13th century indicated that acceleration across almost all facets of the economy took place. Certainly the foreign influence on the settlement triangle economy was greater during the time of Albert than at any previous time.

Technology

The start of the crusading effort in the settlement triangle accelerated the technological changes within the settlement region. After the introduction of stone fortifications by Meinhard[259] this technology would go on to play an important role in the fortifications of the crusaders. Man portable weapons such as swords had become much more uniform and therefore cost less[260]. This enabled more to be produced locally and cut down on imports. There was enough iron within the settlement region to produce enough implements[261]. Aside from improvements or cost cutting other new man portable weapons (such as crossbows) were introduced by the crusaders[262]. The crossbow was a significant weapons platform for the crusading forces. It was a tension fired bolt which was in some situations better than a traditional bow and arrow. Henry makes a difference in his work between crossbow and siege engine. At points the language can be confusing, but in Turnbull's

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[258] Peets, The Power of Iron, 159.
[259] HCL I.V-VII p 3 Brundage pp 26-27.
[260] Tvauri, *Estonian Archaeology IV*, 186.
[261] Peets, The Power of Iron, 136.
[262] Stefan Turnbull, "*Crossbows or Catapults? The Identification of Siege Weaponry and Techniques in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia.*" In *Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier,* edited by Alan V. Murray. (Ashgate, 2009), 314.

work[263] he unpacks the term differences. This weapon would be quickly adapted by the natives though and would prove effective for both sides. Siege engines were also introduced by the crusaders[264]. This larger weapons technology would generally be constructed on site as needed. The natives were eventually able to create versions of some of the siege engines once they got the plans[265]. Of the siege engines introduced into the region the most common as mentioned by Henry seem to be patrels or trebuchets. A trebuchet was essentially a counterweight operated catapult[266]. The crusaders introduced them into the region. Modern recreations suggest that if the appropriate knowledge existed that the weapons were relatively easy to put together and very effective[267]. These stone throwing devices were something the natives had apparently little experience with. Henry makes mention at various points about the effectiveness of the stone projectiles[268]. Against wooden fortifications the potential damage would have been high. Turnbull points out that the weapons could also fire flaming ammunition, which would be devastating against wooden defenses[269].

Iron production increased, when comparing the 8th and 9th centuries to the 13th the reader can observe an approximately 500 tonne increase[270]. This would even out to approximately 166 tonnes per century if production numbers and technology remained static. Advances in technology was what enabled the increase in iron production in the 1200s[271]. Crafting changed as technological advances in jewellery making and pottery production enabled more advanced crafts to be made.

The advance in creation techniques, be it locally derived or imported techniques enabled higher output and potentially better quality items to be produced. In the Rīga area molds used for crafting show technological differences from previous examples such as holes for

[263] Turnbull, "*Crossbows or Catapults?,*" 312-313.
[264] Turnbull, "*Crossbows or Catapults?,*" 316.
[265] HCL XXVI.III p 188 Brundage p 206.
[266] Saimre, "*Trebuchet – A Gravity Operated Siege Engine.*" 63.
[267] Saimre, "*Trebuchet – A Gravity Operated Siege Engine.*" 65.
[268] HCL XXIII.VIII pp 162-163 Brundage p 181.
[269] Turnbull, "*Crossbows or Catapults?,*" 313.
[270] Peets, The Power of Iron, 135-136.
[271] Peets, The Power of Iron, 132-134.

registration or drills along the side edge[272]. Other technologies related to war making which were introduced included caltrops[273], heavy metal armor and massed cavalry charges of the same[274](though effectiveness of these in the local climate was debatable) and fortification techniques. Caltrops were larger pieces of metal used as a deterrent and defensive measure against horses. These were mentioned by Henry as perplexing the hostile native forces[275]. Given the known belligerents in previous conflicts in the Viking and Late Iron Ages this type of countermeasure was not likely to have been introduced. Vikings were mostly sea borne raids, archaeological sources indicate Viking era hoards being located relatively close to open bodies of water[276]. The caltrop itself being an ancient invention[277] it may not have penetrated into the settlement triangle prior to the crusader influx. Heavy metal armor was likewise a mainstay of the crusader armory. Scholars have pointed out the technological advantage that the weapons and armor of the crusaders presented[278]. Swords and the like were present in the settlement region in the Viking Age, but heavy armor and massed cavalry charges (when possible) were something which the crusaders used to great effect in war making in the settlement region.

Other more neutral technologies such as written language[279] albeit its impact was limited to a certain social class (the emerging Deutsche/un- Deutsche distinction)[280] (if at all) or technologies which could not be copied easily (lime mortar) are also important to the long term technological development of the region. A more day to day example can be found in the butchering of meat at "Cēsis, we have clear variation, indicative of a relatively dramatic

[272] Svarāne, *Petijumi Latvijas,* 221.

[273] HCL X.XII p 42 Brundage p 63.

[274] Alan V. Murray, "*The Sword Brothers at War: Observations on the Military Activity of the Knighthood of Christ in the Conquest of Livonia and Estonia (1203-1227)."Ordines Militares: Year Book for the Study of the Military Orders XVIII* (2013): 31-32.

[275] HCL XIV.V p 76 Brundage p 98.

[276] Mauri Kuidsoo and Erki Russow. "*Hoards Discovered in 2010"Archaeological Fieldwork In Estonia 2010* (2010): 225.

[277] Spencer C. Tucker, *Instruments of War: Weapons and Technologies That Have Changed History* (ABC-CLIO Publishers, 2015), 33.

[278] Turnbull, "*Crossbows or Catapults?,*"318-319.

[279]Andris Šnē, "Multi-coloured Culture: Coexistence of the Local and the Western in the Territory of Latvia During the Middle Ages" Interarchaeologia 2: Colours of Archaeology. Material Culture and Society (2007): 139.

[280] Selart, "*Non German Literacy in Medieval Livonia."* 37.

shift in the type and intensity of processing, between the earlier hill-fort and later period sites: the town and castle. The details of this transition are best expressed with the types of cut marks themselves"[281]. From 1200 AD on stone fortifications and structures became more ubiquitous in some larger settlements[282] and would continue to be present well past 1250 AD[283]. The stone fortifications after Meinhard's misadventure at Uexküll seem to have been reserved for crusader fortifications. Castle building within the region is another technological change. From primarily wood and dirt structures to stone[284], this advancement initiated by the crusaders would change the face of warfare within the region. Native groups in the previous ages had wooden, dirt or no fortifications. This then saw stone fortifications and networks of castles being built by the crusaders strategically to defend the borders of the emerging Livonian state[285]. The new power centers of the region also started to undergo a transformation from pre-crusade settlement into medieval town. Using Tartu as a case study Bernotas argues that the minimum time to transform Tartu from a pre-crusade settlement to a medieval town was fifty to one hundred years.[286]

When looking at the situation of technology as a comprehensive area there is similar longue durée advancement to that seen in the economic facet. Between the Viking Age and the Early Medieval Age the technology of the settlement triangle advanced as new manufacturing techniques were discovered or introduced. While consisting largely of weapons technology the introduction of different languages as well as increasing interconnectedness to the larger catholic world, the changes that took place within the triangle between the Viking and Early Medieval Ages were notable. Aside from the longue durée change facet there is an acceleration around the time of Meinhard and Albert, which is similar to the acceleration that the economic sphere received. Due to the intertwined nature of the areas of technology and economy the joint acceleration comes as little

[281] Seetah Krish et Al "*New Technology or Adaptation at the Frontier? Butchery as a Signifier of Cultural Transitions." Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 20* (2013): 70.

[282] *von Bunge ed., Liv-, Est- und Kurländische Urkundenregesten bis zum Jahre 1300* Section 44 1211

[283] Rivo Bernotas, "*Medieval Town Wall of Tartu in Light of Recent Research" Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 15, No.1* (2011): 60.

[284] Turnbull, "*Crossbows or Catapults?,*"310.

[285] Turnbull, "*Crossbows or Catapults?,*"310.

[286] Rivo Bernotas, "*New Insights on the Changes of Townscape in 14th Century Tartu" Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 16, No.2* (2012): 163.

surprise. Economic issues with regards to taxation where also mired in political alliances. Native groups in some cases had two parties attempting to tax them. "They [the Livs CSB] blamed the bishop for the violence and called the yoke of the faith an excessive burden. This alludes to the severity of the duty to pay church taxes"[287]

Politics

In terms of political changes the courte durée impacts are an extension of Meinhard's efforts, though much more successful. Like Meinhard and Berthold, Albert governed from a position of arrogance[288]. The language used within Henry and the Rhymed Chronicle is very pastoral in nature. This type of polite arrogance, the need to save the souls of the pagans could hardly be interpreted in more positive way. But when compared with the violent actions taken against the pagan natives by the crusaders[289] this peaceful position becomes untenable. This view of the catholic political system being superior is something which extended to the other courte durée facets discussed. Politically Albert wanted the system he was familiar with to be the dominant one as this would have the most potential power gain. The courte duréechanges to achieve this came in one of two forms. Form one was that the native leader in question would allow Albert to incorporate the native group into the new hierarchy[290]. In practice this was essentially the crusaders slotting into a political niche above that of the native leadership class. Some native leaders notably Caupo were also willing to try to leverage the new political system in their favour (as discussed in an upcoming section). Caupo himself in the sources is generally shown as an early and faithful ally of the crusaders[291]. Nationalist historiographies have often labelled him a traitor for this reason[292]. Often Caupo is compared or contrasted to Lembitu an Estonian

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[287] Selart. Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century, 92.
[288] Smith and Urban, *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle,* 5-6.
[289] HCL XIX.X pp 81-82 Brundage pp 103-104.
[290] HCL VII.V p 22 Brundage p 43. (Referred to as kind of a king or rex in latin version, a distinction which is not visited on other natives in newly conquered areas).
[291] Smith and Urban, *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle,* 4-6. Caupo is elevated in this later text to being baptised much earlier
[292] Linda Kaljundi *"The Chronicler and the Modern World: Henry of Livonia and the Baltic Crusades in the Enlightenment and National Traditions."* In *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, edited by Jensen, C.S.; Kaljundi, L.; Tamm, M. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 447.

clan leader who was capable of uniting clans against the crusaders and was violently opposed to them until his death in battle[293]. The following quote taken from Henry serves the purpose of showing the integration of native clans into the crusader social order. Caupo for the most part was willing to work within the system as is shown below. At the same time though the system in its early days was fragile as Caupo could still resort to earlier pagan customs to show displeasure with the actions of the new power structure. The ending of the upcoming excerpt and Caupo's ability to keep his new religion while disagreeing on day to day political matters also shows the quick evolution of native and crusader relations, when the two allied or co-existed.

> *After their return a great contention arose between the Brothers of the Militia from Wenden and the Letts of Autine, the latter being in the bishop's area, over their fields and bee trees. Some of the Letts were wounded by the brothers and the quarrel came before the bishop. The lord bishop rose up with the venerable Lord Philip bishop of Ratzeburg and called the Brothers of the Militia and the Livs and Letts to a hearing so that by checking the quarrel, he could restore them to their former harmony. They wrangled bitterly for two days and were unable to enter into any peaceful reconciliation among themselves. The Livs and the Letts thereupon left the Germans and took oaths among themselves. They confirmed the oaths, according to their pagan custom by trampling on their swords. Caupo was the chief among them and his words were to this effect: that he would never fall away from the Christian faith, but that he would intercede with the bishop for the Livs and the Letts so that the Christian law might be lightened for them.[294]*

This quotation from Henry is evidence of the two pronged approach of Albert. Caupo and by extension his followers were willing to be Christian. They acknowledge Albert the bishop as an authority which they could appeal to against the Sword Brothers. But if this did not work the natives would and could fight. This would then entail Albert's other approach, engage in violence, win and then impose the crusader system on top of that of the native political groups who failed to resist. Some scholars have brought up the discussion

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[293] HCL XXI.II-III pp 141-143 Brundage pp 161-163 (died 1217 AD).
[294] HCL XVI.III pp 104-105 Brundage pp 123-124.

of the difference between a chieftainship and early state. The assigned qualities of a state by Blomkvist are "the characteristic features of states are clear-cut hierarchy, centralisation, bureaucracy, the emergence of a fiscal policy, and so on. However, the chiefdom was still devoid of all these features"[295]. This thesis would argue that some of these chieftains showed elements of centralization such as Lembitu or Caupo being able to marshal other forces to aid them. The crusaders can be said to have introduced a bureaucratic system, a unified fiscal policy(previously all chieftains were responsible for their own policies) the German, not German distinction is a clear cut hierarchy, though the author would argue that this existed in the clan period as well (though it was not very relevant), since the chronicles mention allied native warriors there must have been a de-facto warrior class. This is supported in the Latvian portion of the triangle by burial evidence and archaeological interpretation that a dedicated warrior class of some sort existed[296].

Part of Albert's aggressive implementation of the Catholic world system was via violence. One of Albert's first actions when he physically was in the settlement region was to found the Fraters Militia or the Sword Brothers[297]. This military religious order served several purposes from a courte durée standpoint. The order was active in the region the entire year, in contrast to merchants and the later transient crusaders. This was an escalation from the days of Meinhard who did not have a comparable standing force. Despite the small size of the Sword Brothers, with upper estimates given between one hundred and one hundred and twenty[298] they still were very effective. The main reason for this was that their technology and training enabled them to be an effective force multiplier against the numerically superior, but technologically inferior native troops. When the Sword Brothers worked with friendly native groups their capabilities greatly increased. The Sword Brothers and the seasonal crusaders were the main early catalysts of courte durée change. The Sword Brothers themselves would eventually challenge the bishop's authority and did gain more

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[295] Blomkvist, *Discovery of the Baltic*, 264.
[296] Marika Mägi "*Late Prehistoric Societies and Burials in the Eastern Baltic*"*Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 19* (2013): 182-183.
[297] HCL V.IV p 18 Brundage p 40.
[298] Murray, "*The Sword Brothers at War: Observations on the Military Activity of the Knighthood of Christ in the Conquest of Livonia and Estonia (1203-1227)*," 30.

temporal power[299]. A lot of the conquests of the crusaders to the east and south came about due to the drive of the military religious orders. The political divide between the Sword Brothers and the clergy just highlights that no world system is without flaw. The Sword Brothers did a lot to drive the conquest of the settlement region[300] and in tandem drive the courte durée changes in the political system. The Sword Brothers were also responsible for enforcing conversion. The many raids, counter raids, burnings and loot taking discussed in the chronicles of Henry[301] and the Rhymer[302] were committed by the military religious orders in the region. The formation of the Sword Brothers also changed the political system. Albert was able to slot the church hierarchy on top of some of the native groups, but the Sword Brothers later could control land without direct approval from Albert. When looking at maps of the region this accounts for land that more important bishops controlled. The Sword Brothers and much later the Livonian Order controlled their own land[303]. The Sword Brothers were committed to converting the native populaces, and acquiring land in the same way. The eventual split in land ownership between the Sword Brothers and Bishops enabled the military religious order to pursue more conquest. This is partially responsible for the start of the conquest of the Estonian portions of the settlement region[304]. Politically the de facto split within the hierarchy complicated the political system. There were several factions both foreign and native that collided and co-existed with each other. The common person in the native society did not see much day to day change. Rather the courte durée changes were focussed on and largely affected the upper echelons of the native political structure. The leadership classes were very much bound by the clash or compromise idea. Caupo is the best example of post Albert native embracement of the new political system. The Estonian leader Lembitu then being the best example of the rejection of the new political system. The nature of clash or compromise left two choices for the natives in the region concerning courte durée change. Side with the crusaders or not. This

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[299] HCL XI.III pp 48-50 Brundage pp 69-70.

[300] Murray, "*The Sword Brothers at War: Observations on the Military Activity of the Knighthood of Christ in the Conquest of Livonia and Estonia (1203-1227)."* 30-31.

[301] HCL XX.II-III pp 135-136 Brundage p 155-156.

[302] Smith and Urban, *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle,* p 11.

[303]*von Bunge ed., Liv-, Est- und Kurländische Urkundenregesten bis zum Jahre 1300* Section 48: Year 1212

[304] Darius von Güttner -Sporzynski, "*Northern Crusades: Between Holy War and Mission"* In *The Crusader World*, edited by Adrian J. Boas. (Routledge, 2016), 150.

was made clear by the actions of the crusaders in the years of Albert. These actions including forced conversion and violence. Refusal was met with violence, resistance was again met with violence. These practices continued well past 1250 AD and eventually resulted in the subjugation of all the native groups in the settlement region with continued conflicts in and out of the triangle[305]. The previous political system had been in place since the Viking Age, but starting with Meinhard this system was overthrown in parts of the settlement triangle in the early 1200s. The new system then expanded over the next century to include the entire settlement region and large parts of adjacent geographic areas. The courte durée changes to the political system then are the imposition of the catholic political system on a region which had previously not had such a large top heavy hierarchy. Other methods of organization were present in the settlement region and territory adjacent to it. While the Estonian portion of the settlement triangle had clan organization in some cases. Adjacent territories such as Saaremaa had their hierarchy based on other factors. Mägi suggests a warrior aristocracy.[306]

Aside from the conflicts between the military religious orders and the clergymen, there were also sporadic issues between the Danes and Livonians. Leading up to the 1238 AD Treaty of Stensby[307] and the destruction of the Sword Brothers at Saule in 1236 AD[308] capped the ongoing issues between the Danish controlled portion of Estonia and the Sword Brothers[309]. Under Stensby the newly formed Livonian Order and the Danes agreed to co-operate in some aspects[310]. Though eventually the Danes in Estonia would be forced by outside political issues to leave and the Livonian Order and associated clergymen would control everything[311]. Before 1250 AD, compounded by Papal pressure the Livonians and Danes fought with and eventually lost to the Rus'. These and further attempts to expand the

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[305] Hermann von Wartberge*Chronicon Livoniae*. Leipzig. S. Hirzel, 1863.

[306] Marika Mägi "*Collectivity Versus Individuality: the Warrior Ideology of Iron Age Burial Rites on Saaremaa*" *Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 8* (2007): 269.

[307] Bysted et al, *Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades 1100-1522* (Brepols, 2012.) 271.

[308] Battle of Saule.

[309] Jürgen Sarnowsky, "*The 'Golden Age' of the Hanseatic League.*" In *A Companion to the Hanseatic League,* edited by Donald J. Harreld. (Brill, 2015), 69.

[310] Selart. *Livonia, Rus and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century,* 146.

[311] Tyge Andersen and Priit Raudkivi, "From Saxo Grammaticus to Peter Friecrich Suhm: Danish Views on Medieval Estonian History*"Acta Historica Tallinnensia Volume 11* (2007): 4.

reach of the catholic world system into non-Christian lands took place in the 1200s. They can be seen as either crusades to expand the system or purely political in nature[312]. The Battle on the Ice in 1242 AD[313] was the decisive Rus' counter-attack after many incursions into their territory. Scholars have discussed the political situation in other works, but the author would simply say that like the clash of world systems between the natives and Catholics, there was eventually a clash of world systems between the Rus' and Latin Christians. The very early genesis of this political clash can be seen in Henry and his language towards the Rus'. While the Rus' were not considered pagans in these early days and truthfully the eventual consideration of the Rus' as pagans was a stretch. Rather the Rus' preferred to extract money and de facto lordship over the natives in the settlement triangle. There was not a large drive to convert them until the eventual conflict between the Livonians and the Rus' over control of land. The Livonians saw control of land as also controlling souls and fought and won, generally against the Rus' possessions which existed in the settlement triangle[314]. When the fight was taken into Rus' principalities (proper) the end result was different. This was not so much a clash of religion as it was a dispute over land[315] and Henry and other sources have used religion as a framing device to endeavour to place themselves on the righteous side of history.

Social

Social change is the second major courte durée area. The catholic world system that was introduced into the region is also a social system. Within the settlement triangle the crusaders were a totally new social class. In this vein the disproportionate power that the crusaders achieved or in this earlier period hoped to achieve is very much a courte durée change. The classes of the native social system had very different experiences dealing with the crusaders. Specialist classes such as those in economic or religious niches would eventually be supplanted by the crusader variants. Native merchants eventually lost ground to the foreigners and likewise the native religion (and clerics) was supplanted or driven

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[312] Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes,* 220.
[313] Alexei Alexandrovich Shakhmmatov Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes trans., *The Chronicle of Novgorod 1016 – 1471* (Camden Third Series London, 1914). Entry A.D. 1242 A.M.6750. page 86-87.
[314] Selart. Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century, 126.
[315] Selart. Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century, 126.

underground[316] to such an extent as to be considered irrelevant. The native leadership classes seem to have been affected by the clash or compromise dichotomy. If the native leaders compromised early then the social system of the crusaders was placed on top of the existing social system. If there was a clash then the crusaders generally imposed the system via violent means and kept the system in its position by violent means. Common people or peasants actually did not notice much if any change to their day to day lives. "Despite the presumed changes in Estonian society associated with the Crusades, the analyses reveal no profound differences in meat consumption in the transitional period from prehistory to the middle ages"[317] This was because despite the medieval colonial project in the settlement region there was not a massive importation of colonists. This import of people took place in other nearby areas[318], but within the settlement region and its adjacent areas there was no *Ostsiedlung* in this period or later on[319]. The social system was very much a majority being disproportionately affected by a minority. By 1250 AD there was still ongoing conflict between the crusaders and various native groups. The reception of the social system again varies by larger native group, but in this time period the Semgallians[320] and Lithuanians[321] were groups with which conflict extended past 1250 AD. Letts and Livs had been conquered or compromised with the crusaders much earlier[322]. The Osilians are recorded as having been subjugated by 1227 AD[323]

In the year 1201 AD Rīga was founded by Albert[324], it would become the capital of the new crusader state of Livonia, replacing Ikšķile (Uexküll). Rīga contributed to the acceleration of the longue durée area of economics, but it is also the primary physical manifestation of

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[316] Tõnno Jonuks, "*Archaeology of Religion: Possibilities and Prospects*"Estonian Journal of Archaeology Volume 9 No.1 (2005): 42.

[317] Eve Rannamäe and Heiki Valk, "*Some Spatial and Temporal Aspects of Animal Utilisation in Viljandi, Medieval Livonia.*" Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 20 (2013): 47.

[318] George R. Stevens. "*Sword, Cross and Plow vs. Pickaxe and Coin: A Comparison of the Medieval German Settlement of Prussia and Transylvania*"Vexillum Issue 4 (2014).

[319] No instances of reported peasant colonization, the colonizers were strictly members of the power structure, hence the german/non german distinction which would emerge later.

[320] Conquered by 1290 AD

[321] Davies, *God's Playground*,50.

[322] Conquered by 1209 AD-1210 AD.

[323] Aleksander Pluskowski and Heiki Valk, "*Conquest and Europeanization: The Archaeology of the Crusades in Livonia, Prussia and Lithuania.*" in *The Crusader* World edited by Adrian J. Boas. (Routledge, 2016), 570.

[324] HCL V.I pp 15-16 Brundage pp 38-39.

the courte durée changes in the settlement area. Rīga itself is the first foreign constructed and dominated town in the region. It displaced or took over from the relatively close economic center of Daugmale. Rīga was the center of Bishop Albert's spiritual and temporal power. The social structure of the crusaders eventually coalesced into a feudal system in which the military religious orders and bishops were heads of their respective territories[325]. Under this new system the vassals or king's men comprised both allied native leaders and imported nobles and soldiers. The involvement of the native leaders in the new social system was dependent upon their initial relations with the crusaders. Within the modern Latvian areas of Livonia native leaders were actively involved in the social system of the crusaders. Within the modern Estonian portions of Livonia the involvement of the native leaders in the new social system depended on how they interacted with the crusaders. Within some areas compromise was quick and the natives were incorporated into the system with minimal issue. In other portions of the triangle clash was the main course of action and this caused native leaders to not be given a place of prominence in the new system

Comparing this system to the older social systems there are differences in the organization of the social structure, i.e. clan based vs feudal based. The social system was upended by the crusaders in a series of courte durée actions which involved re-organization of the social structures and external borders as the newly emerging state of Livonia expanded. The introduction of the crusader's primarily north German culture to the settlement region would eventually result in the Deutsch, un-Deutsch distinction. This divide between the Germanic speakers and the natives would manifest itself much more past 1350 AD[326], but the ideological basis for these future changes was already present in this earlier period. The implied superiority of the crusader system allowed a small, but well equipped minority to carve out a social niche for themselves and eventually take control far beyond their numerical means. Socially the way that land was held also started to change. From the

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[325] HCL V.I-II pp 15-16 Brundage pp 38-39.

[326] Various instances of resistance to the crusader conquest, Battle of Lyndanise, Battle of St. Mathew's Day, various early resistance and finally St. George's Night Uprising. Toivo Milijan, *Historical Dictionary of Estonia* (Scarecrow Press, 2004), 3-5.

formerly free hold nature of the natives to the feudal system. From his arrival in Livonia Bishop Albert secured willing soldiers by establishing fiefs in the newly emerging state[327] Despite these developments it has been said by scholars that there was already a transition from collective to private property before the crusades.[328] This can be taken to mean that in some social aspects the native groups had already started to shift. Potentially from earlier interaction with outsiders. Earlier in this work the notion of no change in the native social systems was raised. Again differences of opinion in the literature regarding the nature of native property. Was it collective or private? This is a debatable topic amongst professional scholars of the region. The author tends to think that collective or private property was dependant on the native unit in question, but there is no concrete way to know for sure.

Religious

Religion in the triangle underwent its courte durée change phase under the reign of Albert. Meinhard had wanted to enact similar policies, but was unable to generate or unwilling to use appropriate force to do so. Albert had a large group of crusaders and was able to build longer lasting allies amongst the natives. The change in religion is the center piece of the courte durée changes. Despite some potential longue durée aspects by the time of Albert religion was being forcibly changed where the crusaders could enforce it. The longue duréeaspects of the religious change are the potential influence of the cross symbol. The potential for influence certainly did exist, but it is debated amongst scholars as to its exact amount and scope. If there was a new type of Christianity in the settlement region then it was not seen that way at the time. Henry, the Rhymer and other primary sources all refer to the native populace as pagan. By the time of Albert the crusading mentality was already entrenched in the minds of the bishops and members of military religious orders. Albert most certainly came into the region with a warlike mindset[329]. In terms of religious change, during this period there was upheaval in religious practice throughout the settlement triangle. Albert's clerics and their Danish counterparts tore down sacred groves and built

[327] Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes,* 80.

[328] Šnē, "*The Economy and Social Power,*" 70.

[329] HCL III.I-III p 12 and IV.I-IV pp 13-14 Brundage pp 35-36

churches on native holy sites[330]. With the expanding territorial presence of the crusaders came the expanding presence of the clerics. Religious practice and adherence in this time period exist on a scale. This scale ranges from self-professed genuine adherence to a more nominal "practice" of the new religion. The crusaders across all the social classes present in the region would have at least professed a genuine belief in the religion. The language of the primary sources indicates that this was the correct narrative to put forward. With regards to the natives as a whole adherence seems to have been a mix of political and genuine motivation. Amongst the Livs and Letts of this period there were some leaders who followed the religion and tried to work within the crusader system. On the other hand the Estonians rejected the catholic world system. Later acceptance can be seen as an example of Blomkvist's compromise principle. The much later St. George's Night Uprising[331] and the language used by some describe it as attempts to throw off alien rule.[332] This shows that there may still have been some underground disdain for the crusader rule with possible foreign influence or assistance[333]. By 1250 AD religious changes had been implemented exclusively in a courte durée way, the native religion in crusader areas had in the eyes of the crusader power structure been supplanted by Catholicism and violent attempts to convert adjacent pagans were well underway. Conversion was expected and when it was refused violence would follow. The almost constant state of conflict and raiding would also lend credence to this idea. Courte durée changes in this facet include church building, destruction of native religious symbols and sites, as well as various attempts to enforce the religious adherence via violence.

With the coming of Catholicism to the settlement region various changes both in the religious ideology and the practices associated with it can be observed. Practically the courte duréechanges observed include, location and type of worship, burial customs and related social practices. The location of places of worship changed from primarily outdoor

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[330] HCL XXIV.V pp 175-176 Brundage p 194

[331] 1343 AD-1345 AD

[332] Alan W. Ertl, *Towards an Understanding of Europe: A Political Economic Précis of Continental Integration* (Universal-Publishers, 2008), 385.

[333] Ivar Leimus. "*St. George's Night Uprising and 'Help' from Sweden*" in *Estonica Encyclopedia about Estonia*. (2012).

venues to church buildings. The places of worship in some cases remained the same, sacred groves would be cut down and the same spot is now considered a Christian environment[334]. This is a common method throughout the middle ages in regards to converting pagans[335]. By building a church on the old sacred spot the new religion hopes to transfer some of the old beliefs to the new building. One may claim that this is an early or base form of syncretism. Like how late December was also a non-Catholic pagan feast[336]. Burial customs in the medieval age changed in that they became more uniform. Previously there had been different types of burial customs in the settlement region, but after Catholicism came into force the burial practices start to shift more and more to catholic ones. A good example of the transition if the funeral service of Caupo which contained both pagan and catholic elements[337]. "The Latgallians of the 9th-13th centuries used to bury their dead, burying them mostly in flat burial grounds."[338] While the Livs both of the Daugava and Gauja buried their dead in mounds.[339] The graves themselves still held on to some pre-Christian customs namely grave goods. Scholars have stated that the mentality of Livonia was conservative, with some aspects of pagan burials surviving, grave goods started to disappear, but the same burial sites were used and some knowledge of the former sacred places remained in the minds of older members of the society.[340] The major courte durée change was of course the transition from a multitude of gods of various types to a single god of everything. Instances like the religious play were useful tools to help acclimatize the natives to this new religion[341]. Along with the coming of the Catholic faith came new sets of rules, doctrine

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[334] Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen. *Henry of Livonia on Woods and Wilderness* in: Jensen, C.S.; Kaljundi, L.; Tamm, M. (Ed.). *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 175.

[335] C.S. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 82 and Bonnie Effros "*Monuments and Memory: Repossessing Ancient Remains in Early Medieval Gaul.*"in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Mayke de Jong, Frans Theuws and Carine van Rhijn. (Brill, 2001).

[336] C.C. Martindale. Christmas. In <u>The Catholic Encyclopedia.</u> (Robert Appleton Company, 1908).

[337] Tamm, *Martyrs and Miracles: Depicting Death in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia,* 142.

[338] Marika Mägi *At the Crossroads of Space and Time: Graves, Changing Society and Ideology on Saaremaa (Osel) 9th-13th Centuries AD CCC Papers 6* (Gotland University College Centre for Baltic Studies and Institute of History, Tallinn, Department of Archaeology, 2002), 21.

[339] Mägi, *At the Crossroads of Space and Time,* 22-23.

[340] Valk "*From the Iron Age to the Middle Age: Local Nobility and Cultural Changes*,"286.

[341] HCL IX.XIV p 32 Brundage p 53.

was a large factor in the courte durée nature of religious change. The rituals and ceremonies differed from the pagan faith. Communion, the doctrine of transubstantiation and single god would have been vastly different from the outdoor nature worshipping pagan religion. The rituals from what is known about the pagan faith would indicate that burial customs were different, orientation of the corpse, type of burial, inclusion of grave goods and the like. In some parts of the settlement triangle and adjacent areas (present day northeast Estonia and parts of Latvia); the horse seems to have had some religious significance. As evidenced by animal bone remains in some graves in present day north-east Estonia but not in Late Iron Age graves from west or south Estonia[342] In the Latvian portions of the settlement region horses also had some religious significance as double burials of human and horse have been found along the Daugava River.[343]

The hierarchy of the Catholic Church was also much larger and more pervasive in society. From Henry it is known that a native specialist class (religious) existed, but given the disparity between the various political groups, especially in the Estonian portion of the settlement region their role remains vague. It is almost certain that these native spiritual leaders lost their authority or were pushed underground once their region was conquered by the crusaders. Based on archaeological and written evidence it seems likely that some of the practices of the pagan faith stayed in force past 1350 AD. At the time of the change over the courte duréeaspect of the religious change was similar to that of the political and social spheres. The various political units had complied in different ways. This compliance led to violent or less violent changes and a better positioning in the newly emerging social order of the time. In terms of a comparison of pure religious doctrine between native and catholic the differences are very pronounced. One god vs multiple gods, nature worship personified as gods vs worship of a singular all-knowing god. Preference for cremation or inhumation with grave goods vs burial and various smaller more ritual focused differences.

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[342] Liina Maldre and Heidi Luik "*The Horse in Estonia in the Late Bronze Age: Archaeozoological and Archaeological Data*" *Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 11* (2009): 38.
[343] Antonija Vilcāne, "*Findings of Harness Items and the Cult of the Horse in Latgallian and Selonian Territories*" Archaeologia Baltica, Vol. 11 (2009): 266.

Communion and the liturgy of the mass[344] vs the nature worship and possible sacrifices[345] of the native religion. The extent to which these beliefs existed within triangle society before 1250 AD and after is not entirely possible to ascertain. "Some elements of the pagan religion did survive to be discussed in the 20th century in the forms of tales and songs. Though as the article's author mentions these are tinged with romantic notions and poor chronology"[346]. A point which the author of this thesis agrees on.

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[344] Pope Benedict XV, St Pius X et al. *Missale Romanum: Ex Decreto Concilii Tridentini Restitutm* (Palm House, 2004) (see this volume for detailed discussion on order of the mass) Also see chart linked in bibliography for detailed timeline of liturgical changes.
[345] Jonuks, "*Holy Groves in Estonian Religion,*" 4.
[346] Jonuks, "*Archaeology of Religion,*" 35.

Chapter 4.0: Inside the Minds of the Triangle's Social Classes: Stability and Logic as Basis for Motivation to Enter the Region

Within this chapter of the thesis, the stability argument and its application and form will be discussed. This stability argument is the author's novel approach to explain motivation to enter the settlement triangle and how the stability argument can give a fuller answer to this question that the singular ones of economy or religion. In this way it is meant to blend or sit over the economic/religious and other arguments for motivation by providing a classification system based on social classes identified by careful reading of the primary sources, some of which are present in earlier scholarship and others emphasized by the author. There has been for a long while in the literature a distinction between the economic and religious motivation for the northern crusades. This distinction also encompasses level of participation within the conquest. Two well-known scholars in the field, Leonid Arbusow and Paul Johansen are often the two scholars cited when referring to the economic/religious motivation debate. Johansen argues generally for the economic motivation and a high level of participation from the merchants, while Arbusow generally argues that religious motivation was also a factor and a higher level of clerical participation within the colonial/conversion process. Johansen published first[347] and Arbusow's work[348] contains criticism and alternatives to Johansen. The following chapter will outline the stability argument, its justification and the unique way in which this work presents its classification system. Ideally this argument can provide an alternative for the current discussion as well as present a novel approach. The main lynch-pin, stability is considered by this thesis the desired result of medieval colonization. Outlined below are the definitions for all the terms, but broadly medieval colonization if successfully preformed will create a world system which is similar to the one the colonizers come from. Each social class of colonizer has a prima facie motivation, which may be seen to stand out as an obvious motivation. Working under a world system they are more familiar with makes it easier to

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[347] Paul Johansen *"Die Biedeutung der Hanse fur Livland"Hansische Geschichsblatter Volume 65* (1940): 1-55.
[348] Arbusow Leonid Arbusow, *"Die Frage nach die Bedeutung der Hansa fur Livland,"Deutsches Archiv fur Geschichte des Mittelalters* Volume 7 (1944): 212-239.

obtain these goals. Since the classes as a whole can be considered members of the power structure and not peasantry they would benefit from similar social norms to the world system that gave them their power.

Firstly it is prudent to give all the definitions needed to unpack the following discussion. Medieval colonization is defined by this thesis as the replication of the world system of the colonizer's motherland in a new geographic location. This is based on the author's interpretation of Bartlett's work. Stability is defined as the result of medieval colonization in which the persons of the motherland can act in the same way in the new area that they did in the old. It is the desired result of medieval colonization as it gives the social classes (generally) a greater opportunity to pursue their prima facie motivations. It also can be seen as the successful implementation of the catholic world system (which was the world system of the motherland at the time). The syllogistic format that the classifications take their form in is based on the consultation of the Febvre volume The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century. In this volume Febvre essentially wants to know how Rabelais (the focus of the volume) thought and how these thoughts affected his actions. To attempt to unravel this puzzle Febvre set out to learn how a person raised and functioning in the same environment as Rabelais might have thought. By researching medieval education methods and what may have been taught at the time the author was able to settle on the syllogism which was at its most simple form a basic argument which may have been taught in cathedral schools and studium. The author acknowledges that both religion and economy provided some level of motivation, but is not entirely satisfied with the modern synthetic approach that both have some type of influence. Well how much does each type have? How does it change based on time period, country of origin? And many other questions. It was harder to try to determine how people thought in the 12thand 13th centuries than the 16th, but some research can be done and has been done for the purpose of this work. The philosophic tradition in Europe is somewhat well documented essentially drawing a line from Aristotle, to Boetheus to Peter Abelard and others who are discussed further on in this section. Since not all of Aristotle's work were known to people in the 12th and 13thcenturies and "new" ones were being re-introduced a simple argument in the syllogism was chosen as

the focus for the study. There is some proof that this type of teaching was widespread and extant at the time, but it is likely a case of the theoretical vs the concrete. The author recognizes this and has chosen to present the argument in this form simply because the author thinks that it easily communicates the ideas behind it. The use of the syllogism in the upcoming lines was used because despite the small amount of evidence for its actual use the author thought the form itself was a good way to present the argument.

Within the settlement triangle there are several distinct not native social classes. Each of these classes has a separate prima facie motivation. Each of these prima facie motivations has an easier time being fulfilled under a stable world system. The colonization in the region was a conscious effort by the groups involved to implement their world system (through violence if needed) in a new geographic area. The conversion to Catholicism and the setting up of economic and social norms that were not native to the area are proof of this. There was no option given to remain pagan and still be incorporated. The only option was the catholic world system and the demands of the crusaders that the natives conform to it. Preferential treatment and lack of violence against groups who converted and stayed converted is again proof of the two tiered system which was starting to develop in the triangle. Within the catholic world system each foreign social class has an easier time navigating society and pursuing or fulfilling their classes' prima facie motivation. The use of prima facie motivation in this context is a modern take on the motivation of the social classes that tries to incorporate contemporary education or knowledge transfer into a workable system. The social classes active within the settlement triangle are as follows, merchants, members of military religious orders and secular nobility, clerics, both high (bishops) and low (line priests) as well as common people or peasants. Each of these classes in general has a prima facie motivation of sorts and motivation to be in the settlement region pursuing their prima facie motivation. Many of these classes have long histories of being discussed in the literature. Each of these classes are not bound solely to this motivation and the author is not so dogmatic to suggest that. Rather the author acknowledges that various members of the society pursued multiple goals. The use of the prima facie motivation is simply that, the use of the on the face of motivation. Right away

the common class can be eliminated from this application of the argument as the *Ostsiedlung*[349] did not extend to the settlement region[350]. Merchants had a prima facie motivation of profit or economic benefit[351]. Clerics had nominally a prima facie motivation of handing the gospel on[352] or proselytizing. This thesis would also further make the distinction between high and low clergy. It is an important one to make as the lives and functions of each group were very different in the settlement region. High clergy also had temporal goals such as diplomatic activity and day to day governance of the lands under their control[353]. Lower clergy did not generally undertake these tasks on the scale of high ranking clergy men such as Albert. These temporal aspects, land ownership and profit accumulation exist due to the duality of high clerical positions in the medieval ages. Low clergy which would be defined by the author as front line priests, friars and the like can be assigned the sole prima facie motivation of proselytizing and conversion. The temporal nature of a parish priest did not extend as far as that of a bishop. Military religious order members and secular nobility both have the temporal prima facie motivation of land acquisition, but for different reasons. Secular nobility generally speaking held to their own self-interest, but would in some cases assist the institutional Catholic Church. In the colonized settlement area land was held primarily by the bishops or military religious orders. Regarding military religious orders their prima facie motivation was to conquer land and by doing so conquer and convert pagans. The religious dimension of a temporal activity make them the opposite of secular nobles, who would perform the temporal activity of land taking regardless.

The main theoretical case for the stability dimension is that the educated classes of the Early Medieval Ages who were active in the settlement triangle had a defined amount and level of education. Usually this would consist of cathedral schools and eventually medieval

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[349] Used to define the eastward expansion of the germanic principalities at various points in the medieval period. Also involved large scale colonization of farmers and the like into conquered regions, this second component did not take place in the settlement triangle.

[350] Marian Biskup, *"Territorial Governance in Medieval Livonia and its Extent"* in *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia*, edited by Roman Czaja, and Andrzej Radzimiński. (Torun Press, 2015), 177.

[351] Munzinger, *"The Profits of the Cross,"* 166.

[352] Various *Catechism of the Catholic Church* Part One, Section One, Chapter Three, Article Two, Subsection 171 (Roman Catholic Church, 1997).

[353] Radzimiński, *"Church Divisions of Livonia,"* 254-255.

universities.[354]Thought the advent of the university came after the start of the conquest. The nobles and high clerics who made up the power structure within the region may have received a trivium or quadrivium education, though not necessarily in the same location[355]. Education methods were different within the Medieval Ages and more so within the Early Medieval Ages[356]. The main works of Aristotle relevant to this argument are the *Categories* and towards the middle of the 1100s the *Prior Analytics* which came into more widespread use before the year 1200 AD[357]. After 1200 AD the *Posterior Analytics* became more widely known circa 1230 AD[358]. The purpose of discussing education at a higher level between and around the years 1150 AD to 1180 AD (and slightly after this date) is to potentially understand how the people who enacted the courte durée change within the settlement triangle may have thought. Though there may be no explicit education manual surviving from this time period one can still look into what philosophical works were around/used at the time, there were forms of formal education, cathedral schools and other studium. The time period discussed and the argument formulated in this section occupies a tricky spot in the advancement of philosophical thought. The start of the new logic came about with the entirety of the Organon being rediscovered and spread in Europe[359] around the middle to end of the twelfth century. Essentially a basic logical argument is given as the form, because what is known about formal education the time suggests that philosophical texts were a tool used at the time.

The trivium is the lower level and precursor to the quadrivium. The trivium contained grammar, logic and rhetoric[360]. Grammar being the study of the mechanics of language, logic the mechanics of thought and rhetoric the mechanics of discourse. The quadrivium

[354] Randall D. Hart,*Increasing Academic Achievement with the Trivium of Classical Education* (iUniverse Publishing, 2006), 42.

[355] Christopher M. Bellitto, "*Revisiting Ancient Practices: Priestly Training Before Trent."* in *Medieval Education*, edited by Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski. (Fordham University Press, 2005), 39.

[356] Evelyn Birge Vitz, "*Liturgy as Education in the Middle Ages"* In *Medieval Education*, edited by Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski. (Fordham University Press, 2005), 21-22.

[357] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy *Entry Medieval Theories of the Syllogism Introduction* retrieved from https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/medieval-syllogism/#1 Mar.15/17.

[358] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy *Entry Medieval Theories of DemonstrationSection 3: Robert Grosseteste* retrieved from https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/demonstration-medieval/#3 Mar.15/17.

[359] W. Turner. Logic. In The Catholic Encyclopedia. (Robert Appleton Company, 1910).

[360] Lynn Harry Nelson *The Rise of the Universities* (Article) (University of Kansas, 2004).

contained maths, music, geometry and astronomy[361]. The quadrivium was the higher four arts and as such cannot be assumed to have been taught to everyone. But the trivium can be assumed to have been imparted in some form to all the educated or rich persons who participated in the settlement triangle. The important trivium component for the purpose of the stability argument is logic. The entire trivium would have been taught via Socratic Method[362]. Logic would have focussed on a form of Aristotelian logic which was present in the Early Medieval Ages. The category of philosophy called logic is one of the oldest ones. It can trace its genesis back to ancient Greek philosophy. In the period before 1200 AD Aristotle's logical method was taught based on what is now known as the partial Organon which is a collection of the primary extant works on logic authored by Aristotle. For the purposes of this thesis the modern extant versions of Organon and its composite texts have been consulted. "Dialectic established a regular and coherent frame for thinking."[363] The education of the time would have prepared its students to think in this way and some of their major study areas included grammar, which was considered the foundation for trivium/quadrivium learning. Grammar had its basis in several classical traditions, one of which was the philosophy of Aristotle[364].

In his historical overview of early medieval education Wagner makes several references to the start of the recovery of Europe in the 10th century.[365] "The 12th century renaissance was a renewed interest in, and a more sophisticated understanding of the liberal arts"[366]. Boethius played an increasingly important role.[367]

'Gerbert's most direct contribution to this revival lay in his teaching. His curricular reforms were responsible for the increased importance of Boethius' logical works. Even more significant was Gerbert's influence on his students who disseminated his thought through

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[361] Hart, *Increasing Academic Achievement,* 41.
[362] Hart, *Increasing Academic Achievement,* 12.
[363] Jeffrey F. Huntsman, "*Grammar"* In *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages,* edited by David L. Wagner. (Indiana University Press, 1986), 60.
[364] Huntsman, "*Grammar,"* 61.
[365] David L. Wagner, "*The Seven Liberal Arts and Classical Scholarship."* In *The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages,* edited by David L. Wagner. (Indiana University Press Bloomington, 1986), 23.
[366] Wagner, "*The Seven Liberal Arts and Classical Scholarship."* 23.
[367] Wagner, "*The Seven Liberal Arts and Classical Scholarship."* 24.

their own teaching. Many of these students founded or directed cathederal schools the chief centers of learning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries."[368]

Within the Organon the most prominent work in the Early Medieval Ages seems to have been the Categories, for the purposes of this argument the following from Prior Analytics is important "I call a syllogism perfect if it requires, nothing apart from what is comprised in it, to make the necessary conclusion apparent"[369] . A similar quote is expanded upon in the following passages from the Standford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy "Each of the things supposed is a premise (protasis) of the argument and what results of necessity is a conclusion. The core of the definition is the notion of resulting necessity. This corresponds to a modern notion of logical consequence: X results of necessity from Y and Z if it would be impossible for X to be false when Y and Z are true. We can therefore take this to be a general definition of "valid argument"[370].

Example Argument

Ice is frozen water (X) = Water exists (Y) + Water can be frozen (Z)

The above definition can be then taken to be that of a basic argument. It is impossible to know what level the trivium or quadrivium reached in the majority of the figures active in the settlement region. So the lowest possible definition. Trivium was standard educational practice for all base levels of formal education. A basic part of logic such as how to formulate a valid argument would likely have been covered in most instances.

Now to unpack the definition. X results in necessity (cannot be false) = Y (true) + Z (true). So for the author's stability argument the equation would look like this. X is the increasingly optimal conditions for fulfilment of prima facie motivation. Z is prima facie motivation and Y is stability. The definitions of each term are as follows.

[368] Wagner, "*The Seven Liberal Arts and Classical Scholarship."* 24.
[369] Aristotle Prior Analytics Volume 1.I-II p 203 in *Cook, Harold P. and Tredennick, Hugh trans., The Categories of Interpretation, Prior Analytics. (Harvard University Press, 1962)*
[370] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy *Entry: Aristotle's Logic Section 3: The Logic of Syllogisms* retrieved from https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-logic/#AriSci on Jan.30/17.

Stability is the establishment and dominant position of the catholic world system. More broadly it can also mean the establishment of a set of norms or a world system which is familiar to the members of the social class in question.

Optimal conditions is the presence of all the variables which will enable the easiest approach to fulfilling the prima facie motivation. The establishment of a familiar world system along with all its protections and benefits to the social class in question leads to optimal conditions for pursuing the prima facie motivation.

Prima facie motivation. Prima facie is Latin for "on the face of" which can also be stated as the general or obvious motivation. In this argument this motivation is the main driver of the social class, merchants want profit as an example.

<u>So the full equation as follows</u>.

X (increasing optimal conditions for fulfilment of prima facie motivation) = Z (prima facie motivation) + Y (stability). To give the equation in a different form.

Stability + prima facie motivation = optimal conditions for fulfilment of prima facie motivation.

X results in necessity from Y + Z.

Y= Stability

X = Increasingly optimal conditions for fulfilment of prima facie motivations

Z = Prima facie motivations

The following equations will be given for the crusader social classes mentioned earlier in this chapter.

<u>Merchants</u>

Desire for maximum profit (Z) + Stability (Y) = Increased potential for maximum profit (X)

<u>High Clergy</u>

Desire to convert pagans and desire for temporal power (Z) + Stability (Y) = Increased potential for conversions and temporal power (X).

Low Clergy

Desire to convert pagans (Z) + Stability (Y) = Increased potential for conversions (X).

Secular Nobility

Desire for increased temporal power (Z) + Stability (Y) = Increased potential for temporal power (X).

Members of Military Religious Orders

Desire to convert pagans and gain temporal power (Z) + Stability (Y) = Increased potential for gaining temporal power via conversion of pagans (X).

The stability argument can also be made from the point of view of the native groups. Though their prima facie motivations are more open to conjecture. They are more open to conjecture due to the lack of historical documentation on the thought process of the native members of the society.

Overall the social classes present across all of the different native ethnic groups can be said to be leadership, specialized which can be broken down into religious and economic distinctions; and lastly common members of the native societies. A further distinction is between the social classes of native groups which were opposed to the crusaders and those who were allied with them. Stability in this side of the argument would be a return to the former world system and/or a rejection of the catholic world system with the idea to establish a third world system. Firstly the equations will be given for those who were opposed to the crusaders.

Native leadership opposed to the crusaders

Desire to maintain Their World System or Reject the Catholic One (Z) + Stability (Y) = Increased potential for retaining a world system of their preference.

Native specialist classes (religious) opposed to the crusaders

Desire to maintain their World System or reject the catholic one (Z) + Stability (Y) = Increased potential for retaining religious dominance (X)

Native specialist classes (economic) opposed to the crusaders

Desire to maintain their world system or maintain their economic niche (Z) + Stability (Y) = Increased potential for maintaining economic niche (therefore profits).

Native leadership allied with the crusaders.

Desire to maintain or increase their temporal power (Z) + Stability (Y) = Perceived chance to increase or maintain their temporal power (X).

Native specialist classes (religious) allied with the crusaders

Desire to increase spiritual reach of catholic world system (Z) + Stability (Y) = Increased potential to extend catholic world system (X).

Native specialist classes (economic) allied with the crusaders

Desire to increase profits or expand economic niche (Z) + Stability (Y) = Increased potential to expand profits and/or economic niche (X).

The peasant or common class has been shown to have had little to no direct change enforced upon them until the introduction of the deutch, un-deutch distinction around 1350 AD. As such they are omitted from the stability argument as it is presented above. Even though members of the native groups would not have had the trivium education the author decided to apply the argument to them as a theoretical comparison to the crusader application. The native social classes presented above are based primarily on the author's interpretation of primary and secondary literature. The distinction given between opposed and allied to crusaders is due to the fundamentally different prima facie motivations and end goals that opposed to crusaders and allied with crusaders would have had.

The form this argument takes and the discussion of philosophic thought is another facet of the longue and courte durée changes that took place in the settlement triangle. The longue durée aspect of the education and methods used to educate members of the ruling classes in the catholic world system. The centuries of advancement of thought and function created a sense of superiority and potentially arrogance in the catholic world system. This certainty in God (real or imagined) and the correctness of the religion. The superiority (perceived) of the culture that fostered it and the willingness to promote this world system by violence is an important aspect of the longue durée changes in the region. The courte durée is when the people who fit into the above classifications and thought in a way which was fostered in

that type of belief came into the settlement triangle and enacted what can be described as catastrophic change.

This section despite drawing on source outside historical texts is relevant to this thesis as it articulates a different way of looking at the how the people that caused the changes were influenced. It was not necessarily primarily religion or primarily economy. Rather it was the entire world system which gave a sense of certainty (real or imagined) that also gave greater opportunities for the classes in that society to pursue their own goals under the umbrella of the stability of a world system which they forced onto a new geographic region. The colonizers viewed the catholic world system as the best way to have a stable platform to pursue their goals. They also likely considered it their normal way to live, but as history shows there are cases, even in the settlement region of groups abandoning their "normal" way of life for what they perceive to be greater benefits.

Chapter 5.0: Findings and Conclusions

This thesis covered two main aspects, the long and short term changes that took place across five defined change areas and the combined argument of stability and logic among the foreign social classes active in the region. This thesis defined and categorized five change areas – religion, societal, political, economic, technological- into the defined Annales School category of longue durée and the implied category of courte durée. Chapters 2 and 3 outline and provide proof for these long and short term changes in the settlement triangle which covers the geographic region between Tallinn, Tartu and Riga from the years 900 AD to 1250 AD. This thesis found that the author's initial categorization of the five areas into longue durée (economic and technology) and courte durée (politics, society) were correct. The author had originally categorized religion into courte durée, but some scholarship on the topic challenges this claim, while other scholarship supports it. The author ultimately would categorize religion as something in-between, there were most certainly courte durée aspects within the spread of religion inside the settlement triangle. Some symbols of Christianity have been argued to show a longer continuity, but the author of this thesis ultimately finds that these claims to not be totally provable. It is also worth noting that voluntary baptism and compliance to the new world system was not rejected by all the native groups. If there was a pre-crusade catholic or Christian presence then they would have been amalgamated in an easier fashion or treated better. This was not the case though as Christian influences in the region were not strong before the conquest. There is no evidence of this though. The author then would have to stick to the above sentiment of religion as a primarily courte durée area.

With regards to the other facets the longue durée facets showed acceleration around the same time as the start of the crusades. Likewise the courte durée facets showed some (debatable) long term growth, but this is disputed by scholars in the field and there is no clear evidence of prolonged social or political change before the incursion. Despite the longue durée nature of economy and technology there was an undisputed courte durée aspect, the acceleration and introduction of new items and techniques into the region. The

second major aspect of this thesis and the more novel argument by far is the stability argument. Accompanied by the logical argumentation in chapter 4 the author put forward a potential new approach to discussion of motivation in the settlement triangle. The author thinks that the stability argument, that medieval colonization was undertaken with the intent to create a stable world system (stable from the point of view of the colonizers) more fully explains the motivations of the groups within the triangle. Previous scholarship has been divided along religious or economic lines (with respect to the primary motivation), despite modern scholarship generally favouring a synthetic approach this argument does not provide a full enough answer to the author of this thesis. The use of the stability argument provides an over-reaching argument which is great that that of religion or economy by themselves. Each social class (merchants, high clerics, low clerics, secular nobility and members of military religious orders), some identified by previous scholars and one identified by the author did not share the same motivation. It seems counter-intuitive to argue economic vs religion or a synthetic when the establishment of the colonizers world system would provide each class with better opportunities to pursue what the author identifies as their prima facie motivations. The use of the syllogistic format then attempts to provide a contemporary basis for the potential thought of the social classes' active in the region. The author does acknowledge that this argument cannot be totally proven, but economic and religious motivation cannot be totally proven either. The stability argument the idea that medieval colonization by its very nature seeks to create stability based on and by implementing the world system that it represents, provides a layer of motivation that is higher than that of religion or economy. The use of the syllogism form of argumentation was just that the use of a form. The author found in the course of research some slim evidence to back up the widespread educational use of philosophy or of formal education in general. This concept has not been thoroughly researched before and the lack of sources on it lead the author to conclude that this is a theoretical vs practical argument. Some evidence exists, but at the same time there is no proof of on the ground implementation. As such the author can say that this thesis did the research, but as novel as it may be there may not be a lot there. The classification system for both crusader and native social classes in the settlement triangle and the use of the geographic signifier itself have much more potential.

The part of the system which the author would like to see other scholars address more is the divide between what is called high clergy and low clergy. There is enough evidence to show that these two are distinct classes in motivation and form, despite being part of the same hierarchy. The author also thinks that the native social system was much more advanced than the crusader sources lead the reader to believe and that there is further potential to research this aspect in an in-depth article or monograph.

In the construction of this thesis the author consulted many diverse sources to seek answers for how exactly long and short term change took place across the five change areas. The author's findings, detailed in chapter 2 should reflect on a wide range of short and long term changes across the entire settlement triangle. The author also found that the claims of europeanization regarding the wider Baltic Sea Region to not be satisfactory. The author does not see a satisfactory definition for modern europeanization, never mind medieval europeanization. The more correct term would be Catholicization or potentially Christianisation though the latter may not be applicable in a time where only Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy existed. Generally speaking in the context of this thesis the author finds that significant change occurred at the top level of societal and political hierarchies of the native groups. In the lower sections of the populace not much changed. Scholarship of the German vs. non-German distinction seems to place this divide later on in the chronology, though the author would argue that this divide was present much earlier and in-fact the lack of colonization in the Settlement Triangle that is comparable to that seen among the Baltic Prussians starts the German, non-German distinction earlier. Hence answering the questions posed at the start of this thesis then becomes that changes to the top of the hierarchy then trickled down and affected in some smaller ways the peasant classes. The conquest of the settlement triangle and its adjacent regions was not uniform, with some native groups allying earlier, some later and some having to be submitted via extensive violence. Ultimately the changes that took place in the triangle during the period of 900 AD to 1250 AD influenced the progress and outcome of the native groups. It changed the balance of power in the region, from favoring the Rus' to favouring the

Catholic nations, mostly members of the Germanic principalities and what would today be called the Nordic States.

In conclusion the research undertaken for this thesis more or less proves the initial categorization posited by the author. In the course of research for this thesis a novel outlook on the historiography of the region was discovered. Regarding the initial state of the settlement triangle the transition from a clan based societal structure to a feudal system was the catalyst for the vast majority of the political and society changes. Economic and technological changes and foreign interaction along those lines had been present for many years prior to the conquest. These change areas that were present prior to the conquest can surely be said to have accelerated with the arrival of the crusaders. The author of this thesis also found ample evidence of foreign interactions and native social classes geared around those interactions prior to the conquest. The use of the settlement triangle as a geographic signifier in the spirit of Blomkvist's Baltic Rim concept enabled a narrower geographic focus, but sources from settlements other than the three key ones had to be used to fill in gaps in the research.

Overall the author of this thesis thinks that the distinction solely based on long and short term change to be valid and the research material to prove this claim was certainly attainable. The final ideas of this thesis then can be said to be that stability argument and that this is in the opinion of the author a valid way to discuss change and motivation within the settlement triangle and its adjacent regions. The syllogistic formula used to outline the motivations of the social classes may seem a little esoteric and not strictly speaking history in and of itself. The author of this thesis then stands behind this argument and its form. There is evidence in the literature for all the social classes outlined existing, there is also some evidence for the spread of Aristotle via studium and other forms of education. The stability argument and the syllogistic outline fit well together to explain what the author claims as the primary motivations of the social classes, based on the author's reading of the relevant material. All of these facets of history then become the basis for the cause and effect of the events before during and slightly after the so called northern crusades.

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Appendixes

Appendix One: Place Names

The following chart is an edited version of a document kindly provided by Dr. A. Selart and published most recently in his 2015 volume *Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century* Brill 2015. It gives the differing place names in the stated languages where they exist

The Greek alphabet

As It Primarily Appears in Thesis	German	Estonian	Latvian	Russian
Tartu	Dorpat	Tartu	Tērbata	Юрьев
Tallinn	Reval	Tallinn		Колывань
Rīga	Riga	Riia	Rīga	Рига
Lihula	Leal	Lihula		Лиговерь
Ikšķile	Üxküll	Üksküla	Ikšķile	
Polozk	Polozk			ПолочькКуконойс
Kokenhusen	Kokenhusen		Koknese	Островскаяземля
Saaremaa	Ösel	Saaremaa	Sāmsala	Вельяд
Viljandi	Fellin	Viljandi	Vīlande	

Appendix Two: Full Quotations from Chronicle of Henry of Livonia

In this appendix the full quotations for all Chronicle of Henry citations will be given from footnotes which use paraphrased versions in the main text.

A) When the Lithuanians had withdrawn, Meinhard accused the Livs of foolishness, because they had no fortifications; he promised them that forts would be built if they decided to become and to be considered sons of God. Brundage p 26 section 5.

   Because Meinhard paid for the building of a fifth part of the fort, this part was his property. Meinhard had first brought the land upon which the church of Uexkull stood. Brundage p 26 section 6

B) The next winter, the Lithuanians, after having laid waste Livonia, took many into captivity. The same preacher, together with the people of Uexküll, avoided the wrath of the Lithuanians and took to the forests. When the Lithuanians had withdrawn, Meinhard accused the Livs of foolishness, because they had no fortifications. Brundage p 26 section 5

C) He came to Livonia with a band of merchants simply for the sake of Christ and only to preach. For German merchants, bound together through familiarity with the Livs, were accustomed to go to Livonia, frequently sailing up the Dvina River. Brundage pp 25-26 section 4

D) After receiving, therefore, the permission of King Vladimir of Polozk, to whom the Livs, while still pagan, paid tribute, and, at the same time, receiving gifts from him, this priest boldly set out upon the divine work, preaching to the Livs and building a church in the village of Uexküll. Brundage p 26 section 3

E) Meinhard had first brought the land upon which the church of Uexküll stood. Brundage p 26 section 6

F) The pagan priest asserted that the Christian God was sitting on the back of the horse and was moving that horse's foot forward; that for this reason the back of the horse had to be wiped off so that the God might slide off. Brundage p 28 section 10

G) At the time the Semgalls, pagans of the neighborhood, hearing of the building made of stones, and not knowing that the stones were held together with cement, came with large ship's ropes, foolishly believing they could pull the fort into the Dvina. But they were wounded by the balistarii instead and went away after having suffered losses. Brundage pp 26-27 section 6

H) After receiving, therefore, the permission of King Vladimir of Polozk, to whom the Livs, while still pagan, paid tribute, and, at the same time, receiving gifts from him, this priest boldly set out upon the divine work, preaching to the Livs and building a church in the village of Uexküll. Brundage p 26 section 3

I) The Livonians in the meantime, prepared to kill him on the road, but he was forewarned by Anno of Treiden and advised to go back. Brundage p 29 section 11

J) Upon Theodoric's insistence and request, the same venerable bishop of the Roman see strictly prohibited under anathema all merchants from using the port of Semagallia. Brundage p 38 section 6

K) Meinhard accused the Livonians of foolishness, because they had no fortifications; he promised them that forts would be built if they decided to become and to be considered sons of God. This pleased them and they promised and confirmed by an oath that they would receive baptism Brundage p 26 section 5

L) The clergy, leaving both because of the fear of death and because of the search for a shepherd, went to Saxony. The Livonians decreed too that the merchants who remained there were to be killed. But the merchants taking thought for their lives, gave gifts to the elders. Brundage p 34 section 10. The merchants being able to buy their way out indicates that they were treaty differently and therefore occupied a different (but related) social niche to the clergy.

M) After these Lembito and Meme, elders of Saccalia, rose up, crossed the Sedde with another army, came to a church, burned it, and laid waste everything which belong to the priest. They collected the herds and many spoils throughout the parish, killed the men who they seized, and led off the women, children and girls as captives. There was great tribulation in all parts of Livonia. For the Saccalians and Ungannians were attacking the Letts; the Rotalians and the maritime provinces attacked the bishop's Livonians in Metsepole and Loddiger with three armies, so that one army followed another and when one returned another came. Brundage p 108 section 1

N) The Livonians in the meantime prepared to kill him on the road, but he was forewarned by Anno of Treiden and advised to go back. Much perplexed and unable to get out of the country, he therefore, went back to Uexküll. Brundage p 29 section 11

O) The pagan priest asserted that the Christian God was sitting on the back of the horse and was moving the horse's foot forward; that for this reason the back of the horse had to be wiped off so that the God might slide off. Brundage p 28 section 10

P) The bishop restraining his horse badly, was carried by its speed into the midst of the fugitives. Two of the Livonians seized him, a third, Ymaut by name, pierced him from the back with a lance, and the others tore him to pieces, limb from limb. (same year as his arrival given as 1198 AD on p 32) Brundage p 33 section 6

Q) The city of Riga was built in the next summer in a spacious field, next to which there was a potential harbour for ships. At that time the bishop, binding to himself Daniel, a noble person, and Conrad from Meiendorf, enfeoffed them with two forts Lennewardenand Uexküll Brundage pp 38-39 sections 1 and 2

R) The Rigans peered into the distance and saw two cogs coming. In them were Count Burcgard of Aldenborch and Rothmar and Theodoric, the brothers of the bishop. Brundage p 143 section 2