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CRUSADING IN LIVONIA AND BYZANTINE ROMANIA CONSIDERED IN A COMPARATIVE REVIEW KEY ISSUES AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Abstract. The article focuses on a topic that so far has not been studied in a comparative approach. The author addresses some basic problems of the comparative research, focusing on the general and the specific causes, the course, and the consequences of the crusading actions in the lands of Livonia and Estonia – in the northeast, and Romania – in the southeast. Reconsidering the already established models and theses in historical research on the Baltic campaigns, on the one hand, and the Third, the Fourth, and the Fifth Crusades, on the other, the author formulates some guidelines and approaches for a comparative study on crusading ‘on the edges’ in the late 12th – the early 13th centuries. The article analyzes several factors including the role of geographical and climatic conditions, the demographic expansion, the papal policy, the commercial maritime activity, and the role of the Knightly orders in the crusading campaigns under review. Furthermore, the author explores the political and social background of the crusading campaigns under question and the different models of interaction between the colonization stratum and the local population in Livonia and the Latin Empire in Constantinople.

Keywords: Medieval Crusades, Livonia, Romania, Latin Empire of Constantinople

The crusade activity in the Baltic and Byzantine territories has a long history and various aspects, but one of the common features is its permanence in the years after the initial conquests at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century (1198–1205). In the lands of the Eastern Baltic, it manifested in new military campaigns led by the Order of Sword Brothers, the Teutonic Order, the Bishop of Riga, the Danish Crown, and other political and military factors. Similarly, a series of crusades were declared in defense of the Frankish states which were set up in the formerly Byzantine territories. This development defined the policy of the papacy, of the Latin crusaders, and the local states and authorities, and had a profound impact on Greco-Bulgarian-Latin relations in the thirteenth century. The late 12th and the early 13th century were characterized by an intense crusade movement, directed not only towards the Holy Lands but also the Eastern Baltic lands and Byzantine Empire (the lands of Romania). These crusades

changed, to a greater or lesser extent, the course of local history and, despite the considerable geographical distance, they were a manifestation of common (or similar) ambitious religious, political, and economic interests.

What was shared between and specific about the Livonian crusade from the first half of the 13th century and the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)? What were the motives, the driving forces, and the ultimate goals of the papal policy in the Baltic region and the Balkans at the beginning of the 13th century? What were the consequences of these crusades for the Baltic and Balkan peoples? What were the shared and distinguishing characteristics of the *Terra Mariana* founded in 1207 and the *Latin Empire* established in former Byzantine lands in 1204, with Constantinople as its political centre? What was the scale of commercial activities involved in the Livonian crusade and the Fourth Crusade? What were the general and the specific trends in the history of the Southeastern region and of the East-Baltic region in the first three decades of the 13th century when locals were strongly affected by the expanding papal power and influence on the eastern borders of the European continent? These are just some of the issues that can be the basis of such a comparative study. This paper is aimed at mapping out the main problems and a brief historiographical overview to further comparative interdisciplinary research of the Crusades and their consequences in Livonia and Romania.

Yet, despite their importance, to date these expeditions and crusading activities have not been systematically examined in a comparative approach. As far as the state of the research related to the issue is concerned, so far no comparative studies have been carried out on the Livonian Crusade and the Fourth Crusade. The only close studies have been devoted to comparative research between the Crusaders in the Iberian peninsula and the Baltic region and between the Baltic Crusades and the Holy Lands¹. Bulgarian historiography too lacks a comparative study of the mentioned processes in Livonia and Romania during the period in question. The historical parallels between Livonia and Romania (Latin Empire of Constantinople) have been partially explored.

However, as far as research on the Baltic Crusades is concerned, the period is the subject of considerable research activity. First of all, I would note some Latvian and Estonian historians and archaeologists as I. Šterns, A. Šnē, E. Eihmane, A. Levāns, G. Zariņa, M. Sound, A. Selart and A. Mänd². The Baltic Crusades,

¹ *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, ed. T.K. NIELSEN, I. FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT, Turnhout 2016; N. MORTON, *The Division of Resources between the Holy Land and the Baltic*, [in:] *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land, 1190–1291*, Woodbridge 2017, p. 118–130.

² I. ŠTERNŠ, *Latvijas vēsture 1180–1290: Krustakari*, Rīga 2002; A. ŠNĒ, *Multicoloured Culture: Co-existence of the Local and the Western in the Territory of Latvia During the Middle Ages*, [in:] *Colours of Archaeology. Material Culture and Society*, Vilnius–Helsinki–Riga–Tartu 2007, p. 139–154; IDEM, *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 Medi-*

the military orders, and the early history of medieval Livonia are also brilliantly presented in the research of historians as Nils Blomkvist and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, Richard Spence, Barbara Bombi (the Popes, the Catholic church and the Baltic Crusades), Eric Christiansen, John Lind, Alan Murray, William Urban, Roman Czaja, A. Pluskowski and H. Valk (the Livonian Sword Brothers, the Teutonic Order, and the conquest of Livonia)³. These studies are only part of the vast historiography on the problems of the Livonian Crusades. They do not present in full the historiographical base, but point to opportunities for comparative

eval Baltic Frontier, ed. A.V. MURRAY, Farnham 2009, p. 53–73; IDEM, *The Image of the Other or the Own: Representation of Local Societies in Heinrici Chronicon*, [in:] *The Medieval Chronicle*, vol. VI, ed. E. KOOPER, Amsterdam–New York 2009, p. 247–260; IDEM, *The Hanseatic League and the Eastern Baltic: Towns, Trade and Politics in Medieval Livonia from the Thirteenth to the Mid-Sixteenth Century*, [in:] *The North-Eastern Frontiers of Medieval Europe. The Expansion of Latin Christendom in the Baltic Lands*, ed. A.V. MURRAY, Farnham 2014 [= ELE, 4], p. 353–378; IDEM, *Faith, Society and Identity: Religious and Social Identity in Latvia on the Eve and Early Stages of the Crusades*, [in:] *Today I Am Not the One I Was Yesterday: Archaeology, Identity and Change*, Tartu–Helsinki–Riga–Vilnius 2015, p. 137–150; E. EIHMANE, *The Baltic Crusades: A Clash of Two Identities*, [in:] *The Clash of Cultures...*, p. 37–52; A. LEVANS, *Tuvās vēstures ainas. Vēsturisko priekšstatu par Livoniju rašanās 13. gadsimta historiogrāfijā*, Rīga 2014; G. ZARINA, *Latvijas iedzīvotāju paleodemogrāfija. 7. g.t. pr.Kr. – 1800. g.*, Rīga 2009; A. SELART, *Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation: Livonia and Russia in the Thirteenth Century*, [in:] *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, ed. A.V. MURRAY, Aldershot 2001, p. 151–176; IDEM, *Der livländische Deutsche Orden und Rusland*, [in:] *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico*, ed. H. HOUBEN, Galatino 2008, p. 253–276; IDEM, *Livland und die Rus' im 13. Jahrhundert*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2007; IDEM, *Popes and Livonia in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century: Means and Chances to Shape the Periphery*, CHR 100.3, 2014, p. 437–458; IDEM, *Livland-eine Region am Ende der Welt?: Forschungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im späten Mittelalter*, Köln 2017; IDEM, *Die Kreuzzüge in Livland Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts und das dänische Königshaus*, [in:] *Narva und die Ostseeregion. Beiträge der II Internationalen Konferenz über die politischen und kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Russland und der Ostseeregion (Narva, 1.–3. Mai 2003)*, Narva 2004; IDEM, *Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century*, Leiden–Boston 2015 [= ECEEMA, 29].

³ N. BLOMKVIST, *The Discovery of the Baltic. The Reception of a Catholic World-system in the European North (AD 1075–1225)*, Leiden–Boston 2004 [= NW, 15]; I. FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254*, Leiden–Boston 2007 [= NW, 26]; R. SPENCE, *Pope Gregory IX and the Crusade on the Baltic*, CHR 69.1, 1983, p. 1–19; B. BOMBI, *Innocent III and the Baltic Crusade after the Conquest of Constantinople*, [in:] *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, ed. T. NIELSEN, I. FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT, Turnhout 2016, p. 117–133; E. CHRISTIANSEN, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525*, London 1980; J. LIND, *Collaboration and Confrontation between East and West on the Baltic Rim as a Result of the Baltic Crusades*, [in:] *Der Ostseeraum und ointinentaleuropa, 1100–1600. Culture Clash or Compromise*, Schwerin 2004, p. 123–126; A.V. MURRAY, *The Structure, Genre and Intended Audience of the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, [in:] *Crusade and Conversion...*, p. 235–251; W. URBAN, *The Livonian Crusade*, Washington 2004; IDEM, *The Military Occupation of Semgallia in the Thirteenth Century*, [in:] *Baltic History*, Columbus 1974, p. 21–34; R. CZAJA, *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia. The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures 13th–16th Century*, Toruń 2016; A. PLUSKOWSKI, H. VALK, *Conquest and Europeanization: the Archaeology of the Crusades in Livonia, Prussia and Lithuania*, [in:] *The Crusader World*, ed. A.J. BOAS, London 2016, p. 568–593.

research regarding other regions and crusades – in this case the Fourth Crusade and the Balkans in the period under consideration.

The comparative approach to studying society has a long tradition dating back to the Ancient World. Since the nineteenth century, philosophers, anthropologists, political scientists, and historians have used cross-cultural comparisons to achieve various objectives. For researchers adopting a normative perspective, comparisons have served as a tool for developing classifications of social phenomena and for establishing whether the shared phenomena can be explained by the same causes. For many researchers, comparisons have provided an analytical framework for examining and explaining social and cultural differences and specificities.

A research study on this topic requires a comparative historical and intercultural analysis, thus aiming at (and emphasizing) the similarities and substantial differences between Livonia and the Balkans in the first half of the 13th century. Such a comparative study also requires careful definition of chronological boundaries that correspond to specific events and dates in the Crusading activity in the Eastern Baltic and the Balkans in the first decades of the 13th century. In my opinion, the beginning can be set at the start of the Livonian Crusade in 1198 or the very end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. In fact, only four years separate 1198 and the beginning of the Fourth Crusade in 1202. Following the above, the starting chronological date of this research can be fixed in 1198, and the end can be marked by Gregory IX's attempted expeditions in defense of the Latin Empire in the years 1238–1240.

Such a comparative study requires careful identification of key issues and subtopics. In the first place, I would define *the evolution of crusading in the context of political circumstances across Europe, the role of the papal policy in Livonia and Romania in the first decades of the 13th century*⁴. One of the specific objectives

⁴ For further reference on the topic cf.: W. URBAN, *The Livonian...*; B. BOMBI, *Innocent III...*, p. 117–133; E. CHRISTIANSEN, *The Northern...*; S. EKDAHL, *Crusades and Colonisation in the Baltic: a Historiographic Analysis*, RIPS 19, 2003/2004, p. 1–43; I. FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT, *The Popes...*; A. SELART, *Popes...*, p. 437–458; M. TAMM, *How to Justify a Crusade? The Conquest of Livonia and New Crusade Rhetoric in the Early Thirteenth Century*, JMH 39.4, 2013, p. 431–455; A. ŠNĚ, *Multicoloured Culture...*, p. 139–154; IDEM, *The Emergence of Livonia...*, p. 53–73; E. EIHMANE, *The Baltic Crusades...*, p. 37–52; A. SELART, *Confessional...*, p. 151–176; IDEM, *Der livländische...*, p. 253–276; N. BLOMKVIST, *Discovery of the Baltic...*; I. FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT, *The Popes...*; R. SPENCE, *Pope Gregory IX...*, p. 1–19; J. LIND, *Collaboration...*, p. 123–126; A.V. MURRAY, *The Structure...*, p. 235–251; W. URBAN, *The Military Occupation...*, p. 21–34; A. PLUSKOWSKI, H. VALK, *Conquest and Europeanization...*, p. 568–593; *The North-Eastern Frontiers...*; M. TAMM, *How to Justify...*, p. 431–455; IDEM, *Inventing Livonia: The Name and Fame of a New Christian Colony on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ZfO 60, 2011, p. 186–209; J. FRANCE, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714*, London 2005. For further reference on Crusades in Byzantine Romania (the Balkans) cf.: N. CHRISSIS, *Crusading in Frankish Greece. A Study of Byzantine-Western Relations and Attitudes, 1204–1282*, Turnhout 2012 [= MCS, 22]; IDEM, *New Frontiers: Frankish Greece and the Development of Crusading in the Early Thirteenth Century*, [in:] *Contact and Conflict in Frankish*

regarding the issue is the Vatican politics from the first half of the 13th century (the pontificates of Innocent III, Honorius III, and Gregory IX), when both the Eastern Baltic and the Balkans were strongly affected by the expanding papal power and a series of crusades directed to the eastern borders of Latin Europe. Also, the role of the pontificate of Pope Gregory IX and the apogee of the crusading activity against John III Vatatzes and John II Asen and in helping Latin Romania must be emphasized⁵. The studies on the Crusades, especially on the Fourth Crusade and its impact on the Balkan peoples and states, are also numerous and diverse⁶.

This brief overview cannot represent the enormous historiography based on Papal politics, the Livonian Crusade, and the Fourth Crusade, but the studies conducted so far are a reliable basis for comparative research of the history of the Baltic and Balkan regions at the end of the 12th and in the 13th century.

Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453. Crusade, Religion and Trade between Latins, Greeks and Turks, ed. N. CHRISISS, M. CARR, Burlington 2014, p. 17–41; IDEM, *A Diversion that Never Was: Thibaut IV of Champagne, Richard of Cornwall and Pope Gregory IX's Crusading Plans for Constantinople, 1235–1239*, C 9, 2010, p. 123–145; K. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1171)*, vol. I, Philadelphia 1976; *Byzantium and the West. Perception and Reality (11th–15th c.)*, ed. N. CHRISISS, A. KOLIA-DEMITZAKI, A. PAPAGEORGIOU, London–New York 2019; Z. PENTEK, *Cesarstwo Łacińskie 1204–1261. Kolonialne państwo krzyżowców czy Neobizancjum?*, Poznań 2004; IDEM, *Geoffroy de Villehardouin. Rycerz i kronikarz IV wyprawy krzyżowej*, Poznań 1996; ROBERT DE CLARI, *Zdobycie Konstantynopola*, ed. et trans. Z. PENTEK, Poznań 1997; F. DALL'AGLIO, *Crusading in a Nearer East: the Balkan Politics of Honorius III and Gregory IX (1221–1241)*, [in:] *La Papauté et les croisades. Actes du VII^e Congrès de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. M. BALARD, Farnham 2011, p. 173–184; C. MORRIS, *Geoffroy de Villehardouin and the Conquest of Constantinople*, His 53, 1968, p. 24–34; A. МАЙОРОВ, *The Alliance between Byzantium and Rus' before the Conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204*, RHis 42.3, 2015, p. 272–303; В. ИВАНОВ, *Рицарите йоанити, кръстоносните походи и Балканите (XI–XIII в.)*, София 2020.

⁵ J.S. LANGDON, *The Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian Assault and Siege of Constantinople, 1235–1236, and the Breakup of the Entente Cordiale between John III Ducas Vatatzes and John Asen II in 1236 as Background to the Genesis of the Hohenstaufen Vatatzes Alliance of 1242*, BMbyz 4, 1985, p. 105–135.

⁶ Nikolaos Chrissis can be considered one of the best researchers of the crusaders' impact on Byzantine Empire in the period under question: N. CHRISISS, *Crusading...*; IDEM, *New Frontiers...*, p. 17–41; IDEM, *A Diversion...*, p. 123–145. Concerning the Crusades in Romania, the Politics of the Papacy and the Latin Empire, cf. the following titles: *Contact and Conflict...*; F. DALL'AGLIO, *The Second Bulgarian Kingdom and the Latin Empire of Constantinople: a General Overview*, Pbg 37.1, 2013, p. 109–117; В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. III, *Второто българско царство. България при Асеневици (1187–1280)*, София 1994 [1940]; В. ПРИМОВ, *The Papacy, the Fourth Crusade and Bulgaria*, BBg 1, 1971, p. 183–213; П. ПЕТРОВ, *Унията между България и Римската църква през 1204 г. и четвъртият кръстоносен поход*, ИП 2, 1955, p. 35–57; А. ДАНЧЕВА-ВАСИЛЕВА, *България и Латинската империя (1204–1261)*, София 1985; ЕАДЕМ, *Старофренските хроники като извор за българската история през първата половина на XIII в.*, [in:] *Сборник в памет на проф. Станчо Ваклинов*, София 1984, p. 51–59; ЕАДЕМ, *Хрониката на Ернул и българо-латинските политически отношения*, [in:] *Сборник в чест на академик Димитър Ангелов*, София 1994, p. 65–72; К. ГАГОВА, *Кръстоносните походи и Средновековна България*, София 2004.

But in the wider scope of the Crusades in Livonia and Romania, more general issues can be distinguished. That is the reason why I would next point to the problem of the technology of the Crusading warfare in the Eastern Baltic and Romania, which can be examined in terms of *the military strategy, the role of military orders, the armaments and tactics of the opposing armies in these large-scale and protracted military conflicts*. Among the important topics are the role of the military orders in Livonia and the Balkans at the end of the 12th and the first three decades of the 13th century⁷. Also, I would like to stress the fact that Greeks, Bulgarians, and the Baltic peoples succeeded in fighting and defeating the Crusaders by forming alliances against the powerful knights. In parallel, Lithuania and some Russian principalities played an important role in the military conflicts in Livonia in the first decades of the 13th century⁸. A similar role in the south

⁷ For further reference on the Livonian Brothers of the Sword and the Teutonic Order, cf.: Э. ХЕИШ, *Восточная политика Ливонского Ордена в XIII в.*, [in:] *Князь Александр Невский и его эпоха, Санкт-Петербург* 1995, p. 65–72; F. BENNINGHOVEN, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder, Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia*, Cologne–Graz 1965; IDEM, *Unter Kreuz und Adler. Der Deutsche Orden im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1990; IDEM, *Zur Rolle des Schwertbrüderordens und des Deutschen Ordens im politischen Gefüge Alt-Livlands*, ZfO 41, 1992, p. 165–171; W. URBAN, *The Teutonic Knights. A Military History*, London 2003; IDEM, *The Military Occupation...*, p. 21–34; IDEM, *The Organization of Defense of the Livonian Frontier in the Thirteenth Century*, S 48, 1973, p. 525–532; IDEM, *The Sense of Humor among the Teutonic Knight of the Thirteenth Century*, IQ 42, 1979, p. 40–47; IDEM, *Victims of the Baltic Crusade*, JBS 29.3, 1998, p. 195–212; S. EKDAHL, *Horses of Crossbows: Two Important Warfare Advantages of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, [in:] *The Military Orders*, ed. H. NICHOLSON, Aldershot 1998, p. 119–151; IDEM, *The Treatment of Prisoners of War during the Fighting between the Teutonic Order and Lithuania*, [in:] *The Military Orders. Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. BARBER, Aldershot 1994, p. 263–270; IDEM, *The Strategic Organization of the Commanderies of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia*, [in:] *La Commanderie, institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident medieval*, Paris 2002, p. 219–298; A.J. FOREY, *The Military Orders and Holy War against Christians in the Thirteenth Century*, EHR 104, 1989, p. 1–24; K. KĻAVIŅŠ, *Vācu ordenis un Livonija*, Riga 2000; E. MUGUREVICS, *The Military Activity of the Order of the Sword Brethren (1202–1236)*, [in:] *The North-Eastern Frontiers...*, p. 117–122; A.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)*, Omi 18, 2013, p. 27–39; A. SELART, *Der livländische...*, p. 253–276.

⁸ On the technical aspects of the Crusades in Livonia and Romania, cf.: J. GILLINGHAM, *A Strategy of Total War? Henry of Livonia and the Conquest of Estonia, 1208–1227*, JMMH 15, 2017, p. 186–214; A. MAESALU, *Mechanical Artillery and Warfare in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, [in:] *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier. A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, ed. M. TAMM, L. KALJUNDI, C.S. JENSEN, Farnham 2011, p. 265–290; W. URBAN, *The Organization of Defense...*, p. 525–532. On the war in Romania and the Balkans, cf.: B. HENDRICKX, *A propos du nombre des troupes de la quatrième croisade et l'empereur Baudouin I*, BAR 3, 1971, p. 29–41; B. HENDRICKX, T. SANSARIDOU-HENDRICKX, *Indigenous and Local Troops and Mercenaries in the Service of the 'Latin' Conquerors of the Byzantine Empire After 1204*, JECH 4, 2014, p. 40–53; J. HALDON, *Byzantium at War AD, 600–1453*, London 2002; P.Ł. GROTOWSKI, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)*, trans. R. BRZEZINSKI, Leiden–Boston 2010 [= Mme, 87]; F. DALL'AGLIO, *The Military Alliance between*

was played by the Bulgarians, who, in alliance with the Cumans, the Vlachs, and at times with the Greeks in Thrace, entered into a bloody conflict with the newly established Latin Empire. What were the political, religious, and cultural motives for such a confrontation? What were the consequences for the local societies and their leaders after the emergence of the new Crusaders states – Livonia and Latin Empire? Undoubtedly, a comparative approach calls for an answer to these and a host of other questions.

Quite interesting are also the attempts of Novgorod and the Galician Principality to exert political influence in Livonia and the Balkans, in the context and aftermath of the crusades under consideration. In 1216, the Novgorod prince Mstislav Mstislavich led Novgorod troops into Livonia as far as Riga. In a similar manner, and roughly at the same time, a civil war for the throne broke out in Bulgaria, one of the opposing parties being supported by Russian mercenaries from the Galician Principality⁹.

Another important problem in such a comparative study is *Livonia and Latin Empire as Crusader states*. The considered events and processes lead to the emergence of a new political organization and significant changes in the region. There is also immediate influence on part of the neighboring states, their powers in crusading activities in the Eastern Baltic, the Southern Balkans, and Eastern Asia Minor. Some authors consider the formation of medieval Livonia and the Latin Empire, and the construction of a new feudal system. Without doubt, these

the Cumans and Bulgaria from the Establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom to the Mongol Invasion, АЕМА 16, 2008/2009, p. 29–54; S. KYRIAKIDIS, *Crusaders and Mercenaries: the West-European Soldiers of the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204–1258)*, MHR 29.2, 2014, p. 139–153; А.В. МАЙОРОВ, *Рассказ Никиты Хониата о Русско-византийском военном союзе в начале XIII века*, [in:] *Русские древности*, ed. А.Ю. Дворниченко, Санкт-Петербург 2011, p. 165–181; V. MARCULEȚ, *Țaratul Vlaho-Bulgar și puterile cruciadei în timpul domniei țarului Boril Asan (1207–1218). De la conflict armat la colaborare politică și militară*, Тър SN 10.2, 2016, p. 35–52; V. NINOV, *Един малко познат в българската историография извор за съдбата на император Бодуен I*, ИП 5–6, 2015, p. 22–30; А. НИКОЛОВ, *Кумани и българи срещу латинци (няколко фрагмента от Морейската хроника)*, [in:] *Българско царство. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на доц. д-р Георги Н. Николов*, ed. ИДЕМ, София 2018, p. 568–581; И. ИВАНОВ, *Българо-латинските войни от първата половина на XIII в. Опит за количествен анализ*, [in:] *Сб. от конференция по повод 830 годишнината от въстанието на Петър и Асен, Велико Търново, 26–28 октомври 2015 г.*, ed. П. ПАВЛОВ, Н. КЪНЕВ, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, Велико Търново 2016, p. 178–187; ИДЕМ, *Тевтонският орден, куманите и България през второто десетилетие на XIII в. (1211–1225)*, ЕЛО 26.2, 2018, p. 383–393; ИДЕМ, *Българо-латинската война от 1205–1207 г.: численост, битки, обсади, жертви, стратегия и тактика на противостоящите страни*, ВС 1, 2015, p. 73–87; К. ЙОРДАНОВ, *Нов поглед към битката при Адрианопол (Военният ресурс на ранната Латинска империя и кампанията от април 1205 г.)*, Меди 2, 2011, p. 106–147; Н. ДЮЛГЕРОВ, *Войската в Ахейското княжество (XIII–XIV в.)*, Ист 23.3, 2015, p. 244–263.

⁹ А. МАЙОРОВ, *Rus', Byzantium and Western Europe in the Late Twelfth – Early Thirteenth Centuries*, ВСПУИ 4, 2018, p. 31–43.

characteristics in Livonia and Romania are very specific, but at the same time, some basic parallels can be drawn, providing a basis for a comparative study of the clash between local traditions and the Western European feudal system¹⁰.

Of crucial importance was also *the role of the commercial interests in crusade activity in Livonia and Romania*. Some prominent researchers analyze the role of the merchants in Livonia and Romania, and this also provides a solid basis for the comparative study¹¹. Unlike Livonia and Northern Europe, the Mediterranean region retained the traditions of Roman law and legal practices. What is more, the larger population on the shores and adjacent areas around the Mediterranean Sea generated a much larger volume of trade than the peoples in Livonia and the Baltic Sea. Next, unlike the merchants of the Hanseatic League, who established a solid cartel that allowed them to monopolize trade in the Baltic Sea, the Italian merchants could not afford such a course of action. Also, the significance of winter routes along the frozen rivers and lakes in Livonia in comparison to Southern and Southeastern Europe should be highlighted in such comparative research. Furthermore, based on the comparison with Venetian and Genoese trade in the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azov a conclusion can be drawn that the longer routes of the Italians involved more risk factors. While the longest trade routes of the Hanseatic merchants in travel and transport of goods from west-northwest to east-southeast reached 1200–1300 kilometers by sea and land, the trade routes of the Italians to the Sea of Azov reached 1900–2000 kilometers. The longer routes also suggested more risk factors in the course of trade. In this aspect, Livonia was in control of relatively shorter and more easily accessible routes, with summer

¹⁰ A. ŠNĚ, *The Emergence of Livonia...*, p. 53–73; R.L. WOLFF, *Romania: the Latin Empire of Constantinople*, S 23, 1948, p. 1–34; IDEM, *Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261*, DOP 8, 1954, p. 225–303; IDEM, *Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: his Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172–1225*, S 27, 1952, p. 281–322; F.V. TRICHT, *La politique étrangère de l'empire de Constantinople, de 1210 à 1216. Sa position en Méditerranée orientale: problèmes de chronologie et d'interprétation*, MA 107.2, 2001, p. 219–238; IDEM, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium. The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1228)*, Leiden–Boston 2011 [= MMe, 90]; IDEM, *The Byzantino-Latin Principality of Adrianople and the Challenge of Feudalism (1204/6–ca. 1227/28): Empire, Venice, and Local Autonomy*, DOP 68, 2014, p. 325–342; B. HENDRICKX, *Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261): la chancellerie*, AClaS 19, 1976, p. 123–131; M.T. LOWER, *Negotiating Interfaith Relations in Eastern Christendom: Pope Gregory IX, Bela IV of Hungary, and the Latin Empire*, EMS 21, 2004, p. 49–62; V. NINOV, *Един малко познат...*, p. 22–30; А. НИКОЛОВ, *Второто българско царство и влахо-българските дилеми*, [in:] *Великите Асеневици*, ed. П. ПАВЛОВ, Н. КЪНЕВ, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, Велико Търново 2016, p. 84–99.

¹¹ M.R. MUNZINGER, *The Profits of the Cross: Merchant Involvement in the Baltic Crusade (c. 1180–1230)*, JMH 32.2, 2006, p. 163–185; C.S. JENSEN, *Urban Life and the Crusades in North Germany and the Baltic Lands in the Early Thirteenth Century*, [in:] *Crusade and Conversion...*, p. 85; R. LOPEZ, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350*, Cambridge 1976; A. ŠNĚ, *The Hanseatic League...*, p. 353–379; И. ИВАНОВ, *Търговия и интеграционни процеси в средновековна Ливония през XIII в.: Основни тенденции и исторически паралели*, [in:] *Известия на Центъра за стопанско-исторически изследвания. Пазари, общество, власт*, vol. V, Варна 2020, p. 27–38.

and winter options. This contributed to the flourishing of trade in that region as well as the fostering of international and domestic integration over the following centuries. It could also be pointed out that the Hanseatic merchants formed a stable cartel based on their exclusive trade privileges, effectively monopolizing trade in the Baltic Sea. Such behavior was possible only for a few decades for Venetians as a result of the Fourth Crusade. Also, Italian merchants from different cities did not share common privileges in the manner and model of their Hanseatic counterparts. Instead, Italian traders competed for trade privileges, and in the long run, this competition was settled by a *de facto* division of markets. The economic consequences of this Latin “thalassocracy” were expressed in the inclusion of the Balkans and the Aegean in a “subordinate” economic system in the period under question.

Last but not least comes the need for a *comparative study of the clash and co-operation as a result of the crusades in Livonia and Romania* during the first decades of the 13th century. Traditionally seen as sharp opposition and conflict, these crusades are increasingly the subject of a different research approach and research methodology. Many contemporary historians see Livonia and the Latin Empire not only as areas of conflict but also of coexistence and mutual influence and intertwining of different cultural identities¹². Next, according to some researchers of the Baltic crusades, significant demographic changes in the form of mass movements of the local tribes which mixed in a proto-national community started in the 13th c. The main factor was closely connected with the Crusades and their consequences. Indisputably, the Livonian Crusade had a terrible effect on the local population, but from another point of view, they also accelerated the process of unification of the local tribes. Besides, collisions and interactions have many other dimensions. Similarly, the Fourth Crusade resulted not only in sharp enmity but in mutual influences and the emergence of new identities and cultural models in the lands of Romania¹³.

Thus, the proposed main problems and topics in chronological order, as specified above, provide a framework for a new and promising comparative study, for which the key purpose is to study the similarities and distinctive characteristics of the Crusades in two remote regions of medieval Europe. I hope that the final

¹² E. EIHMANE, *The Baltic Crusades...*, p. 37–52; J. LIND, *Collaboration...*, p. 123–126; A. MURRAY, *The Saracens of the Baltic: Pagan and Christian Lithuanians in the Perception of English and French Crusaders to Late Medieval Prussia*, JBS 41.4, 2010, p. 413–429; A. SELART, *Confessional...*, p. 151–176; A. ŠNĚ, *Multicoloured Culture...*, p. 139–154; IDEM, *The Image...*, p. 247–260; IDEM, *Faith, Society and Identity...*, p. 137–150.

¹³ A. ILIEVA, *Frankish Morea, 1205–1262. Socio-Cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population*, Athens 1991; M. DOUROU-ELIOPOULOU, *The Image of the ‘Greek’ and the Reality of Greco-Latin Interaction in Romania, according to 13th and 14th-century Latin Sources*, [in:] *Byzantium and the West...*, p. 220–230; D. JACOBY, *The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade*, AHR 78.4, 1973, p. 873–906.

results will be both compelling and useful in the research of the broader topic of the Crusades – a subject which has provoked and will continue to arouse strong interest among medievalists.

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