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PERSONAL NETWORKS OF BALDWIN OF AULNE, PAPAL LEGATE IN LIVONIA

Abstract

The context of the activities of the papal legate Baldwin of Aulne (d. 1243?) in Livonia in the 1230s is challenging to interpret due to limited sources. The previous research has traditionally focused on the failure of his Livonian politics. This paper argues that Baldwin, a Cistercian monk, who was sent as vice-legate and later as legate to the Baltic, became the bishop of Semigallia, and eventually received an archiepiscopal title in the Latin Empire, most probably originated from the high nobility of Hainaut. His highborn status facilitated his close contact with the court of the bishop of Liège. This social background may have contributed to his tensions with Livonian leaders, who were dominantly of ministerial descent. However, the potentially noble lineage, papal authority and episcopal power proved to be insufficient in a contest where the opposition wielded significant military power and the legatine title in real life did not provide any access to the locally accessible material and military resources.

Keywords: Baldwin of Aulne, Livonia, Estonia, Hainaut, papal legates, Baltic Crusades, Aulne Abbey, Cistercians

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In mainstream presentations of Livonian history, the papal emissary Baldwin of Aulne (vice-legate in 1230, legate from 1232 to 1234)¹ has often been cast as a negative figure – depicted as a troublemaker and arrogant failure². Friedrich Benninghoven (1925–2014), a distinguished scholar of early Livonian history, described Baldwin in his academic monograph as a ‘scheming swashbuckler’ and ‘soldier of fortune’³. During the last decades, however, this portrayal has begun to shift⁴. Another mythological representation of Baldwin’s actions in the Baltic region has emerged, portraying him as the ecclesiastic protector of the indigenous people – a perspective that originated from Estonian and Latvian nationalist historiography⁵, which has, surprisingly, gained acceptance among international authors⁶.

The main reason for this interpretive divergence likely lies in the limited knowledge available regarding Baldwin’s mission in Livonia. The details of his

¹ Peter O. VON GOETZE, *Albert Suerbeer, Erzbischof von Preussen, Livland und Ehstland. Geschichtliche Darstellung*, St. Petersburg 1854, pp. 123–134; Ursmer BERLIÈRE, *Le moine Baudouin d’Aulne*, Annales de Cercle archéologique de Mons, t. 22: 1890, pp. 487–496; Bernhart JÄHNIG, *Balduin von Alna*, [in:] *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1198 bis 1448. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, hrsg. v. Erwin GATZ, unter Mitwirkung v. Clemens BRODKORB, Berlin 2001, pp. 729–730.

² On the historiography, see Anti SELART, *Balduin von Alna, Dänemark und Russland. Zur politischen Geschichte Livlands in den 1230er Jahren*, [in:] *The Reception of Medieval Europe in the Baltic Sea Region*, ed. Jörn STAECCKER (Acta Visbyensia, vol. 12), Visby 2009, p. 59; Christian KRÖTZL, *Das Baltikum aus europäischer Perspektive. Das Mare Balticum in europäischer Perspektive: Kommunikationsräume und Interaktion*, [in:] *Das Baltikum. Geschichte einer europäischen Region*, Bd. 1: *Von der Vor- und Frühgeschichte bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, hrsg. v. Karsten BRÜGGERMANN, Detlef HENNING, Konrad MAIER, Ralph TUCHTENHAGEN, Stuttgart 2018, p. 562.

³ Friedrich BENNINGHOVEN, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres milicie Christi de Livonia* (Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, Bd. 9), Köln–Graz 1965, p. 323. See also Heinrich ZIMMERMANN, *Die päpstliche Legation in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts. Vom Regierungsantritt Innocenz’ III. bis zum Tode Gregors IX. (1198–1241)* (Görres-Gesellschaft. Veröffentlichungen der Sektion für Rechts- und Sozialwissenschaft, H. 17), Paderborn 1913, pp. 136–137, 196; Iben FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254* (The Northern World, vol. 26), Leiden–Boston 2007, p. 187.

⁴ See, e.g., Richard SPENCE, *Pope Gregory IX and the Crusade on the Baltic*, The Catholic Historical Review, vol. 69: 1983, no. 1, pp. 1–19; Manfred HELLMANN, *Balduin von Alna*, [in:] *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. 1, München–Zürich 1980, pp. 1374–1375; Michael LOWER, *Gregory IX and the Crusades*, [in:] *Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241): Power and Authority*, ed. Damian J. SMITH (Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West), Amsterdam 2023, p. 139.

⁵ Agnis BALODIS, *Lettlands och det lettiska folkets historia*, Stockholm 1990, pp. 34–36; Arthur VÕÓBUS, *Studies in the History of the Estonian People*, vol. 1, Stockholm 1969, pp. 77–81.

⁶ Tyge ANDERSEN, Priit RAUDKIVI, *Võimumängud Põhja-Eestis aastail 1219–1238. Ajaloolis-sotsioloogilisi aspekte*, Acta Historica Tallinnensis, vol. 13: 2008, p. 20; Tryggve SILTBURG, *Balduin 1233 – ett historiskt alternativ för Baltikums kristnande*, Gotländskt Arkiv, årg. 93: 2021, pp. 121–173.

legatine mission, the precise nature of his activities there, and his personal background remain largely unknown. The latter, however, can potentially be crucial to explain his political performance. The role of personal networks in the Middle Ages has been increasingly important object of research⁷. Family networks could both help and hinder political, economic, and other endeavours. In Baldwin's case, his background is paramount: the social connections that elevated the monk from Aulne to papal legate and bishop in Christendom's Baltic periphery. Simultaneously, the legate's personal background and social origin can explain his activities and how contemporaries perceived them. Personal networks were a tool of power but were locally limited; support could be lacking when acting in a distant region⁸.

Baldwin was initially sent to Livonia to address a conflict over a double appointment of the bishop of Riga. Following the death of Bishop Albert of Riga (r. 1199–1229), the cathedral chapter in Riga elected Nicolaus, a canon from Magdeburg, as the new bishop (r. 1229–1253). Simultaneously, Archbishop Gerhard zur Lippe of Bremen (r. 1219–1258) sought to re-establish his metropolitan authority over Riga and nominated Albert Suerbeer (d. 1273), a cathedral canon from Bremen, for the bishopric⁹. To settle the conflict, Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227–1241), on 4 April 1230, assigned the task of investigating the dispute to Otto of Tonengo (d. 1250/1251), cardinal-deacon of San Nicola in Carcere¹⁰. However, Otto never visited Livonia but he entrusted the task to Baldwin as his vice-legate. The earliest known document mentioning Baldwin is an agreement he concluded, probably in Riga, with several Curonian provinces, dated 28 December 1230. The charter which confirms the acceptance of Christianity by the Curonians was issued by 'Frater B[alduinus] monachus Alvensis [Alnensis], domini O[thonis] cardinalis sedis apostolice legati penitentiarius ac nuntius'¹¹.

⁷ See, e.g., *New Perspectives on the 'Civil Wars' in Medieval Scandinavia*, ed. Hans J. ORNING, Kim ESMARK, Jón V. SIGURÐSSON (Comparative Perspectives on Medieval History, vol. 1), Turnhout 2024.

⁸ Eliza HARTRICH, *Networks*, [in:] *Using Concepts in Medieval History: Perspectives on Britain and Ireland, 1100–1500*, ed. Jackson W. ARMSTRONG, Peter CROOKS, Andrea RUDDICK, Basingstoke 2022, pp. 143–162.

⁹ On the conflict, see Fritz SCHONEBOHM, *Die Besetzung der livländischen Bistümer bis zum Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, Bd. 20: 1910, pp. 313–319.

¹⁰ *Senās Latvijas vēstures avoti*, burtn. 1, izd. Arveds ŠVĀBE, Riga 1937–1940 (hereinafter cited as *Senās Latvijas vēstures avoti*, 1), no. 160; Alexander ROGATSCHEWSKI, *Baltische Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte des 13. bis 18. Jahrhunderts in den Handschriftensammlungen von St. Petersburg*, Blätter für Deutsche Landesgeschichte, Bd. 145–146: 2009–2010, p. 253.

¹¹ *Senās Latvijas vēstures avoti*, 1, no. 162.

The specifics of when and where Baldwin became the *nuntius* and *vices agentus*¹² of the cardinal are only known in very broad terms. Pope Gregory IX appointed Otto as the papal legate in Germany and Denmark in February 1229. Between December 1229 and January 1230, Otto travelled from southern Germany (Constance) to Lotharingia (Metz and Verdun). On 26 January, he arrived in Liège but encountered hostility in this pro-imperial city. In response, he placed Liège under interdict and sought refuge in Huy, where he was hosted at the castle by Jean d'Eppes (r. 1229–1238), the Bishop of Liège, on 13 February¹³. Otto remained in the region throughout the spring¹⁴. From 10 to 13 May, Otto was in Tournai, then in Ribe on 8 June, and in Lund by 23 July. This suggests that he left the Low Countries in May and most probably sailed to Denmark, where he stayed until September¹⁵. It was likely during this time bracket between February and May that Otto first met Baldwin¹⁶ and appointed him as his penitentiary¹⁷. The papal letter from 4 April could not have reached Otto before early May, so it is plausible that Otto and Baldwin travelled together to Denmark. There, Baldwin, now serving as vice-legate, continued his journey towards Riga. News of his impending arrival must have reached Riga in advance, as the town's emissaries met him *en route* on the island of Gotland¹⁸.

¹² *Diplomatarium Danicum*, R. 1, Bd. 6, udg. Niels SKYUM-NIELSEN, København 1979 (hereinafter cited as *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 1/6), no. 199, § 1.

¹³ Friedrich W. SCHIRRMACHER, *Die Mission Ottos des Cardinaldiacons von St. Nicolaus in carcere Tulliano in den Jahren 1228–1231*, Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte, Bd. 8: 1868, pp. 50–54; Eduard WINKELMANN, *Die Legation des Kardinaldiakons Otto von S. Nicolaus in Deutschland 1229–1231*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Bd. 11: 1890, pp. 33–34; H. ZIMMERMANN, op.cit., pp. 107–108; Alain MARCHANDISSE, *La fonction épiscopale à Liège aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles. Étude de politologie historique* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. 272), Liège 1998, pp. 123–124.

¹⁴ Olivier-Joseph THIMISTER, *Chartes inédits de l'ancienne église collégiale de Saint-Paul, aujourd'hui cathédrale de Liège, 1086–1250*, Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Liégeois, t. 12: 1874, p. 366.

¹⁵ *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 1/6, no. 111–112; E. WINKELMANN, *Die Legation des Kardinaldiakons Otto*, pp. 31, 34; idem, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, Bd. 2 (Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte), Leipzig 1897, pp. 228–232; A. SELART, *Baldwin von Alna*, p. 70.

¹⁶ Cf. A. MARCHANDISSE, op.cit., p. 329.

¹⁷ Another possibility is that Baldwin received the role of the penitentiary only when he was sent to Livonia. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 demanded the installation of episcopal penitentiaries. Cardinal Otto was the first to implement the decree in Germany during his legation, see Paul P. PIXTON, *The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1216–1245: Watchmen on the Tower* (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, vol. 64), Leiden 1995, p. 376. Cf. also Christine RENARDY, *Les maîtres universitaires du Diocèse de Liège. Répertoire biographique 1140–1350* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. 231), Paris 1981, p. 192.

¹⁸ *Senās Latvijas vēstures avoti*, 1, no. 164, § 1.

The first conflict between Baldwin and the leaders of Livonia¹⁹ arose quickly over the division of authority and income in Curonia²⁰. In 1231, Baldwin left Livonia and travelled to the Roman Curia, where, in January 1232, he was consecrated by the pope himself as bishop of Semigallia and was granted the title of papal legate over Livonia, Gotland, Finland, Estonia, Semigallia, Curonia, and the neighbouring territories²¹. During his return journey, when he was in Cologne, Baldwin found himself in a conflict with the provosts of the collegiate churches of the Holy Apostles and St George's. He had been provided with 13 marks of procuration for his two-day stay but he also demanded a palfrey and a sumpter, which sparked controversy and led to the excommunication sentence against the provosts. However, in 1233, the pope overturned this decision, explaining that Baldwin had no jurisdiction over the Cologne provosts²².

After an extended stay in the Low Countries and in Germany²³, Baldwin returned to Livonia in late spring 1233, where he claimed authority over northern and western Estonia in the pope's name. His claim was in all probability connected to the ongoing dispute between the Livonian 'Germans' (those associated with the military order of the Brothers of the Sword and the bishopric of Riga) and King Valdemar II of Denmark (r. 1202–1241) over these territories²⁴. This led to a military conflict between Baldwin's supporters and retinue, and the Sword Brethren and other 'Rigans', ultimately resulting in Baldwin's

¹⁹ On the activities of Baldwin in Livonia, see Gustav A. DONNER, *Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina, Bischof von Modena 1222–1234. Päpstlicher Legat in den nordischen Ländern (†1251)* (Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, t. 2/5), Helsingfors 1929, pp. 159–162; Paul JOHANSEN, *Die Estlandliste des Liber census Daniae*, Kopenhagen–Reval 1933, pp. 717–712; F. BENNINGHOVEN, op.cit., pp. 269–301; A. SELART, *Baldwin von Alna*, pp. 59–74.

²⁰ *Epistolae saeculi XIIIe regestis pontificum Romanorum selectae*, t. 1, ed. Carolus RODENBERG (Monumenta Germaniae Historica), Berolini 1883 (hereinafter cited as *Epistolae*, 1), no. 463–464.

²¹ *Epistolae*, 1, no. 461–462; *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 1/6, no. 127. See also Hans-Joachim SCHMIDT, *Raumkonzepte und geographische Ordnung kirchlicher Institutionen im 13. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Raumerfassung und Raumbewusstsein im späteren Mittelalter*, hrsg. v. Peter MORAW (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte. Vorträge und Forschungen, Bd. 49) Stuttgart 2002, pp. 105–114; Robert C. FIGUEIRA, *The Medieval Papal Legate and his Province: Geographical Limits of Jurisdiction*, [in:] *Plenitude of Power: The Doctrines and Exercise of Authority in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Robert Louis Benson*, ed. idem (Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West), Aldershot 2006, pp. 73–105.

²² *Epistolae*, 1, no. 524.

²³ Friedrich G. VON BUNGE, *Livland, die Wiege der Deutschen Weihbischöfe*, Leipzig 1875, p. 41; Ursmer BERLIÈRE, *Les évêques auxiliaires de Liège*, Bruges 1919, p. 18.

²⁴ Mihkel MÄESALU, *Päpstliche Gewalt im Kreuzzugsgebiet. Gründete Wilhelm von Modena in Estland einen „Pufferstaat“?*, Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte, Bd. 6: 2011, pp. 11–30; idem, *Päpstliche und kaiserliche Machtansprüche im livländischen Kreuzzugsgebiet im 13. Jahrhundert*, Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung, Bd. 62: 2013, Nr. 3, pp. 472–489.

defeat. Simultaneously, the Sword Brethren initiated a diplomatic mission to the Roman Curia, and on 9 February 1234, Pope Gregory IX revoked Baldwin's legatine powers²⁵. Baldwin, in turn, travelled via the Low Countries²⁶ to Rome and initiated proceedings against his Livonian adversaries there²⁷, yet the outcome of these proceedings remains unknown. A papal decision regarding the conflict between the king of Denmark and the Rigans was issued in 1236, ruling in favour of the king²⁸. That same year, Baldwin resigned from the see of Semigallia. According to reference works, Baldwin died in 1243²⁹, though the origin of this information is unclear. The Baltic German historian Friedrich Georg von Bunge (1802–1897) cited³⁰ Ernst Friedrich Mooyer (1798–1861)³¹ and Joseph Bender (1815–1893)³² at this point, yet neither author specified the source of Baldwin's reported date of death³³.

In comparison, another papal legate in the Baltic region, William of Modena (d. 1251), likely originated from the lower nobility of Piedmont and began his prolific career at the Papal Curia as a notary³⁴. His Baltic missions were politically successful. However, when he was sent to Livonia in 1224 and appointed again ten years later, it was at the request of Livonian political parties³⁵, and the legate's appointment could be negotiated in advance. Thus, William could effectively expect local support during his missions.

However, why did the legate Otto appoint Baldwin, first as his penitentiary and later as *vices agentus*? Baldwin was likely associated with the court of Bishop Jean d'Eppes. The Cistercian abbey of Aulne, the bishopric of Liège,

²⁵ *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 1/6, no. 172. See also ibid., no. 176.

²⁶ U. BERLIÈRE, *Les évêques auxiliaires*, p. 19.

²⁷ *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 1/6, no. 199.

²⁸ Ibid., no. 212, 213, 217, 221.

²⁹ See, e.g., B. JÄHNIG, *Balduin von Alma*, pp. 729–730.

³⁰ F. G. VON BUNGE, op.cit., p. 42.

³¹ Ernst F. MOOYER, *Onomastikon chronographikon hierarchiae Germanicae. Verzeichnisse der deutschen Bischöfe seit dem Jahre 800 nach Chr. Geb. Nebst einem Anhange, die Würdenträger einiger Abteien und Ritterorden enthaltend*, Minden 1854, p. 100.

³² Joseph BENDER, *De Livoniae, Estoniae, Prussiae vicinarumque terrarum episcopis saec. XIII. apud Germaniae ordinarios peregrinantibus commentation*, [in:] *Index lectionum in Lyceo regio hosiano Brunsbergensi per aestatem a die XXIX. Aprilis MDCCCLXVII instituendarum*, Brunsbergae 1867, p. 12.

³³ The year 1243 was also mentioned as the year of his death, with no further reference, by Friedrich A. CZARNEWSKI, *De Semgalliae episcopatu nec non de episcopis Semgalliae seu Selburgensis*, Mitaviae 1790, p. 20.

³⁴ G. A. DONNER, op.cit., pp. 4–10.

³⁵ Anti SELART, *Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Fiona ROBB (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, vol. 29), Leiden–Boston 2015, pp. 88–89, 135.

and the town of Huy³⁶ shared strong connections³⁷. Baldwin, Count of Hainaut and Flanders (d. 1195), had endowed the abbey of Aulne with privileges and donations. According to a donation agreement, a perpetual anniversary mass was to be celebrated for his soul after his death³⁸. The support of Cistercian foundations in Hainaut, including Aulne, was continued by Margrave Philippe of Namur (d. 1212)³⁹ and his successors to the throne of the margraviate⁴⁰. The bishops of Liège, Hugues de Pierrepont (r. 1200–1229) and his nephew, Jean d'Eppe, were related through their maternal line to the counts of Hainaut⁴¹, as well as to Emperor Frederick II (d. 1250). Hugues de Pierrepont, an active supporter and benefactor of Aulne⁴², bequeathed his estate to the Cistercian monasteries of the region, including Aulne, which, according to the last will of the bishop, was also named among the executors of his will⁴³. Pierrepont also granted Aulne numerous privileges⁴⁴. Thus, the milieu of the episcopal court and Aulne Abbey were definitely aristocratic and closely connected to prominent figures in European society.

The primary narrative source of information on Baldwin is the chronicle by Alberich of Troisfontaines (d. c. 1252), which he compiled over an extended

³⁶ See André JORIS, *La ville de Huy au Moyen Âge. Des origines à la fin du XIVe siècle* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc. 152), Paris 1959.

³⁷ Erwin KRONE, *Die Abtei Aulne*, [in:] *Die Klosterbauten der Cistercienser in Belgien*, hrsg. v. Paul CLEMEN, Cornelius GURLITT, Berlin 1916, pp. 149–156; Joseph M. CANIVEZ, *Aulne*, [in:] *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, t. 5, dir. Alfred BAUDRILLART, Albert DE MEYER, Étienne VAN CAUWENBERGH, Paris 1931, pp. 667–669; Laurent H. COTTINEAU, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, t. 1, Mâcon 1935, p. 202; Claude DEMOULIN, *Aulne et son domaine*, [s.l.] 1980; Éric DELAISSE, *L'économie cistercienne à travers les sources narratives des abbayes d'Aulne et de Villers-en-Brabant (XIe–XIVe siècles)*, [in:] *Les cisterciens et l'économie des Pays-Bas et de la principauté de Liège, XIe–XVe siècle*, éd. Éric DELAISSE, Jean-Marie YANTE (Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales. Textes, Études, Congrès, vol. 29), Louvain-la-Neuve 2017, pp. 101–116. See also Nicolas RUFFINI-BONZANI, *Un inventaire des chartes de l'Abbaye d'Aulne redécouvert à la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (second quart du XIIIe siècle): Édition et commentaire*, Revue Mabillon. Revue Internationale d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses, vol. 34: 2023, pp. 256–273.

³⁸ *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, éd. Léon VANDERKINDERE (Recueil de Textes pour Servir à l'Étude de l'Histoire de Belgique), Bruxelles 1951, p. 263, § 177; p. 314, § 237.

³⁹ *Actes de Philippe Ier, dit le Noble, comte et marquis de Namur (1196–1212)*, par Marcel WALRAET (Recueil des Actes des Princes Belges), Bruxelles 1949, pp. 39, 59.

⁴⁰ See Erin JORDAN, *Patronage, Prayers and Polders: Assessing Cistercian Foundations in Thirteenth-Century Flanders and Hainaut*, Citeaux. Commentarii Cistercienses, vol. 53: 2002, fasc. 1–2, pp. 99–125.

⁴¹ A. MARCHANDISSE, op.cit., p. 499.

⁴² Gustave BOULMONT, *Les fastes de l'abbaye d'Aulne «la riche» de l'ordre de Cîteaux*, Gand 1907, pp. 6–10. Cf. ibid., p. 106.

⁴³ *Actes des princes-évêques de Liège. Hugues de Pierrepont, 1200–1229*, par Édouard PONCELET (Recueil des Actes des Princes Belges), Bruxelles 1941, no. 21. See also ibid., no. 266.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 279.

period between 1232 and 1251/1252. The only known fact about the Alberich's biography⁴⁵ is that he was a monk in the Cistercian abbey of Troisfontaines in Champagne⁴⁶, about 60 km southeast of the diocesan centre of Châlons. However, Mireille Schmidt-Chazan has pointed out that according to the chronicle's text, Alberich focused on two main regions: Champagne, and the area along the Meuse River and Liège Diocese. This suggests that Alberich likely originated from this region⁴⁷, perhaps born into a noble family from Liège⁴⁸. It is also possible that Alberich had personal connections with Aulne Abbey⁴⁹. Moreover, Alberich met Baldwin personally⁵⁰, and his chronicle reflects Baldwin's perspective on Livonian history in the early 1230s⁵¹.

Alberich first mentioned Baldwin retrospectively in the context of the year 1225, as a person who recognised that the man claiming to be the miraculously surviving⁵² Latin Emperor and Count of Flanders, Baldwin I (1172 – c. 1205),

⁴⁵ Andrzej M. WYRWA, *Alberyk z Trois Fontaines i jego średniowieczna kronika świata*, [in:] *Cognitioni gestorum. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza dedykowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Strzelczykowi*, red. Dariusz A. SIKORSKI, Andrzej M. WYRWA, Poznań–Warszawa 2006, pp. 325–331.

⁴⁶ Laurent H. COTTINEAU, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, t. 2, Mâcon 1937, p. 3222.

⁴⁷ Mireille SCHMIDT-CHAZAN, *Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, un historien entre la France et l'Empire*, Annales de l'Est, vol. 36: 1984, pp. 163–192. See also Godefroid KURTH, *Documents historiques sur l'abbaye de Neufmoustier près de Huy*, Compte rendu des séances de la Commission Royale d'histoire ou recueil de ses bulletins, sér. 5, t. 2: 1892, pp. 39–67; Antoni GRABOWSKI, *Alberic of Trois-Fontaines' Genealogies*, The Medieval History Journal, vol. 23: 2020, no. 2, pp. 240–264; Andrzej M. WYRWA, *Alberyk z Trois-Fontaines o początkach chrześcijaństwa w Prusach*, [in:] *Wielkopolska – Polska – Czechy. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Profesorowi Bronisławowi Nowackiemu*, red. Zbyszko GÓRCZAK, Jacek JASKULSKI (Publikacje Instytutu Historii UAM, t. 88), Poznań 2009, pp. 69–99.

⁴⁸ Régis RECH, *Alberich of Troisfontaines*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, vol. 1, ed. Graeme DUNPHY, Leiden–Boston 2010, p. 23.

⁴⁹ Max PERLBACH, *Zur Geschichte der ältesten preußischen Bischöfe*, Altpreußische Monatschrift, Bd. 9: 1872, pp. 555–556; Marek TAMM, *Communicating Crusade: Livonian Mission and the Cistercian Network in the Thirteenth Century*, Ajalooline Ajakiri, 2009, no. 3–4, pp. 356, 359–360, 365–369; Antoni GRABOWSKI, *Old Tales for a New Gens: Alberic of Trois-Fontaines' Grafting of History*, Acta Poloniae Historica, vol. 124: 2021, pp. 159–166.

⁵⁰ Roger WILMANS, *Über die Chronik Alberich's*, Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, Bd. 10: 1851, p. 236.

⁵¹ Marek TAMM, *The Livonian Crusade in Cistercian Stories of the Early Thirteenth Century*, [in:] *Crusading on the Edge: Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, ed. Torben K. NIELSEN, Iben FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT (Outremer, vol. 4), Turnhout 2016, pp. 371–376, 383–388. See also Gustavs STRENGA, *Cistercian Networks of Memory: Commemoration as a Form of Institutional Bonding in Livonia and Beyond during the Late Middle Ages*, [in:] *Making Livonia: Actors and Networks in the Medieval and Early Modern Baltic Sea Region*, ed. Anu MÄND, Marek TAMM, London–New York 2020, pp. 212–231.

⁵² Robert L. WOLFF, *Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172–1225*, Speculum, vol. 27: 1952, no. 3, pp. 294–299.

was an impostor⁵³. Under the entry for 1232, Alberich recounted the events from Livonia and Baldwin's conflicts with the Livonian military order of the Sword Brethren⁵⁴. In 1236, Alberich recorded Baldwin's resignation from the see of Semigallia⁵⁵, and in 1239 noted that Baldwin joined the entourage of Latin Emperor and Margrave of Namur, Baldwin II (1228–1261/1273) when they returned from the Low Countries to Constantinople. According to Alberich, while in the Latin Empire, Baldwin 'factus est archiepiscopus Viscienensis'⁵⁶, probably referring to the *Verisiensis* archbishopric (i.e. Verissa or Brysis, present-day Pinarhisar) in Thrace⁵⁷.

Another contemporary chronicler, Albert of Stade (d. c. 1260), did not mention Baldwin by name in his annals, albeit they certainly met: Baldwin personally consecrated Albert as the abbot of the Benedictine Monastery of St Mary in Stade in 1232⁵⁸, and was likely one of Albert's sources on Livonian history⁵⁹. That same year, Baldwin also visited Bremen, where he affixed his seal to the foundation charter of the Cistercian Lilienthal nunnery near Bremen, issued by local Archbishop Gerhard II⁶⁰. Albert's chronicle provides detailed information on the double episcopal appointment in Riga in 1229,

See also Peter LOCK, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, London 1995; *A Companion to Latin Greece*, ed. Nickiphoros I. TSOUGARAKIS, Peter Lock (Brill's Companions to European History, vol. 6), Leiden–Boston 2015.

⁵³ *Albrici monachi Trium Fontium Chronica, a monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis interpolata*, ed. Paulus SCHEFFER-BOICHRST, [in:] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*, t. 23, ed. Georgius H. PERTZ, Hannoverae 1874 (hereinafter cited as *Albrici monachi Trium Fontium Chronica*), p. 916; Ursmer BERLIÈRE, *Une page des annals de l'abbaye d'Aulne*, *Revue Bénédictine*, t. 6: 1889, p. 81.

⁵⁴ *Albrici monachi Trium Fontium Chronica*, p. 930.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 940. The bishopric's territory was lost after the defeat that Livonian Christians suffered at the Battle of Saule against Samogitians in 1236.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 946.

⁵⁷ Robert L. WOLFF, *The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261: Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin Conquest*, Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion, vol. 6: 1948, pp. 53–54; Jean DARROUZÈS, [rev.] Giorgio FEDALTO, *La Chiesa latina in Oriente. II. Hierarchia latina Orientis*, Revue des études byzantines, t. 35: 1977, p. 303; Peter SOUSTAL, *Thrakien (Thrakē, Rodopē und Haimimontos)*, Wien 1991, pp. 220–221. Cf. Giorgio FEDALTO, *La Chiesa latina in Oriente*, vol. 2: *Hierarchia latina Orientis*, Verona 1976, pp. 227, 237.

⁵⁸ Gerda MAECK, *Die Weltchronik des Albert von Stade. Ein Zeitzeugnis des Mittelalters. Studien zur Geschichtsschreibung Alberts von Stade*, Lehrte 2001, pp. 11, 38. See also P. P. PIXTON, op.cit., p. 413.

⁵⁹ M. TAMM, *Communicating Crusade*, p. 345.

⁶⁰ *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Lilienthal 1232–1500*, bearb. v. Horst-Rüdiger JARCK (Schriftenreihe des Landschaftsverbandes der Ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden, Bd. 20; Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen, Bd. 211), Stade 2002, no. 1. Cf. G. MAECK, op.cit., p. 11.

as well as his own promotion to abbot⁶¹. Albert also appears to have been well-informed about events in the Liège region. The third contemporary author who undoubtedly met Baldwin was Caesarius of Heisterbach (d. c. 1240)⁶². The communication between the Cistercian abbeys of Aulne and Heisterbach was generally intensive⁶³.

Unfortunately, the regional chronicles of Liège and Hainaut⁶⁴ do not mention the name of the monk Baldwin, and little is known of his family background⁶⁵ except for one notable detail. As a legate and administrator in Livonia, Baldwin enfeoffed his supporters with lands – most notably a village of 23 or 25 ploughlands called Ubja in Vironia, near the future Estonian town of Rakvere, which he enfeoffed to his brother Nicholas. Later, probably during the decline of Baldwin's activities in Estonia, Nicholas sold the village to Thidericus de Kivel, a prominent Livonian vassal of the time⁶⁶. It is possible that Nicholas was part of the legate's retinue travelling with him to Livonia in 1232⁶⁷. However, the fief of 25 ploughlands – roughly equivalent to 25 average peasant farms⁶⁸ – was relatively modest in size⁶⁹.

Regrettably, since Baldwin and Nicholas were common names in the Low Countries, this fact does little to clarify Baldwin's family origins. However, the records of his activities in his home region suggest his presence was centred in the area between Mons and Namur. In 1234, Baldwin attended the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order, where he filed two petitions: one requesting that the order would hold divine services for him after his death, and the other seeking confirmation of the affiliation of the Le Jardinet Cistercian nunnery in

⁶¹ *Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto*, ed. Johann M. LAPPENBERG, [in:] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*, t. 16, ed. Georgius H. PERTZ, Hannoverae 1859, pp. 360–361.

⁶² CAESARIUS VON HEISTERBACH, *Dialogus miraculorum / Dialog über die Wunder*, Teilbd. 1–5, eingeleitet v. Horst SCHNEIDER, übersetzt und kommentiert v. Nikolaus NÖSGES, Horst SCHNEIDER (Fontes Christiani, Bd. 86), Turnhout 2009 (hereinafter cited as *Dialogus miraculorum*), see Teilbd. 1, p. 33. On Caesarius, see CAESARIUS OF HEISTERBACH, *Fasciculus moralitatis: Omelie morales de infantia Salvatoris*, ed. Victoria SMIRNOVA (Prague Medieval Studies, vol. 2), Prague 2023, pp. 7–14.

⁶³ *Dialogus miraculorum*, Teilbd. 1, § 1.6, pp. 228–232; ibid., Teilbd. 2, § 3.33, pp. 610–622; § 4.54, pp. 804–806. Cf. ibid., Teilbd. 5, § 11.65, p. 2174.

⁶⁴ See, e.g., *Qui gesta pontificum Leodiensium scripserunt auctores praecipui*, t. 2, ed. Jean CHAPEAUVILLE, Leodii 1613, pp. 1–270.

⁶⁵ U. BERLIÈRE, *Les évêques auxiliaires*, pp. 15–16.

⁶⁶ P. JOHANSEN, op.cit., pp. 629, 816.

⁶⁷ Indeed, it is possible that the enfeoffment was made *in absentia*.

⁶⁸ Enn TARVEL, *Der Haken. Die Grundlagen der Landnutzung und der Besteuerung in Estland im 13.–19. Jahrhundert*, Tallinn 1983.

⁶⁹ Kristjan KALJUSAAR, *Virumaa läänimehed 13. sajandi esimesel poolel*, Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi aastaraamat, 2021, pp. 44, 48.

Walcourt with his own Aulne monastery⁷⁰. From 1237 to 1239, Baldwin was active as an auxiliary bishop, consecrating churches and altars in the dioceses of Liège and Cologne⁷¹. His primary residence during this period was likely Sart-les-Moines priory in Gosselies⁷², a dependency of Liessies Abbey.

Baldwin was already a priest⁷³ when he met Cardinal Otto; otherwise, his position of a penitentiary – a confessor with special competence – would have been unachievable. The hypothesis that Baldwin was the original owner of the *Pontificale Rigense* manuscript in the Vatican Library (MS. Borghes. 14) does not hold up under scrutiny⁷⁴. However, he was almost certainly well-educated. During this period, Aulne Abbey was an important centre of literacy and book culture⁷⁵. Andris Levāns speculates that Baldwin may have been responsible for the etymology-based conjecture on the Gallian origin of Semigallians, presented in Alberich's chronicle⁷⁶.

The medieval Liège bishopric⁷⁷ was a hub of monastic life and intellectual culture⁷⁸. Its wealthy monasteries and the affluent *Hochstift* contributed to its

⁷⁰ *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, t. 2: *Ab anno 1221 ad annum 1261*, ed. Joseph M. CANIVEZ (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, fasc. 10), Louvain 1934, p. 129.

⁷¹ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, Bd. 2, hrsg. v. Leonard ENNEN, Gottfried ECKERTZ, Köln 1863, no. 165; A. MARCHANDISSE, op.cit., p. 323; *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Heisterbach*, bearb. v. Ferdinand SCHMITZ, Bonn 1908, no. 82; U. BERLIÈRE, *Les évêques auxiliaires*, pp. 19–20.

⁷² Ursmer BERLIÈRE, *Recherches historiques sur la ville de Gosselies*, t. 1: *Histoire de la paroisse*, Maredsous 1922, pp. 164–165. In 1252, Bishop Arnold of Semigallia consecrated an altar in this priory.

⁷³ *Epistola*, 1, no. 461; *Diplomatarium Danicum*, 1/6, no. 127.

⁷⁴ Leonid ARBUSOW, *Römischer Arbeitsbericht. II*, Latvijas Universitātes Raksti, sēj. 20: 1929, pp. 487–489.

⁷⁵ *La vie du bienheureux frère Simon, convers à l'Abbaye d'Aulne*, éd. Albert DE DORLODOT, Tournai 1968; *Buchmalerei der Zisterzienser. Kulturelle Schätze aus sechs Jahrhunderten. Katalog zur Ausstellung „Libri Cistercienses“ im Ordensmuseum Abtei Kamp*, hrsg. v. Hiltrud REINECKE, Klaus REINECKE, Daniela TIVIG, Stuttgart 1998, pp. 144–148; *Werric d'Aulne, un moine dans la lumière de Dieu*, dir. Éric DELAISSE, Flavigny-sur-Ozerain 2024.

⁷⁶ Andris LEVĀNS, Vertraute Geschichtsbilder. Die Entstehung historischer Vorstellungen von Livland in der Geschichtsschreibung des 13. Jahrhunderts (doctoral diss., University of Latvia), Riga 2014, <https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/handle/7/4974> [accessed online 6 November 2024], p. 235. Similarly, however, the Magdeburg-based Franciscan scholar Bartholomaeus Anglicus in c. 1240, see Stefan DONECKER, *Origines Livonorum. Frühneuzeitliche Hypothesen zur Herkunft der Esten und Letten* (Quellen und Studien zur Baltischen Geschichte, Bd. 25), Köln 2017, p. 114.

⁷⁷ Alfred MINKE, *Bistum Lüttich*, [in:] *Die Bistümer des Heiligen Römischen Reiches von ihren Anfängen bis zur Säkularisation*, hrsg. v. Erwin GATZ, unter Mitwirkung v. Clemens BRODKORB, Helmut FLACHENECKER, Freiburg im Breisgau 2003, pp. 371–376.

⁷⁸ Medieval Liège at the Crossroads of Europe: Monastic Society and Culture, 1000–1300, ed. Steven VANDERPUTTEN, Tjamke SNIJDERS, Jay DIEHL (Medieval Church Studies, vol. 37), Turnhout 2017.

status as one of the wealthiest dioceses. According to the *servitium commune*, a tax paid by late medieval bishops to the Papal Curia at their approval, reflecting the income of bishoprics in c. 1300 – Liège (with an assessment of 7,200 florins) stood higher than any other bishopric in the region, except the archbishopric of Cologne (10,000 florins)⁷⁹. Higher clergy, typically recruited from aristocratic families⁸⁰, adhered to an upper-class lifestyle. Baldwin was financially dependent on procurations as a legate, especially during his travels⁸¹. Procurations were intended to ensure that a legate could maintain a lifestyle befitting his rank, but they frequently became sources of contention during legatine missions⁸². Baldwin's demands, which led to the conflict in Cologne, were not excessive⁸³ in this context⁸⁴.

The social background of the Livonian elite, established during the missions and crusades, with Riga as its centre, was surprisingly modest. The majority of bishops, monks, and knights originated from northern German ministerial families⁸⁵. One prominent exception in the first decades of the thirteenth century was the Bishop of Selonia (Semigallia)⁸⁶, Bernhard zur Lippe (d. 1224),

⁷⁹ Cf. the amounts of the tax paid in the fourteenth century by the bishops of the following dioceses: Cologne – 10,000, Liège – 7,200, Trier – 7,000, Cambrai – 6,000, Tournai – 5,000, Thérouanne – 5,000, Utrecht – 4,600, Laon – 4,000, and Reims – 4,000, according to Hermann HÖBERG, *Taxae pro communibus servitii ex libris obligationum ab anno 1295 usque ad annum 1455 confectis* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Studi e Testi, vol. 144), Città del Vaticano 1949.

⁸⁰ Léopold GÉNICOT, *Haut clergé et noblesse dans le diocèse de Liège du XIe au XVe siècle*, [in:] *Adel und Kirche. Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern*, hrsg. v. Josef FLECKENSTEIN, Karl SCHMID, Freiburg–Basel–Wien 1968, pp. 237–258. See also Daniel DERECK, *La noblesse dans le comté de Hainaut du XIe au XIIIe siècle. Aperçu général*, [in:] *Recueil d'études d'histoire hainuyère offertes à Maurice A. Arnould*, t. 1, éd. Jean-Marie CAUCHIES, Jean-Marie DUVOSQUEL, Mons 1983, pp. 583–597.

⁸¹ Pascal MONTAUBIN, *Les procurations des légats pontificaux, principalement dans le royaume de France au XIIIe siècle*, [in:] *Die römische Kurie und das Geld. Von der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. v. Werner MALECZEK (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte. Vorträge und Forschungen, Bd. 85), Ostfildern 2018, pp. 263–333.

⁸² Werner MALECZEK, *Die päpstlichen Legaten im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Gesandtschafts- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, hrsg. v. Rainer Ch. SCHWINGES, Klaus WRIEDT (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte. Vorträge und Forschungen, Bd. 60), Ostfildern 2003, pp. 46–47.

⁸³ As stated in, e.g., F. BENNINGHOVEN, op.cit., p. 286.

⁸⁴ H. ZIMMERMANN, op.cit., pp. 280–295.

⁸⁵ Astaf VON TRANSEHE-ROSENECK, *Die ritterlichen Livlandfahrer des 13. Jahrhunderts. Eine genealogische Untersuchung*, hrsg. v. Wilhelm LENZ (Marburger Ostforschungen, Bd. 12), Würzburg 1960, p. 9; F. BENNINGHOVEN, op.cit., pp. 420–468; Bernd U. HUCKER, *Expansion nach Übersee – Zur Auswanderung Niederdeutscher in das Ostbalkikum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Zwischen Heimat und Fremde. Aussiedler, Ausländer, Asylanten*, hrsg. v. Wilfried KÜRSCHNER, Hermann VON LAER (Vechtaer Universitätsschriften, Bd. 11), Cloppenburg 1993, pp. 55–73.

⁸⁶ On the name of the diocese, see Anti SELART, *Linnata piiskop. Keskaegsed diötseesinimed Liivi- ja Preisimaal*, Vana Tallinn, vol. 32: 2023, pp. 35–36.

who came from a Westphalian *edelfrei* family⁸⁷. Another leading figure of likely *edelfrei* descent was Volkwin of Naumburg in Hesse⁸⁸, Master of the Order of the Brothers of the Sword (d. 1236). Bishop Nicolaus of Riga was possibly born into an originally free and noble family from the Friesack and Jerichow region in Brandenburg. However, by the thirteenth century, his family had entered into ministerial service to archbishop of Magdeburg⁸⁹. The majority of Livonian knights and clergymen came from ministerial backgrounds in northern Germany and Westphalia, without any family ties to European princely courts or the aristocracy.

Potentially, an earlier link between Semigallia and the Low Countries may have already existed. The preceding Bishop of Semigallia, Lambert, has been identified with Dean Lambert of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Apostles in Cologne⁹⁰. Dean Lambert, who had previously served as the scholaster at the same church, is first mentioned in the sources in 1191 and was recorded as dean from 1213 to 1218⁹¹. He is also referred to as Lambert of Solre⁹². While there is a place called Soller⁹³ near Düren, halfway between Cologne and Liège, there are also locations named Solre in the Hainaut region – specifically Solre-sur-Sambre and Solre-le-Château – both within a day's journey from Aulne.

⁸⁷ Lippe und Livland. Mittelalterliche Herrschaftsbildung im Zeichen der Rose, hrsg. v. Jutta PRIEUR (Sonderveröffentlichungen des Naturwissenschaftlichen und Historischen Vereins für das Land Lippe, Bd. 82), Bielefeld 2008; Manfred WOLF, *Edelherr Bernhard II. zur Lippe*, Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls, 2015, Nr. 2, pp. 5–16.

⁸⁸ F. BENNINGHOVEN, op.cit., pp. 425–428.

⁸⁹ A. VON TRANSEHE-ROSENECK, op.cit., p. 24; Johannes SCHULTZE, *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin beim Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Bd. 13), Berlin 1964, pp. 45, 50–60; Bernhart JÄHNIG, *Nicolaus*, [in:] *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1198 bis 1448. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, hrsg. v. Erwin GATZ, unter Mitwirkung v. Clemens BRODKORB, Berlin 2001, pp. 648–649. See also Clemens BERGSTEDT, *Kirchliche Siedlung des 13. Jahrhunderts im brandenburgisch-mecklenburgischen Grenzgebiet* (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, Bd. 15), Berlin 2002, pp. 114–116.

⁹⁰ F. A. CZARNEWSKI, op.cit., p. 15; Bernd U. HUCKER, *Liv- und estländische Königspläne?*, [in:] *Studien über die Anfänge der Mission in Livland*, hrsg. v. Manfred HELLMANN (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte. Vorträge und Forschungen, Bd. 37), Sigmaringen 1989, p. 86.

⁹¹ Annerose BERNERS, St. Aposteln in Köln. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte eines mittelalterlichen Kollegiatstifts bis ins 15. Jahrhundert, Bd. 2: Anhänge (doctoral diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität), Bonn 2004, pp. 518, 531; Manfred GROTE, *Köln im 13. Jahrhundert. Gesellschaftlicher Wandel und Verfassungsentwicklung* (Städteforschung, Reihe A: Darstellungen, Bd. 36), Köln 1998, p. 53.

⁹² Gottfried STRACKE, *Köln: St. Aposteln*, Köln 1992, p. 523; A. BERNERS, op.cit., p. 518.

⁹³ Bernhart JÄHNIG, *Lambert von Solre*, [in:] *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1198 bis 1448. Ein biographisches Lexikon*, hrsg. v. Erwin GATZ, unter Mitwirkung v. Clemens BRODKORB, Berlin 2001, p. 729.

Nevertheless, this identification of the dean with the bishop seems unlikely as Dean Lambert is believed to have died around 1219, or by June 1220 at the latest⁹⁴.

The name Lambert was common in the Low Countries and the Rhine-land⁹⁵, which alone is insufficient to determine the bishop's origin. He assumed the Semigallian see shortly after Bishop Bernhard's death in late April 1224⁹⁶. Bishop Albert of Riga had visited the Liège region in June 1223⁹⁷, which raises the possibility that Lambert accompanied him back to Livonia⁹⁸. A papal letter from 4 April 1232, mentions Lambert as the former bishop⁹⁹, relying on information provided by Baldwin of Aulne. Baldwin disputed Lambert's donations and disposal of property within the Semigallian bishopric, arguing that while Bishop Albert of Riga had the authority to appoint bishops in newly converted territories, he lacked the privilege to nominate bishops for established sees, rendering Lambert's episcopal power illegitimate¹⁰⁰. By 11 March 1234, it was known in Riga that Lambert had died¹⁰¹. Incidentally, Baldwin's successor, Bishop Arnold of Semigallia (appointed before 1246, d. 1261) from the Cistercian Order¹⁰², may also have been a native of Hainaut¹⁰³. Arnold spent most of his time as an auxiliary bishop in the dioceses of Cologne and, primarily, Liège. Whether he ever visited Livonia remains uncertain¹⁰⁴.

Baldwin's activities in Livonia occurred at the time when the Cistercians' previously dominant role in Livonian mission¹⁰⁵ began to decline. By the 1230s and 1240s, many prominent positions in Livonia were increasingly occupied

⁹⁴ A. BERNERS, op.cit., p. 518.

⁹⁵ For clergymen in Livonia with the name Lambert, see Leonid ARBUSOW, *Livlands Geistlichkeit von Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik, 1901, p. 53.

⁹⁶ F. SCHONEBOHM, op.cit., p. 349.

⁹⁷ Die Fragmente der Libri VIII Miraculorum des Caesarius von Heisterbach, hrsg. v. Aloys MEISTER (Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte. Supplement, Bd. 13), Rom–Freiburg im Breisgau 1901, no. 1, pp. 4–5.

⁹⁸ Cf. B. JÄHNIG, *Lambert von Solre*, p. 729. See also *Dialogus miraculorum*, Teilbd. 4, § 9.4, p. 1756.

⁹⁹ As the text does not include the formula *bonae memoriae*, it is not clear whether Lambert was dead, retired, or removed from the office.

¹⁰⁰ *Senās Latvijas vēstures avoti*, 1, no. 179.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., no. 199.

¹⁰² Bernhart JÄHNIG, Arnold, [in:] Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches 1198 bis 1448. Ein biographisches Lexikon, hrsg. v. Erwin GATZ, unter Mitwirkung v. Clemens BRODKORB, Berlin 2001, pp. 730–731.

¹⁰³ Félix ROUSSEAU, *L'expansion wallonne et lorraine vers l'Est, aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, Les dialectes belgo-romans, t. 1: 1937, p. 188.

¹⁰⁴ F. G. VON BUNGE, op.cit., pp. 63–64; U. BERLIÈRE, *Les évêques auxiliaires*, pp. 23–26.

¹⁰⁵ Kaspar ELM, *Christi cultores et novelle ecclesie plantatores. Der Anteil der Mönche, Kanoniker und Mendikanten an der Christianisierung der Liven und dem Aufbau der Kirche von Livland*,

by members of mendicant orders¹⁰⁶. Simultaneously, papal legates, acting as emissaries of the Roman Curia, were integrating the peripheral ecclesiastic structures in Northern Europe into the organisational framework of the Roman Church¹⁰⁷. However, for a church dignitary coming from ‘outside’ the usual circles of recruitment, this transition could be challenging, as higher authority often failed to counterbalance the lack of established local ties.

The reasons for Baldwin’s misfortunes in Livonia – largely unrelated to his personal qualities – stemmed from conflicting social backgrounds of the key actors. The defiance shown by the Rigan Livonians, including the Sword Brethren, Livonian bishops, and their dependants, was not merely an act of disobedience against a papal legate representing supreme papal authority *par excellence* but also a form of social upheaval. The unfree ministerial knights and members of lower nobility from the peripheral region defied a person connected to prominent princely courts of the time. Although Baldwin may have been born into an aristocratic or noble family in Hainaut – though this remains speculative due to the lack of sources – and despite his activities as papal legate and bishop in Livonia, he was unable to secure success. Noble lineage, papal authority and episcopal power proved insufficient in a contest where the opposition wielded significant military power¹⁰⁸, notwithstanding its social status.

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¹⁰⁶ M. Tamm, *Communicating Crusade*, p. 346.

¹⁰⁷ Wojtek Jezierski, *Angels in Scandinavia: Papal Legates and Networks of Nordic Elites, Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries*, [in:] *Nordic Elites in Transformation, c. 1050–1250*, vol. 2: *Social Networks*, ed. Kim Esmark, Lars Hermanson, Hans J. Orning (Routledge Research in Medieval Studies, vol. 14), New York–London 2020, pp. 169–191. See also Anti Selart, *Zur Verortung Livlands in der römischen Kirche. Legationsbezirke in Nordosteuropa im 13.–15. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Die Kirche im mittelalterlichen Livland*, hrsg. v. Radosław Biskup, Johannes Götz, Andrzej Radzimiński (Ecclesia Clerusque Temporibus Medii Aevi, vol. 5), Toruń 2019, pp. 129–158.

¹⁰⁸ A. Selart, *Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades*, pp. 129–138.

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