

Conquest, Conversion, and Heathen Customs in Henry of Livonia's *Chronicon Livoniae* and the *Livländische Reimchronik*

Shami Ghosh

Magdalen College, Oxford
shami.ghosh@magd.ox.ac.uk

Henry of Livonia's *Chronicon Livoniae* (*HCL*),¹ a narrative of the mission to Livonia² between the last decades of the twelfth century and ca. 1227 (when Henry wrote), and the *Livländische Reimchronik* (*LR*),³ covering Baltic history until ca. 1290 (when the chronicle was probably composed), are the sole contemporary, locally written narrative works for the history of this region during this period. Henry's chronicle was composed within the first generation of conversion, while the authority of the bishop of Riga was still dominant, and before the Teutonic

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¹ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer, MGH SRG 31, 2nd ed. (Hanover, 1955), cited as *HCL* by page and line numbers. All translations are my own. On Henry's life and the background to and date of his chronicle, see Vilis Bīlkins, "Die Autoren der Kreuzzugszeit und das Milieu Livlands und Preussens," *Acta Baltica* 14 (1974), 231–54; James A. Brundage, "The Thirteenth-Century Livonian Crusade: Henricus de Lettis and the First Legatine Mission of Bishop William of Modena," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* n.s. 20 (1972), 1–9; idem, "Introduction," in *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. James A. Brundage (New York, 2003), pp. xi–xliii; Robert Holtzmann, "Studien zu Heinrich von Lettland," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 43 (1922), 161–212; Paul Johansen, "Die Chronik als Biographie: Heinrichs von Lettland Lebensgang und Weltanschauung," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* n.s. 1 (1953), 1–24; and Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi, and Carsten Selch Jensen, eds., *Crusade and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia* (Farnham, 2011). This volume appeared some months after the present article had been accepted for publication and it was no longer possible to make use of the material contained therein.

² I use Livonia to refer to the region later under the diocese of Riga and the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, not just to the areas inhabited by Livs and Livonians.

³ *Livländische Reimchronik*, ed. Leo Meyer (Paderborn, 1876), cited as *LR* by line number. On the chronicle's date, genre, and audience, see Edith Feistner, Michael Neecke, and Gisela Vollmann-Profe, *Krieg im Visier: Bibelepik und Chronistik im Deutschen Orden als Modell korporativer Identitätsbildung*, *Hermæa* 114 (Tübingen, 2007), pp. 79–104, and 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 (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 235–59; see further the introductory paper of Hartmut Kugler, "Über die *Livländische Reimchronik*: Text, Gedächtnis und Topographie," *Jahrbuch der Brüder-Grimm-Gesellschaft* 2 (1992), 85–104.

Order arrived on the scene in Livonia.⁴ At this point in time, Livonia had only very recently become (nominally) Christian.⁵ By the time the *LR* was written, Christianity was no longer a new import, and the Teutonic Order had long been the

⁴ The first serious attempts at conversion in Livonia from the west had started in the 1180s under Meinhard; the crusading indulgence for Livonia was issued in 1199; the town (later also diocese) of Riga was established as a Christian foundation in 1201; and the Order of the Sword-Brothers was founded in 1202, subordinate to Riga. On papal policies regarding the Baltic, the work of Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt is now fundamental: *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254*, *The Northern World* 26 (Leiden, 2007). On the Sword-Brothers, see Friedrich Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder: Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia*, *Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* 9 (Cologne, 1965); idem, “Zur Rolle des Schwertbrüderordens und des Deutschen Ordens im politischen Gefüge Altivlands,” *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 41 (1992), 161–85; Enn Tarvel, “Livländische Chroniken des 13. Jahrhunderts als Quelle für die Geschichte des Schwertbrüderordens und Livlands,” in *Werkstatt des Historikers der mittelalterlichen Ritterorden: Quellenkundliche Probleme und Forschungsmethoden*, ed. Zenon Hubert Nowak, *Ordines Militares* 4 (Toruń, 1987), pp. 175–85. For a survey of research and an overview of recent approaches and methods applied by scholarship with regard to the Baltic crusades, see Sven Ekdahl, “Crusades and Colonization in the Baltic,” in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 172–203.

⁵ On the early contact between the Christian world and Livonia, see Nils Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic: The Reception of a Catholic World-System in the European North (AD 1075–1225)*, *The Northern World* 15 (Leiden, 2005), pp. 505–63; Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1997), pp. 43–49; 93–104; Tiina Kala, “The Incorporation of the Northern Baltic Lands into the Western Christian World,” in *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 3–20; and two fundamental collections of essays: *Gli inizi del cristianesimo in Livonia–Lettonia: atti del colloquio internazionale di storia ecclesiastica in occasione dell’VIII centenario della chiesa in Livonia (1186–1986)*, *Atti e Documenti* 1 (Vatican, 1989); and *Studien über die Anfänge der Mission in Livland*, ed. Manfred Hellmann, *Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 37* (Sigmaringen, 1989). Of the specialized studies on the early process of Christianization, see in particular: Sven Ekdahl, “Die Rolle der Ritterorden bei der Christianisierung der Liven und Letten,” in *Gli inizi del cristianesimo*, pp. 203–44; Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, pp. 65–75, 83–105, 122–28; Manfred Hellmann, “Bischof Meinhard und die Eigenart der kirchlichen Organisation in den baltischen Ländern,” in *Gli inizi del cristianesimo*, pp. 9–30; idem, “Die Anfänge der christlichen Mission in den baltischen Ländern,” in *Studien über die Anfänge*, pp. 7–38; Bernd Ulrich Hucker, “Der Zisterzienerabt Bertold, Bischof von Livland, und der erste Livlandkreuzzug,” in *Studien über die Anfänge*, pp. 39–64; Carsten Selch Jensen, “The Nature of the Early Missionary Activities and Crusades in Livonia, 1185–1201,” in *Medieval Spirituality in Scandinavia and Europe: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Tore Nyberg*, ed. Lars Bisgaard et al. (Odense, 2001), pp. 121–37; Michele Maccarrone, “I Papi e gli inizi della cristianizzazione della Livonia,” in *Gli inizi del cristianesimo*, pp. 31–80; Ēvalds Muguveričs, “Die Verbreitung des Christentums in Lettland vom 11. Jahrhundert bis zum Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts,” in *Rom und Byzanz im Norden: Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum*, ed. Michael Müller-Wille (Stuttgart, 1997), 2:81–96. A recent volume of conference papers has much of interest: Alan V. Murray, ed., *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier* (Aldershot, 2009); see in particular: Ekdahl, “How to Convert a Landscape: Henry of Livonia and the *Chronicon Livoniae*” (pp. 151–68); Eva Eihmane, “The Baltic Crusades: A Clash of Two Identities” (pp. 37–51); Tiina Kala, “Rural Society and Religious Innovation: Acceptance and Rejection of Catholicism among the Native Inhabitants of Medieval Livonia” (pp. 169–90); and Andris Šnē, “The Emergence of Livonia: The Transformations of Social and Political Structures in the Territory of Latvia during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries” (pp. 53–71).

dominant military power in Livonia, albeit theoretically subordinate to the diocese of Riga.⁶

HCL was written by a cleric, in Latin, possibly for the papal legate William of Modena.⁷ The *LR*, a verse chronicle in Middle High German, was composed by an anonymous author, probably associated in some way with the Teutonic Order, and covers extensively the Order's involvement in the eastern Baltic in the thirteenth century. It has been argued that it was intended as mealtime reading for the brothers of the Teutonic Order, or perhaps for the seasonal crusaders from Germany, or both.⁸ The two works, therefore, are not only chronologically quite far apart; despite uncertainties about their audiences (and for the latter work also the author), it is clear that their political, cultural and intellectual milieux were also very different.

In the present paper, I examine the depiction of the conquest of the non-Christian population of the Baltic, in particular, explicitly stated religious or secular motivations for battle; the effects of war on the native population; and the presentation of the customs and character of the heathens.⁹ It must be acknowledged at the outset that differences or similarities between the chronicles do not actually present solid ground for a comparison of real changes, or lack thereof, in the processes of Christianization, given that the sources were produced by representatives of two very different institutions: it is entirely possible that the attitude of the see of Riga did not change between 1227 and 1290, even if it might have diverged from that of the Teutonic Order. Furthermore, while it is likely that both works, in particular the later chronicle, have some representative value with regard to the attitudes of the larger institutions with which their authors were affiliated, it should be stressed that the focus of this study is on establishing how these individual chroniclers presented

⁶ This subordinate status was inherited from the Sword-Brothers when the latter were absorbed into the Teutonic Order in 1237. On the Sword-Brothers' relationship with the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, see, in addition to the works cited in n. 4: Manfred Hellmann, "Die Stellung des livländischen Ordenszweiges zur Gesamtpolitik des Deutschen Ordens vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert," in *Von Akkon bis Wien: Studien zur Deutschordensgeschichte vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Udo Arnold, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 20 (Marburg, 1978), pp. 6–13; see also Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, 79–92; Klaus Militzer, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Stuttgart, 2005), pp. 78–83.

⁷ Brundage, "Thirteenth-Century Livonian Crusade." William was present in Livonia in 1225–26 and in the Baltic at various points in the next decade. On his activities and their relationship to papal policies in Livonia, see Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, pp. 170–82.

⁸ Murray, "Livonian Rhymed Chronicle," suggests – against the general consensus – that the work was intended for mealtime reading, and that its audience was primarily the visiting crusaders; but there is no reason why the chronicle could not have been composed with both types of audience in mind: thus Feistner et al., *Krieg im Visier*, pp. 101–2.

⁹ Note that I study the depiction of all the non-Christian peoples presented here, not specifically the Livs or Livonians. I make no claim to provide a study of pre-Christian religion and custom, but rather attempt to show how the chroniclers depict local customs that they see as particularly contrary to their own practices. For a study of pre-Christian religion in the region based primarily on Henry of Livonia, see Anzelm Weiss, "Mythologie und Religiosität der alten Liven," in *Gli inizi del cristianesimo*, pp. 81–96. For discussions of the actual processes of contact, see primarily the works referred to above in nn. 4 and 5; the present paper is a study solely of how contact was depicted, rather than of what really took place.

the themes of war, conquest, and the religion and behaviour of the native population; this is not a study of the attitudes of the Church of Riga or the Teutonic Order as corporate bodies. Similarities of views between the two authors are as significant as differences, as they show, I will argue, that even the narrative presented by a clerical writer not affiliated with any military order presents a high level of non-religious motivation as a background to conflict.¹⁰

The Motivations for War and Its Effects¹¹

Both Henry and the *LR* depict the beginnings of the mission to Livonia under Meinhard as being peaceful in intent, although it is apparent that Meinhard did indeed have some military (and probably also institutional) support.¹² Unlike Henry, the *LR* makes explicit the economic motives for Christian expansion: while Henry mentions merchants with whom Meinhard journeys to Livonia, their activities are not described, whereas the *LR* states specifically that the merchants were able to “sell [their wares] to greater advantage there than elsewhere.”¹³ The first contact of the merchants with the heathens brings about a brief armed conflict, which the heathens, wounded, seek to end in a truce, readily granted by the merchants with no mention of conversion; the description of this first encounter ends with what seems to be harmonious commerce,¹⁴ and indeed after this, we are told that the merchants “often returned again”¹⁵ and “were well-received, as beloved guests ought to be.”¹⁶ The settlement (*burc*) where Meinhard first establishes a base for his mission is said to be built by merchants, who were then able to remain and pursue in peace their trade with the heathens.¹⁷ Henry states that only a few of the people were baptized before the building of the *castrum* there, and all the local people promise to be baptized after the castle is built.¹⁸ He does not give the merchants a major

¹⁰ I should note also that, although I distinguish, for the purpose of this analysis, between religious motives (the defence or spread of Christianity, and less prominently, the promise of heavenly reward) and secular ones (gaining land, money, honour), there is no necessary opposition between the two. My distinctions are thus between motivations that are explicitly religious on the one hand, and those that are not explicitly presented as having a religious value, on the other; these distinctions are not meant to suggest incompatibility between two motivations, but rather what is, I believe, a perceptible and significant difference of emphasis.

¹¹ For an analysis of the techniques and technologies of warfare (not discussed in the present paper), see Stephen Turnbull, “Crossbows or Catapults? The Identification of Siege Weaponry and Techniques in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia,” in Murray, *Clash of Cultures*, pp. 307–19.

¹² This is argued by Jensen, “Missionary Activities,” to my mind convincingly; much previous scholarship thought that Meinhard lacked military support: cf. Hellmann, “Bischof Meinhard”; idem, “Anfänge.”

¹³ *LR* 185–86: “daz vorkouften sie aldar / ein teil baz denne anderswar.”

¹⁴ *LR* 159–200.

¹⁵ *LR* 201: “quâmen dicke sider.”

¹⁶ *LR* 205–6: “sô wurden sie entpfangen wol, / als man liebe geste sol.”

¹⁷ *LR* 215–24.

¹⁸ *HCL* 3, 11–14.

role in building Ikskile (Üxküll), nor does he state that their trade was especially profitable; although he mentions merchants many times, they feature primarily as providers of transport for the missionaries. Interestingly, Henry mentions that “the German merchants were joined by family ties to the Livs,”¹⁹ a detail omitted by the *LR*. Henry tells us further that Bishop Albert of Riga obtained from the pope an interdiction on merchants mooring anywhere else apart from Riga, thus ensuring that the Rigan merchants’ support (financial and military) was guaranteed for the mission;²⁰ this also meant that long-distance trade had to be routed through Riga, a Christian town. Furthermore, Rasa Mažeika has shown that the Teutonic Order eagerly maintained friendly trade links even with its (heathen) enemies, and this trade was probably a source of a good part of the Order’s wealth.²¹ By linking the interests of the episcopal see to those of the merchants, the local populace was also given a reason to look favourably to Christianity: as Eric Christiansen notes, one of the reasons for the adherence of the local people to the crusading army later on was “the fact that the bishop was in partnership with everybody’s best customers, the German merchants”;²² this is equally true for the first fifteen years of the mission as “everybody’s best customers” were now under the wing of the episcopate.²³

Henry states that the papal authorization of crusade was specifically to ensure that the baptized could be forced to remain Christian: “[the pope] decreed that they were not to be deserted, but ought to be compelled to observe the faith that they had voluntarily promised.”²⁴ The key word in this statement, of importance for our consideration of later conflict, is *sponte*: those who had voluntarily accepted baptism were to be coerced to maintain the faith, but no mention is made of conversion by the sword. The report of the indulgence follows immediately after this passage: “[the pope] granted a remission of all sins to all those who made the journey in order to resuscitate the original faith.”²⁵ The choice of the word *resuscitandam* implies that the indulgences are for crusaders who go to aid in maintaining the faith already accepted (*illam primitivam*, referring to *fide[m]* of the previous sentence),

¹⁹ *HCL* 2,6–7: “Theutonijci enim mercatores, Lyvonibus familiaritate coniuncti.”

²⁰ *HCL* 15,1–16.

²¹ Rasa J. Mažeika, “Of Cabbages and Knights: Trade and Trade Treaties with the Infidel on the Northern Frontier, 1200–1358,” *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994), 63–76.

²² Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, p. 101.

²³ On the place of merchants and trade in the Baltic crusades, see further Carsten Selch Jensen, “Urban Life and the Crusades in Northern Germany and the Baltic Lands in the Early Thirteenth Century,” in Murray, *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 75–94; and Mark R. Munzinger, “The Profits of the Cross: Merchant Involvement in the Baltic Crusade (c. 1180–1230),” *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 163–85. Ekdahl (“Ritterorden,” pp. 212–14) argues that the merchants would have been especially interested in Christian conquest in order to establish a safe venue of trade (he is followed by Munzinger, “Profits of the Cross”); while the suggestion is in itself plausible, it does not explain why such an enterprise should have become important at this moment in time and not earlier, considering that there had been peaceful and profitable trade with this region for at least two centuries previously.

²⁴ *HCL* 7,2–4: “non eos deserendos censuit, sed ad observationem fidei, quam sponte promiserant, cogendos decrevit.”

²⁵ *HCL* 7,4–6: “Remissionem quippe omnium peccatorum indulsit omnibus, qui ad resuscitandam illam primitivam accepta cruce transeant.”

rather than to force anyone to accept baptism. This episode is not present in the *LR*. *HCL*'s next mention of a papal indulgence, in the context of the next mention of battle, concerns *perfidus Lyvones*, with the adjective "treacherous" possibly here also intended to indicate apostasy.²⁶ This indulgence is granted in the episcopate of Bertold, who (perhaps unwisely) arrives in Livonia "without an army" according to Henry.²⁷ Bertold's episcopate (and life) did not last long, and his successor Albert, bishop for over two decades, did not repeat the mistake, taking crusaders with him on his first journey into Livonia.²⁸ Perhaps unsurprisingly, the *LR* gives rather more prominence to Albert's military men than does Henry, stating not only that the pope authorized the establishment of a military order ("found a spiritual life according to the rule of the Temple, those who are called 'God's knights'"²⁹), but also that the pope explicitly says that the Order "should be given a third of the men and land to have as their own forever";³⁰ this establishes at the outset the relatively greater emphasis on the military nature of the narrative in the later work, as well as the relatively greater prominence afforded to secular gain (in this case of land).

We should note that, although there seems to have been a really coordinated effort at military conquest only after the appointing of Albert, even before a permanent military presence was established, it is at the very least debatable that the Baltic peoples who accepted Christianity did so wholly voluntarily.³¹ Even when they did, it was often the case that "baptism became the consequence, not the cause, of adherence to the crusading army. The adherence came about because of material inducements"³² – not least the provision of support against other enemies (who included, at various points, the Russians, Lithuanians, and Estonians), but also the benefits of trade with the Christian merchants. Even in Henry's presentation, the heathens repeatedly agree to accept baptism out of fear that the Christians will bring an army against them (this is characterized by Henry as treacherous, for they do not really wish to become Christian), and it is likely that, with perhaps some exceptions, the earliest converts might have chosen to accept the new faith either because of the presence of an armed force with Meinhard (which would have cowed

²⁶ *HCL* 9,9. The papal letters mentioned here by Henry are no longer extant, and it seems likely that he did not have access to them himself: Fönnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, pp. 68–71.

²⁷ *HCL* 8,12: "sine exercitu."

²⁸ *HCL* 12,6–8.

²⁹ *LR* 597–99: "stifte ein geistlichez leben / nâch dem tempil ûz gegeben, / die gotes ritter heizen dâ."

³⁰ *LR* 601–4: "den gebe man lûte und lant / daz dritte teil in die hant / nâch rechte vrlîchen / vor eigen ewîlichen." The *LR* gets the chronology wrong, for although crusaders did come with Albert, an Order following the rules of the Templars was not established until 1202/3, and the grant of a third of the land did not take place until 1204.

³¹ On this issue, see the works cited in n. 5. There seems to be little evidence to suggest that papal policy initially supported the use of force for the conversion of pagans; but force was sanctioned with regard to apostates, and Innocent III might have become more favourable to forcible conversion from 1209, although even after this point, force was primarily intended to be used against heretics and apostates: see Fönnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, pp. 67–75 (on Celestine's policies and Henry's reporting of his letters), 95–98, 105–11 (on Innocent III's policies).

³² Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, p. 101.

them into submission, and also offered assistance against their enemies), or because of his association with the merchants – the heathens' trading partners.³³

In the second year of his episcopate, Albert demanded and received hostages from the Livs to ensure their keeping the peace;³⁴ this became standard procedure after successful battle against all the local heathen groups. The taking of hostages after battle is similarly mentioned on many occasions in the *LR*.³⁵ Notably, the *LR* does not in any of these passages link the taking of hostages to the assumption of Christianity among the newly conquered.³⁶ In contrast, baptism and maintaining Christianity are most often (but not always) linked to the taking of hostages in Henry's chronicle; and in two instances the hostages are expressly said to have been sent to Germany (where they would have received a Christian and German education/indoctrination).³⁷

The concern to maintain both peace and the subordinate status of the conquered would have always been one of the primary motives for taking hostages, even if in Henry's account this is not always explicitly stated. In most instances where Henry says hostages are taken this is immediately followed by a promise to accept Christianity; given the close connection of the two acts (giving hostages and promising to become Christian), the taking of hostages was clearly, in Henry's presentation, a method of ensuring both peace and conversion. In some cases, the chronicle expressly states that hostages are given "in order that they [the conquered] accept the sacrament of baptism and pay a tax to the Livonian Church."³⁸ Even

³³ These matters are fully examined by Jensen, "Missionary Activities," and therefore not rehearsed here; I expand his argument only by the suggestion of an economic motive to conversion in the early period, drawing on Christiansen's suggestion for the later one. On the secular and religious significance of baptism in *HCL*, see also Kala, "Rural Society," pp. 176–80.

³⁴ *HCL* 14,3–4.

³⁵ *LR* 888; 1259; 1684; 2419; 5988; 6297; 7344–45; 11524–25.

³⁶ *LR* 2350–425 states that the master wishes to wage war on the heathen because they are still heathen; after victory, hostages are taken, but there is no mention of conversion or a promise to convert – even though in this instance Mary is praised as being a *helferin* of the knights (*LR* 2427–28)!

³⁷ Instances where the taking of hostages is followed by baptism, or the promise of accepting Christianity, or is described as a means to ensure the converts' remaining Christian: *HCL* 30,23–24; 32,2–4; 44,18–19; after hostages are taken, priests are sent to preach: 54,13–14; 85,15–18; 96,20–22; 102,7–9; 106,26–107,26; the bishop demands hostages to prevent the Livs reverting to paganism; the Livs refuse and declare that they will drive out Christianity and the Germans: 133,25–27; 138,33–34; 144,17–18; the hostages are taken to ensure that the defeated maintain "all laws of Christianity" ("omnia christianitatis iura"); this probably implies religious as well as secular laws: 145,22–25; 145,31–33; 159,26–29; 162,8–10; 165,6–7; 167,18–21; 170,4–5; 199,4–7; 220,20–25.

Instances where the taking of hostages is not explicitly linked to baptism, but rather to maintaining peace: *HCL* 10,3–4; 26,20–22; 82,3; 121,1; 204,33–37.

Hostages sent to Germany: *HCL* 14,6–9; 15,19–20. Later on in his chronicle (*HCL* 37,1–10), Henry tells us about an Estonian priest who had been educated at Segeburg (where Henry himself was probably trained), and it is quite possible that hostages sent to Germany mentioned earlier were also sent to the same monastery.

³⁸ *HCL* 145,31–32: "ut et ipsi baptismi mysterium acciperent et ecclesie Lyvonensi census ministrarent" (note the conjunction of conversion with the economic benefit of the tithe); a similar formulation is at 145,19–26: after plundering the Livonians and taking women and children captive, the

in Henry's chronicle, therefore, conversion is almost invariably the consequence of military defeat, is coerced and maintained by military force and the taking of hostages, and often occurs in conjunction with the establishment of payments to the Church. While in some cases in Henry's account, the conquered peoples from whom hostages are taken had earlier promised to convert, normally there is no mention of such a prior promise. The stipulation of the papal indulgence for crusade as reported by Henry – that those who had voluntarily accepted the faith could be coerced to maintain it – is therefore, in his own work, largely ignored by the Christians. The *LR*, in contrast to *HCL*, is clearly rather less interested in conversion than military subjugation, given that the conversion of the defeated is rarely mentioned; as Hartmut Kugler has pointed out, the process of Christianization seems not to be a theme the author is concerned with at all.³⁹

In both chronicles plunder and the taking of captives including women and children are characteristics of almost all descriptions of battle (in many instances it is also specifically mentioned that both women and children are killed).⁴⁰ This was, of course, not an uncommon feature of medieval warfare, but the fact that there are so many instances of plunder in Henry's chronicle (some of which he himself takes part in), and that successful pillage and the capture of women and children is often praised as the work of God, indicates that in the mind of the chronicler the purpose of battle was far from solely the defence of the faith; war was equally an offensive matter, which, although aided by God, provided gains that had no explicit religious value (in a number of instances it is Christian Russians whose villages are plundered and whose women are taken captive).⁴¹ The *LR* in fact contains fewer

Christians offer peace in return for conversion, and we are told that "with hostages having been given they subjugated themselves to the Livonian Church, agreeing to receive the sacraments of baptism and pay an annual tax" ("positis obsidibus ecclesie Lyvonensi se subdiderunt, ut et baptismi sacramenta recipere et censum annuatim persolverent").

³⁹ Kugler, "Text, Gedächtnis und Topographie," p. 93; idem, "Die 'Livländische Reimchronik' des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis* 9 (1993), 22–30, p. 24.

⁴⁰ There seems to be no justification for Ek Dahl's remark ("Ritterorden," p. 223, n. 100) that "die christlichen Heere haben diese Art der Kriegführung übernommen." Henry makes no such statements, and treats warfare of this sort as normal, not exclusively a characteristic of the Baltic peoples, later adopted by Christians. Indriķis Šterns shows that there are in fact far more instances of Germans than any of the converted Christians taking women captive: "Female Captives in Henry's 'Livonian Chronicle,'" in *Civitas et castrum ad mare Balticum: Baltijas arheoloģijas un vēstures problēmas dzelzs laikmēta un viduslaikos*, ed. Ēvalds Muguverīčs and Ieva Ose (Riga, 2002), pp. 610–15. In his first report of females (here *puellae*) being captured, Henry states specifically that normally "the armies were accustomed to spare them [the *puellae*] alone in these lands" (*HCL* 65,2–3: *quibus solis parcere solent exercitus in terris istis*). This would seem to imply in fact that the native custom was to spare girls (this does not, or need not, include adult women).

⁴¹ Instances of plunder on the part of Christians (though not necessarily "Germans") where the capture of women and children is not mentioned (though the taking of captives without specification of age or gender often is): *HCL* 28,19–24; 40,24; 41,5–9; 70,9–22; women and children are explicitly stated to be spared: 91,8–10; 96,5; 97,24–29; 114,1–5; 117,16–18; 120,33–36; 122,9; 133,27–30; 136,6; 143,33–34; 144,18–21; 152,13–15; 153,24–36; 184,30–185,1; the plunder of a Russian Orthodox church: 185,21; 192,8–10; 192,14–15; 192,35–193,7; 194,36; 196,3–7; 196,12–13; 197,26; 198,30–32; 199,28–29; 219,33–34; 220,8–9.

instances of the capture of women and children, although it covers a greater length of time; the cause, however, is probably the greater detail in Henry's chronicle rather than fewer actual occurrences of such captures after Henry's time.⁴² The later chronicler often states that a large amount of booty was taken; the damage wrought by the Christians is clearly seen as praiseworthy.⁴³ In both texts, plunder by the enemy is also often described, and it is apparent that Christian conduct did not, at least in this respect, differ from that of the heathens. It is worth noting that while in Henry's chronicle, when the booty is divided up amongst the Christians after the

Women and children taken captive: 65,1; 70,10–15; 72,2–4; 78,12; 82,12; 86,18–19; 88,21–22; 94,24–30; 95,7; 95,26–27; 96,18; 97,5–6; 97,31–32; 119,21–22; 125,17–18; 125,26–28; 126,6–12; 126,23; 133,3–4; 134,3; 138,9–12; 138,24–25; 145,11; 158,32–159,6; Russian women taken captive: 159,19–21; 160,13–15; 167,9; 185,7; 185,27; 205,14–19. Although significant portions of both *HCL* and *LR* concern battles against Russians, these are not examined in the present paper; on relations between Livonia and Russia in the thirteenth century, the fundamental works are: Anti Selart, *Livland und die Rus' im 13. Jahrhundert*, Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 21 (Cologne, 2007); idem: "Der Livländische Deutsche Orden und Russland," in *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico: incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli e culture*, ed. Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg, Acta Theutonica 5 (Galatina, 2008), pp. 253–87; idem, "Orthodox Churches in Medieval Livonia," in *Clash of Cultures*, pp. 273–90. For analyses of how Henry portrays Russians, cf. Torben K. Nielsen, "Sterile Monsters? Russians and the Orthodox Church in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia," in *Clash of Cultures*, pp. 227–52; and Christoph Schmidt, "Das Bild der 'Rutheni' bei Heinrich von Lettland," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 44 (1995), 509–20. On papal policies regarding Russian campaigns in the Baltic, cf. also Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, pp. 214–24; 231–32. Kugler notes that there is no indication in the whole of the *LR* that the Russians were also Christians: "Text, Gedächtnis und Topographie," p. 99.

⁴² Women and children taken captive in *LR*: 674–79; 1215–16; 1721–23; 4256–60: here we are told that "what they were unable to drive or carry was killed" ("was man trîben und tragen / nich enmochte, daz wart geslagen"); it is not clear whether this refers only to the cattle mentioned in the previous line, or also to the women and children; 5964–76: the Rhymer tells us that the women "had to offer their hand to the brothers for the sake of their lives; many a hand was given there" ("mûsten ire hande / den brüderen bieten umme daz leben. / daz wart vil mancher dâ gegeben") – surely this cannot refer to marriage, but if not, what exactly does it mean? – 6840–43; 7290–93; 7381–90; 8041–43; 9165–67.

⁴³ Plunder on the part of the knight-brothers (and their allies) in *LR*: 1215–16; 1550; 1721; 1796; 1841–43; 1902; 3343; 3390; 3430; 3617; 3997–99; 4275–77; 4256–60; 5964–65; 6187–91; 6237–39; 6300–6301; 6312–14; 6843; 7276–79; 7290–93; 7430–35; apart from plunder, the land is completely razed with fire: 8041–43; 8357–59; 9153; 9160; 9168; 11352; 11365; God praised immediately after plunder: 7381; 8140–48; 8357–59; 9153; 9160; 9168; 11352; 11365.

Four passages state that God received his part of the booty: 2669–75; 3399–404; 11776–81; 11990–95. It is not entirely clear what is meant when, for example, the chronicler states that "he [namely, the Lord] was given weapons and horses" (3404: "man gap im [sc. unserm herren] wâpen unde pfert"). Kugler ("Text, Gedächtnis und Topographie," p. 94; "Livländische Reimchronik," p. 24) is certainly right in stating that this description of Christian behaviour makes the Christians similar to their enemies, who, we are told, "took much plunder and gave a significant part to their gods" ("nâmen roubes vil ... und gâben schönen teil / iren goten" (*LR* 6085–89; similarly 4873–76), but the actions of the Christians must surely refer to donations made to monasteries or some sort of ecclesiastical institutions rather than sacrifice – though there is no explicit indication that this is the case. Mary Fischer states that the kind of "direct correlation to God's praiseworthiness with material gain" found in *LR* is "totally alien" to the later Prussian chronicles (on which see briefly below): "*Di himels rote*": *The Idea of Christian Chivalry in the Chronicles of the Teutonic Order*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 525 (Göppingen, 1991), p. 186. Kugler finds that there are roughly twice as many instances of Christians taking the initiative to go on a plundering expedition: "Text, Gedächtnis und Topographie," p. 93.

end of the battle, in almost all instances the author states that they did so offering thanks to God; the *LR* reports praise of God in this context relatively rarely.

Plundering the enemies' fields and property would have had a primarily, probably solely, non-religious justification; the women and children captured were probably forced into some form of slavery – at any rate, they would not have posed a direct military threat, so the reason for taking them captive was most likely economic.⁴⁴ In other words, despite the ostensible purpose of the Christian forces – the defence and expansion of Christianity – both chronicles show the army operating out of motives that appear to be primarily economic, and in the case of plunder and the capture of women and children do not even have purely military justifications, far less religious ones. (There is, of course, no necessary opposition between economic or military and religious motives; what is interesting is the extent to which the latter remain unstated.) However, as with the taking of hostages, Henry often mentions that after plunder or the capture of women and children, the enemies requested peace, agreeing to be baptized in return (freeing the captive women and children is never mentioned); this is a form of forced conversion and thus might be seen to provide a religious motivation for warfare. Even if conversion is one of the conditions of peace, however, it certainly does not seem to be the explicit motivation for the plunder in any of the instances cited above. The *LR* never associates plunder with baptism, and is in this respect too more secular than is *HCL*. On one occasion, Henry explicitly makes the connection between military subjugation and religion, in words ascribed to the conquered Estonians, who say that they “recognize that your [the Christians’] God, who by conquering us inclined our mind to his cult, is greater than our gods.”⁴⁵ Despite this, a solely religious motive cannot be ascribed, even in Henry’s presentation, to the capture of women and children or the plunder of land.

It is also worth noting that, in both chronicles, there seems often to be no explicitly stated immediate ideological motivation for the battles at all. Henry does not always give conversion as the cause for fighting, although he is clearly very concerned with this issue and often mentions conversion following the battle.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Sven Ekdahl, “The Treatment of Prisoners of War during the Fighting between the Teutonic Order and Lithuania,” in *MO*, 1, pp. 263–69, provides a convincing argument, with regard to fourteenth-century warfare against Lithuania, that the numerous captives (women and children) were forced into slavery; I believe that this suggestion could be equally applicable to the many instances of such captures cited above. Šterns, “Female Captives,” suggests, apart from slavery, rape and abandonment, forced marriage, or concubinage as other possibilities regarding the fate of captured women, as well as being forced into prostitution in the brothels of Riga.

⁴⁵ *HCL* 85,6–8: “cognoscimus Deum vestrum maiorem diis nostris, qui nos superando animum nostram ad ipsius culturam inclinavit.”

⁴⁶ We are often told that the converted people seek help from the Rigans or the Sword-Brothers in defending themselves against attacks from Russians or non-Christian enemies. While defence of the faith could conceivably be a motive here (and is not easy to separate from defence of land, goods and life), conversion certainly is not (not all calls for help are answered, and when they are, all the Rigans or knights seem to get is plunder and captives, not converts): *HCL* 48,14–15; 59,5: here the Rigans deny help because of their own meagre number; 62,16; 87,5: fearing treachery, the Rigans choose not

The *LR* has even less to provide us in the way of religious motivation. I have found only one instance in which we are told that the knight-brothers were spreading Christianity (though this is not explicitly called a reason for war); the *LR* says that “they constantly spread the faith and the proper custom.”⁴⁷ In addition, in one episode we are told that the master of the Order is saddened by the fact that the Curonians are still heathen: “he then became aware that the people were still heathen in Kurland; he began to suffer greatly because of this.”⁴⁸ He thus decided that “he wanted to lay waste to that land,”⁴⁹ but the *LR* does not explicitly state elsewhere that war is motivated by the desire to convert – and even in this episode, there is no mention of conversion after the Christians win the battle, but rather of the taking of land and hostages.⁵⁰ Every season, the Christians go out on campaign, sometimes in response to an attack, often with no apparent provocation. In many instances there seems to be no motive for battle beyond revenge for earlier damage caused by the enemy, or conquest and the economic gains of land, plunder, and capturing prisoners.⁵¹ Despite the initial ideological statements in both works, from the depictions of warfare it is apparent that the battles are motivated at least as much (if not more) by a desire to plunder and acquire land (and perhaps slaves), as by any need for defence of the faith or effort to proselytise. Unlike *HCL*, in which, although it is clear that secular rewards do accrue from battle, these are not given as the motivations to fight, the *LR* does explicitly state that seeking honour, land, and riches was a reason to go into battle.⁵² It even provides an example of

to assist; 94,13–14; 136,15–16; 137,11–12; 156,15–157,10: the Semigallians seek help, and the bishop agrees on condition that they accept baptism, and when they do, he posts a detachment of Sword-Brothers with them.

⁴⁷ *LR* 2598–99: “sie breiten stēteclīche / den gelouben und die rechte ē”; *ē* here probably refers to religious practice rather than secular law.

⁴⁸ *LR* 2349–52: “dō wart im wōl bekant, / daz dannoch in Kūrlant / die lūte wāren heiden. / daz begunde im sēre leiden.”

⁴⁹ *LR* 2357: “er wolde heren Kūrlant.”

⁵⁰ *LR* 2391–425. This does not mean, however, that there is no religious incentive to fight: conversion is rarely mentioned, but the possibility, even certainty, of heavenly reward often is, though generally after rather than before the battles: *LR* 538–52; 1164–66; 4519–26; 9344–48. On these passages, see also Horst Wenzel, *Höfische Geschichte: Literarische Tradition und Gegenwartsdeutung in den volkssprachigen Chroniken des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Beiträge zur älteren deutschen Literaturgeschichte 5 (Bern, 1980), pp. 37–38; 46. We are also told repeatedly after battles are won that this happened with God’s or Mary’s help – even if there is no mention of any new converts being won for Christianity (*LR* 1150–52; 1702; 2427–28; 2683–84; 5997–99); the cult of the Virgin so prominent in the Order later on is certainly also in evidence in this chronicle (though less so than in later Prussian works), in which the knights are not just aided by, but also often seem to fight for Mary; see on this point Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, pp. 95–96 (“The Virgin ... is here a war-goddess”); Fischer, “*Di himels rote*”, pp. 186–89.

⁵¹ Thus also Kugler, “Text, Gedächtnis und Topographie,” pp. 92–95, with regard to *LR*: the motivation on both sides is primarily plunder.

⁵² *LR* 612–13: “without shame they wanted to acquire honour and wealth” (“sie mochten āne schande / irwerben ēre und gūt”); 1915–16: the master tells his knights: “Now fight, it is time! All our honour depends on it” (“nū strīten, des ist zīt! / al unser ēre dar an līt”); there are numerous instances of the chronicler stating that the Christian warriors achieved honour, *ēre*, in battle, though that is not

repeated plunder and devastation of fields forcing the heathens off their land, thus leaving it free for the Christian knight-brothers.⁵³ This incident is perhaps the most blatant case of warfare conducted solely for political motives: the harassed peasants are forced to flee their land, escaping to still-heathen Lithuania, and are therefore obviously not converted. The sole motives for this action are the desire for land and the destruction of a fortification (that could admittedly have been used against the Christians).⁵⁴

Although both chronicles show quite explicitly that completely secular motives lay behind many of the battles, Henry of Livonia also often links conquest with conversion; while he might not always portray this as the primary motive for war, it is clear that the conversion of the heathen is of far greater importance to this chronicler than to his vernacular successor. Moreover, Henry includes, in addition to the many instances of conquest and hostage-taking followed by baptism cited above, a lengthy chapter (XXIV) describing the activities of some priests who travel through newly conquered territories baptizing and preaching.⁵⁵ Meinhard, the first bishop of Riga, is characterized primarily as a preacher.⁵⁶ Preaching the word of God is also mentioned elsewhere before the chapter devoted to this subject, and it is apparent that Henry does give some importance to this aspect of the conquest of the heathens (though preaching is not necessarily divorced from fighting even in his account).⁵⁷

the same as stating it was their motivation to fight. Note that seeking fame is also a motivation ascribed to the heathens: LR 534; 1122; 1564. *ère* can also, of course, have a religious connotation, though in the language of courtly literature used by the Rhymer such a significance is rarely explicitly intended.

⁵³ LR 11343–408.

⁵⁴ Note in this context Henryk Lowmiański, “Anfänge und politische Rolle der Ritterorden an der Ostsee im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert,” in *Der Deutschordensstaat Preussen in der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung der Gegenwart*, ed. Udo Arnold and Marian Biskup, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 30 (Marburg, 1982), pp. 36–85, who argues that the Order’s policies in the Baltic were, from the start, concerned with expansion and securing a base for survival in the light of the increasingly dim prospects in the Holy Land; the economic motivation was, therefore, always of greater importance than spreading the faith. See however Klaus Militzer, “From the Holy Land to Prussia: The Teutonic Knights between Emperors and Popes and their Policies until 1309,” in *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 71–81, for some reservations regarding this view.

⁵⁵ HCL 169,8–177,20.

⁵⁶ HCL 2,5; 2,12; 3,3; 14; 4,5.

⁵⁷ Apart from chapter XXIV, preaching, or peaceful conversion efforts involving instruction in the faith, is mentioned in the following passages: 31,28–32: the Christian voices are not stopped by the killing of their coreligionists, and in fact “grow stronger and stronger both in fighting and in preaching” (“tam preliando quam predicando magis ac magis invalescere”); 32,13–26: a description of the play performed in Riga that expounded the rudiments of the faith (on this incident, see Reinhard Schneider, “Straßentheater im Missionseinsatz: Zu Heinrichs von Lettland Bericht über ein grosses Spiel in Riga 1205,” in *Studien über die Anfänge*, pp. 107–21); 44,17–19: priests are sent “to preach after hostages have been received” (“acceptis obsidibus ... sacerdotes mittit ad predicationem”); 44,19–47,2: describes the activities of some of the aforementioned priests in peaceful baptism of the conquered; 61,6–11; 99,6–7. Chapter XXIX also mentions the preaching of the papal legate (HCL 209,1–212,14; 213,1–214,14), though this is probably best not considered a part of the conversion effort.

Apart from plunder, the enslavement of captives, and the acquisition of land that could be settled and cultivated by the Christians, a further economic gain from the conversion to Christianity was the payment of the tithe or a church tax, often a matter of contention between the newly converted and the Church. A number of passages in Henry's chronicle mention that the converts were oppressed by the tithes.⁵⁸ In many instances, agreeing to become Christian is also explicitly an agreement to pay the Christian tithe (*decima*) or tax (*censum*), expressed in formulations like: "they subjugated themselves to the Livonian Church, agreeing to receive the sacraments of baptism and pay an annual tax";⁵⁹ as noted above, this agreement was often sealed by giving hostages to the Christians, and was made in conjunction with the promise of accepting Christianity.⁶⁰ From the admonishments of the papal legate to the Sword-Brothers to ease the tithe payments,⁶¹ it is apparent that heavy burdens were indeed placed on the converts. Furthermore, there is a reference to converts who "assert that the yoke of faith was intolerable,"⁶² probably referring to the tithes and/or labour services. This grievance is addressed to a Russian king in a plea for help against the Christian overlords and is therefore characterized as treachery by Henry; but this need not mean that there was no truth in the complaint, given that Latin Christians such as the papal legate and Henry himself also made similar statements.⁶³ The *LR* also mentions oppressive taxes, though not in a sympathetic manner at all, and is in general far less concerned with tithes and the complaints of the converts. Taxes are often paid to the Christians as the price of peace (but

⁵⁸ *HCL* 92,26–93,2: "the Livs begged that the Christian laws and particularly the tithe should be made less burdensome to them" ("[Lyvones] petentes iura christianorum et maxime decimam sibi alleviari"); 103,16–21: the Livs are oppressed because they have to pay taxes to both the church and the Russian king, their secular overlord; 210,1–5: the papal legate admonishes the *fratres milicie* not to oppress the Estonians with tithes "lest by such a cause they are forced to return again to paganism" ("ne per talem occasionem iterum ad paganismum redire cogantur"); similarly 211,1–6: the legate here admonishes not only the knight-brothers, but also *alios Theutonicos*).

⁵⁹ *HCL* 145,23–25: "ecclesie Lyvonensi se subdiderunt, ut et baptismi sacramenta reciperent et censum annuatim persolverent."

⁶⁰ Other instances where baptism and tithes (*decima*) or taxes (*censum*) are explicitly linked: *HCL* 110,21–111,20: this passage includes a speech in which the Livs are told, among other things, that their prosperity will increase with the new faith if they also pay their tithes; 138,30–33; 145,32–146,1; 165,6–7; 205,26–28; 206,16–18.

⁶¹ *HCL* 210,1–5: "he instructed them [*sc.* the Sword-Brothers] that they should not be exceedingly harsh to those subjugated to them, those dull Estonians, either in taking tithes or in any other matters" ("docebat eos ne subditis suis, stultis Estonibus illis, aut in decimis accipiendis aut in aliis quibuscunque causis nimium graves existerent"); similarly *HCL* 211,1–6.

⁶² *HCL* 33,11: "intollerabile iugum fidei asserebant."

⁶³ Henry appeals to the rulers of the land not to oppress the Livs and Letts with excessive taxes: "take care ... not to oppress the poor too much, namely the Livs and Letts and any other converts ... For the Blessed Virgin is not delighted by the heavy tithe, which the converts are accustomed to pay, nor pleased by other taxes collected from them, nor by a heavy yoke" (*HCL* 181,10–24: "attendite ... ne pauperes nimium opprimatis, pauperes dico Lyvones et Lettos sive quoscunque neophytos ... Non enim beata Virgo censu magno, quem dare solent neophyti, delectatur, non diversis exactionibus ipsis ablata placatur, neque iugum grave"). Henry's concerns here mirror those of the popes Innocent III and Honorius III: see Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, pp. 117–19; 177–79.

baptism is not mentioned in conjunction with this in the *LR*, in contrast to *HCL*).⁶⁴ It is likely that these payments were at least one of the reasons why many converts frequently lapsed, and also why the Church was so eager to maintain firm control over its converts as well as gain more.

The Depiction of Heathen Customs

Both texts provide some descriptions of heathen customs, as well as some indications of how these customs or manners were retained (in the view of the chroniclers) even after conversion.⁶⁵ Although the various heathen groups appear to be differentiated according to political or ethnic boundaries, neither chronicle distinguishes between the religious beliefs of any of these groups. Both show the heathens as polytheistic. Henry describes the unconverted population as idolaters, and names one of their gods (Tharaphita).⁶⁶ He presents them as repeatedly trying to wash off the Christian faith very literally, by bathing in the river.⁶⁷ Henry also provides many examples of the heathens consulting oracles; in a number of cases, the oracles appear to go against the wishes of the heathens, and seem more favourable to the Christians, and they are also presented as predicting correctly the outcome of battle.⁶⁸

The *LR* is less concerned specifically with the idolatry of the Baltic peoples, though it often states that they are led by the Devil and refers to their false gods.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ *LR* 1396–99 (the Estonians have to pay increasing taxes, regardless of whether this might do them damage); 1406–12 (the converts are forced to build churches, and their reluctance is chided); 2439–41 (the Curonians have to pay a heavy tax). Other passages mention the payment of taxes in order to maintain peace: *LR* 3441–50; 8066–71; 9609; 9639–42. In one instance the chronicler explicitly links the *zins* and Christianity, stating that the Oselians remained free of both for many years: *LR* 1622–23.

⁶⁵ On the following, see also Rasa J. Mažeika, “Granting Power to Enemy Gods in the Chronicles of the Baltic Crusades,” in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 153–71; Weiss, “Mythologie und Religiosität.” Note that I do not examine here depictions of political or social structures, or indeed how the narratives of my two chronicles match up with any other independent evidence. On the portrayal of political and social structures in Henry, see most recently Andris Snē, “The Image of the Other or the Own: Representations of Local Societies in *Heinrici Chronicon*,” in *The Medieval Chronicle VI*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam, 2009), pp. 247–60, as well as idem, “Emergence of Livonia,” and Eihmane, “Baltic Crusades.”

⁶⁶ References to idolaters: *HCL* 2,1; 37,10; 45,13; 54,8; 109,35–36; 133,24; 176,32; 212,6; the god Tharaphita: *HCL* 220,30. On this deity, see the comprehensive study of Urmas Sutrop: “Taarapita – The Great God of the Oeselians,” *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore* 26 (2004), 27–64 (available online at <http://www.folklore.ee/folklore/vol26/sutrop.pdf>). One should note that, with the exception of Jews, the reference to non-Christian peoples (even Muslims) as idolaters is commonplace in medieval writings, and does not necessarily say much about actual religious practice.

⁶⁷ *HCL* 4,7–8; 29,18–20; 191,16–18.

⁶⁸ *HCL* 4,15–21: the oracle says a Christian priest should live; 55,9–14: the oracle says the Letts should join the Latin Christians rather than the Russians, and accept baptism; *HCL* 59,7–8: the oracles predict a good outcome to battle, and the battle is indeed later won; 190,33–36: the lot favours the sacrifice of an ox rather than a Christian priest.

⁶⁹ Idols and the devil in *LR*: 339: “the heathens have many false gods” (“sie haben abgote vil”); 1363–64: “they pray to the false gods because of the Devil’s scorn” (“daz sie die valschen apgot / an

Like Henry, the *LR* provides many examples of the heathens consulting oracles; the *LR* might grant somewhat more credence to the efficacy of these oracles and to the enemy's gods. A heathen god has the power to freeze water so that the Lithuanian army can cross over the ice;⁷⁰ the oracles' view of the future for the heathens proves correct on two occasions.⁷¹ The Teutonic Knights even appear to believe in the oracle of their heathen allies, apparently becoming confident because of what it says, and it turns out that the oracle's prediction is in fact fulfilled.⁷² Similarly, one episode depicts the conquered heathens casting lots which predict that their battle, alongside the Teutonic Knights, will end favourably; while the Christians are not shown to be affected in any way by this, it is apparent that the oracle was actually correct – something the chronicler need not have included at all.⁷³

Henry states that the heathens sacrifice humans to their gods (or at least plan to do so).⁷⁴ He also describes them as cruel on a number of occasions. Even after conversion, Henry depicts the new converts as being especially bloodthirsty,⁷⁵ and the heathens are sometimes depicted as killing their victims after torturing them, or burning them alive (Henry also does state that the heathens receive a cruel death at the hands of the Christians – deservedly, in his view).⁷⁶ This was, of course, hardly uncommon practice for Christians too, but the adjective *crudelis* and the adverb *crudeliter* are rarely used to refer to the Christians in *HCL*. It is also worth noting that in most of the instances when Christians torment their enemies or burn

beten durch des tûvels spot"); 1427: they are led by the *tûvel*; 3881–89: the heathens cremate their dead, along with armour and weapons, "to satisfy the devil in the otherworld" ("dar mite solden sie stillen / den tûvel in jener werlde dort"); the chronicler says of this at 3890 that "such great foolishness was unheard of" ("sô grôze tôrheit wart nie gehôrt").

⁷⁰ *LR* 1435–57.

⁷¹ *LR* 3019–45: an oracle correctly predicts a death; 4680–876: an oracle correctly predicts victory, and the heathen allies of the knight-brothers "gave thanks to their gods for the fact that they were successful in battle" ("saiten iren gôten danc, / daz an deme strîte in gelanc").

⁷² *LR* 7229–80.

⁷³ *LR* 2478–572; see also Feistner et al., *Krieg im Visier*, pp. 87–88.

⁷⁴ *HCL*, 4, 12–13; 31, 27–28; 190, 33–36.

⁷⁵ *HCL* 119, 4–8.

⁷⁶ *HCL* 80, 15–19: "they roasted some [Christians] alive" ("alios vivos assaverunt"); of others we are told that "crosses are cut into their backs before they slit their [the Christians'] throats" ("in dorsis eorum crucibus factis iugulaverunt"); 121, 17–30: a priest is tortured in various ways before being killed; 124, 35–36: a Christian is burnt alive; 190, 12–17: the heart of a Christian is removed while he is alive, then roasted and eaten.

The heathens receiving a cruel death: 58, 22–24: "They killed all of them with the harsh death as they deserved" ("omnes crudeli morte sicut meruerunt interfecerunt"); 96, 10–12: a recently converted Christian roasts some of his victims; 126, 31–38: the sons of a recent convert killed by heathens take revenge by torturing their enemies and burning them alive. Chapter XXV, 2 (*HCL* 179, 1–181, 25) justifies the cruel fate of many of the opponents of the Church saying they deserved it for their persecution of the Christians; some of these adversaries are Christians – even Latin Christians – and they are exhorted to fear the "gentle mother of mercy," who is equally the "harsh avenger" ("ipsam tam mitem matrem misericordie timete ... ipsam tam crudelem vindicatricem"). This speech seems to be aimed as much at the Christian lords who are harsh to their subjects as at the heathen and Christian opponents of the Livonian Church.

them alive, those doing so are recent converts, not Germans. The *LR* seems far less concerned with depicting the cruelty of the heathens.⁷⁷

Both texts also often depict the local populace (before and after conversion) as foolish and cowardly, with a number of instances of them deserting in battle when fighting alongside the Christians;⁷⁸ the *LR*, however, does also show the converts as being extremely brave in battle on other occasions.⁷⁹ Henry does not seem inclined to ascribe their lack of constancy in Christianity or obstinacy in their own religion to stupidity (as do later chronicles from Prussia),⁸⁰ but rather to deceit and treachery (*dolum* or *perfidia*).⁸¹ The treachery of the Livs and Livonians is also mentioned in the *LR*, though less often, and here it lacks any specific religious context.⁸²

Unlike Henry's chronicle, the *LR* devotes a fair amount of space to depicting the secular honours of battle and the armour and trappings of the warriors and their mounts. The heathens are depicted quite on par with the Christians: their armour, like that of the Christians, is often described as gleaming, shining in the sun, and so on, and there are actually more instances of enemy armies being described as mighty with gleaming armour than of Christians.⁸³ The heathen warriors, like the Christians, are also often presented in entirely positive terms as brave or mighty

⁷⁷ *LR* 7013–14: a captured knight-brother “is placed on a spit” (“sie satzten in ûf einen rôst”); 10700–709: one knight-brother is clubbed to death, another is roasted.

⁷⁸ Foolishness in Henry: *HCL* 3,18–21; 210,3.

Converts fleeing the battlefield in Henry: *HCL* 51,1–4; 60,10–11; heathen allies of the Christians flee from the battle: 80,1–4; 88,8–9; 122,19–20; 149,22–28. Converts fleeing in *LR*: 5601–7; 6050–53; 7490–91; 8441–43; 10274–75; 10579–85; 10632–33.

⁷⁹ *LR* 1149; 8107–20.

⁸⁰ The two most significant works of Prussian historiography are Peter von Dusburg, “Chronicon terrae Prussiae,” ed. Max Töppén, in *Scriptores rerum prussicarum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 3–219, and the vernacular adaptation of this by Nikolaus von Jeroschin, “Die Krönike von Prüzinlant,” ed. Ernst Strehlke, in *Scriptores rerum prussicarum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 291–624. How *HCL* and the *LR* relate to these will be discussed briefly below; on the stupidity (and other qualities and practices) ascribed to the heathens in these works, see “Chronicon terrae Prussiae,” pp. 53–55, and “Krönike von Prüzinlant,” ll. 3983–4264. For discussion, see Feistner et al., *Krieg im Visier*, pp. 38–39; Edith Feistner, “Vom Kampf gegen das ‘Andere’: Pruzzen, Litauer und Mongolen in lateinischen und deutschen Texten des Mittelalters,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 132 (2003), 281–94; eadem, “Die (Ohn-)Macht des ‘Anderen’: Pruzzen und Mongolen in mittelalterlichen Texten,” in *Germanistik im Kontaktraum Europa II: Beiträge zur Literatur*, ed. Mira Miladinovic Zalaznik (Ljubljana, 2003), pp. 81–99.

⁸¹ Deceit and treachery mentioned as qualities of the native peoples of Livonia: *HCL* 3,23–24; 5,13–6,4; 13,12–14; 14,2; 18,2; 19,10–14; 30,4; 33,7–9; 41,20; 42,17–18; 46,13–14; 75,10–11; 75,18–20; 77,14; 82,4; 86,30; 102,11–15; 110,6–20; 120,28–32; 133,17; 152,35–36; 155,5–7; 163,23–24; 180,12–21; 189,31–32; 189,37; 201,23; 201,29. The terms *dolum/dolose* and *perfidus/perfidia* are frequently used to describe the Russians and their actions as well, though these instances are not cited here.

⁸² *LR* 1287–1307; 5671–77; 9612–16.

⁸³ Descriptions of the Christian army in shining armour: *LR* 2374–83; 3281–86; 7178–79; 10410–11. Descriptions of the enemy's equipment as impressive: *LR* 1084–87; 1578–80; 1594–97; 2107–9; 2216–19; a description of the excellence of the Russian army's equipment: 5016–21; 5449–50; 8340–42.

warriors or heroes (*helt*), who happen to be the enemy.⁸⁴ In this respect, the *LR* treats both parties far more equitably than does Henry's chronicle, which is inclined to consider the heathens almost exclusively in negative terms.

It seems that Henry was more concerned than the vernacular chronicler with the religious customs of the heathens, and specifically with their idolatry and human sacrifice; these are not issues of particular importance for the Rhymer. Henry, while far more sympathetic to the converts and in fact critical of the knight-brothers for oppressing their subjects, nevertheless generally depicts all the native peoples as more cruel in their ways than the Germans, and seems to be far more interested in showing this cruelty than is the *LR*, which has far fewer mentions of such incidents. Both chroniclers consistently differentiate between the converts and the Germans; while they are sometimes collectively referred to as Christians, most often they are broken up into ethnic groups (Henry also frequently refers to the converts as *neophiti*). It is apparent throughout both chronicles that the authors clearly identify themselves with the Germans (in Henry's case the Church at Riga rather than the Sword-Brothers), more than with all Christians, including the recent converts to Christianity.⁸⁵ Henry's chronicle displays the heathens more consistently in a negative light, whereas in the *LR*, "the predominant characteristic of the portrayal of the heathen is the knight's respect for the fighting abilities of the enemy";⁸⁶ Michael Neecke has recently concluded that not only is there in this text "weder eine substantielle Überlegenheit der Ordensritter noch eine umfassende 'Verteufelung' der Feinde," but also that the similarity between heathens and Christians "geht in der Reimchronik tatsächlich über das hinaus, was die Heldenepik traditionell an demonstrativer Wertschätzung der Kombattanten kennt."⁸⁷

Conclusions

The preceding analysis of the two primary narrative sources for Baltic history in the thirteenth century provides somewhat mixed results. While Henry of Livonia clearly presents an ideological viewpoint and stresses the importance of conversion – a theme almost completely lacking in the later vernacular work – he does not shy away from describing the material gains and battle techniques of the Christians,

⁸⁴ Thus also Fischer, "*Di himels rote*", pp. 183–84; Kugler, "Text, Gedächtnis und Topographie," p. 92, and "Livländische Reimchronik," p. 24; citing, however, only five of the following instances between them: *LR* 2722–29; 3731–35; 4087 (an enemy is called a *vil vromer helt*); 5378–81; 5524–25 (mighty warriors on both sides); 6044–48; 6216–19; 7780; 8397–407 (both sides have brave heroes); 8992; 9197; 11744; 11753.

⁸⁵ On this aspect of Henry's work, see also Biļkins, "Autoren," and Holtzmann, "Studien." On the discourse of German identity in the Baltic, see also Len Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245–1414* (Cambridge, 2012); this important work appeared when the present article was already at proof stage and its findings could thus not be properly incorporated into this paper.

⁸⁶ Fischer, "*Di himels rote*", p. 183.

⁸⁷ Feistner et al., *Krieg im Visier*, p. 87.

and shows that they are identical to those of their enemies. He does, however, often try to link warfare to the theological justification for it by describing the baptism of the conquered after their defeat – though he does not by any means do this consistently throughout. Furthermore, Henry is more consistent in portraying the practices and character of the heathens negatively, highlighting their human sacrifices and treachery, with few positive images of them; although he is willing to see them more sympathetically, deserving to be sheltered (to some extent) from fiscal exploitation, he is incapable of valorizing their martial prowess.

The later German chronicle views things far more from the point of view of the battleground rather than the pulpit. The heathens are described primarily in terms of their military abilities, which compare favourably to those of the Christians. Unlike Henry, although the Rhymer is more willing to portray the heathen warriors positively as warriors, he is less sympathetic to the plight of the conquered, ignoring the oppression of tithes and so on. Moreover, little consideration is given to baptism: the *LR* is concerned almost exclusively with military matters, and after the opening lines, it appears almost as an incidental detail that the opponents are not Christian. The more secular nature of the *LR* is also perhaps the reason why even church taxes are not frequently mentioned: in contrast to this, Henry, patently concerned with the upkeep of the nascent church, very frequently mentions in the same sentence the promise of conversion and the payment of tithes. However, it is apparent that Henry has sympathy for the recent converts (even if none at all for the heathens), for he does speak out against excessive demands made on them. This does not prevent him from portraying them as inferior and cowardly when compared to the Germans.

The fundamental divergences appear to stem from the fact that Henry, a priest, gives an important place to baptism and tithes, whereas the later chronicle, probably written both by and for military men, gives more room to secular issues, and provides hardly any consideration of religious matters. It is likely that the differences between the chronicles are caused by the author and audience, rather than by a change in the way the crusades were conducted. The policy of the see of Riga probably remained much the same with regard to the importance given to conversion and preaching, whereas the attitude of the military orders was always more concerned with battle and conquest, leaving the proselytizing to the priests.⁸⁸

The difference in focus is a reflection of a real change in the situation only insofar as the Teutonic Order at the end of the thirteenth century was in a far stronger position with regard to the archbishopric of Riga than it or its predecessor, the Order of the Sword-Brothers, had been at the century's beginning. From the middle

⁸⁸ Similarly Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, "Mission to the Heathen in Prussia and Livonia: The Attitudes of the Religious Military Orders Toward Christianization," in *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, ed. Guyda Armstrong and Ian N. Wood, *International Medieval Research* 7 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 147–54; Ekdahl, "Ritterorden," p. 232, with regard to the Sword-Brothers: "die Aufgabe des Ordens bei der Christianisierung im Baltikum bestand nicht darin, die Heiden durch Predigt zu bekehren, sondern sie gemäß seines Kampfauftrages mit Machtmitteln zu befriedigen."

of the thirteenth through much of the fourteenth century, the Teutonic Order was effectively the primary and often the sole military power in Livonia, and was by no means under the political control of Riga; it was also a landowner on a massive scale.⁸⁹ For this reason only, it is likely that there was in fact relatively less emphasis placed on conversion and fair demands in tithes and the like in the chronicle from the end of the century. Given the lack of an equivalent to Henry's narrative from this period, it is not easy to determine whether the Church would have chosen a mode of self-representation closer to that of the Teutonic Order (I suspect that this is unlikely), but it seems logical that the *LR* reflects the real situation at the end of the thirteenth century more accurately than would a latter-day Henry of Livonia, given that the balance of power was now on the side of the Teutonic Order, and the thrust of Christian efforts in the area is therefore more likely to have been primarily military, political, and economic, rather than religious.

I would like to stress, however, that there is very little fundamental divergence between the two works in the depiction of the Christian conflict with the heathens: in both chronicles, the Christians fight just as brutally as the heathens, not sparing women and children, devastating the land, and taking much plunder. In both chronicles, the immediate motives for battle are often unstated, and frequently do not appear to stem either from any imminent threat or the possibility of conversion. While Henry, unlike the *LR*, does not explicitly state that there were economic motives for conflict, his narrative makes it clear this was indeed the case. Although it is true that Henry does not, unlike the *Rhymer*, seem to be particularly bloodthirsty or take pleasure in gory depictions of slaughter, and therefore that the "the voice which came from Livonia at the end of the century was much harsher"⁹⁰ than its earlier counterpart appears to have been, the Christians had always been conquerors and plunderers, and it is obvious – despite Henry's apparent sympathy for his flock – that as far as conversion were concerned, even a priest such as he completely supported the brutal modes of conquest that preceded conversion. The nature of the process of Christianizing the Baltic, therefore, was probably in essence much the same at both ends of the century: in both periods, it was characterized by vicious warfare, economic exploitation and secular politics; and in both periods, secular motives were just as important, if not more so, than religious ideals (though the religious motivation of heavenly reward, rather than the expansion of Christendom, should not be discounted). In both periods too, the evidence of these chronicles suggests that conversion was more often a result of conquest than of conviction

⁸⁹ On relations between the Order and other authorities in Livonia, see Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, 146–51; Manfred Hellmann, "Der Deutsche Orden und die Stadt Riga," in *Stadt und Orden: das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preussen und im Deutschen Reich*, ed. Udo Arnold, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 44 (Marburg, 1993), pp. 1–33; idem, "Die Stellung des livländischen Ordenszweiges"; Juhan Kreem, "The Teutonic Order as Secular Ruler in Livonia: The Privileges and the Oath of Reval," in *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 215–32; Militzer, *Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, pp. 82–86.

⁹⁰ Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, p. 95; see also Murray, "Livonian Rhymed Chronicle," pp. 243–45.

brought about by preaching. Given the emphasis placed on preaching in Henry's work, this might seem surprising but, as we have seen, this conclusion emerges from Henry's own narrative, thus making it, I suggest, rather more similar in tone to the *LR* than is generally thought.

What emerges from the analysis of these two works with regard to modes of self-representation is that, although Henry was a priest and representative of the Church at Riga (though this does not by any means imply that his work embodies some sort of official position of the see), he could nevertheless present quite prominently the secular motives of conflict; his affiliation with the see of Riga also does not mean that Henry even desired to show Christians as shunning the use of force and excessive violence. To the contrary, while the representation of the Church is primarily religious, it is equally apparent that the Church's mission, in the eyes of Henry, was also a military one.⁹¹ Henry saw the end result as beneficial to the local populace as well, not just the conquerors: the consistently negative portrayal of heathen customs and manners highlights the gains brought to the converts by Christianity, which could lead them to a virtuous life and salvation (the possible economic benefits are hinted at, but not given much room in his chronicle).

The consensus of the scholarship suggests that the *LR* may be seen as a work representing the position of a larger group, the Teutonic Order, as it was almost certainly composed for the Order, though possibly as a means of external self-representation. In contrast to *HCL*, the Order's chronicle is concerned with religion only insofar as the warriors who lose their lives are presented as martyrs for the faith; throughout the text, the role of the military order is indeed almost solely military, and the maintenance or spread of Christianity in the land are of little importance. Even the fact that the enemies are religious "others" seems of less significance than that they are enemies; moreover, in the interests of military gains, the Rhymer does not mind ignoring religion and benefits to Christianity altogether. It is also notable that, unlike the later Prussian chronicles of the Teutonic Order (and unlike Henry), the *LR* uses largely secular language, style, and imagery, with very little material drawn from religious sources; while this might be because its audience was partly secular (visiting crusaders), it sheds an interesting perspective on the self-representation of the Order in Livonia at this time. Neecke has found that, while some biblical epic was cultivated within the Prussian branch of the Teutonic Order in thirteenth century, there appears at this point to have been little interaction between religious literature and historiography, and between the ideologies and modes of self-identification they could each furnish.⁹² It is apparent that in fact the Order in

⁹¹ For this reason, Simon Gerber's argument that Henry essentially preaches a theology of peace seems to me somewhat overstating the case; Simon Gerber, "Heinrich von Lettland – ein Theologe des Friedens: 'Nichts Bessers weiß ich mir an Sonn- und Feiertagen, Als ein Gespräch von Krieg und Kriegsgeschrei,'" *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 115 (2004), 1–18, e.g. p. 15: "Die Mission, auch wenn sie zu kriegerischen Mitteln greift, ist ja nichts anders als die Ausbreitung des Friedens."

⁹² Feistner et al., *Krieg im Visier*, pp. 49–79; 104. On the function of religious literature in this regard, see in addition Danielle Buschinger, "Literatur und Politik in der Deutschordensdichtung," and Michael Neecke, "Strategien der Identitätsstiftung: Zur Rolle der Biblepik im Deutschen Orden

Livonia had also a more secular role, one less concerned with religious affairs; if we accept that the *LR* was composed for the Order, then it is clear that it manifestly also did not mind presenting itself in a largely non-religious light: the vernacular work “präsentiert ein ausschließlich militärisches Selbstbild der *brüdere*.”⁹³ This was to change within the next few decades: the official chronicles of the Teutonic Order from the first half of the fourteenth century have a far more explicitly religious character, stressing the religious role of the Order, with other motives and attitudes certainly still present, but receding significantly in importance.⁹⁴

The *LR* occupies a rather anomalous position, even with regard to its treatment by modern scholarship: although used by historians as a source of facts (albeit often with some reluctance, and understandably so), it has not received as much attention as a cultural and historical artefact in and of itself as have either Henry’s chronicle or the later works from Prussia. I cannot go into the causes for the greater ideological sophistication of the Prussian works here;⁹⁵ Henry has seemed more

(13/14. Jahrhundert),” both in *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im DeutschordeNSTaats Preussen: Leben und Nachleben*, ed. Jarosław Wentka, Sieglinda Hartmann, and Gjsela Vollmann-Profe, Sacra bella septentrionalia 1 (Toruń, 2008), pp. 449–60 and pp. 461–71 respectively.

⁹³ Feistner et al., *Krieg im Visier*, p. 104. There is absolutely no parallel in *HCL* or *LR* to the passages in the Prussian chronicles on religious and corporeal weapons, in which the real battles fought are allegorized in terms of spiritual struggle: “Chronicon terrae Prussiae,” pp. 40–46; “Krönike von Prüzinlant,” 2274–3392; see Fischer, “*Di himels rote*,” pp. 165–70. Nevertheless, Fischer has suggested that in *LR* there could be a (very cursory) indication of a concept of suffering in battle as some sort of *imitatio Christi* (“*Di himels rote*”, p. 185).

⁹⁴ On the more explicitly religious position of the later chronicles, see most recently Feistner et al., *Krieg im Visier* (with references to many useful earlier works by the same authors); and the important works of Mary Fischer: “*Di himels rote*”; eadem, “Biblical Heroes and the Uses of Literature: The Teutonic Order in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries,” in *Crusade and Conversion*, pp. 261–75; eadem, “The Books of the Maccabees and the Teutonic Order,” *Crusades* 4 (2005), 59–71; eadem, “*Des tûvils kint?* The German Order’s Perception of its Enemies as Revealed in the *Krönike von Prüzinlant*,” *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 244 (2007), 260–75. For a broader view of the historiography of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, see also Jarosław Wentka, *Studien über die Ordensgeschichtsschreibung am Beispiel Preußens* (Toruń, 2000). Note that, according to Fischer, while the use of typological imagery and other religious devices was certainly very sophisticated in some of the later Prussian chronicles, the non-Christian opponents are, especially in the latter part of Nikolaus von Jeroschin’s chronicle, often granted some legitimacy, and in particular their prowess as warriors is often described in positive terms. For an interpretation that stresses the fact that the heathens could also be portrayed positively in Peter von Dusburg’s chronicle, and could in fact have a function similar to that of the Germans in Tacitus (simple virtue vs. one’s own people’s decadence), cf. Rasa J. Mažeika, “Violent Victims? Surprising Aspects of the Just War Theory in the Chronicle of Peter von Dusburg,” in *Clash of Cultures*, pp. 122–37, at pp. 127–31. Nevertheless, the extensive use of various kinds of religious literature, particularly Scripture, in the Prussian works is quite apparent; in contrast, there seems to be only one clear derivation from Scripture in the *LR* (Fischer, “*Di himels rote*”, p. 185, with reference to *LR* 476–80, quoting Matt. 25.40). Note also that “in contrast to the ‘Krönike von Prüzinlant’ the depiction of warfare in the chronicle [*sc. LR*] is detailed and precise,” and similarly, the description of the splendour of the Christian army found in *LR* is lacking in the later vernacular work from Prussia (Fischer, “*Di himels rote*”, pp. 175, 184).

⁹⁵ Among the causes were the collapse of the Order in the Holy Land and its consequently greater commitment to and need for legitimacy in its Baltic lands, as well as the rising chorus of complaints against it, which, viewed in conjunction with the arrest and dissolution of the Templars, probably gave

interesting not least because of his chronicle's status as the first work to emerge out of this region. I hope to have shown, though, that Henry has rather more in common with the later vernacular history than is often appreciated – a fact that suggests that there was relatively little difference between the beginning and the end of the thirteenth century with regard to the forms of contact between (German) Christians and the non-Christian or recently converted inhabitants of Livonia, and certainly less divergence in self-representation between works by members of two different Christian corporate groups, the secular clergy at Riga and the Teutonic Order. From around 1200, contact was (and was presented as) predominantly violent, and fuelled at least equally (if not more) by secular as by religious motives; the representation of this contact throughout the thirteenth century makes little effort, in Latin or the vernacular, to conceal or apologize for this fact.

the Order good reason to express itself in more religious rather than secular terms. On these issues, see in brief Christiansen, *Northern Crusades*, pp. 147–51; see also Mažeika, “Violent Victims?”. On the effects of these developments on literary production, see the works of Feistner et al.; Fischer; and Wenta, cited in the previous note; and in addition, for the broader context, see the essays collected in Wenta et al., *Mittelalterliche Kultur und Literatur im Deutschordensstaat Preussen*.