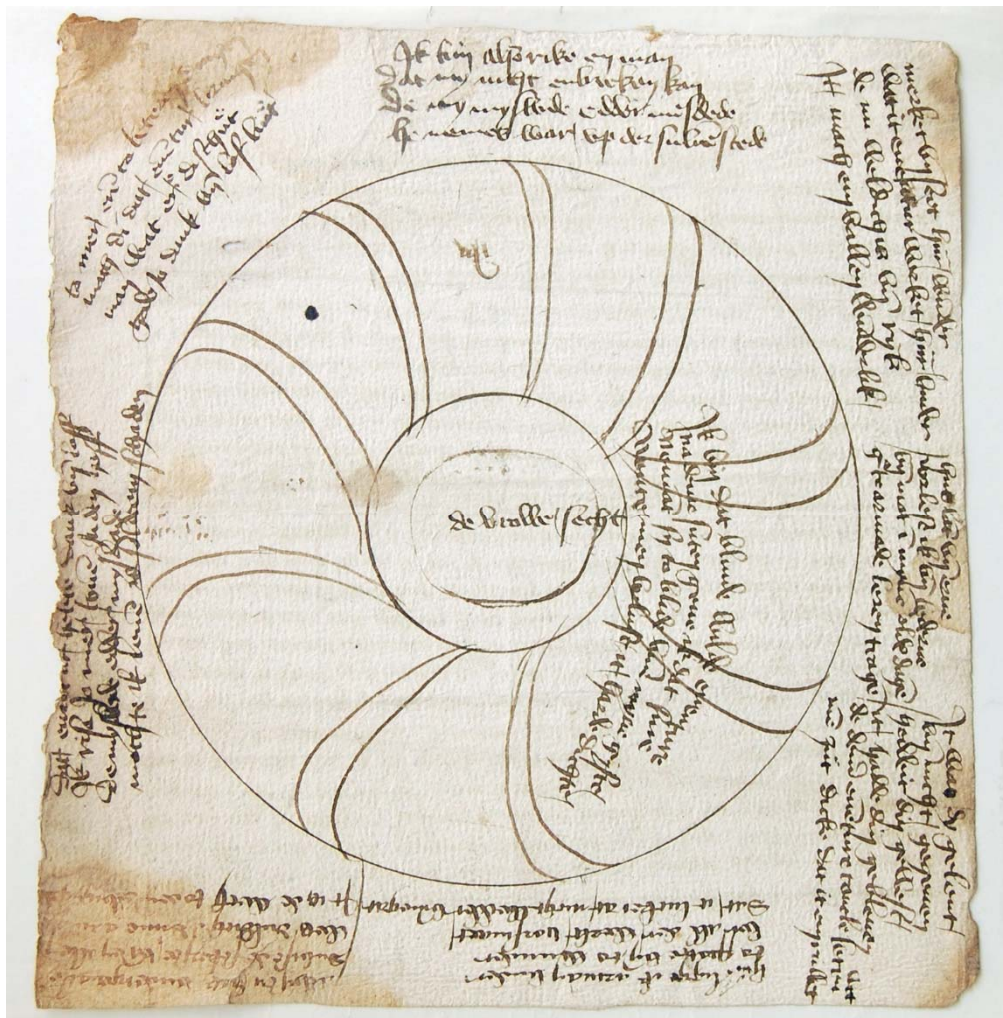


Tapio Salminen

OBSCURE HANDS – TRUSTED MEN

Textualization, the Office of the City Scribe and the Written Management of Information and Communication of the Council of Reval (Tallinn) before 1460



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Front cover: 'De vrowe secht', a Middle Low German poem written by city scribe Joachim Muter (1429–56/60) describing the capricious nature of luck (Lady Fortuna) and the fate of man in the wheel of fortune, TLA, BC 3, f. 19v.

Back cover: See pictures 26, 35:4, 6:1, 34:3 and Map 7. Sator square: TLA, A.d.4, cover.

Summary

Management of information is essentially a modern concept meaning the organisation and control over the structure, processing and delivering of information for different uses in decision making. In my PhD thesis, I explore and discuss the possibilities of its use in the context of the administration and communication of the council of Reval (today Tallinn, capital of Estonia) from the earliest known use of the seal of the city in 1257 to the retirement of city scribe and notary public Joachim Muter from his office in 1456/60. My focus is on both the formation of the agency (office) of the city scribes as hired professionals in the written management of information of the civic authority and the process of textualization: that is, the application of the technology of writing in the management of information, communication, administration and textual manifestations of authority in the activity of the council. The study is based on the vast corpus of original material from the council activity still available in the Tallinn City Archives of with supplements from other archives and source editions.

The theoretical background of my study is set in the field of organisational, institutional and communicative studies, but firmly anchored to the nature and composition of the medieval textual products as manifested in the archives and researched in Medieval studies. The nature of different 'actors', such as the city scribes and councillors, and their 'agencies' (i.e. offices) in the administration of the civic authority, is seen through actor-network theories, where individual actors not only brought substance, views and methods of conduct of their own to the issues they dealt with in the organisation, but also took part in the continuous reproduction of the organisation itself in the everyday manifestations of their agencies. Here, the of the agency of the city scribes was of special importance, not just because of its development into an office taking control of the production and surveillance of the various textual products in the administration and communication of the council, but also because of the schooling and professional qualifications of the scribes. As in our modern society, in late medieval Reval the dialectic process of the emergence of recognisable 'professions' in organisations was a self-feeding system based on qualifications and attributes required for the 'task' or 'profession' and the attributes and ethos created through it. As my study shows, permanently hired city scribes emerged as practical and intellectual carriers of the textualization of the written management of information of civic authority and introduced views and conventions of their own particular to their time, their various professional networks and themselves, all still identifiable from the sources.

In the study the typology of the produced texts and textual artefacts is grounded in the role of text types and text permanences characteristic to the textual rendition of acts of authority, the observed chain of events, or the particular type of information required for contemporary recording, managing, controlling and securing them. Based on cognitive and pragmatic models of thinking, I have understood the medieval text types and permanences as conceptual categories of experienced reality rendered by means of textual technologies arising from the material itself. As my analysis of the civic memoranda of Reval shows, the employed text types and permanences corresponded to contemporary cognitional modes of thinking, and were deeply rooted in a chronological, cyclic and seasonal perception of time. Because of this, most of the surviving Revalian books of memoranda manifest themselves as 'textual chronicles' of past events designed for memorizing and documenting the chronological flow of transactions, administrative decisions and corroborations in the particular sphere of activity and administration. As my study shows, this makes them fundamentally different from cognitional models based on the concept of 'available

resources' or 'planning' characteristic of their modern equivalents, a distinction that provides further tools for understanding the nature of written management of information in the administration of medieval civic authorities such as those of Reval.

In the study, the process of textualization of the management of information and written manifestations of authority in the Baltic Sea area from the 12th century to the mid-15th is divided into three phases, all three being evident in the 13th- to 14th-century Revalian civic administration. Here the study throws light especially on the development of the use of the seal and the secretum as the sign of civic authority, as well as the introduction of paper and vernacular into the management of information and communication of the city in the third quarter of the 14th century. Especially the two last phenomena tell us of an early willingness of the city scribes to experiment with new innovations in their field of expertise: a willingness also exhibited in the early use of indoarabic numerals by some of the city scribes in the first third of the 15th century. With the help of palaeographic analysis of hands and codicological-diplomatic evaluation of the material I have been able to establish not only a secure lineage of Revalian city scribes and their most important substitutes active before 1456/60, but also an understanding of the various lines of civic memoranda and production of documents in the management of information of the council.

In the area of civic memoranda my most important findings establish the category of 'red books' as a special line of prestige among the memoranda of the city, the crucial role of the books of resignations/recognitions and annuities for establishing the main hands active in the written management of the civic administration, and the developments in the size and portability of the codices as an indication of a shift from an itinerant office of the city scribes to permanent control of all the civic memoranda, a process parallel to the stabilisation of the management of information of the council to the City Scriptorium and Town Hall in the 1370's. From the second quarter of the 14th century, the central task of the scribes was the control of the registers of basic information about the walled area of the city, whence this pattern of control spread to areas of fiscal administration previously in the custody of the councillor-wardens. In these fields the work of the scribe varied in scale from full production of finished accounts and text artefacts to annual checking, controlling and/or partial management and archiving of the material produced by the councillors.

As regards the identification, identity and professionalisation of the city scribes, my study clearly shows that no assumptions about the identity or status of the scribes engaged in writing for medieval civic authority should ever be made on the basis of supposed organisation of the civic administration and the suggested structure of agencies in it. Instead, any analysis of an individual piece of memoranda or document should always be grounded on a wider knowledge of contemporary hands active in the main corpus of the memoranda of the time. From as early as the third quarter of the 13th century the hands responsible for the production of sealed charters for the joint corroboration of multiple agents of the area were officials and clergy of the church of Reval, and contacts between the scribes active in the diocesan management of information appear to have continued to the beginning of the second quarter of the 14th century. Since all the textual artefacts produced in the name of the council or in its management of information before the 1350's were written in Latin, it is natural that the hands active in the office of the city scribes were people with ecclesiastical schooling, even if most of the city scribes invested with the chantries and rents of the altar foundations under the patronage of the council appear not to have been priests, but possibly clerics of minor orders. In Canon Law a legal way for the placing of altar chantries or other vicaries under the supervision of the scribes without the duty of performing the liturgical ministries involved in them was provided by the constitution of 'Cum ex eo' of 1298, where

an episcopal dispensation from the duty lasting seven years could be given for 'projected' university studies. In the case of Reval, there is evidence that arrangements based on such a dispensation may have been made in the context of the salary and upkeep of city scribes through chantries and vicaries as early as the 1310's or 1320's.

Despite the early connections to the diocesan clergy, all the known city scribes and their most important substitutes were hired professionals at the service of the council from the beginning of the 14th century onwards. Since none of them can be identified beyond doubt in the extant registers of the universities, I have evaluated their schooling and intellectual status with the help of the material they have left behind. Of special interest are their pen trials in Latin, which, together with the medieval florilegia they contain, hint at a university schooling for some of the hands active before 1460. Considering the professional capacities of the scribes, the only person securely invested with the status of a notary public was Joachim Muter active in 1429–1456/60. Before him, there is no evidence of notaries public as city scribes, and his introduction to the office of the city scribe in 1429 presents a clear recognition of a need of a person of legal credibility at the service of the council after their dispute with the diocesan church in the 1420's.

As the salary and position of Joachim Muter shows, the 15th century role and status of the city scribes was comparable to that of a master craftsman in the service of the council. Not only was the city scribe the head of a 'shop' responsible for the production of special artefacts for the council with auxiliary hands of possible other scribes and councillor-wardens at his disposal, but he received a similar salary: a combination of monetary payment and provisions in kind, including clothing appropriate to his status as a servant of the city. Unlike the master craftsmen, the salary of the city scribes was often built on several sources and forms, among which the earliest one was the rent from altar foundations under the patronage of the council. Later the basic remuneration in money was comprised a fixed annual fee paid in four or more instalments supplemented by other annual or more casual forms of salary, including the rent from altar foundations. Like the master craftsmen, the city scribes also conducted business of their own. Employed to take care of the written management of information and communication of the civic authority, the range of activities in the agency of the city scribes extended far beyond the City Scriptorium and Town Hall; to delegations and negotiations of the council and its representatives with other agents of power, a practice seemingly established when the agency of the city scribes was first stabilised in the second quarter of the 14th century.

Preface and acknowledgements

This book is a study written by a Finnish historian on developments in a field of northern European late medieval history where both the geographical and temporal framing of the medieval past have been for long time defined by issues of 19th- and 20th-century European historiography. While removing the ballast of earlier national and ethnic narratives, the study aims to be something more: a treatise on issues of institutions, organisations, communication and information in the medieval 'European' past explored from the point of view of agencies in human collective activity in a large Baltic Sea area merchant city. A study of a distinctive form of technology (text) applied to govern the everyday flow of events in transgenerational time of a civic authority and the persons in charge of this technology, my research deals with issues applicable to eras far beyond the those of my chosen period and society: namely, those issues endemic in the human cognitional understanding of issues and developments surrounding us and the available ways of governing them.

For me, the writing of this book has been a journey to understand not only the the ever-changing relationship between the contemporary present and the remote past and the various narratives of it created called history, but also the kaleidoscopic postulations of the profession called historian in the present world. What started in the mid 1990's as a vague idea of studying differences in the modes of written and oral communication in the interaction of corporate agents of late medieval political, economical and territorial power in the Gulf of Finland area evolved in the course of some twenty years into a study of written manifestations and management of information of the civic authority of a single medieval city. A painful process interrupted not only by teaching, but also by two major research assignments in Finnish medieval history and other minor undertakings, the work has for me been a source of fascination, of moments of joy and understanding, but also of continuous stress and periods of maddening despair. For all that, I would not have done it otherwise. The result, a hybrid study of several themes in the written management of information and the nature of its medieval output and carriers might best be considered an equivalent of our hybrid time: a survey of various roles of medieval information and the people engaged in its control as understood meaningful by us. As a study, the ultimate reason for my work is to open doors to explore various issues surrounding the chosen theme and period and beyond, not to close them or explain them as locked and understood.

Early in the course of my work I had two 'ex officio' supervisors whom I would like to thank for their support, especially Professors Pertti Luntinen (now, alas, beyond my reach) and Ohto Manninen. A more continuous impact on my work has been provided by two eminent professors, Pertti Haapala and Christian Krötzl, the former from the field of Modern Economic and Social History and the latter from Medieval Studies. Even if I chose at an early stage to do my research largely on my own and according to the understanding I had started to develop on the nature of medieval textual artefacts, both professors have provided invaluable comments, insight and help in the discussions I have had with them. I also feel heavily indebted to both of them for their kindness and tolerance of my sometimes excessively encyclopedic scholarly nature.

While in the final stage of completing my study, I had the privilege of having two esteemed scholars of Medieval Livonia and Tallinn, Professor Jüri Kivimäe of the University of Toronto and PhD Tiina Kala of Tallinn City Archives as appointed readers of my manuscript. The comments and ideas they presented in their statements not only reassured me that I was on the right track with my reasoning on the role of the textualization in the

medieval administration of the city, but also helped to focus various sections of the manuscript more concisely on the conclusions I had made. The text of my manuscript has been patiently revised by PhD Philip Line, himself a medievalist, to whom I owe my sincere gratitude. Whatever misunderstandings, misinterpretations or lapses may be found in the text or reasoning, are purely and only my own.

In the early stages of my work, I was given important fiscal and academic support by the Doctoral Programme of Finnish Social and Economic History (1995–99), patronised by the Academy of Finland, and awarded grants from the Suomalais-ruotsalainen kulttuurirahasto (Finland-Swedish Cultural Fund), the Arvid Kordelinin säätiö (Arvid Kordelin Foundation) and the City of Tampere. The final stages of my research were assisted by the Jalmari Finnen säätiö (Jalmari Finne Foundation). Since 1995 I have enjoyed the support and collegiality of the Department, later the School of History, today in the School of Social Sciences and Humanities in Tampere University. I would like to cordially thank all these institutions and their staff for their invaluable assistance in my work. Since all research on history is only possible with the help of reference books and literature, I am also indebted to numerous libraries, the most important being the Finnish National Library in Helsinki and the former Library of Humanities (Humanika) in Tampere University. I would also like to thank the Finnish, Swedish and Estonian National Archives, and the City archives of Lübeck and Soest and their staff for their assistance. For me and this study, of all the archives the most important has, of course, been the Tallinn City Archives; I owe my deepest gratitude to its staff, and especially to the guardian of the reading-room, Indrek Hinrikus, for assisting me throughout the years of my research. I would also like to thank my friend and graphic designer Mikael Manninen for preparing four maps specially for the manuscript.

During these more than twenty years I have had the privilege of enjoying the support of numerous academic friends and colleagues in Finland and abroad. Without titles and without placing them in any specific order, I would like to thank the following wonderful scholars and persons who have taken part in my journey and given both valuable advice and kind words throughout: Jarmo Peltola, Kirsi Salonen, Jussi Hanska, Jorma Ahvenainen, Marjatta Hietala, Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen, Markus Hiekkänen, Juhani Sarsila, Jens E. Olesen, Kimmo Antila, Sari Katajala-Peltomaa, Raisa Toivo, Katja-Maria Miettunen, Marko Lamberg, Jari Ojala, Aino Katermaa, Marko Nenonen, Tuula Hockman, Katariina Mustakallio, Tanja Vahtikari, Marjaana Niemi, Andreas Koivisto, Georg Haggrén, Ilkka Nummela, Maija Ojala, Ella Viitaniemi, Ville Vuolanto. A special debt of gratitude will always be owed to my Estonian friends and colleagues, Juhan Kreem, whom I first met in Tallinn City Archives in the early 1990s, Anu Mänd, with whom I became acquainted with in October 1989 in Tartu, and Lea Kõiv of the Tallinn City Archives. Dear friends, I have no words to express how warm I feel when thinking of all of you!

I dedicate my study to my Mother Anna and late father Matti, who were born during the War, grew up in the 1950's period of scarcity, worked their way through the modernisation of Finland from the agrarian to the digital age, and have never failed to promote the benefits of the written word and a curiosity about all those things and issues surrounding us.

Tampere, feria quinta ante festum sancti Nicolai episcopi, Anno mmxv.

Tapio Salminen

On the Edition

The present edition and publication of my PhD-thesis is based on the original manuscript presented as a dissertation on January 8, and accepted by the School of Social Sciences and Humanities of the University of Tampere on January 27, 2016. In the course of editing only minor changes have been made, mainly removal of typographic and other errors in the text, footnotes and bibliographical references. I have also taken into account the comments on my thesis given by my opponent, Prof. Jüri Kivimäe, by making minor additions to the bibliography and adjusting my use of certain terminology. The only major change from the manuscript in the final edition is the relocation of three paragraphs on the nature of the fiscal memoranda of the council from Chapter 5.2.4.2 to a new chapter, 3.2.6. In the course of the editing work I have provided an alternative English term ‘chantry/chantries’ wherever appropriate for the Latin and Middle Low German concept of altar vicaries (Lat. *vicaria*, Mnd. *vicarien*) patroned by the council and at their disposal.

In the study all toponymes are rendered in the language of medieval documents instead of other contemporary and later names (i.e. Reval, Dorpat and Åbo, instead of Tallinn, Tartu and Turku). Names and terminology in the medieval originals are written in italics, normalised forms in ordinary font.

After the work is completed, I am pleased to say that the manuscript will appear among the Tampere University Press (TUP) -line of open access publications. I offer my sincerest thanks to TUP for accepting it.

Tampere, feria sexta post dominicam qua cantatur Oculi, Anno mmxvi.

Tapio Salminen

Abbreviations

The majority of abbreviations in this study are citations of archival entities and source editions where conventional forms of abbreviation are used whenever available, see ‘Sources and literature’. Abbreviations of various identified hands other than scribes with known name (for instance *WBI*, *HI*, *AII*) are explained in the relevant sections of the study and in the bibliography.

Other abbreviations:

Est.	Estonian
Fin.	Finnish
Ger.	German
Lat.	Latin
Ltv.	Latvian
OSw.	Old Swedish
Mnd.	Mittelniederdeutsch, i.e. Middle Low German
Sw.	Swedish

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1. A city and its scribes: Reval (Tallinn) and the written management of information of the civic authority before 1456/60

This study discusses written management of information and the role of textualization in the administration and communication of the council of Reval (today Tallinn, capital of Estonia) from the earliest known use of the seal of the city in 1257 to the retirement of city scribe Joachim Muter from his office in 1456/60.¹ The particular focus of the study is on the formation of the agency (office) of the city scribes as hired professionals in the written management of information of the civic authority. Another central concept of the study is the process of textualization; the application of the technology of writing in the management of information, communication, administration and various textual manifestations of authority in the activity of the council of Reval in the period concerned.² Even if textualization has occurred several times in different cultures, eras and geographical, social, economic and political contexts of human activity, the use of the term here is restricted to developments in the 13th – 15th centuries Baltic Sea area, more precisely to the evidence of one major corpus of material, that of the medieval council of Reval (Ger. *Altes Ratsarchiv*, here cited as *AR*), today surviving in Tallinn City Archives (*Tallinna Linnarhiiv*, TLA) and other archival deposits. In the study, the end of Muter's career is chosen as a terminus because for two

¹ The earliest known use of the Estonian name of the city Tallinn, traditionally explained as the combination of 'Taani linn' 'Town of the Danes' is from 1536 (*Tallyna*). Since the early 19th century different variants of the name have been known ('Tallin', 'Tallinn', 'Tallina', 'Tallinna'). In 1925 the official name of the city was decided as 'Tallinna', genitive of the Estonian nominative 'Tallinn', but in 1933 'Tallinn' was established as the official Estonian name of the city, see Pullat, Raimo, *Brief History of Tallinn*. Estopol, Tallinn, 2003, 11–13. On the origins of 'Tallinn' also witnessed by the old Karelian name 'Tanikanlinna' ('Dane's Castle') see also Johansen, Paul, *Nordische Mission, Revals Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland*. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, 74. Stockholm, 1951, 53.

² On the technology of writing in medieval context see Clanchy, Michael T., *From Memory to Written Record*. England 1066–1307. 2nd Edition. Blackwell, Oxford UK and Cambridge USA, 1993, 88–115 and Ong, Walter J., *Orality & Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word*. Routledge, London and New York, 1982 (5th reprint 1988), 80–82. In his article *Orality, Literacy and Medieval Textualization*. In: *New Literary History*, vol. 16:1, *Oral and Written Traditions in the Middle Ages* (1984), 5, Ong employs the terms 'textualization' and 'textualized language' to characterise the special nature of Learned Latin, a form of language only learned by means of study in adulthood. In this study 'textualization' is invariably used in the context of technology of writing, i.e. a technology of recording, managing and storing information in written form, which in turn produced and resulted in text permanences characteristic for different needs in the management of information and communication (see later CHAPTER 1.2.2). On the semiological dimensions of textualization as a cultural practice combining language and artifacts, as well as the concept of literacy being based on certain techniques of textualization, see Harris, Roy, *The semiology of textualization*. In: *Language Sciences*, vol. 6:2 (1984), 271–286. In ethnology and folklore the term textualization generally refers to the process of representing oral performances in written form, but it is also used more widely in the context of oral epics, where the processes of oral and written textualization refer to the formation of text as a performed oral speech later rendered in written form, Honko, Lauri, *Text as process and practice: the textualization of oral epics*. In: Honko, Lauri (ed.), *Textualization of oral epics*. *Texts in linguistics: Studies and monographs*, 128. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 2000, 3–6, 18, 38–43 and 50. The word 'textualization' is not included in Oxford English Dictionary (OED), <http://www.oed.com/>, accessed 19.11.2015, but is cited in Wiktionary, <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/textualization#English>, accessed 19.11.2015, where 'textualization': '1. The act or process of textualizing, rendering as text, and 2. The result of textualizing, a written version'.

reasons, one deeply rooted in the nature of the agency of the Revalian city scribes, and the other a practical one. A notary public first employed in Reval during the dispute between the local Dominicans and the Church of Reval over the right of schooling in 1427, Muter emerged in 1429 as the first known authorized notary public in the service of the city as a city scribe. Responsible for much of the management and organisation of various spheres of written information of the council until his gradual retirement in 1456/60, his period of activity not only shows the wide variety of textual products and organisational initiatives he took in his agency as the city scribe, but also serves as a convenient terminal point when examining the developments and other issues characteristic of the management of information of the council and the agency of the scribes before him. After Muter, the surviving material suggests that much of the nature of the activity of the scribes and the management of information of the council either remained largely the same or evolved only slowly because of new issues and conventions in them. In any case, the amount of surviving material after the period of office of Joachim Muter from 1460 to well into the 16th century is so large that any research on the medieval and early modern developments in it would require a study of its own.

The study consists of five main chapters 1–6. In the introduction (CHAPTER 1), I will give an overview on the nature, origins and structure of the medieval city of Reval as a permanent sworn community of burghers (1.1), and proceed after that (1.2) to the theoretical settings and conceptualisations necessary for the study, namely: The management of information and the nature of organisations, institutions and various agencies in them from the modern theoretical point of view and medieval institutions (1.2.1), textualization and the use of text as a technology for recording, managing and storing information (1.2.2), the nature of text types and text permanences in the 12th- to 16th-century management of information and the cognitional models contributing to them (1.2.3), the nature of the ‘profession’ and professionalization of the agency (office) of the city scribes (1.2.4), and finally an overview of the basic source material of this study (1.2.5).

The main body of the study, CHAPTERS 2 to 5, consists of three different areas of treatment: *first*, a short discussion on the origins and nature of medieval textualization in the Baltic Sea area together with an analysis of the use of languages and the shift from parchment to paper in the written communication of the council of Reval in the late 14th century (2.1), and the various manifestations of the civic authority of the council as witnessed by the earliest seals and secrets in documents issued in the name of the burgher community and the council (2.2);

second, the various activities of the civic administration before 1456/60 as topics of administration and spheres of information that brought about the need for recording, managing and storing written information in medieval Reval (3.1. and 3.2); and, *third*, the analysis of the activity, ‘professional’ status and agency of the known city scribes and their most important substitutes in 1312–1456/60 (CHAPTERS 4 and 5).

Because of the rather generic structure of the work, which emerges from the surviving types of material available from the council administration and the study of the activity of the individual scribes in it, many of the issues discussed in the study overlap each other, resulting in a tapestry of themes that contribute to the overall interpretation of the role of texts in the management of information by the civic authority of Reval. In the concluding CHAPTER 6, the various themes are brought together and discussed from the point of view of textualization in the management of information by the council. The main research questions of this study are: *What can we know about the process of textualization and the nature of its various manifestations in the administration and communication of the civic authority of the council of Reval from the second quarter of the 13th century to the retirement of city scribe and notary public Joachim Muter, and how was the management of written information of the council and the office of the city scribe organised in ca. 1257–1456/60? What kind of developments are present in the formation and stabilisation of the agency of the city scribes as deductible from both the remaining corpus of material and other information on their identity and ‘profession’ and what was the actual status of the city scribes in the civic administration of Reval in the period concerned?*

1.1. Reval – the structure and formation of a medieval merchant city in the northern Baltic Sea area

As a medieval merchant city, the origins of Reval lay in the penetration and conquest of areas east of the Baltic Sea by German, Danish and other powers in the early 13th century. Assisted by ecclesiastic organisations and institutions such as the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen and Lund, the Cistercian Order, and from the early 1220’s onwards even by the Dominicans, the final consolidation of the dominions in Livonia and Estonia occurred in the latter half of the 1230’s after a conquest in the form of crusades in 1198–1227. A major change in the allegiance of the city took place in 1346, when the Danish crown sold Reval and the two lands of Harrien (Est. *Harjumaa*) and Wierland (Est. *Virumaa*) to the Teutonic Order, where they were placed in the custody of the Livonian Master. After 1346 the

princely authority (Ger. *Landesherr*) was the Grand Master of the Order, represented in the person of the Livonian Master.³

Traditionally studied through the national and ethnic standpoints of Baltic-German and Estonian scholarship, the age and formation of urban settlement, the burgher community and civic authority in 13th century Reval are today viewed as a complex process in which various developments took place from the late 12th century to the early 15th, and where the consolidation of authority and administration took place in several stages from the second quarter of the 13th to the mid-14th century, possibly even later. In order to fully understand the change of paradigms and the nature of interpretations of the status of the city of Reval in historiography of the medieval Baltic, a short introduction to various aspects of the structural, topographic and economic role of the site and to the administrative and judicial status of the community inhabiting it is necessary here.⁴

1.1.1. History, archaeology and the nature of civic communities in the Baltic Sea area from the 12th century to the 16th

Today, the formation and history of medieval urban and civic communities in the Baltic Sea area are habitually studied from two different perspectives, historical and archaeological, which ought to complement each other. However, studies are often heavily weighted to one or the other, resulting in confusion or misinterpretation of the nature, structure and formation

³ On the acquisition of Harrien-Wierland and Reval by the Teutonic Order and the confirmation of the privileges and oath of allegiance in Reval, see Kreem, Juhan, *The Teutonic Order as a Secular Ruler in Livonia: The Privileges and Oath of Reval*. In: Murray, Alan V (ed.), *Crusade and conversion on the Baltic frontier 1150–1500*. Ashgate, Aldershot and Burlington, 2001, 215–232, and Kreem, Juhan, *The Town and its Lord, Reval and the Teutonic Order (In the Fifteenth century)*. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi toimetised 6. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn 2002 (here Kreem 2002a), 27–47. On the name Livonia, see Tamm, Marek, 2011, *Inventing Livonia: The Name and Fame of a New Christian Colony on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*. In: *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, 60 (2011), 186–209.

⁴ On the Baltic-German and Estonian traditions in Estonian historiography in general and especially on the conquest, see the articles of Wilhelm Lenz (“Alt-Livland” in den deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung 1870 bis 1918), Heinz von zur Mühlen (*Die deutschbaltische Gechichtsschreibung 1918–1939/45 in Estland*) and Georg von Rauch (*Die deutschbaltische Geschichtsschreibung nach 1945*), all in: von Rauch, Georg (ed.), *Geschichte der deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung. Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 20. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Wien 1986, 203–232, 339–370 and 399–435 and Helme, Rein, *Die estnische Historiographie*. In: Garleff, Michael (ed.), *Zwischen Konfrontation und Kompromiss. Oldenburger Symposium ‘Interethnische Beziehungen in Ostmitteleuropa als Historiographisches Problem der 1930er/1940er Jahre’*. Schriften des Bundesinstituts für ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte, 8. R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München, 1995, 139–154. A recent overview of the major Baltic-German historians from the late 18th century to the latter half of the 19th is provided in Angermann, Norbert, *Der Beitrag deutschbaltischer Historiker zur Hanseforschung*. In: Hundt, Michael & Lokers, Jan (eds.), *Hanse und Stadt. Akteure, Strukturen und Entwicklungen im regionalen und europäischen Raum*. Festschrift für Rolf Hammel-Kiesow zum 65. Geburtstag. Einzelveröffentlichung des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Schmidt-Römschild, Lübeck 2014, 151–166. For the controversy in Baltic-German and Estonian scholarship on the formation and topography of Reval, as well as the present understanding of the formation of the site see CHAPTERS 1.1.2.2.–1.1.2.3.

of the urban landscape and civic community of the sites in question. In the history of *urban communities* of the Baltic Sea area, i.e. sites with permanent settlement and population with functions characteristic of established concentrations of merchants and artisans, both lines of study, archaeological and historical, have a long tradition of their own that has been liable to changes in paradigms, focus and methods and which cannot be fully evaluated without a proper knowledge of the particular traditions. Both lines tend to focus on similar questions: the age, topographical nature and extension of sites, as well as inner manifestations and fluctuations in the socioeconomic structure, social topography and conditions of everyday life of the population living on them, but they often use language undecipherable for the other, even when the object of the research is the same. Often, as in the case of recent studies of medieval towns in Finland and Sweden such as Turku (Sw. *Åbo*), Rauma (Sw. *Raumo*) and Linköping, developments in the archaeological research of the sites have caused revisions of old national romantic and local patriotic theories on the age of the ‘urban’ community (that is. merchant and artisan activity on the site), which in turn have caused adjustments to the contemporary understanding of the date of formation of the *civic community* and its various institutional extensions in the particular town, much of which would, however, have been deductible from the surviving written documents when studied in the modern context of textualization, medieval towns, townscapes and transregional trade.⁵

⁵ On various types of towns, cities, urban and civic communities, townscapes and the institutions in them in the German speaking areas of interaction from the mid-12th century to mid-16th see Isenmann, Eberhard, *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter 1150–1550. Stadtgestalt, Recht, Verfassung, Stadregiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft*. Böhlau Verlag, Wien-Köln-Weimar 2012, 26–132. Considering the process of urbanisation in medieval Denmark from the point of view of ‘internal urbanization’ and the study of medieval towns in Sweden in terms of the structure of authority in them see Andrén, Anders, *Den urbana scenen. Städer och samhälle i det medeltida Danmark*. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, series in 8:o, nr. 13. Bonn a R./Germany, Rudolf Habert Verlag, Malmö/Sweden, CWK Gleerup, Malmö 1985, 12–31, 119–126, 259–261, and Gustafsson, Sofia, *Svenska städer i medeltidens Europa – En komparativ studie av stadsorganisation och politisk kultur*. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Studies in History, 86. Stockholms Universitet, Almqvist & Wicksell International, Stockholm 2006, 16–19, 213; For recent archaeological studies of Turku and Rauma, and especially the re-evaluation of the date of the settlement on the site of medieval Turku, formation of town population and institutions of civic community see the articles, especially that of Markus Hiekkänen (Turun kaupungin perustaminen. Tulkintayritys uusien arkeologisten tutkimusten perusteella, 42–54), in: Seppänen, Liisa (ed.), *Kaupunkia pintaa syvemmältä*. Archaeologica Medii Aevi Finlandiae, IX. Suomen keskiajan arkeologian seura – Sällskapet för medeltidsarkeologi i Finland, Turku 2003, Seppänen, Liisa, *Jäännöksistä johtolangoiksi ja tutkimustuloksiksi. Kuinka arkeologinen lähdeaineisto muuttaa käsityksiä Turun keskiaikaisesta kaupungista?* Historiallinen Aikakauskirja 112 (2014), 3–19, and Salminen, Tapio, *Suomen "pienet" kaupungit keskiajalla? – Keskiajan kaupunkien tutkimuksesta Suomessa sekä Ulvilan ja Rauman keskiajan erityispiirteistä ja mahdollisuuksista*. Ahvenainen, Jorma (ed.), *Satakunta XXVIII Kotiseutututkimuksia. Kauppa ja kaupungit Satakunnassa*. Porin Raatihuoneella 5. huhtikuuta 2008 pidetyt seminaarin esitelmät. Satakunnan Historiallinen Seura, Satakunnan Painotuote OY, Kokemäki 2010 (here Salminen 2010a), 26–30. For Rauma see Hiekkänen, Markus, *Rauma. Keskiajan kaupungit 2*. Museovirasto, Helsinki 1983, 48–49, Koivisto, Andreas, Mannermaa, Kristiina & Väisänen, Riikka, *Rauman vanhimman kalatorin kaivaukset vuosina 2009 ja 2010*. SKAS 2/2011, Suomen keskiajan arkeologian seura, 3–17, Salminen 2010, 30–47. For Linköping in Sweden, see Tagesson, Göran *Biskop och stad – aspekter av urbanisering och sociala rum i medeltidens Linköping*. Lund studies in medieval archaeology, 30. Almqvist &

As in the case of the three towns named above, the central question for understanding the late medieval manifestations of the civic authority and institutions in Reval is not so much the age of the site or near-contemporary sites as nodes of merchant activity in the area, *but the date of the consolidation of a permanent community of sworn burghers on the site and the beginnings of its administration in the form of an elected council (Ger. Rat) responsible for the implementation of the civic authority over it.*

The diffusion of the structure of civic authority based on a sworn community of resident burghers, its administration through an elected council, and the gradual obtrusion of non-merchant groups outside the council in the ‘Hanseatic’, ‘Low German’ and even Scandinavian towns and cities was a lengthy process lasting from the latter half of the 12th well into the 14th century. One important catalyst for the emergence of resident burgher communities and councils appears to have been the commercial revolution of the late 13th century and the beginning of the 14th. Combined with new and improved safety on roads resulting from increasing coercion within the realms, increasing adaptation of systems of common law (Lat. *ius commune*), and the common peace imposed in the Empire and the 13th-century Scandinavian kingdoms (Ger. *Landfrieden*, Sw. *Edsöre*), controlling common peace on roads and nodal points of traffic, the trade of individual travelling merchants was replaced by trading houses, where the senior merchant stayed at home in office and negotiated his transactions and trade with the help of younger relatives or family members sent to the target areas, as well as fellow merchants resident in the main transit points of his import and export. In the Baltic Sea area an important part in the development of this new organization of trade was played by the confraternities (in the form of merchant ‘guilds’, as opposed to the later craft and charity organisations also known as guilds and confraternities) and communities of seasonally visiting (Lat. *frequentantes*) merchants on the main transit points such as Gotland, gradually consolidating to resident (Lat. *manentes*) merchant communities. Also assisting in the development were the joint freight enterprises of individual merchants, made possible by the greater capacity of the cogs and the practice of

Wiksell International, Stockholm 2002, 450, where the origins of the merchant activity in the area of the medieval town are seen in the context of an older hub of merchant activities in the 11th and 12th centuries and the consolidation of the episcopal see (1230–87), but the actual formation of the burgher community and institutions characteristic to it are interpreted as a deliberate foundation by King Magnus Ladulås in the last quarter of the 13th century (ca. 1287–1300).

controlling risks and transaction costs by distributing freight between several vessels that became common from the 13th century onwards.⁶

As a result of the above changes and a response to the downturn in the European economy after the famines of 1315–17, and especially the plague epidemics and agrarian crisis of the third quarter of the 14th century, the merchant towns based on sworn communities of resident burghers equipped with structured administration, established privileges and an active council in charge of executing the civic authority emerged as the main protectors of merchants and merchant interests in the Baltic Sea area, experiencing their first heyday from the early 14th century to the late 15th. As Ernst Pitz has argued in his 2001 study on the distribution of authority in Hanseatic towns and cities, the known 13th- and 14th-century legislation of Hanseatic and Low German civic communities unequivocally shows that the source of civic authority in them was the community of sworn burghers, constituting the supreme organ of decision-making to which the council ceded its authority not only in times of interregnum before the annual election and promulgation of a new presiding council but also in questions considered of uttermost importance to the community (Lat. *negotia ardua et magna*, Ger. *hochbeschwärlliche Geschäfte*), such as war and peace or oath of allegiance. According to Pitz, in a controlled administration of a medieval city or town, issues brought to the consideration of the council appear to have been handled habitually in three groups, where those requiring imminent reaction were dealt by the burghermasters alone, whereas those in need of further consideration were decided unanimously in a full session of the council. All the ‘hochbeschwärlliche’ matters had to be negotiated with the full gathering of the burgher community or its representatives, including the artisans. In the larger cities this resulted in the need to find a permanent and legitimized way of consulting the community. That such a search for the legitimation of authority was an important issue not only in towns and cities, but also in contemporary political thinking, is corroborated by statements of early 14th-century authors of political theory and jurisprudence such as Bartolus de Saxoferrato

⁶ For the history of the urban formations, merchant communities and trade in the Hanseatic area of interaction in general see Hammel-Kiesow, Rolf, *Die Hanse*. C.H. Beck, Wissen. 4. aktualisierte Auflage, Verlag C.H. Beck, München 2008, 38–66, esp. 45–48 and 51–54. Considering the structure of civic authority in general see Isenmann 2012, 133–162 and 216–228. For Sweden, see Gustafsson 2007, 31–34, 54–72. On cogs and hulks see Ellmers, Detlev, *Kogge und Holk als Schiffe der Hanse*. In: Hundt, Michael & Lokers, Jan (eds.), *Hanse und Stadt. Akteure, Strukturen und Entwicklungen im regionalen und europäischen Raum*. Festschrift für Rolf Hammel-Kiesow zum 65. Geburtstag. Einzelveröffentlichung des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Schmidt-Römschild, Lübeck 2014, 53–68.

(1313–57), who considered that *'the council represents the mind of the people' (consilium repraesentat mentem populi)*.⁷

Despite the growing late 14th- and 15th-century pressure on the legitimation of the executive power, the foundations of the administrative and political identity of the civic communities were laid as early as the 12th and 13th centuries, when the full exercise of power was arranged more and more explicitly on privileges of the sworn community of burghers corroborated by written charters of the princely authority ruling the surrounding district. According to Ernst Pitz, the 13th-century replacement of royal authority and the territorialisation of the princes' domains in areas in Northern Germany appears to have been accompanied by a growing tendency of the merchants to search for protection from individual communities of sworn burghers and regional alliances of merchant towns, where individual towns and cities placed themselves under the territorial princely authority in order to guarantee the judicial status and safe conduct (Ger. *Geleit*) of their merchants and goods on roads and coastal routes. For a full exercise of authority in a medieval city such as Reval, the awareness of the importance of the documentation of the allegiance and privileges of the civic community is apparent in the carefully preserved sealed privileges and other charters of the city surviving since the second quarter of the 13th century, as well as the elaborate transsumpt and confirmation of 27 of them from between 1248–1345 in a single document of one and a half folio sheets of parchment, issued and corroborated by the provincial of the Teutonic Order, Burchard von Dreyneven, on Candlemas Eve (February 1), 1347 (see

⁷ Pitz, Ernst, *Bürgerreinigung und Städteeinung. Studien zur Verfassungsgeschichte der hansestädte und der deutschen Hanse. Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte*, Neue Folge, 52. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2001, 211–245, where he also discusses the misunderstandings of the nature of civic authority in the Hanseatic historiography at length. In the paragraph I lean heavily on the concise discussion on the matter by Rolf Hammel-Kiesow 2008, 68–70; Meier, Ulrich, *Mensch und Bürger, Die Stadt im Denken spätmittelalterlicher Theologen, Philosophen und Juristen*. Oldenburg Verlag, München 1994, 193–195, and Gustafsson 2007, 174, 220. For various dimensions in the authority, structure and identity of the council see also Isenmann 2012, 216–228, and Isenmann, Eberhard, *Ratsliteratur und städtische Ratsordnungen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Soziologie des Rats – Amt und Willensbildung – politische Kultur*. In: Monnet, Pierre & Oexle, Otto Gerhard (eds.), *Stadt und Recht im Mittelalter. La ville et le droit au Moyen Âge*. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte, 174. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2003, 215–479, where he presents a wide discussion on the surviving 14th to 16th century German literature on the institutional, judicial and political groundings of the authority of the town councils. For the distribution of authority and administrative power in urban communities in the German and Swedish area of interaction see even Gustafsson 2007, 73–114. On the transgenerational nature of the councils and attribution of the actual foundation of the councillorship to personal qualities instead of family ties in medieval Stockholm, see for instance Gustafsson, Sofia, *Succession in Medieval Swedish Town Councils*, In: Eliassen, Finn-Einar & Szende, Katalin (eds.), *Generations in towns: succession and success in pre-industrial urban societies*, Cambridge Scholars, Newcastle, 2009, 194–209. Considering the role of conflicts both outside inside the city in the articulation of the council's authority in the 16th century, see Niensch, Tatjana, *Reval im 16. Jahrhundert. Erfahrungsräumliche Deutungsmuster städtischer Konflikte*. In: *Kieler Werkstücke, Reihe G., Beiträge zur Frühen Neuzeit*, 6. Peter Lang Edition, Frankfurt am Main, 2013.

PICTURE 21 in CHAPTER 4.2.4.1) in the context of the change of oath of allegiance from the Danish crown to the Teutonic Order.⁸ The early developments in the allegiance of the burgher community and the first manifestations of the civic authority of Reval in the form of sealed documents produced in its name are discussed in CHAPTER 2.2.

Since the later Middle Ages was by no means immune to change in socioeconomic conditions and mentality among the urban population, various fluctuations in the manifestation and articulation of the relationship between the burgher community and the civic authority of the council occurred during the period from the late 13th to the late 15th century. As Sofia Gustafsson (2007) has argued, it is likely that ‘*Increasing tendencies to rule over the people, an increased social stratification of the town populations and protests against the councils during the late Middle Ages*’ contributed not only to the growing need of the councils to legitimize their policy of administration in anchoring it to the will of community but also to the practice of requiring oaths from newly selected members of the council and personnel hired in the service of the civic authority. Similar formalisation and stress on judicially valid ways of representation and interaction appears to have emerged in negotiations between the Hanseatic League and alien territorial authorities from the last quarter of the 14th century.⁹ A parallel development seems to have been the ‘regionalisation’ of the structure of the Hanse in the first quarter of the 15th century, when, according to Carsten Jahnke (2014), Lübeck emerged as the permanent ‘secretary’ of the *civitates maritimae* and much of the basic negotiation with territorial agents of power was focused on regional diets, where larger cities (such as Reval, Dorpat and Riga in Livonia) controlled their interests in the regional landscape of power, trade and production. At the same time the role of the smaller towns became a subsidiary one, with an explicit ruling of the Hansetag in 1430 that if the smaller towns did not provide help for the larger cities taking part in the gatherings in Lübeck, they were to lose their rights in the ‘*henze*’.¹⁰ Considering the overall emergence of the regional

⁸ Tallinna Linnaarhiiv (here cited as TLA), Fond 230 (Tallinna Magistraat, Der Revaler Magistrat), nim. 1-I (here cited as Urk 1-I), 168 (transsumpt from 1347, for editions see Diplomatarium Danicum, I række (789–1249), II række (1250–1339), III række (1340–1375), IV række (1376–1412). Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, Reitzel, København 1938– (here cited as DD). See also: Diplomatarium Danicum, Kilder til Danmarks historie 789–1450 (<http://diplomatarium.dk/>), vol. II:4, nr. 261, and Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten I–VI (LECUB I:1–6). Hrsg. von Dr. Friedrich Georg von Bunge. Reval-Riga (Dorpat), 1851–1873 (here cited as LECUB), vol. I:1 566.

⁹ Gustafsson 2007, 100, 174, 220, Pitz 2001, 288–292, Behrmann, Thomas, Herrscher und Hansestädte. Studien zum diplomatischer Verkehr im Spätmittelalter. Schriftenreihe Greifswalder Historische Studien, 6. Verlag Dr. Kovač, Hamburg 2004, 319–324. On the development of the understanding of the role of the oath in the study of medieval communities see also Dilcher 1998, 117–121.

¹⁰ Jahnke, Carsten, Die Hanse am Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts. Versuch eine Beschreibung. In: Hundt, Michael & Lokers, Jan (eds.), Hanse und Stadt. Akteure, Strukturen und Entwicklungen im regionalen und europäischen

and transregional authority of city councils based on the institutionalised networks of merchant towns, of interest here is even the dual role of the councils in providing both an ‘*inter-communal conciliation mechanism*’ for the protection of members of the corresponding merchant communities, and a ‘*centralized multilateral reputation mechanism*’ through which the overall reputation of individual agents in trade was supervised and reproduced. As suggested by Mika Kallioinen (2012), this is especially evident in the history of the medieval Baltic Sea area trade, where an older type of bilateral supervision of the trade and reputation by individuals or fraternities and guilds was submerged by that of institutionalised authority of the councils and their ‘leagues’ from the late 13th century onwards.¹¹

1.1.2. Reval – a city and its hinterland in the North

1.1.2.1. Location and trade

The medieval city of Reval was situated on the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland at the end of a deep bay characteristic of the northern Estonian coastline (see MAPS 1A and 1B). Entrance from the sea was protected on both sides by headlands and islets, of which the twin islands of Karlos (1297 *Blockekarl* and *Rughenkarl*, Est. *Paljassaared*, *Väike- and Suur Paljaspea*) northwest of the city became attached to mainland and part of present-day Tallinn as late as the beginning of 20th century. A passage through the shallows between the islands of Nargen (1297 *Nargheten*, Est. *Naissaar*) and Karlos was marked out with barrels already in 1470. Late medieval and 15th century approach to Reval from the west with vessels of varying capacity followed the coastline from Rogö (Est. *Pakri*) to Nargen and Karlos, as described in the contemporary Hanseatic sea manual, but earlier in the 13th century ships had also followed an old Scandinavian habit of sailing tight to the Finnish coast and making the ca. 40 km crossing of the Gulf between Porkkala and Nargen to reach the southern coast. The latter route is documented in a Danish maritime itinerary covering the coast of Sweden, Åland and Finland from Utlängan on the Blekinge coast to Reval (*Ræuelsburg*), written in ca. 1300 and surviving in the so-called *Kong Valdemars Jordbog* (Codex ex-Holmiensis A41, see CHAPTER 2.1.2). All medieval shipping travelling east to Narva, Viborg and Novgorod went through a narrow passage between the island of Wulf (1297 *Wulvesøø*, Est. *Aegna*) and the Wiems peninsula (Est. *Viimsi*) known as *Wulves-* or

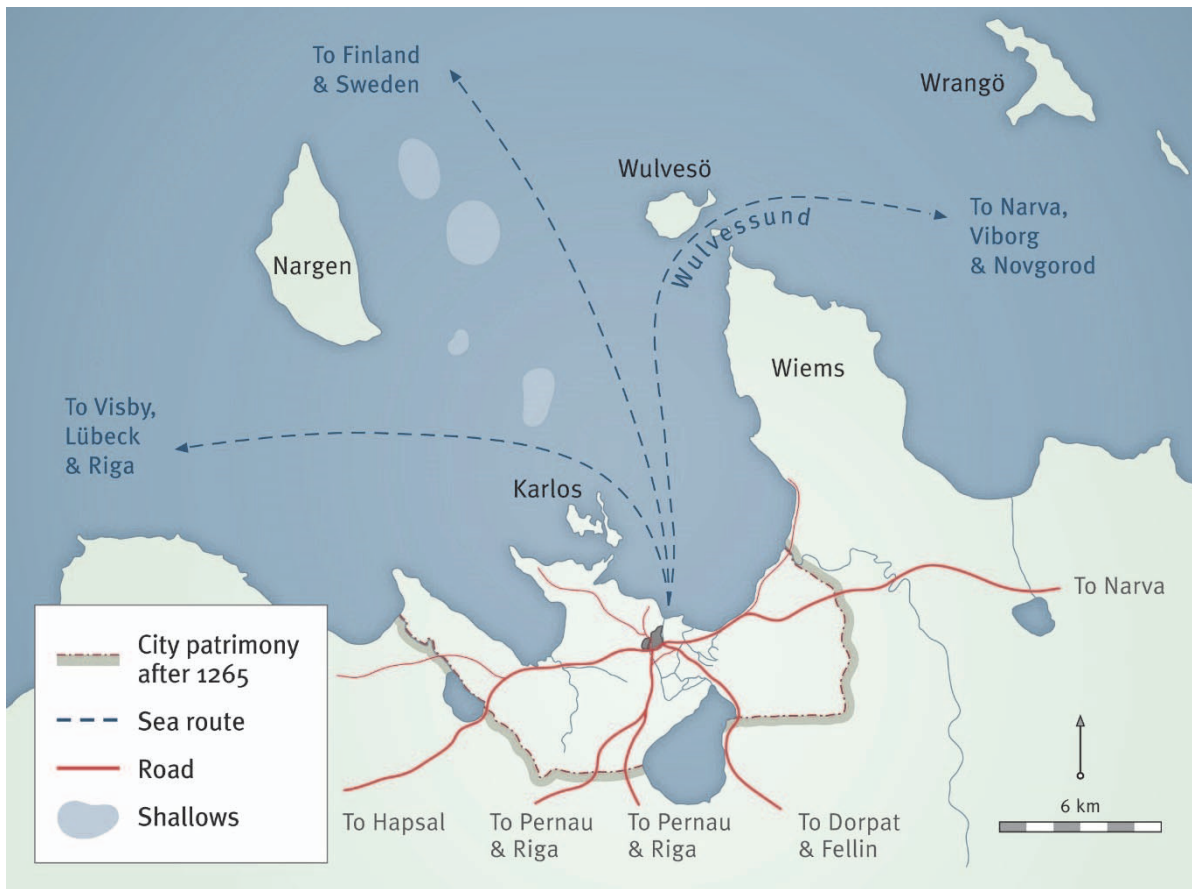
Raum. Festschrift für Rolf Hammel-Kiesow zum 65. Geburtstag. Einzelveröffentlichung des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Schmidt-Römschild, Lübeck 2014, 22–27, esp. 26–27.

¹¹ Kallioinen 2012, 98–128.

Olevessunde. The strait with two minor islets provided shelter in rough weather but could be a dangerous and costly route for merchants and the city because of endemic piracy and a good location for a hostile naval force. In the Middle Ages, the islands of Karlos, Narghen and Wulvesö were important sources of firewood and timber for the city. All of them were also employed for horse pasturing; Narghen by the city Marstall and the twin islands of Karlos by the burgher community by the 15th century. The city's usufruct of the islands was secured by King Erik VI of Denmark on the feast of St Botulf (June 17), 1297, when he prohibited everybody other than the castle and city of Reval (*castris nostri Reualie et ciuitates ibidem*) from taking wood or burning charcoal on the islands.¹²

¹² On the location and topography of the site of Tallinn/Reval and the early coastline, see the reconstruction of Zobel, Rein, Tallinn (Reval) in the Middle Ages. Town building in the 13th-14th Centuries. Estonian Academy of Arts, Estonia 2008, 23–38, Tamm, Jaan, Muinas-Tallinna loodusoludest ja maastikust kui eeldustest püüasutuse tekkeks. In: Kala, Tiina (ed.), Kui vana on Tallinn?, 13. mail 2004 toimunud konverentsi ettekanded ja diskussioon. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi Toimetised, 8. Tallinn 2004 (here Tamm 2004a), 28–43 and Johansen, Paul, Nordische Mission, Revals Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar 74. Stockholm 1951, 184–198, see also Johansen's discussion on the origin of the name Wulvesö (72–73), the geographic area of St Olaf parish (106–114) and the usufruct of the islands (177), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 168 (transsumpt from 1347, DD II:4 261, LECUB I:1 566). For the barrels, see Johansen, Paul & von zur Mühlen, Heinz, Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval. Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, 15. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Wien 1973, 24. On the sailing routes see Goetze, Jochen, Hansische Schifffartswege in der Ostsee. Hansische Geschichtsblätter 93 (1975), 85–88, 71–73 and Gallén, Jarl, Det “Danska itinerariet”, Fransiskansk expansionsstrategi i Östersjön. Redigerad och utgiven av John Lind. Skrifter utgivna an Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 579. Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsingfors, Hangö 1993, 78–83, where Gallén discards Paul Johansen's older hypothesis that the itinerary would have been written originally in the period of office of Thorkil, Bishop of Reval (1238–60, see Johansen, Paul, Die Estlandliste des Liber Census Daniae. Reval 1933, 148–162) and is of the opinion that the itinerary is in fact a compilation of itineraries and maritime sites used for navigation and was possibly put together from older texts and oral information by Franciscans for their use in their activities in the Baltic Sea region some time before ca. 1300.

Map 1A: *The medieval city of Reval and its surroundings in the 15th century.*



Map: © Tapio Salminen & Mikael Manninen, 2016. Sources: Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, Zobel 2011.

Because of the gradual uplift of land and the extensive growth of modern Tallinn since the mid-19th century, the landscape and coastline of the site nowadays differs considerably from that in the Middle Ages. Originally the sea and the marshlands penetrated more deeply inland between the city and the Lasnamäe (Ger. *Laksberg*) limestone massif in the east, so that the original 13th century shoreline followed the eastern foot of the early 14th-century wall from the Small Coast Gate (Mnd. *lutken strantporten*) to Clay Gate (Mnd. *leemporten*, today Viru Gate), Viru square (Est. *Viru väljak*) and then turned to follow the line of today's Raua Street to the northeast. A couple of shallow brooks ran through the marshy clay towards the shore. The most important of them was St John's river (Est. *Härjapea jõgi*), which ran from Lake Ülemiste to the sea and provided energy for several important watermills. The medieval name of the river came from the hospital and chapel of St John on the riverbank, less than one kilometre outside the Town wall and Clay Gate where the medieval road to Dorpat (Est. *Tartu*) crossed the brook. The earliest information on the hospital dates to 1237, when papal legate Wilhelm of Modena granted the house of the

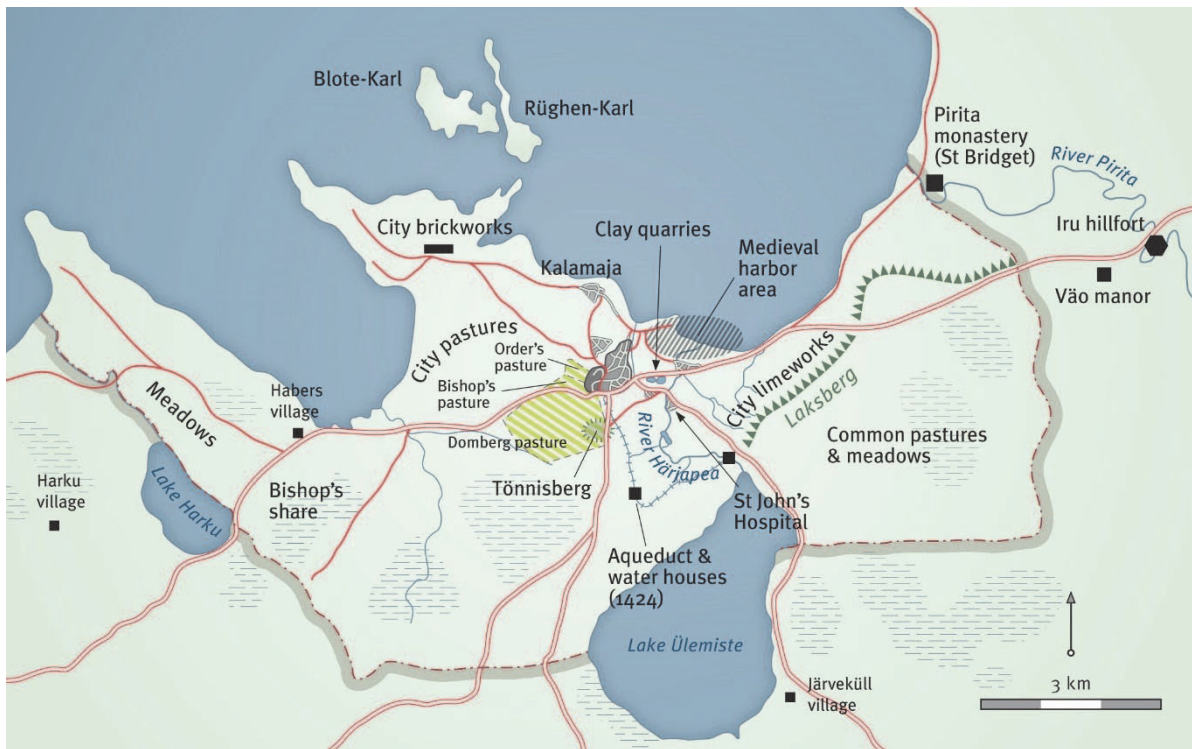
brethren of the leprosorium of Reval (*domui fratrum leprosorum de Revalia*) the right to accept donations in immovable and movable goods (see CHAPTER 3.2.4).¹³

Further north between the limestone bed and Wiems peninsula was the River Pirita with lowlands, meadows and woods on both sides of its mouth. In 1407 a Bridgettine monastery was founded at a location controlling the crossing of the rivermouth. A daughter of Vadstena, the privileges of the monastery *Vallis Marie* (Ger. *Mariental*, Est. *Pirita*) were confirmed by the pope in 1411, but the burgher initiative behind the foundation notwithstanding, the first ten years of the convent were marked by opposition from the council, which resulted in a petition to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in 1413 to have the convent relocated somewhere else. The council claimed that the strategically located convent and especially the adjacent island in the river could be used as a stronghold by a military force of the Scandinavian Union, which was rumoured to be planning to take control of the area. Despite the council's objections and after the founders had made their case in both the ecumenical Council of Constance and to the archbishop of Riga, the Livonian Master, to whom the matter was set by the Grand Master, resolved in 1416 that the convent was to remain on its original site. As much as the possibility that it might provide a strategic enemy bridgehead east of the city, the council was worried about the emergence of the new ecclesiastic foundation as a rival to Reval's own civic institutions such as the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, as both provided an old age retreat and attracted donations from the members of the burgher community.¹⁴

¹³ Zobel 2008, 34–38, Tamm 2004a, 29–36; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 2 (LECUB I:1 148). On the reconstruction of the Harjapea jogi – Tõnismägi area see also Mägi, Marika & Karro, Krista, Looduslikud olud praeguse Tallinna alal. In: Mägi, Marika, Rafala, Idasteest ja Tallinna algusest. Argo, 2015, 31–45.

¹⁴ On the foundation of Pirita monastery see the articles of Juhan Kreem & Kersti Markus (Kes asutas Pirita kloostri?) and Ruuth Rajamaa (Pirita kloostri asutamise ja ülesehitamine 1407–1436 Rootsia allikate valguses, In: Sarapik, Virve (ed.), Pirita klooster 600. Kunstiteaduslikke uurimusi – Studies in Art and Architecture/Studien für Kunstwissenschaft 2007/4 [16]. Eesti Kunstiteadlaste Ühing – Estonian Society of Art Historians, Tallinn 2007, 60–74 and 75–92, Kreem 2002a, 138–141 and Salminen, Tapio, Rosendal, Wulfard (K noin 1411). In: Suomen Kansallisbiografia, <http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/8269/>, accessed 19.11.2015 (Here Salminen 2001b). The council's letter to the Grand Master (TLA, BA 1:Ib, 72, LECUB I:4 1945), sealed with the *secretum* of the city and dated on the feast of St Peter in Chains (August 1) 1413, has survived as a draft written by city scribe *Johannes Blomendal*, where the original sentence claiming that the location of the monastery close to the city was favourable for 'many alien men sent to here from Sweden by bailiffs and other people to spy the land and the city' has been partially struck over and altered to 'sent by alien people' (*so komet hir manich vromet man to <hir over ut Sweden van vogeden und andern luden> [van vromeden luden], dat land und de stad to vorspeende*). The fear of a military assault on the city was based on the developments in the overall political situation around the Baltic Sea since 1410. After the Battle of Tannenberg on 15 July 1410 the Union administration begun to show a growing interest in reannexation of the Duchy of Estonia. Whether these speculations ever reached the level of a concrete plan of invasion is unknown, but rumours about a Union assault on Estonia were rife in Livonia from the winter of 1410–11. Already in April 1411, the Livonian Master informed the Grand Master about rumours of possible Danish intervention in

Map 1B: *Reval and its immediate surroundings in the 15th century.*



Map: © Tapio Salminen & Mikael Manninen, 2016. Sources: Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, appendix, figur 4, and Eesti ajaloo atlas, Avita, 2006, 2007, 52–53.

The site of the medieval city itself consisted of an elevated eastern slope of a sandy ridge reaching from Lake Ülemiste towards Kopli on the northwest coast and the isolated limestone plateau of Domberg (Est. *Toompea*), some 48 meters above sea level at the southern corner of the formation. South of the Domberg, outside the medieval walled area but topographically attached to the limestone massif by a low ridge, was another elevated hill, Tõnnisberg (Est. *Tõnismägi*), 36 meters above the present sea level. South and west of the city were the enclosures and commons of the burghers, the bishop, vassals and the Livonian Order. The earliest harbour was probably at the eastern bank of the ridge on the area between the medieval Small Coast Gate and Clay Gate, close to the older estuary of Härjapea river and northeast from the armpit of Domberg and Tõnismägi. Later the protecting pilework (Mnd. *bollwerk*) and the quayside were located northeast of the two Coast Gates where a sandy bank entered the sea. Large ships such as cogs and hulks were

Livonia because of Harrien and Wierland (LECUB I:4 1878). The speculation was further accelerated by contacts between Eric of Pomerania and Wladyslaw II Jagiello, which eventually took the form of official negotiations about a coalition against the Teutonic Order in 1415. At the same time pro-union sympathies seem to have emerged among certain factions among the vassals of Harrien and Wierland in 1413, see Akten und Recesse der Livländischen Ständetage, I (1304-1460) (here cited as ALS). Hrsg. von Oskar Stavenhagen. J. Deubner, Riga 1907, nr. 200.

unloaded and loaded with the help of smaller boats while at anchor near the pilework and piers. The earliest citation of *munderiken*, boatsmen delivering cargoes between the ships and the quay, dates from ca. 1360. Traditionally they were of local origin and most lived in Kalamaja (Ger. *Fischerмай*), a fishing and seafaring community under the jurisdiction of the city about one kilometre northwest of the early 14th-century town wall and the Great Coast Gate.¹⁵

In the scholarship the city of Reval has traditionally been presented first emerging as the economic hub of the Gulf of Finland area in the mid-14th century, when it established a central role in Hanseatic trade with Novgorod as a transit point for overseas shipping from the region. Despite repeated Swedish attempts to take control of the River Neva in the 13th century and as late as 1348, no terminal at the mouth of the river ever emerged in the Middle Ages. Instead, the long distance trade with Novgorod was centred in Reval, where the cargoes of big ships were unloaded and whence goods were transported with smaller vessels and by road. During Hanseatic blockades of Novgorod some of the transit trade was hubbed by other ports, the most important being Viborg (today in Russia) and Narva. Characteristic for the late medieval Hanseatic long distance trade in the Baltic Sea area region was the growing role of the Livonian cities. In 1346 the assembly of Hanseatic merchants in Novgorod agreed that all the goods in the Novgorodian trade were to be shipped out through Riga, Pernau (Est. *Pärnu*) and Reval. The decisive role of the Livonian cities in the Russian trade was further boosted by the decline of Visby after King Valdemar IV of Denmark sacked it in 1361. Consequently, the Hanseatic cities determined that no actions regarding their trade with Novgorod could be taken without the consent of Lübeck, Visby, Riga, Dorpat and Reval. After 1442 all rights to conduct trade in Novgorod were delegated to the three Livonian cities, which fiercely opposed any Dutch, Scandinavian or Prussian attempts to participate in it.¹⁶ An important Hanseatic ordinance concerning the sailing season in the

¹⁵ See Rein Zobel's summation on his studies on the early topography of Tallinn in Zobel 2008, 23–38 and Zobel, Rein, Tallinn (Reval). Keskaegsed kindlustused. Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, Tallinn 2011, 22–27, as well as Bruns, Dmitri, Tallinn, Linnaehituslik kujunemine. Kirjastus "Valgus", Tallinn, 1993, 63–68, and Mägi & Karro 2015, 31–45. For maps of the walled city, the possessions around it and the harbour and piers at the beginning of the 17th century see Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, Fig. 4, 3 and 21; On the boatsmen see Johansen 1951, 79–80, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 165–168, TLA, A.d.4, f. 4r–v and A.a.6d, 10r–v (LECUB I:2 982).

¹⁶ For a traditional presentation on the formation and monopolization of the Hanseatic trade with Novgorod and Russia by Reval from the standpoint of the city, see for instance Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 37–38, 70–71. For an overview of the history of the Revalian trade with Russia see Weede, Sabine, Der Revaler Russlandhandel im Mittelalter. In: Angermann, Norbert & Lenz, Wilhelm (eds.), Reval, Handel und Wandel vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, 8. Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, Lüneburg 1997, 86–109. The role of Reval and Livonia in the Russian and

Baltic Sea was made in 1403, when all shipping with vessels larger than 30 lasts was prohibited between the Feasts of St Martin (November 11) and St Peter in cathedra (February 22) against the confiscation of all cargo. Ships entering Hanseatic ports after St Martin's Day were to show a warrant proving that they had departed beforehand. Wintertime sailing with large ships was allowed again in 1425, but only between Lübeck, Denmark and Rügen.¹⁷

The transit trade of Reval consisted mainly of raw material exports and semifinished products from the former Kievan Rus' principalities of Novgorod and Pskov and the hinterland of the city, such as wax, furs, grain, flax, hemp, hides and timber in the form of beams and planks. Russian and local Estonian beeswax, once utilized in great quantities for candles to illuminate churches, halls and residences all over Europe, remained as one of Reval's main exports throughout the Middle Ages. Fluctuations in trade in other leading

Hanseatic trade has been discussed more widely by Angermann, Norbert, *Die Bedeutung Livlands für die Hanse*. In: Angermann, Norbert (ed.), *Die Hanse und der deutsche Osten*. Verlag nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, Lüneburg 1990, 97–116. For major treatises throughout the history of the Hanse see such as Dollinger, Philippe, *Die Hanse*. Kröners Taschenausgabe Band 371. 5. erweiterte Auflage. Alfred Körner Verlag, Stuttgart 1998, 301–310 and Hammel-Kiesow 2008, 59. Classic studies on the trade of Reval and the Livonian cities are Mickwitz, Gunnar, *Aus Revaler Handelsbücher. Zur Technik des Ostseehandels in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Societas Scientiarum Fennica. *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, IX:8. Helsingfors 1938, Niitemaa, Vilho, *Der Binnenhandel in der Politik der livländische Städte im Mittelalter*. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B* 76. Helsinki 1952, and Ahvenainen, Jorma, *Der Getreidehandel Livlands im Mittelalter*. Societas scientiarum Fennica, *Commentationes humanarum litterarum*, 34:2. Helsinki 1965. Other important contributions regarding the Revalian trade include Vogelsang, Reinhard, *Salz und Korn. Zum Revaler Handel im 15. Jahrhundert*. In: Angermann, Norbert & Lenz, Wilhelm (eds.), *Reval, Handel und Wandel vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. *Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission*, 8. Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, Lüneburg 1997, 135–172. The traditional interpretation of the ordinance of 1346 on the monopoly of Riga, Reval and Dorpat as import and export ports of Hanseatic trade with Novgorod has been shown to be inadequate and originally designed for the export of Novgorod goods only by Tiberg, Erik, *Moscow, Livonia and the Hanseatic League 1487–1550*. *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Baltica Stockholmensia*, 15. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm 1995, Sweden, 20–37. On the role of Viborg see, for instance, Niitemaa, Vilho, Finland. In: *Det nordiske syn på forbindelsen mellem Hansestæderne og Norden*. *Det Nordiske Historikermøde i Århus*, 7.–9. August 1957. Aarhus 1957, 150, and more recently in Finnish by Korpela, Jukka, Viipurin linnaläänin synty. In: Kaukiainen, Yrjö & Nurmiainen, Jouko (eds.), *Viipurin läänin historia, II*. Gummerus Oy, Jyväskylä 2004, 169–172. On Narva see Vogelsang, Reinhard, *Reval und der Deutsche Orden: Zwischen städtischer Autonomie und landesherrlicher Gewalt*, In: Arnold, Udo (ed.), *Stadt und Orden. Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preussen und im Deutschen Reich*. *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, 44. *Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens*, 4. N.G. Elwert Verlag, Marburg 1993, 42–45.

¹⁷ Dollinger 1998, 193–194; On the seasonal isolation of maritime contacts and communication in- and outside Livonia, as well as on the adaptation of different forms of communication to seasonal variation of routes, see even Kreem, Juhan, *Seasonality of transport network in the Eastern Baltic*. In: Houben, Hubert & Toomaspoeg, Kristjan (eds.), *Towns and Communication*, vol. 2: *Communication between towns*. *Proceedings of the Meetings of the International Commission for the History of Towns (ICHT)*, London 2007 – Lecce 2008. Mario Congedo Editore, Galatina, 2011 (here Kreem 2011a), 259–269, and Kreem, Juhan, *Seasonal Isolation in the Communication in Livonia*. In: Jørgensen, Torstein & Jaritz, Gerhard (eds.), *Isolated Islands in Medieval Nature, Culture and Mind*. CEU *Medievalia*, 14. Central European University Press, Budapest – New York, 2011 (here Kreem 2011b), 120–127.

articles especially from the late 14th century to the 15th, when the steady decline in the fur trade was compensated for with a growing amount of Livonian grain, malt and hides shipped out to fulfil demand in the west. A minor proportion of the export consisted of seal blubber, train oil, seal skins, fish and furs as well as refined limestone products such as grave slabs, other masonry, and window and door frames. After the early 14th century an important part of the city's economic hinterland lay on the northern side of the Gulf of Finland where the Finnish coastland of Nyland, Viborg Karelia and Tavastia further inland provided Reval not only with export products such as beams and hides, but also food and everyday supplies such as small fish and firewood, as well as a labour force of men working mainly in maritime crafts in the harbour area and a large number of women employed as servants in the households of the merchants and artisans. In exchange for the raw materials the Revalian merchants imported vast quantities of salt to be distributed to their clients in the Gulf of Finland area and western Russia, as well as cloth, earthenware, glass, metal, metalware, spices and other refined and processed luxury products widely used in urban and elite cultures in medieval Europe. Despite the apparent earnings of Revalian merchants manifested in the wealth of the city in the first three quarters of the 15th century and the beginning of 16th, the balance of Revalian trade to the west generally remained in deficit, mostly because of the large scale import of Baye salt in fleets sailing directly to Reval from the Bay of Biscay since the latter half of the 14th century and the declining price of salt in relation to grain and silver.¹⁸

1.1.2.2. Formation, landscape of power and the consolidation of territorial authority in Harrien-Wierland and Livonia in the 13th century

The origin of the city of Reval has been the subject of intense debate since the early 20th century. Of central interest have been the consolidation of the urban community in Reval and

¹⁸ On the structure and goods of Revalian transit trade see Weede 1997, 92–97, who also cites the important studies of Karl Goetz (1922) and Anna Choroškevič (1963). On the structure, partners and goods in the trade of the Revalian merchants in the late 15th and early 16th century with reference to earlier times see Mickwitz 1938, 25–96, and on the grain Ahvenainen 1965. On the growing significance of cattle, hides, malt and copper vessels for brewing hopped beer in the trade of 15th-century Sweden, see Söderberg, Johan, Prices and Economic Changes in Medieval Sweden. *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 55 (2007), 128–152. On the balance and earnings of Revalian trade in the early 16th century see Mickwitz 1938, 217–238, price developments in salt/grain-silver in Sweden between 1291–1530, Söderberg 2007, 140, and the Revalian trade on salt and grain Vogelsang 1997, 135–172; On the role of Finland as an economic hinterland of Reval, see Kerkkonen, Gunvor, Finnland – natürliches nördliches Hinterland Revels durch Jahrhunderte. In: Bog, I. et al. (eds.), *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Strukturen im saekularen Wandel. Festschrift für Wilhelm Abel zum 70. Geburtstag*. Schriftenreihe für ländliche Sozialfragen, 70. Hannover 1974, 518–543 and Salminen, Tapio, Uusmaalainen Tallinnanperinnöt 1350–1560 – Uusimalaste Tallinna-pärandused 1350.–1560. aastal. In: Russow, Erki (ed.), *Padise ja Vantaa: Keskiaja sild Padise ja Vantaa vahel – Keskiajan silta Padisen ja Vantaan välillä. Padise Vallavalitsus, Vantaan kaupunki/historiatoimikunta, Tallinn 2012 (here Salminen 2012b), 183–257.*

the origins of merchant activity at the site. Since much of the research has been done within the traditional national-romantic framework of Baltic-German, Hanseatic or Estonian historiography, the discussion has focused on the question of whether or not the city grew up on an earlier Estonian trading site. Baltic-German scholarship, most notably Paul Johansen (1901–65, himself a first generation Revalian from Danish parents) and Heinz von zur Mühlen (1913–2005, another Revalian of an old Baltic-German family from Narva and Reval) have stressed German and Scandinavian efforts in the process of foundation, whereas the majority of Estonians have been interested in the nature of the site before the merchant city emerged. No scholar concerned with the problem since the mid-19th century, however, has ever denied that the site and its close surroundings would have had a certain continuity as a *longue durée* place of merchant activity in the Gulf of Finland area already at the time of the conquest.¹⁹

A year frequently cited as the starting point of the history of Reval in 20th-century studies on the medieval merchant town is 1230, when 200 German merchants from Gotland allegedly settled the site after a joint action of the merchants and the Order of the Sword Brethren. A permanent merchant colony existed in 1238, when Reval was mentioned as a ‘fortress and city/civic community’ (*munitio et ciuitas*) in the Treaty of Stensby between Denmark and the Teutonic Order. Another popular *terminus post quem* is June 1219, when the Danish king Valdemar II took control of Domberg and its surroundings after a crusade to the site. A detailed account of the campaign is given in the contemporary chronicle of Henrik of Livonia, which is the main narrative reference on the conquest and christianisation of Livonia from 1180 to 1227.²⁰

¹⁹ For the debate see von zur Mühlen, Heinz, Zur wissenschaftlichen Diskussion über den Ursprung Revals. Zeitschrift für Ostforschung 33 (1984), 508–533 with summary on Johansen, and Pärn, Anton, Linnade teke Eestis - mõningaid historiograafilisi aspekte – The Emergence of Towns in Estonia - Some Historiographical Considerations: In: Lang, Valter (ed.), Keskus - tagamaa - ääreala, Uurimusi asutushierarhia ja võimukeskuste kujunemisest Eestis – Centre - Hinterland - Margin, Studies in the Formation of Settlement Hierachy and Power Centres in Estonia. Muinasaja teadus, 11 – Research into Ancient Times, 11. Ajaloo Instituudi arheoloogiaosakond, Tallinn, Tartu Ülikool, arheoloogia õppetool, Tartu, Tallinn – Tartu, 2002, 353–359. On the historiography of the Baltic Sea Area from national and ethnic as well as other 19th and 20th century paradigms see Blomkvist, Nils, Culture clash or compromise. The medieval Europeanisation process of the Baltic Rim region (1100–1400 AD), Problems for an international study. In: Blomkvist, Nils (ed.), The Europeanisation of the Baltic Sea Area 1100–1400 AD. Acta Visbyensia XI. Gotland Centre for Baltic Studies, Gotland University College, Visby, Västervik 1998, 11–23.

²⁰ DD I:6 199, ca. 20 November, 1234 (ASV, Reg. Vat. 17, f. 235v, nr. 340), DD I:7 9, Stensby June 7, 1238 (LECUB I:1 160) and Heinrichs Livländische Chronik (Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae, here cited as HCL). Herausgegeben von Leonid Arbusow und Albert Bauer. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi, 31. Hannover, Hahn 1955, XXIII:2, for other citations of the castle (*castrum*) of Reval or Danes in Reval (*Danis in Revele/Revelis*) in HCL till the year 1226 see Kala, Tiina, Tallinna tekkeloo peegeldumine kirjalikes allikates – The Early History of Tallinn According to the Written

The foundation of Reval was first dated to the year 1230 by Paul Johansen in 1933. Before – and after – scholars had assumed a more or less gradual formation of a permanent urban community after the Danish conquest. Johansen's dating was based on a written relation of papal legate Baldwin of Alna over his legation in Livonia, presented to the Holy See in November 1234 and surviving as a copy in the Vatican Registers. The relation is a 53 article indictment on various misdeeds of the Sword Brethren and other agents of power during Baldwin's assignment in the area. Baldwin von Alna, a Cistercian, had first been authorised as vice-legate in Livonia in 1230 by cardinal-deacon Otto, papal legate in Germany, summoned by Gregory IX to settle a dispute over the see of Riga after an election of two different candidates for bishop in 1229. In 1232 Baldwin was ordained bishop of Semgallia and papal legate in Livonia, Gotland, Finland, Estonia, Semgallia and Courland as well as other neighbouring provinces and islands of newly converted peoples and pagans. Invested with wide authority over the reorganisation of the church in the area, Baldwin had the chance to remove Courland, Ösel-Wiek and most of northern Estonia from the newly established agents of territorial power in the area and create an ecclesiastical territory under direct control of the pope, which posed a threat to the consolidation of the new dominions. One of the focuses of the interests of the Apostolical See in the early 13th century Europe, Baldwin's legation was preceded and followed in 1225–26 and 1234–38 by apostolical legations *a latere* of Wilhelm, bishop of Modena, to Livonia, Courland and Prussia, during the course of which he negotiated away several problems between various agents of emerging ecclesiastic and lay dominions in the area.²¹

An important military force and organization controlling Reval in 1227–38, the Order of the Knights of the Sword (Lat. *Fratres militiae Christi*) had originally been founded in 1202 by the Cistercian monk Theoderich on the initiative of Albert, the third bishop of Riga, in order to fight the heathen population and defend the newly established church in Livonia. The

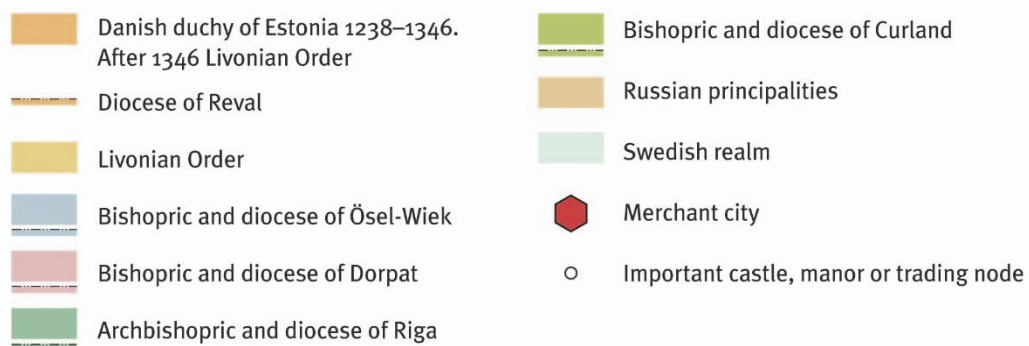
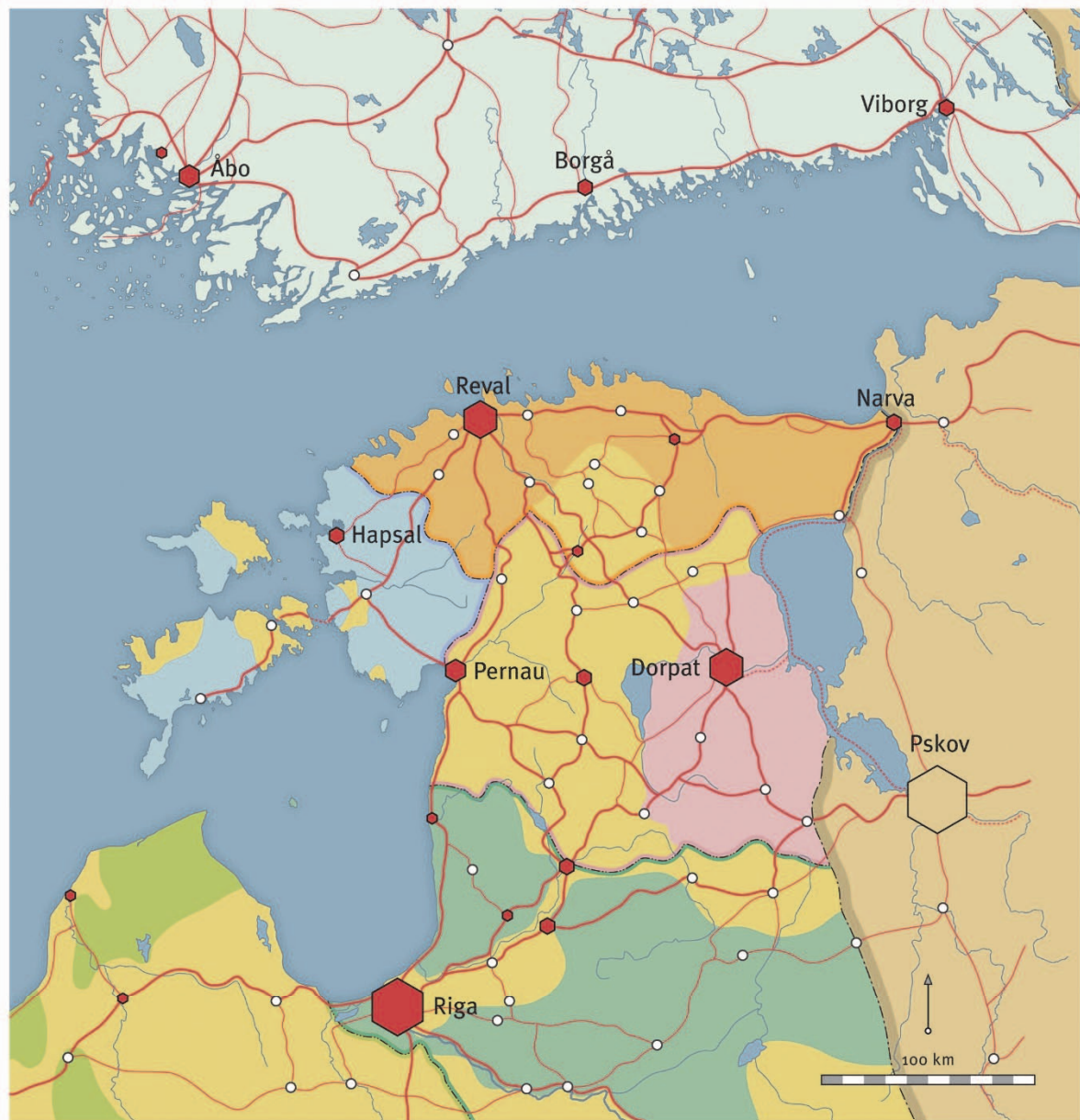
Sources. In: Lang, Valter (ed.), Keskus - tagamaa - ääreala, Uurimusi asutushierarhia ja võimukeskuste kujunemisest Eestis – Centre - Hinterland - Margin, Studies in the Formation of Settlement Hierachy and Power Centres in Estonia. Muinasaja teadus, 11 – Research into Ancient Times, 11. Ajaloo Instituudi arheoloogiaosakond, Tallinn, Tartu Ülikool, arheoloogia õppetool, Tartu, Tallinn – Tartu, 2002, 396; Johansen 1933, 719, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 35–36, von zur Mühlen 1984, 508–509, Kala 2002, 394–404 and Pärn 2002, 358–359.

²¹ Johansen 1933, 719, DD I:6 199, ca. 20 November, 1234 (ASV, Reg. Vat. 17, f. 235v, nr. 340), see also Kala 2002, 397–398. The relation was first published by Hildebrand 1887, nr. 20; On Baldwinus of Alna and his work in the context of the legations of bishop Wilhelm of Modena see Donner, Gustaf Adolf, Kardinal Wilhelm von Sabina, Bischof von Modena 1222–1234, päpstlicher legat in den Nordischen Ländern (+ 1251). Helsingfors 1929, 159–191 and Benninghoven, Friedrich, Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres milicie christi de Livonia. Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, 9. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Graz 1965, 269–301, 305–306.

mission in the area had led to violence in the late 1190's when warfare broke out between the local population and intruding groups of merchants and mercenaries. Bishop Meinhard's successor Berthold was killed in a campaign against the Livs in 1198. Two years later Albert organised an expedition to the mouth of the River Dvina, secured control of the area and in 1201 founded the town of Riga as a site of a permanent merchant colony and the seat of the bishopric. The Sword Brethren soon established a position independent of the bishop and in 1207 obtained the right to administer one third of all occupied heathen territory themselves, a further incentive for their penetration beyond the Dvina estuary. After a major victory over the Estonians in 1217, they controlled large areas of southern Estonia and emerged as the main territorial power in Livonia, but experienced frequent political setbacks in the actual distribution of dominions among the powers. In 1227 the Sword Brethren took control of Domberg after a revolt of Estonians had forced the local Danish bishop to co-operate with them some time earlier. According to Baldwin, in 1230 the Order had summoned some 200 merchants from Gotland to Reval (*in Revaliam*) in order to stabilize their foothold in the area against the Roman church and the legate. Whether this really occurred is widely debated. The oldest surviving information on resident burghers in Reval only points to their origin in Westfalia, Lower Saxony and Mecklenburg. Because of the need of a more stable and respectable affiliation, to protect their interests the Sword Brethren had begun negotiations with the Teutonic Order as early as 1231, but the actual incorporation took place only in 1237 after a significant part of the active military force of the Sword-Brethren and the Master had been killed in battle with Lithuanians at Saule in 1236.²²

²² On the Sword Brethren see Benninghoven 1965, *passim*, and, concerning Reval and Baldwin's legation 249–250, 269–301 and Johansen 1933, 702–710. On the origin of Revalian burghers in 1333–74 see Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 95–96, and, in 1312–20 Kala, Tiina, *Esimesed tallinlased*. In: Tiina Kala (Toim./Ed.) "Kui vana on Tallinn?", 13. mail 2004 toimunud konverentsi ettekanded ja diskussioon. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi Toimetised, 8. Tallinn 2004, 80–101, where she also discusses Johansen's hypothesis (page 85).

Map 2: *Dominions east of the Baltic Sea, main roads and merchant cities and towns before the mid-15th century.*



Map: © Tapio Salminen & Mikael Manninen, 2016. Source: Eesti ajaloo atlas, 2006, 2007, 46.

The Danish lordship in the fortress and city/civic community of Reval, as well as Revalia, Jerwen (Est. *Järvamaa*), Wierland (*Virumaa*) and Harrien (*Harjumaa*), ‘*munitio et ciuitas Reualiensis et ipsa Reualia, Gerwia et Wironia et Haria que omnia sunt in Estonia domino regi Dacie*’ was re-established with the Treaty of Stensby in June 1238. The area was administered through a royal headman (Lat. *capitaneus*), documented from 1240, who resided on Domberg in Reval. An extension of the Danish realm in the Gulf of Finland, the dominion emerged as a duchy of the Danish crown in the titulature of the kings only in the late 1260’s, but the title is first known to have been given by Valdemar II to his bastard son, Knut, duke of Estland (1219–27, *de facto* from 1223). In 1265 the dominion was granted as a life-time provision to the queen mother and former regent Queen Margaret of Sambiria, who held the duchy until her death in 1282. It remained under Danish rule until 1346, when the duchy was sold to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, who placed the territory under the Livonian branch of the Order. The land of Jerwen, which made up part of the diocese of Reval, had been donated to the Teutonic Order by the king of Denmark in the Treaty of Stensby in 1238, with the stipulation that the Order was not to build any new castles in the area.²³

The Teutonic Order (*Domus sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum in Jerusalem*) had originated in the Holy Land, where it had been formed as a fraternity to serve the sick during the siege of Acre in 1190. A religious military order of knights was established in 1198. After a short period of activity in Transylvania, in the 1220’s the Order was relocated to the lower reaches

²³ Treaty of Stensby June 8, 1238, DD I:7 9 (LECUB I:1 160). A classic study on the Danish period of Estonia is von Bunge, Friedrich Georg, *Das Herzogthum Estland unter den Königen von Dänemark*. Gotha 1877. On the early Danish activity and Danish dominions in Estonia in 1219–1346 see Rebane, Peter, *Denmark, the Papacy and the Christianization of Estonia*. In: *Gli inizi del cristianesimo in Livonia-Lettonia*. Pontificio comitato di scienze storiche. Atti e documenti 1. Libreria editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 1989, 171–201, Riis, Thomas, *Les institutions politiques centrales du Danemark 1100–1332*. Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, vol. 46. Odense University Press 1977, 323–325, Skuym-Nielsen, Niels, *Estonia under Danish rule*. In: Skuym-Nielsen, Niels & Lund, Niels (eds.), *Danish Medieval History, New Currents*. Museum Tusulanum Press, Copenhagen 1981, 112–135 and Riis, Thomas, *Das mittelalterliche dänische Ostseeimperium*. Studien zur Geschichte des Ostseeraumes, IV. University of Southern Denmark, Studies in History and Social Sciences, 256. University Press of Southern Denmark, Odense 2003, 61–90; Knut is cited as the duke of Estonia in 1223 in the chronicle of the bishops of Ribe and in two documents from 1229 and 1219–31 (DD I:6 98, DD I:5 164), Johansen 1933, 797 and Riis, Thomas, *Die Administration Estlands zur Dänenzeit*. In: Novak, Zenon Hubert (ed.), *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der mittelalterlichen Kultur*. Colloquia Torunensia Historica, III. Uniwersitet Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 1985, 121–122. The first documented use of the title *dux Estonie* by the Danish kings is from the year 1269 (DD II:2 140), when it replaced the earlier title *domina Estonie* and *dominus Estonie* used in the intitulation of the letters issued by Queen Margaret of Sambiria and King Erik in 1266, but the title emerges regularly in the documents issued for the Estonian dominion of the crown only in 1280, see Skuym-Nielsen, Niels, *Kanslere og skrivere i Danmark 1252–1282*. *Middelalderstudier Tilegnede Aksel E. Christensen på tresårsdagen 11. September 1966*. Munksgaard, København 1966, 159–160 and Riis 1985, 123–124. For the period of 1225–38 see also Johansen 1933, 702–763, Benninghoven 1965, 362–369 and Kreem 2002a, 27.

of the River Vistula, where Duke Conrad of Mazovia campaigned against the heathen Prussians. The territorial dominion of the Knights in Prussia was confirmed by Emperor Frederick II (1226) and Pope Gregory IX (1234). The Grand Master of the Order had a status comparable to an imperial prince from 1226, but the Prussian dominion of the Order never constituted part of the Holy Roman Empire and the official status of the Teutonic Order and the Grand Master was that of an associate of the Empire (Ger. *reichszugehörig*). The two main branches of the Order in Prussia and Livonia were controlled by provincial masters, the role of the Prussian Master emerging as secondary after the main residence of the Grand Masters was permanently moved to Marienburg near Danzig in 1309. A third provincial master (Ger. *Deutschmeister*) supervised the Order's houses and bailiwicks in Germany and the Low Countries, where it recruited most of its knights.²⁴

Together with the Danish Crown, the Sword Brethren (until 1237) and the Teutonic Order, important independent agents of ecclesiastic and territorial power in Livonia were the archbishop of Riga and the bishops of Dorpat and Ösel-Wiek, who, like the Sword Brethren and Teutonic Order, exercised full territorial authority over their lands. The dioceses of Dorpat and Ösel-Wiek were suffragans of Riga, but independent dominions, whereas the bishops of Reval and Courland had no territorial authority beyond collection of the tithe. In 1225 the German king Henry VII granted the bishops of Riga and Dorpat the status of imperial princes of the Holy Roman Empire and their dominions were henceforth considered imperial fiefs. The bishop of Ösel-Wiek gained a similar status in 1228. The metropolitan status of the bishop of Riga was established in 1255. The archbishop presided over the Church in both Livonia and Prussia but had no authority in the latter because of the dominant position of the Teutonic Order there. From 1240 on the bishop of Reval was formally a suffragan of the archbishop of Lund, but although Queen Margaret of Denmark had granted the chapter free election of bishops in 1277, both the Danish crown and later the Teutonic Order emphasized the right of presentation over the office because of the foundation of the church by king Valdemar II. In the Late Middle Ages the pope usually confirmed the candidate elected by the chapter or presented by the Grand Master of the Order, but since the diocese was 'in the tuition and temporal dominion of the Teutonic Order' the new bishop

²⁴ On the Teutonic Order and its role in Livonia see Militzer, Klaus, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens*. Verlag W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 2005, 12–29, 77–94, 118–127, 156–166, Boockman, Hartmut, *Der Deutsche Orden, Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte*. Verlag C.H. Beck, München 1981, 66–9 and, on the role and historiography of the Livonian Order and its relationship to Reval, Kreem 2001, 215–232 and Kreem 2002a, 9–60. For a modern German overview of the judicial foundations and role of the Livonian Order in Livland, see Jähnig, Bernhart, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens und seiner Herrschaft in Livland*. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, 16. Berlin, 2011, passim.

was supposed to enter the Order if he was not already a member. The consecration took place either in the papal curia or in Marienburg.²⁵

An important sideline in the development of the power structure in late medieval Livonia was the quest of the Livonian Order to incorporate the dioceses within their authority, either through the incorporation of cathedral chapters or by placing candidates of their own in the sees whenever they were vacant. The diocese of Courland was incorporated by the Livonian branch of the Order in 1290, the archdiocese of Riga in 1394/97, and the dioceses and bishops of Dorpat and Ösel-Wiek faced a serious possibility of incorporation at the end of the 14th century. In the first half of the 15th century the incorporation of the archbishopric was debated in the context of the overlordship over the city of Riga and the status of the bishop of Ösel-Wiek was furiously disputed in the papal curia and in Livonia. For the vassals of the archbishop of Riga and Livonian Order in Harrien and Wierland, an important decision was made in 1397 with the confirmation of the incorporation of the archbishopric of Riga, when the bishops and their vassals were granted the right not to take part to any war of the Order outside Livonian territory. The privileges and landed property of the vassals of the church of Riga were restored and the vassals of Harrien-Wierland were granted the so-called *Grace of* (the Grand Master Konrad von) *Jungingen*, which secured the hereditary rights of the vassals to landed property, even for their daughters, and as far as the fifth generation.²⁶

A distinct corporation of the vassals in the Danish Estonia existed as early as 1259, when the *'universitas vasallorum ... per Estoniam constituta'* asked the king of Denmark to confirm their contract with the bishop of Reval over annuities covering the bishop's expenses when travelling to ecclesiastical synods (see CHAPTER 2.2.2). The annuities were disbursed in grain, which was the basis of the economy of the vassals and their landed estates in Harrien-

²⁵ Schonebohm, Fritz, Die Bestetzung der Livländischen Bistümer bis zum Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts. Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, 20. Riga 1910, 296–297, 319–325, 336, 342, Hasselblatt, R., Die Metropolitanverbindung Revals mit Lund. Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, 14. Riga 1890, 461–466, Nils Skuym-Nielsen 1981, 114–116 and Kala, Tiina 2007b, Põhja-Eesti kirikuelu arenguhooni 13.-14. sajandil: milliselle vaimulikku keskkonda tekkis Piritä klooster? In: Sarapik, Virve (ed.), Piritä klooster 600. Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi – Studies in Art and Architecture/Studien für Kunstwissenschaft 2007/4 [16]. Eesti Kunstiteadlaste Ühing – Estonian Society of Art Historians, Tallinn 2007 (here Kala 2007b), 43–46, 54–56.

²⁶ Hellmann, Manfred, Der Deutsche Orden und die Stadt Riga. In: Arnold, Udo (ed.), Stadt und Orden. Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preussen und im Deutschen Reich. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, 44. Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens, 4. N.G. Elwert Verlag, Marburg 1993, 24–26, Militzer 2005, 121–122, Kreem 2002a, 135–137, 144–147. On fluctuations in the relationship between the Order and the Livonian bishoprics see even Jähnig 2011, 76–98.

Wirland throughout the Middle Ages.²⁷ The loyalty of the vassals of to the Danish crown and later the Livonian Order has been debated since the early 19th century. Both Baltic-German and Estonian scholars have characterized the vassal corporation as a well-articulated interest group, the main focus of which was to maintain the collective status of the vassals and protect their interests in the area. Because of the German origin of several of the vassal families, many of the early Baltic-German scholars took their pro-German attitudes for granted. The vassal community was seen in the context of the '*Schicksalsgemeinde*' (Eng. 'Community of Fate') of German colonists in Livonia, which in turn characterized the identity and supposed political aspirations of the vassals in respect to the legal status of northern Estonia in the Middle Ages. Especially the 1304 confederation of vassals, the Livonian Order and the bishops of Dorpat and Ösel-Wiek against the archbishop and city of Riga was seen to confirm this. Modern Danish research has stressed the constitutional ties of the duchy to the transpersonal Danish crown, meaning that the hereditary vassals would have considered themselves to be 'annexed to the crown' (*corone ... ut annexi*, a characterisation of Knud Fabricius in 1962). Thomas Riis has (1977) even suggested that the vassals in fact considered their homage as performed to the crown, not to the person of the king, so that there would have been no need for the vassals to renew their homage to each new king or ruler. Since Christopher II invited individual Estonian vassals to do homage and confirm their fiefs after an oath of allegiance and special petition by a vassal delegation in 1321, the vassals apparently preferred to do their homage to individual rulers, even if they did consider their fiefs and personal status to be hereditary. Possible delegations of vassals to the king are also documented from 1242, 1260 and 1287, all from years following the death of a ruler.²⁸

After the transfer of the duchy to the Teutonic Knights, the privileges of the vassals were confirmed by the Grand Master of the Order. In June 1347 he further instructed them to do

²⁷ DD II:1 267 (LECUB I:1 337); On the developments in grain cultivation and manor-building of the Livonian vassals and especially those of Harrien-Wierland see Ahvenainen 1963, 30–35, 94–111.

²⁸ On the *Schicksalsgemeinde* as a topic in the thinking of the Baltic-German historians and its context in the German *Historismus*, as well as in the late 19th-century politics of russification in the Baltic Provinces see Lenz, Wilhelm, "Alt-Livland" in der Geschichtsschreibung 1870–1918. In: von Rauch, Georg (ed.), *Geschichte der Deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung. Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und gegenwart*, 20. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Wien 1986, 211–212, 214–216 and Kreem 2002a, 27–28. On the vassals and their status in the Danish era and after see Fabricius, Knud, Kr. Erslevs *Tolkning af den saakaldte Constitutio Valdemariana*. *Historisk Tidsskrift* (Denmark), 11. Rk, vol 6. (1960–62), 256–258, Riis 1977, 333–334, Riis 1985, 119–120, Skuym-Nielsen 1981, 118–119, 122, 131 (footnote 53), DD II:5 298 (LECUB I:2 608, 'In primis quia dominus rex gloriosus dictos suos vasallos alienarerat a corona, quod de iure non potuit cum utrumque eorum paterna successione ac originali essentia eidem coronae Daciae fuerint atque sint a opaganismo hereditarie ut annexi cum eidem vasallis', DD II:8 351, DD II:1 318, DD II:3 258, and von Gernet, Axel, *Die Harrisch-Wierische Ritterschaft unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens bis zum Erwerb der Jungingenschen Gnade*. *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Baltischen Adels*, 1. Verlag von Franz Kluge, Reval 1893, 3–12.

homage to the Livonian Master Goswin von Herike as his full representative in the area and receive their fiefs in return. After this the ritual renewal of the homage was likely done in some way or another after every accession of a new Grand Master and even Livonian Master, as he generally acted as the Grand Master's substitute in both Harrien-Wierland and Reval. In 1459 the Grand Master ceded Harrien-Wierland and Reval to the full authority of the Livonian Master, but there is no evidence that the transition ever took place. According to Juhan Kreem (2001), the city of Reval did homage to its ruler in the Order era not only on the occasion of the election of a new Grand Master, but even the election of a new Livonian Master, who also visited the city to take the homage to the Grand Master. An important part of the homage was the ceremonial entry of the new Livonian Master to the city. Instead of a collective oath of allegiance of the burgher community and the council, however, the oath of allegiance to the princely authority appears in the 15th century made individually by new burghers and councillors only once in their lifetimes, on the occasion when they obtained the burghership or council membership.²⁹

Regarding the origins and consolidation of the burgher community and the civic authority of Reval, many of its early phases were spent in the context of the formation of the local landscape of power, where various kinds of local and transregional agents of lay and ecclesiastic authority determined the framework of coercion where individual merchants and their various associations practised their trade and also had a strong influence on the nature of how and when and in which form the final consolidation of the burgher community took place. Before turning to a short introduction to the administration, distribution of authority and various institutions in the 13th- to 15th-century Revalian townscape, a look at the origins of the site as a transit point in the area and the archeological research relevant to it is necessary.

1.1.2.3. The origins of the site as a transit point in the area

As already stated, in the 20th century various controversies existed over the early nature of the merchant colony at the site of the later medieval city of Reval. Despite contrasting views,

²⁹ LECUB I:2 873 (*AR* 1, 48), On medieval information on the homage of the city to Grand Master and the Livonian master see Kreem 2001, 227, Kreem 2002a, 42–43, and, for the festive entries, Mänd, Anu, Signs of Power and Signs of Hospitality: The Festival Entries of the Ordensmeister into Late Medieval Reval. In: Nagy, Bálazs & Sebök, Marcell (eds.), "... The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways ...", Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak. Central European University Press, Budapest 1999, 281–293. On the nature of the fiefs and homage in various dominions in medieval Livland as well as in Harrien-Wierland, see also von Transehe-Roseneck, Astaf, Zur Geschichte des Lehnswesens in Livland. Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, 18. Riga 1908, 41, 43–47, 49–50, 84–89.

most scholars have agreed that the region was densely populated and had an indigenous territorial organisation at the end of the 12th century, even if the actual appearance and date of formation of the site as a permanently inhabited hub of merchant activities remains obscure. The German name Reval is a derivative of Estonian *Rebala* (Est. *Repel*), the name of the local late Iron age *kihelkond*, a loose territorial community or parish with common duties, established leadership and jurisdiction characteristic of the indigenous pre-conquest Estonian society. A further development in the territorial organisation of the area took place at the beginning of the second millennium when Rebala and the neighbouring *kihelkonds* (parishes) of *Ocriele* and *Vomentaga* established the land of *Revala* (Est. *Rävala*), which covered the Estonian coast between *Wiek* (*Läänemaa*) and *Wirland* (*Virumaa*), north of the inland area of *Harrien* (*Harjumaa*) at the time of the conquest. Between individual villages and *kihelkond*/parish was a layer of *vakus* (Est. and Fin. *vakka* = small grain vessel), a joint community of two or more villages possibly based on the usufruct of commons and other resources, but which also constituted the basic unit for tribute in joint enterprises of larger areal entities and which survived as basis of collecting taxes in kind and provision in Estonia even after the conquest.³⁰

After the excavations in 1936–38 at Iru hillfort on the lower course of the River Pirita some 9 kms east of Tallinn, it has been apparent that the original focus of the trading activity of the area lay at Iru, which established a central position in the region during the eighth century AD after serving as an important point of exchange since the Bronze Age. In the Middle Ages the abandoned hillfort was at the point where the road from Reval to Narva crossed the Pirita east of the Lasnamäe massif. In early scholarship it was depicted as the core of various activities in the surrounding settlement area from the 7th century to the turn of the first millennium, when it was destroyed by fire and abandoned for the last time. After that, a reorganisation of the territorial structure of the area is thought to have taken place, and

³⁰ On the division of the known settlement to different districts (Est. *kihelkond*) and lands (Lat. *terra*) according to the Danish *Liber Census Daniae*, (so called Kong Valdemars Jordbok) of 1241 see Johansen 1933, 182–211, esp. 186–187. On the historiography of the various district areas of peasant communities and their interaction in pre-1220's Estonia see Tarvel, Enn, Die Gauinstitution in Estland am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts. In: Blomkvist, Nils (ed.), Culture Clash or Compromise? The europeanisation of the Baltic Sea Area 1100–1400 AD. Gotland Centre for Baltic Studies, Gotland University College, Visby, Västervik 1998, 192–197 and Lang, Valter, Vakus ja linnusepiirkond Eestis. Lisandeid muistse haldusstruktuuri uurimisele peamiselt Harjumaa näitel. In: Lang, Valter (ed.), Keskus - tagamaa - ääreala, Uurimusi asutushierarhia ja võimukeskuste kujunemisest Eestis – Centre - Hinterland - Margin, Studies in the Formation of Settlement Hierarchy and Power Centres in Estonia. Muinasaja teadus, 11 – Research into Ancient Times, 11. Ajaloo Instituudi arheoloogiaosakonna ja Tartu Ülikooli arheoloogia õppetooli ühisväljaanne, Ajaloo Instituut, Tartu Ülikool, Tallinn – Tartu 2002, 126–127. See also Korhonen, Arvi, Vakkalaitos. Yhteiskuntahistoriallinen tutkimus. Historillisia tutkimuksia VI. Helsinki 1923.

a new active core was established around Domberg, probably together with the contemporary consolidation of the land of *Revala* as a confederation of the three surrounding territories. According to the chronicle of Henry of Livonia, there was a Revalian hillfort named *Lyndanysse* on Domberg in June 1219 when Valdemar II took control of the site, destroyed the old fort and began to build a new one.³¹

The earliest surviving archaeological data on Domberg dates back to the 7th century, but the continuous use of the plateau is debated and no permanent activity prior to the latter half of the 12th century has been documented archeologically on the site of the medieval town or its immediate neighbourhood. Post-WWII excavations have shown signs of habitation and human activity in the area of the Old Town and city centre of Tallinn east of Domberg, with radiocarbon dates giving a variation between the 11th and 13th centuries, but the precise dating of the material is often problematic and all of it could be of a late 12th century context and dating. Jaan Tamm has stressed the anomalous nature of Domberg as a permanently occupied stronghold in the light of what is known of Estonian practices of the late Iron Age and doubted its capability to protect inland settlements against seaborne raids in the 10th to 12th centuries. The finds from the plateau suggest that the site was a defensible refuge for the surrounding population should raids occur, rather than a permanently garrisoned fortification.³²

As Tamm, Anton Pärn and Marika Mägi have argued, instead of a permanent settlement of local Estonian craftsmen and merchants preceding the medieval city of the sort cherished by

³¹ For Iru, its excavations and an interpretation of the site from the point of view of stronghold-settlement (linnus-asula) theory see Lang, Valter, Muistne Rävåla, 1–2. Muinasaja teadus 4. Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia Ajaloo Instituut. Tõid arheoloogia alalt 4. Tallinn 1996, 33–117, 476–482. Johansen 1951, 51–52, suggests that the abandonment of Iru was linked to the beginning of the equipping of ships by the surrounding settlement of Revala in the 11th century; HCL XXIII:2 ‘Qui omnes appliuerunt exercitum suum ad Revelensem provinciam, et resederunt in Lyndanise, quod fuerat castrum quondam Revelensium. Et destruentes castrum antiquum, aliud novum edificare ceperunt’.

³² For archaeological data see Pärn 2002, 253–359, Tamm, Jaan, Of the older settlement of Tallinn. In: Drake, Knut (ed.), *Castella maris baltici*, 1. *Archaeologia Medii Aevi Finlandiae*, I. Suomen keskiajan arkeologian seura – Sällskapet för medeltidsarkeologi i Finland. Almqvist & Wicksell International, Stockholm 1993, 205–212, Tamm, Jaan, Tallinna vanemast asustusest. In: Pullat, Raimo et al. (eds.) *Vana Tallinn V (IX)*. Estopol, Tallinn 1995, 10–34, Tamm, Jaan, Toompea arheoloogilise uurimisest – The archaeological investigation of Toompea. In: Haak, Arvi, Russow, Erki & Tvauri, Andres (eds.), *Linnusest ja linnast, Uurimusi Vilma Trummali auks – About Hillfort and Town, Studies in Honour of Vilma Trummali*. Muinasaja teadus – Research into Ancient times, 14. Ajaloo Insituudi arheoloogiaosakonna ja Tartu Ülikooli arheoloogia õppetooli ühisväljaanne, Tallinn – Tartu, 2004 (here Tamm 2004b), 377–394, Mäll, Jaak, Arheoloogilise kultuurikihi spetsifikast Tallinna vanalinna territooriumil – Explaining early settlement activities in Tallinn. In: Haak, Arvi, Russow, Erki & Tvauri, Andres (eds.), *Linnusest ja linnast, Uurimusi Vilma Trummali auks – About Hillfort and Town, Studies in Honour of Vilma Trummali*. Muinasaja teadus – Research into Ancient times, 14. Ajaloo Insituudi arheoloogiaosakonna ja Tartu Ülikooli arheoloogia õppetooli ühisväljaanne, Tallinn – Tartu, 2004, 249–267.

in older Estonian scholarship, both Iru and its later substitute Domberg are likely to have been seasonal transit points characteristic of late Iron Age Baltic Sea trade, where the local agrarian and cattle breeding population of a larger neighbourhood gathered to trade with seaborne merchants. With the present state of archaeological data and research, there is good reason to support Marika Mägi's hypothesis (2007) that the original transit point of the coastal area of Rebala and Ocriala lay in the estuary of the Pirita River near the Iru stronghold, a site very likely also used for political and cult purposes during the trading seasons. According to Mägi, the silting up of the rivermouth then resulted in a shift to a second transit point near the site of later Bridgettine monastery some time after the destruction and abandonment of Iru in ca. 1000. Already before the conquest, developments in shipping and trade had forced a relocation of the transit point to a place close to the later merchant town, where the precipitous shoreline below the sandy ridge and the mouth of River Härjapea favoured the loading and handling of deep sailing vessels such as cogs and where activity on the shore could easily be observed from Domberg. In her most recent study (2015), Mägi and Eerik-Niiles Kross have suggested that the 12th-century trading and transit point lay in the Tõnismägi area, an elevated hill south of the later medieval town and Domberg easily accessible from the mouth of the River Härjapea. That such a development took place only during the latter half of the 12th century is supported by both the nature and dating of finds in the area of Harju Street and other places east of Domberg and by the mint finds from the coastal area which point to the expansion of German trade from the 1190's onwards. Of interest also is that the earliest known and rather scarce imported pottery from the site of the town dates to the first half of the 13th century, whereas the latter half of the 13th century is marked by an apparently massive import of pottery from Lower Saxony and Rhineland, totalling some 60–70% of the finds.³³

³³ On the role of Domberg and Iru, see Tamm 2004a, 42–43 and Tamm 2004b, 394, Pärn 2002, 353–358, 387–388. On Marika Mägi's hypothesis of developments in Iru and Tallinn Bay area, see Mägi, Marika, Iru linnusest Püha Birgitta kloostriini. Merenduslik kultuurmaastik Pirita jõe alamjooksul. In: Sarapik, Virve (ed.), Pirita klooster 600. Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi – Studies in Art and Architecture/Studien für Kunstwissenschaft 2007/4 [16]. Eesti Kunstiteadlaste Ühing – Estonian Society of Art Historians, Tallinn 2002, 17–40, Mägi, Marika, Rafala, Idateest ja Tallinna algusest. Argo, 2015, 89–122, and Kross, Eerik-Niiles & Mägi, Marika, *Hage, indago* ja *hakelwerk* Tallinnas. In: Mägi, Marika, Rafala, Idateest ja Tallinna algusest. Argo, 2015, 147–165. In the last the reasoning is very much focused on the Swedish name '*hakelwärcet*' (in medieval Prussia and Friesland denoting 'bailey') south of the medieval town and east of Tõnismägi on a map of Reval and its imminent surroundings from 1686, and *indago* (encircling), frequently used in 13th-century Livonia of older heathen hillforts. In their article Kross and Mägi also discuss the possibility that the 10 and 13 August 1265 decrees of king Erik V and Queen Dowager Margaret on the pastures of the city inhabitants based on an older ruling of King Valdemar II (DD II:1 491–2, LECUB I:1 389–390), as well as the 22 July 1282 degree of Queen Margaret (DD II:3 44, 46, LECUB I:1 480) on those field-owners who had fences and encirclements inside the fields and borders of the city of Reval (*Mandamus ... omnibus habentibus agros infra campos et terminos*

Finally, it is worth stating that the area around Domberg was a fairly well known location with probable seasonal merchant activity before the conquest in 1219. Because of the old Russian name *Kolyvan* (documented from 1223), Reval has been identified as *Qlwny* or *Qlwry*, ‘a small town or a prominent castle, inhabited by peasants who earn little but own numerous herds’ known to the Arab geographer Al-Idrisi in 1154, where the geographer further narrates that the inhabitants of the region leave the site for winter and take shelter in caves or lowlands away from the sea. The identification has recently been dismissed as an early 20th-century construction later cherished in Soviet historiography of Tallinn, and it must be in any case treated with caution when considering the early nature of the site as a transit point in the area.³⁴ Another suggested identification of the site of the later medieval town is *Rafala*, a place cited in the early 13th-century Njáls saga as a location where Gunnar and his ship crews fought sea rovers before taking shelter in Ösel. The third ancient name of the site, *Lyndanise*, is cited twice in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, in 1219 and 1223, and has been interpreted as originating from Old Swedish (*linda* = ‘fallow’, *näs* = ‘cape’, ‘headland’, ‘strip of land’) where the use of *linda* is semantically close to the old Finnish name of the city *Kesoi*, possibly from Finish *kesä* = ‘summer’, but also originally the same as ‘fallow’ (Fin. *kesanto*, Est. *kesa* = ‘fallow’) or Estonian (*linn* = town). Of these the last interpretation combining the words ‘linda’ and ‘linn’ merely repeats the old hypothesis of

civitatis Revaliensis. ut infra festum beati Martini proximo uenturum sepes et uallaciones ipsorum agrorum amoueant penitus et exstirpent) would have something to do with old earthworks. As the text of the last ruling clearly states, however, the encirclements and fenceworks must have been private reclamations of plots of field and meadows in the city commons, which the civic authority wanted to eliminate. Even if Kross’ and Mägi’s desire to point out older earthworks from the 13th century and later regulations on the common use of pastures and fields around Tönismägi remains unfounded, their hypothesis of an older 12th century trading point in the armpit between Tönismägi and Domberg close to the Härjapea rivermouth is highly plausible and supported not only by the archaeological data from the Harju Gate area but also recent finds of 14th to 18th century shipwrecks in the Kadriorg/Tivoli quarters in the bay that once formed the estuary of Härjapea River.

³⁴ For al-Idrisi and the various names connected to Reval and their sources see Johansen 1951, 46–48, 53–71, 87. On the historiography see Tarvel, Enn, Idrisi und Reval. In: Jähniq, Bernhart & Militzer, Klaus (eds.), *Aus der Geschichte Alt-Livlands. Festschrift für Heinz von zur Mühlen zum 90. Geburtstag.* Hg. Bernhart Jähniq, Klaus Militzer. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, 12. Lit Verlag, München 2004, 1–9. For a somewhat speculative reconstruction of al-Idrisi’s information concerning the Baltic Sea and its major centres see Mägi 2015, 123–141, who suggests that *Qlury* is the same as Dorpat (Est. Tartu) and that the later site of Reval would be that of the town of *Ahnu*, also in *Astlanda*, from which *Qlury* was six days journey to southeast. Considering the compass points of al-Idrisi, who got his information from Scandinavians, it is wise to keep in mind that in Old Norse the Sun compass directions were NE, NNE or even east orientated so that the south, which was called the direction where the daytime sun was in the Scandinavian latitudes, was actually southwest (compare also the difference between Fi. ‘etelä’, Est. ‘lõuna’ = south, and Fi. ‘lounas’, Est. ‘edel’ = southwest). On this see, Nyberg, Tore, Stad, skrift och stift. In: *Adam av Bremen – Historien om Hamburgstiftet och dess biskopar.* Proprius förlag, Stockholm, 1984, 318–321.

the site as a pre-conquest centre of Estonian craftsmen and merchants and must be considered highly improbable.³⁵

1.1.2.4. Administration, distribution of authority and institutions in the medieval townscape of Reval

If we then summarize the various agents of power apparent in the geography of the late medieval city of Reval, the following picture of the administration, institutions and distribution of authority emerges.

Resulting from the overall topography of the site and the role of Domberg in the early stages of the formation of territorial authority of the town and its surroundings, the medieval townscape of Reval consisted of **two separate areas of jurisdiction**; the limestone plateau some 48 metres above sea level and the actual merchant town on a sandy slope below. The **upper town on Domberg** had a twofold system of fortifications: *castrum minoris*, the actual castle on the southwest corner of the hill, and *castrum majoris*, a system of defence works embracing the hilltop. From 1238 the castellan of the *castrum minoris* was a royal *capitaneus* of the Danish crown, a headman with full military authority over the area. After 1346 the Komptur of Reval held command of the castle on behalf of the Livonian Master under the authority of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. The bishop and the cathedral chapter of Reval resided on the hill from 1238. The burghership on Domberg consisted of artisans, craftsmen and retailers under the jurisdiction of the castellan, i.e. not actual members of the urban or civic community of the merchant town below. In the late 15th century the artisans and craftsmen were organized into a confraternity, the Cathedral Guild (Ger. *Domgild*), originally an ecclesiastical foundation established in 1407. An important part of *castrum majoris* comprised the houses of the vassals of Harrien-Wirland, which were immovable private property and inherited within the family.³⁶

The **merchant town** below the hill was controlled by the *community of sworn burghers* and administered through the civic authority of the *council of Reval*. The immunity and autonomy of the council and the town in respect to its lord, headman and bishop was confirmed by royal privileges of the Danish crown in the 13th century. In 1248 King Eric IV of Denmark granted Reval the law of Lübeck, the charter of which includes the first known

³⁵ On *kesä*, *kesanto* see Suomen sanojen alkuperä, etymologinen sanakirja 1–2. Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden Seura, Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus, Helsinki 1992–2000, Vol 1, 351, 348. For **linda*, see **linda*, Fornsvensk lexikalisk database (here FSLD), <http://spraakbanken.gu.se/fsvldb/>, accessed 19.11.2015.

³⁶ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 56–60.

citation of the council (*consulatus*). Further amendments in the judicial, political and economic autonomy of the burgher community were granted in 1255 (full jurisdiction), 1257 (role of the bishop similar to that of Lübeck), 1265 (the town bailiff was to be nominated with the consent of the council, provision of minting, a right of surveillance over the weight of minted coins and the confirmation of the patrimony, i.e. the landed areal of the city under the judicial authority of the burgher community and the council), and 1279 (only sworn burghers had the right to retail cloth in the town). Despite some later modifications in extramural possessions of the town (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.5), the basic immunity of the community and the council prevailed throughout the Order's overlordship, even if no actual renewal of the town's privileges appears to have taken place after 1347 until the 16th century.³⁷

Despite allegiance to the Danish crown in 1238–1346, Reval's close ties with the Hanseatic cities were consolidated at an early stage. After the constitution of the Lübeck Law to the burgher community in 1248 the town is listed in 1285 among German cities of the Baltic Sea area. Around the turn of the 13th century Reval began to develop an important role in the Hanseatic shipping between Novgorod, Gotland and Lübeck. From the same time the first signs of co-operation between Livonian towns in matters of trade and mutual interest are known. The actual consolidation of the *League of the Livonian cities* took place in the mid-14th century, almost contemporarily with the consolidation of the *Hanseatic League* as a community of maritime cities (Lat. *communitas civitarum maritimarum*). In the formation of the latter, traditional milestones cited in scholarship are the tripartite representational structure of thirds in the administration of the *Kontor* of Brügge in 1347, the first Hansetag in 1356 in Lübeck, the Colognean Confederation of 1357 in the war against Denmark, and, concerning Livonia, the regulations on Novgorodian trade in 1346 and 1442. For Reval and the Hanseatic trade in the east, a new era started in the 1470's when Novgorod was first conquered and suppressed by Moscow and the Hanseatic *Kontor* was closed in 1494.³⁸

³⁷ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 36–38, 60–65, Kreem 2002a, 38–60 and Kreem 2001, 223–224; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 168 (transsumpt of 1347, May 15, 1248, DD I:7 276, LECUB I:1 199), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 4 (August 16, 1255, DD II:1 164, LECUB I:1 284), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 5 (September 12, 1257, DD II:1 236, LECUB I:1 315), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 8 (August 10, 1265, DD II:1 491, LECUB I:1 390), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 9 and 10 (October 5, 1264 ja August 10, 1265, DD II:1 492–493, LECUB I:1 388–389), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 21 (July 24, 1279, DD II:2 377, LECUB I:1 463).

³⁸ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 36–38. For traditional milestones in the history of the Hanse as a community of maritime cities see Dollinger 1998, 67–103, 401–409 and Hammel-Kiesow 2008, 60–66, 96–119. Considering Livonian cities see Angermann 1990, 101–103.

The formation of the community of sworn burghers resident in Reval and changes in the economic and political status of the civic authority and the town were manifested in the fortification of the lower town with a stone wall in ca. 1265–1273 with further works on the orders of Queen Dowager Margaret Sambiria in ca. 1280–82, and, more decisively, after the widening of the fortified area and the modernisation of the wall system around 1310. At the same time in the beginning of the 14th century the Marketplace was restructured and the Town Hall was rebuilt at some time from the 1340's to the 1370's (see CHAPTERS 3.1.3.1.–3.1.3.2). Further important modifications in all three main architectural manifestations of civic authority (the Town wall, the Marketplace, the Town Hall) occurred at the turn of the 14th century. The current archaeological and historical knowledge indicates that Reval was transformed from a town of regional significance to a medieval city and urban centre of transregional importance in little over two generations, from the late 1340's and 1370's to ca. 1410, even if much of the later medieval townscape visible today in the Old Town dates from the last period of medieval prosperity, the first half of the 16th century.³⁹ Despite the political change in the overlordship of the town in 1347 and times of trouble such as the Estonian uprising of 1343, the town experienced a continuous period of economic growth from the first decade of the 14th century to the third quarter of the 15th and can be characterised as a medieval city from the 1370s onwards. Consequently, the substantial evolution in the economic and political role of the merchant community and council manifested itself in the growing volume of actions which in turn further supported developments in political and economical manifestations of the civic community in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Despite its military structure and activities centered on castles and trade, the inner cohesion of the *Livonian Order* or its host the Teutonic Order was by no means stable in the Middle Ages. The Order experienced both military catastrophes such as the battle of Swienta in

³⁹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 11–12, 27 (ca. 1280, DD II:2 427–429, LECUB I:1 468–470, for the dating of all see DD II:2 429) and TLA DD II:2 430. On July 22, 1282 Margaret of Sambiria ordered all those with immovable property inside the boundary of the town to demolish their buildings if instructed by the headman to do so; a decree also to be understood in the context of the building of the wall in 1280–82, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 30, (DD II:3 44, LECUB I:1 480). For the history of the wall and the consolidation of the townscape see also Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 42–44, Zobel 2008, Zobel 2011, and Bruns 1993, 38–54, where the dating of the first wall to 1265 is based on the weakly grounded hypothesis of Paul Johansen (Johansen 1951, 46–47 and Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 42). The wall apparently existed or was about to be built in 1273 when Margaret Sambiria directed one third of the revenues from fines on offences of common peace to the construction of civic fortifications (*altera vulnerato tercia ad munitionem muri*). The text of the original charter issued in Nykøbing in Denmark on the feast of the decollation of St John the Baptist (August 29), 1273, has only survived in a vidimation issued by the Dominican prior Arnoldus and the convent of Reval on the Saturday before Ascension (May 12), 1319, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 53 (DDII:8 99).

1435 against Lithuanians and inner political turmoil caused by rival political fractions among the brothers. The Order's trade policy did not always favour Reval; for instance, in the 1410's the Order granted privileges to the town of Narva and made an attempt to create a transit point directly under the Order's control in the Gulf of Finland, which caused friction in its relationship with Reval. The political and economic landscape of the civic authority in Reval was a complex mixture of various agents of power, not only those in Livonia such as *the Order, bishops and vassal corporations*, but also in the surrounding areas such as the castellans and headmen of the *Finnish castles* of the *Swedish Realm* (Raseborg, Åbo, Tavastehus, Viborg and Kastelholm), the *bishop of Åbo* (Fin. *Turku*) and the councils of the *Finnish towns* (Åbo, Borgå, Viborg) who flanked the trading routes in the Gulf of Finland only some 90–260 kilometers away from Tallinn harbour. A third centre of territorial power lay in the east where *Novgorod the Great* (the veche, boyars, prince and the archbishop) together with the Novgorodian hinterland and the principality of Pskov (independent from Novgorod since 1348, but a viceroyalty of Moscow since 1399) formed a congregation of authorities to negotiate with. Since they were all capable of exercising trading politics of their own in the Gulf of Finland area, the council had always to take the agents of territorial power in consideration in their politics and negotiations in the region. When handling crisis in their surrounding landscape of power, the council of Reval, Livonian cities and other agents of power in the area frequently used mediators chosen from the available Livonian, Scandinavian or Novgorodian agents of power to reach a political solution, but no Novgorodians were ever used to mediate conflicts among the western powers, while Scandinavian agents of power usually emerged as mediators only in ecclesiastical matters or conflicts between Livonian and Scandinavian actors, where other agents of the same hierarchical status such as headmen could be used in negotiating matters with the opponent.⁴⁰

Ecclesiastically, after the 13th century the merchant town of Reval was divided into two parishes, *St Olaf* and *St Nicholas*, where the chapel of the Holy Ghost close to the Marketplace, formally placed under the parish of St Olaf, emerged as one of the focuses for the charity of the burgher community and the council in the latter half of the 14th century. Functions closely related to the finances of the council were also introduced to some of the

⁴⁰ On the role of the castles of the Swedish realm in Finland and ways of negotiating conflicts in the area see Salminen, Tapio, *Novgorod, Reval and the Finnish Castles - Aspects of Communication and Trade in 1412–1448*. In: Wernicke, Horst (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ostseeraumes. Vorträge der ersten und zweiten Konferenz der Historiker des Ostseeraumes (SKHO) Katzow 1996/Greifswald 1998*. Greifswalder Historische Studien 4. Verlag Dr. Kovač, Hamburg 2002, 53–65.

altars of the two parish churches, and the guardians of the churches were elected from among the councillors. Part of the diocese, both the parishes were officially under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the *bishop of Reval*, in the office of which some of the elected bishops had been born into the burgher elite of the city. An important early ecclesiastical foundation in the city was the *Cistercian nunnery of St Michael* established as early as 1249 and located north of Domberg on the western side of the later walled merchant town where documented evidence of vassal ownership of houses also exists from the beginning of the 14th century. Since most of the women who entered the convent were members of the local vassal families of Harrien and Wierland, the convent was in many ways an extension of the vassal establishment on Domberg in the lower town, but much of its role in the walled area of the city east of the medieval *Susterstrate* (today Lai street) is still an open question.⁴¹

Another ecclesiastic Order present in Reval as early as the 1220's were the *Dominicans*, who seem to have become established in the harbour area already some time during the second quarter of the 13th century when they built a convent. Its location between the centre of the merchant town and the harbour is characteristic of the Dominican convents in the Baltic Sea region. As their Rule demanded, the Dominicans in Reval did not live permanently in their convent, but made frequent tours preaching and collecting alms as part of their activity among the population in the hinterland of the city. They also maintained close contacts with other Dominican convents, both in the Dominican province of Dacia (comprising of the three Scandinavian kingdoms and Danish Estonia) and elsewhere. Although with legal obstacles, the Dominican convent of Reval was an alternative to the diocese as a provider of religious

⁴¹ For the parish organisation and ecclesiastical institutions see Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 41–43, 58–59, 66, and (for the councillor wardens) Kuujo, Erkki Olavi, Die rechtliche und wirtschaftliche Stellung der Pfarrkirchen in Alt-Livland. Suomalaisen tiedekatemian toimituksia – Annales academiae scientiarum fennicae, B 79:2, Helsinki 1953, 178–184, 187–193, on bishops of Reval after 1346 see Neitmann, Klaus, Der Deutsche Orden und die Revaler Bischofserhebungen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. In: Angermann, Norbert & Lenz, Wilhelm (eds.), Reval, Handel und Wandel vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, 8. Verlag Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, Lüneburg 1997, 43–86; For the cistercian nunnery of St Michael see Johansen 1951, 35–37, Schmidt, Wolfgang, Die Zisterzienser im Baltikum und in Finnland. Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Vuosikirja – Finska Kyrkohistoriska Samfundets Årsskrift, 29–30 (1939–40). Helsinki 1941, 192–237 and Tamm, Jaan, Eesti keskaegased kloostrid – Medieval monasteries of Estonia. Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, Tallinn 2002, 44–49. According to the hypothesis of Reinhold Zobel (Zobel 2008, 84–92 and Zobel 2011, 42–53) the wall of Margaret Sambia did not include the Cistercian nunnery. Based on their observation on sections of the wall in the area of Bremer tower in the east and Koismäe torn in the northwest wall, Villu Kadakas and Jaak Mäll have, however, in 2002 presented another hypothesis, in which the original wall from the era of Margaret Sambia would have had a kidney-like plan flanking the Domberg in the east and including the area of the nunnery (Kadakas, Villu & Mäll, Jaak, Märkmeid Tallinna vanemast topograafiast – Some Notes on the Historical Topography of Tallinn, all In: Lang, Valter (ed.), Keskus - tagamaa - ääreala, Uurimusi asutushierhia ja võimukeskuste kujunemisest Eestis – Centre - Hinterland - Margin, Studies in the Formation of Settlement Hierachy and Power Centres in Estonia. Muinasaja teadus, 11 – Research into Ancient Times, 11. Ajaloo Instituudi arheoloogiaosakond, Tallinn, Tartu Ülikool, arheoloogia õppetool, Tartu, Tallinn – Tartu 2002, 417–424).

services and emerged in the latter half of the 14th century a close associate of the civic authority in its struggle against the privileges of the bishop and the parish churches of Reval especially in schooling. Together with altar donations funded by the civic elite, in the 15th century the convent church was sometimes used for meetings of the council and is documented as a burial church and focus of altar donations of the councillor elite as early as in the third quarter of the 14th century. In the convent church other corporate agents of merchant interests in the city were also present, such as the confraternity of Black Heads, who had two altars in the church. As journeyman merchants they maintained close contacts with the Dominicans even in Riga. Finally a *Russian church* close to the harbour area and St Olaf attended by visiting Russian merchants is first mentioned in 1371, but it is possible that it was established in the 13th century during the Danish period.⁴²

Like other 14th- and 15th-century civic communities of the Baltic Sea area, the burgher community of merchants and artisans in Reval was organized in *guilds and crafts*, the oldest of them traditionally considered to have been the *Guilds of St Canute* (first cited in 1326) and that of *St Olaf* (1341). They are known to have consisted later of artisans only, but St Canute's Guild may originally have been a joint guild of artisans and merchants. In a process akin to other contemporary developments in the stratification of the urban elites and groupings of the Hanseatic cities and towns of the Baltic region in the 14th century, the resident merchant burghers formed a guild of their own, excluding the artisans and preventing them from taking part in the administration of the civic authority in the council. *The Great Guild of the merchants*, originally and for a long time called the *Kindergild* (Mnd. *kinder* meaning a congregation of people under the same command or affiliation; compare for instance Mnd. *schepeskindere* = ship's crew) consisting mainly of married merchant burghers, but also occasionally merchants and skippers from other cities and people of prestige living in Reval such as city scribes, clerics and noblemen, is first cited in 1363. *The Table Guild* (Mnd. *Tafelgilde*), a charity organization attached to the Great Guild and

⁴² For the Dominicans see Kala, Tiina, *Jutlustajad ja hingede päästjad. Dominiklaste ordu ja Tallinna Püha Katariina konvent*. Acta Universitatis Tallinnensis, Tallinna Linnaarhiivi Toimetised, 13. TLÜ Kirjastus, Tallinn 2013 (here Kala 2013a), 68–84, Salminen, Tapio, *Dominikaanit – Tallinna, Viipuri ja Turku – Dominicans in Tallinn, Viipuri and Turku*. In: *Dominikaanit Suomessa ja Itämeren alueella keskiajalla – Dominicans in Finland and around the Baltic Sea during the Middle Ages*. Turun maakuntamuseo – Turku Provincial Museum, Raportteja – Report 18. Saarijärvi 2003 (here Salminen 2003a), 47–50, Jakobsen, Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig, *Prædikebrødrenes samfundsrolle i middelalderens Danmark* Ph.D.-afhandling, Institut for Historie, Kultur og Samfundsbeskrivelse. Syddansk Universitet, Odense 2008, esp. 168–169, and, more widely on the role of the terminating (that is touring) in 56–115, and Mänd, Anu & Randla, Anneli, *Sacred space and corporate identity: The Black Heads' chapels in the mendicant churches of Tallinn and Riga*. In: *Baltic Journal of Art History*, Autumn 2012, 50–51, 46–49.

designed to host meals for the poor in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost is first time mentioned in the same year. A parallel organization for the Great Guild, the *Confraternity of the Black Heads* (Mnd. *swarte hovede*), an association of journeyman and unmarried merchants in the town, was first cited in 1400 (for more on the individual guilds and their role in the city see CHAPTERS 1.2.5.2 and 3.1.1.1).⁴³

Because of the medieval dedications of the parish churches of St Olaf and St Nicholas, the Guilds of St Olaf and St Knut and evidence of a Russian merchant church in the city as early as in 1371, a consensus was established early that the site was visited by Scandinavian, German and Russian merchants before the consolidation of the burgher community. Similarly, the later medieval topography of the Old Town and its proposed division into functional areas controlled by the council (Ger. *Ratstadt*, area surrounding the Marketplace and St Nicholas), Guilds (Ger. *Gildenstadt*, originally the area around St Olaf and the first Russian church), the harbour (with the Dominican Convent and yards of the Cistercian Abbeys of Dünamunde/Padise, Falkenau (Est. *Kärkna*) and Roma known to have existed already in 1280), the Cistercian nunnery of St Michael and Domberg has provided several possibilities for schematic interpretations of the early topography of the 13th-century merchant town. There is insufficient space to discuss any of them here, but given that there have not been wide scale archaeological excavations in the town area and that archaeological documentation of the early cultural layers of the city is largely lacking, many of these interpretations must be considered hypotheses based on general paradigms in the historiography of the structure and functions of medieval towns and urban communities in

⁴³ On guilds and corporations in medieval Reval see von zur Mühlen, Heinz, *Zur Frühgeschichte der Revaler Gilden*. In: Angermann, Norbert and Lenz, Wilhelm (eds.), *Reval, Handel und Wandel vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 8. Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, Lüneburg 1997, 15–42, and the relation between the Great Guild and Black Heads, Mänd, Anu, *Membership and Social Career in Tallinn Merchants' Guilds*, In: Bisgaard, Lars, Mortensen, Lars Boje & Pettitt, Tom (eds.), *Guilds, Towns, and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300-1500*. University Press of Southern Denmark, Odense, 2013, 229–250, on the membership of the Great Guild esp. 231–232. On the Great Guild, see even Mänd, Anu, *Suurgildi ajalugu kuni Liivi sõjani*. In: Leimus, Ivar, Loodus, Ivar, Mänd, Anu, Männisalu, Marta & Raisma, Mariann, *Tallinna Suurgild ja gildimaja*. Eesti Ajaloomuseum, Tallinn 2011 (here Mänd 2011b), 18–21, and on the Table Guild 101–116, Derrik, Torsten, *Das Bruderbuch der Revaler Tafelgilde (1364-1549)*. Edition Wissenschaft Reihe Geschichte Band 59. Tectum Verlag, Marburg 2000, 14. On the Black Heads in Tallinn and Livonia see Mänd, Anu & Randla, Anneli, *Sacred space and corporate identity: the Black Heads' chapels in the mendicant churches of Tallinn and Riga*. In: *Baltic Journal of Art History*, Autumn 2012, 43 and the reference cited there including Amelung, Friedrich & Wrangell, Georges Baron, *Geschichte der Revaler Schwarzenhäupter. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Kaufmanns im Osten. Reval 1930*. For the Fraternity of Corpus Christi of Reval, the origins of which appear to go back at least to the early 14th century and the masses and stations of which were in the latter half of the 15th century held in the Church of St Nicholas, see Kala, Tiina, *The Religious Practices of Minor Corporations in Late Medieval Tallinn: Institutional and Legal Frameworks*. In: Bisgaard, Lars, Mortensen, Lars Boje & Pettitt, Tom (eds.), *Guilds, Towns, and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300-1500*. University Press of Southern Denmark, Odense, 2013 (here Kala 2013b), 251–276.

German areas and Northern Europe rather than securely founded information on the nature of the site of the later medieval city of Reval in the 13th and early 14th century.

What can be stated with a degree of certainty after recent analysis of archaeological data from various older excavations in the area of the merchant town is that much of the town's later topography dates from the period following the extension of the Town wall to its present course after a special instruction by royal legate Johannes Canne in 1310–11. As discussed later in this study (see CHAPTER 3.2.2.2), the extension of the walled area of the city appears also to have motivated the introduction of a new quired register on transactions regarding inherited property (i.e. the houses) in the city in 1312. According to Jaak Mäll (2004), archaeological excavations in the area of the medieval lower town have also revealed the reorganisation and redistribution of the plots of the older settlement flanking the main roads in the context of the building of the first Town wall in the third quarter of the 13th century, when certain sections of the older settlement from late 12th and early 13th centuries were covered over. Similar levelling of older settlement sites appears to have taken place in the Town Square in ca. 1300, when the later medieval Marketplace appears to have been created.⁴⁴ The evident transit potential of the site in the late 12th century is supported by the fact that even before the time of conquest in 1219 it was located at a junction of roads radiating in different directions. Later in the course of the 13th century these routes were employed by agents of lay and ecclesiastic power for consolidating their possession of Harrien, Wierland and Jerwen.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ On the older Baltic-German view on the formation of the topography of the town and the role of the first institutions inhabiting it see Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 39–44. For the Russian church see Das zweitälteste Erbebuch der Stadt Reval, 1360 bis 1383. Hrsg. v. Dr. E. von Nottbeck. In: Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, III Folge, Band II. Reval 1890 (TLA, A.a.6b, here cited as EBII), nr. 417. Monday after St Lucy (December 15), 1371. For the various schematic representations and interpretations of the early topography of Reval see especially von zur Mühlen 1984, 508–533, Bruns 1993, 12–37, and Zobel 2008, 6869, 110, where the discussion is based on Zobel's long time study on the topography of medieval Tallinn and especially on its fortifications (Zobel 2011, 40, 53), first published in 1980. For the interpretation of the archaeological data in the lower town see Mäll 2004, 266–267. A major reinterpretation of the extension of the wall of the third quarter of the 13th century and its extension after Canne has been made by Villu Kadakas and Jaak Mäll in Kadakas & Mäll 2002, 409–430, see also footnote 41 above. The implication of the introduction of A.a.1 (WB) after the extension of the wall in 1310–11 is one of the results of this study and discussed more widely in the context of A.a.1 and TLA, BK 1, f. 25. On the 1953 excavations and the Soviet manipulation of the datings of archaeological evidence at the Town Square see Mäll, Jaak & Russow, Erki, Kuidas otsitin Kalevipoja parteipiletit – 50 aastat arheoloogilisest kaevamistest Tallinnas raekoja platsil. In: Lang, Valter & Tamla, Ülle (eds.), Arheoloogiga Läänemere maades. Uurimusi Jüri Seliranna auks. Muinasaja teadus, 13, Eesti Ajaloomuuseum, Tartu, Tallinna Ülikool, Ajaloo Instituut, Tallinn, Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia Kirjastus, 2003, 173–200.

⁴⁵ For medieval roads in Estonia see Rebas, Hain, Internationella medeltida kommunikationer till och genom Balticum. Historisk Tidskrift 1978:2, 156–185, and Bruns, Friedrich & Weczerka, Hugo, Hansische Handelstrassen. Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte, NF. 13:1–2. Hrsg. vom Hansischen

Recent studies on the nature of late medieval burghership in the Baltic Sea area have stressed the frequent migration of merchants from one town to another in the late Middle Ages and the relatively fluid nature of the burgher community, which helped to refresh the towns' resources and sustained the cohesion of the merchants as an interest group in the Baltic Sea area. In addition to this all the towns had cultural, economic and social contacts with their surroundings and recruited native craftsmen from nearby villages, which further emphasised their important economic, social and cultural role in the hinterland.⁴⁶ In the history of medieval Reval, the infiltration of Estonians and other people from the city's environs, such as the Swedish and Finnish speaking population of Nyland and Finnish coastland into the medieval urban community is a much discussed question. Condensed into the problem of 'Germans and Non-Germans' (Ger. '*Deutsch und Undeutsch*') as ethnic groupings in and outside the cities already in late 19th century Baltic-German historiography, the groups are identifiable not only in the early 15th century correspondence of the officials of the Livonian Order concerning the Estonian and Latvian peasant population but also from the craft and guild ordinances and civic regulations of Riga and Reval from the second half of the 14th century onwards. Whether the apparent rise of regulated boundaries between the ruling civic and landed elites with townspeople and inhabitants outside of the towns should be understood more as a sign of late medieval stagnation and control of socio-economical group interests than a segregation of ethnic groups as a means of control is, however, still an open question and should be studied more in relation to the civic ordinances and practices in general in 14th- to early 16th-century Europe. As Tiina Kala has recently (2012) pointed out, in late medieval Reval the concept of '*undeutsch*' appears never to have been employed as an ethnic, cultural or social denotation of the lower classes of the population. Instead, such connotations have arisen only because later historiography has projected them back into the Middle Ages, and the original context of the word appears to have been related to the

Geschichtsverein. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Wien 1962–1967, Vol. 2, maps 35–36. On the possessions of Cistercian Abbeys of Dünamunde/Padis and Roma (Gutnalia) in relation to the control of roads from Reval to Haapsalu in west (Padise), Dorpat/Tartu (in present Jüri-Raasiku area) and Narva (Raasiku, Kolga) see Salminen, Tapio, Fishing with Monks - Padise Abbey and the River Vantaanjoki from 1351–1429. In: Poutanen, Marjo (ed.), Colonists on the Shores of the Gulf of Finland: Medieval Settlement in the Coastal Regions of Estonia and Finland. Vantaa City Museum Publications, 22. Vantaan Kaupunginmuseo, Lahti 2011, 45, and Salminen, Tapio, Vantaan ja Helsingin pitäjän keskiaika. Vantaan kaupunki, Otava, Keuruu 2013, 478–481.

⁴⁶ On the fluid nature of burghership and urban mobility in Finnish and Swedish medieval towns see for instance Kallioinen, Mika, Kauppia, kaupunki, kruunu. Turun porvari yhteisö ja talouden organisaatio varhaiskeskiajalta 1570-luvulle. *Bibliotheca historica*, 59. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2000, 26, and Lamberg, Marko, Dannemännens i stadens råd. Rådsmanskretsen i nordiska köpstäder under senmedeltiden. Monografier utgivna af Stockholms stad, 155. Stockholmia förlag, Borås 2001, 400–401. On various aspects in the study of medieval cities, towns and their hinterland see, for instance, Isenmann 2013, 670–689.

territorial and judicial pertinence of various groups of the urban population, not ‘nationality’ in the modern sense. On the other hand, as Sofia Gustafsson has (2013) suggested, several town laws across Northern Europe in the Hanseatic or ‘German’ sphere of influence appear to have employed ‘ethnic’ divisions between ‘German’ and other merchants as a method of granting legal security for both groups, which stresses the role of the concept of ethnicity for the judicial authorities to secure various kind of contacts in the trading network of the particular towns.⁴⁷ Either way, medieval expressions of ethnicity should not be seen through Herderian or Hegelian eyes as ‘nationhoods’, a categorisation which has led many 19th- and 20th-century historians down the wrong path. Instead recent study of migration in early modern cities and ethnic and socioeconomic qualifications of the people allowed to enter different levels of urban societies has discussed such aspects of deliberate ‘Gate Keeping’ of institutionalised actors in the cities from an economic standpoint (control of markets), access to communal resources (such as benefits), policies of inner cohesion (social stability and incorporation of people of different social levels) and identity of the particular communities. These aspects reveal more about the fluctuating nature of the urban socioeconomic landscape than the judicial categorisations apparent in them alone, which can be misread. Considering late medieval Reval, such a stress on the complexity of the urban society and its inner ‘limits’ gives a more heterogenetic and understandable picture of the cityscape than a mere division into German and Non-German elements in the local society.⁴⁸

As the 15th-century and early 16th-century documentation of inheritances of Swedish and Finnish speaking people from Nyland who died in Reval shows, many of those who emigrated were of local families from the upper levels of peasant society, who had contacts

⁴⁷ On the sources and historiography of the term ‘undeutsch’ (Non-German) see Lenz, Wilhelm, *Undeutsch. Bemerkungen zu einem besonderen begriff der baltischen Geschichte*. In: Jähnig, Bernhart & Militzer, Klaus (eds.), *Aus der Geschichte Alt-Livlands. Festschrift für Heinz von zur Mühlen zum 90. Geburtstag*. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, 12. Lit Verlag, München 2004, 169–184, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 1–27, Niitemaa, Vilho, *Die undeutsche Frage in der Politik der livländischen Städte im Mittelalter*. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B* 64. Helsinki 1949, Pärn 2002, 373, 388–389, Kala, Tiina, *Gab es eine “nationale frage” im mittelalterlichen Reval?* In: Laur, Mati & Brüggemann, Karsten (eds.), *Forschungen zur Baltischen Geschichte*, 7 (2012). Akadeemiline Ajalooselts, Tartu, 2012, 11–34, Gustafsson, Sofia, *German Influence in Swedish Medieval Towns: Reflections upon the Time-bound Historiography of the Twentieth Century*. In: Bisgaard, Lars, Mortensen, Lars Boje & Pettitt, Tom (eds.), *Guilds, Towns, and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300–1500*. University Press of Southern Denmark, Odense, 2013, 124–125.

⁴⁸ De Munck, Bert & Winter Anne, *Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities: And Introduction*. In: De Munck, Bert & Winter Anne (eds.), *Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities*. Ashgate, Farnham, 2012, 1–22. See even the articles of Alex Cowan (Nodes, networks and hinterlands) and James. S. Amelang (Cities and foreigners) In: Calabi, Donatella & Cristensen, Stephen Turk (eds.), *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europé, 1400–1700*. *Cultural Exchange in Early modern Europé*, Vol. II. Cambridge University Press, 2007, 28–41, 49–55.

to Reval through family trade, and most of whom were women and men trained in domestic household work on the farms and seaborne trades as shippers, mates, boatsmen or fishermen. Once in Reval, many women established a lengthy career as servants in the households of merchants and eventually married with men of similar background in the city or its suburbs, the population of which consisted of fishermen and minor trades such as wagon freighters, boatsmen or stonecutters, but also burghers and members of the merchant community. In Paul Johansen's and Gunvor Kerkkonen's 20th-century studies on the size and composition of the town population of late medieval Reval, the size of the 'Swedish' (Mnd. *swedesche*) population, i.e. people of Swedish-speaking origin from the area of Swedish colonisation in Estonia as well as Swedish- and Finnish-speaking immigrants from the other side of the Gulf of Finland is estimated to have been 11–12 %.⁴⁹ As regards the languages used in and around the city, the society was essentially a multilingual one, in which not only forms of German (Middle Low German, occasionally even High German and Netherlandic) but also of Scandinavian (Middle Swedish, Danish), Finnic (Estonian, Finnish, Karelian), Slavonic (Russian) and occasionally Baltic languages were spoken. Finally, it is worth of remembering that the growing importance of Reval in the context of its hinterland on both sides of the Gulf of Finland and in the Northern Baltic Sea region in general is reflected not only in estimations of late medieval population structure but also witnessed in the distribution of the Revalian mint in late 14th- to early 16th-century documents on transactions of land, not to mention archaeological finds, in Southern Finland and Viborg Karelia, where Revalian coins were often used as the main currency in transactions. The circulation of Revalian and other Livonian coins appears to have played an important role in monetisation of the area, even in the period when domestic coinage was minted in Åbo during the 15th century.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Kerkkonen, Gunvor, *De nyländska Revalsarven under 1500-talet* (Föredrag inför Historiska föreningen 14/4 1948). In: *Nyländska Studier*, 2. Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, *Historiska och Litteraturhistoriska Studier*, 24. Helsingfors 1949, 150, 153 and Salminen 2012b, 185.

⁵⁰ On aspects of the use of languages in medieval Reval see, Salminen, Tapio, *Aspects on Multilinguality in Late Medieval Livonia and Finland*. In: Vares, Vesa (ed.), *Einfluss, Vorbilder, Zweifel. Studien zu den Finnisch-Deutschen Beziehungen vom Mittelalter bis zum Kalten Krieg*. Hrsg. von Vesa Vares. 6. Deutsch-finnisches Historikerseminar in Tampere 27.–31.3.2003. Institut für Geschichte, Tampere Universität, Publikationen, 20. Tampere 2006, 20, and Kala, Tiina, *Languages in a Medieval North European City: An Example from Medieval Tallinn*. In: Merisalo Outi & Pahta, Päivi (eds.), *Frontiers. Proceedings of the Third European Congress of Medieval Studies* (Jyväskylä, 10–14 June 2003). *Textes et études du Moyen Âge*, 35). Prepols, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2006 (here Kala 2006a), 585–603. On circulation of coins and transactions of land in Livonian money in Finland see Johansen 1951, 16, Jansson, Henrik & Talvio, Tuukka, Jurmon Liivinmaalainen rahakätkö. SKAS 4/2010, Suomen Keskiajan Arkeologian Seura, 41–47, and Talvio, Tuukka, *Coins and Coin circulation in medieval Finland*. In S. Suchodolsky & M. Bogicki (eds.), *Money Circulation in*

How are we to understand the consolidation of the civic community and its various institutionalised agents of civic and other authority in the medieval Reval? As Jaan Tamm has pointed out, the nature of socio-economic activity in the medieval merchant city was very different from any in the local agrarian Estonian community. There seasonal needs did not necessarily promote any urbanisation at all, but rather supported flexible institutions and local production with small scale exchange to obtain imported commodities such as salt, basic raw materials, and a few luxury items. Because of this difference, it is difficult to identify any institutional or structural continuity between the earlier settlement and the late medieval urban complex of Reval, even if excavations suggest more or less permanent use of the site from the latter half of the 12th century onwards. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, medieval cities did not necessarily grow organically from what had existed before, but might result from deliberate establishment of a community designed to control the flow of trade and its distribution. Because of the central role of Reval in late medieval Livonia much of the older Estonian and Baltic-German scholarship on it tends to have been of a teleological nature. Since the city obviously had an important role in the politics of the area in the 15th and 16th centuries, an *a priori* assumption was made that it must have had a central role from the earliest documented activity on the site, even though other potential sites with similar advantages are known to have been located along the Estonian north coast (*Lodhenrode* in Paldiski Bay and *Cogkula* in Viru-Nigula) in the course of the 13th century.⁵¹

A regional and seasonal settlement for trading purposes, the emergence of Reval was a result of the advantageous topography of the site, which met the 13th-century need for the organisation of seaborne trade by foreign merchants and local population in the region. It was not the only natural harbour and convenient landing point on the north Estonian coast, but definitely one of the most important at the time of German and Scandinavian penetration into the eastern Baltic in the early 13th century. The limestone plateau of Domberg could easily shelter a substantial number of people and control the waterfront only some 400 meters away, whereas the distance between the river mouth in Pirita and Iru hillfort was more than four kilometres. The harbour in Reval may have taken form already before the era of large merchant vessels with closed hulls and heavy cargo, when the shallow waterline gave longships, flat-bottomed vessels and seaworthy boats good access to the sandbank north of the hill, but its real possibilities were shown with the introduction of cogs and late

Antiquity, the Middle Ages and Modern times: Time – Range – Intensity. Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw–Cracow, 2005, 179–190.

⁵¹ Tamm 1993, 210–211, Tamm 1995, 26–27, Tamm 2004a, 42–43, Pärn 2002, 374, 389.

medieval hulks, from which the cargoes had to be hauled over with the help of boats. The ancient Scandinavian name *lindanise*, known from the first quarter of the 13th century, suggests the existence of a meadow or fallow land reaching down to the sea near the landing point and known to seafarers. The cliff itself was an excellent landmark for any seafarer entering the bay from the north. For the late medieval status and role of the merchant city itself, the most important feature in the consolidation of the site is not, however, the topography of the early settlement, but the formation of a sworn community of resident burghers, with an elected council and a civic authority structured around them.

1.2. Medieval textualization, management of information and the agency (office) of the Revalian city scribes as a problem of research in this study

The basic impulse for writing this study does not go back to any single treatise on structures and developments in late medieval society or theoretical framework searching to conceptualise human activity in the past. Instead, it builds on a variety of studies on *medieval manifestations of authority as expressed and distributed in the management of written information and production of texts and documents in public and confidential spheres of record-keeping, communication and interaction*. The second important area of reference for the study is *the various uses of paleography, diplomatics and codicology as a means of understanding the management of information in civic administration*. As already stated in CHAPTER 1, the main focus of the study is on two different sets of problems: the nature of the process of textualization as a means of rendering, managing, controlling and securing information in the medieval administration of the council of Reval, and the nature and role of individual agents involved in it. As evident from the source material of this study from the second quarter of the 13th century to 1456/60, both of these areas must be understood not only as domains of their own but also as interrelated with each other in many ways, so that the conscious management of information of the city scribes had an effect on the nature and composition of the produced written material and vice versa. In a wider sense, the dialogue between the management of information and the institutionalized agents active in it also bring *theories on the reproduction of social structures, institutions and organisations* into the study, and it is they that constitute its third major area of reference.

1.2.1. Conceptualising the agencies – Management of information and the sustenance of organisations and institutions past and present

1.2.1.1. Modern concepts in medieval settings – the ‘caveats’ and advantages of modern theoretical frameworks when discussing human collective action in the past

Management of information, or more familiarly ‘information management’ is a modern concept meaning the organisation and control over the structure, processing and delivering of information for different uses in decision making. Its roots lie deep in 20th-century file-based information technology, statistics and mathematics, and allude to active control of issues in intelligence and decision-making by the processing of gathered data. The Middle English word ‘information’ (*informacioun, informatioun, enformacion*) was already employed in the last quarter of the 14th century to signify not only knowledge of and intelligence on some particular fact, subject or event, but also used for the communication of instructive knowledge and advice. However, the concept ‘information management’ is essentially a modern one and imposes certain problems when applied to the use of text as a technology in the management of knowledge of medieval institutions and their agents in their everyday administration. Of Latin origin, the word information was not part of the vocabulary of the Middle Low German of the Baltic Sea area and the Hanse, but matters of instructive knowledge are referred in contemporary written correspondence as *kuntschop* or *kentnisse* (knowledge); a term also employed for the communication of such knowledge.⁵²

Today, there is no reason to doubt that all the surviving medieval registers and written documents were once designed to record, secure or distribute information in contemporary medieval presents. Whether the same material was ever employed for any processing of data in the sense of ‘planning’ or ‘decision-making’ in order to manipulate desired medieval ‘futures’ is a question in itself and appears more a result of anachronistic application of the modern linear concept of time to a corpus of medieval material that vaguely resembles 20th-century ways of processing of information. As discussed later in this chapter, instead of ‘planning’, much of the use of medieval data can be understood in the dual context of memorizing and documentation, the first being largely alien to prevalent modern management of information. A similar danger is evident when employing modern concepts of organisation theory, organisational behaviour and decision-making to medieval

⁵² For the modern meaning of information contrasted with data and information obtained by the processing of data see OED, ‘Information’, 1:2e and 2c (Mathematics and Information Theory); for the use of the term in Middle English see OED, ‘Information’, I:1a–b, 2a; *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, begründet von Agathe Lasch und Conrad Borchling, hrsg. nach Gerhard Cordes und Annemarie Hübner von Dieter Möhn und Ingrid Schröder, I-, Hamburg-Neumünster, 1928–1956– (here cited as *MndHWB*), ‘kentnisse’ and ‘kuntschop’.

transpersonal and transgenerational institutions such as city councils, sworn communities of burghers or institutionalised agents of territorial power such as realms and their various delegates. As some of these theories offer valid theoretical starting points for the analysis of organisational and institutional activity in the medieval past, there is no need to dismiss them as something quintessentially anachronistic to medieval ways of understanding collective reality, but they do need to be discussed here more profoundly to avoid pitfalls in the understanding of the peculiarities of medieval organisations.

The classic theory of formal organisations was coined by James March and Herbert Simon in the context of the economics intellectual movement of the Carnegie School in 1958. It is based on the *a priori* assumption of cognitional human analysis-based action, decision-making and a behaviouristic view on the role of conflicts which produce cooperation and solutions in the organisations, as well as on the basic understanding of competition as the core promotor of organisational behaviour itself. On the whole the understanding of organisations in modern western organisation theory since 1958 has been similar to the way described in March and Simon's introduction to the second edition (1993) of their book:

'Organizations are systems of coordinated action among individuals and groups whose preferences, information, interests, or knowledge differ. Organization theories describe the delicate conversion of conflict into cooperation, the mobilization of resources, and the coordination of effort that facilitate the joint survival of an organization and its members.

*These contributions to survival are accomplished primarily through control over information, identities, stories, and incentives. Organizations process and channel information. They shape the goals and loyalties of their participants. They create shared stories – an organization ethos that includes common beliefs and standard practices. They offer incentives for appropriate behaviors.'*⁵³

As evident from March and Simon, one of the crucial dimensions of modern understanding of organisations is their *role in controlling, processing and channelling information* as well as their *basic nature as sources of identity for their members*, both of which support the *core role of the organisation as a vehicle for utilising various kinds of resources for the joint survival of the organisation and its members*. Despite the modern understanding of conflicts, decision-making and analysis-based action as promoters of organisational behaviour, none of the three basic dimensions (information, identity and survival through resources) can be taken as totally alien to known forms of medieval collective activity and institutions in the

⁵³ March, James & Simon, Herbert, *Organisations*. Second edition. Blackwell Bussiness, Cambridge, Mass., USA – Oxford, UK, 1993, 2 (the quote), more widely 1–19.

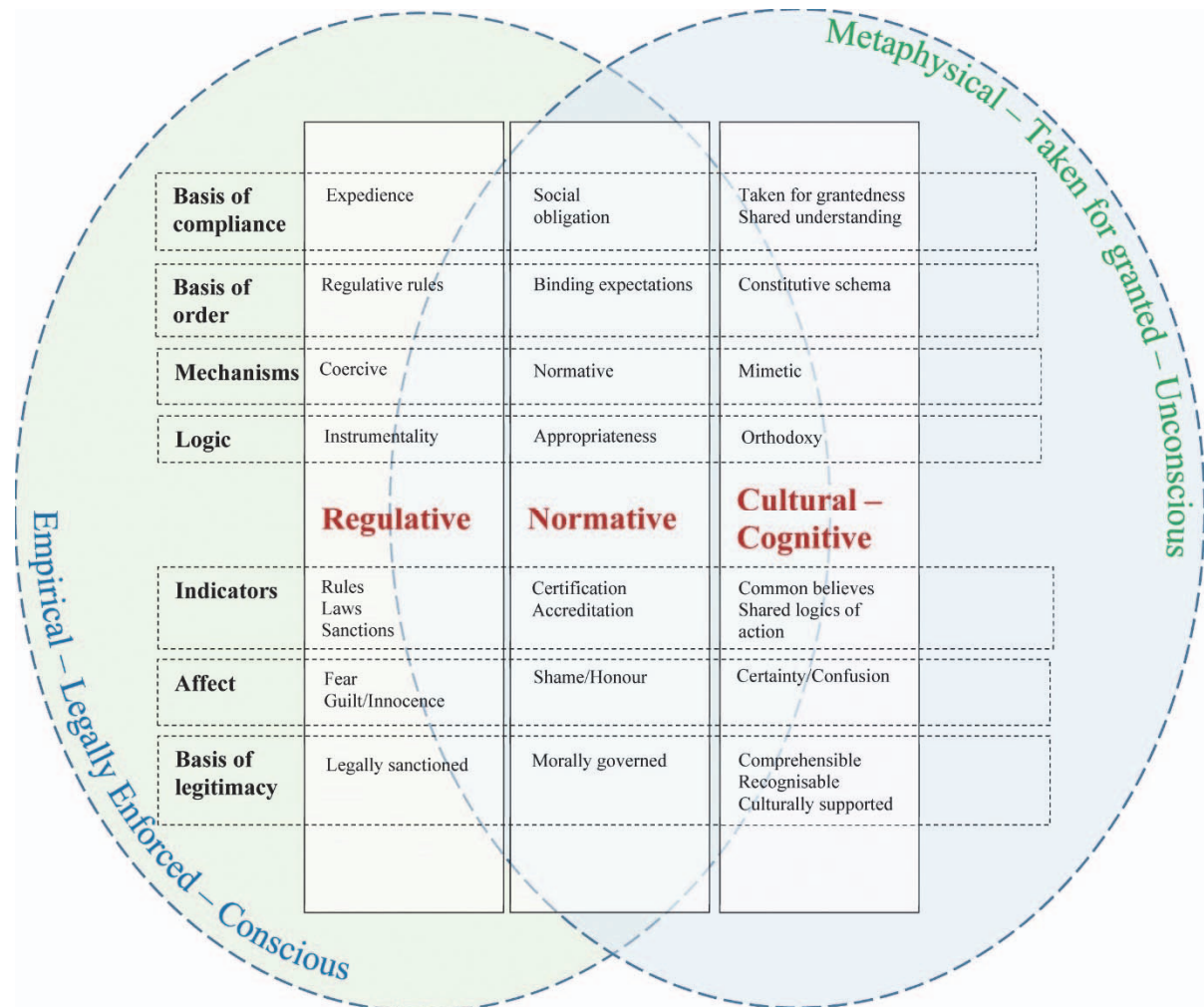
context of their surrounding political, judicial, economic and social realities in the past. Instead, each of the three dimensions appear to be present in the activity and manifestations of medieval institutions and a wide variety of studies today exists commenting and exploring them.⁵⁴

Together with March and Simon, another modern conceptualisation of organisations relevant for this study is the three-pillared model of *regulative*, *normative* and *cultural-cognitive* nature of institutions, originally developed by W. Richard Scott in 1995–2008 for analysing various theoretical standpoints of how institutions are thought to emerge and be sustained. Not only a theoretical mind map for understanding issues and themes in modern institutional theories and organisation studies relevant for this study, the conceptualisation also gives tools for a wider discussion on the nature of medieval institutions in general. Based on a wider historical discussion of the ‘vital ingredients of institutions’ as pinpointed by social theorists, Scott’s three basic axioms of the inherent nature and outward manifestations of institutions are each distinguishable through principal dimensions characteristic to them, and build a continuum or shift of focus between conscious and unconscious, legally enforced and taken for granted, and empirical and metaphysical in the understanding of what institutions are.⁵⁵ Concerning the late medieval world of regulative, normative and cultural groundings of civic authority not only in articulated laws and norms of conduct, socioeconomical and normative manifestations of status, honour and obligation, but also in various conventions of action and their cultural and metaphysical implications in the rituals of civic authority, such a three-pillared mind map of the nature of institutions appears to tell more about the essence of medieval institutionalised agents of political, economic and judicial authority than a mere political, judicial or structural analysis from the point of the older constructions of judicially established and regulatively articulated authority would give.

⁵⁴ For studies on the manifestations of the collective and individual civic identity in Reval (festivities, patronage, civic memoria) see especially Mänd 1999, 281–293, Mänd, Anu, Urban carnival: festive culture in the Hanseatic cities of the eastern Baltic, 1350–1550. In: Medieval texts and cultures of Northern Europe, 8. Brepols Publishers, Turnhout, 2005, passim, Mänd, Anu, Church Art, Commemoration of the Dead and Saints’ Cult: Constructing Individual and Corporate Memoria in Late Medieval Tallinn. In: Acta Historica Tallinnensia, 16. Tallinn 2011 (here Mänd 2011a), 3–30, Mänd & Randla 2012, 43–80, and Frauen, Memoria und Sakralräume im spätmittelalterlichem Livland. In: Laur, Mati & Brüggemann, Karsten (eds.), Forschungen zur Baltischen Geschichte, 7 (2012). Akadeemiline Ajalooselts, Tartu, 11–39.

⁵⁵ Scott, W. Richard, Institutions and Organisations, Ideas and Interests. Third edition. Sage Publications, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, 2008, 48–70.

Figure 1: W. Richard Scott's conceptualisation of the three pillars or elements (regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive) making up or supporting institutions as emphasised by theorists of institutional and organisation studies combined with a possible inherent shift of focus between ways of understanding the essence of society (empirical, conscious and legally enforced – metaphysical, unconscious and taken for granted). As the principal dimensions along which assumptions and arguments, i.e. justifications of the nature of institutions have risen in the studies, Scott distinguishes the basis of compliance and order, mechanisms, logic, indicators, affect and basis of legitimacy.



Source: Scott 2008, 51.

When combined with different types of ‘carriers’, i.e. vehicles or conveyors, of which Scott distinguishes four; *Symbolic systems*, *Relational systems*, *Routines* and *Artifacts*, the three pillars of the nature of institutions can further be observed from the point of view of *how ideas and practices move and establish themselves in the context of institutions in time and space*. Especially relevant for the understanding of the diffusion of information, transfer of technology, organisational learning, adoption of reforms of changes in conventions and so on, the conceptualisation of such vehicles of carrying and reproducing institutional

conventions in time also covers certain concepts highly relevant to this study such as ‘Scripts’, ‘Jobs’, ‘Roles’, ‘Duty’, ‘Standard operating protocols’ (even unwritten), ‘Authority systems’, ‘Governance systems’ (administration), ‘Identities’, ‘Structural isomorphisms’, ‘Rules’, ‘Laws’ and ‘Values’. According to Scott, of these ‘Jobs’, ‘Roles’ and ‘Obedience to duties’ (i.e. such as those of elected councillors or city scribes) can be conceptualised as *Routine-based* carriers of *normative* nature in institutions, ‘Standard operating protocols’ as part of the *regulative* sphere, and ‘Scripts’ as a *Routine-based* carrier through which the *cultural-cognitive* nature of the institution is manifested. In the sphere of *Relational systems*, ‘Systems of governance’ (for instance medieval civic administration) emerge as vehicles of the *regulative*, ‘Systems of authority’ (such as the grounding of civic authority on community of burghers) as *normative*, and institutional ‘Identities’ and ‘Structural isomorphisms’ (such as the burgher community and council as institutionalised agents of power) as *cultural-cognitive* manifestations of institutions, whereas ‘Laws’ and ‘Rules’ constitute the *Symbolic* carriers of the *regulative*, and ‘Values’ and ‘Expectations’ the *Symbolic* dimensions of the *normative* nature of the same institutions.

According to Scott, characteristic for the reproduction of various inner and outer manifestations of institutions is how ideas and conventions are presented, modified and transformed in time and space, i.e. how they are edited in the process where ideas, conventions and practices are told, retold, understood and employed in various situations.⁵⁶ In medieval merchant towns and cities of the Baltic Sea area and western Europe this occurred in the context of a transgenerational and transpersonal time of civic administration, where the civic authority itself was sustained not only through constant negotiation over the nature and groundings of its power, but also through various ways of reproducing its identity, including civic rituals, symbols of power and manifestations of self-consciousness in townspace and management of information about its landscape of power and resources. In the context of the activity of the council of Reval and the nature of councillorship (see CHAPTER 3.1), for instance, an essential element in such a transgenerational and transpersonal experience of institutional continuity appears to have been the cyclic and recurrent nature of time, where fiscal years and periods of office were attached to the annual

⁵⁶ Scott 2008, 79–80.

rhythm of seasons and trade and symbolically manifested through feasting and banquets at the turn of each cycle.⁵⁷

Figure 2: *W. Richard Scott's conceptualisation of the three pillars of the nature of institutions and 'carriers' or 'vehicles' in how ideas and practices move and establish themselves in the context of institutions in time and space. The oval marks some of the carriers discussed in this study from the point of view of medieval civic administration and the management of information in it.*

	Regulative	Normative	Cultural – Cognitive
Symbolic systems	Rules Laws	Values Expectations	Categories Typifications Schema
Relational systems	Governance systems Power systems	Regimes Authority system	Structural isomorphism Identities
Routines	Protocols Standard operating procedures	Jobs Roles Obedience to duty	Scripts
Artifacts	Objects complying with mandated specifications	Objects meeting conventions, standards	Objects possessing symbolic value

Source: Scott 2008, 79–80.

1.2.1.2. Of 'Actors' and 'Agencies'

How then are we to understand the construction of identity of various kinds of institutionalised agents apparent in the everyday activity of organisations such as the medieval council of Reval?

Scott's conceptualisation of the inherent nature of institutions builds largely on Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration and duality of social structure (*The Constitution of society*, 1984), where social structures reproduced in time and space are both the medium and the outcome of the practise they recursively organize. In Giddens' theory social structures are made of rules, i.e. generalized procedures applied in the enactment/reproduction of social life, and resources, both human and nonhuman, employed to exercise or maintain power. In the structuration theory entities determining the rules and the utilisation of resources in the constant negotiation of social structures are viewed as 'Actors' and their active role in determining the social world is described as 'Agency'. Institutions as such can be understood

⁵⁷ For the banqueting and festivals see Mänd 2005, passim.

as formalized and more articulated social structures, more strongly attached to generalized procedures of action as well as control and maintenance of resources, but involved in constant negotiation, production and reproduction of the structures they impose all the same. In a structuralized understanding of the nature of institutions and their Agency/Agencies, the information can be viewed as as *resource* involved in the constant negotiation. However, considering the role of medieval civic authorities and the actors in making them, a question must be risen of how deeply the council authority or the scribes in its service constructed their identity as an institution or professionals on the basis of the information they collected and produced for it, and to what extent the information was actually understood as a resource in itself or a mere rendering of available resources of the civic authority as material and immaterial assets in fiscal, judicial and political interaction or acts in past communication.⁵⁸ Even if it is not necessary to discuss all aspects of Scott's complex and multidimensional three-pillar model here, or analyse the possible shortcomings of Giddens' essentially modern, voluntaristic and dialectic theory on the duality of social structure as a plausible conceptualization of the world of medieval institutions and agencies in them, it is of interest that Scott's model of *regular*, *normative* and *cultural-cognitive* pillars in the nature and manifestations of institutions appears to support several recent notions on the actual nature and formation of high and late medieval institutions, communities and various institutionalised agents of authority as established in the study of medieval society since the 1980's.

Since the late 19th century one of the most influential overall conceptualisations of cohesive elements in medieval society has been the idea of the vertical hierarchy of authority and the horizontal construction of various kinds of associations and communities apparent in it. Today, one the most influential studies on the nature of collective organisations in medieval Europe is *Kingdoms and Communities*, originally published by Susan Reynolds in 1984 (second edition 1994).⁵⁹ Reynolds was not the first to pay attention to vertical hierarchies of lordship and horizontal representations of collective interests in medieval society, but she certainly was among the first to open up a fresh way of understanding them without the teleological and social-darwinistic approach characteristic of earlier conceptualisations of the matter. Whereas the older studies often presented the relationship as part of a teleological process more or less inevitably resulting in modern society and its institutions, Reynolds

⁵⁸ Scott 2008, 77–78, Giddens, Anthony, *The Constitution of Society*. Polity Press, 1984, 21, 13, 25.

⁵⁹ Reynolds, Susan, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300*. 2nd Edition. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1997.

emphasized the functional nature of medieval organisations and left the door open for different contemporary developments to be followed. Consequently she showed the dangers of ideal classification of medieval institutions, which has frequently produced anachronistic typologies of past organisations and oversimplified the nature of their interaction in medieval society. Unfortunately, and despite her work, many of these ideal classifications still continue to dominate outside the field of medieval studies and still affect the ways in which suggested ‘medieval’ manifestations of authority and community are conceptualised and simplified as part of a larger understanding of the role of institutions and authority in the field of social studies in general.⁶⁰

Much of Reynolds’ work took advantage of a revision of 19th- and 20th-century theories about the nature of medieval organisations and institutions. The most important of these were associated with the German tradition of legal history and sociology. Studies such as Otto von Gierke’s conceptualisation of lordship (*Herrschaft*) and fellowship (*Genossenschaft*) as constructive forces in medieval German society, Ferdinand Tönnies’ theory about the shift from natural communities (*Gemeinschaft*) to functional associations (*Gesellschaft*) as a central feature in the history of medieval Europe, and Max Weber’s typology of modes of Authority (*Herrschaft*) in society, have long set the criteria for understanding medieval society and particular modes of interaction in it. Although very few medieval organisations actually fit the ideal types presented in these theories, all the typologies have had a substantial influence on the study of organisations and modes of interaction characteristic of ‘medieval’ society.⁶¹ Many of these late 19th- and early 20th-century conceptualisations were based on the idea of temporal evolution of medieval forms of organisations and institutions, which meant that they should be considered more a reproduction of a certain socio-anthropological determinism and social-darwinistic world-view characteristic of the age when they were born than a true representation of

⁶⁰ A parallel line of argument can be found in her book ‘Fiefs and Vassals’ (Oxford University Press, 1994), which examines the origin of vertical bonds and their later conceptualizations in the study of medieval society and institutions.

⁶¹ Reynolds 1997, xxv–xlv, 333–336. See Gierke, Otto, *Die deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht I–IV*. Berlin 1868–1913, Tönnies, Ferdinand, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 2005 (Orig. *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, *Abhandlung des Communismus und des Socialismus als empirischer Culturformen*, Leipzig, 1887), and Weber, Max, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie. 5. rev. Auflage. Mit Textkritischen Erläuterungen hrsg. von Ed Johannes Winkelmann. J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen 1976 (Orig. in 1922). On the foundations and nature of Weber’s ideal types and the caveats regarding their reading as representations of empirical reality, as well as for an overview on developments in the study of communal and judicial foundations of medieval civic authority after Weber see even Dilcher, Gerhard, *Max Webers Stadt und die historische Stadtforschung der Mediävistik*. *Historische Zeitschrift*, 267 (1998), 91–125, esp. 109–123.

developments in the nature of organisations that once existed. As Reynolds has argued, vertical and horizontal modes of medieval organisations were not contrasting forms of society in conflict with each other, but parallel features building on different forms of collective needs and interaction in society. A major reason for the rise in such diverging forms of interaction was the change in the volume of the interaction itself, apparently a result of demographic growth which in turn produced more and more encounters in administration, jurisdiction and economic exchange in different socioeconomic spheres. Although Reynolds herself has never been fully satisfied with the demographic and socio-economic explanation of the development of ‘kingdoms and communities’ in medieval society, she has in her own words ‘*effectively dismissed some of traditional national explanations of twelfth century change*’. This is especially true when it comes to her criticism over the later use of some earlier 19th-century typologies of medieval society.⁶²

Despite Reynolds’ own ‘caveats’, her idea of the basic role of the potentially growing number of encounters between individuals, institutions and institutionalised agents of judicial or collective authority affecting the regulation and methods of managing these encounters is highly relevant when studying the role of textualization and written management of information in 12th- to 15th-century society. Considering medieval Reval, any understanding of a potential density of encounters and interaction between people must start from the fact that the total population of the walled area and the surrounding suburbs during the last heyday of the city in the first half of the 16th century has been estimated as ca. 6700, of which ca. 5000 lived in the lower town of the merchant city proper, ca. 1000 on Domberg and ca. 700 in the suburbs, of whom about a quarter or a third must have been children and minors under 15 years of age. The total population of the lower town in 1372 has been estimated as ca. 4000, with no more than 500 on Domberg, whereas the total population of the town in the first quarter of the 14th century cannot have numbered more than 1500. In between these dates, considerable fluctuations in the population might have occurred, as from 1374 to 1386–90 and 1399, when the overall population first decreased from ca. 5000 to a little over 2100 and then rose again to some 3600. The last figures are the estimations of Källike Kaplinski (1979) based on various indices, and according to her supported by the low number of recognitions of mortgages and annuities in the city books of memoranda. These, however, may only tell us about overall economical downturn in the long distance trade of Revalian merchants in the politically unstable and turbulent 1380s and

⁶² Reynolds 1997, li, 337–339.

1390s of the Northern Baltic Sea area.⁶³ Today (2014), when many of the buildings are not in residential use, the total population of the Old Town (Vanalinna, a subdistrict of Kesklinna district administrative area with Domberg/Toompea) in Tallinn is ca. 4000 people, which is close to the adult population of the city and the suburbs in the late 15th century.⁶⁴ Similarly, the whole late medieval urban population of Reval would fit comfortably into any middle sized suburb of any modern Baltic Sea area city, which is indicative of the possible density of everyday encounters, recognized interpersonal, communal and institutional relationships and interaction and all the administration, jurisdiction and management of contemporary reality took place.

Despite the various possible uses of organisation theory and organisational studies, the idea of this study *is not to study* the organisation and various regulative, normative or cultural-cognitional aspects of the formation and activity of Revalian civic authority from the 13th to the mid-15th century. Rather, the intention is to describe and analyse an institutionalised transpersonal and transgenerational agent of authority engaged in the production, use and storing of written information, where the textualization and the use of the technology of writing are hypothetically understood as an important, and growing resource of managing and maintaining the authority of the council in the contemporary world both inside and outside the town walls (see FIGURE 3). The focus of this study is the process of textualization in the administration and management of information of the council of Reval, not the nature of the council as an organization or institution or the epistemologically complex role of the management of information in the medieval ‘decision-making’ of the council in the period

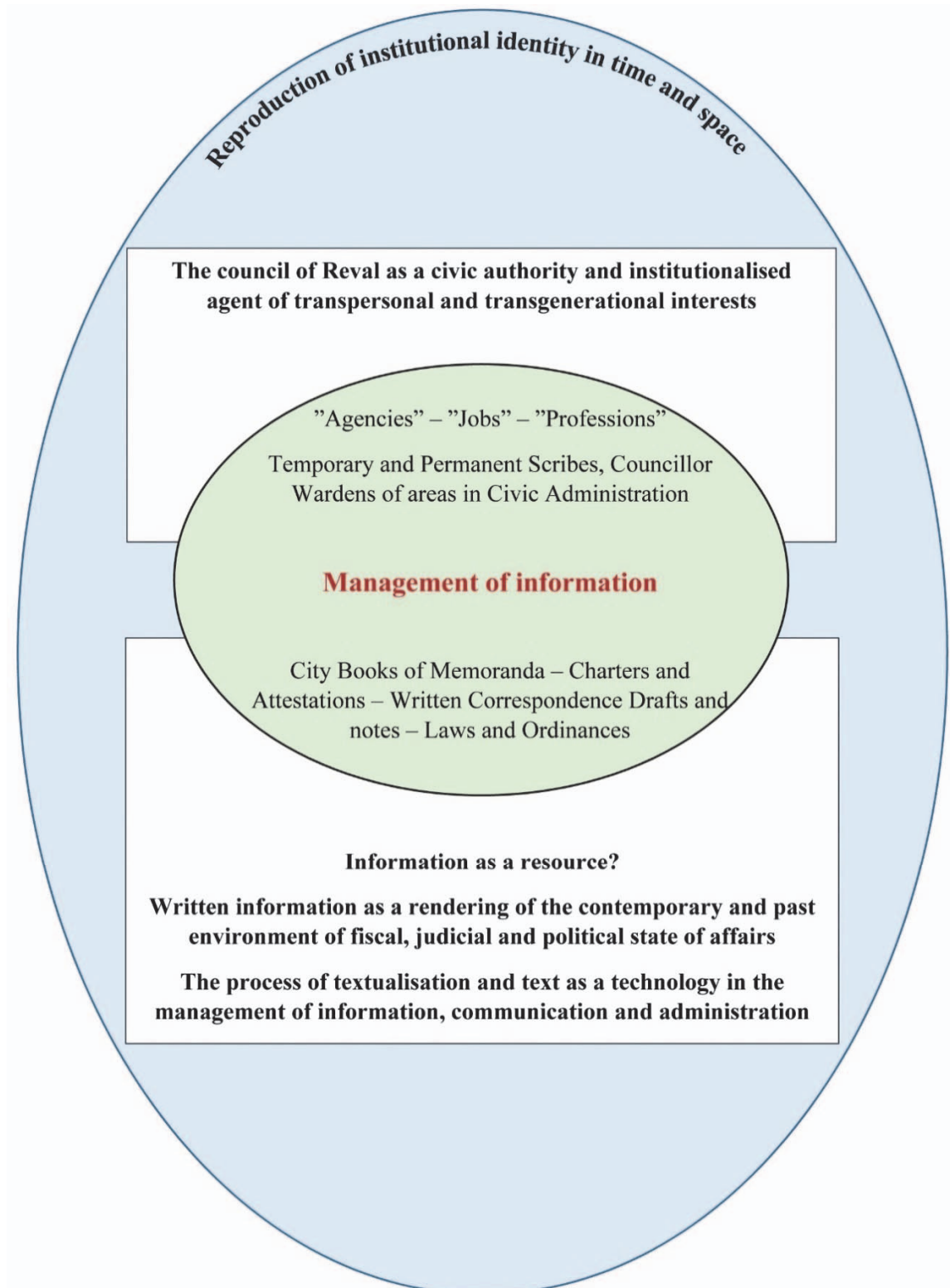
⁶³ On estimations of the populations of medieval towns in German-speaking areas see Isenmann 2012, 59–60 where an applicable coefficient for calculating the total population of a town on the basis of the number of homeowners liable to ground tax (Ger. *vorschoss*) is presented as 3,9–5,6 and the number of children in terms of the total population is estimated as 25–33 %. On estimations of the early 16th-century population of Reval see Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 90–93, where the presented numbers are produced by multiplying the number of burghers liable for ground tax inside the walled area of the city in 1538 (ca. 800) and 1372 (ca. 650) combined with later information on the size of households in 1773, where in the last year the relation of actual taxpayers to the total number of people in households is 1/12 and the coefficient applicable to the number of people in families ca. 4,2. As for the first quarter of the 14th century Tiina Kala has counted the number of individual people cited in the earliest surviving register of inheritances (possession of houses) from 1312–20 as no less than 325 of which 237 (72,9 %) were men, 54 (16,6 %) women and 34 (10,5 %) children, see Kala, Tiina, *Esimesed tallinlased*. In: Tiina Kala (ed.), ”Kui vana on Tallinn?”, 13. mail 2004 toimunud konverentsi ettekanded ja diskussioon. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi Toimetised, 8. Tallinn 2004, 93, 100). Even if not all the cited people or men were house-owners and the not all the existing houses are mentioned, the approximation of some 250–300 people liable to ground tax gives a possible maximum population of ca. 1000–1500 people in ca. 1320 in the lower town; Kaplinski, Küllike, Über die Einwohnerzahl und die Sozialstruktur Tallinns von 1369 bis 1399. In: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 3 (1979), 111–139, esp. 204, see also Derrik 2000, 24–25.

⁶⁴ In 2013 the total population of the Vanalinn subdistrict was 3959, see Tallinn arvudes – Statistical Yearbook of Tallinn 2013, Tallinnan linnavalitsus – Tallinn City Government. Tallinn 2013, Tallinna asumid – Subdistricts of Tallinn 1.36.

concerned. Similarly, the study will focus on the character, status and qualifications of the particular ‘actors’ and their ‘agencies’ active in the process of textualization and management of information of the council, most importantly on the office and role of the city scribes, including who they actually were and what their office was like in the period concerned. A similar study could be made on a variety of medieval or early modern institutionalized agents of authority, but the exceptional corpus of material still extant from the medieval administration and communication of the council of Reval is a major reason why the focus of this study is a middle sized medieval merchant city on the northeast margins of the medieval west.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Although written from the point of view of historical and medieval studies, some of the theoretical and methodological settings of this study resemble those of Bruno Latour in *The Making of Law, An Ethnography of the Conseil D’Etat*. Polity Press, Cambridge, UK – Malden, USA, 2010 (Original in French: *La Fabrique du droit, La Decouverte*, Paris 2002), where a transpersonal and transgenerational institution and its agency/the agencies in it are studied as ethnographic manifestations of its institutional ”kind”. In this study the view of the manifestations and agency/agencies of the civic authority of Reval and the work of the scribes must be considered more anthropological, and the study itself is rooted in the late 19th-century tradition of medieval studies in general. On the study of medieval and early modern institutions and institutionalized actors and agents from the angle of long distance trade see even Kallioinen, Mika, *The Bonds of Trade: Economic Institutions in Pre-modern Northern Europe*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012, 13–40.

Figure 3: *The basic settings of this study.*



1.2.2. Understanding the messages – Textualization and written management of information from the point of view of human communication

As already stated and shown in FIGURE 3, the special focus of this study is the process of textualization; the application of the technology of writing in the management of information, communication, administration and various textual manifestations of authority in the activity of the civic authority of Reval before the year 1456/60. Basically a means of handling, recording, producing and storing information, writing and its development as a technology has been under intense discussion for some time, not only in the study of history, but also in linguistics and information and communication studies. In humanities, an important area of study for some 30 years been that of literacy, the ability to read and write, and its byproduct, the so-called literate mentality often associated with the transition between postclassicism and modernity in the western world.

In the study of medieval written records the research into writing and literacy was long preceded by traditional domains of diplomatics, palaeography and codicology. Of these diplomatics can claim to be the oldest, with its beginnings in the 15th-century work of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine in 1439–40, even if the origins of modern diplomatics and palaeography as research subjects can more plausibly be seen emerging with the publication of *De Re Diplomatica* by Jean Mabillon in 1681. Of the other two disciplines, codicology is a separate field of studies of rather recent origin, while palaeography (a name coined by Maurist Bernard de Montfaucon in 1708) has, since the 19th century, been subject to national projections of the past where scripts and letter forms from the known corpus of medieval texts have been defined and categorised as supposed manifestations of ‘national’, regional or ethnic culture.⁶⁶ Because of the national character of the main archives and libraries where the material is kept, since the 19th century the study of documents and written records has often been built on contemporary availability of the texts and a set of *a priori* assumptions on their significance as a part of ‘national cultural heritage’ than genuine analysis of the role of texts in medieval communication and administration.

⁶⁶ For the origins and history of *diplomatics*, see Boyle, Leonard E., *Diplomatics*. In: Powell, James E. (ed.), *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York, 1992, 82–88, for *palaeography*, see Bishoff, Bernhard, *Latin Paleography, Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Translated by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín & David Ganz. Cambridge University Press, New York (USA) and Cambridge (UK), 1990 (1st printing 2008), 1–2, and for both *paleography and codicology*, John, James J., *Latin Paleography*. In: Powell, James E. (ed.), *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, New York, 1992, 3–6.

Whereas the traditional study of diplomatics has always been concerned with classification, typology and the genuineness of historical documents, attention has recently switched to the roles of texts as instruments for controlling and regulating various spheres of activity and interaction in medieval and early modern society. Fundamentally, and as already discussed in the context of institutions, the question is that of management of knowledge and information in the everyday communication and record-keeping of institutions, institutionalised agents of power and individual people; i.e. how did the agents of the past seek to comprehend, control and manipulate the world in which they were living. To study this, some basic concepts and characterisations of the nature and elements of human communication and the role of information in it have to be discussed here.

1.2.2.1. Technologies, needs, conventions

Nowadays human communication is frequently studied in the context of interpersonal interaction. Another traditional area of research is that of mass media. Ever since antiquity several approaches have been taken in an attempt to create a general theory of communication, but even if most of these studies share a common interest in sociocultural, psychological and semiotic aspects of the phenomenon, no such theory exists. Instead, many of the studies appear to offer only old wine in new casks. Although much present research pays tribute to the late 19th- and early 20th-century developments in psychology, social-anthropology, sociology and linguistics, the studies often appear as modern revisions of the classical Art of Rhetoric, where the old craft of persuasion through oral performance has been transformed into a social-psychological theory of knowledge, action and response. After Robert T. Craig's benchmark article in 1999, it has become more and more evident that no single theory or group of theories is ever likely to cover all sides of the phenomenon. Instead, a kind of coherence between different theories can be established, after which a dialogue about the issues and themes in them can be maintained. Craig himself created a metamodel of seven different traditions in communication studies (Rhetorical, Semiotic, Phenomenological, Cybernetic, Socio-psychological, Socio-cultural and Critical), which, despite later criticism and adjustments, form the basic conceptualisation in the field today. As regards human communication, the seven different traditions have also been implemented in understanding modes of study of various topics characteristic and traditional to the particular field, such as 'The Communicator', 'The Message', 'The Conversation', 'The Relationship', 'The Group', 'The Organisation', 'The Media' and 'Culture and Society': a kind of mind map of issues in communication theories parallel to W. Richard Scott's

conceptualization of theories on the nature of institutions and organisations, presented above.⁶⁷

When considering human communication in past and present societies, the things that most approaches have in common is that communication as human action:

1. Has always something to do with *transfer of information between two individual actors in communication*. Whether these actors are two individual human beings, collective bodies or groups of many is not so much a criterion as the *reciprocity of interaction* between the two. By reciprocity I mean mutuality in communication, i.e. the possibility of a two-way flow of information between the actors regardless of the technology used in distributing the messages. Another much-debated factor in this context is that of feedback and response, which, however, largely remains outside the scope of this study.⁶⁸
2. Is always based on different kinds of *symbols or symbol-like elements*, through which information in the act of communication is reproduced. Whether these symbols include natural or artificial sounds, phonemes, letters, grapholets, pictograms, pictures, gestures or coded systems of colours or knots is not important. The important thing is the ability to use a certain technology in both the production and decoding of the message in order to manage the communication and comprehend the issues in it.⁶⁹
3. Is always *culturally determined*, i.e. characteristic to a particular culture *and* society in a particular time *and* place. As a form of human action communication always presents itself as a distinct cultural artefact peculiar to the socio-economical framework of the society where it takes place. If the knowledge of the technology and the nature of communication is lost or does not transfer from one socio-cultural framework to another, both the issues and forms of communication may disappear, either in part or altogether.⁷⁰

When studying historical communication, it is essential to distinguish between *communication as a distinct form of human interaction and communication as a technology for transmitting the information*. In standard definitions, communication is usually understood as both the process and the technology by which information is transferred

⁶⁷ Craig, Robert T., Communication Theory as a Field. In: Communication Theory 9:2 (1999), 119–161, esp. 139–145, Littlejohn, Stephen W. & Foss, Karen, Theories of Human Communication. Tenth edition. Thomson and Wadsworth, 2011, 3–4 and 43–75.

⁶⁸ For this, see for instance Littlejohn & Foss 2011, 51–52, 83–91, where they discuss the role of information as a core theme in Cybernetic Tradition and in studying ‘The Communicator’. For feedback see for instance Ong 1982, 175–176.

⁶⁹ For this, see especially Littlejohn & Foss 2011, 167–70 (on ‘The Message’).

⁷⁰ For this, see especially Littlejohn & Foss 2011, 45–46 and 373–378 (on Semiotic tradition in general and in the context of Culture and Society), and Frijhoff, Willem, Communication et vie quotidienne. In: Kühnel, Harry (ed.), Kommunikation und Alltag in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit, 15. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 596. Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1992, 37.

between two individual agents through a common system of symbols and signs.⁷¹ On the level of technology human communication is reliant on the nature and capacity of the human senses, which set limits for ways of perceiving the world around us. The most important of these are sight and the hearing, through which most present communication takes place. Different technologies, such as spoken language, the written word or systems of manual signs, and various technical devices such as pens, horns, phones, televisions or traffic signs, appear to be mere technical extensions of the two senses designed to transfer information between two individual actors in communication. However, since different technologies can produce different modes of thinking and behaviour, their influence on the mental and sociocultural framework of human interaction cannot be underestimated.⁷² New technologies create new cultures and conventions and change our ways of conceptualising the world around us.

Considering the study of communication in past societies it is important to understand that contemporary forms of communication have always been relative not only to the *available means for delivering the messages* but also the *basic needs of interaction*, which in turn may have taken several different forms in history. Some of the needs may have remained much the same throughout the centuries, but some may have produced unique forms of communication, characteristic only to the society, time and space where they were once applied. What is more, some of the needs are conscious and, others necessarily not, while not all the communication is intentional. Meanings can be reproduced without any proper reason because of a random set of symbols occurring in a favourable context of interaction. If the transfer of information is not understood, or if the whole technology of communication remains strange, even an intentional piece of communication may produce a result totally different from the one desired, or no result at all. This is because all human communication is always liable to sociocultural patterns of knowledge, perception and interaction inherent to the society where it takes place. Whatever the technology used in transmitting the

⁷¹ See, for instance, Encyclopaedia Britannica (<http://global.britannica.com/>, accessed 19.11.2015) where 'Communication' is defined as 'the exchange of meanings between individuals through a common system of symbols', and OED, 'Communication', I:2:a. "Interpersonal contact, social interaction, association, intercourse" and II:b. 'The transmission or exchange of information, knowledge, or ideas, by means of speech, writing, mechanical or electronic media, etc.'. For the now vast florilegia of conference publications embracing the fields of information, communication and reproduction of group and other identities see, for instance, Haverkamp, Alfred & Müller-Lückner, Elisabeth (eds.), *Information, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung in mittelalterlichen Gemeinde. Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien*, 40. R. Oldenbourg Verlag, München 1998, where many of the articles and much of the discussion is focused on bells, clocks and time.

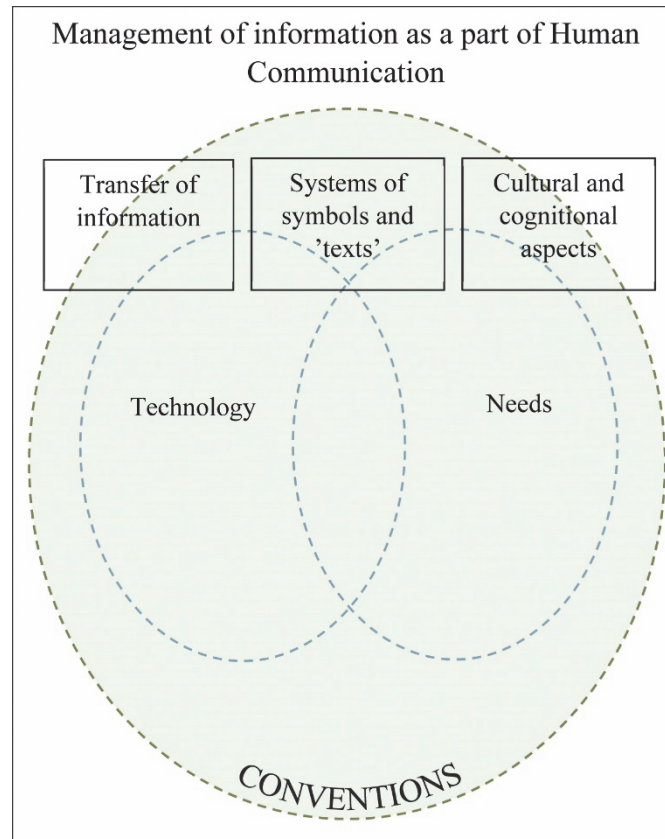
⁷² Ong 1982, 78–116; Porter, Roy, Introduction. In: Burke, Peter & Porter, Roy (eds.), *Language, Self and Society. A Social History of Language*. Polity Press, Cambridge (UK) 1991, 4–8.

information, communication as a form of human activity can only be understood within the context of the society where it is practised.⁷³ Considering the study of communication and management of information in past societies, this means that we are to expect changes and fluctuations in not only the technology through which information was once transmitted but also in why certain technologies were employed for different needs in the communication and management of information and why certain issues were sustained through it (see FIGURE 4). The situation resembles that of the history of transport, where available forms of technology (modes of transport) and infrastructure (geographical network of hubs and locations) have repeatedly determined the framework in which the actual needs of transport and travelling took form, but where it is equally clear that the dialogue between technology and infrastructure has been able to create new economic and sociocultural needs and conventions of interaction in communities of any given time or place.⁷⁴ Regarding the nature of medieval management of information and the role of textualization in it, it is evident that the technology of writing provided a plausible means for recording and securing information for various needs in the contemporary administration and communication of both individuals and institutions, but also created new conventions for managing the information, which in turn could create new possibilities for using it. For a better understanding of the phenomenon, a closer look of the basic nature of the technology, needs and the nature of human communication is of use here.

⁷³ Communication as a cultural artefact resembles Walter Benjamin's concept of a work of art dependent on contemporary manners and historical circumstances through which human perception is organised and accomplished, but with the crucial exception that communication as a mode of interaction is not only an artefact characteristic to the civilisation in which it takes place but also to the way that information for the management and understanding of civilisation is gathered and produced. Benjamin, Walter, *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit*. Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977 (Orig. in 1936), 14–15.

⁷⁴ Frijhoff 1992, 37; Salminen, Tapio, Multilinguality and Written Correspondence in the Late Medieval Northern Baltics – Reflections of Literacy and Language in the Communication between the Council of Reval and the Finnish Bailiffs. In: *Das Mittelalter*, 2:1 (1997), 153–154.

Figure 4: *The conceptualisation of the management of information as a part of human communication in this study.*



1.2.2.2. Forms of communication, forms of information

Since the mid-20th century, a major topic in the study of human interpersonal **communication** has been *the relationship between oral and literate forms of communication* and their contribution to contemporary modes of thought and interaction. In anthropology, psychology, sociology and linguistics it has become clear that oral and literate modes of communication are liable to produce different modes of thought and expression, which then construct mentalities of interaction and consciousness inherent to civilisations, society and individual human beings. Jacques Derrida has stated that writing has never been a *'supplement to the spoken word'* but something quintessentially different as a performance, and he characterized the predominance of oral and literate modes of interaction as *'phonocentric'* and *'logocentric'*.⁷⁵ As major definitions for primarily oral modes of thought and expression, Walter J. Ong (1982) has specified among other things additivity,

⁷⁵ Derrida, Jacques, *Of Grammatology*. Translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, corrected Edition. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London, 1997 (Orig. *De la grammatologie*, Les Éditions de Minuit, 1976), 3–12, and translators preface, xxxix, lxviii. See also Ong 1982, 76, 162–166, who discusses Derrida among a larger group of 'textualists'.

aggregateness and redundancy in speech and situational, participatory and traditionalist attitudes in communication, all in comparison to the analytic, abstract and distanced approach to the messages typical for literate cultures. He has seen as specific to the predominantly chirographic modes of thought and expression an inborn inclination to precision in verbalisation and consolidation of various kinds of 'learned languages', i.e. special domains of written communication, which result from the distanced status of the writer and the reader in relationship to the information in the act of communication. Another important thing is transformation from the dominance of hearing to that of sight, which produces changes in the use of visual space of the messages alien to that of the oral modes of thought and expression. According to Ong, another characteristic feature for primarily literate cultures is intertextuality, which comes close to certain proverbial elements in oral modes of thinking and expression, but is capable of stitching down a larger variety of culture-specific denotations in the message than seems to be possible in the world of oral communication.⁷⁶ In medieval studies, such an intertextuality and the role of culture-specific symbols and denotations binding and bridging various kinds of textual, semi-textual and non-textual artifacts into a meaningful tapestry of shared themes, motives and narrations is well known and the ability to read this tapestry 'correctly' in its past meaning is one of the key areas of the study of Middle Ages in general.

The dichotomy of oral and literate modes of expression and interaction is endemic in post-19th-century western thinking, where literacy and use of texts have frequently been taken as a sign of superiority and progress in contrast with predominantly oral and thus more 'primitive' cultures of the past and present. Primarily oral and literate ways of expression, however, should not be taken as ideal types of technologies actively manipulating the nature and structures of communication in civilisation, but rather as kinds of approaches in interaction characteristic to the society where they take place. As Ursula Schaefer (1998) has pointed out, the recurrent shifts between oral (Ger. *mündlich*) and written (Ger. *schriftlich*) modes of interaction should be understood more as a continuum in which the variety of phenomena are to be evaluated equally from both sides without conceptualising them as something of opposite or excluding nature in relationship to their role in the actual process of textualization (Ger. *Verschriftlichung*). Today, for instance, cultures based on primarily oral expressions of thought and interaction are extremely few, but those including both secondary

⁷⁶ Ong 1982, 31–57, 101–135.

orality, that is orality sustained by telephones, radio, television and other electronic devices, and extensive use of literacy or script, are hegemonic in the civilisation.⁷⁷

Even the **concept of literacy** here is somewhat ambiguous. It is not difficult to agree with Michael T. Clanchy (1993), that literacy in general, whether medieval or modern, has repeatedly been studied and discussed in the context of the ability to understand and produce texts (and often only literate texts, i.e. literature proper in the form of deliberately composed narrative), and in a way that has combined the skills of reading and writing with an overall idea of education, democracy, progress and contemporary extension of civilisation that can be made true only through the acquisition of these two skills. Considering the study of literacy in the past, such a combination of supposedly inferior adaptation to communication technologies and general ideas about progress in history has often produced presentations where the essence of medieval use of texts in comparison to oral and other forms of communication and management of information has been lost in the question of literacy as a 'monopoly of the church' (i.e. the learned) or in the *a priori* assumption of the ability to read and write as the essential division between the rulers and the ruled. As several studies on medieval uses of literacy confirm, this was not the case. Literacy was not pronounced 'power' in the medieval society and power not 'literacy', although an extensive process of textualization did take place and affected the modes of thinking and interaction in late medieval and early modern society.⁷⁸

The fact that written texts have prevailed for long periods in several different cultures and civilisations, and that transformations from predominantly oral to predominantly literate forms of communication or vice versa have taken place, suggests that the study of these changes must not be neglected when seeking to understand the frameworks of interaction and the actual reproduction of civilisation in any given society in past or present. A good example of this is late medieval and early modern Europe, which has traditionally been seen as a predominantly literate civilisation, at least in the higher levels of society, but where both oral and symbolic forms of communication operated side by side with the domains of written communication and the management of information, producing modes of thinking and behaviour of their own and modifying the framework of interaction in society together with

⁷⁷ Schaefer, Ursula, *Artes im Medienwechsel – Eine Einleitung*. In: *Das Mittelalter*, 3:1 (1998), 7. See also Juncker, Michael, *Gesandte, Schreiber, Akten. Politische Kommunikation auf eidgenössischen Tagsatzungen im Spätmittelalter*. Chronos Verlag, Zürich, 2004, 25. On 'secondary orality' see Ong 1982, 11.

⁷⁸ According to Clanchy (1993, 7–11) a crucial agent in Victorian and early 19th-century valuation of medieval literacy was the industrialised schooling process, present in most of the national states since the late 19th century.

the written word.⁷⁹ Since all **three elements**, oral, written and symbolic, could play an equal role not only in acts of communication but also in various ways of recording, collecting, categorising, storing and remembering contemporary information, the hierarchy of technologies involved in transmitting the information seems to have been almost nonexistent. In almost any act of formal communication between two separate agents of power, for instance, oral, written and symbolic communication all took place. Letters and missives were delivered by messengers, who completed and glossed the information orally to the recipient. Sometimes no written information other than a warrant was provided, and the messenger acted as a speaking letter on behalf of his master. The very act of communication repeatedly included various manifestations of power and rank realized through symbols of heraldry, clothing, gestures or mutual exchange of gifts, employed to visualise status, dignity, trust and reciprocity in the act of representation and communication.⁸⁰ The synchronic use of oral, written and symbolic forms of communication

⁷⁹ In several studies on medieval popular culture and everyday life, the interaction and cultural manifestations of lay people such as peasants, townspeople, commoners, women and others have been repeatedly characterised as oral (sometimes even in the sense of 'preliterate'), whereas reproduction of the high culture of the upper social classes and institutions has often been defined in the context and vocabulary of literacy and 'literate mentality'. When combined with ideas of tradition, heritage and progress in civilisation, this has often marginalised oral and written modes of interaction, making them mere extensions of social rank and ability, which does not do justice to the synchronic use of different modes of communication extant in all levels of medieval civilisation. Also, in this context language and speech as special domains of national, social, gender, age or other identity, are repeatedly misinterpreted because of the projection of modern ideas onto medieval ways of interaction. See, for instance, Burke, Peter, Introduction. In: Burke, Peter & Porter, Roy (eds.), *The Social History of Language*. Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture 12. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK, 1987 (here Burke 1987a), 3–17, and Porter 1991, 4–13; On oral, written and symbolic forms of medieval communication see, for instance, Classen, Albrecht, *Kommunikation, Mittelalter*. In: Dinzelbacher, P. (ed.), *Europäische Mentalitätsgeschichte*. Kröners Taschenausgabe, 469. Alfred Kröner Verlag, Stuttgart 1993, 385; Salminen 1997, 154.

⁸⁰ Bak, János M., *Symbolik und Kommunikation im Mittelalter*. Ein Rohbericht. In: Kühnel, Harry (ed.), *Kommunikation und Alltag in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit, 15. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 596. Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1992, 39–45 and the articles of Hans-Werner Goetz, Ulf Dirlmeier & Gerhard Fouquet, Evamaria Engel and Wolfgang Heinrich, In: von Blaschitz, Gertrud et al. (eds.) *Symbole des Alltags – Alltag der Symbole*. Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag. Graz 1992. For the role of messengers see for instance Queller, Donald E., *Thirteenth century Diplomatic Envoys: Nuncii and Procuratores*. *Speculum* 35 (1960), 199–200; 'Botenwesen', (Szabó, Th.), In: *Lexicon des Mittelalters I–X*. München und Zürich, Artemis Verlag, 1980–1999 (here cited as LM), vol. II, 484–487, Salminen 1997, 154, Wenzel, Horst, *Boten und Briefe*. Zum Verhältnis körperlicher und nichtkörperlicher Nachrichtenträger. In: Wenzel, Horst (ed.), *Gespräche, Boten, Briefe: Körpergedächtnis und Schriftgedächtnis im Mittelalter*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 143. Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin 1997, 86–105, Juncker 2004, 253–26. As Roman Czaja has stated, the earliest information on permanently hired messengers of civic authorities in the Hanseatic area of interaction dates from the second and third quarters of the 14th century. The use of hired messengers then widened and stabilized at the beginning of the 15th century when messengers were frequently employed between the sailing seasons, i.e. November 11 – February 22, and from the 1430's onwards provided a system of communication reaching from Flanders to Prussia and Livonia functioning at fixed time periods and designed to overcome seasonal problems in transport, Czaja, Roman, *Städtische Läufer und Briefboten im Osteseeraum im Spätmittelalter*. In: Hundt, Michael & Lokers, Jan (eds.), *Hanse und Stadt. Akteure, Strukturen und Entwicklungen im regionalen und europäischen Raum*. Festschrift für Rolf Hammel-Kiesow zum 65.

and the kaleidoscopic variations of these domains in the transfer of information thus constituted a momentum, or to be more precise, series of momentums, in which the two agents in interaction reproduced their actual socio-cultural kind in terms of power, sovereignty, dependence and reciprocity in the framework of their civilisation. In order to understand the essences of late medieval communication all the three domains must be taken in consideration.

The synchronic manifestation of different modes of communication in acts of interaction shows that the choice of the medium is not so much relevant to the technical superiority and 'modernity' of the technology itself as to the actual motives and practice of communication in the society where it takes place. Of interest here is also the actual nature of '**languages**' involved in the interaction. According to Peter Burke, for instance, a plausible way to interpret medieval and early modern uses of literacy would be to understand them as socio-linguistic '*domains of language behaviour*', that is, use of different styles of speech in different settings. He has distinguished four such domains: the business, the family, the Church and the state, in all of which different literate techniques were introduced. The adaptation of these domains to complex uses of literacy was not predestined or ordained from above, but rather developed as an organic product of the formation of the actors in the domains themselves, where texts and literacy were employed for different uses for pragmatic reasons related to producing, recording and distributing information. Because of this, Burke himself has seen the problem fundamentally as one of practical or 'pragmatic' literacy; the ability to produce written texts for everyday use in communication and record-making. At the same time, different 'languages', i.e. *linguages proper* and '*sociolects*', i.e. domains of language behaviour characteristic to particular social groups and communities (regions, churches, occupations, gender) started to be anchored in identities, not only in Latin, but also in vernaculars: a process, which together with the sociocultural coercion of powers,

Geburtstag. Einzelveröffentlichung des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Schmidt-Römschild, Lübeck 2014, 69–78. On the role of gifts in the symbolic communication of the council of Reval, see Kreem, Juhan, *Gäster i Reval under medeltiden. Gåvor i stadens räkenskaper*, Historisk Tidskrift för Finland 83 (1998), 471–488. On the various types of written missives apparent in the communication of the Livonian Master with the city of Reval and Vassals of Harrien-Wierland, see Kreem, Juhan, *Wem sollen wir glauben? Bemerkungen über Schriftlichkeit (und Mündlichkeit) in den Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und Reval*. In: Czaja, Roman & Sarnowsky, Jürgen (eds.), *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den Geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: Innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik. Ordines militares XV*, Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Universitas Nicolai Copernici, Toruń, 2009 (here Kreem 2009a), 181–190.

ethnicities and nations resulted in the standardization of languages in the western world from the late Middle Ages onwards.⁸¹

Together with the concept of literacy, the combination of oral, written and symbolic forms of communication and the development of ‘languages’, a fourth important factor in the study of human communication past and present is the geographical and socio-cultural **distance** between the actors in communication contributing to the framework of interaction where the acts of communication take place. Occasionally, and when combined with *a priori* assumptions on the nature of the technologies involved, this has resulted in rather simplified evaluations of the role of distance in the past. According to Peter Koch (1998), for instance, a natural interdependence between communicational vicinity (Ger. *kommunikative Nähe*) and communicational distance (Ger. *kommunikative Distanz*) in human interaction exists, in which oral modes of communication frequently associate with the former and the textual ones with the latter. In the actual interaction, however, combinations of oral transmission of messages with communicational distance (such as those of medieval messengers) and written texts with communicational vicinity (charters and warrants issued on location, administrative memoranda, birchbark letters and runesticks) existed, which underlines the adaptability of technologies to the actual motives of interaction rather than their dependence on hierarchies of oral, literate and symbolic forms of communication. Instead of a hierarchy of technologies, the use of different modes of communication on different occasions must be understood as traditions or conventions of discourse in interaction and management of information, which can be analysed separately from the point of view of elements present in the act of communication.⁸² As stated above, such elements include at least *geographical and socio-cultural distance, credibility and verifiability of the communication both in the act of interaction and after, reciprocity* and the question whether the information in the act of communication was of *open or confidential nature*. Of these the last one is perhaps the most problematic, but also one of the most intriguing features in the study of late medieval management of written information and communication.

⁸¹ Burke, Peter, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Modern Italy*. In: Burke, Peter & Porter, Roy (eds.), *The Social History of Language*. Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture, 12. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK, 1987 (here Burke 1987b), 24, and Burke, Peter, *Languages and Communities in early modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (UK), 2004, 1–42 and passim. For the pragmatic literacy or textuality (Ger. *pragmatischer Schriftlichkeit*), see even Juncker 2004, 24.

⁸² Koch, Peter, *Urkunde, Brief und Öffentliche Rede. Eine diskurstraditionelle Filiation im 'Medienwechsel'*. In: *Das Mittelalter*, 3:1 (1998), 13–15.

Ever since the 19th century one of the most discussed aspects of late medieval society has been the difference between '**public**' and '**private**' spheres of interaction and the nature of such domains in the contemporary activity of people and institutions. Even if much of the discussion was originally and especially in the study of diplomatics related to the tradition of German legal history and more or less anachronistic 19th-century definitions of 'public' and 'private', the two domains pose a real problem of definition and must be kept in mind when studying communication and interaction in late medieval Europe.⁸³ Instead of understanding 'public' as something essentially institutional, collective or open, and 'private' as something individual or inward, I would like to define them more precisely in terms of *formal/informal*, *public/restricted* and *open/confidential*, because of the nature of the issues and the accessibility of information in the communication that once took place. In the Middle Ages agents of 'public' or institutionalised authority and 'private' individual beings or corporations were constantly interacting with each other and producing information classified as either public or restricted, or open or confidential. The mode in which this information was produced, recorded, distributed and stored could be either formal or informal, depending on the use of different modes of communication and domains of interaction in the day-to-day life of the agents engaged in it. Should we forget the three polarisations of *formal/informal*, *public/restricted* and *open/confidential* when studying medieval communication and management of information, we might fail to understand some of the essential features of it. An important question and one of the central issues of this study regarding the management of information in the activity of the medieval civic authority in Reval is *who was responsible* for recoding, storing and managing written information, but we should also ask *who had access* to the knowledge available in the administration, knowledge which was presented

⁸³ Besides the study of diplomatics, the dichotomy of public and private has been discussed especially in the study of private and public space, rituals and gender in the Middle Ages. An excellent treatise on 'Public' (Ger. *Öffentlichkeit*) and 'Private', both in the Middle Ages and in the context of medieval studies, is Peter von Moos' *Das Öffentliche und das Private im Mittelalter. Für einen kontrollierten Anachronismus*. In: Melville, Gert & von Moos, Peter (eds.), *Das Öffentliche und Private in der Vormoderne. Norm und Struktur, Studien zum Sozialen Wandel in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzzeit*, 10. Böhlau Verlag, Köln – Weimar – Wien, 1998, 3–83, where the author not only discusses the relevant theories and studies on medieval and general 'Öffentlichkeit' including Ernst Kantorowitz (*The King's two Bodies*, 1937 and 1957), Jürgen Habermas (*Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, 1962 and later contributions) and others, but also focuses more deeply on three aspects of the medieval 'public' sphere: 'consensus omnium' or 'opinio communis', 'fama – infama' and 'scandalum'. Of these even the 'opinio communis' as the manifestation of prevalent 'common opinion' of various jurisdictional, territorial or communal groupings is relevant for this study because of the transformation of the rhetorical topos of 'common opinion' into an 'opinion of the community' in the medieval *ars dictaminis* designed as scribal handbooks for writing various kinds of texts in communication. On the uses and conceptualisations of 'Public' (*Öffentlichkeit*) as an instrument of analysis in the study of history see even Malz, Arié, *Der Begriff "Öffentlichkeit" als historisches Analyseninstrument: Eine Annäherung aus kommunikation- und systemtheoretischer Sicht*. In: Günthart, Romy & Jucker, Michael (ed.), *Kommunikation im Spätmittelalter, Spielarten – Wahrnehmungen – Deutungen*. Chronos Verlag, Zürich, 2005, 13–26.

either in oral form to a small congregation of people involved, or through their own inspection in the scriptorium, *kämmerei* and archives of the city.

As Michael T. Clanchy has shown, the older and essentially 19th-century hypothesis of the domains of literacy and writing as a monopoly of the medieval Church and the stress on the role of ecclesiastic scriptoria in the production of texts from the Carolingian era onwards have shaped much of the discussion on the uses and nature of literacy and writing in high and late medieval society and culture, as well as on how and why texts were actually produced and used in the medieval management of information and in what available sets of technologies and applied forms of conventions they appeared. Regarding the role of medieval towns and cities in the ‘diffusion’ of literacy and literate cultures, of interest here is Clanchy’s notion of the role of humanists, renaissance and modern, in creating and maintaining divisions between the ‘literate mentality’ of the urban centers and the ‘illiterate’ and ‘ignorant’ countryside. In this conception the 19th-century and early modern humanistic ideal of the value of schooling has been employed to verify the nature of medieval society as a whole. According to Clanchy himself (1993) his main contribution to the historiography of the medieval literacy in his study *From Memory to Written Record* (1979) was that medieval ‘lay literacy grew out of bureaucracy, rather than from any abstract desire for education or literature’. Instead of an idealized monopoly of a few, medieval lay literacy, or to be more precise, medieval textualization in the management of information and communication, grew because from a pragmatic attitude and a desire to manage, record and store information in everyday administration and communication for the future. As already stated, according to Peter Burke this kind of pragmatic attitude contributed to the anchoring of languages proper and other domains of language behaviour to the identity and sociocultural conventions of particular institutions, groups and communities of shared interests, not only in Latin, but also in vernaculars. Unfortunately, and despite Clanchy’s work, an *a priori* assumption that lay literacy was a domain of the landed and urban elites only, or something inferior to ecclesiastic textual production, is still prevalent in many studies and treatises about the medieval written word. In these studies the understanding of texts as renderings of various kinds of information is often vague or poor, the technologies and conventions used for producing them are seen through the supposed hierarchy of the producers, and the hierarchy as well as the channels of diffusion in the cultures of writing are still based on the

omnipotence of individual agents of the Church such as monastery scriptoriums or episcopal chanceries.⁸⁴

The problematic nature of the character of various spheres of the surviving medieval corpus of written texts and their relationship to later and mainly 19th-century a priori assumptions about 'literate', 'illiterate' and 'oral' cultures is best illustrated when trying to form a picture of the classification and typologisation of various texts surviving from the medieval interaction. In the study of medieval diplomatics and various fiscal, judicial and administrative memoranda today, there is no general consent on the origins and classification of various kinds of written missives and codices used for distributing or recording information in the Middle Ages; even the concept of the letter is ambiguous. Medieval 'letters' were more a literate genre than an instrument of communication. Many of them were organised in collections or anthologies and never sent to the addressees.⁸⁵ Letters as we know them, that is, descriptions of contemporary events, conveyors of political and administrative statements and instruments for transmitting the news, had their origins in the world of politics, economy and justice, where a wide range of charters, certificates and other kinds of individual statements were produced from the twelfth century onwards. The introduction of these documents into everyday communication gradually produced the form of a sealed and closed *missive* as a major instrument of interaction between medieval organisations and agents of power. As Clanchy and Ursula Schaefer have stated, this process was not one of simple adaptation to literacy as something essentially progressive, articulated or developed in opposition to 'illiterate', 'oral' and 'ignorant' modes of interaction of the past.⁸⁶ On the contrary, the adaptation to textual practices and new uses of the written word presented a certain continuum, in which textualization in the management of gathering, recording, producing and distributing information restructured the relationship and uses of oral, written and symbolic ways of presentation of agency in the context of the medieval society and its domains of interaction. As Clanchy has stated, the growth of practical textuality was by no means an inevitable process, but something during which the growing use of texts as instruments of information produced certain forms of interaction particular to medieval and early modern society, which in turn gives us the possibility to try to understand how contemporary organisations, institutions and individuals comprehended their

⁸⁴ Clanchy 1993, 3–21, esp. 11–16, 19, Burke 1987b, 24.

⁸⁵ Boureau, Alain, *La norme épistolaire, une invention médiévale*. In: Chartier, Roger (ed.), *La correspondance. Les usages de la lettre au XIX^e siècle*. Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1991, 127–157; Constable, Giles, *Letters and Letter-Collections. Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental*, 17. Brepols, Turnhout, 1976, 1–25.

⁸⁶ Clanchy 1993, 11–16, 332–334; Schaefer 1998, 7.

surroundings, or at least the part they sought to administer with the help of texts and records.⁸⁷

At the same time there is a problem in that besides providing a window onto certain areas of medieval society and interaction, the understanding of growing adaptation to text in the management of information in the interaction of medieval organisations and individuals poses a danger for the study of the phenomenon itself. Today most of the studies on the history of medieval organisations and institutions are based on a vast bulk of sealed missives and memoranda collected in archives, either in their original form or as copies during the Middle Ages. The nature of the process of textualization and synchronic uses of oral, written and symbolic spheres of communication, makes this material highly problematic as evidence of medieval day-to-day interaction. Since very little has survived of oral or symbolic forms of communication, we are left with mainly written documents, which covered only part of the information processed in it. On the other hand, the fact that sealed missives were frequently deposited in archives and copied into registers suggests in itself that their actual role was something other than that of just delivering information to the recipient/s. Beside them, other textual artifacts (carved sticks, wax tablets, birchbark letters) existed for the purpose, which rarely if ever ended up in archives to be stored for future retrieval of information. A sealed and closed missive was essentially a formal record, originally intended to be read in confidence to a select group of people, after which it was stored for possible future needs to verify issues of past communication in cases of disagreement. Because of this the missives as evidence of communication must be evaluated very carefully. Yet they usually are the only material we have for studying the every-day interaction of institutions and organisations of the medieval world.

Bearing in mind the definitions presented above, a particular argument of this study is that the practice of communication and the management of information always reflect an individual actor's notion of the material and immaterial world of geographical space, sociocultural relations and various frameworks of power in which he actually lives at. Whether this 'individual' is a single human being, or an actor in the form of some political, economic or judicial institutionalized authority, such as the council of Reval, is not important. What is important, is that the communication and management of information, its orientation, issues, forms and structure always explain something of the relationship between

⁸⁷ Clanchy 1993, 332.

the individual actor and the world around him. Because of this, the study of past management of information can be understood as archaeology of mental landscapes of the past, a gathering of information on various environments of power, authority, agency and interaction. Sometimes this information is evident and inherent to the sources, sometimes it is highly circumstantial and can be understood only after a wider analysis of all the categories of recorded information that once occurred meaningful for the actor.

1.2.3. Comprehending the evidence – Text permanences and conceptual categories in the management of late medieval written information

How, then, are we to study the complex role of text as a technology in the management of information of medieval institutionalised agents of authority, in this case the council of Reval?

To better understand the nature of medieval textualization, or to be more precise textualizations, and the role of textual rendering of information in medieval administration and communication, a short introduction to the role of text as a record of contemporary oral interaction, communication and use in the management of judicial, administrative and fiscal information is needed. For this the old and venerable division of diplomatics, palaeography and codicology can only provide tools for the analysis of individual textual products, whereas the role of text and textualization must be distilled from modern conceptualisations of texts and textual artefacts as objects of rendering and securing information on issues and events in any contemporary world. Here, it is important to bear in mind that the process textualization itself, i.e. written rendering, recording and transmission of information, has taken place innumerable times in different cultures in the history of humankind and appears to be more a cultural process characteristic of socioeconomical, cultural-cognitive and organisational manifestations of societies than any social-darwinistic 'point of evolution' in their development. Thus new uses of written communication supported by new kinds of technology have had a big impact on ways of communication, even as recently as the 1990's when sms and emails rapidly transformed earlier telephones and PCs into devices of textually based interpersonal and collective communication instead of older devices requiring oral 'phonocentric' use (phones) and professional and leisure oriented 'logocentric' use (PCs). Characteristic of the contemporary culture of 'digital record' in the form of photographs, videos, blogs and personal or collective space in the web is the exponential growth of memory capacity, not only of single PC's but also on 'clouds'. The process is in certain ways comparable to that of 13th- to 16th-century administrative

scriptoriums and their growing tendency to accumulate written records into archives designed to store the data in the form characteristic and inherent for the contemporary management of information.

Turning to the scope of this study, an important treatise on various manifestations of textualization as well as the typology and nature of texts in the written management of information of individual merchants and institutionalised agents of civic authority is Doris Tophinke's 1999 study on the textuality and typology of texts of the 14th- and 15th-century merchant account books in the Hanseatic sphere of interaction. According to Tophinke, a crucial tool for understanding the role of text in the management of information and communication of individual merchants and agents of medieval collective authority is the **'text type'** (Ger. *Texttyp*, a term employed for various theoretical categorisations of texts instead of the traditional textlinguistical *Textsort* used in empirical studies on textual material), i.e. the general and particular characteristics of textual expression of observed reality built on the selection and combination of themes, topics and ways of expression relevant to the context of the text. Different text types conform to various kinds of **'text permanences'** (Ger. *Textpermanenzen*). These were contemporary conventions of how the textual rendition of an act of authority, observed chain of events or particular type of information was composed or produced, which not only created but also constantly reformed and restructured itself and the text types employed for that particular rendering of topics. Characteristic of the process of creation and ongoing formation of text permanences were the normalization and standardization of the types of text employed for particular topics in the management of information (i.e. such as 'charters', 'missives', 'accounts' etc.), as well as an inherent tendency to institutionalisation, which, however, often emerges only in the context of textual conformation to issues in jurisdiction and the judicature (*Rechtspraxis*).⁸⁸

Here, the parallelity of inner constructions of speech to text permanences and text types conforming to them is a matter of great importance. As Peter Koch has (1998) stated, one of the most characteristic features of medieval letters of the Popes and Emperors is their structural 'kind' as argued presentations of states of facts and manifestations of will, where the actual structure of the text (i.e. text type) follows a rhetorically constructed diplomatic formula (text permanence) fundamentally based on the characteristics and logic

⁸⁸ Tophinke, Doris, *Handelstexte: Zu Textualität und Typik kaufmännischer Rechnungsbücher im Hanseraum des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*. ScriptOraia, 114. Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen 1999 (here Tophinke 1999a), 28–56.

of the original act of speech as the manifestation of the intentional will of the authority. This kind of parallelity in the act of speech and textual rendition of various communications of individual or institutionalised agents of interaction is further evident in medieval *ars dictandi* and *ars arengandi*, where composition of texts for different needs and topics in communication was based on rhetorical use of various *topoi* (Aristotelian ‘places of information’, ‘categories’) in order to transform a particular act of speech into a particular ‘kind’ of written communication.⁸⁹ Considering the development of various spheres of textualization, i.e. the emergence of text types and text permanences in the Baltic Sea area of interaction in the 12th to 14th centuries, such an institutionalisation based on contemporary conceptualisations of power and justice is easily observed in the world of sealed charters and letters as acts and manifestations of authority and will, but more difficult to see in the administrative and fiscal memoranda of civic authorities and private persons: there the conventional ways of textual rendering and recording of information followed the contemporary cultural and cognitional models of thinking and categorising information, not spoken acts of will transformable into written reproduction of the act itself with the help of rhetoric and textual permanences based on speech.⁹⁰

As Doris Tophinke has stressed, a plausible method of distinguishing contemporary conventions in the medieval textual rendering of information in both acts of authority and the management of administrative and fiscal information by individual people and transgenerational institutions such as town councils is the understanding of text types and permanences as **cognitive models**, in which any cognitive model of rendering experienced reality corresponds to a **conceptual category**. Here, she even uses the concept of ‘idealized cognitive models’, which allow a categorical conceptualisation of reality on which constructed models based on experiences, memory, emotions and socio-cultural environment can be individually, and perhaps even collectively, built. Based on George Lakoff’s thinking on prototypes and categories, Tophinke has further emphasised the meaning of basic categories (such as Lakoff’s ‘chair’, ‘table’) and their generalised categories (‘furniture’) in the conceptualisation and study of medieval text types, where the basic categories are connected with definable conceptualisations of objects, whereas in the generalised categories

⁸⁹ Koch 1998, 22–44. For *ars dictandi* see CHAPTER 1.2.4, footnote 115.

⁹⁰ See also Tophinke 1999a, 56.

the same definable features appear vague even if the category itself and the basic categories belonging to it are definable and conceptually sound.⁹¹

As Tophinke has argued, and considering the medieval text types and text permanences of the ‘Hanseatic’ or the Baltic Sea sphere of interaction, it is of special interest that unlike ‘furniture’ comprising both ‘chair’ and ‘table’, no generalized category appears to exist in the textual and written renditions of contemporary reality that is inclusive of basic cognitional categories such as ‘script’ (Lat. *scriptum*, Mnd. *schrift*), ‘codex’ (Mdn. *bok*), ‘letter’ (Lat. *litteras*, Mnd. *breve*) or ‘slip’, (Lat. *cedula*, Mnd. *zettel*), unless ‘the text’ as itself can be understood as such in its use as a medium for restoring and transmitting information.⁹² In the textual management of information of the 15th century civic authority of Reval, the category closest to a general category of ‘text’ in the sense of ‘textual matters’ appears to have been ‘the script’, the production of which in the work of the scribes included not only the writing of final accounts based on preliminary material produced by other people in the civic administration, but also other kinds of paid writing, as evident from the records of the Hanseatic Poundage where the Revalian city scribe was paid a special fee ‘for the keeping of the script’ (*de schryft to verwaren*) in 1457–58 and even earlier (see CHAPTER 3.2.2.3).⁹³

As Tophinke has pointed out, an essential feature for understanding medieval texts as such is their nature as *physical objects*, not only in the form of codices, quires or ‘scripts’ that might be put aside carelessly, forgotten and rediscovered after a long search, but also as *definable mental categories* based on combinations of writing materials (parchment, paper), text type, paleographic, diplomatic and codicological features, once easily understandable for contemporary actors in the management of written information and other persons involved in the use of it. To illustrate this Tophinke uses a missive of the council of Lübeck to the council of Reval, a response to a letter of appellation in a private matter of justice, in which the council of Lübeck strictly advises their colleagues in Reval to send such appellations on parchment, because the paper is evanescent (*wante dat pappir vergenklik is*). Discussed more in detail in CHAPTER 4.3.2 and dating to ca. May 1370, the original letter is only preserved as a copy written by city scribe Hermannus of Reval some time in the early years of his activity, in 1375–77, for an unknown purpose, and tells us much about the desired

⁹¹ Tophinke 1999a, 56–68.

⁹² Tophinke 1999a, 65–68, where she even discusses briefly the possibility of ‘language’ as a generalized category of texts, but logically rejects it because of its institutionalized use in other set of categories.

⁹³ TLA, B.a.1, f. 67r. ‘Jtem deme schryuere dan twen Jaren de schryft to verwaren gegeuen’.

combination of parchment and text type in appellations send to Lübeck as well as about the contemporary meaning and uses of information coded into it. Here the combination of the text type and the required material is also used to sustain a desired conceptual category of a ‘script’, with which the institutionalised agent responsible for the management of information of the council of Lübeck wanted to secure the judicial ‘kind’ of the textual artifact in its overall cognitional model of ‘what kind of documents should be considered as patent’ for the issue in question.⁹⁴

How, then, should we classify and understand the different text types and text permanences in the medieval management of information of a civic authority such as the council of Reval? Here, the problem is not so much possibility of distinguishing different categories for the remaining corpus of written management of information and communication but how we should seek to understand the mental and cognitive models behind the various basic and more generalized categories of text employed by the contemporary scribes in their everyday work. Considering the classification of various texts in the administration and communication of agents of economic and territorial power in the Baltic Sea region, for instance, the text types in the surviving corpus of 170 texts from the Hanseatic-Russian dealings in Novgorod have been studied in depth by Catherine Squires in 2009 with a special focus on the linguistic dimensions of the texts as reflections of their contemporary roles and uses (*Textsorten*).⁹⁵ In Sweden, in 2001 Inger Larsson published an important study on the striving for standardisation of the types of letters issued in transactions of land that reflected the legislation of the process in the Swedish provincial laws and the law codes of King Magnus Eriksson (the *Landslag*, compiled in the late 1340s, and the Town Law, *Stadslag*, introduced in 1352), as well as in other types of sealed documents issued by agents of public authority and private people. According to Larsson, the judicial classification of legal

⁹⁴ Tophinke 1999a, 71, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 382 (LECUB I:4 1581, RUB 40).

⁹⁵ Squires, Catherine, *Die Hanse in Novgorod: Sprachkontakte des Mittelniederdeutschen mit dem Russischen mit einer Vergleichsstudie über die Hanse in England*. Niederdeutsche Studien, 53. Böhlau Verlag, Köln – Weimar – Wien, 2009, 56–57. A similar study from the point of view of textlinguistical text types (Ger. *textsorten*), but focusing on missives only, was published by Christoph Grolimund on the 15th-century corpus of missives of the Council of Basel in 1995: Grolimund, Christoph, *Die Briefe der Stadt Basel im 15. Jahrhundert: ein textlinguistischer Beitrag zur historischen Stadtsprache Basels*. Basler Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 69. Francke Verlag Tübingen und Basel, 1995, where (165–174) he classifies the missives according to six different functions. Appellation, Information, Obligation, Declaration, Contact and function related to the character of the missive as letter open or patent. On various aspects of learning of Russian by German merchants in Novogrod and Russians learning German in Novgorod and Lübeck, see Iwanow, Iwan A., *Von Moskau nach Lübeck und zurück. Russische Sprachschüler auf den Spuren der Hanse*. In: Hundt, Michael & Lokers, Jan (eds.), *Hanse und Stadt. Akteure, Strukturen und Entwicklungen im regionalen und europäischen Raum*. Festschrift für Rolf Hammel-Kiesow zum 65. Geburtstag. Einzelveröffentlichung des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Schmidt-Römschild, Lübeck 2014, 447–450.

documents in Sweden was transformed from the late 13th- and early 14th-century issuer-oriented terminology of ‘king’s’ or ‘bishop’s letter’ (*konungs* or *biskups breff*) into a content-oriented terminology of ‘letters of sale’, ‘mortgage’ etc. (*köpobreff*, *pantabref*) in the late 14th century, the change in terminology being contemporary to the change of language from Latin to Swedish.⁹⁶

In this study the selected typology of texts (text types) and text permanences in the management of information, communication and manifestations of civic authority of the council of Reval is built on the assumption of the generic formation of the various types of textual artifacts based on the available technologies and needs (see FIGURE 4) and consisting of the text permanences and cognitional categories of the following:

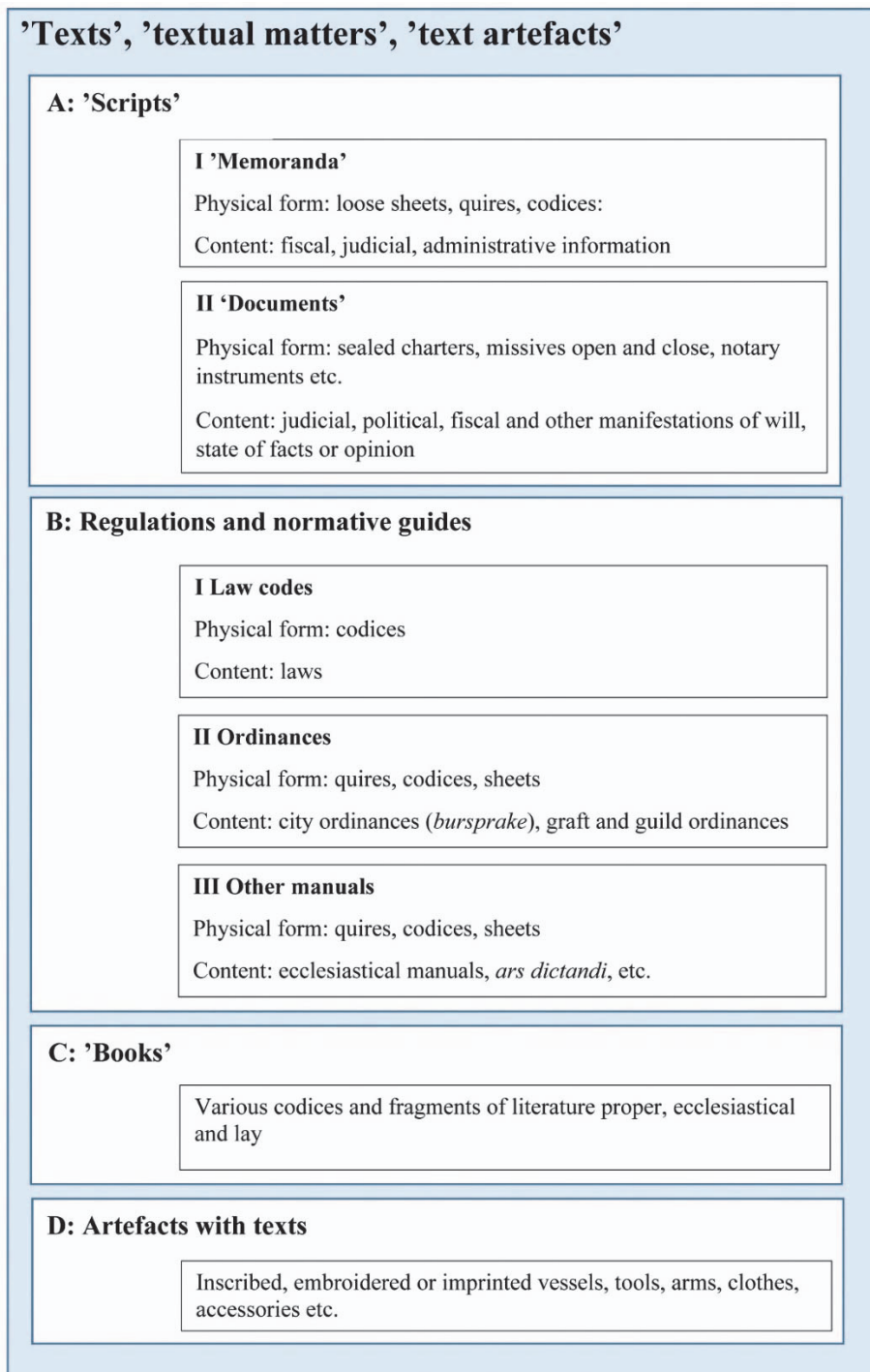
1. **Memoranda**, i.e. administrative and fiscal information recorded in quired and codexed volumes of parchment and paper frequently based on preliminary material written on loose slips and later recorded as entries of various form and length in the final memoranda for collecting and storing the information.
2. **Documents**, i.e. letters patent, missives, notary instruments and other contemporary means of recording, transmitting and securing information on acts of authority, issues in communication, judicial or fiscal matters, and simple declarations of states of things.
3. A third category of text permanences occasionally discussed in this study are the **laws and ordinances**, issued for and by the civic authority for the civic community and townspeople (Law of Lübeck in Reval, city ordinances and *bursparke*) or corporations and confraternities (Craft ordinances, Guilds), preserved not only in codiced and quired forms of script (*bok*) but also as individual texts on loose sheets, books of memoranda, and so on.

As presented in FIGURE 5, both the memoranda and the documents are here conceptualised as ‘scripts’; the basic products of the work of the city scribes and the written management of information of the council, although the scribes and the council had also to deal with the maintenance and production of city ordinances (*bursprake*) and craft and guild ordinances discussed later in this study. Furthermore, the textual environment of the civic authority and the scribes consisted not only of various kinds of manuals in their possession, but also of manifestations of texts in everyday life and festival occasions, where written explications, lemmatic sentences, and other combinations of letters and words constituted some of the culture-specific symbols and denotations of the shared themes, motives and narrations surrounding them. In this study, this culturally specific material, characteristic of the personal

⁹⁶ Larsson, Inger, Svenska medeltidsbrev. Om framväxten av ett offentligt skriftbruk inom administration, förvaltning och rättsutövning. Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, Scripta minora, 5. Stockholm 2001, 259.

and professional identity of the medieval city scribes, is discussed in more detail in the context of the known surviving material from each scribe's period of office in CHAPTERS 4 and 5.

Figure 5: *Generalised and suggested medieval cognitional categories of text permanences and text types in the management of written information of the civic authority in Reval and its scribes in this study.*



As evident from FIGURE 5, on the level of the material and suggested cognitional categories of text permanences and types in it, this study does not follow the older German division of the material into ‘Urkunden’ (charters and other judicially patent instruments and documents) and ‘Akten’ (other written files of informative and glossing content relevant to the judicial process), first established in German historiography in the 19th century and widely employed in the organisation of medieval archives of the German cultural and administrative heritage ever since (for the *Altes Ratsarchiv* of Reval CHAPTER 1.2.5.1). A result of the German tradition of legal and judicial history and still a standard division of historical sources in German handbooks and methodological treatises, one of its major problems has always been the classification of the vast bulk of quired and codexed civic memoranda of the Middle Ages, where the contents of the so called ‘City books’ (Ger. *Stadbücher*) vary from legally binding and dispositive (books on inheritances, i.e. possession of town houses, issues brought to the consideration of the council written in the so called *Denkelboks*) or other administrative and fiscal memoranda (accounts of the *Kämmerers*, Poundage etc.) to various kinds of lists (burghers in possession of the keys of the towers of the Town wall, people entitled to safe conduct in the city etc.) and mere notes or copies or a compilation of all these (books of mixed memoranda).

The problem of the older German division to ‘Urkunden’ and ‘Akten’ is fundamentally one of a projection of modern concepts about the suggested significance of the surviving material onto its actual use in the medieval management of information, where the original relevance of the corpus of the city books of memoranda is lost in the anachronistic view of its substance. Instead, as Andreas Petter has argued in his analysis on the older conceptualisations of the matter, there is a good reason to treat city books of memoranda (*Stadbücher*) as a group of their own (*sui generis*) and understand this group as a historical phenomenon in the context of textualization and contemporary ways of communication and management of information. It is important that much of the medieval civic memoranda has only survived in its early modern form of bound and ‘closed’ codices, often quite different from the medieval praxis where many ‘branches’ of memoranda consisted of quires of parchment or paper with an annual series of entries following in chronological succession and slowly collected into a series of quires later bound together into a codex.⁹⁷ At the same

⁹⁷ Petter, Andreas, *Schriftorganisation, Kulturtransfer und Überformung – drei Gesichtspunkte für Entstehung, Funktion und Struktur städtischer Amtsbuchüberlieferung aus dem Mittelalter*. In: Sarnowsky, Jürgen (ed.), *Verwaltung und Schriftlichkeit in den Hansestädten*. *Hansische Studien*, XVI. Porta Alba Verlag, Trier, 2006, 20–21, 42–43, 49–50. Much of Petter’s discussion is related to the analysis of the

time, and as evident from the surviving books of memoranda in Reval (see the analysis of individual volumes in CHAPTERS 3 and 4), from the last quarter of the 14th century occasional initiatives were taken to arrange certain classes of information into bound codices purchased in blanco, but the habit of accumulating and storing the information in quires prevailed well into the early modern era and the medieval composition and organisation of the produced textual ‘corpus’ of the administration and management of information of any particular civic authority was often rather different from the ‘closed’ documentation available to us in its early modern form only because it was created for the needs of the post-medieval administration.

The complex connotations of the physical manifestations of the medieval civic memoranda have recently been discussed by Mathias Franc Kluge (2014), who has shown that the medieval habit of labelling certain volumes of the *Stadbücher* with red leather bindings was essentially a symbol of the authority of the city as a judicial subject and must be understood as a kind of ‘lieu de memoire’ in the manifestations of the identity of the council.⁹⁸ His claim is attested not only by these legal codices and judicial memoranda but also by the iconography on sessions of the city councils in German and French cities where the ‘red book’ constitutes an important object in the symbolic representation of the authority of the gathering. Such a physical manifestation of the civic authority is also documented in the medieval management of information of Reval, where several codices and books of civic memoranda are still bound in red material, including the 1282 edition of the Lübeck Law [TLA, Cm 6] and the oldest surviving book of inheritances of the city from 1312–60 [A.a.1]. Both the codices present bindings with red leather possibly of late 14th- or 15th-century origin and are accompanied in *AR* by other later codices and volumes of a judicially binding or authoritative nature bound in red leather. The precise date of their binding is often unknown, but most of them appear to be of medieval 15th-century origin. Contemporary to the oldest surviving book of inheritances of Reval, the register of city ordinances and *bursprake* (on

conceptualisation of the nature of the ‘Stadbücher’ by Ernst Pitz in his study *Schrift- und Aktenwesen der städtischen Verwaltung im Spätmittelalter, Köln-Nürnberg-Lübeck*. In: Kuphal, Erich (ed.), *Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln*, 54. Verlag von Paul Neubner, Köln 1959, 17–32 and *passim*. On the development, organisation and cognitional groundings of the ‘Stadbücher’ as civic memoranda see also Isenmann 2012, 434–414 and ‘Stadbücher’ (Kintzinger, M.), *LM VIII*, 13, and on the overall problematics of ‘Akten’ Kluge, Mathias Franc, *Die Macht des Gedächtnisses: Entstehung und Wandel kommunaler Schriftkultur im spätmittelalterlichen Augsburg*. *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions*, 181. Brill, Leiden 2014, 100–101.

⁹⁸ Kluge 2014, 181–218.

these see CHAPTER 3.1.1.2) introduced for the city of Rostock in 1319 was later cited as the ‘Red Book’ (Ger. *Rotes Buch*).⁹⁹

How should we understand the complex and very much conceptual category of ‘Stadbücher’ and their various functions in the management of information of medieval civic authorities? Instead of a mere mirror of ‘branches’ of administration of individual cities, as understood by the older scholarship on the matter, Andreas Petter has distinguished two plausible functions relevant to the role of the civic memoranda in the contemporary medieval pasts; one of a relatively short-term ‘memorizing’ and one of more lasting ‘documentation’. Apparently reflecting not only their overall composition but also the possible modes of thinking in their production and use, he has further stressed the actual role of the ‘memorizing’ function as one of ‘*Schrift-Gebrauch*’, i.e. the use and application of the script or text in contemporary memorizing of past issues, decisions, transactions and activities, and that of documentation as one of ‘*Schrift-Organisation*’, i.e. the organisation of the information for later use in finished textual products based on preliminary material produced in the civic administration.¹⁰⁰ Instead of a preset classification of text types where individual texts are categorized as different types of letters, agreements, decisions, accounts, regulations and so on, the typology of texts in this study is thus seen in terms of the needs of textualization: where and in what domains of information it took place and what developments there are in it from the point of view of those who managed it in the civic administration. As Catherine Squires has pointed out, any categorization of text types from the point of view of their judicial and communicative content or form appears always to require further consideration when studied in relation to their everyday linguistic manifestations.¹⁰¹ The same has to be kept in mind with textualization and written management of information, where different manifestations of textual renderings of administrative, fiscal, judicial or communicative reality developed different forms and conventions based on combinations of available technological innovations in writing,

⁹⁹ Other volumes containing material before 1456/60 bound with red leather include the parchment book of annuities of (1382)1384–1518 [A.a.3], a paper codex of mixed memoranda also used as a *Denkelbok* of the city of 1373–1455 [A.d.5], a parchment codex of annual rents of market shops and other fiscal liabilities of the council from ca. 1399/1403–1456 later used as a *Denkelbok* of the city in 1471–1523 [A.a.7], the combined paper codex of imposed fines (Mnd. *wedde*) of ca. 1400–1521 and collected rents of 1392–1436 [A.a.4a], and accounts of the Mint from 1448–66 [A.d.22]. On the date of the individual codices, see their descriptions later in the study; Beyerle, Konrad, *Die deutschen Stadtbücher*. *Deutsche Geschichtsblätter*. Monatschrift zur Förderung der landesgeschichtlichen Forschung 11 (1910), 162. A similar late 14th-century ‘red book’ with city ordinances (*Ratswillküren*) and *bursparke* is also known from Dortmund, Beyerle 1910, 175.

¹⁰⁰ Petter 2006, 49–50.

¹⁰¹ Squires 2009, 56–57.

indexing and restoring the relevant issues of information by those entangled with it in their everyday work (such as scribes and notaries public) or life (merchants). As evident from the surviving medieval letter collections in the archives or known to have been possessed by contemporary civic authorities of the Baltic Sea area, one important offshoot of creating text types, especially in written communication of professional scribes with university schooling, was the abovementioned *ars dictandi*, ‘the art of dictation’, i.e. the art of producing texts for various issues in communication and acts of authority with the help of various *topoi* and formulas (originally from oral dictation of issues), which appears to have developed into a discipline of its own in Italy at the beginning of the 12th century. Because this study rarely goes into the level of individual texts in written communication and the text types and formulas employed in it, the likely practice of using handbooks of *ars dictandi* in the writing of the most professional city scribes like Joachim Muter of Reval (active in 1427, 1429–56/60) is largely omitted. Since only a few such handbooks have survived in the medieval archival material of the Baltic Sea region towns, most of them are likely to have been the personal property of the scribes and did not get stored in the civic archives.¹⁰²

1.2.4. Distinguishing the actors – The institutional character and the nature of ‘professionalization’ in the management of written information of civic authorities in the late medieval Baltic Sea area of interaction

Lastly, and before I continue to the introduction of the basic corpus of material of this study, a few words on various actors and their agencies in the textualization and on the profession of the city scribes in the management of the information of the council of Reval is needed.

In the medieval administration of Reval various spheres of the activity of the civic authority were controlled by *individual councillors*, who often, but not always worked in pairs, as well as *professional people* permanently, seasonally or temporarily hired to take care of a special ‘office’ or sector of activity under the council. Similarly to larger cities such as Lübeck, the main bulk of the information in the administration of various liabilities of the civic authority was collected, processed and even put into writing by the councillor wardens, after which the city scribes reorganised and rewrote it into fiscal, judicial or administrative memoranda

¹⁰² On *ars dictandi* see Camargo, Martin, *Ars dictaminis, ars dictandi. Typologie des Sources Du Moyen Âge Occidental*, 60. Brepols, Turnhout, 1991, Koch 1998, 28–32, Fenger, Ole, *Notarius Publicus: Le Notarie au Moyen Âge Latin*. Aarhus Universitetsforlag AG, Gylling 2001, 65–90, Ståhl, Peter, *Ars dictandi som medeltidsbrevens formelspråk*. In: Gejrot, Claes, Andersson, Rotger & Abukhanfusa, Kerstin (eds.), *Ny väg till medeltidsbrevens*. Skrifter utgivna av Riksarkivet, 18. Västermik, 2002, 147–156, and Salminen, Tapio, *Unknown Hands, Trusted Men. Professional Writing in Finnish Medieval Town Administration*. In: Niemi, Marjaana & Vuolanto, Ville (eds.) *Reclaiming the City. Innovation, Culture, Experience*. Studia Fennica Historica 6. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki 2003 (here Salminen 2003b), 106.

either partially or fully managed by them (see CHAPTER 3.2).¹⁰³ From the point of view of organisation and communication studies, much of the nature of these different ‘actors’ and their ‘agencies’ in the administration of the civic authority can be viewed through actor-network theories, where individual actors such as the scribes, councillors or the council as a whole not only brought substance, views and ways of conduct of their own to the issues they dealt with in the organisation but also took part in the continuous reproduction of the organisation itself in its everyday manifestations as their agencies (i.e. offices). Much of the last function took place through their communication with actors outside the organisation and networks they represented in their interaction. In actor-network theories, and in line with what has already been discussed above, the cyclic formation of the identity of the actors and their agencies is further described as a reciprocal exchange between the surface and deep structure of the organisation which creates a stable relationship between the levels and makes the organisation rather predictable, not the least because the organisation itself is understood as a product of ongoing activities and interaction.¹⁰⁴

The conceptualisation of actors and agencies characteristic to actor-network theories helps to analyse the nature of the role of city scribes in the administration of the civic authority of Reval, not only in the management of information of the institutionalised transpersonal and transgenerational agency of the council (also an actor) as a whole, but also from the point of view of individual scribes and their work as manifested in the remaining corpus of material and information on their life. Interestingly, the possibilities of a similar approach focusing on the specific traditions of city governments and the role of individual scribes and their professional networks as agents contributing to the developments in the management of information and the resulting corpus of material in individual towns and groups of towns has also recently been suggested for the study of the office of the medieval city scribes.

According to Andreas Petter, the various functions of the text in the medieval administrative pasts also appear to have contributed to the growing role of the professional city scribes in transforming the pragmatic and cognitional organisation of the information into finished textual products, a development assisted by the requirements of the wardens of the various branches of the council administration. As a result, permanently hired city scribes emerged as practical and intellectual carriers of the textualization of the

¹⁰³ On the written management of information in Lübeck see Pitz 1959, 455–460.

¹⁰⁴ For Actor-network theories see Littlejohn & Foss 2011, 299–303 and Scott 2008, 42. On the nature of ‘actor’ and ‘agency’ in the context of ‘social’ and Actor-Network theory see Latour, Bruno, *Reassembling the Social. An introduction of Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford University Press, 2005, 43–55.

administration of their cities and introduced views and conventions of their own to the management of information in their office.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, no study on the corpus of surviving material of memoranda and documents of any given medieval city should focus only on the reconstruction of the administrative spheres or suggested motives of the civic elites in governing the community, but also take into account the various networks and intellectual horizons of the individual scribes in what can be known of their work in the management and cognitive organising of the production of memoranda and documents in the scriptorium. Here the relevant areas of interest in the study of the individual scribes are not only the particular traditions of the management of information of the city as created and determined by previous scribes and the needs of the civic authority, but also the various ‘professional’ networks and contacts of the scribes as well as their schooling and known qualifications, for all of which the main point of reference is provided by the corpus of the material still extant in the archives of the particular institution.

What exactly was the ‘profession’ of a city scribe in the medieval administration of a civic authority of a merchant city? In standard modern works such as the Oxford English Dictionary, ‘profession’ is today defined as *‘an occupation in which a professed knowledge of some subject, field, or science is applied, a vocation or career, especially one that involves prolonged training and a formal qualification’*, and ‘professionalization’ as the process where the nature and criteria of the particular ‘profession’ are stabilized.¹⁰⁶ In organizational studies in general, a ‘profession’ is defined as a special activity sustained by individuals in possession of adequate skills. Much of the modern discussion on the issue is again related to 20th-century organisation theories: for instance, for March and Simon: *‘Professionalization implies specific formal training and thus substantial homogeneity of background. It implies formal regulation of job performance and thus similarity in positions. To the extent that a job is professionalized, techniques and standards of performance are defined by other members of profession’*. According to them, the dialectic process of the realisation and manifestation of recognisable ‘professions’ in organisations can be understood as a self-feeding system: *‘Since reference to this group and its standards is indispensable in performing a professionalized job, the group’s influence on action*

¹⁰⁵ Petter 2006, 49–50, where he also discusses and develops the ideas of Janusz Tandecki on the significance of the professional networks and culture of the scribes, see Tandecki, Janusz, *Die Stadschreiber und ihre Rolle bei der Vereinheitlichung der Arbeitsformen der städtischer Kanzleien in Preussen*. In: Tandecki, Janusz (ed.), *Die Rolle der Stadtgemeinden und bürgerlichen Genossenschaften in Hanseraum in der Entwicklung und Vermittlung des gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Gedankengutes im Spätmittelalter*. Toruń 2000, 117–131.

¹⁰⁶ OED, ‘profession’, II:7a, and ‘professionalization’.

permeates a wide class of job situations. Since there is a need to be like other members of the profession in a number of attributes, there is tendency to extend this need to other attributes and thus to identify with the group'. The notion on the group-based 'ethos' and manifestations of socio-economical and cultural-cognitional sameness of individuals in organisational or institutional professions gives obvious possibilities for creating a framework of criteria for a plausible hypothesis of the 'profession' and 'professionalization' of the scribes and the more formal qualifications of the 'profession' of the notaries public in the Middle Ages whether or not and whenever various kind of 'professionalization' occurred in the formation of the agency (i.e. office) of the city scribe in the service of the council of Reval. The same is also evident from Scott's above-mentioned conceptualisation of 'Jobs', 'Roles' and 'Obedience to duty' as *Routine-based* carriers of *normative* manifestations of the nature of institutions, where the 'role' of the scribes can be understood as one maintaining the constant negotiation of the identity of the civic authority, and also of themselves, through the management of information for the institution they serve (see FIGURE 2).

Of particular importance to the profession of medieval city scribes and the professionalization of their work is the nature of formal qualifications of their agency and the relationship of the pragmatic use of text in the written management of information to the normative text permanences of Latin employed in matters of judicial content in ecclesiastic and lay administration. An essential ingredient in any qualifications of professional scribes in the later Middle Ages was the bifurcated system of **schooling** in the Latin West, where both monastic schools and cathedral chapters provided tuition in the basic disciplines of Latin Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric, which, together with the universities since the 12th century, provided and sustained normative criteria in the written expression of learned Latin. Even if the 12th-century development of the universities started to temper the culture of schooling, it remained essentially Legal-Rhetorical for a long time, and was always based on the knowledge of learned Latin at the higher levels of education.¹⁰⁷ At the same time there is good reason to suggest that both the combination of skills individual scribes required for the production of texts and the more general cognitional categories of text permanences contributed to the use and development of text types the scribes employed in their management of information. At least some of these text permanences and types, such as that of 'Documents' as characterised in FIGURE 5 above, appear to have been adopted already in

¹⁰⁷ On the Legal-Rhetorical culture see Witt, G. Ronald, *The Two Latin Cultures and the Foundation of Renaissance Humanism in Medieval Italy*. Cambridge University Press, 2011, 472–484 and *passim*.

the context of schooling, whereas others, such as the ‘Memoranda’ arose from the needs of administration, where the role of the City Scriptoriums and scribes appears to have often been downplayed in comparison with higher levels of ecclesiastic and lay government of papal curia, dioceses and realms. In addition, different areas of the management of information in the production of various types of ‘Documents’ and ‘Memoranda’, as well as in the textual scrutinization of ‘Laws’ and ‘Ordinances’, required different conceptual and cognitional assets. Judicial and legal knowledge could lean on formal schooling and manuals of *ars dictandi*, but the management of memoranda was built on contemporary cognitive models related to the pragmatic nature and uses of information. The ways of establishing knowledge of producing missives and administrative and fiscal memoranda are also detectable from the wax tablets excavated from the waste pit of the oldest parish school in Lübeck, that of the Church of St Jakobi, where the writing exercises in the curriculum were focused on the production of documents and missives with topics of merchant content in Latin as late as the 1370’s. Established in 1262, the school was under the direct control of the council and intended for the offspring of the merchant elites, but there is no evidence that the city scribes also acted as headmasters of either this school or four later elementary parish schools, as suggested in earlier scholarship.¹⁰⁸

Beside the role of schooling, whether formal or practical, another important element in the qualifications of the scribes was language; not only knowledge of Latin, which the city scribes may have been more or less proficient in and where the need of linguistic knowledge could vary extensively from highly specialised legal language to formalised speech of the missives, but also the vernacular in whatever specific variant was required by the civic administration for the production of its documents. A useful example of this is the late medieval management of information in the Prussian city of Thorn (now Toruń in Poland), where most of the civic memoranda of the city was written in East Middle German (Ger. *Ostmitteledeutsch*), even though the *lingua franca* of the local merchants in both oral and

¹⁰⁸ Wriedt, Klaus, Schuler und bürgerliches Bildungswesen in Norddeutschland. In: Moeller, Bernd, Patze, Hans & Stackmann, Karl (eds.), Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung des Spätmittelalters 1978 bis 1981. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologische-Historische Klasse, 3. Folge, 137. Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1983, 165, Isenmann 2012, 561–563. The schools are not mentioned in the surviving contracts of the Lübeck city scribes from 1476 and 1481 (Bruns, Friedrich, Die lübecker Stadschreiber von 1350–1500. Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 11 (1903), 92–96, nr. 10–11), but the rent of the two ‘writing schools’ (*schryffschole*) is cited as part of the income of the former city scribe Johannes Arndt (in office in 1455–78) in 1482, (Bruns 1903, 96–98, nr. 12–13). The habit of investing the city scribes with the rectorship of civic elementary schools is, however, documented from other cities such as Stralsund. See Wriedt 1983 and Isenmann 2012 above.

written communication was Middle Low German (Ger. *Mittelniederdeutsch*) as the language of the transregional community of the Baltic Sea area of the era. As Józef Grabarek has shown, the reason for the selection of a variant of German alien to the most of the civic community and the qualification of the city scribes based on this particular feature was that East Middle German was the written language of the Chancery of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, to whom the city owed allegiance and with which the civic authorities of Thorn were in constant communication.¹⁰⁹ What is more, the agency of the scribes and their identity as ‘actors’ in the organisation they served also manifested itself in areas other than writing. Besides the ability to produce judicially and communicationally patent documents, the scribes not only recorded, managed and stored information for the purposes of memorizing and documentation under the civic authority, but also accompanied important delegations of the council in negotiations with other agents of power, where their clothing and paraphernalia reproduced the institutional identity of the city they served.¹¹⁰

As discussed at the beginning of this theoretical introduction to the study, a more or less evident aspect of the formation of the ‘profession’ and ‘professional’ status of the city scribes in the Hanseatic and Baltic Sea area of interaction since the beginning of the 14th century seems to have been the growing tendency to stress the legitimacy of the activity of the scribes as the persons responsible for the production of different types of texts and finished textual artefacts for the civic authority. In the Scandinavian towns of the latter half of the 14th century, this growing stress on legitimacy appears to have been part of a larger process by which direct consultation of the burgher community was replaced with various ‘committees’ or named representatives of the community, and where the civic authority negotiated most of the routine administrative matters of the city and its inhabitants with these representatives.¹¹¹ In Stockholm, where the town area was divided into four quarters in

¹⁰⁹ Grabarek, Józef, Zur Herkunft und Sprache der Deutschsprachigen Bürger der Stadt Thorn im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. In: Reiter, Norbert (ed.), *Sprechen und Hören. Akten des 23. Linguistischen Kolloquiums*, Berlin 1988. *Linguistische Arbeiten*, 222. Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen 1989, 48. On East Middle German as the lingua franca of the Chancery of the Grand Master see even Heckmann, Dieter, *Die Ausstrahlung hochmeisterlicher Kanzleien auf die deutsche Sprache und Schriftlichkeit des Spätmittelalters*. In: Czaja, Roman & Sarnowsky, Jürgen (eds.), *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den Geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: Innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik. Ordines militares XV*, *Colloquia Torunensia Historica*. Universitas Nicolai Copernici, Toruń, 2009 [here Heckmann 2009a], 121–132, esp. 124–125.

¹¹⁰ For aspects of the symbolic value of the scribes for their employers as reflected in their clothing, see for instance Isenmann 2012, 426.

¹¹¹ Gustafsson 2007, 100, 174, 207–208, 219–220, 197–199, 193–195. The division of the Swedish towns and cities into quarters followed the older tradition in German cities, the age of which is, however, obscure. In the 15th century in imperial German cities such as Nürnberg and Lübeck the quarters and their respective delegates had functions related to general order, security and defence and the division appears to have replaced the older division based on ecclesiastical parishes around the first half of the 15th century, see Pitz 1959, 399–400.

accordance with the 1352 Town Law of King Magnus Eriksson, such a change is evident from the beginning of the last quarter of the 15th century. From 15th century Reval, a city subject to the Lübeck Law, no clear information on named representatives or any group selected from the burgher community has survived, even if certain features in the development of the periods of office of some of the most important offices among the councillors, such as the *Kämmerers* (see CHAPTER 3.2.1.1) indicate a like focus on the overall stabilisation and ‘professionalization’ of agencies in the civic administration.

Since the practice of replacing the general summoning of the burgher community with named representatives of the community appears to have started in German towns and cities in the last quarter of the 14th century, a similar practice may also have developed in 15th-century Reval, where one of the councillors acted as the representative of the city community to whom the new members of the council made their oath after their election in the 1540’s (see CHAPTER 3.1.1.2). As Sofia Gustafsson has stated, characteristic for the 15th century towns and cities was the emergence of city elites, which provoked several uprisings of burgher communities and especially artisan crafts against the council aristocracy in the larger German cities, beginning in the early 15th century. In English and Scandinavian cities instead, the development appears to have been more peaceful, possibly because of a wider focus on the ways the civic authority arranged its legitimacy with the city community consisting of burgher and artisan factions.¹¹² No study of possible fluctuations in legitimation of the power of the civic authority in terms of the burgher community and artisan crafts in Reval exists, but some of the questions relevant to the theme will be discussed in CHAPTER 3 and elsewhere. According to Mathias Franc Kluge (2014), there is also good reason to understand the emergence of the early bookkeeping and fiscal memoranda of the city of Augsburg in the second quarter of the 14th century in the context of the contemporary striving for legitimacy. There, in 1340 the burghers even pressed the council for a sealed document on the foundation of a twelve man committee to make an annual inspection of the council’s spending in exchange for the peaceful settlement of an uprising. The uneasy stand-off over the city government then escalated into an open conflict of legitimacy between the council elite and a joint group of artisans and younger merchants in 1368, finally settled in favour of the crafts. The key to the new and specially built vaulted deposit of the city law code, seal and privileges were placed in the custody of the crafts, and the invocation of the new civic government was entrusted to the city chancery where the city

¹¹² Gustafsson 2007, 208–209, 219–220.

scribe and his pupils organised the oath of the new council and the chancery produced a ‘perpetual and unbreakable’ charter of constitution which stated that no-one was entitled to access the vault of the city seal (*insigel*), book or privileges without the permission of the council of the crafts.¹¹³

In the Hanseatic sphere of interaction, various dimensions of the management of information of the civic authorities and town scriptoriums have traditionally been discussed in the context of the institutional affiliation and schooling of the scribes active in them. Many of the older studies focused on what is known of the ‘educational’ and social origin of the scribes as notaries public, clerics and hired personnel of the cities, without paying much attention to their actual management of information or the production of texts in their office as the city scribes. More recently much of the research has focused on the formal qualifications of the city scribes, where the role of the studies of *ars dictandi* and the formal status of the **notary public** of apostolic or imperial licence has been discussed from the point of view of bureaucratisation and legitimisation of the administration of the civic authority in the cities and towns. Here, of particular interest is the role of notaries public and other judicially educated people in the permanent service of the cities of the Baltic Sea area in the 13th and 14th centuries.¹¹⁴

Despite the stabilisation of the of the lay notarial culture based on university studies on *ars dictandi*, craft-like systems of apprenticeship, and although fuelled by the growing role of the civic communities in 11th- to early 13th-century Italy, the use of notaries public for the production of legally patent written instruments permeated the North only slowly.¹¹⁵ In Switzerland more and more notaries public emerge as city scribes from the mid-13th century, and in the 14th century they served in many cities as the heads of the city chanceries with a variety of scribes and apprentices working under them. Despite the large number of notaries public (according to Urs Martin Zahnd about half of the ca. 120 known city scribes in a total

¹¹³ Kluge 2014, 138–147. On the dichotomy of the studies on the elements of cohesion and tension in medieval communities and especially in late medieval merchant cities in Britain, see Swanson, Heather, *Medieval British Towns*. Palgrave Macmillan, 1999, 89–96.

¹¹⁴ For an early prosopographic study on the city scribes of Lübeck see, Bruns 1903, 43–102, Wriedt, Klaus, *Das gelehrte Personal in der Verwaltung und Diplomatie der Hansestädte*. *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 96 (1976), 23–37, Wriedt, Klaus, *Gehlehrte in Gesellschaft, Kirche und Verwaltung norddeutscher Städte*. In: Schwings, Rainer Christoph (ed.), *Gehlehrte im Reich. Zur Social- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*. *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft* 18. Duncker & Humblot, Berlin, 1996, 440, 447. On notaries public and the notariate in general in various areas in Europe see Fenger 2001 and the articles in *Notariado público y documento privado: de los orígenes al siglo XIV*. *Actas del VII congreso internacional de Diplomática* (1986, I–II), *Papers and Documents* 7. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència, Generalitat Valenciana, Valencia 1989.

¹¹⁵ Witt 2012, 477–484, where he connects the beginnings of *ars dictaminis* to the Investiture Struggle.

of eight towns and cities before 1525 were notaries public), basic schooling of *artes liberales* in the elementary and cathedral schools and the apprenticeship in contemporary civic scriptoria played an important role in their education, as few of the city scribes active in Swiss towns had studied in university (of the ca. 120 known only 22). Scribes with the titles of Baccalaureus or Magister but unknown *alma mater* of studies numbered 10. After ca. 1490 most of the city scribes with university schooling (13 of 22) had matriculated in a university, which is characteristic of the general striving for higher studies in the last quarter of the 15th century: by contrast, before the mid-15th century university background is documented rather rarely.¹¹⁶

Like to the qualifications of the city scribes, their office as a domain of a permanently hired person responsible for its activities appears to have been a development of the late 13th and 14th centuries in the sources. In Lübeck in 1298 the management of information and the City Scriptorium was in the custody of a councillor warden, a Chancellor, who controlled the activities of the office and by 1429 was in charge of the city *secretum* which he personally supervised. The great seal of the city (*sigillum*) was apparently controlled by the presiding council. For recurring documents of minor importance, such as the quittances on Poundage, the council had a third seal stamp, stationed in the scriptorium and used without close supervision by the Chancellor. As Thomas Behrmann has (1989) argued, an institutionalised agent of civic authority the size of Lübeck was seemingly not able to utilize extensions of the already omnipresent notarial culture of southern and western Europe in its management of information, but relied extensively on ecclesiastic spheres of writing and employed city clergy or other available clergymen as scribes. This arrangement, which created a natural and ongoing connection between people working in the town scriptorium and the local clergy, remains a special feature of the Lübeck City Scriptorium well into the early 16th century when at least five former city scribes of the 24 known from between 1377–1517 (i.e. 20 %) ended up buried in Lübeck Cathedral as canons or prelates and several others were endowed with altar chantries in the parish churches of the city in their lifetime.¹¹⁷ From the

¹¹⁶ Zahnd, Urs Martin, Studium und Kanzlei, Der Bildungsweg von Stadt- und Ratsschreibern in eidgenössischen Städten des ausgehenden Mittelalters. In: Schwings, Rainer Christoph (ed.), Gelehrte im Reich. Zur Social- und Wirkungsgeschichte akademischer Eliten des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts. Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 18. Duncker & Humblot, Berlin, 1996, 459–470.

¹¹⁷ Pitz 1959, 424–425, 403–404, Behrmann, Thomas, Genoa and Lübeck: the Beginnings of Communal Record-Keeping in Two Medieval Trading Metropolises. In: Roberts, M.V. (ed.), Archives and the Metropolis. Guildhall Library Publications in association with the Centre for Metropolitan History, Loughborough, 1998, 16–17, Bruns 1903, 46–78 (Albert Rodenborch city scribe active in 1377–79, Gotfried van der Krempe 1384–1407, Borchard van der Oste 1408–12, Henning Osthusen 1496–1513, Johann Rode 1500–17). Thomas Behrmann (1998, 21) has also discussed the influence of the nature of the remaining corpus of material of

third quarter of the 13th century, however, there had been a clear tendency towards employment of judicially trained person in the service of the cities. In Lübeck the first city scribe with the university qualifications of a magister was appointed in 1270. The special office of *syndicus*, a councillor of law in the service of the city, was established at the beginning of 14th century and remained a permanent part of civic consultation of jurisprudence well into the 19th century. In the larger German cities in general, there appears to have been a growing stress on the lay personal status of the scribes and the licenced status of notary public, or even a university degree in law, since the latter half of the 14th century and especially in the 15th, when contemporary advocates of lay government such as the author of ‘Reformatio Sigismundi’ (1439) started to promote the employment of notaries public in the service of civic authorities in place of casual use of notaries of clerical status and origin. As Dieter Heckmann has suggested (2009), notaries public appear to have penetrated the administration and management of written information of the Teutonic Order and its bishoprics in Prussia since the 1320s, whereas the judicial praxis of Lübeck Law and the cities and towns under it (such as Reval) did not require notarial proofing of testaments but relied on sealed documents. According to Heckmann, the role of the notaries public in the 14th century administration of the Chancery of the Grand Master of the Order and those of the bishoprics was not only one of producing documents and controlling judicial commitments of negotiations and agreements, but marked the beginning of a conscious management of various kinds of registers and memoranda which then produced conventions in the management of information (Heckmann: *Verwaltungssprachen und ... Verwaltungssprache*) characteristic to the late medieval Teutonic Order. As in Lübeck, several scribes and notaries public of the Chancery of the Grand Master eventually ended up in offices of the bishoprics under the supervision of the Teutonic Order as canons or other prelates. A further important dimension of the status of the notaries public in the administration of the Grand Master of the Order in Prussia was their personal public authority as witnesses, which boosted their role in diplomatic delegations.¹¹⁸ In this study,

Genoa (based on notarial cartularies) and Lübeck (city books of memoranda) to the studies on these two big merchant cities. On notaries public in Lübeck in general see Ahlers, Olof, Zur Geschichte des Notariats in Lübeck. In: von Brandt, Ahasver & Koppe, W. (eds.), *Städtewesen und Bürgertum als Geschichtliche Kräfte. Gedächtnisschrift für Fritz Rörig*. Verlag Max Schmidt-Römhild, Lübeck 1953, 341–347, according to which the oldest surviving notarial instrument issued in Lübeck was produced by the Italian Rufinus de Cantorio de Clauaxio in 1283, in the context of the visit of the apostolical collector, the Dean of Lüttich Rayneris de Orio, and the oldest surviving notary instrument issued by a notary public in Lübeck, from 1299.

¹¹⁸ Wriedt 1983, 20, Isenmann 2012, 427, 420–421; Heckmann, Dieter, Der öffentliche Notar im Ordensland Preußen im Spiegel von Rechtsrezeption und Kanzlei Praxis. In: *Preußenland. Mitteilungen der Historischen Kommission für Ost- und Westpreussische Landesforschung und aus dem Geheimen Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.*, 47 (2009) (here Heckmann 2009b), 43–48, 51–52.

the ‘professional’ qualifications of the city scribes and the ‘professionalization’ of their office in Reval is examined from the point of view of the surviving corpus of material and information on the individual scribes in CHAPTERS 4 and 5.

1.2.5. Recognizing the sources – The Old Archive of the Council of Reval (Altes Ratsarchiv, AR) and its contents before 1456/60

The basic material of this study consists of the medieval holdings of the **Tallinn City archives** (in Estonian *Tallinna Linnaarhiiv*, TLA), where the archival goods of several hosted institutions start from the Middle Ages. The most important of these is the **Archive of the Council of Reval** (*Tallinna magistrat – Der Revaler Magistrat*, archival number 230, in German also *Altes Ratsarchiv, AR*), which covers the years 1237 to 1889 and consists of 12756 different archival entities. Section 1 with medieval material from 1237 to 1800/53 consists of five subgroups (1, 1-I, 1-II, 1-III:A-B) and contains 3500 archival entities from individual documents to books and codices of several hundred pages.¹¹⁹

1.2.5.1. The history of the Altes Ratsarchiv and its use in the modern era

Today the medieval part of the *AR* consists of several kinds of registers and books of memoranda, law codes, privileges and charters of the town and its corporations, the correspondence of the council as well as archival material, manuscripts and incunables from ecclesiastical institutions, merchant corporations and individual merchants and other people deposited with the archival holdings of the city ever since the Middle Ages. Most of the surviving material is either in Latin or Middle Low German (*Mittelniederdeutsch*, here cited as Mnd.), the latter being the late medieval *lingua franca* of trade and politics in the Baltic Sea area. Today (2016) accessible in the form of a digital database and catalogue in the archives, the first catalogue of the archival corpus in *AR* was compiled and published in print by Gotthard von Hansen (1821–1900, archivist 1887–1900) in 1896, but much of the organisation of several of the sections is even today based on the three-part catalogue of Otto Greiffenhagen (1871–1938, archivist 1900–34) published in 1924–26. Because of the numerous changes and modifications, today much of the information on the contents of the

¹¹⁹ TLA, Fond 230 (Tallinna Magistraat, Der Revaler Magistrat), nim. 1, 1-I, 1-II and 1-III:A–B. In this study all the material in TLA fond 230, nim. 1 is referred to only with the signum TLA and the archival signum of the entity (or instance TLA, A.a.1, where A.a. equals the subdivision *Stadbücher*). All the entities of *AR* are cited with their old German name, based on Greiffenhagen’s catalogue and still in use in the archival database of TLA.

actual archival entities in *AR* can only be acquired in *TLA* in its reading room at Tolli Street.¹²⁰

What can be said about the medieval archival corpus of *AR* and its present composition when compared to the material once stored in the management of information of the council of Reval by those responsible for it in the Middle Ages?

A study based on medieval archival material is essentially a study of how the management of written information, that is the production, use and storing of various kinds of texts and textually rendered information on contemporary issues in administration, justice and communication relevant to the institution or individual in question, were organised for its contemporary use. Because of the inherent rationality and significance of any archive for its creator, any research of an archive originally established by a transpersonal and transgenerational institution such as medieval civic government must start from the hypothesis that its formation was originally based on contemporary cognitional models of thinking which reflected the use and significance of information in it, not any abstract desire to store information because of the mere pleasure of storing. The same applies to post-medieval developments and composition of any medieval archive or archival entity, where contemporary cognitive needs for the use of a surviving corpus of information on the activity of actors who produced it have set the criteria for its use and organisation. Paradoxically, the reorganisation of 'original' medieval archives and archival entities in the modern era has often destroyed one of the most important pieces of evidence the archive would have held: the cognitional model of how and the information stored in it was organised during the cumulative past of the 'medieval' period and why it was stored in that way. Both the words 'original' and 'medieval' must be put in inverted commas, because there was never a finished corpus or 'medieval' archive as a single entity. Archives such as *AR* should be understood as a deliberately generated and organically growing system for storing

¹²⁰ von Hansen, Gotthard, *Katalog des Revaler Stadtarchivs*. Hrsg. vom Stadtarchivar Gotthard von Hansen. Petsatano v' tipografii Avg. Mikvitša, Reval 1896, and G. Hansen'i Tallinna linna arhiivi kataloog, Teine, ümbertöötatud ja täiendatud väljaanne korraldanud linna arhiivaar O. Greiffenhagen – *Katalog des Revaler Stadtarchivs von Stadtarchivar G. Hansen, I–III. Zweite, umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage Reval* herausgegeben von Stadarchivar O. Greiffenhagen. Eestimaa Trükikoja Aktsia-selts (end. J.H. Gressel) – Estländische Druckerei Aktien Gesellschaft (vorm. J.H. Gressel), Tallinn – Reval (here cited as Greiffenhagen 1924–26). For the current holdings of TLA see Kõiv, Lea, Sutt, Merle & Vesterblom, Katrin (eds.), *Tallinna Linnaarhiivi kogude loend – Beständeverzeichnis des Stadtarchivs Tallinn – Перечень фондов Таллиннского городского архива*. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn 2002, AIS – Arhiivi Infosüsteem (Archival Information System), database of the National Archives of Estonia and Tallinn City Archives (<http://ais.ra.ee>) and the website of the archives (<http://www.tallinn.ee/est/linnaarhiiv>). Access to some of the digitalized material of TLA is provided from outside the reading room in SAAGA – Digitalised archival sources, Rahvusarhiiv, Estonia, (<http://www.ra.ee/dgs/explorer.php>).

information and ‘documentation’, its various parts objects of reorganisation and changes not only during the ‘Middle Ages’, but also afterwards in the 16th to 18th centuries.¹²¹

Despite the medieval and later changes in the physical constitution and organisation of the stored information, the most crucial changes for the chronologically defined ‘original’ structure/s of the archive have taken place only in the 19th and 20th centuries, in line with contemporary ideas of how the information should be organised into various categories corresponding contemporary needs. As such, this organisation reflects the contemporary understanding of the material surviving from the Middle Ages, especially from the angle of the 19th-century study of medieval jurisprudence, rather than the medieval understanding of it or of its cumulative composition in the Middle Ages. The only way to attempt an understanding and evaluation of the latter is to measure it against what can be gathered about the medieval cognitive models of thinking manifested in the various kinds of material in it, and what can they tell us about the modes of handling and storing information at the time of the formation of the corpus. Often, as in the case of *AR*, such information is hard to recover after the numerous later and often poorly documented reorganisations of the material. However, certain features of the possible status and composition of the material at the end of the Middle Ages can be extracted from the history of the research and known organisation of the *AR* since the 17th century.

The history of the *AR* is inseparable from the history of the efforts of the people in charge of it since the mid-19th century. A key figure in the early history of the archives and the first to re-organized the material according to some other than medieval or early modern basis of its use was the former professor of Provincial Law of Liv- and Kurland at the University of Dorpat (Tartu), Friedrich Georg von Bunge (1802–97), who was appointed syndicus of the Council of Reval in 1843 and acted as the burgher-master responsible of matters in jurisprudence in 1844–58 (presiding in 1847–54). During his spare time when he was not in his office, von Bunge acquainted himself with the archive of the council, which he had found ‘*in a state of disorder*’ in the cellars of the Town Hall and then ‘*rearranged the charters, records and files into chronological order and placed them in specially made metal boxes, which were then deposited in the cupboards of the Kämmerei*’. The material deposited in the cellars was stacked in packets containing material from the 13th century to the end of the 17th, and had apparently been there since the Great Northern War of 1700–21, stored

¹²¹ See Petter 2006, 42–43 and the discussion later in this study.

some time in 1703–10, possibly in ca. 1710. Von Bunge reorganised the material from the period to the year 1561 (when the city annulled its oath of allegiance to the Livonian master), but it did not include the privileges of the city, which were stored in the *Kämmerei*, i.e. the old office of the *Kämmerers* (wardens of the city coffer) in the northwest corner of the main floor of the Town Hall (see PICTURE 1 and MAP 3, and for the layout of the medieval Town Hall of Reval see CHAPTER 3.1.3.1).¹²²

Having registered and copied documents on the history of medieval Livonia since 1828, the archives of the council of Reval formed the basis of von Bunge's source publication *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch* (LECUB), the first volume of which he published in 1853. Despite the perplexing system of register entries and actual editions of sources, the archaic editing technique and several omissions and errors, the work is still invaluable for the study of the medieval Baltic Sea Area. Alongside six volumes of *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch* completed in 1873 and covering the years 1093–1423, von Bunge launched two important series: *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curlands* in 1842 and *Est- und livländische Brieflade* in 1856, the latter together with Robert baron von Toll.¹²³ During the Crimean War of 1853–56 the old archives in the Town Hall were relocated for the first time, to Paide (Ger. *Weissenstein*), some 75 kms southeast of Tallinn. In 1856 von Bunge himself moved to a position in the Imperial Chancery in St Petersburg and in 1865 to Gotha in Germany, where he continued his work on the Livonian sources and

¹²² The quotes are translated from the German autobiography of F.G. von Bunge as cited in Greiffenhagen, Otto, *Zur Geschichte des Revaler Stadtarchivs*. In: *Viiskümmend aastat teaduslikku tööd Tallinna Linnaarhiivis. Fünfzig Jahre wissenschaftlicher Arbeit im Revaler Stadtarchiv*. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn 1933, 41–42. Von Bunge's review on the status and organisation of the *AR* in the Town Hall dated on September 1, 1847 (TLA, fond. 230, nim. 11, lk. 18, 16–17) and his premises for the reorganisation of the material are discussed in more detail in Kala, Tiina, *Friedrich Georg von Bunge editeerimistöo ja Tallinna raearhiiv*. In: Kõiv, Lea (ed.), *Ex archivo civitatis*. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi ajaloost. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv 2008 (here Kala 2008a), 49–51. See also Lenz, Wilhelm, *Das Revaler Stadtarchiv. Bemerkungen zu seiner Geschichte, seinen Archivaren und seinen Beständen*. In: von Hehn, Jürgen & Kenéz, Csaba János (eds.), *Reval und die baltischen Länder. Festschrift für Helmut Weiss zum 80. Geburtstag*. J.G. Herder Institut, Marburg/Lahn 1980, 235, and, Kreem, Juhan, *Tallinna raearhiivi kasutamise 16. sajandil*. In: Kõiv, Lea (ed.), *Ex archivo civitatis*. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi ajaloost. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2008, 30–31, 38. For von Bunge's biography see *Baltisches Biographisches Lexikon digital* (here cited as BBLd), Digitalisierungsprojekt der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, BHK, 2014, Bunge, Friedrich Georg v., Historiker und Jurist, <http://www.bbl-digital.de/eintrag/Bunge-Friedrich-Georg-v.-1802-1897/>, accessed 19.11.2015.

¹²³ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten I–VI* (LECUB I:1–6). Hrsg. von Dr. Friedrich Georg von Bunge. Reval-Riga (Dorpat), 1851–1873, see also von Bunge's preface for LECUB I, Vorrede, iii.

material he had transcribed and compiled in Reval, obtaining supplemental material through correspondence with friends and scholars active in Reval.¹²⁴

In the history of the medieval source publications of the Baltic Sea Area von Bunge's original six-volume LECUB is a product of the late 18th- and early 19th-antiquarian, national romantic and legal history interest in medieval documents. After the introduction of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1831) and *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (1851) these interests were complimented by the development of the study of diplomatics, which created extensive interest on the nature and classification of medieval sources during the closing decades of the 19th century. In Germany the anticipation and 'restoration' of the German Empire in 1871 had an obvious impact on the development. Another important international momentum was the admission of learned scholars to the Vatican Archives by Pope Leo XIII in 1879. Consequently, several new source-publications and monumental editions of medieval and early modern material were compiled in Europe. Even if the series or volumes were often the work of lone scholars and their assistants, the research was frequently financed and organised on a national, regional or associate basis, which allowed more systematic organisation of the work and the possibility to concentrate on several volumes at the same time. The arrangement of the documents in most of the publications was chronological, not of provenience or origin, which tells us much about the concept of history behind the compiled works and has produced certain misinterpretations of the original context of the documents in respect of the texts presented in the editions. As a result of von Bunge's work a variety of editions of sources and other studies on material provided by *AR* built up a mass of publications from the mid-19th century to WWII, still constituting the major corpus of editions on individual documents and earliest books of memoranda in *AR*. Later editions and registers of both documents and books of memoranda based on the sections of the *AR* that had been deported to Germany in 1944 (see below) were published from the 1970's to the early 1990's.¹²⁵ In this study, individual editions of sources are cited with their conventional or other truncated forms of citations provided in parentheses on the

¹²⁴ Lenz 1980, 233; BBLd, Bunge, Friedrich Georg v., Historiker und Jurist; on von Bunge's activity and work on editions see Kala 2008a, 43–64 and von Bunge's preface (Vorrede) for LECUB I:1, iii–x, where he also discusses the history of source collections of medieval Livonia.

¹²⁵ On the break in the scientific publication activity of the Tallinn City Archives in the Soviet era see Kõiv, Lea, Das Stadtarchiv Tallinn (Reval) während des Zweiten Weltkrieges. In: Kõiv, Lea & Pillak, Peep (eds.), Die Archiven Estlands im europäischen Kontext. Vorträge der Konferenz im Tallinner Stadtarchiv vom 15. bis zum 16. September 2005/Estonian Archives in the European Context. Papers of the Conference in the Tallinn City Archives on September 15–16, 2005. Verein Estnischer Archivare/Estonian Society of Archivists, Tallinn 2012, 285.

first citation of the particular volume of memoranda or edition of documents (i.e. for instance WB 1312–60 or KB 1432–63), whereas the archival signums of the original volumes and other material are provided in brackets on the first citation [i.e. for instance, A.a.1 or A.d.15].¹²⁶

The late 19th-century boom in medieval source publications was in many ways a result of the national-romantic mentality of the contemporary educated middle class and patriotic groups. Characteristic manifestations of this mentality were literary and historical associations, which often published medieval and early modern sources. In Livonia the Baltic-German learned establishment had launched several provincial associations in the early decades of the 19th century, many of which developed into important promoters of the study of the Livonian Middle Ages. The most important of these early publications of sources of *AR* was the *Estländische Literarische Gesellschaft* (Estonian Literary Society), established in 1842 in Tallinn, which supported von Bunge in his work and produced the series *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curlands*.¹²⁷

Significant in creating a wider interest in *AR*'s holdings was the founding of the *Hansische Geschichtsverein* (Society for the Hanseatic History) in 1870 in Germany, which took a special interest in furthering the study and publication of Hanseatic sources. A characteristic example of the monumental projects of the late 19th century, and preceding the Society's work, is *Hanserecesse* (HR), a vast compilation of sources on the organisation, politics and activity of the Hanseatic League in 1256–1530, published in three sections and 24 volumes in 1870–1913.¹²⁸ Originally designed as a collection of Hanseatic documents with three to

¹²⁶ Editions on the material in *AR* and the main studies on it relevant to this study to the end of the period of office of city scribe Joacim Muter (1429–56/60) are listed in the bibliography at the end of this study and cited individually during the course of the work; TLA, A.a.1, *Auflassungen und Pfandverschreibungen 1312–1360*, edition: *Das älteste Wittschopbuch der Stadt Reval, 1312–1360*. Hrsg. v. L. Arbusow. In: *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands*, III Folge, Band I. Reval 1888 (here cited as WB 1312–60). TLA, A.d.15, *Kämmerei-Buch 1432–1463* [A.d.15], Edition: *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1432–1463*. Bearb. von Reinhard Vogelsang. In: *Quellen und darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte*. Neue Folge, Band 22/I–II. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Wien 1976 (here cited as KB 1432–63).

¹²⁷ On the emergence and role of the 19th-century Baltic-German Literary and Cultural associations in Livonia and Estonia see Weiss, Helmuth, *Die Historischen Gesellschaften*. In: von Rauch, Georg (ed.), *Geschichte der deutschbaltischen Geschichtsschreibung*. Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, 20. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Wien 1986, 121–139, and Aarelaid, Aili, *Laulu- ja mänguseltsidest fosforiidsõjani*. In: Aarelaid, Aili (ed.), *Kodanigalgatus ja seltsid Eesti müütuval kultuurimaastikul*. Jaan Tõnissoni instituudi kirjastus, Tallinn 1996, 18–20; Kivimäe 2008, 66.

¹²⁸ On the development of the relationship of the Baltic-German historians to the *Hansische Geschichtsverein* in the 1870's and 1880's see Angermann 2014, 157; *Hanserecesse*, *Die Recessen und andere Akten der Hansetage, von 1256–1430* (Erstes Abteilung, I), 1–8. Bearb. von Karl Koppman. Leipzig, von Duncker & Humblot 1876–1897. *Hanserecesse, von 1431–1476*, II:1–7. Bearb. von Goswin von der Ropp. Leipzig, von Duncker & Humblot 1876–1892. *Hanserecesse, von 1477–1530*, III:1–9. Bearb. von Dietrich Schäfer.

four volumes in 1859, the sources were reorganised into a form parallel to the Proceedings of the Imperial Diet after the publication of the first volume of the *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* in 1868. The idea of *HR* was to present the *Hansetag* as an institution similar to the *Reichstag*, and as a result the documents relevant for the history of the meetings of the Hanseatic Diet were arranged in chronological order divided into preliminary proceedings, resolutions, correspondence and supplements akin to that of the *Reichstagsakten*.¹²⁹ The compilation thus presented material collected from multiple archives as if it was the outcome of the medieval activity of the *Hansetag*, which in turn supported the idea that the Hanseatic Diet's role was as to support the German merchants in the North and represented the publication as a true manifestation of the power of the Hanse in the past. Whether all the scholars who have utilized the *HR* have actually been aware of the nature of the compilation as a corporate manifestation of these 19th-century ideas of the history of the Hanseatic League is uncertain, and whether the actual 'Hanseatic' context of the documents presented in *HR* is relevant to the material's original provenience in the Middle Ages is a matter of dispute, but these things should be kept in mind when using the series and the documents edited in it.¹³⁰ In 1871, on the initiative of Georg Waitz (1813–1886), who had been a professor of History in Göttingen since 1849 and was the contemporary supervisor of *HR*, *Hansische Geschichtsverein* began work on *Hansisches Urkundenbuch (HUB)*, a compilation of material overlapping that of *Hanserecesse*. The first three volumes were published 1876–86 by Konstantin Höhlbaum (1849–1904), a former student of Waitz, himself of Revalian origin, and the series was then continued by different editors in chief until 1939.¹³¹ In Livonia, the work on *LECUB* was resumed on a more modern basis by Hermann Hildebrand (1843–1890) in 1872, and

Leipzig, von Duncker & Humblot, 1881–1913. The fourth section with two volumes covering the period 1531–37 was published in 1941 and 1970. All the volumes are here cited as *HR*.

¹²⁹ On the role of the *Hansische Geschichtsverein* in the study of the *AR* in Tallinn see Greiffenhagen 1933, 44, in general see also Lenz 1986, 212–213; *HR* I, Vorrede (Georg Waitz), v–viii. The categories are: A. Die Vorakten (preliminary proceedings), B. Der Recess (the resolution), C. Die Beilage (supplements), D. Die Korrespondenz der Versammlung (Correspondence of the meeting), E. Die Korrespondenz der Ratssendeboden (correspondence of the envoys), F. Die nachträglichen Verhandlungen (additional negotiations) and G. Der Anhang (appendix). On the role of Georg Waitz and his work in both *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and as an academic supervisor of 18 known Baltic-German students later engaged with Livonian history see Angermann 2014, 156–157.

¹³⁰ On the nature of *Hanserecesse* and the possible ways in which it could be used, see, for instance, Huang, Angela & Krypta, Ulla, Ein neues Haus auf altem Fundament. Neue Trends in der Hanseforschung und die Nutzbarkeit der Rezession. In: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 129 (2011), 213–229 and Winge, Vibeke, Die *Hanserecesse* als Quelle für mittelniederdeutsche Studien. In: Menke, Hubertus & Schöndorf, Kurt Eric (eds.), *Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien IV. Akten des 4. nordischen Symposions "Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien"* in Lübeck-Travemünde 22.–25. Augusti 1991. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie, 7. Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin 1993, 146–153.

¹³¹ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch I–XI* (here cited as *HUB*). Hrsg. vom Verein für Hansische Geschichte. Bearb. von Konstantin Höhlbaum (I–III), Karl Kunze (IV–VI), Walther Stein (VIII–XI), Hans-Gerd Runstedt (VII:1). Halle, Leipzig, 1876–1939. See even Angermann 2014, 157–158.

continued by different editors until 1914. An important Baltic-German initiative in Livonia was *Akten und Recesse der Livländischen Ständetage*, a combination of sources and information on the proceedings of various Livonian agents of power and landholding groups (the Danish headman, the Livonian Order, the bishops, vassal corporations and Livonian cities) arranged into 'Diets'. The first two sections of Volume 1, covering the years 1304–1450, were compiled by Oskar Stavenhagen and Leonid Arbusow Junior in 1907 and 1928, after which the publication was put aside. Waitz was a central figure in the promotion of the study of history of 'Old Livland', and most of the Baltic-German and German scholars who engaged with the material then available in Livonian archives had studied under him in Göttingen.¹³²

After von Bunge left Tallinn, the *AR* was left in the care of civic officials. From the mid-1860's the archives were in the custody of Thomas Wilhelm Greiffenhagen, active in the service of the city from 1864, overseer 1865–74, syndicus 1874–87 and mayor 1883–85. During his time and before the final organisation of the administration of the City Archives in 1883, two important discoveries of medieval material were made: in November 1875, during a renovation of the *Kämmerei*, a collection of 14 round wooden cartridges with privileges of the city and other documents from the 13th century to the year 1525 were found in a closet hidden behind other things and apparently untouched since 1684. In the summer of 1879, Wilhelm Stieda, at that time professor at the University of Dorpat (Tartu) and spending his summer vacation in the archives then stacked in the *Kämmerei* and the so called third archival room behind it, discovered the merchant correspondence of Hildebrand Veckinghusen (died in 1426), in a wooden drawer and covered with a thick layer of peppers.¹³³

¹³² Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch VII–XII (LECUB I:7–12). Begründet von F. G. v. Bunge, im Auftrage der baltischen Ritterschaften und Städte fortgesetzt von Hermann Hildebrand, Philipp Schwartz und August von Bulmerinc. Riga, Moskau 1881–1910. Further three volumes of a second series covering the years 1494–1510 were compiled in 1900–14. Angermann 2014, 157–159; Lenz 1986, 206–212.

¹³³ Kivimäe, Jüri, Theodor Schiemann – Tallinna esimene linnaarhivaar (1883–1887). In: Kõiv, Lea (ed.), *Ex archivo civitatis*. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi ajaloo. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn 2008, 67, Pillak, Peep, *Baltic-Germans and German Influence in the Estonian Archives*. In: Kõiv, Lea & Pillak, Peep (eds.), *Die Archiven Estlands im europäischen Kontext*. Vorträge der Konferenz im Tallinner Stadtarchiv vom 15. bis zum 16. September 2005/*Estonian Archives in the European Context*. Papers of the Conference in the Tallinn City Archives on September 15–16, 2005. Verein Estnischer Archivare/Estonian Society of Archivists, Tallinn 2012, 118–119, BBLd, Greiffenhagen, Thomas Wilhelm, Stadthaupt, <http://www.bbl-digital.de/eintrag/Greiffenhagen-Thomas-Wilhelm-1821-1890/>, accessed 19.11.2015. Stieda, Wilhelm, *Hildebrand Veckinhusen. Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmanns im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*. Verlag von S. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1921, v.

In an atmosphere of national and ethnic frenzy over medieval sources, more and more scholars were intrigued by the possibilities of the medieval archives of the Baltic Sea area. Among those active in the Town Hall, after von Bunge and before the early 1880's, there were not only local teachers, Tallinn based civil servants and their aides such as Eduard Pabst, Carl Russwurm, Eugen von Nottbeck, Gottfried Törne, Dietrich Schäfer and Reinhold Hausen. Gottfried Törne compiled a summary catalogue of the *AR* under Russwurm and then stayed in the service of the City Archives until 1913, Dietrich Schäfer carried out a round trip of archives in Sweden, Finland, Russia (St Petersburg) and Estonia in 1877 while collecting material for the *Hansische Geschichtsverein*, and Reinhold Hausen consulted the *AR* not only in the autumn of 1878 and summer of 1882, but also in 1925 and 1935 for his work on medieval documents concerning Finland.¹³⁴ The period preceding the beginnings of the administration of the City Archives as a public institution in 1883 also witnessed the first manuscript for the edition of the oldest surviving book of memoranda in *AR*, the register on inheritances (town houses) from 1312–60 [A.a.1] copied by Leonid Arbusow after the initiative of Konstantin Hölbaum in the time of syndicus Thomas Greiffenhagen and later prepared for edition with the help of Theodor Schiemann and published by Arbusow in 1888 (WB 1312–60, see CHAPTER 3.1.2).

In Tallinn a growing pressure on the civic administration to organize the consulting of the material on a more permanent and modern basis is evident from 1880, when the lodgings of the archives in the Town Hall were renovated, and Törne was hired to reorganize the various collections of the so called Middle Archives in the autumn of 1881. A second major reorganization of the corpus of the *AR* after von Bunge, however, had only just begun in October 1883 when the civic administration of the city assigned the teacher and historian Theodor Schiemann (1847–1921), then active in Viljandi (Ger. *Fellin*), as the first scientifically trained head of the city archives. Schiemann had previously managed the reorganisation of the archives of the Dukes of Kurland in Mitau, and was apparently chosen for the work because of his merits and the contemporary need of the civic administration for a person who could organise the material into a consultable form for scholars and other

¹³⁴ Kivimäe 2008, 66, Greiffenhagen 1933, 46, On Schäfer and Hausen see Salminen, Tapio, The Medieval Holdings of the Tallinn City Archives and the Study of the Finnish Middle Ages. Some Remarks on Early Finnish Contacts with the Ratsarchiv. In: Kõiv, Lea & Pillak, Peep (eds.), Die Archiven Estlands im europäischen Kontext. Vorträge der Konferenz im Tallinner Stadtarchiv vom 15. bis zum 16 September 2005/Estonian Archives in the European Context. Papers of the Conference in the Tallinn City Archives on September 15–16, 2005. Verein Estnischer Archivare/Estonian Society of Archivists, Tallinn 2012 (here Salminen 2012a), 166–170. Schäfer even visited Tampere City Archives, only to find out that in an industrial town founded in 1776 there were no new medieval documents to discover.

people interested in *AR*.¹³⁵ During the next four years before leaving for Berlin in the summer of 1887 Schiemann and his aide Törne created an archival scheme that is still instructive in many ways for any scholar consulting the material of *AR* in TLA, and organized the main bulk of material preceding the year 1800 in the Town Hall into two categories of Codices (A) and Acta (B). The third category created by Schiemann was that of the charters and documents (Urkunden, C), but as the catalogue of Gotthard von Hansen from the year 1896 shows, material in the so-called third archival room as well as the parchment and paper documents in the 40 metal boxes arranged in chronological order by von Bunge were catalogued only rather grossly and hardly touched by the reorganisation. In the time of Schiemann 1245 charters and documents from the period 1233–1772, some of which some apparently originated from the find of 1875, were organized into a separate collection wrapped in strong brown paper marked with a red dot (the so called red series, today basically Urk 1-I) and stationed in the second archival room.¹³⁶

Schiemann's reorganisation of the archives and the creation of the new archival scheme focusing on the judicial, typological and chronological content of the material very likely obscured the nature of any 'original' archival entities preceding the year 1700 and surviving the work of von Bunge, but it was by no means the last major reorganisation of *AR* and its holdings. After this, the most intriguing episode in the history of the archives begins. One of the most important results of Schiemann's work is that in the turbulent years of the 20th century, his archival scheme provided not only the basic instrument for keeping track of what kind of archival entities *AR* consisted of, but also what sections of the material were considered most important by different agents of national, ethnic or transnational 'heritages' who made claims to its possession.

After its short visit to Paide during the Crimean War, the first major exile of the *AR* occurred in August 1915 when the material was packed in 87 large boxes and taken to Moscow, where it was stationed in sealed chests in the Historical Museum, and returned only after the peace treaty between Estonia and Soviet Russia in June 1920. The chests were opened and the material was again deposited in the medieval Town Hall of Tallinn, where it was stationed until 1937, when the entire contents of the archives were moved to a new archive

¹³⁵ Greiffenhagen 1933, 45–46, Kivimäe 2008, 69–75.

¹³⁶ Kivimäe 2008, 75–80, Greiffenhagen 1933, 47, von Hansen 1896, passim and Vorwort, Kreem 2008, 38.

building, a renovated medieval merchant house at Rütli Street 8/10 in the Old Town.¹³⁷ After its return in 1920 the *AR* and the facilities of the TLA at the Town Hall soon emerged not only as one of the most important international nodes of the research of medieval history in Estonia but also went through a larger reorganisation and inventory carried out by the archival personnel, mainly by and under the supervision of the head archivist Otto Greiffenhagen (1871–1938, archivist 1900–34) and his aide Paul Johansen (1901–65), a Tallinn-born scholar from Danish parents who worked a little over 15 years in the TLA, first from 1924 as an aide and substitute of Greiffenhagen, and after 1934 as City Archivist before his emigration to Germany in 1939.¹³⁸ During this time Greiffenhagen and Johansen not only compiled and published in edition of the updated catalogue of the archives in three parts (A. Codices and Books, B. Acta, C. Charters) in 1924–26, but apparently also carried out reorganisations in several subsections of the Schiemann scheme; a work then continued in the period of the head archivist in 1939–44, Rudolf Kenkmaa (1898–1975), who had worked in the TLA since 1928 and had been deputy director since 1934, and his staff, especially the archivists Epp Siimo (head archivist and the first woman to hold the position in 1945–50) and Arnold Kotkas in 1940–41. From the last period information on the reorganisation of certain archival entities important for this study also survives: the archival files consisting of medieval drafts, scripts and unfinished originals of the city scribes from Hermannus (active in 1375–1400/3) well into the 16th century were reorganised in 1940 by Arnold Kotkas into files based on individual hands with continuous numeration [BA 1:I–II] instead of the older division of dated, undated and identified documents of the catalogues of von Hansen and Greiffenhagen. The reorganisation of the archival file of Finland/Fennica into 49 subgroups was done by Epp Siimo in the summer of 1940 [BC 14].¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Greiffenhagen 1933, 53–54, 56; Altof, Kaja, Tallinna Riiklik Keskarhiiv 1883–1983. Eesti NSV Ministrite Nõukogu juures asuv Arhiivide peavalitsus, Eesti NSV Tallinnan Riiklik Keskarhiiv. Tallinn 1983, 9–10.

¹³⁸ On Greiffenhagen see BBLd, Greiffenhagen, Otto Ferdinand August Moritz, Archivar, <http://www.bbl-digital.de/eintrag/Greiffenhagen-Otto-Ferdinand-August-Moritz-1871-1938/>, accessed 19.11.2015, and Pillak, Peep, Otto Greiffenhagen - muusikust linnaarhivaar. Tuna – Ajalookultuuri ajakirj, 2000, 150–156. On Johansen: BBLd, Johansen, Paul Wulff, Historiker, <http://www.bbl-digital.de/eintrag/Johansen-Paul-Wulff-1901-1965/>, accessed 19.11.2015, Kivimäe, Jüri, Paul Johanseni elu ja töö. In: Kivimäe, Jüri (ed.) Paul Johansen, Kaugete aegade sära. Eesti mõttelugu, 65. Ilmamaa, Tartu 2006, 506–521, see also Greiffenhagen 1933, 57–58. On recent discussion of Johansen's work see even Weczerka, Hugo, Paul Johansen (1901–1965), Hanse- und Osteuropahistoriker. Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Publikation. Hansische Gesichtsblätter 130 (2012), 211–223.

¹³⁹ On the personnel and history of TLA after Johansen in 1939–44 see the articles Tallinna Linnaarhiiv 1939–1941, and Tallinna Linnaarhiiv 1941–1944 by Lea Kõiv, In: Kõiv, Lea (ed.), Ex archivo civitatis. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi ajalooost. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn 2008 (here cited together as Kõiv 2008a-b), 107–139, 140–176 and Kõiv 2012, 270–316. In both the catalogues of Hansen 1896, p. 162 and Greiffenhagen 1924–26:II, 135, the archival entity BA 1 is said to contain 'Undatierte Konzepte', i.e. undated drafts from c. 1480–1560 (in 1896) and 1432–1550 (in 1924–26). In the catalogue of the reading room of TLA a summary of the individual

After the Soviet occupation of Estonia in 1940 and the invasion of German troops in the summer of 1941, the Soviet air offensive on Tallinn on the night of 9–10 March 1944 caused extensive damage to the city. The house of the City Archives was hit and burned down, but the medieval and other old material survived after being evacuated in advance to the Bank of Estonia and places outside Tallinn. The loss of the modern holdings was, however, considerable, including a large part of the administrative archives of TLA, which has later caused problems for the study of the reorganisation of the medieval material and documents in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.¹⁴⁰ However, a far more drastic event took place in the following summer of 1944, when the Germans deported two-thirds of the holdings of the *Altes Ratsarchiv* and other medieval material to Germany as part of the ‘German cultural heritage in the East’. The deportation was not the first in the history of the TLA, but certainly the most far-reaching one. In June 1944 the archival goods were packed in 213 numbered boxes, of which 38 remained in Tallinn and the rest ended up in Germany. Five boxes with some of the most valuable holdings, including the 1248 manuscript of Lübeck Law were concealed in the Estonian State Archives on Toompea hill by the deputy head Epp Siimo. The other 33 just never caught the train. After a narrow escape during the bombing of Königsberg railway station in the summer of 1944, and a short period of wandering in East Prussia the deported material was placed in the Grassleben mines in the Harz in December 1944, together with several other archives of Baltic and East-European origin.¹⁴¹ After the occupation of the area by American troops in April 1945, the deposits of the mines were released in June 1946 and relocated to the Imperial Palace of Goslar. In 1953 the material

files of BA 1:I is said to consist of drafts from 1400–1520 organised on the basis of the handwriting of city scribes. The reorganisation of the material on the work of the city scribes into personal files by Arnold Kotkas is also evident from his dating of the respective files in the old brown cardboard envelopes, today (2015) stationed separately from the files in TLA, BA, 1:I–III, where for instance the file of the city scribe Johannes Blomendal is dated by Kotkas on July 12, 1940, as consisting of 82 pages (TLA, BA, 1:1b); Annual summary reports on the activity of the TLA to the Tallinn City government have survived in Estonian in print since 1926. See the sections ‘Tallinna linna arhiiv’, ‘Linna ajaalooline arhiiv’ etc. In: Tallinna Linnavalitsuse tegevuse ülevaade, I– (1926–) Tallinna linnavalitsuse väljaanne. Tallinna Eesti Kirjastus-Ühinguse Trükk, O-Ü “Vaba maa” Trükk, Tallinn, 1926–. On the work in the archives in 1939–41 see Kõiv 2012, 278, 283.

¹⁴⁰ Altof 1983, 8–9; On the damage from the air raid see Kivimäe, Jüri & Kõiv, Lea (eds.), Tallinn tules. Dokumente ja materjale Tallinna pommitamisest 9./10. märtsil 1944. Tallinna linnaarhiivi toimetised, 2. Tallinn 1997, especially the documents on pages 101–125; Pullat, Raimo, Der Kampf um die Provenienz. Tallinn bekommt seine Geschichte zurück. Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 109 (1991), 94.

¹⁴¹ Lenz, Wilhelm, Die Verlagerung des Revaler Stadtarchivs im Rahmen des "Archivschutzes" während des Zweiten Weltkrieges. In: Angermann, Norbert & Lenz, Wilhelm (eds.), Reval, Handel und Wandel vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, 8. Verlag Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk, Lüneburg 1997, 413–424; In Grassleben several German, Prussian and Polish archives were stored, including those of the City of Gdańsk (Ger. *Danzig*) and the State Archives of Königsberg with holdings of the Teutonic Order. See even Seeberg-Everfeldt, Roland, Revaler Regesten. Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung, 26. Vanderhoek & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1969, 5; Pullat 1991, 94–95; Ahvenainen, Jorma, Balttilaisesta arkistomateriaalista Saksassa. Historiallinen Aikakauskirja, 58 (1960), 194–195.

was placed in the *Staatliches Archivlager* in Göttingen. From 1978 the deported parts of TLA were lodged at the *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz. After consultations between West-German and Soviet politicians and a final agreement between the *Bundesarchiv* and TLA on October 2, 1990, the deported material was returned to Tallinn on October 7, 1990. In return, the Soviet Union restored the abducted parts of the City Archives of Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck to Germany.¹⁴²

Because of the removal of the archives in 1944 and the Soviet occupation and enclosure of Estonia later the same year, the joint consultation of all medieval material of TLA in the original was impossible for almost half of a century. In the West certain parts of *AR* and other medieval holdings had existed on microfilm since 1940, but scholars could not visit Estonia until the late 1950's. The fate of the deported material was unknown to the Estonians until 1952, when the Finnish scholar Vilho Niitemaa published his study on Livonian trade based on the holdings in Goslar and microfilms in Göttingen and Finland. Niitemaa and the former head of TLA Paul Johansen had been the first to examine the contents of the deported material after the opening of the Grassleben mines in 1946. One of the first foreign scholars to access the material in Tallinn after WWII was Jorma Ahvenainen, who visited the archives in the summer of 1960 for research in the context of his doctoral thesis on the Grain trade of medieval Livonia.¹⁴³ After 1944 the Estonian holdings of TLA were stationed at the house of the City Archives in Lai Street 40. In 1973 the office and the holdings were moved to their present lodgings in an early 18th-century house in Tolli Street 8, where the deported

¹⁴² Lenz 1997, 424-429; Pullat 1991, 95-97.

¹⁴³ Niitemaa, Vilho, *Der Binnenhandel in der Politik der livländische Städte im Mittelalter*. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B* 76. Helsinki 1952, 6. The first post-WWII contacts between Finland and Estonia, for instance, occurred only in 1955 after Stalin's death, see Alenius, Kari, *The Cultural Relations between the Baltic Countries and Finland*. In: Hovi, Kalervo (ed.), *Relations between the Nordic Countries and the Baltic Nations in the XX century*. University of Turku, Publications of the Institute of History, 15. Turku 1998, 169. On Ahvenainen's visit see Ahvenainen 1960, 194–195, Luettelo Tallinnan kaupunginarkiston asiakirjoista Tallinnassa. Verzeichnis von der Urkunden im Revaler Stadtarchiv. Laatinut, Zusammengestellt von Jorma Ahvenainen. Tallinn, Helsinki 1960, typed manuscript in Finnish National Library, Helsinki, and Ahvenainen, Jorma, *Ajaloolasena Tallinna linnaarhiivis 1960. aasta suvel*. In: Kõiv, Lea (ed.), *Ex archivo civitatis*. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi ajaloo. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn 2008, 200–205. The pre-1940 composition of some of the archival entities in *AR* could be analysed with the help of the oldest microfilms on the material, but has been left aside in this study. Microfilms on medieval holdings of TLA were photographed by Germans in Tallinn in the summer of 1940 (see Kõiv 2008a-b, 277 and Lenz, Wilhelm, *Die baltischen Archivfilme in Herder-Institut in Marburg*. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 21 (1990), 309–318, but the films later stationed in Göttingen and Marburg were of disputed quality and value (see Ahvenainen 1960, 195). According to Jorma Ahvenainen, the Finnish scholar Gunnar Mickwitz had had microfilms of certain parts of material in TLA in his possession, which, after he had fallen in the Winter War in 1939, had been deposited in the Finnish National Archives. The TLA microfilms available at the Finnish National Archives today, however, were filmed in June 1952 on material stationed in Goslar, apparently on the initiative of Vilho Niitemaa, who also acquired them later from Göttingen. These films are now deposited in the Finnish National archives and at the History Department of Turku University. Certain films were acquired even from Tallinn, where some sections of the *AR* were filmed in the 1960's and 1970's. Letter of Jorma Ahvenainen to Tapio Salminen, October 21, 1998.

material was relocated in October 1990. After the return, certain sections of the *AR* formed in Germany, such as the so called *Revaler Briefarchiv*, which consisted of missives received by the council arranged in chronological order which had been taken from the older archival entities organised by and after Schiemann, were returned to their original home in the Schiemann scheme.¹⁴⁴

1.2.5.2. The composition and spatial organisation of the AR in the Town Hall before the beginning of the 18th century

Even if a larger study on the entire surviving corpus of the medieval *AR* has only been possible after the return of the material from Germany in 1990, the fact remains that its present structure is largely the work of the scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries and not much can be said of the original provenience of the material before the work of von Bunge and Schiemann. As the pre-1684 deposit of charters and material found in the *Kämmerei* in 1875 shows, certain sections of the material were kept separate in the time preceding the storing of the main bulk of the material prior to the Great Northern War in the cellars of the Town Hall, but how and in what kind of facilities the material was stationed before that very little is known.

The earliest surviving drawings on sections of the later holdings of the *AR* in the Town Hall date from the latter half of the 17th century. They consist of schematic placing of bookshelves in three rooms, one bigger than the others with a spiral staircase on one corner, and two smaller with no door between them. The drawings are made on ink and pencil in a volume of information on the Town Hall and city Weigh (*Rathaus und Stadtwage*) from 1665–1741, and are attached to a contemporary ‘Register of the entire Chancery of the Royal City of Reval’ (*Registratvr über die gantze Canceley der Königl: Statt Reval*), compiled and dated by the ‘Notary and Bookkeeper’ of the city (*Notar und Buchhalter daselbst*) Johann Flabben on April 14, 1665 [A.a.36, f. 3r–23v].¹⁴⁵ Together with the drawings, the register shows that the material then available in the three rooms and shelves consisted mainly of judicial proceedings of the council (*Protocolla*) in bound volumes from 1600 to 1658, with the possibility to add later supplements up to 1699, and stationed in one of the smaller rooms named as the Judicial Archives (*Gerichts archiv*). The main bulk of the older material,

¹⁴⁴ Altof 1983, 9–10; Kreem 2008, 30–31, Kala 2008a, 49–51, Kivimäe 2008, 77, Greiffenhagen 1933, 41–58, Pullat 1991, 93–97.

¹⁴⁵ Kreem 2008, 31–32, TLA, A.a.36, f. 3r–23v (register), published in edition in Kala, Tiina, Kuningliku Tallinna linna kogu kantslei registratuur. *Registratvr über die gantze Canceley der Königl: Statt Reval*. In. Pullat, Raimo et al. (eds.), Vana Tallinn XIX (XXIII). Estpol, Tallinn, 2008 (here Kala 2008c), 151–162, and TLA, A.a.36, f. 4v–5r.

except ‘rarities’ and ‘antiquities’ (*Raritet, Antiquit*) stored in two shelves or cupboards in one of the smaller rooms specially designed as a ‘Cabinet of antiquities and curiosities’ (*Antiquitet und Kunstcammer*), were placed ‘up in the Chancery room’ (*oben in der Cantzeleij Stube*), also called ‘[stained word] and Library in the Kämmerei Chamber’ (*[--- Jentz undh Bibliothequ bi Cammereij Cammer*), and ‘in the vaulted Chamber in the back’ (*Hinter in der Gewelbe Kammer*), apparently the vaulted chamber under the *Kämmerei*.¹⁴⁶

In what rooms was the *AR* deposited in 1665? As evident from the later spatial organisation of the building, major renovation works and changes in the late medieval structure of the interior of the Town Hall took place in 1651–52, when the Great Hall at the southern end of the main floor was divided into smaller rooms on two floors and the main entrance was opened in the middle of the building towards the Town Square (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.1). Together with the renovations, sections of the older material in *AR* still stationed in the *Kämmerei* and elsewhere in the Town Hall may have been transferred to the cellars, where even more material was deposited in anticipation of Russian occupation in ca. 1710. It is of special interest for the mid-17th century reorganization of the archives that in the schematic drawing of the three rooms, the largest one with a spiral staircase in a right corner opposite the wall with two windows is clearly that of the *Kämmerei* on the northwest corner of the main floor of the building, whereas the other two smaller rooms with one window on the wall of one end of the building and one on the both long walls are apparently two new rooms constructed on the second floor of the old Great Hall, at the southern end of the Town Hall in 1651–52.¹⁴⁷ Thus not all the material in *AR* was concentrated in the latter half of the 17th century in the two rooms in and under the medieval *Kämmerei*, but after the renovation works of 1651–52 much of it was stationed in the two new rooms at the southern end of the building and in the cellar.

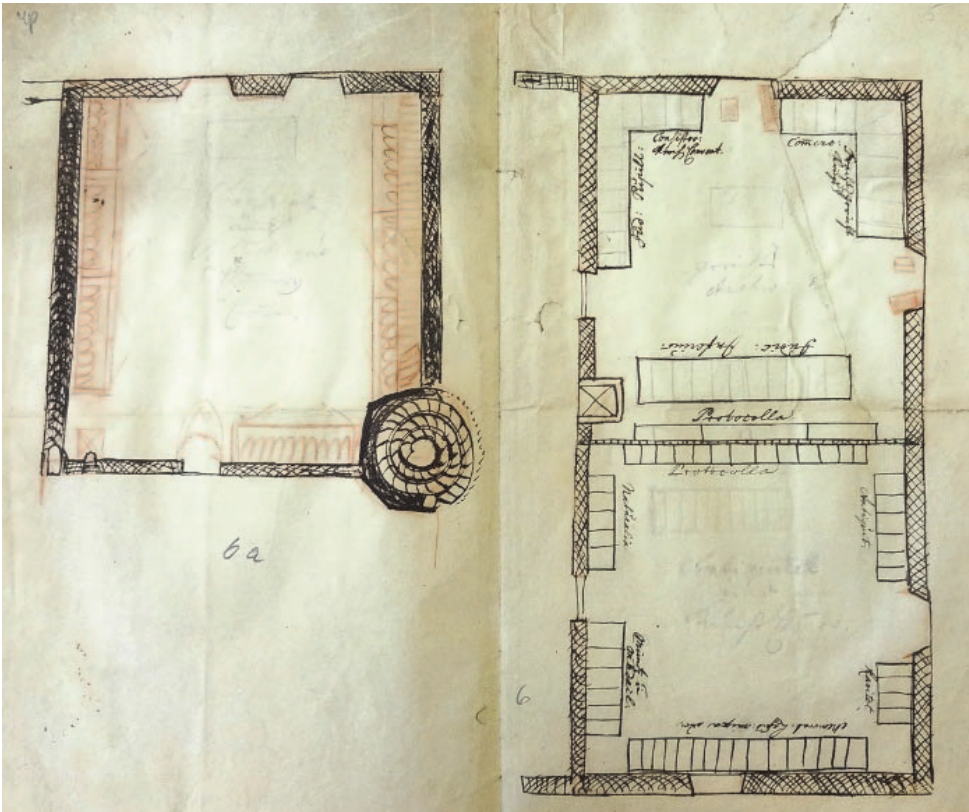
Picture 1 and Map 3: *The location of the Old Archives of the Council (AR) in the Town Hall in 1665.*

Picture 1: *The two drawings of the holdings of the Chancery of Reval from ca. 1665 and after the renovation of the Town Hall in 1651–52. The drawings are attached to the register*

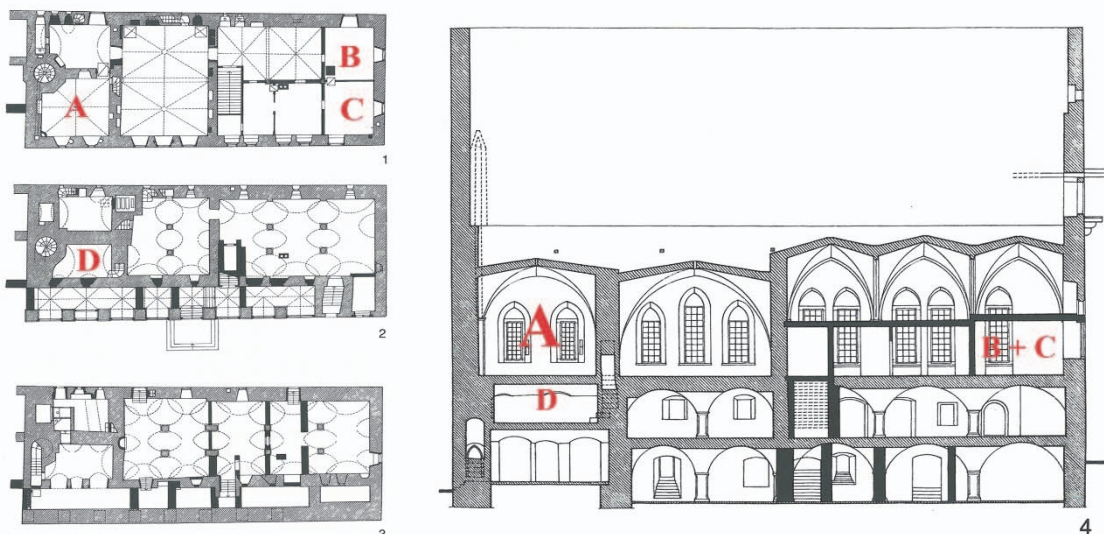
¹⁴⁶ A.a.36, f. 3r–23v (Kala 2008c, 151–162), where the first part of the register (3r–v, 6r–22r) consists of “Acta Pro et contra” from 1600 to 1658 with a short explication at the end on the registration of the volumes and a note on the possibility of adding new supplements up till 1699. The various deposits in the Chancery/Kämmerei chamber “above” and the vaulted chamber in the “back” of it are listed on the last full spread and the beginning of the last written page (f. 22v–23r) of the manuscript.

¹⁴⁷ On the spatial composition of the Town Hall and the renovations in 1651–52 see Böckler, Teddy 2004, Tallinna raekoda. Uurimine ja restaureerimine 1952–2004. Tallinn 2004, 13 and 78–90, especially p. 83, map 1.

of the holdings dated by the notary of the city Johann Flabben on April 14, 1665, but show only an overview of the placing of the bookshelves in the Chancery/Kämmerei (A, left) and the two rooms containing the Judicial Archive (B, above right) and the Curiosity cabinet (C, below right) of the city. The vaulted room (D) holding most of the medieval and 16th century material of the city is not included in the drawings. The explications written on pencil are barely visible today. Note the window seats and desks intended for the consultation of the material in the Judicial Archive of the city (room B, on red pencil).



Map 3: The location of the Chancery/Kämmerei (A), Judicial Archive (B) Curiosity cabinet (C) and the vaulted archival room (D) in Teddy Böckler's 1999/2004 reconstruction of the facilities of the Town Hall after the renovation of 1651–52.



Source. TLA, A.a.36, f. 4v–5r and Böckler 2004, 83.

Together with the schematic location of the documents and archival material, the register of 1665 and the inventory of the Town Hall from 1674, with later representations on the contents of the bookshelves and bookcases from 1741, tell us about the nature and composition of individual sections of the later *AR* in the latter half of the 17th century and after. According to the register of 1665, the major part of the medieval material, including the various books of memoranda and received missives of the council, were then deposited in the vaulted chamber under the *Kämmerei* together with other similar material up to the 1660's. There the deposits consisted of a cupboard and shelves on the left (i.e. south) wall of the chamber with the 17th- and 18th-century missives of kings, princes and so on stationed in the cupboard, as well as the copies and drafts of the sent missives of the council from the 15th century to the 17th and missives received by the council organised according to areas of origin in the west and mainland Europe (such as Sweden proper, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Prussia, Austria etc.) placed on shelves. Alongside these on the same shelves lay all the political correspondence of the city with the Livonian cities and the Hanse. Opposite to the bookshelf on the right (i.e. north) wall of the chamber was another shelf with the correspondence between the city and Narva and the Estonian Knighthood as well as the missives received by the council from areas close to the city and in the east and south (all Finland, Livonia, but also Poland, Russia, Curland, Denmark and Holstein), the Revalian city ordinances, the archives of the Mint and letters received from the Royal Swedish administration and its various offices (late 16th century and 17th century). 'Down' (*Unten*) in the same chamber, i.e. on the back (i.e. east) wall, were the missives received from the Livonian Master of 1500–68, 16th-century and later testaments up til the year 1664 organised in annual order, various 16th- and 17th-century inventories, city books of mixed memoranda (*Denckelbücher*) from the 15th century and later, legations from the 16th century and later, craft ordinances old and new, and various account books including Eccise, Mint, *Kämmerei* (city coffer), Artillery and city promissory notes.¹⁴⁸

Even if not specified in the 1665 register of the material, the most important documents and memoranda of the city were, according to the inventory of January 10, 1674, kept in a cupboard in the *Kämmerei* secured with double locks, which held two newer and one old

¹⁴⁸ A.a.36, f. 22v–23v (Kala 2008c, 151–162); The inventory of 1674: TLA, A.a.36, f. 28r–31r. Schematic keys for the shelves from an unknown date and 1741, TLA, A.a.36, 32r–43r.

parchment ‘Main Books’ (*Hauptbuch*), four small iron chests with city privileges and letters, three round vessels with letters and various pieces of gilded silverware, including a gold-plated crucifix and a monstrans.¹⁴⁹ The late 17th-century register and inventory show that the core documentation of the city’s privileges, administrative and fiscal activities and correspondence was apparently stationed in the Town Hall from the 15th century, where it was later organised on cognitive models responding to the 17th-century needs for information. Since the later corpus of *AR* based on the 17th century deposits in the Town Hall also contains some of the provisional material produced by the medieval city scribes including drafts of missives later employed for pen trials, it is difficult to form a plausible hypothesis on what parts of the material produced in the textual management of information of the civic authority may originally have been stationed in the house of the City Scriptorium across the corner of the Marketplace in the 14th century (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.2). As discussed later in this study, the remaining pre 1456/60 corpus of material in *AR* also has some apparent gaps, not just in regard to archived correspondence but also lost volumes of memoranda, which tells about possible damage to the corpus of *AR* already in the late 15th century or the early modern period.

Outside the *AR* other archives containing medieval material in TLA and relevant for this study are the archives of the two **parishes of the city, St Nicolas and St Olaf** (Tallinna Niguliste Kogudus 1465–1939, Tallinna Oleviste Kogudus 1497–1939) and the archives of the medieval guilds and confraternities: **St Canute’s Guild**, consisting of the material of various crafts including those affiliated to the Guild of St Olaf and originally in the first half of the 14th century probably including even the merchant burghers (*Kanuti Gild – Der St Kanutigilde*, 1393–1924), **the Great Guild** covering the material of the guild of married merchants and burghers and first mentioned in 1363 (*Kaupmeeste ehk Suurgild – Der Kaufmanns- oder Grosse Gilde*, 14th century – 1922), **the Confraternity of the Blackheads**, an association of visiting journeymen and unmarried young merchants in the town first mentioned in 1399 (*Mustpeade Vennaskond – Der Bruderscahft der Schwartzenhäupter*, 1400–1940) and **the Cathedral Guild**, originally an ecclesiastical formation established in 1407, but later at the turn of the 16th century reorganised into a confraternity of craftsmen and people serving the institutions on Toompea (*Toomgild – Der Domgilde*, 1340–1921). Even if consulted during the research, not all of the archives are cited in the course of the

¹⁴⁹ TLA, A.a.36, f. 28r–v.

study if no information has been provided by them.¹⁵⁰ Other archives with medieval material consulted in the course of this study are **the Archive of the Estonian Knighthood** (*Eestländische Ritterschaft, Eestimaa rüütelkond*, here cited as ERük) which has formed part of the archival collections of the Estonian historical archives (*Eesti rahvusarhiiv, Ajalooarhiiv*, EAA) in Tartu since 1923, and the **City Archives of Lübeck** (*Stadtarchiv Lübeck*, STA Lü). Individual sources have also been consulted in digital form from the collections of the **City Archives of Soest** and **Hamburg** in Germany and **the Swedish National Archives** (*Riksarkivet*).

¹⁵⁰ TLA, Fond 31 (St Nicholas), 236 (St Olaf), 190 (St Canute's Guild), 191 (Great Guild), 87 (Blackheads) and 192 (Cathedral Guild). For basic information on the parishes, guilds and confraternities see Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 79, 59, 65–67 and Mänd 2011b, 18–26 and Mänd 2013, 229–232.

2. The origins and nature of textualization in the Baltic Sea area and the earliest documents issued by the civic authority of Reval

2.1. The three phases of textualization

How to evaluate the complex world of documents and written renderings of administrative and economic reality in the management of information of 13th- to mid-15th-century civic authority of Reval, and what kind of different conceptual categories, text permanences, types and spheres of textualization are apparent in it? In order to understand the complexity of texts and physical forms of textual products corresponding to the contemporary modes of thinking behind them, it is first necessary to consider the nature and spheres of textualization in the 12th to 14th centuries Baltic Sea area management of information and communication: their emergence, typology and developments.

2.1.1. The first phase of textualization: Written manifestations of public and judicial authority in sealed charters and letters from the 11th to 13th centuries

In the merchant cities and towns of the Baltic Sea area the origins of textualization and the use of text as a technology for the management of information have traditionally been dated to the second and third quarters of the 13th century, when the oldest surviving books of memoranda appear to have been introduced in use in major hubs of transregional trade such as Lübeck and other cities of the Wendish confederation (see CHAPTER 2.1.2 below). By then, however, the knowledge and ability to produce documents in the form of Latin charters and letters had already existed in certain areas east of the Elbe and in Scandinavia for at least 75 years.

Apart from the liturgical and other manuscripts produced and utilized in various institutions of the church and the letters and documents of the apostolic see, the oldest form of finished textual products in the Baltic Sea area were charters and documents issued in the name of ecclesiastical or lay authorities corroborated with their seals. If we leave aside the present area of Schleswig-Holstein and the material produced by the archiepiscopal chancery of Hamburg-Bremen, the earliest evidence of such documents in Denmark comes from ca. 1072–73 (a donation of King Svend Estridsen to Bishop Vilhelm of Roskilde, who had produced the original charter in his see) and from Sweden ca. 1164–67 (a charter of the archbishop of Upsala). The oldest surviving original document on parchment produced in Denmark is King Erik Emune's privilege for Lund Cathedral issued on January 6, 1135. Produced by one of the scribes contributing to the mid-1130's *Necrologium Lundense*, the

privilege was clearly the work of the scriptorium of the archdiocese, not that of the king.¹ The earliest surviving text of a document produced by the bishop of Lübeck dates to 1164, and the production of charters by ecclesiastical authorities in Mecklenburg and Pomerania seems to have begun in the 1160's and 1170's.² In the principalities of northwest Rus, the earliest known document issued by the princes of Novgorod regarding the Baltic Sea area is a trading agreement with Gotland and German merchants from 1191–92. The ritual of kissing the Cross as confirmation of peace-agreements in Rus had been recorded in written documents as early as the mid-12th century, but since many of them were later symbolically destroyed if agreements were broken, they appear to have originally served more as a vehicle for the ritual binding and releasing of the ritual agreements than preserving information for posterity.³

All the early documents and charters of western origin in the Baltic Sea area of interaction were written in pen and ink, in Latin, on parchment, and with the use of contemporary diplomatic formulas to organise the text. Hence, the model for the emerging world of documents was necessarily that of the papal curia and the chancery of the Holy Roman Emperors. The technology and innovations of these two major diplomatic protagonists were transferred to local agents of power in a process similar to that in other areas in Europe.⁴ Before the end of the 12th century the practise of producing and issuing documents in the name of ecclesiastical and lay authorities had become well-established as a technology for

¹ DD 1:2 9, DD I:2 63, Frederiksen, Britta Olrik, *The History of Old Nordic Manuscripts IV: Old Danish*. In: Bandle, Oskar et al (eds.), *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages*, 1. Walter De Gruyter, Berlin 2002, 817–818; DS 51 (SDHK 200), see Larsson 2001, 20–25.

² See *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, I–XXV (786–1400). Hg. von Dem Verein für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde. Schwerin 1863–1977 (here cited as MUB), vol. I, nr. 81 (bishop Konrad of Lübeck in 1164, see also *Codex diplomaticus Lubeckensis*, *Lübeckisches Urkundenbuch*, W. Leverkus (ed.), II:te Abteilung, Bd. 1, *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Lübeck*. Gerhard Stalling, Oldenburg 1856, nr. 5), MUB I 95, and 114 (Duke Cazimerus of Pomerania MUB I 98, in 1170 and 1174), 98 (founding of the Cistercian Abbey of Althof near Doberan by Duke Pribislav in 1171), 111 (Bishop Berno of Schwerin, 1173), 115 (Count Guncelinus of Schwerin), 1174), 121 (Bishop Konrad of Pommern, 1176) and 122 (Bishop Berno of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 1177). Because of the schooling and former offices of the bishops Gheroldus (1154–63) and Vicelinus (1149–54) of Oldenburg, there is no reason to doubt that the office of the bishop of Lübeck would not have been able to produce documents before the translocation of the see in 1160, see *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae occidentalis ab initio usque ad annum mxcviii*. Series V: Germania. Tomus II: Archiepiscopatus Hammaburgensis sive Bremensis. Curaverunt Stefan Weinfurter et Odilo Engels. Anton Hiersemann, Stuttgart 1984 (here cited as SEECO), 63–68, on the sees of Ratzeburga and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, see 73–74 and 80–82 (all written by Jürgen Petersohn).

³ On various aspects and the nature of the documents issued by the princes of Novgorod and Smolensk in 1191–92 and in the 13th century see Franklin, Simon, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950–1300*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (UK), 2002, 166–176, and Squires 2009, 27, with special focus on the various formulas and practices of corroboration on pages 86–131.

⁴ On the basic outline of development of episcopal, princely and seigneurial chanceries see Guyotjeannin, Oliver, Pycke, Jacques & Tock, Benoît-Michel, *Diplomatique Médiévale*. L'Atelier du Médiéviste, 2. Brepols, 1993, 103–114.

securing the information and rights of those involved in transactions and agreements in the administration and manifestations of power in an area reaching from Uppsala in the north to Pomerania in the east. The impact of this *'first' textualization, ie. the knowledge and ability to produce sealed charters and letters as manifestations of public and judicial authority*, on the number of charters and documents is clear from a glance at the modern diplomatariums of the era, in which each decade from the third quarter of the 12th century onwards has more and more entries.⁵

Considering the various dominions and agents of ecclesiastical and lay authority in Livonia, the earliest charters issued by bishops of Riga are from 1209, but the first documents of the officials of the bishop must have been produced not later than the first expeditions of Bishop Albert to the mouth of the River Dvina in the spring of 1200, probably in 1201–2, when the first episcopal vassals and the merchant community to Riga were created. After the relocation of the cathedral chapter to Riga in 1202 and the founding of the Cistercian Abbey of Dünamunde in 1205, the possibilities for producing written documents were increased.⁶ As regards the charters and other documents issued in Livonia up to 1225, the production of finished charters on parchment appears to have been relatively rare, and most of them were written down by officials in the service of the bishop and church of Riga. A cancellarius of the bishop is first cited in 1231 and 1232, but the actual reading of the title is not clear.⁷ In 1225–26 and in the 1230's several charters were issued in the context of the apostolical legatures of Wilhelm of Modena (in Livonia 1225–26, 1234–35 and 1237–38) and the activity of Balduin of Alna (1230, 1232–34), both of whom undoubtedly had people able to produce legatine documents for them, but who were also capable of writing documents and missives by themselves. As an ex Vice-Chancellor of the curia Wilhelm of Modena had an insider's view of the benefits of managing assorted conflicts through written dispensations; a method increasingly used in the administration of different branches of apostolic authority

⁵ See for instance DD I, volumes 1–4.

⁶ LECUB I:1 15; HCL IV–VI; For the activity of the bishop of Riga in 1199–1202 see Benninghoven 1965, 37–54.

⁷ Of the 17 texts cited in the LECUB and most likely produced in Livonia before 1225, one may have its origins in the Cistercian abbey of Dünamunde (LECUB I:1 59) and another outside the archiepiscopal chancery in Riga (LECUB I:1 76). Of the remaining 15, four are known through the material produced in the papal curia (LECUB I:1 58, 61–63) and others deal with privileges or decisions granted by Bishop Albert of Riga (LECUB I:1 15, 20, 38, 48, 49, 50, 53, 56, 70, 74); LECUB I:1 109, 126, see *Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, I–II*. Von L. Arbusow. *Jahrbuch für genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik*, 1900–2 (parts I:1–3) and 1911–13 (part II). J.F. Steffenhagen und Sohn, Mitau, 1902–4, 1914 (here cited as LG), vol. I:1, 40.

and by papal legates since the Gregorian reform of the 11th century.⁸ One of the charters which Wilhelm issued during his visit of Reval in 1237 is still in TLA, where it has made part of *AR* since an unknown date. Since the charter not only secures the right of lay people to donate landed property to ecclesiastic institutions in Livonia but also supports donations made to the leprosorium in Reval, it was once in the archives of the Hospital of St John. It was probably incorporated in the archives of council by the 15th century (for the hospital and its administration see CHAPTER 3.2.4).⁹

Perhaps the most illuminating example of the early documents produced in Livonia, and certainly that which best demonstrates the contemporary ingenuity in using the written word and literacy, was the document detailing the tripartition of Letgallia between the bishop and the Sword Brethren in the autumn of 1211. The partition of the area into two dominions was made in the absence of Bishop Albert by a congregation of four German bishops, the bishop of Leal, the dean of the church of Riga and the abbot of Dünamunde, with the help of three charters, each clarifying one third of the possessions in *Lettia*. The charters were presented to ‘an illiterate person’, who sorted them out by drawing lots, two falling to the benefit of the bishop and one for the Knights.¹⁰ Another early 13th-century example of the contemporary value of written documents as vehicles of authority is the resignation of Bishop Thomas of Finland in 1245: he had, ‘because of some diabolical instigation forged certain apostolical letters’.¹¹ What documents Thomas forged is unknown, but three years later the papal legate Wilhem of Sabina confirmed Thomas’ donation of books to the Dominican House of Sigtuna. A man of letters with a university background in Paris, Thomas obviously had the available knowledge and means to produce false apostolical documents for his own use. The flow of papal documents to both Sweden and Livonia after the second quarter of the 12th century shows that such letters were frequently invested with great authority regarding territorial and ecclesiastical power, so that it is easy to imagine the temptation for the bishops who organised the administration, status and privileges of episcopal sees to use them to gain

⁸ On the activity of Wilhelm of Modena and Baldwin of Alna see Donner 1929, 71–142, 163–232.

⁹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 2 (LECUB I:1 148).

¹⁰ LECUB I:1 23, ‘ut terra, quae Lettia dicitur, tripartita sorte divideretur, placuit scripto harum trium cartarum; tres terrae partes aequales distinguere, et datis hinc inde cartulis per manum cuiusdam illiterati, quiquid uni vel alteri parti pro sorte accideret ratum habere’. The first tripartition of Livonia was confirmed earlier the same year after an inspection of four bishops invested with papal authority, LECUB I:1, 18, see Benninghoven 1965, 117–119.

¹¹ Finlands Medeltidsurkunder I–VIII. Samlade och i tryck utgifna af Finlands Statsarkiv genom Reinhold Hausen. Helsingfors 1910–35 (here cited as FMU), vol. I, nr. 88 (Svenskt diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbrev, <http://sok.riksarkivet.se/sdhk>, here cited as SDHK, nr. 549), ‘quasdam litteras apostolicas presumpserit diabolico instinctu falsare’.

some extra support from the apostolic authority for their plans. Interestingly, the earliest surviving texts of documents produced for the church of Finland in Finland, i.e the original missionary area of Finland Proper and the adjacent regions in what is now western Finland, date to the time of Thomas' episcopate in 1234; a fact further stressing the contemporary inclination to use written charters as instruments for building and securing permanent ecclesiastical and territorial foundations in the northern Baltic Sea area.¹²

Today there is no doubt that the the archiepiscopal and suffragan chanceries of Hamburg-Bremen, the kings of Denmark and the dukes of Saxony took the leading role in the textualization of charters and written ecclesiastic and secular documents in the Baltic Sea area in the 11th and the first half of the 12th century, the secular rulers being assisted by officials of the church in their service. An increasing number of charters and other written texts, including letters to the pope and other high authorities, were produced locally in Denmark, Sweden, Mecklenburg and Pomerania after the third quarter of the 12th century, and in Livonia after the beginning of the 13th century, but the actual output of finished and sealed documents remained in the hand of few authorities, assisted by the technological expertise of the clerics, until the second quarter of the 13th century.¹³ As the information on the role of the charters in settling disputes in Livonia and the fate of Bishop Thomas of Finland suggest, the impact of this first textualization on the creation and administration of lay and ecclesiastic dominions in the Baltic Sea area was permanent and created domains, conventions and cognitive models of its own, not only in the way authority was manifested and reproduced but also in the way the management of information on past decisions, agreements and negotiations was handled (see the discussion in CHAPTER 1.2.3 above).

2.1.2. The second phase of textualization: The management of information of agents of public and judicial authority and individual people in registers and written memoranda in the 13th and 14th centuries

Outside the world of manuscripts and charters of ecclesiastic and lay authorities, another important development in the management of information is evident from the beginning of the second quarter of the 13th century, when a growing number of various kinds of written

¹² FMU I 92 (SDHK 612); *Registrum ecclesiae aboensis* eller Åbo domkyrkans svartbok med tillägg ur Skoklosters codex Aboensis. I tryck utgifven af Finlands Statsarkiv genom Reinh. Hausen. Helsingfors 1890 (here cited as REA), nr. 10 (SDHK 497).

¹³ See DD I:1-4, LECUB I:1, 3 and 6, MUB I, SDHK; See also Skyum-Nielsen, Niels, *Kanslere og skrivere i Danmark 1252–1282*. *Middelalderstudier* Tilegnede Aksel E. Christensen på tresårsdagen 11. September 1966. Munksgaard, København, 1966, 184, where he states that there appears to have been no fixed number of staff in the chancery of the Danish realm. The number fluctuated between one and four in 1252–82, and the scribes appear to have worked on special areas or commissions.

registers were introduced to keep track of judicial and fiscal liabilities in the Baltic Sea area. Distinct from the mode and scope of sealed documents, this ‘second’ phase of textualization of administration in the form of registers and written memoranda of various agents of power, communities and private persons such as merchants has parallels in the inventories of landed property, rents and taxes of ecclesiastic and lay authorities such as the Domesday Book (1086) of Norman England, and the 13th-century cadaster of *Liber Census Daniae*, (the so-called King Valdemars Jordbok) of Denmark, the basic material for which had been compiled around the time of king Valdemar II (1202–41) in 1219–60. The manuscript itself consists of 33 different texts written almost entirely by two scribes in ca. 1300. The ‘main list’ of the codex, i.e the cadasters of Denmark proper, were originally compiled in 1231, but were copied into the manuscript in ca. 1300 by a hand also active in a contemporary law manuscript, possibly a monk in the Cistercian Abbey of Sorø. The cadaster also includes two lists of Danish dominions in Estonia, the so-called Shorter and Longer lists. Of these two lists, Tiina Kala has recently dated the longer one to 1238, and suggested with good reasons that it was originally written as preliminary material for the evaluation of the tax on land soon after the Treaty of Stensby in that year.¹⁴

As already discussed in CHAPTER 1.2.3, important tools for understanding the textualization of the management of information on property, income, expenditure and other proprietary and economic liabilities are the text types and text permanences, contemporary conventions based on cognitional models, and the selection and combination of forms in which information in administration was presented as text. Considering the world of administrative and economic information in lists, codiced entries of transactions and changes in ownership or fiscal accounts, of special interest is when text was first employed to control information in the civic administration of merchant communities and what we know of the types of administration first recorded in text subjected to it. Another characteristic feature of medieval registers is that, regardless of their focus, the majority of them were based on preliminary written information about oral agreements, fiscal transactions and letters, rendered on wax

¹⁴ On Domesday Book see for instance Clachy 1993, 25–35; The cadasters of *Liber Census Daniae* (Codex ex-Holmiensis A 41) have been studied and published by Svend Aakjær (Aakjær, Svend, Kong Valdemars Jordbog, I–III. København 1926–43, 1945). On the dating of the codex and its lists see Aakjær and Gallén 1993, 13–21, 114–116. The codex is written by three scribes, but the third scribe only wrote the recto side of the last folio of the codex. On the scribe responsible for the cadastral sections see Frederiksen 2002, 818. The older dating of the Longer list of Estonia was based on the 1933 study of Paul Johansen (1933, 144–145), who suggested that the list was the work of Thorkill, bishop of Reval (1238–60) from ca. 1241. For Tiina Kala’s dating see, Kala, Tiina, Käsikiri ja uurijad. “Liber Census Daniae” ja/või “Codex ex-Holmiensis”? TUNA, Ajalookultuuri ajakiri 1/2005 (here cited as Kala 2005a), 27. For LCD see also ‘Valdemars jordbog’ (Rasmussen, Poul), KLN 19, 456–460.

tablets, loose sheets or slips of paper or parchment, as well as in original documents, from which the the information was then copied to quired or codiced forms of memoranda to secure the preservation of their contents for the management of information. In such a process, the original corroboration and promulgation of changes in the ownership or conditions of holding town houses in medieval cities and towns, for instance, was publicized orally in the front of civic authority where no letter patent was made, but the corroboration of the act and issues in it were noted down by the city scribe present at the occasion. Afterwards the notes were collected together and written as entries in the city book of inheritances, i.e transactions on immovable property (Lat. *hereditas*, Mnd. *erve*), where the book itself and entries in it were considered judicially binding for the particular action. A similar procedure of compiling quired and codexed registers from preliminary written material is also known to have been used in medieval cadasters, chartularies and copiaries of missives. In fiscal accounts too, for instance, the main accounts of the *kämmerers* (the two councillor wardens of the finances and economy of the council) of Reval were compiled from individual slips and notes on various kinds of transactions and written as a chronological ‘account’ by the city scribes in a series of writing sessions during the fiscal year in the 15th century (see CHAPTER 3.2.1.2).¹⁵

In the old merchant centres of the lower Rhine such as Cologne, the earliest surviving samples of registers are the so called *Schreinskarten*, parchment charts introduced to itemize immovable possessions in the suburb of St Martin in 1136/37. The practice itself was evidently an application of a custom in the city community of St Lawrence since ca. 1130, that of registering judicial transactions to loose charts, but after its introduction by the burgher community of the parish of St Martin it was extended to other parishes of the city with the consent of the archbishop in 1138/39. Characteristic for the contemporary application of writing in the lower Rhine area was that the registers listing the immovable properties of the burghers began to be written in codices only in 1220, after some 90 years of use of loose parchment charts.¹⁶

¹⁵ On the nature of cartularies as well as other types of registers as copies of preliminary written material and oral corroborations see Clanchy 1993, 103–104.

¹⁶ Schreinswesen (Brandmüller, W.), LM VII, 1557–1558, Militzer, Klaus, Schreinsseintragungen und Notariatsinstrumente in Köln. In: Notariado público y documento privado. De los orígenes al siglo XIV. Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Diplomática. Valencia, 1986, I–II. Col. Papers i Documents, 7. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència, Generalitat Valenciana, Valencia 1989, Vol. II, 1195–1224. See also Das digitale Historische Archiv Köln, Schreinskarten (Best. 100) and Schreinsbücher (Best. 101), <http://historischesarchivkoeln.de/de/>, accessed 19.11.2015.

Regarding developments in the management of written memoranda of the early 12th century Colognean burgher community, the system of registering issues in the administration of private possessions in urban space by the early civic authorities appears to have evolved from various kinds of ‘lists’ on loose sheets or charts of parchment to registers in the form of quires and bound codices. This development not only reflects the general evolution of textual technologies and conventions in the 12th to 13th century, but also occurred in the management of information of other 13th-century urban communities. ‘Lists’ also seem to have preceded codiced forms of registers in Augsburg, where the *Burgerbuch* introduced in 1288 presents entries with citations of older lists documenting tax, prisoners and abandonment of burghership. There a list of outlaws (*Achtliste*) is cited in 1276, even though a special book for the register of outlaws was introduced only in 1302. In Stralsund, the oldest register of the city (*Stadbuch*) from 1270–1301 consists of quired registers on debts (from 1288), outlaws (from 1270) and income (from 1278), bound together into a codex.¹⁷ Rather than positing a simple evolution from an older technology of loose sheets into a more advanced way of producing and preserving information in quired and codiced forms of memoranda, a more plausible explanation for the shift may lie in the growing number of filed entries caused by a growing number of transactions and changes in the number and nature of ownership produced by the growing merchant population, in turn supported with changes in the technology of the management of written information in the urban centres of the 13th century. As Mathias Franc Kluge has suggested in his study of the management of written registers of the city of Augsburg, another contributing factor appears to have been the emergence of the office of city scribes and City Scriptorium, where the older lists kept by the councillor wardens in control of the particular branches of administration were replaced by a more concerted management of information by hired professionals.¹⁸ In both cases an apparent change of mentality regarding the management of information is detectable: a need to keep track of the growing number of events in a more organised way, accessible in a chronological form in an easily consultable codex, and the professionalization of the creation of such ‘end’ products based on the preliminary material provided by various agencies in the administration.

In the Baltic Sea area no known registers of urban origin from the 12th century are known. The earliest information on the use of distinct books of memoranda in the judicial and fiscal

¹⁷ Kluge 2014, 91–92, Isenmann 2012, 436.

¹⁸ Kluge 2014, 97–98.

administration of the major merchant centres of the region comes from *Lübeck* in 1227. This so called *liber civitatis* or *Niederstadtbuch* contained entries on various matters of council administration between 1227 and 1284, but is only known through later excerpts as the original was lost in the 18th century.¹⁹ Further early information and surviving examples of city books of memoranda are available from *Rostock* (a loose page of 1257/58 from a book of mixed memoranda otherwise lost, another book of mixed memoranda covering the years 1258–1323, and other registers in the form of books and quires from after 1261), *Kiel* (a book of mixed memoranda covering the years 1264–89), *Stralsund* (a book of mixed memoranda covering the years 1270–1310, see above), *Wismar* (a book of mixed memoranda from ca. 1250 to 1273) and *Greifswald* (a book of mixed memoranda introduced in 1291).²⁰ The earliest known book of civic memoranda from Prussia and Livonia is a book of debts (Ger. *Schuldbuch*) publicly and orally issued in front of the council of *Riga* and covering the years 1286–1352, after which the oldest surviving one dates to the early 14th century. Among those are the parchment register of inheritances, i.e. resignations and recognitions on the ownership and holding of private immovable property (houses and other buildings) of *Reval*, introduced in 1312, and the oldest surviving book of inheritances of *Danzig* (begun ca. 1330).²¹

Of special interest here is that in *Reval* the earliest surviving register of inheritances, introduced in 1312 in the form of five parchment quires in octavo [A.a.1, ca. 24,5 x 17,0 cms, see CHAPTER 3.1.2], was apparently preceded by another type of register of house

¹⁹ For the *liber civitatis* of Lübeck See Rörig, Fritz, 1931, Das Lübecker Niederstadtbuch des 14. Jahrhunderts. Seine rechtliche Funktion, sich wandelnde Zwecksetzung und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Bedeutung. In: Ehrengabe dem deutschen Juristentage überreicht vom Verein für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Verlag des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Lübeck, 1931, 35–54, Ebel, Wilhelm, Lübisches Recht. Verlag Max Schmidt – Römhild, Lübeck 1971, 418, Graßmann, Antjekathrin, Zu den Lübecker Stadtbüchern. In: Sarnowsky, Jürgen (ed.), Verwaltung und Schriftlichkeit in den Hansestädten. Hansische Studien, XVI. Hansische Geschichtsverein, Porta Alba Verlag, Trier 2006, 74 and Pitz 1959, 311–312.

²⁰ For Rostock, Kiel, Stralsund and Greifswald see Beyerle 1910, 159–162, Ebel 1971, 420–423, Isenmann 2002, 166, Isenmann 2012, 436, and for Wismar see Das älteste Wismarsche Stadtbuch von etwa 1250 bis 1272. Hrsg. von Fr. Techen. Wismar 1912, and Ebel 1971, 421. According to M. Kintzinger (Stadtbücher, LM VIII, 13) the first Stralsund book of debts was introduced in 1228, but the dating is a misprint for 1288, see Beyerle 1910, 159–160 and Ebel 1971, 422.

²¹ TLA, A.a.1 (WB 1312–60); Olínski, Piotr, Die Danziger Stadtbücher im 14. und der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. In: Sarnowsky, Jürgen (ed.), Verwaltung und Schriftlichkeit in den Hansestädten. Hansische Studien, XVI. Hansische Geschichtsverein, Porta Alba Verlag, Trier, 2006, 111; On Riga see Das Rigische Schuldbuch (1286–1352). Hrsg. von Hermann Hildebrand. St. Petersburg, 1872 (here cited as RigSchuld 1286–1352), Beyerle 1910, 188, von Lehe, Erich, Die Schuldbücher von Lübeck, Riga und Hamburg - ihr Quellenwert zur hansischen Frühgeschichte. In: von Brandt, Ahasver & Koppe, W. (eds.), Städtewesen und Bürgertum als Geschichtliche Kräfte. Gedächtnisschrift für Fritz Rörig. Verlag Max Schmidt-Römhild, Lübeck 1953, 167–168, and Sprandel, Rolf (ed.), Quellen zur Hanse-Geschichte mit Beiträgen von Jürgen Bohmbach und Jochen Goetze. Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, 36, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1982, 449.

owners in the two parishes of the walled area of the city written on loose sheets of parchment (ca. 12,7 x 18,4 cms). Of this register only a section of the list of the house owners in the parish of St Olaf survives, from ca. 1300–1315 [B.K.1, f. 25, PICTURE 12]. The main motive for the introduction of a new quired parchment register, later amended to the form of a codex of two set of quires and bound in limp leather binding, appears to have been the substantial enlargement of the walled area of the city in 1310–11, on the instructions of the royal legate Johannes Canne in September 1310 (see CHAPTERS 2.2.3 and 4.3.1). Like the administration of inheritances in the parish-based burgher communities of 12th- and 13th-century Cologne, the shift from loose charts to quired forms of memoranda in Reval probably resulted not only from developments in the conventions of the management of information, but also from the need to build a chronological register of transactions concerning inheritances, for the ‘memorizing’ and ‘documentative’ functions of which the older system of lists of house owners on loose charts had not provide an adequate solution (see CHAPTER 1.2.3). Since both the fragment of the list of ca. 1300–1315 and the oldest section of A.a.1 are written in the hand active in the office of the city scribe at least from 1312 to 1325 and in 1328 (here cited as the hand *WBI*, see CHAPTERS 3.2.2.2 and 4.2.1–2), the transition from individual lists to a quired register of inheritances in early 14th century Reval appears not to have occurred in the context of the transfer of the final production of the lists from the councillor wardens to the city scribe. Instead, lists on loose sheets with information on house owners and households in the parish of St Olaf were already managed by the city scribes around the beginning of the 14th century.

In Denmark or Sweden there is no known information about civic memoranda from the 13th century, but the textualization of the management of information in merchant towns of the southern Baltic Sea region and Livonia was not a phenomenon peculiar to communities of ‘German’ merchant population only. The word ‘German’ here requires a caveat, as there is documentary evidence that the early burgher communities of Livonian and Scandinavian merchant centers such as Reval, Kalmar, Visby, Åbo and Stockholm comprised several different ethnicities including both local and transregional elements. Among the latter there were not only merchants of Scandinavian or Baltic-Finnish origin operating in Sweden, Finland or Livonia, but also ‘Germans’, a heterogenic group consisting of both native

Germans, assimilated western Slavs and German-speaking merchants operating in the Baltic Sea region and born in it.²²

Instead of something nationally or ethnically constructed such as ‘German’, ‘Hanseatic’, or ‘imperial’ as often favoured in the older treatises on the origins of writing and literacy of the Baltic Sea region, the introduction of texts as a technology of managing and securing information in the second textualization of administrative and fiscal memoranda should be understood as an innovation applied not only to the administration of civic authority of the cities, but also by various agents of collective and private activity such as confraternities, guilds, crafts and individual merchants active in the area. The oldest surviving examples of private merchant memoranda in the form of bound quires and their fragments in parchment are private registers of debts from Lübeck and Kiel, both dating to the end of the 13th century and almost contemporary with the oldest known codiced registers of debts and mortgages made public in front of the councils of Lübeck (from 1277 onwards), Riga (1286) and Hamburg (1288).²³ According to Doris Tophinke, the early written accounts of individual merchants shared many characteristics with the contemporary civic memoranda on debts and annuities, but the similarities in text and form between these two were not necessarily intentional. Instead, and as shown by the types and functions of the relevant texts, the emerging textual manifestations of debt and fiscal claims in the administration of civic and private liabilities resulted from the increasing acceptance of the usefulness of textually secured legal acts and transactions, which were progressively applied to the management of judicially binding information by both agents of coercive and collective activity and

²² On aspects of ethnicity in late medieval Stockholm, Malmö and Bergen see Lamberg 2001, 57–69, and Lamberg, Marko, A Finnish Minority Identity within the Merchant Community of Late Medieval Stockholm? In: Bisgaard, Lars, Mortensen, Lars Boje & Pettitt, Tom (eds.), *Guilds, Towns, and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300-1500*. University Press of Southern Denmark, Odense, 2013, 91–108. For Åbo/Turku see Kallioinen 2000, 103–115. In older Baltic-German and Hanseatic historiography the heterogenic ethnicity of the early 13th and 14th century burgher communities is often either played down or not taken into full consideration. In Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 95–106 for instance, the obviously heterogenic ethnicity of the 14th-century Reval burgher community is evident in the first two books of civic memoranda (TLA, A.a.1 and A.a.2), but is blurred with discussion on the origin of the early modern urban population and the more strict ethnic division among the burghers and other population evident from the 16th-century city. The late 15th- and early 16th-century articulation of ethnic issues in the administration of Livonian towns may have been a byproduct of both territorial coercion and Hanseatic stagnation, but it was also characteristic of the Swedish realm, where the regent and the council of the realm banned the entrance of German burghers to town councils in 1471 (See for instance Lamberg 2001, 51). Another important question concerning the early heterogenic ethnicity of burgher communities and landed elites in Livonia is the process of cultural and socioeconomical assimilation, often only vaguely touched upon or totally neglected in studies. For developments in the historiography of the 1930’s and 1940’s from the point of view of ethnicity and nationalism, see the articles in Garleff 1995, and the discussion on ‘Germans’ and ‘Non-Germans’ referred to in CHAPTER 1.1.2.4 of this study.

²³ Tophinke 1999a, 115, 117–126; Lehe 1953, 165–175, Sprandel 1982, 449–453, RSchuld 1286–1352.

individual people in the constant negotiation of textual technologies and available platforms of writing²⁴

What can we know about the mentalities and overall motivation for the use of textual technologies in the emerging written memoranda of the cities and the council administration in the 13th- and early 14th-century Baltic Sea region? In the surviving books or quires there is nothing that tells us why the things were written down, and the incipits of the memoranda often cite only the year or date of introduction of the respective codex and the nature its contents, such as *liber hereditatum*, *liber de diversis articulis*.²⁵ The incipit itself or the first entries of the various codices were often preceded or accompanied with an invocation, which is reminiscent of the written tradition of ecclesiastical manuscripts and authorised written documents such as the charters. Since the written invocations in both symbolic and verbal forms constituted an inherent feature of medieval manifestations of texts and written signs, their inclusion or absence in books of city memoranda cannot be taken as straightforward evidence of the ecclesiastical status of the scribe or that the possible connotations of the authorization of the codices were similar to those of the protocol of the charters.

Nevertheless, as a form of authentication they should be kept in mind when examining the surviving memoranda the invocations and their use in the management of information would require a study of their own in the context of the Baltic Sea area and Latin West.²⁶

Alongside the surviving memoranda, other documents and legislation of the era preserve information on the motivation for the uses of texts in the civic administration of the early 14th century towns and cities. The advantages of writing down past decisions and conditions of conduct are, for instance, explicit in the recess of the envoys of the Hanseatic cities at the meeting of Brügge in October 28, 1347, when the division of the cities into thirds for the administration of the *Kontor* at Brügge was first established. After the invocation, the protocol of the document states that '*Because it is good and advantageous to keep and have such things and matters that need to be thought of in script*' the envoys of the cities had decided, for the good of the common merchants, to '*hold a common book, where all the*

²⁴ Tophinke, Doris, Das kaufmännische Rechnungsbuch im Kontext städtisch-amtlicher Schriftlichkeit. In: Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung, 122 (1999), (here Tophinke 1999b), 40–41.

²⁵ On the various Latin and later German terms see Beyerle 1910, 188–191

²⁶ On the nature and uses of symbolic and verbal invocation in medieval documents see 'Invocatio' (W. Koch), LM V, 483–484, and Santifaller, Leo, Über die Verbal-Invokation in Urkunden. In: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 237:2. Böhlau Verlag, Graz–Wien–Köln, 1961, 1–20.

ordinances and decisions would be written, which were made and ordered here by these people (i.e. envoys of the cities and the aldermen of the Kontor) and what they would hold as customary and useful'.²⁷ That such an articulated motivation of the uses of the written memoranda in the city administration was currently gaining recognition in the Baltic Sea area is further stressed by the Town Law of King Magnus Eriksson of Sweden of 1352. In that law every transaction of immovable property in a town is decreed to be confirmed *either* with a charter of the town written in Swedish and secured with the town's seal *or* a corresponding entry in the town's book (OSw. *stadzins book*) on the size of the ground, the date of the transaction and the sum involved. The scribe's reward was two öres for every transaction registered in the town's book and the book, seal and charters of the town had to be held in a special room or chest with two keys, each in the custody of one of the two burgermasters of the town.²⁸

The evidence of the 1347 recess of Brügge and the 1352 Town Law of King Magnus Eriksson of Sweden suggests that in the mid-14th-century the main motivation for the use of text as a form of management of information was to control and secure documentation on actions and decisions taken. The normative legislation of the law code obviously tells us of the contemporary desire of the coercive authority and agents of civic administration to control transactions of landed property in the towns, but the possibility to choose between a sealed charter and an entry in the city book as documentation is also a sign of the emerging role of memoranda in the administration of the civic authority in the mid-14th century Swedish realm.²⁹ Regarding the growing coercive authority of the realms, written memoranda in the form of registers on economic liabilities and resources from Scandinavia are evident from the times of *Liber Census Daniae*, the major part of which was compiled in the second quarter of the 13th century. As the oldest known registers of landed property of certain Swedish monasteries from the latter half of the 13th century show, the origin of such

²⁷ HR I:1, p. 75, 'In nomine Domini, amen. Umme dat et gud es ende profitelic, die stücke ende sake, der men ghedenken sal, dat men de in gescrifte hebbe ende halde, ..., umme nutscepe de ghemenen coplude vorseghet, dat se wolden hebben ende halden en ghemen bok, daer men in screve alle ordinancien ende wilkore, die men under hem luden ordinieren ende maken solde, ende ok wat se in custumen unde usazien holden sollen'.

²⁸ Konung Magnus Erikssons stadslag. Samling af Sweriges gamla lagar, 11. Utg. av D.C.J.Schlyter. Lund 1865 (here cited as MES), Jordabalken 6, '...medh fullom stadzbrefwm ok incigle stadzins a swensko skrifwat ther stadhghas ok fæstas, eller scrifwas i stadzins book', 'ok gifui stadzins skrifuara twa öra pæningha at han skreff thet i stadzens book'; MES, Konungsbalken 3, 'Aath thy huse eller kisto, sum statzcins incigle, booc eller stadzins preuilegia skulu gömas i'.

²⁹ Even if no information on city books of memoranda in Sweden and Finland is known before the last quarter of the 14th century, the number of later citations tell us about the conventional role of such books in the administration of towns in the latter half of the 15th century, see 'Tänkebok' (Svenson, Lars), KLN 19, 195–198 and 'Stadsbok' (Liedgren, Jan, Kroman, Erik and Kerkkonen, Gunvor), KLN 16, 652–654.

memoranda may have been in the textual administration of landed property and liabilities of the church, from where the technique was introduced for use in secular administration by scribes of ecclesiastical origin, probably in the late 12th century.³⁰

2.1.3. The third phase of textualization: The vernacular, paper and the expansion of written management of information in the mid-14th century

2.1.3.1. Latin vs. Vernacular

Alongside the use of different types of texts in the form of charters, missives, registers and memoranda in the management of authority, administration and communication in the Baltic Sea area from the late 11th to the early 14th centuries, an important innovation was the use of languages which created and produced domains of their own in writing. In the first phase of textualization of the 12th century the *lingua franca* of the documents was Latin, so that knowledge and understanding of Latin vocabulary and grammar, as well as contemporary scripts and systems of abbreviations were a prerequisite for producing and deciphering texts in the management of information. One of the most characteristic features of the second phase of textualization was the intrusion of the vernacular languages into the various domains of writing, where the use of Middle Low German and Scandinavian languages did not produce any form of textual management of information of their own, but instead replaced those of Latin already applied in the various types of documents and memoranda. At times this replacement occurred in stages, as in the domain of missives in the form of open and closed letters, where the contemporary languages first permeated only the corpus of letters and left the protocol, eschatocol and address in Latin, the final abandonment of Latin formulas of greeting and datation taking place much later.

How and when did vernaculars start to penetrate the various text types established in the Baltic Sea area in the first and second phases of textualization in the written management of authority, administration and communication?

The first intrusion of contemporary vernacular languages into various kinds of documents, texts and memoranda appears to have occurred in lay administration in the second and third quarters of the 13th century. In both Middle Low German and Old East Norse (Old and Middle Danish and Old Swedish) spheres of interaction the first known texts composed and written down on parchment in the vernacular were judicial texts and law codes: the original edition of *Sachsenspiegel* in Middle Low German composed between 1200–1235; the so-

³⁰ ‘Jordebog’ (Rasmussen, Poul, Liedgren, Jan), *KLNM* 7, 637–639.

called *Jus Ottonianum* composed in early Middle Low German and cited in Braunschweig in 1227; the *Scanian Law* in Denmark in ca. 1202–16, with the oldest parts of the earliest surviving manuscript from ca. 1250; the *Jutland Law*, codified and corroborated by king Valdemar in 1241, with the oldest surviving manuscript from ca. 1280; the *Gutnish law* of Gotland, composed in Old Gutnish possibly in the 1220's but only extant in manuscripts of the 14th century; and the older edition of *Västgötalagen*, possibly codified in the 1220's with the earliest fragments dating from ca. 1250. The earliest complete manuscript of the older *Västgötalagen*, today the oldest surviving codex in Swedish, dates to around 1281, which makes it contemporary with the Middle Low German edition of the Lübeck Law introduced for use in Reval by King Erik of Denmark and his mother Queen Margaret of Sambiria in 1282. It is interesting that most of the early law codifications in Sweden appear to have been compiled in the vernacular for private use of judges (OSw. *lagmen*) of magnate status. In Denmark the Scanian law was translated into Latin by Archbishop Andreas Sunesen of Lund (d. 1228), who has sometimes been credited with the initiative in the codification of the Gutnish Law as well.³¹

After the early 13th-century law codifications, the second group of text types infiltrated by vernaculars appears to have been that of documents. Although not all the languages in oral use in the Baltic Sea area, such as Finnish, Estonian, Letgallian or Wendish, ever developed surviving text permanences in documents in the Middle Ages, the introduction of those which did appear to have occurred synchronically in the various regions of the Baltic region in the last third of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th. Today the earliest known application of Middle Low German in a document produced by civic authorities of a

³¹ On the background of the 13th-century laws and the growing stress on the legal practice and processes as a byproduct of the institutionalisation of the Church and lay authorities from the mid-11th century on, see, for instance, Andersen, Per, *Legal Procedure and Practice in Medieval Denmark. Medieval Law and Its Practice*, 11. Brill, Leiden – Boston, 2011, 37–68. ‘Sachsenspiegel’ (Lieberwirth, R.), LM VII, 1235–42; Gesenhoff, Marita & Reck, Margarete, *Die mittelniederdeutsche Kanzleisprache und die Rolle des Buchdrucks in der mittelniederdeutschen Sprachgeschichte*. In: Besch, Wener et al. (eds.), *Sprachgeschichte, ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, Band 2:2*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 1985, 1280. On the Scanian and Jutland Law, see Jørgensen, Merete K., *Det danske sprog i den middelalderlige bog*. In: *Levende Ord & Lysende Billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark*. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Moesgård Museum, København, 1999, 185–192; Frederiksen 2002, 819; Carlquist, Jonas, *The History of Old Nordic manuscripts III: Old Swedish*. In: Bandle, Oskar, Elmevik, Lennart et al. *The Nordic Languages: An International Handbook of the History of the North Germanic Languages 1*. Walter De Gruyter, Berlin and New York, 2002, 809–815, ‘Västgötalagarna’ (Åqvist, Gösta), KLMN 20, 337–341; *Niederdeutsche Codex des Lübisches Rechts für Reval vom Jahre 1282*. In: *Die Quellen des Revaler Stadtrechts*. Hrsg. Von D.F.G. v. Bunge, Erster Band. Verlag von Frantz Kluge. Dorpat 1844, and *Lübecki Öiguse Tallinna Koodeks 1282, Der Revaler Kodex des Lübisches Rechts. Transkription und übersetzungins Estnische Tiina Kala*. Tallinn 1998 [TLA, Cm. 6, here cited as NdCLR1282], see also Tiina Kala’s introduction in the latter (here Kala 1998), 28–32; For Sweden see Larsson 2001, 35–51, 59–60, SDHK 1685.

merchant city is a charter in a dispute between the burghers of Hildesheim, Goslar and Braunschweig and local nobility in 1272, but the first known vernacular documents on both sides of Gulf of Finland does not occur until just after the mid-14th century. In Sweden the confirmation of the Law of Upland (*Uplandslagen*) by King Birger Magnusson in 1296 was possibly issued in Swedish, and individual documents in the vernacular may have been written occasionally in the time of King Magnus Ladulås (reigned 1275–90). All the surviving information on his administration, however, indicates that documents, missives and writs were written on parchment in Latin, and a wider infiltration of Swedish into documents issued by the royal administration begun only after the coming of age of King Magnus Eriksson (1331) in the 1330's.³²

In Finland the earliest known texts of charters and letters written in Swedish date to the latter half of the 1340's. Even if all the documents are preserved only as later copies of original letters and many of them appear to be later translations from Latin originals to vernacular, a common denominator for them is that they are charters or letters issued either by King Magnus Eriksson himself or persons in his administration. The oldest surviving original document in Swedish with Latin eschatocol is a corroboration of the deputy judge (*vnderlaghman*) of *Österlanden* ('Eastern lands', i.e. communities of *terras* in Finland), *Mathius Kogger*, of an agreement of the bishop of Åbo with two neighbouring parishes of Åbo on the periods of opening the river dams for fish in a stream in the Aurajoki River near Turku on the Feast of Luke (October 10), 1352.³³ Inger Larsson has recently (2001) stressed that the introduction of the two common law codes of Magnus Eriksson for all the lands of the realm (*Landslag*, compiled in the late 1340's) and town law (*Stadslag*, introduced in 1352), as well as the royal statutes preceding them (after 1335) appear to have been part of a deliberate policy of expanding the use of vernacular in legal documents in the Swedish realm, a result of the linguistic influence of the older law compilations and Norwegian models introduced in Magnus Eriksson's administration in Sweden.³⁴ In the language of missives, charters and other surviving texts in written communication and management of information in the region that is nowadays Southern Finland, a shift from Latin to Middle Swedish and Middle Low German appears to have taken place within a period of ca. 40

³² Gesenhoff & Reck 1985, 1280.

³³ See FMU I 522 (18.8.1347), REA 120 (1.9.1347), REA 126 (14.10.1347), FMU I 540 (19.12.1347), REA 128 (10.2.1348), REA 129 (13.2.1348); FMU I 622 (SDHK 6468, see also REA 153, a medieval copy in Swedish from the 1470's.

³⁴ Larsson 2001, 51–78.

years from the mid-1340's to the mid-1380's.³⁵ Despite sporadic use of German in the agreements between the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and the two Prussian towns of Thorn and Elbing in 1262 and 1288, the vernacular replaced Latin as the major language of texts in the Chancery of the Grand Master not long before the end of the 14th century, whereas the chanceries of the Prussian bishoprics held fast to Latin as late as 1425. In the surviving 14th-century memoranda of Prussian cities and towns, the shift from Latin to vernacular appears to have begun ca. 1349–57 and continued thereafter after.³⁶

South of the Gulf of Finland in northern Livonia the oldest surviving/extant missives written in Middle Low German in *AR* are a transsumpt of a letter the council of Dorpat sent to the German merchants in Brügge, sent on to the council of Reval from Dorpat with salutations, foreword and an eschatocol in Latin on Trinity Eve (June 2) 1352, a letter of the German *Kontor* of Novgorod to the council of Reval on the second Sunday of Lent (March 1) in ca. 1355, and a letter of the aldermen of the German merchants in Dordrecht on the fifth Sunday in Lent (March 22), 1360.³⁷ Even before these, the aldermen, seniors and common German merchants in Novgorod (i.e. the hanseatic *Kontor* and merchant community) had sent the council of Reval a parchment letter listing their decisions on the regulations of German trade in Novgorod, which they had reached after receiving letters and envoys from the cities both from Livonia. After a Latin salutation and foreword, the regulations are written in their entirety in Middle Low German by a hand with letter forms characteristic of the first half and mid-14th century, but with no dating. A similar letter, or a parchment copy of the letter to Reval, was also sent to the council of Riga, but is now lost. Because some of the paragraphs are very similar to the regulations of Novgorod merchants dated on St Peter in Chains (February 22), 1346, the Reval letter has generally been assumed to follow the other, and may be either from the Lent of 1346 or some later date in the 1340's.³⁸

Further letters with sections in Middle Low German still in *AR* date to around 1360 (from the council of Pernau), 1362 (council of Soest), 1363 (an open attestation of the komptur of Goldingen) and 1368 (council of Riga), but information on the first datable missives of the

³⁵ See FMU I 494–943 and FMU VIII 6578–6596 (years 1345–85).

³⁶ Heckmann 2009a, 124, 130

³⁷ TLA, Urk 1-I, 212 (HR I:3 8 and 7, LECUB I:3 1108); TLA, A.d.4, loose pages 1c and A.a.6d, 2a (HUB III 321, Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. 226, scribe *WBIV*); TLA, Urk 1-I, 246 (HUB III 477).

³⁸ TLA, BE 14:I, 1 (HUB III 69, LECUB II 842; Napiersky, K.E, Russisch-Livländische Urkunden. St. Petersburg 1868, nr. 88a, on the Novgorod Schra in general see Squires 2009, 68–69, Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. 157.

council of Reval written in Middle Low German only survives from between 1369–1372.³⁹ A letter of the envoys of the council of Reval participating in the Hansetag in Lübeck was composed in Middle Low German and Latin in July 1368.⁴⁰ The vernacular penetration of the correspondence of the Livonian cities is explicitly described as a novelty in a letter of the council of Dorpat to their colleagues in Reval on June 2, 1352, concerning an answer to the letter of German merchants in Brügge dated and sent to both councils on the Sunday after Epiphany (January 7) the same year. In the foreword, the council of Dorpat explains that the letter from Brügge ‘was put down entirely in German cord’ (*totumque tenore teutonice posuerunt*), and they had responded to some of the issues in it ‘in German, as they had written to us’ (*teutonice sicut ipsi nobis*), after which the text of the letter of Dorpat is embedded in its entirety in the missive to Reval in Middle Low German, including the salutations and the dating.⁴¹

The gradual shift from Latin to vernacular languages in the datable missives sent and received by the council of Reval from the mid-14th century to the beginning of the 15th is presented in graphs 1 and 2 below. The information is based on an inventory of all the remaining material on the written communication of the council both in original and in editions made by the author of this study in 1995–98 with later amendments in 2001–14. In all, the number of known texts of sent missives and missive-like letters such as letters of *tovorsichte*, applications on matters of justice and other documents sealed open or close in 1325–1448 in the name of the council of Reval, is ca. 750, and the number of missives or missive-like letters addressing the council of Reval or received by it in 1320–1448 is ca. 2.620. Despite a full inventory of all the texts in *AR* and source editions of the Baltic region, exact figures for sent and received missives are impossible to give for several reasons. The most important of these is that many of the missives and missive-like letters are only known because of their citation in the answers to the correspondants and have later been lost from *AR* or other archives of the Baltic Sea area. Considering the language, some of the texts are preserved only as copies, either as full transsumpts in vidimations from which the language of the original can be fairly securely established, but often, and especially in the case of sent

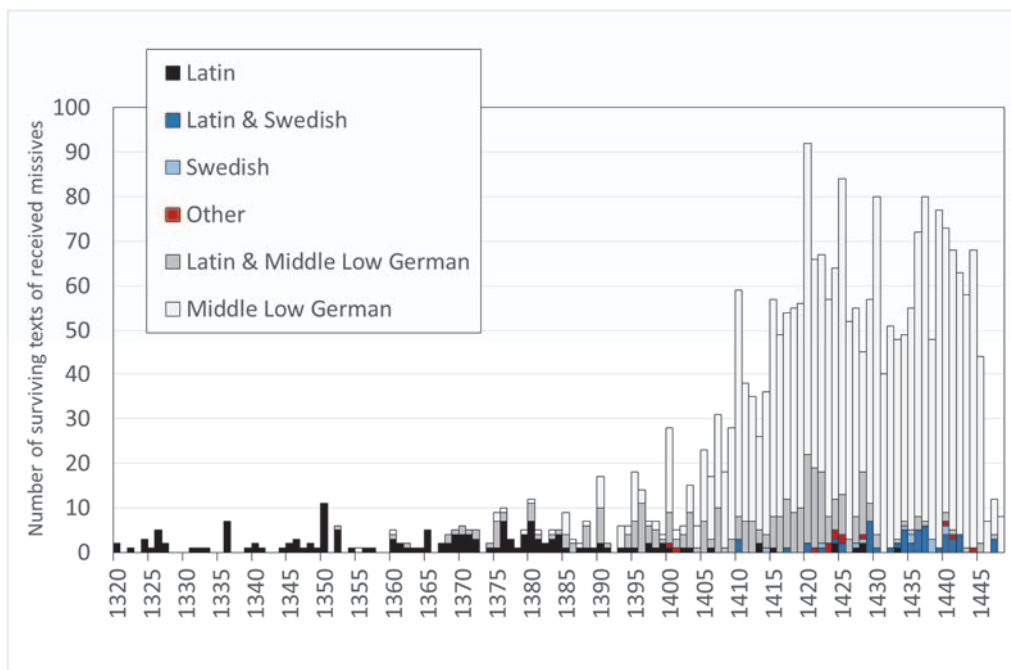
³⁹ TLA, BD 5, 1 (HUB III 562); TLA, Urk 1-I, 257 (LECUB I:2 994); TLA, A.a.6b, p. 9 (EBII, 76); TLA, Urk 1-I, 292 (HR I:1 468); TLA, Urk 1-I, 311 (TLA, BA 1:1a 46 see HR I:3 31, dated after August 21, 1369), Urk. 1-I, 329 (A.a.6d, p. 9b, FMU VIII, HUB X 138 dated 26.1.[1372]), TLA, Urk 1-I, 330 (A.a.6d, p. 9b dated 26.1.[1372]), TLA, Urk 1-I, 334 and 335 (both A.a.6d, 8b, dated 4.4.[1372]); An appellation to the council of Lübeck written by city scribe Albertus in A.a.6b, p. 134–135 is dated ca. 1360, but probably dates to after 1363.

⁴⁰ TLA, Urk 1-I, 293 (LECUB I:3 1049).

⁴¹ TLA, Urk 1-I, nr. 212 (HR I:3 8 and 7, LECUB I:3 1108).

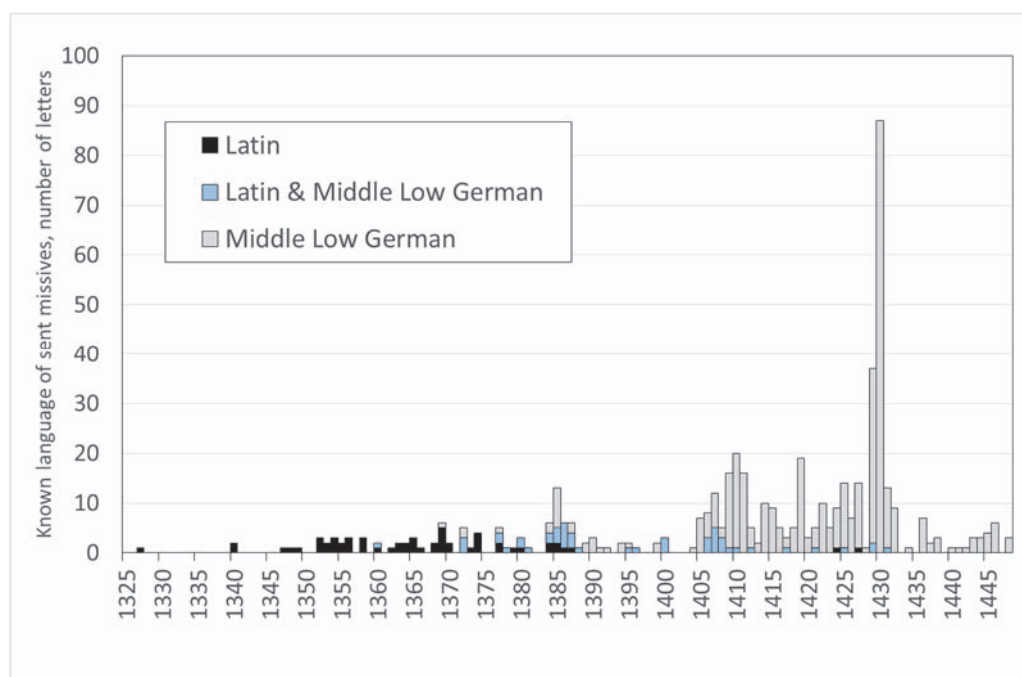
missives, only as partial copies without salutations or eschatocol, where the possible Latin parts are impossible to determine. In the two graphs, such texts are included only when the language of the originals can be established with reasonable certainty. All the lost missives are omitted. Both figures include only missives roughly datable to within a span of five years, not those that could be dated only to periods of more than five years or of several decades. The difficulty of dating many of the missives to a specific year is also evident from the quintannual peaks of letters received in the period 1390–1430, which represent the documents roughly datable to 1390, 1395, 1400, 1405, 1410, 1415, 1420, 1425 and 1430 in the graphs. None of the missives or missive-like documents sent or received by the council prior to the year 1320 are included in the graphs. All of them were written in Latin on parchment and are discussed more widely in CHAPTER 2.1.

Graph 1: *Language of the received missives and missive-like documents of the council of Reval preserved in original or copies in AR and roughly datable to a year, 1320–1448.*



Sources: Inventory of the texts of sent and received missives of the council of Reval in *AR* before 1448 (Here cited as Salminen, *Inv.*). N = 2546, of which 153 (6,0 %) are entirely in Latin, 2006 (78,8 %) entirely in Middle Low German, 309 (12,1 %) in Middle Low German with parts of the formula (often address, salutation and/or dating and subscription) in Latin, 53 (2,1 %) in Latin and Swedish, 12 (0,5 %) entirely in Swedish, and 13 (0,5 %) in other vernaculars (8 in Flemish, 3 in High German, 2 in Russian). The language of 51 missives and missive-like letters is not known. Of the letters not datable to within 5 years, two are from ca. 1312–29 and 1326–60 (TLA, Urk. 1-1, 122, transsumpt, and nr. 87) are in Latin, one from ca. 1354–82 (TLA, BB 15:II, 1), 12 from 1400–25, two from 1425–50 and six from 1400–50 in Middle Low German, two from ca. 1417–42 and the 1440's in Latin and Swedish TLA, BC 36A, 25 and 104) and one from ca. 1425–50 in Flemish (BB 43b:II, 1a). The total number of texts included in the corpus of the texts of known missives and missive-like letters is 2624. The number does not cover slips, quittancies and other scripts sent to the addressees as attachments of missives, or missives in *AR* not sent to the council but to some other agent of institutional power or individual and later harboured in the possession of the council.

Graph 2: *Known language of the sent missives and missive-like letters of the council of Reval roughly datable to a year, 1325–1448.*



Sources: Inventory of the texts of sent and received missives of the council of Reval in *AR* before 1448 (Here cited as Salminen, Inv.). N = 505, of which 58 (11,5 %) are entirely in Latin, 49 (9,7 %) in Middle Low German with parts of the formula in Latin, and 398 (78,8 %) entirely in Middle Low German. Of the total corpus of 749 known texts of missives and missive-like letters sent by the council of Reval in 1325–48, the language of 241 (32,2 %) letters is not known because the existence of the missive is only known through an answer. Of the three undatable missives written by city scribe Hemannus some time during his activity in 1375–1403, two have Latin parts and one is entirely in Middle Low German (TLA, BA 1:Ia, 49, 50 and A.d.5, 86v).

The figures clearly show the growth of received missives of the council of Reval from an average of well under 20 missives per year of the third quarter of the 14th century to an average of 30–40 missives per year in the opening decade of the 15th century. A similar development took place in the number of known sent missives of the council, but their number is more circumstantial because the information is derived mainly from contemporary registers of outgoing missives, other surviving copies of texts, and modern editions of the material in various archives of the Baltic region. As GRAPH 2 shows, evidence on sent missives of the council has survived mainly from the periods from which missive books and copies of them are still extant in *AR* (A.a.2 from ca. 1347–52, A.d.4 from ca. mid-1350's to 1362, A.a.6d from ca. 1353–58, 1368, and A.a.4 from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1384/85 to 1427, see CHAPTERS 4.3.1 and 5.1.3.2). The low number of texts of sent missives after 1432 points to the possibility of a *lost Missive-book* of 1432–81 (see CHAPTER 5.2.4.2).

If we leave aside the above-mentioned parchment letter of the aldermen and the German merchants of Novgorod listing the regulations concerning German trade from ca. 1346, the first use of Middle Low German in received missives of the council of Reval occurs in 1352, but documents continued to be written either partly or entirely in Latin well into the 15th century when vernacular finally took over. Corresponding information about the missives sent is more difficult to find, because most of the material between 1375 and 1425 is only available through a contemporary register of sent missives and documents from the 1380's to the 1420's [A.a.4]. The use of Middle Low German as the *lingua franca* of outgoing missives, however, clearly became dominant in the City Scriptorium during the 1390's. It is also of interest that the texts of at least five Danish royal charters and instructions on the possessions and rights of the city from 1265, ca. 1280–84 and 1311 appear to have been translated from Latin to Middle Low German in the period of activity of the city scribes Johannes Blomendal (1406–26) and Joachim Muter (1429–56/60), which demonstrates that already in the first quarter of the 15th century there was a need for Middle Low German translations of some of the original Latin charters of the city for oral use in the administration.⁴²

Special to Reval are translations of original Swedish letters of both an open judicial and a closed political nature into Middle Low German still surviving or known to have existed in *AR*. The number of these translations prior to the year 1450 is 18, of which two are Middle Low German translations of Russian originals sent from Novgorod the Great⁴³, and 16 from

⁴² The translations and attached copies of the documents are: by *Blomendal*, a Latin copy and Middle Low German translation of TLA, Urk. 1-I, 8; Erik V Klipping's confirmation of the borders of the pastures of the inhabitants of the city of Reval, August 10, 1265 (DD II:1 491, LECUB I:1 388), on paper; a Latin copy with Middle Low German translation of TLA, Urk. 1-I, 30, Margaret of Sambiria ordering all the field-owners that had fences and other physical boundaries inside the borders of the city and its fields to demolish them according to the instructions of the headman, July 22, 1282 (DD II:3 44, LECUB I:1 480), on paper; a Middle Low German translation of TLA, Urk 1-I, 34, the bishop of Reval confirming for the inhabitants of Reval the ecclesiastical law of Lübeck, 1284 (DD II:3 123, LECUB I:1 488), on paper; a Middle Low German translation of TLA, Urk 1-I, 42, March 21, 1311 (DD II:6 333, LECUB I:2 634), on paper, concerning the right of the council and the citizens of Reval to enlarge and strengthen the town wall, is written by a hand which is one of the known city scribes or their major substitutes, but on the back of the translation there is an archival note in the hand of *Blomendal* reading '*Dyt isde copie vppe de zyngelen*', 'this is the copy over the (wooden?) palisades'; By *Muter*, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 27, Margaret of Sambiria instructing the abbots of Falkenau, Dünamunde and Gothland either to support the building of the town wall or sell their property inside it, ca. 1280 (DD II:2 429, LECUB I:1 470), on paper.

⁴³ 1. LECUB I:9 70, HR II:1 589, translation of an original letter of Novgorod the Great urging the release of merchants of the Grand Duke of Moscow arrested in Reval. The letter is attached to the missive of German merchants in Novgorod on the same matter and dated on the visitation of Mary (July 2), 1436. 2. TLA, BH 30:I, 3 (LECUB I:9 793), a letter of Novgorod the Great asking for compensation for a Novgorod merchant, Peter, whose vessel had been stolen and his crew killed off the Estonian coast dated to the latter half of the year 1441. I have not been able to locate either of the two translations in *AR*, where they are known to have existed in the 19th century.

original missives in Swedish with Latin addresses, salutations and/or dating sent by various agents of lay and ecclesiastic authority of the Swedish realm to the council (see Appendix 1). Of special interest regarding the use of language in these missives is a letter close of the headman of the castle of Viborg Kristern Nilsson, produced and sent while travelling outside the castle in the area under his jurisdiction alongside the medieval coastal road and sailing route following the Finnish side of the Gulf of Finland. Dated in Helsinga (approximately the area of modern Helsinki and Vantaa), the text of the missive is written in Swedish with a Latin address, salutation and eschatocol and starts with an explicit apology by Kristern Nilsson for not writing to the council in German (*wppa tydzka*) because he had ‘currently no one available who could write it’. The apology is even included in the Middle Low German translation, where the Latin salutation but not the dating has been translated into German. Dated on the Octavas after the Visitation of Mary (July 9), the missive was written some time after Kristern’s visit to Reval and after he had met Bishop Magnus (II Tavast) somewhere in the Finnish archipelago, most likely in 1424.⁴⁴ The failure to communicate with the council in Middle Low German, apparently a rarity, is repeated some 12 years later in another missive of Kristern Nilsson, written in Swedish in the castle of Raseborg and issued on Ascension Day without a year, most likely on (May 17) 1436, where he again apologises for writing in Swedish (*wppa Swensco*) because he ‘did not have any German scribe near him’ (*thy jak nw enghen tyschen scrifware ner mik hawer*). Even if no translation of the original has survived, it may have once existed.⁴⁵

Of the 16 surviving translations from Swedish originals seven have been written by the city scribe Joachim Muter (active in 1427 and 1429–1456/60), as letters dating to the summer and autumn of 1429 (App. 1:7–11), ca. 1431 (App. 1:13) and 1434 (App. 1:14), i.e. to the very beginning of his period of activity as a city scribe in the summer and autumn of 1429 (see CHAPTER 5.2.4.1). Of the remaining translations, two from the years 1422 (App. 1:3) and ca. 1428 (App. 1:6) are written by different hands, none of which are those of the known contemporary city scribes or their substitutes, while one from 1418–42 (App. 1:2) is written by a hand close to an auxiliary hand active in the City Scriptorium in May 1426 and responsible for other writings dating to the first half of 1420’s (see CHAPTER 5.2.2.1, hand

⁴⁴ App. 1:4: TLA, BC 36A, 26, ‘Withen gode wenir at iak haffde gerna idher til scriffuit wppa tydzka nu hafuir iak engen then, som thes kan scriffva’, TLA, BC 36A, 19 (LECUB I:5 2384, FMU II 1636), ‘Wetet gode vrende dat ich hadde gerne yw to gescreven upp duetsch nu en hebbe ik nymande de dat kan to duetsche screwen’.

⁴⁵ TLA, BC 36A, 77 (LECUB I:9 48, FMU III 2168) ‘Ok bidher jac idher kaerliga, at i thet ey til mistycke takin, at jak idher scrifwer wppa swensco, thy jak nw enghen tyschen scrifware ner mik hawer’.

BI, i.e. that of Hans Blomendal). The remaining four translations, with angled forms of lettering and frequent fine hair decorations, are possibly written by a single hand. Of these, two are based on Swedish originals dating to ca. 1424 and ca. 1425, early July ca. 1424 and late June, one possibly to October 1429, if not even to 1424–25, and the last one either to the first decade of the 15th century or ca. 1425–29. Considering the changes in the office of the city scribe, a majority of the translations appear to date to the interface of the later phase of activity of Johannes Blomendal (active from 1406 to early May 1426), that of Wenemar Scheter/N.N. (spring 1426 to spring 1429), and the beginning of Joachim Muter's activity (as a city scribe from late May 1429 to 1456/60). From their periods in office, especially ca. 1421 to 1432 and 1425–32, a multitude of other preliminary and temporary material for various texts produced for the council by city scribes has survived in *AR*.⁴⁶ Of interest regarding the types of texts here is that only five of the 16 letters surviving as Middle Low German translations from Swedish from before ca. 1450 are letters of *tovorsichte*, that is sealed affirmations of issues in inheritance, property or trade sworn as correct in front of the corroborator of the letter, but all 11 others are communications on issues of a political or transregional judicial nature by from agents of lay and ecclesiastic power of the Swedish realm to the council of Reval.⁴⁷

Whether the translations should be considered a more *ad hoc* kind of material produced by the scribes who read out the received texts to council in the sessions is hard to establish, but the dating of the known surviving translations suggests that their availability today has more to do with the survival of the other temporary and personal material of the city scribes from the 1420's than the actual process in which they were produced, used and archived, of which very little can be known. Although a total of seven translations from Swedish originals have survived from the hand of Joachim Muter, we can fairly securely state that as a notary public authorised and most likely originating from the diocese of Lübeck (see CHAPTER 5.2.3), he had not made the original translations by himself, but they were either dictated or

⁴⁶ For *Johannes Blomendal* from 1420 to spring 1426, see TLA, BA 1:Ib, mainly the numbers 76–126, for *Wenemar Scheter/N.N.* from May 1426 to 1429 see TLA, BA 1:Ic, 280–296, 298, and for *Joachim Muter* from late May 1429 to May–October 1432 and again from 1436–37 see TLA, BA 1:Id, mainly the numbers 126–139, 150–258.

⁴⁷ On letters of *tovorsichte* on inheritances see Ebel 1971, 408–411, Dössler, Emil, *Toversichtsbriefe für Soest 1325–1639*. Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission Westfalens, XXXI. Münster, 1969, 10–18 and Salminen 2012b, 198–199. On the ways of legal testimony on matters of inheritance and trade conflicts with coduments in the front of the council of Reval including letters of *tovorsichte* according to Lübeck Law and local practise in the beginning of 16th century, see Kämpf, Tobias, *Das Revaler Ratsurteilbuch. Grundsätze und Regeln des Prozessverfahrens in der frühneuzeitlichen Hansestadt*. In: *Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte*. Hrsg. vom Hansischen Geschichtsverein, Neue Folge/Band LXVI. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Weimar–Wien, 2013, 164–170.

drafted for him by somebody else capable of reading Swedish. Because of this, the surviving translations must be understood more as textual artifacts produced in the context of the oral process of presenting and recording issues in the political and judicial communication addressed to the council than translations intended to enable systematic archiving of the information written in a language other than the *lingua franca* of communication. The surviving translations in *AR* tell us of the challenges the abandonment of Latin in favour of vernaculars produced in the latter half of the 14th century: the schooled city scribes were very capable of translating orally from Latin to German, but not from other vernaculars such as Swedish. Such an interpretation is also supported by the translations written by Muter, where the Latin intitulations and datings are left in Latin but salutations are often truncated to the first word or marked as ‘*Post Salutationem etc.*’ possibly indicating that the scribe himself was able to interpret the particular formulas and sections in German when he read aloud the translated text of the letter in front of the council. Even if a wider analysis of all the surviving translations in *AR* has not been possible for this study, of interest is that another and much larger corpus of Middle Low German translations of Swedish originals is available in *AR* from 1531–60, where at least 69 letters of *tovorscihte* issued for people from the province of Nyland in Finland in the context of inheritances in Reval have survived in translations, 17 of them no longer available as Swedish originals. Based on the handwriting, most of the translations were written down by contemporary city scribes, whereas their text was produced orally or in written form by people capable of reading Swedish but not always Latin.⁴⁸

Considering the role of written texts and maintaining their secrecy in communication between various agents of power in the contemporary Gulf of Finland area, of interest here is even a letter of Janeke Hampamos, bailiff of the castle of Raseborg in Western Nyland from some time before May 9, 1419. In the missive, Hampamos informs the council of Reval that the letter they had sent to the lagman Klas Fleming had arrived at the bailiwick in the winter, but had then been furthered from one peasant to another and finally to him, after which he had opened it and sent it the lagman. For the future the bailiff advises the council to send ‘letters within which your power lies’ (*breff ... dar ju macht and ligget*) directly to him so

⁴⁸ Salminen 2012b, 211 and 200–201, TLA, BC 39, 20 original ‘4ta idus Augusti, translated TLA, BC 39, 17 ‘iiiiij dach in Augusti’. On various aspects and spheres of orality in the political and judicial surroundings of the council of Reval see even Kreem, Juhan, Sõna jõud. Märkmeid suulisusest keskaegse Tallinna valitsemises. In: Pullat, Raimo et al. (eds.), Vana Tallinn XIII (XVII), Modus vivendi. Estopol, Tallinn 2002 (here Kreem 2002b), 205–218.

that he can further them to addressees.⁴⁹ The ‘peasants’ in question were most likely wealthy shippers and traders, members of the local yeoman elite similar to the literate peasants of the same bailiwick among which the Revalian burgher Hans van Berchten caused disorder some time in the first quarter of the 15th century, when he sent them letters (*brefwen*, apparently in Middle Low German) and bribed them while drunk to further his interests in his trading dispute with Kort Garz, bailiff of Raseborg.⁵⁰ The contemporary oral multilinguality of the area, with Middle Low German as the *lingua franca* of the maritime people, is also documented in a letter of the Bishop of Ösel-Wiek from his castle in Haapsalu on the feast of St Vitalis (April 28), 1437. According to the bishop, his men had defeated the pirates in Odensholm, but most of them had managed to escape, although ‘our people captured there two men. One is Estonian and admitted that he had been three days with them. The other is a Finn or a Swede and understands German as far as we know, but does not want to speak it.’⁵¹ The bishop clearly thinks that the Finnish or Swedish-speaking pirate was capable of understanding and expressing himself in German, whereas the Estonian did not even bother

⁴⁹ TLA, BC 28, 22, ‘Vort mer so qwam hir ein bryff to winter den hadden ghy gesant an her clauwes vlemijnck de wart hir gevurt van bur to buren in mynen gebede also langhe dat he my to der hant qwam had ich it nicht gelaten om juer leue willen so had ich en op gebroken vnd had en gelesen/ den sande ich her clauwes wen ghy bryff hir senden wilt dar ju macht an ligghet de sendet an my de wil ich gerne vurderen also verne als ich sy myt lick vurderen mach’. The dating is relative to the council’s answer to the letter dated on the Fourth Tuesday after Easter (May 9), 1419, TLA, A.a.4, f. 55v (HUB VI 206, FMU II 1574).

⁵⁰ TLA, BC 28, 33 ‘Item wetet dat de sulue hannus van brechten maket hyr jnne lande vele plasses mit synen brefwen de he scriffet den buren hyr vtmelende wan de bure vull bers is so gift he eme eyne artich wo wele de bure den leghen will dat scrift he to male doet woll vnd stedet dat nicht’. Because Kort Garz held Raseborg as a bailiff of one Henning, apparently Henning Königsmark, a high dignitary of the Union who died in 1415 or 1416, who is known to have sent at least three letters on matters concerning the castle, the traditional dating of Kort Garz’s activity in Raseborg to the years 1424–25 poses several problems which can not be discussed in their entirety here (for the traditional dating see for instance Fritz, Birgitta, Hus, Land och län. Förvaltningen i Sverige 1250–1434, 1–2. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Stockholm Studies in History, 16. Stockholm, 1972–73, vol. 2, 140, Salminen, Tapio, Suomen linnojen ja voutikuntien hallinto vuosina 1412–1448. Tutkimus Suomen linnojen suhteesta keskushallintoon vanhemmalla unioniajalla. Masters thesis, University of Tampere, Finnish History, Tampere, 1993, <http://tutkielmat.uta.fi/pdf/gradu02053.pdf>, accessed 19.11.2015 (here Salminen 1993a), 89). Of the three known letters of Henning Königsmark concerning the castle at Raseborg, one is a letter of *tovorsichte* in the form of a letter close addressing the council of Reval and issued ‘By my henningh koningsmark ritter’ in Raseborg without a date for his servant (*knecht*) Peter Bure on an inheritance after his brother-in-law Jønis Rode, who died in Danzig (TLA, BC 28, 1). Hennig Königsmark is also cited in a missive of the Livonian Master to the council of Reval dated on the Monday before St Lawrence (August 5), 1415, where the master informs the council that Henning had written him a letter asking for permission to export as much rye as *Ludeke Zuzemyle* could buy with the money provided by Revalian councillor Gotschalk vam Rode, TLA, BB 24:I, 53 (LECUB I:5 2015). The original letter of Henning to the Livonian master is lost, but either he had discussed or returned to the issue with another letter dated in ‘*Coscenitz*’ on Tuesday before the Candlemas in 1415 or 1416, addressing the council of Reval and asking them to cede his servant (*knecht*) *Ludeke Sugemyle* the rye that they had barred from being imported. The letter is written in Constanç, where Henning Königsmark attended the ecumenical council in 1415 as one of the delegates of king Erik. On Henning see ‘Königsmark, släkter’. Svensk biografisk lexicon (here cited as SBL), <http://www.nad.riksarkivet.se/sbl/>, accessed 19.11.2015.

⁵¹ LECUB I:9 160 (TLA, BB 60:IX, 30), ‘Unde de usen venghen dar 2 manne, de ene is en este unde bekent, dat he 3 dage by en gewest is, de ander is en Vynne edder en Swede unde kan wol Dudesch, alz wy meynen, men he wil des nicht spreken’.

to pretend ignorance of it. We should remember that in general different languages of the Gulf of Finland area are not documented as presenting any problems in oral communication between individual people or institutions in the region: rather, many everyday encounters appear to have been of a multilingual nature, whether in administration, travelling or trade.

Together with the new challenges presented to the city scribes by the abandonment of Latin as the *lingua franca* of documents and written communication in the late 14th century, the translations show that in the process of vernacular textualization, the written forms of Middle Swedish and Middle Low German had become sufficiently distinct from one another that it could not be taken for granted that literate people had mastered both, even if they did have some ability to master them orally. As witnessed by the two letters of Kristern Nilsson apologising for his lack of a scribe able to write in German, the ability of the scribes to master written Middle Low German was clearly lower than their ability in Swedish, even though some persons may have mastered both and scribes of both domains had more or less mastered the original Latin text types. This evidence of the translations and other material related to linguistic contacts in the area supports Kurt Braunmüller's hypothesis (1987 and later) on the relationship of oral forms of Scandinavian languages and Middle Low German as a form of semi-communication (Ger. *Semikommunikation*), where both linguistic domains co-existed at the same typological level, enabling mixed speech, and where a similar structural and lexical phase of development in the written forms of the languages is evident from the contemporary initial textualization of the Old East Norse vernaculars and Middle Low German in the form of the Latin alphabet at the turn of the 13th century and they finally take off in the mid-14th century. As Willy Diercks, Helmut Glück and later even Braunmüller himself have stressed, the semi-communicative hypothesis does not explain all the contemporary domains and linguistic developments of the languages, but of special interest is that by comparison with Latin, none of the vernaculars involved in the textualization process, or those that remained outside of it such as Finnish and Estonian, had produced any substantially standardized oral forms of use in this period.⁵² Instead, the rather

⁵² Kurt Braunmüller's hypothesis and Willy Diercks contribution is discussed at length in Glück, Helmut, *Deutsch als Fremdsprache in Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Barockzeit*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 305–307. For Braunmüller see especially Braunmüller, Kurt, *Voraussetzungen für die Übernahme mittelniederdeutscher Sprachstrukturen in die Skandinavischen Sprachen*. In: Hyldgaard-Jensen, Karl, Winge, Vibeke & Chistensen, Birgit (eds.), *Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien II*. Akten des 2. nordischen Symposions "Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien" in Kopenhagen 18.–20. Mai 1987. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie, 5. Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin, 1989, 9–29, 10–13, and for Diercks his article Diercks, Willy, *Niederdeutsch – dänisch – schwedische Übersetzungsliteratur – Ein linguistischer Strukturvergleich anhand der Schwankgeschichte vom 'Bruder Rausch'*. In: Menke, Hubertus & Schöndorf, Kurt Eric (eds.), *Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien IV*. Akten des 4. nordischen Symposions "Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien" in Lübeck-

even structural and lexical level of several of the languages appears to have provided their speakers with the possibility of turning to shared terminology of concepts, names and forms of expression in certain domains of interaction such as trade, administration, war, mining, crafts, maritime issues and various manifestations of civic culture, witnessed not only by ‘code switches’ in bi- or multilingual 15th-century civic memoranda such as Stockholm’s *tänkeböcker*, but also in the possibility of a wider ‘merchant (or administrative) slang’ used in their encounters. This shared terminology based on such Burkean ‘domains of language behaviour’ (see CHAPTER 1.2.2.2) is also witnessed in the wide variety of Middle Low German terminology and names representing linguistically totally alien language structures such as Finnish and Estonian. Because of the loans, the semi-communicational dimension of oral languages appears not only to have embraced languages related to each other, but also others that did not manifest themselves in contemporary text types and permanences in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries, such as the Finnic languages.⁵³

Since most of the translations in the first half of the 15th century appear to have been made of closed letters of transregional political or judicial content, including some letters of *tovorsichte* produced in Swedish in the Swedish realm, there appears to have been no other reason for translating the letters than the use of alien vernacular in them. Evidently, the translations were produced in the first half of the 15th century for the city scribes to read aloud with the originals in front of the council or at meetings of selected councillors handling the matter concerned. As witnessed by those of Muter’s translations that were written on loose sheets of paper with other texts on them, not all the translations were necessarily archived with the original letters in the Town Hall or City Scriptorium after the reading, but some ended up among the personal material of the scribes. In the second half of the 16th century the archiving of the translations of Swedish letters of *tovorsichte* issued in Finland appears to have been more systematic and they are likely to have accompanied the originals into the archives of the council after the reading.

Travemünde 22.–25. Augusti 1991. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie, 7. Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin, 1993, 68–77. On Braunmüller’s later view, see Braunmüller, Kurt, 2103, How Middle Low German Entered the Mainland Scandinavian Languages. In: Bisgaard, Lars, Mortensen, Lars Boje & Pettitt, Tom (eds.), Guilds, Towns, and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300–1500. University Press of Southern Denmark, Odense, 62–69. The article includes a handy bibliography on the development of the study of forms of Middle Low German/Scandinavian/Latin multilingualism from the 1980’s to the present.

⁵³ Glück 2002, 306–307, see also Moberg, Lena, *Lågtyskt och svensk i Stockholms medeltida tänkeböcker*. Acta academiae regiae Gustavi Adolphi, LVIII. Almqvist & Wicksell International, Uppsala, 1989, passim, and Bentlin, Mikko, *Niederdeutsch-finnische Sprachkontakte: der lexikalische Einfluss des Niederdeutschen auf die finnische Sprache während des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*. Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia, Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, 256. Helsinki, 1989, 263–281.

2.1.3.2. *Parchment and provisional materials vs. Paper*

Considering the use of Latin and the shift from Latin to vernacular in the management of information of civic authorities, burgher communities, guilds, corporations, individual merchants and private landowners, the second important set of problems is related to the use of available materials for writing, which as late as the latter half of the 14th century included both parchment and paper as well as other temporary and partially recyclable material such as wax tablets, sticks, birchbark, and so on.⁵⁴ Since these other materials of writing for the management of information in everyday administration of judicial and fiscal obligations are documented as having existed, AND the first protagonists of the first phase of textualization of sealed charters and documents were from the Church, where the necessary knowledge and technology had been cultivated for a long time, the basic question about the emergence of Latin texts on parchment as a dominant technology in the management of information is not one of ‘who first started to employ it’. Rather, of interest are: *why was it employed, what needs did the new technology meet with it, and, above all, how was the textualization based on an alien language, expensive materials and special knowledge and skills able to create recognisable domains of its own in the management of information of lay institutions and private people?* Hence, not only the penetration of vernaculars into the text types and permanences previously created in Latin and the standardization of western European medieval writing covering the various vernaculars are of interest here, but also the change of writing materials and the new possibilities brought by it.

Together with the emerging use of vernacular since the beginning of the 1350’s, an important feature in the final stage of textualization of various agents of power and civic authority in the northern Baltic region was the use of paper as the main material of writing in

⁵⁴ On wax tablets, parchment, paper and carved sticks in general and in 11th to 14th century England, see Clanchy 1993, 118–125, 123–124. On rune sticks and runes in medieval Scandinavia, see the various articles in Benneth, Solbritt et al. (eds.), *Runmärkt, Från brev till klotter. Runorna under medeltiden*. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholms medeltidsmuseum, Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 1994. Of the three known birchbark letters from the area of the medieval Swedish realm one was found near the medieval parish church of Stockholm in 1989, and has apparently been inscribed in Latin with letter forms characteristic of the first half of the 14th century. Another letter from Sweden proper with Latin text written in ink has been preserved as a bookmark in a liturgical codex compiled in Vadstena some time between the 1460’s and early 1480’s. The third letter was found close to the site of the medieval cathedral school of Åbo (Turku) in 2006 and most likely dates to the second or third quarter of the 14th century. The text is inscribed with gothic textualis in Latin, but is largely indecipherable. On all three, see Harjula, Janne, *Alustavia ajoituksia Turun Tuomiokirkon tuohikirjeestä. SKAS 1–2/2012*, Suomen Keskiajan Arkeologian Seura, 3–21, where the basic reference, dating and pictures for all the letters are presented. Considering archaeological evidence on wax tablets and styluses in urban context in Medieval northern Livonia (Tartu), see Haak, Arvi, *Tartust leitud keskaegsetest stiilustest – Medieval styli from Tartu*. In: Tamla, Ülle & Lang, Valter (eds.), *Ajast ja ruumist. Uurimusi Mare Auna auks. Muinasaja teadus*, 25. Tallinna Ülikooli Ajaloo Instituut, Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo ja arheoloogia instituut. Print Best, Viljandi, 2014, 51–64.

both administration and communication. Paper first emerges in Europe at the turn of the first millennium in the Iberian Peninsula and Sicily. Paper mills are known from Toledo (1085), Southern France (before 1190), Fabriano in Italy (1276) and in Northern Italy and Burgundy around the 1340's.⁵⁵ The oldest surviving document on paper written in Sweden proper is an appeal of an advocate of the excommunicated Bishop Egils of Vesterås to Bishop Sigmund of Strängnäs in the presence of Bishop Sigge of Skara against three named Italians who had worked for the excommunication of Egils in the Roman curia. The appeal dates most likely to the year 1345 (before October 24) and no earlier than the latter half of the 1340's.⁵⁶ From exactly the same period are the first three surviving received missives on paper of the council of Reval in *AR*; an undated letter of two burghers of Dorpat to councillor Johannes de Bremen from between 1346 and 1350, a letter of the council of Dorpat to their colleagues in Reval about a skirmish between local burghers and Estonians in front of the town gates on the Friday before Sunday Cantate in ca. 1350 (April 23), and a missive of the headman of Åbo to the council of Reval concerning a ship of the king of Sweden written in Åbo on St Matthew Eve (September 20) in ca. 1350 (for more detail see CHAPTER 4.3.2).⁵⁷ Among the surviving books and other material from the medieval written management of information of the council of Reval the earliest use of paper is documented in ca. 1352, when a quarto volume of paper [A.d.4] was introduced into use as a codex of mixed memoranda in the civic administration. Later dissolved into loose quires and partially recycled in the city scriptorium, much of the original contents and the nature of the volume is obscure, but there is no reason to suggest that it was older than ca. 1352 or 1350–52 (see CHAPTERS 4.3.1.1. and 4.3.2).

Since the introduction of paper in the management of information and communication of the council of Reval is discussed in more detail in CHAPTER 4.3.2, here it is only necessary only to state that the shift from parchment to paper as the main writing material in received missives is contemporary to that from Latin to vernacular, starting from the latter half of the

⁵⁵ On the history of paper and paper mills in Europe see Burns, Robert I., Paper comes to the West, 800–1400. In: Lindgren, Uta (ed.), Europäische Technik im Mittelalter. 800 bis 1400. Tradition und Innovation (4th ed.), Gebr. Mann Verlag, Berlin, 1996, 413–422, Tschudin, Peter F., Werkzeug und Handwerkstechnik in der mittelalterlichen Papierherstellung. In: Lindgren, Uta (ed.), Europäische Technik im Mittelalter. 800 bis 1400. Tradition und Innovation, 4th ed., Gebr. Mann, Berlin 1996, 423–428 and Lindbergh, N.J., Paper comes to the North. Sources and Trade Routes of Paper in the Baltic Sea Region 1350–1700. International Association of Paper Historians, Vantaa, 1994, 17–18.

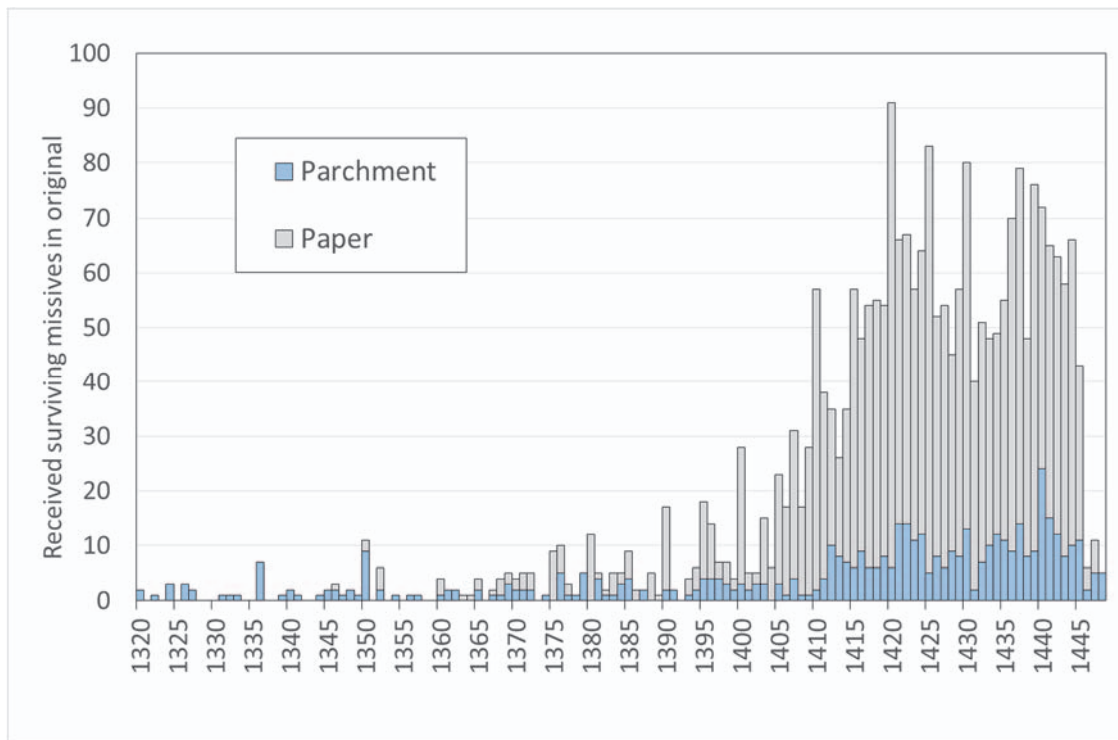
⁵⁶ SDHK 5233 (DS 4002), Lindbergh 1998, 83.

⁵⁷ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 167 (Revaler Urkunden und Briefe von 1273 bis 1510. Bearb. von Dieter Heckmann. Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 25. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1995, here cited as RevUB, nr. 25), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 190, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 199 (LECUB I:2 919, FMU I 576). For the dating of the letters see CHAPTER 4.3.2, footnote 142.

1340's and lasting until the 1390's, when the majority of received missives and documents were composed on paper. The exceptions were those documents that apparently required parchment if they were to be considered credible. As already discussed, one such domain consisted of letters of appellation from Reval to Lübeck, where the council of Lübeck especially instructed the council of Reval to send their appellations on parchment after receiving a paper document in 1370 (see CHAPTER 1.2.3). Among the received missives still stationed in *AR*, a notable exception from the rapid breakthrough of paper as the conventional writing material for missives in the written communication of merchant cities are those of the council of Lübeck, most of which appear to have been written entirely on parchment until the mid-15th century or even later, and where the transition from Latin to Middle Low German takes place relatively late in the 1390's, so that the practice of Latin salutations is finally abandoned only at the end of the 1420's. Even if most of the missives sent from Lübeck were different kinds of attestations and letters of *tovorsichte* in judicial matters, the will to continue using parchment together with the late use of Latin salutations tells us of the consciously conservative stance of the civic authority of Lübeck emphasising the status of the imperial city even in its missives. Of the total of 157 missives of the archival file of Lübeck between ca 1380 and 1448 in *AR*, the thirteen (8,2 %) written on paper are of all types of texts present in contemporary written communication. At the same time, however, paper overtakes parchment as the main writing material in the missives sent by the council of Danzig to Reval (of the 70 missives in 1406–48 a total of 21, i.e. 30,0 % are on parchment) and Dorpat. In the latter group, paper emerges as the main writing material already in the third quarter of the 14th century and the vernacularisation of the missives starts as early as the 1350's, to be fully completed in the first decade of the 15th century. Of the 424 surviving original missives sent from the council of Dorpat to Reval between 1332 and 1448 and surviving today in *AR*, only 20 (4,7 %) are on parchment, eleven of them dating to before the year 1400, while almost all the remaining nine are letters of *tovorsichte* on matters of inheritance from the 1430's and 1440's.⁵⁸ The use of parchment and paper in the various forms of civic memoranda and the management of information of the council of Reval, and the role of the parchment as a terminal material for entries in judicial, economic and other administrative matters is discussed in more detail later.

⁵⁸ Lübeck: TLA, BB 40:I, 1–157, where missives written on paper are the numbers 2, 10, 12–15, 22–23, 28, 50, 63, 87 and 138; Danzig: TLA, BB 38:II and BB 74:V, where in the last those on parchment are numbers 1–7, 9–22; Dorpat: TLA, Urk 1-I, 95, 119, 190, 212, 214, 234, 268, 306, 321, 326, 338, 340, 365, 375, 385, 443, 474, 612 and BD 1:I-III where the parchment letters are Urk. 1-I, 95, 119, 234, 326, 338, 365, 375, 385, 443, 474, 612 and BD 1:I, 17, BD 1:II, 90, 113 and BD 1:III, 2, 10, 17, 25, 54, 62; Salminen, Inv.

Graph 3: *Parchment and paper in the received missives and missive-like letters of the council of Reval preserved in the original in AR and roughly datable to a year, 1320–1448.*



Sources: Inventory of the texts of sent and received missives of the council of Reval in *AR* before 1448 (Salminen, Inv.). Duplicates and texts are only available as contemporary or later vidimations or [transsumpts] are omitted from the data. The number of known surviving originals in *AR* included in the graph is 2505, of which 485 (19,4 %) are on parchment and 2020 (80,6 %) on paper. Of the total corpus of 2624 known texts of missives and missive-like letters the text of 65 documents has survived only in copies and in the case of a further 54 the text of the writing material of the original letter is not known either. The number does not cover slips, quittancies and other scripts sent to the addressee as attachments of missives, or missives in *AR* sent not to the council but to some other agent of institutional power or individual and later harboured in the possession of the council.

Considering the evidence of the surviving missives, the rapid transition from parchment to paper and from Latin to vernacular in the written communication of the major regional hubs of the Hanseatic League outside Lübeck is evidence of their pragmatic attitude to the uses of contemporary textuality and the will to make use of the latest inventions and new conventions in it. Here the council and City Scriptorium of Lübeck clearly represent a tradition of prestige comparable to that of the imperial court, where the instruction sent to Reval to issue only letters of appellation written on parchment in ca. 1370 neatly marks the clash of conventions between the imperial city and the more pragmatic regional centers of trade. From a period only some 30 years later, however, there is evidence that the conceptual difference between parchment and paper was also used deliberately in the administration of agents of coercive power to underline the extent of legal commitment and judicial binding in documents issued and sealed by them. According to the 1971 study of Michael Linton, such

a practice of grading the ‘authoritativity’ of the documents with a selective use of paper and way of sealing is clearly evident in the administration of Queen Margaret of Denmark and the Scandinavian Union at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, as she herself instructed the young King Erik not to send too many letters under his seal and specifically not to issue letters of parchment with a hanging seal. If someone asked him for a letter of paper with a hanging seal, he should press the seal onto the back of the letter instead of hanging it.⁵⁹

Considering the themes discussed above, much of the production of texts and documents in the ‘first’ phase of textualization of the Baltic Sea Area of the late 12th and early 13th centuries had evidently been conducted by people of clerical status employed either in the service of institutionalised church or of the lay authorities. From the 13th century, however, a growing application of the text as a technology for the management of information took place in the world of every day administration, that is, other than the Church or territorial authorities; a development clearly verifiable through the produced and surviving number of civic memoranda of the cities and individual merchants in the area. Intriguingly, some of the mental consequences of this ‘second’ phase of textualization for the organisational pride of those involved in the process of applying textual technologies were still evident in the mental landscape of the uses of writing in the late 15th century. When the cathedral chapter of Åbo, for instance, introduced a new capitular rule on April 1, 1474, the protocol explicates not only the reasoning of the utility of letters as vehicles for securing information for the needs of human memory, but also the necessity of writing down the statutes ‘*so that the men of the church would not appear inferior to laymen and townspeople, who carefully registered their negotiations in writing*’.⁶⁰ Such a desire to emphasise the traditional literate and textual primacy of the clerics over lay people highlights the profound impact of textualization on the every day management of information in the administration of various agents of territorial power, civic authority and individual people in the Northern Baltic region since the late 13th century.

In order to look more closely at the nature and characteristics of textualization in the Baltic Sea Area, I shall now go deeper into what is known of the nature of the civic authority of the council of Reval and its manifestations in different areas of written management of

⁵⁹ Linton, Michael, Drottning Margareta. Fullmäktig fru och rätt husbonde. Studier i kalmarunionens förhistoria. *Studia historica gothoburgensia* XII. Århus, 1971, 306, 310.

⁶⁰ FMU IV 3568, ‘... ne lajci rudes et opidani pericie litterarum expertes, negocia sua sollicitissime conscribentes, viris ecclesiasticis illuminatis, et ipsis laycis merito exemplaribus, in hoc appareant quomodolibet prerogari?’.

information and administration before 1456. I will start with the seal of Reval and the earliest documents issued with it as the first sign of adaptation of textual technologies in the management of information of the civic community (CHAPTER 2.2), and proceed only after that into the particular characteristics of the corporate nature of the Revalian civic administration and its manifestations in the cityscape and management of information by the council (CHAPTER 3). The largest and most detailed part of the study then concentrates on the city scribes and hands active in the management of information of the council before the retirement of city scribe Joachim Muter in 1456/60 (CHAPTERS 4–5).

2.2. The seal of Reval as a symbol of the civic authority in the 13th and early 14th centuries

The production of texts and documents in the name of the burgher community and civic authority of Reval appears to have begun no later than the mid-13th century. After the 12th century all the surviving charters in the Baltic Sea area of interaction were corroborated with seals of issuing authorities instead of monograms or notary signs, so that right from the beginning of civic text production the credibility of the documents produced in the first stage of textualization was tied to the evidence of the seal as a physical token of authority, not to written signs confirming the notary credibility of the script, a practice typical of areas south of Alps and the most distinguished forms of apostolical or imperial privileges.⁶¹ Thus the situation in Scandinavia and the dominions east of the Elbe is comparable to that in 12th-century England, where the evidence of the seals as a paramount means of authentication of documents was one of the most important factors contributing to both the apparent underdevelopment of a uniform scribal system in the production of the documents and the slow introduction of notaries public for writing and final corroboration of texts before the mid-14th century.⁶² In Scandinavia clinging to the symbolic role of the seals as the paramount guarantee of the authority of documents had to be explained to the officials of the papal curia as late as 1377–78, when the verification of two miracles of St Bridget of Sweden was made through sealed charters instead of an obligatory notary instruments because ‘the use of notaries is rare in this land, and (people) do not believe in them, but in seals’ (*notariorum usus rarus est in terra ista, nec eis creditur sed sigillis*).⁶³ In late 14th-

⁶¹ On seals, see, for instance, Guyotjeannin, Pycke & Tock 1993, 90–92, Clanchy 1993, 308–17 and ‘Siegel’ (Spiegel, J.), LM VII, 1848–1850.

⁶² Clanchy 1993, 308; Cheney, C.R., *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1972, 133–142.

⁶³ *Acta et processus canonizationis beate Birgitta* utg. av Isak Collijn. Samlingar utgivna av Svenska fornskriftsällskapet. Andra serien, Latinska Skrifter, bd. 1. Uppsala 1924–31 (here cited as ACBB I), 175–184, 10.9.1377 and 2.8.1378, see also Fritz, Birgitta, *Das Notariat in Sweden*. In: *Notariado público y documento*

century and early 15th-century Reval those who had lost their seal sought to publicise it in front of the council, which then declared all the documents issued with the seal and its stamp after the date the seal had gone missing void (Mnd. *machtlos*). No less than three of the twelve known amortizations of personal seals in front of the council in 1382–1424 were made by people other than members of the burgher community of the city; vassals, knights and skippers, which underlines the role of the council as a public authority capable of making legal pronouncements for a wider audience than the community under its jurisdiction. As noted in CHAPTER 1.2.4, in Lübeck as well as in towns and cities under Lübeck Law, the role of sealed documents appears to have surmounted that of notary instruments, not only in testaments but also in various other kinds of attestations of an economic and fiscal nature well into the 15th century.⁶⁴

The first known use of the seal of the civic authority of Reval dates to ca. 1257, when a letter was sent in the name of ‘S[axo] Agonsson, of pious memory, headman of the King of Denmark in Reval, the bailiff and the councillors and all the others living under the castle’ (*S. filius agonis pie memoriae ■ illustri Domini regis capitaneus in Reual ■ aduocatus et consules omnesque sub castro ipsum locum habitantes*). Addressing the town bailiff, the council and the city of Lübeck, the letter is an answer to a Lübeckian written inquiry about recent acts of violence in the German *Hof* at Novgorod, and it is corroborated with the now indecipherable seal of the civic authority and that of Saxo Agonsson. In the letter the headman and the civic authority affirm their friendship to the council and city of Lübeck and declare themselves to be ready to preserve everything just and honest that the council of Lübeck wrote to them about the community of merchants (*que comunitatem mercatorum tetigerint*). Coarsely sealed with parchment tags cut through the text of the document and sewn into a loop with hemp cord without any *plica*, the seal of the civic authority has been

privado: de los orígenes al siglo XIV. Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Diplomática. Valencia, 1986, I–II. Col. Papers i Documents, 7. Conselleria de Cultura, Educación i Ciència, Generalitat Valenciana, Valencia 1989, Vol. II, 962.

⁶⁴ The seal holders and the dates of amortizations are cited in TLA, A.d.5, f. 81v *Claews Roschilt* 1382, 93r *Marquardus Suul* 25.7.1393, 47v *Hermannus Van der Beke* 28.8.1383 (Hermannus had first lost his seal ten years before and both seals were now declared void), 12v *Hermannus Litel vasallus* 24.6.1384, 70r *Ludolphus Dunabaer* 25.7.1384, 27v *Thidemannus Weldgehe* 20.7.1389, 41v *Petrus Lodhwigesson miles* 25.1.1394, 87v *her* (councillor) *Hemmyneck Rumor* 14.2.1416, 40v *Hans Berchem de Smet* 28.2.1418, 41v *her* (councillor) *Werner vamme Rode* 27.10.1419, 87v *schipper Bernd van Parcham* 5.5.1420, 90r *Hans Schutzenberge* 28.1.1424.

placed first in the letter, and may have been either that of the burgher community or the council (see PICTURE 3).⁶⁵

The dating of the letter has been much discussed, but as the punctuation unequivocally shows, ‘pie memorie’ refers to the headman, not to the king. The letter has been thought to date from the latter half of the year 1257, around the time when the council of Reval had received the manuscript of the Lübeck Law granted and sent to them by King Christopher I of Denmark on September 16, 1257. Since rights of trade similar to the burghers of Lübeck had allegedly been granted to the merchants active in Reval in the time of king Valdemar II, i.e. before 1241, and the Lübeck Law was confirmed for Reval by Erik IV in 1248 and Christopher I in 1255 and 1257, nothing in the letter binds it to the corroboration of 1257, and it may be of somewhat earlier date than the 1250’s. The last possible dating of the letter, to 1257, is supported by the fact that Saxo Agonsson, who is first mentioned as the royal headman of Reval in dated documents on October 11, 1241, is cited as alive for the last time on the Feast of St Vitalis (April 28), 1257.⁶⁶

2.2.1. The oldest seal stamps of Reval and the earliest documents issued with them

What do we know about the use of the oldest seal stamps of the civic authority in Reval and the surviving documents corroborated with them? Those surviving from before 1320 are today stationed in the city archives of Lübeck and Reval, where, in addition to the letter of ca. 1257, there are documents sealed with the seal of the civic authority from 1277 (PICTURE 3), 1282/84 (three letters, here 1282/84a-c, PICTURES 4:1–3), 1294 (PICTURE 10) and 1313 (two letters, here 1313a-b). Of these, the only letters written and produced exclusively in the name of the civic authority of Reval are those sent by the town bailiff, councillors and the burgher community (1282/84a), and by the councillors (1294) to the council of Lübeck. The letter of 1294 is only available on microfilm today, whereas the other four and the letter of

⁶⁵ The letter of 1257: Stadtarchiv Lübeck (Lübeck City Archives, here cited as STA Lü), 07.1 Urkunden: Auswärtige Beziehungen (Externa), 07.1-3/19 Livland und Estland (Livonica und Estonica), nr. 14 (DD II:1 244, LECUB I:1 215, Codex diplomaticus lubecensis: Lübeckisches Urkundenbuch, I–XII (1139–1470). Hg. von dem Verein für Lübeckische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde (Carl Friedrich Wehrmann, Paul Ewald Hassse, Friedrich Techen). Lübeck, 1843–1932 (here cited as LUB), vol. I 360, HUB I 527); Heckmann 2009b, 43–44.

⁶⁶ Considering the dating of the letter of ca. 1257, see DD II:1 244, p. 195. On the overall context of the letter see even Kattinger, Detlef, *Die Gotländische Genossenschaft. Der frühhansisch-gotländische Handel in Nord- und Westeuropa. Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte*, Neue Folge, Band 47. Böhlau Verlag, Köln-Wien 1999, 362–363, Lübeck Law: DD I:7 276 (May 15, 1248, LECUB I:1 199), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 4 (August 16, 1255, DD II:1 164, LECUB I:1 284), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 5 (September 12, 1257, DD II:1 236, LECUB I:1 315). The privileges granted by Valdemar II are cited in the corroboration of the Lübeck Law by King Erik IV in 1248 (DD I:7 276), itself only available as a transsumpt from 1347 (TLA, Urk. 1-I, 168, DD III:2 325–326).

ca. 1257 were produced, sealed, issued and sent in the name of two or more authorities of the area, namely the Danish headman of Reval and Estonia (1257, 1277), the bishop and chapter of Reval (1282/84b-c) and the bishops of Reval and Ösel-Wiek, the Danish headman of Reval and the corporation of Danish vassals in Estonia (1313a-b).⁶⁷

⁶⁷ The letter of 1277: STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 19 (DD II:2 315, LECUB I:1 451); The letter of 1282/84a: STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 33, (LECUB I:1 598, HUB I 932); The letter of 1282/84b: STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 23 (DD II:3 39, LUB I 137); The letter of 1282/84c: STA Lü, 07.1-3/13 Stift und Bistum Lübeck (Episcopalia), nr. 10 (DD II:3 40, LECUB I:1 489); The letter of 1294: STA Lü, 07.1-3/25 Ruthenica (Mf neg. 5522), nr. 7 (HUB I 1143, LECUB I:3 556a and LUB II 91), where the letter is composed in the form of an open attestation of the council of Reval (*consules Revaliensis*) to the council of Lübeck acknowledging the right of merchants visiting the German Hof in Novgorod to appeal to the council of Lübeck in matters of dispute. The fate of the original letter is not known to me. The letters of 1313: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 44–45 (LECUB I:2 644–645), two letters of bishops of Reval and Ösel-Wiek, the Danish headman of Reval, the corporation of Estonian vassals and the council of Reval to the Grand Master of Teutonic Order and the council of Riga in 1313. See CHAPTER 4.2.2.1, footnote 38.

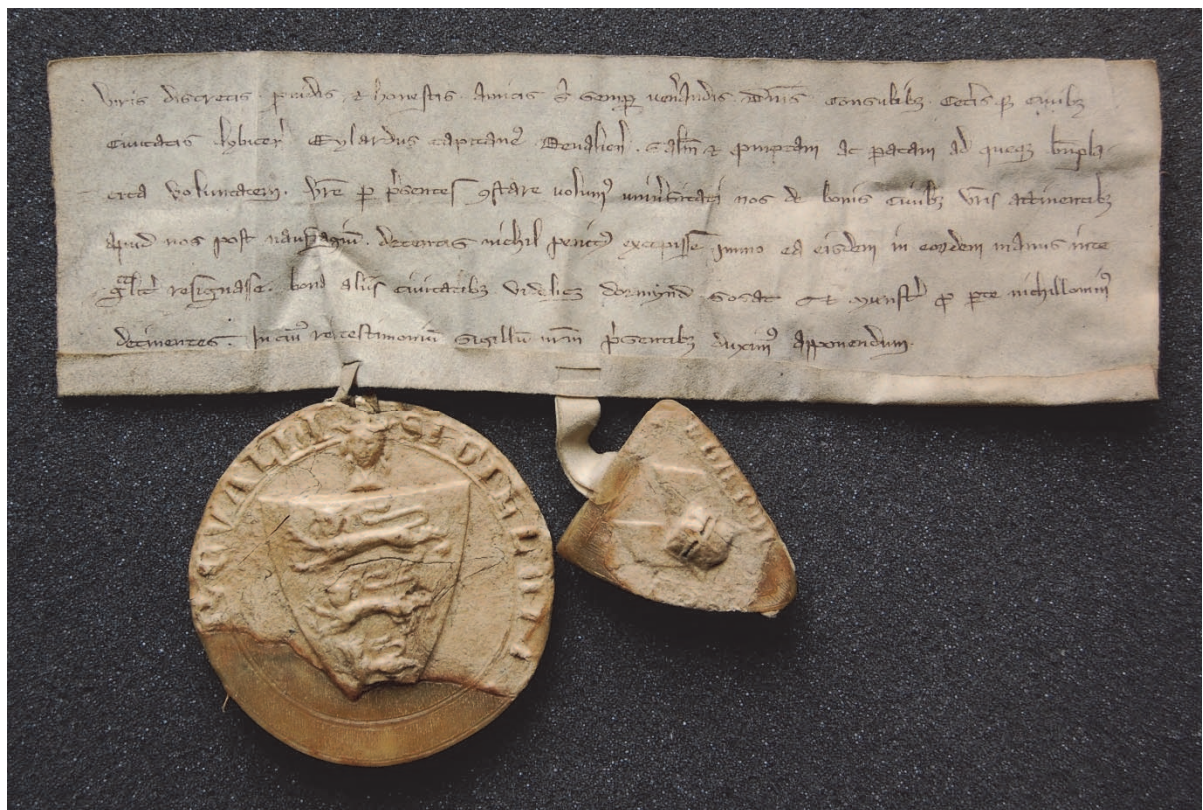
Pictures 2–4:1–3: *The oldest surviving letters produced and/or sealed in the name of the civic authority of Reval in 1257, 1277 and 1282/84.*

Picture 2, letter of ca. 1257: *An open attestation on parchment addressing the town bailiff, council and city of Lübeck issued and sealed in the name of ‘S. filius Agonis pie memorie’, the late headman of the King of Denmark in Reval, the town bailiff (advocatus) and ‘councillors and all the others living under the castle of the same place’ assuring their friendship and commenting on an inquiry about acts of violence in the German Hof of Novgorod. The letter has been dated to the latter half of 1257, when the council of Reval was granted and sent the law code of Lübeck by King Christopher I of Denmark and where the dating is supported by the fact that Saxo Agosson is last mentioned as alive in April 1257. The seal of the civic authority (Sigillum I, see also PICTURE 5:1 and TABLE 1) is placed first on the left corner of the document, but the figure and legend of the stamp are not decipherable. The seal of Saxo Agonsson shows a triangular shield with a fess and a meandering decoration surrounded by a legend ‘+ CLIPEVS S[A]XONI [...] [MILITI]’. The diameter of both the seals is 35 mm. Note the coarse hanging of the seals with tails pierced straight through the text of the document without the plica. Both the parchment strips are also stitched together with hemp cords instead of the conventional hermetic loops secured with the seal.*



STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 14 (DD II:1 244, LECUB I:1 215, LUB I 360, HUB I 527). Published with the kind permission of Lübeck City Archives.

Picture 3, letter of 1277: An open attestation on parchment issued by Eylardus, headman (*capitaneus*) of Reval assuring the council of Lübeck that he had not seized any of the shipwrecked goods belonging to Lübeck merchants. The letter is issued by Eylardus alone, but in the eschatocol it is said to be sealed by ‘our seal’ and is corroborated with the seal of the civic authority of Reval on the left (Sigillum II, see PICTURE 5:2 and TABLE 1) and Eylardus on the right. The diameter of the seal of Reval is 60 mm and it shows the three facing lions (leopards, french ‘léopard-lionné’) of the royal coat of arms of Denmark (35 x 36 mms) topped with a crowned head and a legend ‘SI GILLUM [...] REVALIE’. The triangular seal of Eylardus (30 x 36 mms) shows a helmet backed by two banners shown side-on and the surviving part of the legend reads ‘ELARDI’. The dating of the letter is based on the likely contemporaneity of the document with an undated letter of the abbots of Dünamunde and Falkenau to the council of Lübeck on the same matter and a confirmation of ownership of some landed property issued by Eylardus in favour of the abbacy of Dünamunde in the presence of the abbot in Reval on June 4, 1277.⁶⁸



STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 19 (DD II:2 315, LECUB I:1 451). Published with the kind permission of Lübeck City Archives.

⁶⁸ DD II:2 291, p. 314–315 (LECUB I:1 450).

Picture 4:1, letter of 1282/84a: A letter of the town (?) bailiff (*advocatus*), councillors and community of Reval addressing the bailiff and councillors of Lübeck as well as [the community of merchants] residing (*manentibus*) in Visby. The letter informs the recipients of the agreement and oath of delegates of Lübeck and Gotland considering the guarantee of Revalian burghers on behalf of merchants whose goods the Danish headman Eduwardus had seized. The letter is sealed with the same stamp of the seal of the city as the letter of 1277 (diameter 60 mm, note the gap between letters I and S in the surviving part of the legend, see *Sigillum II*, PICTURE 5:2 and TABLE 1), and it is written by the same hand responsible for other two documents issued and sealed in the name of the city in 1282/84(b-c).



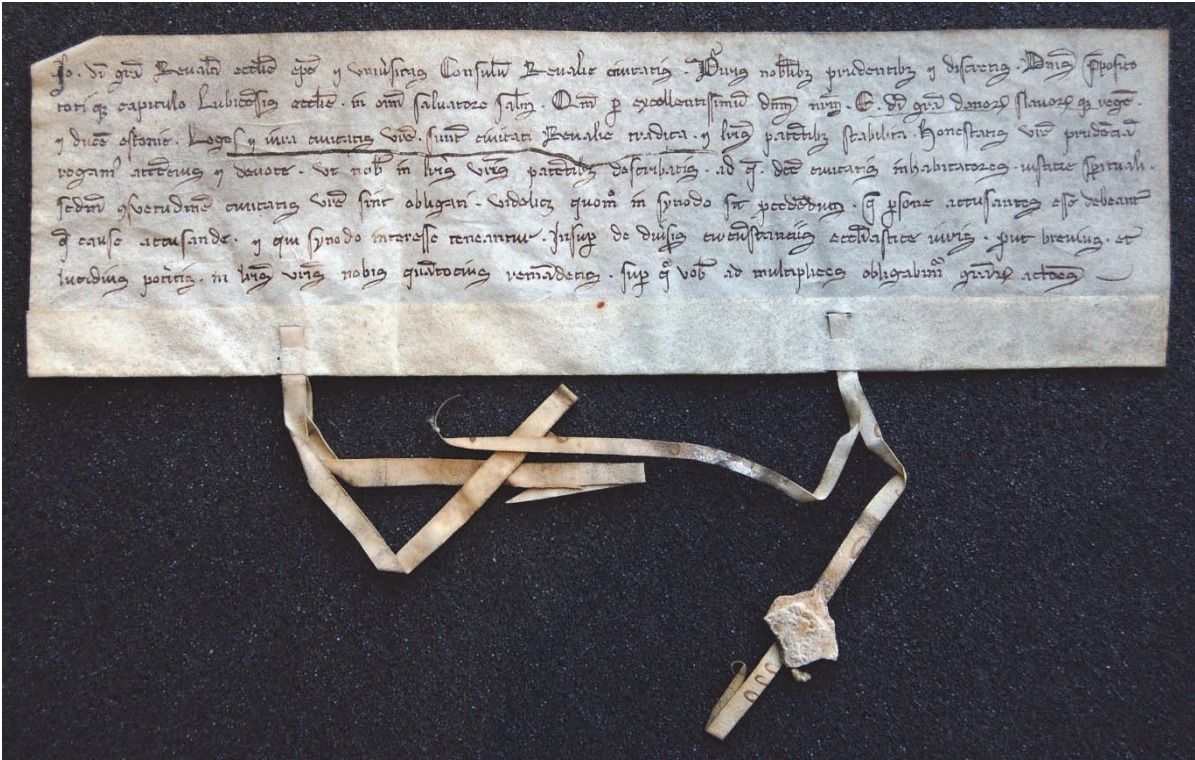
STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 33 (LECUB I:1 598, HUB I 932). Published with the kind permission of Lübeck City Archives.

Picture 4:2, letter of 1282/84b: A letter of Bishop Johannes of Reval and 'universitas consulum Revalia civitatis' to the council of Lübeck asking for guidelines on how certain matters of an ecclesiastical nature should be handled according to the Lübeck Law. The letter is corroborated with the seals of the bishop and the civic authority, the latter being badly damaged, but the surviving clipeus with the three lions (35 x 36 mm) is from the same stamp as in the letter of 1277 (Sigillum II, PICTURE 5:2 and TABLE 1). The document is written on an extremely thin parchment by the same hand as the other two documents dating to ca. 1282/84 (a and c).



STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 23 (DD II:3 39, LUB I 137). Published with the kind permission of Lübeck City Archives.

Picture 4:3, letter of 1282/84c: A letter of Bishop Johannes of Reval and 'universitas consulum Revalia civitatis' to the dean and cathedral chapter of Lübeck on the same matter as 1282/84b. The document is written on thin parchment similar to 1282/84b and by the same hand as the two other letters of 1282/84(a-b). The parchment tags employed to attach the now lost seals are recycled from a discarded document written by the same hand (see the characteristic loop for the sign of truncation on the rightmost strap).



STA Lü, Episcopalia, nr. 10 (DD II:3 40 and LECUB I:1 489). Published with the kind permission of Lübeck City Archives.

2.2.1.1. Seals (*sigillum*)

The origins and early use of the seal of Reval were first studied and discussed at the end of the 19th century by Johannes Sachssendahl, and again in the 1930's by Paul Johansen. Both the scholars did their work when all the medieval holdings of *AR* were in Tallinn Town Hall and other locations of the city archives before WWII, and before sections of the medieval holdings of the Altes Senatsarchiv (*ASA*) of Lübeck were taken to the Soviet Union in 1945. Most of the *ASA* was returned to Lübeck in 1987/90, but certain sections, including two 13th-century letters from Reval to Lübeck were only returned to Lübeck City Archives in 1998, when the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia ceded them to the archive officials. Even if most of the medieval holdings had been available in Lübeck on microfilm and other photographic reproductions, they did not generally include the seals and no new study of the

use of the seal of the city of Reval in the 13th century letters sent to Lübeck was possible in 1945–98.⁶⁹

When in 1887 Johannes Sachssendahl published his study on seals and coinage in Livonia before 1561, he stated that the oldest known stamp of the seal of the city of Reval with the legend ‘SIGILLUM : CIVIVM : DE : REVALIE :’ depicted the royal coats of arms of Denmark with three facing lions topped with a crowned head with locks of hair on both sides of the head, which he identified as that of Queen Margaret (Sambiria) of Denmark (*Sigillum II*, see PICTURE 5:2 and TABLE 1). The wife of Valdemar II’s son Christopher since 1248, and his Queen consort when he was King Christopher I of Denmark in 1252–59), Margaret was the regent of Denmark before the coming of age of their son Erik V in 1264, and a Queen Dowager holding the duchy of Estonia as a lifetime provision in 1265–82. Based on the documents available in *AR* in Tallinn, Sachssendahl was also able to establish that the oldest stamp known to him had been in use in at least 1313 and 1325, but not in 1340, when another stamp (*Sigillum III*, see PICTURE 5:3 and TABLE 1) with a similar emblem with the lions of the royal Danish coat of arms topped with a crowned head, but with two supporting dragons with sprigs in their mouth had been introduced. Instead of word gaps marked in Sachssendahl’s description as colons (:), some of the individual words of the legend of the new stamp were separated by stars (here marked with +) ‘+ SIGILLUM + CIVIVM : DE REVALIA +’. According to Sachssendahl, the new stamp is then documented in use at least until 1390.⁷⁰ In both the stamps, the coats of arms of Reval is similar to the royal coats of arms of Kings of Denmark with three crowned lions facing the viewer (heraldically leopards, french ‘*léopard-lionné*’) on the shield (*clipeum*), but unlike the royal coats of arms used by the rulers of the Danish realm, the lions are not surrounded by hearts (or waterlily leaves), as in the *clipeum* documented already in a seal of King Knut VI from ca. 1194.⁷¹

⁶⁹ The two Revalian letters were available in Lübeck again only after 1998. They are STA Lü, Livonica and Estonica, nr. 19 and 23. I would like to thank Dr Rolf Hammel-Kieslow, Stadtarchiv Lübeck, for the information on the restitution of the letters in 1998.

⁷⁰ Sachssendahl, Johannes, Siegel und Münzen der weltlichen und geistlichen Gebietiger über Liv-, Est- und Curland bis zum Jahre 1561. In: Est- und Livländische Brieflade, IV. In commission bei Kluge & Ströhm, Reval, 1887, 89. The documents cited by Sachssendahl for the oldest stamp (his nr. 16) are TLA, Urk. 1-I, 44 (LECUB I:2 644, May 15, 1313. Wosel, Perg., hand unknown), Urk. 1-I, 72 (LECUB I:2 716, November 18, 1325, Reval, Perg., hand *WBI*) and for the second (nr. 17) Urk. 1-I, 118 (LECUB I:3792, July 30, 1340, Reval, Perg., hand *WBIV*), Urk. 1-I, 176 (June 10, 1348, Reval, Perg., hand *WBIV*), and Urk. 1-I, 416 (LECUB I:3 1274, November 1, 1390, Reval, Perg., hand city scribe *Hermannus*).

⁷¹ DD I:3 202, Svane, Erling, Det danske Rigsvåben og Kongevåben. Odense University studies in history and social sciences; vol. 160. Odense Universitetsforlag, Odense, 1994, 15–20.

After a study of the oldest Revalian letters in the City Archives of Lübeck in 1937, Paul Johansen came to the conclusion that the stamp of the seal of the city with three leopards (*Sigillum II*) and the head of the king had been in use as early as 1277, when it had been pressed together with the seal of the Danish headman Eylardus to corroborate his letter to the council of Lübeck on the shipwrecked goods.⁷² Partially damaged, the surviving part of the legend ‘SI GILLVM ... REVALIE’ of the seal of 1277 has a peculiar gap between the letters I and G in the word *sigillum*, similar to the stamp in use in 1325 with the same diameter (60 mm) and size of coat of arms (35 x 36 mm). Based on the size of the *clipeum* and the approximate diameter of the seal, the same stamp was also in use not only in 1313, as already stated by Sachssendahl, but also in 1282/84, when it corroborated the letter of Bishop Johannes of Reval and the council of Reval (*universitas consulum Revalia civitatis*) to the council of Lübeck (letter of 1282/84b, PICTURE 4:2). A third early print from the same seal is from a letter of the town bailiff, councillors and burgher community of Reval (*advocatus et consules cum universitate civium in Revalia*) addressing the bailiff and councillors of Lübeck as well as [the community of merchants] resident (*manentibus*) in Visby, from ca. 1283 (letter of 1282/84a, PICTURE 4:1). Another document possibly sealed with the same stamp, but from which the seal of the civic authority has crumbled away, is the letter of Bishop Johannes of Reval and ‘*universitas consulum Revalia civitatis*’ to the dean and cathedral chapter of Lübeck (1282/84c, PICTURE 4:3) on the same matter as 1282/84b and written on extremely thin parchment similar to that used in 1282/84b by the same hand as the two other letters of 1282/84(a-b). Since the letter of the council of Reval (*consules Revalienses*) to the council of Lübeck from 1294 is lost, and only the text side is available on microfilm, we have no information on the stamp used with it.⁷³ A third stamp for the seal of Reval (*Sigillum III*, see PICTURE 5:3 and TABLE 1) with the same emblem consisting of *clipeus* with three facing lions, flanking dragons with sprigs in their mouths and a crowned head with the legend ‘+ SIGILLVM ... REVALIE +’, of a diameter of 70–72 mm, was in use on the Feast of All Saints (November 1), 1390, when it was employed in the Capital of the Livonian Order in Wenden to corroborate a loan of 3000 Riga marks of the city from the Livonian Master in a parchment document written by city scribe Hermannus

⁷² Johansen, Paul, Lübecki ja ta arhiivi tähtsusest Tallinna ajaloole. In: Paul Johansen, Kaugete aegade sära. koostanud (ed.) Jüri Kivimäe, Tartu 2005, (Originally published in: Linnad ja alevid, X (1937), 70–74), 159.

⁷³ STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 19 (DD II:2 315, LECUB I:1 451, Perg.), STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 23 (DD II:3 39, LUB I 137, Perg.), STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 33 (LECUB I:1 598, HUB I 932, see even LUB I:1 711 and LUB I:2, p. XXXII where dated to ca. 1287, Perg.), STA Lü, Episcopalia, nr. 10 (DD II:3 40 and LECUB I:1 489), STA Lü, Ruthenica, nr. 7 (HUB I 1143, LECUB I:3 556a and LUB II 91). For the terms *advocatus*, town bailiff or sheriff, see CHAPTER 3.2.2.1.

(active in 1375–1400/3). The same stamp may have been applied on an appellation of the council of Reval on parchment to Lübeck on Monday before the Feast of St John the Baptist (June 18), 1352, where the diameter of the now lost seal of the civic authority pressed behind the document is ca. 70 mm.⁷⁴

In the legend circumscribing the emblems, both the earliest surviving decipherable seal stamps of the city from 1277 (*Sigillum II*, PICTURE 5:2) and from 1340 (*Sigillum III*, PICTURE 5:3), are specified as *Sigillum civium de Revalie*, where the Latin plural *civium* was a contemporary equivalent of the German word for burghers, the documented meaning of which was associated to the members of the sworn community of an established merchant city with secured privileges and control of trade. Consequently the two stamps used by the civic authority of Reval were grounded on the authority of the community of sworn burghers, i.e. a corporation (Lat. *universitas*), not that of the council, even if they were used and attributed to the documents issued by the council alone.⁷⁵ A similar conclusion can be reached with a closer look at the nature of the civic authority of Reval publicised in the surviving documents and corroborated with its seal, where the actual source of the authority is the corporation of the community of sworn burghers employed by the corporation of councillors, i.e. the council. Such a derivation of authority is clearly manifested in all the letters of 1282/84 to Lübeck, where the civic authority and its public agency is referred to not only as ‘the corporation (*universitas*) of councillors’ (*universitas consulum Revalia civitatis*, 1282/84b-c) but also as ‘the town bailiff and the councillors with the corporation of sworn burghers’ of the city of Reval (*advocatus et consules cum universitate civium in Revalia*, 1282/84a). The letter of 1277 is written in the name of ‘Eylaruds capitaneus Reualiensis’ and sealed with ‘our seal’ (*sigillum nostri*). In 1294 the letter to Lübeck was written in the name of the ‘Revalian councillors’ (*consules Reualiensis*). In 1313 the civic authority which corroborated the two letters open of the bishop, vassals and the city of Reval together with the bishop of Ösel-Wiek and his vassals to the Livonian Master in Wosel (Voose in Harjumaa) is cited as ‘community of burghers in the same (Reval)’ (*Communitas ciium ibidem*). In the letter of ca. 1257, the authority of the burgher community and the council is cited as ‘the town bailiff and the councillors and all who are living under the castle of the same place’ (*advocatus et consules omnesque sub castro ipsum locum habitantes*), where the term ‘sub castro’ can refer either to the geographical location of the merchant

⁷⁴ TLA,Urk. 1-I, 416 (LECUB I:3 1274). STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 46 (Perg., hand *WBIV*).

⁷⁵ On the term *civis/burgher* as well as the role and terminology of the community of sworn burghers and their corporation see Isenmann 2012, 133–134, 207–217.

community under Domberg or the inhabitants judicial liability under the castle. In both the letters of ca. 1257 and 1282/84a, the incorporation of the town bailiff in the written identification of the civic authority is in line with the content of the letters addressing the council of Lübeck on interpretation of the Lübeck Law, where the town bailiff (Lat. *advocatus*, Mnd. *vaaget*, Ger. *Gerichtsvogt*) presided over the criminal court of justice acting on the authority of the burgher community inside the city area, and among the burghers and merchants affiliated to it. Originally a representative of the territorial power, the council of Reval was granted the sole right of nomination for the office of the town bailiff as early as 1265 by Queen Margaret of Sambiria, after which the town bailiffs were elected exclusively from among the councillors.⁷⁶

2.2.1.2. *Secretum*

Here, a full study of all the surviving seals in the original charters and letters issued in the name of the council and the sworn community of burghers in Reval before the year 1456 is not possible because the material is scattered in archives around the Baltic Sea. However, alongside the seal manifesting the attachment of the public authority of the city to the burgher community of the '*civium*', another vehicle for corroborating the various documents issued by the council in the name of the city of was introduced around the mid-14th when a *secretum* with the inscription ': SECRETVM . CIVITATI . REVALIENSIS :' was adopted in the management of documents and letters in the Revalian City Scriptorium (*Secretum I*, see PICTURE 6:1 and TABLE 1). From this stamp Johannes Sachssendahl was able to establish the earliest evidence in two parchment quittancies on Poundage paid by individual merchants and issued by the council on Monday and Tuesday after Sunday Misericordia (April 13 and 14) written by city scribe Hermannus (active in 1375–1400/3) in 1377. The diameter of the stamp was 30 mm. Even if both the seals are damaged today, and the seal of the document of April 13th has crumbled away for good, the stamp diameter of 30 mm and the word 'CIVITATI' in the legend of the seal of April 14th unequivocally justifies Sachssendahl's definition.⁷⁷ In Sachssendahl's catalogue the stamp is followed by *secretum* with a similar

⁷⁶ von Nottbeck, Eugen, Die alte Chriminalchronik Revals. In Commission bei Emil Prahm, Reval, 1884 (here von Nottbeck 1884a), 3–5, von Nottbeck, Eugen, Der Revalische Gerichtsvogt und seine Protokolle von 1436 und 1437. In: Beiträge zur Kunde Ehst-, Liv- und Kurlands, hrsg. von Ehstländischen Literarischen Gesellschaft, Band III. Verlag von Franz Kluge, Reval 1887, 31–51, Somelar, Erik, Van des keisserlichen Lübischen Rechtes wegen, Circumstances of Criminality in Medieval Reval. In: Kivimäe, Jüri & Kreem, Juhan (eds.), Quotidianum estonicum, Aspects of daily Life in medieval Estonia. Medium aevum quotidianum, Sonderband V. Krens 1996, 84; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 10 (DD II:1 493, LECUB I:I, 390).

⁷⁷ Sachssendahl 1887, 89, *Secretum I* (nr. 17a, 'civitati'): TLA, Urk. 1-I, 368, April 13, 1377, Perg, (LECUB I:3 1128) and TLA, Urk. 1-I, 369, April 14, 1377, Perg, (LECUB I:3 1129). In the same spring a third quittancy

emblem consisting of the *clipeum* of the royal Danish coats of arms with three facing lions but without the hearts, a crowned head, two flanking dragons and a legend ‘+ SECRETVM • CIVITATIS • REVALIENSIS +’. According to Sachssendahl the diameter of the stamp was 45 mm, and it was documented in three types in 1380–1594, of which the oldest was from 1380 (*Secretum II*, see PICTURE 6:2 and TABLE 1).⁷⁸

Curiously, of the two secretums the one with the word ‘CIVITATIS’ and a diameter of 42–44 mm (*Secretum II*) was used earlier in an undated letter of *tovorsichte* of the council of Reval to the council of Lübeck issued for *Hintze Pape*, a plenipotentiary of the city and other claimants in the matter of an outlaw named *Lucke Meye*. Written by city scribe Karolus de Montreal (active in 1358–63) and supported by a similar letter of *tovorsichte* issued and corroborated by the Komptur *Helmicus de Typpenbrocke* of Reval, both the letters date to ca. 1359/61–63 and show that the stamp of the secretum with the word ‘civitatis’ was in use by the beginning of the 1360’s.⁷⁹ The same stamp (*Secretum II*) was then used in at least three appellations in legal matters from Reval to Lübeck written by city scribe Albertus (active 1363–74) and one of his major substitutes (here *AII*) in 1369–70, as well as in appellations written by the city scribes Hermannus (in 1377 and 1390), Johannes Blomendal (active in 1406–26) in 1423 and 1426, Joachim Muter (active as a city scribe 1429–56/60) and Reinhold Storning (active from 1456) in 1456.⁸⁰

written by *Hermannus* and sealed with a seal of similar size at the back of the document was given on April 17, 1377 (TLA, Urk. 1-I, 370, LECUB I:3 1130). A similar but unsealed quittancy on *theloneum* written by city scribe *Karolus de Montreal* on a irregular and apparently unfinished piece of parchment is dated the day after Michaelmas (September 30), 1352, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 258 (LECUB I:2 995).

⁷⁸ Sachssendahl 1887, 89–90, *Secretum 2* (nr. 18, ‘civitatis’), TLA Urk. 1-I, 380, August 17, 1380, Perg, Kirchohm Castle of the Order (Ltv. *Salaspils*), hand unknown, not that of city scribe *Hermannus*, (LECUB I:3 1154).

⁷⁹ STA Lü, *Livonica und Estonica*, nr. 95a (issued by the council) and 95b (issued by the Komptur), for the dating and identification of the hand in both, see CHAPTER 4.1.1.

⁸⁰ STA Lü, *Livonica und Estonica*, nr. 94, April 25, 1369, on the dating see CHAPTER 5.1.2, footnote 21, hand *AII* (LECUB I:6 2896, LUB III 682, cit. HUB IV 303), nr. 93 (April 29, 1369, hand *AII*) and nr. 99a, April 23, 1370, city scribe *Albertus*; STA Lü, *Livonica und Estonica*, nr. 97, April 14, 1377), nr. 98 (May 26, 1377) and 118, August 5, 1390, all by *Hermannus*; STA Lü, *Livonica und Estonica*, nr. 123a, April 25, 1423, *Johannes Blomendal*, STA, Lü, *Altes Senatsarchiv*, Interna, 004.16.–004.19 *Livländische Städte*: Reval, nr. 530:5, St Gertrud Eve, March 16, 1426, *Johannes Blomendal*; STA Lü, *Livonica und Estonica*, nr. 135. May 11, 1456, *Reinhold Storning*, nr. 137, August 9, 1456, *Joachim Muter* (LECUB I:11 605) and nr. 138, August 10, 1456, *Reinhold Storning*, (LECUB I:11 606), for these see even CHAPTER 5.2.4.1.

Table 1: *The oldest surviving imprints of seals (sigillum) and secrets (secretum) of the civic authority of Reval from the 13th and 14th centuries.*

Seal	In use at least	Diameter	Legend	Emblems
Sigillum I (PICTURE 5:1)	ca. 1257	ca. 35 mm	..	..
Sigillum II (PICTURE 5:2)	1277–1325	ca. 60 mm	‘SI GILLUM : CIVIUM : DE : REVALIE :’	clipeum with three facing lions (leopards) topped with a crowned head
Sigillum III (PICTURE 5:3)	1340–1456–	ca. 70–72 mm	‘+ SIGILLUM + CIVIUM : DE REVALIA +’	clipeum with three facing lions (leopards), topped with a crowned head and flanked by two dragons with sprigs in their mouths
Secretum I (PICTURE 6:1)	1377	ca. 30 mm	‘: SECRETVM . CIVITATI . REVALIENSIS :’	clipeum with three facing lions (leopards), topped with a crowned head and flanked by two dragons with sprigs in their mouths
Secretum II (PICTURE 6:2)	1359/61/63– 1456–	ca. 40–42 mm	‘+ SECRETVM • CIVITATIS • REVALIENSIS +’	clipeum with three facing lions (leopards), topped with a crowned head and flanked by two dragons with sprigs in their mouths

Pictures 5:1–3 and 6:1–2: *The oldest surviving imprints of seals (Sigillum) and secrets (Secretum) of the civic authority of Reval from the 13th and 14th centuries.*

Picture 5:1: Sigillum I: *The first known seal (Sigillum I) of the civic authority in the letter of 1257 (maximum diameter 35mm).*



STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 14 (DD II:1 244, LECUB I:1 215, LUB I 360, HUB I 527). Published with the kind permission of Lübeck City Archives.

Picture 5:2: Sigillum II: *The second known seal (Sigillum II) of the civic authority in the letter of 1277. Legend 'SI GILLUM CIVIUM REVALIE', diameter 60 mm. Note the gap between letters I and G in SI GILLUM.*



STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 19, year 1277 (DD II:2 315, LECUB I:1 451). Published with the kind permission of Lübeck City Archives.

Picture 5:3: Sigillum III: *The third known seal (Sigillum III) of the civic authority in 1340 and 1390 with dragons (diameter ca. 70–72 mm). Legend ‘+ SIGLLUM + CIVIUM : DE REVALIA +’.*



TLA, Urk. 1-I, 118, July 30, 1340, Reval, Perg. (LECUB I:3 792) and Urk. 1-I, 416, November 1, 1390, Reval, Perg (LECUB I:3 1274).

Picture 6:1: Secretum I: *The ‘first’ secretum of the civic authority (Secretum I) in a quittancy of paid thelonium on goods written by city scribe Albertus and issued on Tuesday after Misericordia (April 14), 1370. Diameter 30 mm, legend ‘: SECRETVM . CIVITATI . REVALIENSIS :’.*



TLA, Urk. 1-I, 369, April 14, 1377, Perg, (LECUB I:3 1129).

Picture 6:2: Secretum II: *The ‘second’ secretum of the civic authority (Secretum II) in a letter of appellation to Lübeck written by city scribe Karolus de Montreal in ca. 1359/61–63. Diameter 42–44 mm, legend ‘+ SECRETVM • CIVITATIS • REVALIENSIS +’.*



STA Lü, Urkunden, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 95a.

2.2.1.3. Developments in the use of seal and secretum

In medieval sigillography, the Latin term *secretum* (literally ‘secret’) is generally understood to refer to a particular type of seal (Lat. *sigillum*), usually smaller in diameter than the seal proper of the judicial and public authority in question, and employed by the secretaries responsible for the management of information and the production of a large variety of documents for the authority. Instead of the double-sided seal proper, employed by the king

himself or a high-ranking person authorized by him to use it, the use of the *secretum* first emerged in large chanceries such as that of the king of France, where it was used to corroborate a multitude of documents of fiscal, legal or other official nature in administrative and political correspondence written by the secretaries responsible for their production. Often sealed as closed letters (hence *secretum*, ‘secret’), the documents and missives were inspected and corroborated for use on behalf of the office of the public authority in question by the supervisor of the secretaries who controlled the use of *secretum*.⁸¹ A similar practice was apparently in use in Lübeck in 1429, when the *secretum* of the city appears to have been in the custody of the councillor chancellor responsible for its use, whereas the *sigillum civitatis* was apparently in the custody and joint control of the presiding council. Because of the chancellor’s personal control of the *secretum* and the council’s collective responsibility for the *sigillum*, no documents produced in the Lübeck City Scriptorium could be issued without the knowledge and contribution of the civic authority, except those of recurring use such as the quittancies on Poundage, for which a third seal stamp was introduced after the introduction of the tax in the 1360’s.⁸²

Even if no precise information on the control of the stamps of the *sigillum* and *secretum* by individual Revalian councillors exists, the control of documents issued with the seal of the civic authority in the 14th and early 15th centuries is likely to have resembled that of Lübeck, where the *sigillum* was in the control of the presiding council and the *secretum* a councillor warden or wardens. In Reval no information about a third seal stamp of the city exists, but the remaining quittancies of Poundage from 1377 are corroborated with the *secretum* of the city catalogued by Sachssendahl as *Secretum I*.⁸³ The *secretum* itself appears to have been come into use in the Revalian City Scriptorium no later than the third quarter of the 14th century, when the third stamp of ‘*sigillum civitatis Revaliansis*’ with the diameter of ca. 70 mm (*Sigillum III*) was used in an application of the council of Reval to Lübeck in 1352. All the later applications and letters of *tovorsichte* to Lübeck were corroborated with a *secretum* of the city or a stamp with similar size with the inscription ‘*secretum civitatis Revaliensis*’ (ca. 42 mms, *Secretum II*). Regarding the chronological order of the two *secretum* stamps as presented by Sachssendahl, the smaller one with the word ‘*civitati*’ (*Secretum I*) may either be the older that ended up as a stamp to corroborate quittancies of Poundage in the 1370’s, or

⁸¹ For the emergence of the *secretum* in the management of information in the administration of the kings of France, see Guoytjeannin, Pycke & Tock 1993, 241. See also Clanchy 1993, 314 where he discusses the development of the sign of the cross and seals for keeping secrets in late 12th-century England.

⁸² Pitz 1959, 425, 403–404.

⁸³ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 368–370.

it was acquired for that particular purpose as a ‘second’ and smaller *secretum* of the city in the 1360’s. It is also clear that the civic authority of Reval employed a *secretum* of its own, different from the *sigillum*, as early as in the beginning of the 1360’s (*Secretum II*, with the word ‘*civitatis*’).

Even if the use of the *sigillum* of the city is documented in corroborated manifestations of the will of the civic authority, such as the letter of debt of 1390, the *secretum* rather than the *sigillum* of the city was used to corroborate important legal manifestations of civic authority, such as the letter patent on parchment issued by four named burghermasters and 14 councillors on April 8, 1457 and written by city scribe Reinhold Storning, where the council declares that it has accepted all the actions their procurator had taken on their behalf in the imperial court.⁸⁴ Although both the *sigillum* and *secretum* of the city were apparently used contemporaneously in the production of documents and missives in the Revalian City Scriptorium, the use of *secretum* was seemingly first designed for use only in the missives, closed letters and fiscal quittancies of the city. As the document of 1457 shows, however, by the mid-15th century it was also employed as the corporate seal of the council in a way very similar to that of the seal of the ‘*civium*’ in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Even if the wording of the documents such as the letter of ca. 1257 leaves many possibilities for interpretation, and no absolute conclusions on the early identification of the actual source of authority in respect to the city community or the council can be made, the use of the word ‘*civium*’ instead of ‘*civitatis*’ in the stamps of the seal of Reval in the latter half of the 13th century and the 14th demonstrates an inclination to ground the authority of the council in that of the sworn community of burghers (a corporation), whereas the *secretums* with the word ‘*civitati*’ and ‘*civitatis*’ appear to manifest closer derivation of the administrative power of the council from the *corpus* of city they were running. The word ‘*civium*’ appears also to have been used in the oldest seal of the city of Pernau in the 1360’s, as well as the seal of Old Pernau and the *secretum* of New Pernau in the early 15th century, after which the word ‘*civitatis*’ was introduced into the *secretum* in ca. 1420 or perhaps the second quarter of the 15th century. As in Reval, the word ‘*civitatis*’ was used almost contemporaneously in the seal and *secretum* of the city of Riga already in the mid-14th century (1349 and 1368), but in the oldest known stamp for the seal of Riga from the year 1226 the legend ‘*sigillvm bvr gensivm in Riga manencivm*’ unequivocally shows that the source of the civic authority

⁸⁴ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 689 (LECUB I:11 659).

was based in the community of sworn burghers (*burgensium*) permanently residing (*manentes*) in the town; a term (*bvrgensis*) also employed by the community and council of Weissenstein in their seal in the 15th and as late as the 16th century. In Narva the oldest stamp of the seal of the town from the turn of the 15th century uses the word ‘*civitatis*’, possibly based on Revalian models. In Dorpat, the stamps of the seal (*sigillum*) of the city appear as early as the 1250’s with the word ‘*civitatis*’, and both the seal and the *secretum* of the city seem to have been in use simultaneously in the third quarter of the 14th century.⁸⁵

2.2.2. The emblems of the earliest seals and *secretums* of the Revalian civic authority

What do we know about the emblems of the earliest seals and secrets of the civic authority?

When visiting Lübeck in the late 1930’s Paul Johansen examined the letter of ca. 1257, which he dated to the year 1252. Even if he was able to state that the stamp of the civic authority in the document was unquestionably different from the stamp employed in 1277, Johansen could not make any precise description of the seal’s emblem or its motives because of its poor condition, which made its iconography impossible to discern⁸⁶ Even today the seal of the civic authority in the letter of ca. 1257 remains in such a worn state that no identification of the stamp and its emblem is possible with the human eye (PICTURE 5:2). Since the diameter of the seal is unlikely to be more than 35 mm, it is clearly not the stamp used by the civic authority in 1277 and must have been of a different design and age. Of the same diameter as the accompanying seal of Saxo Agosson, with traces of a similar stilted coats of arms or shield and barely visible inner edging of the legend of the same width (PICTURE 2), it is possible that the two seals were of the same design and manufacture, thus dating from around the beginning of the headmanship of Saxo in ca. 1241 or perhaps from the 1240’s or early 1250’s.⁸⁷

Scholars have heatedly discussed the origin and first authorisation of the seal of the city of Reval and the emblems used in it. Because Johannes Sachssendahl interpreted the crowned head as that of a woman, he was keen to associate it with Queen Dowager Margaret of Sambiria, who held the Duchy of Estonia as a fief in 1265–82. By contrast, Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Muhlen identified the head as a symbol of the king of Denmark, and

⁸⁵ Sachssendahl 1887, 83–93 (Pernau, nr. 13a, 14, 14a, 14b, 15, Riga: 21, 22, 23, Weissenstein: 29, 30, 31, Narva: 11, 12, Dorpat: 2a, 3, 3a, 4, 5, 6, 6a).

⁸⁶ Johansen 1937 (2005), 159, The letter was dated to the year 1259 as early as 1876 in HUB I 527. The older dating of both LECUB I:1 215 (Reg. 243) in 1857 and LUB I:2, p. XVIII in 1858 was to ca. 1250.

⁸⁷ STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 14 (HUB I 527).

insisted that the original authorisation of the seal must have taken place in the 1250's, when the privileges of the merchant community were granted.⁸⁸ As documented in 1277, the use of the three facing lions, the royal coat of arms of Denmark, is generally thought to have been authorised by a Danish ruler, possibly Valdemar II (reigned 1202–41).

Much of the discussion of the use of the royal Danish coats of arms in medieval Estonia has been intertwined with the supposed authorisation by King Valdemar II or one of his successors of its use by the corporation of vassals of Harrien-Wierland, where the vassals (*ominibus hominis nostris*) of *Revalia* and *Wesenberg* are first cited in 1252, when King Christopher I of Denmark confirmed their landed possessions as an inheritable property. In 1259, the corporation (*universitas vasallorum ... per Estoniam constituta*) informed the same king of their agreement with the bishop of Reval on certain parts of tithing. In the older Baltic-German and Estonian scholarship the authorisation of the royal Danish coats of arms to the vassal corporation has also been thought to have involved the entire Duchy as land (*totius terre*), explicitly cited as the third sigillant in a letter of confederation issued by Bishop Johannes of Reval, councillors of the king of Denmark (*consilarii domini regis daciae per estoniam constituti*), and the corporation of vassals of the land of *Revalia* (*uniuersi vasalli terre revalie*) and issued in Reval at Easter (April 9), 1284. Since no 13th-century stamps of the seals of the *terra* or the vassal corporation are known to have survived, there is no evidence for the use of the royal coats of arms by either of them in the 13th century, and one must agree with Tiit Saare (2006), that it is most likely a 19th-century Baltic-German fabrication loosely based on heraldic developments of the emblems of Harrien and Wierland annexed to the Swedish crown in the latter half of 16th century.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the use of the core symbol of the royal Danish coats of arms, i.e. the three heraldic lions (leopards) by the city and burgher community of Reval as early as 1277 remains a documented fact. In Denmark itself the shield with three lions and the hearts surrounding them was associated from the 1190's with the ruling king, i.e. the person possessing the royal power of jurisdiction, not with other members of the royal family or lineage, such as Duke Knut of Estland (1219–27, de facto from 1223), bastard son of

⁸⁸ Sachssendahl 1887, 89; Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 37.

⁸⁹ Eesti Rahvusarhiiv, Ajalooarhiiv (here cited as ERA), Tartu, fond 854, Nim. 2 (Eestimaa rüütelkond, here cited as ERÜK), D I, 15, 2, Perg., September 30, 1252 (ERA, 854.2.2, LECUB I:1 239, DD II:1, 80), For the letter from the first half of 1259 the original is lost, 16th century copy in ERÜK was out of reach in 1934 (DD II:1 267, LECUB I:1 337), EAA, ERÜK, DI, I, 1, 8, 2, Perg., April 9, 1284, 'sigillis domini nostri episcopi et consiliariorum et tocius terre', all the three seals are missing (EAA.854.2.7, DD II:3 89, LECUB I:1 491). On the political context of the confederation of 1284 see Skuym-Nielsen 1981, 121–122; Saare, Tiit, Eesti vapp 13. sajandist, kas müüt või ajalooline fakt? Tuna 2/2006, 12–18.

Valdemar II, whose shield from 1242 shows only one facing lion instead of three. Before that, Knut had already been compensated for his loss of Estonia with Blekinge, which he held until his death in 1260.⁹⁰

As Otto Greiffenhagen stated in 1913 and again in 1928, the crowned head with two locks of hair on both sides of the face in the seal of the civic authority of Reval in 1277, 1282/84, 1313 and 1325 is evidently that of a king, not a queen or a noble lady.⁹¹ A very likely point of origin for it is in the design of the front face of the contemporary double seals of the kings of Denmark, which presented an enthroned king in full regalia with orb, sword and crown with locks of hair on both sides of the head. In the royal seal the shield (*clipeus*) with three facing lions (leopards) and hearts was a counter seal pressed into the back of the wax mass, which symbolized the transpersonal nature of the office of the king. The two-sided royal seal of the king in full regalia and the *clipeus* with the emblems was employed for the royal corroboration of letters patent issued by the authority of the king, like the one on the pastures of the inhabitants of the city of Reval (*ciuitatem Revaliensem inhabitantibus*) regulated during the reign of King Valdemar II and corroborated by King Erik V Klipping (king from 1257, of age 1265–86) in 1265 (PICTURES 7:1-2). The oldest decipherable stamp of the seal of the civic authority of Reval in use in 1277 (PICTURES 3 and 5:2) thus appears to have combined motives from both sides of the royal seals of the kings of Denmark of the early and mid-13th century, and manifests not only a direct royal authorisation but also the transpersonal nature of the public authority given to the community of burghers in Reval.⁹² Because the image of the oldest known seal of the civic authority is irreparably damaged, it is impossible to know whether the king's head and/or the royal three lions were already

⁹⁰ Saare 2006, 13; On the Duchy and Knut see Skuym-Nielsen 1981, 119 and Johansen 1933, 797–798.

⁹¹ Greiffenhagen, Otto, *Die Wappen Revals*. W.F.Häcker, Riga 1913 (no page numbers in the book), and Greiffenhagen, Otto, *Revals Wappen und Flagge*, In: *Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands* Hrsg. von der Estländischen Literarischen Gesellschaft, XIII:1–5. Reval 1927/28, 133–134 (here cited as Greiffenhagen 1927/28b), where he discusses both the origin of the misinterpretation and a similar false reading of the medieval coats of arms of Nürnberg. For the first, the Revalian seal presenting the head (Sigillum II, PICTURE 5:2) see 1277: STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 19 (DD II:2 315, LECUB I:1 451), 1282/84a: STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 33, (LECUB I:1 598, HUB I 932), 1282/84b: STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 23 (DD II:3 39, LUB I 137), 1282/84c: STA Lü, Episcopalia, nr. 10 (DD II:3 40, LECUB I:1 489), 1313: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 44 (LECUB I:2 644, May 15, 1313. Wosel), 1325: Urk. 1-I, 72 (LECUB I:2 716, November 18, 1325, Reval).

⁹² TLA, Urk 1-I, nr. 8, August 10, 1265, Ringsted, Perg. (DD II:1 491, LECUB I:1 388, for a recent photographic reproduction see Habicht, Marian, Kreem, Juhan & Feldberg, Sille (eds.), *Pitsereid Tallinna Linnaarhiivist – Siegel aus dem Tallinner Stadtarchiv – Seals from Tallinn City Archives*. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinna Raamatutrükikoda, Tallinn 2013, nr. 3; In her personal seal of 1273 Margaret Sambiria is shown kneeling in devotion in front of the enthroned Madonna and Child, wearing a veil over which an angel holds an open crown as a sign of royal status, see von Nottbeck 1880, nr. 282 and TLA, Urk. 1-I, 24, Nyköbing, July 29, 1280, Perg. (LECUB I:6 525b, DD II:2 406) and nr. 27, Aalborg, ca. 1280, Perg. (LECUB I:1 470, DD II:2 429). On the royal Danish seals see even Riis 1977, 151–165.

carved on the seal of ca. 1257, but as the two dragons of the later 14th-century stamp of the city show, motives and images were added to the likely original *clipeus* of the city, even in the later history of the seal. The modified royal emblems of the seals and secrets of the civic authority documented since 1277 manifest the will of the civic community to attach its authority to the transpersonal royal power of the Danish realm, which stands not only in clear distinction to the areas in the authority of the Livonian Order and the bishops in Livonia, but also to areas north of the Gulf of Finland where the motives of the oldest known seals of different lands (*terrae*) from the last quarter of the 13th century were taken from ecclesiastic context presenting either the Virgin and Child, or St Olaf, or the Holy Cross.⁹³

Pictures 7:1–2 *The double seal of King Christopher I of Denmark in the corroboration of possession of the pastures by the inhabitants of the city of Reval first regulated in the time of King Valdemar II and issued in Ringsted on August 10, 1265.*



TLA, Urk 1-I, nr. 8, August 10, 1265, Ringsted, Perg. (DD II:1 491, LECUB I:1 388).

⁹³ In Livonia the seals of the other vassal corporations are known only from the 1530's, when their emblems included the cross (Riga) and an eagle (Ösel-Wiek), Sachssendahl 1887, 80–82. On communities of lands (*communitas terrae*) in present Finland see 'Landskap (Sverige, Finland)' (Liedgren, Jan, Oja, Aulis), KLNLM 10, 236–244 and Salminen 2013, 39–40.

When did the community of sworn burghers and the civic authority of Reval first start to corroborate its public authority in written documents with a seal?

Given the corroboration of a letter of the Danish headman with the seal of the civic authority in ca. 1257, the authorisation of the seal for the burgher community of Reval must have occurred some time before that, but the actual date of introduction as well as the addition of the three lions of the royal Danish coats of arms remains unknown. Even if confirmations of privileges of the merchant colony in Reval are known from as early as 1248, and allegedly from the time of King Valdemar II before 1241, a plausible date *post quem* for the authorisation of the second seal of the civic authority used in 1277 (*Sigillum II*) is September 1257, when King Christopher I of Denmark granted ‘all those constituted in Reval’ (*omnibus in reual constitutis*) ‘the law which the burghers of Lübeck have’ (*leges quas habent ciues lubecenses*), and invested them with a codex of the Lübeck Law produced and attested by the council of Lübeck in the same year after the king’s request.⁹⁴ As the letter of ca. 1257 shows, corroborations of the civic authority of Reval had already been publicised with a seal even before that. The similarities of that seal to Saxo Agosson’s may hint at a common design some time during Saxo’s headmanship in ca. 1241–57. Since no evidence on the production of written documents or missives before ca. 1257 has survived, the original introduction of sealed documents in the management and publication of the authority of the burgher community and the council may have not occurred much before the second half of the 13th century; possibly only after the authorisation of the law of Lübeck as the sole code of justice for the merchant community of Reval by King Erik IV of Denmark in 1248. Despite the authorisation of Lübeck Law in 1248, repeated by King Christopher I in 1255 and 1257, much of the actual organisation of the various extensions of the judicial authority, liabilities and landed possessions of the city relevant to the later development of the city community (the *civitas* of the later *secretums*) took place under the administration of Queen Margaret, first in 1265–73 and again in ca. 1280, when the Queen Dowager advanced the construction of the Town wall with three letters issued to the council and burghers of Reval, royal vassals

⁹⁴ The confirmation of King Erik IV Plovpenning on the privileges of Valdemar II on May 15, 1248, has only survived through a transsumpt of 1347, see TLA, Urk. 1-I, 168 (DD I:7 276 and III:2 325–6, LECUB I:1 199, TLA, Perg. Urk. Nr. 5 (Greiffenhagen 1923-26:III, nr. 5), LECUB I:1 315; Lateinischer Codex des Lübisches Rechts für Reval vom Jahr 1257. In: Die Quellen des Revaler Stadtrechts. Hrsg. Von D.F.G. v. Bunge, Erster Band. Verlag von Frantz Kluge, Dorpat 1844. (TLA, Cm. 5, here cited as LCLR1257), p. 1–3.

in *Revalia* and the Abbots of the Cistercian Abbeys of Falkenau (Kärkna), Dünamunde and Gotland (Gutnalia, Roma).⁹⁵

Despite the apparent significance of the period of Margaret of Sambiria in the consolidation of the material possessions of the civic authority of Reval in the 1260's and 1270's, the imagery or design of the seal of 1277 give no proof whatsoever that it was a product of her reign over the Duchy. The transition from the older 35mm-diameter seal of ca. 1257 to the new 60 mm-diameter one may have occurred during her overlordship in 1265–77, but it may also have occurred before that during her regency over her son Erik V (1259–64). Whether the Queen Dowager's actions concerning the mint, landed possessions, the town wall, the parish of St Olaf and the civic share of fines in ca. 1265–73 and ca. 1280 also included an investment of the civic community with a seal with a modified emblem of the royal authority of the rulers of Denmark is impossible to say, but the obvious stress on royal authority in the stamp demonstrates a mid-13th-century desire to show the civic authority of the merchant community as a derivative of the territorial authority of the Danish crown in the area. Such a licencing of judicial authority in the form of a new seal does not mean that the merchant community was not able to secure written documents with a seal of its own before that (as in ca. 1257), but any advanced textualization of the civic administration of the burgher community in the form of charters and letters produced before the late 1240's appears very unlikely. The relatively late start of the production of documents is even witnessed by the fact that when the fate of certain wrecked goods of three German merchants was negotiated with two envoys of the council of Lübeck in 1277, the two known documents from the side of the local authorities in Reval were issued by the headman of Queen Margaret, *Eylardus*, and the abbots of Dünamunde and Falkenau, all present in the negotiations, but neither the two letters nor the authorisation of the negotiations by Queen Margaret in December 1276 refer to any document in the case produced or corroborated solely by the civic authority of Reval. The first surviving such documents are only known from the year 1282/84, when the civic authority of Reval wrote to their colleagues in Lübeck and German merchants residing in Visby about the actions of the Danish headman over shipwrecked goods and oaths over

⁹⁵ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 168 (May 15, 1248, DD I:7 276, LECUB I:1 199), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 4 (August 16, 1255, DD II:1 164, LECUB I:1 284), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 5 (September 12, 1257, DD II:1 236, LECUB I:1 315); TLA, Urk. 1-I, 8 (August 10, 1265, DD II:1 491, LECUB I:1 390), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 9 and 10 (October 5, 1264 ja August 10, 1265, DD II:1 492–493, LECUB I:1 388–389), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 11–12, 27 (ca. 1280, DD II:2 427–429, LECUB I:1 468–470, for the dating of all see DD II:2 429 and Skyum-Nielsen 1966, 172), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 13 (May 13, 1266, DD II:2 11, LECUB I:1 395), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 14 and 16 (August 29 and October 10, 1273, DD II:2 213 and 217, LECUB I:1 435 and 437), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 15 and 17 (September 20 and October 10, 1273, DD II:2 214 and 218, LECUB I:1 436 and 496).

the immunity of Revalian burghers issued in the matter, and from 1294, when the Revalian councillors acknowledged the right of German merchant visiting Novgorod to appeal to Lübeck in matters of dispute.⁹⁶

2.2.3. The origins of lay written management of communication in Harrien-Wierland and the earliest hands active in the documents issued with the seal of the civic authority

What do we actually know about the agents of power responsible for the production of the earliest documents and letters issued with the authority of the burgher community and the council in the 13th and early 14th centuries and the beginnings of written communication in Reval? Much of the early written communication of the town in political and economic matters in the Danish period appears to have taken place through the Danish headman, where the civic authority issued sealed missives and documents jointly with the headman and occasionally supported by other agents of judicial authority in the area, such as the bishop and the vassal corporation. In addition to the letters of ca. 1257, 1277 and 1282/84b-c, information on the role of the headman in matters of interest to the merchant community is documented from June 1277, when the Danish headman *Eylardus* negotiated with two envoys of Lübeck on matters of shipwrecked goods. In 1278 the same headman, together with the archbishop of Riga, the bishops of Ösel-Wiek and Dorpat, the Livonian Master and the council and the community of sworn burghers of Riga, issued a letter to the merchants of cities and other locations visiting the ‘Eastern Sea’ (*marem orientaliūm*) advising them to trade with Novgorod only in Livonia and Estonia because of Russian trade with heathen Lithuanians in the upper courses of the River Dvina. After the council of Lübeck had agreed to impose a ban on Russian trade, the same congregation of agents of territorial power thanked the council and the merchants for their co-operation in two letters issued on February 4, 1278 in Riga.⁹⁷

2.2.3.1. The negotiations of 1288 and the emergence of the council of Reval as an independent actor in communication

Rare information on how different kinds of written documents and oral messages were employed in contemporary negotiations between various local and transregional agents of power in the area has been preserved in a letter of four envoys of Hanseatic merchants from Lübeck, Gotland and Riga to the council of Lübeck on earlier negotiations they had held at

⁹⁶ LECUB I:1 448, 450, 451; STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 33 (LECUB I:1 598, HUB I 932), STA Lü, Ruthenica, nr. 7 (HUB I 1143, LECUB I:3 556a and LUB II 91).

⁹⁷ DD II:2, 314, LECUB I 450 and LUB I 386; LECUB I:1 452 and HUB I 816; LECUB I:1 457–8.

midsummer 1288 in Reval with the Danish headman of Reval on the goods of a Lübeckian cog shipwrecked on the coast of Wierland in 1286. Present in the negotiations were the envoys of the cathedral chapter of Riga, the bishop of Ösel-Wiek, the bishop and city (*ciuitatis*) of Dorpat and the Livonian Master, as well as the councillors of the land (*terre*) and vassals of the king of Denmark, although fewer of the vassals attended than the envoys had wished.

In the lengthy description of the meeting, the envoys explain how the letter of the king of Denmark and other letters they had been given on the matter were first read aloud in the presence of the congregation, and how the knight *Odwardus de Lode* and one *Bruno de Dalen*, obviously the two *consules terre* of the vassal corporation, answered the envoys' question about what they had done to make the vassals in Wierland who were in possession of the shipwrecked goods restore them to the merchants. According to Odwardus, the councillors had contacted several individual vassals by letters and oral messages, but without any result. As soon as the letter of the king and other letters in the possession of the Hanseatic envoys had been read to the congregation, some of the vassals jumped up and raised a furore. When the envoys then asked the headman whether the vassals would return the confiscated goods as the letter of the king instructed, and if he would assist them in the matter, the headman answered angrily that he could neither assist them nor become entangled in the matter. The envoys then requested the headman to ask the vassals if they had anything secure to give as an answer to their superiors, which they had not. But when the headman repeated the question, acting explicitly on the king's mandate, they referred to a letter (*litteram*) sealed with the seals (*sigillis ... sigillata*) of the bishop and headman of Reval, the councillors of the land (*consulum terre*, i.e. council of the vassals) and the town of Reval (*oppidum Reualiensis*), sent to the king of Denmark with the chaplain of the Duke of Rügen, and said that they would act in accordance with the king's answer to that letter. When the Hanseatic envoys asked if the headman had further advice to them before they left, he said that whatever kind of letters and however many they would send, the vassals would stick to the jurisdiction of their land (*terra*). After leaving the headman, the envoys had an audience in the front of the councillors of the town of Reval (*coram consulibus oppidum Reualie*) and again discussed the goods, but with similar consequences. Before asking for further instructions on whether to stay in Estonia or leave and what to do if they stayed, the

frustrated envoys lamented to their superiors in Lübeck that what had been said and done about the issue that was good before had now been perverted.⁹⁸

The letter issued by multiple agents of public authority in Danish Estonia and sent to the king of Denmark by the bishop, the headman, the councillors of the vassal corporation and the town of Reval in ca. 1288 has not survived. According to the letter of the Hanseatic envoys, however, communication between the royal authority of Denmark and the various agents of power in Danish Estonia through sealed missives carried by trusted messengers appears to have been a natural way of clarifying various questions related to mandates of local corporations and agents of power in the last quarter of the 13th century. Similar use of both oral messages and written missives is documented between the councillors of the vassal corporation and individual vassals in Wierland in 1288. The employment of missives in the communication between the council of Reval and the royal authority is also documented in *AR*, where the oldest document classifiable as a missive proper, i.e. not a letter patent or another kind of confirmation or authorization of privileges or mandate, is a closed letter from Christopher II, king of Denmark, to the burghermasters and councillors (*proconsulibus ceteris quem consulibus*) of Reval dated in Saxköping on octavas after St John the Baptist (July 1), ca. 1320. In the letter, the king asks the council to send two or more authorised envoys to negotiate with him, because *Wenemar Holle[gh]er*, whom they had sent to negotiate in the matter, had not been invested with the full authority of the council.⁹⁹

Outside the Livonian and Hanseatic context of interaction, the practice of using written missives in the communication with agents of territorial power is documented as normal in 1325, when the bailiff and the council of Reval asked Knut Jonsson, *Drost* (Lat. *Dapifer*) and one of the leading men of the regency in Sweden, to mediate in a conflict between them and Mathias (Mats) Kettilmundson, the headman of Åbo (Turku) castle in Finland. Contact with Knut Jonsson was made with a written missive (*scripsistis mihi*) of the bailiff and the council. Since the document is known only through a citation in Knut Jonsson's written answer to the town bailiff (*advocatus*) and councillors (*consulibus*) dated on the Feast of St Andrew (November 30) without a year, it is not possible to know by whom the missive was actually produced. However, there is evidence of sent attestations written and produced for

⁹⁸ STA Lü, Livonica, nr. 28, Orig. Perg. (DD II:3 305, for the dating see nr. 238, LECUB I:1 519, HUB I 1025), 'litteram ad dominum regem que fuit sigillis domini episcopi der Reualia, capitanei, consulum terre et oppidi Reualiensis sigillata'. The chancellaries and scribes of the royal chancery of the Kings of Denmark in 1252–82, and the chancery of Queen Dowager Margaret of Sambiria in 1265–82 in Nykøbing, have been studied by Skyum-Nielsen 1966, 141–184.

⁹⁹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 60 (DD II:8 325).

the needs of the council from the period of activity of the city scribe *WBI* (active from ca. 1312 to 1325/28), from either May 1325 or May 1328 (see CHAPTER 4.2.2.1), which means that the 1325 missive of the town bailiff and councillors to Knut Jonsson may have been written by the city scribe or some other person available in the city management of information.¹⁰⁰

In the early days of its history the seal of the town usually occurred in documents given by multiple agents of power on matters of politics of Livonia or the Baltic Sea region or in contracts of the council with the Danish overlord of the town about certain issues regarding the town's extramural possessions, rights and duties. Of all the surviving 13th-century letters corroborated with the seal of the public authority of the council only the letters of 1282/84a and 1294 addressing the council of Lübeck are produced solely for the council's own purposes in its own management of information. The same appears to apply to what is known on the surviving letters of other agents of civic authority stationed in the medieval holdings of the *AR*, which reflect the beginnings of the management of received texts in the transregional communication of the civic authority of Reval around the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries. If we leave aside the various privileges, letters patent and contracts of local, transcorporational and transregional judicial nature, the oldest documents in *AR* are letters of *tovorsichte* sent to the council on matters of inheritances, private conflicts in trade and other problems of a private legal nature. Of these, the oldest letters classifiable as missives after the letter of King Christopher II in ca. 1320, and preceding the correspondence of the council in the conflict with Mathias Kettilmundsson in 1325, date to the years 1322–24. The first of these is an open letter of one *Nicholaus iunior de Scelige* and his *conjudices* on the free right and safe conduct of the council and burghers of Reval to come to reside and trade in the area under their jurisdiction, i.e. an unknown 'land' in southern Finland, possibly Nyland or Finland Proper, issued on the Eve of St Margaret (July 11), 1322. The two other missives are letters of *tovorsichte*, one issued by the council of the Swedish town of Enköping and the archbishop of Uppsala in May 1324 on the authorisation of one *Ericus* to take possession of the inheritance of *Olaus* that he had bequeathed to his siblings *Ketelögh* and *Ragnild* (of Enköping) in Reval, and the other by Count Johan of Bentheim (in Lower Saxony) on the

¹⁰⁰ Knut Jonssons letter of 1325 is only available as a transsumpt corroborated by prior Arnoldus and the Dominican convent of Reval on Pentecost (May 15), 1326, together with another transsumpt issued on the same day on a missive of Karl Näskonungsson, councillor of the Swedish realm, to the council (*proconsulibus et consulibus*) and burghers (*ciuibus*) of Reval dated in Åbo on octavas Ascensionis (May 8), 1326, on the same conflict, see TLA, Urk. 1-I, 76 & 73 and 77 & 75 (DD II:9 228, LECUB I:2 717 and DD II:9 267, LECUB I:2 724). See also CHAPTER 4.2.2.1, footnote 38.

Eve of Assumption of Mary (August 14), 1324, confirming that his castellan *Nikolaus de Beveren* was a relative of one *Herman*, who died in Reval.¹⁰¹ In addition to the important role of letters of *tovorsichte* in the written communication of the council as early as in the 1320's, the received missives and certificates bear witness to the geographical range of the contemporary written communication focusing on Reval, reaching from the county of Bentheim on the border of Germany and the Netherlands (ca. 1300 kms from Reval) to Enköping in Sweden (ca. 300 kms from Reval) and the south coast of Finland, where the town of Åbo (Turku) was located some 180 km, and the greater part of the shoreline of the land (*terra*) of Nyland was less than 100 km away from Reval.

2.2.3.2. The first scribes in the service of Revalian agents of authority and the town

What can be said about the earliest scribes active in Reval and responsible for writing the letters accompanied with the seal of the civic authority? The activity and identification of scribes employed by the city since the introduction of the oldest surviving book of memoranda, the parchment book of inheritances begun by the hand *WBI* in 1312, will be discussed in detail later (CHAPTER 4.2.1). Here the focus will be on the hands responsible for writing the documents surviving from ca. 1257 1277, 1282/84 and 1294. Since all these documents were corroborated with the seal of the civic authority, but the letters of 1282/84a were in fact produced jointly with the Danish headman or the bishop of Reval, any in depth study on the paleographic and diplomatic features of the letters must start from a hypothesis that, albeit of the letter of 1294, they were originally produced by people of the diocesan or lay administration on Domberg, and only corroborated with the seal of the civic authority. The individual hands of the documents are presented below according to their paleographic features. All the hands are listed in TABLE 2 below.

The two letters issued with the seals of the city and Bishop Johannes of Reval (1282/84b-c, PICTURES 4:2–3), which address the council of Lübeck and the dean and the cathedral chapter of Lübeck, are written by the same hand on a similar thin parchment. The same easily recognizable hand with extended rhythmic loopings of the word-ending letters of 's', 'g', 'm', and '-et' has also written the letter of the town bailiff (*advocatus*), councillors and community of Reval to Lübeck and Visby about the goods the Danish headman *Eduwardus* had seized, where the letter is sealed with the seal of the civic authority of Reval solely

¹⁰¹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 65 (LECUB I:2 682), on the letter and the identification of the land (*terra*), see Salminen 2013, 122–124; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 69 (May 13, 1324, council of Enköping) and 70 (May 23, archbishop of Uppsala, LECUB I:2 702); TLA, Urk. 1-I, 71 (LECUB I:2 714).

(1282/84a, PICTURE 4:1). The scribe uses forms of lettering characteristic of the second and third quarter of the 14th century, such as the letter ‘g’ either slinged or with the lower tongue elongated far left, an uncial ‘d’, and an occasional word-ending ‘m’ with the last shaft elongated strongly to the left and then drawn back in the form of a sling. His truncations are mainly marked by long horizontal slings and diacritics of ‘i’ in rhythmic diagonal strokes, which together with the slings departing from the last shaft of the word-ending letters give the writing a pleasant decorative character. The scribe also invariably uses a minuscule single-compartment ‘a’, characteristic of the second quarter of the 13th century, in all the three letters of 1282/84.¹⁰² The same scribe has also written a letter to Bishop Johannes and the cathedral chapter of Reval securing for the burghers (*ciuibus*) of Reval all spiritual rights in the form they are promulgated in the Law of Lübeck with the consent of the king of Denmark and the archbishop of Lund (PICTURE 8), which strongly suggests that he was among the personnel of the diocese administration and was either a cleric working as a scribe in the service of the bishop and the chapter or a canon or rector of one of the parish churches of Reval. Sealed with the seals of the bishop and the chapter and issued in the year 1284 without a date, the open letter is closely related to the other two letters discussing the role of the Lübeck Law in ecclesiastical matters within the jurisdiction of the civic authority of Reval (letters 1282/84b-c), and the dating of both letters is based on this.¹⁰³

¹⁰² On the dating of the letter forms see Heinemeyer 1982, 98–99 (gII and III), 94–95 (dII), 103 (m), 90–92 (a), for all the letters see also Heinemeyer’s Tafel 7/8.

¹⁰³ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 34 (DD II:3 123, LECUB I:1 488).

Picture 8: *An open letter of Bishop Johannes and the cathedral chapter of Reval securing the burghers (ciuibus) of Reval all spiritual rights in the form they are promulgated in the Lübeck Law, Reval, 1284. The letter is written by the hand responsible for the production of three letters issued and sealed in the name of the city in 1282/84 (a-c, PICTURES 4:1–3), of which two (b and c) were issued together with Bishop Johannes.*



TLA, Urk. 1-I, 34 (DD II:3 123, LECUB I:1 488).

Of the other letters, the letter of ca. 1257 is written by a hand that has a face of writing and ductus (the shape and order of strokes employed for composing letters) occasionally very close to the hand that wrote the letters of 1282/84, with forms characteristic to the mid-13th century. Like the scribe of 1282/84, the scribe of ca. 1257 occasionally employs the word-ending ‘m’, with the last shaft elongated strongly to the left and drawn back in the form of a sling, which, according to Walter Heinemeyer, was characteristic of gothic cursive from the end of the 12th century. Unlike the scribe of 1282/84, however, the scribe of ca. 1257 employs horizontal lines for truncation more frequently and has no diacritics of the letter ‘i’ at all and only rare open points in the form of ‘o’ instead of strokes (see for instance the words ‘alia in’). Instead of the exclusive use of the minuscule ‘a’ of the scribe of 1282/84, the scribe of ca. 1257 occasionally employs an ‘a’ with an elongated shaft bending left and downwards close to the lobe; a form close to the two-compartment ‘a’ of the late 13th

century but used at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries.¹⁰⁴ The two hands of ca. 1257 and 1282/84 are clearly of different persons, and their handwriting indicates slightly different schooling around the first half of the 13th century (scribe of ca. 1257) from that in the second and third quarter of it (scribe of 1282/84).

The letter of 1277, issued jointly by the civic authority and the Danish headman Eylardus, is written by neither the scribe of ca. 1257 nor the scribe of 1282/84. Presenting the face of an elegant gothic cursive with spacious lining, shallow body of letters with occasional long ascenders and descenders, and a sharp line of quill (PICTURE 3), the script is characterised by tall two-compartment ‘a’:s, with a sail-like loop occasionally accompanying the letters ‘l’ and ‘b’ on the right, an uncial ‘d’ with large sail-like loop on the right, a similar word-opening ‘v’ with initial sail-like loop on the right, almost vertical diacritics of ‘i’ slightly curving left, and two kinds of s; one straight with either long 90° right angled or short curved top and one round. Several features of the lettering, not only ‘a’, ‘v’, ‘s’, ‘d’, ‘b’ and ‘l’, but also ‘x’, ‘y’, ‘p’ and ‘g’, point to a recent schooling of the scribe at the turn of the third and fourth quarters of the 13th century.¹⁰⁵ Whether the scribe responsible for writing and producing the letter was employed by *Eylardus* or the civic authority is impossible to say, but the hand is not the same as the one active in Reval on June 4, 1277, when the headman *Eylardus* attested with two knights (councillors of the vassal corporation?), *dominus Johannes of Nikopinge*, and *H. Rostock plebanus Revaliensis* (possibly the two parish rectors of Reval, of which *Henricus Rotzstock* is cited in 1288 and 1300 as a canon, and 1309 as the dean of the diocese of Reval) and several other people, that one *Johannes* son of *Vldelempe* had sold his possessions in *Pugete* (Est. *Puiatu*) to the Cistercian Abbey of Dünamunde, placing them in his hands, and that he had now resigned them to the abbot and three named brothers of the convent who were present during the transaction (PICTURE 9). The handwriting in the attestation on the transaction of Puiatu shows certain characteristics similar to that of the scribe of 1282/84, such as the diagonal diacritics of ‘i’ and a similar form of capital ‘J’, but since the writer is in favour of small two-compartment ‘a’ with occasionally open upper store, and the whole face of the writing is totally different to the

¹⁰⁴ Heinemeyer, Walter, *Studien zur Geschichte der gotischen Urkundeschrift*. Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde, beiheft 4. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Wien, 1982, 39 and 103 (m), 30–31 and 90–93 (a), see also Heinemeyer’s Tafel 3/4 and 7/8.

¹⁰⁵ Heinemeyer 1982, Tafel 7/8, and his description on the paleographic development of the cited letters on pages 90–111.

letters of 1282/84, the hand is not the same.¹⁰⁶ The letter of 1294, written and produced solely for the needs of the council, is available only on microfilm (PICTURE 10), but the quality of the reproduction is good enough to state that the handwriting, which has a minuscule ‘a’ with slightly elongated and bended upper shaft, is clearly not the same as in the letters of ca. 1257, 1277 and 1282/84.¹⁰⁷

Picture 9: *An open letter of Ey.[lardus], headman of the king of Denmark over Narvia and Revalia on his resignation of the property of Pugete (Puiatu) to the abbot and three named brothers of the Cistercian Abbey of Dünamunde issued in Reval on June 4 (pridie nonas), 1277. The holdings were sold to the abbey by one Johannes son of Vldelempe. The transaction was corroborated by several people, two of whom (dominus Jo. de Loyse, dominus Sifridus de Brakele, milites) were apparently councillors of the vassal corporation. Other named witnesses are dominus Jo. de Nikopinge, H. Rostock plebanus Revaliensis, Engel Purdis, Ro.[ertus] de Engdis, H. dictus Westval, Henke filius Leonis, Yaldis de Lys ‘and many others’. Seven of them placed their seals under the document, but none of the seals have survived.*

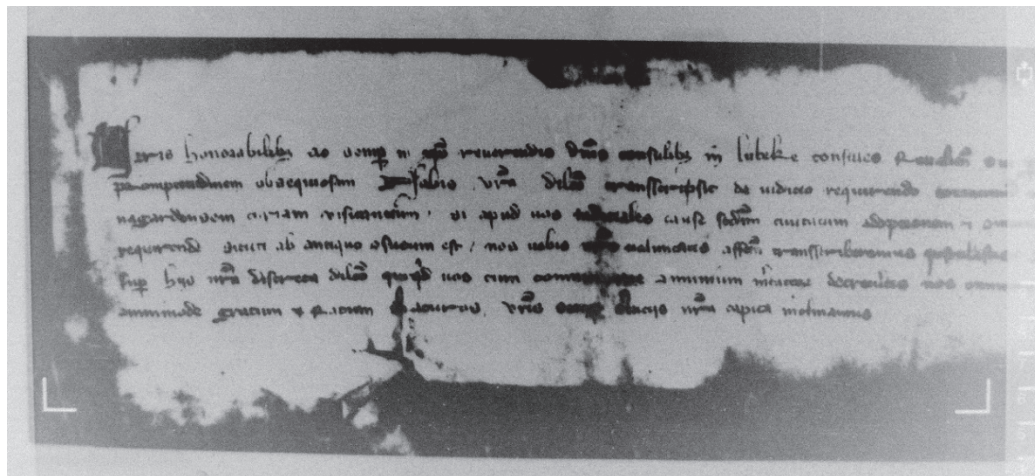


SRA, Utländska pergamentsbrev, Estland och Livland 1201–1645, Perg. Orig. 4.6.1277 (SKRA 41160). Published with the kind permission of the Swedish National Archives.

¹⁰⁶ SRA, Utländska pergamentsbrev, Estland och Livland 1201–1645, Perg. Orig. 4.6.1277 where all seven seals are missing (SKRA 41160, DD II:2 291, LECUB I:3 443a). On Henricus Rostock see LGII, 336 (*Potzstock*). Eylardus had already in Easter (April 4), 1275 published an open letter in Reval confirming the possession of the Abbey of Dünamunde of a certain piece of land between Sagae (Saha) and Pogetae (Pujatu). The text of the letter has only been preserved in a vidimation issued on 24.2.1298 (DD II:2 257, LECUB I:3 440a) in SRA.

¹⁰⁷ STA Lü, Urkunden, Ruthenica, nr. 7 (HUB I 1143, LECUB I:3 556a and LUB II 91).

Picture 10: *A missive of the Revalian councillors (consules Revaliensis) in the form of an open attestation addressing the council of Lübeck, where they acknowledge the right of merchants visiting the German Hof in Novgorod to appeal to the council of Lübeck in matters of dispute. Without any dating, the document is from ca. 1294. The original has been missing since WWII, but the document is still available on microfilm as a negative image, from which the picture here is rendered as a positive image.*



STA Lü, 07.1-3/25 Ruthenica (Mf neg. 5522), nr. 7 (HUB I 1143, LECUB I:3 556a and LUB II 91).

Similar to the open letter of the Danish headman Eylardus on the ownership of Puiatu on June 4, 1277, other contemporary letters and documents from the mid-late 13th century and produced in Reval by the bishop, the cathedral chapter and the vassal corporation survive, where the handwriting of the originals can be compared with those issued and corroborated by the same agents of power together with the civic authority in Reval. Of these the most important in terms of the identity of the scribe of the letters of 1282/84 is the letter of Bishop Johannes and the cathedral chapter of Reval of 1284 (PICTURE 8), which again strongly suggests that the scribe of the letters of 1282/84 must have either been one of the more permanent staff of the bishop and the cathedral chapter or was himself one of the canons or a cleric resident in Reval. The handwriting of the scribe in charge of all four letters issued in 1282/84 (PICTURES 4:1–3 and 8) is apparently also the same as in the open letter of Bishop Johannes of Reval confirming an older agreement of Bishop Thurgot and the vassals on tithing, issued in Kalemäe on the Sunday after St Nicholas (December 8), 1280.¹⁰⁸ A second confirmation of the same agreement by Bishop Johannes and the chapter of Reval issued on Circumcisionis (January 1), 1282, with a transcription of the confirmation of King Erik V of Denmark published with the seals of the Queen Dowager Margaret, the archbishop and suffragan bishops of Lund on July 17, 1281, is, however, written by a hand with distinctive

¹⁰⁸ EAA, ERüK, D I, II, 6, 2, Perg. (EAA.854.2.3, DD II:2 422, LECUB I:1 467).

use of a two-compartment ‘a’ instead of the minuscule orientated variant in the letters of 1280 and 1282/84, and can not be identified as the same as any of those mentioned above.¹⁰⁹ A hand rather close to the hand of the letter of headman Eylardus and the civic authority in 1277, with two-compartment ‘a’, bending diacritics of ‘i’, sail-like loopings of ‘l’ and ‘b’ and similar selection of various forms of ‘s’, but without initial loops on the word-beginning ‘v’ and possessing a rather thick line of quill, has also written and produced an open letter issued by Bishop Johannes to confirm his commitment to cover half the costs of the supplication to the pope considering the agreement of the bishop and the vassals on tithing issued in Reval on the Feast of the Innocents (December 28), 1283, and the letter of confederation of the bishop, vassal corporation and the land issued in the Easter (April 9) of 1284 in Reval.¹¹⁰ This same hand appears to have been active in the diocesan administration already on Sunday Judica (March 30), 1281, when Bishop Johannes of Reval issued a letter open on his impignoration of the goods of Jägala (*Iekewold*) and Ruu (*Rictogh*) to the vassals of the king in Reval.¹¹¹ Whether the two hands active in ca. 1277 and 1280–83 should be considered the same cannot, however, be securely established.

Table 2: *The list of various hands (scribes) and their likely affiliation in the oldest surviving documents issued with the seal or by the civic authority of Reval.*

<i>Scribe</i>	<i>Known activity, likely affiliation</i>	<i>Production of documents issued by</i>
<i>Scribe of ca. 1257</i>	ca. 1257, unknown	ca. 1257: the headman & the civic authority (councillors and the community)
<i>Scribe of 1277</i>	ca. 1277, unknown	ca. 1277: the headman & the civic authority (not cited in the document)
<i>- also by the scribe of 1277 or another individual hand</i>	March 30, 1280 – April 9, 1284, diocesan administration	March 30, 1281: the bishop December 28, 1283: the bishop April 9, 1284, the bishop, vassal corporation and the land
<i>Scribe of 1282/84</i>	December 8, 1280 – 1284, diocesan administration	December 8, 1280: the bishop and the cathedral chapter

¹⁰⁹ EAA, ERüK, D I, 1, 7, 2, Perg. (EAA.854.2.5, DD II:3 15 & 7, LECUB I:1 475)

¹¹⁰ EAA, ERüK, D I, 1, 8, 1, Perg. (EAA.854.2.6, note the wrong year 1282 in ERA digitalized catalogue of parchments, DD II:3 81, LECUB I:1 487) and EAA, ERüK, D I, 1, 8, 2, Perg. (EAA.854.2.7, DD II:3 89, LECUB I:1 491).

¹¹¹ EAA, ERüK, D I, 1, 7, 1, Perg. (EAA.854.2.4, DD II:3 3, LECUB I:1 474)

		<u>1282/84a</u> : the town bailiff, councillors and the burgher community <u>1282/84b</u> : the bishop and the council of the city of Reval <u>1282/84c</u> : the bishop and the council of the city of Reval <u>1284</u> : the bishop and the cathedral chapter
<i>Scribe of 1294</i>	ca. 1294, ?	<u>ca. 1294</u> : councillors of Reval
<i>Other hands active in Reval</i>		
	June 4, 1277, envoys of Dünamunde? Parish priest?	<u>June 4, 1277</u> : the headman, corroborated by two vassals, two priests, several laymen (burghers?), issued for the abbot of Dünamunde
	January 1, 1282, diocesan administration	<u>January 1, 1282</u> : the bishop and cathedral chapter

Considering the handwriting in various documents issued and corroborated through constellations of the bishop, the cathedral chapter, the vassal corporation, the headman of the king of Denmark and the civic authority of Reval in the 13th century, the majority of the documents must have been produced either by the staff or officials of the bishop and the cathedral chapter (at least the four documents from 1282–84), or scribes active for some other agent of administrative and judicial power in Reval (the headman). As the documents of 1282/84 show, as late as the beginning of the last quarter of the 13th century the major source of people administering the technology of writing and production of written documents was the local diocesan administration, in which parchment letters were produced not only for the publication of the bishop and the cathedral chapter but also apparently through commissions paid by the civic authority.

Whether the city itself ever employed a permanent scribe of its own in the 13th century remains out of reach, but as the beginnings of the surviving memoranda and textual activities of the council, as well as certain features of the documents corroborated with the seal of the civic authority in the first quarter of the 14th century discussed later in this study show, there is no evidence that the employment of a person responsible of the management of written

information of the council and the city was arranged on a more permanent basis before the very end of the 13th century or the first decade of the 14th. The oldest surviving document produced solely for the purposes of the civic authority and by a hand not active in the diocesan administration (as in 1282/84) is the missive of the Revalian councillors to the council of Lübeck from ca. 1294, while the two earliest surviving books of memoranda, the parchment book of inheritances [A.a.1] and a book of mixed memoranda [A.a.2.], were introduced in 1312 and October 1333 respectively (see CHAPTER 3.1.2). As noted in CHAPTER 2.1.2 and discussed further in CHAPTER 4.3.1, the introduction of the first surviving parchment book of inheritances in 1312 was most likely a result of the extension of the walled area of the town by royal legate Johannes Canne in 1310–11, and the required volume of inheritances introduced after the extension in 1312 seems to have been preceded by individual sheets of parchment listing the house owners in the two parishes of the city, a section of which has survived from the beginning of the 14th century [ca. 1300–14/16, B.K.1, f. 25, see PICTURE 12]. The earliest secure information on documents and missives written in the name of the city council by a scribe employed permanently for the task dates to the period after the introduction of A.a.1 in 1312, but the majority of the charters and other more elaborate documents for the requirements of the council and the city appear to have been produced by clerical or other hands outside the administration of the town even as late as the 1330's (see CHAPTER 4.2.1).

3. Council of Reval and the manifestations of civic authority, administration and management of information before 1456/60

3.1. The structure of the civic administration and its spatial manifestations in the 14th and 15th centuries

After the origins of the production of written documents issued by the collective authority of the community of sworn burghers and the council of Reval, I will now focus on the different textual outcomes of various activities of the council in the Middle Ages. For this, a general overview on the structure and nature of the council's administration is needed. In the following I will discuss first the composition of the council and nature of the councillorship in 14th and 15th century Reval and then the different aspects of the council's activity relevant to this study, such as the frequency of the council's sessions and spatial manifestations of the civic government as nodes of activity where information on administration and other responsibilities of the council were produced. I will then proceed to what is known of the formation of different spheres of activity among the councillors and other personnel of the city, and the nature of the textual outcomes of the administration as evidence of both the process of textualization and contemporary developments in the organisation of the medieval civic administration in Reval. The relevant questions in Chapter 3 are: *In what way did the known written outcome of the city administration relate to the actual management of information necessary for the civic government, and what kind of developments are evident in this management of information from the point of view of textualization and the use of text as a technology by city scribes and councillors active in the civic administration?*

3.1.1. The composition of the council and the nature of the councillorship

The fundamental reason for all civic administration in medieval Reval was the legal status of the council as a corporate agent of interests of the sworn community of burghers. For practical reasons, probably as soon as the council became a permanent body of government, the most important spheres of administration and public manifestations of the council's authority were organised as the responsibility of single councillors, who handled different tasks either by themselves or in pairs. Before the mid-15th century reorganisation into a permanent institution with a fixed number of members, the council's activities were based on an annual rotation of offices among all the elected councillors.¹ During the Middle Ages

¹ On civic administration in medieval Reval see von Bunge, Friedrich Georg, *Die Revaler Rathslinie nebst Geschichte der Rathsverfassung und einem Anhang über Riga und Dorpat*. Verlag von Franz Kluge, Reval, 1874, 20–43, Vogelsang, Reinhard, *Zur Finanzverwaltung im mittelalterlichen Reval*. In: *Zeitschrift für*

fluctuations in the structure and organisation of the administration took place, contributing not only to the way the civic government took use of the management of information in its activities, but also to the textual outcome of this administration in the form of documents and memoranda once produced for the needs of the city. Rather than being considered *static and formal*, medieval developments in Revalian civic administration should thus be considered *pragmatic and adjustive*, a reflection of the contemporary economic and political framework of interaction within which it functioned.

3.1.1.1. The political structure of the government and the number of councillors

Today, no medieval regulations concerning the actual number of councillors, structure of offices and rules of rotation in the council of Reval are known of. The relationship between the presiding council and the body of elected councillors of the city is generally thought to have been similar to that of Lübeck, where the rotation of offices among the councillors was based on a supposed regulation of Duke Henry the Lion in 1163, in fact a forgery of the late 13th century composed to legitimize contemporary practices in the government of the city. The council of Lübeck is first mentioned in 1201, but much of its authority and status took form only in 1226, when Lübeck was granted the status of free Imperial city. There, every year a third of the councillors were nominated to the presiding council (Ger. *sitzenden Rat*) of the city for a period of two years, while one third stepped down as members of the ‘old council’ (*alten Rat*). The idea of the rotation was to ensure each councillor a period free from the everyday problems of the city to engage his own business, but because the retiring councillors had the right to remain in office if that was requested by others, the actual term of office could differ from the normative rotation of two and one years.²

The late medieval administration in Lübeck, Reval and other cities of the Baltic region was in the hands of the merchant elite, who endeavoured to secure their monopoly on councillorship by a variety of means. In both Lübeck and Reval the status of a councillor was considered a honorary one, and those eligible to be on the council had to be born of free parents in legal matrimony and have immovable property inside the city wall in their full and

Ostforschung, 20 (1971), 685–708, and Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 60–64. For the nature, structure and typology of civic administration in medieval cities of German origin, see Isenmann 2012, 216–250.

² Lutterbeck, Michael, *Der Rat der Stadt Lübeck im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert. Politische, personale und wirtschaftliche Zusammenhänge in einer städtischen Führungsgruppe. Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck* herausgegeben vom Archiv der Hansestadt, Reihe B, Band 35, Schmidt Römhild, Lübeck, 2002. 13–18, 29–44, Hoffmann, Erich, *Lübeck im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Die grosse Zeit Lübeck's*. In: Grassmann, Antjekarin (ed.), *Lübeckische Geschichte*. Schmidt Römhild, Lübeck 1988, 103–121, 219–225. See also von Bunge 1874, 20–22.

free possession. A father and a son or two brothers were not entitled to hold a councillorship at the same time. Should a councillor die or give up his councillorship, his son or brother could be elected instead, but only if he was considered worthy of the position.³ Further restrictions on eligibility of councillors in Reval are apparent already in the 1282 code of Lübeck Law, where those engaged in *en ammet van heren* (ie. in a craft serving lay or ecclesiastic lords) were prohibited from entering the council. In the 15th century only members of the Great Guild could be elected councillors, which effectively barred everyone but married merchant men with Revalian burghership and active in long-distance trade from the status.⁴ Throughout most of the period of focus of this study, the council was essentially a corporation of wealthy merchant men resident in Reval, whose collective and corporational interests were transgenerational and took form in constant negotiations of various networks of trust and favour pursued by individual people, families and collective agents. As such, the civic authority of the council reproduced both the ‘*inter-communal conciliation mechanism*’ protecting the members of the merchant community and people under its jurisdiction and a ‘*centralized multilateral reputation mechanism*’ through which their reputation was supervised as the foundation of the reputation of the council itself and the city (see CHAPTER 1.1.1).⁵

In the scholarship the barring of artisans from offices in Revalian civic government has been dated to the context of the reorganisation of St Olaf’s Guild and St Knut’s Guild from joint corporations of merchants and craftsmen into homonymic confraternities of artisans and professional workforce in the second quarter of the 14th century. After the reform of the Guilds, the dominant elite of long-distance merchants emerged as a corporation of their own, first documented in 1363 as *Kindergilde*. The name of the corporation manifested the status of its members as ‘kinder’ (literally ‘children’, see CHAPTER 1.1.2.4), i.e. affiliates of the merchant corporation, and was substituted only in the late 15th century with the name Great Guild, originally meaning the house of the corporation on Long Street (today Pikk). A further demarcation of the merchant interests in the city occurred at the end of the 14th century, when the confraternity of Black Heads (Mnd. *swarte hovede*) was introduced to include the social activities of visiting merchants, journeymen (Ger. *gesellen*) and unmarried sons of sworn merchant burghers in the city. First documented in 1400, the brotherhood obviously answered a need to draw a more distinct line between the interests of the

³ von Bunge 1874, 18–22; NdCLR 1282, § 128.

⁴ NdCLR 1282, § 3; Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 60–61, 65.

⁵ On the two mechanisms and their relation to trust, see Kallioinen 2012, 23–28, 100–101, 117–118.

permanent merchant elite of the city and visiting merchants and journeymen. Especially the latter rose considerably in both number and corporational activity during the closing decades of the 14th century. The barring of traders and retailers outside the *Kindergilde* in 1423 prevented small scale traders from raising their social status through councillorship in the city.⁶

In the late Middle Ages the political will of the city community in Reval was expressed through the three corporations of *Kindergilde*, St Olaf's Guild and St Knut's Guild, only the members of the *Kindergilde* being entitled to the councillorship. The first surviving statutes of the *Tafelgilde*, a charity organisation formed among the members of the *Kindergilde*, date back to the year 1363.⁷ Despite some 19th century scholarly assumptions, no evidence of a distinct Revalian patriciate eligible to the councillorship similar to that of Lübeck exists. From the mid-14th century new recruits for the council were chosen among the members of the *Kindergilde* because of their wealth and established social networks inside and outside the city, but among the members of the Great Guild no exclusivism comparable to that of the Lübeckian *Zirkelgesellschaft* appears to have emerged. A characteristic feature for most of the 14th- and 15th-century Revalian councillors as well as their colleagues in other major merchant centres of the Baltic Sea region was an attachment to spiderweb-like networks of family, marriage and kinship, where members of one group often held councillorships in several of the towns important for the mercantile interests of the family.⁸ Demographically, the actual number of merchants with access to the council through a membership in the Great Guild together with vassal families living in the lower town was only ca. 180 individuals even as late as 1538. The total population of their households was some 800 people, i.e. some 16 % of the population of the walled area of the lower town administered by the council. Despite the 15th-century economic fluctuations, the number of families in the

⁶ On the origin of Revalian corporations see von zur Mühlen 1997, 15–42. Important studies on the history and structure of the Great Guild and St St Knut's Guild are von Nottbeck, Eugen, *Die alten Schragen der Grossen Gilde zu Reval*. In Commission bei Emil Prahm, Reval 1885, 9–39 and Margus, Aleksander, *Einleitung*. In: *Katalog des Stadtarchivs Tallinn, Abt. IV: Archiv der St. Kanutigilde*. Tallinn, Tallinna linnaarhiivi väljaanne, Tallinn 1938, XI–LXIV. Introductions to the scholarship on the matter are provided by Derrik 2000, 14, and Mänd 2013, 229–232. On the name *Kindergilde* see von Nottbeck 1885, 11–12, Johansen 1951, 45, and Mänd 2011b, 27–29; On Black Heads see Mänd 2005, 29–33, Mänd & Randla 2012, 43–44, and Amelung – Wrangell 1930, 5–105.

⁷ Derrik 2000, 14; On *Tafelgilde* see Derrik 2000, 16–23, Mänd 2005, 39–40 and Mänd 2011b, 101–115.

⁸ von Bunge 1874, 34–35; In 15th-century Lübeck the majority of the councillors were chosen from the members of the *Zirkelgesellschaft*, an exclusive fraternity of merchants engaged in long distance trade established in 1379 and reconstituted in 1429 after the civic turbulences of 1408–16. Dünnebeil, Sonja, *Die Lübecker Zirkel-Gesellschaft. Formen der Selbstdarstellung einer städtischen Obersicht*. Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck herausgegeben vom Archiv der Hansestadt, Reihe B, Band 27. Schmidt Römhild, Lübeck. 1996, 8. On the different political roles of Livonian merchant guilds compared to that of *Zirkelgesellschaft*, see also Mänd 2013, 232.

topmost stratum of the city was already the same in 1372, ca. 180 house owners, whereas the total number of burgher households was ca. 435 in both 1372 and 1527/38 (or, together with those matroned by widows, ca. 465), including artisans with burghership. In other words, the basic administration of the city as managed by the presiding council was negotiated within a sworn community of ca. 435–465 burghers, of whom less than 180 constituted the socioeconomical layer eligible for the council. Since the total number of households liable to ground tax in the walled area of the lower town was in 1372 ca. 740, and in 1538 ca. 810, the burgher families constituted already in the third quarter of the 14th century ca. 60 % and the councillor elite ca. 25 % of the households of the walled lower town.⁹

In Reval, information for the rotation of the presiding council is available in the surviving lists of councillors from the years 1333–35, 1340–69, 1373–74 and 1378.¹⁰ In 1379–1550 the only surviving full documentation on members of the presiding council is in a list of four burghermasters and 15 councillors in 1457 and a charter of July 1458, which cites all the names of 1457 except one, but with two additional names. Further information on councillors is available in other documents and city memoranda which occasionally cite their names and the nature of their duties in the city administration, but in general any more precise reconstruction of the composition of the presiding council or the corporation of the elected councillors is difficult to make from the sources.¹¹ One of the rare exceptions is a list of horse owners in the city written by city scribe Johannes Blomendal some time during his activity in 1406–26, where 25 of 79 names are furnished with the title ‘her’, all known councillors of the city in the first quarter of the 15th century. The list is written on a loose bifolio of paper in narrow format and the councillorship of ‘*her Menckinck*’ dates it to ca. 1409–14, most likely to the fiscal year of 1409/10 or 1410/11.¹²

⁹ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 116–117, and von zur Mühlen, Heinz, 2002, Schosslisten der Stadt Reval 1369–72. Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands 48 (here Schoss 1369–72), 200–210, where closer analysis of the numbers is provided with a reconstruction of the total number of burgher households (ca. 465) based on the *schoss*lists of 1372, 1527, 1538 and 1688.

¹⁰ There are lists of the members of the presiding council in TLA, A.a.2 (1333–35, 1340–69, 1373–74, for editions see: LECUB I:2 923, von Bunge 1874, 4–13 and Libri de diversis articulis 1333–1374. Hrsg. von Paul Johansen. Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv, 8. Tallinn 1935, here LDA 1333–74) and A.d.1 (1378, edited in: Die ältesten Kämmererbücher der Stadt Reval 1363–1374. Hrsg. von Otto Greiffenhagen. In: Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv, 3. BÜchdruckerei A.-G. ”Ühiselu”, Reval 1927, here cited as KB 1363–74), 7–8.

¹¹ von Bunge 1874, 39–40, 13–17.

¹² TLA, BK 1, f. 33r–34r. The list starts on f. 33r with ‘Item lucher hant j perd’ and continues with itemized names of those who apparently owned one horse each. The councillors’ names are dispersed among other horse owners’ and not in a section of their own. The councillors cited are: *Her gerd witte*, *her rotgher droge*, *her johan van der smede*, *her palmedach*, *her hunnynchusen*, *her johan krouwel*, *her woltershusen*, *her johan lore*, *her hennynck*, *her husman*, *her tydeman knyp*, *her henrich parenbeke*, *her stoltevot*, *her ludike*, *her wanner*, *her*

Most of the known Revalian councillors after 1298 have been listed by Friedrich Georg von Bunge in his 1874 study '*Die revaler Rathslinie*'. Because the number of known councillors before 1448 was usually at least 17 or 18, the general opinion in scholarship since his work has been that the 1457–58 council of Reval consisted of a permanent body of four burghermasters and 16 councillors, and the reorganisation of the council into a fixed corporation of four and 16 must have taken place in the context of a reduction of the number of councillors somewhere around the mid-15th century. Since no known regulations or statutes for the composition of the medieval council of Reval exists, the late medieval structure of the council and the nature of the mid-15th-century changes in the rotation of its offices remain somewhat unclear. At the turn of the early modern period the council consisted of a fixed number of 14 councillors (1539) and four burghermasters (1550), which then remained the basic body of civic administration until the 18th century.¹³

According to the surviving lists of the councillors of 1333–78, the presiding council of the mid-14th century appears to have habitually consisted of 12–14 members, some of whom were newly elected while others had been appointed to office either the year before or several times in the past. Each year two members of the presiding council acted as burghermasters, but in the lists no specific titles for either them or other councillors are provided. As the list of the horse owners of ca. 1410 shows, the total number of elected councillors rotating in the council appears to have consisted of at least 25 persons (four burghermasters and 20–22 councillors?) at the beginning of the 15th century, but other sources also indicate considerable variation in the number of councillors in the era. Nevertheless, the list of the horse owners appears to sustain the hypothesis of a reorganisation of the council to a fixed number of members somewhere around the mid-15th century, even if no documentation for this has survived. Instead of the Lübeckian rotation of two years of office and one year free, most of the 14th-century councillors in Reval appear to have followed a rotation of one year in office and one year free. As in Lübeck and other

rotghe spannyerd, her menckink (Meynhard Menckinck, resident councillor in 1409, alive in 1411, dead before May 1, 1414, see Derrick 2000, 133), *her arndt saffenberch, her stolte, her dethmar van eken, her Cord tzanders, her Johan van dem holte, her henrich van telchten, her gerd van der beke, her Euerd hologer*. Known councillors not cited in the list include for instance Hinrik Schelewend (councillor since 1418, see Derrick 2000, 182–183). The document also lists the horses of the crafts of Tailors (*schrodere iij perde*), Shoemakers (*schomakere iij*), Smiths (*smede iij*), Goldsmiths (*goldsmede ij*), Bakers (*beckere ij*), Butchers (*knockenhouwer ij*), Coopers (*botkere iij*), Furriers (*korsuewerter ij*) and Stonemasons (*stenwortere iij*). The total number of horses owned by burghers and crafts in the list is 101.

¹³ von Bunge 1874, 38–51, 53–78. Evidence on medieval reorganisation of a city council is available, for instance, from Stockholm, where the number of known councillors in 1419–1520 fluctuated annually between 19 and 32. The corpus of 28 was first introduced only in 1471 in the context of the reform of King Magnus Eriksson's Town Law, which had set the number of councillors to 19 in the 1350's, Lamberg 2001, 51–53.

urban centres of the Baltic Sea region such as Stockholm, the actual term of some of the councillors could be several years in a row and the total active career allowing for free years in the presiding council could span decades.¹⁴

3.1.1.2. The election of new councillors and the council

Today no medieval information on the course of events and ritual praxis that took place in the annual inauguration of the presiding council in Reval survives. Since written narrations about the installation of any city council of the medieval Hanseatic space of interaction are virtually nonexistent, it is safe to concur with Ernst Pitz when he suggests that the annual praxis of installation must have been based on traditional oral ways of communication and legitimation that were rarely written down explicitly.¹⁵ In cities where documentation on the process of installation exists, such as late 15th-century Kampen, the government change covered a period of more than six weeks from the closing of the administrative year of the council on December 13 to the third Sunday after Epiphany (January 21–27), when the names of the new presiding councillors were publicly announced to the city community. However, the final corroboration of the new government was made only on the following Saturday (January 27 – February 2), when the representatives of various corporations and crafts of the city validated the oath to the council on behalf of the city community and inhabitants. During the period of government transfer gatherings and meetings of both closed and public nature took place. The most important of these were the three successive *bursprake*, public declarations of statutes and regulations of the city with which the authority of both the old and the new presiding council was promulgated to the public. Because of the oral promulgation of issues and names involved in the change of government, no specific charter securing the legal status of the council as a corporate agent of interests of the sworn community of the city was needed, and the annual ritual praxis appears to have relied exclusively on oral and symbolic forms of corroboration.¹⁶ Rather than any loss of material on the annual installation of new presiding council in Reval, the lack of medieval documentation on the introduction of the new presiding council thus tells us that the process was of an oral nature, and the exact date of installation may have varied before the reorganisation of the council in the mid-15th century.

¹⁴ von Bunge 1874, 26–31, 35 and TLA, BK 1, f. 33r–34r. See even Johansen 1935, XXXIII–XXXVII, and Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 61. For Stockholm see Lamberg 2001, 79.

¹⁵ Pitz 2001, § 207. On *bursprake* in general see Sprandel 1982, 29–31.

¹⁶ Pitz 2001, § 202–206.

In *AR*, the earliest surviving written documentation of the process of election of Revalian councillors dates to the mid-16th century. The regulation consists of the process of election and the formula of the oath of allegiance to the Livonian Master and the City of Reval, and it is written on a separate quire of two parchment bifolios in octavo (ca. 18,1 x 13,7 cm) bound together with the 1282 codex of the Lübeck Law [CM 10]. The quire is placed at the beginning of the codex with another similar quire following it, and it contains not only the description of the process and the formula of the oath written by one same hand in mid-16th century gothic cursive (the process) and gothic textualis (the oath), most likely in a single session of writing with the same ink, but also two other samples of the formula of the oath following it. Of these the first one has been written in gothic textualis by the same hand as the previous text and it presents the formula of the oath of allegiance of new councillors to King Erik XIV of Sweden (reigned 1560–68) and the city, where the name and title of the king have later been struck out. The second text contains the formula of the oath of allegiance to king John III of Sweden (reigned 1568–92) and the city, again written by the same hand in gothic textualis with somewhat lighter ink than the two previous sections. The hand responsible for all the texts is very likely that of the city scribe Johannes Tap, who was active in 1541/43–78.¹⁷

In the regulation, various oral and ceremonial aspects of the election of new members of the council are easily identified. The regulation states that the process of election of new councillors should begin 14 days before the election day, when an overall bid was to be sent from the chancery (*van dem Cantzel*) to all preachers (*Predicanten*) to pray in all sermons (*in allen Predikien*) in God's honour and for the common good (*vor eine sake tho biddende de godes ehre vnd det gemeine beste*). The proposed candidates had to be elected unanimously by the existing council, each councillor taking part in the election making a personal oath, after which every councillor was asked to state if he knew of any obstacle for the election of any candidate. After the chosen candidates were elected, the *bursprake* was read, the bell signalling the beginning of the council session was rung, and the councillors took their seats. The names of the new councillors were then called aloud by the city servant three consecutive times, and the new councillors were ordered to present themselves in the front of the council so that the last call was announced with the city's explicit ordeal (*by der Stadt*

¹⁷ TLA, Cm 10, f. 1r–3r, 4r (Erik XIV) and 4v–5r (John III). For the hand see TLA, BA 1:IIh, Johannes Tap (Trapff) 1541/53–1578, and, for instance, f. 97–100 there. For the description of the codex see Kala, Tiina (ed.), *Mittelalterliche Handschriften in den Sammlungen des Stadtsarchivs Tallinn und des Estnischen Historischen Museums*, Katalog. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn (here Kala 2007a), 155.

Wilkor). After the city servant saw that the ‘younger gentlemen’ (*junger heren*) had arrived outside, the doors (of the consistory) were opened and all the gentlemen sent in. The newly elected councillors then made an oath of allegiance to the Livonian Master and the city in the front of the representative of the city community (*gemeinde*) and the presiding burghermaster, the representative of the city community being the councillor who had done the longest service as a sworn burgher of the city. After the oath the new councillors were given the right to sit in the council as well as ‘in the Town Hall as in the Scriptorium’ (*vp dem Rathuse als dem schriwerie*), where certain sessions of the council were held, and the new councillors were asked to take their seats in the council and manage their office in the way ‘a honourable man should’. In the later redactions of the regulations there are even other symbolic manifestations of the election, such as the three-time clapping of a wooden board by the city servant on each calling of the newly elected members of the council, after which the board was then broken up and thrown to the ground, symbolising the irreversibility of the election. The wooden board, originally perhaps the framed wax tablet where the names of the newly elected councillors were written, may tell about symbolic use of text the process of annual promulgation of the new council in medieval Reval.¹⁸

Although the copy of the oath of allegiance to the Livonian Master in Cm 10 presents the process of election and oaths of the new councillors as already practiced in the Order era in Reval, it is not the oldest surviving text of the oath and appears to reflect only mid-16th-century praxis. Another and apparently much older version of the oath has survived among the drafts and other material written by city scribe Joachim Muter during his period as a notary public in Reval in 1427 and his period of office as the city scribe in 1429–1456/60. Written by Muter himself, the copy of the formula ends up with an instruction that after the oath the new member of the council is asked ‘to sit before God and do his things according to the justice and in the way that all the good men have sat here for over fifty years’. Whether this should be understood as a proof that the formula was first written down soon after the transfer of the city of Reval from Danish to Teutonic Order rule in 1346, in which case the ‘fifty years’ could point to the origins of the first Town Hall somewhere in the last quarter of the 13th century, or whether it refers to aspects of the institutional memory of the council in the later years of Muter’s office in the 1450’s, i.e. some 50 years after the construction of the new Town Hall in 1401–4, is impossible to say. The citation stresses a

¹⁸ Die Quellen der Revaler Stadsrechts I–II. Hrsg. von D.F.G. v. Bunge. Dorpat, Verlag von Franz Kluge 1844–46 (here Rechtsquellen), I, 248–249. See also von Bunge 1874, 48, where the edited text of the regulation is from a later redaction, and the discussion of the wooden board there.

succession of councillors lasting over fifty years in the very room they were elected to sit. The fact that Muter's copy of the oath is clearly from an older source than the Cm 10 oath is also apparent from the titulation of the princely authority of the city, who is only cited as 'my Lord the Master' (*mineme heren deme Meistere*) in Muter's copy, where the master can refer to both the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and his substitute the Livonian Master, but in the younger formula of Cm 10 as 'N, my gracious Lord the Master of Livland' (*N: mynem genedigenn heren Meister tho Lifflande*), which clearly refers to the Livonian Master as the sole princely authority of Reval after the secularisation of the Livonian Order in 1525. Since Muter's copy of the oath and the final part of the process of electing the new council has survived on a loose slip of paper of ca. 11,0 x 19,0 cm, where both the upper and lower edges are cut, it may be a section of a longer copy of the whole regulation or just a temporary copy of the part concerning the oath of the new councillors and the procedure for their acceptance, but nothing more can be said of its dating beyond that it refers to praxis in use in Reval some time in the second quarter of 15th century or the beginning of the third.¹⁹

3.1.1.3. The period of installation of a new presiding council and its offices

Since the 1874 study of von Bunge, the beginning of the annual term of the presiding council in Reval has been placed on the second Sunday after Michaelmas (between October 7 and 13). However, there is evidence that the date of introduction of the new council did not remain the same throughout the Middle Ages, and fluctuations in the start of the term may have occurred in the 14th and 15th centuries. In 1344 and 1345, for instance, the annual appointment of the councillors was made on the Sunday after *octavas* of Michaelmas (*dominica post octavas s. Michaelis*, i.e. on October 10, 1344, and October 9, 1345), but the lists of 1351–61 only say that the appointment occurred 'after the feast of St Michael' (*post festum Michaelis*), which refers to the period immediately following Michaelmas (September 29). In 1378 the 13 presiding councillors started their term at Michaelmas.²⁰ Further evidence for the beginning of the council's annual term relevant to the period of this study can be acquired from the city's main accounts, where the names of the two councillors responsible for the fiscal administration of the city (Mnd. *kämnerer*, Lat. *camerarius*) are introduced either at (1376) or after Michaelmas (1369, 1370, 1372), on dates around or soon after the second Sunday following St Michael (1377?, 1432, 1436–38, 1446, 1449) or in the

¹⁹ TLA, BA 1:Id, 129 (LECUB I:9 674), 'Na deme eede segge men en gad sitten vnd doet Jweme dinge liik vnd recht vnd siit Also gude manne also hiir ouer viffthigh Jaren geseten hebben'. See also Kreem 2001, 228.

²⁰ von Bunge 1874, 26–27, LDA 1333–74, nr. 302, 317, 379, 380, 381–6, 390, 396; TLA, A.d.1, f. 3b (KB 1363–74, p. 8).

period between All Saints' Day on November 1 and the feast of St Martin on November 11 (1433–34, 1439, 1447–48, 1453–54, 1457).²¹ After the introduction of the new council, negotiations on the future policy of the suggested council and the city community could take place, as on the Monday after the second Sunday of Lent in 1403 (March 12), when the envoys of the city community presented the council with an agenda of several issues the community wanted addressed. Some of the issues dealt with practical questions such as stocks of firewood on the shore, others matters of fiscal policy, such as the rate of the ground tax the council had set for the year. After the negotiations, the council agreed to change certain articles, but several others were left as they were because of 'their utility for the city'.²² The agenda presented by the community and the answer of the council show that the administration and policy of the council was built on statements resulting from active negotiations with the civic community: despite the ritual forms of promulgation of the new council, the transition of power was never an empty ritual but included conscious articulation of the issues that the city community thought the new presiding council should pursue. Another document listing an orally presented agenda of the burgher community to the council dates from the period of activity of city scribe Johannes Blomendal in 1406–26, when he wrote three articles of the community's proposals on a narrow sheet of paper (later used as temporary writing material) concerning the rent of St Gangolf's altar possibly by councillor Marquard Bretholt (councillor in 1439–75).²³

The available sources indicate that the actual term of office of the council of Reval in the 14th and early 15th centuries corresponded to the local fiscal year, which documentedly

²¹ TLA, A.d.3, 1a (1369), 6a (1370), 34a (1372) (KB 1363–74, p. 10, 16, 46); Das Revaler Kämmererbuch von 1376–80. Bearb. von Dieter Heckmann. In: Zeitschrift für Ostforschung, 41 (1992), (here cited as KB 1376–80), p. 205 (29.9.1376), 215 (13.10.1377, where the date most likely relates to the next entry concerning a sword and a lock, not the introduction of the *kämmerers*); KB 1432–63, nr. 1 (18.10.1432), 224 (13.10.1436), 282 (19.10.1437), 349 (18.10.1438), 685 (15.10.1446), 804 (25.10.1449) and 59 (31.10.1433), 117 (6.11.1434, 'Disses jairs'), 402 (31.10.1439), 731 (4.11.1447), 775 (2.11.1448), 940 (10.11.1453), 962 (2.11.1454), 1060 (5.11.1457); In the surviving registers of imposed fines (Mnd. *Wedde*) beginning from the 1390's, the new fiscal year or term of the town bailiff (*advocatus, vaget*) is dated to Michaelmas in 1408, but in 1432 to the Monday after St Luke (October 20) and 1434 to the Monday before All Hallows (October 29), TLA, A.a.4a, f. 16r, 36v, 38r; Since the two wardens of the mint imburse revenues of minting to *kämmerers* Wenemar van der Beke and Herman Lippen on Michaelmas of 1428 (September 29) and to (the new pair of) *kämmerers* Herman Lippen and Hildebrand van der Bokelen on the Saturday after St Martin (October 13), the introduction of a new pair of *kämmerers* had occurred sometime between these two dates, A.d.16, f. 4r.

²² LECUB I:4 1619.

²³ TLA, B.k.2:I, f. 13v, where the three articles written by Blomendal are 'Jtem jnterste warff de meynheit van deme borge, Jtem van deme marker o bevydende, Jtem van der thaffelen vnd van deme houe'. The identification that the text written on the opposite side of the sheet was the handwriting of Marquard Bretholt is the note by Paul Johansen under the text. On Bretholt's career see Derrik 2001, 67–68.

started at Michaelmas in the 1370's.²⁴ As early as the second quarter of the 15th century, however, there may have been a certain period of transition between the departure of the old and the inauguration of the new government, where the introduction of the new council and the actual instruction of the councillors to their offices took place either on the week following the second Sunday after Michaelmas (except in 1449) or on the Eve and the week following the Feast of All Saints' on November 1 (except in 1434 and 1453). Of these two terms the first had been in use already in the 1340's, whereas the role of the All Saints' appears to have been rising. Since the calendar dating of All Saints' was inseparable from the subsequent feast of All Souls' on November 2, the introduction of new *kämmerers* at the turn of November, as documented in the second third of the 15th century, was obviously connected not only to the fiscal year but also to the civic festival calendar of the council and the merchant elite. In the late 14th century and the 15th the feast of All Souls' was one of the three most important annual festivities of the council with heavy spending on banquets offered in the honour of the city. The other two major periods of banqueting were Christmas and Shrove-tide. Of further interest is that in the late medieval Reval even the triple feasts of Michaelmas, All Saints' and Martinmas constituted an autumnal festival sequence of their own, which not only marked the traditional end of harvesting and the fiscal year of the city, but also from 1403 onwards the end of the merchant sailing season of the Hanseatic League on the feast of St Martin (see CHAPTER 1.1.2.1). The documented spending on wine from the mid-15th century onwards indicates that the role of Martinmas in particular appears to have increased.²⁵

In all, the rise of the importance of All Saints' and St Martin in the early 15th-century festive and administrative calendar of the council can be understood as reflecting the adjustment of the Revalian administrative year to important public manifestations of civic authority instead of the traditional fiscal year of harvests and agricultural production. Fundamentally, however, the extension of the term of government transfer to as late as the week following the feasts of All Saints' and All Souls' may suggest a ritual praxis similar to that of late 15th-century Kampen, where the actual transfer of power and promulgation of the oaths between the new council and the community covered a period of six weeks starting from the Feast of

²⁴ Heckmann, Dieter, Das Revaler Kämmererbuch von 1376 bis 1380. In: Zeitschrift für Ostforschung, 41 (1992), 189.

²⁵ On the omission of the Feast of All Souls' as a basis for dating of entries in the accounts see Kala, Tiina, The Church calendar and Yearly Cycle in the Life of Medieval Reval. In: Kivimäe, Jüri & Kreem, Juhan (eds.), Quotidianum estonicum, Aspects of daily Life in medieval Estonia. Medium aevum quotidianum, Sonderband V. Krems 1996, 109.

St Lucy on December 13. Whether the introduction of such a prolonged period for the transition of government in Hanseatic cities should be considered a late 14th-century development of administrative practices remains an open question, but the fact is that neither in Kampen nor Reval in the 15th century did the shift between the old and new presiding council take place overnight. More importantly, the transition required considerable attention, not only from members of the civic elite and representatives of the city community, but also from other people in the service of the city such as the city scribes, even if their actual written output in the context of the government transition appears to have been low.

3.1.2. The frequency of council sessions as detectable from the pre-1456 books of Revalian civic memoranda

In Reval decisions of the council were made in joint sessions of the councillors, most likely organised on weekly basis. No regulations on the scheduling, location and course of sessions of the council prior to 1456 are known, but information on the meetings can be acquired from various contemporary sources. Among these sources, the most comprehensive are the city registers on recognition of inheritable real property and annuities available from 1312. The need for such registers was founded on the city law, which regulated transactions of inheritances (Lat. *hereditas*) and the right of possession of immovables so that they had to be recognised by publicizing them three times in a legal court, i.e. the front of the council. Similar public ratifications of proprietorship were occasionally made in other contracts of a private nature where the legal status of inheritable real property was involved. Another important dimension of real estate was mortgaging, where immovable lots and houses were used as pledges against liquid capital. The mortgaged property, the loaned sum of money and obliged annuities (Mnd. *renten*) were agreed in a *renten*-contract between the debtor and the creditor, which only became legal when publicly ratified in front of the presiding council. In both conveyances of inheritances and the creation of *renten*-contracts, the act of ratification and basic information on the contract was written down in city books of memoranda to register the transaction and keep control of proprietorship and liabilities of real estate in the city.²⁶

²⁶ LCLR1257 § 6; On *Renten*-contracts and annuities in Reval, see von Nottbeck, Eugen, *Der alte Immobilienbesitz Revals*. In *Commission bei Emil Prahm, Reval 1884* (here von Nottbeck 1884b), 66–78 and more generally in German cities Isenmann 2012, 949–956. For Lübeck, see Lorenzen-Schmidt, Klaus-Joachim, *Die Immobilienmärkte von Lübeck und Hamburg 1455–1599*. In: Hundt, Michael & Lokers, Jan (eds.), *Hanse und Stadt. Akteure, Strukturen und Entwicklungen im regionalen und europäischen Raum*. Festschrift für Rolf

3.1.2.1. *The beginnings of civic memoranda in 14th-century Reval*

Since the information on the frequency of the council's sessions before 1456 is mainly detectable only through registers on transactions of inheritable property, i.e. the town houses, a short introduction to certain codicological aspects of the material is needed here. A more detailed introduction of this oldest surviving line of civic memoranda also serves for a wider analysis of the various lines of city books of memoranda discussed later in this study in CHAPTERS 3.2, 4.1, 4.3.1, and in the context of FIGURES 6 and 7.

In Reval, ratifications of inheritable real property and annuities were originally registered in quired folios of parchment introduced in 1312 and covering the period from then to early March 1360. The quires were later arranged as a codex [A.a.1] bound in red limp leather binding, where the back cover was extended to fold over the fore edge of the codex and secured with hemp ties. The volume itself consists of two sections of quires with a total of 83 folios in 8° (25,0 x 17,0 cm), of which the last page of section I (s. 60) and the first of section II (s. 61) are darkened and worn. Both the sections have five quires with an average of eight folios, but the quires of section II are slightly larger in size, measuring 26,5 x 18,5 cm. Since no chronological break is evident between the two sections in 1333–1334, the quires of the first section were most likely first held together as a separate entity and bound together with the second section only later. Whether this happened soon after the introduction of the second set of quires at the beginning of the calendar year of 1334 or later in the 14th century is unknown, but the darkened first page of the second section suggests the latter alternative. The entries of the codex were published in an edition by Leonid Arbusow in 1888 as '*Das älteste Wittschopbuch der Stadt Reval (1312–1360)*' (here cited as WB 1312–60). The red leather wrapping is very similar to the 1282 codex of the Lübeck Law [Cm 6], suggesting that both codices were rebound at a later date some time in the late 14th century or after. The red leather wrapping also suggests that both the codices had a high symbolical status as 'red

Hammel-Kiesow zum 65. Geburtstag. Einzelveröffentlichung des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Schmidt-Römschild, Lübeck 2014, 313–322, Hammel, Rolf, Hauseigentum im spätmittelalterlichen Lübeck. Methoden zur sozial- und wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Auswertung der Lübecker Oberstadtbuchregesten. In: Falk, Alfred & Hammel, Rolf (eds.), *Archäologische und schriftliche Quellen zur spätmittelalterlich-neuzeitlichen Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck*. Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte, 10 (1987), 85–300, and Hammel, Rolf, Hausermarkt und wirtschaftliche Wechsellen in Lübeck von 1284 bis 1700. *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 106 (1988), 41–107. On the development of private renten-markets in the Netherlands see Zuijderduijn, Cornelis Jacob, *Medieval capital markets. Markets for renten between state formation and private investment in Holland (1300–1550)*. Doctoral thesis Utrecht University, 2007, <http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/dissertations/2007-0516-200720/index.htm>, accessed 19.11.2015. According to the Revalian *bursprake* of ca. 1405, it was an ancient rule that no-one was to mortgage, pledge or sell a piece of inheritable property if it was not done in the front of the council, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, Anhang 1D § 60 (TLA, B.s.1, f. 1r–8r).

books' of the city and may have been placed in a conspicuous location in the relevant sessions of the council as early as the 14th century (see CHAPTER 1.2.3).²⁷

On the Purification of Mary on February 2, 1360, the old parchment volume of A.a.1 was continued with a paper codex of recognitions and annuities [A.a.6b], in use until early April 1383. The city scribe Karolus de Montreal, who first employed the codex in 1360, incipited it as a *liber de re[signationibus] or re[cognitionibus]*, but when Eugen von Nottbeck 1890 published it in an edition, he entitled it the second oldest 'Erbebuch' of the city (here cited as EBII). With the oldest book of inheritances ('Erbebuch I') von Nottbeck referred to the 'Wittschopbuch', published by Leonid Arbusow only two years earlier. Since the most frequent term for publicizing the inheritances in the entries of WB 1312–60 is *recognovit*, but in EBII *resignavit*, the two terms were applied as synonyms in mid-14th-century Reval, and both the codices A.a.1 and A.a.6b originally served the same purpose. Because the paper codex of A.a.6b consists of 135 folios in six quires of paper from the same mill, and comprises a complete codex in 4^o (ca. 29,0 x 20,5 cms), it was evidently acquired by the city administration as a bound blanco. The present limp leather wrapping with leather folding over the fore edge and secured with a buckled clasp is of later origin. Eugen von Nottbeck dated the binding to around 1536.²⁸

In 1383 a reorganisation of the registers of transactions on real property took place, and the codex of EBII [A.a.6b] was followed by two separate books of memoranda. The first one was based on a bound quires of paper introduced in May 1383, and originally designed as a register similar to A.a.6b, with entries consisting of both matters of resignation and annuities. About a year later, however, a decision was made to register the annuities into a separate codex of parchment first introduced on the Friday before the second Sunday in Easter (April 22), 1384. Of these two registers, the three first quires of the paper book of resignations [A.a.6c] were published in an edition as the third eldest 'Erbebuch' (here cited as EBIII) by Eugen von Nottbeck in 1892. The parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3] in turn

²⁷ TLA, A.a.1, p. 60–61. Arbusow, Leonid, Einleitung. Das älteste Wittschopbuch der Stadt Reval, 1312–1360. Hrsg. v. L. Arbusow. In: Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, III Folge, Band I. Reval 1888, V.

²⁸ WB 1312–60, passim, A.a.6b, f. 1r, The incipit 'Anno domini millesimo c.c.c. sexagesimo in die puri[ficationes beate] Marie virginis inchoatus est iste liber de re[...] civitatis revalie' is partially corrupted and the early pages of the codex worn. See also von Nottbeck, Eugen, Einleitung. In: Das zweitälteste Erbebuch der Stadt Reval, 1360 bis 1383. Hrsg. v. Dr. E. von Nottbeck. In: Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, III Folge, Band II. Reval 1890, 5–8.

was edited by Arthur Plaesterer in 1930 with the title ‘*Das Revaler Pergament Rentenbuch*’ (here cited as PergRB).²⁹

There is evidence that the paper book of resignations of 1383 originally consisted of four quires of parchment, of which the three first [A.a.6c, EBIII] extended from May 1383 to spring 1458. The fourth quire from 1459 to August 1474 was prepared for an edition by Arthur Plaesterer, but the work was never published and it exists today only as a manuscript in TLA. Since the chronological arrangement of all the quires from 1383 to 1474 is unbroken, although the four quires with 61, 42, 49 and 32 folios are written on stocks of paper from different mills, it is unknown whether they once composed a codex at all or were disassembled only later after being bound together somewhere in the 15th century. The slightly varying size of the quires in 4^o (ca. 29,5–30,0 x 20,5–22,0 cms) does not rule out the possibility of a joint volume of 15th-century origin, but whether all the four quires were actually bound together in the Middle Ages remains unresolved. Gotthard von Hansen found the first three quires in the AR, still stationed in the Town Hall, in 1890, after which they were assembled in the modern hardcover board binding of A.a.6c, today in TLA. Whether von Hansen found the three quires separate or bound together is unknown.³⁰ In the fourth quire more than 20 leaves have been left empty, the reason apparently the introduction of a stout parchment codex of A.a.35b with a total of 340 leaves in folio (ca. 40,5 x 28,0 cms), where recognitions and resignations of the inheritable real property in the walled area of the city were organised by streets and plots into a schematic register. In the codex, the earliest surviving entries not copied from older books of memoranda such as EBIII and EBIV or

²⁹ Das drittälteste Erbebuch der Stadt Reval, 1383–1458. Hrsg. v. Dr. E. von Nottbeck. In: Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands. III Folge, Band III. Reval 1892 (EBIII), and Das Revaler Pergament-Rentenbuch 1382–1518. Hrsg. von Artur Plaesterer. In: Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv, 5. Revaler Estn. Verlagsgenossenschaft, Reval 1930 (PergRB).

³⁰ TLA, A.a.6c, see von Nottbeck, Eugen, Einleitung. In: Das drittälteste Erbebuch der Stadt Reval, 1383–1458. Hrsg. v. Dr. E. von Nottbeck. In: Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands. III Folge, Band III. Reval 1892, VII–VIII. The fourth quire was found in AR by Paul Johansen on January 20, 1926 and prepared for edition by Arthur Plaesterer in 1936 (see Plaesterer, Arthur, Einleitung. In: Das Revaler Pergament-Rentenbuch 1382–1518. Hrsg. von Artur Plaesterer. In: Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv, 5. Revaler Estn. Verlagsgenossenschaft, Reval 1930, VII and the edition’s manuscript in TLA). Presently (2015) the fourth quire (here cited as EBIV) is in B.i.3:I (ca. 30,0 x 21,0 cms, with paper from same mill with a watermark of triple mount with a cross). The first datable entry entry in the fourth quire concerned a resignation issued on Friday before St Martin (November 9), 1459, by city scribe *Reinhold Storning* (1456–63), f. 24r (of modern foliation) and the last on Friday before the Assumption of Mary, 1474, f. 37v, by city scribe *Johannes tor Hove* (1463–77/78–79). The last 18 folios of the quire are empty. The first entry on f. 24r is preceded by the closing part of an undated entry from either 1458 or 1459 on the recognition of an inheritable real property of the councillor *Berndt van Vreden* to one *Euerd Spallen* on *Smedesrate* (Harju Street).

other material are those written by Reinhold Storning on transactions issued in the calendar year of 1466.³¹

In the late medieval Revalian management of information all the registers WB 1312–60, EBII and EBIII were in the form of sizeable yet movable codices in 8° [A.a.1] or 4° [A.a.6b, A.a.6c], easily carried in a leather bag. By contrast, it is virtually impossible for one person to move the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3] even today. The robust binding consists of 148 folio sized leaves (ca. 34,5 x 26,0 cm) and one-centimetre thick wooden covers each sheeted with red leather, iron reinforcements and five metal bosses. Furnished with two clasps, the codex may have been chainable to a pulpit, but no remains of the chaining are evident in the binding. The stout binding with 13 quires of 10–12 folios of parchment and meticulous ruling in two columns throughout the codex tell us that the volume was probably purchased as a ruled blanco for the purposes of the city administration some time before the spring of 1384. With the exception of the incipit of the book written over the top margin of f. 3r by city scribe Hermannus, the entries in the register are arranged neatly in two columns with occasional gaps for possible later additions. Because two of the first three blank sheets of the book were later furnished with *renten*-contracts and copies of letters dating between Michaelmas (September 29) 1382 and January 1387, the entries in the final codex cover the period from September 1382 to March 1518. After the *renten*-contracts and annuities there is a section of mixed memoranda and copies of documents from the last quarter of the 14th century and the first half of the 15th which cover the last 18 folios of the codex. A majority of these entries are on *renten*-contracts, annuities and entries on the assets of chantries (*Lat. vicaria, Mnd. vicarie*, see CHAPTERS 3.2.4 and 5.3.4.3).³²

In all, the four registers of WB 1312–60, EBII–III and PergRB provide evidence of the cumulative nature of the Revalian management of information on inheritances and annuities from the early 14th century to the mid-16th and after. Whereas the earliest entries on resignations were written on quires of parchment only later combined into a codex with protective limp leather binding, a more systematic use of bound codices was introduced in

³¹ TLA, A.a.35b, where the oldest genuine entries are those written by *Storning* in 1466 on the Friday after St Dorothy (February 7, f. 299r), the Friday after Sunday Cantate (May 9, f. 190r), the Friday after Dicision of the Apostles (July 18, f. 302r), the Friday after Nativity of Mary September 12, f. 237r), and the Friday before Lucy (December 12, f. 52r). Copies from the 'old book', i.e. EBIII and EBIV, see for instance: f. 295r in the year 1455 before All Saints 'Item dusse nagescreuen scrift is vmme screuen ut den olden boke yn dit Jegenwordige bock ...'.

³² TLA, A.a.3, f. 1r–2v (PergRB 1–6), Plaesterer 1930, VIII. The second page of the codex was either cut out or did not belong to the original binding, since the remaining piece of parchment does not have any marks for the ruling of the text area.

the latter half of the 14th century. The 1383–84 physical division of resignations [A.a.6c] and annuities [A.a.3] must have been the result of a contemporary conscious need to categorise the information into two entities in turn accessible through two different registers. In the 15th century the difference between the paper books of resignations and the parchment codex of annuities was clearly evident and understood by the scribes. In the three paper quires of EBIII, the book of annuities is cited as Parchment *Renten*-Book (*perment rentebok*), whereas in the PergRB the older paper codex of EBII is referred to as Book of Paper (*pappyr boke*).³³ In general, the dissolution of annuities from the joint codex of recognitions and annuities and the introduction of parchment for the basic platform of the register is a clear sign of the growing status of *renten*-contracts in the financial industry of late 14th-century Reval and its merchants. The rising status of the annuities is further confirmed by the almost immovable A.a.3, the stoutness of the codex underlining the nature of the immovable matters registered in it.

Although the four volumes of WB 1312–60, EBII–III and PergRB present a chronological continuum of resignations and annuities from 1312 to the latter half of the 15th century, there is evidence that matters of inheritable property were also entered in at least two further books of memoranda of late 14th-century origin. The older of these is referred to in EBII on April 20, 1360 as the ‘Obligatory Book’ (*in libro obligatorio*), and then later as the ‘Other Book of the City’ (*in alio libro civitatis*, 1365), ‘Our Other Book’ (*in alio nostro libro*, 1366), the ‘Book of the City’ (*in des stades böck*, 1376) and in both 1376 and October 1382 as the ‘Parchment Book’ (*in libro pergamenio, liber pergameneus*). Since the entries of EBII do not refer to any respective entries in WB 1312–60 (finished in February 1360), PergRB (begun in 1384 with supplements since September 1382) or the small parchment book of memoranda of A.a.2 (so called *liber de diversis articulis*) from between October 1333 and May 1358, there must have been a parchment codex with mixed content of agreements, decisions and administrative proceedings of the council, best characterised as a *denkelbok* or *liber memorialis* of the city.³⁴ Here cited as *Denkelbok I*, the sections of EBII referring to it suggest that the codex consisted of entries from around April 1360 until October 1382 at the latest and it may have been contemporary with the partially dissolved paper codex of

³³ von Nottbeck 1892, X, EBIII 473, 793, 1211; PergRB 105.

³⁴ EBII, 2, 151, 199, 597, 599, 836; The ‘Book of the City’ cited in EBII was considered lost by Eugen von Nottbeck in 1889, see his preface to EBII, 8; On A.a.2 see Johansen, Paul, Einleitung. *Libri de diversis articulis* 1333–1374. Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv, 8. Tallinn 1935 (here Johansen 1935), VIII–X. In PergRB [A.a.3] the codex itself is occasionally cited as the ‘Book of the City’ (*hir in des stades buke*, nr. 55 and 473), but the ‘Parchment book’ cited in EBII, 597 and 836 is not A.a.3.

A.d.4, a continuation of the mixed codex of memoranda of A.a.2 in use from ca. 1352 to the early 1370's (see CHAPTER 4.3.1). Since neither A.a.2 nor A.d.4 include matters of inheritable property or datable sessions of the council, the scribes cannot have referred to either of these volumes or their combined contents as the supposed *Denkelbok I* of the city, but another book that differed both from them and from the line of memoranda of resignations and annuities. Evidently composed of parchment and presenting entries from ca. 1360 to around 1382, *Denkelbok I* may have been the original source of two separate fragments of what can be considered the first book of *kämmerers'* accounts of the city, introduced at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1363/64 by city scribe Albertus [A.d.1 and A.d.2, see CHAPTER 3.2.1.2], but the unfinished and sketchy nature of these two loose parchment quires of like composition with eight bifolios in 8° (ca. 20,7 x 14,4 cms) does not suggest that they were part of an older volume of parchment quires in octavo at the time of the introduction of writing. Rather, the two quires were apparently the first two quires of a new volume designed to contain fiscal information, namely the annual income and spending of the council, but were never finished in a full binding and used for memoranda in the *kämmerers'* office. There they were finally left and forgotten, either because of the growing preference for use of paper or some other reason related to the organisation of memoranda in the civic administration. After their introduction by city scribe Albertus at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1363/64, both the quires were stationed together so that superfluous ink on the first page of A.d.2 has left mirrored stains on the last page of A.d.1. The quires were written in several hands, one of which is Albertus and the others most likely those of the *kämmerers*, but the exact identification of the latter with the *kämmerers* from 1363/64 or later is not possible (see also FIGURE 6).³⁵

After October 1382 the *Denkelbok I* was either abandoned or lost, and the city scribe Hermannus started to write down matters of inheritances and other issues brought to the consideration of the council in a distinct paper codex first introduced by city scribe Albertus at the beginning of 1373 [A.d.5]. This codex with 168 leaves in 4° (ca. 29,0 x 22,0 cms) and bound in wooden covers with red leather sheathing and two clasps was begun as a register of warrants of safe conduct of the city (Mnd. *geleyde*), but the first entries of safe conduct of 1373 on page 1r are continued with unbroken lists of similar entries from 1374–1406 only in

³⁵ TLA, A.d.1 and A.d.2; See Greiffenhagen, Otto, Erläuterungen. In: Die ältesten Kämmererbücher der Stadt Reval 1363–1374. Hrsg. von Otto Greiffenhagen. Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv, 3. Buchdruckerei A.-G. "Ühiselu", Reval 1927, 89 who identified the handwriting of city scribe Albertus erroneously as that of *kämmerer* Albertus van Verden. For a closer analysis of one of the hands active in A.d.1 and A.d.2 see CHAPTER 3.2.1.

the last third of the codex on pages 129r–149r. Instead, on page 2r the codex was incipited by Albertus as a ‘Book of diverse articles’ (*liber de diversis articulis*) at Easter 1373 (April 17).³⁶ The medieval binding of A.d.5 consists of at least 18 quires of paper from two mills written almost exclusively by the city scribes or their substitutes and it was probably bought for the city administration as a bound blanco sometime around 1373. It was first employed for various kinds of entries other than safe conduct by Albertus in 1373–74, but became a *denkelbok* proper only in ca. 1380 under city scribe Hermannus. In addition to entries on safe conduct and matters presented to the council, the codex contains information about various sources of income of the city, *bursprake* and copies of missives and documents received, sent or brought to the consideration of the council. Because of the heavy wooden covers the codex was not easy to move, and it must be considered a more or less static piece of written memoranda similar to that of the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3, PergRB].³⁷ The later *denkelbok* status of the codex is confirmed in an entry of August 31, 1425, when an open letter presented to the council on a matter of inheritance was said to be copied ‘*jn der Stat dencke boeck*’ and then placed in the same codex as the entry on the matter in question.³⁸ The composite nature of the various 15th-century registers where matters brought before the council were recorded is verified in 1458 by an entry of the then retired city scribe Joachim Muter (active in 1429–1456/60). The entry concerns a matter of inheritance presented to the council in the Church of the Holy Ghost on the Thursday after St Matthew (September 28), 1458, when Councillor Gerd Schale made a request that the settlement reached between the Danzig burgher *Matheus Swichtenberch* and the wards of the children of the late *Diderik vam Loe* be written in the ‘City’s book’ (*Stad Boek*). An entry on the settlement is indeed

³⁶ TLA, A.d.5, f. 2r, ‘Anno domini M^o cccm^o lxxtertio in festo pasche Inceptus est iste liber de diuersis articulis primo de redditibus ciuitatis’; For the warrants of safe conduct see Johansen’s edition of Revaler Geleitsbuch-Bruchstücke 1365–1458. Hrsg. von Paul Johansen. In: Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv, 4. Revaler Estn. Verlagsgenossenschaft, Reval 1929 (here cited as Gbuch 1365–1458).

³⁷ TLA, A.d.5. The watermarks are f. 1–138, a dog with pointed nose, a variant of PPO – Piccard Print Online, Gerhard Piccard, Die Wasserzeichenkartei im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. 17 Bände. Stuttgart 1961–1997. Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters (Wien) and Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Germany, <http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/scripts/php/PPO.php>, accessed 19.11.2015 (here cited as Piccard), Piccard 15:3 VII 1327–1328 (Strassburg 1370) and possibly of Briquet Online, Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters (Wien) and Laboratoire de Médiévisique Occidentale de Paris, <http://www.ksbm.oeaw.ac.at/scripts/php/BR.php>, accessed 19.11.2015 (here cited as Briquet), nr. 3601 (1370/76) both apparently of Champagnian origin and with documented use in 1370, and f. 139–168 the Bellows (Soufflet), which appears to be the same as Briquet 13984, with documented use in 1385/87 and also of French origin. The number of quires at the end of the codex is uncertain.

³⁸ TLA, A.d.5, f. 90v, a copy of a decision on a dispute of *Johannes Katherberge*, councillor of Dorpat and the guardian of the children of *Tydeman Vyncken* vs. *Johannes Wreden* written in its entirety by city scribe *Johannes Blomendal*, where ‘Des tho merer zekerheyit und bevestunge So js dusse zake und breff tho Reuale jn der Stat dencke boeck getekent und geschriufen’; In A.d.5, the Book of the annuities (A.a.3, PergRB) is cited as a ‘City Parchment Book’ (*des stades permer bok*) with a reference in A.d.5, f. 107r to PergRB, nr. 325.

found in A.a.3, written by the contemporary city scribe Reinhold Storning (active in 1456–63) with his note on the reverse side of the original text of Muter commenting ‘*dit sal man noch in der Stad[es] bock schreuen*’, ‘this is yet to be written in the city book’.³⁹

In addition to WB 1312–60, EBII, EBIII, PergRB and A.d.5, further information on the schedule of the council’s sessions can be collected from the registers of the sworn burghers of the city before 1456. Like other cities of the Baltic Sea region, the burghership in medieval Reval was based on both a symbolic and a fiscal commitment, which consisted of solemn *coniuratio* of peace in front of the presiding council, and a money payment (Ger. *Bürgergeld*) to the city government.⁴⁰ Because of the public promulgation of the oath and the money involved, lists of sworn burghers are available in the early mixed memoranda of the city from 1334–46 and 1350 [A.a.2] and from 1358 to the mid-1360’s [A.d.4].⁴¹ However, a more comprehensive register of oaths and *Bürgergeld* has only survived for the period after 1409, when the city scribe Johannes Blomendal started to record the oaths on a set of bound paper quires, then part of the paper volume in 4° introduced as a register of warrants of safe conduct in 1406. Even there the practise of dating the oaths (i.e. sessions of the council where the actual *coniuratio* had taken place) is not consistent until May 1426. After the dissolution of the original volume of registers of safe conduct and sworn burghers by the city secretary Heinrich Fonne (in office in 1658–72), the quires containing the lists of the sworn burghers were assembled into a codex [A.a.5] with entries on *Bürgergeld* in 1409–1624. The volume consists of two sections, the first with 38 leaves covering the period until 1535 and entirely of paper from one mill in 4° (28,9 x 19,7 cm). The second set of quires with 47 leaves covers the period until 1624 and is of a slightly larger size and different paper. Both sections are bound in a modern hardcover board binding of late 19th-century origin with other 16th-century texts dating to before and after the *Bürgerbuch*. The binding opens and closes with a parchment bifolium of a late 14th- or 15th-century missale which may have served as a 16th-or 17th-century binding for the original *Bürgerbuch*. Otto Greiffenhagen

³⁹ TLA, BA 1:Id, 266r–v ‘... begerende dat her gerd schale dat na siner wegene jn der Stad Boek screuen wolden laten’, TLA, A.a.3, f. 87r (PergRB, 1019).

⁴⁰ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 286–287; On the various forms of burghership in medieval cities and towns of the German area of interaction, see Isenmann 2012, 139–148.

⁴¹ TLA, A.a.2, p. 6, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 23, 26, 28–29, 33–34, 36–38, 41–47, 50, 52 and 62 (LDA 1333–74, nr. 31, 34, 56, 71, 88, 91, 94, 100–101, 123, 145, 165, 168, 170–171, 185, 192, 194–196, 199, 205–206, 230–232, 234–236, 243, 247–251, 253–255, 257, 261, 263, 265–266, 268, 270–271, 273, 276, 278, 283–284, 313–315, 324–325 and 365) and A.d.4, f. 12v and 18v (LDA 1333–74, 446, 449, 452 and 509). For the early oaths, see Johansen 1935, XL–XLI.

published an edition of the register of sworn burghers as *Das Revaler Bürgerbuch 1409–1624* in 1922 (here cited as BB 1409–1624).⁴²

3.1.2.2. *The datable sessions of the council before 1456*

What do the registers tell us of the annual frequency and date of the council's meetings before 1456?

Since the *Denkelbok I* of ca. 1360–1382 is lost, we have no knowledge of the eventual sessions of the council cited in it. In A.d.5, the various texts of the codex date from early 1373 to May 1455, but the shift of entries from the older parchment codex of *Denkelbok I* to the new paper codex of A.d.5 is attested by some 159 entries on datable sessions of the council starting only on September 12, 1379. Of these 159 sessions, 57 are known only through EBIII and PergRB, whereas a total of 102 are not cited in any other registers of the city. The last two entries recording the sessions of the council in the codex are written on matters brought before the council on the Friday before Sunday Jubilate (May 14), 1451 and the Friday before Pentecost (May 23), 1455.⁴³

The basic information regarding the annual, monthly and weekly frequency of the council sessions in WB 1312–60, EBII–III, PergRB, A.d.5 and BB 1409–1624 is presented in GRAPHS 4:1–3, where only datable sessions of the council are included, not entries omitting the date of respective session or those only registered to a specific year with no exact date. In WB 1312–60, the first dated session of the council is on April 17, 1314, but for technical reasons of presentation the figures here cover the period from 1310 to 1456.⁴⁴ In all the codices save BB 1409–1624, recognitions and *renten*-contracts issued in front of the council are customarily entered as single paragraphs citing the date of the session and the obligations involved. Matters presented in the same session of the council are often grouped together so that the date of the ratification is cited only in the first of the registered entries. Sometimes the chronology of sessions is confused, evidently because the final register was composed from loose notes written in the sessions and occasionally left for a while before being entered in the city book. In the WB 1312–60, early 14th-century entries often lack dating of the session altogether and the practice of dating the entries becomes more frequent only in

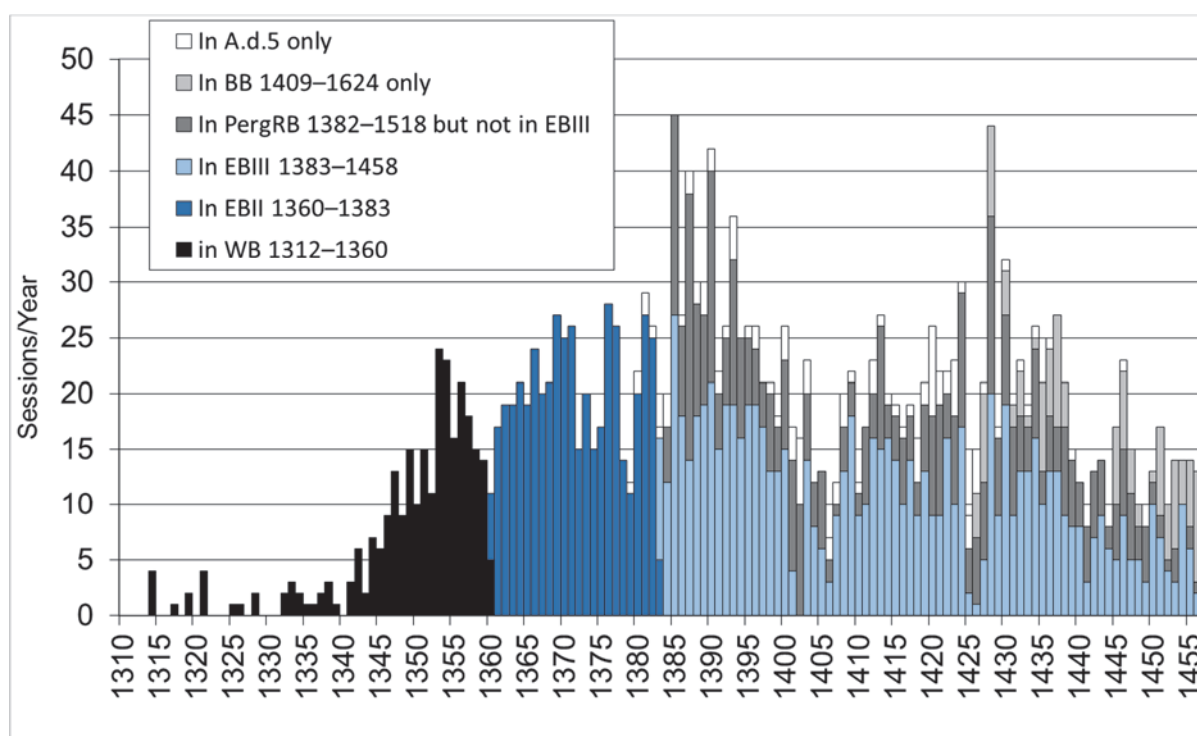
⁴² Johansen, Paul, Einleitung. Revaler Geleitsbuch-Bruchstücke. Hrsg. von Paul Johansen. In: Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv, 4. Reval, Revaler Estn. Verlagsgenossenschaft, 1929, XXXIII; TLA, A.a.5, f. 1–38 (first section) and 39–85 (second section) and Greiffenhagen 1932, VII–VIII.

⁴³ TLA, A.d.5, f. 1r and 152v, 92v, 152v.

⁴⁴ WB 1312–60, 42.

the late 1340's. According to Eugen von Nottbeck, the omission of the date in the early entries was most likely a result of the established practice first holding public hearings on real property only on the annual three legal court days, as decreed in the law code of 1257. Whatever the case, hearings were obviously being held too slowly, and in the law code of 1282 the ratification of the proprietorship was granted to the presiding council, which allowed the abjurations to be made at any ordinary session of the councillors. Because of the growing importance of real estate in the 14th-century credit markets, the steady flow of recognitions and *renten*-contracts ratified the front of the council soon emerged as a permanent phenomenon and ratifications were made all year round. After 1442 there is evidence that some of the recognitions and transactions were made in the City Scriptorium in front of the minimum number of councillors required, which further emphasises the transformation of the act of public ratification into a routine procedure without any need of a collegial hearing in a full session of the council.⁴⁵

Graph 4:1: *Council of Reval, annual number of datable sessions 1310–1456.*



Sources: WB 1312–60, EBII–III, PergRB, A.d.5, and BB 1409–1624.

⁴⁵ The three permitted court days of the law code of 1257 were the Monday after Easter, the Monday after the Pentecost and the Monday after the Epiphany, LCLR1257 § 2–3, NdCLR1282 § 15, on developments in the actual practise see von Nottbeck 1884b, 67–68; PergRB 931 (6.1.1442), 1038 (2.5.1461), 1086 (2.9.1471), 1120 (24.6.1479), 1216 (7.9.1499), 1375–78 (18.8.1514).

The total of 2253 known datable sessions of the council in WB 1312–60, EBII–III, PergRB, A.d.5 and BB 1409–1624 in 1314–1456 help to understand the articulated role of the council’s meetings in the everyday administration of the city. Even if it is impossible to know what proportion of the total number of formal meetings of the council each year were sessions dealing with matters of real property, the sheer number of registered meetings is witness to the intensity of the council’s work in the 14th and 15th centuries. Here, however, certain fluctuations in the documentation of the sessions must be taken into consideration.

As GRAPH 4:1 shows, the most important gaps in the available information occur before the mid-1340’s, when the practice of dating the sessions in entries of WB 1312–60 was rather rare (of the 620 numbered entries in 1312–44 only 59 are provided with the exact date of the actual session or fixable to one date), and in the early 15th century, on occasions when the office of the city scribe was occupied by substitutes. In EBIII, for instance, no entries between June 1401 and January 1403 were made. Whether the gap is somehow related to the three busiest building seasons in the construction of the new Town Hall in 1401–4 is uncertain (see CHAPTER 3.1.3), but continuous information on the council’s contemporary activity is available in PergRB and A.d.5. Another major omission occurs in 1406, with only six datable sessions for the whole year in the combined entries of EBIII and PergRB, and only two further sessions cited in A.d.5. Again, between March 8, 1425 and January 16, 1428 only four datable entries are recorded in EBIII, but a couple of sessions in 1425 and several others in 1426–27 can be dated with the help of PergRB, A.d.5 and BB 1409–1624. In BB 1409–1624 no dates for the oaths of 1429 are provided and the information on 1439–44 is missing altogether.⁴⁶

One method of estimating the overall annual number of the council’s sessions is to look at the average of datable meetings as presented in the registers of real property in the city. Since the annual average of 2253 datable sessions for 1314–1456 is 15.9, but in the 2197 sessions of 1346–1456 as high as 21.8, the conclusion has to be that the usual frequency of

⁴⁶ WB 1–620; EBIII 502–504; EBIII 559, 567–569, PergRB 424–427 and TLA, A.d.5, f. 80v, 108r; EBIII 936–940, the datable sessions in EBIII are 937b, 588b, 942 and 749b; BB 1409–1624, p. 10, 16; The Graphs 4:1 and 4:2 are based on a database collected from the editions WB, EBII–III, PergRB and BB 1409–1624, in which a number of typographic errors and erroneously calculated medieval dates of the editions have been checked and corrected. Certain session dates of the council are also evident in the surviving quittancies of Poundage (Pfundzoll) of 1362, 1368–70 and 1377 (Revaler Zollbücher und -Quittungen des 14. Jahrhunderts von Dr. Wilhelm Stieda. Halle a. S., Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhausens, 188, here cited as RzollB I–II, 1–72). Since the connection of these sealed quittancies to the meetings of the council is not clear, their dates have not been included in the database. Some of the documents were evidently given in the context of known sessions (RzollB I, 1 and 17), others the day before (RzollB I, 6–16, 40–55) or after (RzollB I, 18–19, 69). Of the 28 dates of the quittancies, however, only three are documented elsewhere as session days.

meetings must have been far higher. Between 1350 and 1450 the number of years with 25 or more datable sessions made up more than a quarter (27) of the whole period and those with information on 20 or more covered more than half (54). Because matters of real property probably never emerged in each and every session of council during one calendar year, the high volume of years with 20 or more datable meetings suggests that sessions were habitually organised on a weekly basis around the year, but the available documentation only rarely allows us to get a glimpse of the actual day-to-day schedule of the councillors and people involved in the city administration. Further confirmation for such a conclusion can be acquired from the peak moments of the council's assembling activity as documented in the sources.⁴⁷

The most comprehensive information on the annual number of the council's sessions is from the years 1385, 1387, 1390, 1393 and 1428, with a total of 45, 40, 42, 36 and 44 datable meetings respectively. Despite the reorganisation of the office of the city scribe around the death of Johannes Blomendal in the spring of 1426 and the great volume of transactions on real property in the late 1380's, none of the four years can be considered exceptional from the point of view of the number of sessions held. Instead, they are likely to represent the approximate annual number of council meetings, only rarely calculable from the combined material of the surviving registers. The high level of datable sessions in 1384–93, for instance, appears to have resulted from the expansion of mortgages, *renten*-contracts and recognitions of real property in the city, not on any contemporary change in the schedule of the council sessions. As Arthur Plaesterer suggested in 1930, the late 1380's wave of recognitions and *renten*-contracts was probably a result of the need for liquid capital among Revalian merchants, caused either by contemporary economic turbulence or an upswing in the long distance trade of the area. Hence, the occasional fluctuations in the number of datable sessions as provided by registers must be considered more as a proof of loss of information on sessions other than those matters involving real estate in the city than a sign of the council's extended activity in the 1380's.⁴⁸ The administrative calendar of the councillors appears to have been full as early as the late 14th century, and the management of

⁴⁷ In late medieval Stockholm, which had a slightly different administrative structure, and where sessions of the town court of justice presided by the council were decreed to be held three times a week on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays as early as in the Town Law of King Magnus Eriksson of 1352, the average number of sessions of the council appears to have been 60–100 in the last quarter of the 15th century, see Lamberg 2001, 197–201.

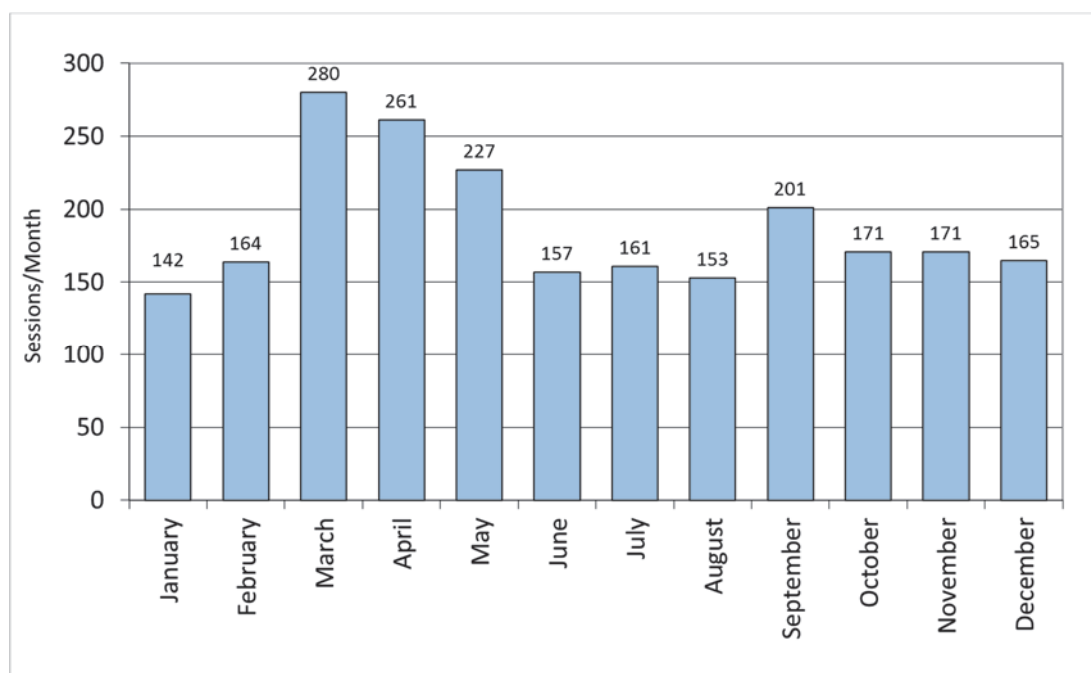
⁴⁸ On the organisation of the office of the city scribe after Blomendal see CHAPTER 5.2.2, Plaesterer 1930, IX.

information that had to be handled in the council's sessions must have required constant attention by several people in the council administration, not only city scribes.

Further information on the annual and weekly distribution of the council's sessions is provided in GRAPHS 4:2 and 4:3. According to the registers on matters of real property, the peak of the council's annual activity in 1314–1456 always occurred in the spring, as over a third (34.1 %) of all the council's annual sessions were held in the months of March, April and May (GRAPH 4:2). A closer look into the dates narrows down the high tide of meetings to between Shrove and Pentecost, before and after which the sessions were usually more scattered. Another intense period of activity occurred in the Autumn, as one third or at least a quarter of all the year's council sessions were held within the twelve weeks between late September and mid December. The least busy periods were January and the summer months of June, July and August, when the council did meet, but either the volume on matters of real estate, annuities and burghership was low or council meetings were held more rarely. Because the 14th- and 15th-century Julian calendar dates occurred some 10–11 days before the Gregorian ones, the main volume of the council's sessions in matters of real estate was concentrated in the early spring (late February – early May) and Autumn (September–November), which may also relate to the contemporary need of the Revalian merchants to buy liquid capital against rent and to acquire recognition of inheritable real property. The main motivation for the two peaks of datable sessions on transactions of immovable property and annuities, however, was determined by the two terminal dates for recognition of such contracts on Easter and Michaelmas, as suggested by Eugen von Nottbeck in his study in 1884.⁴⁹

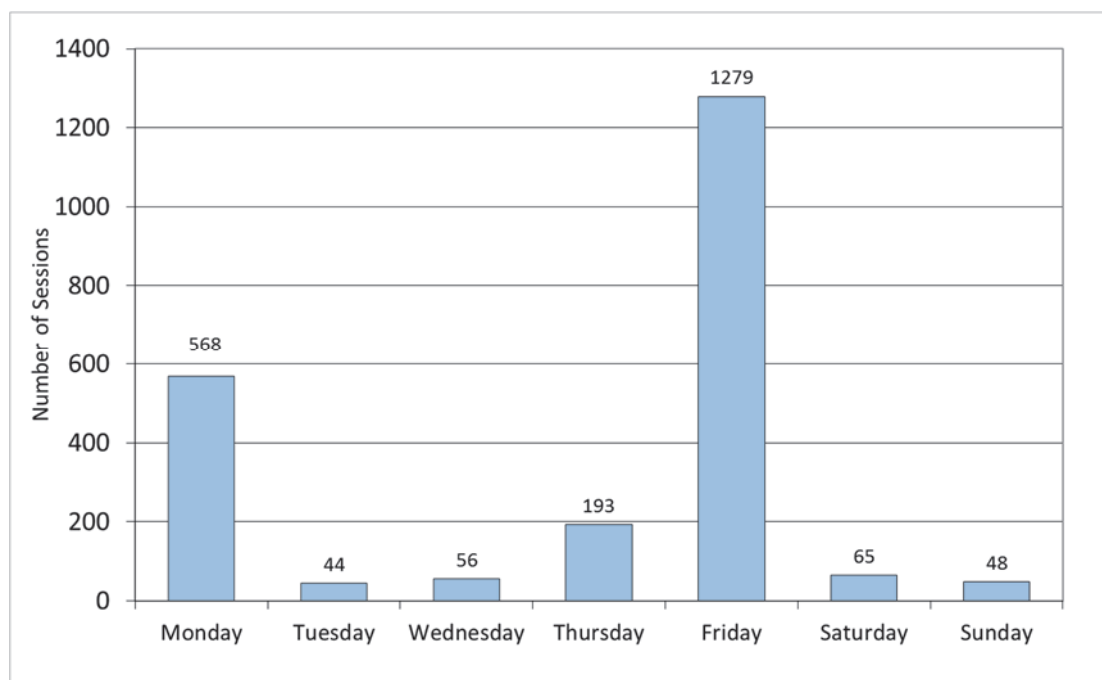
⁴⁹ von Nottbeck 1884b, 68. According to Tiina Kala (Kala 1996), 105, the most active period of the council's sessions in the 15th century occurred in March-April and the quietest season was December-January.

Graph 4:2: *Council of Reval, month of datable sessions 1310–1456.*



Sources: WB 1312–60, EBII–III, PergRB, A.d.5, and BB 1409–1624.

Graph 4:3: *Council of Reval, weekday of datable sessions 1310–1456.*



Sources: WB 1312–60, EBII–III, PergRB, A.d.5, and BB 1409–1624.

Even if the registers point to seasonal variations in the annual distribution of the council's meetings, no clear periods of hiatus in administration are evident in the registers and the

councillors obviously held meetings on a weekly basis throughout the year as early as the mid-14th century. But were the sessions organised on certain preferred weekdays only, or were the meetings distributed more evenly among the seven days of the week? The question is not without interest, as the former case would suggest an administration that clearly followed an organised schedule of meetings predictable for the civic administration, city community and other people seeking the attention of the council, whereas the latter would indicate a more *ad hoc* administration in terms of foreseeability and public recognition.

The answer is well evident in the sources. Of the 2253 dated sessions of WB, EBII–III, PergRB, A.d.5 and BB 1409–1624 in 1314–1456 (GRAPH 4:3) a total of 56.8 % (1279) was held on Fridays, 25.2 % (568) on Mondays, 8.6 % (193) on Thursdays and 9.4 % on other days of the week, including Sundays. Obviously, from the early 14th century the preferred day for weekly session of the council (and especially those including recognitions of inheritances) was Friday, but frequent meetings of the councillors were arranged on Mondays as well. The reason for the higher frequency of Thursdays rather than Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Saturdays and Sundays was that during Lent the Friday sessions of the council were almost without exception arranged on Thursdays, even if occasional meetings took place on Saturdays, Fridays and Sundays.⁵⁰ Of further interest is that of all the 213 datable sessions before 1456, other than Fridays, Mondays and Thursdays, only slightly over a quarter (64) occurred after the year 1390, whereas Fridays and Mondays are documented as session days throughout the period 1314–1456 and Thursdays, with one exception in 1314, only after 1342.⁵¹ Hence, the preferred weekday for the council's session was Friday, or Thursday at Lent, but the frequent meetings on Mondays may hint to at least two weekly gatherings of the council, at least in terms for recognition of heritable property and annuities in the city. Whether matters and communications of political and diplomatic nature took always place in the same sessions as recognitions of inheritances is not entirely clear, and cannot be determined from the city books of memoranda alone.

As Arthur Plaesterer pointed out in 1930, everyday sessions of the council handling matters of real property occurred even on important ecclesiastical feasts such as Easter Sunday,

⁵⁰ The earliest example for this practice is March 20, 1365 (EBII, 156, *feria quinta ante dominicam letare*) after which there are numerous examples in EBII–III, PergRB and BB 1409–1624.

⁵¹ According to Plaesterer 1930, XXI–XXII, of all the 1403 sessions of the council dated in the PergRB of 1382–1518, a total of 851 (61 %) were held on Fridays, 251 (18 %) on Mondays, 128 (9 %) on Thursdays and 176 (13 %) on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Saturdays or Sundays.

Pentecost, Michaelmas, All Saints' and Christmas.⁵² Such a 'neglect' of church holidays had, however, nothing to do with the religious devotion (or lack of it) of lay government in late medieval Reval. On the contrary, the occasional meetings of city councils and other courts of justice on major ecclesiastical feast-days underline the value of church holidays for holding lay assemblies, even if the sessions were never organised on ecclesiastic feasts only or deliberately held on them. Similarly, the habit of substituting Friday with Thursday at Lent as one of the weekly sessions of the council tells us about the observation of the ecclesiastical (and in the medieval Europe essentially universal) calendar by the civic government and community in medieval Reval, but nothing else.

3.1.3. The Town Hall and other spatial manifestations of the council's authority

How did the council's sessions and other administrative activities manifest themselves in the late 14th- and early 15th-century Revalian cityscape?

Even if the the majority of the council's meetings evidently took place in the Town Hall south of the Marketplace, and at least after 1442 in the City Scriptorium on the eastern side of the square, sessions of the council were also occasionally arranged in various churches of the city. There is even evidence that full conventions of the council could take place in private houses, but the reason for such gatherings were apparently inspections in lawsuits, as in 1398 when a meeting of the council was arranged in the house of Herman van Korne because of the wall he shared with his neighbour Kurt Mandorwe.⁵³ Usually, neither the precise location nor the precise hour of the council's session (*sittenden stoel des rades*) is mentioned in the sources, but those churches documented as meeting places include the Dominican convent (1381, 1390, 1420), St Olaf (1428) and the chapel of the Holy Ghost

⁵² WB 1312–60, 594 (1344, *festo pasche*), WB 1312–60, 1019 (1358, *die Michaelis*), WB 1312–60, 1036 (1359, *in die sancti Michaelis*), EBII 771 (1381, *ipso festo beati Michaelis*), PergRB 24, 54 (1385, *festo Michaelis*), PergRB 134 (1388, *ipso festo pasche*), PergRB 137–139 (1388, *ipso festo penthecost*), PergRB 233 (1392, *ipso festo beati Michaelis*), PergRB 1447–48 (1394, *ipso festo pasce*), Perg RB 322 (1398, *ipso festo pasce*), PergRB 374 (1402, *ipso festo beati Michaelis*), EBIII 567 (1406, *in festo omnium sanctorum*), PergRB 778, 781 (1430, *uppe de hilgen hochtijt passchen*). The holding of occasional sessions on major ecclesiastical feasts was first observed by Plaesterer 1930, XXI; In the city registers and memoranda of the 14th and 15th centuries there is no evidence of style of dating other than that of *circumcisionis*, where the New Year was introduced on January 1. According to Arthur Plaesterer 1930, XXII, occasional years in A.a.3 (PergRB) are cited to begin on the Feast of St Thomas (December 21), but he provides no reference to verify it. In the codex the calendar years generally appear to begin on circumcision.

⁵³ TLA, A.d.5, f. 63v, 'Anno dnj m^o ccc^o xcviij^o sequenti die marci ewangeliste (26.4.1398) do weren de heren de borgermestere und de <gantze raed> gemene raed vorgaddert in hermannes houe van korne umme af to sprekende und to untscheidende de scheelinge und de twedracht de kurt mandorwe und hermen van korne to samene hadden'.

(1420, 1424, 1439, 1442 and 1453). On February 19, 1381, the session in the Dominican church was held at the sixth hour of the day, i.e. in the afternoon.⁵⁴

All the known council sessions outside the Town Hall took place between late May and early September, but since information is extremely scarce, no specific calendar reason for the meetings being held in churches or elsewhere can be provided. Even if none of the recorded sessions took place on major ecclesiastical feasts, in the second decade of the 15th century the Dominican friars were entitled to a rent of two Riga marks from the council to celebrate ‘a monk mass’ (*moncke misse*) ‘in front of the seat of the council’ (*vor deme radstole*) after a foundation by Herman van der Hove (burgher-master in 1361–77, dead 1388). Since the same burgher-master had also endowed the Dominican church with a chantry (Lat. *vicaria*) at the altar of St Dominic, the habit of holding occasional sessions at the church of the Dominican convent may go back to the turn of the third and fourth quarters of the 14th century, but at the time of the conflict between the diocesan church and the Dominicans in the 1420’s (see CHAPTER 5.2.3) it was replaced by the politically more convenient and neutral chapel of the Holy Ghost.⁵⁵

Of the three churches the most obvious one for occasional meetings of the council was the chapel of the Holy Ghost just outside the northeast corner of the Marketplace on the edge of the sandy terrace which separated the lower harbour quarters from the higher areas of the city. First mentioned in 1316, the chapel was attached to a homonymous hospital, which, according to a charter of the Livonian Master in 1353, had been constituted by councillor Hermannus Weldeghe (died 1347) for the poor. Weldeghe is first cited as a councillor in the surviving material only in 1341, but since the House of the Holy Ghost (*domus sancti spiriti*) is documented among the entries of the book of recognitions as early as in 1332, the infirmary and convent of poor and sick on the site had either been founded by Weldeghe

⁵⁴ Church of the Dominican convent: TLA, A.d.5, f. 83r ‘In jar nach der gheborst unses heren christi dusent drehundert jn dem ein achtighisten iare des dinxedaghes na sente valentinus daghe do weren vor dem acbaren Rade to Reuele in der Predekerbruder kerken to sexte tijt daghes (19.2.1381)’, 80v ‘Dyt geschach in dedinghe tho den moneken (7.2.1390)’, 88r ‘upp unser leuen vrouwen dage assumptionis do quam vor uns to den moneken (15.8.1420)’, EBIII 949 (1428, without date); Holy Ghost: TLA, BA 1:Ib, 78 ‘Jtem qwam vor den Rad to deme hilgen gheiste johan van der marwe des midwekens na sunte viti (19.6.1420)’, TLA, A.d.5, f. 42v ‘Jnt jar .xiiiij^c. vnd xiiii jar des maendages vor sunte laurenci dage do was de iunge Wulfard vamme rosendale dar vnseme rade tho deme hilgen gheeste (7.8.1424)’, 151v ‘up den dach Johannes ante portam latinam weren uor dem Rade jn der kerken tom hilgengeste (6.5.1439)’, PergRB 937 ‘des vridages uor Vocem jocunditatis (4.5.1442)’, 1011 ‘ummetrent nativitatis Marie (ca. 7.9.1453)’. Further sessions in the chapel of Holy Ghost are cited in PergRB 1017a, ‘des mydwekens vor Johannis baptiste to myddensommer (21.6.1458)’, 1037 and 1044 ‘des vridages vor pingsten (22.5.1461)’ and 1041 ‘des dinxdages post decollationis Johannis baptiste (1.9.1461)’.

⁵⁵ TLA, A.a.7, f. 23r; von Bunge 1874, 105; PergRB 66.

before 1332 or was of older origin, and had emerged among the institutions of the merchant town already in the first quarter of the 14th century. The hospital was extended and rebuilt in 1389. In the Middle Ages it was under the custody of the council and two councillors.⁵⁶

Officially a chapel in the parish of St Olaf, the church of the Holy Ghost is likely to have been an early focus of the devotion of common people frequenting and living in the city, as it had a central location at the junction of main routes between the harbour and Domberg. Before the construction of the Great Guild opposite the church in 1407–10, the oldest known house of the *Kindergilde* stood next to the House of the Holy Ghost in 1370–1403. Because of its central location and the vicinity of the merchant corporations, the church emerged in the 1380's as one of the major nodes of civic charity in the city with a *de facto* status of *Ratskapell* already in the early 15th century.⁵⁷ In 1387 the council granted the *Kindergilde* permission to hold the charity meals of *Tafelgilde* in the church of the Holy Ghost, where a special table was to be set for the purpose. According to the statutes of the Table Guild, the meals and the subsequent alms distributed for the poor were hosted 'on every Sunday, Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, all feasts of our Lady and those of the apostles', which may provide a clue to the timing of at least some of the council's sessions outside the Town Hall. In 1453 one of the council's meetings in the chapel of the Holy Ghost took place 'around the nativity of Mary' and in 1461 on the Friday before Pentecost. Since one of the meetings in the chapel was arranged on the Wednesday after St Vitus (June 19) in 1420, and Monday before St Lawrence in 1424 (August 7), not all the sessions in the church took place in the context of charity meal feasts.⁵⁸ In 1389 the construction or extension of the hospital further emphasised the role of the chapel as the official focus of the civic charity. The institutional role of the church and the hospital in financing various enterprises of the council, civic corporations and individual merchants through *renten*-contracts is evident in the registered annuities, especially from the 1390's and after.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ WB 1312–60, 98, LECUB I:6 2645; LECUB I:3 1263; WB 1312–60, 356; von Bunge 1874, 139; Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 276; See also Kala, Tiina, Johan Kullert, seegieestseisja. In: Kala, Tiina, Kreem, Juhan & Mänd, Anu, Kümme keskaegset tallinlast. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Kirjastus Varrak 2006 (here Kala 2006d), 217.

⁵⁷ Von Nottbeck 1884b, 57–58; von Nottbeck 1885, 32–35

⁵⁸ Derrik 2000, 16–17 and von Nottbeck 1885, 35–37; PergRB 1011, 1037, 1044; TLA, B.A 1:1b, 78, TLA, A.d.5, f. 42v.

⁵⁹ See, for instance, PergRB 293, 156, 371, 372; The building of the new house for *Kindergilde* was financed with two loans of 100 Riga marks with annual interest of 6 marks from the church of the Holy Ghost in 1408, PergRB 437–438.

3.1.3.1. *The Town Hall*

Despite occasional meetings elsewhere in the city, the majority of the council's sessions from the 13th century onwards took place in the Town Hall on the south side of the Marketplace. Because of the heavy renovation of the building in the 17th and 18th centuries, much of the original layout of the Town Hall was long obscure, but after the restoration works since 1952 and the recent archaeological surveys of 1994–2004, Teddy Böckler (1930–2005) has been able to reconstruct the probable early spatial organisation of the building. Even if certain aspects of Böckler's reconstruction of the building stages, and especially the proposed chronological extension of the building from west to east and the dating of the arcade and the tower have been criticised by Rasmus Kangropool in 2002 after the publication of the first version of Böckler's results in 1999, Böckler's reconstruction must be considered fairly reliable and a good starting point for all present understanding of the spatial organisation of the building in the Middle Ages. The main point of Kangropool's critique was that the construction of the new Town Hall in 1401–4 must have been such a major enterprise that anything built on the site before that would have been virtually obliterated, so that speculation on the spatial extensions and chronology of the earlier building stages are pointless. He also stressed the role of the surviving accounts from the actual works of 1401–4 [TLA, A.a.6a, see CHAPTER 3.2.5] for any studies seeking to understand the eventual form of the later medieval Town Hall, material that Kangropool argued had not been fully taken into account by Böckler or other scholars, including himself.⁶⁰

Because of Böckler's work, certain features in the council's medieval administration of information in respect to the spatial organisation of the Town Hall can be evaluated today more precisely than was possible in the 19th century, when the first editions of the material housed in the building were made. An essential point for understanding the relationship of the facilities of the Town Hall to the council's management of information is, however, that in the late medieval Reval the City Scriptorium was not housed in the Town Hall, but already in 1378 in a separate building on the east side of the Marketplace some 50 metres

⁶⁰ Böckler 2004 (the first version published in 1999 lacks the section on the restoration works in 1997–2004 but is otherwise identical, see Böckler 2004, 205–252). Kangropool, Rasmus, Tallinna raekojast nii- ja naapidi (Vom Tallinner Rathaus so und anders). In: Pullat, Raimo et al. (eds.), *Vana Tallinn XII (XVI)*. Estopol, Tallinn, 2002, 155–172. For the accounts see CHAPTER 3.2.5 in this study. Both Böckler and Kangropool date the rebuilding to the years 1402–4, but in the surviving accounts on the works the earliest entries concern the year 1401, TLA, A.a.6a, f. 13r.

from the city consistory. Like the Town Hall, the house was deliberately and heavily rebuilt in the 1430's and 1440's to better serve its purpose (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.2).

The first limestone building on the site of the late medieval Town Hall was a rectangular consistory, a meeting hall designed for the sessions of the council, and a cellar where wine belonging to the city council and the burghers was kept. The *Consistorio* is first mentioned in the city memoranda in 1322, and the wine deposited in the city cellar in the first half of the 1330's, but according to recent archaeological surveys the first town hall on the site was most likely constructed as early as the second half of the 13th century. Since no wooden structures predating the first stone building are known, the Town Hall and its location beside the Marketplace was obviously a result of deliberate planning and stone was employed right from the beginning. The Marketplace is first documented in 1313, when resignation was made on four market shops (*bodas*) in its near vicinity '*circa forum*'. Recent archaeological excavations in the Marketplace suggest a deliberate levelling of the older structures and filling of the area of the Square with a fresh layer of sand in ca. 1300 (see CHAPTER 1.1.2.4).⁶¹

Somewhere in the first quarter of the 14th century an extension was built onto the east end of the old Town Hall, with separate rooms in both the ground floor and the cellar.

Consequently, a so-called *diele-dornse* layout was introduced, where the old consistory served as a vestibule (Mnd. *diele*, the hall or shop of a medieval merchant house facing the street) and the new chamber as a consistory (Mnd. *dornse*, the heated private chamber in the back of the shop) where the meetings of the council took place. Since the vestibule was obviously designed as both an ante-chamber for those seeking the council's attention and a ritual space for assemblies of the city community, the new layout represented a spatial manifestation of the council's authority over the sworn community of burghers and citizens. There is evidence from as early as the closing years of the Danish overlordship in the early 1340's that the consistory was large enough to be the focus of public authority of the city, where important assemblies of the council and wider congregation of authorities took place. In these assemblies documents and texts often played a prominent role, not only as final publications of agreements, but also as attestations displayed, read aloud and interpreted during the course of negotiations. An early example of such practices dates from the

⁶¹ WB 1312–60, 178 (*consistorio*); LDA 1333–74, 102 (*in cellario*), 184 (*in cellario civitatis*). In LDA the first entry is placed between entries from 1335 and 1333, but could also be dated as late as 1340's. The second entry is placed third among several others, following an entry dated to 1338. Böckler 2004, 18–28; WB 1312–60, 36; Mäll 2004, 266–267.

Saturday before Sunday Oculi (March 10), 1341, when the Danish headman Konrad Preen and seven members of the council of the vassal corporation are attested to have been present in the consistory (*consistorio*) of the council of Reval; a man named Matias Esche had made grave allegations against his debtors in the city and produced a letter of the king of Sweden to support his case.⁶² In addition to ordinary sessions of the council, the consistory is also occasionally mentioned as the place of publication of documents such as the letter of installation of the scholar Reynerus Crøwel (*dictus Crøwel*) for the chantry (*vicaria*) of the altar of St Margaret in the church of St Nicholas issued and sealed by the homonymic councillor Reynerus Crøwel ‘in the consistory of the councillors in their presence’ (*in consistorio dominorum co[n]sulum presentibus eiusdem*) on Sunday Letare (March 7), 1350 (see CHAPTER 4.2.3).⁶³

The system of vestibule and consistory not only ensured exclusive privacy for the council’s proceedings but also constituted a spatial arrangement where the will of both the council and the city community could be reciprocally promulgated and confirmed. Such a ritual understanding of space is further confirmed by the three known references to the Town Hall in which the building itself or certain parts of it are characterised as *teatrum*, a public space for exposition of issues and proceedings. When the priest and former city scribe Karolus de Montreal resigned from the vicary (*vicaria*) of the chapel of the Hospital of St John on December 18, 1364, the act was promulgated ‘over the theatre in the consistory room’ (*supra teatrum in camera consiliaria*), where the burghermasters and the councillors had gathered at his personal request. In 1370 a resignation was made concerning a house ‘situated behind the theatre close to the house of the bailiff’ (*retro teatrum juxta domum preconis situatam*), and in either 1379 or 1386 another stone house stood ‘behind the theatre’ (*retro theatrum*).⁶⁴

⁶² TLA, Urk. 1-I, 127 (LECUB I:2 802) ‘coram nobis et honorabilibus viris Dominis consulibus civitatis Revalie in eorum consistorio simul consistentibus quidam vir Matias Esche nomine habens litteras illustris principis domini . . . Regis Swecie’.

⁶³ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 187 (LECUB I:2 897). According to the letter the installation had been approved by Bishop Olaf of Reval, whose consent was confirmed in another open letter issued by the dean and scholasticus of the cathedral chapter with their seals on the same day (TLA, Urk. 1-I, 188, edited in *Revaler Urkunden und Briefe von 1273 bis 1510*. bearb. von Dieter Heckmann. Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 25. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1995, here cited as RevUB, nr. 33, see PICTURE 20:1 in CHAPTER 4.2.3.1) but where the layout of the text has obviously prevented any closer notification of the site of corroboration. Both the letters are composed on parchment in Latin and written by the same hand, which is not that of the contemporary city scribe (*WBIV*) but close to one of his predecessors in the early 1330’s (*WBIIIa*), see CHAPTERS 4.2.3 and 4.2.4.

⁶⁴ Böckler 2004, 29–32; On the concept of *diele-dornse* see Kangroopool, Rasmus, Tallinna raekoda, Kirjastus ”Kunst”, Tallinn 1982, 18–19. On the introduction of *diele-dornse* in 13th-century Revalian houses see Zobel 2001, 118–126. LECUB I:2 1005, EBII 358, TLA, A.d.5, f. 7r, ‘Herman oem coduxit lapieam domum retro theatrum’. The entry is written by city scribe Hermannus on a page of mixed memoranda over various incomes of the city in rents. The dating of the entry depends whether it is connected to the entry directly above it (1386),

Although a group of musicians was paid for playing in the Town Hall (*op deme rathus*) on the Shrove in 1372, the term theatre cannot be understood merely as a reference to plays and other theatrical activities in the Town Hall: rather it is suggestive of the theatrelike layout of the consistory and possibly even the vestibule, with wallside benches surrounding the ‘theatre’ where proceedings in front of the council or the city community took place.⁶⁵ Probably around the same time as the introduction of the *diele-dornse* system, the first roofed arcade was built to separate the entrance of the vestibule and the cellar from the open Marketplace, which further stressed the authority of city government in respect to the mixed crowd of the market. Above the arcade roof, the windows of the vestibule and the consistory allowed those inside the building to observe the Marketplace below. Both the cellar of the city (*cellario civitatis*) and the arcade are referred to as early as the late 1330’s, when several councillors kept their wine in the cellar, and one *Johannes* son of *Godekinus* was arrested on behalf of *Gerhardus Rembold* after three sessions of the council, one of which was held in the arcade (*louen*), one in the front of the judge and one in the Marketplace.⁶⁶

According to Teddy Böckler, after the introduction of the *diele-dornse* system and the construction of the first arcade, the facilities the Town Hall were developed in at least two phases in the 14th century. Even before 1340, another block was built of limestone behind the east end of the consistory wall, consisting of two floors a little below the original building on the low slope of the sandy terrace.⁶⁷ In 1371–74 this auxiliary wing was further extended to the whole width of the *diele-dornse* building and the gable of the wing was raised to the level of the old consistory. At the same time the arcade in the front of the building was extended to reach the far end of the new construction and a small watchtower was built on the east gable, providing a view over the city roofs towards the harbour. Consequently a system of several rooms on two floors emerged with the entrance to both the consistory in the west and the cellar below. Some of the building costs on the arcade in the summer of 1371 and on the street behind the Town Hall in 1372 are documented in the city accounts, but no information on the actual nature of the new facilities is provided. In 1373 carpenters were paid for work on the consistory (*raet kameren*), where new pieces of furniture were

which was also written by Hermannus, but with a different ink and composition of text, or the entry above that (1379) with ink and composition matching the entry on the stone house ‘retro theatrum’.

⁶⁵ TLA, A.d.3, f. 20b (KB 1363–74, p. 31)

⁶⁶ Böckler 2004, 29–32, LDA 1333–74, 102 and 184 (cellar), 187 ‘Item Johannes filius Godekini tenetur pro tribus sediis ratione Gerhardi Remboldi videlicet semel super dicto louen semel coram iudicio et semel in foro’.

For the dating of the entries see footnote 61 above.

⁶⁷ Böckler 2004, 33–36.

apparently introduced. Among these was the wallside bench with end-motives of Tristan and Isolde and Samson fighting the lion, which is still in the Town Hall.⁶⁸

The new facilities of 1371–74 were equipped with a privy system and constituted a ‘domestic’ wing added to the consistory for the administrative and festive needs of the council. The wing included a kitchen (*coquina*), where the food for the banquets and other servings of the council was prepared, and two or three chambers for the city administration. A specific room for the kitchen may have existed already in 1360, when a councillor was recompensed for his spending on wine, beer and other kitchen necessities for the council, but distinct arrangements for catering inside the Town Hall may date to as late as the 1370’s. According to Böckler the kitchen was most likely situated on the first floor of the domestic wing, but the original function of the four rooms in the ground floor and the first floor is rather obscure because of heavy rebuilding in 1401–4.⁶⁹ Of the other three chambers the one on the ground floor facing the Marketplace was most likely occupied by the *richtehus*; the office of the town bailiff (Ger. *Gerichtsvogt*) and criminal court of justice (*Stadtgerichte*) are first mentioned in 1385 in the context of a shop next to it on the Marketplace, which the councillor *Curd Keggeler* resigned to the council together with his house in Monk’s Street (*platea monachorum*, today Vene) for the provision of his children. Behind the *richtehus* and downstairs from the kitchen the back room with two latrines was probably used for lodging. Above the *richtehus* a well-lit chamber with two windows facing the Marketplace over the arcade roof was most likely the office of the *kämmerer* (Lat. *camera*), where the city coffer and fiscal proceedings of the city were conducted. The stone house ‘under the old Town Hall’ (*steenhus under deme anden ratehus*), later known as the Keykeeper’s house, adjacent to the Town Hall in the east is first listed in a schematic list of rents of the city written by city scribe Albertus in 1373 and extended by two other hands active in the written management of information of the council in the late 1360’s and 1370’s. A property of the city already in ca. 1373, the house may, however, be the same ‘corner house by the Town Hall’ (*orthus by deme raethuse*), which one *Bernd Kok* on the Friday after the conversion of

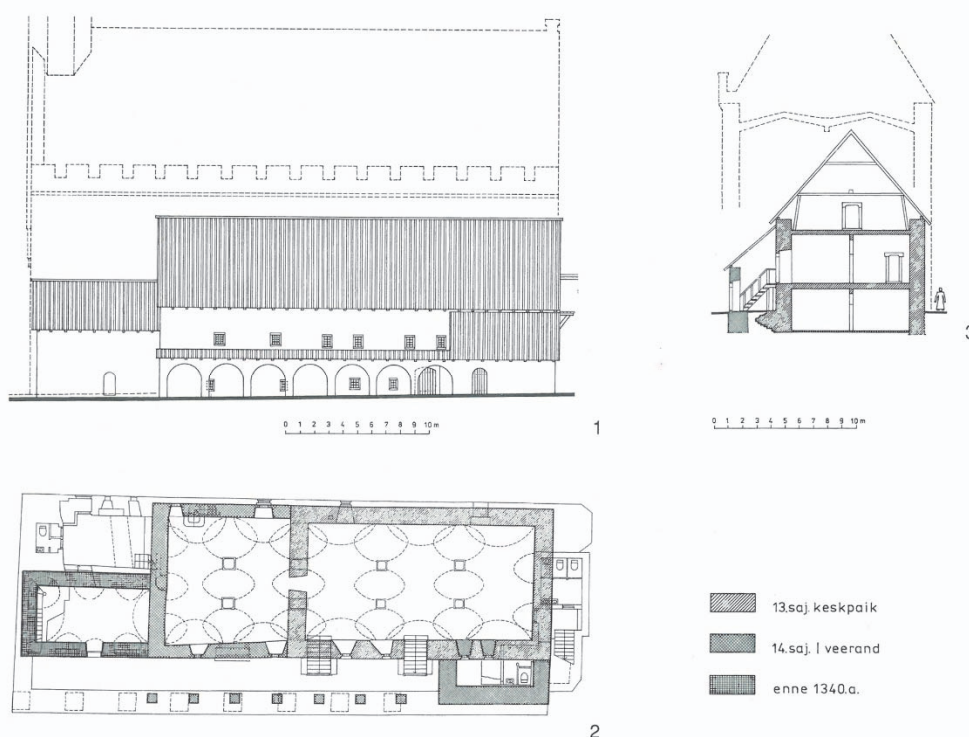
⁶⁸ Böckler 2004, 37–44; TLA, A.d.3, f. 13a–b (*qui lodiam edificant*), 26a (*in des budel straten*), 27a–b (*in des bodel straten*), 30b (*in des bodels strate*), 59b (*to muren to timmeren an der raet kameran*) (KB 1363–74, p. 24, 37–39, 43, 77); On the possible master masons and carpenters employed in 1371–74 see Kangroopool 1982, 14; According to KB 1376–80, p. 232 a salary of ½ marks was given ‘dem tymbermanne vor de dorntzen’ in the spring of 1378, but the identification of the *dornse* in question is problematic.

⁶⁹ LDA 1333–74, 562:3 ‘de cervisia et aliis necessariis coquine’, Scholars have frequently used the entry of 1360 as a confirmation of the existence of the council’s kitchen (i.e. the room), but the section only refers to acquisition of beer and food for banqueting; Böckler 2004, 42.

St Paul (January 26), 1403, sold to the city against a fixed rent of 2 Riga marks to his stepchild.⁷⁰

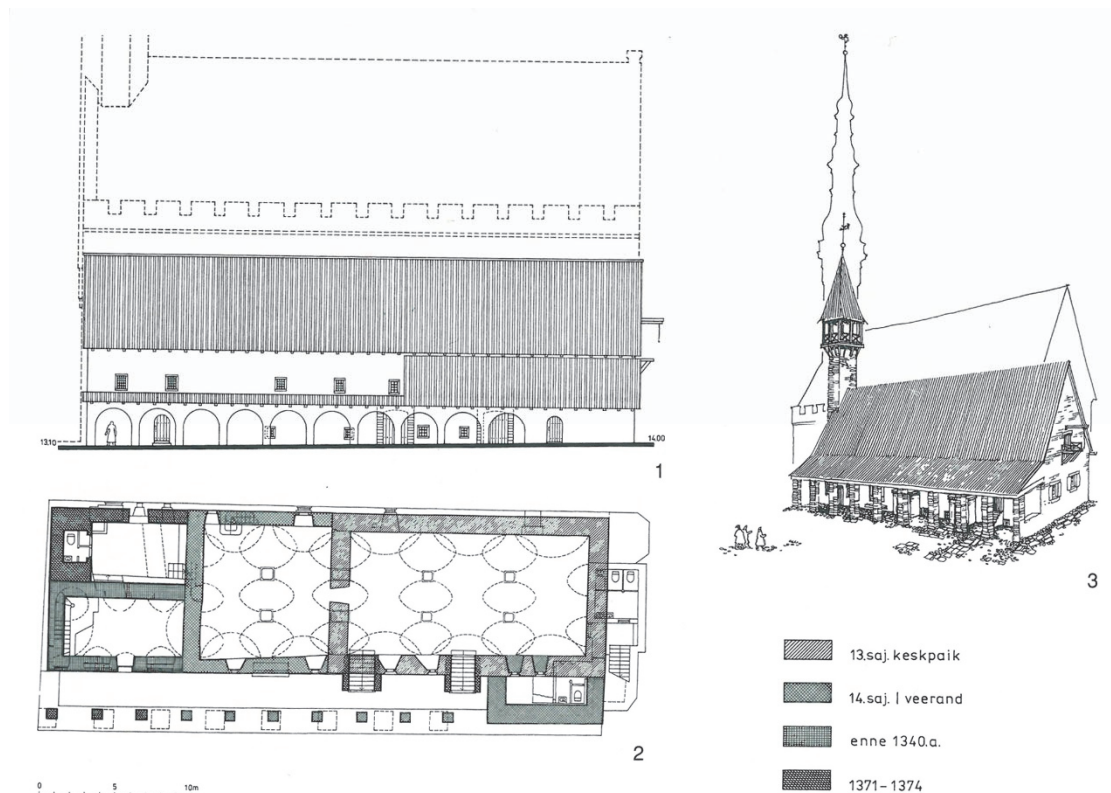
Maps 4:1-2 *Teddy Böckler's 1999/2004 reconstruction of the Town Hall before and after the renovations of 1371–74, with the northern façade and the arcade facing the Marketplace and the ground floor with the original early 14th-century diele-dornse system on the right and 'richtehus' on the left. According to Böckler, in the renovations of 1371–74 a domestic wing of two floors was built onto the eastern end of the older complex of citizens' hall and consistory, the gable of the facility was raised to the level of the older structures and the arcade was extended to the length of the whole southern wall of the building.*

Map 4:1: *Böckler's reconstruction of the southern façade (1), ground floor (2) and cross section (3) of the Town Hall before ca. 1340. The diele-dorse system of the vestibule in the west (far right) and the consistory (in the middle) covered the first floor under which the cellars were located. The first extension of the domestic wing in the east (far right) may have housed the 'richtehus' already from the second quarter of the 14th century, but no corroboration of this can be gained from the sources.*



⁷⁰ PergRB 53, 'eine wantbode by dem marckte beleghen, ..., de negest dem richte steit'. The shop was in 1396 in the possession of Hinrik Parembeke (TLA, A.a.4a, p. 114), from whom the council bought it in ca. 1402 (PergRB 1427, hand *HII*). Hinrik Parembeke paid an annual rent of 6 Riga marks for his shop next to the richtehus (*bi de richtehus*) due on every Feast of St Thomas in ca. 1399/1400, TLA, A.a.7, f. 7a. For the stone house under the old Town Hall, see TLA, A.d.5, 2r, last entry, the hand possibly that later cited in this study as *MBIV* (see CHAPTER 4.3.1), and TLA, A.a.6c, p. 124, (EBIII 505, hand *HII*), where it is stated that the house was also let out with another rent of 2 marks to the child of *Bernd van Haltern*, but both rents, totalling 4 marks, were paid to the council in 1403. Kangropool 1982, 12–13, Böckler 2004, 42. Both the redeeming of the fixed facilities of the shop next to the richtehus and the final annexation of the stone house at the southeast corner apparently occurred in the context of the rebuilding of the Town Hall in 1401–4.

Map 4:2: Böckler's reconstruction of the southern façade (1), ground floor (2) and perspective drawing (3) of the Town Hall after the renovations of 1371–74.



Sources: Böckler 2004, 33–44, pictures 42 and 54.

Most likely because of the rising status of the city in the Hanseatic League, Russian trade and the overall economy of the Gulf of Finland area, the 14th-century spatial arrangements of the Town Hall soon appear to have emerged as inadequate, and a new and more prominent manifestation of the might of the city was needed only thirty years after the work in the 1370's. In 1401–4 an extensive renovation of the old Town Hall resulted in the celebrated late medieval building and its complex facilities, designed to meet the standards of the council's administration and authority at the turn of the 14th century. In the rebuilding, the basic layout of *diele-dornse* system and the auxiliary wing was retained, but the construction of a new facade on top of the open arcade widened the second floor from about eight meters to twelve. On top of the old vestibule and consistory, a fresh pair of *diele-dornse* was built with tall windows admitting lots of light and facing the north and the Marketplace below. The new vestibule (1403/04 *vorhus*) consisted of a high vaulted space with two aisles occupying nearly half of the building. Behind it, the new consistory (1403/04 *dornsche*) had a lower ceiling but was free from any pillars blocking the view in the room reserved for

collegial sessions and proceedings of the council. For the entrance to both the new vestibule and the consistory, a lancet portal and a new staircase were built, facing the south-west corner of the Marketplace (see MAPS 5:1–3, ENTRANCE A). In the cellar the original east wall of the first 13th century Town Hall was demolished to open up a space covering two thirds of the total length of the new building. Above the cellar, the original *diele-dornse* system retained its layout in two rooms, but emerged as more shallow space than that of the 14th century Town Hall and was most likely used for trading purposes, with separate entrance of its own from the Marketplace (MAPS 5:1–3, ENTRANCE B). According to Böckler, a likely place for the city scribes and their wooden scribal desk would have been the south-west corner of the new consistory, where adequate daylight would come through windows on the southern wall. Around the new consistory there were closed closets and niches on the walls for books and documents consulted in the sessions.⁷¹

In the newly incorporated domestic wing of the Town Hall, the layout of the two late 14th-century floors was largely retained, but above them a new second floor was constructed wide enough to fill the space between the new facade on the arcade and the back of the Town Hall. On the side of the Marketplace a new roomy office was built for the *kämmerer*, with two windows situated similarly to those of the consistory and vestibule, but in smaller scale. Exclusively furnished with chequered floor of black and yellow glazed tiles, the new *kämmerer*'s office had a fireplace of its own, and hosted the largest closet of the building, most likely employed for storing the *kämmerer*'s accounts and other fiscal documents of the council administration. Situated on the eastern wall, the closet was possibly the one found behind other later structures in 1875, where a collection of 14 round wooden cartridges with privileges of the city and other documents from the 13th century to the year 1525 had apparently lain untouched since 1684 (see CHAPTER 1.2.5). Behind the new *kämmerer*'s office, an equally new and spacious kitchen was added with a large stove designed to meet the banqueting needs of the council and the Town Hall. Of the two rooms below, the one under the kitchen was occupied by servants taking care of the hypocaust in the wall between the old consistory and the domestic wing for heating the floor of the new consistory in wintertime. Next to it and only accessible via a staircase (MAPS 5:1–3, STAIRCASE 4) from the *kämmerer*'s office was a small room named in 1403 as the *trese kamer* (treasury chamber), the name probably indicating the original function of the room as the first city

⁷¹ Böckler 2004, 45–73. On the medieval documentation of the names of the vestibule and consistory see Kangroopool 1982, 18–19.

treasury and *kämmerer*'s office in the late 14th-century Town Hall. The bevel of the portal of the staircase down to the treasury is decorated with a trefoil, a rare detail among the portals of the building and easily catching the eye of anyone taking the steps down to the treasury. In the 17th century the very same room (MAP 3, ROOM D) hosted most of the medieval archives of the city including civic memoranda and correspondence from the 15th and 16th centuries (see CHAPTER 1.2.5.2). The role of the *kämmerer*'s office as the treasury of the city is also attested by an arrangement between the council and the Dominican convent in 1436, where the pledge of the Dominicans against a 500 mark loan from the council was deposited in a chest in the '*wyzekameren*', i.e. the *kämmerer*'s office or the vaulted room under it. On the ground floor the room behind the arcade facing the Marketplace most probably served as a *richtehus* even after the rebuilding of 1401–4, but an entry by the town bailiff Gert Grymmert from 1436 mentioning that four sentences were passed in the 'New Bailiff's Office' (*in der nygen vogedeye*) may indicate changes in the seat of the court in the early 15th century. At the eastern end of the building, the foundation and staircase of the new watchtower as well as the privy system, ventilation channels and the cesspool underneath the building contributed to the complex arrangement of the lower rooms of the domestic wing, but the variety of technical facilities, passages and staircases inside the building ensured the functionality of the Town Hall in all circumstances, including a hostile attack. However, as Teddy Böckler has pointed out, the castlelike integrity of the early 15th century building appears to have been more a symbolic manifestation of the council's authority than a real attempt to make it a fortified refuge, and the ingenious technical facilities of the building were designed to furnish the council with a seat dignified enough to articulate the self-sufficiency of the city for any person seeking the attention of the council. Nevertheless, the building itself could be used as a keep during civic turmoil and riots: a possibility not alien to the civic authorities of the era.⁷²

Considering the everyday management of information of the civic authority as administered by city scribes, councillor wardens and other personnel of the city, of special interest is how the different facilities of the Town Hall were accessed from outside. After the rebuilding of 1401–4 there were seven entrances in total, six of which faced north either straight onto the

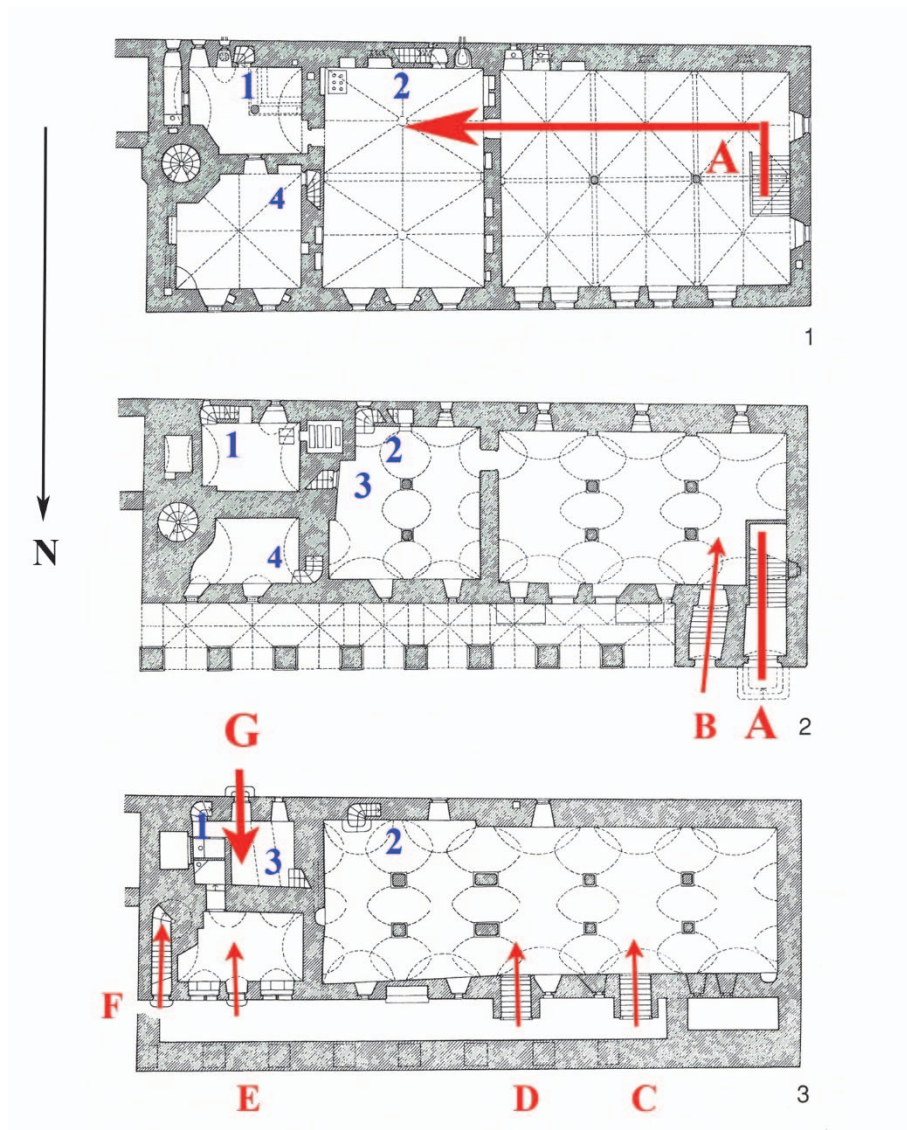
⁷² Böckler 2004, 45–73, Kangropool 1982, 19, TLA, B.a.2, f. 33v, '*trese kamer*'; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 579 (LECUB I:7 451) and TLA, A.a.7, f. 11v, 'Hij vor hefft de Raad van dissen vorbenomenen Broderen pande entfangen de hijr vpp de Raedhuze jn guder vorwarynge synd und liggen jn eyme kysten jn der wyzekameren'; TLA, A.a.6:I, f. 7v (Criminalchronik I, p. 51) ewher the last four entries of the page a furnished with a headline 'Dyt is inder nygen vogedeye gescheyn' and a horizontal line over it. Contrary to Böckler 2004, 254, 279 the entry does not imply any connection with the entrance of the 'nygen vogedey' to that of the *richtehus* under the arcade. See also Kangropool 1982, 13.

Marketplace or sheltered under the arcade vault. The only entrance not accessible from the Marketplace was at the eastern end of the southern wall of the building in the small alley between the Town Hall and the house of the bailiff known as ‘the bailiff’s street’ (*bodel strate*) as early as in 1372.⁷³ At the western end of the north wall of the building a portal marked the entrance to the new staircase and the new second floor vestibule and consistory above the Marketplace (MAPS 5:1–3, ENTRANCE A). Beside it, a door and a narrow staircase lead to the steps into the old vestibule and consistory (ENTRANCE B). Under them, the long vaulted cellar was accessed through two wide staircases down from the arcade (ENTRANCE C AND D). The new consistory could be reached through the kitchen, but also from the old consistory via a staircase inside the south wall. The stairs ran from the cellar to the new consistory on the top floor (STAIRCASE 2). It was one of the widest staircases of the whole building, apparently the one most used by both councillors and civic servants such as scribes, and its doorway to the new consistory was attached to a niche with a piscina for ritual and practical washing of hands. Another staircase inside the south wall (STAIRCASE 1) connected the second floor kitchen to the first floor hypocaust facilities and the ground floor room behind the *richtehus*. All the servants must have accessed the domestic facilities of the Town Hall from the narrow alley behind the building through the room and back to the *richtehus* (ENTRANCE G), from which a staircase ran the height of the entire southern wall up to the kitchen (STAIRCASE 1) and also the old consistory (STAIRCASE 3). The last entrance to the building was at the eastern end of the northern wall under the arcade, where a door opened to the staircase leading up to the tower (ENTRANCE F), from which there appears to have been no access either to the domestic facilities or the new *kämmerer*’s office facing the Marketplace. Curiously, no doorway appears to have existed between the new *kämmerer*’s office and the new consistory in the second floor, which means that the only way to reach the seat of the council from the *kämmerer*’s office was through the kitchen. Next to the door to the winding staircase of the tower was the door of the *richtehus*, from which there was no access to any other rooms in the building but the privy behind it.⁷⁴

⁷³ TLA, A.d.3, f. 26a–b, 27a–b, 30b (*bodel strate*, KB 1363–74, p. 37–39, 43).

⁷⁴ Böckler 2004, 45–73.

Maps 5:1–3 Teddy Böckler's 1999/2004 reconstruction of the Town Hall after the rebuilding of 1401–04. Levels: 1. Second floor with the new vestibule (citizen's hall, on the right), new consistory (middle), *kämmerer's* office and the kitchen (left). 2. First floor with the old vestibule (right), old consistory (middle), treasury below the *Kämmerer's* office and a domestic room (left). 3. Ground floor with the cellar (right), *richtehus* and entrance to the domestic wing (left).



Entrances: A: New vestibule and consistory, B: Old vestibule and consistory, C and D: Cellar, E: *Richtehus*, F: Tower staircase, and G: Domestic wing.

Staircases inside the Town Hall and between various rooms: 1: from the ground floor to the 2nd floor kitchen, 2: a staircase in the southern wall from the cellar to the old and new consistory, 3: a staircase between the old consistory and the 1st floor room of the domestic wing, 4: a staircase between the *Kämmerer's* office and the vaulted room under it.

Source: Böckler 2004, 50, picture 68.

The ways of accessing the facilities inside the Town Hall tell us about the design of the building not only as a manifestation of the council's authority in the city community, but also as a place designed for management of information. After the rebuilding of 1401–4 the seat of the council in the new consistory could only be reached from outside through two distinct ways of entrance: one straight from the Marketplace through the vestibule in the west (**A**), and the other from the alley behind (**G**) through various passages connecting the rooms of the domestic wing, the cellar the old consistory and the kitchen (**staircases 1–3**). Of these the first was obviously designed for those seeking the attention of the council, whereas the second was meant for both domestic and administrative uses of the city including the administrative shuffling of councillors and officials as well as the city servants working in and visiting the building. Theoretically, the new consistory could also be reached through the cellars, the old vestibule and the old consistory via staircase 2, which accessed all the three floors of the building, but it seems that the main entrances were A and G, A being designed for public admission and G for the private everyday activity inside the Town Hall.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the passages between the various rooms of the building in terms of management of information is the absence of direct access between the *kämmerer's* office and the new consistory, and the total isolation of the *richtehus* from the rest of the Town Hall. Even if Böckler's reconstruction of passages inside the late 14th-century Town Hall may not be entirely clear, especially when it comes to the role of the winding staircase of the tower, it seems obvious that there was no direct access between the consistory and the *kämmerer's* office and the room reserved for the conduct of fiscal affairs of the city was in many ways separate to the seat of the council in the consistory.⁷⁵ This shows that the *kämmerer's* office fulfilled a role as an independent administrative entity of the civic government similar to that of the *richtehus*, rather than as an office or facility that assisted in the council's sessions in the consistory. Moreover, the spatial organisation of the 1401–4 Town Hall underlines the twofold character of the city administration as regards everyday accessibility and performance for the city community: those engaged in the city administration and its catering, and other people seeking the attention of the council. Considering the management of information, the activities in the Town Hall were not centred only on the seat of the council in the consistory, but on both the consistory and vestibule and at least two offices in the domestic wing, the *kämmerer's* office and the *richtehus*. From the

⁷⁵ Böckler 2004, 37–44.

point of view of communication, various acts of delivering and promulgating oral information took place in both the *diele-dornse* and the offices of the domestic wing, but only some of these were or became the domain of written records or documents. Hence the development of textual activities connected to the everyday business of the offices and more formal proceedings of the consistory and vestibule must be evaluated carefully when studying the process of textualization in the activities of the civic government of late medieval Reval.

3.1.3.2. The Marketplace and the activities north of the Town Hall: The Weigh House, Breadbench, Pharmacy, City Scriptorium and the Shambles

In medieval Reval as in any other city of the era, the Town Hall was never the only place where the authority of the civic government was manifested. Neither was it the only place where various actions of the administration and civic authority of the council were conducted in public. Around the Marketplace and elsewhere in the city there were further facilities which were inseparably attached to the authority of the city council and clearly understandable as such for both the city community and those visiting Reval (see MAP 6). In the management of information, the role of these facilities was usually fiscal, but some also had either a special relationship to the textualization process of the civic government, or shared a common space of action in the close neighbourhood of the City Scriptorium and the Town Hall. In order to understand the developments in the management of information of the council, some of them must be discussed here.

Map 6. The merchant city of Reval with Domberg and major nodes of civic activity and administration in the late 15th century. Dwellings outside the Town wall are not included.



Ecclesiastical institutions

- A St Olaf
- B Chapel of Holy Ghost
- C St Nicholas
- D Cathedral
- E Nunnery of St Michael
- F Dominican convent
- Parish border

Guilds & Fraternities

- a Great Guild
- b St Canute's Guild
- c St Olaf's Guild
- d Blackheads
- e Cathedral Guild

- 1 Town Hall
- 2 City Scriptorium
- 3 Pharmacy & Old Dungeon
- 4 Old Weigh & Breadbench
- 5 Town bailiff
- 6 Old Mint
- 7 New Mint
- 8 Marstall
- 9 Executioner's house

- Aqueduct
- Early well
- Later wells
- ⊗ Mill

Map: © Tapio Salminen & Mikael Manninen, 2016. Sources: Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, appendix, figur 3 and Eesti ajaloo atlas, Avita, 2006, 2007, 52–51.

The central focus of all economic and judicial manifestations of the civic authority was the **Marketplace**. Although much of the 14th-century distribution of different facilities around the square is not entirely clear, certain hubs of the council's authority can be located with great probability. The most important of these, the Weigh House, the Breadbench, the Oldest Dungeon, the Shambles and the City Scriptorium first surface in the third quarter of the 14th century, when they appear in the earliest surviving *kämmerers'* accounts and books of mixed memoranda of the city. All were located in the northeast corner of the Marketplace close to an early well found in the Soviet-era excavations of the area in 1953, and close to where two streets conveying traffic east to the harbour area and north to the Long street (Est. *Pikk*) crossed. The street heading down the slope to the Dominican convent and the harbour is mentioned in 1363 as the street 'leading to the monks' (*itur ad monachos*, today Est. *Apteegi*). Apparently beginning near the early tailors' shops in the northeast corner of the Marketplace, it already in 1364 was called Tailors' Street (*platea sartorum*) and in 1398 Small Tailors' Street (*lütteken schroderstrate*). The lane providing access from the Marketplace to the Holy Ghost (*itur ad sanctum Spiritum*, today Saiakang) and Long Street is referred to for the first time in 1370.⁷⁶ The first known **Weigh House** of the city (Lat. *libra*, Mnd. *wage*) was very likely located at the corner of these two streets and opposite the eastern end of the Town Hall with the *richtehus* and *kämmerer's* office by the late 1360's, when it was furnished with a heating system.⁷⁷ At the Weigh House, all the exports of the city's merchants were put on scales and measured to prove the quantities for taxation and control of fraud. The use of privately-owned steelyards (*pundere*) was explicitly prohibited in the late 14th- and early 15th-century versions of the Revalian *bursprake*, and the control of shipped goods through measuring and weighing was one of the main focuses of Hanseatic regulations in the same period.⁷⁸ The inspection of goods and measures was executed by a Master Weigher with the help of two Weighhands (*waagekerle*), all employed as city servants, the Master Weigher acting under an oath to the city administration. In addition to

⁷⁶ For the well in the Marketplace, see Mäll & Russow 2003, 191–192, and Kivi, A., *Kust sai vett keskaegne Tallinn*. In: Jakobson, G., Kivi, A., Lond, H. & Soik, A., *Tallinna vesi ja sajandid. 550 aastat Tallinna veevarustust. Kirjastus "Eesti raamat"*, Tallinn, 1967, 7; TLA, A.a.6b, f. 9 'velud itur ad monachos', the edition in EBII 77 erroneously 'velud ad monachos', (1363) and p. 15 (EBII 121) 'platea sartorum' (1364), TLA, A.a.6c, p. 103 (EBIII 434) 'lütteken schroderstrate' (1398), TLA, A.a.6b, p. 44 (EBII 347) 'itur ad sanctum Spiritum' (1370). See even Kangropool 1982, 24–25.

⁷⁷ TLA, A.a.6d, f. 6r (LDA 1333–74, 555) 'Item 16. oras pro camino in libra', the entry is placed in a section of memoranda after copies of missives from 1354–68 written by the hand later cited in this study as *MBI*, active in 1367–68 (see CHAPTER 4.3.1). Kangropool 1982, 10, has dated the entry some ten years too early, to 1358.

⁷⁸ *Bursprake C* (LECUB I:4 1516) § 34, *Bursprake D* (Johansen – von zur Mühlen 1973, Anhang 1, 433–444, TLA, B.s.1, f. 1r–8r) §20, and *Bursprake E* (Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, Anhang 1, 433–447, TLA, B.s.1, f. 15r–21v) §20.

the permanent personnel, the city provided a handful of hired porters to move the weighed goods in and out of the Weigh House.⁷⁹

In the 15th-century the old Weigh House had close links to the adjacent houses and facilities at the northeast corner of the Marketplace, the most important of which were the Pharmacy and *brotscharen*, ‘Breadbench’, a place for inspecting and selling bread in the city. Because of the mid-15th century and later renovations in the area, much of the early 15th-century spatial organisation of these facilities is unclear. The *Broetscharen* is first documented in 1374, but the actual location of the late 14th- and early 15th-century Breadbench is obscure. Rasmus Kangropool, for instance, has placed it east of the old Weigh House and annexed to the Pharmacy in the 1420’s. According to the early 15th-century schematic register on various rents of the city introduced by city scribe Hermannus some time around 1398–1403 (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.3), the Breadbench was adjacent to a **stone dungeon** (*dat stenen vankhues by den broet benken*) and had a **cellar** (*unde de kelre dar by under den broet benken*), both the dungeon and the cellar then being leased out for rent. In 1443, probably in the context of the works for the renovation of the Pharmacy, the Breadbench was substituted with a new building of brick and limestone (*nien brotscharen*), which Rasmus Kangropool has placed in the archway covering the passage from the Marketplace to the Holy Ghost. The old Estonian name of the passage ‘Saiakang’ (Breadpassage) still conjures up the aroma of fresh bread that once lingered in the area. Since the licenced bakers of the city were allowed to sell their products only at home or at the Breadbench, the place was a centre of fervent activity six morning a week when the bread was brought for inspection and sale.⁸⁰

The first known documentation of the **Pharmacy** is from March 30, 1422, when *Nyclawes de abbeteker* attested that he had been given the task of supervising the Pharmacy (*abbateke*) with all its belongings by nine named councillors and the city scribe Johannes Blomendal on behalf of the council and the city. In the pharmacy Nicholas was to preside over a clerk (*enen scholare*), which suggests that the institution was not just a set of cupboards in the custody of the apothecary, but an entire house and facility owned by the city.⁸¹ Possibly the

⁷⁹ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 246–247.

⁸⁰ *Brotscharen*: TLA, A.d.3, f. 57a (KB 1363–74, p. 73, year 1374), TLA, A.a.7, f. 5r, ‘Dat vanckhus unde de kelre under den brotscharen’, 6r ‘Dat stenen vankhues by den broet benken unde de kelre dar by under den broet benken’, f. 8r, ‘Dat Stenen vanckhus bi dem brotscharen’, EBIII 867 (1421). Construction works in 1443, KB 1432–63, 532, 547–549, 551, 553, 554, 557; Kangropool 1982, 15, 25; Statutes of Bakers’ craft of February 25, 1438, TLA, fond 190, KGA II 281, f. 3r ‘Ock en sal nemant van unsen Ampte syn broet vorkopen offte laten vorkopen anders wur dan tohus offte in den broetscharen’.

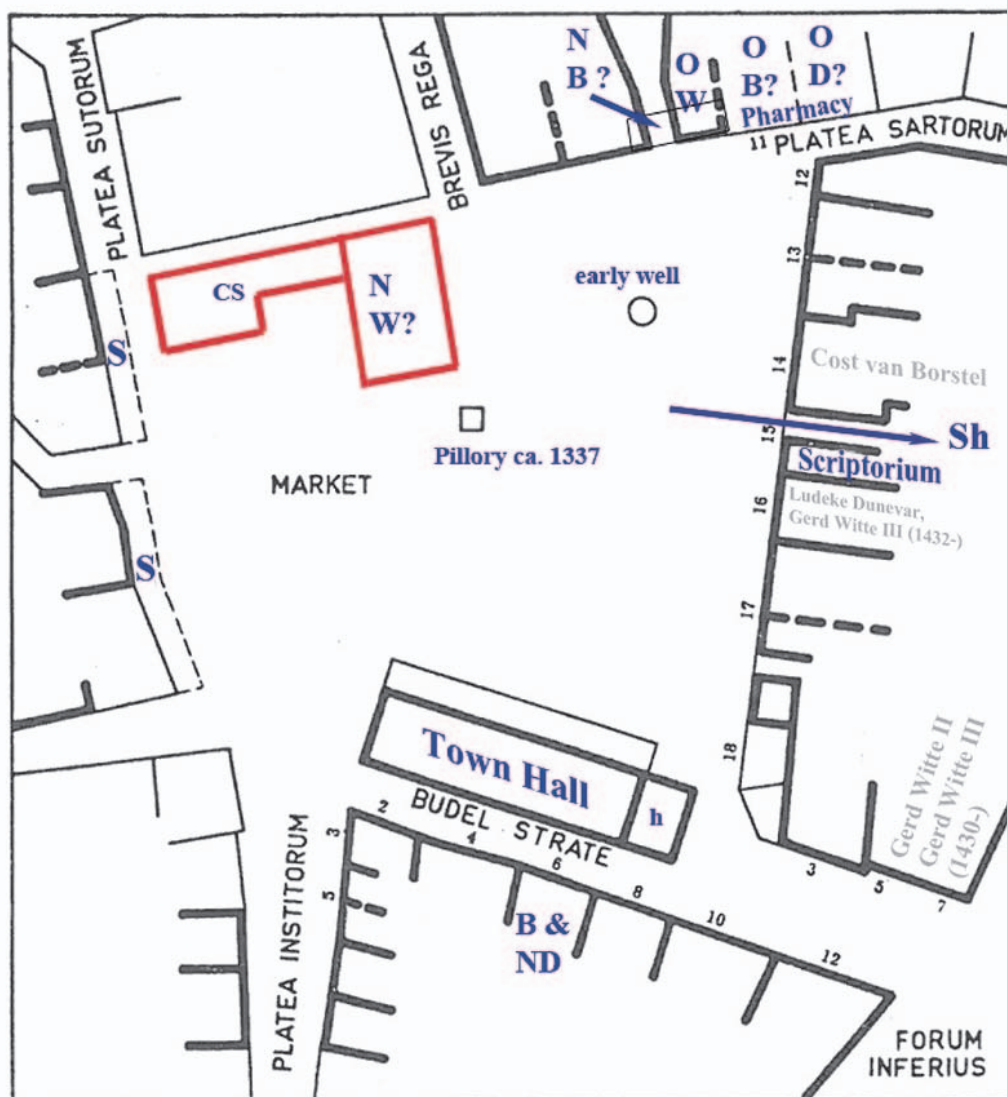
⁸¹ TLA, A.d.5, f. 89r.

same as the original mid-14th-century stone dungeon of the city at the northeast corner of the Marketplace with a cellar under the late 14th-century Breadbench (of the problematic identification of the various dungeons of the city see CHAPTER 3.1.3.4), more information of the building is available from 1441, 1450 and 1453–54, when substantial works occurred *in der apoteken* with the construction of at least one masonry oven (Mnd. *oven*) and framed glass windows. In the context of these works, either a renovation or the construction of an entire **New Weigh House** also took place in 1450 and 1453–54, when the *nien wage* was furnished with a *dornse*-oven, two limestone portals, a limestone window frame, shelves and a tiled roof with a pommel and cross over it.⁸² Whether the New Weigh House was actually on the site of the Old Weigh House, squeezed between the new Pharmacy and the new Breadbench occupying the mouth of the Saiakang, is not entirely clear, and the new building may have been located at the northwest corner of the Marketplace, where the Great Weigh House (*grote wage*) was built in 1554–55. This building was destroyed in the March 1944 bombings of WWII, which considerably altered the spatial layout of the Town Hall square in Tallinn. Already before that the 16th century lodgings of city servants west to the Great Weigh House had been demolished.⁸³

⁸² On the works in the pharmacy see KB 1432–63, 463, 465, 467, 470, 833, 885, 885, 897, 905, 906, 917, 962, weigh house KB 1432–63, 837 and new weigh house KB 1432–63, 927, 929, 936, 937 and 943; Kangroopool 1982, 25, 31.

⁸³ On ‘grote wage’ see Kangroopool 1982, 31.

Map 7: Reconstruction of the Marketplace and the location of civic facilities (with blue letters) around it from the beginning of the last quarter of the 14th century to the 1450's.



OW	Old Weigh House (late 1360's)
OB	Old Breadbench with a cellar of the olde stone dungeon under it
OD	Old dungeon (Pharmacy of 1421?)
NB	New Breadbench (after 1441)
NW	New Weigh house (since the 1450's?, the Great Weigh House 1554–55)
CS	16 th century lodgings of city servants
Sh	Shambles, the arrow shows the access to the Shambles from the Market
S	Shomakers shops
B&ND	Bailiff's house & new dungeon
h	'Stone house under the old Town Hall', ca. 1373/1403, later Keykeeper's house

After the renovations in the 1450's, the Pharmacy occupied most of the building mass of the eastern end of the northern side of the Market including the Old Dungeon and the Breadbench. The reconstruction is based on Rasmus Kangropool's 1982 maps (Kangropool 1982, 10–11 and 25), where borders of real property of the last quarter of the 14th century identifiable from the sources (WB and EBII) is marked with thicker lines. The borders of the plots do not illustrate actual buildings. The approximate location of the 16th century Weigh House (NW) and the adjacent lodgings of city servants are defined from Böckler 2004, 103 (Picture 152) and various early 19th and 20th century photographs. Map source: Kangropool 1982, 10, 25.

Midway between the the old Weigh House, the Breadbench and the Town Hall, an important focus of the city's everyday administration and civic supervision emerged at the beginning of the last quarter of the 14th century on the eastern side of the Marketplace, where carpentry work was done in the **City Scriptorium** in October 1378.⁸⁴ Since the house is never cited in any of the surviving registers on the various buildings and immovables leased out for rent by the city, it appears to have been considered permanent immovable property similar to the Town Hall and not subject to rent from scribes or other people resident in the house. A substantial rebuilding of the City Scriptorium occurred in 1432–35, when a large quantity of building materials like lime, limestone, brick, wood and ironwork was acquired, and the house was furnished with a masonry oven and glass windows with limestone frames.⁸⁵ Further works on the tiled roofs and floors of the building were paid for by the *kämmerers* in 1437–38 and 1443. Important accessories of the building included a variety of ropes for which *Woeldeke* the Ropemaker was paid in 1447.⁸⁶ Some of the windows assembled in 1434–35 were sash-windows (*vlogel*) protected with wind-irons (*wintiseren*). At least two of the windows had wooden frames or shutters which, together with the doors, were decorated with paintings (*belustende*) in 1441. Since Henrik the Glazier (*Glaserwerter*) was paid for resetting the lead of the 'great window' of the Scriptorium in 1455, one of the windows was substantially larger than the others. In December 1434 the office of the *kämmerers* also paid the costs 'for the crown up in the Scriptorium' (*vor der krone upp der scriverie*); most likely a chandelier suspended from the ceiling of the *diele* for illuminating the working and meeting space in the Scriptorium.⁸⁷

The chandelier and the large glass window, combined with the favourable location of house on the east side of the open Marketplace facing west, show that a conscious effort was made to ensure that a large section of the building was well-lit, which was essential for the scribes responsible for writing and the textual management of information in the city. In 1444 the house also had a privy. This and the glazed floor tiles are indicative of the exclusive role of the Scriptorium as a permanent focus of the activities of professional scribes in the service of the civic administration comparable to the facilities of the office of the *kämmerers* and

⁸⁴ KB 1376–80, f. 22v 'Item 27 ore den timberluden tor schrifierie'.

⁸⁵ KB 1432–63, 1, 4-6, 14, 17, 20-21, 24, 47, 49, 51, 53-59, 61, 68, 80, 87-88, 91-92, 94, 121, 138, 145, 160

⁸⁶ KB 1432–63, 276 (*astrackessten*), 300, 550, 554, 557. Repairs on the oven occurred several times in 1437–57, KB 1432–63, 288, 430, 509, 640, 804, 961, 1060; KB 1432–63, 703.

⁸⁷ KB 1432–63, 68, 92, 94 (*vlogel*), 138, 145 (*wintiseren*), 445 'Item Kankloen gegeven 2 mr. vor de 2 holdenen vinstere in der scriverie unde de dor to belustende', 1006 'Item Hinrik Glasewerter gegeven vor de groten glasevinstere in der scriverie in nie bly to settende 4 mr. unde 12 s', 1109.

consistory in the Town Hall.⁸⁸ Additional information on the exterior of the building and its facilities has survived in a fragment of memoranda on commissioned ironwork to various buildings in the possession of the council dating to the first half of the 15th century. According to it, one of the windows of the City Scriptorium was jambed with limestone, and the blacksmith was commissioned to make not only the ironwork for the window but also a crook, four brackets for iron fittings and two pieces of iron for the gutters (*dar de runne ynne hanghen*). The blacksmith also provided the Scriptorium with ‘a hook where the letters were hung when joyful news are read’ (*j haken dar de bref an hanget dar men de bliscop ut leset*). Whether the hook was placed inside the building or on the outside wall facing the Marketplace is unknown. The ‘joyful news’ (Mnd. *bliscop*) may have been announcements of marriages or other ‘good news’ publicised in a ritual way inside or outside the Scriptorium.⁸⁹

The late 14th- and 15th-century Scriptorium at the present address of Raekoja plats 15 stood in front of the *vlescharnen*, ‘flesh-Shambles’, a facility for butchering, inspecting and selling meat in the city, and accessible the market and the buildings flanking it only through a passage in the north wall of the Scriptorium. The Shambles (*macellis*) are first mentioned in 1334, when they consisted of a set of shops or tables leased to individual butchers through 18 contracts. Later either the number of butchers or shops was cut down, and in the 1350’s the usual number of contracts was between 8 and 12.⁹⁰ Construction works in the Shambles are known to have taken place as early as 1372–73, when a chimney was built and carpenters were paid for building the meatshops (*vleschboden*). Further changes in the area took place in 1419, when the council granted the councillor Ludeke Dunevar (introduced to the Table Guild in 1383/84, councillor 1392, died some time between 1420–29) the right to build a cellar under the Shambles (*under de vlesscharren*) for his and his wife’s personal use.⁹¹

During the 1432–34 building works on the Scriptorium the cellar under the Shambles was annexed to the wine cellar and the facility was arranged to cover the space under both the Scriptorium and the Shambles. A vast vaulted space in two aisles, the cellar under the

⁸⁸ KB 1432–63, 570.

⁸⁹ TLA, B.a.2, f. 29r, ‘Item to eynen postvenster in de scriuerie dat yser werk xxiiij ort’, f. 31r ‘Item j cruce in der scriuerye iiiij ort/ Item j haken dar de bref an hanget dar men de bliscop ut leset. J ort’, f. 31v ‘Item iiiij klammeren an de byslage vor de scriuerie j f./ Item ij yseren dar de runne ynne hanghen v f.’

⁹⁰ LDA 1333–74 97, 179, 197, 520–526, see even Johansen’s introduction (Johansen 1935), XLIV–XLV, where the number of tables is said to have been reduced from 19–20 to 12; von Nottbeck 1884b, 60 and Kangroopool 1982, 10.

⁹¹ TLA, A.d.3, 41b, 42a, 51a (KB 1363–74, p. 55–56, 64); TLA, A.d.5, f. 88a ‘enen keller to buwende unde to makende under de vlesscharnen der he und syne husurouwe bruken solen’.

Shambles and the Scriptorium housed the wine of the city after 1435. Inventories of the wine by burghermasters, councillors and the wardens of the wine (*wiinmanne, winlude*) are cited in the *kämmerer*'s accounts in 1436, 1439, 1441, 1443, 1446–48. According to them, the wine was stocked in both bottles and casks, and the inspection was made in the Scriptorium (*upp der scriverie*), where the wine was 'counted' (*rekenede*) and tasted. Most of the inventories occurred in the context of the festival season in September or October, but others are documented in June and July, which may refer to the date of shipping of the imported wine. Other wine consumption in the Scriptorium is documented in the context of agreements such as that in 1462, when the knight *Andreas Nielsson von Asdorpe* placed a chest of linen in the custody of the council and the agreement was sealed with 12 goblets (*stope*) of wine in the Scriptorium. Earlier the same year works had taken place in the wine cellar when the place was rendered.⁹² The double-aisled vaulted cellar has been preserved to this day, and its sheer size gives a rare impression of the exclusive nature of the facilities other than the Town Hall built for the needs of the civic authority of Reval in the first half of the 15th century. In those days the close proximity of the Shambles to the Scriptorium must have created an everyday atmosphere of sellers' cries, odours and voices in conversation which spiced up the administrative life of the scribes or those visiting the Scriptorium for official and other reasons. Regarding the works on the Shambles in 1372–73, it is also worth noting that the craft of butchers (*ammete des knokwerkes*) is among the earliest known to have been licenced with an ordinance (*schra*) by the council, on the Nativity of Mary (September 8), 1394.⁹³

What do we know about the possession of the houses in the area of the City Scriptorium and how and when did the city come to control the building?

In the second quarter of the 15th century the Scriptorium was squeezed in the narrow space between the houses of two highly influential Revalian merchants and guarded the adjacent passage to the Shambles, the only licenced meat market of the city. Next to the Scriptorium

⁹² KB 1432–63, 174 'Item untfangen van Schulenborge van deme wine under der scriverie 10 mr' (29.10.1435). Probations: KB 1432–63, 204 (2.6.1436), 387 (15.7.1439), 390 (24.7.1439), 443 (1.4.1441), 595 (24.10.1444), 681 (10.9.1446), 714 (23.6.1447), 724 (9.9.1447), 767 (7.9.1448); The wine cellar under the scriptorium was stil in use in 1513, TLA, B.a.1, f. 478 'Item dat synt de wyne vnder schryerye vnd komen gert wynckelman'; KB 1432–63, 1185 (16.10.1462). See even LECUB I:12 162; KB 1432–64, 261 'winkelre vnder de vlesscharen' (22.7.1437), 1171 'wynkelre under der schrивerie' ... 'de murmeyster, also se den keller under der schrивerie bewerpen unde bevlyzeden' (15.5.1462).

⁹³ The ordinance of butchers, TLA, fond 190, KGA II 118, f. 2r–8r; In the early 15th-century register of various rents of the city one of the stone houses in care of the council is cited as standing behind the wine cellar, but the actual location of both the house and wine cellar and their relationship to the wine cellar under the Scriptorium and the Shambles is unknown, TLA, A.a.7, f. 8r, 'De stenhuse achter dem winkelre'.

(*by der schryuerie*) and the passage in the north stood the house and yard of the Revalian councillor, burghermaster and one of the richest 15th-century merchants of the city, Cost van Borstel (introduced to the Table Guild in 1412, sworn burger in 1413, councillor 1414, burghermaster 1422, dead 1463). Two named guardians of his daughter and the council's ward, Gertrud, gave the house over to the full possession and use of Hans Borholte on Friday after St Mark (April 29), 1474. Having had contacts with the scribe of the Livonian Master Reinhold Storning as early as in 1455 in the context of the testament of his son in law, former Revalian burgher and burghermaster of Turku (Åbo) Jacob Vrese, Cost van Borstel appears to have been one of the key persons in introducing Storning as the successor to Joachim Muter into the office of Revalian city scribe in the summer of 1456 (see CHAPTER 5.2.4.1). His house by the Scriptorium is apparently also the same '*domo habitationis domini Constanti*', where, late in the evening of June 8, 1431, the notary public and city scribe Joachim Muter issued a notary instrument at the request of the burghermaster Cost van Borstel on the testimony of one *Andreas von Cabriel* on the crimes of a certain *Petrus of Sweden* in Ösel.⁹⁴

Next to the Scriptorium (*negist der scriuerye*) in the south was the house of another member of the Revalian civic elite, Gerlach (Gerd) Witte (III, member of the Table Guild since 1415, burgher before 1430, councillor 1432, burghermaster 1441, dead 1447), which the two councillor guardians of his children sold to one Hans Helpe on Saturday after Sunday Jubilate (April 24), 1483, in front of the presiding council in the Scriptorium (*upp der Screuerye vor der sittendestoell des rades*). Apparently the oldest of the five sons of the homonymic Revalian merchant and burghermaster Gerd Witte (II, introduced to the Table Guild in 1377, councillor 1384, burghermaster 1397, dead 1428), Gerlach Witte was a member of a merchant family documented in Reval as early as the late 1340's, and established possession of his father's house, at the corner of today's Vene Street and

⁹⁴ TLA, A.a.35b, f. 152r 'her diderik hagenbecke vnd herman hilliger vorman vnser Rades medecumpane bysorgere gertrudes saligen herren gosschalckes van burstel dochter vnd vorleten hans borholte dat Inwonelike husz vnd erue myt deme houe gelegen an deme markete by der schriuerie'. According to a resignation issued on October 23, 1610, the same house then stood between the Scriptorium (*Schreiberei*) and the late Heinrich Knipers wife's house (*saligen heinrich knipers hustru*), TLA, Bi 4:III, 10 (LECUB I:8 456, FMU III 2009) 'in completorio uel quasi'. In his lifetime Cost van Borstel came into possession of several gardens outside the gates and owned at least one other house located on Long Street (Pikk), See Derrick 2000, 65; On Storning and van Borstel see LG I:2, 118, Kala, Tiina, Reinold Korner, linnakirjutaja. In: Kala, Tiina, Kreem, Juhan & Mänd, Anu, Kümme keskaegset tallinlast. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Kirjastus Varrak, Tallinn, 2006 (here cited as Kala 2006b), 128–129, Donner, Gustav Adolf, Striden om arvet efter köpmannen Jakob Frese, 1455–1510. Helsingfors, Schildt 1930, 31–53, Derrick 2000, 63–65, Kreem, Juhan, Cost van Borstal, bürgermeister. In: Kala, Tiina, Kreem, Juhan & Mänd, Anu, Kümme keskaegast tallinlast. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi Toimetised, 10. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Kirjastus Varrak, Tallinn, 19–39, esp. 35–38.

Vanaturu kael facing the Old Market (Vana Turg), in the distribution of inheritance with his brothers in 1430. The house in the Marketplace, instead, came into Gerlach Witte's possession on the feast of the Conversion of St Paul (January 21), 1432, when the inheritors of the late wife of councillor Ludeke Dunevar bequeathed him an inheritable property 'on the market by the Scriptorium' (*an deme markete bi der scriverie*). Very likely a son of Ludeke's daughter, the wife of Gerd Witte II, Gerlach Witte took possession of the house through his maternal line. Perhaps an even more ancient family than Witte, merchants with the name Dunevar (Ger. *Dünafahrer*, i.e. a merchant frequenting the River Düna, Dvina) of Lübeckian origin are documented in Reval in the oldest register of inheritances of 1312–60 [A.a.1, WB 1312–60] in the second decade of the 14th century. In 1432, the council accepted the resignation of the house on condition that Gerlach Witte would furnish the cellar Ludeke had build under the Shambles (*keller under deme vlescharren*) with beams or a vault at his own cost. In return he had the right to use the cellar until the council decided to change or rebuild it. As noted, works in the cellars of the Scriptorium and Shambles then occurred in 1432–34 at the city's expense.⁹⁵

How and when had Cost van Borstel come into possession of the house and yard next to the city Scriptorium in the north? The earliest surviving information on real property in the neighbourhood of the late medieval City Scriptorium is from 1329, when the buildings on the plot were owned jointly by the wife of one Arnoldus Blomenberg and the inheritors of Henricus Mester. In 1333 Arnoldus mortgaged his part of the plot, his shop and half of the 'crambode' to Henrik's unnamed son for ten years, then in 1335 sold the entire half to the son for 40 Riga marks. Apparently Henricus Mester's son *Albertus Mester* paid rent for 1½ shops in the market area in 1352–58. Albertus had possession of the whole plot and buildings in 1357, when his neighbour, the widow of Fredericus Hummer, mortgaged her shop adjacent to the house of Albertus Mester to her daughter *Meyeke* with the consent of her new husband, councillor Johannes Ostinchusen. A resident of Reval Johannes paid rent for his market shop on the other side of Albertus Mester's house in 1352–58. The councillor Johannes Ostinchusen is last mentioned while still alive on the eve of Ascension (May 27), 1362, when he bequeathed his house to his daughter Elizabet, apparently the same as Ludeke Dunevar's wife (and Gerd Witte II's mother-in-law) *Elzebe*, whom Dunevar married in 1396

⁹⁵ TLA, A.a.35b, f. 153r. Gerlach Witte (Gerd Witte III): Derrick 2000, 239–240, von Bunge 1874, 142, Gerd Witte II: Derrick 2000, 235–238, von Bunge 1874, 143; Gerd Witte's (II) house: TLA, A.a.6c, p. 226 (EBIII 1007) 'en stehus belegen benedden deme markete boven der lemstarten bi her Hinrikes hus van Riipen aldernegest', Dunevar's house: TLA, A.a.6c, p. 231 (EBIII 1026–27). On Ludeke Dunevar and the Dunevars see Derrick 2000, 75–76, and Kala 2004, 97.

and who is named as his dead widow in 1432. Other market shops adjacent to the house of Albertus are mentioned in 1364, when one *Ludekinus Wilde* resigned two of them to *Johannes Ridder*.⁹⁶

Rather than assuming that the house of the 1378 Scriptorium was originally the property of councillor Johannes Ostinchusen or a plot of unknown proprietorship between his shop and the possessions of Albertus Mester, a plausible deduction from the sources would be that it was in fact the house of Albertus Mester transferred into the possession of the city through a deliberate transaction in the mid 1370's. Last mentioned as living in May 1382 when resigning a garden of his to a fellow burgher, on the Friday after Easter (April 15, 1379) Albertus Mester had granted the city a licence to build a passage in his wall (*unum traben in murum suum ponendum*) after a bid issued by the council and as his personal favour.⁹⁷ Apparently the passage later used for access to the Shambles and still extant in the house today, Albertus' grant hints that the house itself was no longer in his full use, but had been handed to the council against a possible usufruct three years earlier on the eve of St Catherine (November 24), 1376, when he, in a lucid state of mind (*lucide*) in front of the council recognized that he had received from the children of late councillor Reynekinus Crøwel (*a filiis domini quondam Reynekinus Kruwel*) a sum of 30 Riga marks for all his inheritable property and shops in the Marketplace as well as other immovable and movable possessions for which a return of two marks was to be paid annually.⁹⁸

Both the councillor Reynekinus Crøwel (burgher-master in 1340–58) and his homonymic relative the scholar and acolyte Reynerus Crøwel appear to have been involved in the management of written information of the council at the turn of the 1340's and 1350's. On Sunday Letare (March 7), 1350, the scholar Reynerus Crøwel was presented as the candidate of the council to the chantry (*vicaria*) of the altar of St Margaret in the church of St Nicholas after the death of its former holder *dominus Iohannis Institoris* (see CHAPTER 4.2.3.2). Seemingly deliberately acquired as a permanent facility for the City Scriptorium with the

⁹⁶ TLA, A.a.1, p. 48 (WB 1312–60, 321), p. 58 (378) and p. 64 (416), LDA 1333–74, 510–516, where Fredricus Hummer and his estate is nr. 27 (not in 516) with a rent of 12 oras, Albertus Meister nr. 28, with a rent of 18 oras and Johannes Ostinchusen nr. 29 with 12 oras. For the dating of LDA 1333–74, 516 to 1358 instead of 1359, see below CHAPTER 3.1.3.3. On Ostinchusen see EBII 4 (1360), 50 (1362, the resignation on May 27, where Johannes Ostinchusen's house is said to locate behind that of *Thilikinus de Horne*) and von Bunge 1874, 119. See even Kangropool 1982, 10, where the plot of Henricus Mester's estate (Albertus Mester and the wife of Arnold Blumenberg, apparently Albertus' sister) is falsely placed north of the later City Scriptorium; EBII 146 (1364). On *Elzebe* see Derrick 2000, 75.

⁹⁷ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 123 (EBII 810) and p. 99 (EBII 688) '...coram nobis Albertus Mester recognoscens, se suo ex licito et favour licenciavit civitati unum traben in murum suum ponendum'.

⁹⁸ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 83 (EBII 597).

assets of Crøwels, the annual rent of two Riga marks from the former house of Albertus Mester had been paid to the altar of St Margaret in the St Nicholas Church as a foundation of the councillor *Reyneke Krouwel* since the 1370's. An altar under the patronage of the council, another endowment was annexed to the altar of St Margaret in 1394. In the second quarter of the 15th century the combined rents of the two endowments were included in the salary of the city scribe Joachim Muter (see CHAPTERS 4.2.3 and 4.4.2.4). Whether Albertus Mester (Lat. *Magister*), the former owner of the scriptorium, should be considered the same as the 1363–74 city scribe Albertus, will be discussed later in this study in CHAPTER 5.1.1, but it is clear that the house had been full inheritable property of Albertus Mester and his father *Henricus* since the first quarter of the 14th century, and only came into the possession of the city in 1376 after which it was into a City Scriptorium in 1376–79. As already discussed, extensive rebuilding of the house and the cellars under it occurred in the 1430's and 1440's.⁹⁹

3.1.3.3. The market shops and the textualization of the management of the council's fiscal information on annual rents in the late 14th and early 15th centuries

The Shambles and the Breadbench were by no means the only places of regulated space through which the civic authority controlled the retailing of victuals and other products in the city. All the basic retailing was organised through shop grounds and shop-space leased out by the city authorities, and subject to paying fixed rent to the city. Rents and shop-space were both an important manifestation of the merchant privileges and a source of continuous income to the city. Fiscal information on these sources emerges as one of the earliest topics of the written management of information of the civic authority of Reval as early as the 1330's. Technically, only two types of shops in the Marketplace existed, those where the city owned both the ground plot and the facility, and those where the shop was considered a private property but the owner was a tenant of the city, paying rent for his share of plot. Examples of the latter type were the **Shomakers' shops**: of the total of 21 in 1362 all but three were located on the western side of the Marketplace in 'Shomakers' Street' (1357 *strata calcificum*, today Est. *Kinga*), the section of the Marketplace between the street leading up to the Mint (today Est. *Dunkri* after 16th-century German name *Dunkerstrate*, 'Dark street'), and the small alley north of it (today Voorimehe). In 1368 the other three shops were located '*iuxta forum inferiorem*', i.e. in the so-called Old Marketplace east of the Town Hall. The shoemakers (*sutores*) are known to have paid a joint rent on their plots (*in*

⁹⁹ Urk. 1-I, 187 (LECUB I:2 897).

universo) as early as 1333/34. Since the shops emerge as private pledges already in 1336, and in the 1350's and 1360's are in either private or municipal possession, either the facilities themselves or the right to use a distinct shop were considered a private but the plot itself was subject of the ground rent to the city.¹⁰⁰ In the surviving sources of the 14th and early 15th centuries, no distinction between the shops of shoemakers and cobblers (menders of shoes) is made, and the hierarchy between these two groups in terms of shop-space is not known.

Along with the shoemakers, other sets of market shops leased out by the city were those designed to host various groups of **retailers**, artisans and others such as barbers engaged in providing services for the urban population. Because the shop-space was leased out to individual traders against a fixed rent to the city, they emerge rather early in the surviving city memoranda, but the spatial organisation and exact location of the shops is very difficult to ascertain from the sources. In the earliest surviving entry on shop rents due on St Thomas' Eve, 1330, the rent is collected both for isolated shops standing separately at distinct locations in the city, and for series of shops attached to each other in the same block or row. Not all the shops were situated on the Marketplace, but shops liable to pay rent to the city also existed in the Old Marketplace, near the church of St Nicholas, and on several streets with access to the Marketplace including today's *Kinga* (Shoemakers' Street), *Müнди* (medieval 'Short Street'), *Pikk* ('Long Street') and *Küllassepa* ('Goldsmiths' Street'), the last known as 'Retailers' Street' (*vicus insititoris*) in 1327.¹⁰¹ In an early 15th-century register of various rents on shops, houses and other facilities written by city scribe Hermannus some time around 1399–1403 [A.a.7, see below], shoemakers' shops are said to stand 'behind the retailers' shops' (*achter den hoken boden*), probably as viewed from the Town Hall. A further entry in the register specifies certain shoemakers' shops as being located 'under the stairs' (*unter den treppen*). Some time after the introduction of the register, a set of new shops (*nyen boden*) was constructed, which the city scribe Johannes Blomendal (active 1406–26) then added into the list as a separate category under the *hokenboden*. Further categories of shops cited in the register are 'Sealshops' (*zeelboden*), where train oil was obtained from seal blubber, and which the city had provided as part of the facilities of the harbour since at least 1341, and two tailor's shops (*scherbude*), one located in the

¹⁰⁰ Johansen 1935, XLV–XLVI, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 193; von Nottbeck 1884b, 54, 56; WB 1312–60, 1048 'strata calcificum'.

¹⁰¹ LDA 1333–74, 92; Johansen 1935, XLVI, EBII 254, EBII 66, 217; WB 1312–60, 277; see even von Nottbeck 1884b, 54–63.

Marketplace. Instead of a joint facility for sheltering the business of local tailors, the two shops were most likely former private installations harboured in municipal possession in the course of 14th or early 15th century.¹⁰²

In the registers, no difference is made between the various trades practised in the shops provided for the retailers in the Marketplace. Instead, the trade of individual retailers is only attested through their activities as trinketmakers (Mnd. *ettekenmakere* from Est. *ehe, ehte* = trinket), armourers, barbers, mongers of dried and salted fish (*hoker*), and other professional trades in the early 14th century, 1380's and mid-14th-century lists of shop tenants. In the registers, no distinction between *hokere* engaged in the trade of dried or salted fish and other retailers is made, and the *hokerboden* of the early 15th century are likely to have included many kinds of retailing activity.¹⁰³ By that time most of the market shops were furnished with ovens (*ovene*) and tiled roofs, and deliberately built and maintained at the expense of the city, as verified by the accounts of 1432–63. In the *hokerboden*, substantial renovations took place around 1435–37, when a couple of ovens were rebuilt and then a set of six ovens was installed in 1437. In 1435–36 more than 14000 rooftiles were acquired. A further set of 16500 rooftiles was bought to roof both the *hokerboden* and the *scriptorium* in 1437, and another 2000 rooftiles were obtained for the small *hokerboden* in 1438 and 1439. Repairs to the *hokerbodenovene* occurred every now and then. A more extensive renovation of the roofs of *hokerboden*, City Weigh, Breadbench and 'above the Shoemaker's shops' (*boven der schoeboeden*) took place in 1453, when a set of 10000 rooftiles was acquired for the purpose.¹⁰⁴

As already evident from various trades discussed above, the fiscal administration of shops and other immovables in the possession of the city can be studied with the help of surviving registers of rents extant from the 14th and 15th centuries. Of special interest here is how the information on different entities and lessees of shop-space and plots was administered in the written management of information of the civic authority, and what kind of text permanences were employed for it by the city scribes involved in the process. Early lists of retailers and

¹⁰² TLA, A.a.7, f. 4v–9r, 'De scherbone In den market de nv hannes duuel heuet' f. 4v, 'Weldeghen scherbone' f. 7v. Other individual shops or sets of shops leased out by the city were 'her Johan Loren wantbone' 4r, 6r, 8r, and 'Hinrik Parenbeken bone bi den richtehus', 7v; On *zeelboden* see Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 226, as well as various types of retailers, including independent local women as trinketmakers see Johansen 1935, XLVII, and Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 141–142. Those liable for tax or rent for burning blubber (*crematione focis*) in the year 1350 are cited in LDA 1333–74, 361.

¹⁰³ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 141–147.

¹⁰⁴ KB 1432–63, 121, 172, 173, 197, 223, 284, 287, 289, 336 'to den lutken hokerboden', 348 'to den lutken boden', 401, 399, 430, 914; On various kinds of shops, see even von Nottbeck 1884b, 61–62.

artisans subject to a fixed rent for their share of shop grounds or shop-space (*pro areis, aree de bodis, aream et bodarum*) are available from as early as 1333–34, 1337 and 1341, when they were written in a small parchment codex of mixed memoranda of the city covering the period 1333–1358 [A.a.2]. The codex also includes special lists on butchers from 1334 and 1338.¹⁰⁵ Further lists of leased shops (*censum arearum*) from 1352–1358, as well as the rents of shoemakers from 1352–53 and 1362, and butchers from 1352–57, have survived in a paper book of memoranda in use from ca. 1352 to ca. 1372 [A.d.4].¹⁰⁶ All the lists in A.a.2 and A.d.4 have been written by city scribes or their substitutes, and present the names of the tenants together with the sum of rent, either in the form of continuous text (1333–34, 1337, 1341) or itemized entries (1352–58/59). Because the names in all the lists except those from 1337 and 1341 have been struck out, the lists must have been registers of tenants used for controlling the payment of individual rents, the termin of which in 1333–57 was on St Thomas' Day. Since each of the lists of 1352–57 occupies a single page or a spread in a distinct section of A.d.4, they represent an established and systematic form of management of information on the annual income of the city from leased shops; an approach not fully evident in the older parchment codex of mixed memoranda of the city introduced in 1333.¹⁰⁷

The rents on various shops and buildings in the possession of the city were collected once or twice a year on one of the fixed dates of Easter, St John the Baptist, Michaelmas, St Thomas and Christmas, but the number of leased immovables remained approximately the same for longer periods, so the city scribes composed two kinds of registers (or text permanences) of the management of rents and leased space in medieval Reval. The first of these were **annual registers of paid rents** arranged in groups according to their terms, under which the names of the tenants of each category of immovables are registered in itemized lists and struck out after the settled payment. The second type consists of **schematic lists** of leased immovables, their respective terms and value of rent, where the list was apparently used as a reference for collecting the correct sums of money at the right time. This twofold written management of information on shops and buildings only occurs in its full form in 1463, with a schematic description of rents and an annual register of collected money in separate codices, but a

¹⁰⁵ LDA 1333–74, 106, 92, 193, 387, butchers 97, 197; TLA, A.a.2, p. 19–20, 14–15, 35, 71, butchers 16, 37.

¹⁰⁶ LDA 1333–74, 510 shops, 518 shomakers and 520 butchers (A.d.4, f. 14v), 511 shops, 519 shomakers and 521 butchers (f. 15v–16r), 512 shops with stone houses and 522 butchers (f. 16v–17r), 513 shops and 523 butchers (f. 17v), 514 shops and 524 butchers (f. 13v), 515 shops and 525 butchers (f. 14r). Paul Johansen has dated a list of market shops LDA 1333–74, 516 (A.d.4, f. 13r) written by another hand than that of city scribe *WBIV* to 1359, but the list may also date to December 1358. For butchers of 1362 see 517 (f. 2r). See also Johansen 1935, XLVI–XLVII.

¹⁰⁷ TLA, A.d.4, f. 13r–17v.

similar system had obviously been in use for some time.¹⁰⁸ In order to evaluate the solutions the city scribes adopted when organising the textual management of information of this particular branch of administration of the city income, a closer examination of the surviving memoranda on the leased shops and other immovables of the city is needed.

The oldest surviving schematic register of shops (*liber bodarum*) is a parchment quire in 8° (20,7 x 14,4 cm) introduced on the day after Michaelmas (September 30), 1363, by city scribe Albertus [A.d.1]. In the opening section of the quire the shops are divided into two categories, shoemakers (*bode sutorice*) and retailers (*bode penesticorum*), but the respective lists only present the actual number of shops in the possession of the city according to their location in the Marketplace (*prima et secunda, quinta, sexta, septima, vndecima ...*) with no terms of payment or amount of rent.¹⁰⁹ A more detailed account of the dates of payment appears only in 1373, when particular terms of rent for various categories of leased shops and other immovables are explicated in a schematic presentation of various sources of income of the city (*de redditibus civitatis*). The schematic register itself comprises the original opening section of the Book of Diverse Articles (*liber de diversis articulis*), a stout paper codex in quarto bound in wooden covers in red leather introduced by city scribe Albertus at Easter 1373, and later used as a book of mixed memoranda and *Denkelbok* of the city until 1455 [A.d.5, see above CHAPTERS 3.1.2.1 and 3.1.2.2]. According to the register, the rents of the shoemakers, retailers and buildings in the possession of the city were due twice a year on Easter and Michaelmas. Further categories of rent and income in the register include facilities of the blacksmiths (*notstal*) and butchers (*de macellis*), as well as other revenues of the city from leased immovables such as the ground rent of shops (*wortins*), hiring of permanently leased buildings (*hoorgheld*), and the *census* from the bakers (*pistores*), these hires and the rent for *notstal* being due on Michaelmas, *wortins* and the rent on Shambles on St Thomas, and the annual *census* of bakers after Easter.¹¹⁰ A combination of schematic descriptions of different categories of rents (*census*) and lists of contemporary tenants from around 1380–87 is further presented in A.d.5 in two sections written in mixed gothic textualis and cursive by city scribe Hermannus, but despite various attempts to create a permanent written scheme for the management of imposed rents on shops and other immovables of the city, the methods of recording memoranda appear to have varied with

¹⁰⁸ TLA, A.d.27 and 28.

¹⁰⁹ TLA, A.d.1, f. 2r, 2v.

¹¹⁰ TLA, A.d.5, f. 2r–2v, ‘Sutores et penestri et alij bodis seu domos ciuitatis inhabitantes dimidietatem census in festo pasche et aliam dimidietatem in festo beati michaelis dare debent’.

names of tenants and occasional references to terms of other forms of income of the city as late as the 1380's.¹¹¹

The earliest surviving full schematic description of all the annual rents on shops and other immovables of the city listed according to their terms of payment on Easter, Michaelmas and St Thomas is written in the parchment codex of mixed memoranda of the council first introduced in writing some time around the turn of the 15th century [A.a.7]. The register consists of three separate sections on rents on market shops, stalls and houses (f. 4v–9r), alms (*almissen*, f. 10r–v), vicaries and chantries (*vicarien*, f. 21v–23r), written in neat but somewhat unevenly placed gothic textualis with generous spacing in two columns on the opening quires of a stout parchment codex in 4^o (ca. 31,0 x 25,0 cm), with blank pages between both the different sections and the three terms. Bound in wooden covers in red leather, the codex [A.a.7] is thoroughly ruled with lead to make two columns, and the uniformity of the text and hue of ink tells us that the original content of all the three registers was written either in one single session or a small number of sessions after the codex was acquired as a ruled blanco.

After its introduction, the parchment codex of A.a.7 was employed for its original purpose as a schematic register of various rents paid to the council, written and managed by city scribes Johannes Blomendal (active in 1406–26) and his successor Wenemar Scheter (1426–29), who made the last datable entry on a *renten*-contract issued on the Monday after the Beheading of St John the Baptist (August 30), 1428. Further interpolations into the register of rents of market shops and houses were written by city scribe Joachim Muter some time during his period of activity in 1429–56. From the period of office of city scribe Reinhold Storning (1456–63) there is one further entry on an endowment of 200 Riga marks to the chapel of the Holy Ghost in 1456, which suggests that the codex may have been used as a source of information for the rents of the chantries/vicaries as late as that. In 1471, city scribe Johannes tor Hove decided to reintroduce the then almost empty codex as a *denkelbok* for various decisions of the council, and it later appears in other contemporary memoranda of the city as '*unser stadt mideleste bok*' with entries on matters brought to the attention of the council until 1523.¹¹² Whether or the red binding of the codex implies that it had the

¹¹¹ TLA, A.d.5, f. 6v–7r, 8v–9v.

¹¹² TLA, A.a.7, f. 4v–9r (rents, where the register is incipited with an invocation 'Jn ghodes namen Amen' and preceded by several blank pages in the beginning of the codex), 10r–v (alms), 20v–24r (chantries/vicaries), 27v– (Denkelbuch since 1471). For the entry on the *renten*-contract issued on August 30, 1428, see 9r. The entry written by Storning is on f. 11v.

status of one of the ‘red books’ of the city (see CHAPTER 1.2.3) as a schematic register of rents before 1456 or as the *denkelbok* of the council after 1471 is unknown, but together with the *liber de diversis articulis* of 1373 [A.d.5] the parchment codex of A.a.7 clearly belong to a special ‘red line’ in quarto among the late 14th- and early 15th-century books of memoranda in Reval.

Since the late 19th century the parchment codex of A.a.7 has been loosely dated as from ca. 1415, the dating being based on an entry of city scribe Johannes Blomendal concerning the council’s decision on the Friday before St Simon and Jude (October 25), 1415, to invest the office (*officiacien*) of (the chantry of) Johan Duderstad at the altar of St Barbara in St Nicholas to one ‘her Wynnold Klinte’.¹¹³ Even if the entry contains the earliest date cited in the codex, it is only one of several written by Blomendal as additions and interpolations to the three registers of the codex during his period of office in 1406–26. Instead of Blomendal’s initiative from ca. 1415, the organisation of entries and known hands active in all the three registers of the opening section of A.a.7 show that he cannot have been the person who first introduced the codex into writing. This is also proven by the fact that the gothic textualis used by the person who originally created the full schematic presentation of the city’s income in rents, alms and from vicaries and chantries is occasionally crossed out or interpolated by the easily recognisable vertical and angled gothic cursive of Johannes Blomendal.¹¹⁴

Who, then, was the person who first organised all the three registers into a permanent schematic representation of annual income from rents to the council of Reval in the late 14th or early 15th century? Since all Blomendal’s contributions in all the three sections of rents, alms and vicaries are preceded by a hand with gothic textualis similar to the gothic cursive of the substitute for the city scribe active in 1398 and 1401–5 (*HII*), and this hand in turn is only preceded by the hand which first introduced the codex in writing, it is plausible that the person who first created the register in gothic textualis was city scribe Hermannus active in the City Scriptorium from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1374/75 to the summer of 1400, and again for a short period in 1402–3 (see TABLE 7, CHAPTER 5.1.4). However, since practically all his writing during his service with the council is in gothic cursive, his identification as the first person engaged with A.a.7 remains problematic. As later discussed in this study, the writing of one and the same person in two different scripts – textualis and

¹¹³ See Hansen 1896, 9, TLA, A.a.7, Denkelbuch der Stadt Reval 1415–1523, and TLA, A.a.7, f. 23v.

¹¹⁴ *Blomendal*: TLA, A.a.7, f. 8r, first column in the middle.

cursive – is often extremely difficult to recognise, and no assumptions can be made about the identity of the writer without proper paleographic and other analysis of the texts in question.¹¹⁵

A closer analysis of the *renten-contracts* of chantries (Lat. *vicaria*, Mnd. *vicarie*) registered in the schematic register shows that all the 16 entries written by the hand who first put A.a.7 in writing were made in the very session when the register was introduced into the codex. A total of 13 of these entries deal with endowments or conditions of rents issued or registered in 1390–99, not only in A.a.7 but also in a more detailed section of entries on chantries written at the end of the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3]. Since no less than 12 of the 13 entries include information on the original endowment or later developments in the rent of the same chantries written in A.a.3 in gothic cursive by Hermannus and one by *HIII*, the schematic register of A.a.7 cannot have been introduced before the last datable entry by the hand who first put it into writing; an entry on the chantry of Henneke Wrangel made on the Feast of St John the Baptist (June 24), 1399. In five entries written by this same hand conditions of particular chantries are said to be further explained in ‘the city’s book’ (*Stades bucke*), obviously the section on chantries written on the last quires of the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3], where the respective entries referred to those in A.a.7 are written by Hermannus.¹¹⁶ A possible *terminus ante quem* for the activity of the hand responsible for the

¹¹⁵ *HIII*: TLA, A.a.7, f. 6r second column last entry, f. 8v two first entries, 22r, first column last entry, 22v second column three first entries.

¹¹⁶ The entries on the rent of chantries (*vicarien*) in A.a.7, f. 20v–22v and their corresponding information in A.a.3, f. 119v–135v or earlier in the codex are as follows: 1. The rent of the chantry of Loden in Merienma founded in 1371 (cited in A.a.3, f. 122r, PergRB 1414, hand *Hermannus*, on the *chantry* see later CHAPTER 4.2.3.2), 2. The alms founded by councillor Johannes van Bremen (a letter on the foundation for the alms was issued on the Eve of Palm Sunday, April 5, 1343, Urk. 1-I, 130, LECUB I:2 812, see also Urk. 1-I, 158 and 195) with an addition concerning the rent of the house Nytze Bekerworter, written by *Johannes Blomendal* and later partially interpolated by either *Wenemar Scheter* or *Joachim Muter* (according to A.a.3, f. 59r, PergRB 579. Nytze mortgaged his house against a loan of 30 Riga marks on the third Friday after Easter, May 5, 1419 to the chapel of the Holy Ghost, hand *Johannes Blomendal*), 3. The rent of the chantry of the Holy Cross of Luck of Duderstads in the chapel of St Barbara in St Nicholas with two additions by *HIII* and *Johannes Blomendal* (The chantry was founded by councillor Johan Duderstad and his wife some time around the turn of the 1370’s and the 1380’s. Conditions of its rents on New Years Eve 1398 and later are cited in A.a.3, f. 120v, PergRb 1405, and undated together with the altar of St Matthew in the chapel of Holy Ghost also founded by Duderstads A.a.3, f. 123r, PergRB 1421–22, all written by *Hermannus*, on the chantry: see CHAPTER 4.2.3.2), 4. The rent of the chantry of *Johan Heruorden* at the altar of the Holy Sacrament in the chapel of the Holy Ghost with two small interpolations by *HIII* (the letter of foundation of the chantry issued on the Easter of 1390 is copied in A.a.3, f. 124v, PergRB 1425 together with further entries on the conditions on rents from 1394, PergRB 1423–24 all by *Hermannus*), 5. The rent concerning the allowance of the two children of Cord Kegheler and his son the priest Dethmer ‘van der monneke ueghene als de in des stades buke utwiset’ (the allowance was first issued in Curd’s testament on Monday before the Purification of Mary, January 31, 1396, A.a.3, f. 6v–7r, PergRB 55, hand *Hermannus*, and at some point combined with the *renten*-gift issued by councillor Herman van der Hove to the Dominican friars cited in A.a.3, f. 124v, PergRB 1428–29, written by *Hermannus* in ca. 1396), 6. The allowance founded by councillor Johan Vasold for himself and his son Hans (the allowance was founded on Michaelmas 1395, A.a.3, f. 125a, PergRB 1433, but the endowment was further

introduction of the schematic registers of rents, alms and chantries (*vicarien*) in A.a.7 can then be determined with the three entries written by *HIII* after the older entries in the rents of chantries. Of these the first, the one immediately following the last two entries of the first scribe active with the register, is placed at the top of a fresh column on f. 22v, and deals with the allowance of one Johannes Lintorpe. According to an another entry written by *HIII* in A.a.3, the endowment was made by Lintorpe himself, and invested as capital liable to annual rent in the custody of the council on the Friday before the Nativity of Mary (September 5), 1404. Given that the chantries and rents of the two next entries of *HIII* are not cited in the section of chantries of A.a.3 at all, the last datable entry of the original hand of A.a.7 on the chantry (*vicaria*) of Wrangell endowed on June 24, 1399, and that of *HIII* on the allowance of Johannes Lintorpe not earlier than September 1404, effectively date the first introduction of the codex with registers of rents, alms and vicaries to the last documented periods of activity of city scribe Hermannus in the early summer of 1399 and the first half of 1403.¹¹⁷

discussed on Easter of 1396, A.a.3, f. 129a, PergRB 1446, both entries written by *Hermannus*), 7. The rent of the chantry founded by Henneke van Wrangle 'als des Stades buck vtwiset' (the letter of foundation issued on the Feast of St John the Baptist, June 24, 1399 is copied in A.a.3, f. 127r by *Hermannus*, for another copy of his of the same document se BA 1:1a, 61, LECUB I:4 1489), 8. The allowance of the councillor Johan Spechte's children 'alse dat des Stades buck vtwiset' (an entry on the conditions of rent of the foundation issued on the Feast of St John the Baptist, June 24, 1396, is written on A.a.3, f. 129r, Perg 1445 by *Hermannus*), 9. The rent of the chantry of [Hermen] Hemerden at the altar of St Margaret in St Nicholas with two later interpolations by *Johannes Blomendal* (the endowment made by Hemerden in 1394 attached to a nearlier endowment in the same altar was made in 1394, A.a.3, f. 129r, PergRB 1448, written by *Hermannus*, on the chantry see later CHAPTER 4.2.3.2), 10. The rent of the offices [of the altar of the resurrection of Christ] in the chapel of the castle of Narva with a later addition by *Johannes Blomendal* (the letter of foundation of the offices is copied in A.a.3, f. 131r, PergRb 1456 by *Hermannus*), 11. The rent of the allowance of Henning Ghustrow (an entry of the endowment of *Henning Ghusttrauwen* for his personal allowance to the chapel of the Holy Ghost is copied on A.a.3, f. 131v by *Hermannus*), 12. the rent of the allowance of Johannes Winecken written by the hand of *HIII* and not cited in A.a.3, f. 119v–135v section of rents on chantries/vicaries, 13. The rent of the knight Jacob Abrahamsson 'alse des stades buck wtuiset' (the letter of endowment of Jacob Abrahamsson on 1000 Riga marks in silver with a rent of 50 marks issued on Easter 1397 is copied in A.a.3, f.128v, PergRB 1444 by *Hermannus*), 14. The rent of councillor Johans Bulemann's child Hannes 'alse de stades buck utwiset' (the allowance was founded on Friday after All Saints, November 10, 1396, A.a.3, f. 131v, PergRB 1460, *Hermannus*), 15. The rent of the chantry of Hinrik van Bremen in St Olaf with an interpolation by *HIII* 'To sunte Margreten Altare', and an addition by *Johannes Blomendal* (the chantry was founded in 1390, A.a.3, f. 133a, PergRB 1464–65, see even f. 125r, PergRb 1431, all written by *Hermannus*), 16. The obligation of the council to one 'hern Johannes van ghotlande' on account (not cited or identifiable in A.a.3) together with two additions by *Johannes Blomendal* on two other obligations of the council to named councillors. The sixteen original entries of the register of chantries/vicaries are then followed by three entries in a hand close to *HIII* on A.a.7, f. 22v.

¹¹⁷ TLA, A.a.7, f. 22v and A.a.3, f. 125b (PergRB 1435). The other two entries by *HIII* on A.a.7, f. 22v concern the chantry of Johan Heruorden on the First Mass in St Olaf endowed by the custodians of his inheritance not cited among the handsome endowments of Johan Heruorden to the chapel of Holy Spirit in 1394 and 1390 (A.a.3, f. 124r–v, PergRB 1423–26), and the council's annual pension to the rector of St Nicholas Albertus Cure and his aunt Gertrud is also not registered in A.a.3. A transaction witnessed or by rector Albrecht of St Nicholas or otherwise concerning him, issued in the front of the council on the Feast of St Luke (October 18), 1392 (A.a.3, f. 27r, PergRB 234) does not discuss his later pension.

A further confirmation of the identity of the person who first introduced the codex A.a.7 and the registers in it can be found in one of the two codices of the Middle Low German Law of Lübeck of 1282, where a short pen trial or an unfinished entry on the council's decision on an unknown matter dated on Friday after the Day of our Lady in 1390 is written on the last page of two loose bifolios containing supplement paragraphs to the law written by known city scribes of the mid- and late 15th century. Together with letter-forms and writing extremely similar to that of the first scribe of the registers of A.a.7, the gothic textualis of the entry has an initial 'A' similar to those of city scribe Hermannus in his entries in the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3] in 1390. In the same quire paragraphs of the Lübeck Law written by city scribes Karolus de Montreal and Albertus are followed with those written in gothic cursive by Hermannus and yet another possible hand with gothic textualis different from that of *HII* but similar to the original scribe of the registers of A.a.7¹¹⁸

Consideration the succession of scribes and the variation of two different scripts in A.a.7 as presented above, the question remains why the city scribe Hermannus would have first employed gothic cursive and later gothic textualis in his supplements to the law. Finding an answer, however, is easier than it first appears, as the gothic textualis in the supplement is in fact the same as his gothic textualis mixed with his cursive writing in the two lists of rents of the market shops in A.d.5 from ca. 1380–87.¹¹⁹ Together with the identification of the gothic textualis as that employed by city scribe Hermannus, the entries on the register of chantries (*vicarien*) clearly show that instead of originating in ca. 1415, the first full schematic register of all the annual rents in the civic administration in the parchment codex of A.a.7 must be a product of developments in the management of information in the civic administration at the turn of the 14th century in ca. 1399–1403, probably as early as the summer of 1399. Instead of an initiative of Johannes Blomendal, the codex of A.a.7 was first introduced by city scribe Hermannus, who, at the turn of the 14th century, decided to collect all the information on the basic endowments and property liable for annual rent to the city in one long-lasting manuscript that could later be amended with other important information on the administration of various liabilities of the civic authority.

After the annual registers of collected rents of 1352–57, and together with the schematic presentations of city scribes Albertus (1373) and Hermannus (1380–87 and 1399), further

¹¹⁸ TLA, Cm. 10, f. 40v and 39r–40r. For the entry and the erroneous dating of the codex by Gottfried Hansen, see Kala 2007a, 154; For instance TLA, A.a.3, f. 20v–21r.

¹¹⁹ TLA, A.d.5, f. 6v–7r, 8v–9v.

information on the annual disbursements of collected rents has survived from 1371–72, when lists and incipits of collected rents from retailers, market shops and butchers due on Michaelmas and St Thomas were written at the end of *scho*sslists of the respective years by Albertus.¹²⁰ A more comprehensive register of collected rents has survived only from ca. 1392, when Hermannus started to register various rents of leased shops and buildings at the end of the paper codex of imposed fines [*Wedde*, A.a.4a, see CHAPTER 3.2.2.1]. The lists, later continued by city scribes Johannes Blomendal and Joachim Muter, cover the years 1392–99, 1406–24 and 1432–36. They present the names of those liable to pay rent at the fixed terms of Easter, Michaelmas and St Thomas, including not only bakers, shoemakers and butchers, but also blacksmiths (*notstall*), retailers (*penesticus*, *hokerboden*), and other lessees (*andere rente*) with special sections on collected hires (*hoerpenninghe*) and ground rent (*wortins*).¹²¹ Together with the schematic registers of rents and their terms in A.a.7 of ca. 1399/1403, these two key lists for controlling the information on the various annual rents of the city remained in use until the 1430's, when both the schematic register of A.a.7 and the annual lists of collected rents in the paper codex of *wedde* appear to have been left in oblivion, possibly in the context of reorganisation of the management of this particular branch of memoranda by city scribe Joachim Muter in ca. 1437 or later.

Because much of the later textual organisation of the annual registers of collected rents was established as early as the 1350's, but the only fragments of such lists from between 1358 and 1392 are the few incipits and two lists of rents collected on market shops and butchers on the Eve of St Thomas 1372, there is a strong possibility that at some point the written memoranda on the collected rents were arranged in the context of the annual registers of *scho*ss, at the end of which the lists were apparently placed in 1372, before the introduction of the new paper codex of mixed memoranda in 1373. Since neither A.d.5 nor the surviving *scho*sslists after 1373 contain any information on the collected rents of the 1370's, they may have been recorded in a separate volume of their own or a section of some other book of fiscal memoranda that was later lost. In 1392–1436 no special codex for the annual collected rents was employed, but the lists of tenants were written in a separate section at the end of the folio sized paper codex of *wedde*, another important source of income for the city. No information on the annual registers of collected rents between 1436 and 1463 has survived.

¹²⁰ TLA, A.d.12, f. 3v, 4r (1372), 15v (1371), 23v–24v (1372).

¹²¹ TLA, A.a.4a, 103r–116v, where the register of collected rents starts from the back of the surviving volume in reverse and mixed chronological order. For the earliest entry see f. 115r 'Anno xc:o secundo circa festum Epiphania'.

Possibly written in a separate volume of their own introduced by Joachim Muter some time in ca 1437 and covering the period ca. 1437–63, the codex was later lost and no recognisable fragments of it are today identifiable in *AR* (see FIGURE 7, CHAPTER 5.2.4.2).

From 1463 the collected rents of individual shops and immovables were listed in a paper codex in 4° (ca. 29,5 x 21,0 cms) assembled in limp leather binding with the back cover folding over the front edge of the codex and secured with hemp cord [A.d.27]. The codex consists of several quires assembled from a paper of the same mill and it was apparently acquired as a bound blanco and introduced by city scribe Johannes tor Hove with no incipit around the Easter of 1463. This makes it almost contemporary to the *Kämmereibuch* of 1463–1507 [A.d.26], introduced by city scribe Reinhold Storning on the Feast of St Agatha (February 5), 1463, and continued from March 12 by tor Hove. City scribes did all the writing of the codex, which consists of names of tenants organised in three columns on each page and arranged in groups according to the terms of Easter, St John the Baptist, Michaelmas, St Thomas and Christmas. Under each term the names are further grouped into categories of leased immovables, and either struck out, left unmarked or replaced with other names of tenants in the margin. The titles of individual terms of rent cover the period to Michaelmas 1542, but the last entries of names were made at Easter in 1538. More than half the codex was left empty, the last entry being in 1542, but the final three leaves at the back of the codex consist of a schematic register of the terms and rents on city immovables for 1509, entered upside down and starting from the penultimate page of the codex.¹²²

The paper codex of collected annual rents introduced by city scribe Johannes tor Hove at the beginning of his period of office in 1463 provided a lasting model for the management of information on the annual rent of the city from leased shops and buildings, and was in continuous use for 75 years in the civic administration. Tor Hove's deliberate approach to achieving a better organisation of all the memoranda concerning rents is further manifested by two closely related explications of all the annual rents of the city written by him some

¹²² TLA, A.d.27, f. 1r–85r, the end of the codex is not supplied with either modern page numbers or medieval foliation; TLA, A.d.26, f. 1r–2r (edited in *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1463–1507*. Bearb. von Reinhard Vogelsang. In: *Quellen und darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte*. Neue Folge, Band 27/I–II. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Wien 1983, here KB 1463–1507, nr. 1191, 1194). On the shift of offices between Storning and tor Hove in March–April 1463, see Kala, Tiina, *Linnakirjutaja Johannes tor Hove ja hiliskeskaegse Tallinna asjajaamine*. In: Pullat, Raimo et. al (eds.), *Vana Tallinn XVI (XX)*, *Modus vivendi II*. Estopol, Tallinn 2005 (here Kala 2005b), 110–111. An intermediary period between a retirement and the inauguration of a new city scribe again occurred in 1476–78, when, in the spring of 1477, tor Hove's hand was replaced in A.d.26 by Paul Moller, after which tor Hove was active again as a city scribe in A.d.26 from September 1478 to ca. Ascension in 1479, and was finally assisted and replaced by the city scribe Borchard Kenappel from April 1479, Kala 2005b, 111.

time during his period in the City Scriptorium in 1463–77/78–79. The first of these is a loose bifolio of paper in 4° (ca. 27,5 x 20,0 cms) listing all the annual rents paid to and by the council, and grouped together according to their terms at Easter, St John the Baptist, Michaelmas, St Thomas and Christmas [A.d.28, f. 1r–2v]. The second is similar but is a more generously spaced schematic explication of rents in a parchment quire in 4° (ca. 28,5 x 21,5 cms) with limp leather binding [A.d.28, 3r–9v], evidently designed to last for years and later amended by tor Hove's successors as city scribes. The exact relationship of these two registers is unclear, but because of the slight differences in the collecting and disbursement of certain rents and the amendment of the second register by later city scribes, the first one is probably older and possibly a predecessor for the second in tor Hove's management of information on the rents.¹²³ Instead of the stout wooden covers furnished with red leather sheating of A.d.5 and A.a.7, the two registers of A.d.28 and the A.d.26 paper codex of collected annual rents are bound in brown limp leather binding similar to the *kämmerers'* accounts of 1463–1507 [A.d.26], which gives them a somewhat different status from the two 'red books' in paper and parchment in quarto commenced earlier in the time of city scribe Albertus and Hermannus.

In comparison to the older schematic descriptions of leased immovables and their rents, the registers written by tor Hove represent a new approach to the matter, where not only the incoming rents on immovables but also the outgoing rents for alms and chantries (*vicarien*) were listed together as separate groups following their terms of payment, and then itemized with indications of the sums of money involved. The earliest example of the conscious desire of the city scribes to place all the information on both incoming and outgoing rents into a single volume of memoranda are the registers on collected annual rents, alms and chantries/vicaries written by city scribe Hermannus in ca. 1399/1403 on the opening sections of the parchment volume of A.a.7. However, the 1460's registers of tor Hove are the first known schematic registers of rent in the fiscal administration of medieval Reval where all the incoming and outgoing money is presented together in accordance with the chronological cycle of terms (i.e. incoming rent at Easter, outgoing rent at Easter, incoming rent on St John, outgoing rent on St John, etc.) and not as separate annual categories of their own

¹²³ TLA, A.d.28, f. 1r–2v and 3r–9r. Because tor Hove's handwriting is occasionally close to the hand of Joachim Muter, A.d.28 was in the late 19th century dated to ca. 1440. A comparison of the hand of tor Hove in A.d.28 and A.d.26 (KB 1463–1507) to that of Joachim Muter in A.d.15 (KB 1432–63), however, clearly shows the difference. Muter's hand is always almost overtly flowering in his fine hair decorations, which habitually tend to fill the space between rows of writing and give his text an ornamental appearance, whereas tor Hove's rows are always more clearly spaced, his strong and determined lettering has a sense of distinct rhythm, and the descenders and letters like *g*, *k*, *h* and *b* are easily distinguished from the flowering forms of Muter.

(annual rent from shops and buildings paid at Easter, Michaelmas or St Thomas, annual rent paid in alms, annual rent of chantries etc.). As such, the two registers of A.d.28 and the paper codex of collected annual rents A.d.26 represent the final stage of development of the written management of rents in the medieval civic administration of Reval and bear witness to some hundred years of deliberate approaches of the city scribes to the problems of textual management of a civic form of income apparently considered regular, but subject to annual variations because of changes of tenants and occasional modifications in the number of leased shops, as well as in the loans from altars administered by the council.

3.1.3.4. The judicial authority of the council and its spatial manifestations in the city in the 14th and early 15th centuries: The Richtehus, the City Dungeons and the House of the Town Bailiff

From the early days of the merchant community, together with the merchant and administrative activity supervised and conducted by the council, the Marketplace and its near neighbourhood were one of the main manifestations of the judicial authority of the city. Since the 13th century the official prosecutor in matters of criminal law in the town area was the town bailiff (*Gerichtsvogt*), for whose office the council was granted the sole right of nomination in 1265.¹²⁴ The textual activities of the judicial practice of the city are discussed later in this study. First mentioned in 1385, the sessions of the bailiff's court (*Stadtgerichte*) appear to have been held in the *richtehus* in the northeast corner of the Town Hall from the late 14th century. Occasional sessions of the criminal court of justice are, however, known also to have taken place in the chapel of the Holy Ghost and in the Marketplace. It seems that sentences were announced orally in the city square even late in the medieval period, as in 1534, when a sentence of outlawry was read aloud.¹²⁵

An important feature of medieval court processes in German areas was *Gerüfte*, oral proclamation of the crime. The proclamation was made in different ways, from exclamations such as 'Thief!' or 'Murderer!' at the actual moment of the deed to public proclamations on the nature of the crime at the beginning of the trial, when the suspect was taken to the bailiff's court. In the 1257 Codex of Lübeck Law of Reval it is decreed that in cases of theft the proclamation had to be made in public (*in clamorem publicum*) in front of the judge.¹²⁶ Later the proclamation appears to have been incorporated in the ceremony of threefold unsheathing of the judge's ritual sword at the beginning of the trial, but it is not known

¹²⁴ LECUB I:1 390, Somelar 1996, 84, von Nottbeck 1884a, 5.

¹²⁵ PergRB 53; Somelar 1996, 84, von Nottbeck 1884a, 5; Criminalbuch III, nr 268.

¹²⁶ LCLR1257, § 73

precisely how *Gerüfte* was employed in the *richtehus* or outside it in the context of the sessions in Reval. According to the collection of notable sentences and trials from 1457 to the 1550's written by city scribe Bernhard Herbers in ca. 1575, the sessions of the bailiff's court were opened with a ceremony where the bailiff (*vaget*) proclaimed his authority as a delegate of the Master of the Teutonic Order (i.e. before 1525/58), the city, the justice, the judge and the plaintiff. After that a ritual proclamation of the accused took place, where the accused formally submitted to the jurisdiction of the Lübeck Law. This submission was then corroborated with a threefold unsheathing of the ritual sword, after which the trial in the bailiff's court of justice began.¹²⁷

An important manifestation of the coercive authority of the city was the **city dungeon** where people suspected of robbery, crimes of violence and offences against the authority of the city were kept on remand before the trial or execution. The first city dungeon may have been the building cited in ca. 1333–37 as the house of the executioner (Lat. *domus tortoris*), but the relationship between various buildings used as dungeons (Mnd. *vanchus*), the **house and lodgings of the executioner** (Lat. *tortor*, Mnd. *scharprichter*) and **the house of the town bailiff** (Mnd. *bodelie*) in the late 14th and first half of the 15th century is not clear.¹²⁸ The house of the town bailiff (Lat. *domus preconis*) is first cited in 1350, when the son of a local retailer, *Hennekinus Flørekinus*, escaped from it with shackles on his legs and stole the sword of the bailiff. The sword was very likely the ritual sword of justice, one of the most important symbols of the judicial authority of the city, possibly deposited in the bailiff's office between sessions of the court.¹²⁹ Because a resignation was made on a house 'situated behind the theatre by the house of bailiff' (*domus preconis*) in 1370, the site of the early 14th-century *domus tortoris* has traditionally been identified as that of the late medieval house of the town bailiff (*bodelie*) behind the Town Hall.¹³⁰ Since several entries in the city accounts between 1437 and 1461 deal with various renovations in the house of the executioner (*scharprichters hus*), obviously a facility separate from the contemporary bailiff's house (*bodelie*), and the same as the later house of the executioner at the eastern end

¹²⁷ Criminalbuch III, 86, Somelar 1996, 85, von Nottbeck 1884a, 5–6.

¹²⁸ On the offices of the executioner and the town bailiff (*bodel*), see Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 237–240 and 243–245; TLA, A.a.2, p. 24 (LDA 1333–74, 127) 'domus tortoris', where the first four entries (nr. 125–128) are written by a hand here later cited as *WBIIIb* (Johansen 1935, hand 5), slightly different from the following entries of *WBIV* starting in 1337 (nr. 129 onwards). The same hand has also made entries on the preceding page 23, together with other hands. Before these and two undated lists on page 22, the first dated entry in A.a.2 is the list of elected councillors of 1333 on page 21 (nr. 107) written by *WBIV*.

¹²⁹ TLA, A.a.2, p. 60 (LDA 1333–74, 360) 'evasit ex domo preconis cum compedipus dictis helden et cum gladio preconis'.

¹³⁰ See for instance Kangroopool 1982, 12.

of the medieval *Ridderstrate* (today Est. *Rüütli*), close to the Smiths' Gate (Mnd. *Smedeporte*, Est. *Harju gate*) and the gallows outside it, these two lodgings of civic servants were evidently not the same. Accordingly, *domus tortoris* of 1337 was probably a different building from that of the 1350 *domus preconis*, which helps to understand the topography of the various agents of civic justice in the cityscape.¹³¹

An important manifestation of the civic implementation of justice under the council's authority, the house of bailiff (*bodels hus*) is cited in the earliest surviving *kämmerer*'s accounts of the city in 1370, when the cesspools of the house were emptied. Further works on the premises occurred in 1372, when stones were used and wooden gutters and spouts were made by carpenters at the back of the house and steps were made inside the house, and in 1374, when sand was brought to the front of the building. The central role of the town bailiff as a civic servant and the chief police authority in the city is also revealed in the name of the small lane between the house of the bailiff and the Town Hall known as the 'Bailiff's Street' (*bodel strate*) as early as 1372.¹³² A glimpse of the contemporary life of the *bodelie* is available in the correspondence of the council of Reval and Ernst van Dotzem, the headman of Åbo in Finland in 1372, when van Dotzem's armed servant (*knecht*) was killed after an attempt to force his way into the house of the town bailiff (*boden hus*). Searching to release a lady (Mnd. *vrouwe*, married woman of certain status) from the custody of the town bailiff, the *werkmester* (a master-builder or an armourer) had been banging on the bailiff's door so that the bailiff did not dare to go out. When the bailiff was compelled to emerge to mount the townwatch (for the night?), the man assaulted the bailiff but was wounded and died of his wounds afterwards. According to the council the injuries resulted from justified self-defence of the town bailiff during a hostile attack by the *werkmester*.¹³³ A tragic tale with a romantic side, the incident also tells us something of the personal passions of men and women living and visiting medieval Reval.

¹³¹ KB 1432–63, 270, 294, 432, 551, 554, 664, 1034, 1056. On the office of the executioner as a city servant and other source material concerning it see Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 237–241.

¹³² TLA, A.d.3, f. 3b 'Item vor des bodels hus to rackende 2½ ferd', 26a 'Item den timmerluden tu den rennen agter des boden hus 30 ore', 27b '12 ore vor sten to der brugen agter boden hus', 28b '11 ore vor de treppen de to des boden hus gemat vart' (KB 1363–74, p. 14, 37, 39–40); KB 1363–74, 26a–b, 27a–b, 30b, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43.

¹³³ TLA, A.a.6d, f. 9v (FMU VIII 6593, DS X 138), 'dat schach dat en vrowe ghesad was in vnnes stades boden hus vmme eren brøke; de wolde iuwe werkmester vt hebben one yemandes dank, vnde quam vor des stades boden hus vnde begunde de døren to stötende mid wold vnde mid welde, also dat des stades bode vte deme hus nicht en mochte, sunder do he des stades wachte schicken scolde vnde vte deme hus quam, do verdeghe en de werkmester an in des stades werue; des werde sik des stades bode vnde wundede ene, dar he van starf in rechter notwere else dat ghetughet is.'

A substantial rebuilding of the *bodelie* occurred in 1440–43, when a large quantity of building materials was acquired for the purpose. In the autumn and winter of 1440–41 three masons were paid for carving the limestone main portal, two *dornse* doorframes, two prisoner’s doorframes, several windowframes, a limestone pillar and other limestone structures for the building. The actual construction works seem to have taken place from July to November 1441, when there was also council construction activity in the Pharmacy, and again in the spring, summer and autumn of 1442 (April–September), when the roof, vaultings and iron accessories of the *bodelie* were completed and fitted. Additional works were done in 1443 and further renovations in 1444–46, 1449, 1451–52 and 1455.¹³⁴ The building had already been furnished with privies in 1370, and draining of the cesspools of the bailiff’s house was among the frequent annual expenditures of the city in 1433–41 and 1444.¹³⁵ Since additional work was done in 1444 at a location called *bodelie imme hove*, signifying either ‘bailiff’s house in the yard’ or ‘the yard of the bailiff’, and ovens were made in 1451 *in der olden bodelie* and 1460 *in der lutken* (little) *bodelie*, the mid-15th-century house of the town bailiff evidently consisted of a variety of rooms designed for detention of inmates.¹³⁶ The position of the town bailiff as a civic servant working under the council’s authority is further proved in his forms of salary, as in February 1443, when the city provided two bailiffs (apparently the town bailiff and the *Untervogt*, see CHAPTER 3.2.2.1), two carpenters and a young cook with cloth for their jackets as part of their expenses.¹³⁷

One of the main motives for the rebuilding of the *bodelie* at the beginning of the 1440’s appears to have been the need to organise the detention of petty criminals in the custody of the council. A possible sign of growth in the number of such detentions during the second quarter of the 15th century is the expenses on the draining of the *bodelie*’s cesspools cited almost annually before 1441, but only sporadically after the rebuilding of 1441–42, and the building of a new cesspool to the *bodelie imme hove* in 1444. In addition to the *bodelie*, other facilities fit for detention existed for convicted felons, malefactors, perpetrators of serious crimes and those sentenced to death. One such place was the stone dungeon (*stenen vankhues*) and its cellar under the Breadbench, which, according to the schematic register of city rents introduced by city scribe Hermannus some time round 1398–1403, was then leased

¹³⁴ Renovations before 1440: KB 1432–63, 17, 145 (keys and locks), 169, 220. Rebuilding 1440–1443: KB 1432–63, 428–429, 436, 439, 441, 443, 445–447, 452–53, 457, 459–464, 467–468, 471, 476–477, 479, 481, 483–485, 487–497, 499, 502, 507–8, 514, 516, 520, 523, 528, 534–535, 551, 553. Later renovations, 505, 596–98, 643, 682, 804, 850, 906, 1001, 1027, 1080, 1056.

¹³⁵ KB 1363–74, 3b; KB 1432–63, 22, 138, 196, 248, 301, 430, 448, 450, 592.

¹³⁶ KB 1432–63, 594, 875, 1123.

¹³⁷ KB 1432–63, 520.

out for private use, as discussed above in CHAPTER 3.1.3.2. The dungeon (*vanchus*) is referred to as early as 1395 in a register of leased property of the council and it may also be the same as the house of the executioner (*domus tortoris*) cited in ca. 1333–37.¹³⁸

Since the old ‘stone dungeon’ of the 14th century is not mentioned after the rebuilding of the *bodelie* in 1441–43 and the 1443 construction of the new Breadbench and the works on the Pharmacy in the 1440’s and 1450’s, it appears to have been annexed to the block of adjacent houses in the possession of the city in the 1440’s. However, since a certain man named *Antfogle* gave in 1437 money to cover the costs of three people who had been detained too long in the prison (*vencknisse*), the city covered expenses for the cleaning up of the dungeon (*vangenhues*) in 1443 and 1450, and the renovation of a dungeon with ironwork and oven is cited in the city accounts of 1456–59, the 14th-century stone dungeon may still have served justice in the city.¹³⁹ It is clear that the early 15th-century stone dungeon and the dungeon of the 1440’s and 1450’s are not the same as the city **dungeon tower** (*vangentorne*), where several renovations including the installation of an oak hatch, limestone window frame and ironwork were made in 1440–42 and 1452. In the last year the dungeon tower is identified as **Bremer tower**, a tower of the Town wall still in a section of wall near the harbour area which is known to have been used for the detention of Klaus Dock, who was found guilty of piracy and executed in 1425. Since inmates of both *boden hus* and *torne* are cited in the memorial of town bailiff Gerd Grymmert of 1436–39, both facilities were in use at the same time.¹⁴⁰

Together with the *richtehus* and various places of detention other essential manifestations of the judicial authority of the city were the **pillory** and **gallows**, the former (Lat. *statua*) being first mentioned in ca. 1333–37, and again in 1370 by its Middle Low German name ‘*kak*’.¹⁴¹ Already one of the main visual expressions of the judicial authority of the council in the Marketplace area in the latter half of the 13th century, the pillory stood in the middle of the present square at the corner of the 16th-century Great Weigh House. The exact site of the medieval gallows is not known, but the facilities for hanging and mutilation of both living

¹³⁸ TLA, A.a.7, f. 5r, 6r, 8r; TLA, A.a.4a, f. 114v, ‘Johannes van telgheten vor dat vanchus’; TLA

¹³⁹ KB 1432–63, 222, 557, 831, 1038, 1063, 1107.

¹⁴⁰ KB 1432–63, 412, 450, 479, ‘Bremer de vangetorne’ 884, 1170; On Dock’s hearing in Bremer Tower on Friday after St Lucy (15.12.) 1425, see TLA, BA 1:1b, 103–104, 105. The well preserved architectural features and specialities of the Bremer Tower and its two stores dungeons are discussed in extension by Zobel 2011, 176–182; TLA, A.a.6:I, f. 16r, II, f. 11r–12v.

¹⁴¹ TLA, A.a.2, p. 24 (LDA 1333–74, 125), for the dating see footnote 128 above; TLA, A.d.3, f. 9b, 27b (KB 1363–74, p. 20, 39)

and dead were located outside the Smiths' Gate (Mnd. *smiedeporte*) south of the town, and Domberg whence the main road led to Riga and Pernau.¹⁴² In the 16th century some executions by sword are known to have taken place in the narrow galleries between the fore and main gates of the city. Since certain Herman the executioner and his associates were given a small sum of money '*in dren porten reine to makende*' in November 1449, executions by methods other than hanging may have taken place in the gate galleries in the first half of the 15th century, if not before.¹⁴³

3.1.3.5. Activities outside the Marketplace: The Marstall, the Mint, the mills and the Town wall

Other institutions related to the activities of the council frequently cited in the city memoranda but perhaps not always so visible to an occasional visitor were the Marstall, the Mint and the mills. The Marstall was the stables for the mounts and pack-horses of the city for the use of the council, its guests and messengers, but also provided services for important official ambassadors to the city such as the Master of the Livonian Order, other officials of the Teutonic Order and their messengers.¹⁴⁴ Minting in medieval Livonia was a regal right, which in the case of Reval belonged first subject to the king of Denmark (1219–27 and 1238–1346) and after 1346 the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. The first known regulation of the minting of Reval is the Charter of Queen Margaret of Denmark of 1265, which licenced the minting and the inspection of counterfeits to the council. In the time of the Order, half the necessary silver for the minting was provided by the city and half by the Livonian Master, but the minting was carried out in under the supervision of the council, who employed a Master of Mint to take care of the actual process. For both the city and the Order, the Mint in Reval was an important form of revenue, and the Revalian coinage based on the system of Riga was one of the most important currencies and reserves of hard money in the Gulf of Finland area in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.¹⁴⁵

Originally in the late 13th century and most likely still at the beginning of the Order era in 1347, the **Marstall** and **Mint** were located in separate buildings at the foot of Domberg hill

¹⁴² von Nottbeck 1884a, 19, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 238.

¹⁴³ KB 1432–63, 806.

¹⁴⁴ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 247.

¹⁴⁵ Vogelsang, Reinhard, Zur Finanzverwaltung im mittelalterlichen Reval. In: Zeitschrift für Ostforschung, 20 (1971), 700–702, LECUB I:1 390, On the use of Revalian coins in Finland at the beginning of the 15th century see Johansen 1951, 16 and CHAPTER 1.1.2.1 above. On the mint see even Leimus, Ivar, Einleitung. Revaler Münzbücher 1416–1526. Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Tallinn, 3. Tallinn 1999 (here cited as Mbücher 1416–1526), 31–53 and Leimus, Ivar, Tallinna mündimeistril 16. sajandil. In: Pullat, Raimo et al. (eds.) Vana Tallinn III (VII). Estopol, Tallinn 1993, 7–31.

between the two access routes to the castle, the streets Long Leg and Short Leg (Est. *Pikk jalg*, *Lühike jalg*). Similar to the city's early 14th facilities at the northeast corner of the Marketplace, both seem originally to have been located close to available sources of fresh water, the Rataskaevu ('Well with wheel') and another early well located on the Domberg slope on *Pikk jalg*. The first known location of the Marstall was in the neighbourhood of today's Dunkri, a street between the Marketplace and the mid-14th-century 'Street Under the Hill' (*sub monte*). The Rataskaevu well is documented at the exit of the street onto the Marketplace in 1375 (*putei dicti Sternsot*). The Mint and the hoisting machinery for minting stood on the site of the present Rataskaevu 6, near the junction of Long Street (Est. *Pikk*), Long Leg and Street Under the Hill, also named *Dummestrate* in 1328 (Mnd. *Dume* = hoist). Soon after the beginning of the Order era, however, the focus of these two activities was relocated to the southeast, near the Short Leg access to the Domberg and the junction of the medieval 'Knight's Street' (*Ridderstrate*, Est. *Rüütli*) and 'King's Street' (*Köninckstrate*, today Est. *Niguliste*), which made both facilities and especially the Marstall more accessible to both the council and the Order's officials. Even before 1375 the Mint was relocated to its later site in medieval 'King's Street', opposite the church and the graveyard of St Nicholas, where both the Mint and the lodgings of the Master of Mint stood until the 17th century. Because the old Marstall (*antiquo marstalle*) is listed as a private property in 1383, a new one was presumably built on its later location at the foot of the Short Leg access to the Domberg and the hill in the third quarter of the 14th century.¹⁴⁶

In the course of the 14th and 15th centuries both the Marstall and the Mint were subject to renovations and extensions. One of the earliest known works in the Marstall occurred in 1377–78 when a barn was built to increase the animal feed storage capacity in the facility. A busy hub of all kinds of horse-drawn vehicles, various repairs and maintenance of gear either deposited in or used by the Marstall such as wagons, sledges and harnesses, are cited in

¹⁴⁶ On mint see von Nottbeck 1884a, 52–54 and EBII 523, WB 1312–60, 302 'Dummestrate', EBII 532, 'putei dicti sternsot'. On Marstall Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 247, von Nottbeck 1884a, 49–51, and EBII 865. On the wells see even Kivi 1967, 7. According to Kristi Tasuja and Villu Kadakas, a great deal of of the buildings at the middle of Dunkri Street between Niguliste Street and Dunkri remained wooden well into the 14th century. Even after that much of the area in the upper middle part of the street (Dunkri 17) served as backyards of houses facing Niguliste Street with stone and other buildings assisting their activities. Even if the Old Marstall and later New Mint, which, in the Middle Ages, stood north of the area at the western (upper) end of Dunkri are not cited in the article, much of the 14th- and 15th-century organisation of the houses and plots resulted very likely from the fact that sections of the area had been incorporated to these two successive nodes of council activity since the latter half of the 13th century, Tasuja, Kristi & Kadakas, Villu, Tallinna Dunkri tänava hävinud kivihoonestusest. In: Kreem, Juhan et al. (eds.), Vana Tallinn 26 (30). Trükikoja Print Best, Tallinn, 2015, 42–45. Deducting from the fact that the Old Marstall was a private property in 1383, the New Mint may have been relocated to the area between the upper ends of Niguliste and Dunkri streets some time in 1346–83 (see also MAP 6, where the exact location of the Old Marstall is left unmarked).

almost every dated entry of the *kämmerer*'s accounts in 1432–63. The hay for fueling the council's horses was acquired from the city meadows, but additional feed such as rye and oats was bought every now and then.¹⁴⁷ According to the accounts of the Mint, a major renovation of the facility occurred in the late 1420's and in 1455–56, when both 'the house and the stone house of the Mint' were rebuilt. Between these periods the Mint was completely destroyed in the fire in the north and northeast areas of the city on Sunday Cantate (May 11), 1433.¹⁴⁸

An impressive manifestation of the council's economic capacity to serve the needs of the city population were the **mills** and the **system of dams and dykes** attached to them just outside the southern and southeast sections of the Town wall in front of the Smiths' Gate (*Smedeporte*, later Est. *Harju*), Cattle Gate (*Karriporte*, Est. *Karja*) and Clay Gate (*Lemporte*, Est. *Viru*). Like the minting, the milling was fundamentally a regal right enfeoffed to individual proprietors by the sovereign ruler. According to Paul Johansen (1935), the system of three watermills and the necessary canalising of water from the River Härjåpea to the town moat with dams was constructed in the beginning of the Order era in 1346–49, after the Danish king, Valdemar IV, had granted the city the right to conduct water to the moats and built mills in September 1345.¹⁴⁹

The earliest known information about milling in Reval is a charter of King Erik V Klipping of Denmark issued in Taarnborg on June 30, 1283, granting Johannes, bishop of Reval, the right to build a mill downstream from the mill of the vassal Sigfridus de Brakel (*domini Sigrfridi de Prakle*) on the bank of the brook which ran from a fountain called *Haryenpe* (i.e. River Härjåpea).¹⁵⁰ Other mills of late 13th-century origin in the river are documented in 1304, when King Erik VI of Denmark granted the 'feudal rights' (*iure ... pheodali*) of a mill

¹⁴⁷ KB 1376–80, f. 7v, Heckmann 1992, 203; Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 247–252; KB 1432–63, index.

¹⁴⁸ Leimus 1993, 7 and Leimus 1999, 32, 38. The costs of the rebuilding in the first half of the 15th century are cited in a section of a paper volume of mixed information of the costs and production of Mint in quarto covering the years 1416–19, 1422–47, and 1498–1502, TLA A.d.17, f. 21r–v, edited in Ivar Leimus in *Mbücher 1416–1526*. In the original TLA, A.d.17, f. 21r the section concerning the building costs is dated loosely to ca. 1427–32 by a modern hand, apparently that of Paul Johansen; TLA, A.d.22, f. 11r 'do wart de munte gebouwet beyde hus et stenhuis dar by'; For the costs of 1455–56 see also KB 1432–63, 1043. On the fire see the relation of the wardens of the Mint edited in LECUB I:8, p. 406, footnote 2, Leimus 1999, 38, and Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 48.

¹⁴⁹ Johansen 1935, XLVIII–L; LECUB I:2 838. For the mills and milling in Reval, see even von Nottbeck 1884b, 11–14, and Greiffenhagen, Otto, *Zur Geschichte Wasserindustrie Revals*. In: *Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands* Hrsg. von der Estländischen Literarischen Gesellschaft, XIII:1–5, Reval, 105–110 (here cited as Greiffenhagen 1927/28a, originally published in 1922 in the book 'Der baltische Papierindustrie').

¹⁵⁰ TLA, Urk 1-I, 33 (DD II:3 65). The text of the charter has only survived in a copy written on a rectangular sheet of parchment with the hand of the city scribe later cited in this study as *WBIV* (active from October 1333 to May 1358), see also Greiffenhagen 1927/28a, 107–108.

close to Reval (*iuxta Revaliam situm*) to one *Winandus de Stantford* and his heirs on St Bartholomeus' Eve (August 25), the mill Winandus had bought from a certain *Johannes de Hyldenses* whose father had first been granted the right of milling at the site as part of his fief.¹⁵¹ Since Winandus is granted full rights to the mill and its facilities against annuities in the charter, and all problems caused to the neighbouring royal mill are sanctioned, the mill cannot be the same as the so called uppermost mill (*overste mölle*), which was in royal possession in 1345 when King Waldemar IV granted the council and burghers of Reval the right to use all rivers and waters inside the town's marked possessions. Should the canalising of waters cause trouble for the royal mill, the mill it was to be held by the council but rented, and the headman of the royal castle was to retain his right to use it for his needs. Soon after it appears that the mill was placed permanently under the control of the council. Referred to in the city memoranda of 1349–54 and later, the mill was occasionally rented to groups of named bakers resident in the city. The annual revenues from it (*de superiori molendino*) are mentioned together with the specification of revenues from the other two mills (*de medio molendino, de infimo molendino*) located in the city moats in 1373.¹⁵²

Despite the usufruct of the council, after 1346 the uppermost mill remained in the possession of the Order, which used it as a means to raise both annual and extraordinary revenues. In 1432 the Livonian Master placed it and the lake in the full possession of the city against a fixed annuity of 20 marks, and in both 1456 and 1457 the Livonian Master pawned the annual revenues of the mill together with the village of Jerweküll and its lake (today *Ülemiste järv*) against a loan of 1800 Rhein Guldens and 1000 old Riga marks issued by the council.¹⁵³ Profits from the mill between the other two, the Cattle Gate mill (*de medio molendino*), are first listed in the specification of revenues of 1373. The third mill, the lowest one at the Clay Gate (*de infimo molendino*), was most likely originally that of the Nunnery of St Michael, which Abbess Margareta von Bycken sold to the council of Reval in June 1354. Civic possession of it was confirmed through an enfeoffment by the Livonian Master in 1365.¹⁵⁴ Since the milling accounts of 1349–57 and the specification of 1373 indicate that

¹⁵¹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 40 (DD II:5 337, LECUB I:2 618).

¹⁵² LECUB I:2 312, 838, Vogelsang 1971, 702, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 230–231, LECUB I:2 838, Johansen 1935, XLVIII–L, LDA 1333–74, 357, 363, 372–5 and 400, 402–3, 405–12, 414, 425–6 (425 = 1373), von Nottbeck 1884b, 12–13.

¹⁵³ On Jerweküll Johansen 1933, 383–5, LECUB I:8 560 and TLA, B.c.6. The charter of the uppermost mill of 1432 has been preserved both in the original (TLA, Urk. 1-I, 257) and a copy (TLA, B.a.32, 1), the latter written by the city scribe *Joachim Muter*; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 686 (LECUB I:11, 553), Friday after Pentecost (May 21, 1456) and 1-I, 688 (LECUB I:11, 648), Feast of St Valentine (February 14, 1457); Vogelsang 1971, 702.

¹⁵⁴ LECUB I:2 952, 1017, Vogelsang 1971, 702, on all mills documented in the area east and southeast of the city, see Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 230–234.

the profits from milling were originally divided into four parts between the city (5/8) and three councillors (1/8 each), the mills or some of them were evidently built or rebuilt as a joint enterprise of the council and private merchant partakers, and transferred to the full possession of the city only later, some time before the end of the 14th century. After the rebuilding of the gates at the turn of the 1360's and 1370's, the mills were partially incorporated into the three gate galleries and thus further strengthened the defences of the city.¹⁵⁵ Already in the 14th century several other mills existed on the lower course of Härjapea river running from Mädäjärvi (*meddejerwe*) to the sea. Of these, the one most closely connected to civic institutions was the mill of the leprosorium and hospital of St John. The bishop of Reval granted 75 Riga marks for the city to rebuild it against an annual rent and certain commodities in kind to be paid for the hospital and its rector (*kerckheren*). The grant was issued in 1381, after the mill had been destroyed in unknown circumstances. The mill is referred to as early as 1279 and it was the joint property of the hospitals of St John and the Holy Ghost from ca. 1350 to 1356. The hospital of the Holy Ghost also owned another mill close to the mill of St John's. Both mills appear to have come into full possession of the city in the late 14th century, after which they were administered through the wardens of the hospitals. The mill of St John is evidently the same under the custody of the warden of the hospital of St John, Johan van der Mühlen, who in June 1411 rented it on behalf of the hospital to the brothers Hans and Hinrich Berchem against an annual rent to be paid at Michaelmas and Easter.¹⁵⁶

Last but not least, in the 14th and 15th centuries one of the most definite and spectacular showpieces of city authority in Reval was the **Town wall**, which completely enclosed the merchant town, even from Domberg. The oldest system of fortification surrounding the merchant settlement at the foot of the Domberg hill was constructed in the second half of the 13th century, possibly soon after the ordinance of Queen Margaret of Denmark on the demarcation of the patrimony of the city in 1265. Permanent fiscal means for the building and maintenance of the town wall were created in 1273, when Queen Dowager Margaret directed approximately one third of all the revenues from fines on offences against the common peace to the construction of civic fortifications. Another initiative of the central authority occurred in ca. 1280, when the queen dowager exhorted the council and citizens to fortify their city with firm walls for the mutual benefit of the town and the queen. Letters of

¹⁵⁵ Johansen 1935, XLVIII–L and LDA 1333–74, 425 (TLA, A.d.5, f. 2v); Zobel 2008, 153–154, 159, 160.

¹⁵⁶ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 232–233, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 387 (1381), 516, feast of 10000 Martyrs (29 July), 1411, where the latter document is written by city scribe *Johannes Blomendal*.

Queen Dowager Margaret asking for assistance in the fortification of the town were also sent to the royal vassals of Estonia and the Cistercian abbots of Falkenau, Dünamunde and Gotland (Gutnalia, Roma).¹⁵⁷ The various interpretations of the extension of the late 13th century wall have been discussed in CHAPTER 1.1.2.4.

On the instructions of the royal legate Johannes Canne in September 1310, the system of fortifications was substantially reinforced, gaps between Domberg and Town wall were closed, and the city was allowed to extend its area towards the sea as far as it would like. No later than this, the Cistercian nunnery was included within the fortified area of the town.¹⁵⁸ In 1311–40 six fortified limestone gates were built in order to secure the main entrances to the city, but the two gates barring the way to Domberg at Short Leg and Long Leg may have been of wooden construction even after the beginning of the Order era. Another intensive period of fortification occurred in the late 1360's and early 1370's, when several new towers were built, the moats and palisades in the front of the wall were completed and the main gates were furnished with barbicans and narrow walled galleries that filtered those entering the city.¹⁵⁹ Further extensions to the fortification system occurred in 1388–89 and 1402–13. Later in the 15th century renovations were made to adapt them for use of firearms, in 1454–56 and 1494–95 and perhaps at other times. The stone wall and two strong gate towers separating the city from Domberg at Long Leg and Short Leg were built between the Easter of 1454 and Pentecost of 1455.¹⁶⁰ Most of the periods of intensive fortification can be linked either to contemporary conflicts in the Gulf of Finland area and northern Livonia, or to fluctuations in the economic and political status of the city in the league of the maritime cities. In the royal confirmation of Canne's decisions of 1311, for instance, the building of new fortifications was motivated by 'tyrants' conjurations' and 'frequent pagan intrusions' that menaced the city. Such a formulation obviously refers to the contemporary fear of

¹⁵⁷ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 9 (August 13, 1265, DD II:1 492, LECUB I:1 389); TLA, Urk. 1-I, 14 (August 29, 1273. DD II:2 213, LECUB I 435); TLA, Urk. 1-I, 11 (DD II:2 427, LECUB I:1 468), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 12 (DD II:2 428, LECUB I:1 531) and TLA, Urk. 1-I, 27 (DD II:2 429, LECUB I:1 470). A letter of King Erik to the abbots of Falkenau, Dünamunde and Gotland (Roma) similar to that of Queen Margaret has only survived through later vidimations, DD II.2 430, LECUB I:1 533. For the dating of the letters to ca. 1280 and the scribe of Queen Margaret's letter, see DD II:2 429, and Skyum-Nielsen 1966, 172.

¹⁵⁸ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 41 (DD II:6 303, LECUB I:2 632) and EAA, ErüK, Urk. I, 2, 4, 2 (EAA.854.2.9, DD II:6 304, LECUB I:2 634) of which the last is an original receipt on parchment in Latin issued by Canne in Reval on Wednesday after elevation of the Holy Cross (September 16), 1310, over 82 marks in silver he had received on behalf of the king from the royal vassals in Estonia.

¹⁵⁹ Zobel 2008, 129–141, 167–171, Zobel 2011, 67–132, 145–146; Kadakas & Mäll, 2002, 417–424.

¹⁶⁰ Zobel 2011, 144–243; Heckmann, Dieter, Ein Ausgabenverzeichnis für Mauerausbesserungen der Revaler Bürgerstadt von 1388/89. In: Zeitschrift für Ostforschung 37 (1988), 175–186, Hartmann, Stefan, Zwei Verzeichnisse Revaler Stadttürme um 1413–1426 und um 1513–1525. In: Zeitschrift für Ostforschung 37 (1988), 187–214; KB 1432–63, 1042.

hostile intervention in Reval by either King Birger of Sweden, who had secured his control of Viborg in the tripartition of the Swedish realm with his brothers in the treaty of Helsingborg on 17 July, 1310, or Novgorod, which was active in Karelia, Nyland and Tavastland in 1310–11.¹⁶¹

In the late 14th and early 15th centuries the towers and corresponding sections of the town wall were in the care of named councillors with heritable property close to the tower in question. Lists of councillors who had custody of keys, armour, weapons and projectiles of the towers relevant to the period of this study have survived from the years 1355, 1373 and ca. 1413. In 1355 each of the 11 towers had one custodian, eight of whom are known to have been members of the presiding council in the 1350's. In 1373 each of the 15 towers had two custodians of which only nine are cited as members of the presiding council of the same year.¹⁶² Since there is evidence that at least six of the towers built at the beginning of the 1370's were later known by the name of the councillor responsible for their construction, individual members of the merchant elite were personally involved in the supervision of the military security of the city, just as they held other offices and duties in administration. Instead of the annual rotation of the presiding council, however, the appointment of the councillors and other leading members of the burgher elite to maintain the towers was of permanent nature, like that of the wardens of the city hospitals, which may be indicative of the need of stability in certain offices of the city already in the latter half of the 14th century, if not before.¹⁶³

From the point of view of management of written information, most of the nodes and manifestations of the council's authority were of marginal nature, and usually emerged only as objects in the contemporary process of recording the kind of economic or judicial activities the council performed in the name of the city and where. The actual management of information and the introduction of text as the main technology of keeping track of the administration occurred elsewhere; through initiatives of single councillors responsible for activities in the administration and the agency of the city scribes in controlling the textual activities of the council. In order to understand the nature of textualization and the

¹⁶¹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 41 (DD II:6 303, LECUB I:2 632). On the connection of the fortification works of the turn of the 1360's and 1370's to the war of the Hanseatic League with the king of Denmark and the contemporary campaigns of the Teutonic Order and Pskov, see Heckmann 1988, 175–176.

¹⁶² LDA 1333–74, 538 (1355), 539 (1373) and Hartmann 1988, 188, 204, on the dating see 200–202 (1413). See even Johansen 1935, XXXIV–XXXVII.

¹⁶³ Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXI. On the names of the towers see also Zobel 2011, 117–132, 160–162, and Hartmann 1988, 203–204.

management of information in the council's administration, I will now focus on what is known of the distribution of offices among the presiding councillors and the nature of the office of the city scribe in respect to the spheres of information apparent in the activities of the council before 1460. What was the agency of councillors in the management of written information of the civic administration compared to that of the city scribes and how did it manifest itself and evolve in different spheres of administration in the 14th and early 15th centuries?

3.2. Topics of administration and spheres of information: The production of memoranda and the distribution of offices among the councillors

Once chosen as members of the presiding council, councillors were allocated offices in civic administration according to the practice and tradition of the city. In medieval Reval, appointment to various offices was made on the basis of seniority and years in office, but as early as in the 15th century evidently also because of personal abilities of the councillors and their previous acquaintance with the office. In the Hanseatic cities and other towns of the Baltic Sea area the hierarchy of offices and their possession during the administrative career of the councillors varied slightly from one city to another, but in large urban centers the first appointment of a fresh councillor appears to have been typically that of a *kämmerer* (Lat. *camerarius*), whereas only the senior and most experienced members of the council ended up serving their city as burghermasters. In between, the councillors not only occupied a variety of offices in the fiscal and judicial administration of the city such as wardens of the Mint, mills and various taxes and revenues, but also constituted the civic court of justice which delivered sentences, warrants and judgements in the name of the city and the council.¹⁶⁴

As discussed in CHAPTER 1.2.3, the variety of council engagements are best characterised as **topics in administration**, on which the textual applications in the management of information were built. Neither the structure of the administration nor the application of textual technologies for various 'topoi' comprehensible in it were merely a result of adaptation to the flow of tasks in the everyday world of civic enterprises. Instead, both the structure of administration and written management of information must have corresponded closely to the pragmatic and conscious needs of 'getting things done', where not only the

¹⁶⁴ In late medieval Stockholm, for instance, the typical career of a councillor began with the office of the *kämmerer*, Lamberg 2001, 193. Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 61. On the general structure of offices in medieval German towns and cities, see Isenmann 2012, 386–389. A helpful introduction to the nature of the medieval *Ratsverfassung* and its memoranda is still Pitz 1959, 29–32.

tradition and contemporary grounding of the civic authority but also innovations and modifications in both the structure of administration and written management of information contributed to contemporary methods of controlling and handling each activity. In some offices, such as that of the *kämmerers*, or wardens of the Mint or the mills, organisational and institutional conventions characteristic for the respective topics of administration were developed, which in turn produced specific corpuses of written memoranda characteristic for them. In others, such as the office of *schafferer*, responsible for the catering of the council's festivities or the administration of the marstall, no such corpus appears to have emerged, and the information is found in a variety of entries scattered among the other memoranda of the city. As discussed in CHAPTERS 1.2.1.1 and 1.2.1.2, the articulation of various agencies in the civic administration thus contributed to the ways various text permanences emerged and were developed in them, a sign of the dialectic process constructing not only agencies in the medieval institutional presence of the civic government but also 'professions' and 'professional' identities characteristic for the management of information.

3.2.1. The two *kämmerers* and their accounts

3.2.1.1. The office of the *kämmerers* and the duration of the *kämmerership*

From at least the second quarter of the 14th century the major hub of the fiscal activity of the council administration was the office of the *kämmerer*, an administrative body of two councillors overseeing the city coffer, income and expenses on behalf of the council. In Reval, the office is first documented in 1340, when '*Th[ideman] Cosfelt et Gerlacus Lebart, camerarii*' presented a certain sum of money, which one *Rotherus de Ytrecht* had paid to the council because of a homicide, to two men. Both Cosfelt and Lebart are cited as members of the presiding council for the fiscal year of 1341/42. In the surviving registers Tideman Cosfeld is named as a member of the presiding council for the fiscal year starting in 1335 and again in 1341, 1344, 1347 and 1349, but Gerlach Lebart only twice, for the fiscal years of 1340/41 and 1341/42. In the fiscal year of 1342/43 the office of *kämmerer* was held by one *Constantinus* and *Lodwicus Hamer*. Hamer first surfaces as a sworn burgher of Reval in 1334 and 1336 and was a member of the presiding council in 1337, 1340–48, 1350 and 1352. Of Constantinus we only know that he was elected as a member of the presiding

council for two consecutive fiscal years. 1341/42 and 1342/43, and that he was associated with one *Wernerus* who was sworn in to the burghership in Reval in 1341.¹⁶⁵

More precise information on the rotation of *kämmerers* is available in the surviving accounts of the office (from 1363, 1369 – ca. 1375, 1376–80, 1405 and from 1426), and other memoranda of the city as presented in TABLES 3:A–B. In the accounts, the *kämmerers* introduced for a new fiscal year in office are always cited in pairs. The majority of the names, and at least the first one (*Kämmerer A*) is frequently accompanied with the title *dominus* or *her* depicting the councillorship of the person in question. Any omission of the title, however, can not be taken as a proof that the person holding the office of the ‘second’ *kämmerer* (*B*) was not a contemporary member of the presiding council. In TABLE 3:A, all the councillors mentioned for the first time as in the office are in bold type and every *kämmerer* is provided with a summary of the known period of his activity as councillor. In TABLE 3:B the administrative career of the known *kämmerers* is set in the framework of their burghership, their first known appointment as a councillor and introduction to the Table Guild, in order to evaluate the moment when they were first chosen as *kämmerers* of the city.

Table 3:A: *Known pairs of kämmerers in Reval before 1457.*

Fiscal year	Kämmerer A	Known activity in the council	Kämmerer B	Known activity in the council
1340/41	Thideman Cosfelt	1335–49	Gerlacus Lebart	1340–41
1341/42	..	..	..	..
1342/43	Constantinus	1341–42	Lodwicus Hamer	1337–52
..
1369/70	Albertus de Verden	1364–79	Hinricus Wulf	1365–70
1370/71	Albertus de Verden		Wynandus Louenschede	1370
1371/72	Gotfridus Ysfrede	1364–78	Johannes Kurowe	1371–78
1372/73	Johannes Kurowe		Gherardus Heydemann	1372–74
1373/74	..	..	..	..
1374/75	Johannes van der Molen	1367–91	Johannes Sceper	1373–90
1375/76	..	..	..	..
1376/77	Iohannes Boleman	1359–83	Iohannes Specht	1373–92
1377/78	Johann Hamer	1365–73	Goscalc Scotelmund	1373–96
..
1420/21	..		Rychert Lange	1414–46
1421/22	Rychert Lange		Henrik Schelewente	1418–42

¹⁶⁵ A detailed overview of the fiscal administration of the council of Reval is provided by Vogelsang 1971, 685–708. See even Vogelsang’s introduction in KB 1432–63, 4–8; WB 1312–60, 500; LDA 1333–74, 351, 213, 267, 194 (*item Wernerus qui est cum Constantino*). According to von Bunge 1874, 88, Constantinus had been granted the burghership in 1337, but the information is obviously based on an invalid reference to LECUB I:2 925; von Bunge 1874, 25, 88, 111, 109, 139.

1422/23	..	..	..	..
1423/24	Hermen Lippen	1414-34	Wenemar van der Beke	1423-36
1424/25	..	..	..	..
1425/26	Johan van deme Holte	1418-36	Wenemar van der Beke	
1426/27	Johan van deme Holte		Wenemar van der Beke	
1427/28	Wenemar van der Beke		Hermen Lippen	
1428/29	Hermen Lippen		Hildebrand van der Bokele	1415-43
1429/30	Hildebrand van der Bokele		Wenemar van der Beke	
1430/31	Wenemar van der Beke		[Johan Oldendorp?]	1421-58
1431/32	..	..	..	..
1432/33	Hinrik van Rypen	1430-32	Hinrik Eppinchusen	1432-39
1433/34	Hinrik Eppinchusen		Godscalk Stolteuot	1428-57
1434/35	Godscalk Stolteuot		Hinrik Eppinchusen	
1435/36	..	..	..	..
1436/37	Godscalk Stolteuot		Hinrik Eppinchusen	
1437/38	Godscalk Stolteuot		Gise Richerdes	1432-47
1438/39	Godscalk Stolteuot		Tideman Nasschart	1433-45
1439/40	Godscalk Stolteuot		Tideman Nasschart	
1440/41	..	..	..	..
1441/42	..	..	..	..
1442/43	Johan Smede	1440-56	Marquart Bretholt	1439-73
..
1446/47	Johan Smede		Marquart Bretholt	
1447/48	Marquart Bretholt		Cort Gripenberch	1443-58
1448/49	Cort Gripenberch		Euert Pepersack	1447-61
1449/50	Cord Gripenberch		Euert Pepersack	
1450/51	..	..	..	..
1451/52	..	..	..	..
1452/53	..	..	..	..
1453/54	Euert Pepersack		Hinrik Toelner	1448-72
1454/55	Hinrik Toelner		Johan Velthusen	1445-67
1455/56	Johan Velthusen		Hinrik Toelner	
1456/57	..	..	..	..
1457/58	Johannes Velthusen		Reynoldus de Werne	1455-81

Table 3:B: *Aspects on the career of known k ammerers of Reval before 1457.*

Name	1 st known appointment as k�ammerer	Introduced to the Table Guild	Dead	Burgher's oath	Known as councillor since	Active as burghermaster	Table Guild and k�ammerership	Years between burghership and k�ammerership	Years between councillorship and k�ammerership
Thideman Cosvelt	1340	..	..	..	1335	..	..	..	5
Gerlacus Lebart	1340	..	before 1347	..	1340	..	..	..	0
Constantinus	1342	..	..	before 1340	1341	..	..	+2	1
Lodwicus Hamer	1342	..	..	1334	1337	..	..	8	5
Albertus de Verden	1369	..	..	..	1364	..	..	..	5
Hinricus Wulf	1369	..	..	..	1365	..	..	..	4
Wynandus Louenschede	1370	..	..	..	1370	..	..	..	0
Gotfridus Ysfrede	1371	..	..	1362	1364	..	..	9	7
Johannes Kurowe	1371	..	1388?	..	1371	..	..	..	0
Gherardus Heydemann	1372	1364	before 1376	..	1372	..	8	..	0
Johannes van der Molen	1374	..	..	before 1347	1367	1389–91	..	+17	7
Johannes Sceper	1374	1377	before 1392	..	1373	..	-3	..	1
Iohannes Boleman	1376	..	1389?	..	1359	..	..	..	17
Iohannes Specht	1376	1378	before 1395	..	1373	..	-2	..	3
Johann Hamer	1377	..	..	..	1365	..	..	..	12
Goscalc Scotelmund	1377	1377	1398–1401	before 1370	1373	1381–96	0	+7	4
Rychert Lange	1420	1409	before 1450	..	1414	1428–46	11	..	6
Henrik Schelewend	1421	1406	1448	..	1418	1430–42	15	..	3
Hermen Lippen	1423	1393	1435–40	..	1414	..	30	..	9
Wenemar van der Beke	1423	1414	1437–38	before 1410	1422	..	9	+13	0
Johan van deme Holte	1426	..	..	..	1418	..	..	..	8
Hildebrand van der Bokele	1428	1414	1445	..	1415	1439–43	14	..	13
Johan Oldendorp	1430	1414	1448	1413	1421	..	16	17	9
Hinrik van Rypen	1432	..	before 1433	1427	1430	..	..	5	2
Hinrik Eppinchusen	1432	1399	before 1453	..	1432	..	33	..	0
Gotschalck Stoltevot	1433	1418	1457	..	1428	..	15	..	5
Gise Richerdes	1437	1421	1447	1428	1432	1441–47	16	9	5
Tideman Nasschart	1438	1400	1455	before 1422	1433	..	38	+16	5
Johan Smit	1442	1418	1454	..	1440	..	24	..	2
Marquart Bretholt	1442	1421	1476	1437	1438	1458–73	21	5	4
Cort Gripenberch	1447	1425	1459	1434	1443	..	22	13	4
Euert Peppersak	1448	1429	1469	1436	1446	..	19	12	2
Hinrik Tolner	1453	1426	1476	1430	1448	..	27	23	5
Johan Velthusen	1454	1442	1467	..	1445	1464	12	..	9
Reynoldus de Werne	1457	1438	1484	1452	1455	..	19	5	2

Sources: Thideman Cosvelt, WB 1312–60, 500, von Bunge 1874, 25, 88; Gerlacus Lebart, WB 1312–60, 500, von Bunge 1874, 25, 111; Constantinus, LDA 1333–74, 351, von Bunge 1874, 88. In the manuscript the name of Hermannus Weldeghe has been corrected to Constantinus. Weldeghe is cited as a member of the presiding council in 1341, 1343, 1346 and 1349, burghermaster in 1349. He died around 1349–50. See von Bunge 1874, 139, and 28, where Weldeghe has been featured as one of the *camerarii* in 1343; Lodwicus Hamer, LDA 1333–74, 351, von Bunge 1874, 100; Albertus de Verden, KB 1369–74, p. 10, 16, von Bunge 1874, 137, Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII; Hinricus Wulf, KB 1369–74, p. 10, von Bunge 1874, 142, Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII; Wynandus Louenschede, KB 1369–74, p. 16, von Bunge 1874, 113 and Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII both with the wrong year, 1373; Gotfridus Ysfrede, KB 1369–74, p. 29, von Bunge 1874, 107, Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII; Johannes Kurowe, KB 1369–74, p. 29, 46, von Bunge 1874, 89, Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII; Gherardus Heydemann, KB 1369–74, p. 46, von Bunge 1874, 101, Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII, Derrik 2000, 94–95; Johannes van der Molen, KB 1369–74, p. 64, von Bunge 1874, 116, Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII; Johannes Sceper, KB 1369–74, p. 64, von Bunge 1874, 128, Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII, according to Derrik 2000, 185–186 Sceper was *kämmerer* with Johannes Specht some time after 1379; Johannes Boleman, KB 1376–80, p. 205, von Bunge 1874, 83, Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII; Johannes Specht, KB 1376–80, p. 205, von Bunge 1874, 131, Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII, Derrik 2000, 200–201; Johann Hamer (II), KB 1376–80, p. 215, von Bunge 1874, 100, Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII; Goscalc Scotelmund, KB 1376–80, p. 215, von Bunge 1874, 129, Johansen 1935, XXVI–XXXVII, Derrik 2000, 186–187; Rychert Lange, A.d.16, f. 2r, EBIII 876, von Bunge 1874, 110, Derrik 2000, 124–125; Henrik Schelewend, A.d.16, f. 2r, EBIII 876, von Bunge 1874, 128, Derrik 2000, 181–182; Hermen Lippen, A.d.16, f. 2v, 4r, von Bunge 1874, 112, Derrik 2000, 128–129; Wenemar van der Beke, A.d.16, f. 2v, 3v, EBIII 1018, von Bunge 1874, 82, Derrik 2000, 52–53; Johan van deme Holte, A.d.16, f. 3v, von Bunge 1874, 104. He is not cited as a member of the Table Guild in surviving lists; Johan Oldendorp is cited as the second *kämmerer* under Wenemar van der Beke A.d.16, f. 4v sometime after the fiscal year 1429/30. Since Wenemar is known to have been the first *kämmerer* in fiscal year 1430/31 Oldendorp is here placed in that year. Von Bunge 1874, 119, Derrik 2000, 141–142; Hinrik van Rypen, KB 1432–63, 1, von Bunge 1874, 124; Hinrik Eppinchusen, KB 1432–63, 1, 59, 117, 224, von Bunge 1874, 93, Derrik 2000, 82; Gotschalck Stoltevot, KB 1432–63, 59, 117, 224, 282, 349, 402, EBIII 1068, von Bunge 1874, 132, Derrik 2000, 202–204; Gise Richerdes, KB 1432–63, 349, von Bunge 1874, 122, Derrik 2000, 159–160. He died in 1447; Tideman Nasschart, KB 1432–63, 402, von Bunge 1874, 118, Derrik 2000, 140–141; Johan Smede, A.d.21, f. 6v, von Bunge 1874, 128, according to Derrik 2000, 197–198, Smit is first cited as a councillor in 1440; Marquart Bretholt, A.d.21, f. 6v, von Bunge 1874, 84, Derrik 2000, 67–68; Cort Gripenberch, KB 1432–63, 731, 775, 804, von Bunge 1874, 98, Derrik 2000, 87–88; Euert Pepersak, KB 1432–63, 775, 804, 940, 1042, von Bunge 1874, 120, Derrik 2000, 152–154. He held the office of *kämmerer* again in 1458/59 and 1460/61; Hinrik Tolner, KB 1432–63, 940, 1042, 962, von Bunge 1874, 88 (falsely Colner), TLA, B.a.2, f. 46r, Derrik 2000, 216–218; Johan Velthusen, KB 1432–63, 962, 1060, von Bunge 1874, 137, TLA, B.a.2, f. 46r, according to Derrik 2000, 220–221 Johan Velthusen became a member of the Table Guild in 1442 and is first mentioned as a councillor in 1445; Reynoldus de Werne, KB 1432–63, 1060, von Bunge 1874, 139, Derrik 2000, 229–230. He held the office of *kämmerer* again in 1462/63 and 1468/69.

As evident from TABLE 3A, the names of the two Revalian *kämmerers* are fairly well known from three different periods: 1341–43, 1369–78 and from 1420 onwards. The twin office was obviously rotated among younger members of the council as early as the third half of the 14th century, but not without caution. As the administrative career of Tideman Cosveld suggests, there was no fiscal year in which both the *kämmerers* were new to the task which indicates that experience was considered important for holding the office already in the 1340's. In the second quarter of the 15th century a certain continuity among the *kämmerers* was preferred, and a new recruit often started as junior to a seasoned colleague, who himself had been introduced to the office as a junior *kämmerer* a couple of rotations before. Because of the appointment of Johannes Kurow in 1371–73, the practice was evidently older and had been in use since at least the mid-14th century. Ever since the beginning of the 1420's there seems

to have been a distinct striving for prolonged periods of service in the office. However, since the surviving information about the *kämmerers* before 1420 consists mainly of sporadic registers of the 1340's and 1370's, it is impossible to know whether the 1420's really marked a watershed in the distribution of the office among the councillors. The six terms of Wenemar van der Beke as a second and first *kämmerer* in 1423–31, the possible seven-year *kämmership* of Gotschalk Stoltevot in 1433–40, and the five year appointment of Hinrik Eppinchusen in 1432–37, may be suggestive of a reorganisation of the council in the second quarter of the 15th century as suggested by von Bunge, but the reason of this arrangement remains beyond our grasp.¹⁶⁶

That there was a deliberate mix of expertise and apprenticeship for those appointed to the office is further supported by the fact that only six of the 35 known *kämmerers* before 1457 are likely to have held the office as their first appointment in the presiding council of the city. The known information on the burghership and administrative career of these six men (Levart, Louenschede, Kurowe, Heydemann, van der Beke and Eppinchusen) indicates that for all but Johannes Kurowe and perhaps Wenemar van der Beke, it was not their first appointment to the office. On the contrary: they were experienced councillors at the height or in the later stages of their administrative careers. Before any introduction to the councillorship, most of the known *kämmerers* had spent several years as sworn burghers of the city, but there is evidence that the period of their established activity in the city community might have been even longer. Since the 1420's all the known *kämmerers* had been members of the Table Guild for more than nine years. According to Torsten Derrik, the introduction to the Table Guild usually preceded or was close to that of the burghership, which underlines the tradition of appointing *kämmerers* from the merchant community of the city.¹⁶⁷ Of all the known *kämmerers* between 1420 and 1457, only Johan van deme Holte is not cited in the surviving lists of Table Guild members.

Instead of being totally new to the council, a novice was usually appointed to the office of *kämmerer* between the second and ninth year of his councillorship, i.e. after at least one previous rotation as a presiding councillor of the city. Nothing in the careers of the known *kämmerers* before 1457 suggests that new councillors were appointed to the office, and several of the *kämmerers* had had a considerable career in both the civic administration and other corporations of the city either during their known involvement in the council or even

¹⁶⁶ von Bunge 1874, 38–43, see also CHAPTER 3.1.1.

¹⁶⁷ Derrik 2000, 31.

before it. For instance, Henrik Eppinchusen had become a member of the Table Guild as early as 1399, and in 1427–31 had been alderman of the *Kinderkilde*, and his first known appointment in the council as the second *kämmerer* in 1432 may have been preceded by other offices in the first quarter of the 15th century.¹⁶⁸ There is also evidence that the office of the *kämmerer* served as an important position for the schooling of high level procurators and delegates of the city. Of all the 35 known *kämmerers* before the fiscal year 1457/58 at least eight (Johannes van der Molen, Gotschalk Scotelmund, Richard Lange, Henrik Schelewent, Hildebrand van der Bokele, Gise Richerdes, Marquard Bretholt and Johan Velthusen) wrapped up their careers as burghermasters and about a half made an important contribution to the city as envoys and procurators to the Masters of the Teutonic and Livonian Order, the Hansetag, the Livonian Diet, Novgorod, Sweden and elsewhere.¹⁶⁹

3.2.1.2. The *kämmerers*' accounts and the written management of information of the city coffer

The fiscal activities of the *kämmerers* office were summed up in special books of memoranda in the form of stout paper codices first in quarto and then in folio format from the second quarter of the 15th century. Of these the quarto (ca. 29,5 x 22,0 cms) codex of 1432–63 [A.d.15] and the folio (ca. 39,5 x 28,0 cms) codex of 1463–1507 [A.d.26] with stylish buckled limp leather bindings of 16th-century origin have been published in an edition by Reinhard Vogelsang in 1976 and 1983.¹⁷⁰ Despite the difference in size, the arrangement of both the codices is similar, consisting of 11 and 10 quires of paper with 24–26 or 22–24 leaves respectively in each quire. The paper of the second codex is entirely from the same mill, but in the first codex the last quire has a different watermark to the ten preceding it. Both the codices are written almost wholly by city scribes, and the arrangement of the texts is uniform, in one column consisting of groups of entries arranged in chronological order. The entries document the fiscal activity of the city coffer through recognized payments received (*entfangen*) or made (*gegeven/utgegeven*) by the *kämmerers*, but the relationship of the date of recognition of an individual payment and the date of transcription of a group of payments into the account book is not detectable. Since the city scribes frequently wrote several groups of entries covering a period of one to four weeks during one session of writing, both the codices of 1432–63 and 1463–1507 were obviously based on recognised

¹⁶⁸ Derrick 2000, 82.

¹⁶⁹ See the biographical information of individual councillors as collected by Derrick 2000.

¹⁷⁰ For the overall description of the codices, their binding and watermarks see Vogelsang 1976, 1–4 1983, 1–5. The binding of A.d.15 includes a limp leather cover and an inner vellum binding with stitched leather decorations on the outside.

acquittances and notes of the two *kämmerers* that were presented to the city scribe for the final bookkeeping of the city coffer. Deducting from the size of the codices the transcription was made in the *kämmerer*'s office at the Town Hall where the account books were permanently deposited in a locked closet in the 15th century.¹⁷¹

Because of the substantial 'deficit' of the 15th century accounts, as suggested by studies on the city coffer, not all the city income was ever registered in the *Kämmereibooks*, and certain areas of city expenditure such as employment of mercenary forces were never introduced into the city coffer bookkeeping.¹⁷² Instead of maintaining the fiscal balance of the civic administration, the accounts appear to have served as a kind of a chronological index for transactions of city income and expenses where distinct payments could be traced in order to get an overall view of the flow of money subject to the two *kämmerers*. Such a 'memorizing' function (see CHAPTER 1.2.3) of both the codices of 1432–63 and 1463–1507 and a third *Kämmereibuch* of 1507–33, is confirmed by more than 400 symbols and drawings usually placed in the left margin of the accounts and referring to an entry related to the transactions of the city coffer in the respective section. Often the basic meaning of the symbol, such as the scales, a horseshoe or *maniculus* (hand with a pointing finger), is related to the meaning of the picture, i.e. scales for income from the city scales, the horseshoe for payments for shoeing of horses and *maniculus* for *Nota bene*, i.e. matters the scribes wanted to point out as important, but as Juhan Kreem has shown, some of the symbols also had more extended connotations: for instance, the scales were used for indexing any kind of income of the city and the horseshoe as a point of reference for past dealings with the blacksmith when the city debt to him had to be periodically settled.¹⁷³

The technique of using the symbols as points of reference for easier browsing of the main accounts of the city is first known from A.d.15 at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1432/33. The city scribe responsible for the codex was Joachim Muter, but it is not entirely clear that he was the one who first introduced the innovation to the written management of information

¹⁷¹ TLA, A.d.15 and A.d.26, see also Vogelsang, Reinhard, Einleitung. In: *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1432–1463*. Bearb. von Reinhard Vogelsang. Quellen und darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte. Neue Folge, Band 22/I–II. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Wien, 1976, 1–4, and Vogelsang, Reinhard, Einleitung. *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1463–1507*. Bearb. von Reinhard Vogelsang. In: Quellen und darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte. Neue Folge, Band 27/I–II. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Wien, 1983, 1–5.

¹⁷² See Vogelsang 1976, 8–9, Kreem, Juhan, Linnaametnik joonistab, Sulejoonistus Tallinna rae keskaegsetes arveraamatutes – A Drawing Clerk, Pen Drawings in Medieval Accounting Books in Tallinn. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Tallinn 2009 (here Kreem 2009b), 13–15 and Kreem, Juhan, Federzeichnungen in Revaler Kämmereibüchern. Eine Quelle für die Wahrnehmung der Stadt. In: Johanek, Peter (ed.), *Bild und Wahrnehmung der Stadt*. Böhlau Verlag, Münster, 2012, 52–70

¹⁷³ Kreem 2009b, 8, 19, 23–25.

of the city coffer of Reval. In the surviving material of the accounts of the office of the *kämmerers* the images of the scales and horseshoe first occur in a fragment of an account book dating to ca. 1426–32, where they are employed in a section written by Muter (i.e. in 1429–32), but another sign of a Latin cross with a reference to the production of the Mint already occurs in a section of the same account written by Wenemar Scheter, the main substitute of the city scribe in 1426–29.¹⁷⁴ Either an original denotation by him or a later interpolation of Joachim Muter, the sign shows that the technique of labelling certain matters with various kinds of symbols may have preceded the period of activity of Joachim Muter, but since there is no sign of such an innovation by either the city scribes or the *kämmerers* in the surviving accounts of the office before 1426, the use of symbols cannot be dated prior to the second quarter of the 15th century. Considering the material, we have good reasons to assume that Joachim Muter, the first known notary public in the service of the civic authority, was also the first person who deliberately started to employ this kind of visual system of signs for easier browsing of written information in certain areas of contemporary administration of the council and its enterprises.¹⁷⁵

In his incipit of the account book of 1432–63 on the Feast of St Luke (October 18), 1432 Joachim Muter introduces the volume as ‘Book of the *Kämmerer*’ (*kemererboek*) and wishes ‘in God that it would be once finished with love’ (*Got geve, dat it myt leve geendiget mote werden*).¹⁷⁶ It is impossible to establish whether the scribe’s wish should be considered just a conventional insalutation for the new codex or a personal dedication to the memoranda, but

¹⁷⁴ TLA, B.a.2, f. 25r–26v.

¹⁷⁵ In the parchment codex of annuities (A.a.3) several entries of city scribe *Hermannus* in 1385–1400 are furnished with fine hair latin crosses (TLA, A.a.3, f. 5v–6r, 7v–8v, 10r, 11r, 15r–v, 16r–v, 22v, 25v, 26r, 27r, 28v, 30r, 31r, 32r, 33v, 36r, 37v, 38v, 40v–41v, PergRB 34, 47, 60, 67–69, 71, 87–88, 94–96, 126, 133, 140, 142, 189, 220, 225, 233–234, 251, 260, 269, 278, 287, 316–317, 325, 333, 342, 346–348, 352–354), one of which is decorated with four dots between the arms (A.a.3, f. 5v, PergRB 37). Since one of such crosses and two latin crosses with thickened arms are employed for labelling two later interpolations by *Johannes Blomendal* (PergRB 240) and *Joachim Muter* (PergRB 241–2) written on A.a.3, f. 27v as additions to two original entries by *Hermannus* (PergRB 239–240) on an annuity issued on the Friday before Sunday Letare (March 13), 1393, and similar crosses are found in the *Kämmereibuch* of 1432–63 written by *Joachim Muter* (see, for instance, A.d.15, f. 38r, 39v–40v), all of them are most likely later notifications by him. Similar fine hair crosses are also evident in the contemporary paper codex of resignations, where they are used to mark two entries of *Hermannus* of 1383 and 1398 (A.a.6c, p. 5, 103; EBIII 24, 435), but since no sign of their use is found outside the period of his activity, they appear to have been done by *Joachim Muter* when gathering information on resignations and annuities issued during the term of office of *Hermannus*. Two signs of cross-bearing orbs employed as labels for two entries of *Johannes Blomendal* and *Wenemar Scheter* on A.a.3, f. 65v–66r (Perg 686, 695) are apparently later interpolations by *Muter*. Excepting A.d.15, occasional labels of circled crosses and other symbols also occur among *Muter*’s entries in A.a.6c, p. 241, 246–247, 267; A manculus (pointing hand) with a short explication commenting on an entry issued on the Friday before Palm Sunday (April 8), 1389 by *Hermannus* on A.a.3, f. 18r (PergRB 158), is of much later origin and written by city scribe *Marcus Tirbach* in the the context of the confiscation of certain forms of income of the religious houses in the Reformation (see Plaesterer 1930, XX–XXI).

¹⁷⁶ TLA, A.d.15, f. 1r, KB 1432–63, 1.

what is known on the management and fate of the earlier accounts of the *kämmerers* seems to match both his professional and personal worries about the future of the codex. Of the main accounts of the city before 1432 often only fragments have survived, and many of the volumes once introduced for the purpose were apparently later dissolved or otherwise recycled for other writing and documents in the civic administration.

The fact that the *kemererboek* of 1432–63 was not the first of its kind or format in the management of information of the city coffer is confirmed by two fragments of similar size and content [B.a.2, f. 21–24, 25–26], evidently all that is left of a paper volume in 4° (ca. 30,0 x 21,0 cms) immediately preceding the codex introduced by Muter. The fragments constitute one partially dissolved quire and one loose bifolio, apparently of same paper. Of these, the quire is written by an unknown hand, and it contains an account of ‘his’ transactions as a *kämmerer* from a period between Easter and Michaelmas of an unknown year or years, one of which is 1405, i.e. possibly from the fiscal year of 1404/5. The first page of the quire is heavily stained and the surviving leaves have possible traces of stitching, so they may have been bound into a codex.¹⁷⁷ The bifolio in turn is most likely a loose section of another lost quire with only two pages left and the mid section of the quire missing. Here too the first leaf of the bifolio is more stained than others. The worn folding with possible traces of stitching shows that the quire is likely to have been part of a bound codex. The first page of the bifolio contains a list of transactions of the city coffer from the beginning of August to mid-September 1426 written by city scribe Wenemar Scheter (active from April 1426 to May 1429 see CHAPTER 5.2.2), but the second page is not a direct continuation of the first. Instead, it presents a set of entries on transactions from August to September of an unknown year and is written by city scribe Joachim Muter some time in 1429–32.¹⁷⁸ Considering the content of the entries, the two fragments show that the technique of presenting the transactions of the city coffer and the *kämmerers* in a chronologically ordered entries had already become established at the beginning of the 15th century, but before 1426 we cannot state with any certainty that the city scribes were the

¹⁷⁷ TLA, B.a.2, f. 21r ‘de summa van paschen avende’, ‘erste sunnauent na paschen’, ‘ander weke na paschen’, ‘derde weke na paschen’, ‘verde weke na paschen’, f. 21v ‘vyfte weke’, ‘mydwekens vor pinzten’, ‘pinxt auende’, ‘mandach na trynitate’, ‘weke na pinxten’, f. 22r ‘v:te weke na paschen’, ‘in pinxt auende’, f. 22v empty, f. 23r ‘weke vor des hilge cruces dage’, ‘weke vor sunte matheus dache’, ‘weke vor sunte mychele’, ‘weke na sunte mychele’, 23v empty, 24r ‘ander weke na pinxten’, ‘weke na sunte Jacobes dage’, ‘anderen weke dar na’, f. 24v ‘Jnt jaer xiiijc in deme vyften jare vp palmen (April 12, 1405) do wart de kalk ouen gebrant’ with the last page presenting shares in burned lime.

¹⁷⁸ TLA, B.a.2, f. 25r ‘Anno xxvj’, ‘Sunauendes na sunte Jacobes dage (July 27, 1426)’, f. 25r ‘Sunte Matheus auent (September 20)’, f. 26r ‘sunauend na vilitationis beate Marie’, f. 26r ‘Sunauend na Michaelis’.

only people with access to writing of the finished accounts. The handwriting of the fragment of 1405 is not that of the contemporary main substitute city scribe between Hermannus and Johannes Blomendal (*HIII*, active in 1398, 1401–5), but most likely one of the *kämmerers*, even though it is impossible to know whether the hand continued to write after the beginning of the activity of Johannes Blomendal as the city scribe of Reval in 1406.

Since the earliest surviving part of the lost *Kämmereibuch* of ca. 1405 – ca. 1432 begins without any incipit amidst the transactions of the fiscal year of 1404/05, we do not know when it was introduced into use or if it ever constituted a bound codex similar to that of 1432–63. The now lost volume is, however, apparently the same as the ‘*kemener boke*’ cited in the chirographum produced by city scribe Wenemar Scheter for the loan of 400 old Riga marks issued by the council to the Dominican Convent of Reval three weeks after Easter (April 18), 1426, and where the *kämmerers* are said to have a written copy of the schedule of the Convent’s rent in their book (see later CHAPTER 5.2.2).¹⁷⁹ A plausible date for the introduction of the volume is the beginning of the fiscal year of 1404/05, around the time of completion of the new Town Hall in 1404. Considering the format, both the surviving fragments present traces of stitching, but instead of a proper binding, the book may have consisted of a volume of loosely assembled quires in limp leather wrapping and never bound together before the dissolution of the quires at an unknown date. In fact, since the early modern binding and inner vellum sheath of A.d.15 have replaced the original exterior of the accounts of 1432–63, even the original complexion of that codex is unknown. The paper volume in quarto was introduced in 1432 as a *kemenerboek*, by which the city scribe apparently understood a bound book of paper in codex format, but rather than a bound codex it may have originally consisted of ten quires of paper stitched together with hemp cord and covered with a simple limp leather binding. As such it may have been close to the format of the lost paper volume of ca. 1405–32, but was later extended with an extra quire and survived to be rebound for preservation in the archives of the office of the *kämmerer*.

From what we know of the *kämmerers*’ accounts, it is likely that much of the 15th-century format of the memoranda, that is the size, material and composition, was adopted at approximately the same time as the construction of the new Town Hall and the spatial reorganisation of the office of the *kämmerer* in ca. 1404. However, there are sufficient

¹⁷⁹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 579 (LECUB I:7 451), ‘unde de hebben dairvan ok eyne utschryfft also hiir vpgescreven steet in deme kemener boke’. The same rents were also written in the ‘stades bok’, apparently TLA, A.a.7, f. 11v.

earlier fragments of *kämmerers'* fiscal memoranda to illustrate the variability in development of the management of information of the fiscal transactions of the council and the control of the flow of money through the *kämmerers*.

In Reval, the oldest known book of memoranda designed to contain income and expenditure of the city coffer was introduced after Michaelmas 1369, when city scribe Albertus incipited a book of the *kämmerers* (*liber camerariorum*) for the purpose. Assembled into a modern hardcover binding, today the codex [A.d.3, KB 1363–74] consists of four quires of paper in 8° (ca. 22,5 x 14,8 cms) with 71 leaves. All the quires have similar content with entries on various kinds of income and expenses as recognised by the *kämmerers*, but the three first quires had the same paper with a watermark of large *fleur de lis* with two coverleaves ending up with trefoils, whereas the fourth is assembled from two different stocks of paper with watermarks of two circles with a cross and a crooked fish. The three first quires cover the period from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1369/70 to 1373, whereas the fourth begins with the dating 1374 and consists of two sections of entries separated by ten blank pages. The first set of entries in the fourth quire is a direct continuation of those of the three first quires, but since the second set of entries deals almost exclusively with acquisition of limestone building materials and construction works on the town wall and the Marketplace, it must be understood more as a separate account for some of the building activity of the council in the early 1370's than as a chronological section of the *Kämmereibuch*. No entries in the codex are datable to later than ca. 1375.¹⁸⁰

The codex A.d.3 gives invaluable information on how the textual management of the accounts of the *kämmerers* was organised at the end of the third quarter of the 14th century and hence the role of the two *kämmerers* in the written management of the fiscal transactions of the city coffer. Instead of the sole engagement of professional city scribes characteristic of the surviving accounts after 1426, the writing of the *liber camerariorum* of 1369–75 is done by several hands, the city scribe Albertus (active in 1363–74) being responsible for the incipits of the fiscal years from 1369/70 to 1372/73 and many of the entries in 1369/70 and

¹⁸⁰ TLA, A.d.3, f. 1–48 (quires I–III), f. 49–71 (quire IV). The watermark of a *fleur de lis* is same as Piccard 13:I 439 with documented use in 1368, and that of two circles pierced with a cross the same as Briquet 3172, with documented use in 1374. The watermark of crooked fish depicts a fish with open toothless jaw, two fins on the back and three on the stomach. The distance of the chains is 25–38, the length of the fish ca. 75 and height ca. 55 mm. No equivalent of the watermark is found in online versions of Briquet and Piccard catalogues (accessed 19.11.2015); According to Greiffenhagen's edition (Greiffenhagen 1927, 89) the binding was done in ca. 1890, but in the Hansen catalogue (Hansen 1896, A.d.3/3a) the volume is said to consist of 'three quired books, paper' dating to 1369–74.

1372/73. In general, the entries of each fiscal year are, however, written by two hands, the first of which was before 1373 usually that of the city scribe Albertus, and the second most likely one of the two *kämmerers*. The incipit and some of the writing of the fiscal year of 1373/74 is written by the known substitute of the city scribe *AIIIIa*, active in the important book of resignations [A.a.6b, EBII] in 1372 and 1374–75, and the incipit for the fiscal year of 1374/75 and many of the entries in the accounts of the building activity at the end of the codex by another hand (*AIIIIb*), also active in other books of memoranda such as the registers of Poundage [A.d.6] of 1378 and 1379 (see CHAPTER 3.2.2.3). Excepting the incipits, after January 1372 the accounts of the fiscal year of 1371/72 are written almost entirely by one rather unaccustomed hand, very likely that of the contemporary first *kämmerer* Gotfridus Ysfrede (see PICTURE 34:2 in CHAPTER 5.1.3). However, since the exact identification of the hands as either of the *kämmerers* of the same fiscal year is impossible, any conclusions based on the *kämmer*ship and the supposed identity of hands in the accounts must be made with care. In his edition of A.d.3 in 1927, Otto Greiffenhagen, for instance, suggested that the person responsible for most of the writing of the codex before 1374 was councillor Albertus de Verden (the first *kämmerer* in 1369/70), but the writing is undoubtedly done by the same person who was in charge of the city book of resignations [A.a.6b] from 1363 to the spring of 1374, namely city scribe Albertus. Regardless of the change of hands, most of the writing in the fiscal year of 1369/70 is in Middle Low German, but in 1370/71 in Latin, and from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1371/72 again in German.¹⁸¹

The combined information on the income and expenses of the *kämmerers* as presented in the *liber camerariorum* of 1369 – ca. 1375 [A.d.3] is by no means the only surviving evidence of the fiscal memoranda of the office from the period preceding the later organisation of the accounts in the 15th century. Before and after that, other forms of memoranda for keeping control of the spending of the city coffer existed, the most important being the ‘book of expenses’ (*liber expositorum*) of 1376–80, and fragments of a similar account (*liber expositorum*) introduced in 1363. Of these, the *liber expositorum* of 1376–80 [A.d.7] has survived in a form close to its original as a medieval paper codex in 4^o (ca. 29,0 x 20,5 cms) with limp leather binding with the back cover folding over to protect the fore edge of the codex and consisting of one quire of paper with eight attached bifolios, all of which are of

¹⁸¹ TLA, A.d.3 and A.d.6b, 11–71. For a closer analysis of the hands in A.a.6b see later CHAPTER 4.3.1.2; Greiffenhagen, Otto, Erläuterungen. In: Die ältesten Kämmererbücher der Stadt Reval 1363–1374. Hrsg. von Otto Greiffenhagen. Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv, 3. BÜchdrückerei A.-G. ”Ühiselu”, Reval 1927, 89.

the same paper. The surviving volume consists of *kämmerers'* accounts from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1376/77 on Michaelmas (September 29), 1376, to around the beginning of the calendar year of 1380, written in Latin and Middle Low German by city scribe Hermannus and a couple of other hands, some possibly those of the *kämmerers*. Because the codicological content of the surviving volume is rather perplexing, consisting of a single quire of six bifolios in quarto with 24 leaves supported with a number of folded bifolios placed either inside the original quire or at the back of it, and with a number leaves cut off after the binding of the codex, the volume may have been utilised as a source of paper in the *kämmerers'* office or the City Scriptorium in the late 1370's or after. Another interesting feature of the codex is the size of the limp leather binding, which is about three centimeters shorter than that of the paper quire and gives the impression of being recycled from another codex for the purpose. The combination of the quire and the binding is most likely medieval, but the date of the arrangement is unknown. After a modern restoration, the paper content of the binding has been given an extra sheet of parchment for protection. The text of the codex with a full codicological description of the binding has been published in an edition by Dieter Heckmann in 1992.¹⁸²

In contrast to the somewhat mutilated complexion of the *liber camerariorum* of 1369 – ca. 1375, the fragment of the *liber expositorum* of 1363 [A.d.2] is a loose parchment quire in 8° (20,7 x 14,4 cm) with four bifolios and 16 pages, of which 11 are blank. Provided with a short and partially corrupted title of *liber expositorum ad mon[...]* and a couple of entries dated to 1363 written by city scribe Albertus, the three first pages of the quire contain an unbroken list of monetary transactions of the *kämmerers* written by at least three hands in Latin (Albertus) or in Middle Low German (by the *kämmerers*?) with the major part of the text in the vernacular. Further into the quire there is another Latin entry by Albertus on an assignment made by the wardens of the Mint, and another short entry in German by one of the other hands on some transactions.¹⁸³ Because the same hands together with that of the city scribe occur in another surviving parchment quire [A.d.1] of similar size (20,7 x 14,4 cm) and composition (8 bifolios) introduced on the day following St Michael (September 30), 1363, as a register of the market shops (*liber bodarum*), the two parchment quires appear to be surviving parts of an otherwise lost parchment volume in octavo with

¹⁸² TLA, A.d.7 (edition: Das Revaler Kämmererbuch von 1376–80. Bearb. von Dieter Heckmann. In: Zeitschrift für Ostforschung 41 (1992), 186–247, here cited as for the edition (pages 205–247) as KB 1376–80 and for Heckman's introduction and analysis (pages 186–204) see Heckmann 1992. For a codicological description of the codex see pages 190–191 there.

¹⁸³ TLA, A.d.2, f. 13r, 16r.

information on the various income and expenses of the civic administration (see CHAPTER 3.1.2.2).¹⁸⁴ According to an elaborate incipit of the A.d.1 in gothic textualis written by Albertus, the volume came into use at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1363/64, but the small number of entries and schematic listing of market shops without further notes indicate that it was either left aside or dissolved soon after its introduction in the 1360's. Apart from the entries of the fiscal year 1363/64, there is only one later contribution to the content of the two quires, a list of the names of the new preceding council dated to the Michaelmas of 1378 written by city scribe Hermannus (active in 1375–1400/3). Both the quires were published in an edition together with the *liber camerariorum* of 1369 – ca. 1375 by Otto Greiffenhagen in 1927.¹⁸⁵

As Dieter Heckmann pointed out in 1992, the paper *liber camerariorum* of 1369 – ca. 1375 [A.d.3] is the earliest known piece of memoranda containing combined information on both the income and the expenditure of the office of the *kämmerer* in the civic administration of medieval Reval.¹⁸⁶ The evident desire to maintain written memoranda on both the income and expenditure and the flow of cash through the city coffer is further demonstrated by the accounts of the second quarter of the 15th century, where special symbols were employed to facilitate the browsing of chronologically built codices presenting the recognised transactions of *kämmerers*. Despite of the early predecessor of A.d.3 in the 1370's, however, the final form of the accounts containing information on both income and expenses was not introduced in the management of fiscal information of the city coffer overnight, but emerged only after alternative forms of memoranda were employed to keep control of the flow of cash through the *kämmerer*'s office. Attempts to create separate memoranda for the income and expenditure of the city were made both before [A.d.1–2] and after [A.d.7] the *liber camerariorum* of 1369 - ca. 1375 [A.d.3], but the final format of the accounts turned out to be the combined information on the income and expenses in the form of chronological lists of entries close to the composition of the accounts of 1369 – ca. 1375. Why the practice of keeping separate books of spent and received money in the management of information regarding the city coffer was abandoned, is a matter for speculation. A plausible explanation may be Dieter Heckmann's, that because the two *kämmerers* are not known to have presented any balance at the end of their termin, it was more important to show when and where the money at their disposal was spent and what imbursements they had received

¹⁸⁴ For the evident joint origin of A.d.1 and 2 see also Greiffenhagen 1927, 88–89.

¹⁸⁵ TLA, A.d.1, f. 3v, for the edition see KB 1363–74, p. 7–8.

¹⁸⁶ Heckman 1992, 188.

during their term of office in one fiscal year than to do accounts proper in the modern sense of closing the balance after their term of office.¹⁸⁷ Rather than thinking of them as instruments for counting the balance of ‘credit’ and ‘debit’, both the 14th-century *liber camerariorum* and *liber expositorum* and the 15th-century accounts of the *kämmerers* must be considered applications of a particular text type characteristic for 13th- to 15th-century bookkeeping, where the employment of the text type was based on a chronologically built text permanence and cognitional understanding of subsequent events (i.e. the flow of fiscal acts) in the form of continuous memoranda. As such, they also tell us about the twofold function of short-term ‘memorizing’ and long-term ‘documentation’ in the management of fiscal memoranda in late medieval Reval; a feature which further binds the surviving *kämmerers*’ accounts to the contemporary cognitive models of how the information was understood and administered.

The shift in the role of the city scribes from technical introduction and partial involvement in the writing of the accounts in octavo with incipits and sections of transactions since the fiscal year of 1369/70 to the full control of the writing of the finished *kämmerers*’ books in quarto and folio some time between the the fiscal year of 1404/5 and 1425/26, tells us about developments not only in the ‘agency’ of the city scribes, but also in that of the *kämmerers*. Since the large quarto leaves of paper were employed for the accounts already in 1405 but still written by a hand other than the contemporary city scribe Johannes Blomendal, it is possible that the larger format was introduced to the management of information of the city coffer by the *kämmerers* around the time when the new Town Hall was complete at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1404/5, but the actual shift of writing to the full care of the city scribes may have occurred later, during the period of office of Johannes Blomendal in 1405–26. Like the apparent stabilisation of the *kämmership* from an office of 1–2 terms, as in the 1370’s, into a more permanent mandate of 5–7 terms from the beginning of the 1420’s, the full assignment of the textual management of the final accounts to the care of the city scribes in the first quarter of the 15th century is also indicative of ‘professionalization’ of the office of the *kämmerers* as one of the most important agencies in the council administration and the role of the fiscal knowledge of the city’s resources in the ‘schooling’ of politically and economically able high representatives of the civic government. Considering the institutionalisation of the office of the *kämmerers* and the role of the city scribes in its management of information, one of the key events appears to have been the

¹⁸⁷ Heckmann 1992, 189.

construction of the new Town Hall in 1401–4, which created a new spatial and institutional environment for the management of the city coffer and appears to have boosted the ‘professionalization’ of agencies related to it in the civic administration.

3.2.2. *Wedde, Schoss, Poundage and Excise*

3.2.2.1. *Weddeherren, the town bailiff and the written management of information on fines and sentences of the criminal court of justice*

The basic duty of the two *kämmerers* was to control the council’s spending of money and use of fiscal resources for whatever purposes emerged. Most of the other offices distributed to the councillors involved various forms of income of the city or corresponded to institutionalized spheres of activity of the civic government responding to the city’s obligations to the Livonian Master, city law or local issues. Because of the pragmatic nature of medieval administration, most of these offices should not be categorised as handling economic or judicial matters alone, as their duties often overlapped. A characteristic example of this is *wedde* (Ger. *Gewette*), where the two wardens (Mnd. *weddeherren*) acted as a police-like authority inspecting the observation of city ordinances and public order, and collected the fines imposed by the civic court of justice and themselves.¹⁸⁸

The first entries of *wedde* in the city memoranda of Reval date to 1333, when the office of the two wardens was already at least 60 years old. The need for special wardens of *wedde* was established at the latest by a 1273 ordinance of Queen Margaret of Denmark, in which a tripartition of the fines between the city, royal headman and the injured party is first documented if someone wounded another inside the terminus that constituted the area of the public peace of the city (*infra terminos pacis ciuitatis*).¹⁸⁹ From the second quarter of the 14th century onwards the registers concerning imposed and paid fines were managed by the city scribes, who wrote the majority of known entries on *wedde* in city books of memoranda. Sections of entries on *wedde* from between October 1333 and 1347 are included in the earliest surviving book of mixed memoranda of the city [A.a.2, LDA 1333–74], in which the first group of entries on pages 1–13 are related to it. A distinct volume for the written management of registers of *wedde* was introduced some time in or after 1347, and is known to have existed in 1355 and ca. 1360, but was later lost.¹⁹⁰ From the 1390’s the offences were

¹⁸⁸ Pitz 1959, 29–32, Johansen 1935, XXXVIII, Vogelsang 1971, 705–6, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 63, Somelar 1996, 85–86

¹⁸⁹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 14 (DD II:2 213, LECUB I:1 435).

¹⁹⁰ LDA 1333–74; The entries of *wedde* in A.a.2 cover the period from October 1333 to 1347 with gaps from December 1334 to the summer of 1337 and from the summer of 1338 to April 1341, see Johansen 1935, XIII;

registered in a large paper volume in folio (ca. 41,5 x 30,0 cms) introduced by the city scribe Hermannus and employed by the city scribes for the purpose until 1521 [A.a.4a]. The surviving codex consists of eight quires of paper bound in red limp leather binding and consists of two different sections of memoranda, where the entries on imposed fines cover the folios 2r–103r and those of the collected rents of market shops and other real property of the city folios 103v–116v (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.3). In the latter section the earliest entries are written by city scribe Hermannus in 1392, whereas the register of imposed fines only starts in ca. 1400 with mixed entries by city scribe Hermannus and his substitute, here later in this study identified as *HII*, in mixed order from 1400 to 1403.¹⁹¹ The imposed fines were judged by the bailiff's court, an institution presided over by the town bailiff (Lat. *advocatus*, Mnd. *vaget*, Ger. *Gerichtsvogt*) with the assistance of the patrician bailiff (Ger. *Herrenvogt*) and underbailiff (Ger. *Untervogt*). All the three judiciaries were councillors chosen from among the presiding council of the city and judging on criminal matters inside the city area. As noted, the council had been awarded the sole right of nomination for the office of the town bailiff by charter as early as in 1265 by Queen Margaret.¹⁹²

Of the three bailiffs, the person able to pass judgement over life and death in medieval Reval was the town bailiff, the other two being considered assessors in court. The known patrician bailiffs of the 15th century were usually former town bailiffs, which helped to secure the continuity of legal practice in the city administration of justice. In the bailiff's court, the ritual consent of the city community was originally sought by an *Urteilsfinder*, an old German institution expressing the verdict in civil and criminal cases as an independent official representing the community, but the office was incorporated into the lower staff of the city by 1420. By 1479 the institution had disappeared and the consent of the city community to a verdict was delivered through the participation of two sworn burghers in the bailiff's court.¹⁹³ The councillor responsible for the actions of the town bailiff wrote down various decisions and other memoranda of his activity in a specific register, the oldest extant one being that of bailiff Gerd Grymmert, extending from the first Thursday after Michaelmas 1436 to the second Tuesday after Michaelmas 1439. The register consists of two paper quires in 8^o (22 x 15 cm) with sections of various kinds of entries concerning sentences for

The lost book of *wedde* is cited in LDA 1333–74, 491 and 506 (TLA, A.a.6d, f. 2b and A.d.4, f. 4b), see Johansen 1935, XIII.

¹⁹¹ TLA, A.a.4a, f. 114v, 2r–5r.

¹⁹² von Nottbeck 1884a, 3–5, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 62, Somelar 1996, 84, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 10 (DD II:1 493, LECUB I:I, 390).

¹⁹³ von Nottbeck 1884a, 3–4, Somelar 1996, 84.

minor and serious crimes, inventories of estates and copies of letters to and from Grymmert. According to a note on the back of the volume written by city scribe Joachim Muter (active in 1429–56/60), the register is written by Grymmert himself. A later collection consisting of extracts from memorials of the town bailiffs from 1457 to the 1550's was compiled by city scribe Bernhard Herbers in around 1575.¹⁹⁴

From the beginning of the oldest book of mixed memoranda in 1333 the writing of the registers of imposed fines (*wedde*) and their settlement in money appears to have been left in the custody of city scribes, who introduced a special book or volume for the purpose in or soon after 1347, i.e. in the context of the transfer of the city's oath of allegiance from the king of Denmark to the Teutonic Order the year before. As late as the time of the bailiff Gerd Grymmert in the fiscal years of 1436/37–38/39, the memoranda on the sentences of the criminal court of justice and the town bailiff was instead written by the bailiff himself and possibly consulted only on special occasions by the city scribes in the Town Hall or the *richtehus*. The important role of the registers of *wedde* is apparent not only in the involvement of the city scribes in writing the registers controlling the payments on fines by 1333, but in the special volume introduced for it in the context of the change of allegiance in 1346 and the red limp leather cover of the joint folio sized paper volume of *wedde* and collected rents of the city introduced by city scribe Hermannus in 1392 (rents) and ca. 1400 (*wedde*). A plausible reason for the exclusive involvement of the scribes and the inclusion of the volume among the late 14th-century red books of the city is prestige: before 1346 one third of the fines on severe crimes was disbursed to the royal Danish headman on Domberg, and after that to the Komptur of Reval as the delegate of the Livonian Master and the Teutonic Order. Thus, although the registers of *wedde* handled these matters as part of the written management of information of the city, they had an important role beyond the authority of the council and were treated accordingly.

3.2.2.2. *Schoss and the written management of information of the ground tax*

Other important offices focusing on the tax and revenues of the city included the wardens of the *schoss*, Poundage and excise. The Poundage and excise were of late 14th-century origin, but the ground tax on the real estate in the city (Mnd. *schoss*, Lat. *tallium*) was among the

¹⁹⁴ TLA, A.a.6:I, f. 10r, II, f. 16r, 16v 'Dit Js dat boek dar her Gherd grimmert Jnne gescreuen heuet allerleie dink van deme gerichte Jn siner vagedye de wile he voget was, hydr ok breue vnde scriffte van donhoff kalle saken'. See also von Nottbeck 1887, 52–75 (Criminalbuch I), von Nottbeck 1884a, 2, 37 (Criminalbuch II); von Nottbeck 1884a, 3 (Criminalbuch III).

earliest forms of income of the civic government, dating back to the 13th century. As in Lübeck, however, the introduction of the tax is not detectable from the sources, and the role of the wardens controlling it may have developed into a permanent office only at the end of the 13th century or beginning of the 14th. In the surviving books of memoranda, the tax (*de tallia*) is cited as early as 1324, but the wardens of *schoss* (Ger. *schossherren*) who collected the tax are first documented only in 1372 (Mnd. *scot mesters*).¹⁹⁵ A tax on assets, the tax was paid not only on usufruct of the ground, i.e. on the town plot, but also on the value of movable goods and other assets, and it consisted of a form of personal tax (*Vorschoss*) and a property tax (*Schoss*). The rate of the tax was based on estimated value of both immovable and movable property of individual burghers, where the rate was set by the city council but the estimation of the wealth was presented to the wardens of the *schoss* by taxpayers. The valid rate was published annually for the city community in the *bursprake*, and could change according to the contemporary requirements of the city administration. The consent of the burghers was not always self-evident; as already discussed, in 1403 a desired relief in the rate of *schoss* was one of the issues the envoys of the city community negotiated with the council.¹⁹⁶

According to the surviving schosslists of the late 14th and early 15th centuries, the tax districts were based on the two parishes of the city (St Nicholas and St Olaf), where the two wardens of *schoss* apparently visited the houses in a specific order following the main streets of the area. In the second quarter of the 14th century the annual termin of the *schoss* was St Thomas Eve (December 20), around which the *schoss* was first paid by individual tax payers in front of the council, but the surviving schosslists of 1369–99 are dated on (*ipso festo*), or around (*post, circa festum*) Michaelmas, apparently marking the beginning of the investigation of those liable to *schoss* by the wardens. The lists indicate that the tax was most likely collected in person by the wardens, but the collected money might not be imbursemented to

¹⁹⁵ TLA, A.d.3, f. 31a (KB 1363–74, p. 43); On the history of *schoss* in general, see Sprandel 1982, 68–71, and in Reval Jatruševa, Lilian, Aastamaks Tallinnas 1433–1532. Eesti NSV Teadus Akadeemia, Ühiskonnateaduse Osakond, Preprint AI-4. Tallinn 1986, 3–16, Johansen 1935, XXXIX–XL and Vogelsang 1971, 692–694. For *schoss* in Lübeck see Pitz 1959, 395–399. On the ownership of plots and houses in Reval, see also Kangropool, Rasmus, All-linna topograafiast 14. sajanil. Linnaehituslikust struktuurist Taani aja lopul ja orduajan algul 1310–1365). In: Pullat, Raimo et al. (eds.), Vana Tallinn XIV (XVIII). Estopol, Tallinn, 2003, 11–13.

¹⁹⁶ WB 1312–60, 210; An entry in WB 1312–60, 226 (A.a.1, p. 32), where the *tallium* is first set at 4 oras and after that 1–2 schillings against a solid mark, has been dated to 1326, Johansen 1935, XL, and Vogelsang 1971, 692. The entry is written by the hand here cited as *WBI* (active in 1312–28) and placed at the bottom of a page where the other two entries (WB 1312–60, 224–225) date from the years 1324 (by *WBI*) and 1346 (by *WBIV*); LECUB I:4 1619. On *Schoss* see Johansen 1935, XXXIX–XL, Vogelsang 1971, 692–694, von zur Mühlen 2002, 126–128, and Jatruševa 1986, 12 (rate).

the *kämmerers* until months later and only in several instalments.¹⁹⁷ Because the names of those who paid their tax to the wardens have later been struck out in the surviving *schooslists*, and other names and comments are added either by the city scribe or other hands engaged in the use of the particular list, the registers in narrow format were either written in advance for the use of the wardens, who then inspected the tax, or based on a preliminary list produced by the wardens and written down for control of the individual payments of the *schooss*. Since fees paid to the of the city scribes are occasionally cited at the end of the lists or elsewhere in the civic memoranda, the writing of the lists appears to have been an independent piece of work covered from the yield of the tax. In 1391 or 1393 the fee paid to city scribe Hermannus was two Riga marks, in 1444 the cost of the writing of *schooss* in both parishes were three Riga marks three schillings.¹⁹⁸

Considering the management of information of the *schooss*, it is interesting that all the surviving *schooslists* from ca. 1360 to 1456 appear to have been written by the city scribes or their main substitutes, not the councillor-wardens responsible for collecting the tax. A special format for the annual lists of the *schooss* appears to have been in use even before the 1360's, after which it survived in use well into the 15th century. The oldest surviving list of ca. 1360 is written by city scribe Karolus de Montreal in the paper codex of mixed memoranda of the city [A.d.4] in quarto (ca. 30,5 x 21,0 cms), but from the period of office of city scribe Albertus the annual lists of the two parishes were written on quired bifolios of paper of narrow format (ca. 30,0 x 13,0 cm), most of which were in the late 19th century arranged into a bound codex with modern cardboard binding [A.d.12]. The earliest surviving three lists in the codex are written by city scribe Albertus around Michaelmas of 1369 and 1371–72 and shortly thereafter, after which the remainder of the codex consists of *schooslists* written by city scribes and their substitutes in 1374, 1384, ca. 1385–89, 1390, 1392, 1399, ca. 1403–4 and 1424. Not all the surviving registers of the tax are bound in the codex, and outside it other *schooslists* and their fragments survive, scattered in different archival entities of AR [A.d.9, A.d.13, B.a.20 and B.K.1]. Of these, two lists written on paper in narrow format survive from the period of office of city scribe Albertus; one produced and used for the inspection of *schooss* in the parish of St Olaf in 1373 or some time in ca. 1369–73, and the other a finished but unused list for the parish of St Nicholas from 1373, 1370, or from

¹⁹⁷ TLA, A.d.12, Vogelsang 1971, 693–694, Jatruševa 1986, 16–23; In 1373 the termin of *schooss* (*wortins*) was St Thomas, TLA, A.d.5, f. 2r.

¹⁹⁸ TLA, A.d.9, f. 8v, 'Item hermanno schriuere ij marc'; KB 1432–63, 597, where entry on the writing of the *schooss* in both parishes is placed among the entries of the Eight day after All Saints (October 8, 1444).

between 1363–68 [B.K.1]. Other surviving *schosslists* and their fragments still available in *AR* date from the years 1391 or 1393 [A.d.9], 1402 [B.a.20], 1421–22 [A.d.13], 1429 [B.K.1 and B.a.20] and 1444 [B.a.20].¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ The surviving *schosslists*, their content and date and the city scribe responsible for the writing are in chronological order: TLA, A.d.4, f. 1r–v, ca. 1360, St Nicholas and St Olaf, city scribe *Karolus de Montreal* (edition LDA 1333–74, 527–528), A.d.12, f. 1r–3r, after Michaelmas 1369, St Nicholas, city scribe *Albertus* (edition Schoss 1369–72), A.d.12, f. 9r–15r, after Michaelmas 1371, St Nicholas and St Olaf, *Albertus* (edition Schoss 1369–72), A.d.12, f. 17r–23r, after Michaelmas 1372, St Nicholas and St Olaf, *Albertus* (edition Schoss 1369–72) followed by a list of rents of the market shops and butchers both due to St Thomas in 1371 (f. 23v–24v, mainly by *Albertus*), BK.1, 30r–31v, fragment of a *schosslist* of the parish of St Olaf in narrow format written by *Albertus* some time in ca. 1369–73, possibly in 1373 and originally from the same archival entity as his other lists later bound into A.d.12. Among those listed for *schoss* are the councillor Wynoldus Louenschede (f. 30r, also listed in 1371–72 in St Olaf, see von zur Mühlen, Heinz, *Schosslisten der Stadt Reval 1369–72*. In: *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands*, 48 (2002), 2002, 170), the councillors Conradus de Reyne et Johannes de Reyne (f. 30r, of which the latter is listed in 1371–72 in St Olaf, von zur Mühlen 2002, 173) as well as the councillors Albertus de Verden, Hermannus Weldighe and Arnoldus de Renten (f. 30v, all listed in 1371–72 in St Olaf, von zur Mühlen 2002, 177–178, 173), BK 1, 32r–v, fragment of a *schosslist* of the parish of St Nicholas in narrow format with an incipit ‘Incipiunt cines’ written by city scribe *Albertus* in ca. 1368–73, possibly in 1373, but even 1370 or 1368. Among those listed for *schoss* are the councillors Rothgerus de Lapide (f. 32r, also listed in 1369 in St Nicholas, von zur Mühlen 2002, 169), Hinricus de Krowel (f. 32r, also listed in 1369 and 1372 in St Nicholas, von zur Mühlen 2002, 168), Johannes Duderstad (f. 32r, also listed in 1369 and 1371–72 in St Nicholas, von zur Mühlen 2002, 164), Hinricus de Beke (f. 32v, also listed in 1369 and 1371–72 in St Nicholas, von zur Mühlen 2002, p. 161) and Petrus Stocdorp (f. 32v, also listed in 1369 in St Nicholas, von zur Mühlen 2002, p. 175), but also the councillor Johannes Ostinchusen (f. 32r, not listed in 1369 and 1371–72, but cited as a councillor in 1351–59, von Bunge 1374, 119) and Hinricus de Essende (f. 32r, not listed in 1369 and 1371–72, cited as a councillor in 1360–68, von Bunge 1374, 94), A.d.12, f. 25r–27r and 29r–31r, after Michaelmas 1374, St Nicholas and St Olaf, Substitute *AIV* (see CHAPTER 5.1.2), and f. 33r–34v, probably 1374, St Nicholas and St Olaf, Substitute *AIV* (edition Kaplinski, Küllike, *Tallinna käsitöölist XIV sajandil*, 2. Tallinn 1980, here cited as Schoss 1374), A.d.12, f. 36r–43v, Michaelmas 1384, St Nicholas and St Olaf, city scribe *Hermannus*, A.d.12, f. 47r–52v, the first page of the list is missing but the list most likely dates to 1385–89, St Nicholas and St Olaf, *Hermannus*, A.d.12, f. 54r–61v, around Michaelmas 1390, St Nicholas and St Olaf, *Hermannus*, A.d.12, f. 63v–73v, around Michaelmas 1392, St Olaf and St Nicholas, *Hermannus*, A.d.9, f. 1r–8v, undated, probably from 1393 or 1391, *Hermannus* (the *schosslist* is followed by an account on excise of beer from 1393 and 1394 A.d.9, f. 9v–10v also written by *Hermannus*, but it may date already from 1391, A.d.12, f. 74r–82v, 84r, around Michaelmas 1399, St Olaf and St Nicholas, *Hermannus*, A.d.12, f. 86r–89v, ‘in 1400 and’ (the exact year is missing, probably 1403 or 1404), St Nicholas, substitute *HII*? (see CHAPTER 5.1.4), with entries on imbursements by city scribe *Johannes Blomendal* on A.d.12, f. 89v of an unknown year, B.a.20, 2r–5r, year 1402, St Olaf, substitute *HII* and some entries on imbursements by *Hermannus* (edition *Das Schossverzeichnis des Revaler Kirchspiels St. Olai von 1402*. In: Jähniß, Bernhart & Militzer, Klaus (eds.), *Aus der Geschichte Alt-Livlands. Festschrift für Heinz von zur Mühlen zum 90. Geburtstag*. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, 12. Lit Verlag, München 2004, here cited as Schoss 1402), BK 1, f. 27r–28v fragment of a *schosslist* written by *HII* on paper with the same watermark as B.a.20, 2r–5r, possibly the list for St Nicholas of 1402 or some later year in 1402–5, B.a.20, f. 22r–v, beginning of the 15th century (1405?), fragment of St Nicholas and St Olaf, substitute *HIV* (active in late 1405, see CHAPTER 5.2.1.1) and an unknown hand, A.d.13, f. 1r–13v, year 1421, St Nikolaus and St Olaf, *Johannes Blomendal*, A.d.13, f. 15r–25v, year 1422, St Nikolaus and St Olaf, *Johannes Blomendal*, A.d.12, f. 94r–98v, year 1424, St Olaf (and St Nicholas?), *Johannes Blomendal*, BK 1, f. 21–22, ca. 44,5 x 10,5/11,0 cms, year 1429?, St Nicholas, *Joachim Muter*, on f. 22r *Muter*’s pentrials from 1429 (edition Hergemöller, Berndt-Ulrich, *Zwei Revaler Steuerlisten (circa 1430/1440)*, 37–41, In: Hergemöller, Berndt-Ulrich, *Der Revaler Kirchenstreit (1424–1428)*. *Hansisches Geschichtsblätter*, 109 (1991), 37–41, here cited as Schoss ca. 1430/1440, with Hergemöller’s tentative dating to 1430. The list has later been cut into two pieces of ca. 22,5 x 10,5/11,0 cms) and B.a.20, f. 18r, ca. 44,0 x 10,0 cms, ca. 1429?, St Olaf, city scribe *Joachim Muter* (similar in composition and size as BK 1, f. 21–22), BK 1, f. 35, ca. 28,5 x 11,0 cms, St Nicholas, *Joachim Muter*, ca. 1429 or early 1430’s, (edition Schoss ca. 1430/1440 with Hergemöller’s tentative dating before 1440), B.a.20, f. 23, year 1444, discarded beginning of the *schosslist* for St Nicholas with incipit and two entries, *Joachim Muter*, at the

Since all the surviving lists from between the years 1369 and 1424 are written on quired bifolios of paper in narrow format with pages measuring ca. 30 cm in height and 11–15 cm in width, the final textual form of the annual registers of the *schoss* appears to have remained fixed for at least 60 years from Albertus (active in 1363–74) to Johannes Blomendal (active in 1406–26), possibly even until the the time of Blomendal’s successor Wenemar Scheter/N.N. (active in 1426–29). The two remaining lists from the beginning of the period of activity of Joachim Muter in the fall of 1429 (ca. 44,5 x 10,5/11,0 and 44,0 x 10,0 cms), and a fragment of a third of roughly the same date (ca. 28,5 x 11,0 cms) are, however, of a different format, composed on lengthy slips of paper cut out from folio sized sheets of ca. 40 x 15 cm. Since no other lists from the time period of activity of Joachim Muter except a fragment of an unfinished list for the parish of St Nicholas in 1444 with incipit and only two entries survive, the format of the annual registers of *schoss* in the second quarter of the 15th century is unknown, and it is possible that they were once collected into an archival entity similar to those from ca. 1369 to 1424/28, but never arranged into a volume of their own.²⁰⁰ In fact, several gaps in the run of lists after the late 1360’s show that most of the annual registers of *schoss* must have been archived loosely in individual or occasionally inbound quires after their use by the wardens, and the codex of A.d.12 was only assembled much later in the 19th century from the lists then found in loose connection to each other in the *AR*. The two volumes of *schosslists* of A.d.12 (with lists from 1369 to ca 1403 and 1424) and A.d.13 (with lists from 1421 and 1422) first emerge with their original archival signums of A.a.4a and A.a.4 in the first catalogue of *AR* in 1896, but even if the original coverless binding of A.d.13 is medieval with parchment reinforcement in the stitching of the quires, nothing in the codicological composition of the individual quires indicates that they were archived in volumes consisting of lists covering more than 2–5 years in the late medieval and 16th-century organisation of the *AR*.²⁰¹

Because all the surviving *schosslists* were written by the city scribes or their more permanent substitutes with only occasional additions by other hands, and the city scribes also wrote the entries on the wardens’ imbursement of the return of the tax to the *kämmerers* to the end of the respective lists, the surviving registers of *schoss* must be used with caution when evaluating the textual duties of the councillors in the administration of the tax in the two

back there is *Muter*’s penitrial consisting of alphabets from ‘a’ to ‘s’ (the letter ‘a’ three times in the beginning) and the words ‘pater noster’.

²⁰⁰ TLA, BK 1, f. 21–22 (*Schoss* ca. 1430/1440), TLA, B.a.20, f. 18r and BK 1, f. 35 (*Schoss* ca. 1430/1440).

For the dating see the previous footnote.

²⁰¹ Hansen 1986, 37–38. TLA, A.d.12, f. 1r.

parishes. Without a proper knowledge of hands appearing in the management of written information of the council at the time of the lists, misinterpretations concerning the production of the lists in the 14th century have been made. When, for instance, in 2004 Dieter Heckmann published the *schossl* of 1402 for the parish of St Olaf in an edition, he observed that it was apparently written by two different individuals, the first (Hand A) being responsible for most of the writing in the list, and the second (Hand B) being only a supplementary one. Because Hand A appeared to use letter forms of an older date than Hand B, Heckmann came to the conclusion that the list was most likely produced by an older and a younger councillor engaged as wardens of *schoss* in 1402. According to his edition, Hand B is only found in a section of the closing resignations of the wardens where two of the total of six entries on money imbursered to the *kämmerers* on Monday after Invocavit (February 13), 1402, are written by him.²⁰²

When compared to the original *schossl*, several problems with Heckmann's identification of the hands are revealed. The most important of these is that the main body of text in the list of 1402 as analysed and published by him (his Hand A) is not written by any known councillor but the main substitute of the city scribe in 1398/1401–5 (*HII*, see CHAPTER 5.1.3), who also wrote the two entries on imbursements on February 13, 1402. The other four entries, as well as occasional interpolations in the *schossl*, are written by city scribe Hermannus, active in 1375–1400/3 (Heckmann's Hand B).²⁰³ Heckmann's identification of the hands of the *schossl* of 1402 is presented in PICTURES 11:1–2 below with contemporary samples of the hands of city scribe Hermannus and the substitute *HII* active in 1401–5 in the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3, PICTURE 11:3]. In *AR*, the handwriting of *HII* is easy to recognise because of his use of fine hair tails in letters 'n', 'm', 'h' and 'j' with long rhythmic bendings to the left, also apparent in the *schossl* of 1402, even if the list itself is written with a more casual face of his hand as compared to the two entries of imbursements. Of further interest is that the three entries by Hermannus written on imbursements on the Saturday before St Anthony (January 14), the next Friday (January 20), and the Wednesday before Pentecost (May 10), 1402, are among the last datable entries written by him. Already then, the main text of the list was written by the substitute *HII* and

²⁰² Heckmann, Dieter, Das Schossverzeichnis des Revaler Kirchspiels St. Olai von 1402. In: Jähniq, Bernhart & Militzer, Klaus (eds.), Aus der Geschichte Alt-Livlands. Festschrift für Heinz von zur Mühlen zum 90. Geburtstag. Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, 12. Lit Verlag, München 2004, 74–76, the identification of Hand B in the imbursements of February 13 is on page 92, footnote q)-q); TLA, B.a.20, f. 2r–5r.

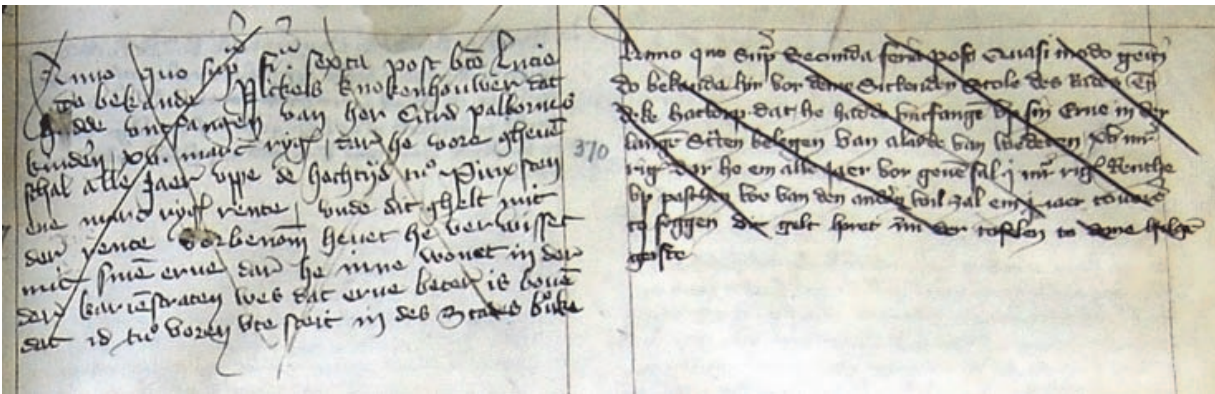
²⁰³ Heckmann 2004, 74–76, 92, 100; TLA, B.a.20, f. 5r.

the elderly scribe only made occasional interpolations to the list together with some of the closing entries of the account in 1402. Since the substitute *HII* was also responsible for another surviving *schosslist* dating to either 1403 or 1404, and a third list dating somewhere within the period of his activity in 1402–5, the writing of the *schosslists* for the needs of the wardens was the task of the contemporary city scribes and their substitutes at the beginning of the 15th century, not that of the wardens of *schoss* as suggested by Heckmann.²⁰⁴ Obviously, and as already suggested by Lilian Jatruševa in her 1986 study of the Revalian Schoss of 1433–1532, the original *schosslists* employed by the two wardens in both parishes were first composed on wax tablets or other temporary material such as paper by the wardens themselves, and then rewritten into a fixed annual list by the city scribe for the subsequent control of the payments. After the person liable for the tax had paid the *schoss*, the name was struck off the list and the list was eventually closed with information on the wardens' imbursements of the money to the *kämmerers*. As PICTURE 11:2 shows, these were often made in two or more instalments, registered at the end of the list by city scribes or their main substitutes in a number of sessions of writing (in 1402 six instalments with the total of two sessions by *Hermannus* and one by *HII*).²⁰⁵ Heckmann's analysis of the *schosslist* of 1402 underlines the risks of drawing conclusions about supposed identities and chronological distribution of hands from a single source of writing, and further underlines the role the comparative paleographic analysis of the lists and the main registers of the city as the only secure starting point for the study of the active hands responsible for texts in the management of written information in the council administration.

²⁰⁴ TLA, B.a.20, f. 2r–5r. The interpolations written by *Hermannus* are numbers 22, 113 (*de beke de schote up rekenschap*), 245 (?), 298 and 299 in Heckmans edition, see Schoss 1402, Heckmann 2006, 76; A.d.12, f. 86r–89v and BK 1, 27r–28v.

²⁰⁵ Jatruševa 1986, 18.

Picture 11:3: Two entries by city scribe Hermannus (left) and HII (right) in the parchment book of Annuities on recognitions issued on Friday after St Lucy (December 16), 1401 and Monday after Quasimodogeniti (April 3), 1402.



TLA, B.a.20, f. 2r (Schoss 1402, 84), B.a.20, f. 4r (Schoss 1402, 4r, 91–92, 100); TLA A.a.3., f. 43r (PergRB 367, 370).

Characteristic of the important role of the *schoss* for the city's finances and its early development into a *topos* of the written management of information in the civic administration is that the oldest surviving piece of Revalian civic memoranda produced by it is a fragment of parchment of narrow format (ca. 12,4 x 18,4 cm) consisting of a census-like list of house owners and other adult individuals and servants under them in the parish of St Olof [B.K.1, f. 25]. In addition to burghers and artisans (such as *pellice*, *auriga*, *carpentarius*), the list also includes the 'castrenses' i.e. vassals and members of vassal families with inheritable real property in the area of the parish of St Olaf. Because one of the vassal house-owners, the knight Johannes de Revalia (*dominus Johannes miles de Reualia*) is known to have died some time in 1315–19, the list has been dated tentatively to 1310 by Paul Johansen, but it may also be older, from ca. 1300.²⁰⁶

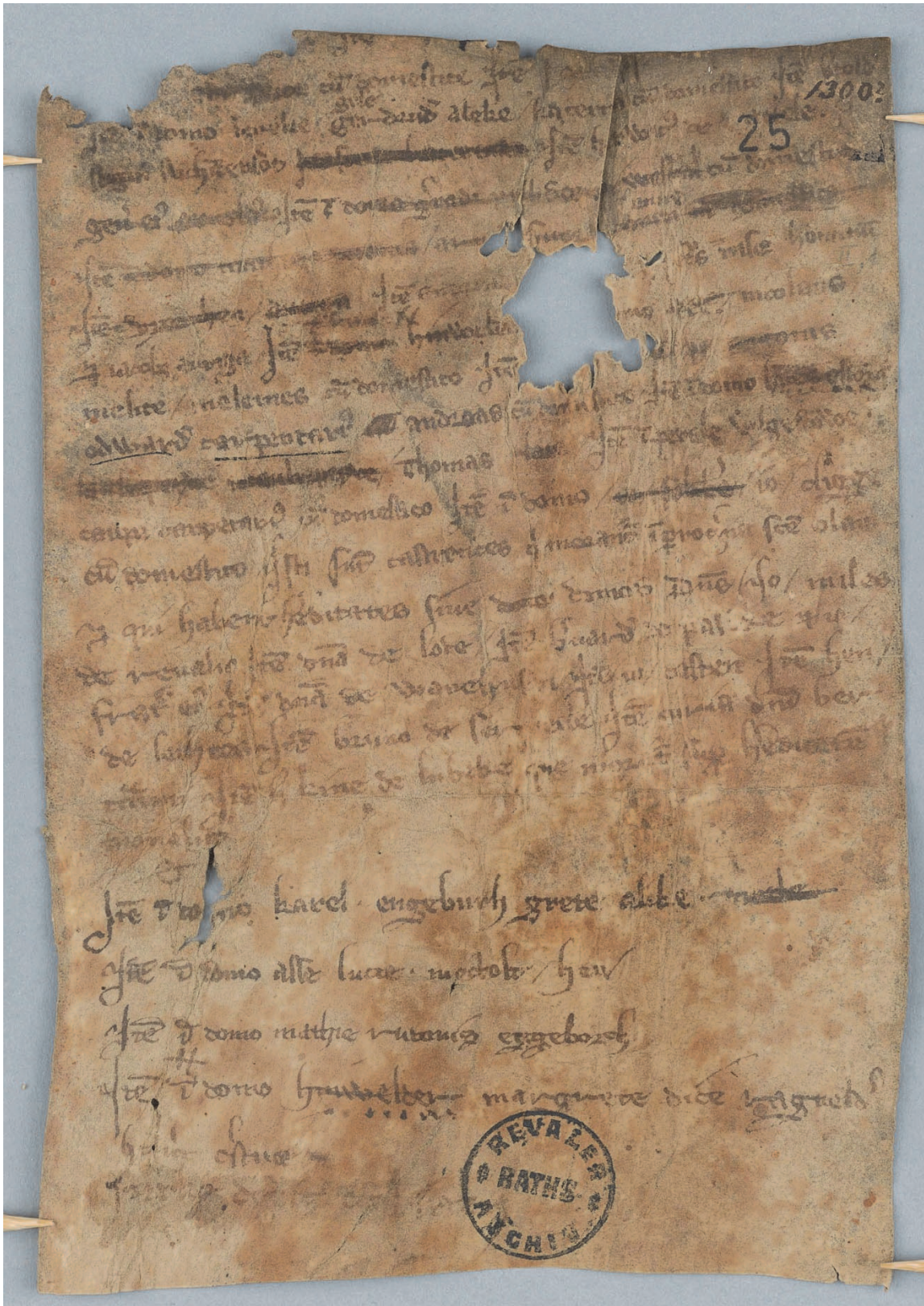
The surviving section of the list consists of itemized explication house-owners together with other adult people and servants living under them. Instead of the separate line for each taxpayer characteristic of the later *schosslists*, the names of the individual house-owners and their household are written into a single column of text following each other in a continuous flow of 'Items', i.e. *'Item Harwicus de Kattele et gener eius Arnoldus Item in domo Condradi pellifice Jo. West[f]al com domestic Item in domo ...'*. Since an unknown section of parchment has been cut out of the beginning of the list, its original length and content are unknown, but the list may once have presented the house owners of the whole parish on a

²⁰⁶ TLA, BK 1, f. 25. Johansen, Paul, Das Fragment einer ältesten Einwohnerliste Revals. In: Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands Hrsg. von der Estländischen Literarischen Gesellschaft, XIII:1–5. Reval 1927/28, 51–53.

single sheet of parchment in narrow format. The entire list is written by the same hand, most likely in one session, but some of the names are later struck out. At the end of the list there are a further six lines of house-owners, now listed separately on each line and written by the hand responsible for the original list. The hand employs letters and face of writing characteristic to the latter half of the 13th century and it is either the same or very close to the hand cited as *WBI* later in this study, who introduced the first quire of the oldest surviving register on recognitions of inheritable real property and annuities of the city [A.a.1, WB 1312–60] in 1312. The oldest surviving book of memoranda of Reval, the register appears to have been preceded by or introduced alongside lists of census-like content applicable to the management of *schoss* in the two parishes in the town at the beginning of the 14th century. Since the physical form and composition of text of these lists are reminiscent of the composition of the surviving early 13th-century *Schreinsbücher* of transactions of inheritances (i.e. houses) in the parishes of Cologne, they may have followed a 13th-century practice in keeping track of the owners and holders of the town plots in the wider context of civic communities (see CHAPTER 2.1.2).²⁰⁷ Since names other than the knight Johannes Reval do not offer possibilities for fixed dating of the list, it can be placed either to the time immediately following the enlargement of the walled area of the city in 1310–12 and contemporary to A.a.1, or before than, in the first decade of the 14th century. Since the period of activity of hand *WBI* in the service of the council covers the period from 1312 to December 1325 and the last datable signs of his writing are from March or May 1328, and periods of known textual activity among the Revalian city scribes do not exceed 28–33 years (city scribes Hermannus and Joachim Muter), and scribes presumably eventually retired because of the deterioration in their eyesight in their 50's and 60's, if not earlier, *WBI* is unlikely to have began his career in the written management of information of the council much before 1300, i.e. some 25–30 years before his possible retirement (see CHAPTER 4.2.2).

²⁰⁷ See for instance the *Schreinsbuch* of the parish of St Lawrence of Cologne from 1235 as depicted in Miltzer 1989, 1222 where the composition and placing of the text and entries on individual transactions of inheritances are similar to A.a.1.

Picture 12: The census (possible schosslist) of house owners and adult people in the parish of St Olof in Reval. Fragment, ca. 1300–1315/19.



TLA, B.K.1., f. 25.

3.2.2.3. *Poundage and Excise*

Of the other two taxes cited above, the **Poundage** (Mnd. *puntgelt*, Ger. *Pfundzoll*) was a tax levied by the Hanseatic cities on all cargoes entering or leaving a Hanseatic port. It was first imposed by the league of maritime cities in the third quarter of the 14th century, but then took the form of a permanent revenue adjustable to the needs of the civic government. The tax was introduced in the 1361 meeting of the Hansetag in Greifswald to cover the expenses of the current war with Denmark, and it was first levied in Reval in the sailing season of 1362. Major periods in the Hanseatic use of the Poundage occurred in 1362–86, 1398–1400, 1423–25 and 1434. In the late 14th century the tax was only imposed in set periods ordained by the Hansetag, but in the 15th century the Poundage developed into a permanent duty on all shipped merchandise. In Reval it was considered a fixed income of the city if not otherwise agreed in the Hansetag. At the beginning of the first quarter of the 15th century the Revalian Poundage was levied on the volume of goods, not the value of the merchandise as in the 1370's and 1380's. Fluctuations in the goods subject to the Poundage in the 15th century have been studied by Reinhard Vogelsang in the context of his 1992 edition of the Revalian Registers of Poundage of 1425–96.²⁰⁸

For the civic administration of late 14th century Reval the introduction of Poundage constituted a new sphere of textual management of information where those responsible for the inspection and recording of the shipped cargo had to be able to provide the declarants with an adequate written receipt of the amount and value of the declared goods. The earliest known written receipt on Poundage was granted in the name of the council on the day after Micheltmas 1362, but a more extensive series of quittancies has survived from 1368–77. All the surviving receipts from 1362–77 were written in Latin in the form of open attestations, but were later lost and their text is only available in edition by Wilhelm Stieda in 1887. Three of them from 1377 and still held in *AR* are corroborated on the reverse side with the smaller *secretum* of the city, possibly specially reserved for the purpose since the 1360's (*secretum I*, see PICTURE 18:1 and TABLE 1 in CHAPTER 2.2.1.2).²⁰⁹

For the written management of the Poundage, the names of those subject to the duty and the value of their shipped goods were registered in special volumes of memoranda, of which the

²⁰⁸ Vogelsang 1971, 696–700 and Vogelsang, Reinhard, Vorwort. In: Revaler Schiffslisten 1425–1471 und 1479–1496. Hrsg. von Reinhard Vogelsang. Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, 13. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1992, XVI–XXIII.

²⁰⁹ RzollB I 1–72 and the introduction by Stieda (1997), LXII–LXIII. TLA, Urk. 1-I, 368–370 (RzollBI, 70–72). See above, CHAPTER 2.2.1.2.

oldest surviving was introduced somewhere in 1362–76 [A.d.6]. Published in an edition by Wilhelm Stieda in 1887, the register is a paper codex in narrow format (ca. 28,5 x 10,7 cm) with limp leather binding where the front cover is extended to fold over the fore edge of the quires and secured with a leather tie. In what is considered the original incipit of the register written upside down on the penultimate page at the back of the codex, Johannes Hamer and Richart Rike state that they started to collect the Poundage (*puntgelt*) after the ordinance of the cities on the second Thursday after Easter. Because Hamer and Rike are cited as contemporary members of the presiding council in the known sources only in 1373, Wilhelm Stieda dated the introduction of the register to that year. Since the surviving 14th-century lists of presiding council always cite the names for the respective fiscal year (in 1373 for 1372/73 or 1373/74) the codex may date either to the spring of 1373 or 1374, or – as Reinhard Vogelsang has pointed out – more likely some time between 1362–76, when Richard Rike is cited among the councillors of the city. After the introduction of the register by Hamer and Rike, the codex was set aside for an unknown period and restarted from the other end upside down by city scribe Hermannus on February 2, 1378. After the restart it covers annual registers on Poundage to 1382.²¹⁰ In the spring of 1383 Hermannus introduced a new paper volume in 4^o (Ca. 29,5 x 23,0 cm) for the purpose [A.d.8]. Consisting of a lone quire of 38 leaves with detached limp leather binding where the back cover folds over the fore edge of the codex, the volume covers the registers of Poundage from 1383–84, after which no memoranda on the duty are known before 1425.²¹¹

Even if the late 14th-century process of clearing the shipped goods for the Poundage in Reval is somewhat obscure, it is evident that from the first register the levying of the duty was arranged by two councillors acting as wardens of the Poundage. Because in the first register a transaction of money was made by a *puntmester*, Reinhard Vogelsang has suggested that the two wardens acted as supervisors of a master of Poundage, the person responsible for inspections at the harbour. The singular case of the noun in the register, however, may also indicate that the two wardens carried out the inspections in turn and spent a certain period as *puntmester* in charge in the harbour.²¹² In 1435 the clearing of the goods for duty (Mnd. *tzoldie*) was made in a special barque (Mnd. *barse*) stationed in the harbour with necessary

²¹⁰ Stieda 1887, LI and RZollB II 1491), Vogelsang 1971, 697, TLA, A.d.6, f. 95v and 1r. The last entries of the codex on f. 80v date to 1382 after which there is a lone entry from 1398 on the same page.

²¹¹ TLA, A.d.8. For an early edition see: Eine Revalsche Pfundzollberechnung aus den Jahren 1382 und 1384. [Hrsg.] von Dr. K. Höhlbaum. Beiträge zur Kunde Ehst-, Liv- und Kurlands, hrsg. von Ehstländischen Literarischen Gesellschaft, Band II:3. Reval 1877 (here cited as Pfdzoll 1383–84), 494–508.

²¹² TLA, A.d.6, f. 96r, RZollB II 1157; Vogelsang 1971, 697. On the process of inspecting the cargoes and corroboration of the Poundage in Lübeck see Pitz 1959, 400–405

customs personnel (Mnd. *tzolnedeneren*) on board. According to the surviving fragment of costs covered from the Poundage in 1457–58 and written by city scribe Joachim Muter, a city servant (Mnd. *denere*) named Hinrik Kester was then paid three marks for captaining the ship used for inspecting the cargoes for the evaluation of Poundage.²¹³

Because in the first surviving register special fees paid for the city scribe Hermannus are cited twice in the context of 1381, Reinhard Vogelsang suggested in 1971 that the bookkeeping of the Poundage was originally done by the city scribes. A closer analysis of the hands in the register shows, however, that beside writing almost all the entries for 1381 and in the beginning of 1382 for which extra money was paid, the city scribes were first engaged in writing the registers only in 1378, when Hermannus wrote two incipits and a couple of entries in the codex. The other writing in A.d.6 is done by at least ten other hands, some of which can be identified as those active in several other volumes of memoranda of the time (for instance the hand responsible for most of the entries in 1378 and half of 1379 is the main substitute of the city scribe active in 1372 and 1374–75 and in the *Kämmereibuch* A.d.3 in 1374/75, here later cited as *AIV*). Some of the hands may have been wardens of the Poundage, who may have based their lists of cleared goods and their proprietors on notes of the *puntmester* made during the process of inspection in the harbour. All the surviving three quittancies of the Poundage from 1377 are written by city scribe Hermannus²¹⁴

Like the contemporary developments in the written management of the accounts of the *kämmerers*, the city scribes' role in writing the registers of Poundage appears to have been expanding in the last quarter of the 14th century. For the register of 1383–84 [A.d.8] Hermannus wrote not only the incipit of the codex in the spring of 1383, but also a larger part of the entries in 1383–84. In addition to the hand of the city scribe, however, at least six other hands occur, of which three have occasionally written several pages in row, but the three others have only contributed single entries or groups of entries in the codex.²¹⁵

²¹³ Vogelsang 1971, 698, KB 1432–63, 169; TLA, B.a.1, f. 67r. 'Jtem hinrik kester deme denere vor dat he yn schepe varet de schepere dat de guder verpuntolet werden – iij mrc'.

²¹⁴ RzollB I, nr. 1448, 1472; Vogelsang 1971, 697; TLA, A.d.6, where the hand of *Hermannus* occurs on f. 1r (incipit of 1378), 4v (a couple of entries in 1378), 58r (another incipit for 1378), 47v–48r, 48v–49r, 49v–51v, 52r (in the middle), 53r, 54r–v (all of 1381), 75r (on below) and 88v (of 1382). In the register there are at least ten other hands, some of which cover several pages in a row, but others have only written single groups of entries here and there. On f. 80v an entry dated on the Friday before the Pentecost 1398 is written by a hand otherwise unknown in the codex. For the hand (*AIIIA*) active in 1372, 1374–75, and A.d.6, f. 1r–5r, 13r–14r, 96r–v as well as on the back cover, see CHAPTERS 4.3.1 and 5.1.2.

²¹⁵ TLA, A.d.8, where the hand of Hermannus occurs on pages 1r, 3r–4r, 6v–11r, 11b, 12r–13r, 14r–17v, 18v–23v (1383), 24v, 26r–v, 30v, 31r (1384), 35r (1383 and 1384), 36r, 37r (partially from 1399), 37v and 37b. The

According to summaries on the expenditure of the collected Poundage at the end of A.d.8 written by Hermannus, the earnings were spent not only for various transactions on behalf of the city, but also for activities related to the policing of the harbour area such as chasing robbers on the island of Nargen, as well as on the written management of information of the registers such as buying paper for the quittancies (*vor pappyr*) and costs of notary services (*notario*), i.e. the city scribe responsible for writing receipts on declared goods and controlling the register.²¹⁶ As in A.d.6, the special compensation for the services of the city scribe and paper cited in the register of 1383–84 show that in the 1370's and 1380's the Poundage was considered a collective duty of the maritime cities and certain costs produced by it had to be reimbursed from the revenue and kept separate from the other costs of the management of information of the city.

After 1384 no information on annual registers of Poundage or their composition is known to have survived before 1425, when the lists of declared goods were written and managed as a paper codex in 4^o (ca. 30,0 x 21,5 cm) by city scribe Johannes Blomendal [A.g.1]. Rebound in the late 19th or early 20th century, the codex was thoroughly restored in 1970 and today it consists of five quires of paper covering the period from ca. 1425 to 1448. At the beginning of the codex there is a further bifolio of paper with entries dating to ca. 1455 by an unknown hand followed by entries by city scribe Reinhard Storning from 1461.²¹⁷ After the initial engagement by Johannes Blomendal from Wednesday before Pentecost (May 15), 1426, the volume was placed in the care of *Wenemar Scheter*, who then wrote down the lists of declared goods until the engagement of a new city scribe, Joachim Muter, on the day after Corpus Christi (May 27), 1429.²¹⁸ Wenemar's identity and status as the person responsible for writing and management of information in the administration of the council in 1426–29 is discussed in more detail in CHAPTER 5.2.2.

As the bifolio at the beginning of codex A.g.1 shows, the codicological composition of the registers of Poundage today surviving in the *AR* does not go further back than the turn of the

last datable entries in the codex are from 1384 on 35r by an unknown hand, and around the Nativity of Mary 1399 by Hermannus on 37r.

²¹⁶ A.d.8, f. 33r (RzollB II, 2659–2673, with nr. 2659 'Int erste vor pappyr 6 ore', nr. 2660, 'Item 4 ore vor ungelt', and nr. 2661 'Item 1 mr. Notario, item 1 fr., item 3 fr., item ½ mr., item 2 mr.').

²¹⁷ TLA, A.g.1, f. 1r–2v. For an edition, see *Revaler Schiffslisten 1425–1471 und 1479–1496*. Hrsg. von Reinhard Vogelsang. In: *Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte*, 13. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1992 (here cited as *Schiffslisten 1425–96*) and Reinhard Vogelsang's introduction (Vogelsang 1992), VII–VIII. According to the 1896 catalogue of Gotthard von Hansen (p. 41, A.d.60), the volume was a book of paper with no covers, whereas in the 1924–26 catalogue of Greiffenhagen (p. 50, A.g.1) the volume is said to have a new binding.

²¹⁸ TLA, A.g.1, f. 14r–46v.

19th and 20th centuries, when sections of the various kinds of memoranda stationed in the old archives of the Town Hall were reassembled by Theodor Schiemann, Gotthard von Hansen and Otto Greiffenhagen. During this work sections of medieval volumes of memoranda were collected and grouped together on the basis of 19th-century administrative conceptualisations of the judicial and fiscal activities of a council, which caused several successive reorganisations of assembled volumes, especially those consisting of loose bunches of quires or detached bifolios found in the archives (see above, CHAPTER 1.2.5.1). Consequently, a loose bifolio from the registers of the 1450's and early 1460's ended up bound to the beginning of the paper volume employed by Johannes Blomendal in 1425, the three first quires of which are composed from a paper of uniform origin and may have been preceded by at least one other quire, later lost. Similarly, two loose leaves of registers in quarto format written by Blomendal in ca. 1425 and Muter in ca. 1429–30 were later bound together with another register of Poundage in 4^o (ca. 30,0 x 21,5 cm) starting from 1462 and written by successive city scribes from Reinhard Storning to Christian Czernekow (active in 1487–1507 and 1512–13) [A.g.4]. Of these the leaf written by Johannes Blomendal has a watermark similar to the three first quires of the volume of 1425–48, and is evidently of the same origin.²¹⁹ A third register of collected Poundage [A.g.2] in 4^o (ca. 30,0 x 22,0 cm) bound in a modern binding consisted only of loose sections and quires even in 1896, but they were assembled into a bound codex some time in 1920–24. The register covers the period from 1448 to 1462, and is written almost exclusively by city scribes Joachim Muter and his successor Reinhard Storning (active from 1456). In 1454 a section of the register is written by the hand responsible for the first leaf of the opening bifolio of A.g.1; possibly a substitute of the city scribe Joachim Muter during the later days of his activity in the mid-1450's.²²⁰

Since the surviving 15th-century registers of Poundage are written almost in their entirety by city scribes and their substitutes in charge of the memoranda of the city, it must be concluded that the volumes are in fact transcriptions written in the City Scriptorium on the original shipping documents produced by the wardens of the Poundage or persons

²¹⁹ TLA, A.g.4, f. 1r–v (hand *Muter*, for the dating see Vogelsang 1992, X, where the correct date is 1429–30, because Muter's activity in the written administration began only in the summer of 1429), 2r–v (hand *Blomendal*, the watermark is a Lion). For an edition, see *Schiffslisten 1425–96* and Vogelsang 1992, VII–VIII, X.

²²⁰ TLA, A.g.2, p. 30–32; TLA, A.g.1, f. 1r–v. For edition see *Schiffslisten 1425–96* and Vogelsang 1992, VIII–IX. A reconstruction of the original composition of A.g.1, 2 and 4 is provided by Vogelsang 1992, XXV; von Hansen 1896, 40 (A.d.58), Greiffenhagen 1924–26, 50 (A.g.3). The registers were studied Wilhelm Stieda in the 1880's, see Stieda, Wilhelm, *Schiffahrtsregister*. In: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 13 (1884), 102–105. The binding was apparently done after the AR was returned in June 1920 from Moscow, see CHAPTER 1.2.5.1.

responsible for the inspection of the goods in the harbour.²²¹ Along with the registers, other kinds of lists and summaries on collected Poundage were produced, such as the annual summaries of the collected Poundage on Dutch ships, written in a paper quire in 4° (30,0 x 22,0 cm) by city scribes Joachim Muter and Reinhard Storning in 1451–57.²²² Another rare surviving example of the material produced during the inspection of the goods may be a narrow paper volume in 4° (ca. 29,5 x 11,0 cm), written in its entirety by one hand, consisting of lists of names of individual captains and the weight of their cargoes and dating to the mid-15th century [A.g.3].²²³ A section of the registers of Poundage written by the city scribe Wenemar Scheter in 1426–29 has survived on a narrow paper quire in folio format (ca. 43,5 x 14,7 cm) dating to ca. 1426.²²⁴ As mentioned above, from 1458 a short summary on money paid out from the return of the Poundage also survives, presumably records from the customs seasons of 1457 and 1458, written by Joachim Muter on a loose sheet of paper in quarto (ca. 28,0 x 17,5 cms), and possibly originating from a set of quires or codex of approximately the same size (A.g.2). As already discussed, the costs covered include not only the costs of the scribe for keeping the script (*schryft*) for two years, but also two apparently seasonal salaries of (city) servant Hinrik Kester who had captained the ship which had examined the cargoes for the evaluation of the Poundage.²²⁵

Unlike the Hanseatic Poundage first introduced as a collective tax for the benefit of the entire league of cities, the **excise** was a local tax first imposed on imported wine. Already in 1393 and 1394, however, the excise was also levied on beer. The earliest registers on the tax date to 1393. The two councillors responsible for the control of the tax are cited in 1424 as wardens of beer (*beyr heren*), who provided a large sum of money in several instalments for the costs of the building of the aqueduct for leading fresh water from outside the Cattle Gate to the town. Since the beer excise was used for the special purpose of building the Domberg wall in 1454, it may have originally served as a temporary instrument used to finance distinct enterprises of the civic government in the city, which was turned into a permanent tax before the end of the first quarter of the 15th century when the office of the two wardens of the

²²¹ For a likely reconstruction of the process in the mid-15th century see Vogelsang 1992, XXVI–XXVII.

²²² TLA, B.a.1, f. 78r–84r.

²²³ TLA, A.g.3. For edition see Schiffsslisten 1425–96 and Vogelsang 1992, IX–X. Entries by the same hand combined with others by city scribes *Joachim Muter* (1429–56), *Reinhold Storning* and *Johannes tor Hove* (since 1463) are found in A.g.2, p. 61, 67, 70, 74, 78, 89, 91–92, 99, 104–105.

²²⁴ TLA, B.a.1, f. 47r–49v, see HUB I:8 769 and Schiffsslisten 1425–96, 43–49.

²²⁵ TLA, B.a.1, f. 67r. ‘Jtem deme schryuere dan twen Jaren de schryft to verwaren gegeuen (the sum is undecipherable because of the worn condition of the edge of the paper)’, ‘Jtem hinrik kester deme denere vor dat he yn schepe varet de schepere dat de guder verpunftollet werden – iij mrc’. The latter entry has been registered twice in the account in different places.

excise emerged. According to Reinhard Vogelsang, the excise was imposed in the late 14th century only on wine and the excise on beer would have developed in the 15th century, but the latter is cited already in the first available register of the excise from 1393, where the surviving account is written at the end of a contemporary *schosslist* in the hand of city scribe Hermannus.²²⁶

3.2.3. The Mint and the Mills

Other well documented offices among the councillors, together with the wardenship of *schoss* and Poundage, were the Mint and Mills, both of which were supervised by two councillors in the second quarter of the 15th century. As noted, the Revalian **Mint** was a regal privilege placed in the custody of the council, who organised the production of coins by employing a Master of Mint and a couple of Mint hands for the purpose. The spending of raw silver and various other costs of the minting as well as the inspection and assignment of finished coins was supervised and carried out by two wardens of the Mint first cited in 1363 (Lat. *monete domini*, later Mnd. *munteherren*).²²⁷

The earliest known costs and return of minting are cited in two parchment quires of memoranda introduced by the city scribe Albertus to record various kinds of income and expenses of the city in 1363 [A.d.1–2].²²⁸ Further assignments of the wardenship of councillor Peter Stokkeltorp are cited in a loose note by an unknown hand in ca. 1365. The oldest known accounts of the Mint apparently kept by the wardens date from the last decade of the 14th and the first quarter of the 15th century.²²⁹ Of these, the first one [A.d.16] is a paper codex in folio (ca. 40,0 x 30,0 cms), originally consisting of at least three separate sections of entries focusing on minted coins, expenses of minting and fiscal imbursements of the wardens of the Mint to *kämmerers* and other councillors of the city. The heavily damaged codex was introduced into use sometime before 1397 and it has entries to ca. 1435 with a section of three pages from around 1530. According to a modern note at the beginning of the codex, it was originally bound in leather, but the binding as well as many of the original sheets and quires of the codex have been lost before or during the restoration. All three sections are written almost in their entirety by four hands, of which the first was active

²²⁶ Vogelsang 1971, 694; TLA, A.d.9, f. 9v, ‘Anno xciiij, Dit is de ezise van den bere upgehauen’, f. 10v ‘Anno xc quarto de Ezise van den bere’; TLA, B.a.1, f. 25 ‘Jtem noch yn dussen zeluen yare (xxiiij) des sonauendes des visticacionis marie do entfenc yk van den beyr heren hundert mark’. The total sum provided by the wardens of the bier for the building of the aqueduct in 1424 was 320 marks.

²²⁷ TLA, A.d.1, f. 13a (KB 1363–74, p. 10); Vogelsang 1971, 700–701.

²²⁸ TLA, A.d.1, f. 5v, 8v; TLA, A.d.2, f. 5r.

²²⁹ A.d.1, f. 9b–10a; B.b.1:1, 1, LECUB I:2 1025; Vogelsang 1971, 700.

between 1397–1401, the second from around 1407 to the beginning of the 1420's, and the third and fourth in the 1420's and early 1430's. None of the hands are those of the contemporary city scribes or their main substitutes.²³⁰

Because the second, third and fourth hands of the older folio codex of A.d.16 also surface in the two paper quires in 4^o (ca. 29,0 x 22,0 cms) of A.d.17 containing various expenses, accounts and assignments of the Mint, a fairly safe conclusion can be drawn that the persons engaged in writing the accounts were the wardens themselves, even though many of the hands appear to have been active several years in a row. In the two quires of A.d.17, various kinds of accounts and expenses of the Mint are written in multiple sections, mainly in 1416–47, but the relationship of this memoranda to that of the large paper folio codex of A.d.16 is not entirely clear.²³¹ As stated above, none of the hands of the city scribes feature in the folio codex, but in the second quire of the quarto register of A.d.17 the city scribe Johannes Blomendal wrote a section of the accounts on the production of the Mint reaching from Wednesday after Michaelmas of 1423 to the December of 1424, as well as an entry concerning the salary of the wardens of the Mint in flemish cloth and some of the drinks in 1424.²³² Of these the account on the production of the Mint and assignment of the coins of the Livonian Master to the Komptur of Reval in December 1424 was clearly written in a single session. Given the general absence of hands of city scribes and their known main substitutes in A.d.16 and A.d.17, both the folio codex and the two quires in 4^o may have originally been stationed in the Mint, where Johannes Blomendal was asked to do some writing on behalf of the wardens in late 1424. However, since neither of the volumes perished in the fire of Sunday Cantate (May 11), 1433, in which the Mint was completely destroyed along with 400 mk weight of silver, 12 new mintstones and all house utensils, they must have been at least temporarily kept somewhere else, possibly in the *kämmerers'* office

²³⁰ TLA, A.d.16. The three sections are f. 1v–5v (assignments to *kämmerers* and other councillors from 1419 to the beginning of the 1430's), 8r–32v (entries of minted coins and certain expenses from 1397 to around 1435) and 33r–43v (expenses of minting, especially charcoal, from the end of the 14th century to the beginning of the 1420's). At the end of the codex, there is a so-called *Bruchstücke der Kämmererei Rechnungen 1414*, a fragment of three pages (f. 201–203) similar to those of A.d.16 and written by the same hands in around 1400–1, 1407 and later. Despite of the title the pages in question do not belong to a *kämmerereibuch* but consist of imbursements of the wardens of the Mint to the council and must have formed part of the accounts of the Mint of A.d.16.

²³¹ TLA, A.d.17. In the A.d.17, for instance, a section of expenses of the mint on f. 28r–40v with dates reaching from June 1416 to February 1419 is written by the same hand responsible for several sections of A.d.16 dating to the second decade of the 15th century (f. 1v, 17r–20v, 36r–43r); On different sections in A.d.17 see Leimus 1999, 32–33.

²³² TLA, A.d.17, f. 41v–43v, 16v. On this section see Leimus 1999, 55 (photograph of A.d.17, f. 42r)

or City Scriptorium, unless somebody at the Mint succeeded in rescuing them from the fire.²³³

Further information on the nature of the textual activities of the wardens of the Mint can be acquired from B.b.1:I, f. 13–16 and 21–56, A.d.21, f. 1–7 and A.d.22, of which the first is a loose combination of separate pages, bifolios and fragments of paper quires in 4° (ca. 30,0 x 21,0 cms) and occasionally in smaller octavo format consisting of expenses, imbursements and the production of the Mint from 1435–37, ca. 1440 and 1445–47.²³⁴ Almost all the entries of 1435–37 and 1445–47 are written by one hand, again not that of the contemporary city scribe Joachim Muter, but a hand that appears in a paper quire in 4° (ca. 29,0 x 21,0 cms) and a paper bifolio of the same size with information on various expenses and production of the Mint in 1437–47 [A.d.21, f. 1–7]. Since the late 19th or early 20th century the quire and the bifolio have been bound together with various accounts of the mills into a modern binding, but they were originally among the registers of the Mint and were written by or produced under the wardens of Mint as a part of the material of B.b.1:I between 1437 and 1447.²³⁵ The third volume of memoranda, consisting of material produced in the Mint [A.d.22] is a codex of three quires of uniform paper in 4° (ca. 30,0 x 21,5 cm) in red limp leather binding with the back extended to fold over the fore edge of the codex. One of the ‘red’ books of memoranda of the city, the exclusive binding of the codex in red leather appears to reflect the prestige of the accounts of the mint among the city books of memoranda, a status similar to that of the *wedde*. In both cases the red binding of the codices is a likely witness of the fact that their inspection was not reserved to the scribes and council only: the fiscal content had to be manifest also for the officials of the Livonian Master, who held the privilege of minting. The entries of the book cover the period from early June 1448 to late May 1466, and are apparently written by a single hand in a short period of time with blank pages at the beginning and between some groups of entries. Again the hand is not that of the contemporary city scribes Joachim Muter (active to late 1456), Reinhold Storning (active in 1456–63) or Johannes tor Hove (active in 1463–77/78–79), nor that of the hand that wrote for the Mint in 1437–47.²³⁶

²³³ On the damage see the relation of the wardens of the mint edited in LECUB I:8, p. 406, footnote 2.

²³⁴ TLA, B.b.1:I, f. 13r–16v and 21r–56v, see even Leimus 1999, 33.

²³⁵ TLA, A.d.21, f. 1r–4v, 7r.

²³⁶ TLA, A.d.21. For Storning see for instance A.a.3 86v:b–89v:a, and for tor Hove A.a.3, 89v:b forward. On tor Hove see Kala 2005b, 108–128.

Of especial interest in A.d.22 are the first two entries of the codex, which state that on the fourteen days before St John in Midsummer (June 10) 1448, the councillors Albert Rumoer and Euerd Peppersack were appointed (*geuoget*) as new wardens of the Mint to whom the councillor Cost van Borstel ceded the facilities and materials of minting, including the writings (*scryfften*) of the late councillor Johannes Sunnenschin (introduced to the Table Guild in 1432, sworn burgher 1433, councillor 1434, burghermaster 1436, last time mentioned alive 1446/47) and councillor Jacob van der Molen (sworn burgher possibly in 1431, councillor 1440, alive 1462). Because the end of the book deals with the appointment of Albert Romoer and Euerd Peppersack as wardens of Mint around the end of May of 1466, one must agree with Ivar Leimus that the entire codex is likely to have been produced around that date as a fiscal summary of various activities of the Mint under these two men for the uses of the council.²³⁷ Furthermore, the two entries of 1448 again prove that *scryfften*, i.e. writings on minting, were placed in the custody of the wardens of the Mint or in the Mint house in 1448. Rather than being memoranda of the past wardens, however, the *scryfften* of Johannes Sunnenschin and Jacob van der Molen may also have been the statute of Mint published by the Livonian estates at the Diet of Wolmar on August 1, 1442, where the delegation of the council of Reval was headed by these two men. Whether Sunnenschin and van der Molen were also at that time wardens of the Mint is unknown, but the possibility remains that the hand responsible for writing the entries on the activity of the Mint in A.d.21 in 1437–47 and in B.b.1:I in 1435–37 and 1445–47, is that of councillor and burghermaster Johannes Sunnenschin, as the period of activity of the hand would match his known councillorship in 1434–47 and fit with his probable death before 1448.²³⁸

Of the other persons cited in the transaction of the wardenship of Mint in June 1448, the councillor and burghermaster Cost (Constantinus) van Borstel may have been engaged with matters of minting in the city as early as in 1418, when he was paid money from the Mint. As discussed in CHAPTER 3.1.3.2, Cost had been introduced as a member of the Table Guild in 1412, took burghership in 1413 and was chosen a councillor in 1414. Between 1425 and 1437 he took several important missions as a delegate of the council in matters of the Mint, and the Livonian Master often asked him to go in person with either the Master of the Mint or one of the wardens of the Mint to Livonian assemblies concerning minting. He is cited as a burghermester from 1422 and conducted several important diplomatic missions on behalf

²³⁷ TLA, A.d.22, f. 4r, 18r–v; Leimus 1999, 34.

²³⁸ Leimus 1999, 33; On Sunnenschin see Derrick 2000, 209–210, and Jakob van der Molen Derrick 2000, 135–136; ALS, nr. 465.

of the council and the city in the second quarter of the 15th century and in the 1450's. Because of the transaction of the wardenship in 1448 he must have been engaged with the Revalian Mint in one way or another as late as the mid-1440's, but it is uncertain whether he also contributed to writing the accounts of the Mint in 1437–47. Because of his position and many important contemporary delegations, it is doubtful that he would do such an activity and his role in the supervision of minting since 1437 and before 1448 remains obscure. When the Livonian Master asked the council to send burghermeister *Kostken* and either of the wardens of the Mint to an assembly in Riga in March 1437 (in the fiscal year of 1436/37), it is clear that Cost himself was not at that time warden of the Mint, but was considered to have special knowledge of matters related to minting and money in Livonia because of his earlier participation in delegations on the matter since 1428.²³⁹

Like those of the Mint, most of the surviving memoranda of the **Mills** before 1456 are written in hands other than those of the contemporary city scribes, the notable exception being the engagement of Joachim Muter in the 1440's. As discussed in CHAPTER 3.1.3.5, the council's possession of three watermills was secured in the third quarter of the 14th century through acquisitions of earlier mills on the stream of Härjapea River flanking the town wall, and a construction of new facilities by a joint enterprise of the council and private merchant investors after the charter of King Waldemar of Denmark in 1345. The returns from the mills in 1349–57 and 1363 are cited in the city memoranda. In 1373 each of the three mills was leased to a private miller subject to both annuities and *census* payable to the city, the first being a fixed annual assignment between 5 to 9 marks and the *census* being due four times a year.²⁴⁰ Some time before 1437, however, the council stopped leasing the mills to private operators and started to administer the lucrative income through millers employed permanently under the supervision of two wardens of the mills (Ger. *Mühlenherren*), who were also entitled to sell grain and malt on behalf of the council and the city.²⁴¹

Fragments of written memoranda on the production and costs of mills since the beginning of the 15th century have survived in different archival volumes of *AR*, in B.a.1, B.a.2, B.a.3,

²³⁹ On Cost van Borstel, his career and engagement in matters of minting see Derrik 2000, 64 and Kreem 2006, 39 as well as CHAPTERS 3.1.3.2 and 4.4.2.4 in this study. Cost (Constantin, Kosteke) must not be mixed with the somewhat younger councillor Godscalck von Borstel, who took burgership in 1436 and is cited as councillor after 1437 (Derrik 2000, 63), or Cost van Borstel's homonymous son who was introduced as a member of the Table Guild in 1453, (Derrik 2000, 369, 64). Mbüch 1416–1526, p. 100 (A.d.17, f. 35r]; LECUB I:9 139.

²⁴⁰ LDA 1333–74, 425 (TLA, A.d.5, f. 2v).

²⁴¹ Vogelsang 1971, 703.

A.d.20, A.d.21 and B.a.6:II. Of these, the remaining material on mills in B.a.1 comprises a loose sheet of paper summarizing the weekly return of the mills in 1413, whereas the memoranda stationed in B.a.2 consist of a paper quire in 8° (22,0 x 15,0 cm) itemizing various costs of construction works related to the mills and dating to the first quarter of the 15th century, as well as an explication of building works on the mills by one Hinrik Stolte and dated to the Sunday before St Gall (October 13), 1409.²⁴² Further accounts of the wardens of the mills from the early 15th century are available in various formats in B.a.3, all written by different hands which are not those of contemporary city scribes or their main substitutes.²⁴³ Apparently composed by the wardens themselves, the summaries occasionally provide an inside view of the variety of councillors' activities during their appointment to the presiding council. One such summary is a small paper quire in 8° (ca. 22,0 x 15,0 cms) consisting of accounts and building costs of the mills from the fiscal year of 1431/32, and the costs of a diplomatic mission to Prussia in August 1432. Written by one hand, this small piece of memoranda once served as a fiscal summary of the activities of the councillor responsible for the mills, who also took on a diplomatic mission during his wardenship.²⁴⁴ Since the mission in question was made by councillor Bernd van Halteren (known councillorship in 1430–47), who informed the council on July 29, 1432, that the sealing of the alliance between the Teutonic Order and the Lithuanian Grand Duke Switrigaila would take place on the 15th of August in Marienburg, and who on December 1, 1432, was paid costs for diplomatic mission to Prussia, the memoranda for the production of the mills and costs of the mission for the fiscal year of 1431/32 is likely to have been written by him.²⁴⁵ Despite his occupation as a warden of the mills and milling, van Halteren also performed other duties on behalf of the city; a possible sign of the seasonal nature of his wardenship because of low level of activity at the mills in the summer, or his general status among the presiding councillors of 1431/32.

From 1437 onwards the surviving accounts and registers of the mills consist of two different kinds of memoranda evidently in use at the same time and serving different purposes in the

²⁴² TLA, B.a.1, f. 5r–v; TLA, B.a.2, 1r–5v including assignments to Hanse van Hamelen (a blacksmith in the service of the city at the beginning of the 1420's), 35r

²⁴³ TLA, B.a.3, f. 1r–2v (narrow bifolio dating to ca. 1435–37), 3r–4v (bifolio in quarto with summaries of fiscal income of the mills in 1411–12), 5r and 6r–v (loose sheets of paper with summaries of the accounts of 1419 and 1420)

²⁴⁴ TLA, B.a.3, f. 7r–11v. The accounts of mills cover the period from third day before St Gall (October 13) 1431 to All Souls Eve of 1432. 'int jar xxxij umme trend sunte Jacopes dage do ic ut prusen ward', where the costs of the mission included a small wagon (*enen klenen wagen*) and shoes and clothes for two armed servants. On Bernd van Halteren, see von Bunge 1874, 100.

²⁴⁵ LECUB I:8 608, KB 1432–63, 8.

written management of information of the mills. The first one of these is a paper codex or volume in folio in one column [ca. 40,0 x 29,0 cms, A.d.20] presenting annual summaries for both the income and costs of the milling and the imbursements of the income and revenues to the *kämmerers* with each year usually covering one page in recto and verso. The codex itself is badly damaged, and after a modern restoration it consists of fragments of the original codex in folio and a section of quires and bifolios in quarto (f. 09–028), the origin of which is related to mills, but which were not part of the original volume and date to the first quarter of the 16th century. In its present form the fragments of the folio volume cover the period from 1437 to 1460, and the annual summaries are written by five hands active in 1437–42, 1443–50, 1451, 1452–54 and 1455–60. In 1442–50, the entries covering the sums at the end of each annual account and a section of the overall account of the mills in 1443 are written by city scribe Joachim Muter.²⁴⁶

Contemporary with the folio codex, another and more detailed set of fiscal memoranda has survived concerning the expenses, production and assignments of mills during the period 1437 to 1457. The material consists of what appear to be fragments of a large volume in 4^o (ca. 30,0 x 22,0 cms) composed of paper of various origins (different watermarks) and never arranged into a proper codex of its own, but instead distributed in various later archival entities of *AR* in B.a.3, A.d.21 and B.a.6:II. All the material is written by hands similar to those in the surviving parts of the large folio codex with occasional summaries written by city scribe Joachim Muter in 1441–50. The fact that some of the quires are stitched together with leather straps with paper reinforcements cut from discarded drafts in the hand of Muter shows that at some point of its medieval history the memoranda were kept in the City Scriptorium. However, the composition of the volume is no longer identifiable.²⁴⁷ According

²⁴⁶ TLA, A.d.20, f. 01v–08v (Hand A, 1437–42), 1r–8v (Hand B, 1443–50), 9v–10r (Hand C, 1451), 11r–13r (Hand D, 1452–54), 13v–18v (Hand E, 1455–60), 08v and 1r–8v, *Joachim Muter*. On the nature of the codex see also Vogelsang 1971, 703.

²⁴⁷ The surviving sections of the accounts are in chronological order: A.d.21, f. 19r–28v accounts of the mills in 1437–42 (A.d.20 Hand A with one entry by *Joachim Muter* in 1441), B.a.3, f. 11r–13r, accounts of the fiscal years of 1441/42 (Hand A) and 1442/43 (A.d.20 Hand B with incipit and summaries at the end of the pages by *Joachim Muter*, the quire is stitched together with a paper reinforcement in *Muter's* handwriting), B.a.3, f. 16r–23v accounts of 1443–44 (Hand B with summaries by *Muter*, the quire is stitched together with a paper reinforcement), A.d.21, f. 10r–11r and 5r–6v accounts of the wardens of mills presented for the council on Christmas Eve of 1443 and written by *Joachim Muter*, B.a.3, f. 14r–15v a summary of the money in the custody of the wardens and the turnover of the mills for the *kämmerers* office in 1442–50 (Hand B), B.a.3, f. 24r summaries of the balances of 1445–46 (Hand B), A.d.21, f. 8r–9v accounts of 1446 (Hand B), B.a.6:II, f. 137–138 accounts on the building works on mills in 1447 (Hand B), B.a.3, f. 25r–37v accounts of 1447–50 (Hand B), B.a.3, f. 38r–40v (the quire is stitched together with a paper reinforcement and has several blank pages) and A.d.21, 12r–18v both presenting the accounts of 1455–56 (Hand E), B.a.3, 42r–46v assignments in 1457 (Hand E, the quire is stitched together with leather straps), A.d.20, f. 13v–18v accounts of 1455–60 (Hand E). The present entity of A.d.21 covers also the years 1465–66 and 1467–76. Its medieval continuation has

to the surviving memoranda, the two wardens of the mills presented the full accounts of their activity to the council in 1438 and 1440 on the Eve of All Saints, but in 1442–45 a later date was preferred, such as the Friday before St Thomas (1442), Christmas Eve (1443), Christmas (1444) or Saturday before St Lucy (1445).²⁴⁸

As Reinhard Vogelsang has suggested (1971), the two surviving types of memoranda from the mills appear bear witness to a practice in which the wardens recorded the expenses and returns of milling as early as the late 1430's in loose paper quires and sheets in quarto, from which the annual accounts of mills were then reduced to the folio codex in paper presented and examined in front of the council. Despite Joachim Muter's writing the folio summaries of 1442–50 and the transcription of the full account of 1443, the person responsible for writing the finished accounts was not the city scribe, but either one of the wardens or a person or several persons employed for the purpose of writing for the mills for longer periods than one or two years from the late 1430's onwards.²⁴⁹ Fundamentally, the system of memoranda of the mills with a large paper volume of accounts and imbursements in folio [A.d.20] and smaller but more detailed registers in quarto [B.a.3, A.d.21 and B.a.6:II] is similar to that of the Mint, where both the folio codex of imbursements to the *kämmerers* [A.d.16] and more detailed memoranda in quarto [B.b.1:I, f. 13–16 and 21–56, A.d.21, f. 1–7 and A.d.22] appear to have existed from the end of the 14th century. Considering the written management of information of both the Mint and the mills, this appears to demonstrate a similar understanding of the needs of textual representations of these two spheres of administration, where the wardens wrote down various issues in their activity in a chronological memoranda in quarto, and then produced the annual account of the topic of administration in folio, and where the role of the city scribe was a complementary one with occasional support in the writing but mostly confined to the control of the final account before its closing for the council. Because of the princely authorisation of the minting and issues involved in it, even the quarto volume of the memoranda of the wardens took the form of a 'red book' some time between 1448–66; a form possibly shared by the folio sized codex of mint from the late 14th century to the beginning of the 16th, the binding of which is today lost.

been archived as A.f.15 since the late 19th century, and consists of a further quire of 40 leaves in 4^o measuring 30,5 x 22,5 and covering the years 1476–91.

²⁴⁸ TLA, A.d.21, f. 22v and 28v, see Vogelsang 1971, 703; TLA, A.d.20, f.06r, 08v, 1v, 2v and 3v.

²⁴⁹ Vogelsang 1971, 703–704.

3.2.4. The Marstall, the Hospitals and the Chuntries (Vicarien)

Beside the Mint and the Mills other important institutionalised areas of fiscal administration of the city under the custody of the council were the Marstall and the hospitals, of which the accounts of the Marstall were until the mid-15th century mostly administered through the *kämmerers* but the two hospitals of St John and Holy Ghost were each under the custody of one or two councillors chosen for lifetime wardenship. The earliest surviving information on the expenditure on the **Marstall** is cited in the main accounts of the council in 1373, and the expenditure and costs of the institution are well documented in subsequent surviving accounts of the *kämmerers* to 1456/60. Fragments of more specific memoranda for the Marstall are, however, only available from the 16th century. In the 1370's and later the everyday activities of the stables were run by a *stalknecht*, a professional city servant responsible to the Marstall.²⁵⁰

As in other medieval towns and cities all over Europe, much of the basic economy and means of everyday life of medieval Reval were connected to livestock, and the pastures and meadowlands outside the town walls were an essential resource were for their feeding. The patrimony of the town (Lat. *patrimonium*, Ger. *Stadtmark*), i.e. the area under the jurisdiction and public peace of the council, was confirmed after an ordinance of Queen Margaret on August 13, 1265, when she ordered a board of four vassals together with the headman of the royal castle to inspect and confirm the boundary stones and boundaires of the castle and town (*castro et civitati*) where they had been set in the time of King Valdemar (i.e. before 1240). After the inspection, the patrimony remained roughly the same until 1825, despite some minor changes after the negotiations with the Livonian Order in 1348 and 1371. According to the calculations of Rein Zobel, the areal of the patrimony was some 8,23–8,35 hectares in the 13th–19th centuries and already in 1297 it included the islands of Nargen, Wulvesö and Karlos (see CHAPTER 1.1.2.1). The boundaries of the common pastures of the townspeople set in the time of King Valdemar II were ratified by King Erik V in 1265, and in 1340 the use of the meadows and pastures between Jervekülle Lake (today Ülemiste) and Härjapea River was regulated to be rotated every two years between the burghers and the headman of the royal castle, vassals and other inhabitants on Domberg. The main meadows of the city were located east and west of the wall, behind Laksberg and north of Harku Lake where they were utilised by the burghers and other townspeople as well as the

²⁵⁰ TLA, A.d.3, f. 49a (KB 1363–74, p. 62), KB 1376–80 and KB 1432–63; See TLA, B.a.4 where the first fragment of a narrow quire dates to ca. 1525 and a more continuous section of memoranda in quires of quarto starts only in 1545; Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 247–258.

civic government. Similarly situated on both sides of the walled area were the enclosed pastures (Ger. *Koppel*, enclosure), the one west of the town having given the name to today's Kopli. The enclosures were supervised by permanently hired men (Mnd. *koppelman*), three of whom paid their *schoss* as resident people in the town in 1372, and who worked under the supervision of the councillor warden (Mnd. *koppelherr*). The pastures were divided for joint usufruct of the townspeople according to their residence in the two parishes of St Olaf and St Nicholas and the cattle was looked after by two herdsmen listed in the schosslists as early as in 1369–72. Special accounts for the city enclosures, however, survive only from the beginning of the 16th century, when they appear to have been written by the councillor wardens responsible for them.²⁵¹

An essential part of the economic activity of the Marstall was the haymaking, which was done in the common meadows from the 13th century, and care of the ordinances and regulations, the earliest surviving having been dated to ca. 1360.²⁵² The use of meadows, mowing and haymaking was arranged in shifts where every sworn burgher had the right to mow meadows with five scythes for three days. After that it was the shift of the other townspeople, and the last shift on the meadows was that of the Marstall who organised the necessary acquisition of fodder for its horses. All haymaking for the needs of the civic administration and the Marstall was done by hirelings and carters and watermen of the city from the 14th century, all of whom were provisioned by the city during the job, and were obliged to do the work as part of their contract. As early as 1438 some of the hired workers in the meadows were women, the so-called 'loose ladies' (Mnd. *losen vrouwen*), whose provisions are included in the *kämmerers'* accounts and whose epithet 'loose' apparently refers to their status as independent hired hands available in the area, not prostitutes as often in the contemporary Hanseatic sources.²⁵³

In addition to the livestock, the enclosures were used for grazing the burghers' horses, whereas in the 16th-century and probably much earlier the horses of the city handled by the Marstall also grazed in the enclosures of the manor **Väo** (Ger. *Fäht*, Mnd. *Vethe*), located

²⁵¹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 9 (DD II:1 492, LECUB I:1 389), von Nottbeck 1884b, 5–7, Johansen 1951, 109–114, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 249, Zobel 2008, 84–88, TLA, 1-I, 39 (LECUB I:1 566), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 8 (DD II:1 491, LECUB I:1 388); TLA, Urk. 1-I, 118 (LECUB I:2 792), Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 249, on the pastures, koppelmen, herdsmen and the tenants (*rickmaker*) living in the city patrimony see pages 252–257, TLA, B.c.4. where the accounts start from ca. 1503.

²⁵² LECUB I:2 983, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 249.

²⁵³ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 249–252, on the meaning of 'losen vrouwen' in this context, see 282–283.

east of the town behind Laksberg. Vão was a former vassal property which the council bought from the Livonian Order together with its mill on the second day after St Elisabeth (November 19), 1402, and which was then placed under the Marstall. In Vão, the horses were looked after by a permanent horse-hand called a *hobber* (Est. *hobune* = horse), who worked under the supervision of the Marstall. As early as the 14th century horses may also have been kept on the island of Nargen for breeding, where they were looked after by *ööluden* (islanders), city servants who also provided beams for the council's building works. From 1432, and more permanently after 1456, the city also possessed the rights and the rent of the village of Jerweküll southeast of the lake of the same name, which the Order had mortgaged to the council against two loans issued in the 1450's (see above CHAPTER 3.1.3.5). In the first quarter of the 15th century the Vão manor was taken care of by a councillor warden who also wrote a register of the income and expenses of Vão and its mill, the oldest surviving being from ca. 1419 and written by a hand other than that of the contemporary city scribe Johannes Blomendals. At the end of the account there are two further extensions on the expenditure of the manor by Blomendal, and the final accounts appear to have been kept now and then in the City Scriptorium or the office of the *kämmerers* for inspection, as the return of the manor was part of the city's economic resources. In and outside its patrimony the city also owned a number of other farms, which formed part of the economy of the hospitals and were administered through them.²⁵⁴

Of the two main **hospitals** under the custody of the council, the Hospital of **St John** had been introduced to the council's supervision some time before 1363, when a congregation of 12 bishops granted any person who visited the leprosorium and chapel of St John outside the walls of Reval on certain ecclesiastical feasts a 40-day indulgence.²⁵⁵ Originally a leprosorium, the hospital had secured the right to accept donations as early as in 1237 from papal legate Wilhelm of Modena, and it was first administered either by the bishop or the Dominican house of Reval. A possible hint at an early involvement of the latter is sometimes stated to be a letter of the diocesan chapter of Reval to the bishop of Åbo in ca 1280, where the chapter asked the bishop to support the brethren of the house of the leprosorium (*fratri paredictae domus*) in their mission to collect alms for the institution. Since the inmates of the

²⁵⁴ On Vão see Johansen 1933, 659, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 489 (LECUB I:4, reg. 1922, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 67, 69, 249, 255, 329, 'ööluden', 180. Vão's accounts: TLA, B.c.3, where f. 3. is a loose paper in narrow format cut short and with a written inspection of the manor on it, apparently by the councillor warden on the second Sunday after the Feast of the Three Kings (January 14), 1419 and f. 4a is a bifolio written by the same unknown hand on similar matters but without any date, along with two entries by Blomendal. For Jerweküll see Johansen 1933, 383–385.

²⁵⁵ LECUB I:2 997, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 261.

hospital are known still to have been organised into a form of convent in the mid-15th century, not much weight should be placed on the possible early connection of the leprosorium to the Dominican Order. The separate existence of the hospital and the Dominican convent is also supported by two letters of Queen Margaret Sambiria from October and December of 1262, where she summons the royal headman *Herbertus* and Danish vassals in Reval not only to honour the traditional usufruct of the brethren of the hospital of St John (*fratres hospitali sancti Iohannis*) in woods and other things liable to their prescription, but also the usufruct of the local Dominican friars (*fratres predicatorum terre uestre*) on pastures and meadows in their possession.²⁵⁶ The hospital and the chapel were located some 5 minutes walk from the city near the bridge where the road to Dorpat crossed the St John's brook (Est. *Härjapea jõgi*, see CHAPTER 1.2.1.1 and MAP 1B), but most of its landed property was scattered throughout the parishes surrounding Reval. Extensive rebuilding of the chapel and the attached rooms and buildings added a *dornse*, marstal, privy and a stove in ca. 1370.²⁵⁷ The Hospital of the **Holy Ghost** was attached to a homonymous chapel of the parish of St Olaf in the city and was first constituted by councillor Herman Weldeghe some time before his death in 1347 (see CHAPTER 3.1.3).²⁵⁸

From the mid-14th century both the hospitals built up considerable wealth in donated landed property and rents, constituting an important vehicle for capital markets in the city in creating loans in the form of liquid money and assets against which immovable lots and houses were mortgaged on fixed rents. The income, expenses and landed property of each of the two hospitals was administered by one or two wardens, whose term was considered a lifetime engagement similar to that of the wardens of the two parishes of **St Nicholas** and **St Olaf**. From the 13th century the patronage of St Nicholas was exercised by the bishop and cathedral chapter of Reval, where the council of the city had apparently no right of presentation, but from 1267 the patronage of St Olaf belonged to the Cistercian nunnery of **St Michael**, where the council exercised a right of presentation over the office of the rector in St Olaf, and, consequently the chapel of Holy Ghost under the church's jurisdiction. The choral offices of both the parish churches and services at individual altars in them were

²⁵⁶ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 2 (LECUB I:1 148) and Urk. 1-I, 23 (LECUB I:1 400); TLA, B.d.1a, f. 37, see also Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 276 and Kala 2006d, 212–216; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 18 (DD II:1 360) and 6 (DD II:1 362). The perpetual possession of the Dominican House of gardens (*ortos*) they had previously owned and a pasture 'iuxta stagum regis' was confirmed by King Erik V of Denmark on October 5, 1264, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 7 (DD II:1 445).

²⁵⁷ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 275; Johansen 1925, VII–XI; TLA, B.d.1b, LECUB I:3 1076.

²⁵⁸ LECUB I:6 2845; Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 276 and Kala 2006d, 217–218.

administered by prebendaries who did not take part in the care of souls in the parishes and to whose office the founding institution of the altar exercised a right of presentation.²⁵⁹

Because several **chantries** (Lat. *vicaria*, Mnd. *vicarien*) **attached to named altars** in St Nicholas, St Olaf, the chapel of the Holy Ghost and other ecclesiastic foundations in and outside the city area (but notably not in the Cathedral on Domberg) were endowed with donations placed and negotiated through the council from the mid-14th century onwards, the council exercised not only the patronage and right of presentation to these chantries but also administered the lending of money from the capital of the respective altar prebends for resident burghers who mortgaged their immovable inheritance against the fixed annual rent of the particular capital defined in the letter of foundation of the endowment. As the surviving *kämmerers'* accounts from 1376 on and various late 14th-century and 15th-century registers of chantries/vicaries show, even if the rent was technically accounted as having been paid into the capital of the respective altars in the churches and chapels, it was not necessarily reimbursed to the altar, but in the 15th century was more and more frequently used as a remuneration for various kind of clerical and other professionals in the service of the council (see later CHAPTER 5.3.4.3).²⁶⁰ The council's fiscal control of both the capital and rent of the chantries created an extra source of stress in the relationship between the council and the bishop and cathedral chapter of Reval, but the council's and the merchant aristocracy's lavish artistic donations to the altars and prebends of the parish churches and chapels also contributed significantly to the local level of ecclesiastic and urban devotion, which the small diocesan church could hardly object to.²⁶¹ Summaries and explications of chantries attached to altars and their rents survive from the periods of activity of city scribe Hermannus (active in 1375–1400/3), *HII* (1398/1401–5) and Johannes Blomendal (1406–26) written on the closing pages of the parchment codex of annuities of A.a.3, and consisting of entries dealing with donations issued between 1390 and 1418. As discussed in CHAPTER 3.1.3.3, schematic registers on chantries/vicaries, altars and rents of their capital

²⁵⁹ On the patronage of St Nicholas and St Olaf see Kuujo 1953, 61–62, 68.

²⁶⁰ On the various meanings of vicary (Lat. *vicaria*, Mnd. *vicarie*) including chantries, their offices and role in hanseatic cities see Prange, Wolfgang, *Vikarien und Vikare in Lübeck bis zur Reformation. Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck* herausgegeben vom Archiv der Hansestadt, Reihe B Band 40. Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Lübeck 2003, 9–15; KB 1376–80, p. 225 (TLA, A.d.7, f. 11r, where the councillor Johannes de Mola is paid 3½ marks from the money (i.e. rent) of the chantry of the priest Vrouwinus, and 7r, 11v, 23r, where the rent of the Loden chantry of Marienma is still disbursed to the parish priest. Similarly, no council meddling with the rent of the chantry is mentioned in the oldest surviving *kämmerer's* accounts of 1363–74, where the parish priest of Mariema is registered as having been paid his annual rent from the chantry in 1372–74, TLA, A.d.3, f. 42a, 51a, 58a (KB 1363–74, p. 55, 64, 75). The chantry of Marienma had been founded in 1371, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 327; KB 1432–63 (A.d.15) and KB 1463–1507 (A.d.26), passim.

²⁶¹ Mänd 2011a, 3–30.

administered through the council were written in the closing years of of Hermannus' period of activity in the parchment codex of mixed memoranda of the city A.a.7, where they were then further explicated by his successors *HII* (1401–5), Johannes Blomendal (1406–26), Wenemar Scheter/N.N. (1426–29) and Joachim Muter (1429–56). After this the next surviving schematic explications and registers of the rents of different chantries and their terms are available from the period of activity of city scribe Johannes tor Hove in 1463–77/78–79.²⁶²

Further sources of financial assets in the city included the guilds, the wardens of which were installed by the guilds themselves. According to the *renten* contracts registered in the surviving book of annuities of 1382–1518 (A.a.3) both the issued capital and the respective rents were habitually placed and administered by the wardens of the institution (hospital, guild, altar, chapel, church) in question, but because the *renten* contracts were ratified and published in front of the presiding council, and then corroborated as entries in the city books of memoranda, the more casual material produced by the wardens in the context of the mortgages appears to have been lost in the Middle Ages. One of the rare examples of such material is a summary of various rents liable to the Hospital of St John written in two columns on a loose sheet in 4^o, where the rents are itemized according to their annual termins and the names of the lenders. The summary is probably written by one of the wardens, and it dates somewhere after 1435, when at least two of the *renten* contracts cited in it were made.²⁶³ However, there is also evidence that besides the wardens, the city scribes occasionally took part in the management of written memoranda of the hospitals. One of these memoranda is a loose parchment sheet in quarto listing annual rents liable to the Hospital of the Holy Ghost written by city scribe Johannes Blomendal some time during his activity in 1406–26. Possibly a fragment of an older section cut out of a codex of similar accounts from 1507–57 or originally filed with it, the surviving leaf suggests that some of the necessary registers of the hospital were controlled by the city scribes already in the first quarter of the 15th century.²⁶⁴

²⁶² TLA, A.a.3, f. 120v–130r (PergRB 1405–1448), and again mixed with other rents f. 131v–133r (PergRB 1457–1465), A.a.7, f. 20v–24r, A.d.28, f. 1r–2v, 3r–9r.

²⁶³ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 65–67; Johansen 1925, XI–XII; For *renten* contracts with various institutions and private people in the city see PergRB, passim; TLA, B.d.1a. The contracts in the document are those of Gerd Vorkenbecke and Bernd Bogel, PergRB 796–797.

²⁶⁴ TLA, B.b.1:I, f. 4r–v. A short comment by Paul Johansen on f. 4r states that the sheet is cut out from the accounts of the hospital of Holy Ghost TLA, A.d.49, but the parchment codex only covers the years 1507–57 with later additions to 1606.

In addition to the summary and a specification of the building costs of the chapel and facilities of St John of ca. 1370, the only known written memoranda on the activities of the wardens of the two hospitals and two parishes before 1456 are those of St John's and St Olaf's. Of these the accounts of **St John's leprosorium** consists of two different codices starting from the years 1435 and 1448 [A.d.18 and B.d.1a], whereas the accounts of St Olaf deal with the rebuilding of the church in 1436–50 after the fire of 1433 [A.d.14]. Since the accounts of St Olaf are those of the construction activity supervised by the councillor-wardens responsible for the task, they will be discussed in CHAPTER 3.2.5 with other memoranda concerning construction projects managed by either the council or some of the councillors. The two surviving books of memoranda of St John's give a full explication of the administration of the landed property of the hospital and an itemized summary of all its possessions and forms of income including the rents against issued loans. Since both the codices consist of bound quires of parchment in different formats designed for securing different kinds of information, they were evidently purchased or prepared for the textual undertakings of the wardens, and give valuable information on both the administration of the financial enterprises of the hospital and the written management of information realised through different text permanences available for the fiscal control of the institution.

Of the two codices the narrow parchment codex with 6 quires in 4° (ca. 30,5 x 10,0 cms) with notes on the administration and rents of the tenants of the hospital in (1435)/1446–1501 [A.d.18] has been published in an edition by Paul Johansen in 1925. The quires are wrapped in a natural limp leather binding with the back cover extended to fold over the fore edge of the codex and secured with hemp ties. The narrow format of the codex and the multitude of hands, none of which are those of the city scribes, tell that the codex was used as a permanent instrument for keeping track of the rents and duties of tenants in the fiscal administration of the wardens.²⁶⁵ The various possessions and forms of income of the hospital were specified in the other codex, which consists of four parchment quires in 8° (ca. 24,5 x 16,0 cms) also wrapped in a natural limp leather binding with the back cover extended to fold over the fore edge and secured with hemp ties [B.d.1a]. Inside the wrapping, the volume is sheathed in cardboard covers of unknown date. The text in the codex is divided in several sections arranged in two entities, the first covering the pages 1–53 and the second at

²⁶⁵ TLA, A.d.18, for an edition see: Das älteste Wackenbuch des Revaler St. Johannis-Siechenhauses, 1435–1507. Hrsg. von Paul Johansen. In: Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv, IV:2. Estländische Druckerei-Aktien-Gesellschaft, Reval, 1925 (here cited as St Johannis 1435–1507), and Johansen, Paul, Einleitung, XI–XII in the same.

the end of the codex pages 65–67. In between there are several blank pages. The codex was apparently designed as a kind of an all-in-one handbook for the administration of the hospital for the use of wardens, and it has entries covering the period from 1448 to the late 15th century. By contrast with the quarto codex of tenants, most of the original writing in the codex is that of the city scribe Joachim Muter, who was the person who first divided the codex into sections and wrote the first entries in both of them, i.e. the incipit, registers of landed possessions, specification of annuities of issued loans by terms of payment, lists of alms and offertories liable to the hospital, and the ordinance of the inmates.²⁶⁶

Further important information on the management of memoranda among the wardens of the hospital is revealed in the first two entries of the codex of B.d.1a, where the book (*dit Boek*) is first said to have been written for the uses of the hospital by the wardens Marquard Bretholt and Cord Gripenberch in 1448. It is then stated that ‘according to the old book’ (*na inholde des olden boekes*), the hospital and all its belongings had been transferred to the former wardens, late councillor *Johannes Sunnenschin* and councillor *Gise Richardes* from the custody of the late councillor *Hermen Lippen* in 1436. The transition of the wardenship from Gise Richardes to Marquard Bretholt and Cord Gripenberg is again cited later in the codex, where it is said to have occurred after Gise’s death in 1447. Because the first entries in the contemporary quarto codex of the tenants [A.d.18] start from 1446, and the activity under the wardenship of Hermann Lippe in 1435 is only mentioned later in that codex, both the codices A.d.18 and B.d.1a must have come into the use of the hospital at the beginning of the wardenship of Bretholt and Gripenberg in ca. 1447/48.²⁶⁷ After the new main ‘book’ of the hospital [B.d.1a] was introduced and prepared for use by city scribe Joachim Muter, the ‘old book’ and other material on past activities of the hospital, still accessible to the wardens and Muter in the late 1440’s, was lost; possibly because the ‘new book’ covered all the necessary information for running the institution. Parts of the material produced by councillor Gise Richardes during his wardenship of the chapel and the leprosorium before 1447 have survived in the form of a fragment of a paper quire in 4° (ca. 29,5 x 21,0 cms) consisting of summaries of collected rents on farms and assignments of income both to the council and the priest covering the years 1436–40 with a later entry from 1445 [B.d.1:I, f. 17r–20v]. Because most of the text is written by one single hand, possibly that of Gise

²⁶⁶ TLA, B.d.1a, the sections introduced by Muter start on f. 1r, 7r, 33r and 37r. The ordinance of the inmates has been published in edition in Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, Anh. I:3, 448–449. See also Kala 2006d, 231 and 220–221.

²⁶⁷ TLA, B.d.1a, p. 1, 11; On other sources concerning the wardenship of Herman Lippen (II) see Derrik 2000, 129; TLA, A.d.18, p. 1 and 5.

Richardes himself, the fragment may be the only remaining part of the ‘old book’ of the leprosorium.²⁶⁸

The two codices of A.d.18 and B.d.1a introduced in 1448 tell about a conscious reorganisation of the written management of information of the hospital into two different textual products by the city scribe and the wardens: the octavo ‘handbook’ or ‘manual’ of B.d.1a consisting of information on landed possessions, assets, annuities, alms, offertories (registers) and an ordinance (normative script) created by Muter from the material available in the institution, and the narrow quarto codex of the tenants of A.d.18 registering the annual income from the farms written by the wardens of the hospital from 1448 onwards. Before the deliberate reorganisation of the written management of information apparently carried out by city scribe Joachim Muter on the mandate of the wardens in 1448, only one codex in octavo seems to have existed for registering and managing all the basic and annual information of the institution, the fragments of which are still preserved in B.d.1:I, f. 17r–20v. Considering the employment of text permanences and types of texts in the administration of the written information of the hospital, the deliberate shift from an overall book of memoranda to two distinct codices, a more permanent ‘handbook’ [B.d.1a] and a cumulative-cyclic register [A.d.18] of information, demonstrates the important pragmatic and cognitional role of a professional city scribe in creating and renewing forms of management of information for various institutions controlled by the city; an occupation not carried out by the civic wardens of respective institutions, but entrusted and delegated by them to the person considered capable of designing registers and the like.

3.2.5. Limeworks, public constructions and the building activity of the council

In addition to certain buildings and hubs of activity inside the town wall, much of the energy of the council was focused on various construction projects in the city that were usually organised and supervised by two or more selected councillors who also took care of the financial assignments of the project. An important permanent dimension of the building activity of the council were the **limeworks**, which produced lime, mortar and various kinds of building materials and artefacts. The limestone quarries were located at Laksberg (today Est. *Lasnamäe*), an elevated limestone massif less than half an hour’s walk east of the city. Most of the massif was incorporated within the city jurisdiction already in the 13th century.

²⁶⁸ TLA, B.b.1:I, f. 17r–20v. Most of the fragment is written by the same hand in the first person singular, see for instance f. 18v ‘Item in dem jare xiiijc xxxvj xiiij dage vor winnachten na her hermen lippen dode do helden her iohan sunnenschyn und ik [i.e. Gise Richardes) de wacken...’.

Practically a monopoly of the civic authority, the lime was calcinated in large kilns (Mnd. *oven*) with the help of firewood acquired from woods in the city's possession, and the process was controlled by calcinators, hired professionals in the service of the city. Originally consisting of one kiln recorded in 1341 and 1360, by 1433 the production of lime was done in two kilns cited in the *kämmerers'* accounts as 'the first' (*ersten*) and 'second' (*anderen*) kiln. Because the same distinction is also made in 1434–39, but the burning of the two kilns always occurred one after another, the specification may simply refer to two successive calcinations financed by the council for a year, not necessarily two separate kilns controlled by the city as suggested in the older scholarship.²⁶⁹

In addition to lime and mortar, the limestone works produced various kinds of building stones and larger slabs for covering graves or for other kinds of reliefs. The export of these was an important Revalian industry as early as the 1380's. The slabs and other pieces of limestone were quarried by quarrymen (Mnd. *stenbrekere*) and further refined by stonemasons (*stenwertere*), whose craft ordinances were granted by the council in 1402. In the course of the 15th century the export of slabs and other limestone products developed into a large scale activity placed under a special excise first cited in 1497.²⁷⁰ Because of the large production of limestone, the use of brick remained of minor importance in Reval throughout the Middle Ages. A master brickmaker (*teghelmester*) responsible for the production of bricks and a hired professional in the service of the city is nevertheless cited as early as 1369. In 1374 and later, the production of bricks took place near the city pasture (Ger. *Koppel*) northwest of the town, where firewood was available in quantity. Much of the production focused on rooftiles, which are noted in the city accounts as early as 1354 when 200 of them (*tegulis dictis dekelatten*) were bought for the town, and much larger numbers appear in the construction works of the 1430's and later. The clay for the bricks was obtained from clay quarries flanking the road to Narva outside the medieval Clay Gate (Mnd. *lehmporte*, today *Viru värav*).²⁷¹ Before 1456 no independent volumes of memoranda for the production of limeworks, kilns or the city brickyard are known of, but accounts of the

²⁶⁹ LDA 1333–74, 214, 556; KB 1432–63, 47, 62, 95, 116, 160, 208, 223, 262, 284, 339, 349, 396, 398. See Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 227 where 'the old' (*alten*) and 'second' (*anderen*) kiln are understood as two different facilities. I have not been able to find any reference to 'alten ovne' in the source cited by Johansen and von zur Mühlen (TLA, A.d.15, f. 8). In the late 16th century limestone was produced in several ovens, one of them located near the Great Strandgate in the harbour area, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 227.

²⁷⁰ Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 168–171, 227–228, 176–177.

²⁷¹ TLA, A.d.3, f. 4b, 60b (KB 1363–74, p. 15 and 79), LDA 1333–74, 554, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 228–229, 176.

production and transport of stone, lime and bricks for building are frequently cited in the fiscal memoranda of the council and the *kämmerers* from 1341.²⁷²

How was the written information that accompanied the major construction projects of the council managed? Even if no permanent office of wardens of building is evident before the 16th century, in the latter half of the 14th century the more industrial and costly enterprises of the civic authority were placed in the care of selected councillors responsible not only for the execution of the project, but also for much of the organisation of its financing. It was not uncommon for the councillors to have a personal financial stake in these enterprises. Among the early projects partly financed by the councillors themselves were the late 1340's and early 1350's construction of mills, as the city is known to have bought out the shares of individual councillors not long before the end of the 14th century.²⁷³ As early as the late 14th century, however, evidence exists that the greater part of the costs of the largest scale undertakings of the council were financed with the help of various forms of income of the city, including *schoss*, minting and excise. An early spending of *schoss* on construction works commenced by the council and organised by selected councillors has survived from 1389, when councillor Johannes van der Molen was given a sum of 30 marks by the wardens of *schoss* for use on the Town wall. Most of the money was then spent on stones and their transportation.²⁷⁴ One of the main sources of finance for the construction of the new Town Hall in 1401–4 was the Mint. Its production also covered a considerable proportion of the costs of both the Aqueduct (1420–23) and the Domberg wall (1454–56). Another important form of revenue frequently invested on the building activity of the council was excise, which, as a form of taxation, may even have originated from temporary revenue designed to cover the costs of various construction projects in the late 14th century.²⁷⁵

As the projects were financed through city assets, most of the various costs of the 'normal' building activity of the council are found in either the main accounts of the *kämmerers* or the memoranda of the respective wardens of the institutions engaged in building, rebuilding or improving the facilities in their supervision. In the sources, accounts of undertakings like the building of the Mint in the 1420's, the *bodelie* (1440–43), and the new Weigh House (1450–54) are often mixed with other memoranda of the respective institutions and scattered over

²⁷² LDA 1333–74, 214.

²⁷³ Vogelsang 1971, 704; Johansen 1935, XLIX–L.

²⁷⁴ TLA, A.d.10, f. 2r.

²⁷⁵ Town Hall: TLA, A.a.6a, f. 1v; Aqueduct: TLA, B.a.1, f. 1r–9v, 12r–25v and Vogelsang 1971, 704; Domberg wall: TLA, B.a.2, f. 40–46, 47–56, KB 1432–63, 1042 and Vogelsang 1971, 704.

several years, or arranged into a more compact series of entries, such as the costs of the building of the Domberg wall in 1454–56 grouped in a single section of the *kämmerer*'s accounts of 1457. In the last case, the costs listed in the account book were in fact a summary of 'two detailed written registers which were locked in the *kämmerers*' chest and contained all the accounts article by article'.²⁷⁶ Both the original registers have survived [B.a.2, f. 40–46 and 47–56], and they are composed in the form of bound paper quire in 4° (29,5/30,5 x 21,5 cm) with occasional blank pages. The first one (quire I) consists of an itemized list of leverances of building materials (stone, limestone, timber, tiles) in chronological order, extending from around the first Sunday after Easter (April 28), 1454, to St Matthew (September 21), 1456, whereas the second register (quire II) contains a chronological list of salaries paid for miscellaneous works from Michaelmas (September 29), 1455, to Pentecost (May 16), 1456, as well as two separate lists of leverances of building materials in 1454 and 1456. The first register is written in its entirety by city scribe Joachim Muter, save one last entry by his successor Reinhold Storning (active in 1456–63), whereas in the second register two sections amidst Muter's writing are written by Storning. Crosswise at the back of the first quire, an archival note in Storning's hand sums up the contents of the register: 'This is the account of the New Wall located along the Long Hill (i.e. Long Leg, the approach road to Domberg)'.²⁷⁷

The two registers itemizing the costs of the building of the Domberg wall are the only known examples of explicit archiving of accounts of a major building work of the council to the office of the *kämmerers*, and show that separate accounts were kept on the spending on the materials (leverages) and work (salaries) of the enterprise. For the control of the flow of cash and fiscal obligations, detailed explications must have been produced for most of the important construction works of the city, but because only some of these have survived, much of the material either remained in the custody of the supervising councillors or was discarded after the project was finished and the accounts were settled. The rather makeshift way of archiving such case-specific memoranda is also confirmed by the surviving accounts of certain other major construction projects of the council, such as the 1389 works on the Town wall, the building of the new Town Hall (1401–4), the construction of the Aqueduct

²⁷⁶ For the *bodelie*, New Weigh House and Mint see above. The Domberg wall KB 1432–63, 1042, 'Desse vorgeschrivene rekenschopp steyt klar van perselen to perselen geschreven in twen registeren de in der kemerer kiste besloten syn'.

²⁷⁷ TLA, B.a.2, f. 40–46 (quire I) where Storning's hand occurs on the last entry on f. 46r and crosswise at the back of the quire (f. 46v): 'Dyt is de Re[ke]n[sco]kopp van der nyen muren de langes den langen berch gelecht is'. TLA, B.a.2, 47–56 (quire II), where the two sections in Storning's hand are on f. 50r–v and 51r–52v.

(1420–23) and the rebuilding of the Church of St Olaf (1436–50). When compared to the accounts on the building of the Domberg wall, the memoranda on the other four projects show similarities but also notable differences, enabling evaluation of the textual engagement of those in charge of the construction works. An important difference between the projects is that the construction period of both the Town Hall and the Aqueduct was of only a couple of years, whereas that of the church of St Olaf spanned at least 15 years from 1435 to ca. 1450, and the works on the Town wall in 1389 appear to have covered only a single season of building.

Of the four projects, the memoranda on the construction works of the Town wall in 1389 are composed in a loose paper quire of eight leaves in 8° (22,5 x 14,5 cm) with several sections focusing on the money received for the works and its spending. Almost all the entries are written by city scribe Hermannus, but there are also two or three other hands, one possibly that of councillor Johannes van der Molne who was in charge of the project.²⁷⁸ By contrast, the memoranda of the building of the Town Hall (1401–4) are in a narrow codex in 4° (28,5 x 11,0 cm), bound in a natural limp leather binding [A.a.6a]. The material consists of one quire of 10 pages and several loose sheets either folded, torn out or cut to various sizes, the majority of which appear to form the rest of the other quire that once made up part of the original binding. The sections covering the building of the Town Hall are mainly written by two hands, one of which is that of the main substitute of the city scribe in 1401–5 (*HII*, see CHAPTER 5.1.4.2), and the other an unknown hand who employs somewhat older forms of lettering such as a two-storey ‘a’ in his writing.²⁷⁹ An entry from the Tuesday before St John, 1403, and another entry with the dating of *Sabbato ante Invocavit* are written by city scribe Hermannus.²⁸⁰ Among entries other than the building works of 1401–4 two narrow folded sheets itemise the costs of drinks and catering at festival occasions written by a hand other than the known city scribes or their main substitutes. A further three sets of entries written by city scribe Johannes Blomendal consist of an undated fragment of *bursprake*, two entries concerning the spending of *kämmerers* in 1423 and undated account on costs of wine.²⁸¹

The remaining material on the building of the Aqueduct consists of a variety of writings attached to the original final account of the works presented to the council on St Barbara Eve

²⁷⁸ TLA, A.d.10, f. 2r–8r.

²⁷⁹ TLA, A.a.6a, f. 1r–9v, 12r–16v, 18r–19v, 20v–22v, 28r, 29v. The earliest entries are made on accounts of 1401, f. 13r; For the hand of the main substitute/city scribe *HII* see CHAPTER 5.1.3.

²⁸⁰ TLA, A.a.6a, f. 9v and 20r.

²⁸¹ TLA, A.a.6a, f. 10r–11v, 24r–v (festivities), 23v, 27r–v (Blomendal).

(December 3), 1423, by Johan vanme Holte, Tideken van der Oest and Arndt Saffenberch, three of the four people originally named as responsible for the construction works in 1420–23. The building itself had been begun at the request of the city community, after which the council had named two councillors (*Arnd Saffenberch* and *Johan vanme Holte*) and two representatives of the community (*Hans Engele* and *Tidike van der Oeste*) to take charge of the works. The aqueduct was designed to lead fresh water to the town from the *Karriquelle* (Est. *Karriallikas*), a spring and water repository a little over 0,5 kms south-southeast of the Cattle Gate. Before the aqueduct, the water supplies were taken care of by watermen who not only carried water from the spring to the town but also took care of other sources of fresh water. They are cited as professional people (*acqueductore*) paid for their expenses as early as 1337 as well as residents of the town liable to ground tax in the *schosslist* of 1360 (*vattervorer, watervorer*).²⁸²

In addition to the accounts for the construction of the aqueduct written on a bound quire of paper in 4° (30,0 x 22,0 cm) by a single hand in one session, the material in the present file of the works surviving in *AR* [B.a.1, f. 1r–9v, 12r–25v] consists of several loose bifolios and sheets of paper either in quarto or octavo format and written almost entirely by another hand which can be identified as that of councillor Arndt Saffenberch.²⁸³ The identification is based on what appears to be an original note of Saffenberch to Johan vanme Holte about his assignment to the wardenship of one of the churches or chapels of the city and the works of the aqueduct to Holte who is then invested with the necessary information concerning both the duties.²⁸⁴ The same hand has also labeled most of the sheets and bifolios with short descriptions of their content, which may have occurred either in the context of the transfer of the wardenship, or later when the three wardens assigned the memoranda of the project to

²⁸² TLA, B.a.1, f. 1r–9v, 12r–25v, Johansen – von zur Mülen 1973, 160, 251, LDA 1333–73, 132, 528. See even: Kivi 1967.

²⁸³ TLA, B.a.1, f. 1r–9v, 12r–25v. Among the material concerning the aqueduct there is narrow bifolio of paper specifying various acquisitions on behalf of the council in spices and other victualies sent to Narva, f. 10r–11v; On the authorisation of the works see TLA, BA I:1b, f. 109v (LECUB I:8 686:6), a loose sheet of paper in octavo written by city scribe Johannes Blomendal on various regulations and orders given by the council to the city community considering the possibility of a hostile invasion from the sea. Most of the regulations (1–5) deal with military and defensive preparations due before Pentecost, but no year or other date is given. The regulations are written in a single session and they have been previously dated to the spring of 1433 because of a mention of groundless rumours over certain councillors and the council's actions after a recent fire in article 5 of the text, but because of the unquestionable handwriting of city scribe Johannes Blomendal (active until May 1426) and the authorisation of the works on the aqueduct, the document must date to the spring of 1420.

²⁸⁴ TLA, B.a.1, f. 20r–v (LECUB I:7 64); For another possible face of Saffenberch's hand see CHAPTER 5.2.4.2, STA Lü, Altes Senatsarchiv, Interna, Appellationen von Städten lübischen Rechts, 004.16. – 004.19. Livländische Städte: Reval, nr. 539:8 and nr. 545.

the council.²⁸⁵ Of the five texts not written by Saffenberch, the final account of the building costs of 1420–23 is most likely written by one of the *kämmerers* responsible for the recognition of the final balance of the works on behalf of the council, one concerns costs of building activity in 1424, and two appear to have been written by other persons in control of the works on the aqueduct in 1421–23. Because one of the two, an account on the money received from Saffenberch in 1422 for buying timber, has later been labelled by Saffenberch as ‘Tydeman van der Oest, syn rekenschopp’, that particular account may have been written by Tideman himself.²⁸⁶

It is interesting that not a single entry in the accounts of the material concerning the building of the aqueduct in 1420–23 was written by the contemporary city scribe Johannes Blomendal, and nothing in the subsequent management of the loose memoranda shows that he or his successors in the office of the city scribes took part in the archiving of the accounts in 1423 or after. Instead, in the final accounts of the works, the three wardens state that they had approved the accounts among themselves on Wednesday before St Barbara (December 1), 1423, and then presented the final account of the enterprise to the council a couple of days after that with three bunches of accounts (*Rekenshopp*) bound together with it.²⁸⁷ Arnd Saffenberch reveals more about the management of written memoranda and accounts in the changes of wardenships in his letter to Johan vanme Holte on the transfer of his duties in one of the churches of the city and the works on the aqueduct. According to Saffenberch, all the things of ‘our lady’ (i.e. the church) including the books, papers and sealed letters were placed in a coffin which stood in front of his ‘new chamber’ and he had undertaken to give the key to the coffin as well as all keys of the church to Holte in the near future. Regarding the construction of the aqueduct, for which the city had owed him a sum of 120 marks at the beginning of May 1423, he explained that all the accounts and papers were deposited in his chest in his chamber and he was to assign the keys to the two waterchambers and ‘Benynchoues hus’ to Holte in the near future. In his letter Saffenberch also states that all the equipment for the works were deposited in the Grusebeke tower of the Town wall.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ TLA, B.a.1, f. 4v, 9r, 12r–13v, 14r, 16r–17v, 18r–19v, 21r–23v, 24r.

²⁸⁶ TLA, B.a.1, f. 1r–3r, 14r–15v, 24r–v, 25r–v.

²⁸⁷ TLA, B.a.1, f. 2v ‘disse Rekenschopp ... deme Rade gheandwerd vnde jn dren bonden alle de Rekenschopp dar bi ghebonden’.

²⁸⁸ TLA, B.a.1, f. 20r ‘vnd j kyste steyt vor mynen nyen kameren dar js jnne onser vrouwen dinch vnd boke pappire vnd bezelde breue vnd alle de slotele van der kerken vnd den slotel van den kysten do ik ju’, ..., ‘vnd alle de rekenschoppe hir van vnd alle pappire lygghen in mynen kysten in mynen kameren vnd ik do iu den slotel de hort tho beyden water kameren vnd tho benynchoues hus js de ander slotel – alle de bare stokke lynen legghet al in den thorn by grusebeken’.

Of the rebuilding of the church of St Olaf after the fire of 1433 two separate volumes of accounts exist, the more extensive of them composed in an unbound volume of three quires of paper in 4° (30,0 x 22,0 cm) extending from 1435 to ca. 1450 [A.d.14]. The first two quires of the volume present a chronological explication of the expenditure and financing of the building works on the church in 1436–50, and the third quire consists of a bifolio of paper with assignments to a certain *mester* Johannes, a wad of empty and partially mutilated pages, and a register of the debts of the church to various merchants of the city with other memoranda dating to 1436–41. Because all the quires are written in the same hand and the writing in the first two quires seems to have been done in a few sessions with continuity from one year to another, the material is most likely a transcription of the original building receipts and accounts of the wardens introduced for the council after the works were finished. Since entries of the church's debts to burghers have later been crossed out as settled, certain parts of the account were evidently used as the closing memoranda on the various fiscal obligations the wardens had taken on during the rebuilding. The hand responsible for the final transcription of accounts is, however, not that of the contemporary city scribe Joachim Muter, but a person with fluent and fast gothic cursive, probably either the rector or one of the wardens of the church.²⁸⁹ The second volume with information on the building works of St Olaf in 1435–50, is a fragment of paper volume in 4° (30,0 x 21,5 cm) consisting of 13 restored sheets [B.a.1, f. 447r–459v] written in one hand which is again not that responsible for the writing in A.d.14 or the hand of contemporary city scribe Joachim Muter. Apparently a fragment of the original accounts of the church, the volume presents not only costs relevant to the construction works but also 'everyday' activity of the church such as the acquisition of wafers, and it is most likely written by either the rector or one of the wardens, in any case a different person from the hand responsible for the accounts in A.d.14.²⁹⁰

Of all the five enterprises presented above, a large variety of accounts of different content and apparently of different affiliation is extant today in *AR*. The accounts of the financing of

²⁸⁹ TLA, A.d.14, f. 1r–39v; One of the hands responsible for the two volumes of accounts of St Olaf in ca. 1435–50 may be that of Laurentius the Schoolmaster (*Laurencio deme scholmestere*), who on the Monday before Christmas (December 23), 1443, was given a sum of four marks for an acquisition of '1 impuarium unde sequencionarius' for the needs of the school at St Olaf, KB 1432–63, 561. According to Leonid Arbusow, Laurentius was active as a schoolmaster in St Olaf in 1440–52, held the vicary of St Olaf in 1446–62 and is cited as an 'older scholmester' in the time of a new schoolmaster of St Olaf active in ca. 1459–61, LG I:2, 55. In 1440 the schoolmaster was evidently one Johannes, who was granted 9 marks 1 ferding for '1 impuarium unde seyn cronarium tor schole to sunte Oleve unde vor 4 lispunde menien tome zeiger unde tor schiven' on the feast of St George (April 23), 1440, KB 1432–63, 416.

²⁹⁰ TLA, B.a.1, f. 447r–459v.

the 1389 works on the Town wall are written almost entirely by city scribe Hermannus with only a few entries by a hand or hands other than his. On the other hand, the surviving material from the building of the Town Hall in 1401–4 is the product of two hands, one was the main substitute of the city scribe in the service of the council in the City Scriptorium and the other possibly an established councillor or other person active in the civic administration during the enterprise. In the case of the Domberg wall in 1454–56 two different accounts of the enterprise were produced, both of which appear to have been transcriptions of original notes and receipts by city scribe Joachim Muter and one of his substitutes. When finished, the accounts were archived in the *kämmerer*'s chest for further management of information of the enterprise. In the accounts of the works on the Aqueduct in 1420–23 the main hand responsible for the written management of the project was most likely that of councillor Arndt Saffenberch and there is no sign of any input by the contemporary city scribe Johannes Blomendal. The material itself appears to have been arranged for archiving by Saffenberch and the *kämmerers*. Finally, the accounts of the building of St Olaf again appear to present a full transcription of all the building activity and fiscal obligations of the wardens in 1435–50, most likely written by either one of them or a cleric of St Olaf. Like those of the Domberg wall, the finished accounts were once presented as a full fiscal documentation of the works to the council. Parallel to the building accounts, however, occasional entries of the building activity are found in the main accounts of the church, with information on the 'normal' expenditure of the church and on the construction works taking place in the area.

In all, the accounts of individual pieces of large scale building enterprises of the council show that the management of written information on the costs and expenditure of the projects was administered not only by the councillors employed to execute the projects in question but to a certain extent also by the City Scriptorium and, possibly, of the *kämmerers*, whose engagement in producing the texts could be highly variable, from writing the actual entries of individual costs or acquisitions to the full transcription and archiving of the memoranda of the finished projects. Considering the remaining documentation, the central role of the scribes appears since the second quarter of the 14th century had been not only control of the main textual management of information on registers related to the basic income and information of the city area and facilities and institutions in the control or full possession of the city, but also other permanent and temporary forms of income and expenditure controlled by councillor-wardens. Here the work of the city scribes varied in scale from full production of finished accounts and text artefacts (*schoss*, *wedde*, Poundage,

kämmerers' accounts since at least 1420's, market shops, rented buildings, annual rents and income from the altars, Town Hall, Domberg wall, the 'handbook' of St John), to annual checking, controlling and/or partial management of the material produced by the councillors (Mint, mills, *kämmerers'* accounts in the latter half of the 14th century, the Town wall of 1389) and areas where they may have had only some temporary role in the archiving of the finished textual products of the wardens or not even that (memorials of the town bailiff, building accounts of St Olaf). In all this, one of the crucial points to understanding the development of the engagement of the scribes and the nature of the remaining material in *AR* must also be considered developments in the volume of finished accounts and memoranda on parchment and paper, where no information for us is available on the use of temporary materials such as wax-tablets by the councillor-wardens or scribes from the era of parchment-based memoranda before the second quarter of the 14th century.

3.2.6. The nature of the surviving fiscal memoranda and accounts of the council in the contemporary management of information over the resources of the city

How are we to understand the role of the various types of fiscal and other administrative memoranda of the council in respect of the management of information over the city's resources?

Even if the accounts of the building of the Domberg wall are a rare example of accounts of construction projects produced by the city scribes, and many similar enterprises such as the Aqueduct (1420–23) appear to have been textually administered by contemporary councillor-wardens only, the finished accounts are evidence of the textual mentality of controlling, preserving and understanding information on the flow of resources in the civic administration. Rather than producing presentations of annual or case-specific balances and financial statements of particular projects or the overall economy of the council, the form of accounts we recognise nowadays, the 15th-century Revalian civic authority and their scribes apparently considered it more important to process the information in chronological sequences of itemized transactions, where the basic focus of the accounts was not so much on the economic profit from the activities as on what and when money was spent and on which kind of material and resources. Like the private merchants who built up the contemporary body of the council, there is no reason to suggest that the 15th-century Revalian civic administration was ignorant of profit or the favourability of investments and balanced payments in their short time fiscal environment, but the terminal management of the accounts written into finished codices by the city scribes show that the text permanences

and methods of maintaining an overview of the fiscal environment were deeply rooted in a cyclic and seasonal perception of time, which applies not only to individual merchants but also institutionalized agents of corporate authority. In various spheres of fiscal activity and revenues such as the *wedde*, Poundage, Mint and mills, similar accounts of a chronological nature were managed, some administered in their final form by city scribes only (*wedde*, Poundage), whereas others remained in the care of councillor-wardens with occasional or more customary summaries of the annual yield and profit (Mint), but none of them present contemporary 14th- or 15th-century computations of the full annual financial position of their particular field of activity or an overall annual budget or balance of payments of the civic authority. In late 19th-century scholarship such figures have been computed with the help of surviving *kämmerers'* accounts and other material in *AR*, either as cross-sections of fiscal or calendar years with material considered particularly informative (1372/73, 1450, 1455), or as summaries of longer periods (1432–63 and 1463–1507).²⁹¹ Even if these studies show that a calculation of the annual income and expenditure of the council administration was possible, if rather tricky in the 15th century, nothing suggests that the contemporary administration would have shown any interest in such computations.

Had any annual summaries and computations of the financial position of the city been made, some of them or their drafts ought to have survived in the extensive and in many ways highly representative medieval holdings of *AR*. Instead, and this is what the scribes were actually employed for in the textual management of fiscal administration, the finished accounts of the *kämmerers* and more developed spheres of the civic economy were produced to give an easy glimpse of the chronological flow of fiscal transactions in the economic affairs of the council and its particular spheres of income and expenses. As already discussed above in CHAPTER 3.2.1.2, a similar mentality is attested in the habitual use of drawings of horseshoes, ships, scales, towers and other pictures as labels for specific spheres of spending to help in browsing the accounts. According to Juhan Kreem the drawings are consistent in their references, especially in the time of Joachim Muter, but grow more sporadic after that

²⁹¹ Jatruschewa, Lilian, Die Investitionen des Tallinner Rats im zweiten Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts. In: Akademie der Wissenschaften der Estnischen SSR, Abteilung für Geschichtswissenschaften, Preprint AI:3. Tallinn, 1984, 8. For the individual studies see Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 68 (1372/73, based on A.d.3 (KB 1363–74) and 1450 based on A.d.15 (KB 1432–63), see also Jatruschewa 1984, 8, footnote 15. Vogelsang 1971, 706–708, Jatruschewa 1984, 9–43, and Siimo, Epp, Tallinna rae peamiste kulude ja tulude skeem aastast 1463–1507, Das Schema der hauptsächlichen Ausgaben und Einnahmen des Tallinner Rats 1463–1507. In: Tallinna arveraamat – Städtische Kämmererechnungen 1463–1507, I. Kopeerinud ja kommenteerinud E. Siimo. Tallinn 1971, (Manuscript in the Academic Library of Tallinn University), XII–XIV. Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult Siimo's work for this study. The page numbers here are provided with the help of Jatruschewa 1984.

and never appear to the extent that they might have had for calculating summaries of expenses from the codices.²⁹² As such, the accounts can be understood as a particular text permanence corresponding to contemporary cognitional models of how various fiscal acts in the cyclic and seasonal economic environment of the civic authority were put in chronological form, i.e. as forms of textual chronicles of past events designed for the management of information in the history of fiscal transactions of the civic authority and inherently similar to various registers of recognitions, annuities and other matters brought to the consideration of the council and for its corroboration or gratification. Rather than being tools for controlling the finances or balance of the civic economy, the finished accounts of the *kämmerers* and various spheres of the economic activity of the civic authority were in fact texts designed for memorizing and documenting the chronological flow of transactions of each particular sphere of activity and administration, which makes them fundamentally different to modern civic and central government accounting based on cognitional models incorporating the concept of ‘available resources’ or ‘planning’ (see CHAPTER 1.2.1.1).

In order to better understand the role of the office of the city scribes in the written management of information of the council and the city, I will now proceed to the organisation of writing, city scribes and their facilities in the service of the council before 1456. The main focus of CHAPTERS 4 and 5 will be on the role and development of the office of the city scribe; *how did it first emerge, who were the persons employed and what was the scribe’s engagement in the city administration before 1456, when Joachim Muter retired from his office as the first documented notary public in charge of the textual activities of the City Scriptorium in Reval?* As already stated in CHAPTER 1.2.4, a special emphasis will be placed on the nature of the agency of the individual city scribes in the management of information produced and apparent in the civic administration. It is not only the pragmatic and cognitional organisation of the information in finished textual products such as books of memoranda, copiaries, letters patent and missives by the city scribes that is of particular interest, but also the nature of their ‘profession’, i.e. the professionalization of their agency and status in the civic administration, schooling and conditions of office as apparent or deductible from the sources.

²⁹² Kreem 2009b, 25.

4. City scribes and the conditions of their office in 1312–1363

Until today, there has been no comprehensive study on the periods of office of the Revalian city scribes and their various substitutes, but much of the known information is based on the organisation of the archival deposits of the individual scribes created by the staff of the Tallinn City Archives in the late 19th century and before WWII. Summaries of the lineage of Revalian city scribes as well as treatises on individual hands and scribes such as Johannes Blomendal (active 1406–26), Joachim Muter (active as a notary public in 1427, and city scribe in 1429–56/60), Johannes tor Hove (active in 1463–77/78–79) and Reinhold Korner (1507–12) have been published by Sven Sjöberg, Tiina Kala and myself. Information on known scribes is also found in Leonid Arbusow's *Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, I–II*, as well as on the editions of the city books of memoranda from the late 19th century onwards. An undated list or a working draft of Revalian city scribes and their substitutes survives in the personal archival deposition of the aide (1924–34) and Tallin City Archivist (1934–39) Paul Johansen in the City Archives of Lübeck. Since much of the information of the periods in office of the scribes in the list corresponds to his lineage of scribes in his publication of *Libri de diversis articulis 1333–1374* in 1935, it dates somewhere in the mid-1930's.¹

As already discussed in CHAPTER 2.2.3.2, the origins of the office of the city scribe and the date of introduction of the first scribes permanently employed for the writing and production of documents and memoranda for the needs of the civic administration in Reval are unknown. Despite the oldest surviving missive written and produced solely for the needs of the council in 1294, no evidence exists that the management of written information of the council and the city was arranged on a more permanent basis before the very end of the 13th

¹ Sjöberg, Sven, Notizen zur Revaler Kanzleisprache im 15. Jahrhundert: Johannes Blomendal (1406–26): Versuch einer Provenienzbestimmung. *Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen*, 16/18 (1960/1962), 108–131, Kala 2005b, 108–128, Salminen, Tapio, 2001a, *Mit Schrift und Mund: Schriftlichkeit in die Kommunikation des Revaler Rats Von Stadtschreiber Hermannus bis Joachim Muter (1374–1456)*. In: Schweitzer, Robert & Bastman-Bühner, Waltraud (eds.), *Die Stadt im europäischen Nordosten: Kulturbeziehungen vom Lübischen Recht bis zur Aufklärung. Veröffentlichungen der Aue Stiftung 12*. Helsinki und Lübeck, 153–168, Salminen, Tapio, 2004, *Rescripta gratis? Professional writing in the administration of late medieval merchant cities in the Baltic Sea Area*. In: Kattinger, Detlef, Olesen, Jens E. & Wernicke, Horst (eds.), *Der Ostseeraum und Kontinentaleuropa 1100–1600: Einflussnahme, Rezeption, Wandel. Culture Clash or Compromise: Europeanisation of the Area of the Baltic Sea 1100–1400*, 8. T. Helms, Schwerin, 145–150, LG I–II. For editions and hands identified in them see individual volumes in this study. STA LÜ, 05. Private Archive, 05.5. Familienarchive und Nachlässe, 05.5 Johansen, Paul - (Altbestand), Depositum, Nr. 35. Revaler Stadtschreiber des Mittelalters und ihre Substitute (Here cited as STA LÜ, Johansen RSM). I sincerely thank FT Juhan Kreem for the digital photos of the text, Johansen 1935, IX–XIV. The first known attempt to establish a list on Revalian City scribes (Secretäre des Rathes) was made by F.G. von Bunge in his *Revaler rathslinie (Von Bunge 1874, 76)*, where he places 'Karstian Tzernekow' (*Christian Czernekow* active in 1487–1507) to the year 1400 and Johannes tor Hove to the year 1474 (active in 1463–77/78–79) omitting all the other medieval scribes.

century or the first decade of the 14th. Since information and documents on the contracts between the council and the scribes is sparse or nonexistent, the only way to date the different periods of activity of the city scribes is to follow the activity of their hands in the main books of memoranda and other medieval material still available in the *AR*. Further information on people responsible for writing documents for the city can be acquired from the surviving missives of the council still held in other archives in the former Hanseatic area of interaction, but because of the wide geographical distribution and chronologically fragmented survival of these missives, the systematic examination of the letters has not been possible in this study. An important point of verification for the hands of the city scribes and some of their main substitutes has, however, been provided by the appellations and other letters of judicial confidence from the council of Reval to the council of Lübeck still surviving in the Lübeck City Archives.²

The most important tool for studying the hands of individual city scribes and their main substitutes active in the management of information of the council and city of Reval are the registers of recognitions of inheritable real property and annuities available from 1312 [A.a.1, A.a.6b-c, B.i.3:I, A.a.3, here cited as WB 1312–60, EBII–IV, PergRB]. As discussed in CHAPTER 3.1.2, the need for such registers was based on the city law, where transactions of inheritances (Lat. *hereditas*, i.e. houses) were regulated and the right of possession of immovables was decreed to be recognised by publicizing it three times in front of the council. Similar public ratifications on proprietorship were occasionally made in other contracts of a private nature where the legal status of inheritable real property was of interest. Another dimension of real estate was mortgaging, where immovables were employed as pledges against liquid capital. The mortgaged property, loaned sum of money and obliged annuities (Mnd. *renten*) were constituted in a *renten*-contract between the debtor and the creditor, which only became legal when publicly ratified in front of the council. In both conveyances of inheritances and constitution of *renten*-contracts, the act of ratification and basic information on the contract was then written down in city books of memoranda. After the introduction of the first parchment volume of inheritances in 1312, this task appears to have been carried out exclusively by the city scribes and their official substitutes, who had access to the volumes and transcribed the original notes of resignations and *renten*-contracts they had written in the council's sessions into entries in the memoranda. As already

² STA Lü, Urkunden, Auswärtige Beziehungen (Externa), 07.1-3/19, Livland und Estland (Livonica und Estonica) and STA Lü, Altes Senatsarchiv, Interna, Appellationen von Städten lübischen Rechts, 004.16. - 004.19. Livländische Städte: Reval.

stated, the transcription of the notes occurred in writing sessions, where notes from usually two or more sessions of the council were written at once; a practice witnessed by the change of solution of ink, composition, placing and chronology of entries and hands appearing in the books of memoranda (see for instance PICTURE 13). A more detailed codicological analysis of volumes of inheritances and annuities reaching from 1312 to 1456/60 is provided in CHAPTER 3.1.2, where special stress is placed on the composition of individual volumes and the overall temporal development of the particular branch of memoranda. The information on the periods of activity of city scribes and their main substitutes can be further calibrated with the help of the other surviving memoranda of the council administration. The codicological description and analysis of these volumes is presented in other sections of this study.

Of all the surviving books of memoranda of Reval, the two earliest ones, i.e. the parchment book of inheritances [A.a.1] and a small codex of mixed memoranda on the administration, income and expenses of the city [A.a.2.], were introduced in 1312 and October 1333 respectively. Of these, as mentioned in CHAPTER 3.1.2, A.a.1 (WB 1312–60) consists of two consecutive sets of quires in 8° (ca. 25,0 x 17,0 cms) later bound in red leather wrapping, and has entries from 1312 to early March 1360. By contrast, A.a.2 is a small book of parchment in 16° (ca. 15,0 x 11,0 cms) with plain wooden covers once secured with a leather or hemp tie in the front of the binding. The size of the codex is that of *vademecum*, a portable book small enough to be carried in a pocket and ready at hand wherever needed. The codex itself consist of five quires of parchment, the four first originally having had 8 to 10 leaves each and the fifth 22 leaves. Entries in the book cover the period from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1333/34 to 1374 and were published in an edition together with A.d.4 and A.a.6d in *Libri de diversis articulis 1333–1374* by Paul Johansen in 1935 (LDA 1333–74).³

Regarding the material surviving in *AR*, certain important notes on the identification of individual hands and their writing must be made. Characteristic of the textual activities of the civic administration before 1456 in Reval was not only the relative long periods of office of some of the city scribes, but also the variety of texts and written documents produced by the scribes, councillor wardens and other people active in the management of information where different text permanences, text types and even handwriting were employed for various uses. Ever since the year 1312 almost all the writing in the civic administration was

³ TLA, A.a.2 (LDA 1333–74); Johansen 1935, VIII–XIV.

produced in gothic cursive, a script first emerging in the Latin west in the late 12th century and growing in popularity from the beginning of the 13th. Developed for an entirely different purpose than the prevailing textualis of the manuscripts, the gothic cursive covered a variety of ‘cursive’ forms from fast and highly individual types of script employed for writing down issues in everyday life to the highly formal and even calligraphic design of the charters and sent missives (the so called German ‘*Urkundenschrift*’). The overall characteristics of gothic cursive developed in the context of administration, trade and the emerging culture of textualization of the 13th century, where the growing density of encounters between various agents in interaction (see CHAPTER 1.2.1.2) resulted in a cognitional and pragmatic change in the use of script as the main vehicle of the management of personal and collective information in various areas of everyday life. Summed up by Albert Delorez in 2003 and compared to textual scripts of the manuscripts of the time, the main hallmarks of gothic cursive can be characterised as an overall emphasis on the faster and more progressive horizontal axis of the handwriting, extension of ascenders and descenders, which in fast writing tend to be exaggerated in length, and an overall rapid execution of the script, which often makes it slope to the right. As a result of the need for faster implementation of the writing, a new kind of ductus (the shape and order of strikes employed to compose letters) emerged, where the growing tendency of not rising the quill produced an ever growing tendency of loops and melding of the parts of letters and ligatures for a faster result.⁴

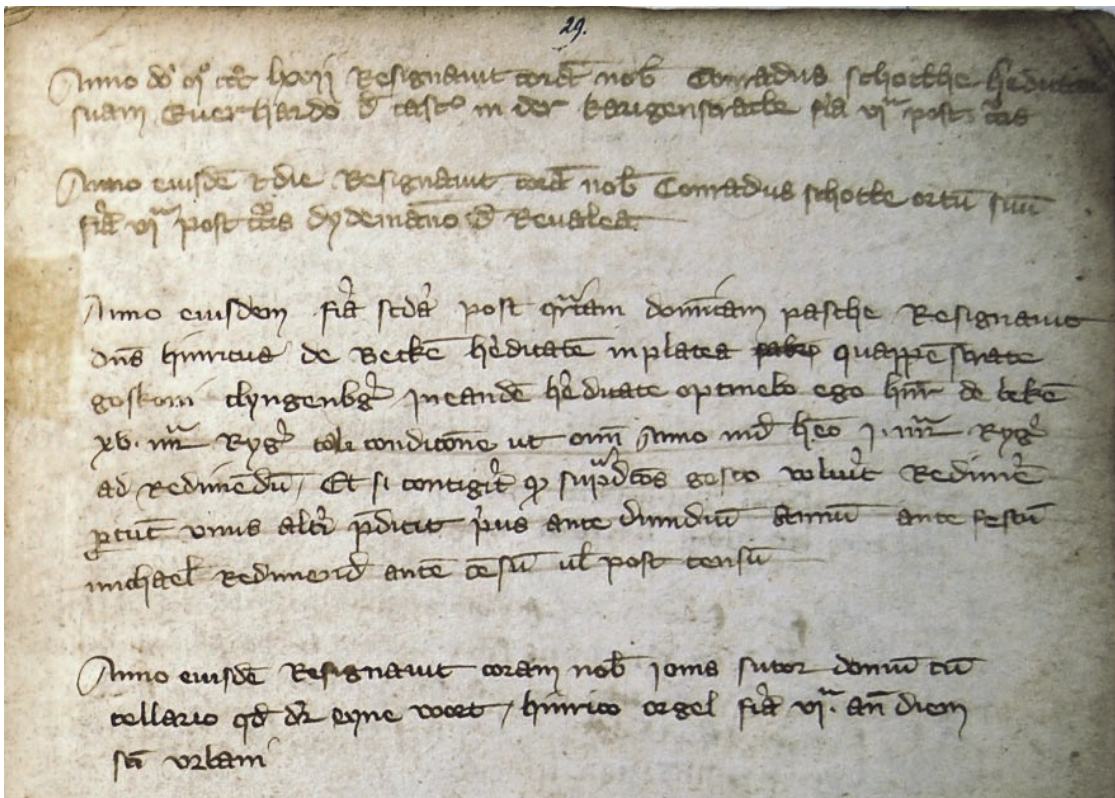
Because of the continuous development of the cursive script and its various uses in the world of administration, justice and trade, and after the mid-14th century the emergence of paper as an affordable writing material, a variety of forms of writing appear in the 14th- and 15th-century management of information of Reval still kept in *AR*. In the identification of various hands in the surviving documents extreme caution is necessary: the gothic textualis of initials and titles by one individual, for instance, may differ substantially from his gothic cursive, and the various types of gothic cursive applied to different types of script in finished missives, drafts and various kinds of memoranda may vary considerably in the writing of one person. Because of the relatively long periods of occupation of the scribes and some of the councillors, fluctuations in the personal style of handwriting occurred, and even if certain features in the general face of writing, ductus and structure of the letters the person had

⁴ On the history and paleographic features of gothic cursive see Bischoff 1990, 136–137, Heinemeyer 1982, 1–5 (*Urkundenschrift*) and especially Derolez, Albert, *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books. From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge Studies in Paleography and Codicology, 9. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (UK), 2008 (first published in 2003), 123–128, and on the concept of ductus, 6–7.

learned at the time of his schooling remained constant in his writing, modifications in all three elements could take place during his engagement in the City Scriptorium and with the council. In much of the memoranda, another important feature is the mixed chronological distribution and variety of the entries in the same or several volumes, where entries may have been made by the same individual but with different solutions of ink, or written with quills at various stages of wear, or in different writing sessions with later additions and interpolations by the same or another hand. All these variables may make the identification of the hand problematic, especially when the handwriting of two contemporary people resembles each other: a product of contemporary schooling during which they had adopted ductus and letter forms characteristic of the period. Because of this, all analysis of handwriting must be based on samples of securely identified scripts of persons active in the management of written information of the council, not *a priori* assumptions on the suggested way of production of particular volumes of pieces of memoranda such as the *schosslists* discussed in CHAPTER 3.2.2.2. The identification of different hands close to each other is best based on specific forms of truncations, certain letters and their variations, use of diacritics, cursive initials etc., never on the approximate likeness of letter forms and script or overall ductus and face of the writing.⁵

⁵ For the methodology of distinguishing different hands and scribes see, for instance, Stiennon, Jacques, *L'Écriture. Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental*, 72. Brepols, Turnhout – Belgium 1995, 97–101, esp. 98, where the three main phases are presented as: 1. Establishing a longer contact with the character of the script, 2. Inventory of ornamental elements, 3. Finding characteristics in one or more letters which can be considered the hallmark of the scribe.

Picture 13: The impact of quill and ink on handwriting can easily be observed in four consecutive entries written by the main substitute of city scribe Albertus in the city book of resignations on inheritances in the summer of 1367 (hand AI, see CHAPTER 5.1.2). The first two entries were written with a blunt quill and a rather thin blend of ink, continuing from the page before and belonging to a group of resignations (A.a.6b, EBII) issued on Friday after Trinity (June 18). The third and fourth entries deal with resignations issued on the Monday after the fourth Sunday of Easter (May 17) and the Friday before St Urban (May 21) and are written with a fresh and sharp quill with a darker solution of ink. Despite the different ink and sharpness of quill, all the four entries are clearly written by the same hand (see for instance the words 'Anno', 'Resignavit', 'nobis', lettering of 'd', 'h', 'a', 'R', 'E' and so on). Because the resignations of June 18 are placed before a group of resignations issued on May 17 and 21, the entries in the city book of inheritances were evidently compiled from notes made in the sessions of the council but often deposited for a while before transcription to the codex. Here the substitute of the city scribe AI obviously started by registering the most recent resignations which were at the top of the pile and then added the earlier resignations issued in May later.



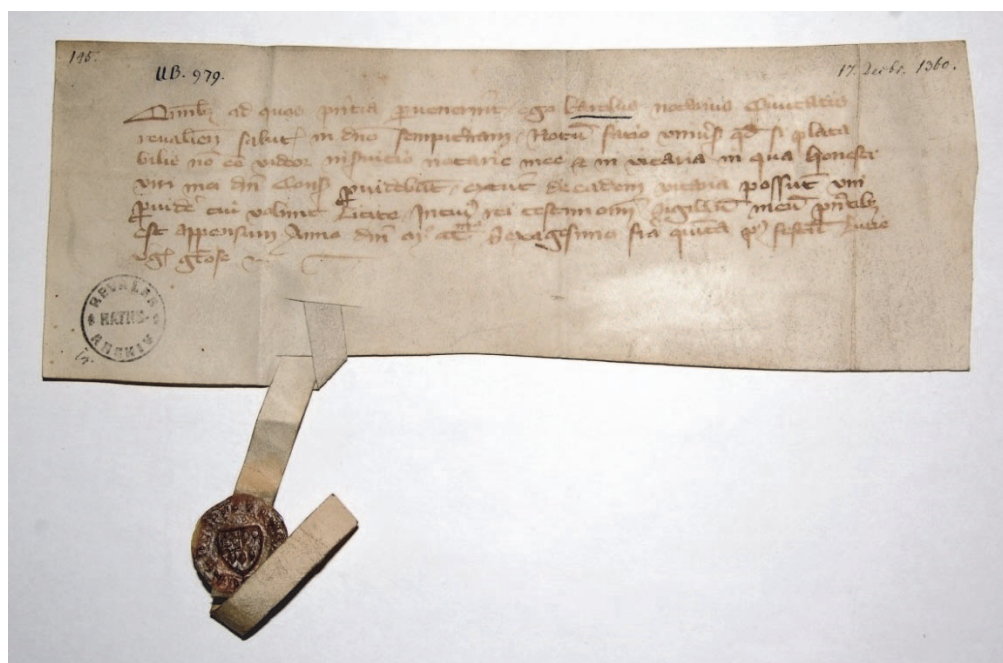
TLA, A.a.6b, p. 29 (EBII 222–225).

4.1. Karolus de Montreal and the office of the city scribe in 1358–63

The first named person employed in the service of the council for the production of texts and documents was **Karolus**, *notarius civitatis revaliensis*, who, on December 17, 1360, issued an open letter in which he attested that if the council were not be content with his service as a notary (here apparently in the meaning of a scribe) and in the vicary, i.e. a vicary proper or a chantry (*in servitio notariae mea et in vicaria*) he had been provided with by the council,

they were entitled to give the vicarship to whomever they pleased (PICTURE 14:1).⁶ Karolus is evidently the same *Carolus de Montreal, presbiter*, who four years later, on December 18, 1364, attested with his open letter that he had resigned all the rights he had been invested with in the chapel of the Hospital of St John to the council in a meeting in the consistory, where the burghermasters and the councillors had gathered at his personal request.⁷ Both the letters are written by the same hand – evidently that of Karolus himself – and corroborated with his own seal, the stamp of which is preserved only in the obligation of 1360. The seal has a heater shield with a lily placed in a square on the top left corner and five diamonds arranged in two rows. The legend circumscribing the shield is damaged, but the surviving part of the inscription reads ‘· S. KAR · DEOCREN[-]E?[- -]’ (PICTURE 14:2).⁸ The name Montreal, or, Montruil (Lat. *monasteriolum*) may hint at a French or Burgundian origin, but neither it nor ‘de Ocren[b?]?e[rg?]?’ can be securely located today. In his list of Revalian city scribes from the 1930’s, Paul Johansen identifies Karolus de Montreal as a Rheinlander but gives no source for his claim.⁹

Picture 14:1: *Open letter of Karolus, ‘notarius civitatis revaliensis’ issued on the Friday after St Lucy (December 17), 1360, attesting that if the council were not content with his service as a notary and in the vicary (in servitio notariae mea et in vicaria) he had been provided with by the council, it was entitled to give the vicarship to whomever they pleased.*



⁶ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 251, LECUB I:2 979.

⁷ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 266, LECUB I:2 1005.

⁸ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 251. See also von Nottbeck 1880, nr. 260.

⁹ Johansen RSM, nr. 4 'Karolus de Montreal (im Siegel de Ocrenberg, Rheinländer).

Picture 14:2: *Karolus' seal. A pointed shield with a lily placed in a square on the top left corner and five diamonds arranged in two rows. The legend reads 'S[igillum] KAR · DEOCREN[-]E?[-]'.*



TLA, Urk. 1-I, 251 (LECUB I:2 979).

4.1.1. Period of activity

When did Karolus first engage in his office of writing for the council?

In the surviving material, the first datable record of Karolus de Montreal's hand with his characteristic rounded and looped structure of letters belongs to Michaelmas Eve (September 28), 1358, when he started to record entries in the parchment book of inheritances [A.a.1, WB 1312–60]. During his period of office he filled up the last seven pages of the second quire of resignations of A.a.1, but decided not to continue the register with a third parchment quire.¹⁰ Instead, he introduced a bound paper codex in blanco for the purpose [A.a.6b, EBII, see CHAPTER 3.1.2], and wrote the incipit and first entries of the new book in one session on the Purification of Mary February 2, 1360.¹¹ The codex itself consists of six quires and it is

¹⁰ TLA, A.a.1, p. 160–166, WB 1312–60, 1018–47, 1049–59.

¹¹ Karolus de Montreal's last entries in A.a.1, p. 166 are made on resignations dated on Sunday Reminiscere (March 1), the Monday after St Agatha (February 10), and Sunday Invocavit (February 23) in 1360, WB 1312–60, 1057–59; After the incipit and the first entry, the next two entries of resignations on April 20 and 30 were apparently written in a single session on ca. April 30, 1360, A.a.6c, f. 1, EBII, 1–3.

assembled in its entirety from paper of the same mill with a watermark of a circle. After the incipit Karolus wrote the first ten pages of the volume and the first entry on page 11 save one entry on a resignation of February 20, 1363, written by his successor city scribe Albertus on page 9. A copy of a letter of the komptur of Goldingen (issued on January 2, 1363) above it is also written by Karolus. The last three resignations written by Karolus are dated on the day after Quasimodogeniti (April 10) 1363, after which his hand does not appear in the codex. The first set of resignations written by Albertus took place on Friday before Pentecost (May 19) 1363.¹²

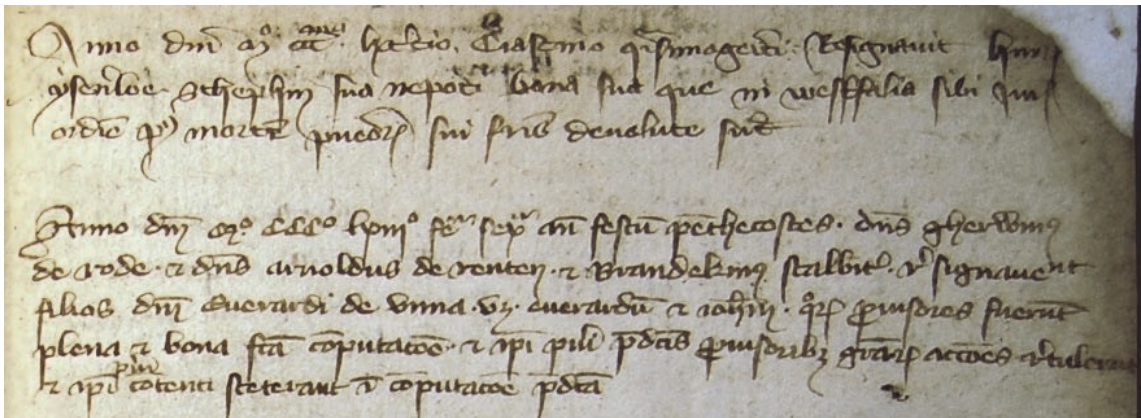
Because Karolus de Montreal's face and ductus of writing and is very close to his successor Albertus', Eugen von Nottbeck mistook in 1892 the two hands as the same. When compared to Albertus, Karolus de Montreal's hand is, however, easy to recognise in A.a.6b (and earlier in A.a.1), because of his habit of ending the contracted word '*dni*' (*domini*) with a tail over the last 'i' by first bending left and then returning to the right at a sharp angle in the form of a hook or angled loop signifying the contraction. He also begins all his entries of resignations with a capital 'A' (starting the word 'Anno') consisting of two or three strokes with a clear 35–45° angle between the two shafts of the letter. Albertus always ends his '*dni*' with a descending tail of 'i' bending right, favours a horizontal line above '*dni*' as a sign of contraction, and employs an 'A' with bending lines that often forms a figure similar to indoarabic numeral '8' on the lower left area of the letter. As a whole, the contraction and suspension lines employed by Karolus repeatedly form an arch rising from a tail of one of the letters, whereas Albertus often favours isolate horizontal lines as signs for abbreviation. The ascenders of Karolus' letters 'b', 'h' and 'l' often remain angled and open, whereas those of Albertus are broadly and rhythmically looped. Another important point of difference between the two hands is that in his texts Karolus almost invariably employs the two-compartment 'a' fashionable in the gothic cursives of the late 13th and first half of the 14th century, whereas Albertus always uses an uncial single-compartment 'a', which retained its position in papal documents throughout the 14th century and appears to have regained its fashionable status again in the 1370's.¹³ Active in 1363–74 (see CHAPTER 5.1.1), Albertus

¹² TLA, A.a.6b. The watermark of a circle with a diameter of 28 mm and undecipherable placing of chains is a variant of Briquet 2919–2920 (Briquet, accessed 19.11.2015) with a documented range of diameters between 17 and 46 mm and a known use in Italy in 1343–88; TLA, A.a.6b, p. 1–11: Karolus: EBII 1–75, 76 (The copy of an open attestation of the komptur of Goldingen) and 78–90, Albertus EBII 77, from nr. 91 onwards.

¹³ See von Nottbecks preface to EBII (von Nottbeck, 1890), 5–6; Paul Johansen correctly identified the hand of Karolus de Montreal in A.a.6b as finishing with EBII 90; TLA, A.a.1, p. 159–166, A.a.6b, p. 1–11; For fluctuations in the use of single-compartment and two-compartment 'a' see Heinemeyer 1982, 187–191 and Bischoff 1990, 135, 141.

favoured ductus and forms of lettering approximately contemporary or only slightly younger than his predecessor Karolus', and the handwriting of the two scribes is often so similar that mistaking one for the other is easily done. Both the hands bear the hallmark of experienced writers with steady distribution of rows and structure of letters characteristic of the mid-14th-century script of charters and missives and also of the scribal cursives in universities and the Church.¹⁴

Picture 15: *The hands of city scribes Karolus de Montreal (above) and Albertus (below) in two consecutive entries of resignations on April 10 and May 19, 1363, in A.a.6b. Note the capital 'A' in 'Anno', the contraction of the word 'Domini' and the difference between the almost invariable two-compartment 'a' of Karolus and the single-compartment 'a' of Albertus.*



TLA, A.a.6b, 11 (EBII 90–91)

Together with the two volumes of the register of inheritances A.a.1 (WB 1312–60) and A.a.6b (EBII), Karolus de Montreal's handwriting also appears in two contemporary volumes of mixed memoranda of the council, namely A.a.2 (LDA 1333–74) and A.d.4, and a mixed paper volume of memoranda of the city from ca. 1352–72 (for description see CHAPTER 4.3.1). In none of these, however, can any of Karolus' entries be dated outside his period of activity in A.a.1, that is, from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1358/59 around Michaelmas 1358 to the second week after Easter 1363. Because all his surviving original documents or their contemporary copies now held in *AR* also date to within the same period, except his resignation from the vicary of St John on December 18, 1364, his activity as a city scribe apparently came to an end in mid-April 1363. After his resignation from the vicary of the hospital of St John nothing is known of his activities or ecclesiastical status in Reval or

¹⁴ TLA, A.d.4, f. 1r–v and 2r. In the paleographical description of A.d.4, Paul Johansen has occasionally mistaken the hand of Albertus for Karolus; Bischoff 1990, 140–141.

Livonia.¹⁵ Further samples of his handwriting in the material in *AR* tells that some time during his period of activity as a city scribe in 1358–63 he also added four paragraphs to one of the two Revalian Middle Low German codices of the Lübeck Law of 1282 [Cm 10].¹⁶ Two undated letters of *tovorsichte* of the council of Reval and the Komptur *Helmicus de Typpenbrocke* of Reval to the council of Lübeck issued for the exponent *Hintze Pape*, a plenipotentiary of the city and claimants in the matter of an outlaw named *Lucke Meye*, show the high level of his command of quill, with pleasantly balanced composition of text, sharp conduct of line and fine hair decorations often placed in line with fine diagonal strokes applied for punctuation. Both the letters are written on parchment in the form of open letters and sealed at the back with the seals of the respective authorities. They date to the latter half of the period of activity of Karolus de Montreal from ca. 1359/61 to Easter 1363.¹⁷

4.1.2. Conditions of office

Regarding his period of writing and his liabilities to the city, two things in the activity of Karolus de Montreal appear of importance. The first of these is his status as a cleric in the service of the city, where his occupation as a professional scribe responsible for the production of documents and management of memoranda for the council was remunerated with a vicary or chantry invested to him as a form of salary. Since most of his known texts produced in the service of the council are written in Latin, Karolus' schooling must have been adequate enough to answer the council's need for a person capable for production and management of documents at the beginning of the first quarter of the 14th century. In addition, he was also able of producing lengthy texts in Middle Low German, the four most important of these being a copy of a letter of the komptur of Goldingen issued on Monday after the New Year (January 2), 1363, a copy of an undated appellation of the council of Reval to that of Lübeck in A.a.6b, and the text of the oldest known Revalian *bursprake* and a specification of salaries in a certain construction project, both written in A.d.4.¹⁸ In all these

¹⁵ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 242 (17.3.1359), 251 (17.12.1360, LECUB I:2 979), 258 (30.9.1362, LECUB I:2 995); TLA, Urk. 1-I, 266 (18.12.1364, LECUB I:2 1005); The copy of the council's letter to Bishop Hermannus of Ösel-Wiek dated ca. 1360 is apparently not written by Karolus (Urk. 1-I, 252, LECUB I:2 1008), while a copy of the council's letter to an unknown recipient dated to ca. 1364 is written by city scribe Albertus (Urk. 1-I, 267, LECUB I:2 1007); LG I:2, 71.

¹⁶ TLA, Cm 10, f. 37v. On the codex Cm 10 see Kala 2007a, 153–157, and Kala 1998, 29 footnote 56.

¹⁷ STA Lü, Urkunden, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 95a (issued by the council) and 95b (issued by the Komptur). Helmich von Diepenbrock is known to have been installed as Komptur of Reval not earlier than 1359 but not later than in 1361, Fenske, Lutz & Militzer, Klaus, Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens. Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, 12. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1993, 770 and 168 (nr. 162).

¹⁸ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 9 (EBII 76), where the copy of the letter is placed among the entries issued on February 20, 1363, and A.a.6b, p. 134–135 (EBII, p. 133–135) where the text of the appellation in the matter of Ludeke

texts as well as in German names and toponymes, one of the most characteristic features of his orthography is the frequent spelling of long vowels ‘â’, ‘ê’, ‘ô’ and ‘û’ with ‘i’, such as *rait* for Rât, *guit* = Gût, *stoil* = Stôl, *Dunevair* = Dunevâr and so on. According to philological scholarship, such a spelling is among the general characteristics of Early Middle Low German writing (ca. 1200–1370) and shows Old French influence on the Colognean and Low Franconian sphere of interaction, whence it was transferred to Northern Middle Low German through the medium of Westphalian dialects.¹⁹ Hence Karolus’ likely area of origin may have been in the Westphalian or Low Franconian sphere of interaction and he may have had some kind of connection to Wallonian and French areas, to which even his name ‘de Montreal’ refers. The total lack of information on his activities in Livonia before and after his occupation in Reval may indicate that he was a professional man of letters whose sojourn in the city turned out not to be permanent.

The second important feature in Karolus de Montreal’s activity in Reval is his official employment as a scribe in the service of the council compared to his known period of activity in the written management of information of the civic authority apparent through his writings. As noted, the most comprehensive evidence on his period of activity in the written management of information of the city are the two consecutive registers of inheritances where his handwriting appears constantly from Michaelmas Eve (September 28) of 1358 to the second week after Easter 1363. Because he was granted a permanent remuneration for his services to the council in December 1360 some 15 months after his first engagement in writing and his retirement from the vicary took place in December 1364 (i.e. after 19 months

Dunevar and Johannes Swevis is placed at the end of the book and obviously written some time between the introduction of the codex in February 1360 and before the end of Karolus’ activity as a city scribe in April 1363; TLA, A.d.4, f. 4r–v (LECUB I:2 982 which is based on a copy of the *bursprake* in A.a.6d, 10r–v) and A.d.4, f. 18v (LDA 1333–74, 548). For another entry in Middle Low German written either by Karolus de Montreal or city scribe Albertus see A.d.4, f. 18v (LDA 1333–74, 506). In A.d.4 Karolus has also written three copies of missives and documents, one of which is undated, one is a copy of the resignation of the council of Reval on an area of the patrimony of the city to the Teutonic Order issued on the Feast of St Elisabeth (November 19), ‘Lxoctauo’ instead of the correct year 1348, and the third is a letter of the council of Reval to the aldermen of the German merchants in Novgorod dated on the Feast of St Mary Magdalene (July 22), 1362 (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. 256, HUB IV 51), see also Johansen 1935, XVIII, and CHAPTER 4.3.1.1, footnote 105 in this study. All the three copies of letters are in Latin.

¹⁹ See, for instance, A.a.6b, p. 134–135 (EBII, p. 133–135), ‘dat Ludekin bewisen wil, dat he dat erve gedecket gebuet, und gebruchtet heft vür sin recht erfelic guit, dar he sich noch nemant tho en boit, und Ludekin dat verschoitten heft, und der steide vol dain heft vur sin recht erfelic guit’; The orthography of names by Karolus de Montreal in A.a.1 and A.a.6b include forms such as *Dunevair* WB 1312–60, 1032, *Blais Donze* WB 1312–60, 1053, *Lanzelait* EBII 12, and toponymes in German such as *leym straten* EBII 53; Peters, Robert, *Die Diagonalgliederung des Mittelniederdeutschen*. In: Besch, Wener et al. (eds.), *Sprachgeschichte, ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*. Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, Band 2:2. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 1985, 1256 and Peters, Robert, *Katalog sprachlicher merkmale zur variablenlinguistischen Erforschung des Mittelniederdeutschen*. In: *Niederdeutsches Wort, Beiträge zur niderdeutschen Philologie* 27 (1987), 68–70.

he had resigned from writing in the scriptorium), his occupation and conditions of office as a city scribe cannot be evaluated from his his contract with the council alone. The vicary obviously ensured Karolus' employment as a professional man of letters and Latin in the service of the council, but since nothing is known about the activities of the previous vicar of the Hospital of St John, it is impossible to say whether the vicary was considered a permanent part of the salary of the city scribe or just a temporary arrangement with Karolus de Montreal alone. Equally obscure is, whether the vicary of the chapel of St John should be considered a vicary proper with offices related to the chaapel and the inmates, or a chantry for singing masses for the benefit of souls. The fact remains that Karolus was paid for his occupation as a scribe through the vicary or chantry of St John and was allowed to hold the vicary for a year and a half after he had already resigned from writing, but his first 15 months of controlling the management of written information for the council were apparently based on another kind of contract with which his expenses and salary were settled.

4.2. The origins of the written management of information and the first scribes permanently in the service of the council before 1358

Before Karolus de Montreal, evidence about persons responsible for the production and management of texts in civic administration of the council is only available in the two earliest surviving books of memoranda of the city and the known original documents, drafts and copies produced before the end of the fiscal year of 1357/58. The periods of activity and possible identity of the main hands in the two codices of A.a.1 and A.a.2 have been extensively discussed by Leonid Arbusow and Paul Johansen in their editions of the volumes in 1888 (WB 1312–60) and 1935 (LDA 1333–74).²⁰ Because of the consistent presence of some of the hands in both volumes, the basic management of the memoranda must have been done by people permanently in charge of writing for the council, and the chronological distribution of entries must reflect periods of activity of individual scribes in the service of the city. Of interest here is the nature of occupation and professional status of these scribes, their possible identity, and what kind of organisation there was for the written management of information in the civic administration of Reval before the mid-14th century.

²⁰ Arbusow, Leonid, Einleitung. Das älteste Wittschopbuch der Stadt Reval, 1312–1360. Hrsg. v. L. Arbusow. In: Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, III Folge, Band I. Reval 1888, VIII–IX; Johansen 1935, IX–XIV.

4.2.1 From *WBI* to *WBIV*, five hands in the service of the council in 1312–58

A closer analysis of the oldest surviving book of memoranda [A.a.1, WB 1312–60] shows that before the engagement of Karolus de Montreal at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1358/59 almost all the writing in the codex was done by **five** hands. Of these the first, here cited as *WBI*, had a period of unbroken activity from 1312 to 1325, but was also active again in around March 1328, and the fifth (*WBIV*) wrote a section of entries on resignations of inheritances dating to the latter half of 1334, after which he was responsible for almost all the entries in the codex from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1337/38 until May 1358.²¹ In between, the second main hand (*WBII*) first engaged in writing of the volume at the beginning of the calendar year of 1326, and wrote several sections of resignations dating to the years 1326–28, 1328–31 and 1333–37, whereas the third hand (*WBIIIa*) appears to have been only active in the calendar years of 1332–33. Another short terminated hand (*WBIIIb*) was active in 1335, when he wrote five entries among those of *WBII* to the codex. Some time during his activity in 1333–34 *WBII* expanded the register with a new set of quires, initially separate from the older set but later bound together with it (see above, CHAPTER 3.1.2).²²

The close similarity of the five hands, especially *WBII*, *WBIIIa–b* and *WBIV*, caused problems for early scholars who examined A.a.1. Leonid Arbusow's 1888 identification of the hands of *WBI* and Karolus de Montreal in the codex is mostly correct, but his analysis of the scribes between 1325 and 1337 includes several mistakes, the most important of which is his failure to spot the difference between *WBII*, *WBIIIa–b* and *WBIV* in 1332–36.²³ The separate nature of these four hands is best observed with the help of the abbreviation of 'quod', which *WBII* always marks with a full loop on the left side of the descender, whereas *WBIV* frequently leaves the cross-stroke open (see PICTURES 16:2A–B and 4). In the narrow writing of *WBIIIa* both looped and open diagonal cross-strokes of 'quod' are present. The handwriting of *WBIIIb* with the diagonal cross-stroke can best be separated from *WBII* with his writing of 'et', which *WBIIIb* wrote with zigzagged upper beam, whereas *WBII* frequently uses arch in his writing. *WBIIIa* also habitually ends his downward strokes in

²¹ *WBI*: TLA, A.a.1, p. 1–45 (WB 1312–60, 1–70, 72–136, 145–224, 226–261, 243–246, 282–301). See even Arbusow 1888, VIII who has mistaken nr. 72 as of different hand; *WBIV*: TLA, A.a.1, p. 62–63 (1334, WB 1312–60, 402, 404–411, 413), 71–76, 76–160 (1337–58, WB 1312–60, 462–492, 497–1017).

²² *WBII*: TLA, A.a.1, p. 36–42 (1326–28, WB 1312–60, 247–253a, 254–279), 45–53 (1328–33, WB 1312–60, 302–331, 334–348), 57 and 59 (concerning resignations in 1326 and later, WB 1312–60, 368, 373b, 382, 387), 60–71 (1334–36, WB 1312–60, 388–398, 401, 403, 412, 414–415, 416–419, 421, 424–428, 430, 432–461); *WBIIIa*: TLA, A.a.1, p. 54–59 (1332–33, 349–367, 369–381, 383–386). A possible later interpolation by *WBIIIa* is also found among the entries of 1326 on p. 50 (WB 1312–60, 332); *WBIIIb*, A.a.1, p. 64–65 (WB 1312–60, 420, 422–423, 429, 431).

²³ Arbusow 1888, VIII–IX.

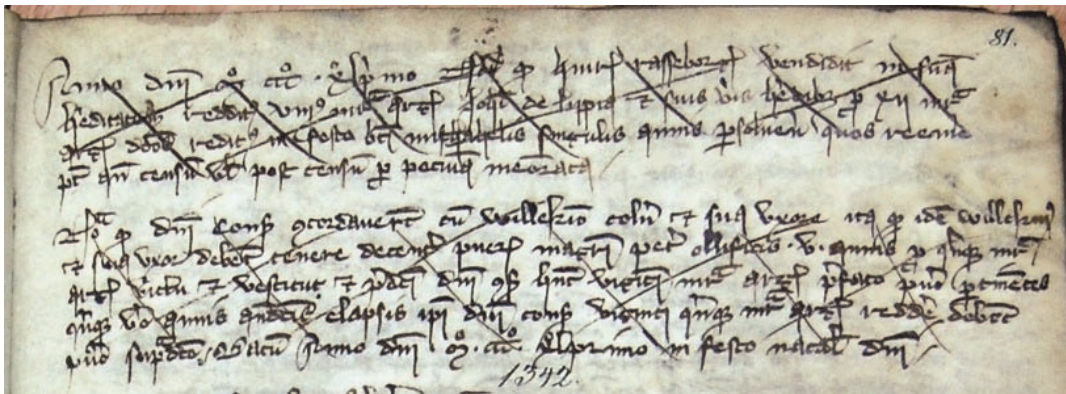
certain letters with an angled tail from left to right and employs high sharp arches as signs of contraction instead of the straight lines favoured by *WBII* and *WBIV*. In this respect his lettering and ductus appears somewhat more sophisticated than *WBII*. All the four hands of *WBII*, *WBIIIa-b* and *WBIV* represent forms of letters and a general face of writing younger than *WBI*. In his edition of A.a.1 Leonid Arbusow further identified *WBII* as the author of two entries concerning a resignation by Wenemar Hollogher in 1319, as well as two later entries dating to the years 1343 and 1346, all of which are in fact later interpolations by *WBIV*.²⁴ In the codex there are also occasional examples of other hands, but since none of them appear continuously as *WBII* does they must have been temporary substitutes active in the written management of information and nothing is known about their possible status in the council administration.²⁵ A section of four entries on January 8, 1339, citing the involvement of councillor and later (since at least the fiscal year of 1341/42, see TABLE 3:A–B) *kämmerer* Lodowicus Hamer in a resignation of December 25, 1338, is written in first person present and in questionable Latin. Since the handwriting does not appear elsewhere in the codex, the four entries in question may have been written by Hamer himself, but as usual in cases like this no proof for such an identification can be securely adduced from the surviving material.²⁶

²⁴ TLA, A.a.1, p. 20–21, 32, 35 (WB 1312–60, 137, 144, 225, 242).

²⁵ Arbusow 1888, IX. Occasional hands occur throughout the codex from the year 1315 to August 1358. One of these was active in the interface of *WBI* and *WBII* in ca. 1328, when he wrote an explication of the testament of one *Rittgerus de Vitregt* and an another entry on a debt between sections written by *WBII* and *WBI*, A.a.1, p. 42 (WB 1312–60, 280–1).

²⁶ TLA, A.a.1, p. 76 (WB 1312–60, 493–496); See even Arbusow 1888, IX, who discusses the likely authorship of Hamer but fails to note that the section consists of four entries grouped under the same date and written by the same hand.

Picture 16:5: The narrow and space-saving, but extremely fluent gothic cursive of *WBIV* in two entries of 1341. Note the characteristic cross-stroke of *quod*, the initial 'A' in *Anno* and the lengthened upper beam of the tironian note for Latin 'et'.



TLA, A.a.1, p. 81 (WB 1312–60, 527–528).

All the main hands of A.a.1 also occur in other material produced for the needs of the city and the council before 1358. Of these the most variable in terms of the number of people involved in writing is the small parchment codex of mixed memoranda [A.a.2], in which the various entries are in at least fifteen different hands from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1333/34 to 1374, as identified by Paul Johansen in 1935. According to him ten of these hands occur before the period of activity of city scribes Karolus de Montreal and Albertus in 1358–73, and four are also apparent in A.a.1.²⁷ Of these the hand who first introduced A.a.2 in writing at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1333/34, and responsible for most of the entries until May 1358, is *WBIV*, whose earliest entries in A.a.1 are resignations dating between July and December 1333. After this *WBIV* did not write in A.a.1 before October 1337, but his hand appears consistently in A.a.2, with only occasional entries by *WBIIIa* and two other hands. One of these is *WBIIIb*, who also wrote five entries of resignations in A.a.1 dating to 1335, and was active in A.a.2 in 1334–35, possibly also in 1337. In A.a.2 the two entries of *WBIIIa* date to the beginning of the calendar year of 1334, which corresponds closely his activity in A.a.1 in 1332–33.²⁸ In the codex there are also four entries written by *WBII* dating to the years 1334, 1335, and 1336 or 1337, i.e. to the period when *WBII* appears

²⁷ Johansen 1935, IX–XIII. Karolus de Montreal (Johansen 1935, hand 11), Albertus (Johansen 1935, hand 12). According to Johansen, hands 13–15 appear as occasional substitutes for Albertus.

²⁸ For *WBIV* (Johansen 1935, hand 1) in A.a.2 see Johansen 1935, IX–X; *WBIIIa* (Johansen 1935, hand 4), A.a.2, p. 6 (LDA 1333–74, 33–34); *WBIIIb* (Johansen 1935, hand 5), A.a.2, p. 9, 15, 23, 24, 38 (LDA 1333–74, 59, 94–95, 120–123, 125–128, 200–207) and A.a.1, p. 64–65 (WB 1312–60, 420, 422–423, 429, 431); Johansen 1935, hands 2 and 3 are not apparent in A.a.1. In Johansen RSM hands discussed here can be identified as: *WBI* (Johansen RSM, nr. 1) ‘1312 bis gegen 1326 (auch 1328?)’, *WBII* (Johansen RSM, nr. 2) ‘1326–1337’ with ‘zweite Hand daselbst’, i.e. *WBIIIa*, *WBIV* (Johansen RSM, nr. 3) ‘1333 October–November erstmalig, dann seit 1337 allein, bis 1358 mai’, and *WBIIIb* (Johansen RSM, nr. 3a) ‘1335–1336 Mitte’ only.

to have been in charge of the register of inheritances in A.a.1, but when the *vademecum* of mixed memoranda of the administration and economy of the city, A.a.2, was already taken care of by *WBIV*.²⁹

Because of *WBII*'s continuous involvement in the management of the register of inheritances in 1326–37 and the occasional interpolations in A.a.2 in 1333–37, Paul Johansen has suggested that *WBII*'s role in the management of the written information of the council was as an 'Oversecretary' (*Obersekretär*); a head scribe in control of the City Scriptorium assisted by auxiliary hands and other people in the civic administration. A more plausible explanation for the various hands apparent in the two codices in 1326–37 is, however, that *WBII* originally worked as a substitute for the former city scribe *WBI* in 1326–28, after which he remained temporarily responsible for certain spheres of civic memoranda. He carried on doing this until around the beginning of the fiscal year of 1337/38, when he was replaced by a new full time city scribe, *WBIV*, who had made his appearance in the management of written information of the civic authority at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1333/34. As noted (CHAPTER 3.2.2.2 and elsewhere), the hand of *WBI* had in fact emerged already in an undated and only partially surviving list of house-owners of the parish of St Olaf from ca. 1300–15 [B.K.1, f. 25], where he apparently wrote both the original list and later amendments to it.³⁰ The five hands and their periods of activity in the management of the written memoranda of the council appear in TABLE 4, as determined from the combined information of A.a.1 and A.a.2, are:

Table 4: *Periods of activity of the main hands (city scribes and major substitutes) in the management of information of the council of Reval in ca. 1300 – May 1358.*

Hand	Period of Activity
<i>WBI</i>	Not before ca. 1300? – 1312 – December 1325, March 1328
<i>WBII</i>	Early 1326 – January? 1328, Spring 1328 – Spring? 1331, First half of 1334, Beginning of 1335 – Late 1337
<i>WBIIIa</i>	Early 1332 – Turn of 1333/34
<i>WBIIIb</i>	1334–35, 1337?
<i>WBIV</i>	October 1333 – 1334/35? – October 1337 – May 1358

²⁹ *WBII* (Johansen 1935, hand 6), TLA, A.a.2, p. 11, 15, 17, 23; LDA 1333–74, 70 (1334), 93 (1334?), 99–101 (1335), 124 (1337?).

³⁰ Johansen 1935, IX–X; TLA, BK 1, f. 25r.

Further information about the activity of the early scribes in the service of the council and civic administration in Reval before 1358 is found in the surviving original documents and their medieval copies still available in *AR*. Of special interest is the archival file of *Urkunden* (TLA, f. 230, 1-I): a collection of sealed charters and documents first arranged in chronological order, assembled into brown paper envelopes and stationed in what was (at the end of the 19th century) called ‘the Second Archival Room’ of the Town Hall by Theodor Schiemann in 1883–87. The late 19th-century selection of the documents was not based on any medieval or later entity in the archives, but was the work of Friedrich Georg von Bunge, who had assembled a large collection of various kinds of charters, missives and other documents and placed them in forty tin plate boxes during his occupation of the *AR* in the 1840’s. From these most of the documents for Schiemann’s compilation were extracted.³¹ During his work von Bunge collected charters from various sections of the archives, but an independent deposit of some of the most important privileges of the city had evidently existed already in the early 17th century, when one of the contemporary town secretaries had furnished them with information on their original year of issue and an indoarabic serial number, the meaning of which is not entirely clear, but which may have corresponded to the chronological order of the document in the deposit.³² Because some of the charters also show medieval notes of provenance or date, a collection of sealed privileges of the city with other important documents appears to have existed already in the 15th century, but the content or the original location of this collection in the Town Hall is not known. Part of it may have formed the collection of 14 round wooden cartridges with privileges of the city and other documents from the 13th century to 1525, found in November 1875 in a hidden closet during the renovation of the *Kämmerei*, where they had been left untouched since 1684 (see CHAPTER 1.2.5.1).³³ As already discussed in CHAPTER 2.1.3.1, city scribes Johannes

³¹ TLA, f. 230, 1-I *Urkunden*; Greiffenhagen 1933, 47, 41–42; Hansen 1896, VII, 231–398.

³² See for instance TLA, Urk. 1-I, 8, ‘4. König Erici Confirmation sub A:o 1265, 4 idus Aug’ (DD II:1 491, LECUB I:1 388), Urk. 1-I, 9, ‘6 [older numeration 2]: De Anno 1260’ (DD II:1 492, LECUB I:1 389), Urk. 1-I, 10, ‘5. De Anno 1260’, where the year of issue has later been corrected to 1265 (DD II:1 493, LECUB I:1, 390), Urk. 1-I, 14 ‘4. De Anno 1273’ (DD II:2 213, LECUB I:1 435) and Urk. 1-I, 149 ‘4 (later struck out and replaced with number 31) De Anno 1345’ (DD III:2 119; LECUB I:2 827), of which Urk. numbers 8, 14 and 149 were originally numbered as ‘4’. Some of the charters have even later numbering in Roman numerals, see for instance Urk. 1-I, 31, (LECUB I:1 480). The dating and numbering of the charters was evidently done earlier than 1684, when some of the privileges were exhibited to the Royal Commission for Reduction in the castle on Domberg on August 12, 1684, Urk. 1-I, 19, 20, 24, 26.

³³ See, for instance, the Middle Low German translation of TLA, Urk 1-I, 42, March 21, 1311 (DD II:6 333, LECUB I:2 634) on paper on the right of the council and the citizens of Reval to extend and reinforce the town wall, written by an unknown hand, but with a archival note by city scribe Johannes Blomendal (1406–26) ‘Dyt isde copie vppe de z yngelen’, ‘this is the copy over the (wooden?) palisades’, and TLA, Urk. 1-I, 29, Erik V confirmation of the Lübeck law and prohibition of trade of visiting merchants (*gasts*) in the city, (DD II:3 38, LECUB I:1 478) with a note on the back in the hand of city scribe Johannes tor Hove, active in 1463–77/78–79

Blomendal (active in 1406–26) and Joachim Muter (1429–56/60) are known to have written Middle Low German translations of some of the original Latin privileges deposited in the archives of the council, but the role of these translations in the management of the archives by the scribes is unknown. The translations are written on loose sheets of paper with no medieval archival notes whatsoever. Either attached to original privileges or part of other archival deposits in the old *AR*, they apparently served as material for various oral communications of the council at the time of their writing or afterwards. As they were later included in Schiemann's compilation of *Urkunden*, it is conceivable that his idea was not only to create a collection of the surviving original sealed charters available in *AR*, but also a chronological series of all the charters that had once existed there, and it was for this reason that even the later medieval translations of 13th-century originals were enclosed in the file.³⁴ After a reorganisation and initial numbering of the documents by Paul Johansen in the 1920's, the composition of the collection has remained more or less hybrid, including original documents mixed with medieval or later copies. Another characteristics of the collection are 'the missing documents', i.e. numbers without a corresponding original; a result of Johansen's work, where he introduced a chronological order for all the known charters, including those later lost and only preserved as transcriptions in medieval vidimations and city books of memoranda.³⁵

What can we say about the career of the five main hands *WBI–IV* responsible for writing texts on behalf of the council and city before the time of Karolus de Montreal, and what other material do we have for the study of their activities in their office at the time concerned?

reading 'Eyn breff dat nen vromet gast hyr mach verkopen quodlibet', and TLA, Urk. 1-I, 145 and 146 (DD III:2 116; LECUB I:2 826) both with the medieval note 'j^miii^cxlvi' in their back. On later medieval copies and Middle Low German translations of earlier charters see also CHAPTER 2.1.3.1, footnote 42. Of the copies and translations cited there, a Latin copy with Middle Low German translation of TLA, Urk. 1-I, 8 August 10, 1265 (DD II:1 491, LECUB I:1 388) and that of TLA, Urk. 1-I, 30, July 22, 1282 (DD II:3 44, LECUB I:1 480), are written on the opposite sides of an upright sheet of paper in octavo by Blomendal (active in 1406–26). From Blomendal's hand is also the Middle Low German translation on TLA, Urk. 1-I, 34, 1282 (DD II:3 123, LECUB I:1 488) written horizontally on a similar octavo sheet of paper. A translation of TLA, Urk. 1-I, 27 (LECUB I:1 470) is written by Joachim Muter, active in 1429–56/60. On the reverse side, there is an explication on the contents of the charter in another hand, possibly that of city scribe Christian Czernekow (active 1487–1507).

³⁴ See Hansen 1896, section E.

³⁵ Greiffenhagen 1924–26, part II. See, for instance, number 3 (the 1248 Revalian privileges of King Erik), which does not exist as a charter on its own, but the text has survived in the vidimation of Burchard von Dreyneven in 1347, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 168 (LECUB I:2, Reg. 1028, DD III:2 325–326).

4.2.2. *WBI* – Johannes Scriptor? (ca. 1312 – 1325)

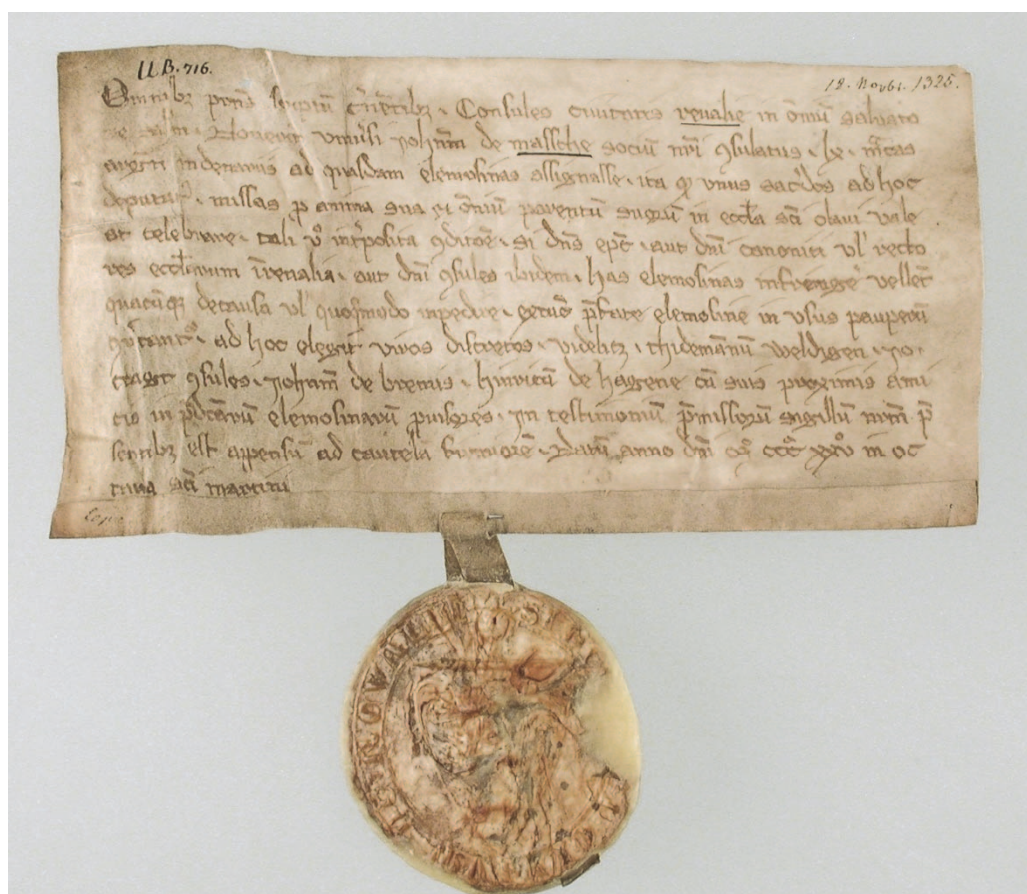
4.2.2.1. *Period of activity*

Today, of all the letters and charters surviving in *AR* and issued by the council before 1329 only two are unquestionably written by *WBI*. The first of these is an open attestation of the council of Reval of the donation of councillor Johannes de Massche for the foundation of a perpetual mass (i.e. a chantry) in the church of St Olaf issued with the seal of the city on November 18, 1325. The other text is a parchment copy of a letter of the council of Dorpat to the council of Reval previously dated to ca. 1340, but because of the handwriting of *WBI* the text must date to some time before 1329.³⁶ A third surviving sample of the documents produced by *WBI* during his activity in the service of the civic authority of Reval is an open attestation of the council that *Conradus filius Eggardinck* was the legitimate procurator of her mother *Margaretha* over the inheritance of her late sister *Alheydis* in the city of Soest. The attestation is written on a rectangular sheet of parchment similar to that of the donation of 1325 and previously dated by von Bunge to 1320. Because the surviving original is dated ‘anno domini m^o ccc^o xx^ov[- - -] [octava?] [- - -] johannis ante portam latinam’, the attestation must have been issued somewhere between 1325–28, where May 1325 corresponds and May 1328 is close to the known activity of *WBI* in A.a.1.³⁷

³⁶ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 72 (LECUB I:2 716); TLA, Urk. 1-I, 121.

³⁷ LECUB I:2 673, von Bunge’s dating in 1855 was based on an edition from 1764, where the date was read ‘anno domini mcccxx, in octava s. Iohannis ante portam latinam’ (May 13, 1320); STA Soest, Bestand A, 2242; In the archival database of the Soest City Archives the attestation of the council of Reval is dated alternatively to 13.5.1325 and 13.5.1327, See Stadarchive Soest (STA Soest, http://www.archive.nrw.de/kommunalarchive/kommunalarchive_q-t/s/Soest/bestaende/index.php, Bestand A: 3. Beziehungen zu anderen Städten, Ämtern und Gerichten, 3.3.3. Abschosssachen – Specialia, nr. 2242, accessed 19.11.2015). An almost contemporary missive of the council of Soest to the council of Reval on the matter of the inheritance of one Herman of Soest (de Susato) is dated on the Feast of St Servatius (May 13), 1327, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 84 (LECUB I:2 729).

Picture 17: An open attestation of the council of Reval on the donation of councillor Johannes de Massche on a perpetual mass (chantry) in the church of St Olaf, issued with the seal (SIGILLUM II, TABLE 1) of the city on November 18, 1325. Hand: *WBI*.



TLA, Urk. 1-1, 72 (LECUB I:2 716).

It is interesting that within *WBI*'s period of activity, no other document stationed in *AR* and either issued in the name of the council as one of the agents of corporate authority in the area or given as a vidimation of the privileges of the city by the bishop, cathedral chapter or Dominican convent of Reval before 1329 are written by him. *WBI* made entries in the first section of quires of A.a.1, a parchment volume which he himself first introduced in writing in 1312. Leaving that aside, with the exception of the charter of 1325, the attestation concerning a matter of inheritance in Soest, the copy of an undated letter of the council of Dorpat, and the undated list of house-owners on parchment from ca. 1300–15 [B.K.1, f. 25], no charters, copies, drafts or other material written by *WBI* survives, except of his entries in the first section of quires of A.a.1, a parchment volume which he himself first introduced in writing in 1312. Even if he obviously had the necessary knowledge to compose texts in the written management of information of the council and documents of legal substance, he was not engaged in the production of the fifteen known vidimations issued by the cathedral

chapter and Dominican convent in the favour of the city in 1314–26. Instead, the task of composing these sophisticated documents was given to others, most likely by men of letters active in the respective institutions.³⁸

All the surviving texts written by *WBI* are composed on parchment in Latin. No evidence of the use of paper either in the Revalian City Scriptorium or among the received missives and documents of the council is known during his period of activity. The minuscule-like structure of his gothic lettering would date more conveniently to the last quarter of the 13th century than to the first of the 14th, and appears rather old-fashioned when compared to the hand of *WBII* acting as his substitute in 1326–28. Characteristic of the writing of *WBI* in all of his known texts is clear, almost meticulous lettering with rhythmic diagonal diacritics of ‘i’ often accompanied of diagonal strokes in ‘q’ and ‘x’, truncation mark ‘–’, occasional use of looped ‘S’ in the beginning of words, slinged ‘g’, a tendency to slinged ‘d’ with occasional use of minuscule ‘d’, rhythmical ascenders of ‘s’ and ‘l’ curved right, and bifurcated or curved ascenders of ‘b’ and ‘h’.³⁹

³⁸ The charter issued by the royal legate Johannes Canne on the fortifications of the city in 1310 (TLA, Urk 41, DD II:6 303, LECUB I:2 632) is not written by *WBI* but by a different hand, which is not the same as in the contemporary original receipt on parchment in Latin issued by Canne in Reval on Wednesday after elevation of the Holy Cross (September 16), 1310, over the 82 marks in silver he had received on behalf of the king from the royal vassals in Estonia, EAA, ErüK, Urk. 1, 2, 4, 2 (EAA.854.2.9, DD II:6 304, LECUB I:2 634). The two open letters issued by the bishops of Reval and Ösel-Wiek, the Danish headman of Reval, the vassals of the Danish King, the burgher community of Reval and the vassals of Ösel-Wiek on May 15, 1313 in Wosel, are written by a hand which is not that of *WBI*, Urk. 1-I, 44–45 (LECUB I:2 644–645). Of the three vidimations issued by the Dean and Chapter of Reval in 1314–15, the first two of May 15, 1314 (Urk. 1-I, 47–48, DD II:7 150–151) are written by a hand which is different from that of the vidimation of May 18, 1315 (Urk. 1-I, 49, DD II:7 271), but who has also written a later attestation of the chapter issued on May 13, 1324 (Urk. 1-I, 68, LECUB I:2 701, DD II:8 110). Of the five vidimations issued by the prior Arnoldus and Dominican convent of Reval on May 12, 1319, a total of three (Urk. 1-I, 51, 52, 56, DD II:8 96, 97, 100) have been written by one and the same hand with characteristic leaning to right with forms of lettering and ductus somewhat younger than the hand responsible for two other vidimations from May 12, 1319 (Urk. 1-I, 53–54, DD II:8 98–99) and one from June 12, 1319 (Urk. 1-I, 55, DD II:8 112) where the text is leaning left. The hand responsible for the three latter (Urk. 1-I, 53–55) have features similar to the hand who wrote the three vidimations issued by the chapter and the Dominican convent on May 7, 1320 (Urk. 1-I, 57–59), but because of the vertical composition of the latter, the hand is not necessarily the same. The hand active in 1320 (Urk. 1-I, 57–59, DD II:8 215–217) is, however, neither of the hands writing for the chapter in 1314–15 and 1324. The two vidimations issued by Prior Arnoldus and the Dominican convent of Reval on May 15, 1326 (Urk. 1-I, 76 & 73 and 77 & 75, DD II:9 228, 267, LECUB I:2 717, 724) are written by two contemporary hands resembling each other and close to the hand of the vidimations of 1319 (Urk. 1-I, 51, 52, 56), but not the same. The hand responsible for the vidimation of Urk. 1-I, 76 & 73 also has similarities with the hand of *WBIIIa*; A joint missive of the Danish headman and the city of Reval to the Swedish *Drost* Knut Jonsson from the period of activity of *WBI* in the fall of 1325 is lost and only known of because Knut’s answer of November 20, 1325, in turn has only survived in the vidimation issued by the Dominican prior on May 15, 1326 (Urk. 1-I, 76 and 73, FMU I 326, LECUB I:2 717).

³⁹ The general structure of the letters of *WBI*, for instance, is technically contemporary to a more calligraphic and sophisticated hand active in the chancery of the Bishop of Worms in 1289 and presented by Walter Heinemeyer as his sample 7 of the history of the gothic script (Heinemeyer 1982, 257–259).

4.2.2.2. *Identity and conditions of office*

When Leonid Arbusow published his edition of A.a.1 in 1888, he suggested that the first main hand of the codex (*WBI*) could be identified as **Johannes the Scribe** (*Johannes scriptor*), a person cited twice among the entries of A.a.1 in 1329–32. The first of these is a notification on an annual rent of half marks in silver by one Arnoldus swordsmith (*gladiator*) on a ground once inhabited by Johannes the scribe (*de area quam inhabitavit quondam Johannes scriptor*) due to every Easter, against which the plot was in the hereditary possession of Arnoldus' estate. The entry is written by *WBII* and is part of a lengthy section of undated entries written in several sessions in 1329–31. In 14th-century Reval the Latin word 'area' frequently referred to the ground under a market shop, for which the ground tax in 1333–34, 1337, 1341 and 1352–58 in A.a.2 and A.d.4 was cited as 'pro areis', 'aree de bodis', 'aream et bodarum' and 'census arearum' (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.3).⁴⁰ The second entry in A.a.1 is a notification, obviously on the same piece of ground once inhabited by Johannes the scribe, but for which one *Pelegrinus Lenepe* was now to pay an annual rent of half marks in silver due every Easter to the House of the Holy Ghost, against which his inheritors had free possession of the ground. The entry further cites that the ground itself was perpetually held by the House of the Holy Ghost with full rights (*Et hec predicta area attinet perpetuo antedictae domui sancti spiritus pleno iure*). Written by the hand of *WBIIIa*, the notification is found in the first section of his entries in A.a.1 from 1332, and followed by a resignation issued in front of the council on Friday before Oculi (March 20), 1332 (see PICTURE 20:2).⁴¹

Since the ground, or, to be more precise, a plot of a market shop once inhabited by Johannes the scribe, was in full judicial possession of the House of the Holy Ghost in 1332, and Johannes had evidently either passed or moved away before ca. 1329–32, Leonid Arbusow's tentative identification of *WBI* as *Johannes scriptor* is plausible. Since both the activity of *WBI* in the administration of the council and the occupation of Johannes the scribe of a market plot in the city ended before 1331, the two men appear to have been active at the same time. As already discussed in CHAPTER 3.1.3, the House of the Holy Ghost was apparently the same as the infirmary attached to the homonymous chapel founded as a hospital for the poor by councillor Herman Weldeghe some time before his death in ca. 1349. Since the

⁴⁰ Arbusow 1888, IX; TLA, A.a.1, p. 52 (WB 1312–60, 339) 'de area quam inhabitavit quondam Johannes scriptor ... et huius modi aream pro eadem pensione hereditary possidebunt sui heredes', p. 47–53 (WB 1312–60, 312–48). On the market shops see CHAPTER 3.1.3.3, footnotes 102–3 and LDA 1333–74, index p. 107.

⁴¹ TLA, A.a.1, p. 55 (WB 1312–60, 356) 'de area quam inhabitavit quondam Johannes scriptor ... Et hec predicta area attinet perpetuo antedictae domui sancti spiritus pleno iure'.

chapel and the hospital had connections to both the merchant aristocracy and the council as early as the the second quarter of the 14th century, this raises the question of whether Johannes the scribe was employed as a cleric in the service of the council, not only as a scribe but also as a deacon of the hospital, which rented him the market plot in its possession. Since neither of the two entries addresses him with the title ‘dominus’ or ‘magister’, the Johannes’ ecclesiastical status may have been lower than priest of higher orders or a person with an established university degree, but the absence of the title does not rule out the possibility that he was a cleric of minor orders attending at the chapel and hospital of the Holy Ghost in the service of the council. His occupancy of the hospital’s ground also suggests that part of the salary for his work was arranged through the institution; an arrangement later documented with the offices of Karolus de Montreal, who held the vicary of the hospital and chapel of St John as a remuneration for his services as a scribe for the council and the city in 1360–64, and Joachim Muter, who got part of his salary from various altars of the church of St Nicholas in 1444–62 (see CHAPTER 5.2.4). Since Johannes the scribe is addressed as the former inhabitant of the plot leased to at least two successive tenants in 1329–32, it is unlikely that he was the original proprietor of the ground, but more likely a resident, who may have paid no rent for his accommodation. Given the later occupation of the ground (*area*) by *Arnoldus gladiator*, i.e. a master craftsman, and *pelegrinus Lenepe* (a retailer?), the facility appears to have been a market shop under the House of the Holy Ghost designed for retailing. According to the lists of rents on the market shops in A.a.2, in 1333–34 the ground tax of 6 oras (1/8th of a Riga mark where 48 oras = 1 Mk) was paid on a ‘shop next to the Holy Ghost’ (*j boda iuxta sanctum spiritum*) at the termin of St Thomas (December 21) by one *Johannes gladiator*, where the recorded name of the occupant may in fact result from a confusion of the former and contemporary occupants of the shop, *Johannes scriptor* and *Arnoldus gladiator*.⁴² I shall return to the possible identity of Johannes the scribe and *WBI* again in CHAPTER 4.2.5, but for now it is best to allow him a short break and concentrate on other hands active in the first two surviving books of memoranda produced in the Revalian civic administration.

⁴² TLA, A.a.2, f. 10r (1333) and 7v (1334), both written by *WBIV* (LDA 1333–74, 106:22, 92:17)

4.2.3. *WBII* and *WBIIIa–b* (1326–37)

Unlike *WBI* and his possible identification as Johannes the scribe, a contemporary tenant of a ground in the possession of the House of the Holy Ghost, no information appears to have survived on the identity of the hands of *WBII* and *WBIIIa–b* active in the written management of information of the civic authority in 1326–37.

4.2.3.1. *Periods of activity*

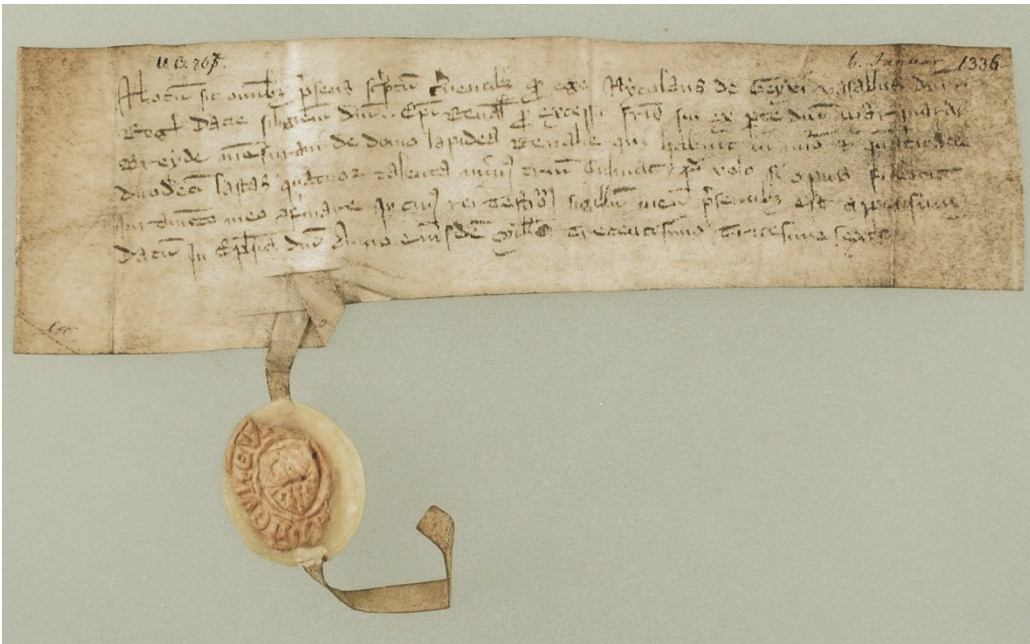
Despite the periodical activity of the hand of *WBII* in A.a.1 and A.a.2 in 1326–28, 1328–31, and 1333–37, his production of texts in the service of the council was not limited to the management of entries in the two books of memoranda, but also consisted of letters and documents on matters related to the administration and overall political status of the city similar to that of *WBI*. Today, the only surviving example of such a document in *AR* is, however, an open attestation on parchment issued by the royal vassal *Nicolaus de Geyvi* on the quantity of the bishop's wheat he had measured 'from the stone house of Reval' on behalf of (the Danish headman) Marquard Breyde on the Epiphany (January 6) of 1336 because of the death of the bishop's brother. Even if the attestation itself is corroborated with the seal of the vassal and not that of the city, the fact that the document was written by a hand active in the contemporary civic administration, and that the attestation ended up among the medieval holdings of the *AR*, suggest that 'the stone house of Reval' was a granary administered by the council where the bishop's grain (share of tithes from the city?) was also kept.⁴³

Like *WBI*'s, all the texts of *WBII* are composed on parchment in Latin, but compared to the more minuscule-like ductus of *WBI* the structure of *WBII*'s writing presents a fluent gothic cursive with voluminous spacing and roundish letters more characteristic to the first half of the 14th century than the latter half of the 13th.⁴⁴ Considering the periodical nature of his activity in A.a.1 and his ability to produce sealed documents for the city, *WBII* is likely to have been a cleric with certain schooling active in Reval, but no information that would aid in identifying him can be acquired from contemporary sources.

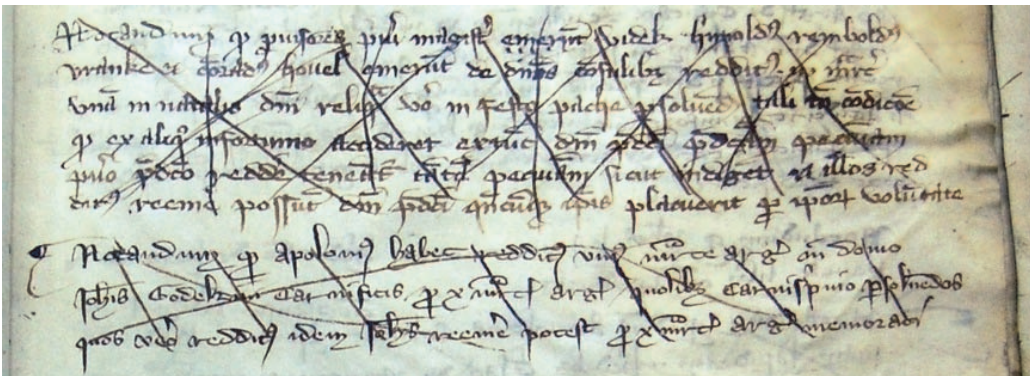
⁴³ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 102 (LECUB I:2 767), 'de domus lapidea de Reualie'.

⁴⁴ In his writing *WBII* favours an elevated two-compartment 'a', for that see Heinemeyer 1982, 187–188, type aII.

Picture 18:1: *The open attestation of Nicolaus de Geyvi on the Epiphany of 1336. Hand: WBII.*



Picture 18:2: *Two entries of WBII in A.a.1 (WB 1312–60) from 1336 on issues in the provision of 'pueri Magistri' (Albertus Mester, see CHAPTER 3.1.3.2) and a renten-contract between one Apollonius and a butcher, Johannes Godekinus. Note the elevated two-compartment letter 'a', contraction marks such as '<', the Roman numeral 'x', and the left-leaning handwriting in all three texts.*



TLA, Urk. 1-I, 102 (LECUB I:2 767), and A.a.1, p. 64 (WB 1312–60, 440–441).

In sharp contrast to *WBII* and even *WBI*, the rather short activity of *WBIIIa* in A.a.1 from 1332 to the beginning of 1334 appears to have been accompanied by relatively industrious production of documents extending from July 1331 to February 1333. All the surviving documents are open attestations on parchment in Latin, but instead of concentrating on documents issued or required only by the civic authority (*WBI* and *WBII*), *WBIIIa* is the first known scribe active in the city administration to have produced finished documents for the

corroboration of other agents of corporate or judicial status for the benefit of the council. Since all but one of these five documents today surviving in the *AR* appear to be closely related to the activity of the royal Danish headman Marquard Breyde, where abjurations and other letters patent were given not only in favour of the council and the burgher community, but also the royal vassals of Danish Estonia and the neighbouring Teutonic Order in 1332–33, the role of *WBIIIa* in the production of these documents appears to have been a result of the contemporary activity of the council to stabilise the status of the civic authority and its relationship to other agents of power in the area after the collapse of the Danish crown and central authority in 1332.⁴⁵ The only document without any immediate reference to the activity of Marquard Breyde before his resignation from the headmanship in 1332–33 is a vidimation of the cathedral chapter and the Dominican convent of Reval on a 1326 letter of conciliation of the headman of the castle of Viborg Peder Jonsson with the council and burghers of Reval issued with the seals of the chapter and the convent on Saturday before Mary Magdalene (July 20), 1331.⁴⁶

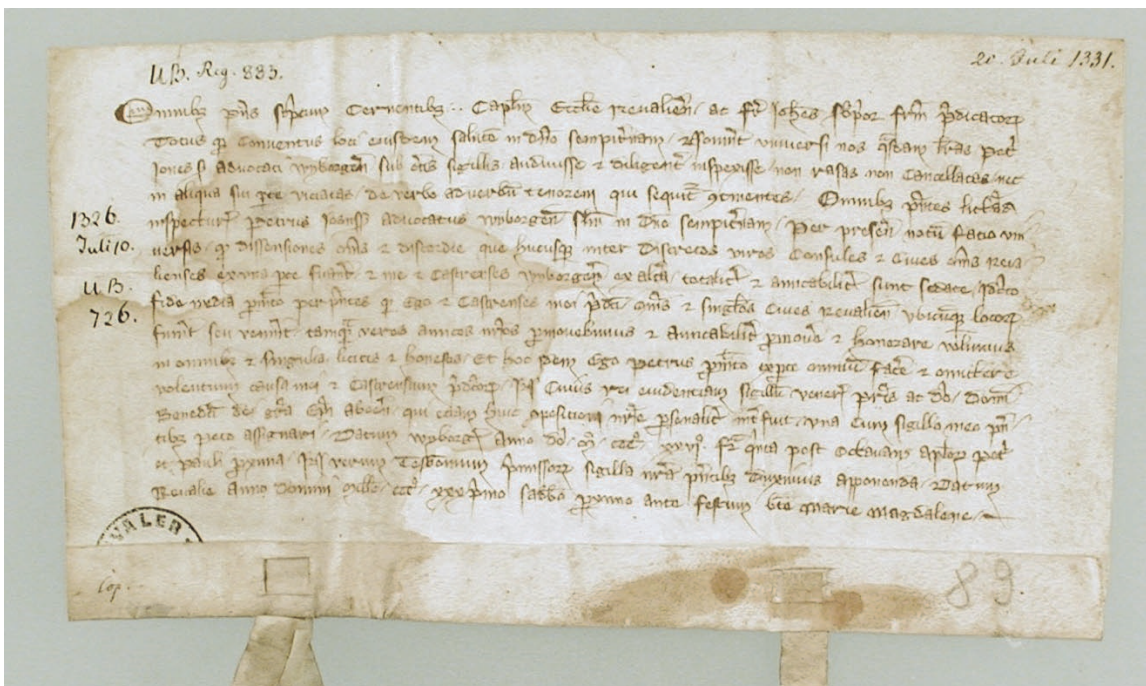
Like those of *WBI* and *WBII*, all the known texts produced by *WBIIIa* are written on parchment and in Latin and no evidence of the use of paper in the administration or

⁴⁵ On the status and activities of Marquard Breyde in 1332–33 see Riis 1977, 332. Four of the documents written by *WBIIIa* are issued with Breyde's seal, namely: 1. TLA, Urk. 1-I, 91 (LECUB I:2 748, DD II:10 362) an open abjuration of vengeance (*Urfehde*) of *Nicolaus Smet* to the royal headman, vassals and the city of Reval issued with the seals of Smet and Marquard Breyde on Palm Sunday (April 11), 2. 1332, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 92 (DD II:10 366) a letter of conciliation of the royal Danish headman Marquardus with the burghers of Reval issued with the seal of the headman on the feast of Philip and Jacob (May 1), 3. 1332, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 93 (LECUB I:2 750, DD II:10 368), Breyde's certification of the confiscation of the inheritance of the late lady von Zaghe issued with his seal on 'sabbato dominicare (sic!) jubilatete (sic!)' (May 9), 1332, and 4. 1332, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 94 (LECUB I:2 751) an abjuration of *Wyggerus Soost* of all allegations against the activity of the councillors of Reval on behalf of one *Rychard Morneweck* during Wyggerd's conflict with him issued with the seals of Wyggerd and Marquard Breyde on Tuesday after the feast of All Saints (November 3), 1332. The fifth document written by *WBIIIa* in the context of the consequences of the activity of Marquard Breyde, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 96, is a regulation of *Nicolaus Otho* and *Johannes von Lode* on the inheritance of lady Sophia de Zaghe, which their mother lady *Eylike* had placed in the custody of the council, issued on the Feast of St Matthew (February 24), 1333, and corroborated with the seals of the two brothers and a third member of the vassal family. Another two documents written in Breyde's name and issued in Reval or Harrien in 1332–34, are: 6. An open attestation of Marquard Breyde issued on Saturday after Misericordia (May 9), 1332, in Reval in the context of the inheritance of lady von Zaghe (see number 3. above) over a contract of rent of a mill by Helmold Zaghe to the Cistercian Abbey of Padis (LECUB I:3 750a, DD II:10 369), the original of which was according to von Bunge stationed in the Swedish State Archives (Today National Archives in Stockholm), but is not cited in the edition of DD, and has not been accessible for this study, and, 7. A confirmation of Marquard Breyde to the council of Lübeck (LECUB I:2 761 & 762, DD II:11 135), where he explains that he has received from them a letter patent sealed with the seal of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order over the settlement of Breyde's and his friends disputes with the Grand Master and the Order, which letter patent he issues as a transsumpt and corroborates with his own letter patent issued on parchment with his seal on Saturday after Octavas Corporis Christi (June 4), 1334, today held in STA Lü, Urkunden, 07.1-3/22 Deutscher Orden (Ordo Theutonicus) 15 (LECUB I:2 762, with erroneous datig to June 19). The letter has no place of issue and its handwriting is not that of *WBIIIa*, but it is occasionally very similar to the hand *WBII*.

⁴⁶ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 89 & 80, LECUB I:2 926 and reg. 883.

communication of the council of Reval has been found from his period of activity from July 1331 to early 1334. His clear and easily readable gothic cursive with 14th-century ductus is a sign of a distinguished man of letters, which may hint at his professional status as a clerk, but no information on his identity has survived in the contemporary sources. Of the hand *WBIIIb* nothing is known, despite his five entries in A.a.1 and scattered involvement with A.a.2 in 1334–35, and possibly as late as 1337. All his entries are written in Latin with a face of writing and ductus of letters dating his schooling as contemporary to that of *WBII* and *WBIV*.

Picture 19: A vidimation of a 1326 letter of reconciliation with Peder Jonsson issued by the cathedral chapter, subprior Johannes, and the Dominican convent of Reval on the Saturday before Mary Magdalene (July 20), 1331. Hand: *WBIIIa*. Note the characteristic arched, occasionally looped signs of contraction, and the angled tails of certain letters and contractions such as ‘h’, ‘m’, ‘y’, ‘-us’ and ‘-rum’.



TLA, Urk. 1-I, 89 & 80 (LECUB I:2 726 and Reg. 885).

4.2.3.2. Identity and conditions of office

What can be said of the conditions of office and identity of the hands *WBII* and *WBIIIa-b*, active in the Revalian written management of information in the 1330's? As stated above, about *WBII* no conclusions can be drawn other than that the person in question was a schooled scribe capable of producing texts and memoranda for the needs of the council in Latin. A similar conclusion may be reached about the more occasional role of *WBIIIb*, whose

handwriting is sometimes so close to *WBII* that it could be another face of his script. When it comes to *WBIIIa*, however, intriguing possibilities for identification emerge.

Considering the occupation of *WBIIIa* in A.a.1 and A.a.2, and his production of sealed documents for the needs of the civic authorities in 1331, but also in the corporational interface of the city for the royal headman and the vassals of Danish Estonia in 1332–33, a question emerges as to the nature of his occupation in the city administration and possible other responsibilities as a scribe active in Reval in the early 1330's. His relatively short but constant activity on A.a.1 in 1332–33 and contemporary participation in the management of entries in A.a.2 indicate that he was more than an occasional substitute for the city scribe, but the fact that A.a.2 was first introduced into use in the beginning of the fiscal year of 1333/34 by *WBIV*, and the main substitute in the office of the city scribe (*WBII*) was almost constantly occupied with A.a.1 in 1328–37 with occasional involvement *WBIIIb* and *WBIV* in 1335–36, may tell us that *WBIIIa*'s occupation in the office of the city scribe came to an end sooner than expected.

Curiously, hands very close to *WBIIIa* are also found in at least seven other documents in *AR*, mostly of ecclesiastical context. All of them are open attestations on parchment, but instead of being produced during the activity of *WBIIIa* in 1331–34, they are issued in 1326, 1336, 1343–44 and 1350–51. The first of the documents is a vidimation issued by the prior Arnoldus and the Dominican convent of Reval on a 1325 letter of the Swedish *Drost* Knut Jonsson on May 15, 1326, but even if its writing shares some of the characteristics of *WBIIIa*, it is also close to other contemporary and earlier hands active in vidimations issued by the Dominican convent in 1319 and on May 15, 1326.⁴⁷ Despite certain similarities in lettering and ductus, a more detailed analysis of the hand, and especially of the letter 'h', confirms that the scribe responsible for the vidimation cannot have been *WBIIIa*, who first appears to have produced similar documents for the benefit of the city only in July 1331 as cited above.⁴⁸

The similarities with the handwriting of *WBIIIa* become much more interesting in the case of the other six documents. Five of them are produced and issued in the context of the civic authority with that of the bishop and cathedral chapter of Reval and deal with matters of

⁴⁷ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 76 & 73 (LECUB I:2 717 and Reg. 854), see above CHAPTER 2.2.3.1 and 4.2.2.1, footnote 38.

⁴⁸ The hand responsible for Urk. 1-I, 76 & 73 (and probably Urk. 1-I, 77 & 75) ends his letter 'h' with a vertical stroke down, whereas *WBIIIa* habitually (but not always as in A.a.1, p. 55, see PICTURE 20:2) uses a more calligraphic ending with an angled or roundish loop from left to right.

interest to both the city and the diocesan church. The sixth is an open attestation of two named vassals on the mortification of a lost letter of debt from the komptur of Reval to the council issued with the seals of four vassals and corroborated on Tuesday after Sunday Letare (March 29), 1351.⁴⁹ Of all the six documents the first, second and third are clearly written by one same hand, which again shares some of the characteristics of *WBIIIa* (arched signs of contraction and the structure of certain letters), but totally lacks some others (angled tails of ‘h’, ‘m’ and ‘y’). The three documents are: first, a letter of indulgence granted for those who would support the building of the harbour in Reval issued by Bishop Olaf of Reval at his *curia* in Kaunissaar on the feast of St Stephan (December 26), 1336; second, an open letter of confirmation issued by the same Bishop Olaf on Michaelmas (September 29), 1343, about the chantry founded by councillor Johannes Lange and his wife in the church of the nunnery of St Michael; and third, an attestation of four named canons of Reval over the non-ecclesiastic status of one Bernhardus issued on the feast of King St Oswald (August 5), 1344.⁵⁰ All the three documents are apparently written by a professional scribe in the service of the bishop and the cathedral chapter, but since certain features of the hand are also extremely close to the hand responsible for the other three documents – the mortification of the Komptur’s debt to the council issued by two vassals in 1351 (see PICTURE 21), and two letters concerning the installation of the scholar and acolyte *Reynerus Crøwel* to the chantry (*vicaria*) of the altar of St Margaret in the church of St Nicholas on Sunday Letare (March 7), 1350 – the possibility that the person responsible for the production of all seven documents was in fact *WBIIIa* is extremely tempting.⁵¹

A clue to the identity of the scribe active in the written management of information of the council in 1331–34, the interface of the council and the diocesan church in 1350–51, and possibly in 1336 and 1343–44, is provided by the two documents issued on March 7, 1350, in the context of the chantry of the altar of St Margaret. Of these, the letter of presentation of ‘Reynerus called Crøwel, scholar and acolyte’ (*Reynerum dictum Crøwel scolarem et accolitum*) to the chantry after the death of its former possessor *dominus Iohannis Institoris*, was issued and sealed by councillor *Reynerus Crøwel* in the consistory of the city in the presence of the councillors. The other is a letter of confirmation of the installation issued and sealed by dean *Godfridus* and *Heyno scolasticus* on the same day on behalf of the authority

⁴⁹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 202 (LECUB I:2 957).

⁵⁰ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 111 (LECUB I:2 779), Urk. 1-I, 137 (LECUB I:2 819), Urk. 1-I, 141 (RevUB 21).

⁵¹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 187 (LECUB I:2 897), Urk. 1-I, 188 (RevUB 33).

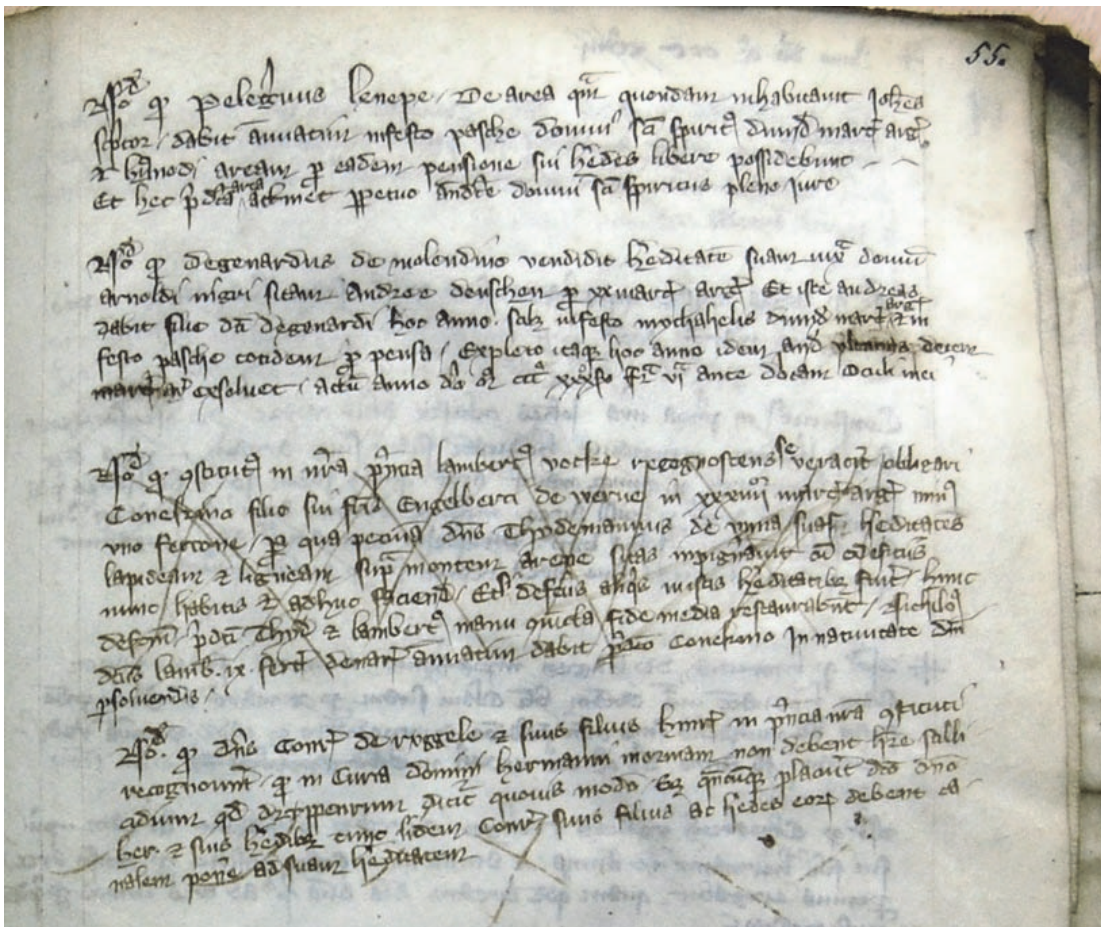
of the bishop of Reval (see PICTURE 20:1).⁵² Since the three documents of 1350 and 1351 show all the distinctive features of the handwriting of *WBIIIa*, including the angled tails of ‘h’, ‘m’ and ‘y’, and arched, but now also habitually looped sings of contraction, they appear to have been produced by him, even if the chronological distance between the activity of *WBIIIa* with the main books of memoranda and the three letters is some 17 years. Because of the similarities of the handwriting of these three documents with that of *WBIIIa* in A.a.1, a question must be raised whether the former short-time city scribe stayed in contact not only with the council of Reval but also with the corporation of vassals and ecclesiastic authorities on Domberg after his resignation from the management of written information for the city in 1334, and remained resident in the area during the interim period.

Picture 20:1: A letter of consent over the installation of the scholar Reynerus Cröwel to the chantry (vicaria) of the altar of St Margaret in St Nicholas, issued and sealed by dean Godfridus (Perona, oval seal on brown wax) and Heyno scholasticus (round seal on red wax) on behalf of Bishop Olaf on Sunday Letare (March 7), 1350 in Reval.



⁵² TLA, Urk. 1-I, 202 (LECUB I:2 957), Urk. 1-I, 187 (LECUB I:2 897), Urk. 1-I, 188 (RevUB 33).

Picture 20:2: Four entries on the hand of WBIIIa in A.a.1 (WB 1312–60) written in two sessions (1–2 and 3–4) on (1) a recognition of the annual rent by Pelegrinus Lenepe of half marks in silver to the House of the Holy Ghost for a ground (area) once inhabited by Johannes the scribe (see CHAPTER 4.2.2.1) issued ca. March 1332, (2) a resignation of one Degenardus de Molendino of his house to Andree Deschen issued in front of the council on Friday before Oculi (March 20), 1332, (3) an undated recognition of Lambertus Vocke of his debt to his niece Conekinus, against which he had mortgaged his stone and wooden houses to Thydemannus de Unna, and (4) an undated recognition of Conradus de Ruggele and his son Henricus concerning their share in the present and future drainage of rain water in their neighborhood. Note the characteristic arched and looped signs of contraction, angled tails of 'h', 'm', 'y', ligatures of certain letters and diacritics in comparison with PICTURES 16:3, 19 and 20:1.



TLA, Urk. 1-I, 188 (RevUB 33) and A.a.1, p. 55 (WB 1312–60, 355–358).

Since both the letters issued in March 7, 1350, deal with an altar chantry (*vicaria*) in the church of St Nicholas and were issued in the consistory of the city, but not written by the contemporary city scribe *WBIV*, it is tempting to identify the writer as one of the persons mentioned in them.⁵³ Of these the councillor *Reynerus Crøwel* is first cited as burgher of

⁵³ According to the letter of installation (TLA, Urk. 1-I, 187, LECUB I:2 897), the act was made on Sunday Letare (March 7), 1350, in the consistory of the councillors in front of the same (*in consistorio dominorum*

Reval in 1328 and a documented member of the council from 1333, after which he advanced to the office of burghermaster in 1340–58.⁵⁴ A man with probable textual abilities, his corporational career and responsibilities would have allowed occasional production of texts for the uses of the city from the late 1320's to the 1350's, but the total absence of the handwriting of *WBIIIa* in the other surviving city books of memoranda from the beginning of 1334 [A.a.2 and A.d.4] does not support the identification.

A man with a documented career as burghermaster and considerable wealth, the councillor *Reynerus Crøwel* appears to have been the original founder of the chantry attached to the altar of St Margaret in the church of St Nicholas which, according to his letter of presentation, was 'founded and established by us' (*per nos fundatam et instauratam*), and to which he had the right of presentation because he was of 'pure right competent of patronage' (*In qua nobis merum jus competit patronatus*).⁵⁵ Some 40 years later in 1394, the same chantry was extended with a further endowment of 131 Riga marks to the council by Hermen Hemerden, a member introduced to the Table Guild in 1376 and 1383, and active in Reval since 1374. Possibly a merchant of local origin, Herman Hemerden may have been the same Hemerden who had paid *schoss* for his house in the parish of St Nicholas in Reval in ca. 1360.⁵⁶ The council placed the donated capital under the altar of St Margaret in St Nicholas as the chantry/vicary of Hermen Hemerden (*Hermen Hemerden vicarie*), and cashed a sum of 100 marks from it as a loan, for which the council was liable to pay the chantry an annual rent of 5 Riga marks on the capital at Easter. An annual rent of 2 Riga marks, already paid to the same altar because of (the earlier endowment of) councillor

cosulum presentibus eiusdem), i.e. in a session of the council. The session is not cited among the ordinary sessions of resignations written by *WBIV* in A.a.1, p. 112–113 (WB 1312–60, 781–783), where a gap exists between the Friday before Sunday *Invocavit* (February 12), and the session before Palm Sunday (March 20), 1350.

⁵⁴ Von Bunge 1874, 89.

⁵⁵ TLA Urk. 1-I, 187 'Omnibus presens scriptum Cernentibus Reynerus Crøwel Consuls Ciuitatis Revalie salutem in Domino Jhesu christo. Nouerint vniuersi quod vacante vicaria in Ecclesia beati Nicolai Reualie ad altare beate Margarete virginis per nos fundatam et instauratam per mortem domini Johannis institoris quondam possessoris eiusdem In qua nobis merum jus competit patronatus. Nos Reynerum dictum Crøwel scolarem et accolitur venerabilis in christo patri domino Olaus episcopo Reualiensis vel eius in spritualibus officialibus legitimo tempore presentamus ad eandem canonicè obtinendam ... In consistorio dominorum Consulum presentibus Eisdem.' (LECUB I:2 897); Urk. 1-I, 188 (RevUB 33).

⁵⁶ TLA, fond 191, nim. 2, säilik. 1 (SGA 12), f. 1v and 2v, see Derrick 2000, 335, 337; TLA, A.d.3, f. 59a (KB 1363–74, p. 76) and RzollB II 596. TLA, A.d.4, f. 13r (LDA 1333–73, 527:28). Several merchants with the name Hemerden were active in Reval after 1341 and 1343 when one *Johannes Hemerden* paid *schoss* in the town (LDA 1333–73, 220, 265). In 1344 he resigned his house to *Rochero de Lapide* (WB 1312–60, 577). Possibly originating from the homonymous town of Hemmerden in Westfalen between Unna and Werl, *Johannes Hemerde* (the younger?, cited in 1378–79, 1382, 1384, RzollB II 95, 402, 727, 1243, 2439), *Wernyke Hemerde* (cited in 1378–79, 1381–82, RzollB II 219, 586, 998, 1059, 1379, Derrick 2000, 336) and *Herman* may have been of the same family or sons of Johannes. For Hemmerden in Westfalen see Feyerabend 1985, 76.

Reyneke Krouwel, was then attached to the same chantry now known as the *vicarie* of Herman Hemerden at the altar of St Margaret in St Nicholas (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.2). Of the total endowment of 131 Riga marks, a sum of 31 marks was reserved for chasubles, books and other necessities of the chantry in the first version of the entry on the donation [A.a.3], but in the second and finished version of the entry the section is omitted. Instead, the endowment is said to consist of a sum of 100 marks against which an annual rent of 5 marks was to be paid, and the council had raised another 20 marks on behalf Herman Hemerden for which the council was to give one mark every year at Easter. A contemporary note to the entry adds that the rent of two marks belonging to the endowment of *Reyneke Krouwel* was at that time paid by the baker *Hermen Enbeke*, who had his house mortgaged against the capital. In the context of the endowment of the *vicarie* of Herman Hemerden in 1394, the council also declared that it had a patronage of the chantry to the extent that if any ecclesiastic dignitary such as the bishop or the cathedral chapter would try to take control of it, the council was entitled ‘to keep both the capital and the rent and use them to the glory of the God where they thought it was best for the health of the souls’.⁵⁷

Instead of councillor *Reynerus Crøwel*, a more probable candidate among the persons cited in the two documents on the chantry of the altar of St Margaret in St Nicholas in 1350, and capable of the production of texts for the civic administration in the second quarter of the 14th century, is the new vicar ‘Reynerus called Crøwel’, the namesake of the councillor with full patronage over the chantry who issued the letter of presentation for it in the city consistory on March 7, 1350. A scholar and an acolyte, i.e. a cleric of minor orders without the licence to ecclesiastic office or administration of sacraments, the qualifications of *Reynerus Crøwel* the vicar correspond what is known of the clerical status of 14th-century notaries public of papal or imperial authority in Europe, even if no document survives as evidence that he was invested with such authority.⁵⁸ Very likely a man of younger generation than the homonymous councillor and burghermaster, *Reynerus Crøwel* the vicar does not, however, surface in any other sources of the era, and it is difficult to imagine him as active in the way that *WBIIIa* was in the written management of information of the council in the beginning of the 1330’s. More likely, and especially given what is known of fiscal

⁵⁷ PergRB 1447 and 1448. Both the entries are dated to Easter (April 19), 1394, and written together with a later note by city scribe *Hermannus*. PergRB 1448 ‘Margarete ad sanctum Nicolaum – Consulatus patroni’, ..., ‘Vnde de rad heuet de leenware van desser vicarie tu ewigen daghen. Vnd weret, dat sick ienegherhande gheestliche ghewald (alse de bysschop edder sin cappittel) sick welker mate daran drengen wolde, so mach de rad dat houetghelt mit der rente gheuen vnde keren in de ere ghodes, wor en dat allir nuttest ducnket in der zele heil’.

⁵⁸ Cheney 1972, 78–79, 88–89.

arrangements of the salary of later Revalian city scribes with possible or documented notarial background such as Karolus de Monreal (1358–63) and Joachim Muter (1429–56), the chantry (*vicarie*) of the scholar and acolyte *Reynerus Crøwel* at the altar of St Margaret in St Nicholas in 1350 may have been involved in the activity of *WBIV*; a question further discussed in CHAPTER 4.2.4.2. According to Liselotte Feyerabend, the name *Crøwel* (Krouwel, Krouel, Krowell etc.) signifying ‘a gable with protruding hooked points’ (*Gabel mit hakenförmigen Spitzen*) is known from Reval in 1312–1457. Even if one *Gerhardus Cruel* was mentioned as a burgher in Reval in 1312 and as a councillor in 1319 and 1324, the family may have been of vassal origin: one *Hinricus Crowel* appears to have been not only a councillor in 1333–45 and burghermaster in 1347–49, but possibly even the homonymous vassal acting as one of the judges of the vassal corporation on Domberg in March 1346. The surviving seal of the councillor *Reynerus Crøwel* on his letter of presentation on the *vicarie* of the the altar of St Margaret in March 7, 1350, is printed on red wax (a sign of high prestige) and shows a shield with tableframe (Ger. *Schragen*, i.e. a structure similar to a gable with protruding points) together with a legend reading ‘S’ Reynoldi de Manso’ (i.e. of Manor, Ger. *Hof*), which refers either to his vassal origins or to another Revalian family with name ‘Hove.’⁵⁹

Rejecting the new vicar of the altar of St Margaret in 1350 as the hand *WBIIIa*, it is necessary to search elsewhere for the possible identification of the scribe of 1350–51 with handwriting matching that of *WBIIIa* in 1331–34. Here, the most important feature of the two letters of March 1350 is the involvement of the church of Reval in them. The installation was made with the consent of Bishop Olaf of Reval, whose approval was confirmed with an open letter issued and sealed by two acting dignitaries, dean *Godfridus* and scholasticus *Heyno*. Even if the paleographical characteristics of the rather round and thin handwriting of the three letters issued in the corporational interface of the diocesan church and the council in 1336 and 1343–44 do not unequivocally support them being the production of *WBIIIa*, certain features of their ductus and signs of contraction come close to the writing in the three letters of 1350 and 1351. The overall thin and clear and somewhat rounded line is also very close to certain entries of *WBIIIa* in A.a.1.⁶⁰ Another important proof of the affiliation of the scribe of 1350–51 to the cathedral chapter of Reval is the attestation of 1351, where the

⁵⁹ Feyerabend 1985, 231, Johansen 1933, 870, von Bunge 1874, 89, WB 1312–60, and LECUB I:2 845; Urk. 1-I, 187 (LECUB I:2 897) and Johansen 1933, 870.

⁶⁰ See, for instance, TLA, A.a.1, p. 55, the last entry (WB 1312–60, 360), which, curiously, deals with a recognition of one *Johannes de Prynke* in favour of *Reynekinus Cruvel* in 1332.

parchment tags of seals have been cut out from an earlier document written by the same hand. Since the recycled document was addressed to one Hermannus, rector of the parish of Emmere and other parish rectors in the land of Jerwen, it appears to have been either a draft or a discarded original produced in the scriptorium of the cathedral chapter and later reused by the scribe to get the necessary tags for the attestation of the vassals in March 1351.⁶¹ Because of the similarities of the handwriting, the person with access to materials in the scriptorium of the cathedral chapter in 1351 and responsible for the two documents issued in the consistory of the council in 1350 appears to have been none other than *WBIIIa*.

Picture 21: *A mortification of a lost letter of debt of the Komptur of Reval issued by the vassals Tylo Colner and Wyllekinus Kegele and sealed by four members of the vassal corporation (Tylo Colner, Wyllekinus Kegele, Cristiernus Shrembeke and Tylonem de Kele) on the Tuesday after Sunday Letare (March 29), 1351. The parchment tails have been cut from a discarded letter to one Hermannus, rector of the parish of Emmere and other parish rectors in the land of Jerwen written by the same hand (with the characteristic angled endings of 'm' and high, occasionally looped archs of contraction of *WBIIIa*) as the attestation itself and the two letters issued on March 7, 1350.*



TLA, Urk. 1-I, 202 (LECUB I:2 957).

⁶¹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 202 (LECUB I:2 937), See also Johansen's description in Greiffenhagen's catalogue of *AR* (Geiffenhagen 1924–26:I–III, 214).

Of interest for the identity of *WBIIIa* is that one of the four canons who issued the attestation of 1344 is the same *Heyno scolasticus* who was also present and corroborated the act of installation of the chantry/vicary in 1350. A man who obviously had academic schooling, *Heyno* was officially responsible in 1350 for the cathedral school of Reval as the *canon scholasticus* and sported the emblem of St John the Apostle (an eagle) in his seal. He is first cited as a member of the cathedral chapter in 1337, and two years later in 1339 took part in the disputes between the Dominican convent of Reval and the churches of Reval, Ösel-Wiek and the cistercian Abbey of Padis as a recognised opponent of the Dominicans. His full name has survived in a furious letter of protest from the Dominican prior Johannes von Velin of Reval against Abbot Johannes of Padis and Thomas, dean of Ösel-Wiek, who had proclaimed themselves licenced as judges of the Apostolical See in the row between the Dominican convent and the church of Reval. The controversy appears to have focused on the right of the Dominicans to hold burials, particularly the right of one unknown person to be interred in the Dominican convent, which Bishop *Olaus* and Dean *G.* (Godfridus Perona, dean of Reval in 1337–50) had denied. The Dominicans had applied to the pope, who on July 18, 1337, had ordained the abbot of Padis and dean of Ösel-Wiek as arbitrators (*judices conservatores*) in the matter, but the Dominican prior denied their authority and claimed that he had never been shown the appropriate papal document. In the prior's letter of objection he further accused the abbot and dean of taking sides with a known opponent of the Dominicans, Canon *H. Hanevere* of the church of Reval, which made them unacceptable as judges in the matter.⁶² Canon in 1337 and 1339, in 1350 Hanevere held the office of *scholasticus* in the Revalian chapter until he was elected dean (*decanus*), the office which he is known to have held in 1354–65. As a dean and possibly even because of his status as a former *scholasticus*, he is also cited as representing the church of Reval together with bishop *Ludowicus* in the reconciliation of the diocesan church and the Dominicans on the right to a school in the city promulgated on the Octavas of Ascension (May 29), 1365.⁶³ His prominent position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Reval is last attested in August 19, 1365, when he acted as a special official of Bishop *Lodwicus* and issued a vidimation and subsequent extension on two letters of indulgences to the benefit of the chapel of the Holy Ghost in Reval. Again, the surviving original of the vidimation on parchment appears to have been

⁶² TLA, Urk. 1-I, 577, f. 1r–3v (LECUB I:2 785). On the conflict of 1337–39 see also Kala 2013a, 250–253. On Godfridus Perona see LG I:2, 85.

⁶³ LG I:2, 13, LG II, 76; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 577, f. 3r–v (LECUB I:2 1015) and TLA, Urk. 1-I, 276 (LECUB I:2 1018).

written by a hand occasionally very close to that of *WBIIIa* and the writer of the letters of 1350–51.⁶⁴

Considering the known canonicate of the *scholasticus* and later dean Heyno Hanevere since 1337, and the similarity between the handwriting of the three documents issued in 1350–51 and the hand of *WBIIIa* in 1331–34, not to mention the hand of the three documents of the bishop and chapter in 1336–44, it can be concluded that the person who was first appointed as a temporary city scribe in ca. 1331–34, but who also wrote in the corporational interface of the city, royal headman and the vassals in 1332–33 and again in 1351, was the same man who wrote several of the known documents issued by the bishop and chapter of Reval between 1336 and 1350. Not only the handwriting of *WBIIIa* in 1331–34 and that of the letters of 1350–51 are essentially the same, but the *scholasticus* Heyno's ecclesiastical career fits the pattern of *WBIIIa*'s activity in Reval very well, and would explain the quick resignation of a particularly distinguished scribe from the service of the council at the beginning of 1334. First serving as a priest in either of the two parishes of the town or in the chapel of the Holy Ghost, Heyno (*WBIIIa*?) was selected for higher positions in ca. 1334–36 and was invested with a canonicate in the four-man cathedral chapter of Reval in ca. 1334–37. In 1336, during his canonicate or already as a rector or clerk, he may have participated in producing documents and charters for the bishop and the chapter, an employment which he continued in his office as the *canon scholasticus* in 1350–51. At the same time it seems that he was occasionally asked to produce documents on issues related to two or multiple authorities in the city, but since most of such documents in 1337–58 were written by the contemporary city scribe (*WBIV*), his role may have been a complementary one based on his running of the scriptorium and textual activities in the cathedral chapter on Domberg.⁶⁵ Very likely an immigrant in Reval, his name suggest possible Westphalian origin (Hanevere = Hanover?) and given that the period of his activity spanned the period 1331–65, he may have first arrived in Reval as a priest in his late twenties in the late 1320's or the beginning of the 1330's.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 276 (LECUB I:2 1018).

⁶⁵ An open attestation issued and sealed by Dean Godfridus in his private matter of inheritance on March 18, 1349, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 180 (RevUB 29), is not written by a hand similar to the letters of 1336, 1343–44, or by *WBIII*. An open parchment attestation issued and sealed by two vassals on a remittance of money received from the council on April 24, 1327 (TLA, Urk. 1-I, 83) and a parchment quittance of Nikolaus Bremen for his selling of a variety of weapons to the council on July 30, 1333 (TLA, Urk. 1-I, 97, LECUB I:2 754), are written by two different hands, neither of which is *WBI–IV*.

⁶⁶ Heyno Hanevere's relationship to brothers *Hermannus* and *Volquinus Hanover* who hold inheritable possessions in the city in 1366–71, is unknown, EBII, 185, 227, 387, see also Feyerabend 1985, 250, 254.

4.2.4. *WBIV* and the expansion of the production of documents in the civic administration (1333–58)

4.2.4.1. *Period of activity and aspects on the production of texts in the written management of information of the council*

Since the introduction of the small parchment *vademecum* of memoranda A.a.2 at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1333/34 in October 1333, a section of the written management of information of the council was in the care of a person who wrote his first series of entries in A.a.1 in the latter half of 1334, and took over the management of the register of resignations on inheritances in the beginning of the fiscal year of 1337/38 in October 1337. This hand, *WBIV*, with his fluent but extremely space-saving and notarylike gothic cursive, was then responsible for virtually all the entries of A.a.1 for a period of twenty years, until May 1358 when he was substituted by Karolus de Montreal.⁶⁷ His occupation as a permanent city scribe and person responsible for not only the management of written memoranda but also the production of charters, missives and other documents for the city, and the sheer number, variety and chronological range of the documents produced by him and still stationed in the medieval holdings of the *AR* is remarkable. Technically the most elaborate of these is the celebrated vidimation of Burchard von Dreyneven, a full transsumpt of 27 charters and privileges of the city of Reval issued by the provincial of the Teutonic Order on Candlemas Eve (February 1), 1347 (see PICTURE 21).⁶⁸ Other known documents produced by *WBIV* for the the city include sealed charters, attestations and missives issued by the council⁶⁹, as well as vidimations, contracts and agreements, letters of truce and adjudication, attestations, recognizances and testaments given and sealed by ecclesiastical and lay authorities, their officials or private people in favour of the civic authority and for the

⁶⁷ Since October 1337 the only section not written by *WBIV* in A.a.1 consist of four entries grouped under the date ‘1339, Friday after Epiphany (January 8, 1339)’, TLA, A.a.1, p. 76 (WB 1312–60, 493–496). On the possible authorship of councillor and later *kämmerer* Lodowicus Hamer on these entries see above, CHAPTER 4.2.1. Another entry written by a hand other than *WBIV* may also occur among the entries of the summer of 1353, but without a date, TLA, A.a.1, p. 130 (WB 1312–60, 369).

⁶⁸ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 168 (LECUB 1:2, Reg. 1028, DD III:2 325–326).

⁶⁹ Sealed charters and attestations issued by the council and written by *WBIV*: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 130 (LECUB I:2 812) an attestation of the council of Reval on the donation of Johannes de Bremen on April 5, 1343, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 176 an attestation of the council that *Claweke argentifaber*, not *Nicolaus Ollefusor* is the murderer of one Tilo smith issued on June 10, 1348 (not published in edition), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 179 (LECUB I:2 890) a finished but unissued original attestation of the council on the limits of the landed possessions of the city on November 19, 1348, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 233 (LECUB I:2 963) a writ addressing the widow of the Swedish knight Sten Turesson to pay the knight’s debt to the city to one *Nicolaus de Arosia* issued on April 27, 1356, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 123 a finished and sealed but undated and evidently unseal original letter of the council to the bishop of Ösel-Wiek and TLA, Urk. 1-I, 185r a copy of the council’s letter to Magnus Eriksson, king of Sweden, on the proposed letter of safe conduct of the council for *Marquard von Stouen* and some Russians in ca. 1349.

administrative needs of the city.⁷⁰ The majority of the documents are issued in the form of sealed open charters with rectangular layout and hanging seals attached to parchment tags pierced twice through the *plica*, occasionally cut from discarded drafts or other documents at his disposal.⁷¹ However, in the 1347 vidimation of Burchard von Dreyneven the surviving tag is composed of strings of red and green cord close to the privileges issued by royal legate

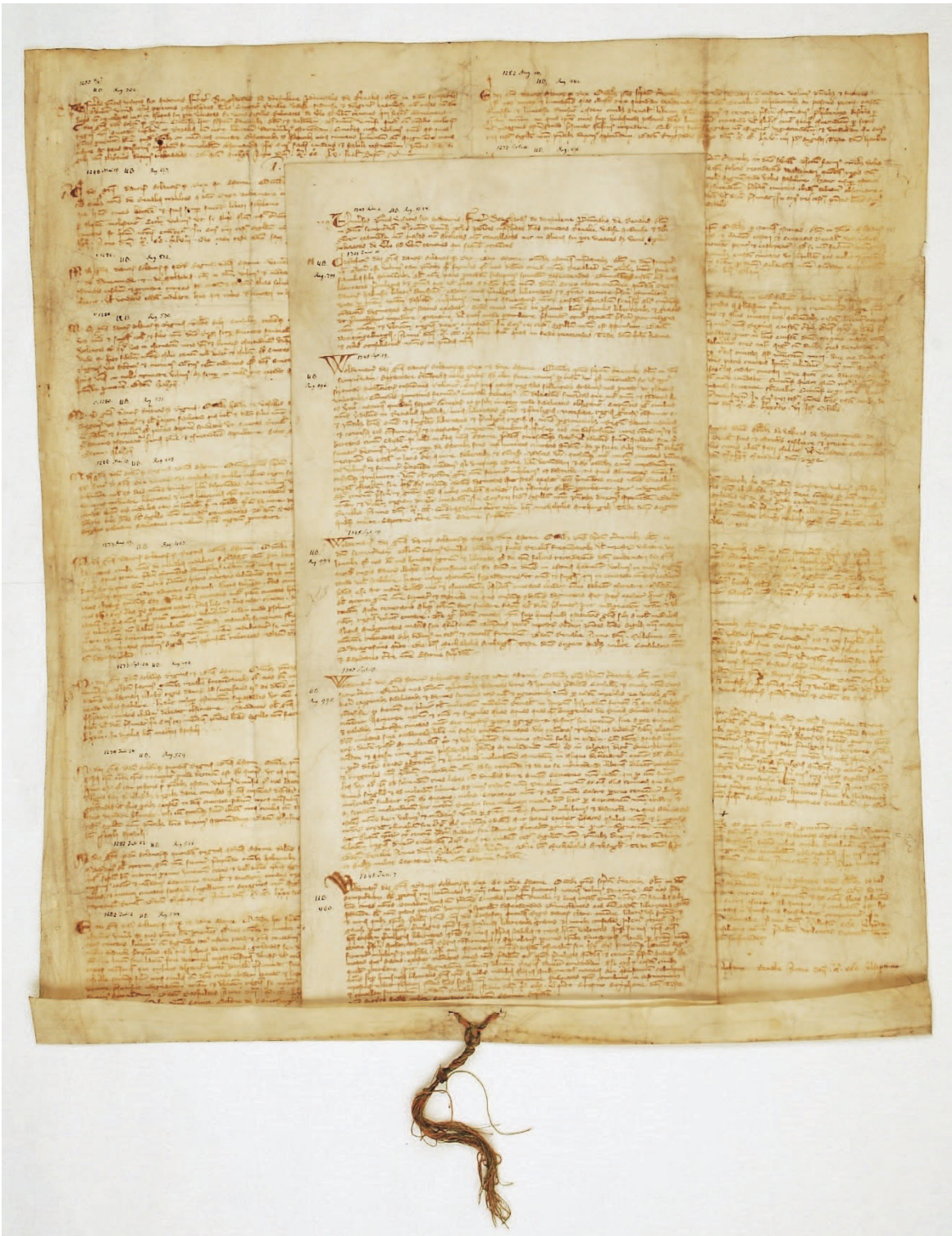
⁷⁰ Vidimations written and produced by *WBIV*: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 116 and 117 issued on Urk. 1-I, 45 by the Dominican convent of Reval on August 25, 1339 and January 8, 1340, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 131 issued on Urk. 1-I, 61 by the bishop and chapter of Reval on April 15, 1343, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 135 issued on Urk. 1-I, 134 by the cathedral chapter of Reval on July 19, 1343 (LECUB I:2, reg. 968), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 152 issued on Urk. 1-I, 140 by the Revalian chapter, abbot of Padis, the substituting headman and Dominican prior of Reval on September 26, 1345 (LECUB I:2 836); Contracts and agreements by *WBIV*: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 118 a contract between the royal headman Konrad Preen, corporation of vassals and the council on the distribution and use of meadows on July 30, 1340 (LECUB I:2 792, for a copy of the contract with a copy of the affirmation of King Christopher I of Denmark considering the use of Lübeck Law in Reval on August 16, 1255, LECUB I:1 284 both written by *WBIV* on a loose sheet of parchment see B.J. 1:I, 2r), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 209 the assignment of the komptur of Reval on an area of land behind his stone house to the council to avoid the ground tax of the city on April 15, 1352 (LECUB I:2 942), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 221 the sale of a mill of the Cistercian nunnery of Reval to the council issued by the abbess of the convent on June 14, 1354 (LECUB I:2 952); Letters of truce and adjudication by *WBIV*: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 125a, 125b and 126 see the *carta dentatae* (PICTURE 23) and other documents of the truce between the family of Scherembeke and council of Dorpat in the text, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 204 a letter of adjudication issued by two Revalian councillors on a dispute over a piece of landed property and the restitution of its rent to one *Aleydis*, sister of the late councillor Johannes de Bremen on February 14, 1352; Official attestations by *WBIV*: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 115 an attestation and subsequent adjudication of the vicecaptain *Bertholdus de Lechtes* on a civic assault of Domberg and a subsequent murder of one *Nicolaus* of Brunswic issued on May 9, 1339, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 127 an attestation of the headman Konrad Preen and the council of the vassals on the allegations of one *Matthias Esche* against the council of Reval issued on March 10, 1341 (LECUB I:2 802), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 151 an attestation of the substituting headman *Goswinus* and *Hinricus de Lechtes* on the restitution of the goods of the late Russian merchant *Nazarie* to the custody of another Russian *Artemye Pametye* issued on September 11, 1345 (LECUB I:2 835), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 164 an attestation of the substituting headman *Johannes Zomer* and the vassal judge *Galeman* on the joint confiscation of the property of two committed murderers *Slyter* and *Baldewin* with the council of Reval after their escape from the city on October 28, 1346 (LECUB I:2 857), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 174 an attestation of the abbess of the Cistercian nunnery of Reval on the exclusion of the convent from the prescription of nearby islands issued on February 16, 1348 (LECUB I:2 886), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 182 (original) and 185v (a copy) an attestation of Sten Turesson, royal marshall of Sweden on the abjuration of vengeance by one *Hinsekin Quaas* in front of the council on April 23, 1349 (LECUB I:2, reg. 1054), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 192 an open attestation of general safe conduct of Revalian merchants with the subjects of King Magnus of Sweden issued in Reval on June 7, 1350 (LECUB I:2 901; FMU I 566); Private attestations by *WBIV*: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 101 an open attestation of Bertoldus and Gerlacus Vridach on the inheritance of Gotland merchant *Johannes Vridach* in front of the council on July 20, 1334, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 142 an open attestation of one *Johannes Pege* and five other persons that the securing of 285 marks in silver will not cause losses to the council issued on September 20, 1344 (LECUB I:2 825), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 162 an open attestation of *Anty* and *Nicke* of Borga on their debt to the town bailiff of Reval on May 12, 1346 (LECUB I:2 848), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 191 an open attestation of four councillors on the inherited property of the widow of the late *Albertus Slotel* on May 13, 1350; Recognizances by *WBIV*: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 181, 189 and 204 three recognizances by komptur *Arnoldus* (Urk. 1-I, 181) and huskomptur *Bernard Boos* (Urk. 1-I, 189, 204) on the remittance of 50 marks each in payments of the 200 mark debt of the city of Reval to the Teutonic Order issued on April 13, 1349, March 31, 1350 (LECUB I:2 898) and June 10, 1351 (LECUB I:2 939), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 133 an open recognizance of vicecaptain *Bertramus von Paremeke* and the council of vassals on the grain left to the custody of the crown after the death of some of the vassals issued on May 11, 1343 (LECUB I:2 813), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 203 a recognizance of *Henricus Vredebeke* on a private debt to one *Henricus Moor* issued on April 16, 1351 (LECUB I:2 938), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 230 a recognizance of priest Nicholas de Indagine on 65 marks he had received from the council because of the chantry of Johan Massche in the church of St Olaf issued on January 13, 1356 (LECUB I:2 960); Testaments written and produced by *WBIV*: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 128 the testament of *Rotherus Duneuar* issued on September 25, 1341.

⁷¹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 118; In Urk. 1-I, 203 the seal was attached on a tail of parchment cut horizontally from the body of the document and knotted through an opening in the bottom of it.

Stigot Andersson on behalf of the Danish king Valdemar with the personal secretum (January 7, 1345) and double seal (September 29, 1345) of the king. None of the privileges issued by the royal legate are written by *WBIV*, but apparently by a clerk of the royal chancery who accompanied the royal legate during his mission, and controlled the use of the secretum and the double royal seal. As discussed in the context of the publication of the charters in *Diplomatarium Danicum III:2* (1959), the second issue and confirmation of the privileges in September with the double royal seal most likely occurred because of a petition of the council, who may have suspected that the charters sealed with the personal secretum of the king would not have sufficient authority in years to come under the Order administration.⁷²

⁷² TLA, Urk. 1-I, 145–149 (DD III:2 116–119) and Urk. 1-I, 153–156 (DD II:2 183–186). On at least 21 privileges and charters issued by Stigot Anderson in the name of King Valdemar to various beneficiaries between January 7, 1345 and May 24, 1346 in Reval see DD III:2 116, p. 97.

Picture 22: The vidimation of Burchard von Dreyenleven, Provincial of the Teutonic Order written and produced by the city scribe WBIV and issued in Reval on the Eve of the Purification of Mary (February 1), 1347. The vidimation consists of transsumpts of 27 earlier privileges of the city from 1248–1345.

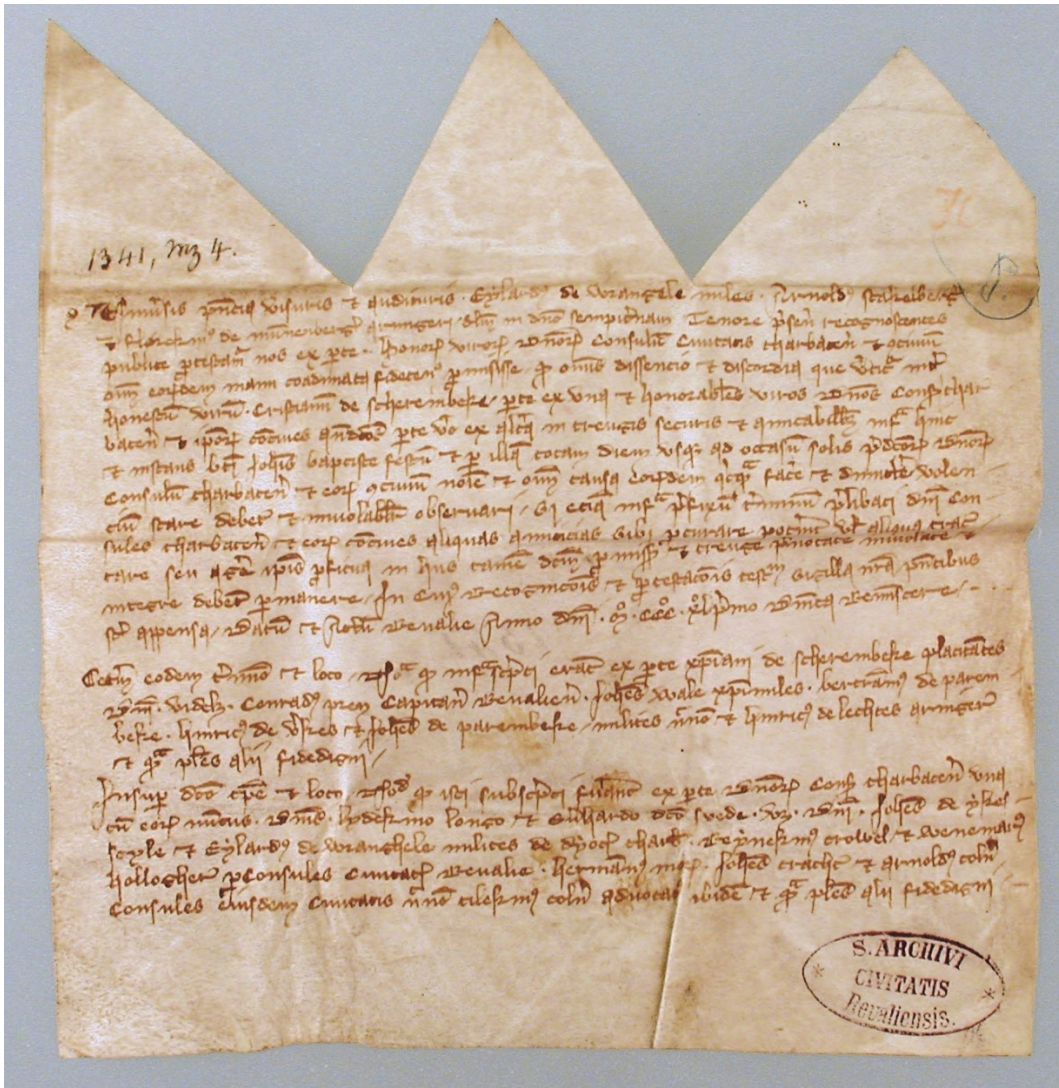


TLA, Urk. 1-I, 168 (LECUB 1:2, Reg. 1028, DD III:2 325–326).

In addition to the elaborate vidimation of Burchard von Dreyneven in folio, another document produced by *WBIV* has survived, which further confirms his ability to compose judicially patent texts and his notarylike knowledge of the available forms of charters and letters. The document in question is the other half of a serrated parchment in the form *carta dentatae* or chirograph on an established truce of the royal vassal Christian Scherembeke in his feud with the council of Dorpat, where the surviving half presents not only a copy of the letter of truce issued by three vassals of the bishop of Dorpat acting on behalf of the city of Dorpat, but also two lists of names of the royal headman of Reval, the vassals of Danish Estonia and bishop of Dorpat and the Revalian councillors who acted as mediators in the truce. The fact that the documentation on the truce in *AR* consists of three different documents; the surviving half of the *carta dentatatae*, an original letter of truce issued by the three vassals on behalf of the city of Dorpat, and an original of the letter of truce issued by Christian Scherembeke, his brother Willekinus and two of their quarantors, all three written by *WBIV* and issued in Reval on Sunday Reminiscere (March 4), 1341, tells us of the ability of *WBIV* to produce a complex set of judicially patent documents for the interests of the council of Reval in the mediation of a major private feud in the corporational interface of the Livonian cities and the vassals in the area.⁷³

⁷³ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 125b (chirograph), Urk 1-I, 125a (LECUB I:2 801) and Urk 1-I, 126 (LECUB I:2 800). Because of the lack of the word 'chirograph' written in the serrated section of the document and other features typical of these instruments, the document can not be considered a chirograph proper, but a form of split document where serration has been used as an element of affirmation of two identical texts. The original layout of the serrated document consisted most likely of copies of the two letters of truce issued by the three vassals of Dorpat and the brothers Scherembeke, both of which were followed with the list of the mediators. After the document was cut in two, the second half of the chirograph with the copy of the letter issued by brothers Scherembeke was most likely placed in the custody of the vassals of the bishop of Dorpat who deposited it in the archives of the bishop or the vassal corporation in Dorpat. On the history and forms of chirographs and serrated documents see 'Chirograph' (W. Trusen), LM II, 1844–45 and Trusen, Winfried, Chirographum und Teilurkunde im Mittelalter. In: Archivalische Zeitschrift, 75 (1979), 233–249.

Picture 23: A letter of established truce until the feast of St John the baptist (June 24) between the vassal Christian Scherembeke and the council of Dorpat on March 4, 1341, written and produced by WBIV in the form of a carta dentatae with the names of mediators in two lists following the actual text of the truce.



TLA, Urk. 1-I, 125b.

A third example of the variety of textual activities of *WBIV* is a copy of a 1323 letter of royal legate Johannes Canne and the council of the royal vassals of Estonia on the free passage of foreign merchants to Novgorod. The text of the original even included a vidimation issued on April 29, 1343, by the Cistercian abbot of Gotland and the Dominican prior of Visby in Visby, where the original letter must have been kept for the use of the local Hanseatic merchants visiting Novgorod. Although the vidimation issued in Visby is written by a hand that occasionally resembles *WBIV*'s, it is not identical, but the survival of another full copy of the letter of 1323 written by *WBIV* in *AR* may hint at contacts between Visby merchants

and the Revalian civic administration immediately after the peasant uprising of St George's Night on April 23, 1343, which severely damaged the structure of power in Danish Estonia.⁷⁴ A copy of letters of the Danish king Christopher I on the Lübeck Law issued on 'xvii kalendas septembris' (September 16), 1255, and Danish headman Conrad Pren on Sunday after St James (July 30), 1340, written by *WBIV* on a square piece of parchment some time after 1340, most likely relate to the corroboration of old privileges of the city at the beginning of the Order era in 1347.⁷⁵ Another set of copies of four privileges from 1273 (2), 1255 and 1345 written on a loose sheet of parchment by a hand otherwise unknown in the contemporary material of *AR*, appear to relate to the corroboration of 1347, but the original relationship of these copies to the final vidimation of Burchard von Dreyneven written and produced by *WBIV* remains unknown.⁷⁶ The activity of *WBIV* as the city scribe responsible for the production of texts and documents issued in the name of the council is also documented in the Lübeck City Archives where a letter of *tovorsichte* addressing the council of Lübeck in the matter of one *Elisabeth Kaste*, widow of Revalian burgher *Radekinus Oseboris* and their son *Nicolaus*, is written by *WBIV* and dated on Monday before the Feast of St John the Baptist (June 18), 1352. Produced in the form of an open letter, the document is written on parchment in Latin and sealed at the back with a large seal of the city (diameter 70 mms, *sigillum III*, see PICTURE 5:3 and TABLE 1 in CHAPTER 2.2.1).⁷⁷

The various types and chronological range of the documents written and produced by *WBIV* still held in *AR* give further information on the period and nature of his activity as a scribe in the service of the civic administration in 1333–58. The earliest surviving document written and produced by him is an open recognition by the brothers *Bertholdus* and *Gerlachus Vridach* on the goods of the late Gotland merchant *Johannes Vridach*, issued on the Wednesday before St Mary Magdalene (July 20), 1334.⁷⁸ Together with the first known occupation of *WBIV* with A.a.2 in October 1333, the document supports the suggestion that he appears to have been first employed to write for the civic administration in the context of the new fiscal year of 1333/34. Even if *WBII* retained control of the entries of the important book of inheritances until 1337, it looks as though the main occupation of *WBIV* right from

⁷⁴ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 66 (LECUB I:2 692), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 132 (LECUB I:2, Reg. 964).

⁷⁵ TLA, BJ 1:I, 2r, where the original of August 16, 1255, is TLA, Urk. 1-I, 4 (DD II:1 164, LECUB I:1 284) and original of July 30, 1340 is TLA, Urk. 1-I, 118 (LECUB I:2 792).

⁷⁶ TLA, BJ 1:I, 20r.

⁷⁷ STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 46.

⁷⁸ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 101; Chronologically the last document written and produced by *WBIV* in *AR* is a writ addressing the widow of the Swedish knight Sten Turesson issued on April 27, 1356, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 233 (LECUB I:2 963).

the beginning was not only the management of information of city memoranda, but also the production of documents and missives for the needs of the council. For this reason he must be considered a city scribe proper employed for professional production of a wide variety of texts and management of written information of the civic administration. In such a role he can be seen as the second long time professional city scribe of Reval (after *WBI*) whose commitments focused on the management of written information of the civic authority only, not on tasks for a larger variety of employers such as those served by *WBIIIa*, nor was he a short-term employee like *WBII*.

Picture 24: *An open recognition of Bertoldus and Gerlacus Vridach on the goods of the late Gotland merchant Johannes Vridach which they had taken possession of, issued in front of the council on July 20, 1334, and written by WBIV. Note the characteristic lengthened structure of the Latin sign ‘et’ on the first line of the text, and the form of the capital cursive ‘A’ on the penultimate line. Both of these features remain constant throughout his activity in the office of the city scribe in 1333–58. The decorative flowers at the beginning and end of the text block are unique among his writings stationed in AR.*



TLA, Urk. 1-I, 101.

4.2.4.2. *Identity and conditions of office*

Despite the variety of documents *WBIV* produced, a quantity of charters, vidimations and attestations of similar content were written by other hands active in Reval during his period in the office of the city scribe. Since the variety of hands in these documents is considerable, they are most likely produced by people outside the city administration and in the service of those who issued the documents.⁷⁹ Regardless of this, the employment of *WBIV* as a professional scribe in the service of the council, and production of charters, vidimations, attestations and recognitions for almost a quarter of a century shows that the civic administration had a growing interest not only in manifesting its authority through sealed documents and missives of its own, but also in seizing the initiative in the production of all texts of judicial content at its disposal. Possible reasons for such a new awareness may have been developments in the relative authority of the council in comparison to other corporations and agents of power in Livonia after the revolt of 1343, the change of overlordship in Danish Estonia in 1346 and contemporary developments in the corporational structure of the Hansa.

The identity of *WBIV* was first discussed by Leonid Arbusow in his publication of A.a.1 (WB 1312–60) in 1888, where he suggested that the hand responsible for the most of the writing since the 1330's might be associated with one **Olricus the scribe**, a person himself cited in three entries of A.a.1 in 1344, 1345 and 1348. The first of these is one of two recognitions by Andreas, son of Henrik the retailer (*Institor*) issued in front of the council on the Friday after Michaelmas (October 1), 1344, on the mortgaging of his inherited stone house against a loan of ten marks in silver from Olricus the scribe (*Olricus scriptor*), his wife (*uxori*), and their inheritors, as well as five marks in silver from councillor *Hunoldus de*

⁷⁹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 124 (LECUB I:2 797) a letter of debt issued by the headman of Reval Konrad Preen and his son to the council of Reval on January 12, 1341, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 158 (LECUB I:2 843) the bestowal of the chantry of Johan Massche in St Olaf to Nikolaus and Johannes von Hagen issued by councillor Johannes de Bremen on February 23, 1346, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 161 a vidimation of a letter of agreement between the headman Sigot Andersson, the council of vassals and the council of Reval (TLA, Urk. 1-I, 160, LECUB I:2 846) issued by the prior and the Dominican convent of Reval in close context of the issue of the original agreement on April 27, 1346 (both the original agreement and the vidimation are written by the same hand which is not that of *WBIV* or the one responsible for the royal privileges of 1345), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 180 (RevUB 29) an attestation of the dean of the chapter of Reval issued on March 18, 1349 to the council of Reval on his private matter of inheritance, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 183 an recognition issued by brother Robertus and the Dominican convent of Reval on a matter of debt including a mortification of a house in the city issued on March 20, 1349, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 186 an open confirmation of a daily prayer for the council of Reval and for the salvation of each of its members after their death written in Gothic textualis and issued by the abbess of the Cistercian nunnery of Reval on March 7, 1350, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 202 (LECUB I:2 957) a mortification of a lost letter of debt of the Komptur of Reval issued by Tylo Colner and Wyllekinus Kegele on March 29, 1351, apparently written by *WBIIIa*.

Ostinchusen and his inheritors against fixed rent to both lenders due on Michaelmas.⁸⁰ Some half a year later in April 1345 Olricus (*olrico*) lent a sum of four marks in silver to one *Nicolaus Leneche*, against which Nicolaus mortgaged his inheritable property on the condition that if he redeemed the pledge before Michaelmas, no rent was to be paid, but after that the mortification would cost four marks and 10 *oras* payable to Olricus or his beneficiaries.⁸¹ The third entry in A.a.1 concerning Olricus' activities in Reval is a note on a recognition made by councillor *Gerlacus Caporie* on the free use of 'Olricus called the scribe' (*Olricus dictus scriuere*) over Gerlacus' wall, both upper and lower, in March 1348.⁸² All the three entries are written by *WBIV*, who often uses the slashed 'o' (ø) as a sign for a close-mid rounded vowel in his transcriptions of Middle Low German names and words in his texts. The practice seems to be of Scandinavian origin, which is also indicated by his Scandinavian lettering of names and words such as *Øsiliensis* for Ösel and *børgermester* for burghermaster.⁸³

As evident from the three entries in A.a.1, the status of Olricus the scribe in 1344–48 appears to have been that of a permanent resident of the city and comparable to a burgher with immovable property of his own. A married man, in October 1344 he was leading a family life with his wife. Further information on his activities can be found in the contemporary city books of mixed memoranda, where a man called *Olricus* is first cited among the entries of A.a.2. after Easter 1341 as owing four marks in silver to the city.⁸⁴ Apparently the same person as Olricus the scribe, in 1341 Olricus (*olricj*) possessed a market shop which he had leased to two barbers (*tonsores*), Bernhard and Henrik, who were obliged to pay the annual rent of six *oras* to the city at the termin of St Thomas in 1341.⁸⁵ In the mixed paper volume of memoranda of the city of ca. 1352–72 [A.d.4, see CHAPTER 4.3.1], *Olricus*' ownership of the shop is cited in the list of the market shops of 1352, but not in 1353–54, when the rent was paid by one *Petrus Cruke*, or in 1355 when the shop is omitted from the list altogether.⁸⁶ In 1356 and 1357, the shop was the property of *Olricus*' sons (*pueri olricj*), who resigned

⁸⁰ TLA, A.a.1, p. 88 'Ølrico scriptorj sueque uxori et eorum veris heredibus' (WB 1312–60, 602–603).

⁸¹ TLA, A.a.1, p. 91 'olrico et suis veris heredibus ... olrico' (WB 1312–60, 632).

⁸² TLA, A.a.1, p. 102 'olricus dictus scriuere' (WB 1312–60, 714). The recognition is placed after an obligation of the council issued on March 24, 1348, and it further states that Gerlachus had the sole right to the wall of the sauna (*estuarii*).

⁸³ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 123 (RevUB 19), 'Ecclesie Øsiliensis episcopus' an unsent original letter of the council of Reval to the bishop of Ösel-Wiek; TLA, A.d.4, f. 22a 'her ghert stalbitere de børgermester varghede ...' (LDA 1333–74, 491).

⁸⁴ TLA, A.a.2, p. 39 'Item olricus tenet iiii marcas argenti' (LDA 1333–74, 211).

⁸⁵ TLA, A.a.2, p. 71 'Item Bernardus et Hinricus tonsosores dederunt pro boda olricj' (LDA 1333–74, 387:7).

⁸⁶ TLA, A.d.4, f. 14v 'Item Ølricus' (LDA 1333–74, 510:36); TLA, A.d.4, f. 15v, 16v, 17v (LDA 1333–74, 511:36, 512:36, 513:35 and 37).

their father Ulricus the Scribe's (*ulrici schriuers*) barber shop (*bodam rasorum*) to councillor Herman van der Houen on Sunday Letare (March 7), 1361. According to the resignation of 1361, *Olricus*' sons were Michael, Johannes and Ulricus⁸⁷

The entries of A.a.2 and A.d.4 unequivocally show that Olricus the Scribe was either a barber himself or a son of one, and had a barber's shop on the market which he had leased to two barbers already in 1341. He then paid annual rent from the shop to the city in 1352, but either died or placed the shop in the custody of his sons before the termin of St Thomas (December 20), 1356. Not being barbers themselves, the three sons handed the shop back to the city in March 1361.⁸⁸ Interestingly, a man called *Ulricus schriuere* again surfaces in the city books of memoranda in 1390, when he is cited on two separate occasions among the taxpayers in the Parish of St Nicholas near the Marketplace. Written in the *schossl* of 1393 or 1391, his name has not been struck out, possibly because he had not paid the ground tax.⁸⁹ Not found in the surviving *schossl*s of 1369–71, 1374, ca. 1385–89, 1392 or 1399, 'Ulricus the Scribe' of 1390 must have been either 'Olricus the Scribe' and barber active in the city in 1341–52, or more likely his homonymic son with an inherited or actual epithet of 'Scribe' resident in the city in 1390.

Except for the notification on the resignation of the barber's shop in 1361, which was written by city scribe Karolus de Montreal, all the entries in A.a.1 and A.a.2 and in the lists of the markets shops citing Olricus the Scribe or his sons in A.d.4 are written by *WBIV*, whom Leonid Arbusow suggested was Olricus himself. Because of the official or semi-official nature of the entries in A.a.1 and other written memoranda of the city, the lack of the use of the first person does not rule out the possibility that *WBIV* was Olricus, even if no contemporary source confirms Arbusow's hypothesis. However, since the last entry of *WBIV* in A.a.1 is made on a recognition issued on the Friday after Ascension (May 11), 1358, and he wrote entries more or less continuously after the beginning of the fiscal year of 1337/38 in

⁸⁷ TLA, A.d.4, f. 13v 'Item pueri olricij vj oras' (LDA 1333–74, 514:36), f. 14r, 'Item pueri olricij vj oras' (LDA 1333–74, 515:36), TLA, A.a.6b, p. 2 (EBII, 14) 'Anno domini m:o ccc:mo lx primo dominica Letare anno lxxprimo Resignauerunt/ [pue]ri ulrici schriuers bodam eorum rasorum <Ciuitati Reualiensis> domino Hermanno van der Houen/ Michael Johannes et ulricus'.

⁸⁸ In 1358 the city granted burghership to one _____, who is also cited as a burgher of the city in ca. 1360. If not the homonymous son of Olricus the scribe, he must be considered of a younger generation and nothing is known of his relationship to Olricus or his three sons, TLA, A.d.4, f. 18r 'Item Olericus Pywe' (LDA 1333–74, 509), f. 1v 'Item Olricus Pywe' (LDA 1333–74, 528:31).

⁸⁹ TLA, A.d.12, f. 54 'ulricus schriuere' (outstroken) next to *Hinse Swering* and *Ghosschalculus van Rode*, 'Ulrik schriuer' (struck out) next to *Goppe et frater eius* and *Johannes Krouwel*; TLA, A.d.9, f. 2r 'ulrick schriuer' next to *Hermann Enbeke* and *Claus uter Mole*. The *schossl* dates either to ca. 1393 or, as Ulricus is not cited in the *schossl* of 1392 (A.d.12, f. 69r–v), to 1391.

October 1338, the final stages of the activity of *WBIV* in the office of the city scribe appear to have outlasted Olricus the Scribe's engagement with his shop in the Marketplace by two to five years.⁹⁰ In turn, the possibility that Olricus' died or became seriously ill in the mid-1350's is also supported by the full responsibility of his sons for his shop in 1356, when they appear to have shared a joint guardianship or access to the property of their father. Had 'Olricus the Scribe' been alive in 1361, or been the same person as 'Ulricus the Scribe' of the early 1390's, it is difficult to understand how his three sons would have been able to resign their father's barber shop without his involvement in front of the council. Even if the epithet 'the scribe' unquestionably refers to writing ability, it does not necessarily imply any engagement in the production of texts in the civic administration. It may only refer to the ability of Ulricus or Olricus to produce written texts as a barber and a man of several skills. To consider the same person responsible for the production of almost all the texts and documents in the Revalian written management of information in 1337–58, as suggested by Leonid Arbusow, would thus require the acceptance of a number of shaky hypotheses.

A similar refutation of Arbusow's hypothesis appears to have been made by Paul Johansen, who appears to have avoided any conclusive identification of *WBIV* as Olricus in his studies.⁹¹ Instead, in his edition of A.a.2 and A.d.4 in 1935 (LDA 1333–74), Johansen suggested that because of the evident Scandinavian features of the orthography of *WBIV* such as 'y' and 'ø' for 'ü' and 'ö', his place of origin might be sought in Visby, where the early 14th-century Middle Low German manuscript of city law shows similar Nordic influence.⁹² Besides of the apparent similarities in the lettering and orthography of the umlauts, the writing of *WBIV* also shows paleographic features similar to texts written in contemporary Sweden (including Finland). One example of these is an open attestation issued by *Roluerus*, vicar of the parish of *Kyrkyoslet* (Fin. Kirkkonummi) just opposite Reval on the Finnish coast, on December 28, 1350. The letter is issued in Kirkkonummi and apparently written by *Roluerus* himself, who employs a lengthened upper beam of the Latin

⁹⁰ TLA, A.a.1, p. 160 (WB 1312–60, 1016).

⁹¹ Johansen 1935, IX, XIII–XIV, XVII–XVIII.

⁹² Johansen 1935, IX (Johansen's hand 1) and Schlüter, W., Über die Umlautsbezeichnungen von o und u in der Stockholmer handschrift des Wisbyschen Stadtrechtes. In: Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch. Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung 37 (1911), 1–20; According to the 1928 study of J. Albin Hansson (Hansson, J. Albin, Studien über die Stockholmer Handschrift B63 des Wisbyschen Stadtrechts. Stockholm 1928, 1–16), the manuscript of the Town Law of Visby (Cod. Holm. B63) is an original manuscript written by one same hand with only occasional interpolations by others and dates 1332–35. Hansson further constates that the scribe was not a professional copyist but an independent writer, whose vocabulary and orthography has certain Swedish features, but whose Middle Low German orthography presents a strong and recognizable Westphalian element.

‘et’ similar to that of *WBIV* in his writings. It is interesting that with the exception of the letter of *Roluerus* and the texts written by *WBIV* this particular form of ‘et’ occurs only rarely in the 14th-century material of *AR*. The most notable exception is an unknown hand responsible for the introduction of the first copy of the missives of the city in the late 1360’s or early 1370’s (see A.a.6d in CHAPTER 4.3.1).⁹³ The vertical structure of letters in the early writing of *WBIV* is also close to that of a vidimation issued on April 29, 1343, by the cistercian Abbot of Roma (Gutnalia) on Gotland and the Dominican prior of Visby in Visby, but because the full and round gothic cursive of the vidimation is also characteristic of contemporary charters and documents issued by ecclesiastical authorities in Reval, Livonia and elsewhere, no final conclusions on the possible Gothlandic affiliation of *WBIV*’s handwriting can be made from it.⁹⁴

Even if the exact area of origin and schooling of *WBIV* cannot be pinpointed from his writings, his lettering appears to hint at an origin in Scandinavia, where his handwriting shares certain features of the clerical cursive of the era. During his term of office in 1333/38–1358, he also wrote the first surviving longer samples of Middle Low German in the Revalian civic administration, and his way of lettering may point to an origin in an area with strong Nordic influence on the written and spoken forms of Middle Low German. The most important of such texts is a relation and subsequent adjudication of a controversy between burghermeister Gherd Stalbiter and an unnamed potter (*gropengheter*) issued on the Eve of St John the Baptist (June 23), 1355, where not only the orthography but also some of the vocabulary shows strong Nordic and Northern Middle Low German influence (*børgermester*, *brøke*, *møgen*, *vør boden*, and *desse* instead of *dieser*).⁹⁵ Given his ability to produce elaborate texts and documents for the benefit of the council, and the fast and increasingly notarylike structure of his writing after the mid-1340’s, one must consider *WBIV* someone well acquainted with letters and munified with advanced textual abilities permanently employed in the written management of information in the civic administration of Reval since ca. 1333. Of interest also is his conduct of the office of the city scribe, where new materials and forms in the management of information were introduced during his period of activity as a city scribe in the 1350’s.

⁹³ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 194 (LECUB I.2 905).

⁹⁴ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 132 (LECUB I:2, Reg. 964); Of interest is that Gerlach Caporius the younger, the son of a homonymous father who shared a wall with Olricus the Scribe in 1348, had inherited possessions in Gotland in 1353, WB 1312–60, 855.

⁹⁵ TLA, A.d.4, f. 22v (LDA 1333–74, 491); Peters 1985, 1254.

4.2.5. The identity of the scribes *WBI-IV*

Regarding the identity of the scribes active in the early management of written information of the council at the end of the Danish era and the beginning of the dominion of the Livonian Order in 1312–58, several possibilities emerge from the sources. Many of them must, however, be evaluated through the conditions and characteristics of their office in a period preceding the first surviving document on the employment of a city scribe, that of Karolus de Montreal in 1360, and the final stabilisation of the permanent facilities of the City Scriptorium in the latter half of the 1370's. Among the most important criteria are the nature and types of the surviving material and the conditions of the office of the scribes in terms of their salary, as well as their status in the civic administration and in the city.

As evident from the surviving material, the total corpus of the written management of information before 1358 in terms of civic memoranda in Reval appears to have been rather small, consisting of an octavo sized parchment volume of inheritances in two sets of quires [A.a.1], a *vademecum* of mixed memoranda of the city in parchment small to fit in a bag or pocket and covering almost all the various spheres of the later memoranda [A.a.2], later continued in 1352 as a paper volume in quarto [A.d.4], and a lost volume of *wedde* introduced some time in or after 1347, known to have existed in 1355 and ca. 1360 (see CHAPTER 3.2.2.1 and FIGURE 6 in CHAPTER 4.3.1.3). Other activities of the scribes consisted mainly of the production of letters patent and missives, where the variety of textual artifacts appears to have grown rapidly from the late 1330's, and where the civic authority appears to have been more and more focused on taking control of the production of letters and documents relevant to it, a contrast to the earlier 13th-century habit of using scribes of ecclesiastic affiliation available in the interface of various authorities of the area.

Considering the conditions of the office of the scribes, some clues on their identity may be provided by the arrangements the civic authority made when establishing a provision for their status as professionals employed in the civic administration. Here, the arrangements made in the context of the office of Karolus de Montreal provide particularly useful evidence, as much of his everyday upkeep appears to have been sustained through his vicary or chantry in the chapel of the Hospital of St John, an ecclesiastic foundation patronaged by the council. As already discussed in CHAPTER 4.2.2.2, the possible identification of *WBI* as Johannes the scribe cited in the city book of inheritances in 1329–32 as a former occupant of a shop then permanently in the possession of the House of the Holy Ghost may tell of his status as a

cleric of minor orders in the service of the council, even if his double occupation as a scribe and retailer is somewhat perplexing. Interestingly, the name Johannes the retailer again surfaces in the context of the altar chantries patronaged and controlled by the council on Sunday Letare (March 7), 1350, when the councillor and burghermaster of 1340–58 *Reynerus Crøwel* presented the homonymic scholar and acolyte *Reynerus Crøwel* as the candidate of the council to the chantry (*vicaria*) of the altar of St Margaret after the death of its former possessor *dominus Iohannis Institoris* (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.2 and 4.2.3.2). The annual rent of the chantry was later included to the salary of city scribe and notary public Joachim Muter. More intriguingly, the same altar of St Margaret also controlled the capital invested by the children of the councillor and burghermaster *Reynerus Crøwel* in the house of Albertus Mester in 1376, from 1378 used as a house of the City Scriptorium on the eastern flank of the Marketplace (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.2).

Here a few remarks must be made about the clerical status of the persons attached to the chantries/vicaries in altars and chapels under the patronage of the council. In the medieval Latin church, the clergy as a whole was divided into two different categories; secular, i.e. those not bound to monastic orders, and regular, i.e. persons belonging to a monastic or mendicant order or a regulated cathedral chapter. The basic ecclesiastic hierarchy of offices consisted of seven orders, the solemn ordination of the person into each order being given by a diocesan bishop. The minor orders (Lat. *clerici*) consisted of the ranks of doorkeeper (Lat. *porter*), reader (Lat. *lector*), *exorcist* and *acolyte*, the major orders *subdeacon*, *deacon* and *priest* (Lat. *presbyter*). Of the three orders the only one entitled to fully celebrate the mass, administer sacraments and hear confessions was the priest, whereas the role of the deacons, subdeacons and acolytes in masses was an assisting one. The ecclesiastic norms and conventions allowed men of minor orders to get married if they married a virgin, but not a widow, which would make them culpable of clerical bigamy. The lowest category of clergy was considered a person who had undergone the rite of first tonsure (Lat. *prima tonsura*), which in itself did not require any commitment to an ecclesiastical career. Minimum ages for ordination in each category were regulated in the constitutions of the Council of Vienne in 1311–12, after which *prima tonsura* could be performed at the age of seven, and the minimum age for a subdeacon was 18, a deacon 20 and a priest 25 years.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Salonen, Kirsi & Hanska, Jussi (eds.), *Entering a Clerical Career at the Roman Curia, 1458–1471*. Series: *Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West*. Ashgate, 2012, 6–9.

Considering the actual role of persons invested with the chantries and vicaries of altars and chapels in the patronage of the council of Reval, it is important to understand, that masses and liturgies in the parish churches, chapels and altars had to be administered by a priest, even though members of other major orders and even that of acolyte could perform them with special permission. Similarly, the later medieval Canon law also regulated the permission of the priest to be absent from the altar services. One such permission, and possibly the most important one, allowing the Revalian city scribes to legally abstain from the services on the altar chantries invested to them, was the constitution 'Cum ex eo' issued by the Pope Boniface VIII in 1298. According to that, a diocesan bishop could give a priest (and a person of the lower orders, i.e. *clericus*) a dispensation from his office for seven years if he was matriculated at an university.⁹⁷ Generally all dispensations concerning ecclesiastic offices had to be corroborated through a costly process in the apostolical curia, but the constitution may have provided the council with a handy loophole to organise part of the salary of the scribes with the status of an acolyte or some of the major orders at their disposal. One sign of this may be the title 'scholar and acolyte' of *Reynerus Crøwel* in 1350, which appears to underline his status as a student and acolyte able to be invested with a chantry/vicary because of his 'projected' university studies. Interestingly, the last signs of activity by *WBIV*, here tentatively identified as the scholar and acolyte *Reynerus Crøwel*, in the written management of information of the council of Reval occur in May 1358, i.e. eight years after the chantry/vicary of the altar of St Margaret was invested to the latter in 1350 and only one year after the period of seven year dispensation by the bishop should have ended. Here 'projected' must be placed in inverted commas, because if *Reynerus Crøwel* really was *WBIV*, the chances of completing university studies after a period of 25 years in the service of the council appear unlikely, and it is more likely that he retired from the office some seven years after the bishop's dispensation and either took higher orders or gave up the chantry altogether.

Considering the chantries and vicaries invested to the possession of city scribes and other persons of learned status in Reval, of interest are here not only the involvement of the *Crøwels* and the altar of St Margaret in the acquisition of the later house of the City

⁹⁷ Boyle, Leonard E., The Constitution "Cum ex eo" of Boniface VIII: Education of Parochial Clergy. In: *Medieval Studies*, XXIV. Toronto 1962, 263–302, and Hanska, Jussi & Salonen, Kirsi, *Kirkko, kuri ja koulutus. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia*, 968. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki, 2004, 65–76. On the apparently rather common habit of applying 'Cum ex eo' dispensations in the diocese of Lincoln in the first half of the 15th century see Logan, F. Donald, *University Education of the Parochial Clergy in Medieval England, The Lincoln Diocese, c. 1300 – c. 1350*. In: *Studies and Texts*, 188. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Brepols Publishers, 2014.

Scriptorium and the possibility of identifying the scholar and acolyte *Reynerus Crøwel* as a candidate for the hand *WBIV* active in 1333–58, but also the status of *dominus Iohannis Institoris*, i.e. ‘master Johannes the retailer’ as a former occupant of the chantry possibly endowed by the councillor *Reynerus Crøwel* some time in the 1330’s or 1340’s. Even if much of the early connection of the chantry to the salary of former and/or contemporary Revalian city scribes must be considered rather speculative, the possibility exists that *dominus Iohannis Institoris* could have been the same *Johannes scriptor* active in the 1320’s and occupying a market shop under the House of the Holy Ghost, and possibly the same as *WBI*, who at one point of his career or after it would have been provided the chantry/vicary of the altar of St Margaret as his provision. Should the scholar and acolyte *Reynerus Crøwel* be identified as the same as the scribe *WBIV* active in 1333–58 in Reval, there still remains the problem of the apparent Scandinavian influence in the handwriting of *WBIV*, even though his ability to produce text in Middle Low German and a more extensive schooling evident in his mastery of various types of documents would fit a career of a member of a local Revalian family of vassal and civic origin. As a married man the barber and scribe Olricus’ profile fits rather uncomfortably to the attributes of the Revalian city scribes in the 14th century, but because of the Scandinavian influence in the lettering of *WBIV* and the equally possible status of *Johannes scriptoris* (*WBI*?) as a retailer in the 1320’s, the possibility that Olricus was one of the scribes active in the Revalian written management of information from the early 1330’s to the early 1350’s cannot be totally ruled out. A further possible candidate for a schooled scribe active in the written management of information of Reval at the end of the 13th century or in the first quarter of the 14th is ‘dominus Henricus magister’, a man with obvious university schooling, whose son Albertus Mester (*abekinus* [Albertus] *domini henrici magistri filius*) or his guardians paid rent for three shops in the Marketplace in 1334, and whose house was later rebuilt as the City Scriptorium with the help of councillor *Reynerus Crøwel*’s children in the late 1370’s (see CHAPTERS 3.1.3.2 and 4.4.1.1).⁹⁸ As discussed above, a potential candidate for the scribe *WBIIIa*, active in the written management of the council in the early 1330’s and in the interface of the council and diocesan church in the early 1350’s, is the *scholasticus* Heyno Hanevere, who had both the necessary knowledge to produce texts and documents in Latin and the possibility to act widely in an interface such as that in Reval. The identity of the hand *WBIIIb*, however, remains wholly obscure, unless he can be identified among the names cited here.

⁹⁸ TLA, A.a.2, f. 10r (1333) and 7v (1334), (LDA 1333–74, 106:30, 92:33).

4.3. Developments in the structure of the written memoranda in the third quarter of the 14th century

4.3.1. The earliest copies of missives and the explosion of the written management of information in mid-14th-century Reval

4.3.1.1. Copies of missives sent and received by the council and the character of the 'mixed memoranda' of the civic authority [A.a.2, A.d.4, A.a.6d] in the third quarter of the 14th century

In addition of the capacity to produce vidimations and technically complex documents, the period of activity of *WBIV* in the service of the council of Reval from October 1333 to May 1358 witnessed new developments in the management of written memoranda and correspondence of the council with the introduction of what can be considered the first signs of the third phase of textualization in the textual activities of the city; the use of paper and vernacular in the production of texts and documents in the civic administration (see CHAPTER 2.1.3). Even if neither of the two features produced an instant revolution in the written management of information of the City Scriptorium, then very likely not yet a fixed place, but a series of locations where texts were produced for the needs of the civic authority, both features first appear in Reval during the period of activity of *WBIV* and were either deliberately introduced or *de facto* applied by him as available developments in contemporary technology for managing information. Curiously, both the new features also emerge first in the domain of the city memoranda, where the new status of the council in terms of the flow of Russian trade and change of allegation to the Teutonic Order since the late 1340's produced not only new forms of activity of the civic authority controlling it but also an acceleration of the textualization in the management of information considering its various duties. One of the first signs of this are the emergence of copies of missives and other documents of the council in the city books of memoranda at the end of the first half of the 14th century.

Except for the copy of a missive of the council of Dorpat written on a loose sheet of parchment by *WBI* some time during his period of activity before 1329, no information on copies of received or sent missives has survived, either as loose sheets or in city books of memoranda from the days of *WBI*, *WBII* or *WBIIIa-b*. Even though the idea of copying important texts for retaining information involved in communication cannot have been alien to the early scribes writing for the city administration, the first known examples of such copies in the mixed memoranda of the city occur only during the periods of activity of *WBIV* and Karolus de Montreal. Four of the copies are written by *WBIV* and placed not far from

each other in the second and at the beginning of the third quire of the small parchment codex of A.a.2, where the section consists of entries on various matters in civic administration from 1350–58. A fifth copy is written by city scribe Karolus de Montreal and placed in the same section of A.a.2, which also contains other interpolations made by him in 1358–62.⁹⁹

The oldest of *WBIV*'s copies in A.a.2 is a letter of the council of Reval to the burgher community of the city, in which the council explains that the Finnish headman Gerhard Skytte had granted the Revalian burghers free access to the ports under him in front of the council and Komptur of Reval, and asks the recipients to retain the letter for the needs of the burgher community after it had been read to the other burghers, i.e. to the assembled burgher community (*littera lecta aliis nostris concivibus tam presentibus quam futuris omnibus ipsam reservetis*). The text shows that the council's official declarations to the community were delivered not only in oral form but also as written announcements designed to be read aloud as early as the mid-14th century management of civic authority in the city. The copy lacks dating, but it obviously refers to the letter of safe conduct for Revalian merchants written by *WBIV* and issued by Gerhard Skytte with his seal on the Monday after Corpus Christi (June 7), 1350, in Reval. Whereas the original letter of safe conduct ended up in the archives of the council after the oral publication, the covering note to the burgher community was lost and has only survived as the copy in A.a.2. Because the note was sealed with the secretum of the council, it must have been composed in the form of a letter proper on parchment or paper, not on more temporary material such as wax tablets.¹⁰⁰

Of the other three copies written by *WBIV* in A.a.2, two are texts of undated missives of the council of Reval to the council of Visby from around November 1351, and the third is an undated missive of the council of Reval to their colleagues in Dorpat from between November 6, 1347 and February 14, 1352.¹⁰¹ The fifth copy of a missive in A.a.2 is the text of a letter of the Swedish *dapifer* (Drost) and headman of the castle of Viborg, Nicolaus Turesson (Bonde), to the council of Reval on the harmful allegations of the men of the former duke Bengt Algotsson of Finland on the trade of Nyland peasants in Reval. Written by city scribe Karolus de Montreal, the letter is dated on the Sunday before the Ascension of Mary without a year, but because of Karolus's involvement and the fact that Bengt

⁹⁹ TLA, A.a.2, f. 31r–37v (quire II), and f. 38r–44v followed by empty pages (quire III).

¹⁰⁰ TLA, A.a.2, f. 32r (LDA 1333–74, 362, LECUB I:2 902, FMU VIII 6581, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 193) 'ad nostrum portum venire ac ab inde recedere' refers to the ports under the authority of the headman, not the council; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 192 (LECUB I:2 901, FMU I 566).

¹⁰¹ TLA, A.a.2, f. 34v–35r, (LDA 1333–74, 377–378, LECUB I:2 910–911), f. 39v–40r (LDA 1333–74, 398).

Algotsson had been deprived his title and expelled in 1356, the letter most likely dates to August 12, 1358.¹⁰² All five copies of missives in A.a.2 are in Latin, and the systematic omission of either date or year or both may mean that the content of the texts was considered more important than the possibility of not remembering the chronological context of events for which the texts were once secured. In the contemporary mid-14th-century originals, the dating was usually placed last in the eschatocol, but since even some of the finished and sealed attestations and missives lack the year or dating, no far-reaching conclusions should be made on the omission of dating in the copies.¹⁰³

Another set of copies of documents and missives written by *WBIV* and Karolus de Montreal have survived in a mixed volume of quires and loose sheets of paper in 4^o (ca. 30,5 x 21,0 cms) and narrow format (ca. 29,5 x 11,0 cms) assembled in a damaged limp leather binding [A.d.4]. At the back of the volume there are signs of an older and thicker binding, and some of the original contents of the codex are apparently missing. According to Paul Johansen (1935), some of the loose sheets were arranged together with the codex only in the modern era after their discovery among other sections of the medieval holdings of *AR*. The inner sides of the covers display two Sator Squares, a rectangular formula of ‘*dogedadegod*’ that can be read in several ways, a section of a salernitarian didactic verse on favourable days for medical bloodletting, and a series of short entries on judicial obligations, all probably written by Karolus de Montreal.¹⁰⁴ The main body of the volume consists of three mutilated sets of quires with entries of mixed memoranda of the civic administration consisting of *schooss*, market shops, *bursprake* and lists of warrants of safe conduct (*geleite*) followed by rests of another quire and loose pages with eleven texts of documents, missives, relations and notes dating from 1348 to July 1362. Among the notes there are also occasional entries on various activities of the civic administration written by *WBIV*, Karolus de Montreal, and an unknown

¹⁰² TLA, A.a.2, f. 42v (LDA 1333–74, 413 and FMU VIII 6584).

¹⁰³ For undated and sent originals see for instance TLA, Urk. 1-I, 119 (LECUB I:2 795), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 120 (LECUB I:2 922).

¹⁰⁴ TLA, A.d.4. For a full analysis of the volume including the Sator Squares, ‘*dogedadegod*’ and other formulas, as well as the late introduction of the loose sheets into the codex see Johansen 1935, XIV–XVIII. The inclusion of the loose sheets was based on similar watermarks. The salernitarian verse in A.d.4 reads as ‘*prima dies vene tibi sit/ moderatio cene/ Secunda leta dies sed tertia sit/ tibi quies*’. Variations of the verse are documented in manuscripts already before the extremely popular *Hortulus anime*, first printed in 1483. On the back cover there are also four entries on judicial proceedings written by Karolus de Montreal in ca. 1360, LDA 1333–74, 486–488.

hand or hands with forms of lettering more contemporary to those of *WBIV* than Karolus: most likely a substitute or substitutes of the city scribe in the late 1350's and early 1360's.¹⁰⁵

One of the most intriguing surviving pieces of memoranda of the council, the codex A.d.4 is one of the key textual artifacts when evaluating the early introduction and role of paper in the civic management of information in the third quarter of the 14th century. The quarto sections of codex A.d.4 are folded from paper that seems to come from the same mill, with a watermark of four-legged bull, but the narrow quire in between is of different paper with a watermark of a bull's head with eyes later inbound with the quarto sections of the codex (see TABLE 5:A).¹⁰⁶ The narrow quire represents the earliest surviving register of warrants of safe conduct of the city issued in 1365–72, and it is written by several hands to be discussed later in this study. Originally an independent volume in a narrow format of its own, the quire was first introduced in writing in 1365 by city scribe Albertus (active in 1363–74), who has also contributed most of the entries in it. Clearly of later origin than the quarto sections of A.d.4, the date when the quire was bound with other sections of the codex is unknown, but because

¹⁰⁵ TLA, A.d.4, f. 21r–23v and 1½ loose sheets, see also Johansen 1935, XVII–XVIII. The eleven texts are: 1: a relation on the course of negotiations concerning the resignation of the vassal corporation on their share of meadows near to the city (hand *WBIV* in Latin, LECUB I:2 884) with probable dating close to the agreement between the city and the Teutonic Order on November 19, 1348 (TLA, Urk. 1-I, nr. 179, LECUB I:2 890, where the original document on parchment is also written by *WBIV* in Latin), 2: an undated letter of the council of Reval to the Komptur and council of Pernau on the matter of one *Heyno dictus Swede* (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 220, *WBIV* in Latin), 3: a note on an act of reconciliation between councillor *Johannes Sabel* and *Roland Baseler* made on Friday before *Invocavit* (February 20), 1355 (LDA 1333–74, 493, *WBIV* in Latin), 4: an open attestation of the council of Reval in the matter of the chantry of *Johannes Massche* in St Olaf and priest *Nicholas Hagen* issued on Friday before *Octauas Pasche* (April 10), 1355 (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 227, *WBIV* in Latin, on the chantry see even TLA, Urk. 1-I, nr. 230, LECUB II 960), 5: a list of wardens of the the keys to the towers of the city wall (LDA 1333–74, 538, *WBIV* in Latin), a copy of the letter of the alderman and *Kontor* of Novgorod to the council of Reval on the second Sunday of Lent (March 1, 1355) (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 226, HUB III 321, *WBIV* in Middle Low German), 6: an attestation of the council on the lawsuit of Albertus Goldsmith with *Nicolaus Traster* issued on the Eve of Pentecost (May 23), 1355 (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 228, *WBIV* in Latin), 7: a note on an adjudication in a matter of a potter made on the Eve of St John Baptist (June 23), 1355 (LDA 1333–74, 491, *WBIV* in Latin and Middle Low German), 8: a fragment of a copy of a recess of the Hansetag in Lübeck issued on January 20, 1358 (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 236, HR I: 3 13 see also Johansen's references in LDA 1333–74, p. 51, *WBIV* in Middle Low German, followed by two sections of entries by Karolus de Montreal in Latin, LDA 1333–74, 489–490, 545), 9: an undated letter of the council of Reval to the council of Dortmund and the alderman of the German merchant in Brügge on a matter of councillor *Johan Zabel* (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 240, *Karolus de Montreal* in Latin) followed by a set of entries on the costs of stonebreaking by an unknown hand in Middle Low German (LDA 1333–74, 546), 10: a copy of the resignation of the council of Reval on an area of the patrimony of the city to the Teutonic Order issued on the Feast of St Elisabeth (November 19), 'Lxoctauo' instead of the correct year 1348 (*Karolus de Montreal* in Latin), for the original document and its first copy written by *WBIV* see TLA, Urk. 1-I, 179, LECUB I:2 890 and text nr. 1 here above), and 11: a letter of the council of Reval to the aldermen of the German merchants in Novgorod dated on the day of St Mary Magdalene (July 22), 1362 (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 256, HUB IV 51 *Karolus de Montreal* in Latin).

¹⁰⁶ For the watermark of four legged bull see Johansen 1935, XI. The watermark is similar to Briquet 2748 with documented use in 1341 (see Table 5:C). For the watermark of bull's head with eyes (a variant of Briquet 14134) see Tables 5:A and 5:C.

it was later followed by similar registers of warrants of safe conduct in the paper codex of mixed memoranda of A.d.5 in 1373–1406 (see CHAPTER 3.1.2.1), the joint filing of the narrow quire and quarto sections of A.d.4 may have occurred as early as in 1373.¹⁰⁷

Except for the written relation on the negotiations concerning the resignation of the vassals on their share of meadows near the city in ca. 1348, and the fragment of the recess of the Hansetag issued in Lübeck on January 20, 1358, all the copies of texts written by *WBIV* in the closing section of A.d.4 date to between mid-February and late June 1355. Since the recess of 1358 only reached Reval in late winter or early spring that year, the copy may have been written some time before the end of the activity of *WBIV* in the written management of information of the council in April 1358.¹⁰⁸ Of the two datable copies written by Karolus de Montreal in A.d.4, one is a copy of the original agreement of the Teutonic Order and the council over a section of land close to Domberg together with some meadows on November 19, 1348, and the other a copy of a missive of the council of Reval to the aldermen of the German merchants in Novgorod from July 22, 1362.¹⁰⁹ Because all the four copies of *WBIV* in the small parchment codex of A.a.2. date to before February 14, 1352, the mutilated closing section of A.d.4 appears to have been a continuation of the copies in A.a.2, and it may once have been a part of a larger section of the original paper codex in quarto employed as a copiarium of missives and other documents of the council considered worth preserving for the future.

Curiously, all eleven texts but one (the attestation on the chantry of Johannes Massche on April 10, 1355) and several of the shorter entries among the closing section of A.d.4, are also copied into another contemporary paper volume of similar size and format consisting of a single quire in 4° (ca. 30,5 x 22,5 cms) and assembled in limp leather binding with the back cover folding over the front edge of the codex [A.a.6d]. The original body of the quire consisted of 16 leaves (8 bifolios) in quarto, of which four have later been cut off. The entire quire has been assembled from paper of the same mill with a watermark of a whole dog with

¹⁰⁷ TLA, A.d.4, f. 5r–11v, see Johansen 1935, XVI, and Johansen 1929, XXX. The identification of the hands in the register of the warrants of safe conduct as presented by Johansen 1929, XXXIV (hands 1–5) is mostly correct but instead of Karolus de Montreal the hand responsible for most of the entries in 1365–72 (Johansen 1929, hand 1) is that of city scribe Albertus. For a correct identification of this particular hand as Albertus' see Johansen 1935, XVIII.

¹⁰⁸ TLA, A.d.4, f. 21r–23v, LECUB I:2 884, LDA 1333–74, 493, 491, Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 227, 226 (HUB III 321), 228; HR I:3 13.

¹⁰⁹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, nr. 179 (LECUB I:2 890) and Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 256 (HUB IV 51).

open jaw and without collar (see TABLE 5:A).¹¹⁰ Incipited as ‘*the copiary of the missives of the city of Reval*’, the opening section of the codex (f. 1r–6r) is written almost in its entirety by one relatively small and almost hieroglyphic hand, here cited as *MBI*: a person well accustomed to the Latin system of contractions, but not always coherent in his grammar. In addition to the documents and entries also available in A.d.4, A.a.6d contains copies of ten missives not in A.d.4, eight of which date to between March 1353 and August 1358 and two most likely to the autumn of 1368.¹¹¹ After the initial section of missives written by the hand *MBI*, A.a.6d then consists of material similar to that in the quarto sections of A.d.4, including the same *bursprake* but also a variety of other entries on matters of civic administration from ca. 1367–74 (warrants of safe conduct, *schoss*, *wedde*, lists of costs and participants in military campaigns and guardians of the towers of the city wall and their weaponry) as well as nine copies of missives and documents not extant in A.d.4. Of these a letter of the council to the bishop of Kurland dating to ca. 1363 or perhaps later in the 1360’s is written by the main substitute of the city scribe Albertus in 1368–69 (here cited as *AI*, see later CHAPTER 5.1.2), but the eight others are the work of Albertus himself, dating to between March 1370 and January 1374. The last datable text in the codex is a short note written by city scribe Hermannus in 1378, after which no entries whatsoever appears to have

¹¹⁰ TLA, A.a.6d, f. 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 12. The watermark of whole dog with open jaw and without collar is a variant of Piccard 15:3 VII 1253 with documented use in 1366. See also Johansen 1935, XIX and Tables 5:A and 5:C of this study.

¹¹¹ TLA, A.a.6d, f. 1r ‘Incipiunt Copie litterarum missilium ciuitatis Reualiensis’. For a detailed inventory of the contents of A.a.6d and an analysis of the similarities in A.a.6d and A.d.4 see Johansen 1935, XXI–XXIII. The only exception among the entries of A.a.6d, f. 1r–6r not written by *MBI* (Johansen 1935, XXI–XXII hand 23) is a later interpolation concerning the participants in a civic military expeditions from September 1367 to September 1369 on f. 5r (LDA 1333–74, 541) by a hand here later cited as *MBII*, who also wrote the opening parts of the *bursprake* in A.a.6d, f. 10r; Copies of missives in A.a.6d, f. 1r–6r but not in A.d.4 are 1: an attestation of the council on their agreement with a councillor and a merchant of Essen on the compensation of confiscated goods issued on the Thursday before the Octavas of Corpus Christi (June 18), 1354 (Urk. 1-I, 223, Latin, a response to the missive of the count of Limburg, Urk. 1-I, 222, RevUB 35), 2: a mandate of councillor *Gobelinus de Heyde* concerning negotiations on behalf of the Livonian cities and the Hanseatic Third of Gotland in Flanders issued by the council of Reval on the Friday before Mary Magdalene (July 18), 1354 (Urk. 1-I, 224), 3: an undated letter of recommendation of the council for the councillor *Johannes dictus Neue* dating ca. 1354 (Urk. 1-I, 225, Latin), 4: an attestation of the council of Reval to the council of Duderstad on a matter of inheritance issued on Monday before Easter (March 18), 1354 (Urk. 1-I, 218, Latin), 5: an undated letter of the council of Reval to that of Dorpat concerning negotiations in Flanders, possibly dating from the spring of 1356 because of the similiar letter to Dorpat written in ca. the Palm Sunday (April 17) of 1356 (Urk. 1-I, 232, DS I:VII 5585b, Latin), 6: a warrant of safe conduct of the council for one *Petrus Goswini* and his brother *Goswinus* issued on the Feast of St Peter in Chains (August 1), 1358 (Urk. 1-I, 238, Latin), 7: an undated letter of the council of Reval to pope Innocentius (IV) in support of the appellation of the bishop and clergy of Reval concerning the excommunication issued in the spring of 1355 (Urk. 1-I, 229, Latin), 8: an undated letter of the council of Reval to the council of Dorpat on future negotiations in Flanders, most likely written in the Palm Sunday of 1356 (Urk. 1-I, 231, DS I:VII 5585a), 9: an undated letter of the council of Reval to the inhabitants of Nyland on the matter of safe conduct to and from Reval (fall 1368, FMU VIII 6587, DS I:IX 7797, Latin), 10: an undated letter of the council of Reval to bishop Johannes of Åbo (Johannes Petri, a former lector and rector of the University of Paris elected as bishop of Åbo in the summer of 1367, died in 1370) concerning the matter of safe conduct of the inhabitants of Nyland (Urk. 1-I, 298, FMU VIII 6588, DS IX 7798, Latin).

been made in it. If we leave aside the first section of the volume with texts also available in A.d.4 and issued in 1348, 1353–58, 1362 and 1368, the great majority of the other copies and entries in A.a.6d date to between September 1367 and January 1374. A comment on the back cover of the codex by the hand responsible for the lists of costs and participants in military campaigns and parts of the *bursprake* addresses it as the ‘bickery book’ (*Dit is dat rabert bok*), apparently a mocking reference to the binding or its contents. Two sketchy drawings on the covers, of a whalelike creature with a tusk (narwhal?) and a fowl or possibly even a turkey, may be of 16th-century origin.¹¹²

The two volumes of A.d.4 and A.a.6d attracted the interest of Paul Johansen already in the 1920’s and 1930’s, when he came to the conclusion that much of their physical composition and textual contents pointed to a common origin. Considering the schematic nature of various branches of the city books of memoranda in the civic administration of medieval Reval, the two volumes and the small vademecum of A.a.2 constitute a distinct line of their own and were later followed by A.d.5, a stout paper codex in 4^o with wooden covers sheeted in red leather and introduced by city scribe Albertus as *liber de diversis articulis* at Easter (April 17) 1373 (CHAPTER 3.1.3.3). The chronological continuity and notebooklike contents

¹¹² For a detailed inventory of the contents of A.a.6d see Johansen 1935, XXI–XXII. For the dating of the letter to the bishop of Kurland see Johansen’s analysis in Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, p. 220 (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 263); Copies of missives and documents written by Albertus in A.a.6d, 7v–9v are 1: a letter of the council of Reval to Ernest van Dotzem (headman of Åbo) responding to his earlier letter on a trading blockade against Novgorod, most likely dating to the fall of 1370 (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 286, HUB IV 1088; DS IX 7625 and 8032, FMU VIII 6589, and FMU I 796, Latin), 2: a letter of the land of Karelia (*communitas Karelia*) and two of its named representatives to the council of Reval on the activity of *Haquinus Gherekesson* in Reval issued on the Tuesday after Sunday Invocavit (1370?, Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 313, FMU VIII 6590, DS IX 8074b, Latin), 3: an open attestation of the council of Reval concerning the foundation of a chantry in the parish church of Mariema by two vassals issued on the day after Michaelmas (September 29), 1371 (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 327, unpublished, Latin, the copy is preceded by LDA 1333–74, 563 and followed by a note written on the hand of city scribe *Hermannus* in 1378 concerning the same chantry), 4: a letter of the council of Reval to *Christopher Michelstorp* concerning the allegations of Tideke Hoghewegge issued on the first Sunday after Easter [March 4, 1372] (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 334, DS X 161, in Middle Low German), 5: a letter of the council to *Tideke Hoghewegge* concerning his allegations against the council issued on the first Sunday after Easter [March 4, 1372] (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 335, in Middle Low German), 6: a letter of the council of Reval to Ernest van Dotzem (headman of Åbo) concerning the fate of one of his servants in Reval written on Monday after the Conversion of St Paul (January 26, 1372?, Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 329, FMU VIII 6593, DS X 138, in Middle Low German), 7: a letter of the council to *Hennekinus Moltike*, headman of Nyborg (in Denmark) concerning his allegations against the council and the fate of his ship carrying horses written on Monday after the Conversion of St Paul (January 26, 1372?, Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 330, in Middle Low German), 8: a letter of the council to Swedish *Drost* Bo Jonsson and the bailiff of Viborg *Benedictus Laurensen* concerning the incarceration of Revalian burgher *Andreas sartor* in Viborg written on Tuesday after the Conversion of St Paul (January 31, 1374?, Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 331, HUB IV 1089, FMU I 798, DS X 302 in Latin, for the dating see DS X 302 and Engström 1935, 187 note 22). For the covers see Johansen 1935, XVIII–XXI, and Johansen’s hand 17 (p. XXII, ‘rabert bok’). On the back cover the name ‘Cort Manderow’, a goldsmith active in Reval 1370–1404, is written by a hand responsible for the entries of warrants of safe conduct in A.d.5 in 1374–75, Johansen 1935, XXII, hand 27 here later identified as the hand *AIIIa*.

of all the four volumes is so evident that Johansen himself decided to title his 1935 edition of A.a.2, A.d.4 and A.a.6d as *Libri de diversis articulis*, which still encapsulates the 14th-century nature of the volumes in the Revalian management of information and their relationship to A.d.5, which constitutes an organic continuation to the contents of A.a.2 and A.d.4 (see FIGURE 6 below). As already pointed out in CHAPTER 3.1.2.1 and elsewhere, the twofold organisation of the city books of memoranda with distinct lines on resignations of inheritances and annuities since 1312 (WB 1312–60, EBII–III, PergRB) and material of mixed administrative content since 1333 (LDA), appears to have been accompanied by a third major line focusing on various decisions of the council originally registered in the ‘other’ or ‘parchment’ ‘book of the city’ (*Denkelbok I*) which is known to have existed between 1360 and 1383 but is now lost. At the beginning of the 1380’s some of the functions of this parchment codex seem to have been replaced by similar entries in the paper codex of mixed memoranda of A.d.5 and the parchment register of annuities [A.a.3, PergRB].¹¹³

4.3.1.2. A domain of one or many? The number of hands and the office of the city scribes as witnessed by the volumes of mixed memoranda of A.d.4, A.a.6d and A.d.5

How are we to understand the 14th century development of the books of mixed memoranda in Reval in terms of their varying material, composition and evidence of the persons with access to their writing?

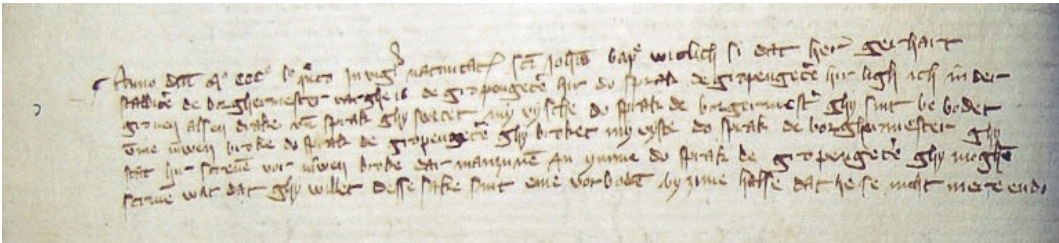
One of the most intriguing features of A.d.4 and A.a.6d is the variety of individual hands in them. Instead of being the sole work of the city scribes of the third and fourth quarter of the 14th century (*WBIV*, Albertus and Hermannus), the first section of A.a.6d and some of the material in A.d.4 is written by a hand here cited as *MBI* and otherwise unknown in the contemporary material in *AR* (see PICTURE 25:1). Since most of the copying appears to have been done in just a few sessions some time between mid-1367 and the autumn of 1368, but not later than 1370, the work was most likely done by an auxiliary person working under the city scribe Albertus or one of his substitutes during his known absences from his office from mid April to the beginning of September 1367 and from May 1368 to around the beginning of the fiscal year of 1369/70 (see CHAPTER 5.1.1). However, since the hand of *MBI* is not one of the two known main substitutes (here cited as *AI–AII*) responsible for writing the entries of the important book of resignations of A.a.6b on these two occasions, and is markedly different from the two or perhaps three other hands (here cited as *MBII–IV*) appearing in

¹¹³ Johansen 1935, VIII.

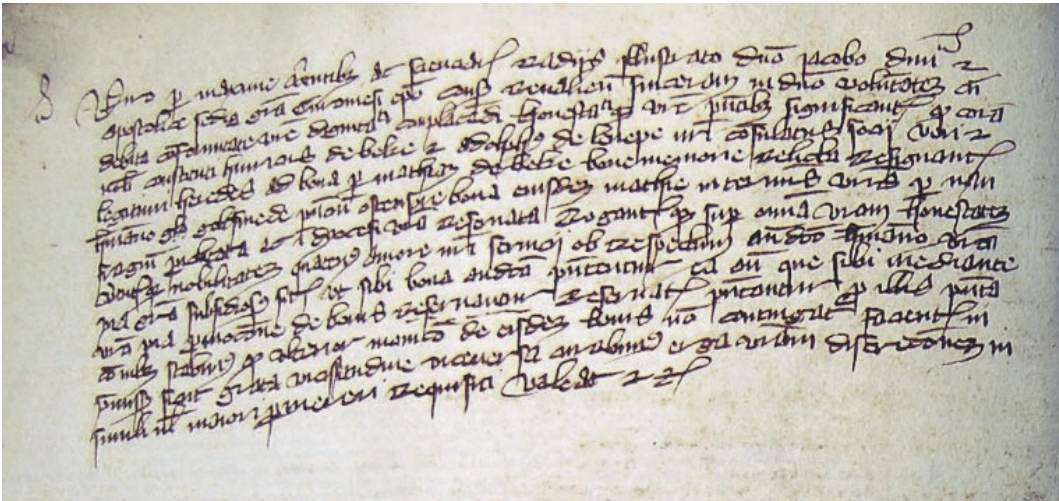
A.a.6d at the time of its use in the late 1360's, much of the contemporary writing in the civic administration appears to have been distributed among at least five or six people available for the work. In addition to the hands *MBI-IV* discussed here, a variety of copies and memoranda in the codex were written by city scribe Albertus and his substitute *AII* (active in 1368–69), and the total period of use of A.a.6d extends from 1367 to 1374.

Pictures 25:1–6: Hands in the first surviving missive book of the city and various texts of mixed memoranda from 1367–74 [A.a.6d] with copies of missives issued in 1353–58, 1368.

Picture 25:1: The hand (*MBI*) responsible for the introduction of the new missive book of A.a.6d, and active from mid 1367 to the fall of 1368. Copy of an original entry of city scribe *WBIV* in A.d.4 on adjudication in a matter of a potter made on the Eve of St John the Baptist (June 23), 1355.



Picture 25:2: The main substitute of the city scribe in control of the city book of resignations (A.a.6b, *EBII*) from May 1368 to September 1369 (hand *AII*). A copy of an undated letter of the council of Reval to the bishop of Kurland in A.a.6d.



TLA, A.a.6b, p. 133 (*EBII* 860); A.a.6d, f. 8v (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 263).

If we leave aside the hand of *MBI*, city scribe Albertus and his substitute *AII*, the most frequently active hand in A.a.6d is the one cited here as *MBII* (see *PICTURE 25:3*) with vertical but often slightly right leaning ductus, frequent two stroke construction of word-

beginning ‘s’ with oval downward loop, rhythmic oblique diacritics of ‘i/j’, a slightly curved sign of ‘<’ noting the truncation of ‘n’, bifurcated or t-form sherifs or sail-like loops occasionally decorating the top of the shafts of ‘b’, ‘h’, ‘k’ and ‘l’, unlooped or curved uncial ‘d’ as well as initial slings of word-beginning letters of ‘v’, ‘w’, ‘h’, ‘k’, ‘b’, ‘l’, right hand curves under the letters ‘y’, ‘z’ and ‘x’, and a two-compartment ‘a’ with the end of the shaft usually bending right but occasionally if only rarely with a daggerlike downward stroke. Despite slight differences in word-beginning ‘J’, the truncation of *Jtem* by *MBII* invariably consists of letters *Jte* and ‘<’. In A.a.6d the contributions of *MBII* include not only the two sets of lists on the costs and participants of military expeditions of the city in 1367–69 but also the *bursprake* later continued by city scribe Albertus and the mocking title of ‘*dit is dat rabert bok*’ on the limp leather cover of the codex.¹¹⁴ The hand *MBII* is apparently also the same who in the autumn of 1373 or soon after that wrote interpolations in the *bursprake* written by city scribe Albertus (active in 1363–74) in the paper codex of mixed memoranda of A.d.5, and at some point of his activity in the scriptorium added three entries at the end of the *bursprake* written by Karolus de Montreal in A.d.4 in 1358–62.¹¹⁵

Easily recognised by all the above-mentioned features and especially the oval downward loops of word-beginning ‘s’, the hand *MBII* is also unquestionably the same who at some time between the periods of office of city scribes Karolus de Montreal and Albertus, or possibly acting as the substitute of the latter, added the other Revalian Middle Low German codex of the Lübeck Law (Cm 10) of 1282 with a paragraph on false statements of marriage placed between the supplement paragraphs written by Karolus and Albertus at the end of the original text of the codex.¹¹⁶ Other contributions of *MBII* are found in the narrow quire of warrants of safe conduct of A.d.4 originally introduced to writing by city scribe Albertus in 1365, where *MBII* has written entries of warrants terminating at Easter 1369, at Michaelmas of 1370 and Michaelmas of 1373.¹¹⁷ *MBII* also appears to have transcribed four entries of warrants written in A.a.6d by the hand here identified as *MBIII* from there to the narrow section of A.d.4, and seems to have been active not only with the narrow quire of A.d.4 in 1369–72 with warrants terminating in 1369–73, but also continued his writing in the lists of

¹¹⁴ TLA, A.a.6d, f. 5r, 7r, 10r (the additions of Albertus begin from the top of f. 10v).

¹¹⁵ TLA, A.d.5, f. 10r; TLA, A.d.4, f. 4r, three last entries at the end of the page.

¹¹⁶ TLA, Cm 10, f. 38r. The paragraph is a variant edited in *Die Quellen des Revaler Stadtrechts*. Hrsg. Von D.F.G. v. Bunge, Erster Band. Verlag von Frantz Kluge. Dorpat 1844, D § 168, p. 72, where von Bunge’s edition is based on an older edition of the Lübeck Law. On the codex Cm 10 see Kala 2007a, 153–157, and Kala 1998, 29 footnote 56.

¹¹⁷ TLA, A.d.4, f. 7v (Gbuch 1365–1458, nr. 74 a warrant issued to terminate on Easter 1369), 8r (Gbuch 1365–1458, 123, on Michaelmas 1370), f. 11r (Gbuch 1365–1458, 220, on Michaelmas 1373).

warrants of safe conduct in the paper codex of mixed memoranda of A.d.5 with occasional entries on warrants issued to end on dates between Michaelmas 1374 and Easter 1375.¹¹⁸

Other writing with the forms of letters and diacritics characteristic of *MBII*, but with a stronger tendency to use a two-compartment ‘a’ with a daggerlike shaft down, are three entries in the quarto section of A.d.4 dealing with matters of fire and other equipment such as anchors, possibly originating from the interface of the periods of office of Karolus de Montreal and Albertus in 1363 or later, and a list on rents of market shops and butchers dated by Paul Johansen to around December 1358 or 1359.¹¹⁹ Should the identification and dating of the hand responsible for the list of rents on market shops be right, the hand *MBII* has documented activity in the mixed memoranda of the civic administration already in ca. 1359, but also more continuously from 1369 to the period around the beginning of the office of city scribe Hermannus in 1374–75. Astonishingly, a hand similar to *MBII* surfaces yet again in 1369–74, in the memoranda mixed with entries of Hermannus and the substitute here later identified as *AIIIb* on warrants of safe conduct issued to end as late as Michaelmas 1381 and Christmas of 1382. In these last entries the habitual oval loop of word-beginning ‘s’ of *MBII* is occasionally accompanied by a daggerlike shaft of the two-compartment ‘a’, a combination also present in the writing of the hand *HI* active in both 1372 and in 1381/82.¹²⁰ Since several characteristics of the handwriting of *MBII* in A.a.6d are also close to the hand of the substitute here later cited as *HI* active in the paper book of resignations in 1381/82, but who also wrote drafts or discarded originals of the council’s appellation to Lübeck and letter to Ernst van Dotzem, headman of Åbo, in 1372, it is possible that the two scribes *MBII* and *HI* were the same person (see later, CHAPTER 5.1.3).¹²¹

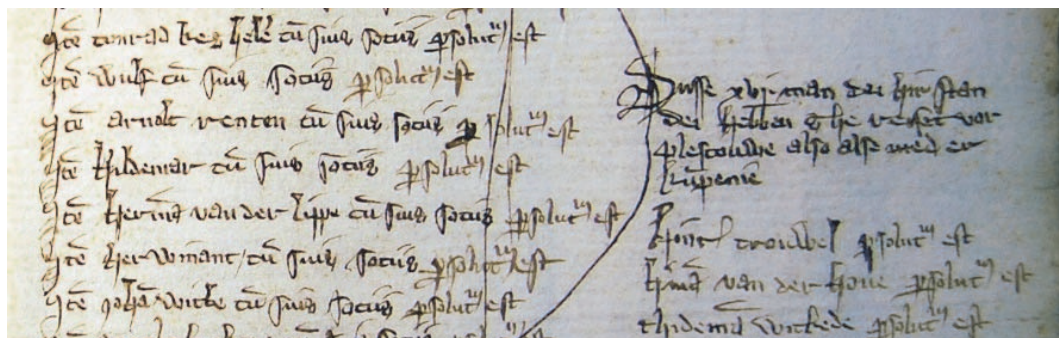
¹¹⁸ TLA, A.d.5, f. 1r, 129r (Gbuch 1365–1458, nr. 238 a warrant issued to terminate on Michaelmas 1374, 263 on Easter 1374, 270 on Michaelmas 1374 and 281 on Easter 1375).

¹¹⁹ TLA, A.d.4, f. 18v and f. 22r (LDA 1333–74, 483, 549, 552), of which the two first ones written in two different sessions are located under an entry with the year 1362 by *Karolus de Montreal*, and the last is placed alone under a copy of a Middle Low German document by *WBIV*. The same hand has also written the name ‘Nicholas’ on f. 19r opposite the two entries of LDA 1333–74, 483, 549; TLA, A.d.4, f. 13r (LDA 1333–74, 516), where Johansen’s dating is based on the councillorship of Johannes Ostinchusen 1351–59 and the that Reinhold Crowel was dead in 1358. On the likely identification of *MBII* as the writer see especially the truncation of ‘*Jte <*’ in nr. 516:2, when all the other *Jtems* in the list are truncated with ‘*Jt*’ and a sling marking ‘*-em*’.

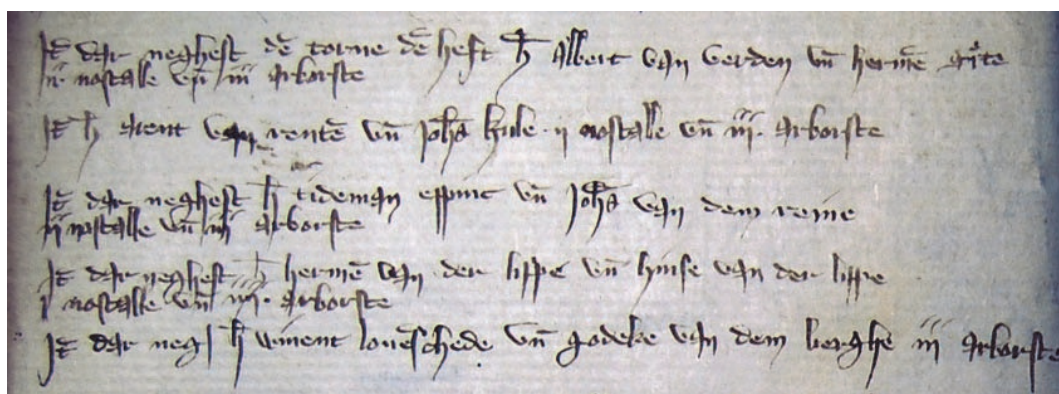
¹²⁰ TLA, A.d.5, f. 134r–v, 135r (Gbuch 1365–1458, nr. 449 a warrant issued to terminate on Michaelmas 1381, 470–471 on late November 1382, 480 on Christmas 1382).

¹²¹ TLA, BA 1:1a, 44 and 48 see later CHAPTER 4.3.2, Table 5:B.

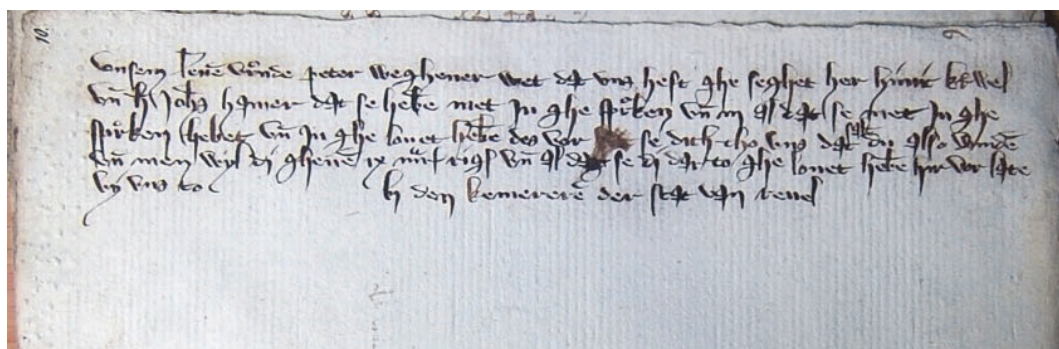
Picture 25:3: The hand responsible for the copy of the bursprake and two lists on the costs and participants of the military expeditions of the city in 1367–69 in A.a.6d (MBII). Note the characteristic downward loop and two-stroke construction of word-beginning 's', daggerless limb of two-compartment 'a' and other features such as the truncation of 'Item'.



Picture 25:4: The hand responsible of the list of the guardians of the towers of the city wall in A.a.6d (MBIV). Note the two-compartment 'a' with daggerlike shaft instead of the habitual right bend end of the two-compartment 'a' favoured by MBII and the truncation of 'Item'. On the similarity between the hands responsible for the list and the letter to Peter Wegehner (PICTURE 25:5), see the writing of the name of councillor Johannes Hamer on the first line.



Picture 25:5: Copy of an undated letter of the k ammerers of Reval to Peter Weghener (hand MBIV). See the writing of the name of councillor Johannes Hamer on the first line.



TLA, A.a.6d, f. 7r (LDA 1333–74, 542), A.a.6d, f. 11v (LDA 1333–74, 539), A.d.4, f. 10r.

Together with *MBII*, another hand independent of *MBI*, Albertus and *AII*, but presenting a gothic script with lettering and ductus much closer to *MBII* than any of the three other persons active with A.a.6d, is a hand here cited as *MBIV*, whose most characteristic feature is a two-compartment ‘a’ with straight daggerlike shaft and closed compartments (see PICTURE 25:3). Like *MBII*, the hand *MBIV* uses rhythmic oblique diacritics of ‘i/j’, but his word-beginning ‘s’ has a straight downward shaft with no loop and the text presents a markedly elongated face with long ascenders of ‘b’, ‘h’, ‘k’, ‘l’ ending either in t-formed serifs or wide finehair sails different from those of *MBII*. The ascenders of *MBIV* again are opposed by equally long or even longer descenders of ‘f’, ‘h’, ‘j’, ‘p’, ‘s’, ‘y’, and the last limb of word-ending ‘n’ usually bends gradually left, unlike the more habitual right-hand curves of *MBII*. By contrast with *MBII*, the truncation of ‘*Jtem*’ by *MBIV* appears to consist habitually of letters ‘*Jt*’ and ‘<’ rather than ‘*Jte*’ and ‘<’ by *MBII*. In A.a.6d the hand of *MBIV* is only evident in the undated list of the guardians of the towers of the city wall and their weaponry from ca. 1367, but the same hand has also written the copy of an undated letter to Peter Weghener (see PICTURE 25:5) on an empty page of the narrow section of A.d.4 otherwise consisting of lists of warrants of safe conduct written by several hands in 1365–72.¹²²

As regards the list of the guardians of the towers, it is interesting that in the codex of mixed memoranda of A.d.4 the same hand *MBIV* appears also to have written an entry related to some fiscal matters of the city and even a list of weaponry of four named councillors, both dating to ca. 1360–68, or perhaps more precisely to 1367–68, and placed on a quarto leaf of paper with earlier entries of *WBIV* and Karolus de Montreal bound into the codex.¹²³ In one way or another engaged with inventories of civic weaponry and equipment in the late 1360’s, the hand *MBIV* may also have been active in matters related to the fiscal memoranda of the city with his possible interpolations to the original entries of Karolus de Montreal from around 1360–61 on matters concerning *wedde*, *Burgergeld* and *schoss* in the quarto section of A.d.4.¹²⁴ Further possible interpolations of the same hand are found scattered in

¹²² TLA, A.a.6d, f. 11v (LDA 1333–74, 539). The copy of the letter to Peter Weghener (A.d.4, f. 10r) is written crosswise on the penultimate leaf of the narrow section of the codex consisting of warrants of safe conduct of 1372 written by city scribe *Albertus*. Considering the sameness of the hand in A.a.6d, f. 11v and A.d.4, f. 10r, see especially the name ‘Johannes Hamer’ in both texts.

¹²³ TLA, A.d.4, f. 12r: LDA 1333–74, 531, where Brant Stalbiter and Hinric van Essende are otherwise documented to have been councillors in 1360–68, Johannes Boleman in 1359–85, and Tidemannus Vickede in 1356–76, see von Bunge 1874, 83, 94, 131, 140, Paul Johansen’s footnote to nr. 531, and LDA 1333–74, 557, which Johansen has dated ca. 1360, but which may be of later date from ca. 1367–68.

¹²⁴ TLA, A.d.4, f. 12v (LDA 1333–74, 466, 471, 480–481, interpolations in 469, 475, 476)

the margins of the list of new burghers originally introduced to A.d.4 by Karolus de Montreal some time in his period of office in 1358–63 and later continued with entries by *MBIV*, Albertus (1363–74) and at least one other hand active in the codex.¹²⁵

Could the somewhat different handwriting of *MBII* active in late 1350's and again in ca. 1369–75 and *MBIV* active in the late 1360's have been written by the same person, despite its varying faces? To make things even more complex, in A.a.6d even a third hand with characteristics of both *MBII* and *MBIV* appears, including the two-compartment 'a' with daggerlike shaft like that of *MBIV*, but presenting a ductus reminiscent of that of *MBII*. Somewhat robust in its disposition, this hand is here cited as *MBIII* because of its transitional appearance between the more clearly identifiable *MBII* and *MBIV* (see PICTURE 25:6). In A.a.6d the hand's only contribution is found at the end of the *bursprake* originally written by *MBII* and then continued by city scribe Albertus, where the last entry of Albertus is followed by an entry by a hand resembling *MBII*, but with a two-compartment 'a' with daggerlike shaft, and then followed by four entries on warrants of safe conduct by the same hand after which there is yet another entry of the *bursprake* written by Albertus. What makes the matter perplexing is that the four entries on warrants of safe conduct written by *MBIII* in a single session in A.a.6d are later crossed out and then written by a hand which is possibly the same as *MBIII* but also very similar to *MBII*, favouring a two-compartment 'a' without the daggerlike shaft to the narrow quire of A.d.4 as warrants of safe conduct of 1372 and possibly issued with *terminis* in 1372 and spring 1373.¹²⁶ A hand close to both *MBIII* with the daggerlike shaft of a two-compartment 'a' but also close to *MBII* with several features similar to the handwriting of the *bursprake* of A.a.6d, appears also to have been engaged in writing a lengthy list of census-like content to the quarto section of A.d.4 in ca. 1360–62.¹²⁷ As already pointed out with reference to the possible sameness of the hands of *MBII* and *HI*, a final and binding identification is impossible to make because of the close likeness of lettering and ductus of several hands active in the mixed memoranda of the city in the 1360's and 1370's. Similar problem of precise identification also apply to the hand here identified as *MBIII*, which has features similar to both *MBII* and *MBIV* but also to other hands active in

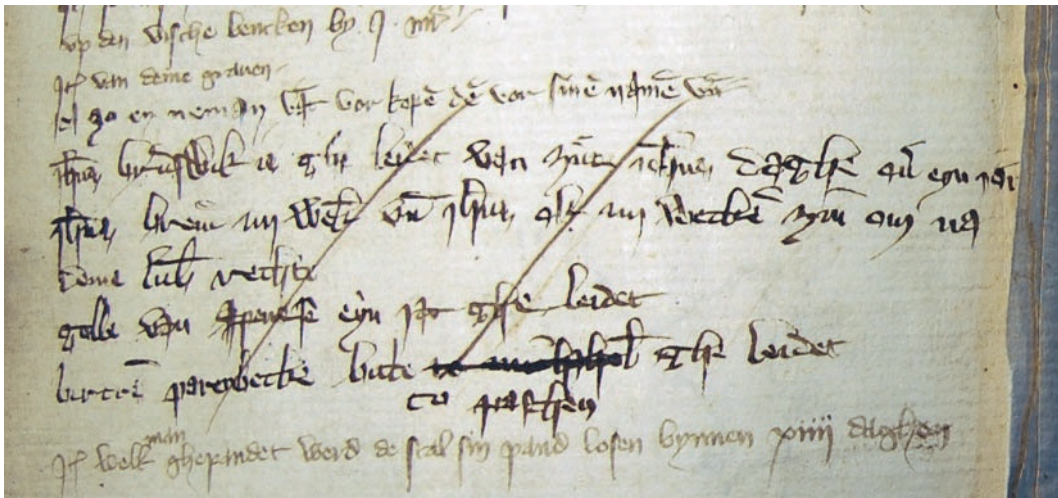
¹²⁵ TLA, A.d.4, f. 18r (LDA 1333–74, 509) where interpolations by *MBIV* are located on the lower right margin and bottom of both columns.

¹²⁶ TLA, A.a.6d, f. 10v where the entry of the *bursprake* by *MBIII* is 'Jtem zo en neman vant vor kopen den vor sinen namen vnd', TLA, A.d.4, f. 9r (Gbuch 1365–1458, 173–176 warrants terminating on John the Baptist 1372 and Easter 1373).

¹²⁷ TLA, A.d.4, f. 2v–3r (LDA 1333–74, 540). Johansen 1935, XVIII hand 17.

the periods of transition between *WBIV* and Karolus de Montreal as well as Karolus and Albertus at the end of the 1350's and the first half of the 1360's.

Picture 25:6: The hand MBIII here identified as a transitional hand between MBII and MBIV, but which may even be a casual face of MBII. In the sample from A.a.6d, the hand has made an addition of the section of bursprake (third row) otherwise written by MBII and Albertus (first two rows and the last in the picture) in A.a.6d, as well as four entries on warrants of safe conduct later crossed out. Note the two-compartment 'a' with daggerlike shaft similar to MBIV but the more general face of text close to MBII. The same four entries of warrants are also found in the narrow quire of A.d.4. as an interpolation by a hand similar to MBII among warrants of safe conduct issued in 1372.



TLA, A.a.6d, f. 10v (Gbuch 1365–1458, 173–176).

What can be said of the period of activity and role of the various hands other than the city scribes proper active in the mixed memoranda of the civic administration from around 1358–62 to the mid-1370's and as late as the beginning of the 1380's? Originally issued '*bj den kemerere der stad van reuel*', the letter to Peter Weghener here already identified as written by the hand *MBIV* may have been copied by one of the *kämmerers* of the city (see PICTURE 25:5).¹²⁸ Considering the transition of the management of written memoranda from the time of Karolus de Montreal to Albertus, and in the period of office of the latter, the hand close to *MBII* but with the daggerlike shaft on the two-compartment 'a' also appears to have been active in the *kämmerer*'s office in the fiscal year of 1363/64, when some Latin entries in the two remaining fragments of the contemporary *liber expositorum* [A.d.2] were written by a hand with similar structure of two-compartment 'a' and some of the other characteristics cited above.¹²⁹ A hand close to this hand but not necessarily the same is also found

¹²⁸ TLA, A.d.4, f. 10r.

¹²⁹ TLA, A.d.1, f. 8b (KB 1363–74, p. 8) and A.d.2, 1b (KB 1363–74, p. 9).

alternating with that of city scribe Albertus and his substitutes in the surviving accounts of the *kämmerers* [A.d.3] in the fiscal years 1372/73 to 1373/74.¹³⁰ Similarly, a hand with daggerlike shaft of two-compartment ‘a’ but this time often with an open upper compartment has also written an undated list on councillors contributing to the Mint on the closing pages of A.a.6b (EBII) in ca. 1365–72, and, possibly, one of the earliest surviving pieces of accounts of the Mint in the wardenship of Peter Stokkeltorp in ca. 1365.¹³¹ Entries by a hand close to both this last hand and also to *MBIV* and *MBII* occurs in the *schossl* of 1372, and in the list of various rents of the city first introduced by city scribe Albertus at Easter 1373 in the opening pages of the paper codex of mixed memoranda of A.d.5, as well as a couple of pages later under an entry written by city scribe Hermannus.¹³² In the earliest surviving register of Poundage [A.d.6], several hands close to *MBII* but also to other hands active in both A.d.4 and A.d.3 in the 1360’s and 1370’s, are again found mixed with those of Hermannus and his substitute *HI*.¹³³ In the narrow quire of warrants of safe conduct of A.d.4 originally introduced to writing by city scribe Albertus in 1365, entries of at least one other hand close to *MBII*, *MBIII* and *MBIV* appear mixed with the hands of city scribe Albertus and his substitute *AII* in entries of warrants issued with terms from Easter 1367 to Easter 1368, and presenting forms of letters occasionally reminiscent of those of *MBIV*, but of more rounded and decisively flamboyant character.¹³⁴

What are we to make of all this evidence of various hands (*MBII–IV*, *HI*) active in the written management of information of Reval in ca. 1359–82? Any identification of the activity of *MBII–IV* in memoranda of the city other than those contemporary or later to the missive book A.a.6d is extremely hard to reach given the similarities or differences between the hands as described above. Possibly active in the various areas of fiscal memoranda of the city already at the time of Karolus de Montreal in 1358/62, but clearly in the period of office of city scribe Albertus in 1363–73, and again perhaps in the early days of his successor Hermannus in ca. 1374–81/82, the forms of lettering and ductus of the hands of *MBII* and *MBIV* are close to several other contemporary hands active in the mixed and fiscal

¹³⁰ TLA, A.d.3, f. 34a-51b. In his introduction of the edition of A.d.3 Otto Greiffenhagen 1927, 89, has identified the hands active in the codex as those of the *kämmerers* only, but as later shown, the incipits and occasional other entries have been written by city scribes or their substitutes.

¹³¹ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 127 (EBII 826), where the two last of the ten entries are written by city scribe Albertus; TLA, B.b.1:I, 1 (LECUB I:2 1025).

¹³² TLA, A.d.12, f. 5r, 8v; TLA, A.d.5, 2r (last full entry, possibly by *WBIV*), 5r (under an entry written by city scribe Hermannus).

¹³³ TLA, A.d.6, passim.

¹³⁴ TLA, A.d.4, f. 7r–v, 6r–v (Gbuch 1365–1458, 45 a warrant terminating on St John the Baptist 1367, 95 on Michaelmas 1367, 98 on Christmas 1367, 99–100 on Easter 1368), 103–106 on Easter and Michaelmas 1368).

memoranda of the council in the 1360's and 1370's and also to at least two of the more distinguished substitutes of city scribes Albertus and Hermannus active in the 1370's and 1380's, such as *AIIIb* and *HI* (see below CHAPTERS 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.1.3). This raises the question of whether it is at all possible to distinguish hands with similar or changing forms of lettering and ductus as being those of one person active in the written management of memoranda in the civic administration (*MBII–IV*), or should they in fact be understood as several different persons presenting forms of handwriting different from the professional notarial ductus of the era and possibly more characteristic to merchants and councillors taking part of the everyday administration of the council? Like the fundamental problems of identifying different hands active in the mixed and fiscal memoranda of the city in the 1360's and 1370's, no final answer to this question can be given, but a short discussion on the nature of this problem is appropriate here.

Should the hands *MBII–IV*, and some of the above-mentioned hands active in 1358–1382 (*AIIIb*, *HI*) be considered the same, the person contributing to various sectors of the written memoranda of the city for a period of some 25 years not only took a wide role in matters of management of information in civic administration, finances and justice, but was also capable of writing in both Latin and Middle Low German and substituted the city scribes proper in these areas. At the same time, however, he was only rarely (as *HI* in 1381–82, see later CHAPTER 5.1.3) entrusted with the duty of writing entries to the two most important and judicially binding registers of the city, i.e. annuities (*PergRB*) and resignations (*EBII–III*), or copies of the missives and other legal documents issued or received by the council as administered by the obviously more distinguished hands of *MBI* and *AI–IV* (see CHAPTER 5.1.1). Instead, and despite the several other hands surfacing in the mixed and fiscal memoranda of the council administration in the period from ca. 1358 to ca. 1382, the two most important registers of the city and copies of the missives and documents of the council were managed *exclusively* by the city scribes and their more distinguished substitutes; a fact which especially in the second quarter of the 14th century and in the beginning of the 1380's has to be considered a sign of a clear distinction in the management of and access to various spheres of memoranda and documents in the written communication of the council.

Should the fact that the hand *MBII* active in one of the codices of the 1282 Lübeck Law with other city scribes of the late 14th century and with handwriting close to that of the substitute *HI* in turn be understood as a sign of a more professional man of letters such as a cleric or scribe resident in Reval working periodically in the written management of information of

the council, a question remains as to the extent different variants of hands with close forms of lettering can be identified as the product of only one individual active in the written management of information in the council's administration.¹³⁵ Here the question must be left open, but I shall return to it later in this study in the context of the hands of *AIIIb* and *HI* active in the 1370's and 1380's, at the time of transition from the period of office of city scribe Albertus to that of Hermannus. It is evident that much of the character of both the mixed and fiscal memoranda of the city in not only A.d.4, A.a.6d and A.d.5, but also in the surviving accounts of the *kämmerers* [A.d.3] and Poundage [A.d.6] in the 1360's and 1370's point to rapid contemporary developments in the written management of mixed and fiscal information of the council, where the volume of the information was obviously larger than that of the second third of the 14th century managed through the small *vademecum* codex of mixed memoranda in 1333–58. Why such developments took place, and what consequences they had for the everyday management of information in the civic administration of 14th- and 15th-century Reval, is one of the major questions of this study and can only be answered after different aspects of the textualization in the administration are discussed in their entirety. Considering the number of hands in the mixed and administrative memoranda of the council administration [A.a.2, A.d.4, A.a.6d, A.d.5, *kämmerer*'s accounts, Poundage and others) compared to the main line of memoranda on resignations and annuities (A.a.1, A.a.3, A.a.6b-c), the answer is clear: in the case of the resignations and annuities there were only a small number of hands, exclusively those of city scribes proper and their more distinguished substitutes, whereas in the other memoranda several hands of different types and periods of writing surface already from the second quarter of the 14th century.

4.3.1.3. Aspects in the development of the various lines of the written memoranda of the council in the 14th century

If we now come back to the codicological developments in the management of mixed memoranda of the council administration as decipherable from the compositions of A.a.6d and A.d.4, it is evident that despite the similarities between the two codices differences between the original role of the volumes existed, and A.a.6d appears to have been first

¹³⁵ The obvious problems with the identification of the variety of hands of city scribes proper and their more or less distinguished substitutes surfacing in the civic memoranda from 1350's to 1380's are also apparent in the 20th-century editions of the material. Paul Johansen, for instance, suggested that the hand responsible for the list of the wardens of the towers TLA, A.a.6d, f. 10v, (LDA 1333–74, 539) here cited as *MBIV*, the letter of the *kämmerers* to Peter Weghener TLA, A.d.4, f. 10r here cited as *MBIV*, *bursprake* and the lists of military expeditions TLA A.a.6d, f. 5r, 7r, 10r (LDA 1333–74, 541–542, LECUB II 982) here cited as *MBII*, and the hand active in ca. 1359–62 in the quarto section of A.d.4, here a possible early variant of *MBII*, were of four different individuals: Johansen 1935, XVIII and XXII hand 25, hand 19, hand 17 and hand 18.

designed as a copy of sent missives of the council. Moreover, characteristic for the use of various volumes in the contemporary management of information of the Revalian office of the city scribes is that even if A.a.6d succeeded in retaining parts of its original function throughout its period of use by city scribe Albertus and other people in ca. 1367–74, it was also employed for registering information about other matters of interest in the contemporary civic administration including military obligations, *bursprake* and occasional entries of warrants of safe conduct. Similarly, and especially before the introduction of the large folio sized (ca. 44,5 x 30,5 cms) paper codex of A.a.4 as a main copy of sent missives of the council in the beginning of the fiscal year of 1384/85 by city scribe Hermannus, missives and other documents sent or received by the council were copied into other books of memoranda of the city, including not only the new paper codex of mixed memoranda [A.d.5] but also the important paper book of resignations of 1358–83 [A.a.6b], and the impressive parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3] introduced in 1384. Since many of the copies in the last two, however, deal with issues concerning landed property, chantries/vicaries or other matters of judicial and fiscal interest on inheritances and rents, they were obviously written as supplements to the schematic content of the registers, and cannot be taken as evidence of the use of these particular volumes for securing texts other than relevant to their main function.¹³⁶ In A.d.5 the surviving copies of the missives and documents issued between 1373 and 1385 present an organic continuation to those written in A.a.2, A.d.4 and A.a.6d; a fact which underlines the original role of the mixed memoranda of the city as a depository not only of matters of civic administration, but also of issues in written communication as administered and pursued by the civic authority of the council.¹³⁷ The practice of copying

¹³⁶ The three copies of missives and documents in A.a.6b are: 1: an open attestation of Johan Sabel, komptur of Goldingen on a testimony concerning the debt of councillor *Hildemar van Vlitsen* issued on Monday after the New Year (January 2), 1363, and placed among the entries issued on February 20, 1363 (A.a.6b, p. 9, Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 159, EBII 76 written by *Karolus de Montreal* in Middle Low German), 2: a mandate of *Nicolaus de Lembeke*, drost of the king of Denmark in the form of an open letter to his servant *Petrus Hattigh* on the illegal alienation of his ship by one *Thomas Nauss* issued in Nätved on the feast of St Catherine (November 25) 1365 and placed between resignations issued on April 13 and April 20, 1366 (A.a.6b, p. 24, Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 277, EBII 187, *Albertus* in Latin), 3: an undated appellation of the council of Reval to that of Lübeck in the matter of *Ludeke Dunevar* and *Johannes Swevis* (A.a.6b, p. 134–135, EBII, p. 133–135, *Karolus de Montreal* in Latin and Middle Low German); In the parchment register of annuities the copies of documents are placed in several sections on the last 18 folios at the end of the codex together with other entries on the decisions of the council on matters related to various chantries (*vicarien*) in the Revalian churches and elsewhere, as well as important loans financed or taken by the council, TLA, A.a.3, f. 119b–135b (PergRB 1402–1470). All the entries are written by city scribes *Hermannus*, *Johannes Blomendal* and *Hil*, and the original texts date between 1389–1419, except of a copy of a letter on the reciprocity and friendship between the Swedish realm and the Livonian Order issued by King Albrecht of Sweden in Stockholm on July 6, 1375 (DS 8811, LECUB I:3 1099) and an open letter of the Komptur of Reval on the resignation of certain piece of field to the church of the Holy Ghost issued on Epiphany (January 6), 1377 (LECUB I:6 2909).

¹³⁷ In A.d.5 copies of missives and other documents are scattered in several sections of the codex. The two first copies are written by city scribe *Albertus* (active in 1363–74) presenting the texts of a letter of the council to

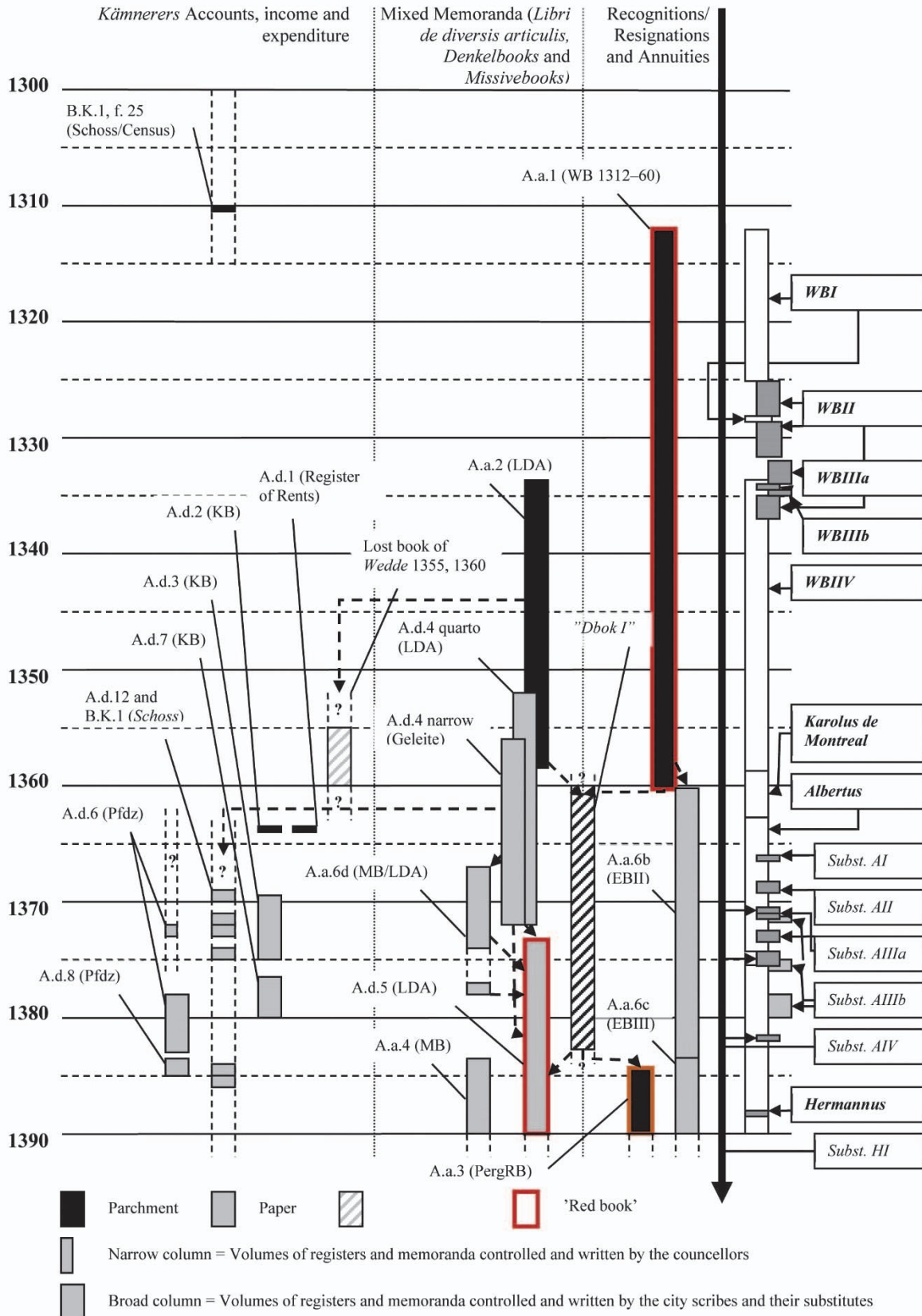
missives and documents to the mixed memoranda of the council thus reflects their role as **manifestations** of the council's authority similar to that of the *bursprake*, *schooss*, registers of market shops, civic military obligations and warrants of safe conduct, with which the first copies of missives emerge as an organic part of the written administration of the manifestations of urban civic power in mid-14th century Reval.

A schematic representation of the known contents and affiliation of the surviving volumes of memoranda and the suggested range and content of the lost *Denkelbok I* and lost codex of *wedde* known to have existed in 1355 and ca. 1360 (see CHAPTER 3.2.1.1) are presented below (FIGURE 6) in the context of emerging lines and corresponding spheres of textualization in the management of information in the civic administration of the council of Reval in 1312–90. In the figure only hands of the city scribes and their more distinguished substitutes active in the most important registers of the city (resignations/recognitions and annuities, A.a.1, A.a.6b-c and A.d.3, that is WB 1312–60, EBII–III and PergRB) are mentioned, not hands active elsewhere in the material such as *MBI–IV* with contributions in A.d.6d and A.d.4 and other administrative memoranda of the council. Should the hand *HI* be identified as the same as *MBII–III* or *MBII–IV*, his periodical activity should also be considered longer, extending from the end of the 1350's to 1381. The only hand with no known contributions to the registers of resignations and annuities presented in the figure is *AIIIb*, active in several volumes of memoranda in the interface of city scribes Albertus and Hermannus in ca. 1372 and 1374–79 and with apparent knowledge of Latin (see later, CHAPTER 5.1.1).

Pope Gregorius on the Feast of St Servatius (May 13), 1373 (LECUB I:3 1090), and a letter to the council of Dorpat on the Feast of St Dorothea (February 6, 1374, LECUB I:3 1080), both in Latin and placed in the first quire of the volume after registers on warrants of safe conduct of 1373 and a schematic representation of the various forms of income of the city (A.d.5, f. 4r–v). The next section consists of five full or partial copies of the council's letters to the councils of Lübeck and Visby (March 16, 1377, HUB IV 584), Novgorod the Great (January 18, 1377, HUB IV 578), Bishop of Ösel-Wiek (March 27, 1378), and the council of Lübeck (a missive and an open attestation issued on July 15, 1384, LECUB I:3 1210–1211) all written by city scribe Hermannus in Middle Low German with occasional Latin salutations, and placed in the second quire of the codex not far after a copy of the Revalian *bursprake* (A.d.5, f. 15r–16v, 19r). Later in the codex copies of missives or attestations issued by the council date to 1380 (f. 95v, LECUB I:3 1019 and 1020, both by Hermannus), 1381 (f. 57r, LECUB I:3 1167 and f. 81r, HR I:2 238, both by Hermannus), 1384 (43v, an open letter of recommendation for the Dominican prior *Johan yachouwen* of Reval issued on June 23, Hermannus), 1385 (f. 25v, HUB IV 840, Hermannus), 1388 (f. 102v, LECUB I:3 1260, Hermannus), 1389 (f. 28r, a letter of the cathedral chapter of Reval issued on April 4, Hermannus), 1393 (f. 35v, LECUB I:3 1339, Hermannus), 1402 (f. 93v, LECUB I:4 1605, HUB V 522, HII), 1409 (f. 109v, an open letter of the council concerning the Hospital of St John issued on June 22, Johannes Blomendal), 1410 (f. 40r, LECUB I:4 1848, Johannes Blomendal), 1425 (f. 90v, an adjudication of the council in a matter of inheritance issued in the form of an open letter on August 31 when 'js dusse zake und breff tho Reuale jn der Stat dencke boeck getekent und geschrifuen', Johannes Blomendal), as well as undated fragments of letters of the Komptur of Reval to the council of Dorpat (f. 89v, Hermannus), and council of Reval to the bailiff of Narva (f. 86v, Hermannus).

Figure 6: *City scribes, their major substitutes and the organisation of various lines and corresponding spheres of memoranda in the written management of information of the council of in Reval in 1312–90.*

REGISTERS AND BOOKS OF MEMORANDA



The city scribes and their substitutes on the right are those active in the two most important registers of the city (annuities and recognitions/resignations). DB I = Denkelbok I, KB = *Kämmererbücher* (*Kämmerers'* accounts), LDA = Liber de diversis articulis, MB = Missive book, Pfdz = Poundage. The possible lost volume of sworn burghers 1364? – ca. 1400? is not included in the figure. For the basic codicological information on different volumes of the major lines of memoranda in the written management of information of Reval before 1460, see APPENDIX 2.

As observed in FIGURE 6, the use of text in the known and surviving management of information of the civic authority in Reval first occurred in the domain of resignations and inheritances, where the council had emerged as the basic authority of control and attestation already in the 13th century, but where a particular need for a written register appears to have materialised at the time of the extension of the walled area of the city by royal legate Johannes Canne in 1310–11. Whether or not the new parchment register of resignations and annuities introduced by city scribe *WBI* in 1312 [A.a.1] should be considered entirely a result of this new situation is difficult to determine, but given the survival of a section of a list of house owners from ca. 1300–15 written by *WBI* [B.K.1, f. 25], the codex may have been preceded by an older register of similar content, possibly based on loose parchment sheets containing lists of house owners of *schoss*like content, and employed for managing the information on the inheritable lots of the original walled area of the town since the time of Margaret of Sambiria in the 1270's and early 1280's. However, since the introduction of A.a.1 could equally well be understood as a indigenous application of new textual technologies characteristic of the emerging written management of information of the early 14th-century civic authorities, much of its employment may have been instigated by the needs of the new extension of the walled area after Canne, where the earlier resignations may have been issued orally only in front of the council without being registered in any special volume of memoranda. In both cases, the early 14th-century parchment lists of those liable for *schoss* in the two parishes and adult people living in their households were clearly of different composition and origin, and must be considered a sphere and line of their own, distinct from that of the resignations and annuities.

4.3.2. The first uses of paper in the written management of information of Reval

What can we say about the early uses of paper in the written management of information of the Revalian city scribes in the beginning of the second half of the 14th century? Certain aspects of the phenomenon and the takeoff of paper as the main material of received missives of the council in ca. 1380–1420 have already been discussed in CHAPTER 2.1.3.2. Considering the management of information and communication, the new material appears to have emerged more or less contemporaneously with the domains of city books of

memoranda and missives, not long after the first letters on paper were received by the council in ca. 1346–52. In order to better understand the various developments and the chronological range of the process that took place, we must first take a look what is known about the variety of paper and its availability in the written management of information of the civic authority in the 1350's.

Both A.a.6d and the original quarto sections of A.d.4 are composed from folded quires in quarto (ca. 30,5 x 22,5/21,0 cm) apparently based on regal-sized (ca. 61,5 x 44,5 cm) sheets of paper. In his 1935 study of *Libri de diversis articulis* Paul Johansen identified the paper of the two codices as the same, but a closer examination of the sheets reveals that the codices were assembled from different stocks; the quarto sections of A.d.4 having a watermark of a four legged bull, and A.a.6d a whole dog with open jaw and collar (see TABLE 5:A). Because the earliest surviving entries in the quarto sections of A.d.4 date to 1352, Paul Johansen presented a hypothesis that in ca. 1352 or not long before a loose volume of several quires of paper folded in quarto had been introduced for the management of memoranda in the City Scriptorium. Obviously designed as a continuation of the older parchment *vademecum* of A.a.2, the new volume first became established as the main codex of mixed memoranda of the city in the 1350's, but it was then reduced to a mutilated codex of two quires and some odd pages in quarto some time in the period of activity of city scribe Albertus in ca. 1363–69.¹³⁸

According to Johansen, a likely reason for the dissolution of A.d.4 would have been shortage of paper in the City Scriptorium, where sections of the volume were used as a source of paper for other records at the beginning of the 1360's. To his mind, the dissolution of A.d.4 had most likely occurred before 1365, when city scribe Albertus had attached a narrow quire in blanco to the volume in order to obtain space for the lists of warrants of safe conduct. Then, Johansen suggests, 'no empty paper was available any more in the book'. In support of his hypothesis, Johansen further suggested that the paper shortage problem was only overcome with new acquisitions in the autumn of 1369 and spring of 1373, as documented in the *kämmerers'* accounts of 1369–74. According to Johansen, the original volume of A.d.4 had most likely consisted of five quires of paper, of which the surviving two consisted of only 6 and 10 leaves. After assuming that the five quires originally consisted of ten leaves each, he concluded that a minimum of some 31 leaves had to be missing, 27 of these being

¹³⁸ Johansen 1935, XXIII, XVII.

totally lost because the combined texts transcribed into A.a.6d could have only filled some four leaves.¹³⁹

Much of Johansen's hypothesis on the fate of A.d.4 was founded on the existence of the new missive book of A.a.6d, the first section of which appears to have been written as a copy of A.d.4 in only a couple of sessions in ca. 1367–69 (see CHAPTER 4.3.1.1). The copies written in A.a.6d are based on earlier copies of missives written in A.d.4 in 1355–62, but since some of these older copies appear to have been lost later, it is possible that the dissolution of the last quire of A.d.4 occurred in the context of the transcription of the first section of A.a.6d as suggested by Johansen.¹⁴⁰ The fact that A.a.6d was started on an empty quire of different paper than that of A.d.4, however, effectively rules out the possibility of an acute shortage of paper in the written management of information of Reval in the late 1360's, and suggests that the partial dissolution of A.d.4 only occurred some time after the introduction of A.a.6d in 1367–69. Certain sections of A.d.4 may have been used for production of missives, drafts and other texts since the early years of office of city scribe Albertus, but the very existence of A.a.6d does not suggest any real problems with the supply of paper or other writing materials in 1365–69. Similarly, the narrow quire with lists of warrants of safe conduct from 1365–72 appears to have been first employed as a separate volume of its own and bound together with the remaining parts of A.d.4 only later, possibly at some point after the introduction of the new codex of mixed memoranda of the city [A.d.5] in 1373. As already pointed out, the narrow section itself is assembled from paper different to that used in the quarto sections of A.d.4 and A.a.6d, with a watermark of a bull's head with eyes.¹⁴¹ Instead of a lack of writing materials, a more plausible explanation for the inconsistent recording of memoranda in the Revalian written management of information in the late 1360's may be provided by the two absences of the city scribe between the Easter of 1367 and the beginning of the fiscal year of 1369/70, and the multitude of people with access to the management of mixed memoranda of the council in the late 1360's and early 1370's (see CHAPTER 5.1.1).

Further evidence on the first occurrences of paper in the written management of information of the council can be drawn from various documents and missives still available in the medieval holdings of *AR*. There, the early writings on paper have survived in received and

¹³⁹ Johansen 1935, XXIII, XVII; TLA, A.d.3, f. 1v, 'Item vor wien (?) vnde vor poppir xxi scl lub', f. 38v, 'Item 14 oras vor papir' (KB 1363–74, p. 12 and 52).

¹⁴⁰ Johansen 1935, XXIII.

¹⁴¹ TLA, A.d.4, f. 7. The watermark of a bull's head with eyes is a variant of Briquet 14134 with documented use in 1361–62 (see Tables 5:A and 5:C).

sent missives of the council, of which the latter group consists not only of copies and drafts, but also of finished originals once composed on paper but never sent to the recipients.

From before the time of the first introduction of the quarto volume of A.d.4 in ca. 1352, the oldest surviving documents of paper in *AR* are three undated missives the council received in various matters of communication. Of these the first is a letter of Tidemannus Malchow and Hinricus Cloot most likely written in Dorpat some time between 1346 and 1350 on the inheritance of Revalian councillor Johannes de Bremen. The second is a letter of the council of Dorpat to that of Reval on an open confrontation of local burghers and some Estonians in front of the town gates on the Friday before Sunday Cantate (April 23, 1350?), and the third a missive of Gerhard (*Gerichinus*) Skytte, headman of Åbo (Fin. Turku) to the council of Reval concerning a ship of the king of Sweden in the possession of a man named Kruse (*Krwse*), written in Åbo on the Eve of St Matthew (September 20) in ca. 1350. All the three missives discuss matters typical in the written communication of contemporary agents of power and do not differ from similar letters written on parchment in the second quarter of the 14th century. Similarly, all three letters are composed in the form of sealed closed letters and consist of narrow rectangular sheets folded into three parts with the address written crosswise on the back of the letters. Each letter was secured with a paper cord thread through two cuttings in the folding and sealed with a wax seal which secured the loose ends of the sheet and the paper cord circumscribing the folding.¹⁴² The tripartite folding and the use of a sealed cord for securing the contents of closed letters are characteristic of contemporary missives of parchment received or issued by the council in the 1340's and 1350's.¹⁴³

From 1352 there are a further four missives on paper, two of which are written by the council of Visby to the council of Reval with attached sheets containing transcriptions of letters of the council of Lübeck and German merchants at Brügge. The other two letters are missives of the council of Dorpat discussing contemporary matters of Livonian and

¹⁴² TLA, Urk. 1-I, 167 (RevUB 25) and TLA, Urk. 1-I, 190. The letters of Malchow and Cloot and the council of Dorpat are written by the same hand, apparently that of the city scribe of Dorpat in ca. 1350. The hand appears to have been active in the City Scriptorium of Dorpat already in ca. 1340, see TLA, Urk. 1-I, 119 (LECUB I:2 795). If the dating of the brawl to 1350 is correct, the agitation occurred on the Feast of St John seven years after the peasant uprising of 1343. In 1343, the Friday before Cantate was on 9th of May, i.e. 15 days after the revolt; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 199 (LECUB I:2 919, FMU I 576). For the stock of paper see Lindbergh 1994, 81–83, who has identified the watermark as Briquet 12469 (known use in 1340).

¹⁴³ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 123 (a finished and sealed but unsealed letter of the council of Reval to the bishop of Ösel-Wiek written by WBIV in ca. 1340), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 119 (LECUB I:2 795, from Dorpat on November 4, ca. 1340), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 198 (LECUB I:2 921, FMU I 575, DS I:6 4657, from Kirkkonumi on July 29, ca. 1350), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 200 (LECUB I:2 918, FMU I 577, DS I:6 4661, from Åbo, ca. November 1350), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 205 (LECUB I:2 913, from Weissenstein/Paide ca. 1350)

Gotlandic interest. The transcriptions attached to the two letters from Visby have not survived, but the missives are of similar form, consisting of a rectangular sheet where the upper and lower edges of the letter were first folded in horizontally and the letter then folded twice vertically, after which it was tied together with a paper cord thread through two cuttings and sealed with a wax seal on the back of the folding. Of the two missives of the council of Dorpat, one is similar in form to the letter of 1350 and the other, which has an embedded text of a letter from the German merchants of Brügge, has an extra horizontal folding to reduce the size of the final letter.¹⁴⁴

If we then turn to look the early missives and documents produced and sent by the council of Reval on paper, none are known to have survived from the period of activity of city scribe *WBIV* in 1333–58. From the period of activity of Karolus de Montreal and Albertus and some of their substitutes before 1373, however, a variety of texts on paper are extant, some of which appear to be copies of sent missives similar to those in A.d.4. Of these the following are composed on sheets with fragments of original molded edges of the paper and a pagewidth similar to the quarto sections of A.d.4 (ca. 21,0–23,0 cms): an undated copy of a letter of the council to Bishop Hermannus of Ösel-Wiek written by city scribe Karolus de Montreal some time during his activity in 1358–63, a copy of a letter of the council of Reval to that of Lübeck in late 1369, and two pairs of copies of letters of the council from ca. 1365 and ca. 1371–74 on the opposite sides of same sheets of paper, all written by city scribe Albertus. No watermark is detectable in the copy of Karolus de Montreal, and the paper is evidently not of the same stock than the quarto section of A.d.4. The copy of a letter to the council of Lübeck in 1369 is composed on a paper with a fragment of a watermark of a large *fleur de lis* with coverleaves, whereas the two copies ca. 1371–74 are written on a paper of equal placing of wires and thickness of sheet to the narrow section of A.d.4. The two copies of ca. 1365 are written on the opposite sides of a paper with fragments of a watermark of a triple mount with a cross (for the description see TABLE 5:B).¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Missives of the council of Visby: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 208 dated to the day after Eastern (April 9, 1350, HR I:3 5, DS I:6 6362) and TLA, Urk. 1-I, 210 dated to the Thursday after Pentecost (May 31, 1350, HR I:3 6, DS I:6 6382); Missives of the council of Dorpat: TLA, Urk. 1-I, 212 dated on Trinity Eve (June 2), 1352 (HR I:3 8) and TLA, Urk. 1-I, 214 dated on St Margaret Eve (July 12, 1352, HR I:3 10). Both the letters are written by the same hand as the letters of Tideman Malchow and Hinricus Clout and the council of Dorpat, Urk. 1-I, 167 and 190.

¹⁴⁵ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 252 (LECUB II 1008, *Karolus de Montreal*); TLA, BA 1:1a, 46r, (undated, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 311, HR I:3 31, *Albertus*, a fragment of a watermark of a fleur de lis, Piccard 13 I 439; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 270 and 271, two copies of letters of the council of Reval to Narve Ingevaldsson, headman of the castle of Åbo, protesting at his confiscation of iron and copper belonging to three named Revalian burghers on their way from

As the use of a paper with a watermark of triple mount ca. 1365 shows, not all the early copies of missives on paper surviving in *AR* were related to the possible lost sections of A.d.4, and paper other than that in the quarto and narrow sections of the codex was available for the written management of information of Reval in the late 1360's. In fact, during his term of office city scribe Albertus documentedly had access to paper from four or five different mills (see TABLE 5:B). An important proof for this is a draft or a copy of an undated letter of the council from ca. 1366 to an unknown recipient concerning the damage suffered by one *Hermannus Kursewerte* because of a certain *Ludekinus Meyen* in Reval. The text is written by city scribe Albertus, and is placed on a loose sheet similar to the copies of ca. 1365, 1369 and 1371–74, but of different paper with a watermark of a triple mount or mount of five with the centre mount ending in a trefoil and a cross.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, the first evidences on the use of paper in the production of missives by the Revalian city scribes is provided by finished and folded but unsealed and unsealed original missives of the council composed on paper of various origins different from those of A.d.4 and A.a.6d. Of the total of four such letters surviving from the period of activity of city scribe Albertus and his substitutes before 1373, the only one with no detectable watermark is a folded but unsealed letter of the council of Reval addressing the bailiff of Åbo Narve Ingevaldsson in ca. 1365. One of the others is a folded but unsealed letter of Revalian burgher Johan Duderstad to the bailiff of Åbo Ernst van Dotzem on the Eve of St Peter (February 21) 1372, written by the substitute of the city scribe *HI* and composed on a sheet of paper with a watermark of a half bull. The remaining two – an unsealed original of the letter of the council to the bishop of Ösel-Wiek written by city scribe Albertus on Friday before St Symon and Jude in ca. 1367 (October 22), and an unsealed original of a missive of the council to the inhabitants of Nyland on the feast of St John at the Latin Gate (May 6) in ca. 1367 – are composed on a paper with a watermark of

Stockholm to Reval written on Wednesday in the Passion of our Lord (April 9, 1365, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 270, FMU I 732, LECUB I:2 1000, HUB IV 141, DS I:8 7165, *Albertus*, and undated TLA, Urk. 1-I, 271, FMU I 733, LECUB I:2 1001, HUB IV 142, DS I:8 7166, *Albertus*, fragment of a triple mount measuring similar to Briquet 11668 with documented use in 1358–62; TLA, BA 1:1a, 45r and 45v, two undated copies on letters of the council to Bo Jonsson *drost* of Sweden and headman of Viborg (BA 1:1a, 45r, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 278, FMU I 743, LECUB I:2 1023, no watermark, placing of wires 40 mms; HUB IV 706, *Albertus*, ca. 1371–74, probably from the first half of 1374) and an unnamed recipient. most likely the council of Dorpat (BA 1:1a, 45v. TLA, Urk. 1-I, 279, LECUB I:2 1024, HUB IV 713, *Albertus*, ca. 1371–74, no watermark, the distance of chains is 42 mms.¹⁴⁶ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 267 (LECUB II 1007, a watermark of a triple mount /five without a baseline and the centre mount ending up with a threefoil and a cross, height 115, width 35, chainlines 35–45 mms. No equivalent of the figure was listed in the online editions of Briquet or Piccard when they were accessed during the period of research of this study, last 19.11.2015. Revalian burgher Ludekinus Meyen was in 1366 exposed as a spy of King of Denmark. After his escape the council informed the council of Stralsund of the matter on June 24, 1366, HUB IV 183.

large *fleur de lis* with two coverleaves ending up with trefoils.¹⁴⁷ As already pointed out, sheets of the paper with the same watermark were used by Albertus in copies of letters from 1369, and possibly in 1371–74.

Tables 5:A-C: *Known use of paper and its provenience in the surviving books of memoranda and copies of missives before the end of the term of office of city scribe Albertus in the spring of 1374.*

Table 5:A: *Surviving paper books and quires of memoranda put into writing before the spring of 1374.*

TLA	Purpose of writing	First put to writing	Introduced to writing by	Watermark	a: distance of chains (mm) b: watermark, w: width, h: height (mm)
A.a.6b	Book of resignations (EBII)	February 2, 1360	Karolus de Montreal	Circle	a: – b: w and h: 28
A.d.4, f. 1–4, 12–24 (quarto)	Mixed memoranda and copies of missives	1352	WBIV	Four legged bull	a: 27–45 b: w: 52?, h: 98?
A.d.4, f. 5–11 (narrow)	Register of warrants of safe conduct with mixed memoranda	1365	Albertus	Bull's head with eyes	a: 40 b: w: 40, h: 60
A.d.6d (quarto)	Copies of missives with mixed memoranda	Mid 1367 - fall 1369	MBI	Whole dog with open jaw and without collar	a: 40–48 b: w: 75, h: 60
A.d.3, f. 1–48 (quires I–III)	<i>Kämmerers'</i> accounts	Around Michaelmas 1369	Albertus	Fleur de lis	a: 25–45 b: w: 70, h: 72
A.d.3, f. 49–71 (quire IV)	<i>Kämmerers'</i> accounts	1374	Albertus?	Two circles and cross/crooked fish	a: 40–43 b: w: 30, h: 92/ a: 25–38 b: w: 75, h: 50–55
A.d.12, f. 1–24	Schoss	Fall of 1369, 1371 and 1372	Albertus	Fleur de lis	a: 25–45 b: w: 70, h: 72

¹⁴⁷ TLA, Urk I-1, 265, an undated, unsent and unsealed, but folded original letter of the council to Narve Ingevaldsson, headman of Åbo, concerning his request not to support Nils Turesson (Bielke, headman of Viborg) written by city scribe *Albertus* most likely in the autumn of 1365 (FMU I 712, LECUB I:2 1006; DS I:8 6916). The paper appears to be of different source than the quarto or narrow sections of A.d.4; TLA, BA 1:1a, 44 (FMU VIII 6594, DS X 145 for the dating see CHAPTER 5.1.4.1, footnote 55), *HI*, the watermark of a half bull with eye is probably a variant of Briquet 2728 with documented use in Pisa in 1372; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 288, the finished and folded but unsealed original letter informs the bishop, that the council had denied Nicolaus Sedel the requested warrant of safe conduct. The watermark of *fleur de lis* with two coverleaves ending up with trefoils is Piccard 13 I 439, with documented use in Italy in 1368; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 287 a finished and folded but unsealed original letter of the council to the inhabitants of Nyland in favour of Henric Pape and his goods, written by Albertus on the Feast of St John at the Latin Gate (May 6, 1367?, FMU I 764, DS IX 7519).

B.K.1, f. 30r–31v, 32r–v	Schoss	Ca. 1369–73, possibly 1373?	Albertus	Showing no watermark. Possibly same paper than A.d.12, f. 1–24 and A.d.3, f. 1–48 (quires I–III)	a: ca. 40
A.d.12, f. 25–35	Schoss	Fall of 1374, 1374/75?	AIV	Two circles and a cross	a: 40–43 b: w: 30, h: 92
A.d.6	Poundage	Between ca. 1362–76	Councillors?	Bow and arrow	a: 28–45 b: w: 63, h: 78
A.d.5, f. 1–138/f. 139–168	Mixed memoranda	April 17, 1373	Albertus and later city scribes	Whole dog with pointed nose and collar/Bellows	a: 40–45 b: w: 65, h: 48/ a: 37 b: w: 30, h: 55

Table 5:B: *Surviving copies of missives put into writing before spring 1374.*

TLA	Purpose of writing	First put to writing	Introduced to writing by	Watermark	a: distance of chains (mm) b: watermark, w: width, h: height (mm)
Urk. 252	Copy of a missive	1358–63	Karolus de Montreal	Showing no watermark, not the same paper as in A.d.4.	a: undecipherable
Urk. 265	Copy of a missive	Autumn 1365	Albertus	Showing no watermark, not the same paper as in A.d.4.	a: 30–45
BA 1:1a, 44	Finished but unsent missive	February 21, 1372	HI	Half bull	a: 37–40? b: w: 42, h: 50
BA 1:1a, 45 (Urk. 278–279)	Copies of missives	Ca. 1371–74	Albertus	(Showing no watermark, same paper as bull's head in A.d.4 narrow section?)	A: 40
BA 1:1a, 46 (Urk. 311)	Copy of a missive	late 1369	Albertus	Fleur de lis	a: 25–45 b: w: 70, h: 72
Urk. 267	Draft or copy of a missive	Ca. 1366	Albertus	Triple mount/five with threefoil and cross	a: 35–45 b: w: 35, h: 115
Urk. 270 and 271	Copies of missives	April 9, 1365	Albertus	Triple mount with cross	a: 32–51 b: w: 38, h: -
Urk. 287	Finished but unsent missive	May 6, 1367?	Albertus	Fleur de lis	a: 25–45 b: w: 70, h: 72
Urk. 288	Finished but unsent missive	October 22, ca. 1367	Albertus	Fleur de lis	a: 25–45 b: w: 70, h: 72

Table 5:C: Watermarks and provenience of the various stocks of paper used for writing by the Revalian city scribes before the spring of 1374.

Watermark	Briquet/Piccard	Documented use by Briquet/Piccard	Provenience	Used for writing in Reval
Four legged bull	Briquet 2748/ Piccard 15:3 VI 799?	1341/1345	Italian	1352
Circle	Briquet 2919–2920	1343–88	Italian	February 2, 1360
Bow and arrow	-	-	-	Between ca. 1362–76
Triple mount with cross	Briquet 11668?	1358–62	Italian	April 9, 1365
Bull's head with eyes	Briquet 14134?	1361–62	Italian	1365
Mount of five/three with cross	-	-	-	Ca. 1366
Whole dog with open jaw and without collar	Piccard 15:3 VII 1253	1366	Italian	Mid 1367 – fall 1369
Fleur de lis	Piccard 13 I 439	1368	Italian	?1367? – fall 1369
Half bull	Briquet 2728?	1372	Italian	February 21, 1372
Whole dog with pointed nose and collar	Briquet 3601?/Piccard 15:3 VII 1327–1328?	1370	Champagne	April 17, 1373
Bellows	Briquet 13984	1385/87	French?	April 17, 1373
Two circles and cross	Briquet 3172	1372	Italian	1374
Crooked fish	-	-	-	1374

As the number of surviving memoranda and unfinished original missives of the council still stationed *AR* from the late 1360's and early 1370's shows, paper was increasingly employed as the writing material of missives in the Revalian management of communication from the period of activity of city scribe Albertus in 1363–74. At the same time a similar rise in the number of received missives on paper occurred and in the last quarter of the 14th century paper emerged as the prevalent material of the received missives stationed in *AR* (see CHAPTER 2.1.3.2 and GRAPH 3). Intriguingly, a similar development in favour of paper also took place in the management of sent missives of the council, where all the known copies of letters were written in paper volumes of memoranda from 1355 onwards. After the unsuccessful introduction of two or more quires of parchment for the accounts of the market

shops and the office of the *kämmerers* at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1363/64 [A.d.1–2], the only known books of memoranda ever to be started and maintained on parchment in the civic administration of the council of Reval in the Middle Ages were the robust parchment register of annuities introduced in 1384 and in use until 1518 [A.a.3], the quarto codex of parchment originally introduced as a schematic register for the various rents and annuities of the city by city scribe Hermannus in ca. 1399–1403 [A.a.7, see also FIGURE 7 in CHAPTER 5.2.4.2], and the robust parchment registers of recognitions and resignations on inheritances starting from 1466 [A.a.35b–d].

Instead of a continuous use of parchment, a general tendency towards the growing employment of paper in the Revalian civic management of written information administration in the late 1360's is further attested by the introduction of distinct volumes of paper in the management of the accounts of the *kämmerers* [A.d.3] at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1369/70, that of Poundage [A.d.6] somewhere in 1362–76, and the first surviving *schosslist* written in narrow format and detached from the mixed memoranda of the city in 1369 [A.d.12, see also FIGURE 6]. Of these, the *liber camerariorum* of 1369–74 [A.d.3] is composed of four quires of paper in octavo, the first three again being assembled from the paper with the watermark of a large *fleur de lis* with two coverleaves ending up in trefoils, and the fourth from two different stocks of paper with watermarks of two circles pierced with a cross and a crooked fish.¹⁴⁸ The earliest register on Poundage [A.d.6], by contrast, is a paper codex in narrow format assembled in limp leather binding and composed in its entirety of paper with one watermark, a bow and arrow.¹⁴⁹ The surviving volume of *schosslists* from 1369 to ca. 1403 are in a modern 20th-century binding with a variety of original lists in narrow format, the four oldest, from 1369, 1371, 1372 and ca. 1373, are composed from the same paper as the three first quires of A.d.3 (with a watermark of a *fleur de lis*), and the fourth from 1374 has the same watermark as the first section of the fourth quire of A.d.3 (two circles and a cross).¹⁵⁰ Considering the acquisition of various stocks of paper for the needs of the city scribes, it is of interest that all the known users of the paper

¹⁴⁸ TLA, A.d.3, f. 13v, 44v. *Fleur de lis*: Piccard 13 I 439. The fourth quire starts at f. 49, with a watermark of two circles and a cross on f. 50–56, a variant of Briquet 3172 with documented use in 1372. For the *crooked fish* (f. 60–62) see CHAPTER 3.2.1.2, footnote 100. Otto von Greiffenhagen 1927, 89, who mistook the codex as consisting of one paper only and suggested that the watermark was 'a dog's head'.

¹⁴⁹ TLA, A.d.6, f. 26. The watermark of bow and arrow was one of the most popular in the later Middle Ages and in use in the latter half of the 14th century both in Italy and Champagne. The watermark in A.d.6 measures 68 x 75 mm with chains varying between 28–45 mm. The figure has two knots on one side of the bow and three in the corresponding string.

¹⁵⁰ TLA, A.d.12, f. 1r–3r (1369), A.d.12, f. 9r–15r (1371), A.d.12, f. 17r–23r (1372), BK 1, f. 30r–31v and 32r–v (possibly from 1373), A.d.12, f. 25r–27r and 29r–31r (1374) and f. 33r–34v (probably 1374).

with the watermark of *fleur de lis* in Reval date to the latter half of 1369 or later, except two finished but unsealed missives tentatively dated to October and May 1367 in the older scholarship. Since the earliest known use of the paper with exactly the same watermark and measuring of lines appears to have occurred in Pisa in Italy only in 1368, one is intrigued to identify the particular stock of paper with *fleur de lis* as the one acquired for the needs of the office of the city scribes in 1369, which makes the dating of the two missives to the bishop of Ösel-Wiek and inhabitants of Nyland to October 1369 and May 1369 or 1370 very likely. Nothing in the content of these missives prevents such a redating, and the identification of the paper of *fleur de lis* widely employed by the Revalian city scribes since 1369 as the stock acquired in the same year appears highly probable.¹⁵¹

The variety of paper in the surviving copies and discarded originals tells that paper of various origins was available for the city scribes in their office in the latter half of the 1360's and there is no reason to suggest that the dissolution of A.d.4 in ca. 1365–69 was caused by any contemporary shortage of writing materials. Instead, the rapid adoption of paper by various branches of the written memoranda at the beginning of the 1370's suggests that the new material was easily acquired, and it was adapted for several uses in the written management of information in the office of the city scribes without hesitation.

After the known acquisitions of paper for the needs of the written management of the civic authority as documented in the *kämmereres'* accounts of 1369–74, in the autumn of 1369 and spring of 1373, further information on acquired stocks of paper are found in the *kämmereres'* accounts of 1432–63, which tells that paper was bought almost every fiscal year in the period of office of city scribe Joachim Muter (1429–56/60) between 1432/33 and 1448/49 and again in 1453/54–1456/57 (see GRAPH 5). The acquired stocks were purchased in quantities of quires (Mnd. *bok*, á 25 sheets) and 1/2–1 1/2 reams (Mnd. *riis*, á 480 sheets, i.e. 24 quires) to satisfy an apparent average consumption of one ream per fiscal year. On Saturday before Sunday Oculi (March 11), 1452, an entry was made in the accounts on the purchase of 'a new book of paper' at the price of one Riga mark. According to the oldest

¹⁵¹ Of the two missives the letter of the council to Bishop of Konrad II of Ösel-Wiek (bishop 1363–74, LG I:2, 46) on the matter of Nicolaus Sedeler is dated to ca. 1367 by Paul Johansen in Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, nr. 228. The dating is most likely based on the handwriting of city scribe Albertus only. The letter of the council to the inhabitants on Nyland discusses the matter of Revalian merchant Herman Pape who had commissioned some of his goods to be further sold in Nyland in the previous autumn (*autumpne proxima preterito*), but which had been violently confiscated by some local men (*aliquos viros terram vestram inhabitantes alienata sunt atque sibi violenter ablata*). The letter obviously refers to violent disturbances during the peasant revolt of Nyland which occurred in the autumn of 1368. On the revolt and murder of the castellan of Viborg in Nyland, see Fritz 1972–73:2, 137.

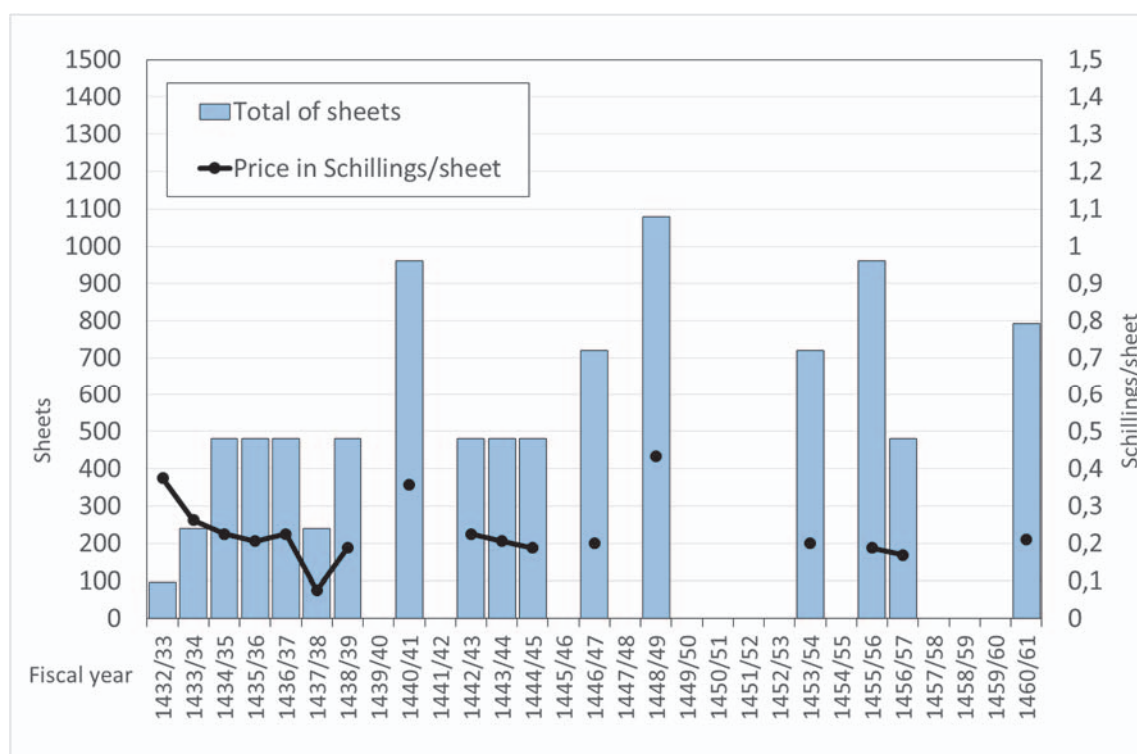
surviving regulation of manufactured paper issued in Bologna in 1389, moulded sheets of paper were produced in four different sizes: Imperiale (ca. 74,0 x 50,0 cm), Mezzana (51,5 x 34,5 cm), Reale (regal, 61,5 x 44,5 cm) and Reçute (folio, 45,0 x 31,5), the most popular being the regal and the folio, which was half a regal sheet.¹⁵²

No information on the size of sheets bought for the written management of information of the city in Reval is available in the accounts, but in 1444 and 1447 the purchased paper is named as ‘troies pappir’, i.e. paper from Troyes paper mill in France. In July 1447 an entry was written about acquisitions of both a ream of ‘troies pappiirs’ and a half ream of ‘lumpers pappiirs’, i.e. ‘Lombardian paper’ (*vor en riis troies pappiirs 10 f. unde vor en halff riis lumpers pappiirs 6 f.*). This means that paper of different stock and manufacture could be purchased for the needs of the written administration of the civic authority in the same year. The majority of the costs of bought paper were entered in the *kämmerers*’ accounts in May – July (8 of 22 entries) and November–January (8/22). The price of paper varied according to the stock and year; in the summer of 1447 a sheet of ‘troies’ paper cost 0,19 schillings, and a sheet of ‘lumpers’ 0,23, but in 1432–61 the average price of purchased paper was 0,23 schillings per sheet, with a larger variation only in the years 1433 (0,38), 1438 (0,08), 1440/41 (two purchasements on 0,26 and 0,45) and 1449 (0,43 schillings/sheet). In 1441 paper was apparently bought via one ‘Johanse’ (Johannes?), and in 1461 through councillor Marquard Breetholt. Curiously, no information on bought paper is found in the surviving *kämmerers*’ accounts of 1376–80, but acquisitions of stocks of paper (*vor pappyr*) in the late 14th century are cited among other specific memoranda of the city such as Poundage in 1383–84 (see CHAPTER 3.2.2.3). In the fragment of the quarto paper volume of *kämmerer*’s accounts of 1405 and from August to mid September 1426/August to September ca. 1429–32

¹⁵² TLA, A.d.3, f. 1v, f. 38v (KB 1363–74, p. 12 and 52); KB 1432–63, nr. 36 (23.5.1433, 'Item 1 mr. vor 4 boke pappirs to der stad behoff'), 68 (19.12.1433, 'vor 1/2 riis pappirs gegeben 7 ferd'), 100 (3.7.1434, 'vor 1 riis pappiirs 3 mr'), 183 (7.1.1436, 'vor 1 riis pappirs gegeben 11 f.'), 233 (3 mr. vor 1 riis pappiirs), 337 (20.12.1436, 'vor 1/2 rys pappiirs 1/2 mr.'), 377 (2.5.1439, 'vor 1 riis pappiirs 10 f.'), 436 and 452 (17.12.1440, 'vor 1 riis pappirs 3 mr. 12 s.'), and & 15.7.1441 'vor 1 riis pappirs 3 1/2 mr, Johanse'), 513 (3.11.1442, 'vor 1 riis pappiirs 3 mr.'), 561 (20.12.1443, '11 f. vor 1 riis pappiirs tor stat behoeff'), 601 (19.12.1444, 'vor en riis tories pappirs 2 mr.'), 711 (3.7.1447, 'vor en riis troies pappiirs 10 f. unde vor en halff riis lumpers pappiirs 6 f.'), 799 (20.9.1449, 'vor 2 riis pappiirs unde 5 boeke, dat riis 9 f. unde 3 s., summa 6 mr. min 4 s.'), 885 (11.3.1452, 'Item vor en nie pappirsboek 1 mr. gegeben'), 928 (14.7.1453, 'vor 1 1/2 riis pappiirs 4. mr. Rig.'), 1007 (17.1.1456, 'vor 2 riis pappiirs gegeben 5 mr. Rig.'), 1054 (3.9.1457, 'vor 1 riis poppiirs gegeben 9 f.'), 1106 (23.12.1459, 'vor poppir gegeben 4 mr. 1 s.'), 1135 and 1153 (2.5.1461, 'Item heren Marcquart Breetholte vor ene last soltes, de unse read Eylart Lichten gaff, unde vor eyn halff riiss grotes papirs tosamende 35 mr.', and 26.9.1461, 'Item vor 13 boke poppiirs gevgeve vor dat boeck 5 s, is 7 f. 1 1/2 s.'). On the 1389 regulation in Bologna, see Weiss, *Wisso, Handbuch der Wasserzeichenkunde*. Veb Fachbuchverlag, Leipzig, 1962, 49; For these and later 15th century acquisitions see even Greiffenhagen 1927/28a, 113–4, KB 1376–80, *passim*, with certain of omissions and erroneous dates of 15.12.1436 (for 20.1.21436) and 6.8.1457. For quantities see, 'Papier' (Kälin, H.B.), LM VI, 1666.

(see CHAPTER 3.2.1.2) entries on acquisitions of paper are made at the end of the fiscal year of 1404/5, when four quires of paper were bought for 16 oras, ie. 12 schillings or 1/3 mark (average 0,13 schillings/sheet).¹⁵³

Graph 5: Documented acquisitions of paper in the Revalian k ammerers' accounts in 1432–61 (amount in sheets and price/sheet in schillings of Riga mark, where 1 mark = 36 schillings).



Sources: See footnote 152 in this chapter. Purchases of paper were also made in December 1459 for a total sum of 4 marks 1 schilling, but the amount of paper is not cited in the entry.

The three surviving early missives received by the council on paper in ca. 1350 and four others not later than 1352 show that paper was available and readily employed as a viable alternative to parchment for issues in written long distance communication, not only by the two major neighbouring agents of power in Hanseatic sphere of interaction in Dorpat and Visby, but also in Åbo where the scribe who wrote the missives of the Finnish royal headman Gerhard Skytte had access to paper in his scriptorium. Along with the cumulative nature of the management of information on missives and documents sent by the council as

¹⁵³ KB 1432–63, nr. 601 (19.12.1444, 'vor en riis tories pappirs 2 mr. '), 711 (3.7.1447, 'vor en riis troies pappirs 10 f. unde vor en halff riis lumbers pappirs 6 f. '), 452 (15.7.1441 'vor 1 riis pappirs 3 1/2 mr, Johanse'), 1135 (2.5.1461, 'Item heren Marcquart Breetholte vor ene last soltes, de unse read Eylart Lichten gaff, unde vor eyn halff riiss grotes papirs tosamende 35 mr. '); For the price of purchased paper each year see the previous footnote; A.d.8, f. 33r (RzollB 2659); TLA, B.a.2, f. 23r 'Jtem noch iijj boke popires vor <x> xvj oras Summa hir van vij mr. ', where the sum may refer to total acquisitions of paper or something else related to the closing of the account at the end of the fiscal year.

well as the access of multiple people to the books of mixed memoranda of the city in the 1360's and early 1370's, the most striking feature of the two volumes of A.d.4 and A.a.6d is the very use of paper. Together with the new paper codex of resignations (A.a.6b, EBII) introduced by city scribe Karolus de Montreal on the Purification of Mary February 2, 1360 and the narrow quire of lists of warrants of safe conduct from 1365–72 attached to A.d.4, the quarto sections of A.d.4 and A.a.6d written in ca. 1352–74 represent the first penetration of paper in the management of written information of the civic authority of Reval. As such they also constitute some of the earliest surviving examples of the use of paper in the northern Baltic Sea area. As always with new technologies and devices, not everyone was happy that the scribes were eager to experiment with the new material in place of the older and more traditional parchment.

The attitude of the city councils towards the new writing material and its usefulness in judicial documents is shown in a letter of the council of Lübeck to their colleagues in Reval asking them to write their judicial appellations on parchment, because of the evanescence of the paper (*und bidden ju, leven vrende, of gi mer ordele an uns soken, dat gi de schreven up permynt, wante dat pappir vergenklik is*).¹⁵⁴ Dated on the Saturday before Sunday Cantate without a year, the letter has traditionally been thought to be of ca. 1380, but a closer examination of the document reveals that the text written on a rectangular piece of paper is a copy of the original letter written in the hand of the Revalian city scribe Hermannus some time during his activity in 1375–1400/3. In the document no trace of a seal of the council of Lübeck is evident and the omission of the year is apparently a result of the copying. Obviously written as a specification of the form of appellations to be send to the consideration of the council of Lübeck, the letter must have been preceded by an appellation from Reval on paper. Today, only one such appellation in the Lübeck city archives survives, written by city scribe Albertus (active in 1364–74) and issued in Reval on the Feast of St George (April 23), 1370. Since all the surviving appellations produced by city scribe Hermannus from 1377–94 are written on parchment, the original letter of the council of Lübeck was apparently written and sent immediately after the appellation of April 23, 1370, had arrived there, i.e. Saturday before Cantate (May 11), 1370, and it was then copied in

¹⁵⁴ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 382 (LECUB I:4 1581, RUB 40).

Reval by the new city scribe Hermannus some time in the early years of his activity, in 1375–77 (CHAPTER 1.2.3).¹⁵⁵

If we then consider the introduction of paper to the written communication and management of information of the northern Baltic Sea region, both its timing and socio-economical context appear striking. The earliest extant missives on paper in *AR* are dated to 1346–50, marking its arrival in Livonia, and the introduction of the first paper volume of mixed memoranda of Reval occurred in ca. 1352. This application of the new material for the production of texts in the written communication and civic administration is paralleled by a similar development in Dorpat, Visby and Åbo. The first known employment of paper in Gotland was in 1352, in Finland in ca. 1350, and in Sweden in 1345 or soon after.¹⁵⁶

Astonishingly, the dates coincide with the first wave of the Black Death, which appeared in Europe in 1346 and penetrated the Baltic region in four consecutive stages in 1349–52.¹⁵⁷ However the epidemics spread, the introduction of paper seems to have taken place in the context of the economic conditions brought about by the demographic disaster, even if the very reason for the introduction of the new material in northern Livonia and Sweden remains obscure. Either the contemporary supply of paper was better than that of parchment or the professional scribes just developed a new and marked interest in it as an alternative material in the written management of information and communication. Whether the reason for this lay in the wider distribution or even dumping of paper of older Italian and more recent French manufacturers onto the northern market after the major local phases of the epidemics in 1347–49, or temporary shortfalls in the production of parchment in the Baltic sea area in 1349–52, remains yet to be solved.

¹⁵⁵ STA Lü, Urkunden, Livonica-Estonica, nr. 99a, 23.4.1370 ‘ipso die beati Gregri martris gloriosi’; On the appellations written and produced by *Hermannus*, see CHAPTER 3.1.2.

¹⁵⁶ Nygren, Ernst, Huru papperet kom till Sverige, några bidrag till dess medeltida historia. In Clemensson, Gustaf (ed.), En bok om papper. Tillägnad Carl Joh. Malmros den 23 December 1944. Klippans finpappersbruk, Klippan, 1944, 118.

¹⁵⁷ Major Hanseatic centres such as Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, Stralsund and Visby as well as Norway and Prussia experienced the first wave of the plague in 1349, Sweden and Kurland in 1350, Livonia and areas around Pskov in 1351, and Novgorod in 1352. For the advance of the Black Death in the Baltic Sea, Hanseatic and Scandinavian spheres of interaction see Benedictow, Ole J., *The Black Death 1346–1353, The Complete History*. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge 2004, 146–178, 183–224.

5. City scribes and the conditions of their office in 1363–1456/60

The two decades following the activity of Karolus de Montreal in the office of the city scribe saw an important spatial reorganisation in the manifestation and management of civic authority in Reval. The renovation of the Town Hall in 1371–74 and the transformation of the former house of Albertus Mester into a City Scriptorium in 1376–79 furnished the civic authority with a new kind of permanent arrangement designed for the administrative needs of the council at the time when its overall role in the long distance trade and transregional politics of the northern Baltic Sea region grew rapidly. The emerging power of the burgher community was also manifested in the contemporary Town wall, where the new barbicans and gate galleries effectively filtered access to the city from all directions. The various arrangements established in the spatial management of the civic authority were then taken to an entirely new level with the 1401–4 building of the new Town Hall, in turn followed by the rebuilding of the City Scriptorium and several other nodes of civic administrative authority both around the Marketplace (Breadbench, Pharmacy, New Weigh House, the Wine Cellar under the Scriptorium and the Shambles), and beyond it (Bodelie, Marstall, Mint) from the 1430's to the 1450's. Spatial independence from other agents of authority on Domberg was accomplished with the building of the Domberg wall in 1454–56, after which much of the later administration of the civic authority in Reval followed both the spatial arrangements and the physical and mental understanding of its borders established in a period of less than hundred years between the 1360's and 1450's. In the written management of information of the civic authority this resulted a physical network of nodes and locations where the production of texts and textual artefacts took place, but also various conventions apparent in the everyday management of information of various agencies participating in it, creating and sustaining identities and routines characteristic for them (see FIGURES 2 and 4 in CHAPTERS 1.2.1.1 and 1.2.2.1).

5.1. City scribes Albertus (1363–74) and Hermannus (1375–1400/3) and the main hands active in the City Scriptorium in 1363–1405

5.1.1. Albertus (1363–74)

5.1.1.1. Period of activity and conditions of office

As early as the last months of the period of activity of Karolus de Montreal in the late winter and spring of 1363, an entry in the paper book of inheritances of A.a.6b (EBII) is written by a hand with a general roundish structure of letters and fluent gothic cursive which is very

close to that of Karolus (see PICTURE 15 in CHAPTER 4.1). The entry is made on a resignation issued on the day after Sunday Invocavit (February 20), 1363. Its solitary location after a copy of an open attestation of komptur of Goldingen on January 2 suggests that it is most likely a later interpolation. After another set of entries written by Karolus on resignations issued between the Monday after Reminiscere (February 27) and the day after Sunday Quasimodogeniti (April 10), the hand emerges again with two resignations from the Friday before Pentecost (May 19), 1363.¹ Apparently the same person as ‘*Albertus notarius noster*’, ‘*Albertus unsem scriuere*’ and ‘*Albertus scriptor*’ cited several times in the *kämmerers*’ accounts for the fiscal years of 1370/71–72/73, the hand then takes charge of the register of inheritances until three entries on resignations issued on Monday after Quasimodogeniti (April 10), 1374.²

Although the first three entries of the new city scribe Albertus in A.a.6b are written about resignations issued on February 20 and May 19, 1363, there is evidence that his employment in the written management of information of the council occurred only later, probably not long before the beginning of the fiscal year of 1363/64 in September 1363. Of his eleven earlier entries in A.a.6b, eight are left undated and written in only three sessions, the last including an entry of a resignation issued on the Monday before the Nativity of Mary (September 6). Of the four entries after that, two are made on resignations issued on the Monday before Michaelmas (September 25), and two next to those of the Eve of the Feast of St Calixtus (October 13), but all are written in the same session some time in October 1363.³

A further sign of the first employment of the new city scribe of 1363 just before the start of the new fiscal year of 1363/64 is provided by the introduction of a new parchment volume of at least two quires in octavo for registering various incomes and expenses of the city [A.d.1 and A.d.2, see CHAPTER 3.2.1.2]. Beginning his writing on the day after Michaelmas (September 30), 1363, the new scribe elaborately incipited the first quire with large lettering of *gothica textualis quadrata*; a touch revealing his knowledge of the written world of manuscripts and ability to produce the script characteristic of them. The identification of the textualis as the handwriting of the new city scribe is easy because of the specification ‘*Primo de bodis Incipiendo*’ in gothic cursive under it. Despite the effect of this authoritative and

¹ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 9 (EBII 76–77) and p. 11 (EBII 91–92).

² TLA, A.a.6b, p. 66 (EBII 490–492)

³ See TLA, A.a.6b, p. 11–13 where the first undated entry of EBII 93 was written in the same session as WBII 91–92 (resignations issued on May 19). Of the other six undated entries of EBII 94–100, the first four (EBII 94–98) were written in one session, and the last two (EBII 99–100) in the same session as EBII 101 (a resignation made on the Monday before the Nativity of Mary 1363), EBII 102–105.

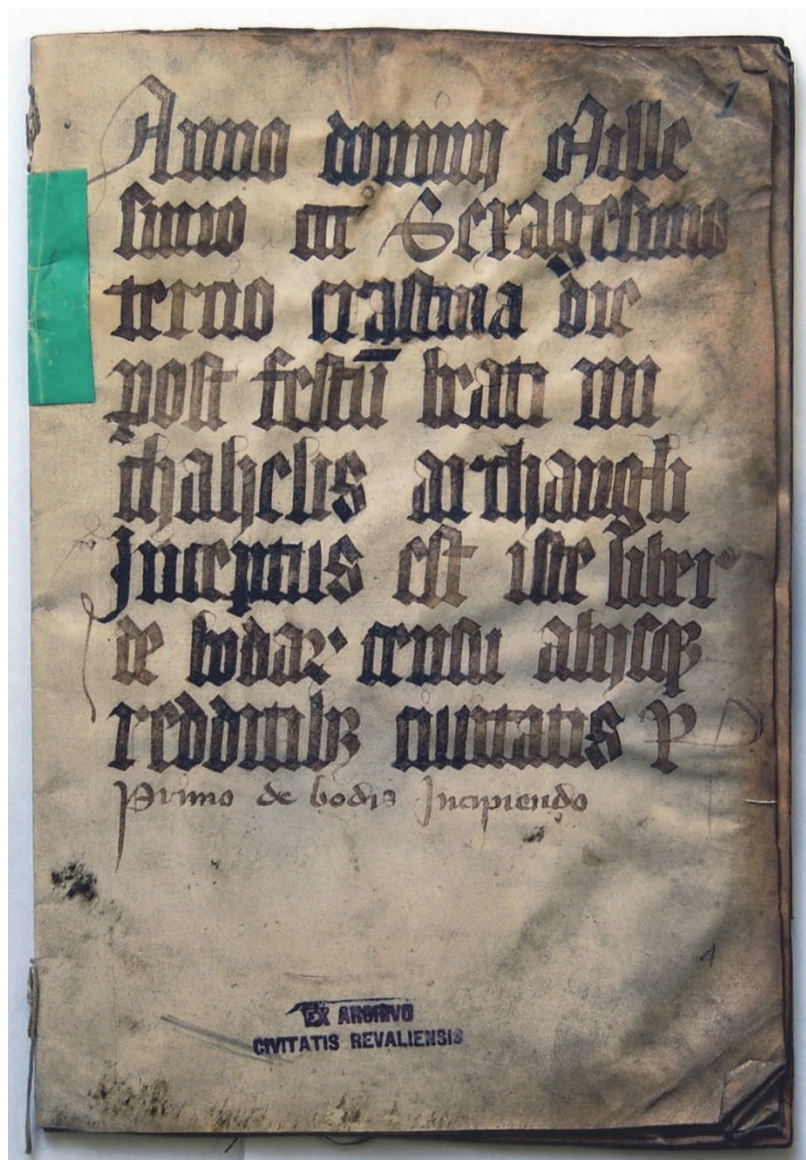
solemn title page, however, the characteristic right leaning of the scribe's ductus with slightly distorted vertical positioning of letters tells us that he was not particularly familiar with writing lengthy passages in textualis, even if he had practised and cultivated it at some stage of his schooling.⁴

Despite the occasional appearance of the title *notarius noster* in the *kämmerers'* accounts of the fiscal year of 1370/71, nothing is known about the origins or professional status of city scribe Albertus. Since his Latin characterisation as a '*notarius noster*' parallels the Middle Low German use of '*unsem scriuere*' in the same accounts, no evidence of his status as a notary public in the service of the council exists, and he appears to have been either a cleric of lower orders or a schooled layman in the service of the council. Considering his use of gothic textualis and Latin, the more plausible choice is the first one, which would make him a man with some university background and lower orders in the service of the civic authority in 1363–74. In the *kämmerers'* accounts of 1370/71–72/73 all the entries dealing with him suggest permanent employment with the council as a city scribe, as they consist of imbursements of his salary in both money, where the total remuneration of his services appears to have been at least 10 Riga marks per year, and kind, such as grain and cloth, apparently designed for his provision and clothing. In 1372 Albertus the scribe or a namesake of his also carried out some kind of diplomatic mission to Viborg, for which *Albertes* was provided with necessary money, *stockfish* (a gift for the headman?), and later possibly the costs of a horse. In the accounts, all entries dealing with him are written either by himself or other hands active with the codex, most likely those of the *kämmerers'*.⁵

⁴ TLA, A.d.1 and A.d.2.

⁵ TLA, A.d.3, f. 6a 'Item eidem (i.e. domino Johanni de Molendino) 3 mrc. rig. pro panno ad vestimenta alberti nostri notarij' (entries of the fiscal year of 1370/71, hand *Albertus*), f. 9a 'van dessen xlij marken hebbe wy betalet albertes vnsem scriuere viij mark van siner wegghen vnd van Wreden wegghen van deme jare dat vorgan is' (entries of fiscal year 1370/71, hand *Albertus*), 16b 'Item Alberto notario nostro 5 mrc. rig.' (entries dated to the Saturday after St Galli, October 18 in 1371, hand *Albertus*), 17b 'Item albertus vnseme scriuere iij marc vor wand' (entries at the end of the fiscal year of 1370/71, hand *Albertus*), f. 24a 'Item her gert hedeman vor hoi xxx ore dat men albertus gaf' and 'Item albertuse iij marc vor dat vant dat vns geborde eme geuen' (entries of 1372, hand of a *kämmerer*), f. 34b 'Item albertus v marc rig.' and 'Item x½ fert vorxij elen van eneme brugen dat albertus ward' (entries of the fiscal year of 1372/73, hand *Albertus*), f. 41a 'Item Albertus iij marc rig' (entries of fiscal year 1372/73, hand *Albertus*), f. 43b 'Item do[m?] albertus scriptor iij marc' where the words do[m?] and scriptor are superscript to the original 'Item Albertus iij marc' (entries of the fiscal year 1373/74, hand *Albertus*), f. 44a 'Item her alberte deme scriuere ij marc' (entries of the fiscal year 1373/74, hand of *kämmerer*), f. 46a 'Item her alberte dem scriuere iij marc vnd xvj ore (entries of the fiscal year 1373/74, hand of *kämmerer*). Other entries most likely dealing with the salary and activities of city scribe Albertus are A.d.3, f. 21a, 'Item albertus x marc do he to viborg vor' (entries of 1372, hand of *kämmerer*), f. 22b: 'Item claus van der hove xxi ore vor stocvis de de den Albertes mith sic nam do he to Viborg vor' with a later addition by the same hand 'vnd iiii marc vor i pert min i verdic' (entries of 1372, hand of *kämmerer*). For the edition, see the respective pages in KB 1363–74.

Picture 26: *The incipit of the 'Book on the census of market shops and other reveues of the city of R' (liber de bodarum censu aliisque redditibus civitatis r) written by the city scribe of 1363–74 in large gothica textualis quadrata and introduced on the day after Michaelmas (September 30), 1363.*



TLA, A.d.1, f. 1r.

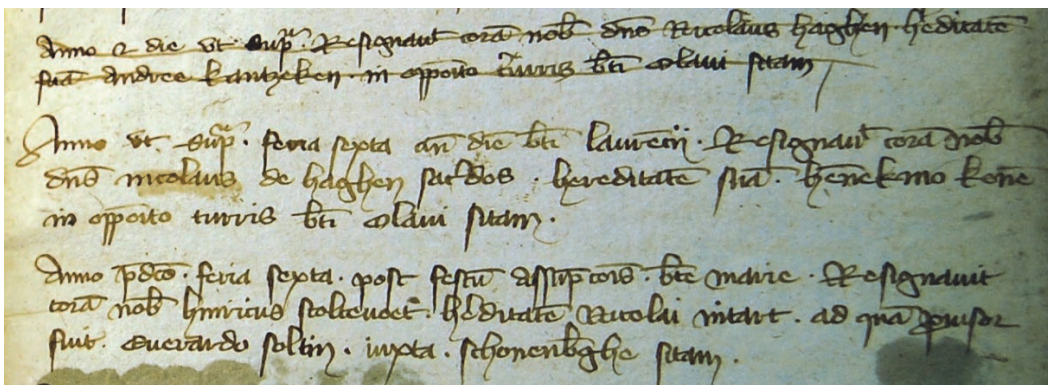
5.1.1.2. Aspects of the production of texts in the service of the civic authority

An interesting and occasionally disturbing feature of the handwriting of the city scribe of 1363–74 traditionally identified as as the city scribe Albertus of 1370/71–72/73, is the variation in the general face of his writing over time. Despite unquestionable sameness, the main flow of entries of A.a.6b written by the hand active in 1363–74 displays two different faces of writing, shifting from one to the other and back again for no apparent reason. The changing faces of the handwriting from a roundish and sharply lined structure of script with

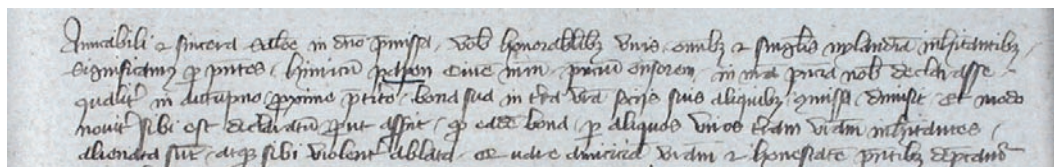
articulated punctuation to a narrower and lengthened right leaning one also occurs in his known surviving copies of missives, where the two faces of text occasionally appear so far from one another that without the knowledge of the shifting nature of his handwriting in A.a.6b one would suspect that the texts were written by two different persons. Yet, a systematic analysis of the material from 1363–74 shows that they must have been written by one and same person, who, because of A.d.3, can be identified as city scribe Albertus, in the service of the council in 1370/71–72/73.

Pictures 27:1-3: *The shifting face of writing and ductus of the city scribe of 1363–74 (Albertus) is most easily observed in his three main forms of capital ‘A’ in the word ‘Anno’ at the beginning of virtually all of his entries in A.a.6b. Of these, the first with a sling in the form of the indoarabic numeral of ‘8’ at the left corner of the letter is employed in his first entries of 1363 and as late as 1374 (27:1, the entry in the middle). The second main form of ‘A’ also appears in the entries of the autumn of 1363 and presents a two-compartment structure where the original sling of 8 is contracted under the upper loop. Frequently alternating with the slinged ‘A’ of ‘8’, the two-compartment ‘A’ also appears in some of his copies of missives and other writings in AR (27:2). The third and last form of ‘A’ displays a modification of the first, with the right shaft ending up with an extended 90° angle. It first appears in its full form in March 1373, and becomes more and more popular with the scribe during his last year of activity with the codex. This last particular form of ‘A’ is also employed in his incipit of the paper codex of A.d.5 at Easter in 1373 (27:3). Also note the similarity of the contraction of ‘et’ together with the variation in the character and use of punctuation marks in all the samples 28:1–3 and PICTURE 15, second entry.*

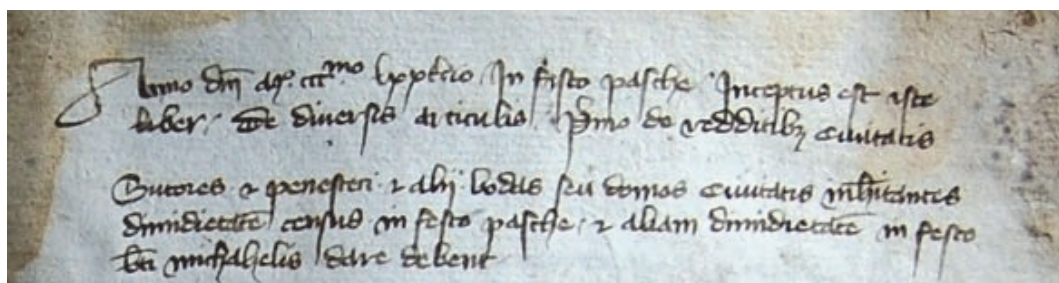
Picture 27:1: *Three entries of the city scribe of 1363–74 (Albertus) on resignations issued on April 5 and 12 and May 3, 1364, with the first (in the middle) and the second main form of capital ‘A’.*



Picture 27:2: A section of a finished and folded but unsealed and unsent original letter of the council to the inhabitants of Nyland from ca. 1367, written by the city scribe of 1363–74 (Albertus) with the characteristic second type of capital 'A' and narrow structure of letters with a strong leaning to the right.



Picture 27:3: The incipit and first entry of the new book of mixed memoranda of the city introduced by the city scribe of 1363–74 (Albertus) at Easter 1373. The capital 'A' is of the third type of the same hand in the city book of resignations (A.a.6b).



TLA, A.a.6b, p. 16 (EBII 131–133), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 287, TLA, A.d.5, f. 2r.

Developments in the composition and relationship of the various volumes of city books of memoranda in the period of activity of Albertus in 1363–73 have already been discussed above in the context of A.d.4, where the quarto sections of the codex are written on paper from the same mill as the oldest known copy of the missives of the city and mixed memoranda A.a.6d first put into writing by the hand *MBI* in ca 1367 (see CHAPTERS 3.1.3.2 and 4.3.1–2). It is interesting that in all the material today surviving in *AR*, excepting the growing use of paper and its introduction to various spheres of textual activities of the civic administration, no differences between the management of information of Albertus and his predecessors *WBIV* and Karolus de Montreal is discernible. In fact, the known production of texts by Albertus unequivocally shows that much of the organization of the various spheres of information present in the civic administration in the third quarter of the 14th century was an organic extension of the work of the earlier city scribes. In the period of activity of Albertus these spheres consisted not only of the production of missives and documents for the use of the council and the city, but also three main lines of memoranda, namely:

1. The paper book of quarto of *inheritances* on resignations, recognitions and annuities first put into writing by Karolus de Montreal in 1360 [A.a.6b].

2. The paper volume of *mixed memoranda* in quarto [A.d.4] originally introduced to writing by *WBIV* in ca. 1352, later supplemented with a separate quire of lists of warrants of safe conduct of 1365–72 by Albertus and bound with the remaining quarto sections of A.d.4 in ca. 1373, AND the first copy of the missives of the city introduced by *MBI* [A.a.6d] and continued as a missive book and codex of mixed memoranda by temporary hands and Albertus in 1367–74, AND the paper codex of mixed memoranda [A.d.5] first put into writing by Albertus in the Easter of 1373 as the continuation of quarto and narrow sections of A.d.4 and A.d.6d.
3. The lost parchment *Denkelbok* of the council [Denkelbok I], only known through citations in other memoranda of the city covering at least the period from April 1360 to October 1382.

In addition of these three main lines of memoranda (see FIGURE 6 in CHAPTER 4.3.1.3), characteristic for the period of activity of Albertus appears to have been a substantial increase in the written management of information of various spheres of civic administration, previously only documented with the lost book of *wedde* introduced into the management of civic memoranda by either the city scribe *WBIV* or the wardens of *wedde* some time after 1347 (see CHAPTER 3.2.2.2 and FIGURE 6). Together with the narrow paper quire of lists of safe conduct starting from 1365, other initiatives by Albertus in the management of various spheres of mixed memoranda include the two parchment quires in octavo first introduced as a joint volume of fiscal memoranda on the market shops, rents, and *liber expositorum* of the *kämmerers* in the beginning of the fiscal year of 1363/64, but later left in oblivion [A.d.1–2], and the paper book of the *kämmerers* in octavo with entries on the spending of the city from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1369/70 to 1374 [A.d.3]. Another form of textual product first surfacing in the period of activity of Albertus and written by him are the first four surviving *schosslists* in narrow format from the years 1369, 1371–72 and ca. 1373 [A.d.12, 1–24 and B.K.1, f. 30r–31v, 32r–v], of which A.d.12, 1–24 is securely, and B.K.1, f. 30r–31v, 32r–v possibly written on paper from the same mill as the first three quires of A.d.3 with the watermark of *fleur de lis* (see TABLES 5:A–C in CHAPTER 4.3.2). Albertus' hand may also have featured among the entries of the lost book of *wedde*, but unlike his successor Hermannus, his handwriting does not appear in the surviving registers of Poundage from ca. 1362–67 [A.d.6], even though he may have contributed to the production of quittancies for the tax from 1368 to ca. 1377.⁶ Together with the copy of missives and the codex of mixed memoranda of A.a.6d, Albertus' hand is also featured in

⁶ For A.a.6b, A.d.4, A.a.6d, A.d.5, *Denkelbok I*, A.d.1–3., A.d.12, the lost book of *wedde*, A.d.6, and the quittancies see the respective sections above.

seven supplementary paragraphs in one of the Revalian codices of the Lübeck Law of 1282 [Cm 10], where his contribution follows that of Karolus de Montreal and the hand *MBII*.⁷

Among the appellations and other letters of judicial content of the council of Reval to the council of Lübeck today in the Lübeck City Archives, the only surviving document by Albertus is written on paper with no recognisable watermark and issued in 1370 on the Feast of St George the Martyr (April 23) as a letter of *tovorsichte* to one Tideman Hoyger regarding the matter his relative, the widow of Revalian burgher Peter Stoktorp (see CHAPTERS 1.2.3 and 4.3.2).⁸ During his period of activity Albertus is also known to have produced testaments for the members of the urban elite and city community. Of these the finished and sealed testament of Revalian burgher Hinricus Rosing is dated on the Eve of St John at the Latin Gate (May 5), 1371, and composed entirely in Latin, whereas the Middle Low German translation of the testament of Revalian councillor Brand Stalbiter shows neither date nor year. Both documents are written on parchment with the characteristic right leaning ductus of Albertus. Since Brand (Brendekinus) Stalbiter is noted as a councillor of Reval in 1360–68, the translation of his testament falls somewhere in the period of activity of Albertus in 1368–73, most likely 1369–70, because of his documented his absence from the office of the city scribe between May 1368 and Michaelmas 1369 (see below).⁹ A practice followed by several of his successors, the production of testaments for the members of the civic community and their promulgation in front of the councillors may already have been part of the activity of the city scribes in the time of *WBI-IV* and Karolus de Montreal, but if so none of the documents or their drafts produced for such purposes have survived.

5.1.1.3. Identity – Albertus Mester?

Today no information whatsoever on the identity and social status of city scribe Albertus has survived except his writings and his citing as ‘*Albertus notarius noster*’, ‘*Albertus unsem scriuere*’ and ‘*Albertus scriptor*’ in the *kämmerers*’ accounts of 1370/71–72/73. Because of his handwriting and ductus, he appears to have been contemporaneous in his schooling with his predecessor Karolus de Montreal (active in 1368–63) rather than with *WBIV* (1333–58) or city scribe Hermannus (1375–1400/3). The period of his activity is marked with frequent absences from his office, most of which are likely to have occurred because of diplomatic

⁷ TLA, Cm 10, f. 37v (hand: *Karolus de Montreal*), 38r (*MBII*), 38v–39r.

⁸ STA Lü, Urkunden, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 99a.

⁹ TLA, 1-III B, 2 (Hinricus Rosing) and 1 (Brand Stalbiter, LECUB I:3 1057), von Bunge 1874, 131.

missions of the council and during which several hands can be identified as substitutes in the office of the city scribe.

In the written management of information of the civic authority of Reval, the period of office of Albertus marks the last known employment of a city scribe not known to have had a City Scriptorium in a fixed location at his disposal. As discussed in CHAPTER 3.1.3.2, the house of the City Scriptorium first emerges in the Revalian material only in 1378, when carpenters were paid for some work for the city on the premises. Apparently the same as the former house of Albertus Mester, the property came into the possession of the city after a contract between Albertus and the children of the former councillor *Reyneke Crøwel* on the Eve of St Catherine (November 24), 1376, from which the annual rent of two Riga marks was later paid to the chantry of the altar of St Margaret in the church of St Nicholas patroned by the council. Unquestionably the same building as the later City Scriptorium with a passage from the Marketplace to the Shambles, the contract may have been made because of Albertus' age. The still existing passage was apparently built soon after he gave the council a licence to build a '*traben*' (passage) through his wall on the Friday after Easter (April 15), 1379. He is last mentioned alive in the civic memoranda in 1382 in the context of the resignation of his garden opposite the chapel of St Barbara outside the walls to one *Conradus Hattingk*.¹⁰

¹⁰ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 123 (EBII 810) and p. 99 (EBII 688).

Pictures 28:1–2: *The house of Albertus Mester (alive in 1329–82) and the late medieval City Scriptorium of Reval on the northern side of the Town Hall Square (medieval Marketplace) in February 2009. Albertus Mester and his father Henricus Mesters' inheritance is first cited in 1329. It is first mentioned as in the city's possession in 1376, and is as a City Scriptorium for the first time in 1378.*

Picture 28:1: *Albertus Mester's house (City Scriptorium, red house) and the northeast corner of the Town Hall of 1401–4 (on the right) with entrances to the tower (leftmost arch and door) and richtehus (second arch and door from the left). In the Town Hall the two windows on the left allow light into the Kämmerer's office and the three next to them onto the seat of the council.*



Picture 28:2: *Albertus Mester's house (City Scriptorium). The passage with an entrance on the right was built by the civic authority to provide access to the Shambles behind the house with the consent of Albertus, issued on the Friday after Easter (April 15), 1379. In 2009 the passage lead to the door of the Troika restaurant, located downstairs in the vast vaulted space under the medieval Shambles and the Scriptorium and built as the Wine Cellar of the council in 1431–32 (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.2).*



Photographs: Tapio Salminen, 24.2.2009.

A son of one *Henricus Mester*, Albertus is first mentioned unnamed in the context of three transactions concerning his inheritable property on the site of the later City Scriptorium in 1329–35. Originally half owned by Henricus' heir and the wife of Arnoldus Blumenberg, Arnoldus owed Henricus' estate a total of 75 Riga marks in issued promissory notes (*in litteris debitorum*) in 1329, a debt which he recognised that year in front of the council. The contract was apparently made after Henricus' death, and the house on the plot appears to have been originally the property of Henricus, later divided in two between his unnamed son

and daughter, Arnoldus Blomenbergs wife. In the same contract with the unnamed procurators of the heir in 1329, Arnoldus Blomenberg and Henricus' estate are said to have equal possession of their inheritable property in the market (i.e. a shop), but the estate also had another property (*bona*), which Arnoldus Blomenberg and one *Henricus van der Bike* used in half. According to the contract, Arnoldus Blomenberg was liable for all the ground tax for the listed property and the tax was not to be accounted to the debt. In 1333–35 Arnoldus' wife's part of the inheritance came into the full possession of Henricus Mester's son, first through Arnoldus' mortgage of his part of the plot, his shop and half of the '*crambode*' for ten years in 1333, and finally in 1335, when he sold it all to him for 40 Riga marks. The one and a half shops are then listed in the register of rents on the market shops in the city book of mixed memoranda in 1352–58, when their rent was paid by Albertus Mester, Henricus' son, in control of the shops. Apparently the same as 'Abekinus, son of domini Henrik Magister' (*abekinus domini henrici magistri filius*), Albertus or his guardians paid a total of 18 oras rent for his three shops in 1334, apparently the same shops cited in 1333 as in the possession of Arnoldus Blomberg.¹¹

Curiously, no information on Albertus Mester's activities in the city other than ownership of the market shops is extant before his resignation from the house on the site of the later City Scriptorium in 1375. Instead, all the entries of A.a.1 (WB 1312–60) and A.a.6b (EBII) appear to concern issues surrounding his annual provision as a child or a boy in the late 1330's and 1340's. According to two different entries in A.a.1, the three wardens (*provisores*) of Henricus Mesters' son cited as *Hunoldus* (de Ostinchusen, councillor 1334–40, dead before 1349), *Remboldus Franco* (also known as Lenepe, councillor 1333–56), and *Conradus Hovele* bought an annual rent of two marks from the council in 1336, one mark to be paid to the boy every Christmas and Easter. The rent was issued against a loan of 20 Riga marks to the council. In 1340 one of the wardens (*Conradus de Hovel*) further sold *filiu Alberti Magistri* (apparently to be read here as 'Albertus Mester, the son') an annual rent of one Riga mark to be paid every Easter against a loan of 10 Riga marks assigned on de Hovel's inheritable real property. In 1343, the three wardens (*provisores*) of *filiu Magistri* (again apparently to be read as 'the son Mester'), the councillors Hunoldus and Remboldus further bought an annual rent of one Riga mark for the provision of the boy against a loan of

¹¹ KB 1376–80, f. 22v; TLA, A.a.1, p. 48 (WB 1312–60, 321), p. 58 (378) and p. 64 (416), LDA 1333–74, 510–516, see also CHAPTER 3.1.3.2. For Hunoldus de Ostinkhusen, Remboldus de Lenepe and Conradus de Hovel, see von Bunge 1874, 110, 112; TLA, A.a.2, f. 10r (1333) and 7v (1334), (LDA 1333–74, 106:30, 92:33).

10 marks issued to the mill of one *Ryckolfus Monyk*, and to be paid every Martinmas. Lastly, on octavas after Candlemas (February 9), 1344, one *Johannes Wanemal* sold the councillor *Remboldus de Lenepe* and *Conradus de Hovele*, wardens (*provisoribus*) of Albertus Mester, an annual rent of one Riga mark to be paid into the hand of Albertus or his estate every year on Candlemas against an assignment of 15 Riga marks in his inheritable property. In all the contracts, the rents were bought against a fixed loan where the remaining part of the capital was refundable at every termin of the rent with no information on annulment save in the last contract, which Johannes Wanemal bought himself out of some time in ca. 1350 or 1351 by paying back all remaining 7½ marks of the capital. In A.a.1, all the entries are later crossed out as a sign of their termination.¹²

Since he would have come of age and been active in Reval around the beginning of 1350's, i.e. more than 21 years after he first surfaced in the A.a.1 in 1329 as the heir of Henricus Mester, Albertus Mester must have been somewhere other than in Reval in his adolescence, as the *renten*-contracts assigned to his provision in 1336–44 inform us. Whether a pupil in a cathedral school in the 1330's or later in some university in the 1340's, the name Mester and its Latin variant Magister cannot be taken as proof of university studies or magisterial status, as his father Henricus bore the same name. However, because Henricus is cited as both dominus and magister (*domini Henrici magistri*), in 1334, he, as Albertus' father, may indeed have been one, which makes him one of the possible candidates for scribes active in the written management of information of Reval in the late 13th century or the first quarter of the 14th. Of further interest is that without any trace of children or living siblings other than his apparently much older sister (i.e. the wife of Arnoldus Blomberg), the transition of Albertus' house to the possession of the city in November 1376 occurred some two and half years after the retirement of city scribe Albertus from his work in 1374.

As in the case of the possible identifications of several of the 14th-century Revalian city scribes, *WBI* (Johannes the Scribe/Institoris?), *WBIIIa* (Heyno Hanevere?) and *WBIV* (scholar Reynardus Crøwel/Olricus the Scribe?), the identification of Albertus Mester as the city scribe Albertus is only supported with circumstantial evidence. These include the annexation of his house by the city and its transformation into a permanent City Scriptorium with a passage to the Shambles in 1376–79, and his possible sojourn outside Reval in the

¹² TLA, A.a.1, p. 67 (WB 1312–60, 440) 'provisores pueri magistri' and p. 68 (445) 'provisores pueri henrici dicti mester', p. 74 (480) 'filio alberti magistri', p. 85 (575) 'filii magistri', p. 86 (581) 'provisoribus Alberti Mester' ... 'de predictis solvit vii ½ mrc arg Johannes Wenemal supradicti, where the last sentence of the entry is a later interpolation by the hand *WBIV* (active until 1358) into his own original entry.

late 1330's and 1340's with annual provision from *renten*-contacts made by his wardens. A further clue that the two Albertus were the same man is the total lack of information on Albertus Mester's commercial activity other than the 1½ shops he leased out to other people in the Marketplace. An important issue is also bachelorhood, which *may* be indicative of clerical status and hence of university studies and lower orders. If born in ca. 1325, Albertus Mester would have been 38–49 years old in 1363–74, and only 57 in 1382, which does not make him too old or his eyesight too weak for the office of city scribe in the 1360's and 1370's. However, it would make his resignation from his house in 1376 somewhat perplexing. The fate of his former inheritance as the City Scriptorium since the 1370's and the provisions made to him through three councillor wardens in his adolescence, however, appear to justify rather well Albertus Mester's identification as the homonymous city scribe active in 1364–73.

5.1.2. The four main substitutes (AI–AIV) and the absences of city scribe Albertus from his office in 1363–74

Characteristic of the period of activity of city scribe Albertus and the beginning of his successor Hermannus' period in office is a seeming variety of substitutes of the city scribe and a multitude of other more occasional hands with access to the city books of memoranda and active in the civic administration in ca. 1365–81. Because of the contemporary expansion of various topics and volumes of the council's written management of information, an exhaustive listing and analysis of all the hands apparent in the surviving material is impossible, but the variety of people engaged in the production of the memoranda proves that the general number of individuals capable of making written notes in the Revalian administration with access to the books was not small. Here an analysis of the main hands active in the civic administration of the time is useful.

Of the several hands active in the period of office of city scribe Albertus from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1363/64 to April 1374, only two emerge in the important book of resignations [A.a.6b, EBII] exclusively taken care of by the city scribes and the main substitutes of the office throughout the period of this study. Both the hands occur during Albertus' absences from his office; which in itself underlines the need for continuity in the written management of inheritances as a manifestation of the council's authority, established already in the first quarter of the 14th century. Despite the closeness in time, of interest is that the two substitutions of Albertus were made by two different persons, which further

emphasises the availability of people capable of producing texts for the needs of the council at the beginning of the last third of the 14th century.

The first main substitute of city scribe Albertus in A.a.6b (here cited as *AI*) wrote entries of resignations on inheritances issued in the period between Palm Sunday (April 11) and the beginning of September 1367.¹³ The same hand also wrote four entries of warrants of safe conduct issued on the Friday after the Holy Cross (May 7) and most likely in July 1367 in the narrow register of warrants of safe conduct first started by Albertus in 1365 and later bound with the codex of mixed memoranda of A.d.4 (see CHAPTER 4.2.1.1).¹⁴ Since one of the entries of *AI* in A.a.6b cites councillor Hinricus de Beken, writing in the first person present, both Eugen of Nottbeck (1890) and Paul Johansen (1929) identified the hand as his, but Johansen later (1935) appears to have avoided any connection of the handwriting with named councillors. The hesitation was well grounded, since the entry itself is in fact composed of two parts; a note on the publication of a resignation of *Hinricus de Beken* of his property on *quappenstrate* ('Burpot Street', today *Vana-Posti*) to one *Goskonus Glyngenberg*, and a formula of a letter of recognition issued by *Hinricus* on the sum of 15 Riga marks and an annuity of one mark against the real property. Both the parts are written by *AI* in the same session, but the recognition has later been struck out as invalid after the mortification of the debt (see PICTURE 13 in CHAPTER 4). Since the latter part of the entry presenting *Hinricus de Beken* in the first person present is in fact a copy of the formula of the letter of recognition of a debt issued by him, no conclusions on the identity of the hand *AI* in A.a.6b should be drawn from it. Instead of a councillor, the handwriting of *AI* with steady structure of writing and elegantly formed letters suggests an accustomed writer, most likely of ecclesiastical affiliation and adequate schooling temporarily placed in charge of the written management of information of the council in the summer of 1367.¹⁵

After a period of activity of city scribe Albertus from September 1367 to around Palm Sunday 1368, the second main substitute in A.a.6b (here cited as *AII*) wrote all the entries of

¹³ In 1367 last entries of *Albertus* in A.a.6b are made on a resignations issued on the Friday before Palm Sunday (April 9, A.a.6b, p. 28, EBII 219–220), after which *AI* wrote entries on resignations issued in May and June in reversed and confusing chronological order (A.a.6b, p. 28–29, EBII 221–223), and with a different pen and ink p. 29–30 (EBII 224–233), see PICTURE 13. *Albertus*' handwriting again occurs in an entry issued on the Friday before the Nativity of Mary (September 3, 1367, A.a.6b, p. 30, EBII 234)

¹⁴ TLA, A.d.4, f. 6r–v (Gbuch 1365–1458, 96–97, 101–102).

¹⁵ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 29 (EBII 224); von Nottbeck 1890, (Hermann von der Beke, von Nottbecks hand II), Johansen 1929, XXXIV (Hinricus de Beke, Johansen's hand 4) and Johansen 1935, XVIII. Henrik de Beken is cited as a councillor in 1344–58. After that he was elected one of the burghermasters, the status which he held in 1359–87, von Bunge 1874, 82.

resignations issued from the Monday before Pentecost (May 22), 1368, to Michaelmas Eve (September 28), 1369. A further entry written by him occurs in the closing pages of the codex on an account of the revenues of the city weigh to the *kämmerers* on the Nativity of Mary (September 8), 1369. Albertus' handwriting then emerges again with a resignation issued on the Monday before St Martin (November 5), 1369, but because of his incipit of both the new *liber camerariorum* [A.d.3] and the *schosslist* of 1369 'in 1369 after Michaelmas' [A.d.12, f. 1r–3r], he appears to have begun his activities in the written management of information of the council already around the beginning of the fiscal year of 1369/70, in early October.¹⁶ Concerning the period of activity of *AII*, it is even possible that he was first active in the office as early as Lent 1364, when an entry of a resignation issued on Saturday before Sunday Letare (March 2) among the entries of city scribe Albertus appears to have been written by him. However, because the entry is placed last on the page and written with a different ink from those before and after it, it might also be a later interpolation from 1368–69.¹⁷ A copy of a letter of the council to the bishop of Kurland written by *AII* to the the copyist of the missives of the council [A.a.6d] and dated to ca. 1363 might seem to reinforce the idea that the first signs of *AII*'s activity appear in ca. 1363–64, but since the letter in question may as well date to the latter half of the 1360's, no clear evidence of the activity of *AII* as a substitute of the city scribe before 1368 exists.¹⁸ A continuous section of his entries in the narrow register of warrants of safe conduct later bound with A.d.4 dates from between May 1368 and April 1369, and suggests that his first engagement with the management of written memoranda of the city was not until the spring of 1368.¹⁹ A copy of an undated missive of the council to an unknown recipient written by *AII* in Middle Low German has also survived in the paper book of mixed memoranda of the city A.d.4.²⁰ Further texts written by *AII* during his activity in 1369 are two letters of *tovorsichte* of the council of Reval to the council of Lübeck written on parchment in Latin

¹⁶ TLA, A.d.3, f. 1r, TLA, A.d.12, f. 1r, 4r.

¹⁷ In 1368 the hand of Albertus occurs last on a resignation issued on the Thursday before Palm Sunday (March 30), A.a.6b, p. 34, (EBII 262). *AII* (von Nottbeck 1890 hand III, Johansen 1929 hand 3, and Johansen 1935, XVIII hand 20 and p. XXI strangely with no special identification). A.a.6b, p. 34–41, 133, 15 (EBII 263–325, 860, 128).

¹⁸ TLA, A.a.6d, f. 6v (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, nr. 220, Urk. 1-I, 263). For the dating of the letter see Johansen's analysis in Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, nr. 220.

¹⁹ TLA, A.d.4, f. 7r–v, 8r (Gbuch 1365–1458, 53–73, 75–87, 117–122, 124). The warrants issued by the council, and would usually cover no more than 12 months, see Johansen 1929, XIII. Those listed by *AII* are set to expire from Pentecost (May 20) 1369 to Easter (April 14), 1370.

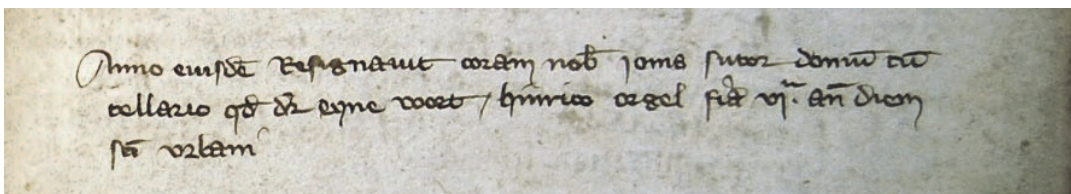
²⁰ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 318, A.d.4, f. 15r. The letter was sent on a matter of dispute over to the estate of one Hinrich Nacke, whose inheritors had published their right of inheritance with a latter of attestation of the council of Rostock in front of the council. The original attestation of the council of Rostock has not survived in *AR*.

and issued on the Feast of St Mark the Evangelist (April 25), and Sunday Cantate (April 29), 1369.²¹

Despite entries in the narrow register of the warrants of safe conduct from 1365–72 and a copy of the missives of the city from ca. 1367–69, no writings of *AI* and *AII* are known from other contemporary pieces of written memoranda of the city from the late 1360's and early 1370's such as the *kämmerer*'s accounts of 1369–74 [A.d.3], registers of Poundage from ca. 1362–76 [A.d.6], the *schoss*lists of 1369, 1371 and 1374 [A.d.12] or the new codex of the mixed memoranda of the city introduced by city scribe Albertus at Easter in 1373 [A.d.5]. Instead, in several of these volumes and in the two interrelated codices of mixed memoranda of the city A.d.4 and A.a.6d a multitude of other hands with contributions to one or more branches of the written memoranda is found, extending from the late 1360's to the beginning of the 1380's, as discussed in CHAPTER 4.3.1. Because the evident expansion in the number of people active in the textual management of information occurred alongside the contemporary increase in the use of paper and the vernacular in the written administration, the range of activity and the relationship of these hands to each other is extremely difficult to establish.

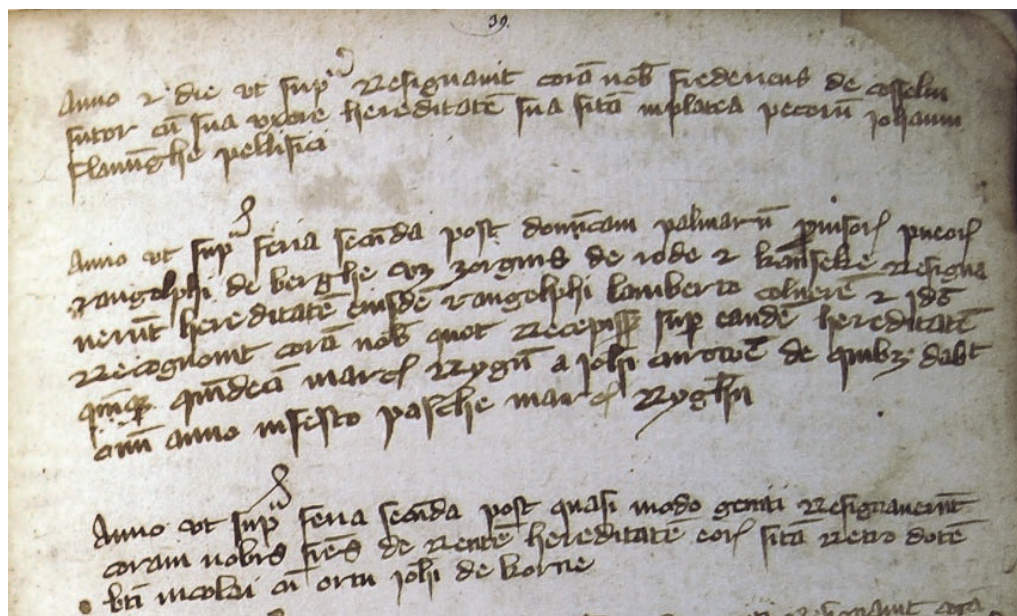
Pictures 29:1–2: *The main hands active in the city books of memoranda during the absence of city scribe Albertus in 1367 and 1368–69.*

Picture 29:1: *The main substitute of the city scribe Albertus in the city book of resignations in the spring and summer of 1367 (AI).*



²¹ STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 94 (with erroneous dating to October 18, 1369, in the cardboard filing. The original reads 'Datum anno domini m° ccc° lxxix in die sancti marci ewangeliste', i.e. April 25, 1369, ed. LECUB I:6 2896, LUB III 682, cit. HUB IV 303) and nr. 93 (April 29, 1369).

Picture 29:2: The main substitute of the city scribe Albertus in the city book of resignations from May 1368 to September 1369 (hand AII). Three consecutive entries on resignations issued on Thursday after Judica (March 21), the Monday after Palm Sunday (March 26) and the Monday after Quasimodogeniti (April 9), 1369. Note the handwriting's overall leaning to the left, the characteristic right angled forms of letters 'f' and 's', and straight lines as signs of contraction.



TLA, A.a.6b, p. 29 and 39 (EBII 225, 304–307).

Of the whereabouts of the city scribe Albertus between the Easter and early September of 1367 and from Easter 1368 to around the beginning of the fiscal year of 1369/70 nothing is known. As there are documented Livonian delegations to the large Hanseatic assemblies in June 1368 in Lübeck, in October 1368 in Stralsund and again in March 1369 in Lübeck, there is a real possibility that he took part in diplomatic missions. Important Hanseatic meetings also took place in the summer of 1369 on the eve of the Colognean confederation, when diplomatic activity between the maritime cities was high. Since several Revalian councillors participated in the military campaigns against Novgorod and Plescow in 1367–69, the need for people capable of attending diplomatic missions in the Hanseatic sphere of activity must have been pressing, and the city scribe may have spent a lengthy period of time in the service of the Livonian cities on diplomatic missions to Lübeck and the southern Baltic Sea area.²² The two absences of city scribe Albertus in the summer of 1367 and in

²² The official envoy of the council of Reval in June 1368 in Lübeck (HR I:3 46 with the ratification of the confederation of Cologne HR I:3 472), and in October 1368 in Stralsund (HR I:3 479) was councillor *Richard Rike*, who also took part in the assembly of the Livonian cities in Pernau on February 2, 1369 (TLA, B.r.12:1, 1, LECUB I:6 2895, ALS 88). Between the assemblies of Lübeck and Stralsund important negotiations also took place in Falsterbo with King Albrecht of Sweden in July 1368. Since other delegates of Livonian cities in 1368 were *Johannes Durekoop* from Riga in Lübeck, and *Hinricus Berner* and *Arnoldus Vorwerk* from Riga together

1368–69 thus give tentative evidence that the later habit of the Revalian city scribes of assisting in official delegations of the council in negotiations and meetings outside the city was already established.

After the last entries of Albertus on resignations issued on April 10, 1374, a period of transition in the management of A.a.6b occurs between April 1374 and April 1375, during which time entries were written by two different hands. The first of these (here *AIIIIa*) uses forms of letters characteristic of the third quarter of the 14th century. The hand is easily recognised because of its almost constant employment of two-compartment ‘a’ in comparison to the emphasis on single-compartment ‘a’ in the handwriting of Albertus. All the entries by *AIIIIa* in A.a.6b are written in Middle Low German, and the first set of them is interspersed among those of Albertus on resignations issued in the spring and summer of 1372. After that the hand emerges again almost two years later with another scattered set of entries among resignations issued in April 1374.²³ Unlike *AI* and *AII*, the hand of *AIIIIa* is also active in other contemporary memoranda of the city, most notably in A.d.3, where it has written the incipit for the fiscal year of 1373/74 on the Eve of St Martin (November 10), 1373.²⁴ In 1374 *AIIIIa* also introduced a new register for the warrants of safe conduct, which he started as a separate section on one of the closing quires of the paper codex of mixed memoranda A.d.5 and which was then extended until 1406 by subsequent city scribes and their main substitutes in charge of the written management of information of the council.²⁵

with *Wolterus van der Borch* from Dorpat in Stralsund, much of the Livonian diplomacy in the summer and autumn of 1368 may have been taken care of by Richard Rike, who may have been assisted by city scribe Albertus. In March 1369, the Livonian delegation consisted of *Bernardus Høppener* from Riga and *Johannes Vorste* from Dorpat (HR I:3 489), Johannes being the sole Livonian participant at the assembly of Lübeck on July 13, 1369 (HR I:3 495). Even if both Wolter van der Borch and Richard Rike were present at the assembly of the Livonian cities on February 2, 1369, in Pernau, neither of the two delegates of Riga were among the three members of the council of Riga who had taken part of the delegations in Lübeck and Stralsund. Therefore it is possible that the Livonian delegation in Lübeck from June 1368 to July 1369 was a more or less permanent one and much of the diplomatic presence was taken care of by Richard Rike and Johannes Vorste assisted by city scribe Albertus of Reval. Curiously, the surviving copy of the recess of Pernau in *AR* (TLA, B.r.12:I, 1) is not written by city scribe Albertus, but by the hand responsible for various entries in A.a.6d and A.d.5 in 1367–81, i.e. either of the more permanent substitutes of Albertus or one of the councillors (Richard Rike?) active in the civic administration.

²³ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 55–56 (EBII 423–425, and an addition to 425) all most likely concerning resignations on the Thursday before Palm Sunday (March 18), 1372, (EBII 433) Friday before Pentecost (May 14), 1372, (EBII 435) Monday before St Margaret (July 12), 1372, and A.a.6b, p. 66–67 and 71: (EBII 493–494, 498–500, 530–531) all without a date or year. A later interpolation at the end of EBII 445 is written by city scribe Hermannus.

²⁴ TLA, A.d.3, f. 43a.

²⁵ TLA, A.d.5, f. 129r–v (Gbuch 1365–1458, 258–262, 264–268, 274–277, 282 beginning, 291, see even Johansen 1929, XXXIV hand 6, where numbers 240, 248, 258–262, 264–268, 274–277, 282–285 and 291 are written by *AIIIIa*, but 329, 394, 448, 472–474 by the hand cited here as *MBII* and very similar to *HI*). Occasional entries on warrants of safe conduct by *AIIIIa* also occur in f. 1r and 7v (Gbuch 1365–1458, 240, 248)

The roundish handwriting of *AIIIIa* is often very close to another contemporary mid-1370's hand with vertical structure of writing and determinate straight daggerlike shafts of two-compartment 'a', and the letters 'h', 'n' and 'p' (here *AIIIIb*). Despite the occasional similarities, however, the writing of these two hands also frequently appear very unlike, so that one feels justified in regarding them as belonging to two different persons.

Interestingly, like *AIIIIa*, the hand of *AIIIIb* appears to have written virtually all his contributions in Middle Low German, and was responsible for the incipit and most of the entries for the fiscal year of 1374/75 in A.d.3 as well as much of the accounts of the building activity at the end of the codex and lengthy passages of the registers of Poundage in 1378 and 1379 [A.d.6]. His writing also occurs at the back of a testament of the Revalian burgher Gerhardus Kuesvelt, written and composed in Latin on parchment by city scribe Hermannus on the Feast of Nereus and Achilleus (May 12), 1376. Since the comment written by *AIIIIb* states 'Everything that Gherd had given to the priests and churches is paid', it may be considerably later than the testament and date from his second period of activity in 1378–79. Evidently active in several areas of fiscal memoranda of the city in 1374–75 and 1378–79, the handwriting of *AIIIIb* also occurs at the end of the *schosslist* of 1372 [A.d.12] with a section of payments of *schoss* and rents most likely paid later than the original termin, and in the lists of warrants of safe conduct [A.d.5] as occasional interpolations on warrants issued to terminate from Michaelmas 1378 to Christmas 1382.²⁶

Whether or not the same person as *AIIIIa* active with A.a.6b in 1372–75, *AIIIIb*, with contributions to various branches of fiscal memoranda of the city in ca. 1372 and 1374–79, was apparently not only a councillor capable of producing detailed lists for the needs of the civic administration, but also someone who possessed knowledge of Latin. His awareness of Latin proverbs and wordplays characteristic of the contemporary florilegia of ecclesiastical and secular writers with a university background is manifested in two sentences employed as pen trials (so called *probatio pennae*) among the *schosslists* of 1371 and 1372. The first of these is written at a 90° angle across the last and partially cut page of the *schosslist* of 1371.

²⁶ TLA, A.d.3, f. 51a–62b, 67a–71b. The accounts of the construction works at the Marketplace f. 71r–v are written by Albertus and followed by an interpolation by *AIIIIb*; TLA, A.d.6, 1r–5r, 13r–14r, 96r–v and back cover; TLA, A.d.12, f. 24v; Certain features of the hand *AIIIIa* also come close to the roundish ductus and favoured two-compartment 'a' employed by one of the main hands active in the *kämmerers'* accounts for the fiscal years of 1377/78 and 1377/78, see, for instance, TLA, A.d.7, f. 6r, and Heckmann 1992, 193–199 hand D, where the other main hand is that of *Hermannus* (Heckmann 1992, hand A); TLA, A.d.5, f. 130v, 132v, 134r–v (Gbuch 1365–1458, 329, 394, 448, 472–474), previously identified by Johansen 1929, XXXIV as hand 6 (here *AIIIIa*); Gerhardus Kuesvelt's testament: TLA, 1-III B, nr. 3 (LECUB I:3 1115) '[Item?] Allent wat Gherd hadde gheuen den presteren vnde kerken dat ys betalet'.

It is the famous Latin pangram '*Gaza frequens libicus duxit karthago thriumphos*', a holoalphabetic hexametric verse where every letter of the alphabet was used at least once.²⁷ Another pen trial of *AIIIb* is placed at the end of his addition to the *schosslist* of 1372 and reads:

'virtus iusticia clerus mammon symonia
Cessat calcatur errat regnat *dominatur*'

The sentence is one of the several known versions of a popular medieval wordplay where each noun of the first verse is to be combined with the verb under it, producing a statement: 'Virtue flies, Justice trembles, Clergy errs, Mammon rules, Simony dominates'. Considering his comment on the fulfilled donations of Gerhardus Kuesevelt's testament at the back of the will, *AIIIb* is likely to have been a man of ecclesiastic contacts or affiliation with at least some university background temporarily in the service of the council's written management of information in the 1370's.²⁸

In A.a.6b the latter set of entries written by *AIIIa* in April 1374 is interlocked with those of the second main substitute after Albertus (here cited as *AIV*), a hand with well balanced distribution of rows, words and letters, and an elegant touch of pen with fine hair decorations characteristic of the professional writers of charters and public documents of the latter half of the 14th century. Together with the almost exclusive employment of single-compartment 'a', one of the most important features of his conduct of memoranda is the use of four dots arranged in the form of a diamond or daggerlike cross at the beginning and occasionally the end of the individual entries. Because a similar form of asterisk or sign of indication with characteristic strong right leaning ductus was also occasionally employed by city scribe Albertus in some of his texts from the late 1360's and 1370's, the use of the symbol cannot be used as a definitive point of identification for the hand of *AIV*.²⁹

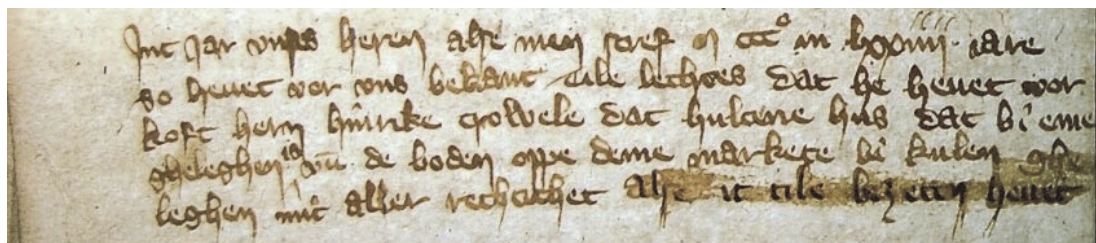
²⁷ TLA, A.d.12, f. 16v.

²⁸ TLA, A.d.12, f. 24v.

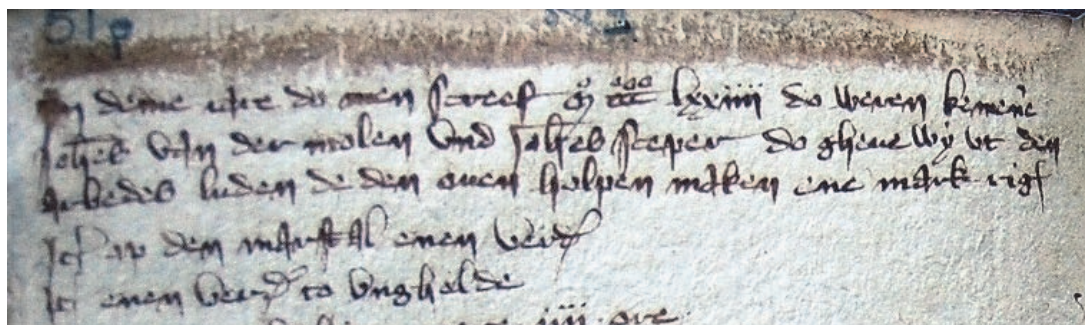
²⁹ In the texts of the city scribe of 1363–74 (*Albertus*) the sign occurs in A.d.5, f. 2r–v, 4r–v (1373) and Urk. 1-I, 288 (ca. 1367).

Pictures 30:1–3: The main substitutes of the city scribe after Albertus in the book of resignations from April 1374 to April 1375 (AIIIa and AIV), and the hand active in several volumes of the fiscal memoranda of the city in ca. 1372, 1374–75 and 1378–79 (AIIIb).

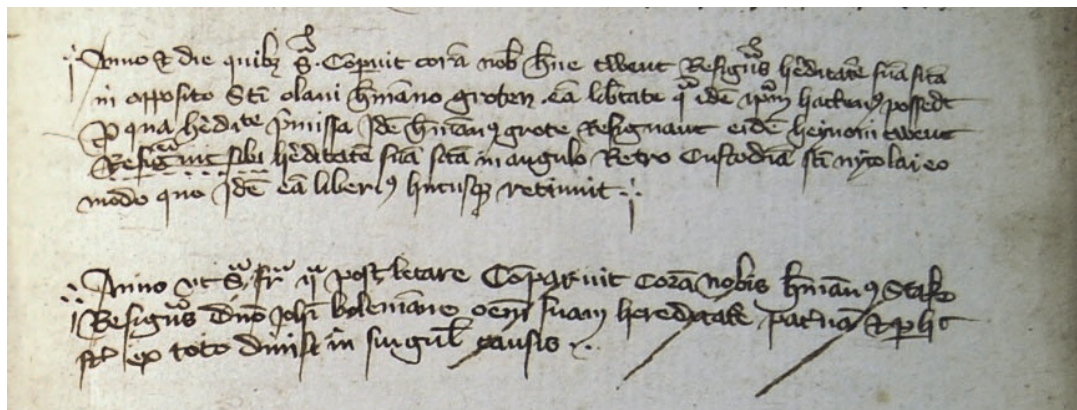
Picture 30:1: An undated entry of the hand AIIIa, active in 1372 and 1374–75, on a recognition by Tile Lechtes issued in 1374. Note the two-compartment structure of the letter 'a'.



Picture 30:2: The incipit of the accounts of the k ammerers for the fiscal year of 1374/75 (AIIIb). Note the daggerlike shafts of two-compartment 'a', letters 'n' and 'p' and the end of the words.



Picture 30:3: Two entries of the hand AIV active from April 1374 to April 1375 on a resignation of Heine Twent issued on the Thursday before Sunday Letare (March 29) and Hermannus Stake on the Monday after Letare (April 2), 1375. Note the four dots in the form of an asterisk or daggerlike cross at the beginning of both entries and the end of the first.



TLA, A.a.6b, p. 66 (EBII 493), TLA, A.d.3, f. 51b (KB 1363–74, 67); TLA, A.a.6b, p. 71 (EBII 525–526).

Evidently a person of high professional standards of writing and personal commitment to calligraphic structure of letters, *AIV* wrote entries to A.a.6b with occasional interpolations by *AIIIIa* at the beginning and the end of his term until resignations issued in Monday after Quasimodogeniti (April 30), 1375.³⁰ Similarly to *AIIIIa*, but in a wider range and variety of entries, the hand of *AIV* also emerges in other contemporary volumes of civic memoranda such as the *schosslists* of 1374 [A.d.12], the accounts of *kämmerers*' of 1374 [A.d.3], and the lists of warrants of safe conduct in 1374/75 [A.d.5].³¹ None of his writings, however, appear to date after his activity as the main substitute of the city scribe in 1375. Since *AIV* personally wrote the *schosslists* for both the parishes of the city for the census of 1374, it is possible that he was in fact the new city scribe after Albertus, but his period of activity in the office came into an early and abrupt end in the spring of 1375. Because the accounts of the *kämmerers* for the fiscal year of 1374/75 were not incipited by him but by *AIIIIb*, the reason for his possession of the full range of activities of the office of the city scribe remains a mystery. One of his extensive pen trials in the *schosslist* of 1371 composed on the dates of St Dionysios (October 9) and the day after it in 1374 shows that he was active in the office around that date.³²

Almost a complete contrast to his contemporarians *AIIIIa* and *AIIIIb*, the substitute or city scribe here cited as *AIV* wrote nearly all his texts in Latin. Obviously a man of letters, he also possessed a wide knowledge of contemporary Latin proverbs and wordplays, some of which he deliberately employed as pen trials on the spare space among the older *schosslists* of 1369 and 1372 available to him in his office. Among these are not only the pangram 'gaza frequens' and wordplay 'Virtus iustitia', possibly following the earlier proverbs and wordplays of *AIIIIb* and placed together with them and other probatory sentences such as 'Anno dominj m^o ccc Septuagesimoquarto In die' at the end of the *schosslist* of 1372. Instead of mere copies of those of his predecessors, a wider selection of proverbs in Latin written by *AIV*, however, occurs on an empty page after the *schosslist* of 1369, reading:³³

³⁰ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 67 (EBII 495–497) the Friday before Cantate (April 28), 1374 and (EBII 502) the Friday after St Boniface (June 9), 1374, p. 68–71 (EBII 503–529, 532–535) from around the Friday after Assumption of Mary (August 18), 1374 to Monday after Quasimodogeniti (April 30) 1375.

³¹ TLA, A.d.12, f. 25r–27r, 29r–31r, 33r–34v, TLA, A.d.3, 49r–51r (in 1374), TLA, A.d.5, f. 129r–v (Gbuch 1365–1458, 269, 271–273, 278–280, 282 end – 290 in Johansen 1929, XXXIV hand 10).

³² TLA, A.d.12, f. 15v. The pen trial is placed after an incipit for the of census list on market shops written by city scribe Albertus and dated to the Eve of St Thomas (December 20), 1371.

³³ TLA, A.d.12, f. 24v; TLA, A.d.12, f. 4v. The pen trial is followed by a list of stonebreakers liable to *schoss* written by *AIV* with additions by *AIIIIb* and dating to 1374, f. 5r; 'Miser est qui servit iniquo', see Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi – Lexikon Der Sprichwörter Des Romanisch-Germanischen Mittelalters, 1–13. Ed.

‘Omnibus hoc dico miser est qui seruit Iniquo
 Omnibus hoc dico miser est qui seruit Iniquo.
 Omnibus omnia non mea Sompnia dice possum
 plenus honorificabilitudiuuitatibus esto
 pretereuntes preter euntes preter eunt es
 Omnibus est notum quod multum diligo potum
 cum poterit cogi puer hinc opus est pedagogi
 Cur *quondam* faale debet omnia cor puerile.’

Other lengthy pen trials unquestionably written by *AIV* are placed among the schosslist entries of 1372, where a repeated mixed sentence of Latin and German ‘J deoque Ik byn gheworden vrøø’ (‘Therefore I am pleased’) is interpolated in the entries of city scribe Albertus on *schoss* and rents of the market shops liable at the Eve of St Thomas (December 20), 1372. At the end of the same page he has also written a quotation from the prophet Isaiah (Is. 9:1), the allegorical reading of which was discussed by church fathers such as Cyril of Alexandria and which was understood in the context of Christ's calling of the first two apostles and the mission of the Church to the nations.³⁴ A further pen trial of *AIV* is written on the last page of the *schosslist* of 1374, where repeated and mixed sentences allude to verses from both the Old and New Testaments, reading:

by Kuratorium Singer der SAGW, Schweizerische Akademie d. Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 1995–2002, Band 2, Dienen, 8.11.3, nr. 389, where the whole text is ‘Omnibus hoc dico: Miser est qui seruit iniquo: Parcere subjectis nescit iniquus homo’, ‘Woe to him who serves Evil. Evil can not protect his subjects’. On the genre of proverbs in western medieval Europe see Taylor, Barry, *Medieval Proverb Collections: The West European Tradition*. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 55 (1992), 19–35. In his edition of the Schosslists of 1369–74 (Schoss 1369–72) Heinz von zur Mühlen has omitted all the pen trials and presents the four lists as products of two individual hands, one responsible for the lists (i.e. Albertus), and one for later interpolations to the lists mainly in the form of pen trials, von zur Mühlen, Heinz, 2002, *Schosslisten der Stadt Reval 1369–72*. In: *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands*, 48 (2002), 128.

³⁴ TLA, A.d.12, f. 23v ‘primo tempore alleuiata/est terra zabulon et terra/ neptalyn et nouissimo aggregata/nata est via maris trans/ Jordanem galilee gentium’, the incipit of Is. 9:1 is found also on f. 22v. In the early Church the book of Isaiah was considered one of the most significant sections of the Old Testament, containing a full prophecy of Christ's coming and the mission of the Church to the nations. The allegorical reading of Is. 9:1, a verse also quoted in Matthew 4:15, stressed the role of ‘the land of Zebulun and land of Naphtali’ next to the sea of Tiberias as the region where those who were first to believe dwelled, and where the light of Christ was revealed not only to the first disciples but also to the Gentiles, i.e. non-Jews, see Wilken, Robert Louis, 2007, *Isaiah, Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators*. Translated and edited by Robert Louis Wilken with Angela Russell Christman and Michael J., Hollerich. In: *The Church's Bible*. Wim B. Eerdman Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan, USA, 120–122.

‘Fidem [- -] bonum certamen certans cursum consum
fiat lux et facta est lux ... bonum certam’

‘fidem certamen certans bonum consumans
fidem seruans bonum certamen certans
bonum certamen certans cursum consumans
fidem seruant’³⁵

Here, the key phrase of Gen. 1:3 is combined with a wordplay alluding to Paul's wording in 2 Timothy 4:7, ‘*Bonum certamen certavi cursum consummavi fidem servavi*’, ‘I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course, I have kept the faith’. Even more intriguingly, further down the page other pen trials of *AIV* exist with a double entry of a sentence ‘*Luce dolet fuscum de lumine cordis, - herinis-*’, presenting the fourth last verse of the *Flores grammaticae* of Ludolf of Luckowe (Lüchow, ca. 1190–1234), an influential Latin grammar where the author of the work is revealed in an acrostic composed from the first syllable of each word (Lu-dol-fus de Lu-c[or]-he).³⁶ It is especially interesting that even if several of the pen trials consist of material well known in the literate florilegia of the time, the wide range of proverbs and phrases together with the quotation from the Book of Isaiah and *Flores grammaticae* point to a possible clerical or notarial status of *AIV* and adequate university background, which is further attested to by his elegant gothic cursive and calligraphic touch of quill. Lastly, it is worth mentioning that *AIV*'s handwriting also appears in a copy of an intitulation and address of the text an apostolic letter of Pope Gregory XI (Pope from December 30, 1370 to March 27, 1378) to the prior of the church of Riga and the provost of the church of Lübeck, written on the back of a Middle Low German copy of the customs tariff issued for the merchants of the Holy Roman Empire in the trade with Bruges and Turhout in Ghent in May 1252. Accompanied by other pen trials by the city scribes Albertus and Hermannus and possibly *MBII*, most of the interpolations at the back of the early 14th-century copy of the Middle Low German text of the tariff appear to date from ca. 1370–75, when the back of the parchment was used as provisional writing material in the office of the city scribes.³⁷

³⁵ TLA, A.d.12, f. 35v.

³⁶ On Ludolf of Luckowe (Lüchow, Ludolphus de Luco) and his identification as the author of *Flores grammaticae* see, for instance, von Heinemann, Otto, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*. Abt. I, *Die Helmstedter Handschriften II*. Wolfenbüttel, 1882, 286.

³⁷ TLA, BE 2, 2 (HUB I 436:2). The copy of the tariff is written in an early 14th-century hand on a single sheet of parchment, the top edge of which has been gradually cut out in different occasions, possibly in order to get material for seal tags for other documents. All of the lower left of the document is destroyed. In the reverse side middle right is the word ‘Thelonij’ written crosswise by the same hand as the tariff, as well as several pen trials by hands recognisable as those of the city scribes or their major substitutes. Of these the text written by *AIV* is

With the help of the analysis of the hands evident in A.a.6b (EBII) and other surviving memoranda of the council from the period of office of city scribe Albertus in 1363–74, the following listing of the city scribe and his main substitutes can be presented:

Table 6: *The period of activity of city scribe Albertus and his known main substitutes in 1363–75.*

Hand	Period of Activity
<i>Albertus</i> (Albertus Mester?)	February 1363 – April 1374
Substitute <i>AI</i>	April 1367 – September 1367
Substitute <i>AII</i>	May 1368 – Michaelmas 1369
Substitute <i>AIIIa</i>	Spring 1372, November 1373, April 1374
Substitute <i>AIIIb</i> (not in A.a.6b)	In ca. 1372, Fiscal year of 1374/75, 1378–79
Substitute <i>AIV</i> (city scribe?)	April 1374 – April 1375

5.1.3. Hermannus (1375–1400/3)

5.1.3.1. *Period of activity, identity and conditions of office*

After the end of the period of office of city scribe Albertus and the activity of *AIIIa* and *AIV* in 1374–75, the first entry written by a totally new hand in A.a.6b (EBII) is made on a group of resignations issued on and around the Feasts of St Agapet (August 18), St Lambert (September 17), St Barbara (December 3), and St Lucy (December 14), 1375.³⁸ After that, a quarter of a century in charge of the written management of information of the council, the highly calligraphic hand of the new city scribe with characteristic long and grapevine-like fine hair decorations of word-endings ‘n’ and ‘m’, contractions of ‘-et’ and ‘-us’, and voluminous spacing of thinly penned letters penetrates all the surviving memoranda in *AR* produced not only during his occupation of the office of the city scribe, but also as

placed middle left on the upper area of the back of the letter starting with his characteristic daggerlike asterisk and reading ‘+ Sapientissimo in xpo patria ac domino domino Gregorio diuina prouidencia papa vndecimo Dilectis sibi filiis domio priori ecclesie Rigensis de eiuem ecclesie ac ecclesie Lubicensis prepositus’. Left of the text there is a doodle of a human profile with long hair or, more likely, a veil, and above the text a pen trial placed upside down, possibly from the hand of city scribe *Hermannus* (1375–1400/3) reading ‘Anno dnj m:o ccc A A A’. To the left of that there is a short text in an earlier hand with some of the characteristics of *MBII* reading ‘dit iz mi sculdi[...]’. Under the text written by *AIV* there is an indecipherable piece of pen trial and two lines written in the hand of city scribe *Albertus* (1383–74) with names of nine or ten contemporary councillors reading ‘hild[emarus?] (Vicsen?, cited as councillor at least in 1349–73) rike (Richard, 1362–76) kalland (Evehardus Kalle, also Kalland, 1364–78) lippe (Hermannus, 1351–73) lovenschede (Winand, 1373) / [w?]eldighe (Hermannus, II, 1361–67) hild[emarus?] (Vicsen?) wulf (Henrik, 1365–70) molen (Johannes van der, councillor 1367–88, burghermaster 1389–91) l? [... lacuna ...]at’. Of the names all of the first line from Hildemarus to ‘lovenschede’ and the last partially destroyed name at the end of the second line are struck out. On the councillors see von Bunge 1874, 138, 123, 108, 112, 113, 130, 142, 116.

³⁸ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 72–73 (EBII 536–574).

Hermannus), ‘the new scribe Hermannus’ (*nyen scrivere ... Hermanno*) and ‘our notary’ (*nostro notario*), a title also employed for his two predecessors Karolus de Montreal (1358–63) and Albertus (1363–74).³⁹ The name of the new scribe also surfaces in the accounts of the Poundage in 1381, and the excise on beer in 1393, where he is cited as ‘Herman the scribe’ (*Herman dem scriver*), and ‘the scribe Hermannus’ (*schriuere Hermannus*).⁴⁰ Apart from the German name Hermannus, nothing is known of his origin, possessions or accommodation in the service of the council either during or outside his period of office as the city scribe in Reval. Fluent in both Latin and Middle Low German with an elegant line of quill, he must have had an adequate schooling, but nothing is known of his notarial status and qualifications other than the title of scribe (*scrivere, notario*) in the accounts concerning his salary. Despite the considerable number of surviving texts produced by him, no notary instruments or material related to such activity has survived in *AR*.

As in the case of his predecessors, the continuity of Hermannus’ activities in the overall written management of information of the civic authority of Reval is again best observed with the help of the main line of the civic memoranda of resignations and annuities exclusively taken care by the city scribes and their most distinguished substitutes. As a contrast to the lengthy absences of the city scribe Albertus during his eleven-year occupation of the office in 1363–74, the period of office of Hermannus in 1375–1400/3 as a city scribe seems to have been almost continuous to judge from his entries in A.a.6b, A.a.6c and A.a.3. Clear breaks in the flow of his writing in the paper book of resignations of A.a.6c occur only in the autumn of 1381 and towards the end of his office in the spring of 1398 and in 1400–1403. There his last entry is written on a resignation issued on the Friday before Pentecost (June 1), 1403, almost three years after his abdication from the continuous writing of the codex with a resignation issued on the Friday before Sunday *Vocem iocunditatis* (May 21), 1400. Because the last leaf of the first quire of of A.a.6c with entries on resignations issued from May 21st to Friday before St Peter in Chains (July 30), 1400, is lost, the exact date when Hermannus ceased writing in A.a.6c is unknown, but after the summer of 1400 all the

³⁹ A.d.3, f. 60b: ‘Item xj marc <- - - verdinc min, scratched over> des stades scriueren Hermannus’, f. 62a ‘Item Hermannus deme scriuere ij marc’, 70a ‘Item deme nien scriuere ene marc rigisch/ hermanno/ Item deme seluen scriuere enen verdinc rigisch/ Item deme seluen scriuere vif verdinc Item deme seluen ½ marc/ Item iij verdinc/ Item ix verdinc hermanno/ Item nostro notario iij marc expagauimus/ Item notario ij marc rigisch Item eidem j marc Rigisch/ Item ij marc den seluen’.

⁴⁰ TLA, A.d.6, f. 88v (in 1381, RzollB II 1450) ‘Anno lxxxprimo in octava beati Mychaelis vortmer hebbe wy gheantwordet deme schriuere Hermanno iij marc’ where the sum was paid aound the termin of Michaelmas and the enrty is written by Hermannus, f. 96a (RzollB II 1472) ‘Notum Herman dem scriver hebben wy gegeven van dem pundgelde 3 fert. Rig, Jtem 1 fr., Jtem ½ marc’; TLA, A.d.9, f. 8v (ca. 1393), ‘Item hermanno schriuere ij marc’.

writing in A.a.6c is done by his substitute, cited as *HII* below, save the one entry by Hermannus in the summer of 1403.⁴¹

In the parchment codex of annuities (A.a.3), Hermannus' hand appears constantly after the introduction of the codex on the Friday before the second Sunday in Easter (April 22), 1384, until a recognition of a debt issued on the Friday before St Nicholas (December 3), 1400. After this, a lengthy period of transition in both A.a.3 and A.a.6c occurs before the first entries of the new city scribe, Johannes Blomendal, in 1406. In A.a.3 the last entry written by Hermannus during the time of transition is a notification issued on the Eve of the 11000 virgins (October 20), 1402.⁴² Together with the entry of the Friday before *Vocem iucundidatis* (June 1), 1403, in A.a.6c, the last datable contribution of Hermannus in all the material surviving in *AR* is a series of entries in the register *wedde* from the wardenship of Johannes Krouwel dated on Christmas (December 25), 1403. Since Krouwel's wardenship is only a couple of entries earlier cited to have started around the Michaelmas of 1402, the date most likely refers to the Christmas of 1402 in the fiscal year of 1402/3. Even before this since 1401, the entries in the register of *wedde* had been written in mixed order by Hermannus and his successor *HII* (see CHAPTER 5.1.4.2 below).⁴³

Considering the salary of the Revalian city scribes at the time of the activity of Hermannus, certain features are of interest here. In the first fiscal year of his occupation in 1374/75 the new scribe was paid a total of 25 Riga marks in 12 different imbursements with payments between one ferdingh (1/4 of a mark) and 9 marks, so the conditions his salary were apparently not yet settled, and he may have been paid according to his writing and other tasks in the civic administration. No similar information on his later salary has survived. Since the *kämmerers'* accounts from the entire period of his occupation in 1376–1403 are lost, we do not know if the payments were continued in installments totalling some 25 Riga marks a year, or if the overall conditions of Hermannus' salary and work were arranged in some other way after his first year of employment[in the fiscal year of 1374/75]. As noted in CHAPTER 3.2.2.3, the writing and management of certain registers was an obligation imposed through Hanseatic cooperation, an example being the Poundage, and these appear to have

⁴¹ Breaks in the writing of Hermannus in TLA, A.a.6b, p. 116–117 (EBII 775–778, in late 1381) and TLA, A.a.6c, p. 102–103 (EBIII 427–434, in 1398); TLA, A.a.6c, p. 126 (EBIII 517) and 120 (EBIII 490).

⁴² TLA, A.a.3, f. 3r–42v (PergRB 7–359), f. 47r (PergRB 420); TLA, A.a.6c, p. 134–135 (EBIII 553–569); TLA, A.a.3, f. 43v (PergRB 375).

⁴³ TLA, A.a.4a, f. 5r ('Anno quadringentesimo tercio A festo nativitatit christi Exessus perpetratus sub Aduocacia domini Johanno krouwel', hand Hermannus), 4v ('sub aduocatione Johannes Krouwel sub anno mº quadragesimo Secundo post festum pasche Incohatus', hand *HII*).

been entrusted more and more to the care of the city scribes in the last quarter of the 14th century. After the period of office of Hermannus in ca. 1378–81, the writing of the registers and quittancies was financed with the help of the revenues, either because they were considered something extra, i.e. not part of the ‘normal’ activity of the council, or because of the possible contemporary understanding that all the costs entailed in the management of a particular revenue should to be covered by that revenue, not taken from the overall income of the civic administration. Accordingly, in 1381 Hermannus was paid a total of 5½ Riga marks in four instalments varying from 1 ferding to 4 marks from the assets of the Poundage, apparently for writing the register. Similarly, in 1383–84 the costs of the scribe (*notario*) who wrote the register totalled 4½ marks in five separate instalments from 1 ferding to 2 marks, all covered from the assets of the Poundage. In 1393 Hermannus was also paid two marks from the assets of the excise of beer, obviously for writing and managing the particular register. An older tax originally imposed on wine and collected by the civic authority, the oldest surviving registers of excise of beer in Reval are written by Hermannus and date from ca. 1393–94 (see CHAPTER 3.2.2.3). As in the early management of the Poundage, the registers of the excise were most likely originally administered by the wardens of excise themselves, until they were absorbed into the general management of written information of the civic administration by the city scribes against a special fee in the 1390’s.⁴⁴ From the period of office of Hermannus there is also evidence of other possible scribes active in the town. According to the schosslist of either 1391 or 1393, one of the house-owners in the parish of St Olaf was one Franke or Franco ‘*Sculschriuere*’ (*vranke sculschriuere*), possibly a teacher in the parish school of St Olaf (see CHAPTER 5.2.3).⁴⁵

5.1.3.2. The impact on the written management of information and aspects on the use of paper and vernacular

The period of office of Hermannus is marked by a substantial reorganisation of the civic memoranda of Reval, with not only the introduction of parallel registers on resignations and annuities in 1383–84 [A.a.6c, A.a.3], and two large folio sized codices for the copy of missives around the beginning of the fiscal year of 1384/85 [A.a.4], but also a combined volume for the registers of *wedde* from ca. 1399 together with collected rents on market shops and leased property of the city since ca. 1392 [A.a.4a]. Further information on

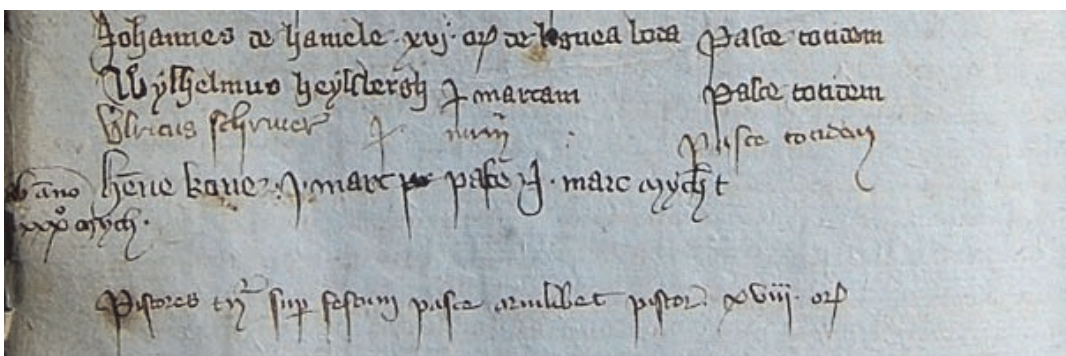
⁴⁴ TLA, A.d.3, f. 60b, 62a, 70a (KB 1363–74, p. 77, 81, 86), TLA, A.d.6, f. 88v (RzollB II 1450), f. 96a (RzollB II 1472), for quotes see footnote 40 above, TLA, A.d.8, f. 33r (RzollB 2661 ‘Item 1 mr. Notario, item 1 fr., item 3 fr., item ½ mr., item 2 mr.’); TLA, A.d.9, f. 8v (ca. 1393), see footnote 40 above.

⁴⁵ TLA, A.d.9, f. 5r

Hermannus' occupation in the written management of the council is available in other volumes surviving from the late 14th and early 15th century civic administration, such as the paper codex of mixed memoranda [A.d.5], the surviving registers of *schoss* [A.d.12] and Poundage [A.d.6 and A.d.8], and the accounts for the repair of sections of the town wall in 1389 [A.d.10] and excise on beer in ca. 1393–94 [A.d.9]. Towards the end of his period of office in ca. 1399/1403 he even introduced a stout parchment codex of quarto for the management of schematic registers of rents on leased market shops and buildings, alms and chantries/vicaries of the city [A.a.7, see CHAPTER 3.1.3.3], where his gothic textualis is similar to that in the section of the paper codex of mixed memoranda on the collected rents of market shops in ca. 1380–87 [A.d.5], supplements of paragraphs in the codex of the Lübeck Law of 1282 [Cm 10], and a pen trial or unfinished entry on the council's decision of 1390 in the same codex.⁴⁶ The roundish and angular, sometimes rather bumpy gothic textualis of Hermannus displays a face close to that of contemporary styles of rapid gothica textualis libraria with bifurcated ascenders of 'b', 'h', 'k', 'l', and extended limbs of 'h' on 'j'. As in his writing of gothic cursive, many of the ascenders are finished with hairline endings bending left, occasionally decorated with grapevine-like curves to the right. Another frequent characteristic in his textualis is inverted circumflexes on 'u'.⁴⁷

Pictures 32:1–3: *Three samples of the gothic textualis of city scribe Hermannus with his characteristic bifurcated ascenders of 'b', 'h', 'l' and 'k' mixed and partially merging with his gothic cursive in: 32:1: the register of collected rents in ca. 1380–87, 32:2: in supplement paragraphs to the 1282 Law of Lübeck, and: 32:3: in the schematic register of rents on market shops from ca. 1399 (with interpolation below by the city scribe Johannes Blomental). Note the bottoms of the minims curving up.*

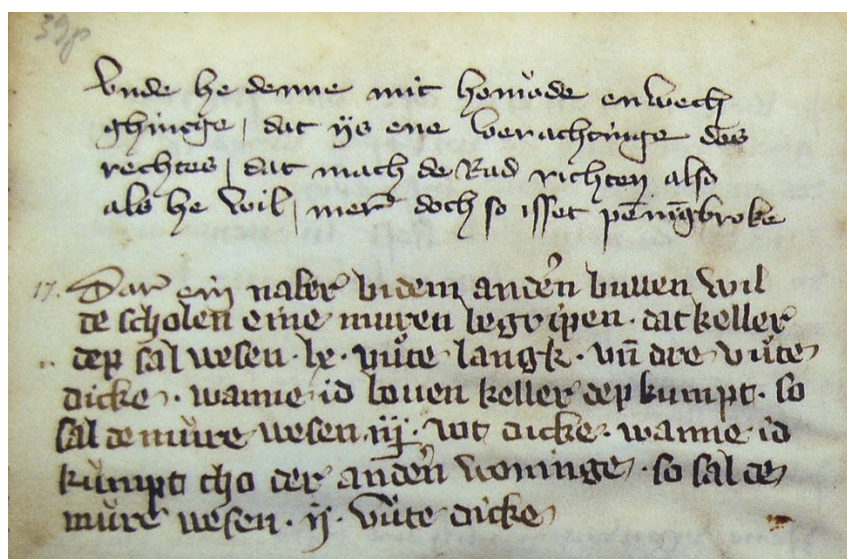
Picture 32:1



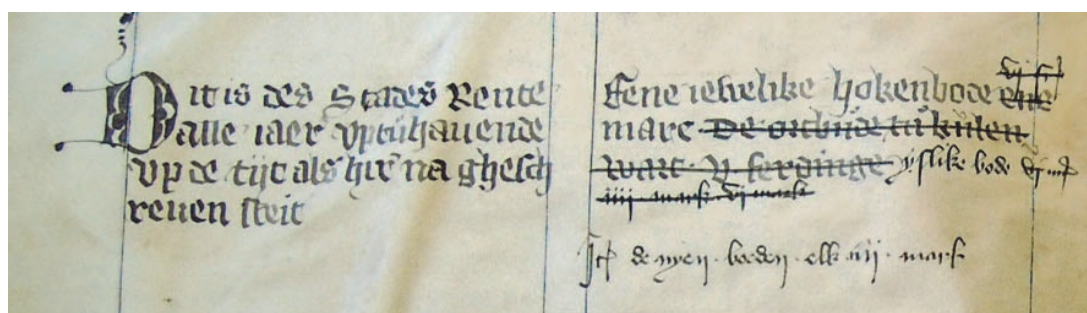
⁴⁶ In Cm 10 the four supplements written in gothic cursive by Hermannus are written in two different sessions on f. 39r–v, and the five supplements with gothic textualis in one session on f. 39v–40r.

⁴⁷ On textualis formata and bifurcation see Derolez 2003, 72–84, esp. 79.

Picture 32:2



Picture 32:3



TLA, A.d.5, 6v; TLA, Cm 10, f. 39v; TLA, A.a.7, f. 4v.

Hermannus is the first of the Revalian city scribes for whom a large variety of different kinds of drafts of missives, appellations and other documents produced in the name of the council still survive in *AR*. The office of Hermannus in 1374–1400/3 also saw the final transition from parchment to paper and from Latin to Middle Low German in the written management of information of the civic authority in Reval. The use of paper first began with the introduction of the quarto paper volume of A.d.4 by *WBIV* in ca. 1352, and was further cultivated by Karolus de Montreal with A.a.6b in 1360, followed by Albertus and his substitutes in different spheres of memoranda in the latter half of the 1360's. This development was then completed, with paper the main material for processing and securing written information in the civic administration, in the office of Hermannus, after which sheets, volumes and codices of parchment were only used in documents and spheres of memoranda considered vital for the civic authority. In the memoranda such recordings

include not only the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3], first introduced to writing by Hermannus at Easter 1384, but also the parchment codex of A.a.7 originally employed for schematic registers of rents on market shops, alms and chantries/vicaries, also introduced by Hermannus in ca. 1399/1403. Because the surviving sent missives of the council today deposited in the various archives of the late medieval Hanseatic sphere of interaction have not been included in this study, no comprehensive picture of the use of parchment and paper in the final output of sent missives and letters of the council can be formed. However, although all the drafts and discarded originals of Hermannus from between 1377 and June 1399 in *AR* are written on paper, all his surviving letters of appellation and *tovorsichte* written for the council of Reval to Lübeck from 1377–94 are composed on parchment: a fact, which, together with A.a.3 and A.a.7, tells about attitudes to the status of paper and parchment in different spheres of information in the administration and communication of the civic authorities.⁴⁸ As already discussed in CHAPTER 2.1.3.2, the initiative for restricting the material of Revalian letters of appellation to Lübeck to parchment was taken by the council of Lübeck in ca. 1370, not by Reval, which underlines the role of the chancery of the Imperial City as the institution searching to control certain textual artefacts and text permanences in the written management of information among the merchant cities of the era.

By contrast with his predecessors Albertus and Karolus de Montreal, who wrote all their entries in the paper book of resignations [A.a.6b] in Latin only, the entries of Hermannus in the same codex slowly became vernacular after 1376, when his first entry in Middle Low German was written on an agreement issued on the Eve of St Blaise (February 4).⁴⁹ After this, occasional entries in Middle Low German are mixed with those in Latin, but slowly become predominant in his writing in A.a.6b and its continuation A.a.6c. From the spring of 1388 Middle Low German is overwhelmingly the language of recording resignations, with only sporadic entries in Latin from then to the end of Hermannus' continuous activity with the register in 1399. In A.a.6c a major shift to Middle Low German in his writing appears to

⁴⁸ TLA, BA 1:1a, where drafts and other material written by *Hermannus* are nr. 1–43 (receipts for payments of schoss), 47 (HUB IV 580 from 1377), 49–50 (both without a year), 51 (LECUB I:3 1411, from 1379), 52 (HUB IV 975, ca. 1389), 53 (from 1380), 54 (LECUB I:4 1215, from 1384), 55 (FMU I 1047, ca. 1395), 56 (from 1387), 57 (from 1389), 58 (LECUB I:4 1360, from 1394), 59 (LECUB I:4 1401, from 1395), 60 (LECUB I:4 1401, January 1399), 61 (LECUB I:4 1489, June 1399), and 62 (LECUB IV 1486, May 1399). In the same file nr. 45–46 are drafts by *Albertus*, and 44 and 48 by substitute *HII*; STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 97 (letter of *tovorsichte*, Wednesday after Misericordia, April 14, 1377), 98 (appellation, Wednesday after Trinity, May 26, 1377), 113 (letter of *tovorsichte* and appellation, St Margaret, July 13, 1389, a copy of the same document on a loose sheet of paper in TLA, BA 1:1a, 57 also by *Hermannus*), 114 (letter of appellation, Wednesday in Easter, March 30, 1390), 118 (letter of *tovorsichte*, Feast of St Oswald, August 5, 1390), 103 (letter of *tovorsichte*, Division of Apostles, July 15, 1394).

⁴⁹ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 74 (EBII 551).

have occurred from 1382/84 to 1388/90, when the number of entries in the vernacular starts to grow and Latin entries are occasionally furnished with Middle Low German explications ‘*in vulgo*’, as in the very first entry of A.a.6c on a resignation issued on the Friday after Corpus Christi (May 22), 1383.⁵⁰ A similar development can be observed in the parchment codex of annuities, where his first full entry in Middle Low German is made on an agreement issued on the Monday after Misericordia Domini (April 17), 1385. After that, the share of vernacular increases in the entries gradually to 1389/90, after which majority of entries are in Middle Low German until the latter half of the 1390’s, when 2/3 of the entries are again in Latin.⁵¹ Of the four surviving testaments of Revalian burghers and members of civic community written by Hermannus, the two originals of burgher Gerhardus Kusevelt dated to the Feast of Nereus and Achilleus (May 12), 1376, and councillor Johannes Duderstad dated to the Tuesday after Misericordia Domini (May 5), 1378, are written and composed entirely in Latin and on parchment. The other two, an itemized list of goods and possessions of the councillor Johannes Bulemann on paper, either dictated by him or based on a preceding list in Middle Low German, dates from around 1389, while a finished but unsealed and later discarded and cut testament of the burgher Gerd Witte (*gerd wiite*) dated to the Annuciation of Mary (March 25), 1395, is written and composed in Middle Low German on parchment.⁵²

Curiously, the shift from Latin to Middle Low German and then back to Latin in the writing of Hermannus is also apparent in the appellations of the council of Reval to Lübeck, where the two oldest of his surviving letters of appellation dated in the spring of 1377 are written in Latin, the next three from 1389 and 1390 in Middle Low German and the last from July 1394 again in Latin. Because of the fact that the clear majority of contemporary council missives apparently written and produced by Hermannus had been written in Middle Low German with address, salutations and dating (i.e. the proto- and eschatocol) in Latin since the beginning of the 1380’s, the two languages appear to have been still interchangeable in contemporary written management of information and communication. The texts show that

⁵⁰ Entries in Middle Low German by *Hermannus*: TLA, A.a.6b, p. 127 (EBII 828, St Mary Magdalen Eve, July 21, 1382), p. 130 (EBI 844, Friday before St Thomas, December 19, 1382), and A.a.6c, p. 7, 9–10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 26, 29–31, 33–46 (EBIII 33, 43, 44, 46, 51, 55, 64 (1384), 77 (1385), 117, 123–124 (1386), 131–134, 139, 141 (1387), 153, 157–159, 164–165, 168–170, 176–177 (1388), 183–187, 189, 191, 195, 201–204, 206–207 (1389) after which only the minority are written in Latin). TLA, A.a.6c, p. 1 (EBIII 1) ‘dicte aree possidendo versus plateam monachorum ita tamen quod in vulgo dat her Hinricus nicht neger buwen sal...’.

⁵¹ TLA, A.a.3, f. 6v (PergRB 48) and the flow of entries in f. 6v–42r (to PergRB 355).

⁵² TLA, 1-III B, nr. 3 (Gerhardus Koesevelt, LECUB I:3 1115), 4 (Johannes Duderstad), 5 (Johannes Buleman, LECUB I:3 1264) and 6 (Gerhardus Witte, where the left side of the document and a section of the lower right corner are cut out).

the conventional and apparently more and more ritualistic use of Latin formulas in certain spheres of written management of communication such as salutations, dating and invocations were penetrated by vernacular only gradually, which produced linguistically hybrid texts with not only formulaic but even expected and approved usages of Latin in them. Instead of a chronologically consistent shift from Latin to vernacular, the more than quarter a century activity of Hermannus in the written management of information of the civic authority of Reval was a period of transition, where both Latin and vernacular modes of expression were applied for the same, occasionally intermingled uses, and the two domains were developed in the context of contemporary conventions and expectations about the sustainability of paper and parchment, text types and permanences. Here, Hermannus' period of office in the city scriptorium in 1375–1400/3 helps us to understand the process in the application of both the vernacular and paper to the written management of information of contemporary civic authorities and institutionalised agents of power, as discussed in CHAPTERS 2.1.3.1–2.1.3.2.

5.1.4. *HI* and *HII*, two hands active in the written management of information of the council in 1375–1405

5.1.4.1. *HI* and the identity of the hands active in the fiscal and mixed memoranda of the city from the 1360's to the early 1380's

Of the two known substitutes of city scribe Hermannus in his period of activity from 1375, the first (here cited as *HI*) appears only in the paper book of resignations [A.a.6c] with four Middle Low German entries placed between *Octavas* of Michaelmas (October 8), 1381 and the Friday before St Prisca (January 17), 1382.⁵³ Elsewhere his handwriting also occurs among the entries of warrants of safe conduct of A.d.5, where he appears to have written two entries on warrants issued to terminate on St John the Baptist and at Christmas 1381 placed at the end of the page after those of city scribe Hermannus and an entry by *MBII*.⁵⁴ Further samples of *HI*'s handwriting are found in two missives, one an undated copy of an apellation of the council of Reval to Lübeck in the matter of *Hinse Lemegouwe*, and the other a finished and folded but unsealed letter of the Revalian burgher *Johan Duderstad* to *Ernst van Dotzem*, bailiff of Åbo, concerning his advocacy in the bailiff's case in front of the council. Dated on the Eve of the Feast of the Chair of St Peter (February 21), the letter of Johan Duderstad was part of the correspondence on the fate of van Dotzem's armed servant, a

⁵³ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 116–117 (EBII 775–778). Of the four entries the only dated one (EBII 775) was issued on the Friday before Martini (November 8), 1381.

⁵⁴ TLA, A.d.5, 134v (Gbuch 1365–1458, 472–473, where *MBII* has written nr. 471 and possibly the unfinished entry of 474). Johansen 1929, XXXIV, hand 6, has misidentified the hand as same as hand *AIIIIa* cited in this study.

werkmester (a master-builder or armourer) killed in Reval after trying to break into the house of the town bailiff (*boden hus*) to release a woman detained for burglary (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.4).⁵⁵ The dating of the letter to ca. 1372 is supported by a copy of the council's letter to van Dotzem on the course of events issued on the Monday after the Conversion of St Paul, and written by city scribe Albertus, among the copies of other letters datable to 1372 in A.a.6d.⁵⁶ Obviously a trading partner of van Dotzem, Duderstad had received a written mandate to advocate the case in front of the council, which he then informed the bailiff in a letter, the copy or a finished draft of which written by *HI* has survived in *AR*. The dating of the letter to late February 1372 is also supported by the fact that no entries on resignations issued between the Friday before the Purification of Mary (January 30) and the Friday after Sunday Quasimodogeniti (April 9) have survived in A.a.6b written by Albertus. Of the seven entries placed between these dates, two and a lengthy addition to a third are written by *AIIIIa*, who substituted Albertus in A.a.6b in March 1372.⁵⁷

The handwriting of *HI* in 1381–82 and in the undated copy of an appellation to the council of Lübeck is easily recognised from his somewhat shaky conduct of pen and uneven flow of ink with a characteristic lengthened form of ‘z’, long oval loop of word-opening ‘S’, oblique diacritics of ‘i/j’, and the persistent habit of introducing word-opening ‘b’, ‘h’, ‘v’ and ‘w’ with a sling ending on the left side of the letter. A similar structure of text, but with less shaking of pen and somewhat more glyphic construction of letters is also observed in his writing of the letter of Johan Duderstad of 1372, where the employment of an uncial ‘d’, prominent ‘w’ and oblique diacritics of ‘i/j’ together with the occasional elevated shafts gives his handwriting a character close to the hybrid gothic cursives of the late 13th and early 14th centuries. Despite the allusions to older cursives, however, much of the character of his writing is in fact based on forms of letters typical of the gothic cursives of the third quarter of the 14th century. The handwriting itself can be placed in the context of the shift from forms characteristic of the early 14th to those fashionable in the mid-14th century, the latter originating in the papal curia in Avignon and being distributed by imperial and local chanceries as well as clerics, notaries public and scribes in contact with them.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ TLA, BA 1:1a, 48 (HUB V 465, LECUB IV 1582, both with the dating of ca. 1400) and 44 (FMU VIII 6594 with the erroneous dating to June 28, 1372, and DS X 145 with the correct February 21, 1372).

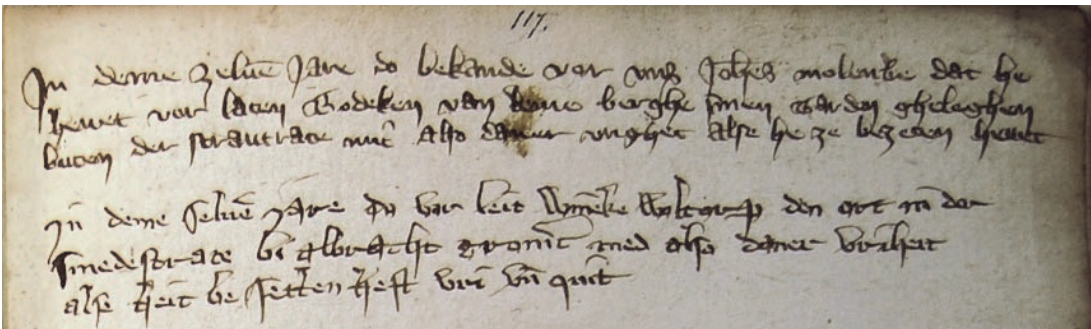
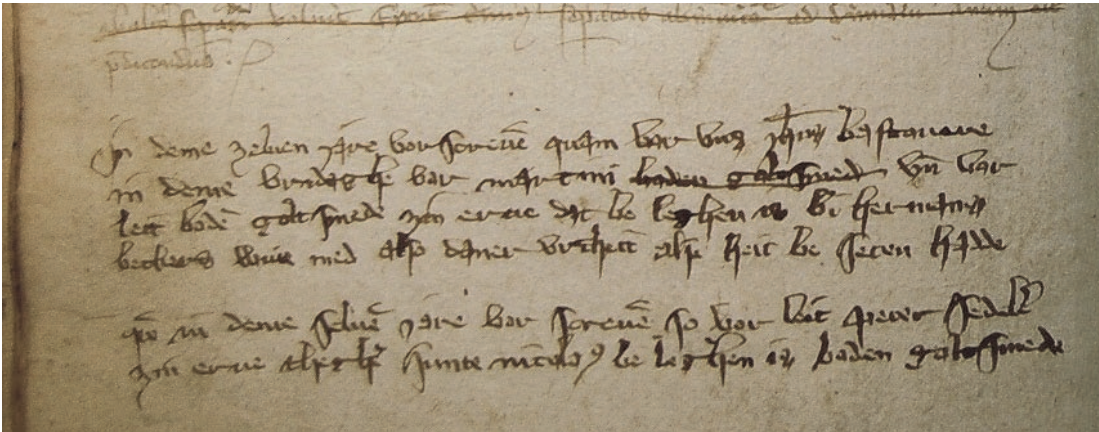
⁵⁶ TLA, A.a.6d, f. 9v (Greiffenhagen 1924–26:III, Urk. nr. 329, FMU VIII 6593, DS X 138, the correct dating is probably January 26, 1372).

⁵⁷ TLA, A.a.6b, p. 55 (EBII 422 by city scribe *Albertus*, 423–424 by *AIIIIa*, 425 by *Albertus* and *AIIIIa*, and 426–428 by *Albertus*)

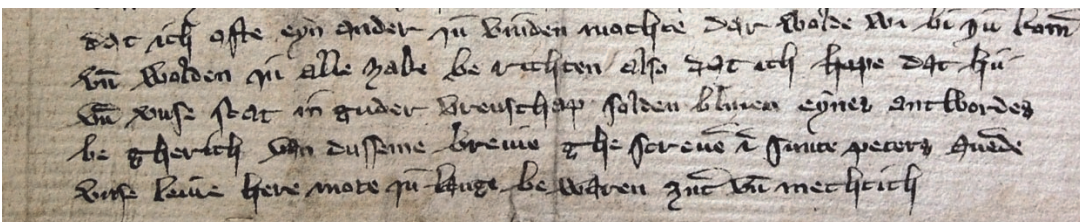
⁵⁸ See Heinemeyer 1982, 145–149 (Trecento II).

Pictures 33:1–3: Two samples of hand HI in four resignations issued in late 1381 (above), and in the eschatocol of the letter of Johan Duderstad to Ernst van Dotzem on the Eve of the Feast of the Chair of St Peter (February 21), ca. 1372 (below). Note the characteristic oval downward loops of 's', lengthened and hooked structure of 'z', two-compartment 'a' with either bending or daggerlike limb, uncial 'd', the fine hair slings of word-opening 'v' and 'b', oblique diacritics of 'i/j' and occasional elevated shafts of 'b', 'h', 'k' and 'l' with a crossed or t-form end characteristic also of the writing of MBII.

Pictures 33:1–2: Entries on four resignations in A.a.6b (EBII) written by HI. Of all the entries only the first is dated, and concerns a resignation issued on the Friday before Martini (November 8), 1381. Note the variation of the handwriting at the beginning of entries on 'zeluen' – 'Seluen'.



Picture 33:3: A finished and folded but unsealed letter of the Revalian burgher Johan Duderstad to Ernst van Dotzem, bailiff of Åbo, on the Eve of the Feast of the Chair of St Peter (February 21), ca. 1372. Hand HI.



TLA, A.a.6b, p. 116–117 (EBII 775–778), TLA, BA 1:1a, 44r (FMU VIII 6594, DS X 145).

Together with his evident activity in both 1381 and 1372, of special interest for the dating of the career of *HI* is that samples of a hand with some of the characteristics of his handwriting, such as the downward loop of word-beginning ‘s’, are found in other books of memoranda of the city already in the 1360’s. The most notable of these are the two lists on the costs and participants of military expeditions of the city in 1367–69, and a copy of the *bursprake* written by the hand previously identified here as *MBII* in A.a.6d.⁵⁹ As discussed above, the same hand *MBII* may have been active already in the interface of the city scribes Karolus de Montreal and Albertus in ca. 1362–63, when he added a supplementary paragraph on false statements of marriage to one of the 1282 codices of Lübeck Law of Reval between other additions written by Karolus and Albertus at the end of the original text of the codex. As discussed in CHAPTER 4.3.1.2, the hand *MBII* may also have written the list of the rents on market shops and butchers dated to December 1358 or 1359.⁶⁰ Another hand with elongated ductus and forms of lettering occasionally close to that of *HI* but habitually favouring a two-compartment ‘a’ with daggerlike shaft instead of the more occasional occurrence of a similar shaft in the handwriting of *HI*, is the hand *MBIV*, who in the late 1360’s wrote the list of guardians of the towers and their weaponry in A.a.6d, and in ca. 1372 or after copied the letter of the *kämmerers* to one Peter *Weghener* into the narrow quire of warrants of safe conduct in A.d.4 (see CHAPTER 4.3.1.2 and PICTURE 25:5).⁶¹ Further examples of a hand or hands active in the codices of mixed memoranda [A.d.4, A.a.6d, A.d.5], and the accounts of the *kämmerers* [A.d.1–3] and Poundage [A.d.6] in the 1360’s and 1370’s, and presenting forms of lettering or general face of writing close to *MBII* and *MBIV* and occasionally even *HI*, have already been discussed in CHAPTER 4.3.1.3.

An important feature of hand *HI* active in 1372/81, and the hand or hands engaged with the lists of military expeditions, *bursprake* (*MBII*), and guardians of the towers form ca. 1367–69 (*MBIV*) in A.a.6d is that unlike *AIV* and the city scribes Albertus and Hermannus they all appear to have had a particular liking for the two-compartment ‘a’ in their writings. Based on the influence of gothic textualis, the two-compartment ‘a’ became fashionable in the late 13th century and was virtually without exception applied by *WBI*, *WBII*, *WBIIIa-b*, *WBIV* and Karolus de Montreal in the written management of information of the civic authority in

⁵⁹ TLA, A.a.6d, f. 5r, 7r, 10r (the latter part of the *bursprake* on f. 10v is written by city scribe *Albertus*); TLA, A.a.6b, p. 127 (EBII 826) where the eight first entries are written by the same hand responsible for A.a.6d, f. 7r and the last two by city scribe *Albertus*.

⁶⁰ TLA, Cm 10, f. 38r, see also CHAPTER 4.3.1.2, footnote 116; TLA, A.d.4, f. 13r (LDA 1333–74, 516).

⁶¹ TLA, A.a.6d, f. 11b (LDA 1333–74, 539); TLA, A.d.4, f. 10r.

Reval before 1363.⁶² After the beginning of the activity of Albertus in 1363, however, none of the city scribes or their known main substitutes in the office habitually employed the two-compartment ‘a’ in their writings in either Latin or Middle Low German. Consequently, the use of the two-compartment ‘a’ by *HI* and other hands active in the city books of memoranda from the 1360’s to the 1380’s places the period of their schooling no later than the 1350’s, when the form was still preferred by professional scribes of the notarial establishment. In the benchmarking textual conventions of the papal curia the single-compartment ‘a’ retained its position throughout the 14th century, but a parallel for its surfacing in the writings of the Revalian city scribes from the 1360’s is found in the production of documents of the chancery of the Ballei of Hessen of the Teutonic Order, where the single-compartment ‘a’ appears to have become fashionable again in the 1370’s after a period of extensive domination of the two-compartment version in 1340–55.⁶³

In contrast to *AIV* and the occasional Latin pen trials of *AIIIb*, the hands of *AIIIa* and *HI* active in 1372, 1374 and 1381, and the hands *MBII–IV* with contributions to the mixed memoranda of A.a.6d, A.d.4, A.d.5, and fiscal memoranda of A.d.3 in the late 1360’s and 1370 appear to have written most of their entries in Middle Low German with forms of letters characteristic of the third quarter of the 14th century mixed with those of the first half of the 14th century. In fact, the majority of entries by these hands in Latin are only found in the list of rents on market shops and butchers from 1358 or 1359 possibly written by *MBII*, and certain entries in the lists of warrants of safe conduct, the majority of which were written in Latin until the 1370’s. A similar inclination towards the use of vernacular instead of Latin in the writing of all these substitute hands is evident in the flow of entries of the paper book of resignations [A.a.6b, EBII], where the Latin entries from the period of activity of city scribe Albertus and early office of Hermannus are mixed with the Middle Low German entries of *AIIIa* from 1372 and 1374/75, and *HI* from the early spring of 1381.⁶⁴ However, there is reason to think that a hand close to that of *HI* in the unsent letter of 1372 and hands *MBII–IV* active with A.a.6d in ca. 1367–69 with a marked use of the two-compartment ‘a’ and vertical structure of writing also had a wide knowledge of current Latin proverbs, which he employed as pen trials under the pangram ‘*Gaza frequens*’ written by *AIIIb* across the last

⁶² See the flow of text in TLA, A.a.1 (WB), A.a.6b (EBII).

⁶³ Heinemeyer 1982, 187–191; The uses of the two forms of ‘a’ in the hands of A.d.7 has previously been discussed by Heckmann 1992, 194 (hand A, *Hermannus*) and 196–197.

⁶⁴ On the respective entries by hands cited here, see CHAPTERS 4.3.1.2 and 5.1.2; *AIIIa*: TLA, A.a.6b, p. 55–56 (EBII 423–425, 433, 435 see also CHAPTER 5.1.2, footnote 23), p. 66–67 and 71 (EBII 493–494, 498–501, 530–531). *HI*: TLA, A.a.6b, p. 116–117 (EBII 775–778).

page of the *schosslist* of 1371. Since the hand also shares certain features of the hand of *AIV*, no secure identification with other hands active in the city books of memoranda in the 1370's is possible. The pen trial itself consists of six separate sentences ending with the pangram '*Gaza frequens*' and reads:

'Autumat hoc in me quod nouit *perfidus in se*
 Cancer ouis rana tria *sunt animalia plana*
 Mitto tibi frontem *venereis ventream que diane*
 Atque capud *lieris cum pedibus satane*
 Mitto tibi *nauem puppis prora que carentem*
 Gaza frequens *libicoe duxit karthago triumphum*'

Under it, but upside down and partially truncated because of the cutting of the page is a verse probably written by *AIV*: '*[non in pane solo vivet] homo sed in omni verbo quod prodit de ore dei*' ('Man does not live on bread alone, but on every word that comes from the mouth of God', Matt. 4:4).⁶⁵

Again, as in the pen trials written by *AIV*, much of the material, such as '*Autumat hoc*', '*Mitto tibi frontem*' and '*Mitto tibi navem*' is drawn from contemporary learned proverbs and wordplays combined with the holoalphabetic sentence '*Gaza frequens*' written on the same page by the hand of *AIIB* active in ca. 1372 and 1374–79. Of the proverbs '*Autumat hoc*', the full translation of which reads 'The Evil assumes in me what it knows in itself', is also known from the late medieval Hanseatic city of Breslau (today Wrocław in Poland).⁶⁶ Because the same hand apparently also possessed knowledge of certain verses of the Bible such as John 15:16 '*Non vos me elegistis*' (From the words of Christ: 'You did not choose me, but I chose you') written at the end of the *schosslist* of 1372 after the amendmend of *AIIB* and pen trials of *AIIB* and *AIV*, he is likely to have had a schooling similar to *AIV*.⁶⁷

Whether the fluent gothic cursive of *AIIB* and the more glyphic yet accustomed handwriting of *HI* with a possible range of activity reaching from ca. 1360 to 1381 can really be considered as being written by councillors rather than clerics close to the council remains a matter for discussion. Certain sets of entries, both in the surviving accounts of the *kämmerers* and Poundage from the late 1360's and 1370's, however, show that the known city scribes Albertus and Hermannus and their more distinguished substitutes such as *AI-IV*, *HI* and *MBII-IV* with access to the fiscal and mixed memoranda of the city, were not the

⁶⁵ TLA, A.d.12, f. 16v.

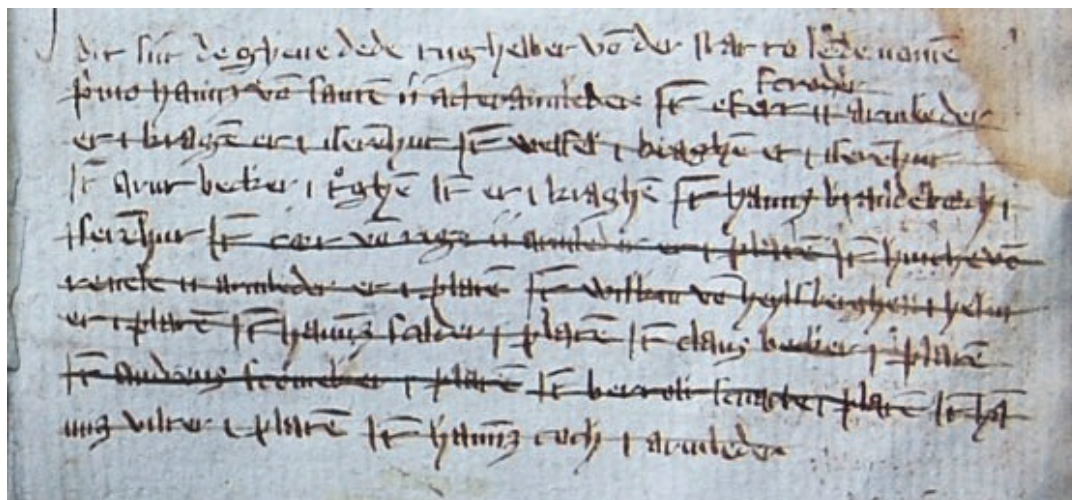
⁶⁶ 'Autumat hoc', Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi, 10, Schlecht, 2.2.6, nr. 182 & 183.

⁶⁷ TLA, A.d.12, f. 24v.

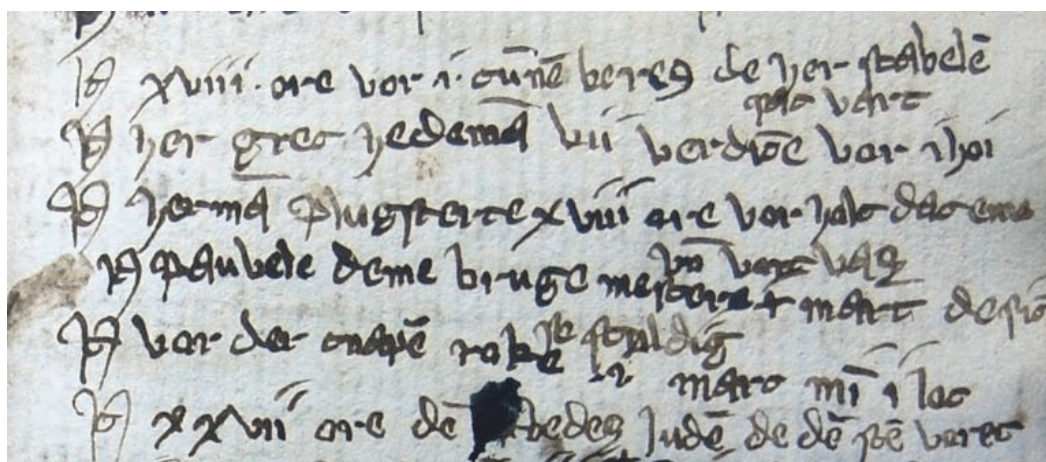
only persons capable of producing written entries for the civic administration in the 1360's and 1370's. Instead, the variety of hands with a 'carved' or 'incised' face of writing in the accounts of the *kämmerers* and elsewhere in the contemporary mixed and fiscal memoranda of the city indicate that people more accustomed to writing personal accounts on wax tablets with stylus than on polished coat of parchment or fresh paper with pen and ink were engaged in the written administration of civic memoranda in the era when paper and vernacular started to play a rapidly growing role in the management of information of the council and the city. Possibly the product of contemporary councillors in charge of the office of the *kämmerers* and other duties in the rotating civic administration, the basic difference of these 'carved' hands in comparison to the often elegant and fluent gothic cursive of the city scribes and their more distinguished substitutes must not be understood as a sign of inferior knowledge or writing ability, but a possible manifestation of their motoric skills more often used for producing texts and accounts on wax instead of the sliding surfaces of parchment and paper accessible to the professional scribes. With the growing use of paper, more and more people previously accustomed to wax and other writing platforms were introduced to the previously special world of pen and ink, which in the Revalian city books of memoranda appears as a period of transition with the simultaneous emergence of several 'carved' hands in the 1360's and 1370's which then gradually disappear before the end of the 14th century because of the spread of paper as the basic platform of personal accounts and correspondence of individual merchants instead of the more 'rustic' wax tablets and rare parchment of the mid-14th century.

Pictures 34:1–3: Samples of some of the ‘carved’ or ‘incised’ hands giving the impression of being more adjusted to writing on wax tablets than parchment or paper in the mixed memoranda of the council and accounts of the *kämmerers* from ca. 1360 to ca. 1380.

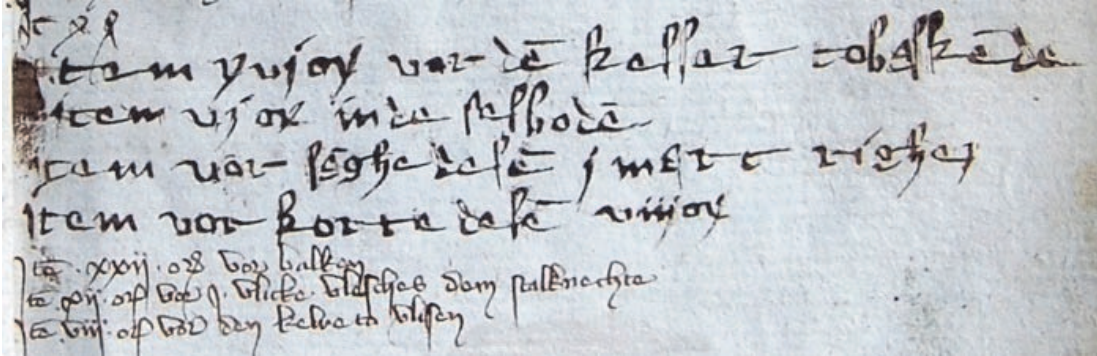
Picture 34:1: A specification of those who have been invested with pieces of armour of the city, ca. 1360. An ‘incised’ hand with oblique and vertical construction of letters almost totally without loops and slings. Possibly one of the councillors, the hand is active in several places of the *quarto* section of A.d.4 in the 1360’s, but is neither of the hands MBII or MBIV active in A.a.6d.



Picture 34:2: A section of entries on the accounts of the *kämmerers* from the beginning of 1372 (fiscal year of 1371/72). The structure of letters is contemporary to the sample 35:1, but with a more round and ‘carved’ impression. Responsible for most of the writing for the fiscal year of 1371/72 but not later, the hand may be that of councillor Gotfridus Ysfrede, the first *kämmerer* of the fiscal year of 1371/72 and known to have been a councillor since 1364. The same hand has also written an entry in the register of warrants of safe conduct in A.d.4, 10v on a warrant issued to terminate on Easter (April 17), 1373 (Gbuch 1365–1458, nr. 204).



Picture 34:3: A section of entries on the accounts of the *kämmerers* for the fiscal year of 1376/77 with a ‘carved’ hand most likely that of either of the *kämmerers* Johannes Boleman and Johannes Specht. The difference between the writing characteristic of wax tablets and a hand well adapted to parchment and paper is easily seen when compared to the handwriting of city scribe Hermannus below.



TLA, A.d.4, f. 17r (LDA 1333–74, 535, see Johansen 1935, XVIII, hand 16); TLA, A.d.3, f. 20a (KB 1363–74, p. 30, for Ysfrede see CHAPTER 3.2.1.2, and von Bunge 1874, 107); TLA, A.d.7, f. 2r (KB 1376–80, f. 2r, see Heckmann 1992, 193–199, hands C and A).

5.1.4.2. *HII* (1398/1401–1405)

The second main substitute of Hermannus (here cited as *HII*) with his characteristic fine hair decorations of the last limbs of the letters ‘n’, ‘m’ and ‘h’, as well as with ‘j’ and ‘y’ with long tails to the left first emerges in the important registers of resignations of A.a.6c in the spring and summer of 1398 between two sections of entries written by Hermannus issued on the Monday before St George (April 22) and on the Feast of the Dispersion of the Apostles (July 15), 1398.⁶⁸ In A.a.3 the same hand surfaces again on the Friday before Palm Sunday (March 24), 1401, after which entries of recognitions of annuities are written in several sections either by him or city scribe Hermannus. After the last entry of Hermannus on a notification issued on the eve of the 11000 virgins (October 20), 1402, the hand of *HII* then appears consistently in the volume until his last entry on a recognition issued on the Thursday after Ascension (June 4), 1405.⁶⁹ In A.a.6c all the entries on resignations issued

⁶⁸ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 101 (EBII 425–426) and p. 103 (EBII 435). Of the nine entries written by *HII* in 1398 on p. 102–103 (EBIII 427–434) two are issued on the Friday before Pentecost (May 24) (EBIII 428–429), and four on the Friday after Octavas corporis Christi (June 14), 1398 (EBIII 431–434); An entry of *HII* placed last on page 96 among the entries of 1397 is most likely an interpolation from 1398 or later (EBIII 407).

⁶⁹ TLA, A.a.3, f. 42r (PergRb 357–360 written by *HII*) on resignations issued between March 24 and July 4, 1401, f. 42v (PergRB 361–363, *Hermannus*, July 15 - September 16 and PergRB 364–366, *HII*, September 16 – November 18), f. 43r (PergRB 367, *Hermannus*, December 16, 1401), f. 43r–v (PergRB 368–374, *HII*; February 3 – September 29, 1402), f. 43v (PergRb 375, *Hermannus*, October 20, 1402), f. 43v–46 (PergRB 376–404 and 406–408, *HII*); An entry of *HII* on a resignation issued on the Friday before Pentecost (June 4), most likely in 1400, and placed at the end of the left column on A.a.3, f. 42r (PergRB 356) may be a later interpolation; Interpolations by *HII* in A.a.3 among entries before 1401 occur on f. 16r (PergRB 140 and 141), 19v (PergRB 170b), 32r (PergRB 279), 34r (PergRB 296–297, two recognitions issued on the first Thursday in Lent 1404), 35r, (PergRB 305), 40r (PergRB 341), 40v (PergRB 343) and f. 45v (PergRb 405); Interpolations

between the Friday after Quasimodogeniti (April 15), 1401, and the Thursday after Ascension (June 4), 1405, are written by *HII* save one on a resignation probably dating to the Friday before Pentecost (June 1), 1403 written by Hermannus.⁷⁰ Elsewhere, the earliest entries of *HII* in the accounts of the Poundage [A.d.6] occur on the Friday before Pentecost (May 23), 1398.⁷¹ As already pointed out, in all the material today stationed in *AR* the last datable entries written by Hermannus are found in the paper book of resignations from June 1, 1403 and a series of entries on *wedde* from the beginning of the wardenship of Johannes Krouwel at Christmas (December 25) 1403, where the date apparently refers to the Christmas of 1402 in the fiscal year of 1402/3. From 1401 and in the wardenship of Johannes Krouwel after Michaelmas of 1402, the entries in *wedde* were written in a mixed order by Hermannus and *HII*.⁷²

Rather than being a temporary substitute of the city scribe in charge of the registers of resignations and annuities, *HII* appears to have been fully engaged in the large variety of the activities of the city scribe and his hand appears in almost all the surviving volumes of city memoranda in 1401–5. These include not only the paper and parchment registers on resignations and annuities [A.a.6c, A.a.3], the paper codex of the mixed memoranda of the city [A.d.5], and the folio sized combined register of *wedde* with the collected rents on market shops and other real property of the city [A.a.4a], but also the surviving accounts of the building of the new Town Hall [A.a.6a] and other writings of an administrative or fiscal nature such as the copy of the *bursprake* from ca. 1405 and the *schosslist* of 1402 and ca.

by Johannes Blomendal in A.a.3 before 1405 occur on f. 27v (PergRB 240), 34r (PergRB 294), 34v (PergRB 300), 35r (PergRB 303), 39v (PergRB 338), 45v (PergRB 405) and in A.a.6c, p. 131 (EBIII 542). Two notes on A.a.3, f. 27v (PergRB 241–242) after an entry by Blomendal are interpolations of Joachim Muter. In his edition of A.a.3, Arthur Plaesterer has identified five different hands in the flow of entries between the main periods of activity of city scribes Hermannus and Johannes Blomendal. Of these the last (Plaesterer hand VI) is an early face of the hand of Johannes Blomendal, two (Plaesterer hands II and III) that of *HII*, and two (Plaesterer hand IV, PergRB 409–412 and Plaesterer hand V, PergRB 413–419) temporary substitutes before the period of activity of Blomendal identified as *HIII* and *HIV* later in this study. Further entries of *HII* are found in a section consisting of entries on chantries at the end of A.a.3 on f. 119v, 120v, 124r, 125v and 132v (PergRB 1402, 1406 interpolation at the end, 1427, 1435 and 1463 interpolation at the end). Of these PergRB 1401 is a copy of an open attestation of the council issued on Octavas after Michaelmas (October 6), 1401, and PergRB 1435 an entry on a transaction issued on the Friday before the Nativity of Mary (September 5), 1404.

⁷⁰ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 123–126 (EBIII 497–516) and p. 126–133 (EBIII 518–547); Hermannus: p. 126 (EBIII 517). The last leaf of the first quire of the volume of A.a.6c with entries on resignations issued between Friday before Sunday *vocem jucundatis* (May 21), 1400, and the Friday before St Peter in Chains (July 30), 1400, is now lost, p. 121–122 (EBIII 491–496).

⁷¹ TLA, A.d.6, f. 80v.

⁷² TLA, A.a.4a, f. 5r, 1r, 1v ('anno xiiii primo festo pasche', hand *HII*)–4v ('sub aduocatione Johannes Krouwel sub anno m^o quadragesimo Secundo post festum pasche Incohatus', hand *HII*).

1403–4.⁷³ The most important exception, with no recognisable engagement of *HII*, is the folio-sized missive book [A.a.4], in the use of which a break appears to have taken place in between 1387/96 and 1410 with copies of letters from ca. 1404–10 written in a mixed order by city scribe Johannes Blomendal (active from 1406), and possible other hands active in the written management of information of the council in around 1410.⁷⁴ Despite the lack of his hand in A.a.4, *HII* is known to have been engaged in writing missives and correspondence of the council, and a finished and folded but unsealed and unsent original of the council's letter to the council of Dorpat still survives in *AR*. The letter deals with issues in Novgorod trade and Hans Wreden, and it is dated to the Tuesday after Trinity without a year, most likely 1403–5, when both Hans Wreden and trade in Novgorod are cited in other correspondence of Reval, Dorpat and the Livonian cities.⁷⁵

As a more permanent substitute of the city scribe, *HII* also appears to have been responsible for writing the ordinance issued and imposed by the council on the local craft of stonemasons and stonecutters (*steenwerters*) on Pentecost (May 14), 1402 [KGA II 650]. The ordinance itself consists of a small parchment quire of two bifolios in 8° (22,0 x 14,0 cm) assembled in a red limp leather binding with the back cover folding over the fore edge of the codex. Originally written in one single session in gothic textualis, the text displays diagonal fine hair decorations similar to the gothic cursive of *HII*, and is later amended with entries in gothic cursive by *HII* and city scribes Johannes Blomendal (1423?) and Joachim Muter (1430, 1439, 1447).⁷⁶ The engagement of the city scribes in writing the finished ordinances of individual crafts corroborated by the council is evident already in the earliest surviving versions of the ordinance of goldsmiths and butchers written by city scribe Hermannus, and issued by the council on the Assumption of Mary (August 15), 1393, and the Nativity of Mary (September 8), 1394. Of these, the ordinance of the goldsmiths is written in gothic cursive on an oblong sheet of parchment, and presents either the older

⁷³ TLA, A.d.5, f. 24v, 31v, 36r, 38r–39v, 53v, 93r–v, 104v–108r, 114v–115r, 124v, 147v–149r, 160v, 163r–164r, 167v, 168v and back cover; TLA, A.a.4a, f. 1r–10r, 109v (1405?), 113v; TLA, B.s.1, f. 1r–8r (Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, Anhang 1:D, p. 433–444) and 9r–14v, where the original sections of the *bursprake* on 10r–13v are written by *HII* and 9r–v, 14r–v together some interpolations by *Johannes Blomendal* (Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, Anhang 1:F); B.a.20, 2r–5v (Schoss 1402, Heckmann Hand A), A.d.12, f. 86r–89v.

⁷⁴ TLA, A.a.4, f. 25v–35v (of old foliation at the lower left corner), where the second quire with entries by *Hermannus* on copies of missives dating to 1386–87 and 1396 only consists of nine leaves (old f. 14r–22v) instead of the first (old f. 1r–13v), third (old f. 23r–35v) and fourth (old f. 36r–48v) quires of the codex which have 13 leaves each. The new pagination is introduced after the restoration of the codex, but since it omits empty pages it cannot be used for codicological references.

⁷⁵ TLA, BA 1:I, 269. On the original the suggested dating is ca. 1409, but both the handwriting of *HII* and the issues cited in the text point to the years 1403–5. On Hans Wrede see TLA, BD 1:I, 22 (HUB V 564, and LECUB I:4 1639 dated January 25, 1403 or 1404) and TLA, Br 12, f. 4 (ALS 167 December 7, 1404).

⁷⁶ TLA, fond 190, KGA II 650.

format of ordinances or the original form of the proposition of the sentences to the council, whereas the ordinance of the butchers is written in gothic textualis on a small parchment quire in 8° (13,5 x 9,5 cm) with red initials at the beginning of every article [KGA II 118]. The ordinance was later supplemented with one article written by city scribe Johannes Blomendal (active in 1406–26), and five further articles written by one of the city scribes of the late 15th century (possibly Reinhold Storning), all of which were then copied into the second version of the ordinance of the butchers written by the last hand (Storning?) on a small parchment quire in octavo in the second half of the 15th century [KGA II 119].⁷⁷ The role of the city scribes in the production of the final text of the craft ordinances issued by the council of Reval as early as the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries may indicate that the civic authority had a role in instituting and manipulating the system of crafts and was endeavouring to implement politics of control similar to merchant communities, as suggested by Hather Swanson (1988) in his article on the status of the late medieval craft guilds in English towns. Very likely a conscious initiative from the council, the role is in line with what is known of overall contemporary developments in the striving of the civic authorities to legitimate their power through the will of the burgher community, and the problematic relationship of the merchant and artisan factions with the civic elites, where the craft organisations gradually emerged as agents of the civic council in the political control of the various sectors of the artisan population (see CHAPTERS 1.1.1 and 1.2.4).⁷⁸

Even if the roundish gothic textualis of *HII* comes close to that of city scribe Hermannus in many respects, with bifurcations on the top of the ascenders of ‘b’, ‘h’, ‘k’, ‘l’, it also has some distinct features of its own, the most important being the horizontal limb of ‘k’ invariably reaching the vertical shaft of the next letter. By contrast, in the gothic textualis of Hermannus in A.d.5, A.a.7 and Cm 10, the lower part of the shaft and limb of ‘k’ is habitually composed of a diagonal pair of strokes pointing down to the right and the letter is clearly separate from the following letter (see PICTURE 35:3, left column). Based on a rather angular formation of letters, the cursive handwriting of *HII* is easily recognised by his use of fine hair decoration on the last limbs of the letters ‘n’, ‘m’ and ‘h’, as well as by his ‘j’ and ‘y’ with long tails bending diagonally to the left, which together with his pleasant clarity of writing give the text a visual rhythm characteristic of all his work in *AR*. A similar tendency

⁷⁷ TLA, fond 190, KGA II 69 (LECUB I:3 1343) and KGA II 118, f. 2r–8r; TLA, fond 190, KGA II 118, f. 9r–v, 8v and KGA II 119, f. 1r–5v.

⁷⁸ Swanson, Heather, *The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns*. In: *Past & Present*, 121 (1988), 28–48, esp. 47–48, and Swanson 1999, 98.

to fine hair decorations of ‘h’ and ‘y’ bending left is also found in his writing of gothic textualis in the ordinances of the craft of stonemasons of 1402, and in his occasional contributions to the schematic registers of the rents in A.a.7, where some of the entries between those of Hermannus and Johannes Blomendal are clearly in his writing.⁷⁹

Evidently of university background and schooling, *HII* is also the first person active in the written management of information of the civic authority of Reval known to have employed an indoarabic numeral in his writings. Despite this early occurrence, his use of the indoarabic number two (‘2’) in the dating of an entry in A.d.5 on a reconciliation issued in front of the council on Monday after St Catherine (November 27), 1402, remains unparalleled in his other writings (PICTURE 35:1).⁸⁰ In the period covered by this study, other known examples of the knowledge and use of indoarabic numerals in the texts produced for the civic administration in Reval do not occur until 25–30 years later in a finished and folded, but unsealed letter of the council to the bishop of Ösel-Wiek written ‘*in profesto visitacionis Marie Anno 27*’ (June 1, 1427) by city scribe Wenemar Scheter (active in 1427–29, see PICTURE 39:2), and in the incipits of two separate lists of imposed fines of *wedde* for the fiscal years of 1432/33 and 1434/35 dated on ‘*feria 2a post festum beati Luce Ewangeliste*’, 1432, and ‘*feria 6ta ante omnium sanctorum*’, 1434, both written by city scribe Joachim Muter (see PICTURE 42 in CHAPTER 5.2.2.2).⁸¹ Scheter’s knowledge of indoarabic numerals is also attested in his last entry in the register of warrants of safe conduct in 1429, where the warrant issued to one *Hans Quenysse* is said to have been promulgated on ‘*feria 4a post letare*’ (Wednesday after Sunday Letare, i.e. March 9, 1429). A similar dating habit is also found in Muter’s early entries in the same register, where he employs indoarabic numerals ‘2’ and ‘6’ in his dating of published warrants on ‘*feria 2a post petri and pauli Apostolorum*’ (Monday after St Peter and Paul, July 4), and ‘*feria 6a ante assumptionis*’ (Friday before Assumption of Mary, August 12), 1429, and retains the occasional use of these two numerals in dating of weekdays in 1431–34, 1439, 1442–43 and 1451–53. Correspondingly, Muter employed indoarabic numerals ‘2’, ‘6’ and ‘7’ in his datings in the column of the sworn burghers in his entries from 1435–55.⁸² According to Dieter Heckmann, the language of *HII*, which he identified as ‘Hand A’ of the schosslist of 1402, shows certain High German forms

⁷⁹ For samples of the gothic textualis of *Hermannus* see PICTURES 32:1–3, and for *HII*, TLA, fond 190, KGA II 650, f. 4r and TLA, A.a.7, f. 6r second column last entry, f. 8v first column, first two entries, 22r, first column last entry (PICTURE 35:3), 22v second column, first three entries, see also CHAPTER 3.1.3.3, footnote 112. On textualis formata and bifurcation see Derolez 2003, 79.

⁸⁰ TLA, A.d.5, f. 105v.

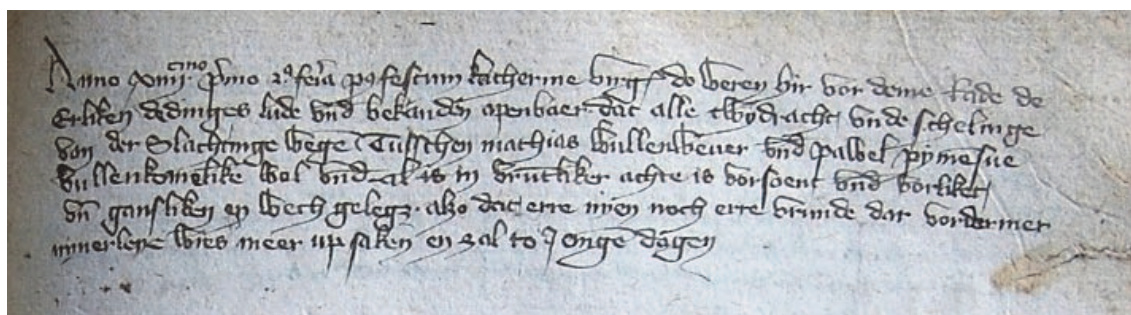
⁸¹ TLA, BA 1:1c, 293r; TLA, A.a.4a, f. 36v and 38r

⁸² TLA, A.a.17a, f. 2r, 2v–5v; TLA, A.a.5, 16r–20v.

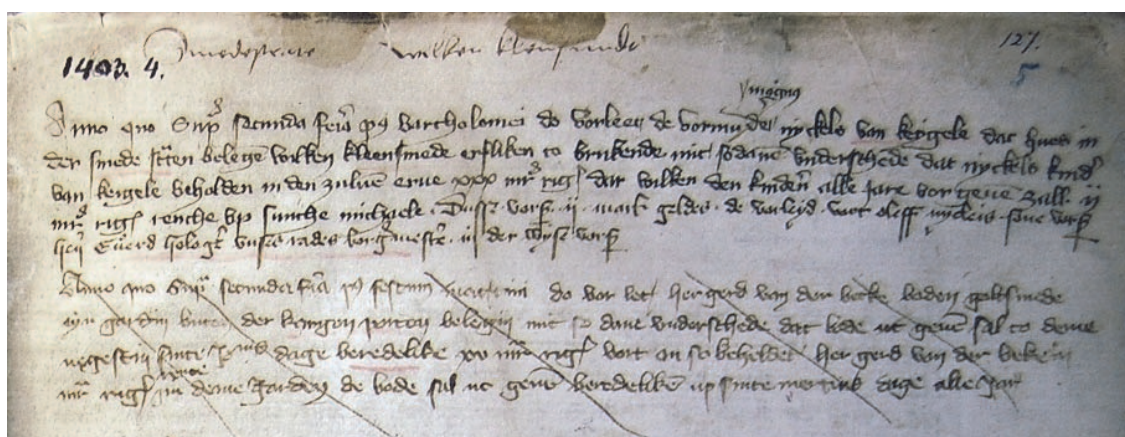
of lettering, which may point to his migration from an area of High German speech, or having been under strong influence of Middle High German in the time of his schooling.⁸³

Pictures 35:1–2: Two samples of the handwriting of HII, the main substitute of the city scribe in several volumes of the city memoranda in 1398–1405. Despite differences in the lettering of the capital ‘A’ and variations of the general spacing of the script, the sameness of the hand is revealed through the characteristic fine hair endings of the letters ‘n’, ‘m’, ‘h’ and ‘j’ bending left. A similar element characteristic of him and other hands active in the first quarter of the 15th century is evident in his conduct of gothic textualis and the vertical gothic cursive of Johannes Blomendal (PICTURE 35:4).

Picture 35:1: An entry in the city book of mixed memoranda (A.d.5) on a reconciliation issued in front of the council on the Monday after St Catherine (November 27), 1402. Note the early use of the indoarabic numeral ‘2’ in the dating (2^a feria post festum katherine).



Picture 35:2: Two entries on resignations issued on the Monday after St Bartholomew (August 27) and the Monday after St Martin (November 12), 1403.

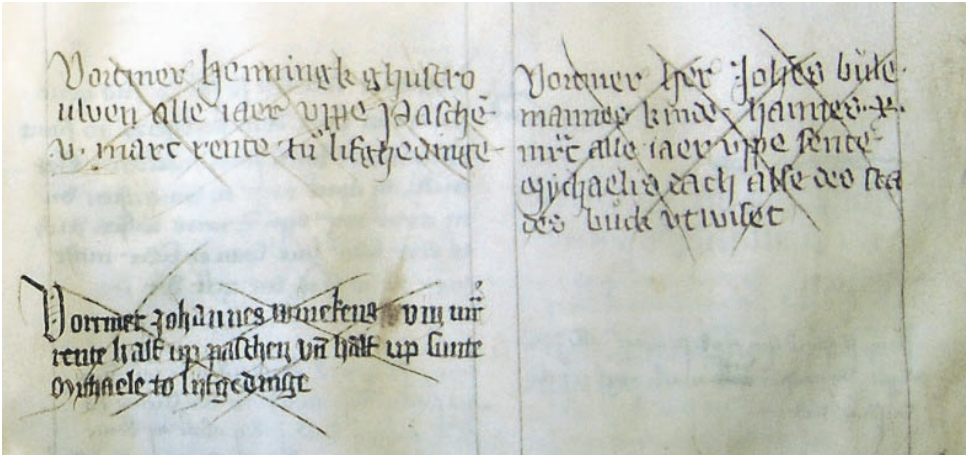


TLA, A.d.5, f. 105v; TLA, A.a.6c, p. 127 (EBIII 522–523).

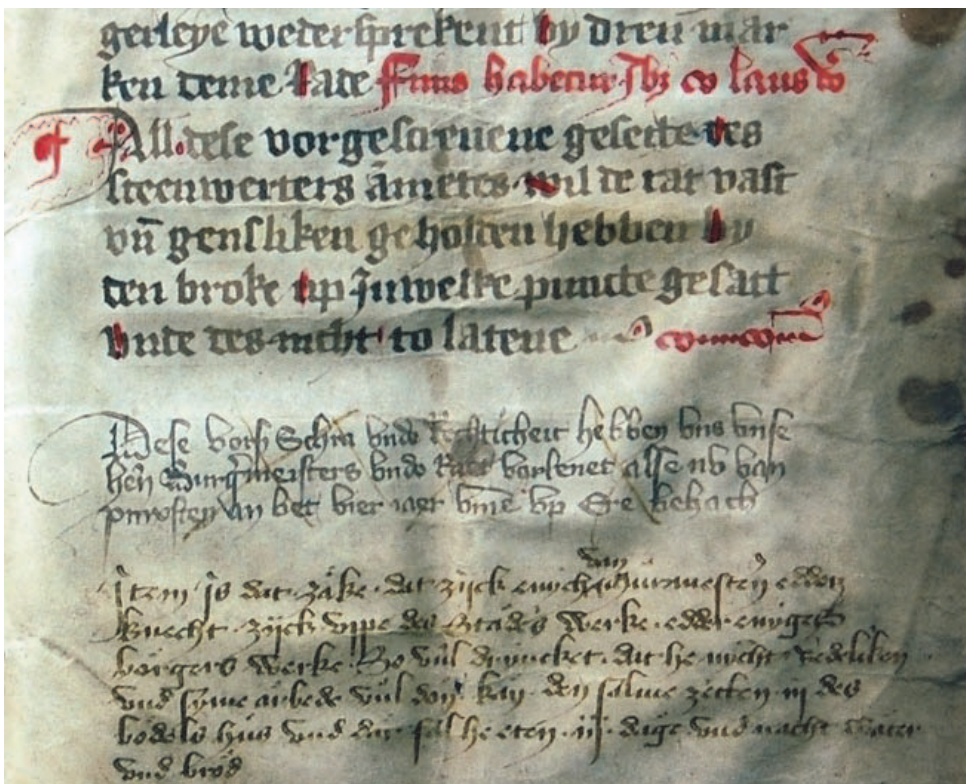
⁸³ Heckmann 2006, 76.

Pictures 35:3–4: *Two samples of the gothic textualis of HII.*

Picture 35:3: *The difference between the gothic textualis of city scribe Hermannus (active in 1375–1400/3, the two entries above) and HII (1398/1401–5, the entry below left) in the register of rents of chantries/vicaries and allowances of A.a.7. Note the difference in the limb of 'k'.*



Picture 35:4: *The closing paragraph of the ordinances of the craft of the Revalian stonemasons issued on Pentecost (May 14), 1402, and written by HII in gothic textualis (note the characteristic horizontal limb of 'k'). After the ordinances, subsequent entries on the confirmation and later additions of the rule are written in gothic cursive by HII (in the middle) and city scribe Johannes Blomendal (below).*



TLA, A.a.7, f. 22r; TLA, fond 190, KGA II 650, f. 4r.

With the help of analysis of the hands evident in A.a.6c (EBIII), A.a.3 (PergRB), and other surviving memoranda of the council from the beginning of the period of office of city scribe Hermannus in 1375 to 1405, the activity of the city scribe and his various main substitutes appears as in TABLE 7 (for the substitutes *HIII–IV* in the interface of *HIII* and city scribe Johannes Blomendal, see below CHAPTER 5.2.1):

Table 7: *The period of activity of city scribe Hermannus and his known main substitutes in 1375–1405 before the office of city scribe Johannes Blomendal.*

Hand	Period of Activity
<i>Hermannus</i>	August 1375 (End of the fiscal year of 1374/75) – summer/fall 1400, October 1402, June 1403, December 1403
Substitute <i>HI</i>	(February 1372?), October 1381 – January 1381
Substitute <i>HII</i> (city scribe?)	April – July 1398, March 1401 – June 1405
Substitute <i>HIII</i>	August/September 1405
Substitute <i>HIV</i>	November 1405 (beginning of the fiscal year of 1405/6) – December 1405

5.2. City scribes *Johannes Blomendal* (1406–26), *Wenemar Scheter* (1426–29) and *Joachim Muter* (1429–56)

At the beginning of the 15th century the renovation of the Town Hall in 1401–4 marked a new manifestation of the political and economic authority of the council and the civic community. Some 30 years later, on Sunday Cantate (May 11, 1433), a large fire burned down several quarters in and outside the walled area. Destruction of entire buildings and areas of the city is known to have occurred in the neighbourhood around the church of St Olaf, which was totally rebuilt in the course of the two following decades. Other severely damaged areas were around the Mint, which was destroyed completely with 400 marks weight of silver, 12 new mintstones and house utensils, and around the Dominican convent, which was also burnt down according to the *Chronica novella* of Herman Körner of Lübeck.⁸⁴ Among the known victims of the fire was one *Peder Ghildesknechte*, an immigrant from Pojo (Fin. *Pohja*) parish in Nyland in Finland, possibly a servant of either the Great Guild, the Guild of St Olaf or that of St Canute, whose inheritance his mother and half brother living in Nyland sought to secure from the council in 1433–34. Because the fire

⁸⁴ On the Revalian and other sources for the fire see LECUB I:8, p. 406–7, footnote, and Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 48.

occurred in May, the need for adequate building materials in the city before the next winter was pressing, and the population seized whatever was available. In the summer of 1433 a merchant shipper and peasant, Olaf from Träskända in the parish of Esbo (Fin. *Espoo*) in Nyland asked the council to recover the costs of 2500 beams he had left in the harbour of Reval to be shipped on, but which the inhabitants of Reval had illegally taken for building materials after the fire. After the theft, some of the inhabitants had covered the costs of some 600 beams but 1900 were still unpaid for.⁸⁵

Despite the fire, most of the core areas of civic authority and the Town Hall appear to have survived intact, together with the older memoranda and archives of the city either already kept or hurriedly moved to the Town Hall during the fire. Other pieces of memoranda surviving the fire despite the total destruction of their facilities were the early 15th-century accounts of the Mint: unequivocal evidence of the fact that memoranda not systematically produced by the city scribes was temporarily or even permanently stationed outside the facilities they concerned, either in the custody of the councillor wardens or the City Scriptorium (see CHAPTER 3.2.3). One of the consequences of the fire may even have been the renovation of the house of the City Scriptorium in 1432–38 (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.2), but since no major losses in the medieval archives of the council as managed by the city scribes before 1431 are known, the house may not have been part of the destroyed area or only partially damaged, and the main bulk of the medieval archives of the council with the most important books of memoranda as well as the written correspondence and charters were already stationed in the Town Hall before 1431. As discussed below, many features of the surviving material from before 1431 tell us of a conscious reorganisation of certain areas of management of the written information of the council at the beginning of the periods of activity of Johannes Blomendal and Joachim Muter, with only few or no traces of the impact of the fire on material surviving from the quarter of century before it.

⁸⁵ In Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 48, the damaged areas are said to have included part of the Marketplace; On Peder Ghlidesknechte see TLA, BC 28, 63 (FMU III 2079, LECUB I:8 695), June 20, 1433, and TLA, BC 28, 61 (FMU III 2090, LECUB I:8 800, the Wednesday before the Feast of St George (April 23), 1434 or 1433. In the first *tovorsichte* Peder is said to have perished in the fire; TLA, BC 28, 64 (FMU III 2082, LECUB I:702).

5.2.1. Johannes Blomendal (1406–26) and the substitutes *HIII* and *HIV* (1405)

5.2.1.1. *The transition of the office of the city scribe from HII to Johannes Blomendal in 1405–6*

From 1406 the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3, PergRB] and the paper codex of resignations [A.a.6c, EBIII] were managed by a hand with angled ductus, distinctive vertical face of writing and an easily recognisable upper shaft of ‘j’, which in less than three years developed into a circumflex characteristic of most word-beginning j’s in his writings.⁸⁶ The handwriting of the new city scribe Johannes Blomendal then remains consistent in both the codices, without any major breaks and no substituting hands until April 1426, when he wrote his last entry in A.a.3 on a recognition of an annuity issued in front of the council on St George’s Eve (April 22). In A.a.6c the last entries written by him are made on resignations issued on the Thursday before Oculi (March 8), 1425, but the last pages of the second quire of the codex are missing. The third quire begins with a loose page displaying entries on resignations issued in 1427, of which the first dated one is from the Monday after St James (July 28), 1427, and which are written by his successor in the office of the city scribe in 1426–29 (Wenemar Scheter/N.N.). The first engagement of the new city scribe with the codex may have occurred already in late April early May 1426, when he provided Blomendal’s last entry with an interpolation on a transaction issued on the Friday before St Mark (April 19), 1426.⁸⁷ Other material still stationed in the medieval holdings of *AR* show that Johannes Blomendal remained active in the service of the council until early May 1426, when he wrote a short summary of the council’s address to the civic community dealing with a letter of Kristern Niklisson, headman of Wiborg, where Kristern presented the reasons for his declaration of a feud to the council. The council’s oral address to the community was given on the Eve of the Invention of the Holy Cross (May 2), 1426, after which no datable writings of Johannes Blomendal have survived in the known surviving material of the council in *AR*.⁸⁸

Both the date of Johannes Blomendal’s introduction to the office of city scribe and the stabilisation of the face of his handwriting pose a set of problems regarding the entries of

⁸⁶ TLA, A.a.3, f. 47r (PergRB 420); TLA, A.a.6c, p. 135 (EBIII 567).

⁸⁷ TLA, A.a.3, f. 67r (PergRB 706). A number of entries by *Johannes Blomendal* from around 1412–18 and elsewhere during his period of office are also found at the end of A.a.3 on f. 125r, 126r and 130r (PergRB 1434, 1436–41, 1453–54; TLA, A.a.6c, p. 206 (EBIII 936–7 with *Wenemar Scheter*’s interpolation), and p. 206b. The folio 206b-c is not included in Eugen von Nottbeck’s edition of EBIII, where EBIII 938–941 presents entries of p. 207 dating from January 1428.

⁸⁸ TLA, BA 1:Ib, 118r.

resignations and annuities. In the paper codex of resignations [A.a.6c] the first set of entries indisputably written by Blomendal covers the pages 134–135 with modern pagination and comprise 17 entries placed under the title '*m^o ccccvj*' (1406) possibly written in one session with the same pen and ink as two later interpolations by Blomendal himself.⁸⁹ Even if the handwriting in these entries presents a slightly more robust and textualis-like gothic cursive with higher ascenders of 'b', 'h', 'k', 'l' and 'v' than his later writings, the hand is clearly the same, with the characteristic form of 'J' at the beginning of three entries.⁹⁰ Of the total of 17 entries, only three are dated; one to the Feast of St Chrisostomus (January 27) and two others to the Feast of All Saints (November 1) and St Catherine (November 25, see PICTURE 36:1). The next entry in the codex is written by the same hand on a resignation issued on the Wednesday before Sunday Reminiscere (February 17), evidently in 1407.⁹¹ In the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3], entries written by the same hand are placed under the title '*anno dni m^o ccccvj*' and start from folio 47r of the modern foliation with the second, fourth, sixth and eight entries written on recognitions of annuities issued on the Feast of Johannes Christostomus (January 27) in 1406, the Wednesday before Michaelmas (September 23), Sunday Quasimodogeniti (April 19) and the Feast of St Catherine (November 25).⁹² In both A.a.3 and A.a.6c the two entries dated to the Feast of St Chrisostomus 1406 may signify those issued on Johannes ante portam latinam (May 6), for the mixing of which later parallels can be found in entries of Johannes Blomendal in 1411 and 1412.⁹³ Most likely an early face of the hand of Blomendal, the more robust and textualis-like handwriting then gradually stabilises to become the more narrow face of writing with distinctive vertical or slightly right leaning script, growing use of punctuation around roman numerals and the ubiquitous circumflex of 'j', a development clearly verifiable in the entries of both A.a.6c and A.a.3 extending from 1406 to mid-1408 (see PICTURE 36:2). Other characteristics of Blomendal's writing in the 1410's and 1420's include a growing use of fine-hair decorations of 'h', 'y' and word-ending 'n' forming a diagonal line to the left, occasionally with sharp hook to the right (see PICTURES 36:3–4).⁹⁴

⁸⁹ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 134–135 (EBIII 553–569).

⁹⁰ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 134–135 (EBIII 555, 561, 562)

⁹¹ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 134–135 (EBIII 559, 567, 568); TLA, A.a.6c, p. 135 (EBIII 570)

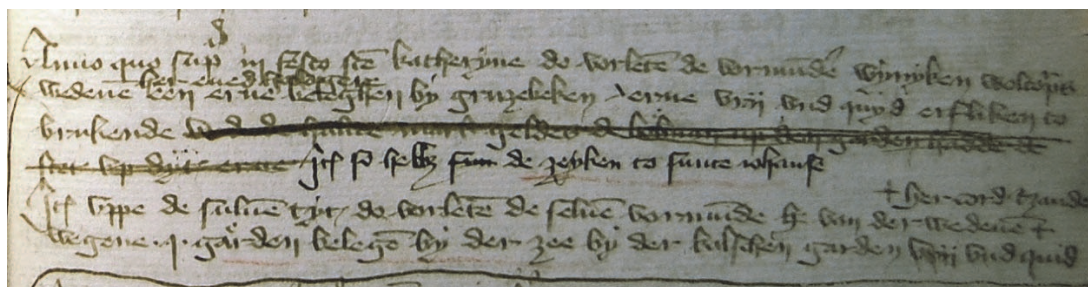
⁹² TLA, A.a.3, f. 47r–v (PergRB 420–426, where the dated entries are 421, 423, 424, 426).

⁹³ EBIII, p. 110, footnote 2, EBIII 649, 665, 689.

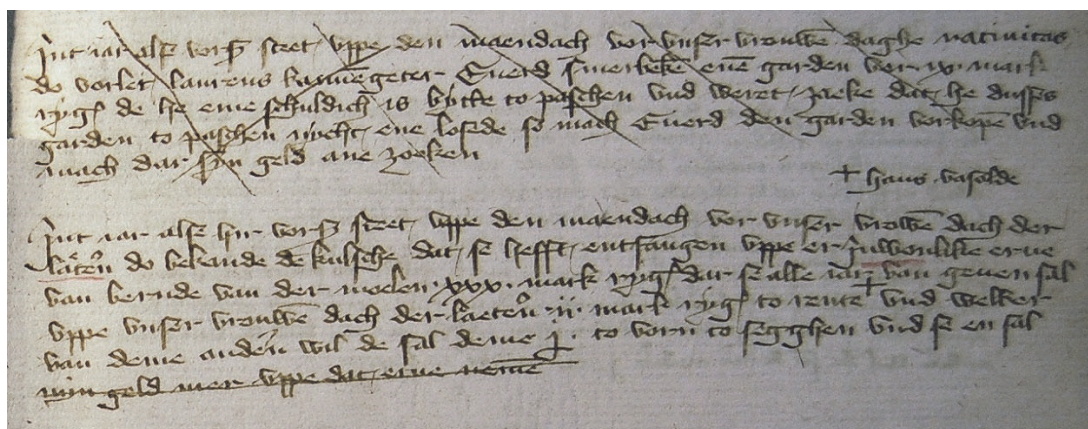
⁹⁴ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 134–141 (EBIII 553–598); TLA, A.a.3, f. 47r–48r (PergRB 420–441).

Pictures 36:1–4: Four samples of developments in the hand of Johannes Blomendal from 1406, 1408, 1412 and 1423.

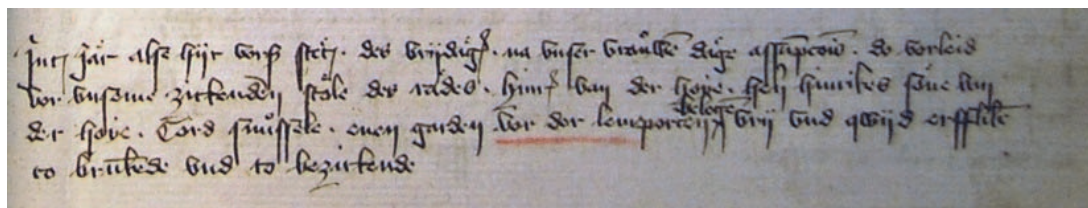
Picture 36:1: Two entries of the early handwriting of Johannes Blomendal with his later interpolation (in the middle) on a resignation issued on the Feast of St Catherine (November 25), 1406, and ‘at the same time’. Note the moderately low sails and the difference in the structure of capital ‘J’ in its early form at the beginning of the second compared to the hatted ‘j’ in the interpolation.



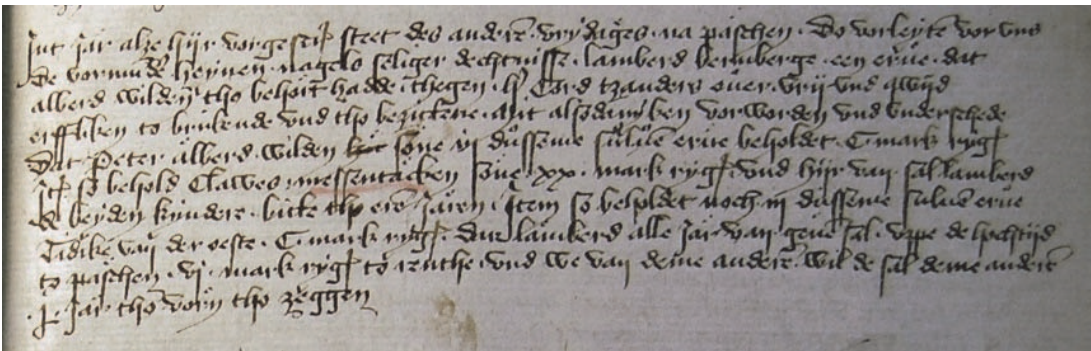
Picture 36:2: Two entries of Johannes Blomendal written on resignations issued on the Monday before the Nativity of Mary (September 5), 1408. His handwriting remained in this basic and well distinguishable form with vertical face of writing, angular ductus, punctuation around Roman numerals and the distinctive and omnipresent hatted form of word-opening ‘j’ up to the last signs of his activity in the spring of 1426.



Picture 36:3: Blomendal’s entry on a resignation issued on the Friday after the Assumption of Mary (August 19), 1412. Note the fully developed hatted ‘j’, spacing and punctuation of words as well as the fine-hair decorations of ‘h’, ‘y’ and ‘z’ characteristic to his later writing.



Picture 36:4: Blomendal's entry on a resignation issued on the second Friday after Easter (April 16), 1423. Note the hatted j's, the punctuation around the roman numerals XX (line 6) and ½ (last line), the diagonal fine hair decorations of 'h', 'y' and the word-ending 'n'.



TLA, A.a.6c, p. 135, 139, 155, 199 (EBIII 568, 584–585, 671, 900).

When did Johannes Blomendal actually start his writing and management of information in the administration of the council in 1406? Considering the evidence in A.a.3 and A.a.6c, the beginning of his period of activity appears to have occurred some time around the beginning of the fiscal year of 1406/7, between late September and mid November 1406, but a closer look at the material of *AR* also suggests the possibility of an earlier engagement as early the beginning of the calendar year of 1406. In both the registers the last datable entries of *HII* are written on recognitions issued on the Thursday after Ascension (June 4), 1405, after which none of *HII*'s handwriting is found in either A.a.3 or A.a.6c.⁹⁵ Instead, the eventual engagement of Johannes Blomendal with the codices some time in 1406 appears to have occurred only after a break in the management of the entries, preceded by two recognisable hands active in A.a.3, only one of which also surfaces in A.a.6c.

In the parchment codex of annuities of A.a.3, four entries immediately following those by *HII* but written on recognitions issued on the Friday after St Bartholomew (August 28) and the Friday before the feast of the Holy Cross (September 11), 1405, are written in a hand (here cited as *HIII*) similar to *HII*, but more textualis-like and rigid in its ductus. Less flowering than *HII* in his fine hair decorations, the last entry of the four written by *HIII* is again very close to *HII*, which makes distinguishing between the two hands somewhat difficult.⁹⁶ The same hand *HIII* has also added two additional entries to an original entry by city scribe Hermannus on the council's payment of the city's debt to the Livonian Order issued on St John the Baptist (June 25), 1395, in the second (*anderen*) and third (*derden*)

⁹⁵ TLA, A.a.3, f. 46r (PergRB 408) and TLA, A.a.6c, p. 133 (EBIII 574).

⁹⁶ TLA, A.a.3, f. 46r–46v (PergRB 409–412, Plaesterer's hand IV).

year after it, i.e. 1396–97. Because the entries of *HIII* deal with payments made in the two years following 1395, he may already have been active as a provisional writer in civic administration in that year, but the entries may also date to late 1405, when his successor *HIV* wrote either a discarded original or a draft or a copy on parchment of the council's open letter about a planned clearance of the remaining debt of 1500 Riga marks of the city to the Livonian Order. Dated to the Feast of Innocents (*uppe der kinder dach*, December 28), 1405, the draft may be in one way or another related to the entries of *HIII* concerning the earlier payments of the same debt in A.a.3, where the entries may have emerged in the context of discussions concerning the matter some time in the summer of 1405.⁹⁷ A wider responsibility of *HIII* in the council's written management of information, similar to those of city scribes proper, is also suggested by a finished but unsealed and unsent original of a letter from the council of Reval to the council of Dorpat dated to the Tuesday after Trinity without a year, apparently in 1405 (June 16), during his short period of activity in the City Scriptorium.⁹⁸

Despite the brief appearance of his hand in A.a.3 and in one missive dating to 1405, *HIII* has not written any recognisable entries in the paper book of resignations of A.a.6c, where five entries by another hand (here cited as *HIV*) with textualis-like ductus of letters, rather high sails on the top of ascenders and certain features reminiscent of the early face of the writing of Johannes Blomendal, but habitually written with more blunt quill and generous use of ink, were written in two sessions on resignations issued on the Friday of St Briccius (November 13), 1405, and 'in the same year'.⁹⁹ Again in the parchment codex of annuities, seven entries by the same hand date from approximately the same period and are dated to the Friday after St Catherine (November 27) and the Friday before St Thomas (December 18), 1405.¹⁰⁰

Further entries of *HIV*, and a key to the possible course of the transition of the office of the city scribe at the turn of 1406, are found in the folio-sized paper codex of combined registers of *wedde* and collected rents [A.a.4a], first introduced to writing by city scribe Hermannus in ca. 1400 and 1392, where the hand of *HIV* surfaces on two occasions among the registers of imposed fines and once in the register of the collected rents of the market shops at the end of the codex. In both cases the activity of *HIV* is preceded by that of *HIII* and either followed or interspersed with Blomendal's writing. In the register of *wedde* the first section of the entries of *HIV* is placed between the activity of *HIII* and Blomendal, and the second one, dated to

⁹⁷ TLA, A.a.3, f. 32v, (PergRB 1463, the two last entries); TLA, BA 1:I, 268.

⁹⁸ TLA, BA 1:I, 269.

⁹⁹ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 133 (EBIII 548–549 and 550–551).

¹⁰⁰ TLA, A.a.3, f. 46v–47r (PergRB 413–419, Plaesterer's hand V, XVII).

1405 Saturday before St Catherine (November 21), starts a new page after a folio entitled ‘*Anno dñj m^o cccc^ovj dominica post epiphania dñj*’ (January 10, 1406), entirely written by Blomendal.¹⁰¹ In the accounts of the annual rents of the market shops the handwriting of *HIV* appears in a set of entries about rent collected from butchers dated to the (fiscal?) year 1406 (ie. 1405/6) and placed between a list of collected rents on butchers written by *HII* and one of bakers collected at Easter 1407, written by Blomendal.¹⁰² As noted, a fourth major datable occurrence of the hand of *HIV* in *AR* is found in an open assignment of the council of Reval on parchment on the clearance of their debt to the Livonian Master dated to the Feast of Innocents (December 28), 1405, where the nature of the document as a finished but unsealed original, a draft or a copy archived in the files of the council, is impossible to determine.¹⁰³ In neither the register of *wedde* nor the accounts of the annual rents of the market shops in A.a.4a are there any recognizable entries of the hand *HIII*.

Either a temporary substitute in the office of the city scribe or a person destined for a longer engagement in the duties of the office, *HIV* seems to have had only a short period in office, which may have covered only the last months of the calendar year of 1405, from around the beginning of the fiscal year of 1405/6 to late December. Alongside textualis-like composition of letters, one of the peculiarities of his writing is the use of ‘ø’, which may hint at an origin in the German communities in Scandinavia, but his position in the Revalian management of written information remains obscure and I have not been able to find any datable samples of his handwriting outside his period of activity detected from the registers and the parchment assignment of December 28, 1405.¹⁰⁴ In contrast, the two separate sections of entries on *wedde* written by Johannes Blomendal dated to the Epiphany (January

¹⁰¹ TLA, A.a.4a, f. 10r, where seven entries written by *HIV* are presented without any dating and preceded by two entries of an unknown hand, possibly one of the wardens of *wedde*, and a larger group of entries written by *HII*, and 13r, where entries written by *HIV* are placed under the date Saturday before St. Catherine, 1405. Entries written by *Blomendal* start on the pages 10v, 11r and 12r–v, where 10v is titled ‘*Anno dñj m^o cccc^ovj dominica post epiphania dñj*’, January 10, 1406, by *Blomendal* himself, 11r is begun by an entry by *HII* and continued with later additions by *Blomendal* dated to the Feast of St Bartholomew (August 25), 1408, and 12r–v, where the page 12r is titled ‘*Anno dñj m^o cccc^ovj dominica post epiphania dñj*’, January 10, 1406, by *Blomendal* himself. Page 11v is empty save one entry on a debt of one ‘*wolter patynenmakere*’ by *Blomendal*. A continuous section of entries by *Johannes Blomendal* with occasional minor interpolations by other hands (wardens of *wedde*?) covers folios 13r–31r of the codex.

¹⁰² TLA, A.a.4a, f. 109v, ‘*Anno dñj m^o cccc^ovj Jtem dederunt carnifices*’.

¹⁰³ TLA, BA 1:I, 268 (LECUB I:4 1673); Further early copies of *Blomendal* include a copy of the council’s letter to Tord Bonde, headman of Viborg on the Feast of St Mark (April 25) without a year, and a letter of the council of Reval to their colleagues in Riga and Dorpat on Octavas after Palm Sunday (March 17) both placed in Missive book A.a.4, f. 25v (older foliation) after a copy of the council’s letter to the Livonian master dated to the Eve of Apostle Matthew (September 20), 1407. Reinhold Hausen has (FMU II 1182) dated the letter to Tord Bonde to 1404, but since A.a.4, f. 25v and 26r only present copies of missives datable to 1407 and written by Johannes Blomendal, the letter is more likely of that year.

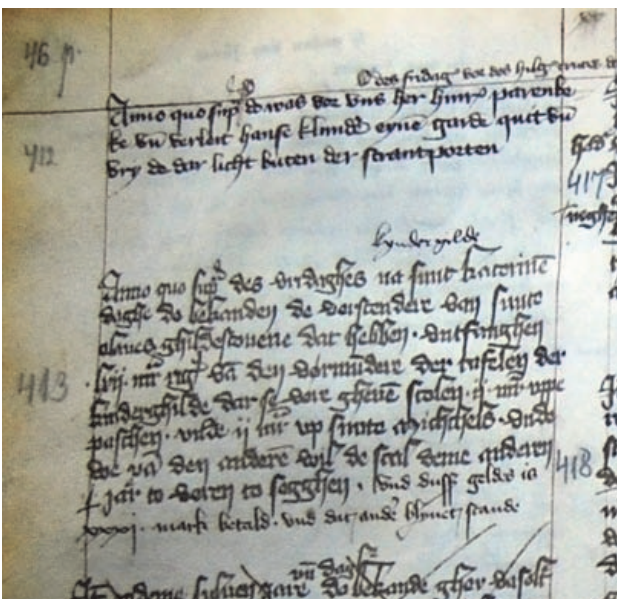
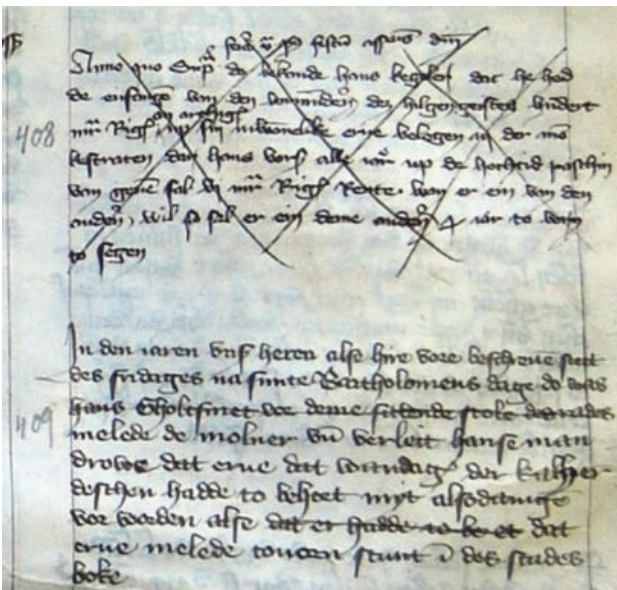
¹⁰⁴ TLA, A.a.3, f. 46v–47r (PergRB 413, 419), A.a.6c, p. 133 (EBIII 648).

6) and the Sunday after the Epiphany (January 10), 1406, confirm that he may have begun his activity in the written management of information around the beginning of the calendar year of 1406; which is further suggested by his contemporary engagement with the paper codex of the mixed memoranda of the city [A.d.5], where the first datable contribution by Blomendal is made on a recognition issued by *Gerwyn van deme Rode* in front of the council on Octavas before the Purification of Mary (January 25), 1406. After his introduction to the office of city scribe some time around the Epiphany of 1406, Johannes Blomendal remained in charge of the written management of information of the council until May 2, 1426, after which no trace of his handwriting is found in the surviving material of *AR*.¹⁰⁵

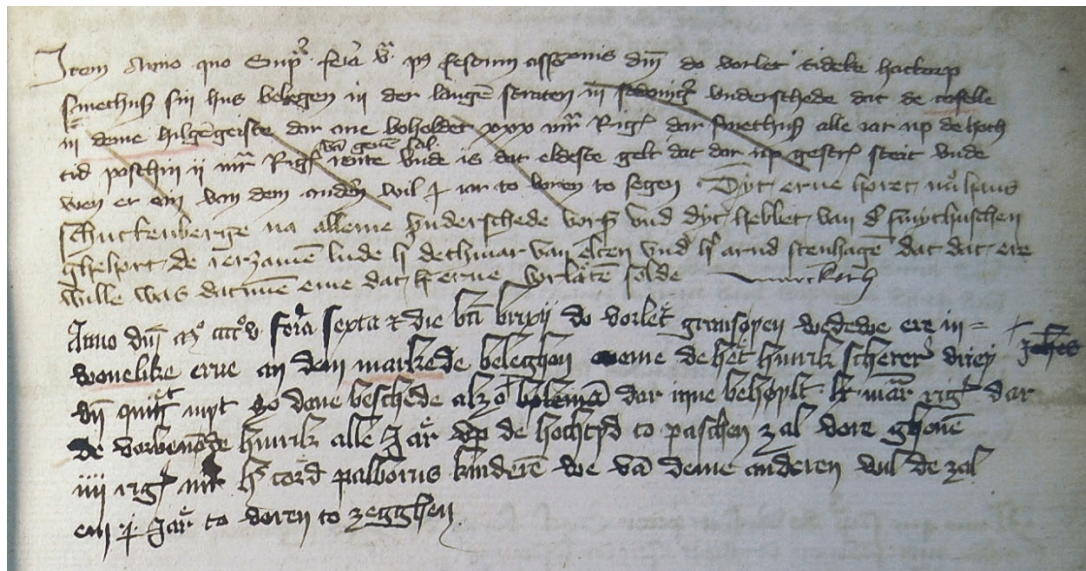
¹⁰⁵ TLA, A.a.4a, f. 10v, 12r–v, where the first set of entries dated to the Epiphany of 1406 was left short and later filled with a list on masons and wagon freighers (*vorlude*) in 1410, and the second dated to the Sunday after Epiphany (January 10), 1406, is written in more than one session and includes interpolations by other hands, most likely those of the wardens of *wedde*; TLA, A.d.5, f. 80v. Other entries by *Blomendal* in 1406 are found in A.d.5, f. 81v (1406 without a date), 82r (1406 without a date), 106r (1406 without a date), and the Friday before Michaelmas (September 24), 1406. Blomendal's last datable entry in A.d.5, f. 83 r is made on the Feast of St Gregorius (March 12), 1426; In his list of the Revalian city scribes from the 1930's, Paul Johansen (RSM, nr. 8) suggests that Blomendal's term began between 21 December 1405 and 27 January 1406, but at the latest on 23 february 1407, and ended before 21 May 1425.

Pictures 37:1–3: Three samples in the parchment codex of annuities and the paper book of resignations of the transition of hands from HII to Johannes Blomendal in 1405–1408.

Pictures 37:1–2: The change of hands in the parchment codex of annuities in June–November 1405. The last entry of HII on a recognition issued on the Thursday after Ascension (June 4), is followed by an entry with a slightly more minute and robust hand (HIII) on a recognition issued on the Friday after St Bartholomew (August 28). The last of the three entries by HIII on the Friday before the Feast of the Holy Cross (September 11) written with a hand extremely close to HII, is followed by a set of entries by a third hand (HIV) beginning with a recognition issued on the Friday after St Catherine (November 27), 1405. The one and half lines of the last are an interpolation by Johannes Blomendal written with the later face of his gothic cursive.



Picture 37:3: *The change of hands in the summer and autumn of 1405 in the paper book of resignations A.a.6c. An entry by HII on a resignation issued on the Thursday after Ascension (June 4) followed by a later interpolation of Johannes Blomendal from around 1406–7, and an entry of a substitute in the office of the city scribe in late 1405 (HIV) on a resignation issued on the Feast of St Briccius (November 13), 1405.*



TLA, A.a.3, 46r–v (PergRB 409–410, 411–412); TLA, A.a.6c, p. 133 (EBIII 547–548).

5.2.1.2. Johannes Blomendal: Aspects of identity and occupation

What do we know about the possible origins and identity of city scribe Johannes Blomendal in charge of the written management of the civic authority of Reval in 1406–26?

In the surviving documents, the erstwhile city scribe of Reval and brother of Danzig burgher Lefard Blomendal is mentioned as dead on the Tuesday before St George (April 20), 1428, when the council of Danzig wrote to their colleagues in Reval instructing that Revalian burgher Bernd Bogel should settle his debt with the late city scribe Johannes Blomendal and his brother with *Johann van Schede*, a plenipotentiary of Lefard, to the extent that Johannes' posthumous scripts and papers and Lefard's letters to his late brother showed.¹⁰⁶ In the letter, no date for the death of the city scribe is provided and his name is not cited, but the matter of Bogel's unsettled debt to the estate had apparently been going on for some time, and the scribe may have perished already in May 1426, when his activity in the written management of information of the council appears to have come to an end. In A.a.3 the first entry written

¹⁰⁶ TLA, BB 38:II, 30 (LECUB I:7 703) 'Leefard Blomendall vnse leue medeborger wo dat Berndt Bogell Juwe medeborger eme van synes vorstoruen broders wegen de juwe Stadschriuer gewest is etlike schuld plichtich vnd schuldich syn ... na jnholdinge etliker schrifte vnd pappir de de vorgedochte sin vorstoruen broder nagelaten heft und ok na inholdinge etliker breue de lefard blomendall an den ergedochten synen brodere gesand heft'.

by either the new city scribe or the main substitute in the office in 1426–29 (Wenemar Scheter/N.N., see CHAPTER 5.2.2) is made on a resignation of an annuity issued on St Vitus Eve (June 14), 1426, and the first signs of his activity in the written management of information of the civic authority date to the latter half of May 1426.¹⁰⁷ The identification of the hand of the city scribe from 1406 to May 1426 as that of Johannes Blomendal is ascertained through his membership of the Table Guild, where ‘*Johannes Blomendal der stat schryuer*’ was introduced in 1412.¹⁰⁸ He himself also wrote the first surviving register of the guild, a paper codex in 4° (28,3 x 20,5 cm) with limp leather binding secured with clasps and composed from paper of one mill, introduced most likely around the time of his entrance to the guild in 1412 or 1406–12. The codex itself consists of seven quires and 271 pages written by a multitude of hands, and it covers the years 1364–1549, of which the first nine leaves with material from 1364–1425 are written by Blomendal. The information from the time before his entrance to the guild and introduction of the codex in 1412 was most likely based on lists and other material on the activities of the guild in 1364, 1376–79 and after 1383, deposited in the archive of the guild in the guild house.¹⁰⁹

Except for his brother, Lefard, little is known about the origins and personal connections of Johannes Blomendal. The name Blomendal is first documented in Livonia already in 1334 when *Godscalculus de Blomendale* secured his possession of a garden in Rygeholm in Riga.¹¹⁰ The toponym itself (Blomendal = Valley of Flowers) appears to have been rather common in the Hanseatic sphere of interaction. Small areas of land called Blomendal are documented close to the city of Riga, on part of the city land that lay between *Romelem* and *Blomendal* in the mid-14th century, but also in the outskirts of the city of Bremen close to an important crossing of the River Weser in the village of Vegesack, where the castle *Blomental* was constructed in the latter half of the 13th century. A third Blomendal (today Blumenthal) is

¹⁰⁷ TLA, A.a.3, f. 67r (PergRB 707). A later interpolation of a resignation issued on the Monday after the Decollation of St John the Baptist (August 30), 1428, written by *Wenemar Scheter/N.N.* (active in 1426–29) is placed between entries on resignations by *Blomendal* from December 18, 1424, and March 8, 1425, A.a.3, f. 66r (PergRB 695); In the register of sworn burghers of 1409–1624 (A.a.5, f. 7r), the hand of *Wenemar Scheter/N.N.* follows that of *Blomendal* and occurs first in an entry of an oath made in front of the council on the Friday after Corpus Christi (May 31), 1426. For other texts written by *Wenemar Scheter/N.N.* at the beginning of his activity see CHAPTER 5.2.2.1.

¹⁰⁸ TLA, fond 191, nim. 2, säilik 1. (old signum SGA 12), f. 8v, for an edition see Derrik 2000, 346.

¹⁰⁹ Derrik 2000, 328–330; TLA, 191.2.1, 1r–9r. The handwriting was first identified as that of *Johannes Blomendal* by Eugen von Nottbeck 1885, 5.

¹¹⁰ Feyereabend 1985, 118; Die Libri redituum der Stadt Riga. Hrsg. von J.G.L. Napiersky. Leipzig, Verlag von Duncker & Humblot 1881 (here cited as Napiersky 1881), I, 187.

documented as early as in 1220 in southern Westphalia near the town of Werl in the district of Soest.¹¹¹

A sworn burgher of the city of Danzig, Lefard Blomendal appears to have emerged as the guardian of his brother's estate and debts some time before April 1428, by which time Johannes had perished. A merchant *Lefardus Blomendale* of Prussia (*de terra Prucie*) is mentioned as active in Danzig as early as July 1392, when he issued a quittancy in London on 1000 English Nobles that the knight Johannes Montagu de Werke had paid him and the Danzig councillor *Winandus Ostinchusen* against his debt to them. According to Sven Sjöberg (1960/62), Lefard's name surfaces more frequently in Prussian documents around 1400 and from then onwards. Whether or not the same person as *Lefardus* of 1392, a councillor (since 1408) and Burghermaster (three times, the first in 1422), *Liffart Blumental* is known to have been active in the Prussian city of Thorn from 1398 to his death in 1434.¹¹² Not to be confused with the latter, the Revalian city scribe Johannes' brother Lefard was still alive on the Friday before Pentecost (May 18), 1442, when the council of Danzig assured the council of Reval that Lefard had authorised the Revalian councillor *Gotschalk Tymerman* to act as his plenipotentiary in his place as a guardian of the daughter of his late uncle *Hans Blomendael*. In the letter Hans Blomendal is named as Lefard's uncle (*syn oem vnde mo...*), possibly a mother's brother, but the crucial part of the text of the original is torn and nothing more about the relationship between Lefard and Hans can be established.¹¹³

The Reval-based merchant *Hans Blomendal*, who must not be confused with his namesake the city scribe Johannes Blomendal, was introduced as a member of the Table Guild in 1421, but is not listed in the surviving registers of sworn burghers from 1409–38. Even if the statutes of the Table Guild ruled that only members of the Great Guild could be introduced to the Table Guild, not all members of either guild were resident burghers of Reval. Instead

¹¹¹ Blomendal (Riga): Napiersky 1881, Liber redituum II, 133 'terram civitatis sitam intra Romelen et Blomendal'; Blomendal (Werl, Soest): Sjöberg 1960/1962, 129. On the migration of merchants from Werl to the Baltic Sea area, see even Henn, Volkert, Der kleinen westfälischen "Hansestädte unter Soest". Eine Bestandaufnahme. In: Hundt, Michael & Lokers, Jan (eds.), Hanse und Stadt. Akteure, Strukturen und Entwicklungen im regionalen und europäischen Raum. Festschrift für Rolf Hammel-Kiesow zum 65. Geburtstag. Einzelveröffentlichung des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Schmidt-Römschild, Lübeck 2014, 41-42.

¹¹² HUB V 37–38, Semrau, Arthur, Katalog der Geschlechter der Schöffenbank und des Ratsstuhls in der Altstadt Thorn 1233–1602. Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn, 46. Thorn 1938, 30. Sjöberg 1960/62, 110.

¹¹³ TLA, BB 38:II, 62, 'wo dat hans bloemendael syn oem mo[derbrudere? ... several words missing]'; According to the regesta in LECUB I:9 861, the copy of the text in the Missive book of the council of Danzig reads 'broders' instead of 'oem': an apparent mistake or false reading, see also Sjöberg 1960/62, 130, footnote 5.

the Great Guild also occasionally admitted merchant-burghers from other cities sojourning in Reval as members, and members of the Table Guild also included merchants visiting the city (Ger. *Gasts*). For this reason membership of the Table Guild is not a proof of burghership in the city.¹¹⁴ Since one Hans Blomendal is cited as a warden of the altars of the Black Heads in 1418–33, he may in fact have been a ‘visiting’ merchant resident in the city, but not officially a burgher of Reval. A confraternity of visiting merchants, journeymen and unmarried sons of sworn merchant burghers in the city, the Black Heads had had two altars in the church of the Dominicans since 1400 and 1419, for which two wardens were named. In the 15th century one of them was habitually an alderman of the confraternity and the other habitually a councillor or representant of the city and the burgher community. In 1418–21 the two wardens were *Gottschalck van dem Rode* and Hans Blomendal. Gotschalk (member of the Great Guild since 1401, died in 1421) was a resident burgher and councillor of the city whose house in Long Street and garden outside the Clay Gate were sold by the guardians of his estate on Mary Magdalene’s Eve (July 21), 1424, to one *Diderik Flossdorpe* against 500 Riga marks he was to pay to Gotschalk’s minor son according to a schedule. The son, *Johan van dem Rode*, later became a priest. Gotschalk is cited as councillor (*her*) in a missive of the Livonian Master to the council of Reval on the Monday before St Lawrence (August 5), 1415, where the master informs the council that the headman of the castle of Raseborg, Henning Konigsmark, had written him a letter asking permission to export as much rye as *Ludeke Zuzemyle* could buy with the money provided by Revalian councillor *Gotschalk van Rode*.¹¹⁵ Burgher or not, the merchant activity of Hans Blomendal in Reval is attested by a multitude of entries in the registers of Poundage in 1425–35, where his imports include a variety of goods such as salt, cloth, hops and wine, not to mention metals and hardware such as copper, weighs and kettles.¹¹⁶ A contemporary of the merchants Lefard and Hans

¹¹⁴ TLA, 191.2.1, f. 8v, Derrik 2000, 349; BB 1409–1624, p. 1–16 (A.a.5, f. 1r–10v); Derrik 2000, 18, 25, Mänd 2013, 231–232, TLA, 191.2.1, f. 80r.

¹¹⁵ On the altars see Mänd & Randla 2012, 50–51, 46–49, Amelung – Wrangell 1930, 28. See even Mänd 2011b, 84 and Kala 2013a, 97 where the city scribe and member of the Great Guild since 1412, Johannes Blomendal, is confused with the merchant Hans Blomendal; TLA, 191.2.1, f. 5v, Derrik 2000, 343, 322, 177–178, TLA, A.a.6c, p. 204 (EBII 925), TLA, BB 24:I, 53 (LECUB I:5 2015) ‘dat he so vele roggem utforen mochte, also he kopen konde vor dat gelt, dat em her Goschalk van Rode gevende worden’. The burgher and councillor Gotschalk van dem Rode was apparently not the same as the journeyman (*Gesell*) *Gotschalk vamme Rode* who had traded for *Fritz Grawerd*, burgher of Lübeck, in Reval, and from whose estate Grawerd demanded the return of his goods with a *tovorsichte* of the council of Lübeck issued to Michel Hildebrand, burgher of Reval on the Eve of St Peter in Chains (July 31), 1429, TLA, BB 40:I, 79 (LECUB I:7 48).

¹¹⁶ Schiffslisten 1425–96 [TLA, A.g.I], Bd. 1, L. 2, p. 5, 13, 18, 19, 21, 23, 42, 47, 68, 82, 83, 87–90, 93 and Bd. 1, L. 3, p. 97, 115, 120, 129, 131, 135, 158, 163, 166, 170, 175, 176, 182, 189–191. On Hans Blomendal see even Sjöberg 1960/62, 130, footnote 5.

Blomendal and slightly younger than city scribe Johannes, *Henrik Blomendale* is cited among the executors of four testaments in Lübeck in 1421, 1428, 1432 and 1439.¹¹⁷

Because of Lefard's documented burgership in Danzig in 1428 and 1442, Lefard and his brother the city scribe Johannes have been thought to have originated from there since Leonid Arbusow's work on Livonian clergy in 1902 and 1914.¹¹⁸ However, since both the brothers and Lefard's uncle Hans had close contacts with the local merchant elite in Reval, the family may as well have been of Revalian, Livonian or other Hanseatic origin with activities based in Danzig and Reval, possibly even in Thorn. In 1457 Lefard is listed as one of the deceased guild brothers for whom a requiem was offered by the Revalian Table Guild, but since this kind of service was also granted for members residing outside the city, the requiem does not necessarily imply that he returned to Reval in old age. As already discussed, a charity affiliation of the Great Guild, the Table Guild was in many ways dependent on the former, and only the members of the Great Guild were admitted as brothers of the Table Guild. However, not all the members of either guild were resident burghers in Reval. Because Lefard's admission to the Table Guild is not cited in the surviving registers written by his brother, he was either granted the membership in 1380–82, which is unlikely, or he had been an erstwhile member of the Great Guild, some brethren of which are listed among the deceased of the Table Guild.¹¹⁹

Given the known links of the Blomendals to Reval, it is interesting that the debt of the late city scribe Johannes to Berndt Bogel may have been settled through private transactions based on the house Johannes possessed and inhabited in the city. On the Friday before St George (April 22), 1429, the house was the property of an unnamed wife of Berndt Bogel, who on that day authorised councillors *Wenemar van der Beke* and *Herman Kallen* to have it recorded in the City Book (*stades boek*) as a habitable paternal inheritance of Berndt Bogel. The City Book in question is the paper book of resignations [A.a.6c, EBIII], where the house is said to stand in the *monykestraten* (Monks' Street, today Vene) next to the property of councillor *Johan Oldendorpe*, and to have earlier been the property of the late councillor

¹¹⁷ Meyer, Gunnar, "Besitzende Bürger" und "elende Sieche": Lübeck's Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer Testamente 1400–1449. Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck herausgegeben vom Archiv der Hansestadt, Reihe B Band 48. Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Lübeck 2010, nr. 1421/48 (Testament of Ghise Heytvos, October 5, 1421), 1428/27 (Drewes Smet, December 11, 1428), 1432/13 (Hermen Stelter, July 17, 1432) and 1439/15 (Laurentius Stoer, May 3, 1439).

¹¹⁸ LG I:1, 51, see also Sjöberg 1960/62, 110. In his list of the Revalian city scribes from the 1930's, Paul Johansen (RSM, nr. 8) also thought Johannes Blomendal was 'aus Danzig'.

¹¹⁹ TLA, 191.2.1, f. 25v, Derrik 2000, 372, 242, 17–23.

Johan van der Smede. The house had a permission for free eaves (*enem vriien druppennalle*), i.e. the right for a section of roof to overhang the wall, and it included a separate garden located between the Clay Gate (Mnd. *leemporten*, today Viru) and the Small Strandgate (Mnd. *lutken strantporten*) next to the garden of the late councillor *Gerd Witten*. On the same day the council granted Bernd Bogel free inheritable use and possession of the house, similar to the one Johan van der Smede and Johannes Blomendal had exercised, but with the easement of Johan van der Smede's son Hans, valued at 200 Riga marks and 36 new artig, and against which Bernd was to pay annual rent of 6 marks on each 100 marks due every Easter. According to a later interpolation by city scribe Joachim Muter (1429–56), the mortgage was at some point transposed to the Hospital of St John, which received the annual rent on similar terms.¹²⁰ Other earlier resignations in A.a.6c tell us that the house owned by Johannes Blomendal, Johan van der Smede and Bernd Bogel's wife was the same that *Hinrik von der Hoye*, son of councillor *Hinrik*, had resigned as his paternal inheritance to Johan van der Smede on May 6, 1412, with the easement of 100 marks liable to Henrik's son *Renike* and against which Johan van der Smede was to pay an annual rent of 6 marks due every Michaelmas. Written by Johannes Blomendal, this earlier resignation of the house in A.a.6c has later been crossed out and it includes a contemporary interpolation by Blomendal that the Seagarden (*zeegarten*) next to councillor Gerd Witte's garden was assigned to the possession of Johan van der Smede by the guardian of councillor *Hinrik*'s children.¹²¹

Obviously an inheritable property of Johan van der Smede since 1412, the house on the *monekestraten* appears at some point to have been in the possession of city scribe Johannes Blomendal, who may either have bought it or leased it from van der Smede. The exact nature of Blomendal's involvement with the house is unclear, but the fact that Johan van der Smede acted in 1428 as the plenipotentiary of Lefard Blomendal in the matter of his late brother's debt to Bernd Bogel, and the house was in April 1429 assigned as full paternal property of Bernd Bogel by his unnamed wife, hints at some kind of family or fiscal relationships. At some point after the Livonian mint reform of 1422–26 the property had been mortgaged against a little over 200 marks to an unknown lender, where the return of the capital was made over to Johan van der Smede's son Hans in April 1429, but the house itself was in the

¹²⁰ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 215 (EBIII 974), 'ere inwonelike vaderlike erve'. The original entry of the resignation issued in April 22, 1429 is written by Muter.

¹²¹ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 154 (EBIII 665). The garden of Johan van der Smede is mentioned in the context of the garden of Peter van der Volme/Johan Stoltevot on which a resignation was made eight days after Michaelmas (October 6), 1413, TLA, A.a.6c, p. 161 (EBIII, 701). Johan van der Smede's garden was located between the gardens of Johan Stoltevot and Gerd Witte. On Johan van der Smede see even Derrick 2000, 193.

possession of Bernd Bogel's wife. Since the rent on the loan was divided in two according to each hundred in 1429, the sum may have consisted of a rearrangement of the older rent liable to the von der Hoye family, and a new debt settled in the context of Johannes Blomendal's estate, but the nature of the fiscal transactions and the possession of the house between 1412 and 1429 remains obscure. The resignation of 1429, however, shows that at some point of his career and close to his death in spring 1426 Johannes Blomendal apparently inhabited a house on the *monekestrate* as a regular private inheritable property in the city, not a lodging controlled by an ecclesiastical or civic organisation or a house as part of the official accommodation of the city scribe in the service of the council. Resident in Reval, Blomendal started his daily routines as the city scribe by walking to the City Scriptorium or Town Hall from his house near the Dominican convent and returned there after work in the evening.

The distinctive gothic cursive of Johannes Blomendal with daggerlike vertical shafts, angled ductus and intense use of punctuation is easily distinguished from all the other handwriting of the early 15th century surviving in the archives. Alongside the cursive, only rare samples of Blomendal's angled gothic textualis formata survive, with decisively more elongated structure of letters and vertical ductus than his predecessors Hermannus and *HIII* and with occasional stress on flamboyant daggerlike serifs and angled fine hair decorations.¹²²

Interestingly, letter forms characteristic to Johannes Blomendal's cursive are also found in some of the documents received by the council, such as a letter from the council of Thorn in Prussia issued on the day after Simon and Jude (October 29), 1400, and two letters of one Clawes Mekes dating to 1410.¹²³ Similarities with the hand of the letter from Thorn as well as the possible connection with his brother Danzig burgher Lefard Blomendal of ca. 1392–1428, and his namesake the merchant and councillor of Thorn Liffard Blomental of 1398–1434, may suggest an origin or schooling in Prussia for Johannes Blomendal, but we can only speculate as no secure evidence for his origins in the Prussian cities has been unearthed. Since Lefard was able to compose letters of his own when he corresponded with his brother

¹²² For samples of *Blomendal's* gothic textualis see TLA, A.a.7, f. 7v first column last entry with his continuation on the original entry on the rent of saunas by the city scribe *Hermannus*, f. 8r first column third entry on Johan Loren's cloth stall, and second column down on the rent of Hans Kluner's house. A further rare sample of his textualis is found on his copy or draft of the council's missive to Kristern Nilsson, headman of the castle of Viborg in 1421, where a pen trial on a large letter in gothic textualis reads 'gesant heren kerstene militi Wyborch', TLA, BA 1:Ib, 82r.

¹²³ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 477; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 481 (LECUB I:4 1574 and I:6, p. 88), and 482 (LECUB I:4 1575 and I:6, p. 88). According to Semrau, Arthur, *Katalog der Geschlechter der Schöffenbank und des Ratsstuhls in der Altstadt Thorn 1233–1602. Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn*, 46. Thorn 1938, 7, the city scribe of Thorn was in 1393 one *Waltherus*, who is cited in 1402 as the old city scribe, i.e possibly in partial retirement.

in Reval before his death in 1426/1428, both of the brothers were literate and had received an appropriate schooling. Yet no information about any university studies of either man has survived and their place of origin remains undocumented in the sources.¹²⁴ A person possibly related to Danzig burgher Lefard Blomendal and his brother Johannes is one *Jacob Blomendael*, who was promoted to Magister of Arts in the University of Rostock in the winter of 1422/23, but since nothing is known of his career, any relationship he had with the two brothers and Lefard's uncle Hans remains to be uncovered.¹²⁵

The final and most probable solution to the question of the origin of the brothers Blomendal, and especially that of Johannes, comes not from the narratives of the sources, but from their dialect. The origin of Johannes Blomendal has been studied by Sven Sjöberg in 1960/62 from the angle of his use of Middle Low German. There, his relationship to the German isogloss of *Einheitsplural* binds him strictly to the tradition of linguistic forms west of the Elbe and north of the Benrather line, while other characteristics of his lettering point to the Southern Westphalian speech, i.e. to the area centered around Münster and Soest where also the town of Werl and the neighbouring village of Blomendal is situated. In Werl, a possible ancestor of the two brothers Lefard and Johannes the councillor *Lifhardus Blomendale* is cited as early as 1330, and a priest *Leyfard Blomendal* acted as a witness in the town in 1404. Curiously enough, the same clergyman Leyfard Blomendal is also cited as an envoy of the town of Werl in Danzig where his namesake and the brother of the Revalian city scribe was active at the turn of the 14th century. Even more intriguingly, on February 2, 1404, an oath of truce was sworn regarding the debts of one *Johannes Blomendal* in Werl. It is of further interest that in the summer of 1408, among those who matriculated to the judicial faculty of the university of Cologne is one *Johannes Blomendal* from the diocese of Cologne, then also comprising the area of Soest and Werl.¹²⁶ Whether the two persons should be considered the same, or the first one was in fact be the same person as the new city scribe of Reval Johannes

¹²⁴ No identification of either the brothers can be made from the surviving registers of the University of Prag from 1349–1409, see Tříška, Josef, *Životopisný slovník předhusitské pražské university 1348–1409*. Univerzita karlova, Praha 1981, 13–555.

¹²⁵ Sjöberg 1960/62, 110; Repertorium Academicum Germanicum, The Graduated Scholars of the Holy Roman Empire between 1250 and 1550, <http://www.rag-online.org/> (here cited as RAG), Jakob Blomendael, Promotion: 1422/23 Winter, Rostock, mag. art. (ID: 73241176, <http://www.rag-online.org/gelehrter/id/73241176>, accessed 19.11.2015).

¹²⁶ Sjöberg 1960/62, 129–130, *Das älteste Bürgerbuch der Stadt Soest, 1302–1449*. Rothert, Hermann, (Hg./ed.), *Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Westfalen, XXVII*. Münster, Aschendorff, 1958, 261 and Tab. II, p. 37, and *Das Soester Nequambuch: das Buch der Frevler: Ein Stadtbuch des XIV. Jahrhunderts*. Bearb. von M. Wackernagel, Hrsg. von der Historischen Kommission für die Provinz Westfalen, 14. K.W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1924, 18; RAG, Johannes Blomendal, imm. 1408 Sommer, Köln, Fakultät Jus (ID: 2147104701, <http://www.rag-online.org/gelehrter/id/2147104701>, accessed 19.11.2015)

Blomendal active from the winter of 1405/6, remains obscure. The Johannes Blomendal who matriculated at the judicial faculty in 1408 must have done earlier studies in the faculty of Arts, but no information on that is today available. Whatever the case, Johannes the city scribe's use of Westphalian dialect and his and his brother's names suggest that they were first generation immigrants from Werl to Prussia and Livonia, where Lefard appears to have been active in Danzig for 50 years in 1392–1442 and Johannes was employed in 1406 as the Revalian city scribe until his death in ca. 1426. In 1418–35 and before 1442 their uncle Hans was also active in Reval, trading in large quantities of salt. A possible fourth member of the same kin may have been the merchant and burgermaster of Thorn Liffard Blomendal in 1398–1434.

5.2.1.3. Management of written information in memoranda and communication

From the period of activity of Johannes Blomendal from 1406 until May 1426, a multitude of writings survive, which attest his responsibility in a great variety of textual activities in the administration, communication and overall management of written information of the council and the civic community. As the sole person in control of the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3], and paper codex of resignations [A.a.6c], he also took care of writing registers of fiscal memoranda of the city including *wedde* (1406–26), the surviving lists of *schoss* (imbursements of ca. 1405 and lists of 1421–22 and 1424), and Poundage (since ca. 1425), as well as the registers of the rents of market shops, other real property of the city, and the capital and rents of the endowments of alms and chantries/vicaries in the custody of the council [A.a.7] originally introduced by city scribe Hermannus in ca. 1399/1403.

Following the practice of Hermannus, he also maintained the habit of writing the annual lists of collected rents of market shops and other leased property at the end of the folio-sized paper codex of *wedde* in 1406–24.¹²⁷ Together with the occasional engagement in other spheres of fiscal administration of the council, such as the Mint in 1424, and recording the rents of the Hospital of Holy Ghost, his hand also appears among the surviving files of the council's building activity, such as the accounts on the construction of the Town Hall (1401–4), even if the relationship of these writings to the original composition of the accounts is unknown. The undated fragment of a *bursprake* and two entries on fiscal transactions in 1423 by Blomendal are written on sections of folded bifolios of narrow format, later

¹²⁷ For A.a.3 and A.a.6c see CHAPTER 5.2.1.1 above; *Wedde*: TLA, A.a.4a, f. 10v–31r, see CHAPTER 5.2.1.1, footnote 101; *Schoss*: TLA, A.d.12, f. 89v, A.d.13, f. 1r–25v, A.d.12, f. 94r–98v, see CHAPTER 3.2.2.2, footnote 199; *Poundage*: TLA, A.g.1, f. 3r–10r and A.g.1, f. 2r–v, see also CHAPTER 3.2.3.3; TLA, A.a.7, f. 4v–8v, 10r–v, 20v–24r; *Collected rents*: A.a.4a, f. 105r–110r.

harboured in the file of the building accounts. Because the same sheets also display entries concerning the fiscal activity of the *kämmerers*, they appear to have originally comprised part of the loose material in the *kämmerers'* office, where a variety of memoranda on the fiscal activities of the council was kept. A further sheet of similar provenience appears to be a short listing of a three article agenda of the burgher community presented to the council and written down by Blomendal at some time in 1406–26 on a narrow sheet of paper later used as writing material for issues on the rent and chantry of the altar of St Gangolf, possibly by the councillor (1439–75) and *kämmerer* (1442/43 and 1446/48) Marquard Bretholt.¹²⁸ Unlike his predecessor *HII*, Blomendal may even already have been in charge of writing the finished accounts of the *kämmerers*, for which purpose a volume of paper quires in quarto was kept in ca. 1405 and in 1426–29, but since the entire range of the volume from the period of his activity is lost, his involvement with these accounts remains unclear.¹²⁹

Together with the continuation of most of the older volumes of judicial, fiscal and mixed memoranda of the council transmitted from the periods of activity of *HII* and Hermannus, an apparent reorganisation of the civic memoranda occurred at the beginning of Blomendal's activity in the management of the lists of warrants of safe conduct and sworn burghers of the city. An important source for this reorganisation are the five surviving leaves of paper from a register of the warrants of safe conduct (Ger. *Geleite*) in 4^o [A.a.17a, ca. 28,9 x 19,7 cms], which Blomendal introduced into use in 1406, and which replaced the paper codex of mixed memoranda of the city [A.d.5], where similar lists of warrants had been written by city scribes and their substitutes since 1374.¹³⁰ In 1409 in the same volume of paper he also introduced a register of sworn burghers [A.a.5] for the lists of which nothing is known after 1364, and for which a possible register covering the years 1364? – ca. 1400 may have been lost. Dissolved by city secretary Heinrich Fonne some time during his activity in 1658–72, the original paper volume with registers of warrants of safe conduct from 1406 and lists of sworn burghers from 1409 [A.a.17a + A.a.5] consisted of several quires of paper of the same size and watermark, of which the five surviving leaves with entries on warrants of safe conduct cover the years 1413–15 and 1428–58, and the 38 leaves with lists of sworn

¹²⁸ TLA, B.k.2:I, 13v. On Bretholt (13r) see also CHAPTER 3.1.1.3, footnote 23, and Derrik 2001, 67–68.

¹²⁹ Mint: TLA, A.d.17, f. 41v–43v, 16v; Hospital of St John: TLA, B.b.1:I, 4r–v; TLA, A.a.6a, f. 23v (*bursprake*), 26r and 27v, where an entry by one of the *kämmerers* on imbursements of the wardens of the schoss (*van der schotheren*) on the Eve of St Anthony (January 16), 1423 on f. 26v is followed by two entries by *Blomendal* on the same matter. The entry on f. 27v accounts costs of wine; TLA, B.a.2, f. 21r–24v, 25r–26v.

¹³⁰ TLA, A.d.5, f. 129r–149r, 160v, 164r, 167v, 168v and back cover with scattered entries on safe conduct even on f. 1r, 2r, 7v, 93r, 104v, 123v and 124v, see Johansen 1929, XXX; TLA, A.a.17a, f. 1–5, see Johansen 1929, XXXIII.

burghers the period 1409–1535. First put into writing by Johannes Blomendal in 1406, the obvious purpose of the volume was to build a special codex for issues on burghership and safe conduct in the management of information of the council, in which use it remained well into the 16th century.¹³¹ Another similar initiative of Blomendal's was the register of the wardens of the towers of the Town wall, introduced as a bound quire of two or three bifolios in narrow format (ca. 11,0 x 30,0 cms) in ca. 1413, and supplemented with changes in the guardianships throughout his activity as the city scribe until 1426.¹³²

Together with the missives and documents issued by the council, Blomendal was also responsible for writing appellations and other letters of judicial content for the consideration of the council of Lübeck, of which a total of 14 from his period of office survive, all written in Middle Low German in 1412 (1) and 1421–26 (13).¹³³ In his archival file in *AR*, created during in the reorganisation of the material in 1940 [BA 1:1b, see CHAPTER 1.2.5.1], a further draft on an appellation to Lübeck on the dispute between an unnamed lady van Minden and the Revalian burgher *Merten van Bremen* over the inheritance of *Hintze van Bremen* exists, dated to Candlemas (February 2) without a year. Written by Blomendal on the reverse of a copy or final draft of the council's mandate on parchment for two burghermasters to place the mill adjacent to the Hospital of St John at the hospital's disposal dating from the Monday after St Martin (November 15), 1408, Blomendal has also copied the text of the appellation in the Missive book A.a.4 among other missives sent by the council from ca. 1411. Under the copy of the mandate and on the reverse side of the draft of the appellation, an opening sentence of the formula of the arenga for the testaments particular to Revalian city scribes is

¹³¹ TLA, A.a.5, f. 1–38 (old foliation) and Greiffenhagen, Otto, Einleitung. Das Revaler Bürgerbuch 1409–1624. Hrsg. v. O. Greiffenhagen. In: Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv, 6. Reval 1932, VII–VIII. Lists of sworn burghers since Monday after Quasimodo geniti (April 11), 1401, and after *circumcisionis* (January 1), 1403 are written by *HII* with occasional interpolations by *Hermannus* on TLA, A.d.5, f. 163v; The remaining leaves of the register of safe conduct consist of one leaf in quarto (c. 20,0 x 28,5 cms) concerning warrants from 1413 and 1414 written by *Johannes Blomendal*, and two folded bifolios of the same size and paper covering the years 1429–58 and written by *Wenemar Scheter/N.N.* in 1429, *Joachim Muter* in 1429–53 and *Reinhold Storning* in 1456–58, TLA, A.a.17a, f. 1r–5v; TLA, A.d.4, f. 18r, Johansen 1935, XL–XLI; On *Fonne* and the dissolution of the original codex see Johansen 1929, XXXIII.

¹³² TLA, B.e.1, f. 1r–2r, Hartmann 1988, 200–202.

¹³³ STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 121 (on Parchment, Perg., 10000 Martyrs Eve, June 21, 1412, FMU II 1379, LUB V 416), nr. 123a (on Parchment, Feast of St Mark, April 25, 1423, draft by an unknown hand TLA, BA 1:1, 277), nr. 123b (on Parchment, Feast of St Margaret, June 13, 1424, draft by an unknown hand TLA, BA 1:1, 277, LECUB I:7 157). On Paper: STA Lü, Altes Senatsarchiv, Interna, Appellationen, nr. 527 (Wednesday in Ember before Christmas, December 17, 1421), nr. 529:1 (Eve of St Peter in Chains, July 31, 1422), nr. 528, (Feast of St Vincent, August 11, 1422), nr. 529:2 (Feast of St Dionysios, October 9, 1423), nr. 530:1 (Feast of St Dionysios, October 9, 1423), nr. 534 (St George's Eve, April 22, 1424), nr. 533 (Friday before Pentecost, June 9, 1424), nr. 532 (Division of Apostles, July 15, 1424), nr. 530:3 (Feast of Pope St Gregory, March 12, 1425. For a copy of the text by *Blomendal* in TLA, see A.a.4, f. 61v), nr. 535 (Saturday before St Philip and James, April 28, 1425, see also footnote 137 below), and nr. 530:5 (St Gertrud Eve, March 16, 1426).

written upside down at the bottom of the sheet by *III*, showing that that particular sheet of paper in quarto was originally employed by him as a draft in the City Scriptorium at the beginning of the 15th century.¹³⁴

Of these 14 letters and documents produced by city scribe Johannes Blomendal in 1412 and in 1421–26, only three; a mandate for Henrik Rebuck on the amortization of the debt of the council of Lübeck to the estate of the late Jacob Abrahamsson Djäkn from the 10000 martyrs eve (June 21), 1412, and two declarations issued on the Feast of St Mark (April 25), 1423, and the Feast of St Margaret (July 13), 1424, stating that written adjudications to Revalian appellations were given at pleasure of the council of Lübeck only (i.e. not as an automatic response to every appellation), and that the council of Reval would not bar any appellations to Lübeck, are written on parchment.¹³⁵ Since the terminal material for all the other 11 appellations today surviving in Lübeck is paper, the office of Johannes Blomendal and his activity in the 1420's represents a clear difference to his predecessors Hermannus and Albertus, where the conventional material for writing appellations and letters of sophisticated judicial content to Lübeck was parchment, following the explicit instructions of the council of Lübeck after an appellation written and sent there by city scribe Albertus on paper on the Feast of St George (April 23), 1370. Blomendal's use of paper as the terminal material of appellations in the 1420's unequivocally shows that in a period of some 50 years and especially starting from the 1420's, it had started to develop a status comparable to the more expensive parchment, even in documents of an important transregional judicial nature among the Hanseatic cities.¹³⁶

Although all the surviving 11 Middle Low German appellations from Reval to Lübeck appear to have been finished and drafted by Blomendal himself, and both the draft and the copy of the appellation from ca. 1408 on the matter of the inheritance of Hintze van Bremen

¹³⁴ Appellation: TLA, BA 1:Ib, 66r (*Blomendal*) and TLA A.a.4, 39v (*Blomendal*, both LECUB I:4 1583, I:6 Reg, p. 178), mandate for the annexation of the mill to St John's TLA, BA 1:Ib, 66v (copy of the finished original or final draft by *Blomendal*), TLA, BA 1:Ib, 67 (draft, *Blomendal*), TLA, Urk. 1-I, 508 (finished and sealed mandate, *Blomendal*). TLA A.a.4, 39v 'Jn godes namen amen Wante de mensche geboren were indesser werlde korte tyt tho blywende'. On the arena of the testaments produced by the Revalian city scribes see Salminen 2013, 582 (Appendix 1:2). It is used with a slight variation ('korte wyse') in a testament issued on the Feast of St Benedict (March 21), 1414, TLA, 1-III B, 7 and *Joachim Muter* on a testament issued on the Tuesday after St Marcus (April 29), 1455, 1-III B, 12.

¹³⁵ STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 121 ('an der x:m Ridder avende'), nr. 123a ('in deme dreyvndetwyntigsten jare uppe Sunte Marcus dach des hilghen Ewangelisten') and nr. 123b ('in deme vervndtwyntigsten jare an Sunte margreten dage der hilgen juncvrouwen', see also STA Lü, Interna, Appellationen, nr. 531 which contains the older late 19th-century regesta of the same document).

¹³⁶ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 382 (LECUB I:4 1581, RUB 40), STA Lü, Urkunden, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 99a.

were written by him, not all the texts were necessarily his original composition.¹³⁷ As in the case of the two parchment recognitions of the voluntary nature of Lubeckian written adjudications of 1423 and 1424, an undated finished draft or a contemporary copy on paper in *AR* exists, the text of which follows the document of 1424 more closely, but it may in fact have served as a basis for both the others and is written by an otherwise unknown hand who may have composed the original text for the two recognitions. Of the two documents today surviving in the Lübeck City Archives, the first one from April 1423 is a fully finished charter with a hanging seal fixed through the cutting in the plica, but the second one from 1424 has no seal, and the cutting of the plica does not show any traces of a tag having been fixed to it. Because the council of Lübeck had first asked their Revalian colleagues to produce a declaration recognising their voluntary role in giving written adjudications to Revalian appellations in 1423, but had not received the declaration and repeated their request in their letter of June 30, 1424, the unsealed but finished declaration of July 13, 1424, may have been sent as a confirmation of the original charter issued in April 1423, but been sent to Lübeck only in mid July 1424.¹³⁸ Whether the text of these two declarations were based on the same undated contemporary text by the unknown hand still surviving in *AR*, or whether the latter should be considered an archived copy of the sent originals remains unclear, but the text as such shows that during his office of 1406–26 Johannes Blomendal may not have been the only person responsible for composing important judicial texts for the needs of the council. Of the testaments he wrote and produced for members of the civic community only one has survived, that of Revalian burgher Hans Lyndenbeke dated to the Feast of St Benedict (March 21), 1414, composed entirely in Middle Low German and fully finished with 7 tags for an equal number of seals, but since all the seals are missing and their traces are questionable, it is not entirely certain whether the document was ever corroborated for use. In *AR*, yet another testament from the period of activity of Johannes Blomendal survives with handwriting in some respects similar to his, but essentially by another unknown hand, as it has a different system of punctuation and no hatted diacritics at all. The testament itself, the last will of one *Hemme Vredenbeke*, is written in Middle Low German with a Latin invocation. Dated to the Feast of the Holy Martyrs Gereon and Victor (October 10), 1418, it

¹³⁷ An original draft of *Blomendal* with his revisions and interpolations for an appellation in the proceedings of the Bridgettine convent of Reval against *Tideke van Bodiken* (STA Lü, Appellationen, nr. 535) has survived in TLA, BA 1:Ib, 96 (for edition, see LECUB I:7 286).

¹³⁸ TLA, BA 1:I, 277. For an edition based on BA 1:I, 277 see LECUB I:7 157, where Hermann Hildebrand erroneously states that the dating of the original on the Feast of St Mark 1423 (STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 123a) as suggested in ‘Michelsen, Oberhof zu Lübeck, s. 24’ is a misunderstanding of 1424, July 13th); TLA, BB 40:I, 54 (LECUB I:7 147 and HR I:7 690), see also Hildebrand’s discussion in LECUB I:7 157.

was issued in the town of Weissenstein (Est. *Paide*) some 80 kms south of Reval and corroborated with the seal of the town council.¹³⁹

Strangely, in addition to the letters and documents of Johannes Blomendal issued and sent by the council of Reval in the 1420's, his handwriting also appears in at least two documents issued in the name of town councils in Finland. Of these one is a letter of *tovorsichte* on parchment issued and sealed by the council of Borgå (Fin. Porvoo) on the Feast of St Francis (October 4), 1422, for the relatives of one late *Kerstyne*, sister of *Lasse* the Merchant (*Kerstynen lasse copmans zuster seliger dechtnisse*), who died in Reval (see PICTURE 38:2), and the other a letter of *tovorsichte* on paper issued and sealed by the council of Viborg (Fin. *Viipuri*, today *Viborg* in Russia) on the third day after the Nativity of Mary (September 11), 1424, for one *Kathrine* who, despite a false plea in Reval, had been born in wedlock from married parents and whom her mother had authorised to take control of the inheritance of her (i.e. the mother's) late nephew *Claus Rok*, deceased in Reval (see PICTURE 38:4).¹⁴⁰

Since both the documents are written in Middle Low German in the form of open letters addressing the council of Reval in matters of inheritance of persons of Finnish origin who died in Reval, both of them may have been written and prepared in advance for eventual sealing of the respective councils in Finland as part of the judicial process concerning the two inheritances. In neither of the documents is the place of issue mentioned, but because Blomendal has furnished the letters with full dating and both of them contain detailed information on the names of those who had taken an oath on the relationship of the heirs to the deceased, he must have composed them either from the information sent by the respective councils, or during a visit to the respective towns in April 1422 and September 1424, which is improbable. Because Swedish missives and letters of *tovorsichte* written by castellans and town councils in Finland are known to have been translated into Middle Low German in Reval already in the second quarter of the 15th century, and scribes capable of composing texts for Middle Low German documents were not always available in Finnish town scriptoriums, the most likely reason why the two letters ended up written by the Revalian city scribe is that their contents were based on detailed information from the

¹³⁹ TLA, 1-III B, 7 (Hans Lyndenbeke, LECUB I:5 1965) and nr. 8 (Hemme Vredenbeke).

¹⁴⁰ TLA, BC 5, 1 (cit. in FMU II 1732 and LECUB I:7 41); TLA, BC 37, 7 (cit. in FMU II 1759 and LECUB I:7 188).

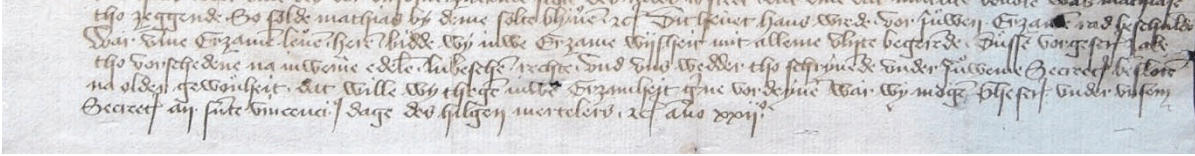
original Swedish letters of *tovorsichte* issued by the two town councils.¹⁴¹ After their arrival in Reval, the text of both the letters was first translated from Swedish to Middle Low German by some person or persons capable of reading Swedish documents and available to the civic administration, after which Blomendal rewrote their contents according to the requirements of the Lübeck Law as Middle Low German letters of *tovorsichte*, which were then sent back to Finland for eventual sealing and return by the two town councils. A highly elaborate way of producing legal documents for the clearing of inheritances of persons of Finnish origin deceased in Reval, the practice of having Swedish letters of *tovorsichte* reissued in Middle Low German for the purposes of legal procedure was abandoned and by the mid-1420's the council had adopted the practice of considering the Middle Low German translation of the Swedish original sufficient for securing the sworn contents of the original in the oral process on clearing inheritances in front of the council. Fundamentally a result of the final transition from Latin to vernaculars in the judicial communication of local agents of territorial jurisdiction in the northern Baltic region in the first quarter of the 15th century, this practice remained valid throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, and Middle Low German translations to original letters of *tovorsichte* in matters of inheritances have survived in *AR* for most of this kind of documents sent from Finland and not issued in Middle Low German or Latin.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ On the availability and need for scribes capable of producing Middle Low German texts and documents in the administration and communication of Finnish towns and castellans see Salminen 1997, 157–161 and Salminen 2003b, 109–110.

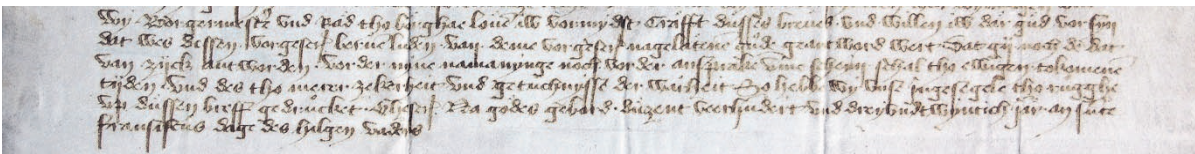
¹⁴² See CHAPTER 2.1.3.1 and Appendix 1 in this study, and Salminen 2012b, 211.

Pictures 38:1–4: Four samples of the hand of Johannes Blomendal in letters of appellation and tovorsichte issued in 1422 and 1424 by the council of Reval and two Finnish towns. Note the characteristic hatted j's and punctuation around Roman numerals.

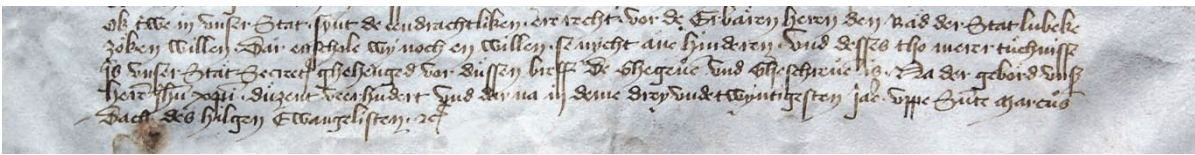
Picture 38:1: A letter of appellation of the council of Reval to the council of Lübeck dated on the Feast of St Vincent the Martyr (August 11), 1422, written by Blomendal.



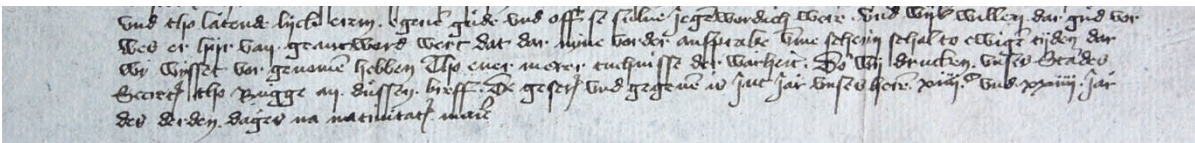
Picture 38:2: A letter of tovorsichte issued and sealed by the council of Borgå addressing the council of Reval on the Feast of St Francis (October 4), 1422, written by Blomendal.



Picture 38:3: A letter of recognition of the council of Reval stating that the written adjudications of the council of Lübeck were given at Lübeck's pleasure only issued on the Feast of St Margaret (July 13), 1424, and written by Blomendal.



Picture 38:4: A letter of tovorsichte issued and sealed by the council of Viborg addressing the council of Reval on the third day after the Nativity of Mary (September 11), 1424, written by Blomendal.



STA Lü, Appellationen, nr. 528; TLA, BC 5, 1 (cit. FMU II 1732 and LECUB I:7 41); STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica, nr. 123b; TLA, BC 37, 7 (cit. FMU II 1759 and LECUB I:7 188).

Considering the surviving registers and memoranda, the typology of the writings of Johannes Blomendal in the written management of information of the council does not differ from that of his long time predecessor Hermannus in 1375–1400/3. Despite his reorganisation of certain spheres of civic and fiscal memoranda of the council in ca. 1406–15, Blomendal kept writing in several established registers introduced by his predecessors, such as the parallel registers of resignations [A.a.6c] and annuities [A.a.3], as well as the two folio-sized

volumes of the copiary of sent missives of the council [A.a.4], and the register of *wedde* with collected rents of market shops [A.a.4a]. An apparent break in the writing of the missive book A.a.4 seems to have taken place in 1387/96–1410 with copies of letters from ca. 1404–10 written in mixed order by Johannes Blomendal and possible other hands in ca. 1410 and after.¹⁴³ In the continuation of the *bursprake* written on a paper quire of six bifolios in narrow format (29,5 x 11,0) by his predecessor *HIII* in ca. 1405, Blomendal not only supplemented the text with interpolations but also introduced a fully updated version of the ordinances, which he then furnished with annotations on articles pertaining to conditions in summer and winter as well as other interpolations in ca. 1414 or later. Instead of one annual reading of the full *bursprake* on the Feast of St Thomas (December 21), as suggested by Wilhelm Ebel in 1971, the Revalian *bursprake* was read twice a year, apparently as early as in the period of office of Johannes Blomendal, and two slightly different versions were used with paragraphs for summer and winter, as appropriate.¹⁴⁴

In addition to the reorganisation of certain registers, there is also evidence that other changes in the use of established volumes of written memoranda took place in the period of office of Johannes Blomendal. One of the most important of these is the final stabilisation of the paper codex of mixed memoranda of the council [A.d.5] into a *denkelbok* of the city with no less than 106 entries on various decisions and attestations of the council written by him.¹⁴⁵ Originally introduced as a register of the warrants of safe conduct by city scribe Albertus at Easter 1373 (see CHAPTER 3.1.2.1), the codex had retained its character as a depository of several kinds of mixed memoranda of the council administration with entries on collected rents, *bursprake*, warrants of safe conduct and occasional copies of missives until 1405. The subsidiary role of the codex as a register of the council's decisions and statements had first been established by city scribe Hermannus in ca. 1380–82, but neither he nor *HIII* had used it for this purpose only in their management of information. After the exclusive employment of the codex as a *denkelbok* of the council by Johannes Blomendal in 1406–26 and occasional entries from the periods of Wenemar Scheter/N.N. (1426–29) and Joachim Muter from

¹⁴³ TLA, A.a.4, f. 22v–35v, see CHAPTER 5.1.4.2, footnote 74.

¹⁴⁴ TLA, B.s.1, f. 1r–8r (*HIII*, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, Anhang 1:D), 9r–14v (*HIII* and *Blomendal* Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, Anhang 1:F) and 15r–21v (*Blomendal*, Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, Anhang 1:E). For the date in or after 1414, see f. 20v (Anhang E §103) where the entire text is written by *Blomendal* with two different solutions of ink (not two different hands, as suggested by Johansen & von zur Mühlen 1973, 445 § 103; Ebel 1971, 311. See also Kala, Tiina, Lübecki õigus ja Tallinna keskaegne õiguspraktika. In: Kõiv, Lea (ed.), *Ex archivio civitatis, Tallinna Linnaarhiivi ajaloost*. Tallinna Linnaarhiivi toimetised, 12. Tallinn 2008 (here cited as Kala 2008b), 27.

¹⁴⁵ TLA, A.d.5, f. 40r–42v (from 1410–24), 58v and 63v (undated), 80v–90v (from 1406–25), 108r–110r (from 1406–16) and 127v (undated).

1429–55, the codex was finally abandoned and no signs of entries by city scribe Reinhold Storning (1456–63) are found in it.¹⁴⁶ Like Hermannus and *HII*, Johannes Blomendal also wrote up the corroborated ordinances of the crafts of the city such as the butchers and stonemasons, where his handwriting follows those of his predecessors Hermannus and *HII*.¹⁴⁷ As discussed in CHAPTER 5.2.1.2, a brother of the Table Guild since 1412, he wrote the earliest surviving version of the register of the members of the fraternity extending back to 1364 and covering his period of activity in the Guild until 1424.¹⁴⁸

An interesting feature in the written management of information of Johannes Blomendal is his use of paper sheets and bifolios in octavo (ca. 14–15 x 21–23) for minor texts and occasional copies of documents that are today scattered throughout various files of *AR*. Often consisting of provisional notes and relations on hearings of civic, territorial or ecclesiastic power, the sheets may give a rare glimpse of how Blomendal actually organised the production and filing of various kind of explanatory and provisional material in his everyday management of information.¹⁴⁹ Another important feature is his use of sheets and bifolios in narrow format (ca. 30 x 11) for various kinds of summaries of fiscal activity of the council and the councillors, such as instructions, relations and accounts of the envoys of the city on meetings in Novgorod or Livonia, lists of horse owners in the city from ca. 1409–11 (see CHAPTER 3.1.1.1), costs of beer intended as gifts to various agents of territorial power, and the costs of various diplomatic missions and messengers in 1420 and later, and possibly even promemorias from or for sessions of the council, such as the one in narrow format (30,2 x

¹⁴⁶ TLA, A.d.5, f. 1r, 149v–152v (*Muter*).

¹⁴⁷ TLA, fond 190, KGA II 118, f. 8v and KGA II 650, f. 5r–v.

¹⁴⁸ TLA, fond 191, nim. 2, säilik. 1 (SGA 12), f. 1r–9r, see Derrick 2000, 328–329.

¹⁴⁹ See for instance TLA, BA 1:Ib, 63 (half of octavo), 78, 80, 91 (LECUB I:7 237), 101 (LECUB I:7 332), 103–4, 108 (LECUB I:5 2443), 109 (LECUB I:8 686), 110–2 all of which display notes and memoranda on issues presented in front of the council or its envoys dating between April 4, 1418, and February 6, 1426. For various kinds of fiscal and other memoranda on single sheets in octavo see, for instance, TLA, B.b.I:1, f. 5r–8v (fiscal information on the Hanseatic *Kontor* in Novgorod 1407–8 and Poundage 1408 as well as pen trials ‘Homo quidam’ and copy of a missive sent as an answer to the missive of the Livonian master 13.3.1412 (TLA, BB 24:I, 17, HUB V 1040, LECUB I:4 1552), 19.3.1413 concerning Russian damage to merchants), TLA, B.k.4, f. 4r–5v (LECUB I:4 1946, promemoria of issues to be brought forward in a meeting with the Livonian Master, especially on the Bridgettine convent near Reval), TLA, BL 2:I, 1 (an account of costs of goods sent to Hanseatic envoys in Novgorod in 1425), TLA, BA I:1b, f. 109v (LECUB I:8 686, regulations and orders given by the council to the city community considering the possibility of a hostile invasion from the sea to be done before Pentecost ca. 1420), TLA, B.h.25, 11 (an undated specification of the owners of certain merchant signs), and TLA, BB 48:IIid, 22 (LECUB I:5 2266, HUB VI 234, a copy of Klaus Dock’s letter of feud to the council of Reval received on Tuesday before St Lawrence, August 1, 1418, but possibly from 1419).

10,7 cm) today stationed among the material of Vão village, including at least 5 different issues discussed by the council.¹⁵⁰

In Blomendal's organisation of provisional management of information, the form of the memoranda in octavo and narrow format may have been used as a typological device to distinguish between administrative and fiscal spheres of written information; a convention apparent in the Revalian management of information already in the late 14th century when quires and volumes in narrow format first emerge in registers and lists of fiscal context such as the Poundage [since ca. 1362–75, A.d.6], *schooss* [since 1369, A.d.12] and the costs of the city smithy [A.d.11 in Blomendal's hand from between 1406–26]. However, since quires and bifolios in narrow format were also employed for writings of a more civic nature such as lists of warrants of safe conduct in 1365–72, the two successive versions of *bursprake* in ca. 1405–14, the register of the guardians of the towers of the town wall from ca. 1413 to 1426, promemorias on issues presented by the city community to the council or undated promemoria for the councils discussions, and Blomendal himself listed matters of a fiscal nature on an octavo quire of two bifolios in 1407–8, no straightforward conclusions should be made on the role of the physical form of the memoranda as a basis for the typological organisation of texts in the written management of information.¹⁵¹ Instead, the surviving memoranda in narrow or octavo format may hint at a more pragmatic use of this kind of material in preference to the increasingly stout and immovable folio and quarto codices of council administration. Easy to carry from one place to another, quires and sheets of paper in narrow format and in octavo may have been preferred for recording and presenting various

¹⁵⁰ See, for instance, TLA, B.h.1:I (LECUB I:4 1929, Novgorod), TLA, BK 1, f. 33r–34r (horses), TLA, B.a.6:IV, 2r (beer), TLA, BE 1:I, 1–2 (missions and messengers), TLA, B.h.17:I, 19–20, information of gold and silver as well as other costs concerning the diplomatic activity of councillor Arndt Stoppesack, TLA, B.c.3, 1–2 (council's session), Blomendal also wrote additional fiscal entries concerning the finances of the village of Vão (Fechte) on a bifolio of narrow format in quarto on paper, consisting of the accounts of the village and its mill and otherwise written by an unknown hand some time between 1406–26 (TLA, B.c.3, 4). Narrow bifolios in quarto were also employed for various kinds of promemoria and summaries on costs by other hands in the contemporary civic administration, as in TLA, BL 1:I, 4–5 (cit. in ALS 327) and BL 1:I, 6 (cit. in ALS 326) both of which are written by a hand which is not that of Blomendal, and is most likely that of the councillor Johan Palmedach. They cover the costs of his delegations to Novgorod and the Livonian Diets in 1423 on Hanseatic matters (on Palmedach see Derrik 2000, 146–149). A similar summary of costs but on a quarto sheet on paper (21,0 x 30,4 cm) has survived in TLA, BL 2:1, 2 (cit. in ALS 425) on the delegation of the city of Reval to the Livonian Diet in Pernau (Est. Pärnu) by the councillors Gherd Ghymmerd and Gerlach Witte in the spring of 1436, signed and most likely written by Gerd Witte (III, see CHAPTER 3.1.3.2). Interestingly, in the summary of Johan Palmedach, the scribe of the delegation to Novgorod in 1422, the (Dorpat) councillor *Hermen Butenschone* is cited, and Palmedach paid him one golden crown for his trouble, TLA, BL 1:I, f. 5v 'vnd j guldene krone dede ik her hermen butenschonen de wqaart deme schriuer to nouwerden'.

¹⁵¹ TLA, A.d.4, f. 5r–11v, TLA, B.s.1, f. 1r–21v, TLA, B.e.1, 1r–2r, TLA, B.k.2:I, 1, TLA, B.c.3, 1–2; TLA, B.b.1:I, f. 4r–8r with costs of messengers and other fiscal involvement with German merchants in Novgorod in 1407–8, and f. 8v with imbursements of Poundage in 1408.

kinds of information outside the City Scriptorium and the *kämmerers'* office; a practice first documented in Reval with the introduction of narrow quires of *schoss* and Poundage in the 1360's. In the material surviving in *AR* there are also other fragments of economic and judicial memoranda, such as three loose sheets in quarto written in two columns by Blomendal some time during his activity in 1406–26 and during the headmanship of Kristern Nilsson in the castle of Wiborg (since 1417), and by his successor Joachim Muter in 1442–43, possibly earlier in the 1430's, containing information on salt and other exports of the burghers, their disputes with the city and the personal fiscal debits of certain councillors to the city during or after their councillorship.¹⁵²

5.2.1.4. *Aspects of the use of Latin*

One of the peculiarities of the textual activities of Johannes Blomendal in 1406–26 is that almost all his writings today surviving in *AR* are written in Middle Low German with only occasional lines of salutations, datings or other minor formulas in Latin, mostly belonging to the early phase of his activity in 1406–10. Except for occasional copies of older documents such as the Latin copies and Middle Low German translations of two Danish royal charters of 1265 and 1282, no contemporary documents, missives or memoranda of his in Latin appear to have survived, and his period of office marks a clear break from the habit of Hermannus and *HII* of producing texts in both Latin and Middle Low German. A similar preference for the vernacular is also apparent in Blomendal's writing of the appellations of the council of Reval to Lübeck, where all his surviving texts from 1412 and 1421–26 are written in Middle Low German with no Latin salutations, addresses or dating at all. In the sole surviving testament of his production, no Latin invocation or other sections of the formula are presented.¹⁵³

Blomendal's knowledge of Latin is attested not only by his copies of Latin documents but also some of his pen trials, such as those written on the accounts of the city smithy sometime during his office in 1406–26 and consisting of German sentences '*Item zo beholt he sinen*' and '*Jtem leue sund[erghe]*', but also the verse '*homo quidam fecit cenam magnam*' (Luke 14:16) in Latin. The *lectio* of the Gospel on the second Sunday after Trinity was a popular

¹⁵² TLA, BA 1:Ih, 498–500.

¹⁵³ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 8 (LECUB I:1 388) and TLA, Urk. 1-I, 29 (LECUB I:1 478). In the folio sized missive book of A.a.4, *Blomendal's* copies of sent letters (25v–44v with possible other hands) are all in Middle Low German, but occasionally in the years 1406–12 furnished with short Latin titles such as f. 25r '*Missus Righenis er darppitensis*' (March 17, ca. 1407, HUB V 764), 27r '*Versus darpte et nougarden*' (November 17, ca. 1406, HUB V 747) with very basic Latin consisting of the words '*missus*' or '*versus*' and the name of the receiver in genitive. On the appellations, see CHAPTER 5.2.1.3, footnotes 133–134.

motive for Dominican sermons in the Middle Ages, employed not only by Thomas Aquinas but also Dominican mystics such as Meister Eckhard and Johann Tauler. The words '*homo quidam*' are also found in at least three other pen trials of Blomendal from the early years of his activity in 1406–8, but because the verse was later applied for similar purposes by city scribe Joachim Muter (active in 1429–56), it cannot be concluded that Blomendal himself had any particular leanings towards the Dominicans.¹⁵⁴ The fact remains that even if Blomendal was able to read and write Latin, he rarely composed longer texts in it and his period of office marks the final and full transition to the use of Middle Low German in almost all the textual artifacts produced in the written management of information and communication in the council administration.

Together with the domination of Middle Low German in his writings, another distinctive feature in the activity of Johannes Blomendal is that even though no other hands appear in the two most important registers of the city between 1406 and late April 1426, a variety of entries in other volumes of city memoranda and drafts and copies for documents issued or received by the council written by other hands and datable to the same period survive.¹⁵⁵ Since identification of these hands is virtually impossible and the general face of the handwriting examples vary from sophisticated and professional to the possible work of councillors involved in the council administration, the variety of hands present in the written management of information again tells us more about the number of people available and capable of writing and the wide range of the textual activities of the administration than about the overall organisation of the written management of information or that of the Revalian City Scriptorium. As evident from the surviving registers and memoranda of the council, almost all the textual products of the written management of information in the council administration of 1406–26 were produced, organised, controlled and archived by Johannes Blomendal himself, whereas occasional auxiliary hands only appear either in individual drafts and copies for documents in the correspondence of the council or in certain volumes of memoranda in the custody of the councillors responsible for that particular sphere of administration. Even here the period of activity of Blomendal provides evidence of the growing and increasingly exclusive role of the city scribe in the production of final

¹⁵⁴ TLA, A.d.11, f. 1r, 3r; Blamires, David, Eckhart and Tauler: A Comparison of Their Sermons on 'Homo quidam fecit cenam magnam' (Luke XIV.16). In: *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 66 (1971), 608–627; Bataillon, Louis-Jacques, Le sermon inédit de saint Thomas, Homo quidam fecit cenam magnam: Introduction et édition. In: *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 67 (1983), 353–368; TLA, B.b.1:I, f. 8r, TLA, BA 1:Ib, 63, TLA. A.a.4a, f. 11r, 117v.

¹⁵⁵ See, for instance, footnotes 150 and 153 above.

registers and accounts previously in the custody of the councillors, as witnessed in certain volumes of fiscal memoranda and new registers introduced by him (see CHAPTERS 3.2.1–5).

5.2.2. Wenemar Scheter (N.N.) 1426–29

5.2.2.1. *Period of activity*

From the period of activity of Johannes Blomendal between the Epiphany of 1406 and the first days of May 1426 no other hands can be identified in the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3, PergRB] or the paper codex of resignations [A.a.6c, EBIII]. Instead, all the entries in the two most important registers of the city were written by Blomendal himself, which again emphasises his exclusive role as the person in charge of written management of information in the civic administration of the council and the city. Since an unknown number of last pages of the second quire of A.a.6c are missing, no information on the scribe responsible for entries between resignations issued on the Thursday before Oculi (March 8), 1425, and the Monday after St James (July 28), 1427, can be acquired from the codex. Curiously, the hand in charge of the writing in late July 1427 has also written an interpolation to Blomendal's last entry of the Thursday before Oculi (March 8), 1425, on a transaction issued on the Friday before St Mark (April 19), 1426, but the exact date of the interpolation is not known.¹⁵⁶ A more comprehensive picture of the beginning of the activity of this new hand can be acquired from the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3], where his first two entries are written on a recognition issued on the Eve of St Vitus (June 14), 1426. Together with the last signs of the activity of Johannes Blomendal on May 2, 1426, the two most important registers of the city thus place the beginning of the activity of the new scribe sometime between April 19 and June 14, 1426.¹⁵⁷ In both the codices his hand then appears constantly until his last entry on the Feast of St John Before the Latin Gate (May 6), 1429 [A.a.3], and on the Friday after Ascension (May 6), 1429 [A.a.6c].¹⁵⁸

In TLA, in the reorganisation of the various drafts and memoranda of the city scribes in the archival file of BA 1 by Arnold Kotkas in 1940, the hand responsible for writing and

¹⁵⁶ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 206 (EBIII 937) and p. 206b-c; six entries on recognitions issued on the Friday after St Margaret (July 18), the Monday after St James (July 28), the Monday after St Lawrence (August 11), the Friday after Vistation (Nativity?) of Mary (July 4, September 11?), and All Saints Eve (October 31), all in 1427, are omitted from EBIII and not published in edition.

¹⁵⁷ TLA, A.a.3, f. 67r (PergRB 707–8); An interpolation by the scribe active since June 1426 (N.N.) also occurs among the entries of 1424 on a resignation issued in front of the council on Monday after the Decollation of St John the Baptist (August 30), 1428, A.a.3, f. 66r (PergRB 695).

¹⁵⁸ TLA, A.a.3, f. 67r–71v (PergRB, 707–765, 767) with a later interpolation by Joachim Muter on a recognition issued on the Friday after Pentecost (June 6), 1432, and TLA, A.a.6c, p. 206b-c (not in EBIII) and 207–217 (EBIII 938–979).

management of information in the various registers and books of memoranda of the city from April/June 1426 was named N.N. (see CHAPTER 1.2.5.1), when a file of 22 sheets of drafts, copies and other loose material of his was arranged into a separate entity of its own. As in the case of other known city scribes and their files since Hermannus, much of the material of the file of N.N. consists of discarded originals and copies of letters with more or less obscure original provenience in the medieval holdings of *AR*. Not all the texts harboured in the file are written by the suggested hand, and other texts of his have been placed in other archival entities of *AR*.¹⁵⁹ Of all the 22 texts of N.N.'s file in *AR* only 17 are written by him, and they deal with documents and letters issued between June 12, 1426 and September 26, 1428. In *LECUB* one of the texts is dated to the time after December 16, 1429, but Hermann Hildebrand's dating of the letter is based on a watermark similar to that on other documents in *AR* from 1429, and the text may just as easily be from December 1428 or early 1429. Of the other five texts in the file one is from May 1426 and written by a hand other than N.N., but four others are of much later provenience and written by hands of the latter half of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th.¹⁶⁰

Further evidence for the early activity of N.N. in the written management of information of the council is found in other contemporary registers and memoranda, where the first datable signs of his engagement with the register of sworn burghers [A.a.5], and the paper codex of mixed memoranda [A.d.5] date between the Friday after Corpus Christi (May 31) and the Friday after St John in Midsummer (June 28), 1426.¹⁶¹ A more precise dating for his period of activity and identity is found in the paper register of Poundage from ca. 1425 to 1448 [A.g.1], where his handwriting covers 33 folios and emerges first with an entry in mixed Latin and Middle Low German citing '*Item in the same year xxvj (1426) Wednesday before the Holiday of Pentecost (May 15) was this book given to the care of me Wenemar Scheter*'. The handwriting of N.N. then remains consistently and without any substituting hands until another similar entry with the handwriting of city scribe Joachim Muter (active in 1429–1456) in Latin '*Item in the same year twenty nine (1429) next day after Corporis Christi (May 27) was I Joachim Muter presented to continue the present book*'. A further

¹⁵⁹ TLA, BA 1:Ic, 280–302, where Kotkas has dated the original brown cardboard covers of the file to July 12, 1940.

¹⁶⁰ N.N.: TLA, BA 1:Ic, 280–296, 298 of which 296 (*LECUB* I:8 137) is dated after December 16, 1429; On hands in TLA, BA 1:Ic, 297 (draft) and 298 (unsent finished original) and their dating to May 16–31, 1426, see later in this chapter. The four other texts at the end of the file (TLA, BA 1:Ic, 299–302) date to 1459 and after, and are not written by Wenemar Scheter/N.N.

¹⁶¹ TLA, A.a.5, f. 7a, TLA, A.d.5, f. 83v. The entry of the Friday after St John in Midsummer, June 28, 1426, is preceded by an entry of *Johannes Blomendal* on a matter issued on the Feast of St Gregorius (March 12), 1426.

interpolation of Joachim Muter above this entry and at the end of the cleared goods of the last ship registered by N.N. states *‘The sum of arrivals in the time of Wenemar c and lxx (165) ships’*.¹⁶²

Because the handwriting of N.N. covers all the entries of the registers of the Poundage between May 15, 1426, and May 27, 1429, the person responsible for the writing must have been the same Wenemar Scheter who was entrusted with the management of A.g.1 in May 1426, before the new city scribe Joachim Muter took control of the book three years later. Since the earliest surviving folios of the volume are written by Johannes Blomendal, the entire register appears to have been managed by city scribes, among whom Wenemar Scheter/N.N. was responsible for the written management of information from around April-May 1426 to late May 1429. This period of activity is further supported by other known registers and memoranda of the city today surviving in the medieval holdings of *AR* in TLA. Another documentation on his status as a city scribe and the head of the management of written information of the council is provided in a draft of a transsumpt of a bull of Pope Martin V to the bishop of Dorpat in the context of the contemporary dispute between the council and the Church of Reval, written by Joachim Muter and dated to the second day of April 1429 in the church of the Holy Ghost in Reval, where *‘Wenemar Schetter prothonotaris’* is cited as one of the two witnesses of the document. As pointed out later, one of the first, if not actually the first surviving, text written by Wenemar Scheter/N.N. in *AR* is a Middle Low German translation of the council’s and the burgher community’s procuration to *Peter van Ortenborch* and Dominican friar *Johannes Langhe* of the Dominican in the cause of the city against the Church of Reval in the context of the same dispute and issued on April 23, 1426.¹⁶³

Of the other documents related to the early activity of Wenemar Scheter/N.N. in the City Scriptorium, a copy of a confirmation and a Middle Low German translation issued by the council of Reval on Pentecost Eve (May 18), 1426, on the privileges of the merchants of Narva by King Valdemar of Denmark on July 25, 1345, and the Middle Low German privileges of the burghers and merchant community of Narva issued by the Livonian Master

¹⁶² TLA, A.g.1, f. 14r *‘Item eodem anno xxvj^o des mitwekens vor der hylger hoenetijt pynxten doe wart my wenemar scheter dyt boek geantwordet’*, f. 47r *‘Item eodem anno vicesimo nono proxima die sequenti post Corporis Christi fuit michi Joachim Muter presentatus continuando presens liber’* and *‘Summa by Wenemars tiden gekomen sin c unde lxx schepe’*. For edition see Schiffslisten 1425–96, 21 and 102.

¹⁶³ TLA, BA 1:1c, 149r *‘putantibus discretis viris Wenemaro Schetter prothonotaris et Woltero Holbach ciui Reualiensis ciuitatis testis’*. The text of the bull issued on August 29, 1428, has been published in LECUB I:7 738 without *Muter’s* instrument. TLA, BB 48:V, 4 (LECUB VII 455)

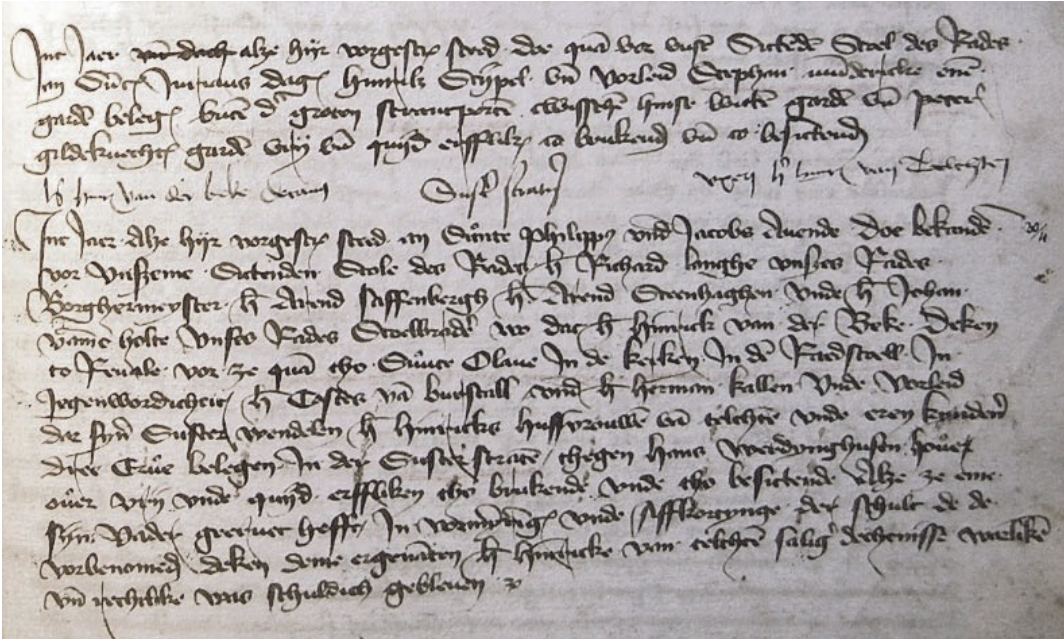
Wilhelm von Vrymersheim on October 31, 1374, written into a paper bifolio in quarto, are by a hand close to that of Wenemar Scheter. The same hand surfaces again in a draft of a letter or oral address of the burgher community of Reval to the envoys of the bishop of Dorpat from between May 16 and May 31, 1426, with clearly identifiable interpolation at the end of the text by the hand of Wenemar Scheter/ N.N., who may also have written the finished version of the same text.¹⁶⁴ Further surviving samples of Wenemar Scheter's handwriting from this period include a copy of a letter of the Komptur of Reval to Kristern Nilsson, Headman of Viborg from ca. June 1, 1426, a finished and folded but unsealed and unsent missive of the council to the Livonian Master on the day after St Barnabas (June 12), 1426, and a folded copy of a letter of *Herman Butenschoene* (of the council of Dorpat) and *Henrick Schelewent* (of Reval), envoys of the Livonian cities in the Hansetag in Lübeck on June 24, 1426, to the council of Reval, dated on the second Tuesday before St John (the Baptist? June 11, 1426?) on their way to pray at the Holy Blood (of Wilsnack, '*alz wij tom hilgen blode voren to gebeidende*'). An appellation of the council of Reval to the council of Lübeck in the matter of *Kersten Glodervelt* against *Cord Hulscher* issued on May 24, 1426, has been lost since the compilation of LECUB I:7 in 1881, and the scribe responsible for the appellation is unknown.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 580 (LECUB I:2, 834, I:3 1097), TLA, BA 1:1c, 297, draft, and 298, finished version (LECUB I:5 2661).

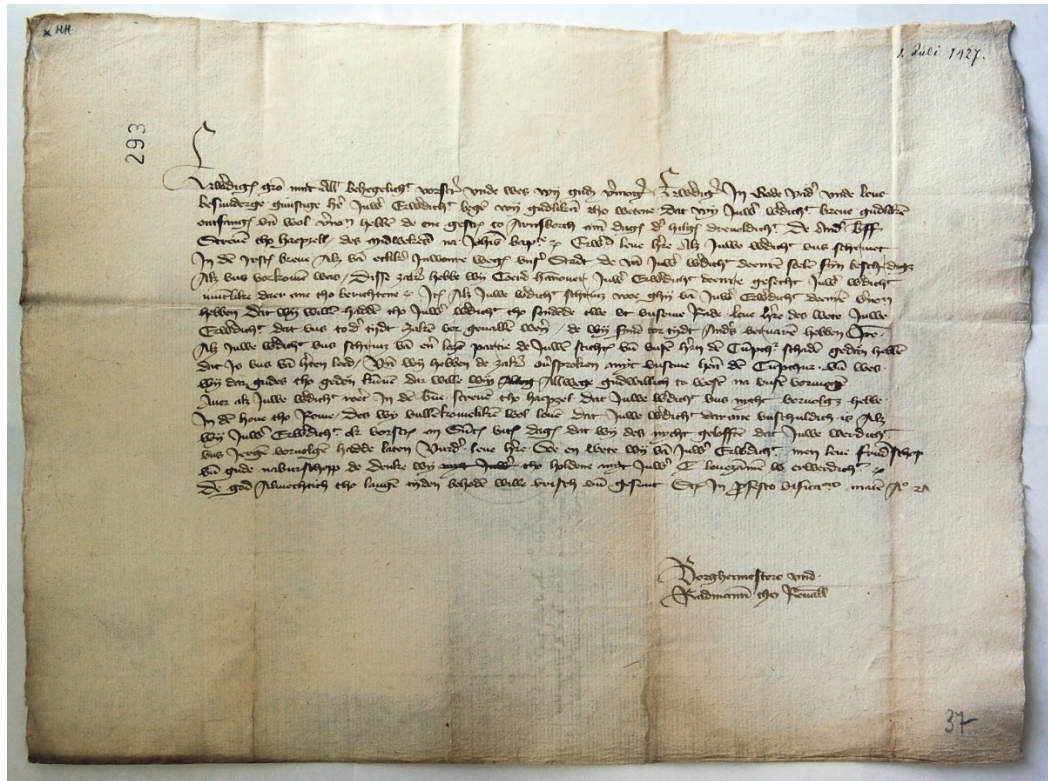
¹⁶⁵ TLA, BB 48:IV, 6. TLA, BB 15:II, 10 (LECUB I:7 471, FMU II 1809), TLA, BA 1:1c, 280 (LECUB I:7 478), Herman Butenschone of Dorpat and Henrik Schelewent of Reval appeared together with Johan Dalhusen of Riga as envoys of the Livonian cities in the Hansetag in Lübeck on June 24, 1426, see LECUB I:7 489 and HR I:8 59, LECUB I:7 464.

Pictures 39:1–2: Two samples of the handwriting of N.N. (Wenemar Scheter) active from May 1426 to May 1429. Note the characteristic right leaning of the text, the plain but elegant fine hair decorations and the articulated curve of word beginning 'J' with a slinglike introduction.

Picture 39:1: Two entries in the paper book of resignations on transactions issued on the Feast of St George (April 23) and the Eve of St Philip and Jacob (April 30), 1428. Note the two variations of capital 'J' at the beginning of the entries and the fine hair strokes on 'r'. The title 'suster straten' and other labels between the two entries are later interpolations by city scribe Joachim Muter (1429–56).



Picture 39:2: A finished and folded but unsealed original of the council's letter to the bishop of Ösel-Wiek dated with the use of the indoarabic numeral '27' and issued 'in profesto visitacionis Marie Anno 27' (June 1, 1427). Note the rhythmic stress on the curving 'J' and the elongations of 'E' in the first row of writing.



TLA, A.a.6c, p. 209 (EBIII 948–949) and BA 1:1c, 293r.

5.2.2.2. Aspects in the management of information

Before turning to the origin and identity of Wenemar Scheter, certain points on the date of his introduction to the office of the city scribe must be discussed. In the register of Poundage [A.g.1] the hand of Wenemar Scheter/N.N. is preceded by another hand with a set of entries dealing with the cleared cargoes of two ships and written in direct continuation to the entries of Johannes Blomendal on the same arrivals.¹⁶⁶ The hand here cited as *BI* presents a determined, but not highly calligraphic writer who favoured angular and diagonal forms instead of fine hair decorations, and is easily recognisable because of his marked use of 's' composed of two strokes at a right angle to each other, long diagonal downstrokes of 'h', 'n' and 'y', and angled loops in b', 'h', 'k', 'l', 'v' and 'w'. Since the same hand of *BI* has not only written the accounts of the wardens of the altars of the confraternity of the Black Heads in the church of the Dominican convent in their entirety in 1418–33, and an undated

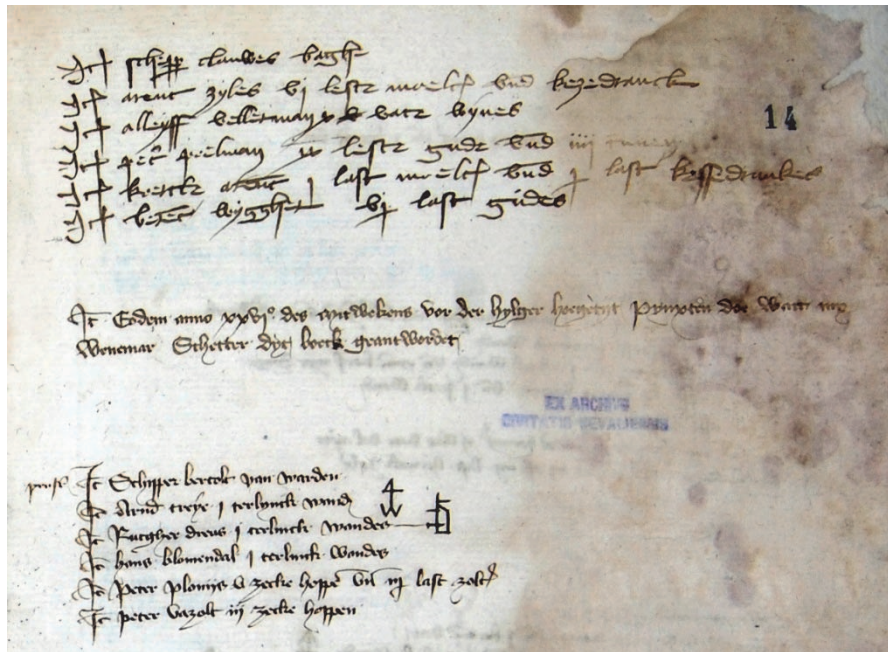
¹⁶⁶ TLA, A.g.1, f. 13v–14r. Five further entries written by *BI* are later interpolations above Blomendal's entry on the cargo of two ships cleared close to the end of sailing season 1425, A.g.1, f. 10r.

memorandum on a brawl in the (Great?) Guild dating from somewhere between ca. 1420–25, he appears to have been either a councillor engaged in the civic administration or a burgher and former journeyman active in the burgher community.¹⁶⁷ Because the period of activity of *BI* in the accounts of the altar wardens of the Black Heads in 1418–33 corresponds to the period of activity of the merchant Hans Blomendal as one of the wardens of the altars in 1418–33, the conclusion must be drawn that *BI* was in fact Hans Blomendal, uncle of the city scribe Johannes Blomendal, with known import to Reval as late as in 1435, but who is then mentioned as having died some time before 1442 (see above CHAPTER 5.2.1.2). Not active in any other city books of memoranda, the merchant Hans Blomendal had access to the writing of the register of the Poundage in the City Scriptorium or somewhere else some time in late April or early May 1426, in the transitional period between his nephew Johannes and the new city scribe Wenemar Scheter. Because Johannes the city scribe was briefly assisted by his uncle, Hans Blomendal may have been asked to be the substitute by Johannes himself, who had fallen ill and was in need of a person of trust to take care of some of his duties, the most pressing in May 1426 being the recording of the Poundage at the beginning of the new sailing season. When Johannes then died, the personal substitution was resolved and the council quickly employed a new city scribe to take care of the office.

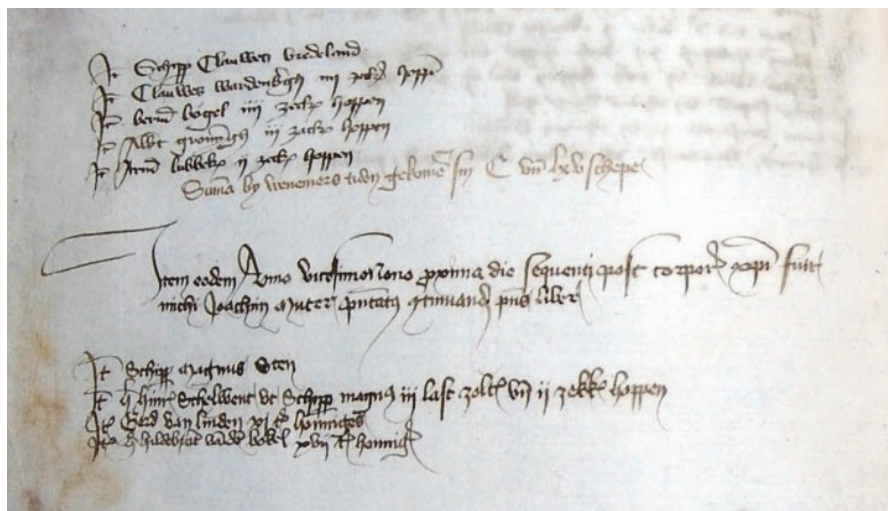
¹⁶⁷TLA, BA 1:I, 274 (LECUB I:5 2449), Stadarchiv Hamburg (here cited as STA Ham), Bestand 612-2/6, Bruderschaft der Schwartzenhäupter aus Reval 1403 (1418–1517), E 1, f. 1v–3v (p. 2–4): years (1403), 1419, 1418, f. 4r–18r (7–33); 1418–33, f. 19v:1 (38); 1433, f. 20r (39); 1433, f. 93v (188); 1428, 1429, 1430, and TLA, BA 1:I, 279 (LECUB I:9 583). A hand or hands close to that of *BI* is also active in the surviving accounts of the mint in 1424–32, TLA, A.d.17, f. 3v–15r, 16r–17r, and a hand similar to these appears also to have written a Middle Low German translation of a letter of *tovorsichte* issued by Kristern Nilsson, headman of Viborg in Borgå some time during his headmanship in 1418–42, TLA, BC 40, 1 (see Appetidix 1:2); however, despite certain similarities in ductus, the hands active in the accounts of the mint must be considered different from *BI*.

Pictures 40:1–2: *The transition of hands in the register of Poundage (A.g.1) after Johannes Blomendal in the spring of 1426 and between Wenemar Scheter/N.N. and Joachim Muter in May 1429.*

Picture 40:1: *The handwriting of BI (the merchant Hans Blomendal, uncle of the city scribe Johannes Blomendal) followed by the introduction of Wenemar Scheter as the person responsible for the book on the Wednesday before the Holiday of Pentecost (May 15), 1429, and the first entries of Wenemar Scheter/N.N. The entry on Wenemar Scheter is written by himself, but with a more textualis-like face of letters than his usual ductus of gothic cursive.*



Picture 40:2: *The last entries of N.N. and the introduction of Joachim Muter as the person responsible for the book on the next day after Corporis Christi (May 27), 1429. Note the summary of ships cleared in the time of Wenemar Scheter in Muter's hand under the last entry of Wenemar Scheter/N.N., and before the introduction of Muter written by himself.*



TLA, A.g.1, f. 14r and 46v, Schiffslisten 1425–96, p. 21 and 102.

In the material still surviving in *AR*, another hand very close to that of Wenemar Scheter/N.N. with a similar form of ‘s’ and a marked right leaning of ductus, but a more articulated use of upper index of the text, is found in what appears to be a later copy of the council’s letter to that of Dorpat issued on the Thursday before the Nativity of St John the Baptist (June 22), 1419, as well as in a draft of the burgher community’s missive or oral address to the envoys of the bishop of Dorpat dating from between May 16 and May 31, 1426, and related to the controversy of the council and the Dominicans with the Church of Reval. A further text possibly in the same hand is the copy of a confirmation of the 1343 privileges of the merchants of Narva issued by the council of Reval on Pentecost Eve (May 18), 1426, and accompanied with a copy of the privileges of the Narva burgher community from 1373 (see CHAPTER 5.2.2.1). The same hand may also have written the copy of what appears to be a missive of the council of Reval to their colleagues in Dorpat on the visit of a Novgorodian messenger to Reval on the Easter Eve of an unknown year concerning goods and men seized in the preceding summer and allegedly taken to Wismar. Without any date or year, the missive has been dated to 1421, but it may have been copied in 1426 when the council of Dorpat was entangled in a diplomatic exchange concerning several recent and earlier problems in Novgorod trade, including goods seized on the River Neva and taken to Wismar.¹⁶⁸

The central role of the city scribe as the head of the management of information in the council administration at the time of the activity of Wenemar Scheter from April-May 1426 to late May 1429, is attested through his wide range of activity in the most important contemporary registers and memoranda of the council. Like Johannes Blomendal, his hand is apparent not only in the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3, PergRB], the paper book of resignations [A.a.6c, EBIII] and the paper codex of mixed memoranda [A.d.5], but also in various volumes of fiscal and other memoranda of the council such as *wedde* [A.d.4a], Poundage [A.g.1], the register of sworn burghers [A.a.5], safe conduct [A.a.17a, f. 2r], and the parchment codex of rents [A.a.7] first introduced to writing in the closing years of the activity of city scribe Hermannus and then managed by *HII* and Johannes Blomendal. During his period of office Scheter also wrote the finished accounts of *kämmerers*, for which a paper

¹⁶⁸ TLA, BA 1:I, 272 (LECUB I:5 2325), TLA BA 1:Ic, 297 (LECUB I:5 2661) with a short interpolation by Wenemar Scheter/N.N. at the end, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 580 (LECUB I:2, 834, I:3 1097); TLA, BA 1:I, 273, see LECUB I:7 2374 (HR I:7 303) and LECUB I:7 419 and 421 (HR I:8 7, TLA BD 1:II, 1); Other surviving documents from the the period include an obligation of a debt by *Johannes Molner*, ‘lerer in arsteyde’ to Komptur of Reval issued on the Feast of St Peter and Paul (June 29), 1426, on parchment. The assignment is not written by any of the hands active in the written management of information of the council in April-June 1426, but probably by Molner himself BB 74:IV, 2 (LECUB I:7 493).

volume in quarto was available in either the City Scriptorium or the *kämmerers'* office [B.a.2, f. 25–26, see CHAPTER 3.2.1.2], and took care of the management of written communication of the council by producing a variety of missives, attestations, appellations and other documents issued in the name of the council and the civic community.¹⁶⁹ Even if most of these texts have survived as drafts, copies or discarded originals compiled into his archival file in TLA, he appears also to have sustained the habit of writing copies of documents in the folio sized missive buch [A.a.4] introduced by city scribe Hermannus in 1384 (see CHAPTER 4.3.1.3). However, since several pages of the seventh and last surviving quire of the codex are missing, and the five copies written by Scheter on letters issued on Thursday before Palm Sunday (April 10) and some time before May 7, 1427, are placed on the sole remaining leaf of the quire, we do not know to what extent he actually continued using the copyary or whether he for some reason or another decided to leave it aside in his written management of the information of sent missives already in the spring of 1427. Instead, the variety of surviving drafts and copies of the council's missives on loose sheets of paper written by Scheter and Joachim Muter in 1426–32 appear to reflect a situation in which a special copyary for sent missives was for some reason suspended until a possible introduction of a new missive book by Joachim Muter in 1432 (see later CHAPTER 5.2.4.3 and FIGURE 7).¹⁷⁰ The sole surviving appellation of the council of Reval to that of Lübeck from the period of activity of Scheter is written on the matter of one '*Mester*' *Reynold Sander* against his brother *Bertold Sander*, and issued on the Monday after Reminiscere (February 21), 1429.¹⁷¹ Liketo his predecessor but in a far more occasional role, Scheter was also engaged in writing the register of the members of the Great Guild, where his hand surfaces with a listing of nine names in 1427.¹⁷²

The general face of the gothic cursive as written by Wenemar Scheter is occasionally very close to that of his successor Joachim Muter. Both bear the mark of a distinguished man of quills with apparent university schooling and well accustomed to notary-like writing. As in

¹⁶⁹ For A.a.3 and A.a.6c see footnotes 156–158 above. In A.d.5 scattered entries by Wenemar Scheter/N.N., are written on matters issued in front of the council on the Friday after St John in Midsummer (June 28), 1426, the Feast of St Lucy (December 13), 1426, the Friday before Palm Sunday (March 22), 1427 and the Eve of St Nicholas (December 12), 1427, TLA, A.d.5, f. 83v, 166v, 91r and 162v; TLA, A.a.4a, f. 31r–34v, 104v; TLA, A.g.1, 14r–47r see also footnote 162 above; TLA, A.a.5, f. 7r–v (BB 1409–1624, 7a–b); TLA, A.a.17a, f. 2r where *Scheter's* hand occurs on a list of warrants of safe conduct from 1429, and is followed by *Joachim Muter* (Gbuch 1365–1458, 1044–1057); TLA, A.a.7, 8v, 9r, 11v, 24r; TLA, B.a.2, f. 25r–v.

¹⁷⁰ TLA, A.a.4, f. 60r–v; TLA, BA 1:lc, 280–298 and TLA, BA 1:ld, 150–232.

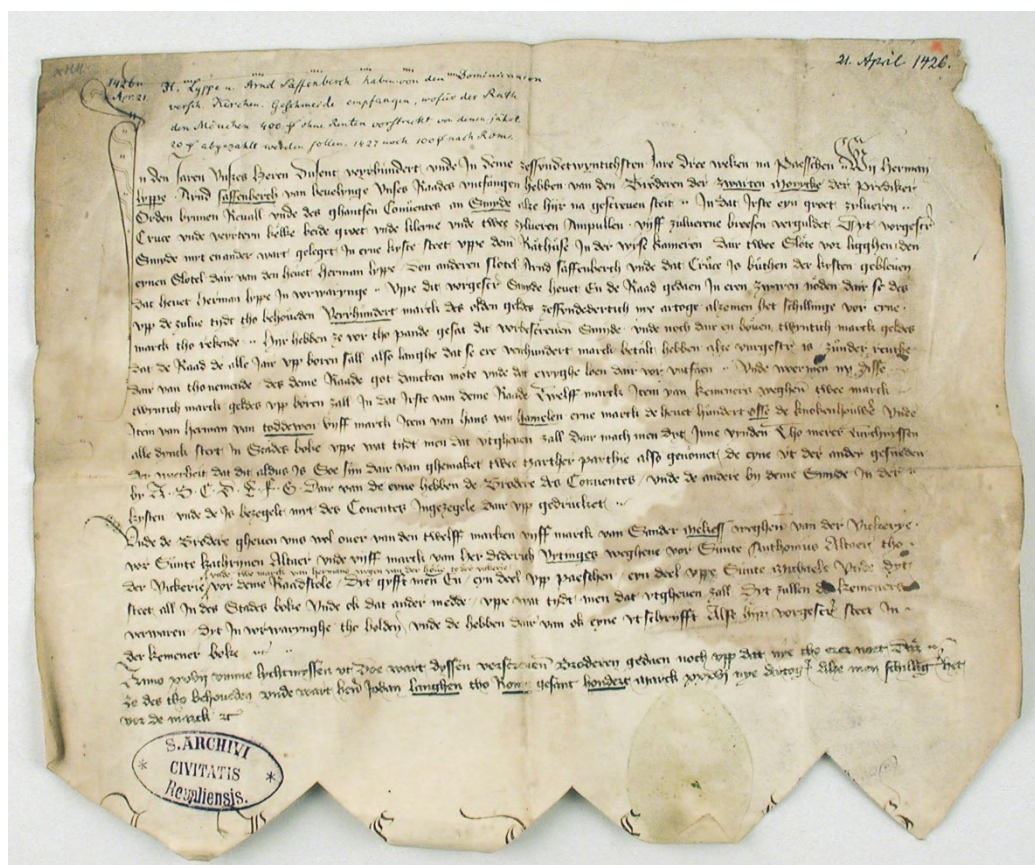
¹⁷¹ STA Lü, Altes Senatsarchiv, Interna, Appellationen, nr. 526.

¹⁷² TLA, 191.2.1, f. 9r. Scheter's hand is followed by a hand rather close to that of Blomendal, but not the same.

the case of Muter, there is also evidence in *AR* that Scheter was familiar with producing more complicated judicial documents for the needs of the council and other communities of either ecclesiastic or lay nature, such as the chirograph written on the loan of 400 old Riga marks the Dominican convent of Reval took from the council against a silver cross, a selection of communion vessels and other silverware three weeks after Easter (April 21), 1426. According to the chirograph, the two originals were cut apart from each other and given to the Convent and the council, so that one was held by the brothers of the Convent and the other was kept in the chest with the silverware (*bii deme smyde in der kysten*), the two keys of the chest being given to two councillors. Both halves of the chirograph were sealed with the seal of the Convent. According to the half of the chirograph still in *AR*, the rent of the Dominicans was composed from the rent of three altar chantries in the Dominican church, and the information about this is said to be written in the city book (*in des stades boke*) and in the book of the *kämmerers* (*kemener bok*, i.e. in the lost volume of *kämmerers'* accounts from 1405–32, see CHAPTER 3.2.1.2). The half also contains a later entry by Wenemar Scheter/N.N. on a further loan of 100 Riga marks issued by the council to the Dominicans around Candlemas (*vmme lichtmissen*, February 2) of 1427, which they needed to send Johannes Langhe to Rome (see CHAPTER 5.3.2). The city book in question is the parchment volume originally employed for schematic registers of various rents of the city [A.a.7], where the entry on the 500 mark loan to the Dominicans against an annual rent of 20 marks is written by Scheter.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 579 (LECUB I:7 451), TLA, A.a.7., f. 11v.

Picture 41: The council's half of the chirograph produced by Wenemar Scheter/N.N. on the loan of 400 Riga Marks by the council of Reval to the Dominican Convent of the city issued three weeks after Easter (April 21), 1426, with a further entry by Scheter on a loan of another 100 Riga marks to the Convent in order to send Johannes Langhe to Rome issued around Candlemas (vrome lichtmissen, February 2) of 1427. Note the trace of the seal of the Dominicans on the right. The seal of the city was pressed into the half of the Convent. A chirograph proper, the serration was marked with the letters A, B, C, D, E, F and G, also cited in the text of the document.



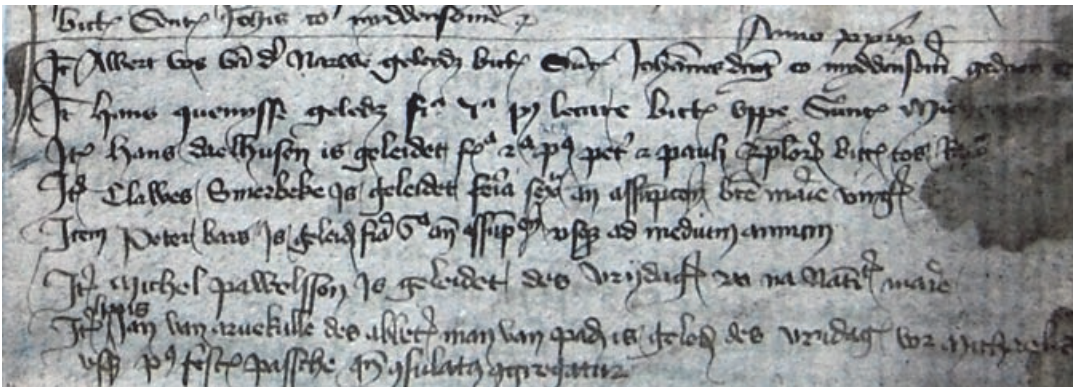
TLA, Urk. 1-I, 579 (LECUB I:7 451)

Wenemar Scheter's apparent knowledge of contemporary textual technologies is further ascertained by his use of indoarabic numerals, '27', in what must be considered a finished and folded but unsealed original letter of the council to the bishop of Ösel-Wiek dated 'in profesto visitacionis Marie Anno 27' (June 1, 1427).¹⁷⁴ It is of interest here that all the first known examples of the use of indoarabic numerals in the Revalian management of

¹⁷⁴ TLA, BA 1:1c, 293r where the first number '2' is similar to the tironian note of et (&) in some of his other datings, but '27' does not equal the truncation of 'etc' ('etcetera') in any of his surviving letters and the number '7' written in the form of 'ʌ' does not match any truncation of 'cetera' in his writings (see for instance TLA, BA 1:1c, 285 and 287, both issued in 1427). The number '27' is placed at the end of the last row of the text after the word 'A' ('Anno') where the two digits of the number conveniently fit the text area without breaking the margin. In certain other finished but unsent letters Scheter has not confined himself to the rules of the text area, and has placed the Roman numeral for the year either under the tail of the last row (as in TLA, BA 1:1c, 286) or simply ignored the margin (as in TLA, BA 1:1c, 292).

information in 1402, 1427, and 1429–53 (see before, CHAPTER 5.1.4.2) appear to have been employed by either a city scribe invested with license of notary public (Joachim Muter in 1429–53) or the more distinguished substitutes in the office (*HII* in 1402 and Wenemar Scheter in 1427 and 1429), whereas no such feature is known from the writings of Johannes Blomendal or Hermannus responsible for almost 50 years of production of texts and textual artefacts in the service of the council in 1375–1402 and 1406–26. Whether this occasional and rare use of indoarabic numerals should be considered a sign of higher schooling and more exclusive practice in textual activities similar to those of notaries public in general remains a matter for speculation. The overall face of writing and quality of the lettering of *HII*, Muter and Wenemar Scheter points to professional production of texts and a status of high profile men of quill established well before they were occupied with the Revalian written management of information.

Picture 42: *Samples of the use of indoarabic numerals ‘4’ (row 3), ‘2’ (row 4) and ‘6’ (row 6) by city scribes Wenemar Scheter and Joachim Muter in the spring and summer of 1429. The entries are written on warrants of safe conduct issued on ‘feria 4a post letare’ (the Monday after Sunday Letare, i.e. March 7) by Wenemar Scheter, ‘feria 2a post petri and pauli Apostolorum’ (the Monday after St Peter and Paul, July 4) by Joachim Muter and ‘feria 6a ante assumptionis’ (the Friday before Assumption of Mary, August 12) by Joachim Muter. Note the close resemblance between the two hands and the difference between the truncation of ‘Item’, where Muter always applies a sling or a loop instead of the horizontal arch preferred by Scheter.*



TLA, A.a.17a, f. 2r.

Since the handwriting of Wenemar Scheter gives an impression of a distinguished writer and his texts show not only an apparent knowledge of formulas for various types of letters and documents but also an occasional notary-like approach to composing attestations, he must have had both an adequate education and experience in the production of textual artifacts and management of written information in the administration of contemporary institutions.

However, like his predecessor Johannes Blomendal, no surviving original texts of his in Latin have survived, which may hint that he was either not comfortable with the language or simply did not use it often, even if he did translate the 1346 Latin privileges of the merchants of Narva to Middle Low German for the confirmation of the council of Reval issued in May 18, 1426.¹⁷⁵ Despite his elegant ductus and use of quill, he appears to have composed virtually all his texts in Middle Low German, which hints at a possible origin in the merchant elites of Livonian or other cities similar to that of Johannes Blomendal. Similar to Blomendal, not too much stress on the absence of Latin in his writing should be placed, as Scheters use of indoarabic numerals and elegant ductus suggest that this apparent lack may simply result from the nature of the surviving material written by him.

5.2.2.3. *Identity*

The name *Scheter/Schetter* is most likely an occupational name based on the verb *scheten*, which in Middle Low German meant the acts of both shooting and spending money. Since the common epithet for crossbowmen and other people engaged in shooting was *Schutte*, a *Scheter* must be understood as a person involved in fiscal accounting and spending of money, either as the investor himself or a person to whom institutionalised contributions of money such as the ground tax (*schoss*) were paid.¹⁷⁶ Here the connection between the name of *Wenemar Scheter* active from April-May 1426 to May 1429, and the persons involved in the fiscal administration of the city becomes intriguing. Since the councillor *Wenemar van der Beke* is known to have been active as a *kämmerer* in the fiscal years of 1423/24, 1425/26–27/28 and 1429/30–30/31, i.e. most of the period from the autumn of 1423 to the autumn of 1431 (see TABLES 3:A–B in CHAPTER 3.1.1.1), it is tempting to suggest that he and *Wenemar Scheter* were the same person. This interpretation might gain further support from the fact that even if the *kämmerers* of the fiscal years of 1422/23, 1424/25 and 1431/32 are not known, the only period when *Wenemar van der Beke* was not invested with the *kämmerership* of the city during the years 1422–32 was the fiscal year of 1428/29, which comprises nine out of 36 months of the activity of *Wenemar Scheter/N.N.* in the written management of information of the council.

What is known of the career of councillor *Wenemar van der Beke* and is he identifiable as *Wenemar Scheter/N.N.*, active as city scribe in 1426–29? Most likely a descendant of the

¹⁷⁵ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 580 (LECUB I:2 834).

¹⁷⁶ Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch von Karl Schiller und August Lübben, 1–6. Verlag von J. Kührtmann's Buchhandlung, Bremen, 1875–81 (here cited as MndWB), 4, p. 82–83, 155.

local merchant elite in Reval, Wenemar van der Beke had been introduced as a member of the Table Guild in 1414, when he had already been in custody of the keys of one of the towers of the city wall alongside Henrik Plate for about a year (since ca. 1413). His is first known to have been a councillor of Reval in the spring of 1424, when he was active as a second *kämmerer* of the city with the first *kämmerer* councillor Herman Lippe. Obviously a man of considerable wealth, he possessed several houses and gardens and was engaged in several transactions of such property before his death some time between January 28, 1437 and July 12, 1438.¹⁷⁷ The name van der Beke ('of the Beck') is first documented in Reval in 1319–20, when one *Johannes Bechem/Beke* issued two successive resignations on his inheritable property in the town. Sworn burghers of the city since at least the first half of the 14th century, the family produced several councillors, whose relationship to each other, if any, is not always clear. The councillor *Gerd van der Beke*, active in ca. 1389–1410, was a son of the councillor and later burghermaster *Hinrik van der Beke*, active in ca. 1344–83 and himself possibly the father of *Hinrik van der Beke*, councillor and later burghermaster of Fellin in the 1440's and 1450's, but any relationship to Wenemar van der Beke is not known from the sources. Since Wenemar's cousin and full namesake *Wenemar van der Beke* was a sworn burgher of Danzig in 1429, and Wenemar the *kämmerer*'s son *Cord van der Beke* was introduced as a member of the Table Guild in 1432, they may have constituted a branch of the van der Beke family active in Reval in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. Other van der Bekes resident in Reval in the latter half of the 14th century are *Johannes* and *Hermannus van der Beke*, both active in the 1380's.¹⁷⁸

Since Wenemar van der Beke was appointed to the office of the first *kämmerer* for the fiscal year of 1427/28, right in the middle of Wenemar Scheter's period as city scribe, double activity as a *kämmerer* and the city scribe appears unlikely. At present no information about matriculation of Wenemar van der Beke or Wenemar of Reval or Livonia to the universities in 1375–1410 is known of, and the only member of the Revalian van der Beke family known to have had an university schooling is *Henrik van der Beke*, a brother of Hermannus van der

¹⁷⁷ Derrick 2000, 52, 347 (TLA, fond 191, nim. 2, säilik. 1, SGA 12, f. 7v); TLA, B.e.1, f. 1r (Hartmann 1988, 188, 193); In the accounts of the wardens of mint TLA, A.d.16, f. 2v, the names of the two *kämmerers* 'her' Hermen Lippe and 'her' Wenemar van der Beke are first cited in a corrupted entry concerning resignation of minted coins in 'Anno xxiiij des verdages vor p[aschen?/inxten?]' and again on the Saturday after the Nativity of Mary (September 9) and the Saturday after St Lambert (September 21), 1424, i.e. in the fiscal year of 1423/24; Derrick 2000, 52–53.

¹⁷⁸ Feyerabend 1986, 134; For Johannes Bechem/Beke see WB 1312–60, 149, 151 and other van der Bekes cited here Derrick 2000, 49–53 and von Bunge 1874, 81–82; For Hermannus van der Beke active in 1381–88, see EBII 754, EBIII 154, and for Johannes van der Beke active in 1385–90, see EBIII 70, 227.

Beke and possibly son of Hinrik, who matriculated to the university of Erfurt in 1410 and was later canon (1414) and dean (1420–28) of the Church of Reval.¹⁷⁹

All the information on the name *Wenemar Scheter/Schetter* and his identification as the city scribe of 1426–29 has survived through three individual texts, one written by Scheter himself and two by his successor Joachim Muter. Even if Muter appears to have been a genuine outsider to both Reval and the local merchant elite in Livonia, he never furnished Scheter with the honorary title *her* or *dominus*, frequently employed for burghermasters and councillors of merchant cities in contemporary texts and documents. Instead, in his eschatocol for his transsumpt of the papal bull on April 2, 1429, Muter identifies Scheter as a *prothonotaris*, i.e. the head of the city scriptorium or chancery, and *discretus vir*, a title of courtesy used for both councillors and burghers of merchant cities. One such burgher was *Wolter Holbach*, whom Muter cites as the second witness of his transsumpt. Wolter van Holbach had been taken as a sworn burgher of Reval on the Eve of Philip and Jacob (April 30), 1428, but he is not known to have been elected a councillor of Reval.¹⁸⁰ If Wenemar Scheter was the same person as the councillor and *kämmerer* Wenemar van der Beke, it is difficult to see why he himself or Joachim Muter did not call him by the more ubiquitous name van der Beke in the context of registers and accounts of the city, or why Muter did not furnish his name with the title of a councillor on the two occasions when he mentioned him in his writings.¹⁸¹ The balanced and notary-like handwriting of Wenemar Scheter does not exclude the possibility that he was Wenemar van der Beke, appointed to the *kämmer*ship because of his textual abilities and status as a person acquainted with matters of fiscal accounting, but if he really had a wider recognition as the ‘scheter’ among the councillors of the city in the 1420’s, one would expect a more frequent surfacing of this occupational name in the context of his activities. The same must be said about the evidence of Wenemar Scheter’s use of indoarabic numerals and his elegant ductus of notary-like writing, which both indicate a person with adequate university schooling and possible lower orders, not a

¹⁷⁹ For Livonian students before 1410 see LG I:3, 127 and RAG. Henrik van der Beke: Derrik 2000, 49 footnote 299 and LG I:2, 45.

¹⁸⁰ TLA, BA 1:1c, 149r; BB 1409–1624, p. 28 (TLA, A.a.5., f. 7b).

¹⁸¹ In the paper codex of the accounts of the *kämmerers* (TLA, A.d.15), introduced and exclusively written by *Joachim Muter* since the Feast of St Luke the Evangelist (October 18), 1432, Wenemar van der Beke is on all but one of eleven occasions identified as *her Wenemar* instead of the full name applied only once in 1432–42 (KB 1432–63, 69, 160, 172, 178, 223, 232, 333, 387, 424, 496 all *her Wenemar* or *her Wenemarssen* where the latter refers to his heirs, nr. 101 *her Wenemar van der Beke*). This kind of colloquial approach to names is also characteristic with other councillors such as Gotshalck Stoltevot, often only referred to as *her Gosschalk* in the codex, see KB 1432–63, 41 and 42.

member of a merchant elite active in the contemporary trade, politics and administration of the city.

Instead of origins in the civic administration and elites of the city, a namesake of the highly distinguished city scribe of Reval of 1426–29 suddenly surfaces in the Livonian material some quarter of a century later on April 13, 1475, in the castle of the archbishop of Riga in Kokenhusen (today Koknese in Latvia), when Archbishop Silvester permitted *Wennemarus Schatter*, scribe of the bishop of Dorpat, to make a transsumpt of the recess of the Livonian diet in Walk of January 22, 1472, through the archbishop's chancellor Johann Meyleff.¹⁸²

Very likely the homonymic city scribe active in Reval in 1426–29, at some point of his career Wenemar Scheter appears to have ended up as the scribe of the bishop of Dorpat, the occupation he had in 1475. Already perhaps of 65–70 years of age, he asked permission to prepare the copy through the archepiscopal chancery. The frequent surfacing of Scheters' hand in the context of missives and documents of the communication of the council of Reval with the bishop and council of Dorpat in 1426–29 is especially interesting, as it may explain the channels he took advantage of when changing his affiliation in the spring of 1429.

Possibly even of Dorpatian origin, his period of activity in the chancery of the bishop of Dorpat is, however, difficult to define. In the surviving missives and documents issued by the bishop of Dorpat in AR, a hand close to that of Wenemar Scheter is active in 1436, 1438 and 1444, but the hand differs somewhat and according to Leonid Arbusow, at least three other persons are cited as notaries, scribes or procurators of the bishop in 1435, 1438, 1457 and 1471.¹⁸³

Considering the surviving documentation on the management of written memoranda of the council of Reval in the late 1420's and the main hands active in it, the material unequivocally shows that the variety of people capable of composing texts, accounts and other memoranda for the needs of the everyday administration was quite large, but the role of the city scribe as a supervisor and head of the management of written information of the civic authority (i.e. Lat. *protonotarius*) was already well established. Continuously in charge

¹⁸² Schirren, Carl, Verzeichnis livländischer Geschichts-Quellen in schwedischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, V. Gläfers Verlag, Dorpat 1861–1868, IA, nr. 145, see also LG II, 183 and Johansen RSM, nr. 9, where Shatter is falsely identified as a scribe of the archbishop.

¹⁸³ TLA, BB 60:V, 16 (March 30, 1433) – 20 (1468), where the numbers 17 (August 9, 1436), 18 (November 19, 1438) and 19 (June 8, 1444) are written by a hand close to *Scheter*; LG II, 310 where Henricus Wildeshusen is cited as a secretary, notar and canon in 1435 and 1438; TLA, Urk 1-I, 664a, a letter patent of Bishop Bartholomeus (Savijerwe, 1441–59) of Dorpat on an enfeoffment to his vassal Dietrich von Tysenhusen on the Tuesday after Palm Sunday (April 8), 1449, is written by a hand occasionally close, but still rather different from that of Wenemar Scheter and that of 1436–44.

of the most important registers of the civic administration and the written communication of the council, the city scribes of the late 14th and early 15th centuries maintained and extended their control over all finished textual manifestations of civic authority based on preliminary textual products of individual councillors and other people active in the council administration, where the agency of the city scribes as professional men of quill emerged as an office for controlling, checking and producing almost all the textual artifacts in the written management of information and communication. The next step for an urban community and civic authority of the size of Reval seems to have been the permanent employment of a person capable of giving legal assistance and producing highly sophisticated judicial texts for the purposes of the civic authority; a development reflecting the overall tendency towards legitimation of authority in the contemporary world of the late 14th-century and early 15th-century collective institutions and agents of power (see CHAPTERS 1.2.1 and 1.2.4). An apparent sign of a shift of focus from a society that was taken for granted and even metaphysically constructed to a more empirical, conscious and legally enforced state of being, the developments in the office and agency of the Revalian city scribes from the late 1420's can thus be seen to reflect an equivalent change in the understanding of the role of the written management of information and texts for the utilisation not only of various kind of resources but also as a vehicle for promoting the identity of the civic community and authority for the better survival of the organisation and agencies in it (see CHAPTER 1.2.1.1).

5.2.3. The Revalian conflict on schools in 1424–28 and developments in the professional status and agency of the city scribes in the 1420's

In all the material stationed in the medieval holdings of *AR* today, one of the earliest surviving texts written by the hand of Wenemar Scheter/N.N. is a Middle Low German copy or translation of an authorisation of the council and the burgher community to one *mester Peter van Ortenborch* and *Johannes Lange*, a friar of the Dominican convent of Reval, to act as procurators for the city in a case against *Henning Bekeman* (*scholasticus* of the cathedral chapter of Reval). While in Rome Henning had taken possession of a papal bull concerning the council's privilege to found a school in the city. Issued on April 23, 1426, the text is written with notary-like formulas and dating, but because the original text of the authorisation was most likely written in Latin, the connection between the author of the copy

and the original procuration sent to Peter van Ortenborch and Johannes Lange in Rome is impossible to establish.¹⁸⁴

The Revalian conflict over the right to patron a school and the 1424–28 clash over the status of the Dominican convent as an independent source of ecclesiastical services in the city is one of the best documented collisions between diocesan, mendicant and civic interests in Livonian cities in the early 15th century. The conflict has been extensively discussed by Berndt-Ulrich Hergemöller in his article *Der Revaler Kirchenstreit 1424–1428* (1991), and it must be understood in the context of other contemporary clashes between ecclesiastical authorities and urban merchant elites in the Hanseatic and Central European area of interaction. Because the dispute produced a need for professional men of letters capable of composing legally patent texts and instruments for the uses of the civic authority, it appears to have had a substantial influence on the development of the office of the city scribe in Reval.¹⁸⁵ For this reason an overview of the chronology and issues of the conflict is provided here.

The origins of the conflict lay in the growing demand for elementary schooling for the offspring of merchant and artisan elites of the city apparent since the mid-14th century. Since the 1319 charter of King Erik Menved schooling in Reval was a monopoly of the diocesan church, which is likely to have established a cathedral school on Domberg no later than the last quarter of the 13th century. According to the charter, no burgher of the city was allowed to put his son, relative or any other ward of his in any school in the city other than the cathedral school, subject to a fine of 10 marks in silver if he did so.¹⁸⁶ The only other

¹⁸⁴ TLA, BB 48:V, 4 (LECUB I:7 455). See also Hergemöller 1991, 20 footnote 40. Both Peter van Ortenborch and Johannes Langhe are cited as absent in the procuration.

¹⁸⁵ Hergemöller 1991, 13–41. On other more recent views on the conflict in the context of other similar rows with diocesan administrations of parishes see Strenga, Gustavs, Devotion, Donation and Memoria, Urban Society and the Dominicans in Late Medieval Reval (Tallinn). Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2006, 12–13, Jakobsen 2008, 144–150, and Jakobsen, Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig "What Jesus means is ...": The Dominican Order as Theological Authority for Laity and Clergy in Medieval Northern Europe. In: Kangas, Sini, Korpiola, Mia & Aiononen, Tuija, (eds.), *Authorities in the Middle Ages, Influence, Legitimacy, and Power in Medieval Society. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 12. Walter de Gruyter & Co, Berlin/Boston, 2013, 133 (koko art 123–144).

¹⁸⁶ The cathedral chapter did not exist in September 1263, when Pope Urban IV ordained Thurgot as the new bishop of Reval and asked the king of Denmark to invest the see with the necessary funds to found a chapter, DD II:1 391. It is first cited as active on August 21, 1277, when Queen Margaret of Denmark invested it with the right to elect the bishop, DD II:2 298. A canon of Reval is first cited in 1281, LECUB I:1 474, but the office of *scholasticus* only in 1337 (Heyno), LG II, 336 and 83; LECUB I:2 666 'mandamus, quod nullus civium civitatis Revalie, cuiuscunque conditionis existat, filios suos et nepotes et privignos, vel etiam extraneos, secum in expensis existentes, qui scholasticis imbui debent disciplinis, aliquas scholas in dicta civitate frequentare permittat, praeter ad scholas dictae cathedralis ecclesiae ibidem, prout poenam decem marcarum argenti voluerit evitare'. The text of the charter has survived only in a vidimation of Archbishop

contemporary institution capable of offering elementary schooling in reading and writing and basic knowledge in Latin was the Dominican convent, and the purpose of the charter may have been to bar mendicant influence in schooling and maintain the diocesan church monopoly on education for lay people in Reval and Danish Estonia. Whereas the cathedral school on Domberg was designed to offer boys of the local nobility and selected members of the merchant aristocracy the necessary abilities for beginning their career in ecclesiastical institutions and domains of Latin, the charter of 1319 shows that there was a growing need for access to technologies of reading and writing and the management of written information already in the opening decades of the 14th century, a consequence of increasing numbers within the merchant population and the artisan elites.¹⁸⁷ In Reval this kind of pragmatic attitude to schooling appears to have provided most of the fuel for a wider conflict between the ecclesiastic and civic authorities in 1424, when the right of the city to patron an elementary school was brought to the consideration of the papal authority in Rome and the clash resulted in a rearrangement of the obligations of the civic community to diocesan parishes in the town.

If we leave aside any possible clash of interests behind the charter of 1319 and the conflict on the Dominican convent's right to host burials in the mid-1330s (see CHAPTER 4.2.3.2), the collision between the cathedral chapter and the Dominicans on schooling and other services in Reval is first documented from 1365. In that year four named arbitrators ruled in the conflict of bishop *Ludowicus* and dean *Heynone* with the Dominican prior and convent of Reval, that the convent had no right to foster a school for lay people in the city and the friars ought to pay the bishop and the chapter their canonical share in testaments and funerals without any fraud. The convent also had to cede all the privileges and copies related to their schooling of lay people to the Cathedral Church, and the reconciliation was confirmed by the prior of the Dominican province of Dacia present at the act of arbitration. The two arbitrators representing the diocesan authority were the Komptur of Reval *Helmicus de Depenbroken*,

Henning of Riga issued during the conflict of 1424–28 on January 16, 1426, LECUB I:2, Reg. 778, and LECUB I:7 405. In the charter the fine is further divided three ways to 4 marks assigned to the construction of the Domberg castle, 3 marks to the cathedral and 3 marks to the city wall. In addition, the king ordains a safe conduct for all pupils attending the cathedral school and a peace for all their parents and relatives against any allegations of his headman (*capitaneus*) and his household (*familia*) on Domberg.

¹⁸⁷ A likely pupil of the cathedral school with merchant background was *Arnoldus Stoltenfus* (Stoltevoet), son of the Revalian councillor Johannes Stoltevoet, who matriculated at the Faculty of Arts of Prague University in 1395 and was a canon of the cathedral chapter of Reval in 1418, when he was created bishop of Reval. Other members of the Stoltevoet family are cited as canons of Reval (*Gerlacus Stoltefud*, 1420) and Dorpat and Ösel-Wiek (Arndt Stoltevoet, 1429–1430), Derrik 2000, 204–205, Tříška 1981, 36. ‘Iohannes Stoltefwit de Revalia’ was intulatus de iure at the University of Prague in 1404, Tříška 1981, 310.

and a named member of the vassal corporation (*Odwardus de Kele*), whereas the two acting on behalf of the Dominican convent included burghermaster *Henricus de Beke* and councillor *Arnoldus de Renten* of the city, which tells us that the conflict had already emerged as a collision of diocesan rule and mendicant aspirations, entangled with the interests of the landed nobility and civic authority in schooling. Of further interest is that together with the vicar of the Dominican provincial prior, the other three named witnesses of the reconciliation were the dean *Heynone* and two vicars perpetual of the church of Reval. The dean was not only an inveterate opponent of the Dominicans and a former *scholasticus* in charge of the cathedral school, but possibly the main substitute of the city scribe in 1331–34 (*WBIIIa*), and a person who wrote documents in the corporational interface of the city, the royal headman and the vassals in the early 1330's and again in 1350 (see CHAPTER 4.2.5). Since the other two named witnesses may have been temporary vicars of the two parish churches of the city, Heyno may have been selected to witness the arbitration not only as a dean, but also because of his past office in the diocesan administration where his old assignments of composing documents for various agents of authority in Reval played an important part in the corroboration of the arbitration.¹⁸⁸

Any interference of the friars in lay schooling in Reval in the early 14th century must have involved the founding of an exterior school (*schola exterior*) giving instruction to boys of the urban population, but before 1365 there is no evidence for this other than the possible implications of the charter of 1319. An interior school (*schola interior*) for novices entering the Dominican Order in Reval is indirectly documented in 1271–84, when brother *Mauritius* is cited as a *lector* of the Dominicans in Reval. All the teaching in mendicant schools was supervised by a lector who took care of most of the education himself.¹⁸⁹ A characteristic feature of the schooling of urban lay populations in the Hanseatic and German sphere of interaction in the 14th and 15th centuries was a growing difference between formal education in the seven liberal arts of *trivium* and *quadrivium* in Latin and technical instruction in reading, writing and counting in the vernacular, which eventually produced a variety of elementary schools in the kaleidoscopic settings of local ecclesiastic, civic and landed power in individual cities. Here, the exterior schools of the monastic and mendicant orders offered

¹⁸⁸ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 577, f. 3r–v (LECUB I:2 1015). The two vicars perpetual were *Bertholdus Havesforden* and *Johannes Lusco*. The two vicars of the parishes of St Nicholas and St Olaf of 1365 are not known, LG II, 338 and 340. On the reconciliation see also Kala 2013a, 252–253.

¹⁸⁹ LG I:2, 66 and LG II, 350. According to Arbusow, *Mauritius* was a student of Albertus Magnus in Cologne in 1268 and at the University of Paris in 1269–71; On *schola exteriora* and *interiora* in monastic orders, see 'Schule', (Verger, J.) LM VII, p. 1582–86.

just one possible way of accessing education, whereas the persistence of the diocesan church monopoly on formal schooling fuelled the formation of two other types of schools characteristic of 15th-century urban lay education. Of these two, one was usually attached to a parish church in the city, offering a condensed version of the curriculum of the cathedral school in Latin. The instruction was given by a *rector scholarum*, in the office of which the council either had the right of presentation or full authority, and which in some cities such as Lübeck, Stralsund and Wismar was attached to the office of the city scribe. The second type of school was the so-called *dudesche scriveschole*, ‘German writing school’, where elementary schooling in reading, writing and counting was given in the vernacular. The origin of this kind of teaching was in private tuition bought by merchant families, but in most cities the activity was eventually placed in the hands of the council, if not originally introduced by it. The basic motivation for teaching in German was not promotion of one ethnicity but conscious politics, where the separation of the Latin curriculum and mechanical writing skills from each other may have helped to underline the difference between conceptual teaching and formal training to avoid a collision with the diocesan authorities.¹⁹⁰ In some places, as in Reval, the cathedral chapter considered even this kind of activity a serious infringement of its privileges, and was openly hostile to any attempt by the council to involve itself in matters of education. One reason for this may have been the relatively low income of the chapter: the cathedral school was one of the rare domains of activity reserved to it, through which the chapter not only produced its own future officials but also maintained its status among the vassal families and merchant aristocracy in Harrien-Wirland and Reval.

The reconciliation of 1365 appears to have ruled out the possibility for the Dominicans to foster any exterior school for lay pupils in the city for some time, but evidence for elementary schooling outside the cathedral school on Domberg is available again from 1372, when certain minor costs related to a school (*scole*) are cited in the *kämmerers’* accounts. Possibly located in the parish of St Olaf under the patronage of the council, the school may have been supervised by one Franke or Franco ‘Schoolscribe’ (*vranke sculschriuere*), who is cited as a house-owner in the parish of St Olaf in a *schosslist* dating to ca. 1391 or 1393.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ On the development and historiography of urban lay schooling in German and especially Hanseatic cities see Wriedt 1983, 152–172 and Isenmann 2012, 560–566, and on the role of German as lingua franca in these schools Glück 2002, 90–92 and Isenmann 2012, 564–566.

¹⁹¹ TLA, A.d.3, f. 37a (KB 1363–74, p. 50). The costs deal with a sum of money paid to councillor Johann Boleman and another sum paid for ‘brede de tor scole komen’. According to Johansen – von zur Mühlen 1973, 81, the council permitted the building of a school on Langstrasse (Pikk) in 1372, which appears to be a

Twenty years later, a document from the Wednesday before Simon and Jude (October 25), 1413, then reveals a more serious controversy, as one *Fransiscus Witchennow* wrote to the council of Reval from Lübeck about his dispute with the cathedral chapter earlier in the year. According to Witchennow, he had been forced to leave Reval after the chapter had prosecuted him for illicit teaching of boys to ‘learn to write and read German, and speak’ (*jungen to leren schriven und Dutzsch lesen und spreken*), and as a result the chapter had produced a letter stating that no ‘writing school’ (*scrifftischule*) was allowed ‘in your town’, i.e. the lower town under the authority of the council. The letter in question was evidently the 1319 charter of Erik Menved, not the reconciliation of 1365; a fact ascertained through Witchennow’s proceedings in Lübeck, where he had consulted ‘learned persons acquainted with canon law’, who had commented that the letter had no authority since it had been given without the consent and will of the council. Consequently Witchennow asked the council to provide him with the necessary procuration to take the matter to the pope so that the council would have the right to foster a writing school in their city and he himself would be compensated for his losses by the cathedral chapter.¹⁹² Whether or not the same Franco had been active as a teacher 20 years earlier in the parish of St Olaf, the process against Fransiscus Witchennow clearly indicates renewed pressure from the diocesan church to prevent elementary schooling in the lower town that did not use the conventional curriculum in Latin.

In his letter Witchennow asked the council to send their answer on the first possible ship from Reval to Lübeck, but we have no information on any subsequent proceedings in the matter. If the initiative for Witchennow’s educational activities in Reval originated from the council, either the new residing councillors of the fiscal year of 1413/14 decided not to pursue the matter further or Witchennow and his procuration never visited the papal curia. It is also possible that the writing school had been launched by a group of councillors and merchant families who had employed a teacher from Lübeck. The council may have been unwilling to apply to the pope and risk the schooling being considered a private enterprise so that it would end up paying the costs. An important restraint may have been that the council received the letter of Witchennow only a year before the Council of Constance, when anticipation of the end of the schism and reform of the church were growing and an application to any of the contemporary popes might have turned out to be invalid after the

deduction from the cost cited in the same year. In his study Hergemöller omits the question altogether; TLA, A.d.9, f. 5r.

¹⁹² TLA, BB 48:V, 1 (LECUB I:4 1951). On Witchennow, see even Hergemöller 1991, 16.

decisions of the council. Witchennow's letter is likely to have arrived in Reval on one of the last ships sailing from Lübeck in late October or early November 1413, but the council may have responded only at the beginning of the new sailing season at the end of February and early March 1414. The city of Constance was chosen as the site of the council by Pope John XXIII and the German king Sigismund on October 30, 1413, in Como, and the council was officially summoned by Pope John on December 9, 1413, in Pisa, but the date when the news reached Reval is unknown. King Sigismund issued an official summons to the council for Lübeck and other cities on August 6, 1414, but information on the assembly must have circulated among the officials of the Teutonic Order, the Livonian church and merchant elites much earlier. A letter of King Sigismund with a covering note from the council of Stralsund was sent to the council of Reval by the council of Danzig on the Eve of St Simon and Jude (October 27), 1414. The council opened in Constance three weeks later, on November 16.¹⁹³

The uneasy relationship between the diocesan authorities and the council in matters of elementary education in Reval was finally brought to the attention of Pope Martin V in Rome with a supplication of the council some time in spring or early summer of 1424, when the city asked the Holy Father for protection against the bishop and cathedral chapter, who had threatened the community with excommunication if they kept sending their children to the school in the city. The supplication was dated on Epiphany (January 6), 1424, in Reval and it was brought to the consideration of apostolic officials by *Johannes Brun*, prior of the Dominican convent of Reval and a plenipotentiary of the city in the matter.¹⁹⁴ After the necessary processing the supplication was answered on July 17, when Martin V issued a papal bull to the council with a privilege to found an elementary school in one of the parish churches of the city. The council had the power to determine which church the school would be located in, and the bull further decreed that teaching was to be offered in elementary and scholastic education (*in primitivis et scolasticis disciplinis*) by a magister or instructor (*per magistrum seu informatorem*) chosen by the council.¹⁹⁵ Because of the delicate nature of the matter, the apostolic see based its decision on the hazardous location of the cathedral school on Domberg, supposedly dangerous for children to reach, not only because of the height of the cliff, but also the intense frost common to the region in winter. The same argument had

¹⁹³ 'Konstanz, Konzil v.', (Brandmüller, W.), LM V, 1402; HR I:6, p. 122–123 and HR I:6 160 (LECUB I:5 1986). The original letter of King Sigismund and the covering note of Stralsund were missing from *AR* already at the time of compilation of LECUB I:5 in 1867, but the letter of Danzig is stationed in TLA, BB 38:II, 11.

¹⁹⁴ TLA, BA 1:Ib, 87 (LECUB I:7 67). Hergemöller 1991, 16, Kala 2013a, 258–259.

¹⁹⁵ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 570 (LECUB I:7 159). Hergemöller 1991, 17, Kala 2013a, 261.

been given a prominent role in the council's original supplication to the Pope, in which several children were said to have perished or become seriously injured because of the climb. Even if the supplication laments the unfair proceedings of the bishop and the chapter against the council, the stress on the safety of children must have provided the papacy with a convenient motive for composing the text of the bull, which in turn says something of the judicial abilities of the person responsible for the original council text of supplication. Although the text of the supplication has survived as a Middle Low German copy written by Johannes Blomendal sometime between January 1424 and May 1425, the original supplication in Latin must have been composed by someone else more familiar with the proceedings of the papal curia.¹⁹⁶

The apostolic privilege of the council to foster a school in one of the parish churches of the city merely helped to smooth one side of the triangle of ecclesiastic and civic authorities in Reval. Alongside the council supplication the cathedral chapter introduced a process of its own, in which the *scholasticus Henning Bekeman* applied to the pope against the Dominicans and all others who were involved in founding new schools in the city, and of which the papal auditor *Montes de Camplo* informed the city and diocese of Reval sometime in the spring or summer of 1424.¹⁹⁷ This process was then resolved with a decision of the papal auditor *Cunzo de Zwolle*, who issued a decision on December 20, 1424, which ordered the Dominicans to close the school they had illicitly founded in their convent, and pay a fine of 10 Rhine florins to *scholasticus Henning*. *Montes de Camplo* confirmed the decision on May 9, 1425, awarding compensation to the convent of 35 gulden.¹⁹⁸

Far from ending the disputes, the papal rulings merely provided a short respite, as there followed a clash between diocesan administration and the civic authority over sacraments and the latter's right to define the fees involved in them. Sometime in January 1425 the

¹⁹⁶ The hazardous ascent and descent to Domberg and the injuries caused to the children are also meticulously described in the oral testimony of a named Revalian councillor and several burghers of Dorpat and Lübeck, attested by the Cistercian abbot of Padis some time around the writing of the supplication of the council in January 1424, see TLA, B.k.3, 172 (LECUB I:5 2664), where the document is a contemporary copy by a hand which is none of the known city scribes (*Johannes Blomendal*, *Wenemar Scheter/N.N.*, *Joachim Muter*), but with a high probability that of Johannes Langhe, and where the archival entry 'De Copien vp der Instrument des abates van padys vppe de schole' on the reverse side of the copy is written by *Blomendal*; TLA, BA 1:Ib, 87 (LECUB I:7 67).

¹⁹⁷ The text of the Chapter's supplication is based on a mid-15th century copy in a quire of two bifolios in 8^o originally consisting of copies of at least three documents related to 14th- and 15th-century conflicts between the Dominican convent and the bishop of Reval, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 577, f. 4v (LECUB I:5 2663), see even LECUB I:7 355 and LECUB I:2, Reg. 927; Hergemöller 1991, 17, Kala 2013a, 260–262.

¹⁹⁸ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 574 (LECUB I:7 221 and 277), a contemporary copy in Latin of an instrument by the notary public *Jodocus Albrant von Bruchs*; Hergemöller 1991, 17, Kala 2013a, 260–262.

council of Reval issued an ordinance whereby the parish churches were granted an exclusive role in the vigils and requiems for the dead, but the size of offerings to the vicars outside the four terms of tithes and certain other occasions was restricted to no less (i.e. no more) than one Arnhem Gulden. The number of requiems for any deceased was reduced to one, and all spending of money or other offerings for homilies for the dead was prohibited. Even if the ordinance itself was moderate compared to other contemporary civic statutes in the Hanseatic sphere, it severely damaged the income of parish priests and indirectly increased the authority of the Dominicans, whose masses had attracted several people, according to the ordinance. The parish priests had then threatened the Dominicans with a ban on baptism and confession.¹⁹⁹

The ordinance of the council was almost instantly contradicted not only by the church of Reval but also by Bishop *Theodericus Reseler* of Dorpat, who appears to have actively sought a role as leading opponent of lay trespasses against ecclesiastic authority in Livonia. The reasons for his interest in the conflict in Reval are not entirely clear, but because of the contemporary dispute over the status of the bishop of Ösel-Wiek with the Livonian Order, he may begun to adopt a role as guardian of the church in Reval and Ösel-Wiek, the latter at that time struggling against the incorporation politics of the Order. This kind of leadership was not necessarily self-appointed. In one of his own letters to the Livonian Master on the Wednesday after Cantate (May 13), 1422, Bishop Reseler states that the pope himself had installed him as the *conservator* of the bishop[ric] and church of Reval. Before his ordination in 1413, Reseler had resided for lengthy periods in Rome, where in 1411 he was active as one of the scribes (*scriptores*) who produced the finished texts of papal letters in the curia. As early as May 1422 he became a vocal opponent of the Dominicans in Reval, whom he accused of working against the Cistercian nunnery of St Michael and rectors of the parish churches, as well as against their order's privileges and older decisions corroborated with sealed letters by having a school for lay children in their convent and (the children) singing matins in their convent, which was considered a general domain of (the choir-schools of) parishes and against old customs and canon law. The first surviving citation of educational activities of the Dominicans since 1365, the letter effectively shows that the mendicants had established an exterior school for lay children in their convent and held services which had

¹⁹⁹ TLA, BA 1:1b, 91r, a concept of the ordinance written by *Johannes Blomendal*. For edition see LECUB I:7 237, of which articles 2 and 3 have also survived in a slightly different wording in a written relation of *Johannes Blomendal* on the occasion of the public reading of the two articles to the Livonian Master, his council and the vassals of Harrien-Wierland in the castle of Reval on the Eve of the Assumption of Mary (August 14), 1425, TLA, BA 1:1b, 101r (LECUB I:7 332); Hergemöller 1991, 17-18, Kala 2013a, 262.

attracted substantial support from burghers and other people of the city some time before 1422.²⁰⁰

On the Monday after St Blaise (February 5), 1425, Bishop Theodericus Reseler attacked the council in a letter accusing it of trespass against the freedom of the Church and the papal and imperial laws as proclaimed in ‘*keyserliken karlinen*’, i.e. the *Carolina de ecclesiastica libertate* of Emperor Charles IV issued in 1359, and widened to be valid in the archdiocese of Riga in 1366. He insisted on the annulment of the ordinance of the council according to papal bulls and ‘*karlinen*’, which he had shown to the council of Dorpat as evidence.

According to his own statement on the content of the bulls and *karlinen* sent to him, he was to be further supported by the bishops of Schwerin (in Mecklenburg) and Åbo (Fin. *Turku*), but no documentation of this has survived in the cartularies of the bishops and church of Åbo.²⁰¹ The council of Reval answered Bishop Reseler’s allegations with a letter in German dated to the Feast of the Chair of St Peter (February 22), 1425, which has survived in three almost identical extant copies in *AR*. Of these the final draft of the text issued on February 22, and a folded and sealed but unsent original dated on the Feast of St Valentine (February 14), 1425, are written by city scribe Johannes Blomendal, but the third is the work of another hand, composed on an oblong sheet of paper originally without a date, but later dated by Blomendal to the Feast of St Valentine in 1425.²⁰² Obviously the work of a person with substantial knowledge of ecclesiastic issues and jurisprudence, the text of the letter defends the actions of the council, and informs the bishop that now the Dominicans had also applied to the pope, where their interests were to be taken care of by the provincial of the Order in Rome.

After Bishop Reseler made a second attack on the council and the civic community with two letters issued on the Feast of St James (July 25), 1425, insisting on total abstention from masses by the Dominicans and prohibiting any support to the friars, the council retaliated

²⁰⁰ LECUB I:5 2597 ‘sunderlixx schole und (mit?) wertliken kindern to holdende in erem closter und ok vrumisse in erem closter to singende, dat men juwerlde in den parren plach to donde’. The text of the bishop’s letter has survived as a copy attached to the original letter of the Livonian Master to the council of Reval issued on Saturday after Ascension (May 23), 1422, in Riga, TLA, BB 24:I, 104 (LECUB I:5 2601). Neither of them are cited by Hergemöller, who instead refers to the controversy of the nunnery and council on the extension of the city wall, for which the Livonian Master issued his conciliation on the feast of St John Baptist (June 24), 1422, Hergemöller 1991, 15, see LECUB I:5 2610–11; On Bishop Theodericus Reseler see LG I:2, 91 and LG II, 169.

²⁰¹ TLA, BB 60:V, 10 (LECUB I:7 239), Hergemöller 1991, 18 and Kala 2013a, 264; See REA and FMU II, years 1422–25.

²⁰² TLA, BA 1:Ib, 90 (final draft for the letter of February 22 by *Blomendal*), BA 1:Ib, 93 (unsent missive of February 14 by *Blomendal*) and BA 1:Ib, 92 (original draft for the letter with dating by *Blomendal* to February 14, 1425 (LECUB I:7 251).

with four ferocious and learned letters dating to the end of July and beginning of August 1425.²⁰³ All the surviving drafts for these letters are today in the archival file of Johannes Blomendal in *AR*, but none of them are written by him. The first of them is a draft for the original answer of the council to the bishop's communication of July 25 without any date, the second a draft for a similar answer to the bishop written in the name of the alderman, community, merchants, captains and journeymen (*gast*) staying in Reval, issued on the last day of July 1425, the third a draft of the council's letter to the Livonian Master on the same date, and the fourth a draft of another answer of the council to the bishop rather provocatively dated to the feast of St Dominicus (August 6), 1425. All the drafts are written in Middle Low German by a hand with fluent gothic cursive, fine hair tails of 'h', 'y', 'x' and a word ending 'n' that is neither Blomendal's or Wenemar Scheter's, nor that of the person responsible for the original text of the council's answer on February 14 the same year. Nevertheless, the scribe shows a substantial knowledge of canon law, explicitly citing two articles in Gratian's *Decretum* which sentence denouncers and informers (*delatori*). Given the variety of interpolations and small alterations to the drafts of the two first letters and a final draft for the letter of August 6 written by Johannes Blomendal, it is likely that the original texts for the four letters were composed by one of the more learned friars of the Dominican convent, after which the actual writing and production of the sent originals was done by the city scribe in a similar way to the letter of February 14/22 earlier in the year.²⁰⁴

After the escalation of the conflict in the spring and summer of 1425, and the public reading of the disputed ordinance of the city in front of the Livonian Master and his council on the Eve of the Assumption of Mary (August 14), another front in the diocesan church campaign against the Dominicans was opened in October 1425 by Bishop Christian Kubant of Ösel-Wiek, who had recently arrived from Rome to take control of his see. A papal confessor to Martin V, Bishop Kubant had been ordained and consecrated to the office against the will of the Livonian Order, which was actively seeking the incorporation of the bishopric within its overlordship. After the death of Bishop Kaspar in 1423, the pope had refused to wait for the

²⁰³ Letters of Bishop Reseler to the council and community of Reval: TLA, BB 48:V, 12 and 13 (LECUB I:7 323). Hergemöller 1991, 18–19, Kala 2013a, 267–270.

²⁰⁴ First undated response of the council: TLA, BA 1:Ib, 115 (LECUB I:5 2660, LECUB I:7 319, on the dating see also Kala 2013a, 268, who suggests a similar dating to late July – early August 1425), letter of the community addressing the bishop on July 31, 1425: TLA, BA 1:Ib, 116 (LECUB I:7 325), the council's letter to the Livonian Master from the same date: TLA, BA 1:Ib, 116 (LECUB I:7 325), the council's letter to the bishop on the Feast of St Dominicus: TLA, BA 1:Ib, 117 (draft) and TLA, BA 1:Ib, 100 (finished draft by *Blomendal*, LECUB I:7 330 with erroneous dating to August 5); Gratian C. 5 q. 5 c.5 and c. 6, TLA, BA 1:Ib, 116 (LECUB I:7 325).

Order to propose a candidate and ordained Kubant, while the chapter of Ösel-Wiek elected the Dorpat dean *Johannes Schutte* as candidate for the office. Schutte applied to the Livonian Master for support, and when Kubant arrived in Livonia in the autumn of 1425, the conflict escalated. It was further inflamed by the actions of Wilhelm von Farensbach, a powerful vassal of the church of Ösel-Wiek, who had held a central position in the administration of the castles and the landed property of the bishopric at the beginning of the 15th century, and who was now in search of compensation and was allegedly backed by the Order. In 1429 Kubant travelled to Rome, where he worked actively against the Order at the papal curia. Next year the Livonian branch of the Order invaded Ösel-Wiek, but the conflict only came to an end with Kubant's death and the succession of Johannes Schutte to the see in 1432.²⁰⁵

Probably with direct orders from Rome to take a stand against any weakening of diocesan rights in Livonia, on October 5, 1425 Bishop Kubant proclaimed an ecclesiastic *processus* and admonition against the Dominican prior and convent of Reval with ecclesiastical censures. The three sentences of the process were to be judged in the Livonian Diet in Walk on January 13, 1426, , but since the Dominicans did not accept the lay territorial authority of the bishops and Teutonic Order as their judge in the matter, they merely agreed to send a delegation to the Diet to search for a compromise with the cathedral chapter. Apparently this did not take place, and the procurator of the *scholasticus* and the chapter dean *Hinricus de Beke* decided to take further action and asked Archbishop Henning of Riga to issue an attestation on the 1319 privilege of the cathedral school on Domberg.²⁰⁶ The statement of the prior and the convent, the suspension of the ecclesiastical censures by Bishop Kubant and a warrant of the Komptur of Reval for their safe conduct to and from Walk have survived in a notary instrument that was supposed to be issued in 1426 by *Johannes Langhe clericus revaliensis*, a notary public on Imperial authority. Written by Langhe himself (for his hand see PICTURES 43:1–2), the document is a fully finished instrument with the notarial sign of Langhe, except that the place for the date has been left empty, which implies that it was never executed in full. The reverse side of the parchment sheet was later used by notary public Joachim Muter, who copied onto it the appellation of the *scholasticus* Henrich Bekeman and his procuration by the dean of Reval Hinrik de Beke in front of the papal auditor Montes de Camplo. The appellation, which has only survived in Muter's copy, was

²⁰⁵ TLA, BA 1:Ib, 101r (LECUB I:7 332); Lückerrath, Carl August, Paul von Rusdorf, Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens 1422–1441. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, 15. Verlag Wissenschaftliches Archiv, Bad Godesberg, 1969, 104–105. Hildebrand 1881, xxi–xxiii. Kreem 2002a, 144–145.

²⁰⁶ TLA, Urk. 1-I 578r (LECUB I:7 403), LECUB I:7 405, Hergemöller 1991, 19, Kala 2013a, 266–267.

testified through a notary instrument written by *Johannes Fvolle*, a notary public on imperial authority from the Diocese of Schwerin (the only known sign of the possible involvement of the bishop of Schwerin as one of the arbitrators in the conflict, as proclaimed by Bishop Reseler in February 1427), and issued in the presence of *Tideman*, abbot of Padise, and two canons of the church of Reval in Padise Abbey on May 30, 1427.²⁰⁷

After the assembly in Walk, the already soured relationship between the friars and the cathedral chapter in Reval degenerated into a violent one in the church of St Nicholas on the Feast of the Purification of Mary (February 2), 1426, when a group of friars and other people beat up the canon acting as the vicar of the church and the parish.²⁰⁸ The incident appears to have resulted from the actions of the rector of St Nicholas *Godke Kerckrynck* (*kercheren van sunte Nyclawese*), who acted as a cappellan, i.e. vicar (*des sulven vorgescreven kerckheren Cappelanen in der kerken*) there, and had contradicted the burghers in several ways.

According to a promemoria most likely designed for negotiations in the conflict after the tumult and written by city scribe Johannes Blomendal on a paper sheet of octavo some time before the end of his known activity in May 1426, the conflict over his actions had focused on four individual issues: 1) the rector *Godke Kerckrynck* was to give three ferdings to the councillor *Herman Kassel* because of the hasty burial of a *zwercynckingen* (a female dwarf?) by the monks (i.e. in the Dominican convent) after Kassel had not been able to assure him that the person had died in his parish, and because similar things had happened to many other people, 2) that the same rector and cappellan had declined to accept the councillors *Johan Palmedach* and *Berthrame Vrederiking* as godfathers, telling them that they were not worthy of it because they had visited the friars, after which the children remained unbaptised, and had then had them shown out of the church, and it was still unknown whether the children had been baptised, 3) that he (*Kerckrynck*) had declined to hear the confession of the merchant *Hinrich Tobbe*, who had wanted to sail to St Olaf (*segelen wolde to sunte Olaue* – i.e. leave on a pilgrimage to Nidaros) because he had visited the friars, and, 4) written by Blomendal in a later session at the end of the promemoria: one *Mychele*

²⁰⁷ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 578r (LECUB I:7 403) and 578v, of which the latter is not included in Hergemöller's 1991 study. In LG I:2, 53 Leonid Arbusow mistakenly identifies the notary public Johannes Langhe and the later prior Johannes Langhe as two different persons.

²⁰⁸ An account of events in St Nicholas has survived in a letter of the Livonian Master to the council asking for further information, see LECUB I:7 433, Hergemöller 1991, 19–20.

Hilbrandes had not been allowed into (the church of) St Olaf to become a godfather (*vadder worden*), because he had visited the friars.²⁰⁹

After the incident in St Nicholas, the cathedral chapter refrained from more serious ecclesiastic sentences against the urban population in Reval, but issued a personal ban against the Dominican Johannes Langhe, who had been active in the conflict since 1424, probably because of his office as the *lector* (i.e. the schoolmaster) of the convent in Reval. The ban of Langhe was predicated on his alleged disobedience to papal auditor *Johannes Schallerman* in Rome, before whom he was said to have been summoned as a witness, and who had excommunicated him for leaving the curia without permission. Despite a copy of the sentence of the excommunication of Langhe issued by the auditor to the council of Reval and attested by the notary public *Ludwig Droeti* in Rome on November 7, 1425, for not presenting himself at the required date in the front of the papal officials, the ban appears to have been based on fabricated allegations in one way or another, and there is no evidence that Langhe was considered to be under excommunication in any of his dealings with the papal curia in 1425–27.²¹⁰ In fact, he had apparently been sent to the apostolic curia in the spring or summer of 1425 as an advocate of the Dominican convent after the decisions of papal auditors Cunzo de Zwolle and Montes de Camplo, and returned to Reval late in the same autumn. Langhe is documented as having been in Rome in late September 1425, when a transumpt of the text of the Martinus V bull of July 17 in the papal registers was written and attested to him by Nicholas Antonius, Bishop of Salpe, on September 28, 1425.²¹¹ As Tiina Kala has (2013) suggested, a paper quire consisting of two bifolios in octavo (11,5 x 15,1 cm) written by at least one and possibly two different hands on at least two different sessions, may have been prepared for the use of Langhe for his procuration in Rome in 1425. The copy contains the text of three different documents from 1339 (a complaint of the Dominican prior *Johannes de Velin* against the abbot of Padis and dean of Ösel-Wiek), 1365 (a reconciliation between the church of Reval and the Dominicans on schools) and 1424 (a letter of the auditor Montes de Camplo, informing of the application of Henning Bekeman against the Dominicans), all of which are closely related to the conflict between the Dominicans and the church of Reval. Originally including at least one more bifolio containing the introduction to the complaints of 1339 and the end of Montes de Camplo's

²⁰⁹ TLA, B.k.2:I, 29, The promemoria is not included in Hergemöller's 1991 study and appears never to have been published in edition.

²¹⁰ TLA, BB 48:V, 3 (LECUB I:7 366), Hergemöller 1991, 19–20. See also Kala 2013a, 277.

²¹¹ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 576 (LECUB I:7 354).

letter, the copies are not written by Langhe himself, but another hand or hands active in the convent in ca. 1422–25.²¹²

The excommunication of Johannes Langhe appears to have been published in Reval in late spring 1426, when he had already left for Rome again as a procurator of the Dominican convent and the city. Cited as absent in the letter of procuration of the council and the city community to *mester* Peter van Ortenborch and himself on April 23, 1426, his departure for Rome may have occurred sometime after Easter (March 31). Three weeks later (April 21), 1426, the Dominican convent pledged a silver cross, a selection of communion vessels and other silverware against a loan of 400 old marks issued by the city council (see CHAPTER 5.2.2.2 and PICTURE 41). Langhe is documented as in Rome in mid-August in the same year, when he wrote letters to the council and his convent from his lodgings in the Dominican convent of Rome (Santa Sabina) on the Sunday after the Assumption of Mary (August 18), 1426. He was still considered as advocating for both the city and the Dominicans in the papal curia around Candlemas (February 2), 1427, when the convent took a further loan of 100 marks from the council and sent it to him in Rome. Since the cost of the two loans rose to an annual rent of 20 marks composed from the rent of three altars chantries of civic provenience in the church of the Dominicans, the convent was not only prepared to take heavy costs in fighting their cause in the curia, but was also backed up by the civic authority, which searched for the final promulgation of the papal privilege for their school against the intrigues of the cathedral chapter.²¹³ Whether a result of conscious politics or an outcome of developments in the domestic sphere around the council, the bond between the Dominicans and civic authority in Reval appears to have been strong, and the loans confirm that the council was ready to support its relationship with the convent in several ways. Since the church of the Dominican convent is known to have hosted sessions of the council in 1381, 1390 and 1420 (see CHAPTER 3.1.3), the mutual benevolence of friars and merchant elites clearly had a long history before the conflict in the 1420s, and one which occasionally surfaces in the material in *AR*.

²¹² TLA, Urk. 1-I, 577 (LECUB I:2, Reg. 785, 1015 and I:5, 2663), Kala 2013a, 274.

²¹³ TLA, BB 48:V, 4 (LECUB I:7 455); Hergemöller 1991, 20; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 579 (LECUB I:7 451), TLA, A.a.7., f. 11v; TLA, BB 48:V, 4 and 5 (LECUB I:7 455); Langhe's activity in Rome in late 1426 is also attested in the letter of the procurator of the Teutonic Order, Johannes Tiergarten, to the Grand Master of the Order on January 27, 1427, where he refers to his discussions with a friar of the convent of Reval, who had in the past year (i.e. 1426) been sent as their procurator in Rome considering matters that had been discussed in Walk, LECUB I:7 564. On this, see even Kala 2013a, 272.

When Johannes Langhe returned from Rome sometime before April 20, 1427, he found out that certain parish clerics inside and outside Reval had stated that he was under excommunication and instructed their parishioners to stay away from all activities of the Dominicans and their church. This Langhe answered with an appellation which he issued in the Dominican church of St Catherine on April 29, 1427, insisting that the supposed sentence of excommunication included several mistakes.²¹⁴ Having delivered copies of the appellation to the vicars of St Olaf and the Cathedral and having been strongly contradicted by the dean Reinhold Sander and by the chaplain of St Nicholas, Langhe continued to arm himself with the necessary notary instruments and attestations on issues of the excommunication, the city school and the Dominicans for Rome, where he once again went as a procurator of the city and the Dominican convent some time after July 5, 1427.²¹⁵ At around the same time the conflict had again exploded into a violent confrontation of diocesan clerics and friars after the bishop of Reval had first denied the status of Dominican church as a station of the penitential process of rogation days in May 26–28, and then in the provincial synod of June 21 given secret orders to all the priests and vicars of his diocese to prevent the Dominicans from celebrating any masses or other services in the parishes. Consequently, the Candelmas rampage of 1426 in St Nicholas was avenged in the late June or early July of 1427 by certain clerics of the diocese, who changed their robes for plain clothes, disguised themselves in devilish masks and invaded the church of the Dominicans, where they threw a Psalter book on the floor and poured wax on the altar.²¹⁶

After this, much of the steam appears to have gone out of the controversy: the definitive sentence of auditor Montes de Camplo in favour of the 1424 bull of Martin V on the right of the council to foster a school in one of the parish churches of the city, and the authorisation of the sentence by papal executor bishop *Jacobus de Adria* on March 19, 1428 in Rome are the

²¹⁴ The text of the appellation has survived as a final notary instrument by *Joachim Muter* on TLA, B.i.4:III, 9r (of April 29, LECUB I:7 610). A concept for another instrument by *Muter* with corrections and amendments by Langhe lists the various statements and proclamations issued in the process by Langhe and other parties from April 20 to April 27, see TLA, BA 1:Id, 140r–v (LECUB I:7 599). According to that document, on April 27 Langhe had proclaimed that he did not believe in any copy of an alleged papal document the text of which did not bear the hallmarks of the apostolic chancery, LECUB I:7 599.

²¹⁵ Langhe's publication and delivery of the copies of his appellation to the clergy of St Olaf, the rector of the Cathedral and Dean Reinhold Sander, as well as the rejection of the copy by the chaplain of St Nicholas and the contradiction of the appellation by Dean Sander is documented in a notary instrument of *Muter* written on the opposite side of the appellation TLA, B.i.4:III, 9v (LECUB I:7 611) and a concept for a third instrument specifying the contradiction of Dean Reinhold Sander against Langhe's appellation on TLA, BA 1:Id, 140v (LECUB I:7, 612); The procuration of the Dominicans for Langhe was issued in the refectory of the convent on July 5, 1427, TLA, BA 1:Id, 147r (LECUB I:7 649). A letter of recommendation for Langhe as the procurator of the city in matters concerning the school addressing one magister Marquard was issued in Reval on the last day of June 1427, TLA BA 1:Id, 143r (LECUB I:7 643).

²¹⁶ LECUB I:7 355:8 and 5; Hergemöller 1991, 22.

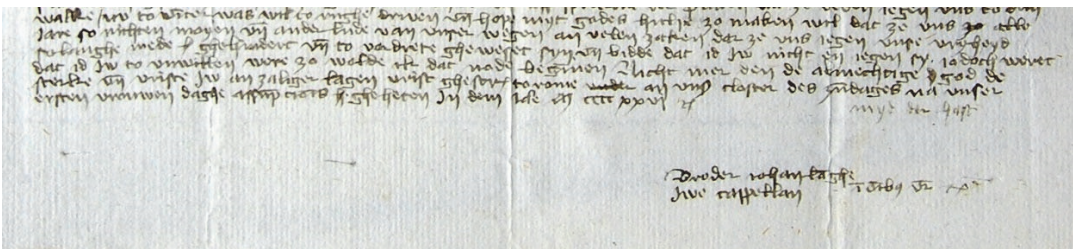
last documented acts of the conflict. The text of the authorisation has survived as a copy of the notary public *Johan Odling* and attested by Johannes Langhe and three other people of various origins, issued most likely in Rome, whence Langhe returned to Reval sometime in 1428 or 1429. He is known to have been a Dominican prior soon after his arrival, but after 1431 we have no more information about his activity. The school attached to St Olaf is first mentioned on the Friday after St Catharine (November 20), 1433.²¹⁷ Between these dates large areas of the town around St Olaf and the Dominican convent were destroyed in the fire of May 11, 1433.

The role of the city scribes in the production of documents in the extremely well documented conflict of the diocesan church and the Dominicans and the civic authority of Reval is especially interesting. In the initial phases of the conflict much of the correspondence of the council and the civic community dealing with issues of ecclesiastic authority and canon law was composed by hands other than city scribe Johannes Blomendal, who only wrote the finished letters and documents on the matter issued by the civic authorities. Merely the requirement of the civic authority to remain in control of issues in their own territory required a growing amount of professional advice in both composing the necessary texts and producing the desired documents. In both areas the old role of city scribe as the person in control of the management of information and written communication of the council appears to have fallen short already in the last two years of activity of Johannes Blomendal in 1424–26. Consequently a modification in the professional requirements of Revalian city scribes began, in which the role of the Dominicans and Johannes Langhe appears to have been of great importance.

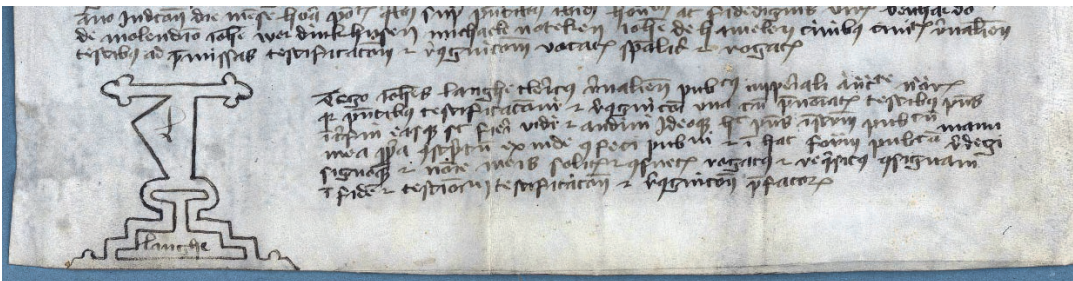
²¹⁷ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 589 (LECUB I:7 693–694); PergRB 846, see even PergRB 1101a, where two new houses are said to be located in the churchyard of St Olaf behind the school in 1473. Hergemöller 1991, 22 (with erroneous dating to 1435); On Langhe see LG I:2, 54 and LECUB I:8 381 and 392.

Pictures 43:1–3: Johannes Langhe's handwriting can be identified with the help of his letters to the council of Reval from Rome on the Sunday after the Assumption of Mary (August 18), 1426 (44:1) and his notary instrument on the suspension of ecclesiastical censures of Bishop Kubant and the safe conduct of the representatives of the Dominican convent to the Diet of Walk in January 1426 (44:2). The same hand has also written and commented on several drafts of documents related to the dispute between the Dominicans and the diocese, such as Joachim Muter's draft for his instrument attesting the various statements and proclamations issued in the context of the excommunication of Langhe in Reval between April 20 and 27, 1427 (44:3).

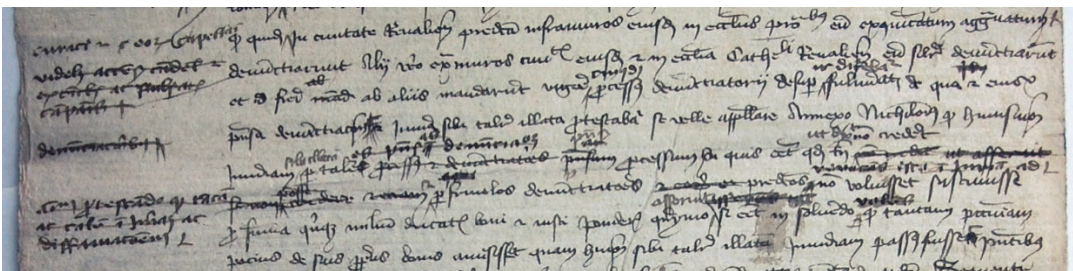
Picture 43:1: Johannes Langhe's (Broder Johan Langhe jwe cappellan in omnibus vester etc) handwriting in his letter to the council of Reval from Rome on the Sunday after the Assumption of Mary (August 18), 1426.



Picture 43:2: Johannes Langhe's handwriting and part of his notarial sign in his instrument on the suspension of the ecclesiastic censures and the safe conduct of the representatives of the Dominican convent of Reval to Walk from January 1426.



Picture 43:3: Langhe's comments and alterations to Joachim Muter's draft of Muter's instrument on statements issued in the context of Langhe's excommunication in Reval between April 20–27, 1427.



Sources: TLA, BB 48:V, 6 (LECUB I:7 515); TLA, Urk. 1-I, 578 (LECUB I:7 403); TLA, BA 1:Id, 140v–r, LECUB I:7 599.

Although he may have been the person who composed the text for the original supplication of the council to Pope Martin V in January 1424, Langhe wrote the original draft for the council's first answer to Bishop Theodericus Reseler of Dorpat, to be dated on St Valentine (February 14), 1425, before his departure to Rome later in the same spring or summer. As he was absent from Reval, he did not compose the original drafts for the council's and community's four letters to Bishop Reseler and the Livonian Master in late July - early August 1425, but his handwriting is again evident in some of the drafts for attestations and notary instruments written or issued in the context of his appellation and subsequent third procuration to Rome between April 20 and July 5, 1427.²¹⁸ In this period the majority of drafts and all the finished documents were written by Joachim Muter, a notary public of imperial authority whom Langhe had employed especially for the task when returning from his second journey to Rome in the spring of 1427. The contract was corroborated on March 5, 1427 in the cemetery of the church of St Mary in Lübeck, where Langhe hired Muter to accompany him to write notary documents in Livonia with a fee of 20 Rhine florins and travelling expenses there and back.²¹⁹ The contract may mean that Langhe had heard of his excommunication some time before and decided to employ a notary public to assist him with the necessary instruments required for applying against the sentence. However, since the papal auditor Montes de Camplo had furnished Langhe with a *littera remissionis* and a *rotulus* containing further inquiries in the matter and which he was to deliver to the Cistercian abbot Tideman of Padis for the expedition, he may also have hired Muter in order to have an independent and professional notary public at hand for the expedition of the *rotulus*. After a considerable amount of rescheduling between delegations of both parties, Abbot Tideman opened the *rotulus* in late June 1427, and the questions were answered with a testimony of the abbot and named burghers of Dorpat and Lübeck. Since Muter's copy of the instrument for the application of Henrich Bekeman to papal auditor Montes de Camplo, written by notary public *Johannes Fvolle* and witnessed by Abbot Tideman in Padis on May

²¹⁸ For the identification of Langhe's hand see PICTURES 43:1–2. The same hand has also written the first drafts of the text of Langhe's application of June 24 (TLA, BA 1:Id, 146r, LECUB I:7 640) and made comments on *Joachim Muter's* draft for his instrument attesting the various statements and proclamations issued in the context of the excommunication of Langhe in Reval between April 20 and 27, 1427 (TLA, BA 1:Id, 140r–v, LECUB I:7 599), as well as to *Muter's* draft of the procuration of the Dominican convent on July 5 (TLA, BA 1:Id, 147r, LECUB I:7 649). Further texts written by the same hand are two for an instrument considering issues of *littera remissionis* and *rotulus* from June 1427, TLA, BA 1:Id, 141 and 145r.

²¹⁹ According to LECUB I:7 577, the contract between Johannes Langhe and Muter was made on March 3, 1427, in Lübeck, and its edition in LECUB is based on a copy written on the reverse side of Muter's draft for his notary instrument dated March 31, 1425 (i.e. from the time he cannot have been in Reval). Under the copy of the contract there was a short sentence in Latin, apparently written by Langhe, reading '*Dominica invocavit (March 9) anno 1427 ego Joachim cepi itere de Lubece usque [Revaliam]*'. Sadly, I have not been able to find the document in any of the present files of *AR* in *TLA*.

30, 1427, is accompanied with a note ‘*Auscultatum <man> per me Joachim Notarium Publicum*’, he may have been present on the occasion, or had access to the document by some other means in June 1427.²²⁰ As no sign of notarial, scribal or other activities of Joachim Muter in Reval has survived from between July 5, 1427 and early May 1429, there is a possibility that he returned to Lübeck with Johannes Langhe when the latter again set for Rome in July 1427, but his whereabouts between July 5, 1427 and May 1429 remain obscure.²²¹ Nevertheless, the short employment in the town proved to be of crucial importance two years later, when Muter suddenly emerges as the new city scribe of Reval in 1429 and held the office for almost thirty years until his retirement at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1456/57.

5.2.4. Joachim Muter (1429–1456/60)

5.2.4.1. *Period of activity*

In the summer of 1429 the management of information and production of texts in the administration and written communication of the council of Reval was taken over by Joachim Muter, whose handwriting occasionally comes very close to that of Wenemar Scheter, but is easily recognised because of his flowering gothic cursive, grapevine-like approach to lettering, ubiquitous fine hair decorations and slight curving of certain limbs and descenders to the right instead of the more diagonal and horizontal endings to the left preferred by Scheter. Another distinctive feature of Muter’s hand is his customary application of vertical hairline flourishes on short word-ending ‘t’ and v-shaped ‘r’; a characteristic feature of early 15th-century gothic cursive not only in German and Southern Low Countries areas of interaction but occasionally also in Middle Low German and Swedish writing in Sweden and Finland.²²² In the handwriting of Revalian city scribes vertical fine hair decorations on short ‘t’ and v-shaped ‘r’ are employed in letters by Wenemar Scheter (1426–29) and more sparingly by *HII* (1401–5), but usually on ‘t’ only by Johannes Blomendal (1406–26),

²²⁰ The opening of the *rotulus* was attested by a letter of the Abbot of Padise to the auditor, for which a draft on parchment in a hand close to Muter’s survives in *AR*, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 585 (LECUB I:7 644), see also LECUB I:7 645. For *Muter*’s drafts of a notary instrument with various testimonies in the matter on June 13, 1427 see TLA, BA 1:Id, 144r–v; TLA, Urk. 1-I, 578v.

²²¹ TLA, BA 1:Id, 140r–148v, where 140r covers the period from to April 20 to 27 (LECUB I:7 599) and 147r is a draft of a notary instrument issued on July 5 (LECUB I:7 649).

²²² For the geographical distribution of vertical hairline decorations in ‘r’ and ‘t’ see Derolez 2003, 150 and 151 (samples 64 and 76). The feature is also apparent in the Netherlandish *Hybrida* used from the second quarter of the 15th century onwards in monastic circles, see Delorez 2003, 168. For samples of the same feature in Middle Low German and Swedish writings of the scribes of the council, the bishop and the headman of the castle of Åbo, see, for instance, TLA, BC 23:1, 7 (August 23, 1418, council of Åbo, German), BC 23:2, 8 (September 11, 1429, bishop of Åbo, Swedish), BC 23:3, 10 (June 30, 1426, bailiff of Åbo, Swedish). For Stockholm see, for instance, BF 2:I, 12 (February 1, 1428, headman of the castle of Stockholm, Middle Low German).

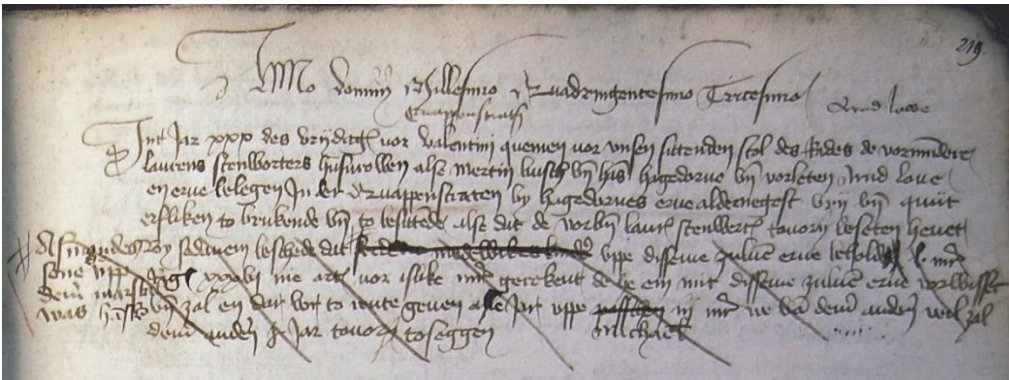
whereas no clear sign of the feature is found in the handwriting of city scribe Hermannus (1375–1403) or his predecessors.²²³ Another characteristic of Muter’s handwriting is also his habitual truncation of the two last letters of ‘*Item*’ with a sling in the form of a simple loop or ‘8’ instead of the arch preferred by Scheter.²²⁴ Despite occasional modifications in his writing (see PICTURES 44:1–3), Muter’s conduct of quill is always easy to recognize and remains coherent throughout his period of activity in Reval in 1427–60.

²²³ Observations of the use of this feature in the handwriting of Revalian city scribes are based on TLA, A.a.3, f. 3r–86v, A.a.6c, p. 1–302 and material in the files of individual scribes in TLA, BA 1:1a-d.

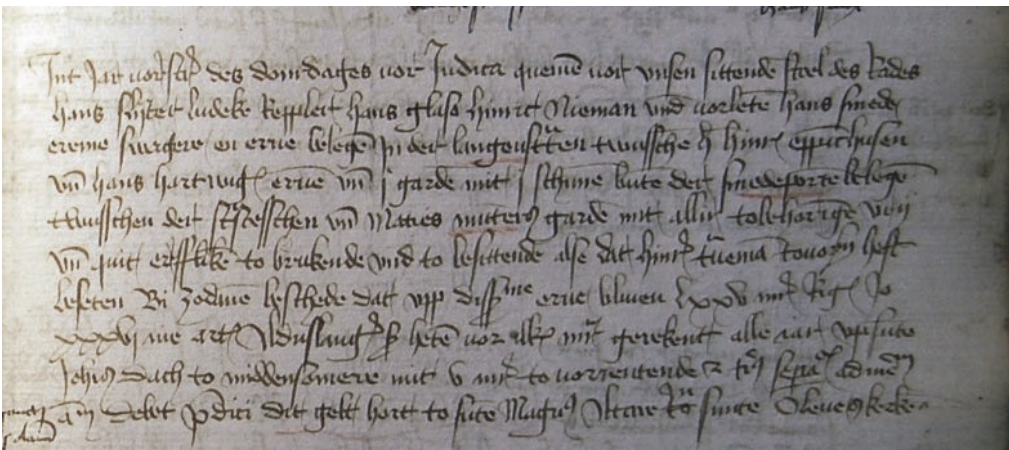
²²⁴ See for instance TLA, A.a.5, f. 12v–13r (BB 1409–1624, 7b–8a).

Pictures 44:1–3: Three samples of the handwriting of Joachim Muter in the paper book of resignations on transactions of real property issued (45:1) in front of the council on Friday before St Valentine (February 10), 1430, (45:2) Thursday before Judica (March 19), 1439 and (45:3) Monday after St James (July 28), 1455. Note the habitual bending of fine hair decorations to the right and hairline flourishes in short 't' and v-shaped 'r'. Also note Muter's characteristic truncation of Item in row '8' of the last sample.

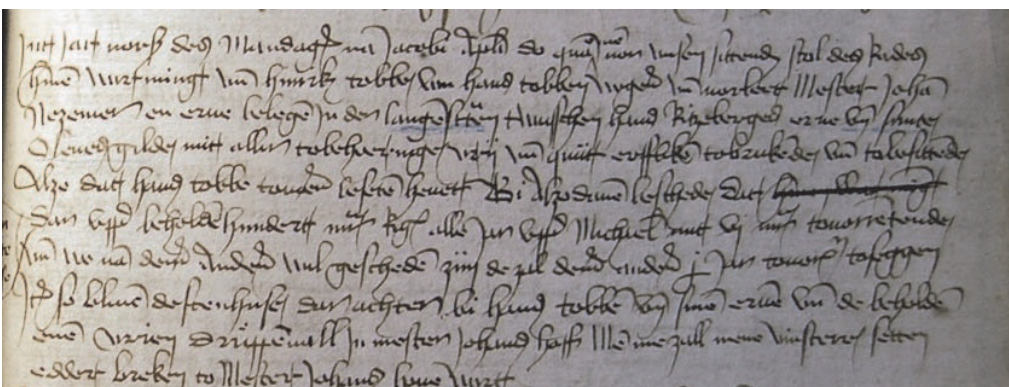
Picture 44:1



Picture 44:2



Picture 44:3



TLA, A.a.6c, p. 219, 263, 299 (EBIII 985, 1171, 1320)

One of the best documented periods of office of medieval city scribes active in Reval, the activity and surviving writings of Joachim Muter present several points of interest relevant to this study. Despite the lack of any official contract or other document on the date of his appointment to the office of the city scribe, the early phases of Muter's activity from late spring to autumn 1429 do provide information about the possible process of introduction of new personnel to the written management of information in the civic administration, but also about ways of organising their salary and conditions of work before and after the stabilisation of their conduct of affairs in the City Scriptorium. Of interest is the peculiar discrepancy between the first signs of Muter's activity in the spring of 1429 and the beginning of his conduct of the two most important registers of the city administration, the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3, PergRB] and the paper book of resignations [A.a.6c, EBIII] later in the same summer and autumn.

The first datable sign of the activity of Joachim Muter as a person responsible for management of information and production of texts after his two and a half month sojourn in Reval in 1427 is from late May 1429, when he took control of the paper register of Poundage [A.g.1] on the day after Corpus Christi (May 27).²²⁵ Around the same time, in the weeks following Pentecost (May 15–22) and Trinity (May 23–29), he also started to write drafts and copies for sent missives of the council, such as the answer to a letter of the bailiff of Narva from the Friday in Ember after Pentecost (May 20), 1429, and the letter to the council of Dorpat containing a copy of a letter to the council of Lübeck issued on the Saturday after Pentecost (May 21), 1429.²²⁶ Since the reorganisation of the various drafts and memoranda of the city scribes in the archival file of BA 1 by Arnold Kotkas in 1940, both texts have been in the archival file of Muter [BA 1:Id], which consists of 141 leaves of drafts, copies and other memoranda on loose sheets and bifolios from his two periods of activity in April–July 1427 and from May 1429 to late December 1459.²²⁷ Considering the beginning of Muter's second period of activity in Reval, it is interesting that in BA 1:Id yet a third text with composition, paper and ink similar to the two above-mentioned letters has survived, containing a draft for the council's missives to the Livonian Master and Komptur of Fellin

²²⁵ TLA, A.g.1, f. 47r

²²⁶ TLA, BA 1:Id, 133r (LECUB I:8 7) a draft of the council's letter without a date but citing the bailiff's letter issued on May 20; TLA, BB 52:I, 41 (LECUB I:8 2); TLA, BA 1:Id, 150r (LECUB I:8 4), a copy of the council's letter to Lübeck together with a copy of a letter to the council of Dorpat designed to include a transcription of the first letter (LECUB I:8 5).

²²⁷ TLA, BA 1:Id, 126–267. The last datable text in the file is a draft of a notary instrument dated December 13, 1459, TLA, BA 1:Id, 138r. A small octavo quire of paper covering the numbers 115–125 is not written by Muter but is from the late 15th century.

dated on the day after St Servatius (May 14), and asking them to take an interest in what the Dominican prior of Reval, Johannes Langhe, would say on behalf of his convent. The first surviving document on the activity of Langhe in Livonia after July 1427, the draft has previously been dated to ca. 1430, but may well be from May 14, 1429, which would suggest that Muter had arrived in Reval in the company of Langhe when the friar returned from Rome earlier in the same spring.²²⁸ However, since there are further drafts with similar layout of text, paper and ink from May 1430 and May 1431 in Muter's file, the possible concurrence of his early activity with the return of Langhe in 1429 is difficult to confirm and the chain of events which brought him back in Reval cannot be satisfactorily established.²²⁹

Despite the apparent beginning of his activity in the two weeks following Pentecost 1429, the first entries of Joachim Muter in the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3] and paper book of resignations [A.a.6c] occurred somewhat later, consisting of entries on transactions of real property issued in front of the council in the summer and autumn of 1429. In A.a.3 the first three entries of Muter following the end of the activity of Wenemar Scheter are written in mixed order on recognitions issued on the Friday after St John (June 24), the Friday after St Andrew (December 2), and the Friday after All Saints (November 4), 1429, with different solutions of ink at the end of the left column of f. 71v. After introducing the right column with a Latin title '*In the year one thousand four hundred thirty was continued this book*' he started to fill the following pages and columns with an unbroken flow of entries starting from February 1430.²³⁰ Since a similar title on page 219 of the paper book of resignations in [A.a.6c] is preceded by a handful of his entries written on resignations issued between Michaelmas (September 30) and the Eve of St Andrew (November 29), 1429, Muter's official introduction to the office of the city scribe appears to have taken place around the beginning of the fiscal year of 1429/30, when he was entrusted with full control of the two most important registers of the city.²³¹

As the register of Poundage and the parchment book of annuities show, the process of taking control of various registers appears to have been a more or less gradual one and Muter's

²²⁸ TLA, BA 1:Id, 137 (LECUB I:8 381). Because of Langhe's known sojourn in Rome in September 1425 Paul Johansen has dated the letter to May 14, 1425. Johansen's dating was written on the original at some time during his work in AR.

²²⁹ TLA, BA 1:Id, 192, (LECUB I:8 218, May 24, 1430) and 240r (LECUB I:8 451, May 28, 1431).

²³⁰ TLA, A.a.3, f. 71v (PergRB 768–772), '*Anno millesimo Quardringentesimo Tricesimo fuit continuatus iste liber*'.

²³¹ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 219, '*Anno domini Millesimo Quardringentesimo Tricesimo*' (EBIII 984–985), p. 217–218 (EBIII 980–984).

hand usually emerges in individual volumes only, when sufficient matters concerning the particular sphere of administration were gathered to be written down as entries in the respective registers. In the surviving section of the register of warrants of safe conduct [A.a.17a], for instance, Muter's hand first emerges with entries on warrants published on the Monday after St Peter and St Paul (July 4) and the Friday before the Assumption of Mary (August 12), 1429, both of which were possibly written in a single session soon after the latter date. That Muter only obtained control of most of the registers of the city around the beginning of the new fiscal year of 1429/30 is also suggested by his first entry in the paper codex of mixed memoranda [A.d.5], on a matter of inheritance discussed in front of the council on the Friday before Michaelmas (September 23), 1429.²³² In fact, excepting the registers of Poundage and warrants of safe conduct, no other register or established volume of memoranda of the city presents datable samples of his handwriting before late September 1429.²³³

A similar but longer period of transition in his conduct of the civic memoranda is again apparent at the end of his activity in 1456–57, when Muter's last entries in the two most important registers of the city were made on recognitions issued on the Friday after St Martin (November 14), 1455 [A.a.3], and the Friday before Advent (November 26), 1456 [A.a.6c].²³⁴ In A.a.3 the first entry of his successor Reinhold Storing is written on a resignation issued on the Friday before St Margaret (July 9), 1456, with the title '*Anno 58tich*', but a continuous run of Storing's entries starts only with two recognitions issued on the Wednesday before St John in Midsummer (June 21), 1458, under the title '*Anno 58tich*'.²³⁵ In A.a.6c, three entries of Muter written on transactions issued on the Friday before St Catherine (November 19) and the Friday before Advent (November 26), 1456, are followed by three entries by Storing on resignations of the Friday after Mary Magdalene (July 29), 1457, but then supplemented with three further entries by Muter on resignations issued on the same day (July 29) and the Friday before St Lawrence (August 5). After these, Storing's handwriting fills the last surviving leaf of A.a.6c with seven entries on

²³² TLA, A.a.17a, f. 2r; TLA, A.d.5, f. 149v.

²³³ In both folio-sized codex of *wedde* (TLA, A.a.4a, f. 34v), and register of sworn burghers (TLA, A.a.5, f. 12v–13r, BB 1409–1624, p. 7b–8a), Muter's hand follows that of *Wenemar Scheter* in entries from late 1429, but more precise dating is impossible.

²³⁴ TLA, A.a.3, f. 71v (PergRB 768) and TLA, A.a.6c, p. 217 (EBIII 980). Muter has also written a later interpolation in the recognition issued on Friday before St George (April 22), 1429, on the annuities of the house of Berndt Bogel and his wife (once inhabited by Johannes Blomendal, see above CHAPTER 5.2.1.2), TLA, A.a.6c, p. 215 (EBIII 974, *zusatz*).

²³⁵ TLA, A.a.3, f. 86v (PergRB 1016, 1017–18).

resignations issued between the Friday before St Bartholomew (August 19), 1457, and the Friday before Sunday Misericordia (April 11), 1458.²³⁶ A notary public from the diocese of Utrecht, Reinold Storning had been in the service of the Livonian Master Johann von Mengede (in office 1450–69, formerly Komptur of Reval in 1442–50) in the spring and summer of 1453, when he had acted as a notary in Riga castle and visited Copenhagen as the secretary of the Livonian Master. The earliest contact between members of the Revalian civic administration and Storning have been dated to ca. summer 1455, when the councillor Cost van Borstel wrote him a letter and asked Storning to hold truthfully to what he had instructed him orally. Since the letter itself has no date whatsoever and it discusses the matter of *Engelbrekt Struss*, in which Storning appears to have acted as an envoy of the council of Reval in negotiations with an unnamed king, possibly Karl Knutsson of Sweden, it may well be of later date, perhaps from 1456 or 1457. Apparently a key figure in employing Storning as the new city scribe in 1456, Cost van Borstel, who owned the house adjacent to the city scriptorium in the market, also employed Storning in December 1459 as a procurator in his own and his childrens' case against the testament of his son-in-law, the former burgher-master of Turku Jacob Vrese (died in 1455, see below and CHAPTER 3.1.3.2).²³⁷

Outside the two registers, a lengthy period of transition in the office of the Revalian city scribe in 1456 is further attested in other main memoranda of the city such as the registers of sworn burghers²³⁸ and *wedde*²³⁹, where Muter's hand remains active as late as September 1460, and registers of Poundage²⁴⁰ and accounts of the *kämmerers*²⁴¹, where his handwriting

²³⁶ TLA, A.a.6c, p. 301–304 (EBIII 1326–28 by *Muter*, 1329–31 by *Storning*, 1332–34 by *Muter* and 1335–41 by *Storning*).

²³⁷ On *Reinhold Storning* see Kala 2006b, 128–129, LG I:2, 118. TLA, Urk. 1-I, 685, Donner 1930, 31–53, Derrik 2000, 63–65, Kreem 2006, 35–38.

²³⁸ In the register of sworn burghers *Storning*'s hand first emerges with entries on an oath issued on the Thursday after Oculi (March 4), 1456, next to the last entry of *Muter* on an oath of the Friday before St Lucy (December 12), 1455, but the run of *Storning*'s entries is then mixed with a small number of those written by *Muter* until an oath issued on the Feast of St Maurice (September 22), 1460 at the end of the fiscal year of 1459/60, TLA, A.a.5, f. 20r–21v (BB 1409–1624, 13a–14b).

²³⁹ In the folio-sized codex of *wedde*, *Storning*'s hand first emerges in the context of the beginning of the advocacy of councillor Johan Oldendorp at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1456/57, but occasional entries of *Muter* appear among his well into the calendar year of 1460, TLA, A.a.4a, f. 52r–53v.

²⁴⁰ In the register of Poundage the first entries by *Reinhold Storning* are written on three ships cleared in the Feast of St Peter in Chains (August 1) and the Assumption of Mary (August 15), placed among entries of *Muter* in 1455 and 1456. After this *Storning*'s handwriting again emerges in late summer 1456, but is still interspersed with that of *Muter* until the sailing season 1458, which is the first exclusively registered by *Storning*, see TLA, A.g.2, where the hand of *Muter* is predominant on p. 55–57, 61–62, 66–70, 99–103 and *Storning* on p. 54, 57, 59–60, 63–65, 71–80, 89–90, 91–98, 108–119, 121–122, for the third hand, who also wrote the narrow register of A.g.3 see CHAPTER 3.2.2.3.

is interspersed with that of Storning's until the beginning of the fiscal year of 1456/57. A summary of the costs paid from the return of the Poundage in 1457 and 1458 on a loose quarto sheet of paper written by Muter and possibly originating from a set of quires or a codex has an entry on the expenses of a scribe for keeping the script (*schryft*) of Poundage for two years, but the scribe is not clearly identified.²⁴² A chronological mixture of Muter's and Storning's hands is also found in letters of the council of Reval to their colleagues in Lübeck, where Muter wrote a missive on the allegations of a certain *Hans Leitfordriiff* dated to St Lawrence Eve (August 9), 1456, and Storning a missive discussing the actions of the king of Denmark in the Sound dated four days later, to the Wednesday after St Lawrence (August 11), 1456.²⁴³

As in the period of transition between Wenemar Scheter and Muter in May–September 1429, Reinhold Storning appears to have been active in the written management of information of the council as early as May 1456, when, on the Tuesday before Pentecost (May 13) he wrote the council's letter to Lübeck concerning the matter of Revalian burgher *Hans Louenschede*. Instead of stepping aside from all writing in the manner of his predecessor Scheter, Muter continued his services well beyond the beginning of Storning's activity.²⁴⁴ Such a period of transition is also revealed in the accounts of the *kämmerers*, where Muter was granted a sum of 12 Riga marks on the Friday before St Vitus (June 11), 1456, 'to write one year with it' (*vor 1 jar dar mede bi to scrivende*). Until then the normal remuneration for his services had been an annual salary of 24 marks paid in four instalments each (below, CHAPTER 5.2.4.3).²⁴⁵ The reduction is obviously related to the first employment of Reinhold Storning in the office of the city scribe some time in the spring and early summer of 1456. Presumably, during the early months of Storning's occupation Muter instructed and supervised him while maintaining a transitional role in the shift of hands in the written management of information of the civic authority. In that role he appears to have continued producing parchment documents for private matters publicised in front of the council and in the city, such as the

²⁴¹ In the accounts of the *kämmerers*, *Storning's* hand emerges first in a section from the Eve of St James (July 24), 1456, to the Saturday before Oculi (March 19), 1457, followed by another section of entries of *Muter* from the Saturday before Palm Sunday (April 9) to the Saturday before St Lawrence (August 6), 1457. A continuous run of *Storning's* entries then begins on the Saturday after St Egidus (September 3), 1457, TLA, A.d.15, f. 210r–216v, 219r (KB 1432–63, 1023–1045, 1054).

²⁴² The fragment of 1457–58, TLA, B.a.1, f. 67r, see also CHAPTERS 1.2.3 and 3.2.2.3.

²⁴³ STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica nr. 137 (LECUB I:11 605), nr. 138 (LECUB I:11 606).

²⁴⁴ STA Lü, Livonica und Estonica nr. 135 (not in LECUB).

²⁴⁵ KB 1432–63, 1021.

agreement of one *Herbord van der Linden* with the executors of his late brother Everd's testament issued on the Eve of the Holy Martyrs John and Paul (June 25), 1456.²⁴⁶

Joachim Muter must have held the office of the city scribe until his official resignation at the end of the fiscal year of 1455/56, but remained available for occasional writing for another four years until the end of the fiscal year of 1459/60, when his last entries appear in the surviving registers and memoranda of the city. His status as a senior scribe and notary public in the service of the council is further attested in his last surviving notary instrument in *AR*, a Latin procuration of the council in an Imperial process against *Engelbrekt Strusz* issued on Friday 7 July, 1458, where the text of the instrument is written by Reinhold Storning but the notary corroboration and sign are from the hand of Muter. Himself a notary public from the diocese of Utrecht, as attested by his transsumpt of a letter of the council of Riga to the Prussian cities for the Livonian master on the penultimate or last day of May 1453, the reason for the collaboration of the two scribes and notaries public in the production of the procuration of 1458 is somewhat obscure. Since no sign of myopia or notable shattering of line can be traced in Muter's writing of the corroboration, the reason for Storning's collaboration in the finished instrument appears to be unrelated to Muter's age, but the joint production of the instrument and its final notarialization by Muter is likely to have resulted from Storning's involvement in the process as one of the two procurators of the council since the spring of 1457.²⁴⁷ In this process against Engelbrekt Struss, a former client and servant of Karl Knutsson (Bonde) and possibly the same as Engelbrekt Japsson, Karl's short time bailiff of the castle of Tavastehus (Fin. *Hämeen linna*) in 1447, Reinhold Storning had already on April 8, 1457, produced a document for the council where the four burghermasters and 14 councillors declared that they accepted all the actions their former procurator *Gobele Baseler* and his substitutes had taken on their behalf in the imperial court and informed Baseler that they had nominated *Reynhold Storning* and *Johannes Sweder*, clerics of the dioceses of Utrecht and Reval, as their new procurators in the matter. The entries of the *kämmerers*' accounts from the subsequent period show that both the new procurators travelled to Germany in the spring of 1457 to take the matter in hand, but only Johannes Sweder stayed there, whereas Storning appears to have returned to Reval in the late summer or early autumn of 1457. During his absence, the administration of written

²⁴⁶ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 687 (LECUB I:11 580).

²⁴⁷ TLA, B.i.4:III, 11 (LECUB I:11 760), LECUB I:11 275 and 271.

information of the council was taken care of by his predecessor Muter, who presumably lived in the city after his final resignation.²⁴⁸

In his archival file in *AR* [BA 1:Id], the last texts produced by Joachim Muter, already stationed in the archive of the council in the 15th century, are a record on a matter of inheritance issued in front of the council in the church of the Holy Ghost on the Thursday after St Matthew (September 28), 1458, written on a loose piece of paper with additional notes by Reinhold Storning and Muter on the back, including Storning's comment 'this is yet to be written in the City's book' (*dit sal man noch in der Stad[es] bock schreuen*), and two drafts for notary instruments issued on October 15 and 16, 1459, in the home of the burgher-master and councillor Cost van Borstel and in the chapel of the Holy Ghost. Both the instruments were designed for the process of Cost's daughter *Wendela* and her son against one *Hinrik Vrese*, canon and since 1460 dean of Turku, and Hinrik's sister *Birgitta*, over the will of *Wendela's* late husband, Hinrik's and Birgitta's father *Jacob Vrese*, a former burgher-master of Turku who had later become a burgher of Reval (died in 1455). Both the drafts are written by Muter and have interpolations and corrections by him and Storning in Latin. The texts testify that Cost, his daughter and other persons with an interest in the will had authorised the '*honourable and circumspect man, dominus Reinhold Storning, secretary of the city of Reval*' to be their procurator in the case, and that Storning then proclaimed to appeal for a resolution to the case in the apostolical curia where Hinrik Vrese had presented a parallel appellation at least a year before.²⁴⁹ Having first arrived in Reval in April 1427 to produce notary instruments and certifications for the dispute of Johan Langhe and the council with the diocesan church in the papal curia, it seems that Muter rather fittingly ended his career in the city by producing instruments in the initial phases of another and even more far-reaching private dispute of inheritance which only came to an end in 1510,

²⁴⁸ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 689 (LECUB I:11 659). For the entries in KB 1432–63 concerning the procuration see LECUB I:11 659; On Engelberkt Struss see Salminen 1993a, 86, footnote 25.

²⁴⁹ TLA, BA 1:Id, 266r–v; TLA, BA 1:Id, 267v (LECUB I:11 858) and 267r (LECUB I:11 859). For a draft or a copy of *Storning's* appellation in his own hand see TLA, BA 1:Ie, 303 (LECUB I:11, 664), and *Storning's* draft for another notary instrument in the dispute issued on October 19, 1459, in the church of St Nicholas TLA, BA 1:Ie, 306 (LECUB I:11, 861). On the dispute concerning *Vrese's* inheritance and the various stages in it see Donner 1930, *passim*, and Kream 2006, 36–38. According to a finished but unsealed letter of *tovorsichte* dated to the Eve of St Luke (October 17), 1459, and issued by the council of Reval for one *Rotger Bodeker* in the form of an letter open on parchment addressing the council of Cologne (TLA, BA 1:Ic, 302, LECUB I:11 860) '*Renoldus vnser stad screuer*' was one of the eight people in Reval to whom Bodeker had paid a total of 56 Rhein Guldens and six Riga schillings on behalf of one *Jurgen Ostorp*, who had drowned on his way from Reval to Lübeck, and which Rotker Bodeker was now entitled to have settled from Ostorp estate in Cologne. Written by city scribe *Reinhold Storning* himself, his claim on Ostorp's estate is issued as one Rhein gulden in the letter, and since all the other 7 men with claims on Ostorp's bussinesses were Revalian burghers, councillors and Revalian based merchants, the new city scribe had apparently had business dealings of his own with a Cologne merchant active in Reval.

and for which resolutions were sought not only from the pope but also from the Imperial Court and the king of Denmark then ruling over all three Scandinavian kingdoms.

5.2.4.2. Management of memoranda and written information

During his period of office in 1429–56 Joachim Muter took control of almost all the known memoranda of the council administration, not only administering the most important registers of the city but also introducing new codices in the written management of information and communication of the council. In line with his predecessors he wrote entries in the parchment codex of annuities [A.a.3, PergRB] and the paper book of resignations [A.a.6c, EBIII], where his engagement covers his entire period of office in 1429–56/60.²⁵⁰ Like all of his predecessors since Hermannus, Muter also wrote entries on matters brought to the consideration of the council in the paper codex of mixed memoranda, A.d.5, where his contribution consists of 18 entries dated from the Friday before Michaelmas (September 23), 1429, to the Friday before Pentecost (May 23), 1455, and covers seven consecutive pages close to the end of the codex. Since the very beginning of his occupation in 1429, Muter's flowering handwriting is also constantly present in the registers of Poundage [A.g.1 and A.g.2] and in other major administrative and fiscal memoranda of the civic authority, such as the combined quarto volume of lists of warrants of safe conduct and sworn burghers [A.a.17 and A.a.5] and as the folio sized paper codex of collected rents and *wedde* [A.a.4a], which he controlled until the very end of his permanent occupation in 1456. The only exception in these is the register of collected rents, for which he may have introduced a separate volume of its own in 1437 (see CHAPTER 3.1.3.3 and FIGURE 7 below), later lost from the medieval holdings of the *AR*. In line with his predecessors his activity in the written management of rents, alms and chantries/vicaries is also evident in the schematic register of incoming rents in the parchment codex of A.a.7 where he added contemporary information on the leases of shops and real property during his office in 1429–56.²⁵¹ In ca. 1441–50 he also appears to have taken part of the written management of the mills, where the annual summaries on the return of the milling in 1441–50, together with a section of the accounts of the mills in 1442 in the surviving folio codex of the mills [A.d.20] and the quarto codex later dissolved into several different files [B.a.3, A.d.21 and B.a.6:II] are written by him. In 1448 Muter also took control of the written management of the administration of the Hospital of St John, for which he introduced a new parchment codex in octavo listing the property, rents

²⁵⁰ TLA, A.a.3 and A.a.6c, for the beginning and end of Muter's writing see CHAPTER 5.2.4.1 above. For the fourth quire of A.a.6c with entries from 1459–74 [B.i.3:I, EBIV] see CHAPTER 3.1.2.1, footnote 30.

²⁵¹ TLA, A.a.7, f. 4v, 5r, 6r, 7r–8r.

and other information on the fiscal liabilities of the leprosorium as well as the ordinance for the inmates [B.d.1a, see CHAPTER 3.2.4].

Other examples of Muter's role in the management of various accounts relevant to the activity of the civic authority are the two accounts in paper quires in quarto of the building of the Domberg wall, presenting itemized lists of leverances of building materials and salaries in chronological order for the construction works in 1454–56 [B.a.2, f. 40–46 and 47–56, see CHAPTER 3.2.5]. Archived in the *kämmerers'* office by 1456, one of the accounts is written in its entirety by Muter and the other in alternation between him and his successor Reinhold Storning in 1456, which again underlines not only the period of transition between the two scribes in the management of written information of the civic administration in 1456, but also their role in the production of finished accounts for the council similar to the accounts of the *kämmerers'* and Poundage.

In addition to the two quires of the costs of the building of the Domberg wall, another interesting piece of memoranda surviving from the office of Joachim Muter is the copy of the decisions (*recesses*) of the Hansetag and Livonian cities from 1430–53. The codex itself consist of 145 leaves of paper in quarto (29,5 x 22,0 cm) bound in leather covers. In the codex each recess with the supplementary copies of letters sent in the name of the assembly is written in its own quire usually consisting of two or more bifolios written by one or several hands with only occasional rare titles and interpolations by Muter. Of all the recesses only one, the recess of the Hansetag in Lübeck on June 5, 1434, is wholly written by Muter. The volume also contains a lengthy summary of the costs of envoys to Novgorod in 1421–55 written by him in several sessions, the first of which, considering the years 1421–31, must have been transcribed from an older memorandum then available in the archive of the council. All the other recesses seem to be copies prepared and sent as such for the use of the council of Reval by the scribes and scriptoriums active in the respective assemblies; those from Stralsund in 1442 and Lübeck in 1447, 1450 and 1453 are collated and corroborated by the Lübeck protonotary Johannes Herten.²⁵² The fact that the copy of the recess of Lübeck

²⁵² The recesses bound into the codex (TLA, A.a.15b) are: Lübeck January 1, 1430 (1r–7r, HR I:8 712), Lübeck June 5, 1434 (9r–18r, HR II:1 321, Muter), Wolmar January 8, 1434 (20r–26r, HR II:1 226), Costs of Hanseatic and Livonian delegations to Novgorod in 1421–55 (26v–27r, *Muter*), Walk and Dorpat August 15–26, 1435 (28r–31r, HR II:1 462), Pernau June, 9, 1437 (32r–36r, HR II:2 132), Wolmar February 23, 1440 (37r–40v, HR II:2 329), Wolmar January 22, 1441 (41r–43r, 44r–45r, 46r–48v), HR II.2 428, Stralsund May 20–30, 1442 (49r, with a title by *Muter* – 59r, HR II:2 603, according to HR with collations by Herten), Pärnu March 10, 1443 (60r–63v, HR II:2 701), Walk February 16, 1444 (64r–67v, HR II:3 106), Wolmar July 5, 1444 (68r–69r, HR II:3 160), Wolmar December 12, 1445 (70r–76r, HR II:3 216, 76v, with Muter's entry on a delegation to Narva and the issues there), Lübeck May 18, 1447 (77r–100r, HR II:3 288, 77r, with title by *Muter* and the

of June 5, 1434, is written by Muter, does not, however, necessarily indicate that he accompanied the Revalian envoy councillor Herman Lippe to the meeting. Given that Muter's writing in the paper book of resignations in May-July 1434 appears to be a product of several sessions, he may have copied it from the original received copy of the recess later.²⁵³ However, there is evidence that Muter was involved in the preparations of Revalian and Livonian delegations to the Hansetag, as in late 1429 when he wrote a 14-article promemoria on issues to be brought up at the gathering of the Hanseatic cities in Lübeck.²⁵⁴

Like his predecessors in the office of the city scribes, Muter also wrote a variety of missives, attestations, appellations and other documents issued in the name of the council and the civic community, where his flowering hand of notary public adds a highly professional and elegant touch to the correspondence of the council. Material on his surviving drafts and discarded originals of missives is discussed below, but one of the eight surviving appellations of the council of Reval to Lübeck from his period of activity in 1430–48 appears to show that he also employed occasional auxiliary hands in his office.²⁵⁵ In the paper quire of quarto containing the appellation in the lawsuit of *Bertold Burhammer*, councillor of Danzig, vs. Henrik Berke, burgher of Lübeck, and his associate *Meyneke Verling*, a copy of an open letter of the aldermen of the German Hanse in Brügge of October 1, 1442 to the council of Reval, is written by a hand different to that of Muter, but as a continuous section of the general body of the text in the appellation. The hand, with its distinctive long vertical strokes of the hook of 'g' underlining the words and a strong leaning

recess starting from 77v written by a different hand, f. 86 r with *Muter's* interpolation on those who left for Novgorod), f. 100r with a subscription by the same hand as the latter part of the copy reading 'Johannes hertze protonotarius civitatis Lubicensis' and collations by Herten clearly showing that copies of the recesses were made in Lybeck City Scriptorium and sent to participating cities), Wolmar April 27, 1449 (101r–103v, HR II:3 516), Pernau May 4, 1450 (104r–108r, H II:3 598), Lübeck September 21, 1450 (109r–118r, 119r–125r, 126r–130r, HR II:3 649, with a subscription of Herten but the text of the recess written by a different hand, apparently one of the scribes in Lübeck city scriptorium), Wolmar January 20, 1452 (131r–133r, including a section copied from the Denkelbuch of the city of Dorpat, ALS 540), Lübeck December, 1453 (134r–140r, HR II:4 196), Pernau February 25, 1453 (141r–142r, HR II:4 140), and Wolmar August 11, 1453 (143r–145r, HR II:4 180). In the recesses a variety of correspondence of the meetings is often included. For a more comprehensive look at the contents of the individual recesses and the documents in them, see HR.

²⁵³ TLA, A.a.15b, f. 26v–27r. According to HR I:1 321, the recess is a copy made in Lübeck, but the hand is clearly that of *Muter*. TLA, A.a.bc, p. 241, where EBIII 1080–81 and 1082 from May 28 to June 18 were written in a single session, but EBIII 1083 of June 14 and EBIII 1084 of July 5 in two different sessions. Because of the mixed chronology of the entries, the possibility remains that all the three entries EBIII 1081–83 were written some time in late June.

²⁵⁴ TLA, BA 1:Id, 178r–v (LECUB I:8 109, HR I:8 680). The promemoria dates after October 18, 1429.

²⁵⁵ STA Lü, Altes Senatsarchiv, Interna, Appellationen nr. 537 (Friday before Sunday Quasimodogeniti, April 21, 1430), nr. 538 (Friday before Palm Sunday, March 23, 1431), nr. 539 (Monday after St Nicholas (December 9, 1443), nr. 540 (Michaelmas Eve, September 28, 1442), nr. 541 (Friday before Sunday Misericordia, April 29, 1446), nr. 542 (Division of the Apostles, July 15, 1446), nr. 543 (Friday before St Barbara, December 2, 1446) and nr. 544:1 (Eve of St Peter and Paul, June 28, 1448) with a copy of the testament of *Margrete Boeckels* of Monday before St Urban, May 22, 1447 by *Muter*.

to the right, is very close to that of Revalian burgher Arndt Saffenberch, who, eight days before St Urban (May 17), 1455, wrote a letter about his lawsuit with one Peter Monik, but whether the hand who wrote both texts is really Saffenberch's is an open question. When compared to the hand active with the accounts and other material of the building of the aqueduct in 1420–23, very likely that of Saffenberch himself (see CHAPTER 3.2.5), the hand responsible for Saffenberch's letter in 1455 displays a similar right leaning and stress on certain descenders, but has a more finished and calligraphic nature than the rather fast and casual writing in the accounts of the building of the aqueduct.²⁵⁶ While in office Muter is also known to have produced and confirmed notary instruments in matters of interest to the city on one way or another and issued for private lawsuits of the councillors, as on June 8, 1431, when late in the evening and at the request of the Revalian burgher-master Cost van Borstell, he wrote a notary instrument on the statement and testimony of one *Andreas de Cabriel* on the misdeeds of one Petrus of Sweden, who had committed several criminal acts in the bishopric of Ösel and in Reval. As discussed in CHAPTER 3.1.3.2, the instrument was issued in Cost's house next to the City Scriptorium.²⁵⁷

Beyond the possible introduction of a register of collected rents in 1437 and his later engagement with the accounts of the mills and the Hospital of St John in the 1440's, the major initiatives of Joachim Muter in the management of information of the civic administration and written communication of the council of Reval appear to have taken place in the early years of his office in 1432, when he introduced at least two major new codices for the management of information of the council administration. Since both of the codices were apparently successors to older volumes of similar content introduced by city scribe Hermannus and people active in the written management of information of the council at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, Muter's engagement with these particular spheres of administration was nothing new, and must be considered a continuation of the office of the city scribe in the form already established in the closing decades of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th.

Of the two codices introduced by Joachim Muter in 1432, the extant one is the stout paper book of *kämmerers* in quarto [A.d.15, KB 1432–63], begun by Muter around the beginning of the fiscal year of 1432/33 and then continued by him and his successor Reinhold Storning

²⁵⁶ STA Lü, Altes Senatsarchiv, Interna, Appellationen nr. 539:8, nr. 545; See TLA, B.a.1, f. 20r–v and other cited texts in CHAPTER 3.2.5.

²⁵⁷ TLA, B.i.4:III, 10 (LECUB I:8 456).

until January 1463. In form and size is similar to two fragments of *kämmerers*' accounts on paper in quarto [B.a.2, f. 21–24, 25–26] and consisting of a partially dissolved quire from around 1405, and a bifolio with entries by Wenemar Scheter made in August–September 1426 and Muter some time in 1429–32 (see CHAPTER 3.2.1.2). The new codex introduced in 1432 was clearly built on the conventions of its now lost predecessor, where the written management of the accounts comprised a kind of a chronological index of transactions of city income and expenses after the city scribe had written them into the book from loose slips and notes produced by the *kämmerers*. Rather than being written by six different hands, as suggested by Reinhard Vogelsang in his edition of A.d.15 in 1976 (KB 1432–63), almost the entire volume has been written by two hands, those of Muter (Vogelsang's hands I–II) and Storning (Vogelsang's hand VI). Three other hands surface only briefly: one (Vogelsang's hand III) wrote a short interpolation on Muter's entries of December 1434, one was active in July 1438 (Vogelsang's hand IV), and one in July 1452 (Vogelsang's hand IV).²⁵⁸ Since none of these hands are featured in the two registers of A.a.3 and A.a.6c. written by Muter with only sporadic later interpolations and assisting entries by Storning, the three temporary hands in A.d.15 are most likely those of the *kämmerers* or other persons engaged with the accounts of the office in late 1432 and the summers of 1438 and 1452.²⁵⁹

Another codex that was very probably written by Muter and introduced around the beginning of the fiscal year of 1432/33 is a copy of sent missives of the council; a topical continuation of the older missive books of A.a.6d and A.a.4. A.a.4, a folio sized codex of paper, was first written in by city scribe Hermannus in 1384 and it is known to have remained in use until the period of office of Wenemar Scheter in 1427 (see CHAPTERS 4.3.1.3 and 5.2.2.2). Circumstantial evidence for the probable introduction of a new copy of missives in ca. 1432 is available in Muter's file in *AR* [BA 1:Id]: of the 141 numbered sheets, 108 present various kinds of drafts, copies and finished but discarded original missives of the council dating from between May 20, 1429, and October 25, 1432 as well as

²⁵⁸ Vogelsang 1976, 3–4. Voglesang's identification of the two hands (I–II) alternating in A.d.15 in the period of office of *Muter* appears to have been based on modifications in *Muter*'s handwriting obviously resulting from various kinds of temporary changes between different sessions in his writing, something that Vogelsang himself recognises in his analysis of the hands of the codex. Both the hands I and II are unquestionably those of Joachim Muter, see for instance A.d.15, f. 4v, with Vogelsang's assumed change from Hand I to Hand II on KB 1432–63, nr. 36. Vogelsang's hand III: TLA, A.d.15, f. 16r (KB 1432–63, 125, December 17, 1434, two last lines, not in nr. 129 as suggested by Vogelsang's edition, Vogelsang's hand IV: f. 44v, nr. 317 (July 19, 1438) and f. 48r, nr. 334–335 8July 19–24, 1438), Vogelsang's hand V: f. 172v–173r, nr. 898 (July 15, 1452).

²⁵⁹ In his list of the Revalian city scribes from the 1930's, Paul Johansen has identified a substitute active at the beginning of Muter's period of activity (Johansen MRS, nr. 10a 'NN. Substitut 1433 Juli bis Aug., 1434 Febr., März und 1436 Jan.) and refers to the A.a.5, 8b, 9a. In the corresponding codex (BB 1409–1624) no such hand exists among those of Blomendal, Scheter and Muter.

another smaller group of eight leaves with texts from the years 1434–38, six of which date from the year 1436.²⁶⁰ Again, as in the case of Johannes Blomendal and Wenemar Scheter, not all the texts and various pieces of memoranda written by Muter are in his file in the archives, but since no less than 75 % of the large selection of his surviving drafts and copies of the council's missives date from the period after his first engagement as a city scribe in May 1429 and before the beginning of the fiscal year of 1432/33, there is good reason to suggest that subsequent texts of missives were copied into a new Missive book which Muter introduced some time in October 1432, but which was later lost. This new Missive book may have covered information on the sent missives of the council from late 1432 to 1479/81, when a new copy of the missives and letters of the council was introduced by city scribe Borchard Kenappel (active from 1478 to 1496) still surviving in *AR*. The curious Revalian habit of documenting information on sent missives of the council in sheets and drafts of individual city scribes alternating with missive books proper survived well into the 16th century, where the missive book of 1479/81–1505 is followed by a bound volume of single sheets and short quires of varying size from the period of activity of city scribe Reinhold Korner in 1507–12.²⁶¹

Together with the *kämmerers'* accounts of 1432–63 and the lost Missive book of 1432–81, a third volume possibly designed for the written management of information of the council introduced at the beginning of the office of Joachim Muter may have been that of the *schoss*, the annual registers that the city scribes had written since the late 1360's and as late as in 1424 on quired bifolios of narrow format archived in loose connection to each other and occasionally bound in coverless volumes of 2–5 quires. As discussed above (see CHAPTER 3.2.2.2), the beginning of Muter's office appears to have marked a slight modification in the textual convention of the lists: in the first autumn of his permanent occupation in 1429 he wrote the *schosslists* of the two parishes of St Olaf and St Nicholas on two lengthy slips cut from a folio-sized piece of paper of distinctively longer form ca. (44,5 x 10,0/11,0 cm) than the lists favoured by his predecessors [A.d.12, 30,0 x 13,0 cm]. Whether Muter kept on writing the *schosslists* in the format of lengthy and horizontally folded slips of ca. 45 x 11 cm is not known, but the only other surviving list from his period of office from the year

²⁶⁰ TLA, BA 1:Id, 126–267, of which nr. 130–134, 137 and 150–252 date between May 1429 (nr. 150 and 133r) and late October 1432 (nr. 252v), and nr. 253–259 to 1434–38. The last datable text is a draft for a notary instrument dated December 13, 1459, nr. 138r. A small octavo quire of paper covering the numbers 115–125 is not written by Muter.

²⁶¹ TLA, A.a.10, where the main corpus of the missives in f. 46r–279r date from 1481 to 1505, but where copies of missives from 1479–81 are written on f. 1r–13r and 254r–303r. See also Salminen 2001a, 162. On Kenappel see Kala 2006b, 129, LG I:2, 41 and LG II, 99, TLA, A.a.11. On Korner see Kala 2006b, 121–149.

1444 is of similar width, albeit from a vertically folded bifolio different from his early lists in 1429.²⁶² Since the list of 1444 consists only of the incipit of the parish of St Nicholas with two lines of names and tax, nothing has in fact survived of the registers of the *schoss* from Muter's period of office after 1429, which might point to the existence of a special volume of *schoss* introduced by Muter some time in ca. 1430. As discussed in CHAPTER 3.2.2.2, however, it is also possible that the lists produced by Muter or contemporary wardens of the *schoss* were never assembled in a proper deposit of their own. Either way, the composition and the fate of the lists from the period of office of Muter and later remain obscure.

Like his predecessors, Muter also wrote and produced testaments for the needs of burghers and other people. Those still preserved in the medieval holdings of the council date from the years 1447, 1449 and 1455, the last one dated to the Tuesday after St Mark (April 29), 1455.²⁶³ Outside of office, Muter's handwriting also surfaces in two copies of missives in the archive of the Great Guild, but not in the register of the members of the Table Guild, which may indicate that the copies were related to his office as the city scribe, not to that of an occasional scribe in the service of the Great Guild. Of the two copies, one is a letter of the Aldermen of the *Kindergilde* to Herbord van Linden issued with their seal on the Feast of Dionysius (October 9), 1454, written in its entirety by Muter. The other is a letter of the aldermen, *bizittere* and brothers of the Great Guild (*kinder*) and St Canute's and St Olaf's Guilds to one *Endepot*, who had made allegations against councillor *Johan Buddinck* in a letter to the council of Reval. Undated, the text of the copy is written by an unknown hand dating to the second quarter of the 15th century with the information on the joint action of three guilds in Muter's hand underneath.²⁶⁴

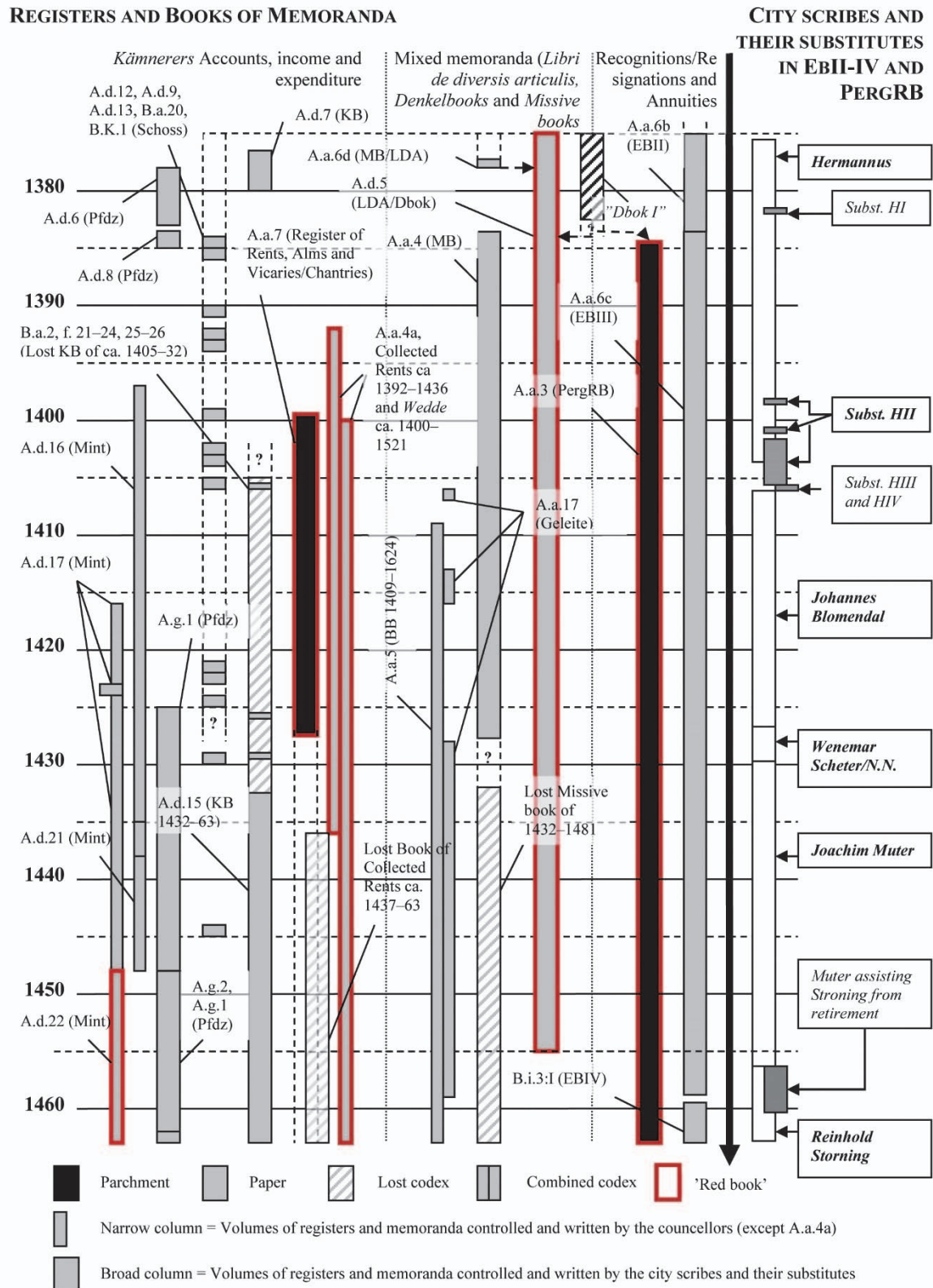
Together with the activity of his two long time predecessors Hermannus and Johannes Blomendal, and the shorter contributions of *HII* and Wenemar Scheter, the variety of surviving memoranda and documents from the period of office of Muter give a comprehensive view of the developments in the written management of information of the civic authority of Reval from ca. 1375 to 1460. Presented in FIGURE 7, it includes the memoranda and the hands active in the two most important registers of the city [A.a.3 and A.a.6d], and is a continuation of FIGURE 6 in CHAPTER 4.3.1.3:

²⁶² TLA, BK.1, f. 21–22 (*Schoss* ca. 1430/1440), TLA, B.a.20, f. 18r and BK 1, f. 35 (*Schoss* ca. 1430/1440). For the dating and measures see CHAPTER 3.2.2.2, footnote 199; TLA, B.a.20, f. 23

²⁶³ TLA, 1-III B, nr. 9 (*Wilm vamer Schede*, 10.5.1447), 10 (*Mertin Busch*, 19.4.1449), 11 (*Laurens Nieboeger*, 10.4.1455), and 12 (*Jacob Vresse* 29.4.1455).

²⁶⁴ TLA, 1919,2.45, 19 (October 9, 1545) and 21 (Letter to Endepot).

Figure 7: City scribes, their major substitutes and the organisation of various lines and corresponding spheres of memoranda in the written management of information of the council of in Reval in 1375–1460.



The city scribes and their substitutes on the right are the ones active in the two most important registers of the city (annuities and recognitions/resignations). BB 1409–1624 = Burgereidbuch (Bürgergeld), DB I = Denkelbok I, KB = Accounts of the *Kämmerers*, LDA = Liber de diversis articulis, MB = Missive book, Pfdz = Poundage. The surviving accounts of the Mills, the Hospital of St John, the register of the wardens of the towers of the Town wall 1413–26, or various construction projects are not included in the figure, nor the possible lost volume of sworn burghers 1364? – ca. 1400? For the basic codicological information on different volumes of the major lines of memoranda in the written management of information of Reval before the year 1460, see APPENDIX 2.

5.2.4.3. *Salary, identity and status as a notary public and civic servant*

Pay-per-document and quarterly money

An interesting feature of Muter's service in its initial phase in 1429, which is not documented in the period of activity of any other Revalian city scribe before him, is payment by finished pieces, especially what comes to sent missives and other sealed documents issued in the name of the city and the council. Whether a result of his original status as a notary public employed to write letters and attestations for a fixed fee, this kind of pay-per-document salary is attested through a finished and sealed but unsent missive of the council of Reval to Dorpat dated on the Feast of St Olaf (July 29), 1429, where a short interpolation above the address in Muter's hand reads '*rescripta gratis*', 'Rewritten for free'.²⁶⁵ Obviously a fully finished letter waiting to be sent forward, some fresh development had required changes to the content of the letter, and the missive was opened and discarded, after which Muter produced a new one but did not charge any extra costs for it. The discarded missive discusses a projected journey of the burghermaster of Dorpat Tideman Vos to Lübeck, where the council of Reval asked him to annul the letter of alliance between the Hanseatic cities and the king of Denmark deposited there, as well as to make inquiries on the fate of certain goods stolen from Russian merchants in order to help the *Kontor* of Novgorod negotiate the matter. Why the original letter was discarded is not known, but the burghermaster had recently visited Reval in person, and appears to have been expected not to leave for Lübeck via Reval by sea but to travel by land later in the autumn.

The *rescripta gratis* -letter suggests that Muter was initially paid for writing missives by produced pieces only and the conditions of his salary were decided around or after his permanent introduction to the office of the city scribe at the beginning of the fiscal year of 1429/30. The earliest information on permanent arrangements for his salary survives from St Thomas Eve (December 21), 1432, when '*scrivere Joachim*' was paid 4 Riga marks as 'his Ember money' (*sin quatertempergelt*). After this, subsequent payments of 4 Riga marks are

²⁶⁵ TLA, BA 1:Id, 157v (LECUB I:8 45). See also Salminen 2004, 145.

cited in the *kämmerers'* accounts until the Saturday before St Lucy (December 11), 1434, when he was given 6 Riga marks as 'his Ember money'. After that no further raises are known of, and the quarterly payments of 6 Riga marks listed in the accounts continue until the Saturday before Quasimodogeniti (April 3), 1456, after which he was granted a sum of 12 Riga marks for a year's further writing on the Friday before St Vitus (June 11), 1456.²⁶⁶ The full quarterly money of 24 Riga marks per year remained at his disposal after his retirement from the office of the city scribe, which is documented in two separate entries in the *kämmerers'* accounts on the Saturday before St Thomas (December 19), 1461, and the Eve of St Thomas (December 20), 1462, where the council is said to have given '*her Joachim*' 24 marks for '*his old long and faithful service*' and '*because of the goodwill of the council*'.²⁶⁷

Obviously a fixed payment disbursed four times a year at Ember, the quarterly money constituted the main body of Muter's salary totalling 16 Riga marks per year in 1432–34 and 24 marks after the beginning of the fiscal year of 1434/35. In the surviving bifolio of the accounts of the *kämmerers* of ca. 1429–32 no similar entries concerning Muter's salary are known, but because the section written by Muter himself covers the period from the

²⁶⁶ KB 1432–1463, 13, 123, with other quarterly payments in numbers 24 (Saturday before Reminiscere 1433, 4 marks), 55 (Saturday after Michaelmas 1433, 4), 80 (Saturday before Oculi 1434, 4), 171 (Saturday after Michaelmas 1435, 6), 193 (Saturday before Oculi 1436, 6), 205 (Saturday after Corpus Christi 1436, 6), 221 (feast of St Maurice 1436, 6), 241 (Saturday before Reminiscere 1437, 6), 257 (Trinity Eve 1437, 6), 301 (Saturday before Reminiscere 1438, 6), 327 (Saturday before Octavas Corpus Christi 1438, 6), 356 (St Thomas Eve 1438, 6), 399 (Saturday before St Calixtus 1439, 6), 410 (Christmas Eve 1439, 6), 412 (Saturday before Reminiscere 1440, 6), 436 (Saturday before St Thomas 1440, 6), 444 (St John before Latin Gate 1441, 6), 463 (St Jerome 1441, 6), 479 (Thursday before Oculi 1442, 6), 510 (Eve of 11000 virgins 1442 '12 mr. sin quatertempergelt van 2 tiiden'), 517 (St Thomas Eve 1442, 6), 525 (Saturday before Reminiscere 1443, 6), 537 (Trinity Eve 1443, 6), 567 (Saturday before Reminiscere 1444, 6), 578 (Saturday before St John Baptist 1444, 6), 594 (St Luke Eve 1444, 6 'rente van der quateremper vorleden'), 601 (Saturday before St Thomas, 1444, 6), 607 (Saturday before Reminiscere 1444, 6), 620 (Saturday before St Vitus 1445, 6), 632 (Saturday after St Lambert 1445, 6), 645 (Christmas Eve 1445, 6), 652 (Saturday before Reminiscere 1446, 6), 670 (Saturday after St John Baptist 1446, 6), 683 (Saturday after Michaelmas 1446, 6), 691 (St Thomas Eve 1446, 6), 700 (Saturday before Oculi 1447, 6), 713 (Saturday after St Vitus 1447, 6), 725 (Sunday before Michaelmas 1447, 6), 737 (Saturday after St Thomas 1447, 6), 741 (Saturday after Purification of Mary 1448, 6), 751 (Saturday Trinity Eve 1448, 6), 780 (St Thomas Eve 1448, 6), 786 (Saturday before St George 1449, 6), 794 (Saturday before St John Baptist 1449, 6), 799 (St Matthew Eve 1449, 6), 810 (St Thomas Eve 1449, 6), 820 (Saturday before Jubilate 1450, 6), 824 (Saturday after Trinity 1450, 6), 837 (Saturday before St Thomas 1450, 6), 848 (Saturday before Letare 1451, 6), 861 (Saturday after the Division of Apostles 1451, 6), 872 (Saturday after Michaelmas 1451, 6), 885 (Saturday before Oculi 1452, 6), 894 (Saturday before St Barnabas 1452, 6), 905 (Saturday before St Luke, 6), 912 (Saturday before Christmas 1452, 6), 915 (Saturday before Oculi 1453, 6), 928 (Eve of Division of Apostles 1453, 6), 937 (St Calixtus Eve, 1453, 6), 943 (St Thomas Eve 1453, 6), 946 (Saturday before Oculi 1454, 6), 955 (St Lawrence Eve 1454, 6), 960 (Saturday before 11000 virgins 1454, 6), 967 (St Thomas Eve 1454, 6), 973 (Saturday before Reminiscere 1455, 6), 983 (Saturday before Trinity 1455, 6), 998 (Saturday after St Dionysios 1455, 6), 1006 (Tuesday before Christmas 1455, 6), 1015 (Saturday before Quasimodogeniti, April 3, 1456, 6); KB 1432–63, 1021.

²⁶⁷ KB 1432–1463, 1160 (Saturday before St Thomas 1461) 'Item gegeven heren Joachime umme synes olden truwen denstes willen upp dyt maell 24 mr', 1189 (Eve of St Thomas) 'Item noch gegeven her Joachim, dat em de raed jarlikes van guden willen plecht to gevende, 24 mr'.

Visitation of Mary (July 2) to Michaelmas (September 29) of an unknown year (possibly 1429–30 or 1432), the arrangements over his salary were either not yet done or the fees were simply not listed in the book, an omission also documented in 1434.²⁶⁸ Obviously a salary proper, the quarterly money is occasionally cited as ‘paid’ (*betalt*) and ‘salary’ (*loen*) in the accounts, and there is evidence that it was occasionally disbursed directly from liquid means available in the *kämmerers*’ office, such as the 6 Riga marks from the rent of the wife or widow of a certain *Jacob Sweder* received and accounted on the Thursday before Oculi (March 1), 1442, and then given directly to Muter.²⁶⁹ In both September 1455 and June 1456 Muter was paid 12 Riga marks from the beer money (*beergelde*), which the wardens of the beer excise (*beerheren*) had paid over to the *kämmerers* only a short time before.²⁷⁰

Rent from altar foundations (chantries/vicaries)

Although a fair amount, the quarterly money of 24 Riga marks a year was not the only fiscal remuneration the council paid to Muter for his services to the city during his long period as city scribe in Reval. From April 1444 to as late as May 1462 and in every year but two (1446 and 1456), Muter was given 6 Riga marks from the rent of named altars of the church of St Nicholas (the altar of New Cross 1444, 1447, and the altar of St Margaret 1445, 1448–55, 1458–62), a sum he received in the period between Easter and Ascension. In 1456 the rent of the altar of St Margaret is not cited in the accounts, but in October 1446 Muter was reimbursed 8 Riga marks from the chantry of Loden in the parish church of *Marima* (Est. *Märjamaa* some 60 km southwest of Tallinn and halfway to Pärnu).²⁷¹ The money reimbursed to Muter was the rent the council collected from loans issued by the respective altar foundations over which the council had the full right of disposition because of the its patronage and right of

²⁶⁸ TLA, B.a.2, f. 26r–v where the last date in the section written by Muter is ‘sonnauend na Michaelis’, i.e. October 1, 1429, September 30, 1430 or October 4, 1432 (Michaelmas of 1431 was on Saturday).

²⁶⁹ KB 1432–63, 848 ‘Item Joachime deme scrivere 6 mr. van der voerledenen quartertemper sin loen’. KB 1432–63, 943 ‘Item betalt Joachime deme scrivere 6 mr. sin quatertempergelt’; KB 1432–63, 479.

²⁷⁰ KB 1432–1463, 997 (Saturday before Michaelmas, 1455) ‘Item untfangen van den beerheren 100 mr. unde 1 f., dar vann Joachime gegeven 12 mr. van deme beergelde’, 1021 (Friday before St Vitus, 1456) ‘Hiir van (van der beerheren) Joachime 12 mr. vor 1 jar dar mede bi to scrivende’.

²⁷¹ KB 1432–63, 573 (Saturday before Cantate, 1444, ‘Item gegeven Joachime 6 mr. van des nien cruces wegene to sunte Nicolause’), 612 (Saturday before Misericordia 1445, ‘Item Joachime 6 mr. wedder gegeven vamme sunte Margareten altare to sunte Nicolause’), 663 (Saturday before Jubilate 1446, 6), 706 (Saturday before Jubilate 1447, ‘nien cruce’, 6), 747 (Saturday before Jubilate 1448), 790 (Saturday before Jubilate, 1449, St Margaret, 6), 820 (Saturday before Jubilate 1450, St Margaret, 6), 852 (Saturday before Misericordia 1451, St Margaret, 6), 894 (Saturday before St Barnaby, St Margaret, 6), 921 (Saturday before Jubilate 1453, St Margaret, 6), 950 (Saturday before Jubilate 1454, St Margaret, 6), 978 (Saturday before Misericordia 1455, St Margaret, 6), 1050 (Saturday after Ascension 1457, St Margaret, 6), 1070 (Saturday before Misericordia 1458, St Margaret, 6), 1091 (Saturday before Misericordia 1459, St Margaret, 6), 1111 (Saturday before Misericordia 1460, St Margaret, 6), 1136 (Saturday after Vocem jucundatis 1461, St Margaret, 6), 1171 (Saturday before Cantate 1462, St Margaret, 6); KB 1432–63, 686 (Eve of St Severin, 1446) ‘Item Loeden vicarien to Marima 8 mr. Rig., untfangen Joachim’.

presentation to the chantries (Mnd. *vicarien*) attached to them. The council's full usufruct on both the capital and rent of such foundations is proclaimed in its confirmation to the endowment of Herman Hemerden issued at Easter (April 19), 1394, and written among entries on chantries at the end of the parchment book of annuities [A.a.3]. In the entry the capital of 100 Riga marks of Hemerden's foundation is said to have been placed under the chantry (*vicarie*) of the altar of St Margaret in St Nicholas, where the council declared to have the possession of the perpetual *leenware* (i.e. feudum) of the *vicarie*. Such a claim potentially violated the canonical right of collation of the bishop over all the chantries and vicaries in the parish churches of the city; a fact further documented in the council's self-conscious statement that if the bishop of chapter should interfere with the *vicarie* of the altar St Margaret or its rights (i.e. collate the chantry to persons other than those the council presented, or seek to get hold of its fiscal assets), the council would keep both the capital and the rent of the foundation to itself and '*use them to the glory of God where they thought it was best for the health of the souls*' (see CHAPTER 4.2.3.2).²⁷²

Of the three altars and chantries cited in the context of Muter's salary and pension in 1444–62, two – the chantry of St Margaret in St Nicholas and the chantry of Loden in Märjamaa – are known to have been under the patronage of the council already in the third quarter of the 14th century. Originally founded in 1350 and patroned by the councillor Reynerus Crøwel, the chantry (*vicaria*) of St Margaret was since 1394 known as the chantry of Herman Hemerden, and the council received the obligation of an annual rent of 6 Riga marks at Easter and another annual rent of 2 marks, as documented in both the original publication of Hemerden's endowment in 1394 [A.a.3] and the schematic register of chantries/vicaries and their rents of the first quarter of the 15th century [A.a.7]. Of these the annual rent of 6 marks was paid against the capital issued by Hemerden and the rent of 2 marks against the foundation of Crøwel (see CHAPTERS 3.1.3.2 and 5.1.1.3). In the register of the incoming and outgoing rents of the council from the period of activity of city scribe Johannes tor Hove in 1463–77/78–79 [A.d.28], the rent of 2 marks is no longer listed and the annual rent of the altar of St Margaret in St Nicholas is recorded as consisting of 6 marks at Easter only.²⁷³ The chantry (*vicarie*) of Loden in Märjamaa had been founded by the knight *Christianus de*

²⁷² TLA, A.a.3, f. 129r (PergRB 1448), for the original text see CHAPTER 4.2.3.2, footnote 57; There is currently no in-depth study on medieval chantries and other vicaries in Reval. For the history of medieval vicaries (chantries) in Lübeck see Prange 2003, especially pp. 9–44 and 60–86.

²⁷³ TLA, A.a.3, f. 130r (PergRB 1448), A.a.7, f. 21v and A.d.28, f. 1v, 5v. The altar of St Margaret is not listed among the altars and chantries of St Nicholas in the register of chantries/vicaries of ca. 1525, TLA, A.a.15a, f. 17r–25v.

Scherembeke and vassal *Otto de Lode* on the day after Michaelmas (September 30), 1371, in Reval, when they endowed the council with 150 Riga marks to be attached as a chantry (*vicarie*) to the altar of blessed Anna in the parish church of *Marienmaa* for the salvation of the soul of one *Nicolaus de Lode*, who had been killed by *Hinkone de Yckeskulle*. Against the endowment the council was to pay an annual rent of 8 marks on Michaelmas, which is registered as a disbursement to the parish priest of *Marienma* in the accounts of the *kämmerers* in 1372–74 and 1432, but after that the rent was often paid to other people in the service of the council or to the councillors themselves as repayment of their various expences.²⁷⁴

The third altar cited in the context of the salary of Joachim Muter in 1444–62 (1444 and 1447) is the altar of the New Cross (*Nien cruce*) in St Nicholas, the exact identification of which is difficult to determine from the sources. The altar and the respective chantry are not cited in the entries of chantries at the end of the parchment codex of annuities from the turn of the 14th century [A.a.3], the registers of the chantries from the first quarter of the 15th century [A.a.7] or the two registers of incoming and outgoing rents of the council by city scribe Johannes tor Hove from around 1463–77/78–79 [A.d.28].²⁷⁵ In 1432–33, before Muter, a benefice of 6 Riga marks form the assets of the altar of the New Cross (*nien Cruces*) was disbursed annually on the week before All Saints (October 31) to a certain '*her Lubberde*', who at the same termin in 1434 was paid 6 marks from the altar of St Margaret and in 1435 '*because of the vicarien of Loren*'. Of these, the chantry of Loren was the so-called 'Loren Cross' founded in the church of St Nicholas by councillor Hinrik Loren or his family not long before in 1435.²⁷⁶ In 1437–43, but always in the fortnight before the Ascension in the spring and outside the fixed terms of both Easter and Michaelmas, a similar sum of 6 Riga marks was paid to a certain '*her Rotger*', occasionally also identified with the

²⁷⁴ TLA, Urk. 1-I, 327, a copy of the endowment written by city scribe *Albertus* in A.a.6d, f. 8r; TLA, A.d.3, f. 42a, 51a, 58a (KB 1363–74, p. 55, 64, 75); KB 1432–63, 3, 61 (paid to *Hinrik Tolner*), 171 (two years rent paid to councillor *Albert Rumoer*). The chantry of Lode in *Marienma* and its rent of 8 marks on Michaelmas are both registered in A.a.7, f. 20v and A.d.28, f. 2v, 8r.

²⁷⁵ TLA, A.a.3, f. 120v–130r (PergRB 1405–1448), A.a.7, f. 20v–24r, A.d.28, f. 1r–2v, 3r–9r.

²⁷⁶ KB 1432–63, 2, 59, 115 and 174 '*her Lubberte gegeven 6 mr. van Loren vicarien wegene*'; PergRB 1045 and Derrik 2000, 293: No recognisable entries on rents of chantries are registered in the two remaining bifolios of the lost quarto codex of the accounts of the *kämmerers* dating to the period between Easter and Michaelmas of ca. 1405 and August–September 1429, TLA, B.a.2, f. 21–24, 25–26.

name '*Vuncke*', from the assets of the altar of Loren Cross (1437), New Cross (1438–40, 1443) and St Margaret (1441–42) in St Nicholas.²⁷⁷

Because rents of the New Cross and Loren Cross are never cited in the accounts together at the same fiscal term, a possibility exists that the altar of New Cross was in fact the same as the altar of Loren Cross first documented in 1432. The word 'new' in this context may be an alternative to that of 'Loren' because of the older vicary of 'the altar of the Holy Cross of Luck' (*des hilghen cruces altare van Luck*), which was first endowed by councillor *Johan Duderstad* and his wife some time in the late 1370's or early 1380's. The altar of the Holy Cross of Luck was located in the chapel of St Barbara in St Nicholas and celebrated the immensely popular image of Blessed Virgin Mary in the chapel of the Luckauer Gate in the town of Liebenwerda (today Bad Liebenwerda in Brandenburg). Together with the chantry of the Holy Cross of Luck, the Duderstads had endowed another chantry to the altar of St Matthew at the chapel of the Holy Ghost.²⁷⁸ In the entry among the entries on chantries and altars in the closing section of A.a.3 on the original endowment, the rent of both of the chantries founded by the Duderstads was set to 8 marks paid on the termin of Michaelmas every year. Originally set to be paid to the altar of the Holy Cross of Luck in St Nicholas, the rent was later transferred in its entirety to the altar of St Matthew in the chapel of the Holy Ghost. According to the schematic register of chantries (*vicarien*) of the first quarter of the 15th century [A.a.7], the rent was first paid in its entirety to the altar of the Holy Cross of Luck on Michaelmas, but later in the period of activity of Johannes Blomendal (1406–26) it was split into two parts, four marks to be paid at Easter and four marks at Michaelmas. This division survived to the time of the registers of tor Hove in around 1463–79 [A.d.28] where the annual rent is raised from the original 8 marks to 13 marks in his second register.²⁷⁹ In the *kämmerers'* accounts of 1432–62 the annual rent of the altar of the Holy Cross of Luck in St Nicholas is disbursed twice a year in instalments of 4 Riga marks at Easter and Michaelmas to the rector (chaplain) of the chapel of Holy Ghost, so the benefice appears to

²⁷⁷ KB 1432–63, 253 (Saturday before Ascension 1437, 'Item her Rotger 6 mr. gegeven van Loren cruce'), 307 (Saturday before Cantate, 1438, 'her Rotger 6 mr. van deme nien cruce to sunte Nicolaus'), 377 (Saturday before Cantate, 1439 'Item her Rotger vamme nien cruce to sunte Nicolause 6 mr'), 418 (Saturday before Octavas Ascensionis, 1440, 'her Rotger Vuncke 6 mr. vamme nien cruce to sunte Nicolause'), 444 (St John before Latin Gate 1441, 'her Rotger Vuncken 6 mr. van sunte Margareten altare to sunte Nicolause'), 485 (Saturday before Cantate, 1442, 'her Vuncken 6 mr. van sunte Margareten altare to sunte Nicolause'), 532 (Saturday before Jubilate, 1443, 'her Vuncken 6 mr. van deme nien cruce to sunte Nicolause').

²⁷⁸ PergRB 1421 ja 1422. According to von Bunge 1874, 92, *Johan Duderstadt* is cited as a councillor in 1358–76 and was dead in 1384.

²⁷⁹ PergRB 1421; TLA, A.a.7, f. 20v, A.d.28, f. 1r and 2r both 4 marks, 5v and 8r both 6½ marks.

have formed part of his salary.²⁸⁰ The altar of the Loren Cross is then listed among the altars of St Nicholas together with the altar of ‘*Des kruses althar*’ and the ‘*Lucken althar in S. Barbaren Capellen*’ in the register of chantries/vicaries of ca. 1525 [A.a.15a], where no altar of ‘the New Cross’ is mentioned. This further supports the hypothesis that the altar of the New Cross of 1432–33, 1438–40, 1443–44 and 1447 was in fact the altar of the Loren Cross of 1435 and 1437.²⁸¹

The three altar chantries St Margaret, the Holy Cross of Luck and New (or Loren) Cross in St Nicholas and the altar chantry of St Anna (Loden) in the parish church of Märjamaa were not the only altar chantries/vicaries the council had at their disposal for the raising of capital and rents for the salary and remunerations of the various civic servants and other people in its service at the time of Joachim Muter in 1429–62. In the schematic registers of the chantries/vicaries and their annual rents of the first quarter of 15th century [A.a.7] and of tor Hove from around 1463–79 [A.d.28], several other chantries and vicaries attached to the altars in churches and chapels inside and outside the city are listed. However, it is interesting that the rent of the altar of St Margaret, with occasional support from the assets of the altars of the New Cross (Loren Cross) and Loden in Märjamaa, is in fact the only one cited in the context of the salary of city scribes and notaries active in the city or at the service of the council from the mid-14th century – as in the case of the scholar and acolyte Reynerus called Crøwel (possibly the same as *WBIV*, see CHAPTER 4.2.5) – to the mid-15th, as in the case of Joachim Muter. In the late 1350’s a like combination of the assets of a named vicary and the office of the city scribe is documented in the period of office of Karolus de Montreal, who in 1360–64 held the rights of the vicary (*vicaria*) of the chapel of the Hospital of St John in remuneration of his services both as a notary and in the vicary (*in servitio notariae mea et in vicaria*) for the council. As already discussed, it is unknown, whether the vicary was chantry only, or a vicary proper including offices related to the inmates of the hospital (see CHAPTER 4.1.2).²⁸²

Should the former possessor of the vicary and rent of the altar of St Margaret *dominus Iohannes institoris* be identified as the same as Johannes Scriptor and the hand *WBI* active as a city scribe in 1312–25, a similar combination of assets of an ecclesiastic foundation patronised by the council with the salary or later sustenance of a former city scribe existed

²⁸⁰ See the listing of the entries concerning the altar in KB 1432–63, index p. 738.

²⁸¹ TLA, A.a.15a, f. 17v, ‘dat Althar Loren althar genomt’ with an annual rent of 6 marks, 19r ‘Des Kruses althar’, 21r ‘Lucken althar’ with an annual rent of 11 marks.

²⁸² TLA, Urk. 1-I, 251 (LECUB I:2 979) and Urk. 1-I, 266 (LECUB I:2 100).

already in the second quarter of the 14th century (see CHAPTERS 3.1.3.2 and 4.1.3.2). In 1498–1507 and probably even after that, the city scribe Christian Czernekow (in office in 1487–1507 and 1512–13) was paid an annual rent of 10 Riga marks in two instalments of five marks around Easter and All Saints from the altar of the Sacrament (Corpus Christi) in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost. In 1499–1507 he was also paid a further annual rent of 12 marks from the Chapel of St Gertrud every Easter.²⁸³ When compared to Muter's three successors Reinhold Storning (in office 1456–63), Johannes von Hove (1463–77/78–79) and Paul Moller (1477–78), Storning and Moller both being documented notaries public, Czernekow, a notary public, and his predecessor Borchard Kenappel (1478–96) also had careers in the diocesan church. Kenappel had previously served as a schoolmaster in Lübeck and Lüneburg, and was created a Revalian canon and *scholasticus* after his service in the written management of information of the council of Reval. From 1499 he was the rector of the Chapel of the Holy Ghost. A magister with university studies in Rostock, Christian Czernekow was a canon from 1496 and was elected bishop of Reval in 1513, shortly before his death.²⁸⁴

Identity and status as a notary public, offergelt and sustension of everyday life

A licenced notary public of imperial authority, Muter invariably cites himself in his surviving notary instruments from 1427–58 as a cleric from the diocese of Lübeck (*clericus Lubicensis*), but if he indeed had any official connection to the altars in St Nicholas, his position must have been one of a possessor of a chantry and *sine cura*, i.e. without the exercise of clerical office or sacraments characteristic to the prebendaries of the time.²⁸⁵ Since the reign of Pope John XXII in the 1320's, notaries of papal authority were compelled to be 'unmarried and not constituted in holy orders', which effectively restricted them to be in minor orders such as porters, lectors, exorcists and acolytes not entitled to perform sacraments. The ecclesiastical qualifications of notaries of imperial authority, however, are very unclear and very little is known of their clerical status or background in the universities. As C. R. Cheney observed in his influential study on the 13th - and 14th -century notaries public in England, even the reference to a diocese in the instruments by notaries of imperial

²⁸³ KB 1463–1507, nr. 2414, 2440, 2455, 2748. In 1500 *Czernekow* was also paid an annual rent of 2 marks from the altar of St Hinricus in St Olaf, 1463–1507, nr. 2522. On *Czernekow* see LG I:2, 100–101 and Kala 2006b, 129–130.

²⁸⁴ Kala 2006b, 128–130 and Kala 2005b, 110–113, *Moller*: LG II, 143, *Kenappel*: LG I:2, 41 and LG II, 99, *Czernekow*: LG I:2, 100–101.

²⁸⁵ TLA, B.i.4:III, 9v (LECUB I:7 610), April 29, 1427, 'Et ego Joachim Muter clericus Lubicensis publicus imperiali auctoritate notarius':

authority is problematic; in the case of Joachim Muter, for instance, does the epithet *Lubicensis* signify his diocese of origin or the diocese where he had received minor orders, or should we consider it the diocese whence he came with a dimissory letter for ordination, or as the diocese where he *de facto* received his notarial appointment? According to Cheney, all that can be said is that if a notary public used a name with a fixed reference to a specific location (such as a village or a town), the location was invariably in the diocese cited in the notarial formula of his instrument.²⁸⁶ In the early 14th century the ordination of a notary public of imperial authority in England consisted of an approved examination, an oath to the Roman Church and the Empire to exercise the work faithfully, and a formal investiture with a quill, inkwell and a sheet of parchment.²⁸⁷

Although Joachim Muter defines himself in his own notary instruments as *clericus Lubicensis*, and he was first employed to write instruments in the controversy between the council and the Dominicans and the bishop and chapter of Reval through the contract issued on March 5, 1427 in the cemetery of the church of St Mary in Lübeck by Johannes Langhe, we cannot securely state that he was either a cleric with major orders or originated from the diocese or city of Lübeck, where he may have been once invested with a dimissory letter or received his notary authorities.²⁸⁸ In fact, nothing is known of his origins or university background. In his instruments and other writings he invariably uses the byname *Muter*, the precise meaning of which remains problematic. In Middle High German *Müter* signified a collector of tolls (Lat. *telonarius*, Ger. *Maut*), but the appellative and the verb *muten* are also known from the contexts of mining (*Muter* = claimant for a specific mine), medieval jurisdiction (*muten* = to validate a claim, renew a fief) and crafts (*muten* = to obtain a mastership in a craft).²⁸⁹ In Middle Low German the verb *mūten* is known to have been used in the sense of changing or wandering (Lat. *mutare*) as well as washing one's face (*mundare*), whereas the word *muterpenninge* referred to money collected from tolls. Since the late 15th century certain coins minted in Münster and Osnabrück in Westphalia were called *müter*, where the value of one *müter* was 1/7th of a *stüver*.²⁹⁰ In Lübeck the byname

²⁸⁶ Cheney 1972, 78–79, 88–89.

²⁸⁷ Cheney 1972, 82.

²⁸⁸ In medieval Latin the word *clericus* was used for all ordained clerics of both minor and major orders, see Du Cange, et al., *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*. L. Favre, Niort, 1883–87. Online: <http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr>, accessed 19.11.2015, *clerici* and *clericus*.

²⁸⁹ *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* von Matthias Lexer, I–III. Leipzig 1872–78 (here cited as Lexer 1872–78), I, *mütære*, -er; *Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch* online, <http://drw-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/drw/>, accessed 19.11.2015 (here cited as DRW), *muten*, 1–4.

²⁹⁰ *MndHWB*, *müten* 1–2, *muterpenninge*, *muter*.

Muter is documented, for instance, in 1407 when Hinrik Warendorp testamentated six marks to his confessor *'her Johan Muter'*.²⁹¹

The notarial sign of Joachim Muter consisted of a dimitiated circular field with half a heraldic rose on the left and half a flamboyant architectural rose on the right. Of the five petals of the heraldic rose two and a half are visible, and the architectural rose appears to consist of eight petals, three full and two halves of which are shown. In the legend of the sign there is no motto, but the foot of the rose bears the letter 'g' framed with the initials of his name 'J' and 'M' on the opposite ends of the text-band under it, and an 'a' as a possible contraction of the word *'gratia'* in the middle of the band.²⁹² A personal mark of any notary public, the motive and motto of the notarial sign was most likely publicised in the context of his ordination, and remained in use throughout his career as a sign of both the authority to prepare legal instruments in the form of public documents and the validity of instruments written by him. A result of personal choice from a kaleidoscopic combination of different symbols denoting name, origin, profession and devotion or elements from all of these, and expressed in forms of heraldic, geometric, allegoric or even mystic design, the signs of notaries public are frequently difficult to decipher and their highly allusive 'speech' remains only partially understood.²⁹³ As in the case of the notary sign of Joachim Muter, the initials 'J' and 'M' clearly denote his name, and the letter 'g' and the 'a' under it may stand for the word *'gratia'*, but the dimitiated rose with elements of both the heraldic rose of five petals and the architectural rose of eight petals is puzzling. For Muter, the allusions of the sign were of course evident, as for at least some of his contemporaries or other professionals in the field, but whether the two roses give an allegorical hint of his origins or identity, or should be understood as some kind of play of words on some of these elements, is impossible to resolve in this study.

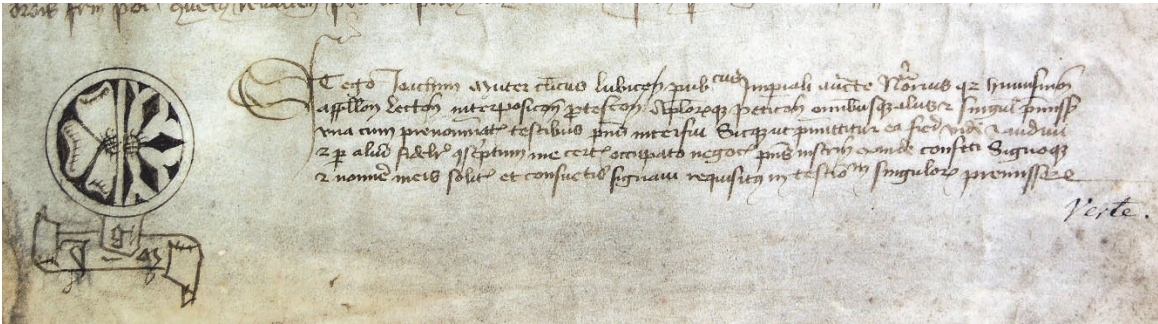
²⁹¹ Meyer, Gunnar, 'Besitzende Bürger' und 'elende Sieche': Lübecks Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer Testamente 1400-1449. Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck herausgegeben vom Archiv der Hansestadt, Reihe B Band 48. Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Lübeck 2010, nr. 1407/07, 'her Johan Muter, minem bichtvader'

²⁹² No Joachim Muter or Muter of the diocese of Lübeck is cited in the Database of Repertorium Academicum Germanicum, The Graduated Scholars of the Holy Roman Empire between 1250 and 1550 (RAG), <http://www.rag-online.org/> when last accessed on 19.11.2015.

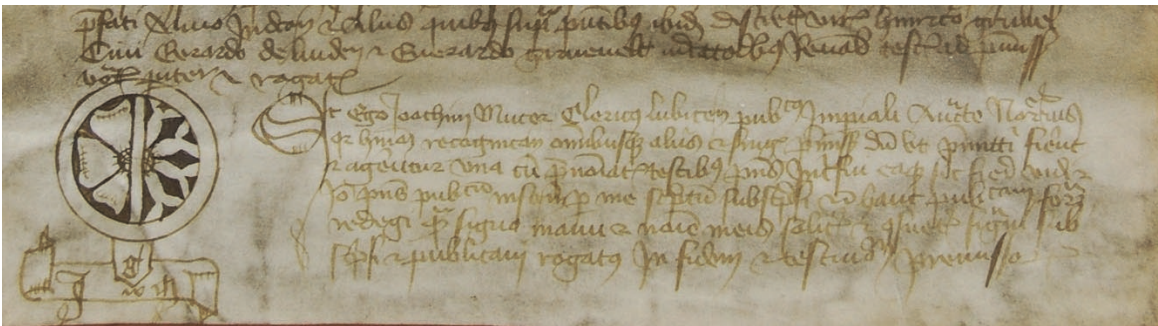
²⁹³ For the development of notarial signs and categories of their forms see, for instance, Friedlander, Alan, *Signum meum apposui: Notaries and their Signs in Medieval Languedoc*. In: Cooper, Alan, Kosto, Adam J. & Berkhofer, Robert F., III (eds.), *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe 950–1350*. Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005, 93–118.

Pictures 45:1-3: Three samples of the notarial sign (left) and eschatocol (right) of Joachim Muter on his original notarial instruments on parchment issued on (46:1) April 29, 1429, (46:2) 'on Friday, Ninth of June', 1431²⁹⁴ and (46:3) almost 30 years later on July 7, 1458 in Reval. The notarial sign features a diminitiated circular field with a heraldic rose on the left and an architectural rose on the right, and the letters 'J' 'g' ['a' or 'u'] 'M', where 'g' is placed at the foot of the rose and 'a' or 'u' under it. Also note the similar initial 'E' of the eschatocol in all three instruments.

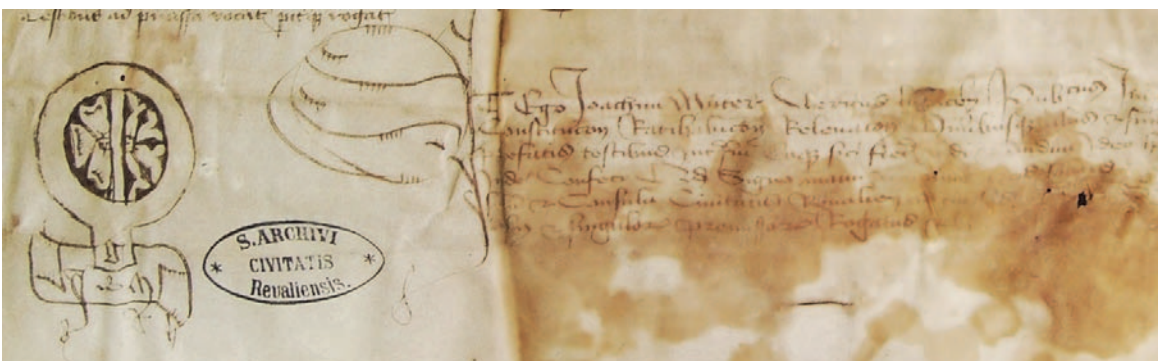
Picture 45:1:



Picture 45:2:



Picture 45:3:



TLA., B.i.4:III, 9r (LECUB I:7 610), B.i.4:III, 10 (LECUB I:8 456) and B.i.4:III, 11 (LECUB I:11 760):

²⁹⁴ In June 1431 Friday was the 8th of June, not the 9th.

The nature of Muter's clerical status in respect of his offices is further obscured by his citing as '*her*' i.e. '*dominus*', '*master*', not only in five entries concerning his income from the altar of St Margaret after his period of office in the City Scriptorium (1458–62), but also in three early entries on his quarterly salary in 1436, 1439 and 1440.²⁹⁵ Even if habitually reserved for clergy invested with major orders such as subdiaconate, diaconate, priesthood or episcopate, the Middle Low German title '*her*' and its Latin equivalent '*dominus*' was also used to denote seigneurial or corporate authority of lords, knights and councillors as well as learned status of *magisters*, another contemporary title of appointed notaries public that was awarded without any real reference to academic background in universities by the 14th century.²⁹⁶ Consequently and despite his connection to the chantry/vicary of the altar of St Margaret as the beneficiary of the rent attached to it, nothing suggests that Muter himself would have exercised any clerical office in relationship to the altar or the church. As a holder of minor orders, he may have performed ceremonial duties at the altar services such as singing (a chantry proper), but the offices must have been conducted by members of the resident clergy of the parish or the diocese, equipped with the necessary reference to the patronage of the council. At times, the ministry of such offices is known to have been arranged through special contracts with resident priests who had a documented history of service at ecclesiastic facilities patronized by the council. As an example, on the Friday before Simon and Jude (October 25), 1415, the council invested the priest (again also only titled as '*her*') *Wynold Klinte* with the offices of councillor Johan Duderstad's foundation at the altar of the Holy Cross of Luck in the chapel of St Barbara in St Nicholas, on the condition that he would take good care of the offices and serve God faithfully there. Should Klinte neglect these duties or take other offices, the council had the right to cancel the agreement with half a year's notice.²⁹⁷

Resident in Reval and possibly originating from the homonymic merchant family in the city, '*her*' *Wynold Klinte* had already since the Thursday before Sunday Letare (May 30), 1413, exercised the offices of councillor *Bernd Stalbiter*'s foundation at the altar of the Holy Cross in the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, which at that date were formally invested to one *Hans*

²⁹⁵ '*her Joachim*': KB 1432–63, nr. 1070, 1091, 1111, 1137, 1171, 221, 399, 412.

²⁹⁶ Cheney 1972, 89–90.

²⁹⁷ TLA, A.a.7, f. 23v, second column, first entry, *Blomendal*'s hand, '*Jnt jar vnse heren m:o cccc:o xv des vrijdages vor symonis et iude Do vorleende wy her Wynold Klinte de officacien her johan duderstades in sunte barbaren Cappellen to sunte Nyclawes to deme altare des hilgen cruces van luck alsobescheden dat he der officacien sal wol war nemen vnd sal dar gode truweliken vore deynen vnd weret dat he der officacien nycht wol war enen neme offte dat he anderen officacien dar to nemen so sal eme de Rad ½ jar to vorne to zeggen vnd so sal he de officacien en geuen*'.

Kegeler, son of *Hans Kegeler* by the dean *Johan Stalbiter*, with the full consent of the council. According to the entry in the letter of collation of Stalbiter's vicary, Klinte was to read the offices of the altar on the day Hans Kegeler the younger was ordained as a priest (i.e. a presbyter of major orders). Should he be invested with other offices elsewhere, Kegeler was to give up the offices of the altar of the Holy Cross to the council, which was then free to invest them whomever they liked.²⁹⁸ In neither of the collations of 1413 and 1419 nothing is said of Klinte's salary or its relationship to the rent of the respective foundations, but both of the entries clearly show that the altar services related to the chantries/vicaries under the council's patronage were exercised by priests especially presented to the offices, not necessarily by persons to whom the rents from the foundations were paid. Another group of priests available for the altar offices were the rectors of St Nicholas, St Olaf and the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, whom the corporations of the Great Guild and the Table Guild paid for singing masses, requiems and chantries for the guilds and their deceased members. As at the altars patronized by the council, however, offices at the altars of the guilds were conducted by vicars, many of whom appear to have been sons of the more prosperous members of the guilds.²⁹⁹

Obviously, most of the beneficiaries of the rents of the altar chantries (*vicarien*) titled as '*her*' in the surviving *kämmerers'* accounts of the 14th and 15th centuries must have been ordained priests in the service of the council on respective altars, such as *her Lubberd* in 1434–35 and *her Rotger Vuncke* in 1437–43, but not all the beneficiaries need have been priests, and rents on the capital of the altar are known to have been directed to cover the salary or expenses of various other people such as the city scribe Joachim Muter, professionals, servants and creditors of the council.³⁰⁰ It is characteristic of the chantries and other foundations under the patronage of the council that their annual rent in the first half of the 15th century rarely topped 15 Riga marks, a sum less than half of the 30 Lübeck marks considered as the lowest sustainable income for a permanent vicar in Lübeck in 1425. In

²⁹⁸ LG I:2, 43. On Wynold Klinte and family Klinte see even Derrik 2000, 51 and Feyerabend 1985, 95; TLA, A.d.5, f. 87r, first entry (LECUB I:4 1935).

²⁹⁹ Mänd, Anu, Hans Bouwer, kaupmees. In: Kala, Tiina, Kreem, Juhan & Mänd, Anu, *Kümme keskaegast tallinlast*. Tallinna Llinnaarhiivi Toimetised, 10. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Kirjastus Varrak, Tallinn, 2006, 60, Mänd 2011b, 82. Kala, Tiina, Ludeke Karwel, kogudusevaimulik. In: Kala, Tiina, Kreem, Juhan & Mänd, Anu, *Kümme keskaegast tallinlast*. Tallinna Llinnaarhiivi Toimetised, 10. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Kirjastus Varrak, Tallinn 2006 (here Kala 2006c), 175–176.

³⁰⁰ On May 7, 1440, 3 marks from the rent of the chantry/vicary of the castle of Narva was given to one *Godeke Nienhove* and 7½ marks from the rent of the chapel of Holy Ghost to *Cord Groten*, the city servant. On October 27, 1452 a total 16 marks from the rent of the chantry of Loden to Märjamaa was paid to '*her Conrad Ixkullen*', a vassal of the Bishop of Ösel-Wiek, KB 1432–63, nr. 418 and 907.

Lübeck all chantries (*vicarien*) with an annual rent less than 24 Lübeck marks were considered poor in the second quarter of the 15th century, and after 1441 clergy with a similar income were entitled to obtain relief from funds created by the bishop for the poor.³⁰¹ It is therefore interesting that according to the *kämmerers'* accounts, at Christmas in 1437, 1445–46 and 1448–54 Muter was given three Rhine or light guildens, in 1438–42 and 1455 two Arnoldegulden, in 1443–44 and 1447 two Rhine guildens, and after his retirement in 1459–60 one Rhine gulden as oblation money (*offergelt*), a gift used as a relief for not only the poor but also for sustaining clergy. In Reval one Rhine Gulden was valued ca. 1 ½ – 1 2/3 Riga marks in 1434–57, one Arnoldegulden from one to 5/8 Riga marks in 1430–41 and one light gulden approximately one Riga mark in 1458.³⁰² In 1433 and every year thereafter at Christmas *offergelt* was given to other servants of the council as part of their annual allowance, and a similar *offergelt* of 3 light guildens was given to the new city scribe Reinhold Storning from 1456. Nevertheless no conclusions can be drawn from this about Muter's clerical status or the level of his income, and the *offergelt* as such can only be said to have formed part of his fixed salary after 1437.³⁰³

³⁰¹ According to A.a.7, f. 20v–24r the only *vicarien* and ecclesiastic foundations with an annual rent of 15 Riga marks or more in the first half of the 15th century in Reval were the altar of the Holy Sacrament with the eternal candle in the chapel of the Holy Ghost (20 marks), the Hospital of St John (40 marks), and the House of St Gertrud to the Holy Ghost (15 marks), of which the last one was also endowed by *Hermen Hemerden*; Prange 2003, 83–84; On the rents see also Kala 2006c, 172–173, with information on the rent of the chapel of St Gertrud being 18 and Hospital of St John 12 marks with additional grain and malt.

³⁰² KB 1432–63, nr. 296 (July 1, 1438) 'Item deme scriivere unde Johanse (hospital?) 3 gulden', 356 (December 20, 1438) 'Item 2 gulden deme scriivere to offergelde', 410 (December 24, 1439) 'Item deme scriivere 2 Arnoldegulden, sin offergelt', 438 (December 24, 1440) 'Item deme scriivere sin offergelt 2 Arnoldegulden', 474 (December 23, 1441) 'Item deme scriivere 2 Anoldegulden sin offergelt', 518 (December 22, 1442) 'Item deme scriivere 2 Arnoldegulden to offergelde', 561 (December 23, 1443) 'Item deme scriivere to offergelde 2 Riinsche gulden', 602 (December 24, 1444) 'Item deme schriivere 2 Riinssche gulden to offergelde', 645 (December 24, 1445) 'Item deme scriivere sin offergelt 3 lichte gulden', 692, (December 24, 1446) 'Item deme scriivere 3 Rinssche gulden to offergelde', 737 (December 23, 1447) 'Item Joachime to offergelde 2 Riinssche gulden', 780, (December 20, 1448) 'Item noch deme schriivere 3 lichte gulden to offergelde', 810 (December 20, 1449) 'Item deme scriivere 3 lichte gulden to offergelde', 837 (December 19, 1450) 'Item em (Joachime) noch gegeven to offergelde 3 lichte gulden to offergelde', 881 (December 24, 1451) 'Item Joachime sin offergelt gegeven 3 lichte gulden', 913 (December 23, 1452) 'Item em (Joachime) sin offergelt gegeven 3 lichte gulden', 943 (December 20, 1453) 'Item em (Joachime) sin offergelt gegeven 3 lichte gulden', 968 (December 23, 1454) 'Item Joachime 3 lichte guldene gegeven to offergelde', 1006 (December 23, 1455) 'Item em (Joachime) noch gegeven 2 Arnoldeguldne sin offergelt', 1106 (December 23, 1459) 'Item her Joachim gegeven 1 Rinschen gulden gegeven to offergelde', 1125 (December 20, 1460) 'Item her Joachim gegeven syn offergelt 1 Rinschen gulden'; For the values see Vogelsang's Einleitung in KB 1432–63, p. 12–13.

³⁰³ KB 1432–63, nr. 69 (December 24, 1433, 'Item den denren natgelt, lowentgelt unde offergelt 6 mr. '), 129, 181, 234, 296, 356, 410, 438, 474, 518, 561, 602, 645, 692, 737, 780, 810, 837, 881, 913, 943, 968, 1006, 1038, 1063 (December 22, 1457) and nr. 1038 (December 23, 1456) 'Item em (Reynolde deme schriivere) noch gegeven to offergelde 3 lichte gulden', 1063 (December 22, 1457), 1106 (December 23, 1459) 'Item Reynolde deme schriiver gegeven 3 lichte gulden to offergelde', 1125 December 20, 1460), 1160 (December 19, 1461), 1189 (December 20, 1462).

In addition to the quarterly salary in 1432–56, provision from the altars of the New Cross and St Margaret in 1444–55 and *offergelt* of 1437–55 and 1459–60, the accounts of the council also cite a variety of other imbursements made to Joachim Muter during and after his period of office as city scribe from the mid-1430's to 1460. Some of these, such as the money reserved for buying cloth for a coat in 1438, 1445 and 1456, as well as money for Ypres cloth of approximately the same value in 1437 and 1449, were not only necessary parts of his salary designed to sustain the official status of the city scribe and to manifest the city's well-being in his appearance, but also forms of compensation characteristic for late medieval administration and also documented with other people permanently employed by it.³⁰⁴ In May 1441 Muter was also paid money for a more mundane necessity of life, namely firewood. Such materials may have formed a part of his remunerations in kind, which we would not know about as they would not necessarily register in the fiscal spending of the council as mirrored in the *kämmerers'* accounts.³⁰⁵ Like councillors and other people active in the service of the council and the city, Muter also appears to have been paid extra money for more costly travels and missions on behalf of the city, such as the costs of 8 Riga marks and 10 schillings paid for his trip as an envoy on council business to the Livonian Master in the late summer or early autumn of 1444 and the 16 marks given to him in order to have a horse permanently stationed in the Marstall in March 1448.³⁰⁶

The Narva pile money and brokering of craft objects

In the surviving accounts of the *kämmerers*, much of the information on Muter's fiscal dealings with the city, such as his quarterly salary, provision from the altars, *offergelt*, payments for cloth, firewood and monetary reimbursement of costs of diplomatic missions, are directly related to his occupation as the city scribe, but in the accounts other kinds of transactions appear that may hint at his possible status as a semi-independent agent active in the interface of the civic administration, institutions and trade.³⁰⁷ Of these, the most

³⁰⁴ KB 1432–63, nr. 301 (March 8, 1438) 'Item noch Joachime 12 mr. to eneme roclaken', 636 (October 16, 1445) 'Item Joachime deme schrivere 15 mr to eneme rocklaken', 1007 (January 17, 1456) 'Item Joachime vor 1 rock[l]akene gegeven 12 mr., dat he van her Tolner nam over dren jaren', 235 (January 5, 1437) 'Item vor 1 quartir van eme Iperschen deme scrivere 15 mr.', 785 (February 15, 1449) 'Item Joachime deme scrivere vor quartir van 1 Ipersschen 17 mr. min 23 s.'. On the salaries of city servants of Reval in cloth see, for instance, PergRB 1452–53.

³⁰⁵ KB 1432–63, nr. 444 (May 6, 1441) 'Item deme scrivere Joachim 6 mr. Sin quaterterpergelt unde 5 f. vor holt'.

³⁰⁶ KB 1432–63, 590 'Item kostede de reise 8 mr. unde 10 s., do de scriver Joachim an den meister was gesant' (September 19, 1444), 743 'Item 16 mr. gegeven Joachime vor 1 pert uppe den marstall' (March 9, 1448).

³⁰⁷ KB 1432–63, 590 'Item kostede de reise 8 mr. unde 10 s., do de scriver Joachim an den meister was gesant' (September 19, 1444), 743 'Item 16 mr. gegeven Joachime vor 1 pert uppe den marstall' (March 9, 1448).

interesting are the rent from the ‘pile money’ (*palgeld*) of the town of Narva in 1447–51, and Muter’s engagement with the chalice of St Olaf in 1446.

The pile money of Narva was a special toll collected from all vessels entering the haven at the mouth of the Narva river, first mentioned on the Wednesday before the eighth day of Epiphany (January 12), 1418, when the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Michael Kochmeister secured the town and burghers of Narva free trade on sea and land to Prussia. In the context of the privilege, the Grand Master asked the Livonian Master to write to him giving his opinion on four distinct questions regarding the town’s trade, one of which was the proposed construction of an enclosure of wooden piles (*bolwerke*) at the mouth of the Narva river where a pile toll (*phoelczol*) was to be collected.³⁰⁸ The pilework protected the haven against accumulating silt, mud and sand, but whether the toll was only designed to cover the costs of annual repair and maintenance of the enclosure, or also functioned as a Poundage for incoming and outgoing shipping is not entirely clear from the sources. In Danzig the *Pfahlgeld* was a payment separate from the Hanseatic Poundage collected from all berthing ships which is first documented in 1341, when the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order granted the council of Danzig the right to collect it. A minor fee designed to cover the costs of the pilework, the pile toll of Danzig in 1437 was approximately 10 % of the city’s Poundage and is estimated to have amounted to one 1500th of the cargo’s value, whereas the Poundage was generally around one 144th.³⁰⁹

The pile money of Narva first emerges in the accounts of the council of Reval on the Saturday after St Fransiscus (October 6), 1436, when Gerd Mullen, councillor of Narva, was given 10 Riga marks for pile money (*palgelde*). Two years before on the Saturday before St Calixtus (October 16), 1434, the same Gerd Mullen had been given 14 marks because of the Narva Deep (*Nawesschen ... depe*), i.e. the navigable entrance of the river.³¹⁰ These payments may indicate a Revalian role in the funding of the costly pilework, and the pile money is again cited in the *kämmerers’* accounts at the beginning of September 1438, when the councillor Gise Richardes handed over 83 Riga marks minus 4 schillings to the *kämmerers*, which he had brought from the total of 100 marks he had been enfeoffed (*gelent*)

³⁰⁸ LECUB I:5 2194.

³⁰⁹ On the pile money of Narva see Selart, Anti, Eesti idapiir keskajal. Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, Tartu 1998, 72; Hirsch, Theodor, Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbsgeschichte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens. S. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1858, 115.

³¹⁰ KB 1432–63, nr. 223, 114.

from the pile money.³¹¹ The right of the Revalian council to administer the yield of the toll appears to have been based on the funding the council had provided for constructions in Narva harbour, for which the council of Narva had asked financial support in talks with Revalian envoys on their way to Novgorod in 1436 and in their letter to the council of Reval on Tuesday after the Feast of the Three Kings (January 8), 1437. According to their letter, the intention of the council of Narva was to build a approach road (*wech*) in front of the local Strand Gate with which the merchants and cargoes leaving and arriving Narva could be safely served and the funding was to be obtained from the yield of the pile money.³¹² After some consideration and probable further negotiations, the council of Reval agreed to fund the enterprise and provided the council of Narva with a loan of 100 Riga marks for which the council of Narva thanked Reval in their letter of the Sunday after Corpus Christi (June 13), 1438.³¹³ Subsequent returns on the capital and pile money are then registered by the *kämmerers* in June 1442 (18½ marks minus 2 schillings), September 1442 (45 marks) and March 1443 (10 marks).³¹⁴

After the Revalian funding of the pilework and other related constructions in 1434 and 1438, the pile money of Narva again emerges in the *kämmerers*' accounts in the later phase of the Russo-Livonian war of 1443–48. In the war most of the military activity of the Livonian Order focused on Narva, where contingents of Revalian burghers led by Revalian councillors took part in defending the town in 1444. In 1447 another contingent of 100 paid mercenaries (*brotetters*, i.e. 'bread-eaters') under the command of Revalian councillors was employed, from which 50 crossbowmen (*schutten*) were placed at the disposal of the Livonian Master before his campaign to Novgorodian Watland.³¹⁵ Possibly compensation for the Revalian costs during the campaign of 1447, or perhaps a more permanent arrangement related to the annual maintenance and construction of the costly pilework through Revalian funding, the pile money now emerges as leased capital similar to the altar foundations with an annual rent of 6 Riga marks. In line with certain chantries/vicaries, the yield of the pile money appears to

³¹¹ KB 1432–63, nr. 341 'Item noch dede he (her Gise Richerdes) rekenscop van deme Narwesschen palgelde van den 100 mr, de em dar van gelent weren, dar brachte he van up 83 mr. Min 4 s.'.

³¹² LECUB I:9 121.

³¹³ LECUB I:9, 322. See also LECUB I:8 895 § 16. The loan was given to *Hermen Lowen*, burgher-master of Narva in two instalments, the one of 50 Riga marks being lent by the *kämmerers* according to an entry of day after Epiphany (January 7), 1438, KB 1432–63, nr. 296.

³¹⁴ KB 1432–63, nr. 495, 505, 527.

³¹⁵ On the Russo-Livonian war and Revalian contingents see Kreem 2002a, 70–72, 171–173 and Dircks, Bernhard, *Der Krieg des Deutschen Ordens gegen Nowgorod 1443–1448*. In: Angermann, Norbert (ed.), *Deutschland – Livland – Russland. Ihre Beziehungen vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*. Hrsg. v. Norbert Angermann. Lüneburg 1988, 37–47; LECUB I:10, 399.

have been redirected to compensate unidentified costs of persons employed in or under the civic administration, who then paid the annual rent of the benefice to the council. In 1447–51 the annual rent of 6 marks was paid by city scribe Joachim Muter, who may have enjoyed the yield of the pile money as a compensation for his commissions and troubles during the war. Since Muter is known to have been paid extra money for his mission to the Livonian Master in the context of the war in late summer or early autumn 1444, the yield of the pile money may not have been designed to cover all the costs of his services in contemporary diplomacy. His need to have a horse permanently stationed in the Marstall in March 1448 immediately following the truce in late February, however, shows that the Revalian city scribe must have had an important role in the diplomatic activity of the council with the Livonian Master in 1444–48.³¹⁶ Partially overlapping the rent by Muter in 1450–51, an annual rent of 6 marks for the pile money in 1450–51 and 1453 was paid by councillor and burghermeister *Cost van Borstal*, who is known to have conducted important diplomatic missions both during the war and after. In 1454, 1457–58 and 1461 the rent was paid by *Steffen Sweder*, a burgher of the city since 1435, and also apparently in the service of the council in one way or another in the late 1450's.³¹⁷ The annual rent of 6 Riga marks of the pile money is also cited in the register of the incoming and outgoing rents of the council from the period of activity of Johannes tor Hove in 1463–77/78–79, where the council is said to have paid the rent every year at Easter.³¹⁸

Muter's dealings with the pile money of Narva since the autumn of 1447 are preceded by another interesting series of entries in the accounts starting on Christmas Eve (December 24), 1446, when '*Joachim*' is said to have been given 30 lasts of lime (*kalk*) for the chalice

³¹⁶ *Joachim Muter*: KB 1432–63, nr. 731 (November 4, 1447), 771 (November 5, 1448), 799 (September 20, 1449), 829 (September 12, 1450) and 878 (November 13, 1451).

³¹⁷ *Cost van Borstel*: KB 1432–63, nr. 821 (May 6, 1450), 878 (November 13, 1451 van 2 jaren) and 939 (October 27, 1453), for *Cost van Borstel* see CHAPTER 3.1.3.2, Kreem 2006, 19–39 and Derrick 2000, 63–65; *Steffen Sweder*: KB 1432–63, nr. 965 (November 29, 1454), 1053 (August 6, 1457), 1074 (June 10, 1458) and 1157 (November 7, 1461) and BB 1409–1624, p. 14 (TLA, A.a.5, f. 9a). In March 1451 Steffen Sweder was given a quantity of 10 lests of the lime burned in the first kiln, KB 1432–63, nr. 846; At the same time other entries in the *kämmerers*' accounts show, that various sums of liquid money were paid to named persons as or from the pile money, occasionally as a probable compensation of costs caused by activity on behalf of the council (KB 1432–63, 796, August 2, 1449, 'Item (councillor) Hermen Greuen gegeven 9 ½ mr. dat Narwessce palgelt'), but also for the construction of the pilework (KB 1432–63, 878 on November 13, 1451, when the 12 marks paid by *Cost van Borstel* 'woerden Hinrik Knipgersten gegeven van disseme jare vor de paele to stoetende na eren breve'), and for the administration of the collecting of the pile money (KB 1432–63, 909, November 30, 1452 'Item gegeven Henninge van Moellen van des Narwesschen palgelds wegene, dat he van disseme jare Roeleff Egesinge vorvoeget hadde na der Narwesschen breve, 25 mr. Rig.'. In March 1443 ten marks from the return of the pile money were given to *Godeke Lange* 'van der Narwesschen schepe wegene van 6 jaren to vorwachtende', KB 1432–63, 527. See also KB 1432–63, 991, 1026, 1076, 1151.

³¹⁸ TLA, A.d.28, f. 1v 'Item van deme paelgelde tor Narwe vj marc' and 6r.

(*kelk*) he had offered to the council. Written by Muter himself, his two interpolations in the margin further state that the entries deal with the burning of the second kiln (for the kilns see CHAPTER 3.2.5) and the lime for the church of St Olaf then being rebuilt after the fire of 1433. No further information about the chalice is provided, but it seems that the city scribe either sold a chalice in his possession or acted as an intermediary between the council and the silversmith. Whatever the case, the council accepted the chalice and paid the city scribe in burned lime, and Muter then paid 120 schillings for its hydration in three instalments, each for 10 last, in late July and early August 1447.³¹⁹ Why Muter agreed to accept the price of the chalice in lime and what he did with such an amount of hydrated lime ready to be used for plaster or mortar once it was in his possession is not known. In the surviving material he is never listed as an owner of inheritable real property in the city, but because he stayed in Reval for at least a couple of years even after his retirement he may have had a house of his own which he refurbished in 1447. His dealings with the chalice and lime suggest that as a city scribe he had occasional businesses of his own outside the sphere of his office, but in close contact with the interests of the council. There is also other evidence for this kind of intermediary agency, such as the 10 Riga marks the council reimbursed to Muter in January 1434 for armour (*panser*) which Andreas the Messenger used, and in March 1437 Muter was given a sum of nearly 20 marks to pay off the debts of the Patkul estate, most likely acting as an advocate of the council in the matter.³²⁰

Salary and status as a civic servant

What was the size of Muter's salary and where does it rank among other salaries paid to people employed in and by the civic administration? Because information about the nature and size of his extraordinary reimbursements from work done in the office of the city scribe but paid from assets not originally belonging to or in the full control of the civic authority such as the Poundage is rather sporadic, it is only possible to evaluate the value of his ordinary annual salary as gathered from the various sources. Together with the Poundage,

³¹⁹ TLA, A.d.15, f. 123v [in the left margin 'secundus kalkouene <-> iij:c vnde xiiij leste kalkes', [in the left margin between the two next lines 'Sunt Oleff kalk"] 'hiir van vntfenc sunte Oleues kerke viffich last de bliff se tachter/ Jtem Joachime xxx leste kalkes gedan uor den kelk den em de Rat offerde' (KB 1432–63, nr. 693). For the costs of hydration see KB 1432–63, nr. 717 (A.d.15, f. 127v, July 15, 1447) 'Item untfangen xl s. van Joachime vor xx leste kalkes loschegelt', 718 (A.d.15, f. 128r, July 22, 1447) 'Item untfangen xl s. van Joachime van 10 leste kalkes loeschegelde', 719 (A.d.15, f. 128r, August 5, 1448) 'Item untfangen xl s. vor loeschegelt van Joachime vor x leste kalkes' all written by *Muter* himself. The 'xx leste' of the first entry should probably read 'x leste'.

³²⁰ KB 1432–63, nr. 76 (January 30, 1434) 'Item gegeven Joachim 10 mr. vor 1 panser, dat Andreas de bode hevet', 244 (March 16, 1437) 'Item Joachimen gedan 20 mrc. myn 2 s. van Patkullen nalate, dar he de schuldenere, den Patkullen tur was, mede untrichten solden'.

another form of his annual extra income was the writing of the *schoss*, the costs of which in 1444 were three Riga marks and three schillings.³²¹

In the second quarter of the 15th century, the permanently paid personnel of the city consisted of city servants (*stades denren*), the number in the *kämmerers'* accounts of 1438–57 varying between three and six. The word '*dener*' (servant) is not to be understood here as a domestic attendant or a person waiting upon the council or councillors in banquets as knaves (*knapen*) did, but a group of highly specialized professionals permanently employed to master specific spheres of activity on behalf of the civic administration. Among them, and occasionally listed outside the group of city servants proper, one of the most important and best paid professionals since the second quarter of the 15th century appears to have been the gunfounder (*bussenschutte*), but the actual office of the others is not always specified in the accounts. In late 1457, the basic personnel of the city comprised the gunfounder, the master smith (*hoeffsmyt*), the master carpenter (*tymmerman*), the master stonemason (*steenwerter*), the master brickmaker (*tegelsleger*) and the council's cook (*rades kock*), all obviously in charge of respective workshops with apprentices and/or other permanent or temporary hands at their disposal. At the same time other personnel in the service of the city included four messengers (*boden*), two solicitors (*vorspraken*), the warden of the city pastures (*koppelman*), four musicians, the market reeve (*marketvoget*), a junior carpenter, a junior cook and the lime burner (*kalkberner*), all entitled to clothes from the city. Further paid professionals in the first half of the 15th century were the crossbow-maker (*armborsterer*), the stable servant (*marstalknecht* or *stalknecht*), the master weigher with his weighhands, the town bailiff, the executioner and the *Urteilsfinder*, of which the last originally represented the city community in the bailiff's court of justice. Even if some of them turn up in the schematic register of wages from the period of office of Johannes Blomendal in A.d.3, the *kämmerers'* accounts show that both their number and the nature of their assignments varied in time, and especially the work of master craftsmen, such as the carpenter, stonemason and gunfounder were sustained not only with various forms of permanent salary in money and clothes, but also with extra payments against invoices in specific commissions.³²² In this respect the conditions of work of city scribe Muter come close to those of master artisans, and despite his qualification as a notary public with possible clerical status with minor

³²¹ KB 1432–63, 597. See CHAPTER 3.2.2.2).

³²² KB 1432–63, nr. 1061–63, 356, 943 and 1038. Two different lists of persons with allowances in cloth were also written by city scribe *Reinhold Storning* on the original back cover of A.d.15 (f. 275v), see Vogelsang 1976, 2; TLA, A.a.3, f. 130v (PergRB 1452–1455).

orders, the nature of his activity in the civic administration resembles that of a master craftsman in many ways, perhaps because that is what, in effect, he was.

Information on Muter's permanent annual salary during his period of office in 1429–56 is summed up in TABLE 8:

Table 8: *City scribe Joachim Muter's annual salary in money from various assets in 1429–56.*

Source of salary	Period (fiscal year)	Riga marks/year
Pay-per-document	Spring – autumn 1429	..
Ember money (<i>Quartermpergelt</i>)	(1429/30?) – 1432/33–33/34 1434/35–55/56	16 Rmk 24 Rmk
Oblation money (<i>Offergelt</i>)	1437/38–55/56	ca. 2–3 Rmk
Altar foundations	1443/44–55/56	6 Rmk
Extras	..	..
Writing of the Poundage	(1429–) 1457–58	..
Writing of the <i>Schoss</i>	(1429–55/56?)	3 Rmk, 3 schillings in 1444
Total/year (excluding the Poundage, <i>Schoss</i> and extras)	(1429/30?) – 1432/33–33/34 1434/35–36/37 1437/38–42/43 1443/44–55/56	16 Rmk 24 Rmk ca. 26 Rmk ca. 32 Rmk

Considering the developments in Muter's basic income, the known annual disbursements in the *kämmerers'* accounts show that during his time of office from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1432/33, and most likely from the moment of his first employment as a permanent city scribe in late 1429, his annual fixed salary *de facto* doubled from 16 Riga marks to 32 marks in a matter of fifteen years in 1429–43, and remained at that level for another 13 years before his retirement in 1456/57. After an initial period of 1429–34, his annual fixed income was raised to ca. 26–27 Riga marks in 1434–37, on the top of which he enjoyed the annual 6 marks rent of the altar chantries after 1443 and appears to have been further given the return of the Narva Pile Money in 1447, for which he paid due rent to the council in 1447/48–1451/52. In addition he was paid extra money and reimbursements for representing the council in diplomatic missions as well as frequent allowances in expensive cloth for dressing as befitted a city scribe in the council's service in 1437–56. After his retirement in 1456 much of his basic income remained unchanged at ca. 30–31 Riga marks per year until December 1462, when he finally finished writing the accounts of the city with a rather

handsome handshake of 24 Riga marks as an acknowledgement for his long service on behalf of the council and the city.

When compared to other persons permanently employed by the council, Muter's salary is similar to that of the master craftsmen in charge of the respective workshops in the city, even if in his last years of service in Reval he may only have dreamed of the level of income earned by professionals such as Cord the gunfounder (*bussenschutte*) who was paid 50 Riga marks in 1454–57 as an annual ground salary for his work.³²³ Nonetheless, Muter's salary was apparently of a sufficient level to sustain a standard of living over the average, and even if he may have had strong organisational ties with other persons employed in the civic administration and its everyday activities, his professional identification must have fostered in him a feeling of togetherness with a wider group of people active in the administration and communication of different agents of power in the Baltic Sea region, such as notaries public, professional scribes and clerics of various clerical or university backgrounds.

5.2.4.4. *Pen trials*

Lastly, Joachim Muter's status as notary public and his evident background as a man of letters is also attested in his pen trials and other pieces of writing still surviving in the medieval holdings of *AR*. Among those most frequent and characteristic of him are various kinds of invocations, intitulations and salutations written as pen trials for the stabilisation of the quill before writing finished documents and missives proper, such as '*In nomine domini amen*', '*Vruntlike grote touoren*', '*Jn deme jare*', '*Mynen denst*' or even '*Den Erbaren mannen Borgermesteren vnde Radtmannen der Stad Wysmer kome desse Jegewardige breff myt vlit*', often combined with incipits of various sequences of hymns, such as '*De apostolis*' and '*De dedicatione ecclesia*' of Notker Balbulus, '*puer nobis natus est et gaudet jherusalem*' and '*magna est stella*' from Christmas sequences, as well as idioms, invocations and proverbs, such as '*magnum nomen domini*', '*In principio*', '*In nomine patris*', '*domini nostri ihesu Christi*', '*wyl god*' and '*In malivolam animam non intrabit sapientiam*'.³²⁴ In

³²³ KB 1432–63, nr. 965, 978, 1016, 1051. In addition of the salary Cord was also paid the habitual oblations and other allowances and his everyday costs were covered by *Dietrich Hulsberg*, the city servant responsible for the city Marstall, KB 1432–63, nr. 968, 970, 1006, 1015, 1038, 1054. In July 1457 Cord was given a new pair of trousers worth 5 ferdings 4 schillings for founding a new gun, KB 1432–63, 1040.

³²⁴ '*In nomine domini amen*' TLA, A.a.4a, f. 116v, '*Vruntlike grote touoren*' TLA, BA 1:Id, 148v (draft for a notary instrument of July 5, 1427), '*Jn deme jare*' TLA, BC 40, 3v (backside of a letter from Ivar Fleming of ca. 1434), '*Mynen denst*' and '*Wyl god*' TLA, BA 1:Id, 240v, '*Den Erbaren mannen ...*' TLA, BA 1:Id, 145v (on a draft written by Lange); '*Ecclesiarum mores et vitam*' (Notkerus Balbulus, *Sequentiae*, Cap. XXXI, *De Apostolis*, see Notkerus Balbulus, *Liber Sequentiarum*. In: Migne, J.-P. (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, Tom. 131. Paris 1853, 1003–1025), '*et virgo sine ruga honorem*', '*particeps*', '*jnlaude reg*', '*probatur particeps*' (all from

line with his predecessors, some of his pen trials are also written in the form of proverbs, such as *‘Omnibus omnia, non mea sompnia dicere possum’*, a sentence already employed by *AIV* in the 1370’s (see CHAPTER 5.1.2).³²⁵ One of his favourite ways of steadying the hand and the tip of quill before the writing of finished texts and documents appears to have been the verse *‘homo quidam fecit cenam magnam’* (Luke 14:16), a parable of the Lord hosting a supper and the lectio of the second Sunday after the Trinity next to the octavas of the Feast of Corpus Christi, with allusions to late medieval Dominican mysticism. In *AR* the verse appears earlier in the period of activity of Johannes Blomendal (see above CHAPTER 5.2.1.4), but it also surfaces in the office of Muter among a variety of material from the time of his first soujourn in Reval in 1427 when he was in close contact with the Dominicans.³²⁶ Other verses of Luke in Muter’s pen trials are the liturgic Magnificat of Mary (*‘magnificat anima mea dominum’*, Luke 1:46) and *‘gaudium magnum est angelis dei super uno peccatore poenitentiam agente’* (Luke 15:10, from the lectio of the third Sunday after Pentecost following the second Sunday after Trinitatis), which may refer to his possible clerical activities, but which together with the sequences focusing on Christmas can also be taken as a reference to popular feasts of ecclesiastic and civic content such as Corpus Chirsti.³²⁷ Further pen trials and other provisional writings by Muter are occasionally found in the margins and on the reverse side of the received missives of the council, such as two letters from the council of Dorpat dated to the Feast of St Briccius (November 13), 1434 and St John the Baptist (June 24), 1437.³²⁸

Notker Balbulus, *Sequentiae*, Cap. XXII, In dedicatione ecclesia), ‘In principio’, TLA BA 1:Id, 131r (a draft of letter from the mid 1430’s, LECUB VIII 470), ‘puer nobis natus est et vnde gaudet iherusalem’, ‘magna est stella’ together with a variety of other sentences and verse of sequence such as ‘miserorum solame speciosa’ TLA, BA 1:Id, 145r (on a draft by Lange of June 1427); ‘Magnum nomen domini’ TLA, BA 1:Id, 174v, (draft of a missive of November 14, 1429), ‘In principio’, TLA, BA 1:Id, 131r (see above), ‘In nomine patris’ TLA, A.a.4a, f. 116v, ‘domini nostri ihesu Christi’ and ‘Wyl god’ TLA, BA 1:Id, 240v (see above), ‘In malevolam animam non intrabit sapientiam’ TLA, BA 1:Id, 145v (on a draft written by Lange). For other pen trials of Muter not discussed here see TLA, BA 1:Id, 248v (draft of a missive of January 26, 1432), BA 1:Id, 245r (draft for a notary instrument October 1, 1431) and BA 1:Id, 127v with pen trials by a hand that may not have been Muter’s ‘Jtem so sende ik h her Jtem so sende’, ‘Jtem so wete’, ‘Jtem so wetet leue broder her scriuer dat ik vruntliken bidde dat gy wol don’, ‘Hermen van mendes’, ‘a a a’, ‘a b c d e’, ‘a b c d e f s f g’, ‘s s s s’ ‘h h h h’, ‘k l m n’ and so on.

³²⁵ ‘Omnibus omnia, non mea sompnia dicere possum’ TLA, A.a.4a, f. 116v.

³²⁶ ‘Homo quidam’, TLA, BC 40, 3v (backside of a letter from Ivar Fleming of ca. 1434), and BA 1:Id, 156r (a draft for the council’s letter on July 11, 1429), ‘Homo quidam fecit cenam magnam et misit servum suum hora cenae dicere invitatis ut venirent quia parata sunt omnia’, BA 1:Id, 148v (draft for a notary instrument of July 5, 1427).

³²⁷ ‘Magnificat anima mea dominum, TLA, BA 1:Id, 247v (draft for a letter of January 26, 1432), ‘gaudium magnum est angelis dei super uno peccatore poenitentiam agente’ TLA, BA 1:Id, 196r (draft for a letter of January 30, 1430 (LECUB I:8 147).

³²⁸ TLA, BD 1:II, 93v (November 13, 1434) ‘Jnt ...’, 111r (June 24, 1437) with a list of names and 111r with lists of seals (referring to an unknown document?).

Most of Muter's surviving pen trials are written on loose sheets of drafts and other writings dating from the early years of his office in 1429–31, which does not mean that he would not have resorted to similar pieces of recycled material later. Because of the suggested introduction of a lost copy of missives in 1432, the main bulk of his later drafts and discarded originals appears not have been archived in the scriptorium and any loose sheets of paper used as pen trials are no longer available. The fact that most of Muter's pen trials are written in gothic textualis and occasionally with different blends of ink during the same session clearly shows that they were produced in the context of preparations for the writing of finished documents, not just as a scribal pastime in the City Scriptorium, where the majority of the council's letters and other documents must have been produced from the 1370's on.

The most intriguing surviving literary contribution written in Muter's hand is a poem in nine strophes of four lines each placed in and around a wheel of nine spokes. Placed at the back of Muter's draft of the council's letter to the headman of the castle of Åbo Klaus Lydekesson, dated to Octavas of St John before the Latin Gate (May 13), 1430, the poem is entitled 'De vrowe secht', 'The Lady tells'. It describes the capricious nature of luck (Lady Fortuna) and the fate of man in the wheel of fortune (the order of the strophes is here left open).³²⁹

³²⁹ TLA, BC 3, f. 19v. The letter to Nikolaus (Klaus) Lydekesson (f. 19r) is registered in LECUB I:7 207 and FMU II 1945, and printed in edition in FMU VIII 6635.

De vrowe secht

Jk bin dat blinde wilde eventure
na deme suten geue ik dat sure
nemant sy to blide vmme myne gyfte
wente men worlust it harde dichte

merket vnde seet hiir wonder
wat it euentur wirket hiir vnder
de mi weldich is vnde ryk
Jk mach em vallen wonderlik

hus lant vnde erue
vorlese ik vnde bederue
vnd mat in mynen olde dagen
grote armode leren tragen

Jt was dy gelent/ vnde nicht gegeuen
hedde it din gewest/ it hadde din gebleuen
de deme euenture touele betruwet
men zu^et dicke dat it em rullet.

hiir ligge ik arman under
to spotte vnde to wonder
vor all der werlt vorsmaet
dat it luckerat nicht wedder vmmevat

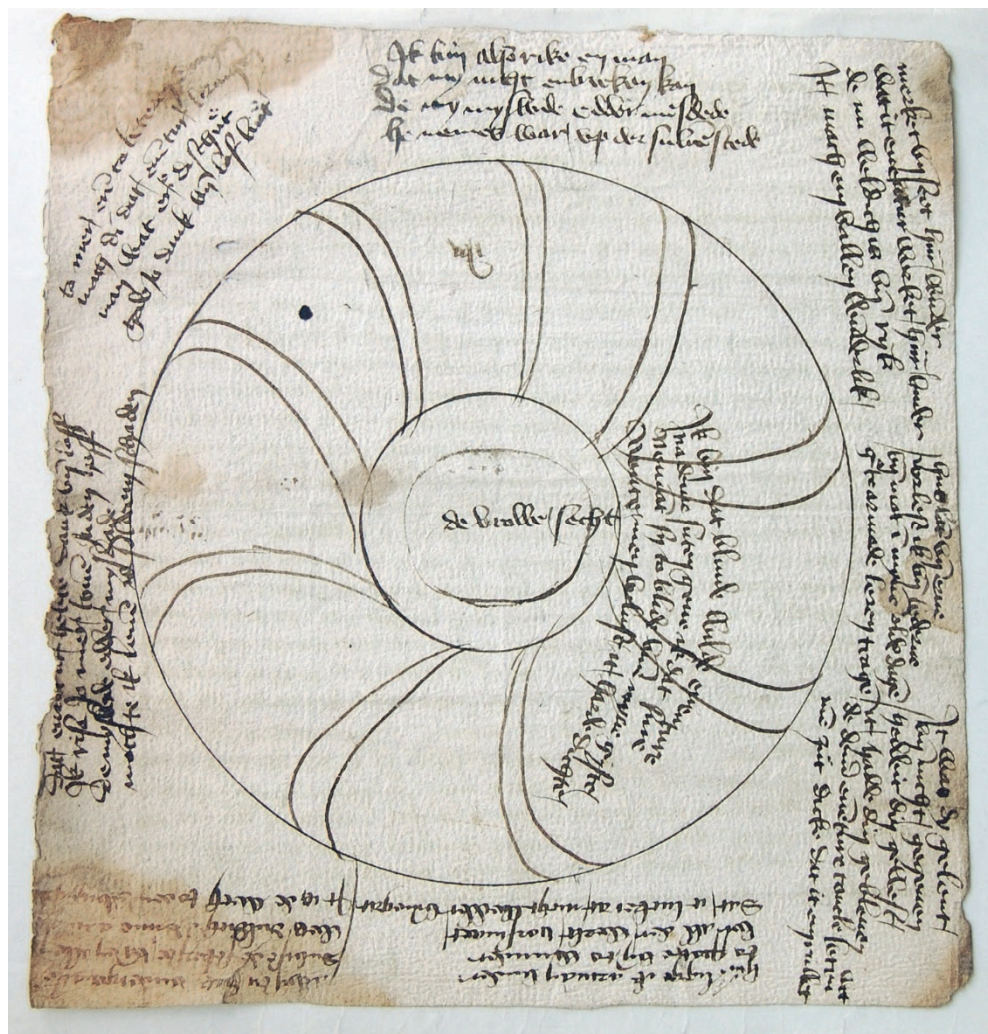
Albistu dar vndergeuallen
du bist de sekerste van en allen
wes duldich in dune armode
Jt is de wech to deme ewigen gode

dat euentur hebbe dank vnde loff
Jk ris jo mer bouen jn den hoff
de myslude edder mysdade
mochte ik leuen id solde em schaden

to mer eren to beteren dingen
mach di dat euentur bringen
man wat erue di shcu^et
gode ju dank vnde lof bu^et

Jk bin also rike en man
dat my nicht enbreken kan
de my myswile eddir misdede
he nemet war vp der sulven stede.

Picture 46: 'De vrowe secht', 'The Lady (Fortuna) tells'. The wheel of fortune in Muter's hand sketched and written on the reverse side of a draft for the council's letter to Nicolaus Lydekesson, headman of the castle of Åbo, dated to Octavas of St John before the Latin Gate (May 13), 1430.



TLA, BC 3, 19v.

The poem first attracted the attention of scholars already in the late 19th century when it was thought to be the oldest German shrovetide mystery play because of a lost homonymic mystery play performed in Lübeck in 1441. But even if the poem was based on a pageant of an unknown mystery play in Middle Low German of Hanseatic origin, the picturelike composition of nine strophes and sketchy wheel with an equal number of spokes may also be a scribal reproduction of a painting or a picture familiar to Muter from somewhere in Reval, Lübeck or from literary material at his disposal in Reval.¹ As such, the poem and the sketchy

¹ von Wilpert, Gero, *Deutschbaltische Literaturgeschichte*. Verlag C.H. Beck, München, 2005, 41–42. For a previous edition of the poem see Mackensen, Lutz, *Baltische Texte der Frühzeit*. *Abhandlungen der Herder-*

drawing may represent the only surviving reproduction of the original, and it remains one of the most intriguing pieces of evidence of the cultural and literate environment in which Muter lived and which permeated his daily work as a city scribe and man of letters in the service of the council. Intriguingly, it also gives an allusion to Muter's own notarial sign, consisting of halves of heraldic and architectural roses forming a full circle. Whether he did this consciously or not, Muter certainly was favoured by Lady Fortuna in his life with a long time permanent occupation in the service of the council of Reval.

Gesellschaft und des Herder-Instituts zu Riga, V:8. Riga 1936, 211 with reference to the 19th-century literature on p. 332.

6. Conclusions

6.1. *The settings and theoretical framework of the study*

The focus of the study has been on two different set of problems: the use of text and the nature of the process of textualization as a means of recording, managing, controlling and securing information of the council of Reval before 1456/60, and the nature and role of individual actors and their agencies, especially that of the city scribes involved in it.

In the introduction, the basic set of problems of the study and the concept of the management of information are set in the context of modern theoretical representations of organisational studies and the nature of institutions, where their main substance has been seen not only through their role in controlling, processing and channelling information, but also their nature as sources of identity for their members, both of which support their core role as a vehicle for utilising various kinds of resources for the joint survival of the organisation and its members. Despite of the post-WWII stress on the role of conflict, decision-making and analysis-based action as promoters of organisational behaviour, various recent studies on the representation of personal, group and collective identity indicate that all the three basic dimensions (information, identity and survival through resources) also appear to have been characteristic of known forms of medieval collective activity and institutions in the context of their political, judicial, economic and social surroundings. In the Introduction, the conceptualisation of the nature of institutions such as the medieval civic authority of Reval is further problematized through a framework of various kinds of ‘carriers’ or ‘vehicles’ (*Symbolic and Relational systems, Routines and Artifacts*) in how ideas and practices move and establish themselves in the *Regulative, Normative* and *Cultural-Cognitive* spheres of institutional legitimation, and where an inherent shift of focus can be distinguished from the metaphysical and unconscious and taken for granted to empirical and conscious and legally enforced in the understanding of what institutions are (FIGURES 1 and 2). As discussed in CHAPTERS 1.1.1, 1.2.1.2 and 1.2.4, several studies suggest that such a shift also happened in the late 14th- and 15th-century groundings of civic and ‘collective’ authority in the merchant cities of Europe, where the civic authority of the city council was anchored to the will of the burgher community regulated through oaths, and the relationship between civic community and princely authority was arranged through written and sealed documents.

In order to study the role of the scribes and other people active in the written management of information of the civic authority of Reval, their position in the administration is

conceptualised through the framework of ‘Actors’, i.e. entities determining the rules and the utilisation of resources particular to the reproduction of civic authority as an institution, and ‘Agencies’, where the activity itself is understood as a structure and a process through which the positions in the reproduction and maintaining of authority took shape and developed. Here the study leans heavily on earlier work on the role of cohesive elements in medieval society, especially that of Susan Reynolds (1984/1997), where the shift between various forms of vertical hierarchies of lordship and horizontal representations of collective interests are not seen as a teleological necessity based on social-darwinistic ideas of progress or ideal classifications of how authority was viewed and constructed in the Middle Ages, but rather as parallel methods of legitimisation and protection.

According to Reynolds, an important catalyst for the legitimisation of the relationship of agents of collective interests and lordship was the demographic growth of the 13th century, which produced a growing number of encounters between individuals, institutions and institutionalised agents of judicial or collective authority, which in turn affected the regulation of the spheres and ways these encounters and their verification was administered. In an urban community the size of Reval, with a demographic growth from no more than 1500 people at the beginning of the 13th century to ca. 5000–6000 in the mid-15th century, the growing density of encounters obviously created the framework in which all the institutional activity of the civic authority and the development of its ‘agencies’ took form. Despite the late medieval economic fluctuations and a 15th-century growth of population, it is interesting that in late medieval Reval the number of families in the topmost layer of the city remained approximately the same, ca. 180 house owners from the beginning of the 1370’s to the beginning of the 1530’s, whereas the total number of burgher households was ca. 435–465 in both 1372 and 1527/38, including artisans with burghership. In other words, the basic administration of the city as managed by the presiding council was negotiated by a sworn community of ca. 450 burghers, of whom fewer than 180 constituted the socio-economic layer eligible for the council. Since the total number of households liable to ground tax in the walled area of the lower town was ca. 740 in 1372 and ca. 810 in 1538, already in the third quarter of the 14th century the burgher families made up ca. 60 % and the councillor elite ca. 25 % of the households of the walled lower town. At the same time the council emerged as an actor in a wider framework of various agents of collective and landed interests, where the need for the collective protection of merchants manifested itself not only in fraternities and guilds, but also in confederations of merchant cities emerging as actors in

communication with various other agents of lay and ecclesiastic power in the Baltic Sea area and beyond.

Much of the theoretical context of the work is presented in FIGURE 3 in CHAPTER 1.2.1.2, where information is considered as both a resource and an important prerequisite for the identity of the council of Reval as a civic authority and institutionalised agent of transpersonal and transgenerational interests in its contemporary surroundings. The written management of information of the council administration is seen as a product of the contemporary and past fiscal, judicial and political environment as well as a manifestation of council authority, where the concept of the process of **textualization** and the use of text as the technology for the management of information, communication and administration provides an invaluable tool for understanding its role as both a manifestation and a carrier of the identity of the council in its framework of interaction. Still available as city books of memoranda, charters and attestations, written correspondence, drafts and temporary material as well as laws and ordinances, the surviving corpus of texts tells us about the emergence and stabilisation of various kinds of agencies and the professionalization of the written management of information of the civic authority, here studied from the point of view of the office of the city scribes and the system of civic memoranda produced by them and the councillors active in the various spheres of administration of the council. Because of the important role of the surviving corpus of material in the medieval textual activities and the management of information of the council, an overview of the history of the Altes Rathsarchiv (*AR*) and Tallinn City Archives (TLA) is provided in CHAPTER 1.2.5, and various questions of the provenance of individual volumes and archival entities have been discussed throughout the study.

For a better understanding of the text as a technology and the role of various kinds of conventions in the contemporary written management of information, the overall process of textualization of the management of information and communication of the council of Reval is observed from the point of view of human communication (FIGURE 4 in CHAPTER 1.2.2.1). Here important distinctions must be made, not only regarding the concept and level of ‘literacy’ as a skill and particular domain of comprehending textual representations, but also in the role of synchronic manifestations of oral, literate and symbolic means of communication in the medieval socio-cultural, administrative and political surroundings and the nature of languages and domains of language behaviour involved in it. Further important questions are those of communicative distance and the difference between ‘public’ and

‘private’ (here conceptualized through the three polarisations formal/informal, public/restricted, open/confidential) spheres of interaction in the contemporary activity of people and institutions. In this study the oral and symbolic elements in the management of information and communication have been largely left aside, even if the oral process, for instance in the annual election, promulgation and corroboration of the presiding council, retained its role all the way through from the 13th century to the 16th, and many of the manifestations of the civic authority in the city space were denoted through symbolic and oral forms of communication.

On the level of the process of textualization, production of texts and the role of the city scribes in the written management of information of the civic authority, the basic understanding of the typology of the produced texts and textual artefacts in the study has been grounded in the role of text types and text permanences characteristic for the textual rendition of acts of authority, the observed chain of events, or the particular type of information required for contemporary recording, managing, controlling and securing them. In turn based on cognitive and pragmatic models of thinking, the text types and the permanences are further understood as conceptual categories of experienced reality rendered by means of textual technologies, and following the basic conceptualisation of the medieval perception of time and space, as well as the nature of activity, authority and socio-cultural meanings relevant to the contemporary surroundings. In this study, instead of analysing the various kinds of text types and permanences apparent in the surviving textual artefacts produced in the Revalian written management of information, the suggested medieval cognitional categories of text permanences and types are seen largely through a general typological distinction arising from the material itself, where the ‘Texts’, ‘textual matters’ or ‘text artefacts’ manifest themselves as ‘Scripts’ (Memoranda and Documents), ‘Regulations’ and ‘Normative guides’ (Law codes, Ordinances, Other manuals), ‘Books’ (proper) and ‘Artefacts with texts’ (FIGURE 5 in CHAPTER 1.2.3). Here the problematic entity of city books, i.e. various volumes and codices of memoranda of a medieval civic authority, is discussed as a group of its own, where certain recent studies (Andreas Petter 2006), have emphasised the dual function of such memoranda both for more short time ‘memorizing’ (*Schrift-Gebrauch*) and for more lasting ‘documentation’ (*Schrift-Organisation*) in rendering the contemporary state of facts.

As the analysis of certain sections of the civic memoranda of Reval such as the accounts of the *kämmerers* and the documentation of the various fiscal enterprises of the council in this

study show, the employed text types and permanences clearly corresponded to contemporary cognitional modes of thinking in the fiscal administration, and were deeply rooted in a chronological, cyclic and seasonal perception of time particular to individual merchants as well as institutionalized agents of corporate authority. Corresponding to contemporary cognitional models of how various fiscal acts in the cyclic and seasonal economic environment of the civic authority were rendered in chronological form, most of the surviving Revalian books of memoranda manifest themselves as ‘textual chronicles’ of past fiscal events in the management of information of transactions and administrative decisions designed for memorizing and checking the chronological flow of transactions and acts of authority in the particular sphere of activity and administration. This makes them essentially different from cognitional models based on the concept of ‘available resources’ or ‘planning’ characteristic of their modern equivalents, a distinction that provides further tools for understanding the nature of written management of information in the administration of medieval civic authorities such as Reval.

As already discussed, much of the focus of the study lies on the formation and role of various agencies in the written management of information and communication of the civic authority of Reval, including that of the council itself (CHAPTERS 3.1.1.–2). In the medieval administration different spheres of council activity were controlled by individual councillors, who often worked in pairs, and specialists permanently, seasonally or temporarily hired to take care of special ‘offices’ or sectors of activity under the council. In this study, the nature of these different actors and their agencies in the administration of the civic authority is seen through actor-network theories, where individual actors such as the scribes, councillors or the council as a corporation not only brought substance, views and ways of conduct of their own to the issues they dealt with in the organisation, but also took part in the continuous reproduction of the organisation itself in the everyday manifestations of their agencies (i.e. offices). Much of the continuous reproduction took place in communication with actors and networks extending well beyond the organisation, i.e. with agents of territorial or economic power, layers of urban elites and professional ‘colleagues’ in the Baltic Sea area of interaction of the council of Reval. Consequently in the study (see CHAPTER 1.2.4) the cyclic formation of the identity of the actors and their agencies is understood as a reciprocal exchange between the surface and deep structure of the organisation, which creates a stable relationship between the levels and makes the organisation rather predictable, not least

because the organisation itself is understood as a product of ongoing activities and interaction.

Considering the role of textualization and written management of information in the formation and reproduction of the institutional identity of the civic authority of Reval and its textual manifestations, the development of the agency (office) of the city scribes was of special importance. Its major significance was not just its formation as the office taking control of the production and surveillance of the various textual products apparent in the administration and communication of the council, but also as a platform requiring explicit professional qualifications from its occupants. Together with the implementation of various cognitional models in the management of written information and communication particular to the individual scribes, this tells us about the cognitional premises for the presentation, modification and reproduction of ideas and conventions in the particular period of office of a city scribe active in the administration. Here, an important dimension of the study is the concept 'professionalization', where, according to organisational studies, the dialectic process of the coming about and manifestation of recognisable 'professions' in organisations can be understood as a self-feeding system, where the process itself is based on qualifications and attributes required for the 'task' or 'profession' as well as a further set of attributes and a group-based ethos created through it. As a result, permanently hired city scribes emerged as practical and intellectual carriers of the textualization of the written administration of civic authority and introduced views and conventions of their own to the management of information particular to their time, their various professional networks and themselves. Because of this, much energy has been spent on the research and identification of various hands active in the written administration of the council of Reval, including the known or possible identity of the scribes as well as the conditions of their work, schooling, qualifications and status in the civic administration. An important occurrence in this context is the development of the Revalian 'City Scriptorium' from a rather *ad hoc* group of 'places' or *loci* of textual activity, originally condensable to the scribe's personal kit, his bag, two or three portable books of memoranda and the production of documents of parchment, into a house designed for it in the 1370's, with contemporary textual activity of the city scribes taking place both in the City Scriptorium (where most of the documents and letters must have been produced for the eventual corroboration of the council) and the Town Hall (where much of the memoranda of the civic authority is likely have been archived already in the late 14th century). Similarly, and as evident from the surviving material of the council, an

important ‘momentum’ in the cognitional models apparent in the written management of information of the council of Reval and its environment of written communication occurred with the shift from parchment and temporary writing materials to paper and from Latin to vernacular. As the study shows, neither shift appears to have been a clear or an organised process, but modifications in the use of parchment as the main material of most important legal documents and the habitual or even ritualistic use of Latin represent a dialogue from the 1340’s to the beginning of the 15th century.

6.2. Aspects of textualization, written management of information and the office of the city scribes

6.2.1. The Revalian process of textualization, the overall development of agencies and the production of text artefacts

In the study, the process of textualization of the management of information and written manifestations of authority in the Baltic Sea area of interaction from the 12th century to the mid-15th is conceptualised as three phases: *the first* consisting of written manifestations of public and judicial authority in sealed charters and letters from the 11th to 13th centuries, *the second* the textualization of the management of information in assorted kinds of registers and written memoranda of various agents of power, communities, and private persons such as merchants in the 13th and 14th centuries, and *the third* the introduction of paper and the vernacular to both of the former areas and the achievement of an effectual written management of communication from the mid-14th century onwards. As discussed in CHAPTERS 2.1.1.–2.1.3, 2.2 and 4.3, all these three phases are clearly evident in the extant examples of the 13th to 14th centuries written management of information and manifestations of civic authority of the council of Reval. The production and promulgation of sealed charters issued in the name of the council and other agents of power of the area starts as early as the third quarter of the 13th century, the earliest surviving registers and quires of memoranda date to the first quarter of the 14th century, paper was introduced rather swiftly as the main material of both the civic memoranda and letters and documents issued in the name of the civic authority in ca. 1350–75, and a process of vernacularisation of both memoranda and documents took place in the last half of the 14th century.

In order to understand the various nodes of the civic administration where various kind of administrative, judicial and fiscal information was produced, the overall corpus of civic memoranda is in the study observed in the context of agencies in the civic administration: that of the council itself as a corporate authority based on the cyclical rotation of

councillorship that created a transpersonal and transgenerational agent of collective interests, and of the individual spheres of activity of the councillors and other personnel of the city as evident from the source material. Consequently, in CHAPTER 3, the main focus is on the structure of the civic administration as revealed in its textual manifestations, where the textualization of various spheres of the administration are studied in the context of the ‘agencies’ (councillor wardens) controlling it and from the perspective of the role of the city scribes apparent in the written management of information of the particular sphere. As discussed in CHAPTERS 3.1.3.5 and 3.2.5, in management of information several temporary nodes and manifestations of the council’s authority such as individual construction projects appear to have been of a marginal nature, and usually emerged only as objects in the contemporary process of recording the kind of economic or judicial activities that the council performed in the name of the city. The actual management of information and the introduction of text as the main technology of keeping track of the administration in its contemporary forms occurred elsewhere, initially most likely through the initiatives of single councillors responsible for activities in the administration, and subsequently through the activities of the office of the city scribe. From the 1370’s onwards the majority of the written management of information took place in the City Scriptorium and the Town Hall, where the production of the textual artefacts was handled not only for the council but also for other agents of an institutional nature in the city, such as the crafts.

Considering the role of the city scribes in the production of the city books of memoranda, the study shows, that their central task appears since the second quarter of the 14th century have been the control of the main textual management of information in registers related to the basic forms of income and information about the walled area of the city and the facilities and institutions in the control or full possession of the civic authority, from where it spread to the control of other permanent and temporary forms of income and expenditure in the custody of the councillor-wardens in the latter half of the 14th century. In these fields the work of the scribe varied in scale from full production of finished accounts and text artefacts (*schoss*, *wedde*, Poundage, *kämmerers’* accounts from at least 1420s, market shops, rented buildings, annual rents and income from the altars, Town Hall, Domberg Wall, the ‘handbook’ of St John), to annual checking, controlling and/or partial management of the material produced by the councillors (Mint, mills, *kämmerers’* accounts in the latter half of the 14th century, Town wall of 1389), to temporary roles in the archiving of the finished textual products of the wardens (memoranda of the town bailiff, building accounts of St Olaf), or even to

performing some lesser tasks. Here, one of the crucial aspects for understanding the emergence of the agency of the city scribe and the nature of the remaining material in *AR* are developments in the actual volume on finished accounts and memoranda on parchment and paper, where no information is available on the likely use of temporary materials such as wax tablets by the councillor-wardens or scribes from the era of parchment-based memoranda before the mid-14th century. From the point of view of the written management of communication and production of charters and documents, the agency of the city scribe appears more evident, but even there the stabilisation of the office of a permanent scribe dependent of the council only appears to have occurred around the turn of 13th century, i.e. more or less parallel to the appearance of the first sheets and quires of memoranda in the Revalian management of written information.

As regards physical developments in the management of written memoranda by the scribes and the councillor-wardens, a transformation in the size and overall appearance of the surviving books and volumes of memoranda occurred in the third quarter of the 14th century, in the period of activity of *Karolus de Montreal* (1358–63) and *Albertus* (1363–74), alongside the expansion of the surviving material and the introduction of paper and the vernacular. The first paper volume of mixed memoranda in quarto was put in writing in the period of office of *WBIV* in 1352. As evident from FIGURES 8:A–C, a further transformation in the size and physical characteristics of the main types of memoranda occurred in the periods of office of the city scribes *Hermannus* (1375–1401/3), *Johannes Blomendal* (1406–25) and *Joachim Muter* (1429–56/60). Of special importance are modifications in the size of the individual volumes of memoranda introduced in the written management of information, which tell about the movability of the codices as *vademecums* (such as A.a.2), and quires of narrow format (such as the individual quires of *schoss*) to more permanent volumes of memoranda (such as paper and parchment books in quarto, many of which were considered portable and supplied with a limp leather wrapping protecting the whole volume), and finally to immovable codices that were intended to be written and consulted only in their permanent location in the Town Hall or City Scriptorium. Here, the overall transformation of the civic memoranda in Reval gives unequivocal evidence of the gradual change from itinerant local management of written memoranda to permanent storing of codices, a process parallel to the stabilisation of the location of the main activities related to the management of information of the council to the City Scriptorium and Town Hall in the 1370's.

Figures 8:A-C: *The physical transformation of the volumes in some of the most important lines of civic memoranda in the written management of information of the council of Reval before 1460. The size of the volumes is proportional to the original codices in each line of memoranda. For the basic codicological information of the volumes, see APPENDIX 2 and their respective descriptions in the text of this study.*

Figure 8:A: *Resignations/recognitions and annuities*

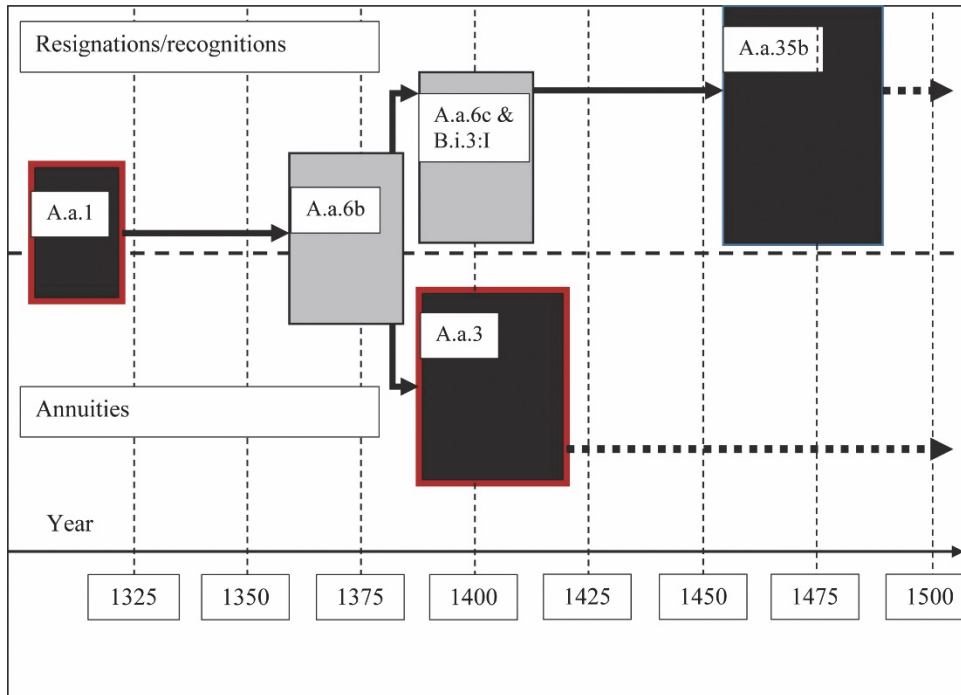
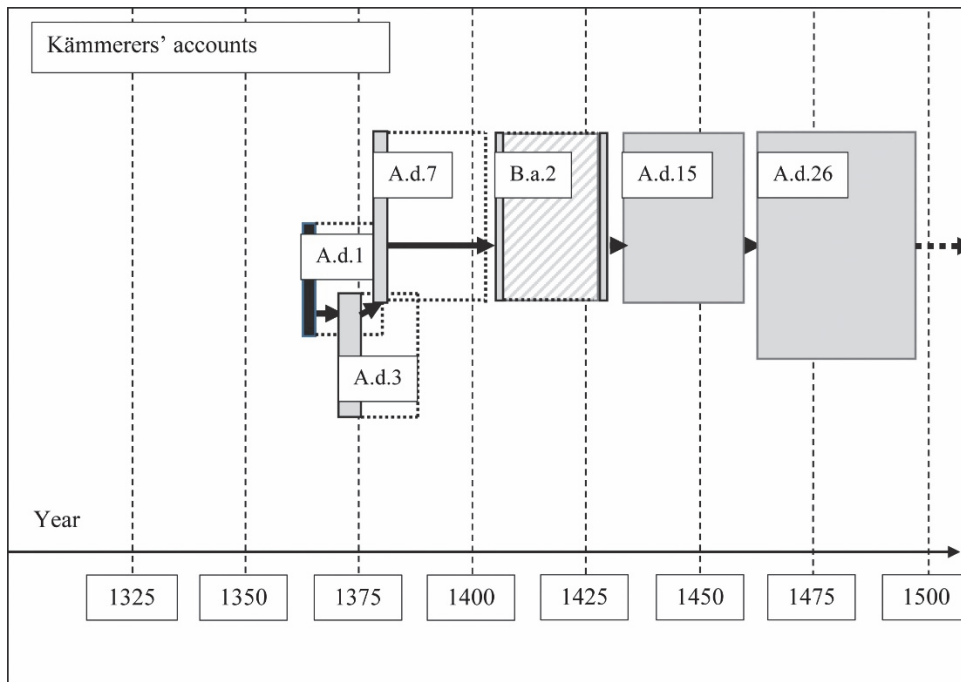


Figure 8:B: *Kämmerers' accounts*



Together with the size and portability, a third important aspect of the civic memoranda are the symbolic manifestations of authority attached to certain of its volumes. Such a physical and symbolic role of text artifacts employed in the written management of information and jurisdiction of the council is clearly attested in the use of red leather for the sheathing of certain books of judicial and fiscal importance to the city. These include the 1282 edition of the Lübeck Law [TLA, Cm 6] as the main law codex in the use of the council, the oldest surviving book of inheritances of the city from 1312–60 [A.a.1], both wrapped in a red limp leather binding apparently of similar, possibly late 14th or early 15th century origin, and other later codices and volumes such as the parchment book of annuities of (1382)/1384–1518 [A.a.3], the paper codex of mixed memoranda of 1373–1455 also used as a *Denkelbok* of the city from ca. 1380 to 1455 [A.d.5], the parchment codex of annual rents of market shops and other fiscal liabilities of the council from ca. 1399/1403–1456 later used as a *Denkelbok* of the city in 1471–1523 [A.a.7], as well as the combined paper codex of imposed fines (*wedde*) of ca. 1400–1521 together with collected rents of 1392–1436 [A.a.4a] and accounts of the Mint from 1448–66 [A.d.22], the two last codices including the revenues paid to the Livonian master as the princely authority of the city. Even if no scientific dating of the binding materials of the ‘red books’ still surviving from the medieval management of memoranda of the council has been possible for this study, the remaining documentation suggests a possible introduction of a ‘red line’ of various books of legal and fiscal content of the city in the last quarter of the 14th century, most likely in the period of office of city scribe *Hermannus*, when older volumes such as the 1282 codex of Lübeck Law and the first volume of resignations/recognitions may have been bound in red leather and new codices with red covers and sheathing were introduced for the control of mixed memoranda (possibly as early as in 1373 by *Albertus*), registers of rents and other fiscal liabilities of the city (1392 and 1399), *wedde* (ca. 1400), and in 1448, if not earlier, the accounts of the Mint.

6.2.2. The agency (office) of the Revalian city scribes and the individual hands active in it before 1456/60

In the study, the agency and identity of the various individuals of the office of the Revalian city scribe up to the retirement of *Joachim Muter* in 1456/60 are studied with the help of the vast corpus of textual artefacts produced in the written management of information and communication of the civic authority of Reval and still surviving in the *AR* in Tallinn. Knowledge of the individuals active in the written management of information and in the office of the city scribe has usually been gathered from paleographic identification of the

hands, where the analysis of the gothic cursive script particular to individual scribes has provided the only secure empirical starting point for the identification of their terms in the service of the city. Here, the study also provides important knowledge on the possibilities and problems of paleographic analysis of gothic cursive as a method of recognising different hands in written management of information and communication of an institutionalised agent of administration such as the city council.

As the study shows, no assumptions about the identity or status of the scribes and hands engaged in writing medieval civic memoranda should ever be made on the basis of supposed organisation of the civic administration and the suggested structure of agencies in it. Instead, any analysis of an individual piece of memoranda should always be grounded on a wider knowledge of contemporary hands active in the main corpus of the memoranda of the time. This is clearly demonstrated by the analysis of the *schosslist* of 1402 by Dieter Heckmann in 2006, in which, on the basis of his knowledge of the two wardens of the *schoss*, he concluded that the list had been written by an older and a younger person, presumed to be the wardens of the *schoss* themselves. In fact, almost all of the list is written by the hand *HIII*, active as the city scribe or the main substitute in the office in 1396/1401–1405, with only occasional interpolations and one exception, the section on monetary instalments to the *kämmerers* by city scribe *Hermannus* (1375–1401/3); see CHAPTER 3.2.2.2.

Concerning the paleographical identification of various hands active in the management of written information of the council, the study also shows that any distinction between two hands with approximately contemporary schooling, ductus and face of writing must be based on securely identified samples of handwriting. As stated in the opening section of CHAPTER 4, not only may the gothic textualis of initials and titles by one individual differ substantially in his conduct of gothic cursive, but the various types of gothic cursive applied to different types of script in finished missives, drafts and various kinds of memoranda may also show an astonishing amount of variation in the writing of one person. Because of the relatively long periods in office of the scribes and some of the councillors, fluctuations in the personal style of handwriting occurred, and even if certain features in the general face of writing, ductus and structure of the letters the person had learned at the time of his schooling remained constant in his writing, modifications in all these three elements could take place during his engagement in the City Scriptorium and with the council. In much of the memoranda, another important feature is the mixed chronological distribution and variety of the entries in the same or several volumes, where entries may have been made by one

individual but with different solutions of ink and at various stages of the quill in different sessions of writing with later additions and interpolations by the same or another hand, all of which can cause problems in the identification of the hand, especially if the handwriting of two contemporary people is found in close proximity. As the analysis of the hands of city scribes *Karlous de Montreal* (1358–63) and *Albertus* (1363–74) shows (CHAPTER 4.1.1 and PICTURE 15), sometimes the only secure way of establishing the identity of two individual hands with approximately contemporary schooling and face of gothic cursive, is the structure of certain signs of contraction (such as in *Domini*), type of letters (such as one or two-compartment ‘a’) and certain hallmarks of the writer apparent in a wider selection of text produced by him (such as the right leaning ductus of *Albertus*). As evident from CHAPTERS 3.1.3.3, 5.3.1.2 and 5.1.4.2, in the case of identification of gothic textualis the problems are even more substantial, including not only the difficulties in establishing a secure identification between the gothic cursive and textualis of one individual, but also in distinguishing the rather formal textualis of two individual hands such as city scribe *Hermannus* (1375–1401/3) and his successor *HII* (1399/1401–1405).

Together with the methodological observations on the possibilities of paleographic identification and distinction of individual hands active in the written management of information of the civic authority of Reval, and especially active with memoranda, the study also presents certain more hypothetical but potentially valid conclusions on the ways of evaluating the variety of the forms of writing in the material still surviving in *AR*. The most important of these is related to the fact that before the final stabilisation of the office of the city scribes as the main agency in control of all finished textual products of the civic authority in the first quarter of the 15th century, several hands had access to not only various spheres of the fiscal memoranda of the council but also that of mixed memoranda. In this respect the emerging combination of paper and the vernacular in the written management of memoranda of the council in the course of the third quarter of the 14th century is especially significant. New but affordable material, paper penetrated almost all the spheres of the written management of information and communication of the council administration as early as ca. 1360, not only in the finished text artefacts, but also as a replacement for much of the older temporary materials employed in the preliminary production of the texts in the time of parchment, such as wax tablets, recycled vellum and possible birchbark pieces and tally sticks (not found in Reval but not to be ruled out as a possible contemporary medium). Consequently, both in the mixed memoranda and accounts of the *kämmerers*, the latter still

largely written by the *kämmerers* themselves, a variety of ‘carved’ or ‘incised’ hands emerge, their ductus and technique of writing clear evidence of adaptation from writing on wax with a stylus rather than a polished and sliding parchment or lump paper with a quill (CHAPTER 5.1.4.1, PICTURES 34:1–3). Always preferring Middle Low German instead of Latin, the particular nature of these hands and their ductus tells us about the technological and writing skills of contemporary members of the merchant elite of Reval at a time when paper and the formation of Middle Low German text permanences broke up the old dominance of parchment, Latin and special quill skills in the management of written information. Even persons with very basic schooling in writing started to employ paper and quill in their management of information, while the domain of the written word based on vernacular and new affordable material widened from a domain of a few to that of many.

In Reval, much of this transitional stage appears to have taken place from the 1350’s to the 1380’s, although traces of it are still evident at the beginning of the 15th century. What is more, the sheer number of hands more accustomed to the techniques of the stylus than the quill also reveals the potential number of people active in the written management of information of the civic authority in the ‘parchment era’ in the second quarter of the 14th century. These people do not feature in the surviving material on parchment because of their work with wax tablets and other temporary media of writing or numerical management of information as councillor-wardens in the city. The number of people engaged in the management of information in the civic administration was not increased by the introduction of paper: rather, its adoption as the preliminary material for collecting information reveals the number of people already participating in it even before, which helps us to evaluate the overall meaning of the management of information in the administration of the Revalian civic authority in the late 13th and early 14th century.

If we then consider the known city scribes and their most important substitutes in control of the written management of information and communication of Reval as detectable from their work and other sources, certain important preconditions must be taken into consideration. In the Middle Ages, the basic immaterial prerequisite in the office of a city scribe was that of trust, both organisational, i.e. his responsibility as a professional man of quills employed under an institutionalised agent of economic and judicial authority, and institutional, i.e. his overall credibility as a professional capable of producing legally patent documents and text types for the needs of the civic authority. As evident from what is known of the written management of information and production of textual artefacts in Reval, both of these basic

qualifications set criteria for the hands active in it already in the 13th century, when documents issued with the seal of the civic authority were produced in cooperation with ecclesiastical and lay authorities and corporations in the area.

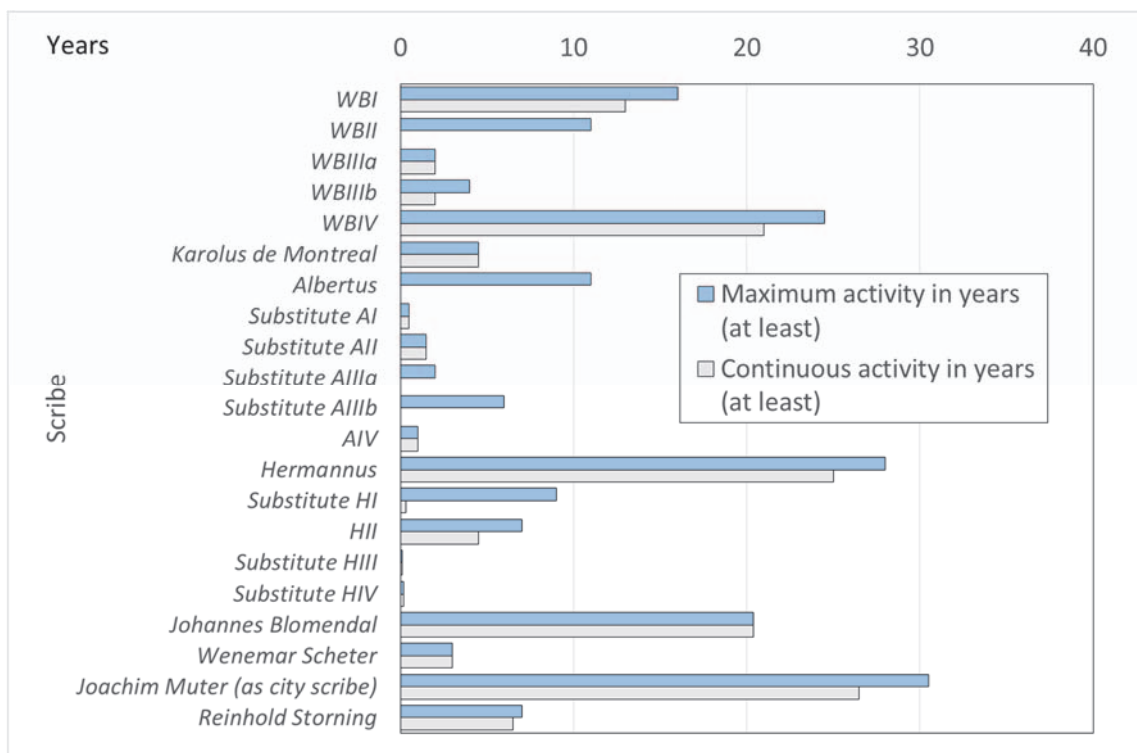
In the course of the research, a key source for creating a timeline of the various hands active in the written management of information and especially the period of activity of individual city scribes and their most important substitutes proved to be the memoranda on resignations, recognitions and annuities of inheritable real property in the city corroborated in the front of the council and written as entries to the respective line of books in different sessions of writing. A line of civic memoranda apparently accessible by the council and the city scribes only and exclusively managed by the city scribes and their most important substitutes, the books of resignations/recognitions and annuities were established as the oldest line of quired memoranda of the civic authority, dating to immediately after the extension of the walled area of the city in 1312, constituting a continuous series of volumes from that year to 1518 and beyond. Together with other surviving lines of memoranda and various other material such as drafts and documents, the succession of individual hands of the city scribes has been reconstructed, providing a chronological tool for the analysis of the identity, status and conditions of office of individual scribes between 1312 and 1460. Collated from Tables 4, 6 and 7 and with the periods of activity of *Karolus de Montreal*, *Johannes Blomendal*, *Wenemar Scheter*, *Joachim Muter* and *Reinhold Storning*, the succession appears as below in TABLE 9:

Table 9: *Periods of activity of the hands (of the city scribes and their main substitutes) apparent in the various volumes of resignations/recognitions (A.a.1, A.a.6b, A.a.6c, B.i.3:I) and annuities (A.a.3) from 1312 to 1460.*

Hand	Period of Activity	Continuous activity in years (at least)	Maximum activity in years (at least)
<i>WBI</i> (Johannes the scribe, Johannes Institoris?)	Not before ca. 1300/10? – 1312 – December 1325, March 1328	13	16
<i>WBII</i>	Early 1326 – January? 1328, Spring 1328 – Spring? 1331, First half of 1334, Beginning of 1335 – Late 1337	..	11
<i>WBIIIa</i> (Heyno Hanevere?)	Early 1332 – Turn of 1333/34	2	2
<i>WBIIIb</i>	1334–35, 1337?	2	4
<i>WBIV</i> (the scholar and acolyte Reynerus Crøwel?)	October 1333 – 1334/35? – October 1337 – May 1358	21	24,5
<i>Karolus de Montreal</i>	Beginning of the fiscal year of 1358/59 – April 1363	4,5	4,5
<i>Albertus</i> (Albertus Mester)	February 1363 – April 1374	..	11
Substitute <i>AI</i>	April 1367 – September 1367	0,5	0,5
Substitute <i>AII</i>	May 1368 – Michaelmas 1369	1,5	1,5
Substitute <i>AIIIa</i>	Spring 1372, November 1373, April 1374		2
Substitute <i>AIIIb</i> (not in A.a.6b)	In ca. 1372, fiscal year of 1374/75, 1378–79	..	6
Substitute <i>AIV</i> (city scribe?)	April 1374 – April 1375	1	1
<i>Hermannus</i>	August 1375 (End of the fiscal year of 1374/75) – summer/fall 1400, October 1402, June 1403, December 1403	25	28
Substitute <i>HI</i>	(February 1372?), October 1381 – January 1381	0,3	9
Substitute <i>HII</i> (city scribe?)	April – July 1398, March 1401 – June 1405	4,5	7
Substitute <i>HIII</i>	August/September 1405	0,1	0,1
Substitute <i>HIV</i>	November 1405 (beginning of the fiscal year of 1405/6) – December 1405	0,2	0,2
<i>Johannes Blomendal</i>	Epiphany of 1406 – Early May 1426	20,4	20,4
<i>Wenemar Scheter</i> (N.N.)	April/May 1426 – May 1429	3	3
<i>Joachim Muter</i> - as a notary public in Reval - as the city scribe - in partial retirement	(as a city scribe) Late April – Early July 1427 Late May 1429 – End of the fiscal year of 1455/56 Beginning of the fiscal year of 1456/57 – End of the fiscal year of 1459/60	26,5	30,5
<i>Reinhold Storning</i>	May 1456/Beginning of the fiscal year of 1456/57 – March/April 1463	7	6,5

Considering the period of activity of the individual hands in charge of the office of the city scribe, a distinction must be made between the maximum number of years spent in the office and years of continuous activity. Here, variation exists not only because of the periods of transition between certain long-term scribes in the service of the council (*WBI*, *WBIV*, *Hermannus*, *Joachim Muter* and *Reinhold Storning*), their partial retirement and the introduction of the new scribe to the full control of the written management of information, but also between long-service scribes and more occasional main substitutes, some of which appear to have been active for several shorter periods in the course of five or more years (GRAPH 6).

Graph 6: The known periods of occupation of the office of the city scribe of Reval by the city scribes and their main substitutes (in years) from *WBI* to *Reinhold Storning*.



As the information on the period of office of individual hands from the detailed analysis of the known textual production of the city scribes and their most important substitutes in the service of the civic authority of Reval shows, from the first quarter of the 14th century there is an alternation between long-term holders of the ‘agency’ and shorter term city scribes and substitutes. Here, the hands of city scribes proper can be identified as *WBI*, *WBIV*, *Karolus de Montreal*, *Albertus*, *AIV*, *Hermannus*, *HII*, *Johannes Blomendal*, *Wenemar Scheter*, *Joachim Muter* and *Reinhold Storning*. Of them, *Joachim Muter* was in the office for the

longest period (30 years), *Hermannus* for 28 years and *WBIV* ca. 25 years, whereas *Johannes Blomendal* is documented as active in the office for 20 years of his life and *WBI* for at least 16, albeit very likely ca. 20 years in charge of the written management of information and communication of the council. Of these five men, three, *WBI*, *Hermannus* and *Muter*, appear to have been employed in their office until their retirement, after which they continued assisting the office for a couple of years and then resigned from it altogether, whereas *Blomendal*'s sudden exit is likely to signify his death. Given that they probably began work in the office of the city scribe at some stage in their 20's, or at the latest in their early 30's, most of them are likely to have been 45–60 years old when they resigned. Although wearing glasses while reading and writing was well established already by the mid-14th century and no traces whatsoever in the material tells about any eyesight problems or myopia, one of the main reasons for the gradual resignation of *Muter*, *Hermannus*, *WBI*, and *WBIV* is likely to have been their age. Others spent decidedly shorter periods of time in the service of the council for different reasons, *Albertus* possibly because of old age already when starting, and *Karolus de Montreal*, *HII* and *Wenemar Scheter* because of an unknown reason. Death may have brought about the sudden exit of *HII* from his office after less than five years of continuous activity, but he may also have found better employment elsewhere. Since *Wenemar Scheter* ended up as a scribe of the bishop of Dorpat in 1475, it is conceivable that he moved there from Reval much earlier. As for *Karolus de Montreal*, we know that he resigned from the office of the city scribe by Easter 1363, but gave up his vicary in the chapel of St John only some 18 months later in December 1364, which may hint to the fact that he was forced to give up the writing for an unknown reason or started to focus on another career emerging from his networks as a professional scribe. There is no evidence of any wrongdoing by any of the scribes in their work as trusted professionals in the management of information and communication of the city, such as leaking, concealing or falsifying information, but should such a thing have happened it would probably have been handled orally. As far as we know, no resignation of any scribe or his substitute occurred in Reval because he lost the collective trust of the council.

As well evident from the study, several of city scribes in the written management of information of the city of Reval are identifiable only as 'hands', while for others only tentative or speculative identifications of names, identity, schooling and conditions of office can be made, the exception being *Joachim Muter*. Considering the stabilisation of the office of a permanent person in the service of the civic authority for writing, evidence exists from

as early as the 1280's that the hands responsible for the production of sealed charters and documents for the joint corroboration of multiple agents of the Duchy of Estonia were in fact officials and clergy of the church of Reval, and contacts between the scribes active in the diocesan management of information and priests in the town appear to have continued to the beginning of second quarter of the 14th century (*WBIIIa* – later scholasticus Heyno Hanevere?). Since all the textual artefacts produced in the name of the council or in its management of information before the 1350's were written in Latin, it is natural that the hands active in the office of the city scribes should have been people with ecclesiastical schooling, but their status and whether they were priests and holders of major ecclesiastical orders remains obscure. In fact, as the title of scholar and acolyte for *Reynerus Crøwel* as the holder of the chantry (*vicaria*) of the altar of St Margaret in St Nicholas since 1350 shows, most of the city scribes invested with rents of the altar foundations in churches and chapels under the patronage of the council appear not to have been priests, but acolytes or perhaps lectors of the minor orders (i.e. clerics). In Canon Law a legal way for the placing of altar chantries under the supervision of the scribes without the duty of performing any of the liturgical ministries involved in them is likely to have been provided by the constitution of '*Cum ex eo*' of 1298, where a dispensation from the duty of seven years could be given for 'projected' university studies by the bishop. Because of this, a combination of the office of the city scribe and a chantry/vicary at one of the chapels or altars under the patronage of the civic authority cannot be considered as proof of priesthood or even major orders. In fact, the chantries/vicaries and the rent of the altar foundations were used as a means of dispensing salary for an office in the written management of information of the council as a part of the financial portfolio the council had in their disposal for such arrangements. Should the hand *WBI* active from around the first decade of the 14th century to the year 1328 be identified as that of *Dominus Johannes Institoris*, who had at some time in his life been invested with the vicary or chantry of St Margaret in the church of St Nicholas, such arrangements were employed soon after the publication of the constitution in 1298, which would indicate a quick adoption of diocesan dispensation for the needs of civic administration in the Hanseatic sphere of interaction. However, since the identification of the hands of *WBI* with *Dominus Johannes Institoris* and *WBIV* with the scholar and acolyte *Reynerus Crøwel* remains uncertain, no far reaching conclusions on the role of '*Cum ex eo*' in the context of city scribes and their reimbursement through altar chantries should be made, and the issue requires further research into the conditions of office of city scribes in the Baltic Sea area and beyond.

What do we actually know about the schooling and university studies of the identified city scribes or hands active in the written management of the civic authority before the retirement of *Joachim Muter* in the late 1450's?

Of all the scribes the only person who can be securely and documentedly invested with the status of a notary public was *Muter* himself, who must have completed university studies even if no trace of his name can be found in the surviving and generally rather sporadic registers of universities before 1450. Despite of the title '*notarius civitatis revaliensis*', '*notarius noster*' and '*nostro notario*' or notarius of the city scribes *Karolus de Montreal*, *Albertus* and *Hermannus* in 1360, the fiscal year of 1370/71 and ca. 1374/75 respectively, no evidence that they had the status of notary public exists, and the introduction of *Joachim Muter* as the first notary public in the service of the council in 1429 reflects a recognition by the council that they needed to permanently employ a person of legal credibility for the overall management of information and communication: a contributory factor in which was very likely the council's dispute with the diocesan church in the 1420's. As a person who had already been acquainted with the landscape of information and power in Reval and had produced instruments for the Dominican lector and prior Johannes Langhe in his case against the cathedral chapter of Reval in the apostolical curia, *Muter* was a logical choice. At the same time and as detectable from the titles '*prothonotaris*' and '*discretus vir*' employed of *Wenemar Scheter* by *Joachim Muter* in the early April of 1429, the overall management of information and communication of the council already generated such a volume of activity that the head of the city chancery was responsible not only for production of legally patent documents and missives but also control of the civic memoranda with possible auxiliary persons working under him. However, even if auxiliary hands are a constant presence in material outside the main line of resignations/recognitions on inheritances throughout the period of this study from 1333 to 1460, the wide control of the city scribes proper over the text artefacts produced in the written management of information of the council is proved through the presence of their hands in almost all the quired memoranda of the council from the time of city scribe *Hermannus* onwards. As discussed in CHAPTER 1.2.4, professional men of documents with the status of a notary public permeated the chanceries of Swiss towns already in the course of the 14th century, but less than a fifth of them are known to have had university studies; a situation resembling that of Reval, where none of the identified city scribes before 1456 are known to have matriculated to an university, with the only possible exception of Johannes Blomendal.

Since none of the identified city scribes securely surface in the extant registers of the universities, their schooling and intellectual status can only be evaluated with the help of the material they have left behind. Of special interest are their pen trials in Latin, which, together with the medieval florilegia they contain, may hint at a university schooling for some of the hands active in the civic memoranda before 1460. Early pen trials in the form of Sator squares, salernitarian verses and other material appear to have been written by *Karolus de Montreal* on the binding of A.d.4. A wider selection of Latin florilegia appears in the spare space of individual quires of *schooss* from the 1370's and 1380, written in the hands *AIIIb*, *AIV* and *HI* (in this study admittedly identified as separate hands on the basis of circumstantial evidence). Of these, the holoalphabetic hexametric verse '*Gaza frequens libicus duxit karthago triumphos*' and the Latin wordplay '*Virtue flies, Justice trembles, Clergy errs, Mammon rules, Simony dominates*' by hand *AIIIb* from some time of his activity in the 1370's is suggestive of university schooling.

Similar, but even wider knowledge of fashionable proverbs and florilegia of the time combined with elegant use of quill and wide knowledge of citations from the Bible and standard handbook of Latin Grammar is apparent in the pen trials of the hand *AIV*, who must have had at least some university schooling and may even have had an advanced clerical status or professional experience in the production of text artefacts. Because of the wide range of his writings in the memoranda and other material from the period between the city scribes *Albertus* and *Hermannus* in April 1374 – April 1375, he may even have been the city scribe proper employed after the retirement of Albertus, who either died or moved to some other post only a year after his introduction to the office. Further Latin proverbs and florilegia, including that of '*Gaza frequens*' with knowledge of lemmatic verses from the Bible, are written by the hand *HI*, active in the 1370's and 1381 and possibly with a longer period of activity stretching back to the beginning of the 1360's (CHAPTER 5.1.2). An interesting feature in the surviving Latin florilegia of the 1370's and 1380's is also the proverbs such as '*Miser est*' and '*Autumat hoc*', which discuss the nature of evil and those who serve an evil master. Even if it would be rather daring to connect any of these proverbs to the occupation of persons of university training under a worldly merchant aristocracy, the pen trials reveal something of the moral and intellectual environment and topical issues in the merchant cities of the last half of the 14th century.

After the 1370's and 1380's, Latin pen trials again surface in the writing of *Johannes Blomendal*, apparently in the early years of his office, in the form of the verse '*homo quidam*

fecit cenam magnam’ (Luke 14:16). The *lectio* of the Gospel on the second Sunday after Trinity was a popular motive for Dominican sermons in the Middle Ages and the one read next to the octavas of the Feast of Corpus Christi with possible allusions to late medieval Dominican mysticism. It is later regularly employed in abundance by Joachim Muter throughout his period of office as the city scribe. It is especially interesting that *Johannes Blomendal* appears to have written practically 99% of his texts in Middle Low German, with only extremely rare and ritual-like use of Latin, which may indicate schooling in a German writing-school or a parish school upheld by civic authority in some merchant city (CHAPTER 5.2.1.4), but which also is in a sharp contrast to *‘homo quidam’* in his early 15th-century pen trials suggesting both university studies and Dominican influence in the intellectual environment of Reval in the first half of the 15th century. Indeed, and as the only documented Revalian city scribe, *Johannes Blomendal* from Werl may have been the Johannes Blomendal from the diocese of Cologne (then comprising also the area of Soest and Werl) who in 1408 matriculated to the judicial faculty of the university of Cologne. Of the wide variety of Middle Low German and Latin pen trials of notary public *Joachim Muter*, those in Latin contain not only the frequent *‘homo quidam’*, but verses from hymns, especially Christmas sequences, which together with the connotations to the feasts of Corpus Christi may reflect a liking for festival times and feasts, Christmas and the Corpus Christi both being of special importance in 15th-century Livonian cities, including Reval.² As discussed in CHAPTER 5.2.4.4, the most intriguing evidence of *Muter*’s fascination for popular themes in contemporary art and rhyme is the poem *‘De vrowe secht’*, ‘The Lady tells’, describing the capricious nature of Luck (Lady Fortuna) and the fate of man in the wheel of fortune written on the reverse side of a draft of the council’s letter to the headman of the castle of Åbo, Klaus Lydekesson, apparently in the very first year of his occupation as the city scribe in the service of the council in 1430.

Together with a wider use of florilegia in pen trials, wide knowledge of Latin and other hallmarks of an education more advanced than just the basic study of *artes liberales* in the elementary and cathedral schools of the time, further conclusions on the intellectual status of the hands active in the Revalian written management of information can be drawn from their use of technological innovations related to the production of texts and writing. The most important of these in terms of individual hands is the use of indoarabic numerals, the first sign of which is the dating of an entry on a reconciliation issued in front of the council on the

² Mänd 2005, 55–118, 163–169.

Monday after St Catherine (November 27), 1402, by the hand *HII* (PICTURE 35:1). An isolated sign of the awareness of the scribe *HII* very likely employed as the permanent city scribe at the service of the council from 1398/1401 to 1405, with an exquisite line of quill and possible High German origin of schooling, the use of the indoarabic number ‘2’ is then followed after some 25 years by several experiments by *Wenemar Scheter* and *Joachim Muter* from 1427 on, but does not stabilise as the prevalent way of denoting numbers in the written management of information and communication by the scribes before the beginning of the 16th century. That *HII* and *Wenemar Scheter* had a similar awareness of indoarabic numbers to the notary public *Joachim Muter*, together with the range of their writing in the written management of memoranda of the council and fine line of quill, further emphasizes their status as high level professionals permanently employed by the council to the office of the city scribe, the period of which was for both cut short by reasons unknown to us. The ability and obvious open-mindedness of the scribes that led them to experiment with new technological innovations emerging in their profession is also apparent in the rapid and pragmatic adoption of paper as a writing material by *WBIV*, not only for books of memoranda in the 1350’s, but also in judicially patent documents, such as the appellation of the council on a matter of justice to Lübeck issued in Reval on the Feast of St George (April 23), 1370, written by city scribe *Albertus*, to which the council of Lübeck in a rather autocratic tone responded with strict orders to write such appellations only on parchment because of the evanescence of the paper (CHAPTERS 1.2.3 and 4.3.2).

Of the origin and social status of the city scribes active in the written management of information of Reval, very little is known. Albeit the work Sven Sjöberg on Johannes Blomendal, I have avoided any far reaching conclusions on the linguistic characteristics of individual hands in this study. The only exception is *Karolus de Montreal*, for whom I have tentatively suggested, with use of basic linguistic analysis, an origin in an Early Middle Low German (ca. 1200–1370) area of writing in a region with Old French influence to the Colognean and Low Franconian sphere of interaction where it was transferred to Northern Middle Low German through the mediation of Westphalian dialects. This analysis and the epithet Montreal employed in Reval indicate a probable origin in the Westphalian or Low Franconian sphere of interaction, where he may have had some kind of connection to Wallonian and French areas (CHAPTER 4.1.2). Similarly, the use of ‘ø’ and other forms of lettering in the handwriting of *WBIV* suggest of Scandinavian influence, even if nothing secure can be said from his identity and he is in this study tentatively connected to the

scholar and acolyte *Reynekinus Crøwel*. Of the other identified scribes, strong evidence suggests that the city scribe *Albertus* was in fact the same as Albertus Mester, the son of one Henricus Mester active in Reval at the beginning of the 14th century and whose house was split between his son Albertus and a daughter after his death, the latter's half coming into the possession of Albertus Mester in the 1330's. Apparently the same as the late medieval house of the City Scriptorium of Reval, Albertus Mester's house came to be owned by the city after a contract between Albertus and the children of the former councillor Reyneke Crøwel on the Eve of St Catherine (November 24), 1376. First cited as the city Scriptorium in the context of the renovations of 1378, the house was extensively modified in 1432–34 when a substantial wine cellar was built under it. In the course of the modification a lot of effort was put into ensuring that the *diele* section of the house received plenty of light, with a large glass window facing west onto the market place and a chandelier (*krone*) hanging from the ceiling. Similar to the *kämmerers'* office of the Town Hall, the scriptorium floor was paved with glass tiles, a sign of an exclusive space designed for audition and a further manifestation of the importance of the office of the city scribe in the context of the council administration (CHAPTER 3.1.3.2).

Of the identity of city scribes *Hermannus* and *Wenemar Scheter* nothing is known other than their names, which tell of a German origin, and no information concerning their marital status or any of the scribes active in the written management of information in the 14th century has survived in the sources. Should *WBI* and *WBIV* be identified as *Dominus Johannes Institoris* and the scholar and acolyte *Reynerus Crøwel*, both of them were very likely unmarried, like *Heyno Hanevere (WBIIIa?)*, a later canon and scholasticus of the cathedral chapter of Reval, *Karolus de Montreal*, and *Albertus*, who apparently had no children entitled to his house and other inheritance in the city. A probable migrant from the Westphalian town of Werl near Soest, *Johannes Blomendal* had a brother Lefard active in Prussia and an uncle Hans active in Reval, but seems to have remained unmarried even if he possessed a house of his own on today's Vene Street. A rare example of arrangements in the management of written memoranda based on relationships of kin and trust is the surfacing of the hand of Johannes' uncle *Hans Blomendal* in the accounts of the Poundage in May 1426, directly linked to the end of the office of his nephew because of possible illness and death (CHAPTER 5.2.2.2). Because of his intitulation of a notary public and '*clericus Lubicensis*', *Joachim Muter* may have originated from the diocese of Lübeck, but it may as well have been the diocese where his status as a notary with imperial authority was granted. As

discussed in CHAPTER 5.2.4.3, although we know that notaries of papal authority were subject to the strict constitution that they were to be unmarried and not constituted in holy orders (i.e. they should be in minor orders only), little is known of the formal status of notaries public with imperial authority, but the title *clericus* tells us that some, like *Muter*, were invested with minor orders. As in late medieval Lübeck and the chancery of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, the career of Revalian city scribes, and especially those with the known status of notary public after *Muter*, occasionally ended up with offices of canons in the local diocesan church (*Kenappel* and *Czernekow*), evidence of the close contacts between scribal elites and local clergy in a time when the civic authorities were often in a more or less open juxtaposition with the bishops and the dioceses. Late 15th-century developments in the status and careers of Revalian city scribes did not, however, come within the remit of this study.

Finally, a summary of the known conditions of office and salary of city scribes must be presented.

As already discussed, in the time of *Karolus de Montreal* and apparently in the periods of office of *WBI* (*Johannes Institoris*?) in the first quarter of the 14th century and *WBIV* (the scholar and acolyte *Reynerus Crøwel*?) after 1350, part of the remuneration for the city scribes' work had come from the rent from loans issued by the altar foundations and chapels under the patronage of the council in the city. Apparently without the exercise of clerical office or sacraments on the altars, annual rent from the altar of St Margaret in the church of St Nicholas made up part of the fiscal remuneration of the city scribes *WBI* (*Johannes Institoris*) in the 1320's(?), *WBIV* (the scholar and acolyte *Reynerus Crøwel*?) from 1350, and *Joachim Muter* in 1445, 1448–55, and 1458–62. Even if the chantry (*vicaria*) itself was invested to other men of ecclesiastic status in the early 15th century, the altar foundation had already played an important role in the acquisition of the house of Albertus Mester (city scribe *Albertus*) as the permanent facility for a City Scriptorium by the estate of councillor *Reynerus Crøwel*, the original patron of the altar, in 1376. In 1444 and 1446–47 other altars under the patronage of the council are cited as sources of annual imbursements of a rent of 6 Riga marks to *Joachim Muter*, namely those of the New Cross (the Loren Cross) in St Nicholas and the chantry of Loden in the parish church of Mārjamaa some 60 km south of Reval, thus extending his period of salary from altar chantries to ten years in 1445–55 and four in 1458–62. Part of *Karolus de Montreal*'s salary was organised through a vicary proper or a chantry in the chapel of the Hospital of St John in 1360, from which he resigned in

December 1364, 18 months after his resignation from writing in the service of the council in the spring of 1363.

As evident from the information on the various forms of salary and remunerations of *Joachim Muter* in 1429–62, the rent of the altar foundations organised into a more or less permanent annual remuneration of the city scribes for periods not exceeding a continuum of 10 years was only one instrument the council used for the purpose. Before *Muter*, the earliest surviving information on the salary of a permanent city scribe active in Reval is from the period of activity of city scribe *Albertus*, when, according to the oldest surviving accounts of the *kämmerers* from the fiscal years of 1370/71–72/73, his salary consisted not only of payments in money with an apparent annual remuneration of at least 10 Riga marks per year, but also in kind, such as grain and cloth for his provision and clothing, as well as extra subsidies to cover his spending while on diplomatic missions for the council. In the first fiscal year of his occupation in 1374/75, the new scribe *Hermannus* was paid a total of 25 Riga marks in 12 different imbursements varying between one ferdingh (1/4 of a mark) and 9 marks, implying that the full conditions his salary were not yet settled and he may have been paid according to his writing and other tasks in the civic administration. Since all the *kämmerers*' accounts from his period in the office in 1376–1403 are lost, there is no information on his salary or other remunerations in the service of the council. From the period of office of *Hermannus* we also have evidence of an extraordinary salary paid to the city scribe for writing accounts and memoranda not directly related to the council's economic affairs, especially that of Poundage, a practice which is likely to have begun in the time of *Karolus de Montreal* and *Albertus* in the early 1360's and continued into the period of office of *Joachim Muter* in 1429–58.

The most comprehensive information about the salary and remunerations of a professional man of quill in charge of the written management of information and communication of the civic authority of Reval during the period covered by this study is from the period of office of notary public *Joachim Muter*, when sections of his salary consisted of both remunerations in money and in kind with chronological differences in the structure of payments. Originally employed as a temporary scribe or for a trial period in the spring and summer of 1429, *Muter* was first paid per document for texts produced in the communication of the council, but once he was employed as a permanent city scribe proper from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1429/30 he was paid an annual salary of 16 Riga marks in four instalments per year (Ember money) until the beginning of the sixth year of his service in September 1434, when the pay

was raised to a total of 24 Riga marks a year. From the beginning of the fiscal year of 1437/38 (his eighth year in office) he was also paid an Oblation fee of 2–3 Riga marks per year till the end of his full time occupation in the office of the city scribe at the end of the fiscal year of 1455/56. A further annual extra fee of six Riga marks was paid to him from the beginning of the fiscal year of 1443/44 to 1455/56 and throughout his period of office from the Poundage, for which he wrote the accounts. In the course of his occupation, his annual ground salary doubled from 16 Riga marks to ca. 32 marks, in addition to which he had extra income in kind for clothes and provision, an annual yield from the pile money of Narva in 1447–51 against a rent of six marks he paid to the council, and certain individual payments such as the 30 lasts of lime he received for a chalice he had offered the council, 10 Riga marks for an armour he had arranged for Andreas the Messenger, and so on (CHAPTER 5.2.4.2).

In the context of the remunerations to the individual city scribes no clear information about their lodgings is available. Both *Albertus* and *Joachim Muter* were paid remunerations in kind, *Albertus* in grain and clothing, *Muter* in clothing and firewood. In the case of *Muter* the cloth was from Ypres, an expensive and quality material intended to suit the status of the city scribe as the institutionalised agent of the civic authority of Reval both in his office and during delegations on behalf of the council. It seems that a similar provision of cloth was already offered at the time of city scribe *Albertus*, the 1360's and 1370's. Should *Albertus* the city scribe be identified as the same as the former owner of the 1378 City Scriptorium *Albertus Mester*, he had a house of his own, as did *Johannes Blomendal*, whereas *Muter* may have lodged in the house of the City Scriptorium after its full scale renovation in 1432–34 following the fire of 1431.

As the information of the salary and position of Joachim Muter as a permanently hired professional in the service of the civic authority of Reval shows, in the second quarter of the 15th century the role and status of the Revalian city scribes can best be compared to that of a master craftsman in the service of the council, such as master gunfounder, crossbow-maker, carpenter, stonemason or so on. Compared to the various permanently and temporary hired city servants, the agency of the city scribe appears to have been similar to that of these master artisans. Not just in terms of status as the masters of an entire 'shop' consisting of more or less permanent auxiliary hands available for their tasks in the service of the council, but in terms of salary, which was higher than that of any master professional of ordinary crafts in the service of the civic authority but lower than that of someone who required wide

technical knowledge such as metallurgy (e.g. the gunfounder). Employed to manage the written management of information and communication of the civic authority, the range of activities in the agency of the city scribes reached far beyond the physical nodes of the City Scriptorium and Town Hall; to delegations and negotiations of the council and its representatives with other agents of power in their various spheres of political, economic and judicial interaction, a practice seemingly established already when the agency of the city scribes was first stabilised in the second quarter of the 14th century.

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 BA 1:Ia Konzepte des Ratschreibers Hermannus 1375–1403.
 BA 1:Ib Konzepte des Ratschreibers Johannes Blomendal 1406–26.
 BA 1:Ic Konzepte Ratsschreiber N.N. 1426–1429.
 BA 1:Id Konzepte des Ratsschreibers Joachim Muther [vor] 1429–1457 im Amte.
 BA 1:IIIh Johannes Tap (Trapff) 1541/53–1578.

BB Eingegangene Briefe.

- BB 15:II Schreiben über Privatsachen, ca. 1380–.
 BB 24:I Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens, Eingegangene Briefe 1379–1437.
 BB 38:II Korrespondenz aus deutscher Städten und Ortschaften 1406–1445, Danzig.
 BB 40 I Korrespondenz aus und nach Lübeck 1400-1450.
 BB 48:IV Eingegangene Briefe 1403–1475.
 BB 48:V Schreiben der Geistlichen an der Rat 1413–1505.
 BB 60:IX Briefe von Bischöfe von Ösel-Wiek, 1380(?)–1469.
 BB 74:V Briefe aus Danzig 1411–1573.

BC Schreiben aus Finnland, Karelien und Ingermannland.

- BC 3 Åbo. Schlossvögte, Befehlshaber und Richter ca. 1400–1707.
 BC 5 Borga, Magistrat, 1423–1796.
 BC 28 Raseborgh. (Schlossvögte, Hauptleute u. Richter ca. 1395–1595).
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 BC 39 Schreiben und Suppliken der Geistlichen 1419–1485.
 BC 40 Verschiedene Ortschaften, ca. 1420–1802.

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 BD 1:III Briefe von Dorpat an Reval 1441–1485.

BE Hansa.

- BE 1:I Hansische Gesandtschaftsberichte und Rechnungen 1420–1600.
 BE 12 Hansarecesse des XIV saec. 1370?–1399.
 BE 14:I Briefe von Hansekontor zu Novgorod 1346–1521.

BK Bewohnerliste Revals.

- BK 1 Revalsche Bürgerliste aus dem 14. und 15. Jahrhundert etc.

BL Legationen.

- BL 1:I Rechnungsangaben, 1375–1502.
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BJ Danica.

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Tapio Salminen, Tampere

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Letter of Jorma Ahvenainen to Tapio Salminen, October 21, 1998.

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- Äldre Svenska frälsesläkter I:1–3. Stockholm 1957–1989, Fincke, yngre ätten, I:2 (Eric Anthoni).

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Middle Low German translations from Swedish original letters in AR before 1450

In the appendix the known translations are listed in chronological order of the originals.

1. **December 27, ca. 1400–11? or ca. 1425–29?, Raseborg, Jacob Fincke:** a letter close informing the council of Reval of the fate of shipwrecked goods earlier in the same year and of which the queen's servant Master Johan (*mester Johan myne frw drothningene swen*) will tell more. Dated in the castle of Raseborg on the Feast of John the Evangelist (December 27), without a year. Original. TLA. BC 28, 27, on paper with Middle Low German address, salutation and dating. Translation, TLA, Urk. 1-I, 478 (LECUB I:4 1542, FMU I 1051), Latin parts mostly omitted, Middle Low German translation only for the Swedish part of the text, hand none of the known city scribes but possibly the same as in the translations of two Klaus Lydekesson's letters from 1425 and 1429 (TLA, BC 3, 6 and BC 4, 1, see numbers 5 and 12) and possibly the same as in the translation of a letter of Kristern Nilsson (TLA, BC 36A, 19, see nr. 4). Because the translation omits the name Ficke, in FMU Reinhold Hausen has dated the missive to the time of Jacob Abrahamsson (Djäkn) and Queen Margaret I in 1395, but if the queen is Margaret of Denmark and Sweden, a more probable dating is ca. 1400–10, as there is no secure information on the headmen and bailiffs of Raseborg in this period other than the presence of the royal *hofmeister* Jens Due in Karis in 1405, see Fritz 1972–93:2, 139. Despite the name Jens-Johannes, the queen's 'swen' master Johan cannot be the same as Jens Due. A Jeppe (Jacob) Fincke is mentioned in 1440–59 as resident in Sweden proper as early as 1440, but never surfaces in connection with Raseborg Castle in the sources, see Fincke, yngre ätten (Eric Anthoni), *ÄSF*, I:2, 131–132. The earliest known person with the fairly common 15th-century name Fincke in Finland is a client and servant of Bo Jonsson (Grip), who is cited in 1370–85 and may, according to Anthoni, have been the same 'old Gödeke Fincke' who had been enfeoffed the Royal manor in Bjernö in the reigns Queen Margaret and King Erik (i.e. 1395–1412), see Anthoni, Eric, 1951, *Finckeätternas äldsta släktled*. In: *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland*, 40 (1955), 130. In both the original and the translation the ductus and the character of the handwriting suggest a somewhat later dating to the first half of the 15th century. Should the hand of the translation be the same as in the translations of the 1425 and 1429/1424–25 letters of Klaus Lydekesson and ca. 1424 letter of Kristern Nilsson, Jacob Fincke's letter more probably dates to the mid- or latter half of the 1420's than to the beginning of the 15th century,

2. **Sunday Reminiscere 1418–42 (ca. 1426?), Borgå, Kristern Nilsson, headman of the castle of Viborg:** a letter of *tovorsichte* in the form of a letter close on inheritance in Reval. Original: TLA, BC 36A, 25, on paper in Swedish with Middle Low German address, Latin salutation and dating. Dated in Borgå on Sunday Reminiscere without a year, but some time during Kristern's headmanship in 1418–42, possibly in the 1420's, Translation TLA, BC 40, 1, see also Salminen 2012b, B1, without the address and Latin parts, Middle Low German translation only for the Swedish part of the text, hand not one of the known city scribes, but some of its features come very close to the hand *BI* (the merchant Hans Blomendal) active with

the registers of poundage in May 1426 and wrote another text dating to the first half of 1420's (see CHAPTER 5.2.2.2).

3. **August 15, 1422, Saltvik, Henrik Görëshagen, bailiff of the castle of Kastelholm and Nicles Diekn vicelagman (in Åland):** a letter of *tovorsichte* in the form of an open letter on an inheritance in Reval. Dated in Saltvik on the Assumption of Mary (August 15), 1422. Original. TLA, BC 18, 6 (FMU II 1696), on paper in Swedish with Latin dating. Translation. TLA, BC 18, 9 (LECUB I:8 490), all in Middle Low German. Hand none of the known city scribes.
4. **July 9, ca. 1424, Helsinga, Krister Nilsson, headman of the castle of Viborg:** a letter close on the issue of a man executed in Reval and Klaus Dock. Original: TLA, BC 36A, 26, on paper in Swedish with Latin address, salutation and dating. Dated Helsinga, Octavas of the Visitation of Mary (July 9), ca. 1424. Translation: TLA, BC 36A, 19 (LECUB I:5 2384, FMU II 1636), all in Middle Low German, hand none of the known city scribes but possibly the same as in the translations of two Klaus Lydekesson's letters from 1425 and 1429/1424–25 (TLA, BC 3, 6 and BC 4, 1, see numbers 5 and 12) and possibly the same as in the translation of a letter of Jacob Fincke (TLA, Urk. 1-I, 478, see nr 1). The missive has previously been dated to 9 July 1420 (FMU II 1636 and LECUB V 2384, LECUB I:6, s: 127), but according to other documentation concerning Krister Nilsson's visit to Reval in the spring or early summer of 1424 and the fate of the executed person, the correct date must be July 9, 1424. The execution took place in 1424 (FMU II 2010) and Klaus Dock, who is also mentioned in the letter, was executed after December 1425 (LECUB I:7 373): Krister Nilsson then broke off his friendship with the council for several years (FMU II 1801). Krister's visit to the city was probably connected to the visit of the newly elected Livonian Master and former Komptur of Reval Cisse von dem Rutenberg to Reval, which occurred some time in June 1424. Hermann Hildebrand, Einleitung. LECUB I:7, s. xiv–xv. On the dating see also Salminen 1993b, 79–80 and Salminen 1997, s. 157.
5. **June 30, 1425, Åbo, Klaus Lydekesson (Djäkn, Lydekasönernass ätt, bailiff of Åbo):** a letter close informing the council of Reval that its two envoys had spoken to the king (Erik) and the queen (Philippa) but that the issue had been postponed until the meeting of the Privy Council of Sweden and the envoys of the (Hanseatic) cities. Dated in Åbo on the day of the Commemoration of Apostle Paul (June 30), without year, but in 1425. 1. Original: TLA, BC 3, 10, on paper in Swedish with address, salutation and dating in Latin. Translation TLA, BC 3, 6 (LECUB I:5 2255 and I:7 310, HR I:7 815, FMU II 1870) all in Middle Low German except the address, hand none of the known city scribes but the same as in the translation of Klaus' letter from the year 1429 or 1424–25 (TLA, BC 4, 1, see nr. 12) and possibly the same as in the translations of the letters of Jacob Fincke (TLA, Urk 1-I, 478, see nr. 1) and Krister Nilsson from 1424 (TLA, BC 36A, 19, see nr. 4)
6. **October 4, 1428, Åbo, Klaus Lydekesson:** a letter close on the property of four Revalian burghers confiscated by Klaus' servants in the Finnish archipelago. Dated in Åbo on the Thursday after All Saints (October 4) without a year, but from 1428 as it answers the council's letter to him dated on the Sunday after St Matthew (September 26), 1428 (draft by *Wenemar Scheter*: TLA, BA 1:Ic, 295, LECUB I:7 745 and FMU II 1870). Original: TLA, BC 3, 14 (FMU II 1851), on paper, all in

Swedish. Translation: TLA, BC3, 15, all in Middle Low German with address, hand none of the known city scribes.

7. **Thursday after the Visitation of Mary (ca. July 6, 1429), Raseborg, Otto Pogwisch, knight and headman of Raseborg:** a letter close discussing the fate of a man who had committed thefts in the bailiwick and castle but was arrested in Reval, as well as the fate of Otto's servant and messenger Karl who had been abducted by pirates on his way back from Reval. Original: TLA, BC 28, 51 (LECUB I:8 28, FMU II 1894), on paper in Swedish with Latin address and dating. Dated in Raseborg on the Thursday after the Visitation of Mary (July 6), ca. 1429. Translation: TLA, BC 28, 52, all in Middle Low German, hand of city scribe *Joachim Muter*.

8. **September 13, 1429, Åbo, Klaus Lydekesson:** a letter close on the issue of the murderous Hans Dalhusen dated in Åbo on the eve of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 13), without a year, but in 1429. Original: TLA: BC 3, 17 (LECUB I:8 86, FMU II 1916), on paper in Swedish with Latin address, salutation and dating. Translation: TLA, BC 2, 7r, all in Middle Low German on the reverse side of the translation of bishop Magnus II Tavast's letter on the same matter: see nr. 10, hand city scribe *Joachim Muter*.

9. **July 31, 1429, Åbo, Bishop Magnus II Tavast of Åbo:** a letter close on the issue of the murderous Hans Dalhusen. Dated in Åbo on the Feast of Bishop Germanus the Confessor (July 31) without a year, but from 1429. Original: TLA, BC 2, 5, (LECUB I:8 49, FMU II 1900), on paper in Swedish with Latin address, intitulation, salutation and dating. Translation: TLA, BA 1:Id, 160r in Middle Low German with Latin intitulation and truncated salutation but without dating, hand *Joachim Muter*, written on the same sheet as a draft for the council's answer dated on the Sunday before St Bartholomew (August 21), 1429 (2. draft or copy of the answer TLA, BA 1:Id, 161 by Muter).

10. **September 11, 1429, Åbo, Bishop Magnus II Tavast of Åbo:** a letter close on the matter of Hans Dalhusen. Original, TLA, BC 2, 8 (LECUB I:8 84, FMU II 1915), on paper in Swedish with Latin address, intitulation, salutation and dating. Dated in Åbo on the Sunday before Octavas of the Nativity of Mary (September 11), without a year, but in 1429, as it is an answer to the council's letter of August 21, 1429, see nr. 9. Translation: TLA, BC 2, 7v, in Middle Low German with Latin intitulation and dating, on the reverse side of the translation of Klaus Lydekesson's letter on the same matter, see nr. 8, hand *Joachim Muter*.

11. **September 22, 1429?, Åbo, Bishop Magnus II Tavast of Åbo:** a letter close on a peasant from the bailiwick of Raseborg who had found a hoard of silver and gone to Reval. Dated in Åbo on the Feast of St Maurice (September 22) without a year but possibly from 1429. Original. TLA, BC 2, 9, (LECUB I:8 91, FMU II 1918), on paper, in Swedish with Latin address, intitulation, salutation and dating. Translation: TLA, BC 2, 11, in Middle Low German with Latin intitulation and dating, hand *Joachim Muter*.

12. **November 25, 1429?, Åbo, Klaus Lydekesson:** a letter close recommending the holder of the letter *Henrik wan Øllenberg*, who is visiting Reval to acquire certain necessities for Klaus. Dated on the Feast of St Catherine (November 25) without a year, but possibly in 1429 or 1424–25. Original: TLA, BC 3, 18 (LECUB I:8 122,

FMU II 1927), on paper in Swedish with Latin address and dating. Translation: TLA, BC 4, 1, all in Middle Low German except address, hand none of the known city scribes, but the same as in the translation of Klaus' letter TLA, BC 3, 6 from the year 1425 (see nr. 5) and possibly the same as in the translations of the letters of Jacob Fincke (TLA, Urk 1-I, 478, see nr. 1) and Kristern Nilsson (TLA, BC 36A, 19, see nr. 4).

13. **October 27, ca. 1431?, Vehkalahti, rector (curatus) of the parish of Wekkelax:** a letter of *tovorsichte* in the form of a letter open on an inheritance in Reval. Dated on the Eve of Simon and Jude (October 27), without a year but possibly 1430 or 1431. Original: TLA, BC 39, 7 (LECUB I:9 84, FMU VIII 6655, FMU III 2857), on paper in Swedish with Latin dating. Translation: TLA, BA 1:Id, 238v, in Middle Low German except the dating and subscription, hand *Joachim Muter*. Muter has written the text of the translation upside down on the reverse side of a draft or copy of a letter of *tovorsichte* of the council of Reval to the council of Dorpat in a matter of inheritance dated on the day after St Vincentius (January 23), 1431 (TLA, BA 1:Id, 238r–v, cited in LECUB I:8 399).
14. **May 20, 1434, Stockholm, Hans Kröpelin, headman of the castle of Stockholm and the council of Stockholm;** a letter of *tovorsichte* in the form of letter close on the sworn oath of Henrik Görëshagen over his and his brother's a joint possession of iron confiscated in Reval. Dated in Stockholm on the Thursday after Pentecost (May 20), 1434. Original: location unknown. Translation: TLA, BA 1:Id, 253 (LECUB I:8 807, FMU III 2096), all in Middle Low German, address omitted, hand of city scribe *Joachim Muter*.
15. **Saturday before St Matthew (September 15, 1436 or September 17, 1441), Raseborg, Håkan Björnsson, bailiff of Raseborg:** a letter of *tovorsichte* in an unknown form for Olof Pedersson, servant of Kristern Nilsson, about an inheritance in Reval. Dated in Raseborg on the Saturday before St Matthew (September 21). The letter dates to September 1436 or 1441, when Kristern Nilsson had control over Raseborg castle and Western Nyland, see Salminen 1993a, 100–101, Salminen 1994, 635, Retsö 2009, 330. Location of both the original and translation unknown, cited in LECUB I:9 103 and FMU III 2189, see also Salminen 2012b, A19.
16. **May 12, 1441, Stockholm, Karl Knutsson (Bonde), marsk and regent of Sweden:** a letter close warning the council of Reval not to give support to Krister Nilsson (Vasa) and Karl Tordsson (Bonde). Dated in Stockholm on the Monday before St Eric (May 12) without a year but known to be 1441. Original: TLA, BC 36A, 113, on paper in Swedish with Latin salutation and dating. Translation: TLA, BC 36A, 112, all in Middle Low German except the salutation, hand of city scribe *Joachim Muter*.

Appendix 2: Basic codicological information of the major lines of civic memoranda in the written administration of the council

Topic of administration	Volume	Period	Size (height x width, ca. in cms)	8 ^o /4 ^o /Folio	Perg./Pap.	Limp leather wrapping or with clasp/Wooden covers sheathed with leather or modern binding (post or mid-19 th)	Colour of the covers	Vademecum/movable/stationary	Edition/Lost volume
Resignations/recognitions & Annuities									
<i>Resignations/recognitions & Annuities</i>	A.a.1	1312–60	24,5 x 17,0	8 ^o	Perg.	LLW of later date	Red leather	Movable	WB 1312–60
	A.a.6b	1360–83	29,0 x 20,5	4 ^o	Pap.	LLC of later date	Brown leather	Movable	EBII
<i>Resignations/recognitions</i>	A.a.6c	1383–1458	29,5/30,0 x 20,5/22,0	4 ^o	Pap.	Modern HC		Movable	EBIII
	B.i.3:I, 24r–33v	1458/59–74	30,0 x 21,0	4 ^o	Pap.	..	..	Movable	EBIV (not published)
	A.a.35b	(1455)/1466–1627	40,5 x 28,0	Folio	Perg.	WCSL with clasps	..	Stationary	Unpublished
<i>Annuities</i>	A.a.3	(1382)/1384–1518	34,5 x 26,0	Folio	Perg.	WCSL	Red leather	Stationary	PergRB
Denkelbok									
Lost volume	"Denkelbok I"	? – 1360 – 1382 –?	..	..	Perg.	..	..	..	Lost volume
in the codex of mixed memoranda	A.d.5	ca. (1373)/1380–1455							Unpublished
in the codex of schematic register on rents, alms and chantries/vicaries	A.a.7	1471–1523	31,0 x 25,0	4 ^o	Perg.	WCSL	Red leather	Stationary	Unpublished
Mixed memoranda									
	A.a.2	1333–74	15,0 x 11,0	16 ^o	Perg.	WCSL	Brown leather	Vademecum	LDA 1333–74
	A.d.4 quarto	ca. 1352/53–72/73	30,5 x 21,0	4 ^o	Pap.	LL	Brown leather	Movable	LDA 1333–74
	A.a.6d	(1353)/ca. 1367 – 1374	30,5 x 22,5	4 ^o	Pap.	LLW	Brown leather	Movable	LDA 1333–74 and LECUB
	A.d.5	1373–1455	29,0 x 22,0	4 ^o	Pap.	WCSL with clasps	Red leather	Stationary	Largely unpublished

Missive books (Missivebuch)									
In the codex of mixed memoranda	A.a.2	ca. 1347–52							LDA 1333–74 and Various diplomataries
	A.d.4 quarto	ca. 1355–62							LDA 1333–74 and LECUB
	A.a.6d	ca. 1353–58, 1368							LDA 1333–74 and LECUB
	A.d.5	1373–85							Various diplomataries
<i>Missive book</i>	A.a.4	1384–1427	44,5 x 30,5	Folio	Pap.	Modern HC	..	Stationary	Various diplomataries, partially unpublished
	Lost missive book	1432–81	..	..	..	..	..	..	Lost volume
Geleite									
Volume of Geleite	A.d.4 narrow	1365–72	29,5 x 11,0	narrow 4 ⁰	Pap.	..	..	Movable	Gbuch 1365–1458
In the codex of mixed memoranda	A.d.5	1373–1406							Gbuch 1365–1458
In a volume with lists of sworn Burghers (1409–1624)	A.a.17a	1406, 1413–15, 1428–58	28,9 x 19,7	4 ⁰	Pap.	..	..	Movable	Gbuch 1365–1458
Wedde									
Lost volume	Lost book of wedde	? – 1355 – 1360 –?	..	..	..	..	..	..	Lost volume
In a volume with annual collected rents	A.a.4a	ca. 1400 – 1521	41,5 x 30,0	Folio	Pap.	LL	Red leather	Stationary?	
Schoss									
Schoss/census on sheets	B.K.1, f. 25	ca. 1300–1315	12,7 x 18,4	sheet	Perg.	..	..	..	Johansen, 1927/28, 51–53
In the codex of mixed memoranda	A.d.4 quarto	ca. 1360							LDA 1333–74, 527–528
Individual quires	A.d.12, A.d.9, A.d.13, B.a.20 and B.K.1	ca. 1368–1424	30,0 x 11,0/14,0	narrow 4 ⁰	Pap.	A.d.12 modern HC		Movable	Schoss 1369–72, Schoss 1374, Schoss 1402
Annual sheets	B.K.1, f. 21–22, B.a.20, f. 18r	ca. 1429?	44,0/44,5 x 10,0/11,0	narrow folio	Pap.	..	..	Movable	Schoss ca. 1430/1440
	B.K.1, f. 35	ca. 1430?	28,5 x 11,0	narrow 4 ⁰	Pap.	..	..	Movable	Schoss ca. 1430/1440

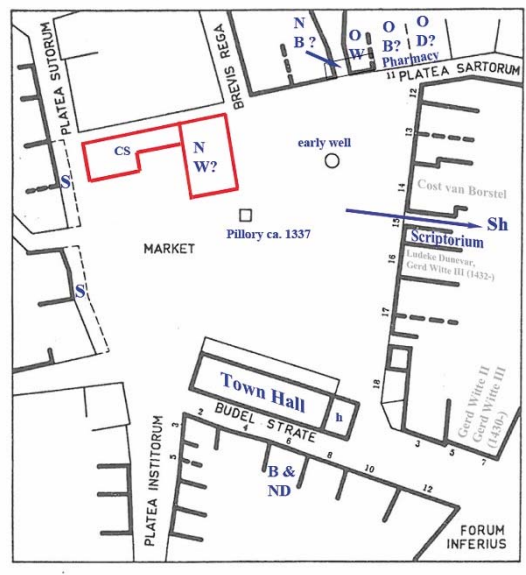
Rents										
<i>Annual collected rents of market shops and other property of the city</i>										
In the codex of mixed memoranda	A.a.2	1333–34, 1337–38, 1341								LDA 1333–74
	A.d.4 quarto	1352–58, 1362								LDA 1333–74
	A.d.5	1380–87								Unpublished
In a volume with wedde	A.a.4a	1392–1436	41,5 x 30,0	Folio	Pap.	LL	Red leather	Stationary?		Unpublished
Own volume	A.d.27	1436–1538	29,5 x 21,0	4 ^o	Pap.	LLW	Brown leather	Movable		Unpublished
<i>Schematic registers of rents, alms and chantries/vicaries</i>										
In the dissolved volume of various incomes and expenses of the city	A.d.1	1363	20,7 x 14,4	8 ^o	Perg.	..	..	Movable		KB 1363–74
In the codex of mixed memoranda	A.d.5	1373, 1380–87								
	A.a.7	ca. 1399 – 1428/(1429–63)	31,0 x 25,0	4 ^o	Perg.	WCSL	Red leather	Stationary		Unpublished
s	A.d.28, f. 1r–2v	(1463–79)	27,5 x 20,0	4 ^o	Pap.	..	..	Movable		Unpublished
	A.d.28, f. 3r–9v	(1463–79)	28,5 x 21,5	4 ^o	Perg.	LLW	Brown leather	Movable		Unpublished
Register of sworn burghers (Burgerbuch)										
In the codex of mixed memoranda	A.a.2	1334–46, 1350, 1358 – mid 1360's	15,0 x 11,0	16 ^o	Perg.	WCSL	Brown leather	Vademecum		LDA 1333–74
Possible lost volume	..	1364? – ca. 1400?	..	..	..	..	..	..		Possible volume, lost
In the codex of mixed memoranda	TLA, A.d.5, f. 163v	1401, 1403	29,0 x 22,0	4 ^o	Pap.	WCSL with clasps	Red leather	Stationary		Unpublished
In a volume with Geleite 1406–58	A.a.5	1409–1535	28,9 x 19,7	4 ^o	Pap.	Limp vellum/Modern HC	Parchment	Movable		BB 1409–1624
Kämmerers' accounts										
Dissolved volume of various incomes and expenses of the city	A.d.2	1363	20,7 x 14,4	8 ^o	Perg.	..	..	Movable		
<i>Liber camerariorum</i>	A.d.3	1369 – ca. 1375	22,5 x 14,8	8 ^o	Pap.	Modern HC	..	Movable		KB 1363–74
<i>Liber expositorum</i>	A.d.7	1376–79	29,0 x 20,5	4 ^o	Pap.	LLW	Brown leather	Movable		KB 1376–80
Fragments of a Kämmererbuch	B.a.2, f. 21–24, 25–26	1405 – 1426 – 1429/32	30,0 x 21,0	4 ^o	Pap.	..	..	Movable		Unpublished

<i>Kämmereibuch</i>	A.d.15	1432–63	29,5 x 22,0	4 ⁰	Pap.	LL with buckles	Brown leather with red stiches	Stationary	KB 1432–63
	A.d.26	1463–1507	39,5 x 28,0	Folio	Pap.	LL with buckles	Brown leather with red stiches	Stationary	KB 1463–1507
Poundage									
<i>Register of Poundage</i>	A.d.6	1362/76 & 1378–82	28,5 x 10,7	narrow 4 ⁰	Pap.	LLW	Brown leather	Movable	RzollB II
	A.d.8	1383–84	29,5 x 23,0	4 ⁰	Pap.	LLW	Brown leather	Movable	Pfdzoll 1383–84, RzollB II
	A.g.1	ca. 1425 – 1448	30,0 x 21,5	4 ⁰	Pap.	Modern HC	..	Movable	Schiffslisten 1425–96
	B.a.1, f. 47r–49v	ca. 1426	43,5 x 14,7	narrow folio	Pap.	quire	..	Movable?	
	A.g.4	ca. 1425 & 1430, 1462–96	30,0 x 21,5	4 ⁰	Pap.	Modern HC	..	Movable	Schiffslisten 1425–96
	A.g.2	1448–62	30,0 x 22,0	4 ⁰	Pap.	Modern HC	..	Movable	Schiffslisten 1425–96
Poundage on Dutch ships	B.a.1, f. 78r–84r	1451–57	30,0 x 22,0	4 ⁰	Pap.	quire	..	Movable	..
Summary of disbursements from Poundage	B.a.1, f. 67r	1457–58?	28,0 x 17,5	4 ⁰	Pap.	sheet	..	Movable	..
Captains and cargoes	A.g.3	mid–15th century	29,5 x 11,0	narrow 4 ⁰	Pap.	quire	..	Movable	HUB I:8 769 and Schiffslisten 1425–96
Mint									
<i>Accounts of the Mint</i>	A.d.16	? – 1397 – ca. 1435 /1530	40,0 x 30,0	Folio	Pap.	(leather binding)/ Modern HC	..	Stationary?	Unpublished
	A.d.17	ca. 1416–47	29,0 x 22,0	4 ⁰	Pap.	quires	..	Movable	Mbüch 1416–1526
	B.b.1:I, f. 13–16	1435–37, ca. 1440 and 1445–47	30,0 x 21,0	4 ⁰ and 8 ⁰	Pap.	Loose bifolios & sheets	..	Movable	Mbüch 1416–1526
	A.d.21, f. 1–7	1437–47	29,0 x 21,0	4 ⁰	Pap.	quire	..	Movable	Mbüch 1416–1526
	A.d.22	1448–66	30,0 x 21,5	4 ⁰	Pap.	LLW	Red leather	Movable	Mbüch 1416–1526
Mills									
Annual accounts of mills	A.d.20	1437–60	40,0 x 29,0	Folio	Pap.	..	..	Stationary?	Unpublished
Fragments of a volume related to the mills	B.a.3, A.d.21, B.a.6:II, A.d.20	1437–57	30,0 x 22,0	4 ⁰	Pap.	..	..	Movable	Unpublished

Hospital of St John									
Fragments of the "Old book" of the hospital	B.d.1:l, f. 17r–20v	1436–40, 1445	29,5 x 21,0	4 ⁰	Pap.	..	..	Movable	Unpublished
Accounts of the hospital	A.d.18	1446–1501	30,5 x 10,0	narrow 4 ⁰	Pap.	LLW	Brown leather	Movable	St Johannis 1435–1507
Register of the possessions and forms of income	B.d.1a	1448 – late 15th c	24,5 x 16,0	8 ⁰	Perg.	LLW	Brown leather	Movable	Unpublished

Anno domini mille
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 de bodar' censu abysqz
 redditibz civitatis P
 primo de bodis Inapiendo

EX ARCHIVO
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of Allese vorgelaruene geleete des
 lieenwerters amettes wil de tar vast
 vū genlken ge holten hebben by
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Dele doch Schin bind vesterheer hebben binse
 heh Dingmeesters bind tuer barlenet alle nd gan
 pmoesig an det hier waer binde by de behard

Item is dit zake dat zucht ewichmeesters eden
 knecht zucht Synne de vrad' Werke edel ewigets
 hangard Werke Ho sul zyncket dat he wacht vordelen
 sul Synne anbe' sul dat ley by salme zecten m' de
 bodale hnd sul dat sul he eten in' zige sul wacht vuer
 sul brod

EX N
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T	C	H	E	T
O	A	E	T	A
Q	A	T	A	S



Item vuyoy var de kallar cobalkede
 Item vuyox inde selbode
 Item var seghede se smere vuyoy
 Item var kotte dese vuyoy

16. xxij. 08 Day bulken
 16. xij. 08 Day 1. vuyoy. vuyoye dom palmechte
 16. xij. 08 Day 1. vuyoy. vuyoye