A castle and a town in Livonia, 13th-16th century: example of Straupe

Mg. hist. Edgars Plētiens

“Every Straupe citizen and inhabitant with Jurgen von Rosen’s approved old latin stamp and feud letter which is given and approved by all citizens and Straupe castle inhabitants.”

When centuries pass, events get forgotten and disappear from people’s memories. Quite often also documents have been lost in earlier or more recent fires and places where important trading and political transactions, and also everyday life used to happen, are being forgotten. The earlier importance of these places and events that used to happen there has been forgotten and there is no evidence left. The only evidence is a little bit run down castle that has been rebuilt several times, grown over fortification mots and the surrounding terrain. The story is about Lielstraupe castle and the inhabited place next to it (Picture 1 and 2.). In Medieval times, this was a town called Straupe (Rope). So now also, to make things easier, we’ll call it Straupe. The written historical sources show that an inhabited place started to form here since 13th century. In 14th century a castle was built and the place next to it had reached town quality. Due to continuous warfare in the second part of the 16th century, Straupe withered away and wasn’t restored. There are many questions related to the history of this place. However, we shall focus only on one: what were the relations between Straupe castle and the town? In order to find an answer to this question, other issues need to be examined as well.

The place by the spring and highway

The road which is the fastest and most convenient way to get from Riga to Valmiera has still remained as important as before. In Medieval times it connected the major Baltic region port in Riga with one of the biggest provincial towns of Vidzeme - Valmiera. It was one of the three highways (hellewech) that connected Riga and North Vidzeme. This road used to be one of the most key structural elements of the town. Within borders of the town, which were marked by fortifications, this
road was more like the main street. The fact that one part of the highway became a town element and used to be called in the name of the town to which it led, wasn’t surprising. Similar practices can be seen in Limbaži, Cēsis or Aizpute.

Picture 1. View of Lielstraupe Castle from the northwest. 
Postcard from 20th century

Picture 2. View of Lielstraupe Castle from the southwest. 
Postcard from 20th century
The significance of river Brasla in development of Straupe as a populated place is still not entirely clear, even though this river, that used to be called Rop in Livonia, gave the name to the castle and the town. In documentation it has been deemed a spring and used as a geographical term to indicate the location or to mark the border plot in feudal documents. A spring right next to the town was beneficial for building a mill and most likely, for flooding the moats. However, there are no reports that it has been used for sailing. Having in mind, that the width of Brasla currently is 4–6 m, even though it might have been fuller with water, in Medieval times only barges might have been able to sail here (with trouble). Such barges used to be one of the ways to transport household goods in Livonia.

The place before the castle and the town

It is impossible to reconstruct what Straupe looked like in the 13th century. However, it is possible to say that this place was populated and in the earlier political-administrative system singled out as a separate entity called Idumea. There used to be three hillforts in the vicinity and several burial grounds that were used from 11th to 13th century. Local inhabitants of Idumea area used to live in several separately located villages.

At the beginning of the 13th century (in the autumn of 1206 and winter of 1207), as a part of preaching Christianity priest Daniel settled to live in Straupe area. He made his farmstead and build a church by river Brasla. It is impossible to determine where exactly was the church built. However, there is a chance that it was built in current Baukalns area, where at the end of the 19th century some artefacts were found. This place has also been mentioned as “the place where old church used to be” in legends. In the map of 1683 the church had been marked little bit South of Baukalns. Not far from Baukalns a 16th century burials were found, although some individual artefacts date back to even earlier. In general, the reports are inconclusive. Further on it is mentioned as an isolate area, for example, in 1554, Baukalns farmsteads are mentioned there, but in a map of 1683, it has been marked as a small, singled out populated area. Chronicle of Henry mentions that by the river Brasla (supposedly, in Baukalns area) during Crusades in 1211, there used to be a gathering place for the military forces. This is not coincidental as in 13th century it was demolished by Estonians (estones) and Russians (ruthenorum) multiple times. Therefore, the church was burned and restored several times. At the end of the 13th century a trader Tiderihs Azgalis from Straupe participated in some trading actions - he borrowed money and flax. This person is from Riga archbishop’s vassal family Azgali. Later, in 14th and 15th century they served for archbishop in the military as varlets. The trader (as indicated by nickname) came from Aizgale village, but later settled in Straupe due to various
reasons. This possibly was related to the rise of importance of Riga–Valmiera road, which was also the reason of Straupe’s development.

At the beginning of 14th century Straupe was surrounded by Lithuanian (letovie) army. However, it is not known if the place was destroyed. If there was a surrounding, it could be an indication that the place might have been more than just a church and a yard. Most likely, the fortification, guarded by warriors, was surrounded. One of the warriors might have been Riga canon, a knight named Johan from Straupe.

According to the above mentioned events, at the end of the 13th century the castle was most likely ready and a village started to form near it.

Was Straupe a town?

In Livonia, one of the preconditions for a larger population to develop in a place, was building of a castle. First of all, a castle meant guaranteed security, which was important for people living in the area, especially for those who had a non-agrarian trade (crafting, trading). Security was very important for traders and a significant precondition for traders to go to this place. Secondly, the castle was also a consumer because the people living in the castle needed food and simple artisan products. These conditions defined forming of population, and they were tightly connected to the castle.

Often you look at a town the perspective of it’s rights or a specific set of privileges, namely, a populated place could be considered a town, if it had various rights and freedom privileges, which were called ‘town rights’ by historians. The territory of Livonia in all medieval period had 19 town. Only some of them retained privileges by which the populated place legally acquired town status. Mostly, the privileges have remained in a reworked state or only parts of them have remained, in worst cases the legal status can be learned through the context of other written documents. Straupe is such a case.

There are no knowledge regarding Straupe population in 13th century, and, as mentioned above, there is a possibility that the original place of the church by river Brasla is not the place of Straupe castle. It is known that in the second half of 13th century (until Lithuanian attach in 1310) the population of Straupe started to form in the location where it is today. The reasons for this are unknown. In 14th century 20ies, the trading between Riga vogt and his relatives in Straupe is a process which shows that Straupe in these times was more than just a castle. One could safely assume that by Straupe castle in 14th century 20ies-30ies there was a town which is certainly recognizable in 1352. This is the moment when due to these trading relations Straupe as a town was directly attached to Hansa trading system, because it is likely that these traders from Straupe were a part of a foreign trading community or hansa. This is also indicated by rather big amounts of money that they had at their disposal, and that is a common factor which indicates a trader that is a participant of Hansa.
When generations changed, traders of such level weren’t in touch with Straupe inhabitants, therefore
the connection with Hanseatic trading system diminished and in the future it was oriented on servicing
inner trade. These, of course, are only assumptions, and they can’t be verified.

Some attention should be paid to terminology that is used in the written documents regarding
the populated place Straupe. This might be the hardest issue to solve, simultaneously being one of or
the most significant issue in the research of populated places. In order to discuss something, it needs to
be defined clearly with words that we use to describe specific things or phenomena. In the case of
Straupe, this makes things more complicated.

To label a populated place in Livonia such Latin words as vicus, villa, locus, suburbio, oppido and
civita were used. Whereas, in Middle Low German language they were palthe, fleck, hakelwerk,
vyksbilde, stedeken, städtlein and stad (stat). Until now, it is believed that these labels differ by status,
prosperity and size of the populated place's territory. For example, if ‘stad’ was used to describe a full-
fledged town, populated places called fleck, hakelwerk and vyksbilde weren’t considered towns but
rather small populated places or villages.31

A small insight into breakdown of populated places is given by the list of Livonia castles (year
1555) in Latin. This document features populated places divided as follows: towns with stone walls
(muratae Civitates), towns without stone walls (non muratis oppidis) and villages or settlements (vicens).32
In 1690, this list was translated into German by Casparis von Ceumern. Here populated places were
categorized as follows: towns with stone walls (gemauerten Städten), towns without stone walls (ohne –
die offenen Städtlein) and villages or settlements (Flecken).33 Straupe in this list in Latin was indicated as
oppidum, but in German - städtlein, hence, a town without stone walls.

From 14th till 16th century (including), as shown in the table, Straupe has been labelled using
seven different words in Latin and Middle Low German language. Moreover, different descriptions
were used in different times, which means that there is no observation of decrease of Straupe status in
16th century, compared to 14th century. Also, in one document two different descriptions were used.34
This won’t be further analysed. However, the different and sometimes inconsistent mentions of
Straupe populated place indicate several things. Firstly, usage of such words as town, settlement,
village etc. should be reviewed, but then a full and detailed research regarding Livonian towns is
necessary. That would give many answers about terms used in written historical sources and what is
meant by them - their content. Secondly, the mentions confirm the town activities of Straupe, starting
from the first part of 14th century till second half of 16th century at least.

All in all, it is safe to state that from 14th century till 16th century Straupe, most likely, was a
legal town, but in relation to other small towns further research is necessary as to what did these
different labels mean for the town status, what was the people's understanding of Straupe back then and what do these labels tell about Straupe factual population, size and prosperity?

Table. Mentions of Straupe populated place using a specific label in 14th–16th century written historical sources

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<th>stedekent</th>
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The owners of the castle and region

Straupe castle and the attached villages and parishes were part of Riga archbishopric territory. Part of it was divided between vassals, who served in archbishop’s military, but part belonged to archbishop as so called archbishop’s table farmsteads (gudere tho kercken tafel), which covered archbishop administration’s military, economic and administrative expenses and other costs. At the end of 13th century Straupe castle was managed by archbishop’s vassals, for example, the knight Johan of Straupe, but at the beginning of 14th century the managers of the castle were Riga vogts. One of them was Verner of Straupe, and his multiple trading transactions in Riga with relatives from Straupe and with other traders are worth noting due to the comparably big amounts that were circulating in these transactions. Accordingly, it was, for example, 77, 25 or 20 Riga marks. Additionally, his cooperation which is a typical characteristic of 13th and 14th century, was based on relationship. Therefore, his trading partners were relatives Goschalcus of Straupe un and underage relative Gyselero of Straupe. In the second part of 14th century, Voldemar von Rosen became Riga voga and in 1374 he was the manager of Straupe castle and town. In 1378 another member of the Rosen family Henneke von Rosen exchanged his plots by Koknese with land plots by Straupe. This might be due to the fact that around this time he was appointed as Straupe castle manager. Starting from this time, Rosen family as Riga archbishop’s vassals remained in Straupe until 17th century, when they lost it. In the middle of 19th century Rosens regained ownership of Straupe and remained there until 20th century, end of 30ies. Rosens settled in this area at least in the beginning of 14th century, because the knights Wolmar and Henneke in 1350 got their father’s Otto land plots and fortified residence called Rosen house (husz tho Rosen). According to villages mentioned in the feudal document, historian V. Pavulane identifies this Rosen house with Augstroze stone wall castle, which during 15th and 16th centuries had different owners. Other historians, for example, H. Bruining and I. Stern identifies this Rosen house with Straupe castle, and these villages weren’t under the authority of it.

Lands owned by Rosens in this area until the first half of 15th century were owned by different Riga archbishop’s vassal families, for example, von Koskulls, von Tiesenhausens and von Uexkulls, but later on a focused land purchase strategy is observed on the von Rosen side. For example, in 1425 Riga archbishop gave a village to one of his vassals (Everd Resen) together with lands in Straupe and Rubene congregations. So, the village was in both congregations. Five years later the village was bought by Otte von Rosen for an unknown amount. In 1491, Kersten von Rosen bought the village from Brant Kosszkull. Although the family context for this issue still could be researched, it is clear that four castles were under the authority of Rosen family during these times. First was Augstroze stone wall castle, later Straupe stone wall castle, then Rozula or Rozbeki stone wall castle and later - Mujānu stone wall castle. Even though the castle and town economic cooperation will be discussed
later in this document, it is utterly important to understand the total approximate acreage of lands that were under the authority of these three castles. This can be reconstructed using the feudal documents, 17th century revisions and map materials (pictures 3 and 4).

*Picture 3. Lielstraupe Castle County and Mazstraupe Palace in 1683
Place with a part of the castle-owned countries distributed in villages and parishes (LVVA, 7404-1-1909)*
Overall, the total of lands owned by Rosens were 562 km² and, as shown by the red line outlining the area on map (picture 5), they took up approximately a fifth of archbishopric lands located on the right bank of Gauja or from the so called Livonian end. However, it is important to remember that lands adherent to castles weren’t permanent because they could change due to inheritance, exchange, purchase and selling or marital transactions. Individual villages or bigger areas that belonged to one castle in a given period, could belong to another after some transactions. Therefore, the allocation of lands is approximate and to be reconstructed only for a given period of time.

How did the fact that Straupe was under the authority of Rosen family affect the development of Straupe town? When the town started to form, the close communication with Riga vogt and being part of archbishopric property and under management of the judges leads to thinking that it had both positive and negative effect. The connections and the status were unmistakable benefits. In 1438 there was a archbishopric-level meeting held in Straupe, so the representatives could agree on the general position before provincial assembly in Valka. Additionally, for unknown reasons Riga’s envoys were given 5 shillings for purchase of wine that was supposed to be delivered to Straupe burgomaster. At the same time the development of Straupe wasn’t happening due to practically being owned by Rosen family who had the administration rights of the town as well. For a medieval town to develop successfully it had to become free of senior dominance. This was not in Straupe’s power. Therefore, Straupe until 16th century existed as a small Livonian town with an explicit senior dominance.
The layout of the castle and the town

Most often, the layout and inner topography of the town in Livonia was defined by castle structure, as mostly the towns in Livonia closely clung to the fortifications of the castle. Straupe is not an exception. First, let’s look at the general topography of the area.

Seems that the choice of spot where to construct the castle wasn’t random. It is in a spot where a small river flows into Brasla. This small river comes from the surrounding swamp. This ensures that the castle was secured from two sides. It is not known which of the buildings - the castle of the church - was built first and if they originally were wooden or stone. Possibly, they were built together.
At the same time, the aforementioned documents indicate that the castle was built at the end of 13th or beginning of 14th century. The current terrain brings attention to a hollow on the North and East side of the castle. It seems that this hollow was formed naturally, but deepened later and made into a moat. Another significant element for the general topography was the direction of the road which we named above as Riga-Valmiera highway. The hillforts and burial grounds in Straupe vicinity indicate that road systems were present before Straupe castle was built, because it was necessary to get to and from these places even before. The significance of the road when choosing this place was important because Straupe was also the end destination of the road that lead from Limbaži. Moreover, through Stalbe which was located close to Straupe, it was also possible to travel to Cēsis. Essentially, from Straupe one could quickly get to Valmiera, Limbaži, Cēsis and Riga.

Straupe castle was rebuilt many times. Therefore, it is not possible to reconstruct the appearance of the castle in 13th-16th century without major archaeological and all-inclusive architectonic research. Previous limited research led to individual evidence, for example, the typically medieval construction type and used materials show that castle originally might had four fortification walls and in one corner there used to be a rectangle-shaped tower. Additionally, the walls around the castle, contrary to the current state, weren’t attached to the church and ended 3 m from it. So there is a possibility that in middle ages Straupe castle and church were two independent structures, although, most likely, surrounded by a wall. It is possible that originally household buildings were close to the Straupe castle walls. There is no evidence regarding the formation of castle block and other elements, for example, castle-front or the outer yard. Therefore, right now it is not possible to determine the oldest entrance. However, the written historical sources mention that the castle had a gate faced in the direction of the town.

As mentioned, it is possible that Straupe church originally wasn’t connected to the castle walls, so it’s West wall might had windows and a portal with an entrance to the church. Straupe church was a three-sphere building with two entrances - in the West and North walls. It has been found that at least since the middle of 14th century there were traditional burials carried out inside the church. Also, at least two vivariums existed, that were dedicated to the holy body and Saint Anne. It is worth mentioning that the church also owned building plots and houses in Straupe, and the Saint Anne vivarium that occupied the church had received an unspecified place with a big garden (as a donation) that also belonged to the church. From one side the church faced inner courtyard of the castle, but from the other - the cemetery and town. In connection with the church and the castle a 1512 dispute settlement document mentions that a passage that lead from the castle door, along it’s fortification and to the church, was closed and there was a request to restore it. So this was a passage that lead out of walls of the castle, outside of castle and to the church. It possibly indicates that there was an
empty plot of land between the castle and the church and a wall, along which you could enter. Straupe church as the part of Straupe owned by Riga archbishopric judges Rosens was used to solve individual issues regarding Riga, for example, in 1515, by Riga Cathedral and Straupe church door a notification was put up regarding Livonian land marshal.\textsuperscript{73}

Typical to the Medieval religious space, there used to be a cemetery by the church.\textsuperscript{74} The burials there were marked with stone (\textit{picture 6}) and wooden crosses.\textsuperscript{75} The area of burial place is not known. It is believed that the church cemetery was separated from the public space of the town using wooden or stone fence because in Middle ages the holy space was separated from the secular space. The spiritual needs of local people were taken care of by the priest\textsuperscript{76} and vicars\textsuperscript{77} of Straupe church.

The previously mentioned Riga-Valmiera highway in Straupe church used to be called in the name of the town to which it lead. It used to be similar with other towns as well. Even though Straupe was quite small (by area), it might have had several streets. It is not verified if this is true and if yes, what were the names of those streets. Straupe also had a bridge which was significant in size because in 1531, it was called the high bridge.\textsuperscript{78} It was located by the castle and lead over the moat. Straupe also had the big bridge,\textsuperscript{79} that was located on the side of the town where there used to be a gate on the road to Valmiera, and it crossed the town’s protection system: two moats and a rampart.

The houses of Straupe inhabitants were distributed in a comparably small area - approximately 19 000 m\textsuperscript{2} or almost two hectares. As seen in other town, for example, Kuldīga, Cēsis or Riga older building materials, it is possible that Straupe mostly had wooden buildings. That lead to fires breaking out in the town, and the fire in 1531 is mentioned in documentation.\textsuperscript{80} As the town was occupied by members of other families and not only the influential archbishop’s vassals,\textsuperscript{81} it is assumable that the town also had stone buildings because this social stratum used to be wealthier. The buildings also had small gardens,\textsuperscript{82} however in general the structure of buildings was close,\textsuperscript{83} because there wasn’t much space. There used to be a watermill in the town.\textsuperscript{84} Straupe also had three chapels that were located close to one another,\textsuperscript{85} not far from river Brasla. This might be an indication that the wealthy families had their own burial grounds. The town also had Saint George’s\textsuperscript{86} chapel, which including the church was the second prayer building in Straupe. The founder of the chapel is unknown, but can be assumed

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\textit{Picture 6. Straupes Church crucifix of the North on the side of the former cemetery territory. Author’s photo in 2015}
\end{center}
that Hans and Anna von Rosen were responsible for this when their son Jurgen was born.\textsuperscript{87} The fact that the religious space of the town was dominant is not a surprise, because, for example, in Cēsis and it’s vicinity there used to be six religious buildings which was an unusually big number for such a small town.\textsuperscript{88} Comparatively Tallinn in Middle Ages had seven churches and two monasteries, Riga - six churches and three monasteries, but Tartu - four churches. Small towns, for example, Koknese had three, Limbaži – two churches.\textsuperscript{89}

Traditionally, the market square was one of the key elements of town. It is unknown where it was located in Straupe, but most likely somewhere in the middle of the town by the main road. The market square also had buildings around it - the owner of one of the houses was Stalbe manager Jurgen Stalbyter,\textsuperscript{90} but the owner of another house which had a threshing barn - Rosen vassal Otto Ritzen.\textsuperscript{91} There used to be another house which belonged to Hans Melcher and a garden for a person named Krabben.\textsuperscript{92} Traditionally, next to the market square there used to be town hall and a place of worship, usually - a church. It is possible that Straupe St. George chapel and town hall might have been located by the market square.

\textbf{Picture 7. A fragment of road map of Lielstraupe and Mazstraupe in 1695.}

The inscription “Groß Rops Schloß” depicts a castle and a city, which runs through the palisade (LVVA, 7404-1-2195)
The town’s fortification system that was located right by the castle protection system might be the most characteristic trait during medieval times. There are no evidence regarding the defensive wall of the town. However, the terrain shows two lines of ravines, and there used to be a rampart between them which flattened over time. This verifies that the town was encircled by a palisade – similar to the one that is marked in the map of 1695 (picture 7).\textsuperscript{93} It is unknown if the palisade was located on the rampart or on the inner side of the moat. These kinds of fortifications definitely weren’t the best choice for long term protection, and they needed regular maintenance. Most likely it defended the inhabitants against wild animals and wandering marauders. The protection system would stop the army temporarily, possibly buying time to only take refuge in the castle. The fortifications on one side were close to river Brasla, and on the other side connected with the castle’s moats which were connected with Brasla on the other end. Therefore, the town and castle were contained by moats, and the town even with two moats and a rampart between them. The water from the small watercourse that came from the nearby swamp partially was collected in the reservoir located by the castle. It connected to the town and castle moats and might have been controlled with a water gate. This is the place where the watermill might have been located. When necessary, the flooded area could quickly provide a lot of water. Currently, it is not possible to reconstruct the depth of the moats and the height of the rampart without archaeological excavations anymore. However, Straupe town and castle is visible in aero laser scans, where the difference of this fortification complex is clearly distinguished from the surrounding countryside area.\textsuperscript{94} Additionally, the terrain marks the protective elements of the castle and town as well as roads (picture 8).

![Picture 8. Straupe site land surface model: 1 - Brasla, 2 - pond, 3-dug, 4-Riga-Valmiera road, 5-place of Lielstraupe castle, 6 - the former territory of the city. The north direction is towards the bottom right corner of the image (Available at: http://www.videsinstituts.lv/en/projects/examples/cultures)](image)
Overall, there are no conclusive facts regarding Straupe topography in medieval times. However, at the same time there is enough information about what existed in this area where the castle and the town used to be. It is possible that because of this reason Straupe situational plans used to be redrawn. For example, in the first part of 19th century the plan which documented architecture monuments in Vidzeme, was drawn by Wilhelm Tusch, depicting the placement of buildings, castle moats and roads. In 1922, researcher of castles Karl von Löwis of Menar in his monograph about Livonian castles added the reconstruction of former Straupes plan, where very approximately castle and town borders, moats and the road system were marked. The depiction of Straupe castle is visible also in a road map of 1695, where the castle is mapped out as a complex of several bigger and smaller buildings surrounded by walls (picture 7). Next to it, both in North and South directions a territory is marked that is surrounded by a palisade but is not covered with buildings. The accuracy of this depiction is not verifiable, but it differs from visualisations of other places in other 17th century maps of Vidzeme. It means that the author who made the map of Straupe area, had reasons to depict it in such manner.

Inhabitants of Straupe

Straupe town was inhabited by citizens and inhabitants (borgeren und inwonderen). As Straupe life was governed by Riga rights, the citizens of Straupe could only be those that were able to pay a certain amount of money. So, citizens were the population from which town councillors and burgomaster (borgermeyster unde ratdh der statdt Roppe) were chosen. Whereas, the inhabitants where those that for various reasons couldn’t afford to become citizens or might have resided in the town only temporarily. Also, they couldn’t be elected to be members of the town council. These seem to be the only differences between these groups.

Large part of the people living in the town were craftsmen, for example, farriers, wood carvers, tailors, brewers. These people played a significant role in the development of the castle and the town. Their trade is mostly indicated by the tools they used every day. For example, one of Johan von Rosen’s vassals, who was a craftsman, had the following movables: 22 dowers of barley, 2 dowers of rye-wheat mixture, 2 dowers of rye, two dowers of malt and two dowers of oats. He also had two bulls, two cows, two calves, four goats (big and small), three sheep and one lamb, four pigs (big and small), one mare and one foal. Household items were two ladies, two handles, one pot, one small pot, two small bowls one handle of a bowl, one half-last barrel, two pairs of ploughshares, two tables and one rectangular box. The bedspread he owned was three blankets, three textiles, three cloths (or scarves), three pillows and two thin textiles. The property of vassal indicates that he was a farmer and a brewer.
The second part of the townspeople were people who were on military duty and were the security of both places. Johan von Rosen’s vassal, who served in the military (his father did the same thing), had the following movables: a house and a yard with all attached land plots and threshing barns, gardens and places, also ladles and half a thousand of handles (both big and small), half a tub of plates, good cans (big and small)), one Livonian pot, a brewing pot, bathhouse pot, half-barrel pot, a brass pot, two small pots, two bowls, a mortar and a pan. He had 8 bulls, 8 young stock animals, 6 horses, 12 sheep, 20 pigs and 12 goats. It is obvious that the property of this vassal was larger than the previous one.

A more uncommon group is traders, so that leads to thinking that they weren’t a significant part of the town. There is a possibility that more active trading used to happen in 14th century, but as specific traders didn’t visit the town for various reasons, the role of trading decreased. However, that doesn’t mean there was no trading in Straupe in 15th and 16th century. The nearby road attracted considerably intensive local scale trade to Straupe and means that inhabitants only benefitted from this.

The biggest part of Straupe congregation in Middle Ages spoke German. These people were called Germans (dudschen, duitzschen), even though Livonian towns were inhabited also by locals (non-Germans), mostly Latgalians and Livonians - in Straupe area.

The inhabitants of the town were Christians. The church, its yard and cemetery formed the religious space of Straupe. The inhabitants had established the two afore mentioned vivariums. Vivarium of the Holy Body was well provided with the necessary maintenance funds, as Kersten von Rosen could borrow from it or else owed 40 Riga marks. The other vivarium, Saint Anne’s, was established later - in the second part of 15th century. Besides, for its maintenance property, instead of money, was allocated. It was a large garden and a place that wasn’t specified more precisely. Vivarium was earning from renting out this place. Straupe’s religious environment was enriched by the Kalands Bretheren (Calande to Rope), which practiced donations to the poor and remembrance of the dead. It is known that such brotherhood in Livonia used to exist also in Aizpute, Riga, where they owned a house, and Révele, where the stamp used by brotherhood has been preserved. The Kalands Bretheren even had their own chapel at the cathedral in Riga.

**The relationship between castle and the town**

The afore mentioned events and processes let us take a more detailed look at how the castle and town got on in Straupe.

The relationship between the castle and town in Europe and in Livonia usually were mutually beneficial. The castle as a consumer structure on big part relied on the prosperity of the surrounding region, as the land workers of the region had certain fees that needed to be submitted in a certain
period. The same can be said regarding a populated place near the castle. The big part of the inhabitant’s time was taken by their trade which wasn’t agrarian - either craftsmanship or trading. For this the castle had to protect the people that were living next to it. Moreover, the town next to the castle had a market where locals could sell their farming goods. The townspeople also benefited from trading, by selling the purchased goods for more in bigger towns, where traders were doing long-distance trading. Often, the traders of the small town or their relatives in a bigger town did long-distance trading. The castle also needed crafts for everyday use, for example, tools and clothing, as well as services, for example repairs of the same tools or clothing. Therefore, a mutually beneficial unwritten coexistence of the town and the castle persisted. However, formally according to the medieval senior-vassal or feudal rights each place had a legal senior. His power could have been formal or actual and present. Straupe was the second case.

It is obvious that relationship can exist between people, not buildings. And such people in Straupe were the manager of the castle who resided there, and the townspeople, who lived in the town and who were legally represented by the town council. Relatively, there were two sides - the castle and the town. With the afore mentioned in mind, let’s look what were the legal, economic, military and social relations and obligations of these people.

A. Legal relationships

In the first part of the 14th century due to trading activities after Crusades, Straupe experienced a development and in the middle of 14th century had definitely reached town quality. Initially, the town territory and adherent lands outside of it belonged to the managers of the castle - Rosens. This changed soon. In 1374, Voldemar von Rosen gave to citizens 51 parts of the joint estate in Straupe. This wasn’t or free, as during five years the citizens had to pay 100 Riga marks for this transaction. So, in the second part of 14th century Straupe citizens obtained ownership of the most of Straupe’s joint estates. However, citizens also had private property, legal affiliation of which is unknown. What did owning a property mean in Middle Ages? It certainly wasn’t the same private property rights as we understand them today. In the big cities, for example, in Riga or Rēvele, freedom of self-determination developed quite rapidly in connection to properties, but in small towns the property ownership was restricted to typical feudal ownership, which meant that the property legally belonged to the senior. In Straupe this was a member of the Rosen family. It is possible that based on analogy with Riga, there were lands or building plots that belonged to individuals who had obtained them when the populated place was still forming and wasn’t a town yet. We do not know this.

The citizen status in the town didn’t guarantee acquisition of independent property. All the people who became Straupe citizens or inhabitants in the second part of 14th century, rented the land
from a Rosen family representative. It was a senior-vassal relationship. The senior, Rosen family, who owned a part of Straupes town properties and who had power in the town, on certain conditions rented the building plots in town or land outside of it to those interested to obtain it. Such people thus, became Rosen vassals. The conditions differed. There were usually two common legal conditions. One established that the vassal won’t sell the land and won’t leave it empty, also, when using it, won’t harm senior power and economic state. The second one established that if the vassal violates this condition or he/she doesn’t have any heirs, or they are not able to provide the annual payment, the land is reclaimed by the Rosen family. There were several other conditions which will be discussed in detail when looking at the economic, social and military relationship between the castle and the town.

The agreements were usually made between the representative of Rosen family and inhabitant of Straupe. It seems that Straupe town hall was more present in testimony giving and division of inheritances. The town hall usually confirmed it’s decisions with a town stamp (stades segell) (picture 9), and the Rosen family representative also used their stamp. A third confirmation with stamp was possible from the third party mentioned in the document. This kind of institution didn’t have any real decision power and it most likely was acting as a simplified executive power.

Besides, it is important to remember that Rosens were the vassals of archbishop. Until the issuing of ‘Sylvestersche Gnade’ in 1457, that defined wider and more specific inheritance rights for vassals of Riga archbishop, vassals didn’t own the territories they were managing. Moreover only the male members of the given family could inherit these territories. Thus, properties of individual vassals didn’t remain at their disposal. This didn’t seem to be relevant to the Rosen family. After this privilege came into effect the inheritance rights became more ambiguous and increased the independence of archbishop’s vassals. This concerned the Rosens, who after 1457 became the actual owners not only of big areas that belonged to Straupe castle, but also to Straupe town. The archbishop’s power over these territories in second part of the 15th century had become formal and poor.
B. Economic relations

The giving and receiving process of feuds were beneficiary to both sides. The vassal received land in town, but senior was provided a service in the castle. This resulted in several gains, including economic benefits. Let’s look at the formation of economic relations between these two sides.

When receiving farming land or property, where could have been buildings, vassal gave two kinds of money payments to the senior. First, it was a general payment, where the amount different in each case, 70 Riga marks, which in 1536, vassal Otto Ritz paid to the senior Johan von Rosen. Secondly, it was a regular annual payment, due for the amount of time the property was used. For example, in case of Straupe those were 14 Riga marks that in 1556, vassal Peter Kalw paid to the senior Johan von Rosen. If the annual payment wasn’t set, it was substituted with labour. For example, in 1495, shoemaker Mattysz Lyndenbecke had to provide services for the castle, or in 1533, farriers Hanss Nitter and Otte Reitzssen and wood carver Dirick Dennenberch had to provide their services, accordingly. It was possible not to have a fee for property use, but instead takers of the land had to provide transportation or brew beer for the castle for free and provide it on special occasions. Such special occasions, for example, were baptism, as shown by a feudal document in 1533. This feudal document also had other payments set out which weren’t further described.

Besides having the right to use the land for personal needs, the vassal also obtained some sort of economic safety. In case of an accident (ex., fire that destroyed the house), senior could lend crops for living and for sowing. This is indicated by witness questioning document in 1531. Although the vassal had to return it, it was important economic help at the time.

C. Social relations

The social relations between both sides can’t be separated from their economic and legal relations. We’ll try to explore the social relations, by analysing what requirements Rosens had set out for the citizens. And based on that, what was their communication with the citizens.

Both sides had strict conditions regarding the order of inheritance. Heirs could be members of both genders, and the property was supposed to be used in a way that wouldn’t harm any of the parties. Loyalty was a very important for both sides, as the vassal had to serve the senior also by giving advice and that was supposed to by done in their best interest. Based on previous rights and freedoms that were included in some old Latin letter, citizens of Straupe could keep all properties that were inside and outside of Straupe town with the condition that they wouldn't be pledged or encumbered otherwise. Citizens of Straupe could trade with local farmers and sell everything they had
made at their home or workshop. The only thing to be considered was that by doing this the citizens shouldn’t bring harm to the Rosen family or their farmers in any way.\textsuperscript{143}

These relationships weren’t just for flat-out benefits. This was a sign of loyalty, where the senior guaranteed use rights of the land, but the vassal promised until Christmas notify the senior regarding vacating the land in case they didn’t want to use it anymore.\textsuperscript{144} The deadline for such notification six months prior to leaving the property.\textsuperscript{145} This relationship could be considered such that was based on mutual understanding and respect.

\textbf{D. Military relations}

Alongside economic relations, military conditions also existed. As the Rosens were an influential Riga archbishop’s vassals and had a lot of properties, they could maintain their own local military service. In the Straupes town and area several Rosen vassals lived.\textsuperscript{146} Moreover, those citizens and inhabitants of Straupe who owned property, had to serve in the Rosen military. First of all, they had to provide all costs that were mandatory for a vassal, to perform this service, for example, provide appropriate clothing or purchase weapons. Also, each vassal had to provide a horse and body armour,\textsuperscript{147} which made up significant costs from the vassal’s funds. It is not known how often actually vassals had to serve in the military.

\textbf{Conclusion}

\textbf{What are the characteristics of the relationship between Straupe provincial town and the castle?}

The formation of the relationship between to separate places - the castle and the town - was affected by several factors. Firstly, it was important who managed the castle and who owned the land in the town next to it and in the surrounding castle region. Secondly, the populated place that formed next to the castle had significant development possibilities: connections with the trader groups that were participating in long-distance trading and the advantage of the geographical location. It was a set of circumstances, where several conditions interacted. Initially, Straupe had all the potential to become a middle-sized Livonian town: an important trading road and connections to Riga which since 13th century was involved in European level trading systems. However, something went wrong in the development process. This might be related to Livonian \textit{landesherren} increasing differences in 14th-16th century, when nearby towns, for example, Limbaži, Cēsis and Valmiera, developed. There is a possibility that this condition provided that Straupe in 15th-16th century didn’t have eminent cooperation with Riga, and therefore, no involvement in local or long-distance trading is observed. It is
possible that Straupe seniors from the Rosen family didn’t choose to keep this populated place for some reasons and didn’t prevent the increase of citizen independence, which started to form in 14th century when joint estates were available for purchase. All these circumstances affected the development of Straupe castle and town relationship. If any of the mentioned circumstances changed, the result might have been different.

Straupe castle became dominant in this relationship in 15th-16th century, and Riga Archbishop’s vassals, the Rosen family, defined all processes in the town. Even the representative structure of the town community, the town hall, didn’t have permanent decision-making rights, and it only had insignificant executive power. The citizens and inhabitants of Straupe had a typical senior-vassal relationships with the Rosen family, who fulfilled their duty regarding allocation of land. The inhabitants of the town were ‘countryside citizens’, because significant part of their activities were farming. Even the people living in the town had gardens.

At the same time, it can be observed that the citizens recognized themselves as a particular social and economic group. The participation of town hall in managing processes and the town stamp, however, reminded and indicated Straupe citizens that they had special rights (compared to farmers of the region).

With the aforementioned in mind, Straupe case cannot be applied to Livonia as a typical relationship model between a town and a castle. Based on the area and importance of the populated place, Straupe can be considered a Livonian town with a set of legal rights. Besides, people were willing to settle in Straupe and participate in such relationship model. This indicates that living in Straupe was advantageous regardless of the obligations. At the same time, the freedom of self-determination in the town was so small that one could say - the town existed only to serve the castle and to provide it with local crafts. The castle and the town might have been perceived as a unified population. This explicit subordination was established by the Rosen family being present. In other Livonian towns seniors didn’t act like this. Straupe was significantly different from other towns such as Limbaži, Valmiera, Cēsis, Kuldīga and Ventspils by territorial, economic and legal means. These towns in 14th–16th century each in their own way became relevant Livonian towns.

References

LVVA stores several Straupe, Mazstraupe and Augstroze manor maps where villages and parishes adherent to these manors are marked. By comparing feudal documents with 17th century revisions and these map materials, possible Straupe castle historical regions can be reconstructed, as they were in 14th-16th century. Map available: LVVA, 7404- 1- 253.- 284. More on villages and parishes: Pāvulāne. Straupes draudzes iekšējā kolonizācija Livonijas laikā, p. 67- 69.


53 Vivarium – a fortification that usually was designed for memory of a certain person. In Middle Ages, the vivarium used to resemble a contemporary fund. Usually, vivariums were dedicated to a Saint of the church, therefore they obtained a more certain form because the founder usually had dedicated a church altar for the Saint. The operation of vivarium was simple. A memory of a specific person or the founder was very important in medieval times. Therefore, when a person founded a vivarium, a certain amount of money was allocated to hire a vicar and purchase the necessary objects (for example, candles). The vicar was praying for the soul of the founder.

61 Johan Christoph Brotze. Sammlung verschiedner Ließländischer Monumente, Prospecte, Münzen, Wappen, Bd. 1. S. 52. Available at: https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/handle/7/2354 (Viewed on 04.15.2015.).


LG 1207 - 1500, No. 387.

LG 1500 - 1545, No. 539.

Kalahd Bretheren (

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102 Švābe. Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.- 1551., No. 229.
103 Ibid, No. 110,184; LG 1501 - 1545., No. 549; LG 1207 - 1500, No. 636.
105 Last – approximately 2300 kg, assuming that it consisted of 48 dowers and that one dower was approximately 48 kg. More: Zemzaris. Mērs un svars Latvijā 13.- 19. gs, p. 111.
107 LG 1501 - 1545., No. 692.
108 Ibid.
110 Das Rigische Schuldbuch (1286 - 1352)(1872), S. 104.
111 Švābe. Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.- 1551., No. 56, 229.
112 Local (non-German) inhabitants resided in Livonian cities, for example, in Riga, and in smaller towns, for example, Cēsis. More: Caune. Čēsis 14. - 18. gadsimtā, p. 157.
113 Indriķa hronika, X, 15, p. 99.
114 LG 1207 - 1500, No. 387.
115 Kalands Bretheren (Fraters Calendarii) – a brotherhood in medieval times, that included priests, lay people (both men and women). The brotherhood consisted of 6-12 clericals and lay people. They were popular in central and Northern parts of German lands but also operated in current regions of France, Hungary, Denmark and Norway. Kalands Bretheren flourished in 14th and 15th century, after that the popularity decreased rapidly. In 16th century, in relation to reformation processes the brotherhood was eliminated. The brotherhood specifically emphasized charity and praying for the dead. Brotherhood meetings were held on the first day of the month, which according to Roman traditions was called kalandaes. As with all medieval brotherhoods, Kalands Brethen also had it’s statutes, that regulated the operation of the community, assembly principles, distribution of funds for charity etc. The brotherhood had a separate altar in the church where it was operating. The oldest known Kalands Bretheren in 1226 was in Otbergen (Otbergen, Höxter), currently - Westfalen. For example, in German town Schwerte a man named Dietrich Mankorn and his wife Belecke make a big donation for the Kalands brotherhood, that gives them a place in brotherhood remembrance of the dead. The brotherhood describes itself as the brothers of the Holy Spirit and Kalands brotherhood in Schwerte (gebrodere des hilges gestes und kalands broderscap to Schwerte). More on the Kalands Brethen: Gerhard Krause, Gerhard Müller (Hg.) (1981). Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Bd. 7. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter, S. 198-199.
117 LUB, Lief. 1. Bd. 9, No. 403
119 On December 3, 1424 mentioned "In des kalandes capellen in der domkerken” – LUB, Lief. 1. Bd. 7, No. 216.
120 LUB, Lief. 1. Bd. 9, No. 1004; LG 1501 - 1545, No. 201; LG 1207 - 1500, No. 399.
121 Švābe. Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.- 1551., No. 229.
122 Akten und Resesse der livländischen Ständetage, Bd. 1. Lief. 1, No. 61.
125 Švābe. Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.- 1551., No. 110.
126 LG 1501 - 1545, No. 487.
128 It was possible that the property is given back voluntarily by it’s holder. This happened tailor Peter Kalw’s widow Anne, as she after the death of her husband wasn’t able to pay the annual fees of the property (14 Riga marks). For more, see here: Astaf von Transehe-Roseneck (1901). Stadtbürger als Lehnseleute des livländischen Adels. In: Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik 1899. Mitau: J.F. Steffenhagen und Sohn, S. 15-17.
129 Švābe. Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.- 1551., No. 110; LG, Bd. 2, No. 539.
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Straupe, 2016
400 Years for the town Roop and the Rosen family

Revised research findings by Julius Baron v. Rosen 16i

The research findings by Julius 16i regarding the “small town of Roop” have been published in the family newsletter no. 51. They consist primarily in a data collection from the first half of the second millennium, when “Roop” was mentioned in documents. Linked to that are individual descriptions, assumptions and interpretations. However, this is not a “history” of the town of Roop. Further data regarding the history of Roop have been included in the family history. Even though the collection of Julius is over a hundred years old, it serves as an important source for new research in the Latvia of today. (Edgars Plētiens: Die Burg und die Stadt im Livland im 13.-16. Jh.: Das Beispiel von Roop. [Castle and town in Livonia in the 13th to 16th centuries. Roop as an example.] Riga 2015). This work know paints a picture of the “town of Roop” starting from the Christianisation of old Livonia to the end of the 16th century, which has clearly been shaped by the “rule” of our families over Roop. This research may be supplemented by documentary material from our archive.

As part of the German eastern colonisation starting from the end of the first millennium, at the end of the 12th century the so called “Aufsegelung” [setting sail for] Old Livonia took place. Meinhard, the first bishop of Livonia, ran a “peaceful” mission in Livonia from 1180 to 1196. It was under his two successors that the missionary work was based on the sword. It based on the formation of its own see, of monasteries and towns as well as a chivalric power and an administrative structure for the country. Added to that, there was the commercial association of the Hanseatic “free” trade with its own legal system, the so called Lübeck Law. The first town foundation in the Baltic and at the same time see of the bishop was Üxküll on an island in the Düne. Probably the first monastery was Dünamünde, built prior to 1210, which, located on the northern shore of the Düna, secured the strategically important shipping route across the sea via Düna/Daugava and Jegel/Jugla into the country.

The ancestors of our family, from the families of the de Buxhoeveden as well as the de Luneborg, were among the first that arrived in the country alongside Albert von Buxhoeveden, the
third bishop of Livonia. Theoderich, the “bishop’s brother”, is mentioned for the first time in a document dating to 1203. And Helmold de Lunebord is mentioned alongside Theoderich and others for the first time in 1224 in a document referring to the enfeoffment in Odenpä with a government district in today’s northern Estonia.

Theoderich had already been invested with the district Idumää or Rosula in 1211. In this area, the priest Daniel had founded a church in 1206 “supra raupam” (i.e. on the upper river Raupa”). This same name for the location was also used 1218 by Heinrich von Lettland, the Priest of the Latvians and Chronicler of the time, for the court of the priest. This refer to the place on the Baukaln, east of today’s Great Roop, where the then church of the Livonians in the area of Rosula stood until the end of the 18th century. Heinrich’s church of the Latvians still stands today in Papendorf/Rubene, a few kilometres further east. From the general area name “supra raupam” it can be concluded that at the time no town or castle of the same name existed - otherwise the church would have been built there or at least mentioned with the neighbouring village.

At this point, we have to ask ourselves first of all what the term “raupa” or “Roope” meant, as the river is called Brasle or Straujape, and there is a second river in Latvia with the same name.

The second river is mentioned in a document dated 1221. It got this name when, in 1221, following the building of a bridge over the river then called Jegel, today Jugla, Bishop Albert appointed Theodericus “de Raupena” as the person responsible for the strategically extremely important bridge. It links the route from the South from Riga via Üxküll with the country to the north and northeast and leads on to the north and northeast to Incukalns/Hinzenberg with a crossing of the rivers Gauja/Livonian Aa in the direction of Ledurga/Loddiger or Straupe/Roop as well as Limbazi/Lemsal and Sigulda/Segewold with a crossing to Tureida/Threyden. After 1260, this corduroy road with bridge over the Jegel was called the “Lange Brücke [long bridge]” and later den Neuemühlensche Damm [Newer Mill Dam]. During military conflicts, it repeatedly played an important role. On 24 June 1298, Otto v. Rosen 2 was captured or killed there in a battle against the order. Since the early Twenties of the last century, the town and the castle ruin carried again the Latvian name Ropaži.

According to Bielenstein², the root of the word “ropaschi” means frontier in the languages then common in the Baltic area (Estonian, Livonian, Latvian and Russian). Due to its width consisting of water, lakes and moorland, the river Jegel forms a considerable barrier and therefore a clear border between South and North. (Near Rodenpois, the “long bridge” spanning six kilometres can

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still be seen clearly in the moorland as a causeway. What does this look like for the river Raupa in the district Rosula? In the upper reaches, the river is called Brasle (Latvian = ford), in the lower reaches Straupe (Latvian = torrential river). The transition from one to the other was probably located near the later village called Straupe. At least in the upper reaches, the river was not as divisive as the Jegel. However, the river separated clearly the Latvian peoples in the east from the Livonian peoples on the west, which were included in the region Rosula. As no “fortified” border existed, yet the tribes had amassed to the left and right shores of the Brasle, the border demarcation was of such importance that the other two river names were comparatively insignificant. Therefore we can assume that the location of the church “supra raupam” was meant to mean the upper reaches of the river and the town of Roop had been regarded as a “border location” by the then inhabitants.

From 1282/1286 onwards, the two brothers Otto 2, the supreme judge/minister of the interior and marshal of the arch bishop as well as Woldemar, the emissary of the arch bishop and later foreign minister, refer to themselves for the first time as “dicti de Rosen”. They are reeves in the administrative districts which has already been the fief of their ancestor Theoderich. The geographical centre of the district Rosula is the castle Hochrosen, ideally suited to be the administrative centre. In that time, on 19 July 1292 a German with the name of Johannes, a scholar, appears, whose origin is given as “de ropa”. Further, a trader named Tiderihs Azgalis from Roop is mentioned in shops in Riga (see Plētiens). And ten years later, a certain Johannes of Bremen pledges his inheritance in Roop to Leutphard of Wenden. This makes it clear that Ropa is an own name for a town which came into existence during the 13th century. Based on the foundation of towns as an essential element of the colonisation program, the question arises where in Rosula it would have made sense to found a new town. Locations with political and strategic importance were in particular located where waterways and roads crossed. In Rosula, this occurred at the location of today’s Straupe/Roop, however, this was certainly not the case a few kilometres upriver of the Brasle at the Baukaln: The river Brasle was navigable until Roop, i.e. Roop could be reached from the sea via the Livonian Aa/Gauja by boat. There, roads between Wenden/Cesis and Lemsal/Limbazi crossed, and further on to Reval/Tallinn and Treiden/Turaida and Wolmar/Valmira and on to Dorpat/Tartu. These were important connections for the administration in the land of the archbishop. At the same time, goods for the Hanseatic trade could be shipped to the counting houses on the other side of Lake Peipus. Though apart from wool and fleeces, there were hardly any goods from the own region.

In 1352, Roop is mentioned for the first time as a Hanseatic town in a letter of the councillor Jorden König von Wisby. It refers to an agreed meeting, a small “Hanseatic Convention on the 15 August 1352 in Fellin, following his visit to Riga, Wenden, Wolmar, Root and Dorpat and with the bishop of Òsel. Topic of the convention was “justice for the common German trader in Flanders.” In
1355, the citizen Walewarus Hattorp leaves the jointly inherited house to his sister Herdratis Godekinus and asks that this be entered in the annals of the city of Lübeck.

Where exactly this inheritance was located is unclear. However, this document was written win the Hanseatic city of Roop and sealed with the oldest town seal known to us (following the crest of the Rosen family: 2 artistic roses and 1 six-sided star as well a largely destroyed circumscription). 3 years later, on 14 March 1356 (sometimes also on 2 January), Woldemar 4 in his role a fief judge of the arch bishop sealed a sale of goods that took place “in der stat to Rope” [in the town Rope], i. e. not in a castle or his “Castle Roop”, as the administrative centre of Rosula. 1374 it is written “cives de Ropa emerunt a Woldemar de Rosis [10], domino suo, ius Rigense pro 100 marcis, singulis annio 5 solvendo usque ad persolutionem summæ totius”, i. e. that the citizens bought the right to appeal to their rulers locally in Riga, in addition to the Lübeck Hansa law generally accepted in the Baltic area. This meant that the arch diocese, where the Rosen family held high positions as judges almost as an inherited right, was not their only recourse to the law. This made the citizens less dependent on the
rule of the Rosen family - comparable to the efforts on Riga, which until the middle of the 16th century had two rulers, the archbishop and the master of the order. Riga always attempted to free itself of their influence on the city politics. - In 1378, when the archbishop Wainsel swapped properties with Henneke 12 near Kokenhusen, there is reference to Wainsel being “near to the town of Roop”. “near to the town of Roop”. An 1385, Henneke 12 is finally named as “residens in ropa” - Roop has turned to a residence. All this proves that the town of Roop had not been considered an insignificant hansa town during its first 100 to 150 years of existence. It also shows that 1420, the mayor of Roop had visited Riga and been gifted with honorary wine by the Riga Council. And in 1420 and 1421, the city treasurer of the city of Riga is issuing invoices: „item 5 Schillinge an wiine gesant deme borgermeistern van der Rope“. [Ditto 5 shillings wine sent to the mayor of Roop].

This raises the question if at that time there had been a separate castle area in or near the town and if so, if the castle had been used specifically by the Rosen family as rulers. According to the Latvian historian Plētiens in 1310 Viten, King of Lithuania „obsedit Ropam“, which might mean enclose, lay siege to or capture. This shows at least that at that time, Roop was already an important place that could be defended, otherwise it could be taken effortlessly without laying siege to it. From investigations in the construction history of the castle Great Roop conducted 1992, we learned that the oldest stone foundations on the northern wing and the tower date back to the beginning of the 14th century. At the same time, Roop became a hansa town. One suspects that the town might have been surrounded by embankments, palisades and moat, but did not have walls, defensive towers or gate systems. This made a fortified part of town, where citizens could withdraw during raids, even more important. Exactly such a spot was offered by the high embankment of the little stream, which can still be seen today as a dammed lake on the western side of Straube, and which is amongst also present in the drawings by Broze.
Within this fortified area, the tower with walls that were up to 2 metres thick, could, in extremis, offer protection for a longer period of time. With the outer estate on the lake/bottom of the stream, still visible today, this system formed a western barbican for the town. The basic structure can be seen in a drawing based on a Swedish map dating from 1688.

Drawing by Julius 16i

On the other side of the road, about 1 im to the east, there was another outer estate, following the Brasle and off the country road, where today’s Pastorat is located. Around 1900, this was called a Latvian farmers’ castle. It is kind of hidden behind the Baukaln and provided a vantage point to observe incoming enemies. And once they had arrived at the town, they could be attacked from behind.

In, 1408, as far as our documents show prior to today’s castle Groß Roop being named as fortification (castrum) in documents, Kersten 16 confirms the dowry of his wife “in dem lüttiken hove bi Rope” (in the little hamlet by Rope), After that, in 1354, the first references to today’s Maz Straupe, Klein Roop, appear. In 1545, Johann 3b refers to himself as “the Rope” [of Rope]
and in a letter about the takeover or the goods in Klein-Roop in to the “grace of the arch diocese” on 26, November 1554, the see of Johann is given as “the court of Roop”. 1558 and 1564, Klein Roop is called the “new house Roop”, showing that it had been extended, perhaps even fortified and restored. - All this shows that Roop up to that time referred to the baronial seat in today’s Klein Roop.

However, in 1475, castle Groß Roop is mentioned as “de castro Rop” in the context of Nikolaus v. R. „de castro Rop” registering at the University of Rostock. (Thus far, the bearer of this name is unknown to us, perhaps a son of Otto 21.) The testament of Otto 1a, dating to 1518, names the town of Roop and in addition the “castle and mansion Roop”. And in 1548, in “Castle Roop”, today’s Liel Straupe, the conflict between Jürgen 10d and the town is finally settled. It is unlikely that in the document dating to 6 April 1596, in which the citizen Johannes paid his “field interests” in „in oppido maioris Roopi existentes” would be the first mention of the castle as Groß Roop, as this document refers to field interest. Instead, „in oppido maioris Roopi existentes” is likely to refer to the entire region of Roop.

This shows that other location terms were used in the context of the name Roop. Apart from Stadt [town] and oppidum, Plëtiens also discovered Stedeken or Städtlein (small town) and Hakelwerk (palisade), Vickbleck (municipal area) and Flecke (hamlet). Whereas Stadt and oppidum where used in the period from 1356 to 1555, Stedeken and Städtlein weren’t used until 1535 to 1555. From 1532 to 1569, there is reference to the Flecken Roop. The term Weichbild (municipal area) is first mentioned in 1495, and Hakelwerk (palisade) in 1531. However, it must be remembered that the documents in our archive predominantly originated in Klein Roop. Julius 16i saw the timeline for the terms as an indication for the economic and political decline of the town of Roop, which may have led to the term “small town of Roop.” Certainly, Roop as a hansa town lost importance in comparison to the other Hansa towns like Riga, Wolmar, Wenden or even Lemsal in the approximatelya 300 years since its foundation, as Roop was only centrally located to the region of Rosula. The great movement of goods also occurred along other routes. Whether Roop was called town or just small town during the last 30 years of independence in Old Livonia is perhaps just a matter of taste, whether one was prepared to accept the reality or not.

Let’s look at the other three terms: 1495, Kersten 1b assigns a male fief “in the municipal area of the town of Roop”. This refers to the suburb of Roop. By 1495, the town may have become too small.
The drawing by Julius after a plan dated to 1683 shows the inner town with the embankment and the municipal area to the right.

In 1531, the fact that a house belonged to the “palisade Roop near the tall bridge” is witnessed by Johann Albedyll. Hakelwerk or palisade refers to agricultural land in the areas of Roop. The tall, or later long bridge is probably referring to the crossing over the Brasle down river from Klein Roop. This too might be a sign that space is becoming tight in the town itself. From 1533, the term Flecken (hamlet) appears, z. B. any time the Rosen family from Klein Roop assigned fiefs to the citizens of Roop in form of houses, farms or farmland. The term Flecken (area) therefore refers to the farmland belonging to Klein Roop, which began at the eastern city wall of Roop and in the municipal area was regarded as part of the town area. This was already the case in 1495, when Kersten 1b assigned a male fief to Mathias Lindenbeck. The clear difference between town and Flecken becomes obvious in the Swedish revision files from 1638. They record that Klein Roop in the Flecken Roop had nine houses and two inns. The town, which used to be inhabited by more than 30 citizens, would only have two citizens in the aftermath of the Polish-Swedish War.

This raises the question of the relationship between the rules and the citizen-vassals of Roop.

In the first 150 years since the setting sail, the region of Rosula had been assigned to the descendants of Theoderich Buxhoevenden und Helmod Rosen, the dicit de Rosen, as an entire
fiefdom. The cousins Rosen might have split tasks among them. So in 1374, Woldemar 10 would have been responsible for the “town of Roop” and is referred to as “dominus suus” when he grants the citizens the Law of Riga against a payment of 100 mark. With the next generation, towards the end of the 14th century, the fiefdom begins to be split into the three houses, later Hochrosen, Groß Roop and Klein Roop. First, the part of Groß Roop alongside of the southwestern part of the overall fiefdom became independent. In how far this was linked to a claim to power in the town of Roop is unclear. Some 50 years later, on 7 May 1458, the area of the initial overall fiefdom was separated into an independent part Hochrosen with the northern part, and an independent part Klein Rosen with the South-eastern part of the former overall fiefdom. For this second separation, the “justice of the town of Roop” remained with Klein Roop. Therefore Kersten 1b was entitled to assign a male fief in the municipal area of the town of Roop in 1495. And prior to his departure to Germany and Rome, Otto 1a ordered his estate in such a manner that his wife would receive “castle and manor Roop” - without any reference to the “justice” of the town. (LGU. Vol II No. 295)

Two generations later, the rule over the city seems to have been turned on its head. In 1512, Otto 1a is found guilty in a verdict by the archbishop in Groß Roop, during his time as guardian for the young Johann 3b to have “impinged” on the citizens of Roop. On 17 July 1527, “Hans der Junge zu Roop [Hans the young of Roop]” (i.e. Johann 3b) came of age and accepted his inheritance. He had great difficulty in accepting his entire inheritance, as his guardians had settled themselves over the past 10 years. Further, two years later, on 1 June 1529, the four brothers Wolter 3a, Dietrich 4a, Johann 5a and Otto v. R. 6a, sons of the Knight Otto 1a, sold their inheritance: the castle Rope, several villages and the rule over the town, to Anna, the widow of the Knight Hans v. R. 3d of Hochrosen and Mojan and her son Jürgen 10d. This was the starting point for a 20 year dispute between the two cousins Johann 3b and Jürgen 10d concerning the property and justice in the town Roop. On 23 December 1535 (possibly already on 24 April), the council and the Mayor for Roop confirmed that Johann v. Rosen 3b was “unsser stath medeherschoppe unde juncker” [the ruler and squire of our town]. (LGU Vol II, No. 637)
On 4 November 1535 the arch bishop finds that Johann 3b is entitled to own several houses in the town and may assign them as fief. On 10 August 1547, the dispute between Jürgen 10d and the citizens of the town of Roop on the one hand and his cousin Johann 3b on the other hand is ended. The properties in the town, the payments by the citizens as well as the assignment of the hospital by the citizens is contractually agreed and with that, all old disputes are settled. In the meantime, the dispute between Jürgen 10d and the town of Roop continued. On 13 May 1548, this dispute too is mediated “at the castle Groß Roop” between the three parties. And on 19 June 1548, Johann Baptist as the mayor of the town Roop and its council seals a special contract with Jürgen 10d concerning the fief.
Contract between the mayor of Roop and Jürgen 10d, dated 19 June 1548.
(The seal on the left hand side belongs to Jürgen 10d, next to it is the Lithuanian Polish Seal of state by the governor with parts of the circumscription: SIGISMUND …REX POLO … LIT.RUS.PRUS …, the third seal is the seal of the town of Roop (Circumscription: S. CIVITATIS DE ROPAM . DATVOS . ADOMIS) and the fourth seal belonged Johann 3b. – This document can be found in the archive of the Rosen family. It has not yet been included in the L. G. U. and has not been transcribed yet.)

It would take another generation until on Trinity Sunday 1589, Johann 4b of Klein-Roop (Son of Johann 3b) was called the “lord of the small town of Roop” in a fief letter. In this context, it should be noted that in the meantime and for more than 20 years, the Hochrosen family had not been resident in Groß Roop and not been granted it back until 1582 (see below). But from 1616 to 1620, Fabian 14b of Klein Roop and Raiskum, the son of Jürgen 7b, again entered a legal dispute with the Hochrosen Family about the rule over the Hamlet Roop, this time with the widow of Fabian v. R. 17d, Elisabeth v.d. Recke. - These disputes between the two houses of the family show that the rule had been lamentable. In fact, it should be responsible for law and order, as well as protecting the citizen-vassals legally against the rulers, for contractual security also extending to the citizens, for the property and fief laws as well as taxes and duties to be paid to the archbishop. Yet without the active part of the citizens led by their mayor, who would have taken up a confident and legally strong position, this could have led to insurrection as had happened in other parts of the Holy Roman Empire.

This was also the period when another event occurred that had importance for the town of Roop. After the battle near Ermes on 2nd August 1560, Jürgen 10d leaves Groß Roop “with wife, kith and kin”, ahead of the incoming Russians, without taking any precautions for the town or the castle. Subsequently, town and castle were destroyed and the inhabitants tortured to death. Following this event, the Coadjutor Christopf von Mecklenburg auf Treiden occupied Groß Roop and was not prepared to return it to Rosen. Jürgen 10d turned to the archbishop for help. The settlement offer to the Coadjutor dated 1 June 1561, to use in this instance “mercy rather than the cutting edge of the law”, i. e. that Jürgen would submit to court and take on the costs of the Coadjutor, was not accepted by Mecklenburg “and Roop remained in his power”. (According to A. Bergengrün: Herzog Christof von Mecklenburg, letzter Koadjutor des Erzbistums Riga - Duke Christof of Mecklenburg, the last Coadjutor of the archdiocese Riga). Only after 1582, Fabian 17d, Jürgen’s son, is given back Groß Roop. Bergengrün’s descriptions have been embellished in favour of Rosen. The archbishop is unable to decide between his representative, the Coadjutor, and the vassal Rosen and does not have a “final say”. After all, Rosen had clearly not fulfilled his duty as vassal to provide protection and exterior security. One can imagine what all this might have meant for the citizens of Roop - to be exposed to the Russians without protection, the public legal dispute about the rule, and by now reduced to be used as political pawns in the hands of the duke in his striving or power in Livonia.
These two events illustrate clearly that the rulers themselves not only had duties as vassals towards the arch bishop, but also duties towards their own vassals, such as to guarantee interior and exterior protection, to apply law and order, to pay taxes/duties to the ruler of the country, and, in case of extraordinary damages, to provide social and economic protection and security as well as assistance to the vassals. (see below 1531).

As previously stated, the citizens of the town of Roop were vassals of the Rosen. This relationship as vassals can be seen from the files in our archives dating back to the court proceedings between Jürgen 10d and Johann 3b.

In 1495, Kersten 1b von Klein Roop (see above) had awarded a fief to Matthias Lindenbeck and his descendants in the municipal area of the town of Roop for “loyal services”. Lindenbeck was required to act as cobbler to the Rosen family. At the same time, Otto 1a of Groß Roop, gave a fief to Peter Yeger, his landsknecht at court, the house and farm of the late Peter Mewe, as the witness statement of Johann Albedyll in 1531 confirm. Further it is stated that Johann 2b, son of Kersten, had help rebuild the farm with borrowed barley, after the house and farm of Peter Mewe had burned down. On 19 August 1533, the grandson of Kersten, Johann 3b, assigned a fief to six citizens in the Hamlet, each with a house, barn and garden as well as a piece of land, in exchange for various services, e. g. as Smith, wood carver and the provision of beer for baptisms. For the citizens, the document is sealed with the town seal. On 1 October 1536, Johann 3b awards Otto Riezen a fief consisting of a house and garden in the hamlet Roop “for loyal services”. In exchange, he must provide military service (for which he is issued with a horse and armour) and step in during other emergencies. In 1537, he awards a tailor with a fief consisting of a house in Roop. In 1546, he awards several citizens with fiefs in the hamlet Roop. And on 23 March 1556, Johann 3b awards the tailor Peter Kawll a fief in form of a house on the tall bridge with land as well as the house of the Father of Peter Kawll. In return, he is required to make the clothes for the Rosen family and provide military service (for which he is issued armour). 1561, Johann 3b withdraws the fief of Otto Riezen awarded in 1536 due to a dispute among the descendants of Otto Riezen, and summons Otto’s son, Kersten Riezen, to parish day/court day.

In 1564, on the Monday following Invocavit, Johann 3b writes his testament and two weeks later, he hands his property over to his son Johann 4b. According to that testament, he owned 8 houses in Roop, of which he left his four sons from his first marriage and his 4 sons from his second marriage a house each. In addition, the citizen-vassals “in his fief houses in Roop” Hermann Weichmann, Bartholomäus Jeger the tailor and [Peter] Weber “with everything they own” (see above) are mentioned specifically by name and as wards.
During the same period, Jürgen 10d had negotiated a kind of “sample fief contract” with the citizens of the town (see above on 19. June 1548). Accordingly, Jürgen Rosen grants the citizens and inhabitants of Roop the land up to the borders of the church leader, as thus far had been the norm, which could be inherited by male and female descendants. Should a citizen die without heirs, the land will fall to Jürgen regardless whether the fief had been granted by Jürgen 10d or Johann 3b. He in turn commits to grant the vacant places to good German citizens. The infirmary is ceded to Jürgen. In addition, Jürgen grants the citizens free pasture and free trade with the farmers. In addition, the farmers are permitted to sell fire wood to the citizens. In return, the citizens must follow “the saddle” of Jürgen during all wars, supply food and beer for baptism and generally show due obedience. They may only sell or mortgage their houses with the permission of Jürgen.

On 21. December 1566 (The day of St Thomas), Johann 4b, now owner of Klein Roop, grants Hermann Weichmann und his wife Anna Feldberg a house and inheritance in the hamlet Roop. As early as 1569, this fief is rescinded. In 1569, Johann 4b finally cancels the earlier fief contract dating to 1536 with the late Otto Riezen and doesn’t pass it on to Riezen’s son Ambrosius. In this year, the widow of the late Peter Kawll returns the fief dating to 1556 to Johann 4b, as she is insolvent and unable to pay the interest. This is witnessed by the pastor Albanus Fresiu.

Document regarding the return of the fief by the widow of Peter Kallw, 1569

This part was cut from a double document and rests in our archive - whether the half for the widow Kallw still remains with descendants in Straupe is unknown.

When on 30 April 1585 Johann 4b calls the citizen and tailor Melchior Backhausen, son in law of Otto Riezen, to serve his military service on horseback, Melchior refuses. Accordingly, Johann seizes the house. Because of this, he is sued with the royal representative Georg Radziwill to return the house. Initially, Johann 4b doesn’t accept this verdict. However, four years later, he renews the male fief in a 3 page fief letter with house on the market of Roof, farm barn, garden and land, limited to 12 years. In return, Backhouse must act as tailor to the Rosen family. And in 1596, Johann 4b issues a receipt for 23 groats, 5 shillings for house and field interest of a Johannes, citizen “in oppido majoris Roopi existentes”.

Toward the end of the 16th century, houses were traded and part of business trades among peers. In 1577, Jürgen 16d bought a house from Johann 4b. On 28 March 1582, Conrad 9b sells his brother Jürgen’s 7b a house in the hamlet Roop by the long bridge. Two years later, he sells his brother Johann 4b to parcels of land by the hamlet Roop. Around the same time, Siegmund Rogosinki, who
had been given the mansion Kudum in Poland, is compensated by Fabian v. R. 14 b with a piece of land and a house in Roop instead of claims against rooms in Klein Roop. In 1592, Conrad 9b mortgages house and land in the hamlet Roop with Peter Srader. In December of the same year, he sells his brother Johann 4b a further house in the hamlet Roop. In 1599, Conrad 9b sells his brother Johann 4b a further house in the hamlet Roop “in the street of the great bridge between Hans Marvitz and the little timber house, next to the cabbage garden behind the small alley leading to the moat.” And in 1600, Jochum Zador hands Johann 4b his house in the hamlet Roop by the old stone gate as security for borrowed money.

The basic fief rules were: Property and land were given in exchange for certain artisanal services, occasional services and/or one-off or regular payments, also military service. In an extended sense, this would correspond to a rental or lease contract. This referred to so called “Mannlehen”, male fiefs, which could also passed on as inheritance within the family. However, we also see that the fiefs could be rescinded or cancelled and returned. How the fief law was treated under the different rules may have been influenced by the times and also by each person. Kersten 1b granted fiefs “for special” services already rendered. Occasionally, this expression recurs in later fief letters. Particularly striking is the difference between Johann 3b on the one hand, who in his testament seems to care for his vassals, and Jürgen 10d on the other hand, who uses a far more legal approach, i.e. with the sample fief contract. This also includes a general duty to “due obedience”, a precursor to the later serfdom.

This leads to the conclusion that three types of inhabitants lived in the town Roop:

1. The citizen-vassals: They were Germans. They did not own their houses and property, but were granted it by an individual fief letter, making them after vassals of the family v. Rosen.

2. Inhabitants with property in the town: Probably members of the nobility. They were able to sell, inherit or even mortgage their houses without limitation. It is unknown whether they war also citizens with the rights of citizens.
3. The rulers: They had tasks and duties towards the town, the church, the citizen-vassals and the state/arch bishop. They could lose their property and their state fiefdom, and could, on the base of the Hansa law of Riga and Lübeck, be sued by their citizen vassals.

An overview over the relationship between Church, State, citizen and rulers.

On 31 July 1515, Paulus de Capisachis, papal capellan and auditor cites the grand marshal as wanting to take the goods “a loco ubi Naba influit in flumen Semigallorum” (at the place where the river Naba flows into the Windau north of Golding) away from the town (which one?). This indubitably important announcement is to be fixed to the doors of the metropolitan church in Riga and the parochial church of the town Roop. (City archive of Riga). The term “parochial church” refers to the main church, there is no other mention of Roop. Therefore, we should take a closer look at the churches of Roop, and which one might have been the “main church in town”:

The St. Anne’s Church of Roop stood on the Baukaln. Without a doubt, it had been the oldest church in the region and had been built for the original inhabitants of Livonia. It survived until the 18th century. This location can been gleaned from a document dated to 23 December 1535 (or 24 April) (L. G. U. II, 637 - s.o.) According to this document, St. Anne’s had a vicar in the second half of the 15th century. In this context, it is said “that the whole place is a garden, on which St. Anne, the vicarage of Roop stands is the property of the new house and court of Roop (Klein-Roop).
From around the 15th century, the town of Roop also owned a St. Jürgen chapel. As the churches dedicated to St. Jürgen in that time usually had a connection with the alms-houses, infirmaries and hospitals, this chapel might have belonged to the infirmary (s. o. 1548). In order to prevent the spread of diseases, St Jürgen churches were usually located outside of towns. This was also the case in Roop, where St. Jürgen was located on a small stream running to the Brasle “between the court of Roop and the municipal area”. (see LGU Vol. 1 No. 636 dating to 1495). In any case, it would not have been the “main church”.

Finally there was the so-called castle church located in the walled castle, whose entrance originally lead to the castle courtyard. The document regarding the separation of the inheritance dating to 1458 (s. o. LGU no. 387) clearly distinguished between the “Church in Rope” and “the sacred body in Roop”. As the castle church existed during that time it can be assumed that this was the castle church which is mentioned in 1458 as having been consecrated to the “sacred body”. In 1512, the archbishop visited the church with Otto 1a, Kersten 2d and Conrad 4d in order to discuss its reconstruction and gave clear instructions what was to be done. Apparently, only the representatives for the house Klein-Roop where missing at the building board, but they were represented by their guardians Kersten and Conrad. Accordingly, the care for the church was still a matter for the entire Rosen family. Each house also maintained a burial site in the church. The citizens in the town Roop were Germans. Therefore, they would not have attended the St Anne’s church for the Livonian-Latvian inhabitants outside of town, but the castle church in town. This means that the castle church was most likely the parochial church. Only towards the end of the 18th century, with the deconstruction of the St Anne’s church, the castle church became accessible for the Livonian-Latvian population.

With the reformation, the way the church was run and the law applied changed. A parish turned into an administrative unit, which in turn had repercussions for the fief system. A layperson was appointed administrative leader, the so-called “Guardian”. 1556 Johann 3b held this office, when he launched a complaint with the archbishop because Pastor Wörner had grossly neglected his duties and also committed other transgressions. Further, in 1561 Johann 3b summoned Kersten Riezen, son of Otto, to court in Roop because of a dispute between Joachim Selling and his step children Riezen (see above 1536). And the pastor also acted as official intermediary between the rules and the citizens (s. above widow Kallw, 1569).

In the 16th century at the latest, with a slump in the Hansa trade, the town Roop was affected. It lost its importance. While other towns in Livonia continued to flourish, Roop did not survive the decades of war lasting approximately until 1625. In 1622/23, Gustav Adolf II of Sweden dispossessed the Hohenrosen family, owners of Groß Roop. Finally, in 1638 the Swedish revision files state that the
town of Roop had only to citizens left. And in the letter of queen Christine of Sweden dating to 10th of August 1650 addressed to Fabian 17b, only the hamlet Roop is mentioned.

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Straupe, 2016
Food and Clothing in a Hanseatic Town: Straupe during the 14th–16th Century
Vija Stikāne

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Introduction: the town of Straupe as a member of the Hanseatic League

During the 13th/14th–16th century, at the time of the Hanseatic League, trade in the Baltic Sea region flourished, which contributed considerably to the development of towns with their legal status and the way of life. Social hierarchy in the Middle Ages was very distinct and the society was divided into classes. Townspeople formed a separate social group, their legal status differed from that of peasants, knights and clergymen as well.

During the 14th-16th century, the town of Straupe had all the distinctive characteristics of a medieval town – it had its own law based on Rīga Law, urban environment enclosed by stone walls, residences and burial grounds of its burghers, a mill, a market place and a town seal. The town had its own municipal government – citizens who owned houses and plots of land and voted for the town council and the mayor. The way of life of townspeople could have been similar to that in other Hanseatic towns in Livonia in the Middle Ages and across the entire German speaking Hanseatic region. However, the closest parallels could be found with small towns that applied Rīga Law in the Archbishopric of Rīga and other Livonian lands – Koknese, Limbaži, Viljandi, Pärnu, Rīga and Tartu. Among the members of the Hanseatic League Straupe was not of the greatest importance, but it was closely tied to the most important Hanseatic town in Livonia – Rīga. A peculiarity of Straupe compared to the rest of Livonia was that it had a liege lord – the Rosen family of knights, on whose land the town was raised. During the 14th–16th century they let out plots of land in town and had certain judicial power in the town. Straupe was situated near an important long-distance land trade route that connected the territories populated by Livs and Latgallians with Old Russian lands even before the 13th century, but connected the trade centre of the region Rīga with Tartu, Pskov and Novgorod, from the 13th century onwards. The importance of this overland or sleigh route increased, when in 1293 a military conflict impeded the sea route to Novgorod (Swedes conquered the Finnish lands).

Straupe may be considered a Hanseatic town from 1350 onward, but it was a significant trade centre with German population even earlier than that. Records about merchants from Straupe, Inciems (de Ymekyle), Turaida (de Toreyden, de Thoreydia) mentioned in the Rīga Debt Book at the end of the 13th and at the beginning of the 14th century provide evidence of a trade route in the direction of Rīga as well. Merchants from Straupe are mentioned in the Rīga Debt Book relatively early.

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4 *Via Magna* led from Rīga past Jugla and Baltezers, crossing the river Gauja near Ilkēni, passing Vikmeste castle mound in Turaida, Kārļa Mountain, Kaupo’s great castle through Vendu village, Inciems, to the centre of...
often and they are comparatively numerous, thus one may deduce that at the time (from the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 14th century) Straupe was an important station for local (flax, wax) and long-distance trade, and merchants would have settled there. In 1303, there was a house in Straupe that could be pledged for 5 silver marks. At the end of the 13th century, merchants who could be identified in relation to Straupe, i.e. ‘de Ropa’ in Latin, were Dītrihs Azgalis, Gizelers and Gizelers Mazais (minor), Johans Rodenhoze, Johans Skolotājs (Scolaris), Rolike, [the nobleman] lord Verners or Vernike, Vinandus. Trade transactions were also conducted by [the nobleman] lord Otto from Rosen family. These merchants were probably of German ethnic origin, but Dītrihs Azgalis from Straupe (Thidercus Asegalle de Ropa) could be linked to the Germanised minor family of vassals of Liv origin by the name of Azgalis. In the middle of the 14th century, several merchants from Rīga were called “from Straupe” (de Ropa) – Riga Councilman Johans, Verners, Tomass, Tonike. All of them had real estate in Riga. Tonike leased the town’s tower and used it to store goods. The proximity of the Straupe district to Rīga was important for the development of local trade. Rīga was relatively densely populated and its inhabitants needed food. Merchants bought goods for export from Riga as well. Trade with Rīga was conducted in various ways. Agents or journeymen from Rīga visited rural regions on a regular basis, some of them travelled with goods from village to village. Others bought up goods – wax, honey, grain, flax, hemp, livestock, meat, butter, fish, cabbage, black radish, ashes and pitch (tar) at fairs. Peasants transported the produce from their farms to Rīga – usually in autumn after the payment of duties. There were no restrictions on this until the end of the 15th century, however, various limitations were imposed on peasants from private manors thereafter. The role of money in commerce was rather limited in the Middle Ages, it often served merely as a denominator of value, not as means of payment. The principle “goods for goods” applied – it was common knowledge, for example, how much cloth one could get for a certain amount of wax.

Idumea – Straupe. This road is also mentioned in the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle. The road Rīga–Turaida–Valmiera–Tartu was also referred to as the Turaïda road (via Treydende) in 1463 and marked on the road map of Rafaele Berberini as one of the most important roads in Vidzeme in 1564. The road maintained its importance, to a certain degree, during the Swedish times as well – it is mentioned in the Land Law of 1668. (see Krimuldas novada vēstures grāmata, Rīga, 2011.)

5 Hildebrand, H. (Hg.) Das Rigische Schuldbuch. St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 60, No. 894: Johannes Bremere (or Johannes from Bremen?) tenetur Lentphardo de Wenda V mrc arg., pro quibus hereditatem suam proposuit, quam habet in Ropa (1303 Nov 11).
6 LUB I, 2, No. 741: 1330 Werner van der Rope, vaget.
7 Hildebrand, H. (Hg.) Das Rigische Schuldbuch.., p. 60, No. 894 – Assegalle, Thidericus, de Ropa, 1389, 1468.; Giselerus de Ropa 1639, 1640, 1644; Giselerus de Ropa, minor, 1643; Rodenhose, Johannes, de Ropa, 168, 723, 799, 815, 817-819; 821, 822.837. 839.852.881.896.902.903.941.951-953.957. 960.962.964-967.1121.; Johannes Scolaris de Ropa 651; 656; Rolike de Ropa 1302; Wernerus (Wernike) de Ropa, dominus, 983,1590,1632, 1639, 1640,1641,1643, 1644; Winandus de Ropa 1602.
9 Merchants from Turaïda at that time – Aleksandrs, Andrejs, Ivans and Zigfrīds, Folkvīns, the Semigallian Konrāds, Johans with Russian names, it would seem.
Written confirmation of the foundation of the town of Straupe and its involvement in the Hanseatic League dates back to the 14th century, but documents preserved from the 15th–16th century mention scenes from the everyday life of Straupe townspeople: it had a church with Saint George’s Chapel, a marketplace, a mill. Just like any other Hanseatic town it had a town council and rich merchants whose lifestyle – in the choice of food, clothes and accessories – was close to that of the nobility, resided there. In the 15th century, Straupe was a stopping and meeting place for the faction of burghers in the Livonian Landtag – so in the autumn of 1438, three councilmen from Riga stayed in Straupe from 2 September for several days to consult other classes of the Archbishopric of Riga before the Landtag, which took place in Valka. The presence of German speaking long-distance merchants from the Hanseatic region and wealthy local merchants in Straupe is evidenced by the mentioning of the so-called “parrot tree” in the vicinity of the town at the end of the 15th century, as well as Maystede near the town, where the townsmen, together with their liege lords (Rosens), and the guests of the town, presumably in a similar manner to Riga, Tallinn, Limbaži and other towns with all due pomp celebrated Vastlāvji (Shrove Tuesday) and the Count of May festival (Mayfest), which was very popular among German merchants. The Count of May festival had a significant role in the way of life of townspeople in Livonia, with entertainment characteristic of urban environment and suited to the tastes of townspeople.

After Hansa’s Kontor at Novgorod was closed (in 1494 and repeatedly – in 1524) Riga gradually ceased trading actively with Russian towns by inland waterways and overland routes, Russian merchants came to Riga instead. The result was very beneficial for Riga, but it is likely that these

11 GU I, 636.
12 GU II, 295, 692.
13 GU II, 52.
15 Hamels-Kīzovs, R. Hanza, p. 41: The author refers to Middle High German and Western European examples of similar lifestyles of long-distance merchants and knights during the early Hanseatic period. Among early Hanseatic merchants were ministeriales, persons close to German landlords.
16 The expenses of the town of Riga – her Herman Vosz, her Thomas Wyttenborgh unde her Henrik Eppinchusen tor Rope up navitatis Marie [2 Sept.], LUB I, 9, No. 374, note 1. IN STRAUPE 2 September – 29 mrc. 3 sol. (the total participation costs in the Landtag in Valka for the representatives of Riga amounted to 50 mrc. 8 sol.). Representatives from Straupe did not participate in this Landtag, which took place at Mikelji (Michaelmas) on 29 September, however, they were represented by the faction of burghers from Riga, Tallinn, Tartu.
17 GU I, 636.
18 GU I, 456.
19 Pentecost tournaments sponsored by the town were established as a part of the festivities in Hamburg in the 15th century as well. Paulsen, R. Schiffahrt, Hanse und Europa im Mittelalter: Schiffe am Beispiel Hamburgs. 2016, p. 51.
events did not benefit Straupe and it lost its former importance in long-distance trade. However, it kept its role as a local trade centre.

In the 16th century Straupe still had its mayor and councilmen (1535), but during the second half of the 16th century, names of Straupe townspeople preserved in the Rosens’ archive indicate only to the presence of artisans, no municipal government officials have been recorded. In 1585 Rosens owned several plots of land in town and kept a residence there; some plots of land near the town were leased out to artisans (tailors, locksmiths etc.) by Rosens, and the number of permanent residents in the town was rather small – 12 households. But the immediate vicinity of Straupe and the former Idumea region was rather densely populated, there were many villages in the area during the 16th century. Straupe still remained a part of important local trade routes, and the intensity of local trade is evidenced by the fact that in the 17th century, fairs in Straupe took place 3 times a year – “Philippi Jacobi” the day of the apostles Philip and Jacob (1 May), “Peter Pauli” the feast day of the apostles Simon Peter and Paul (Saul of Tarsus), (29 June), at Miķeļi (27 September).

Due to prolonged military conflicts during the second half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century (Polish-Swedish War 1600-1629) the town of Straupe withered.

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21 The list of citizens and inhabitants of Straupe (9 men and 3 widows), who pay 3 marks for the teacher’s maintenance (firewood), VSVA, p. 300 –301 – all citizens and widows, all inhabitants of the town of Straupe in the presence of the esteemed liege lord pledge to give for the schoolmaster’s maintenance 3 marks at Easter: Hans Fresz, Otto Cärlein, Peter Spode, Hansz Mauritz, Hans Szülken, Melchior Backhausz, Laurentz Lange, Jeronimus Öhemken, Edde die kleinschmidische, die Borchardische, die Matzische, Jacob der Schnitzker, die Blombergische. .. [...] the schoolmaster’s money is collected by Hans Fresz, Otto Kärlein, Peter Spode. There are also 3 German subjects in Rozbeke (Hansz von Stetin; Meister Henrich, Jacob Tolcke), who pay 3 marks.


23 Dunsdorfs, E., Spekke, A. Latvijas vēsture 1500-1600. Stockholm, 1964, p. 475. According to the calendar printed in 1602 Straupe was one of 6 places in Livonia (presently Vidzeme and Latgale, and the southern part of Estonia), where fairs were organised.

I. Eating habits in Livonia during the time of the Hanseatic League

When researching gastronomic traditions of towns at the time of the Hanseatic League one must first consider crops cultivated and domestic animals reared at the time. There is wide variety of products that were not known at the time and became widespread in Europe only after the decline of the Hanseatic League. These include vegetables that were brought from America – potato, tomato, maize, pepper, chilli, the common bean (Phaseolus vulgaris), pumpkin, pineapple, vanilla, cocoa, from poultry – turkey. Some of these were brought to Europe as early as in the 16th century and were then viewed as new and exotic, however, they cannot be considered as characteristic foods at the time of the Hanseatic League. Coffee too was brought to Western Europe at the end of the 16th century from Arabian cities in the Middle East, where Turks introduced and refined the African custom.

Secondly, crops cultivated in the region before the so-called Little Ice Age, but abandoned later, should be mentioned. From the end of the 13th century throughout the 14th century until the 19th century, winters in Eastern Europe were severe and long, and summers wet and cool. During that period millet could not be cultivated (there is archaeological evidence of its presence up to the 13th century), the same applies to various types of lentils and other crops. Millet has been found in medieval toilets at several locations, mentioned in the Pärnu inventory of the Teutonic Order in 1562, but it was imported, not locally grown. Lentils were cultivated in Central Europe. They are used in some medieval recipes, but were likely not widely used in Livonia.

Thirdly, merchants and townspeople, including inhabitants of Straupe, in addition to seasonal products of local origin, also imported spices and condiments, as well as fruit (dried), almonds, wine and other products. There is a record of the so-called pepper lease (in Limbaži, Sigulda etc.) from the Livonian time – merchants used pepper instead of money to pay for their plot of land in the town or village. It was an expensive product, available to merchants in towns. We still use the expression „peppered (steep) prices“, known across the Hanseatic region in the Middle Ages.

Fourth, eating habits were dictated by the religious practice – there were numerous fasting days (approximately 150 per year). It is plausible to assume that they were observed rather strictly by townspeople in Livonian towns, since they wished to set themselves apart from the local „non-Germans“ or peasants, who were ascribed certain barbarism and paganism in the Middle Ages for a

25 However, as early as in the16th century, these products started to spread, and in the herb book (Krauterbuch) of 1543, Leonhard Fuchs refers to them as Turkish Seeds; in other sources – Turkish Wheat (Reith, R. Umwelt Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit. München, 2011).
27 In Sigulda: 1442, GU I, No. 309b.
long time after the German conquest. Products that were used as substitutes for meat, milk and eggs – freshwater fish, almonds, rice, various bakery products – became very important as a result of the fasts. Towns had fishermen guilds. Rivers were richer in water and fish, including large fish, until the 16th century. Regardless of the fact that fishing was subject to regulation, as was construction of ponds, wealthy townspeople ate salmon, pike, pike perch etc. too. Fasting encouraged the trend in illusion food as a „substitute“ for meat and eggs – imitation of partridges, fake roast, eggs made from almonds or white fish meat with saffron etc. – among the upper classes, especially noblemen.

Fifth, the society was hierarchically organised, and this reflected on eating habits as well. The opportunities available to monarchs and noblemen could not be compared to those of lower classes, including townspeople. However, that disparity tended to diminish quickly – things that were considered a luxury in the 14th century, to which some few people of upper classes had access, had become available to a much wider public in the 16th century, and the necessity arose to regulate what foods people from the lower classes were allowed to eat. A good example here would be luxury sweets crude and konfett – candied spices and fruit, fruit pastilles with spices etc. available at the papal court in Avignon in the 14th century. In the 15th century they were already consumed at the Malbork Castle of the Teutonic Order and by the highest lords of Livonia, but appeared on townspeople’s tables during wedding feasts at the end of the 16th century. Sugar became more and more accessible due to economic progress – cultivation of plants from which sugar could be derived began in Sicily and on islands owned by Portugal in the 15th–16th century. However, it reached peasants very late – historians believe that it became an everyday product for Latvian peasants only as late as the end of the 19th century or even during the second decade of the 20th century, when the sugar beet processing industry had been developed. It was a similar story with fruits, although they, like game, were reserved for consumption by the rich and privileged for a long time even after the Middle Ages. Many varieties of fruit trees spread in Europe in the 12th–13th century. They were grown in monasteries and castles and in orchards in towns.29 In the 15th–16th century, they spread further to the north. In the classical Middle Ages, during the 14th–15th century, the food of the nobility or knights and landlords was finer and they consumed separate groups of products (game, roasted wild birds). When taken from a symbolical level, fruit that did not grow in the earth, but on the branches of trees, was reserved for them. However, as early as in the 15th and the 16th century, townspeople had begun to consume these luxury goods rather widely. At that time the so-called luxury prohibitions (sumptuary law) were introduced in towns concerning clothing and food as well. They are known to have been introduced in Rīga, Tallinn, Tartu. Initially, food regulations concerned quantity, not composition, but at the end of the 16th century, certain foods were determined that maidservants were not allowed to offer to their wedding guests – apples, pears, cakes, almond

cheese, marzipan and gilded dishes. Medieval cooks liked to add colour to food. They obtained blue from cornflowers, violet from violets, yellow from saffron. Food at courts of nobility had to look splendid – fiery pig’s head, hedgehogs – white hedgehogs (almonds and sugar), black hedgehogs (raisins and sugar), red hedgehogs (figs and sugar). It was not unusual to gold or silver plate the food (gilded roast salmon) to display it in a more sumptuous manner.\(^\text{30}\)

Sixth, we have no knowledge of any recipes of Livonian dishes, and modern reconstructions of medieval food in Latvia are based on cookery books from a more or less broad region of Western Europe in the 13th–16th century. A total of 133 recipe books have been identified from the late Middle Ages as of the beginning of the 21st century (2004). The most important ones are those that were written in German – there is 45 of those. There are some recipe books in English (39), Latin (14), Italian (13), French (12), Dutch (6), a couple in Danish and Icelandic. Some of them are written in the language of the Hanseatic League – Middle Low German. One of these books dates from the middle of the 13th century: “Libellus De Arte Coquinaria”. The cookery book “Daz buoch von gouter spise” written in Würzburg in 1350 was the first cookery book written in German, and just like other older cookery books, it was used in royal households.\(^\text{31}\) Wealthiest townspeople wrote their own cookery books – “Le Menagier de Paris” – a guidebook on running a household, as well as a cookery book\(^\text{32}\) – was written around 1393. Shortly after the invention of the printing press the cookery book “De honesta voluptate et valentudine” was published in Italy. It was later translated from Latin to Italian, French and German. The German “Kuchenmystery” was published in Nuremberg in 1485, and was used widely in the following centuries\(^\text{33}\).

Dishes described in medieval Europe’s cookery books reflect contemporary ideas about proper nutrition. Properties of products and plants were emphasized, it was not unusual for a book of recipes to include descriptions of plants (Kräuterbuch etc.). They were mainly meant to be used by professional cooks working for royal and noble families. The rule of health (regimina sanitatis) was based on the understanding of trained doctors of that time of the concept of health (Schola Medica Salernitana, Aristotle’s teaching about the juices of life, Paracelsus and other works). Around the beginning of the 16th century, teachings, initially intended for monarchs and noblemen, reached secular clergy and townspeople in the form of printed books too, not just individual manuscripts. The Tacuinum sanitatis – a handbook on health – was published in 1531–1532 and translated into


\(^{31}\) Hajek, H. Daz buoch von guoter spise, aus der Würzburg-Münchener Handschrift neu herausgegeben (= Texte des späten Mittelalters 8), Berlin 1958. Several digitalized versions of this cookery book, based on the original manuscript, are available on the internet along with copies and translations into modern languages.

\(^{32}\) At that time Paris had a population of approximately 200,000 people, London was home to about 50 thousand people, but Lübeck and Nuremberg had 20,000 inhabitants each. The population of Riga was around 8,000, but Straupe could have had 30 citizens with their families.

German as "Schachtalen der Gesuntheyt". This medical treatise so popular in the Middle Ages was written by Ibn Butlan, a physician born in the family of a Christian (Nestorian monk) in Baghdad, who died around 1064 in Antioch. All his life, he was active in the Eastern (Constantinople) Christian world, became a physician and a monk, and was a very popular physician in Aleppo. His work was translated into Latin at least 17 times, these translations have been preserved as manuscripts. In the 13th century, his work spread from Sicily to the rest of Europe. Abbreviated and illustrated translations were especially popular. Ibn Butlan divided the environment of the human being into six categories: the air, food and drink, physical activity and rest, sleep, bodily fluids and feelings, like joy and fear. One must always strive to keep them in balance, since good health is the result of balance between a human being and his surroundings. Products were divided into cold and warm, wet; suited for different humours and ages. Bad, even dangerous effects of products were accentuated too, along with ways to neutralize them by adding other products. These combinations of products and mixtures of flavours are reflected in medieval recipes and the understanding of good taste.

In the late Middle Ages during the 15th–16th century, more refined eating habits were adopted by wealthier townspeople and recipe books were published for their use. A considerable number of recipes ‘travelled’ from one region to another, these were translated, often from French. All in all, medieval recipes in Western Europe have been studied extensively. Scientific publications, web resources and food reconstruction practice is available. However, the actual eating habits are construed not so much from cookery books as from diverse written and archaeological sources, which demonstrate that different social classes or groups had different eating habits and that there were marked differences between day-to-day and festive food in all regions of Europe.

Historical sources of Livonian towns on this aspect have not been fully identified yet. Lists of duties, merchants’ documents, reviews, bills for the purchased products, inheritance documentation as well as legislation, chronicles and various documents provide only fragmented information and are supplemented by evidence of products consumed, tableware and household items found in archaeological research, along with bioarchaeology data, which analyses evidence provided by human remains. Regrettably, information often is insufficient and data about Straupe in particular is sparse due to the lack of archaeological or written historical sources, however, the regional context provides us with a considerable amount of material. Eating traditions, festive meals and daily diet in the Hanseatic region vary from the ones on the French or Italian lands or in Southern Germany. Eating habits in the towns of Rhineland and the North of Germany were different as well. European ideas about proper dietary practices reached medieval Livonia and Vidzeme in the 17th century.
century, as demonstrated by the book of economic advice published in Vidzeme “Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent”, which contained some recipes with the “taste of Hansa”. It is based on a manuscript written by Zaharias Stopius in the 16th century, published in 1645 by the pastor in Suntaži and Mālpils Salomo Gubert (before 1600–1653). The book is a scientific and practical guidebook on rational farming with notes on cooking and influence of foods on human health. The advice contained in the book often continues the ideas of medieval cookery books and Tacuinum sanitatis – i.e. ascribing to various foodstuffs such properties as cold or warm, suitable for different humours etc.  

Eating habits in towns of the Hanseatic region have been investigated using the archaeobotanical approach. In 2001, the HANSA Network Project was launched by the National Museum of Denmark. Towns in Germany, Poland, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway in the period from 1160 to 1650 have been explored in the framework of the project. Estonian scientists analysed towns in Livonia for this project. 175 plants, 156 spices – cultivated and wild plants – were analysed. The result indicates that Germans and non-Germans in Livonia had different eating habits with some common elements, for example, hemp was grown in industrial proportions. It became evident that archaeology is able to provide more information than written sources.  

**Products consumed in the Middle Ages**

Cereals formed the basis of the medieval diet, along with dishes made of meat of domestic animals (mainly – pork), poultry (chicken), game and wild birds' meat and saltwater and freshwater fish were eaten much less.

Cereals known during the Middle Ages included rye, wheat, barley, oat, buckwheat. Various groats and flour were used to make gruel/porridge and bread. In 1379, there was even a special trade in Riga – Johans the Porridge Maker and/or Seller (Latin: Pultifex). The handbook on health Tacuinum sanitatis describes wheat porridge (XXX. Savich, id est Pultes Tritici) as warm and dry; good for human intestines; indicates as a danger that it causes irritation of airways, which can be avoided by drinking warm water afterwards. It is supposedly good for the temperate humour, old people in winter and spring in all regions. Barley porridge (XXIX. Savich, id est Pultes Ordei), on the other

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38 White bread, for example, is warmer than rye bread, but barley is warm (Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent... Riga, Verlag Schröder, 1649, pp. 221, 222. [available at https://books.google.lv/books]
41 Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) Die Libri reditum II, No. 405.
42 Rippmann, D. Der Körper im Gleichgewicht....., pp. 20–45.
hand, is cool and cold, and is recommended to sick people. A danger is that it can cause flatulence, which can be prevented by adding sugar. Recommended for young people with hot humour, in summer and in a warm region. Barley has been grown in the territory of Latvia for thousands of years. The earliest bread was flatbread made of barley. Barley was also the main ingredient for brewing beer.

A typical medieval recipe used by German townspeople at the end of the 13th century was porridge made from barley and lentils in a three-legged pot: 2 cups of crushed barley, 10 cups of water, 1 large piece of bacon, 1/2 cup of lentils, 3-4 handfuls of spring onions or wild garlic and various vegetables, 2 spoonfuls of coriander roots, salt to one’s taste. Cut the bacon into small pieces and bring to a boil with the barley. Add the lentils. Then let it steam on a small fire for at least 2 hours. 10-15 minutes before serving, add the cut spring onions and vegetables and crushed coriander. If barley and lentil are soaked prior to cooking, the porridge can be made quicker, but it does not taste as good.


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43 Ibid.
Oats were mostly used to feed domestic animals, but there is some evidence of oat porridge consumed as a simple daily food in the Middle Ages. There is also a mention of the so-called Polish oats, which were sold by apothecaries in the 16th century, which suggests that it was some kind of herb. Buckwheat (Middle Low German: Bokweten, South German dialects: Heidenkorn, Taternkorn) came to German lands from their Eastern neighbours around the 14th century, and was particularly widely cultivated in the 15th century. It was also grown in Livonia. Buckwheat was used to bake bread, mixed with wheat and rye flour. Buckwheat pancakes and dumplings were made, but buckwheat on the whole was not a staple food in Livonia. In the 16th century buckwheat was grown near Riga and Tartu, as well as in Padise, where according to written sources buckwheat made up 7% of peasants’ duties in kind in 1567–1568.46

Bread was a staple food, however, the expression “on bread and water” meant not only ascetic living, but mainly – imprisonment.47 In the Middle Ages rye bread was much more widespread throughout Europe. Nowadays it is considered a peculiarity of Latvia/the Baltic states. In towns, white bread and various pastries were consumed in large quantities. Cakes are also mentioned in the Middle Ages in Livonia48. Their preparation may have been similar to cakes with crumble topping appearing in recipe books starting from the 14th century and other similar dishes.49 A pretzel on the other hand appears as the symbol of the bakers’ guild in many medieval illustrations. Numerous names of bread are mentioned in Livonian documents – fine triangular rye bread made of the best flour (schoenroggen), rye bread, bread made of the best wheat flour (Semmln, often called councilmen’s bread in German speaking countries50), wheat bread in the shape of a wedge (Wegge, Wecke – also a bread roll), table bread, even dogs’ bread.51 In the 16th century in the Riga Book of Expenses different types of bread that were bought for the mayor and office employees are mentioned – Wittbrot, Gremenbrod und Semmel (at Miķeļi), at Christmas Wrefen Brod was sent to the monastery.52

Some of these varied names of bread were used in other German towns as well. Schoenroggen – triangular shaped bread made of the best rye flour was popular in Hanseatic towns; it was made in the shape of a wedge or a horn and not only of rye, but wheat as well.53 It was used

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46 Sillasoo, U. A. Cultural History of Food… pp. 316W-328.
48 The Brotherhood of Blackheads in Tallinn invited women of the town – married and unmarried women of the Merchant Guild’s families – to a special yearly celebration with dancing and served them cakes, nuts and apples as refreshments. Mänd, A. Urban carnival., p. 60. Cake bakers are mentioned in the Book of Income and Expenses of Riga Revenue Board.
49 For example, the cookbook written by Sabina Welserin, dated 1553 in Nuremberg, includes an apple pie recipe http://www.dasmittelalterkochbuch.de/REZEPTE/08_11_Apfelkuchen.html
50 Um die Wurst., p. 51.
51 Each volume of LUB contains mentions of various names of bread, for example LUB I, 10, p. 552; LUB II, 3, p. 790 etc.
in the Convent of Saint Mary Magdalene in Münster in Westphalia in the 16th century as a special festive food at Christmas, New Year's Eve, on Three Kings' Day, Easter, and was called also “micken”.

In Riga, among the crafts practised by townspeople, a baker of loaves is mentioned (1494 klepenbecker, 1489 cleypenbecker, 1502 kleypenbecker), which indicates influence of the Latvian language. One may assume that it was not the only influence of non-Germans on eating habits in Livonian towns. In the territory of Latvia, rye has been used since the 8th–9th century, and archaeological finds of rye bread date as far back as the 10th century, and indigenous population continued in their eating habits later on. A local name of bread is found in Straupe as well: German rye bread, bread rolls and “pūrica” are mentioned as a part of peasants’ duties in 1556 for the occasion of the wedding of the daughter of Rosens, vassals of the Archbishopric of Riga. Wedding duties in Straupe amounted to 2 lasts of good beer, 2 well-fed bulls, 100 chicken, 10 castrated rams, 10 geese, 10 hares, 2 pigs, 200 eggs, 1000 loaves of German rye bread, 100 bread rolls, 1000 “pūrica”. The last one – “pūrica” – could have been some special kind of wheat bread. It should be noted that the name is not known in modern Latvian and it is not a Middle Low German word, but is preserved to our days as a house name in many places in Latvia and as the name of a lake in the immediate vicinity of Straupe. Peasants’ duties in the 16th century included duties for organisation of feasts in the rural community with the landowners – the so-called “vaka” (district) feasts, but there is no mention of “pūrica”, or special German bread. These duties included cattle, chicken, honey, loaves of bread, beer, eggs and butter instead.

No exact information about the size of loaves of bread in the Middle Ages in Livonia is available, however, bread baked in Münster in the 16th century weighed 1,400 g and 700 g. The

56 Švābe, A. Straupe. Latviešu konversācijas vārdnīca.
58 VSVA, XXI; Лиги, Х. М. Феодальные повинности эстонских крестьян. Tallin, 1968, pp. 43–45; Heyde, J. Bauer, Bauer, Gutshof und Königsmacht: Die estnischen Bauern in Livland unter polnischer und schwedischer Herrschaft 1561–1650 (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte). Köln, Weimar, Wien, 2000, pp. 228–229. In 1569, from the former Muhu vaka (district), which formerly belonged to the Order, from 13 districts (154 populated farms), 13 farms with one house, a considerable duty was collected – 4,500 loaves of bread, 97 barrels of beer, 7 bulls, 17 cows, 26 sheep, 26 geese, salt, pearl barley, rendered lard, butter, 390 eggs etc. In the middle of the 16th century duties in kind were collected in the districts of land owners, who still held on to old traditions according to observations made by H. Ligi. The most archaic duties in Estonian lands had been preserved in Karksi castle district and Saaremaa district owned by the Order. Duties collected by owners of private manors depended on demand on the market. During the second half of the 16th century, in Estonian districts an acre was used as a land taxation unit, but district duties in kind were still collected from the household – they consisted of 1 cattle, 1 pig, 1 sheep, chicken, eggs, butter, bread and “other duties according to old customs”. During the Polish times the custom of collecting district duties had ceased to exist on Estonian territories, only some of the larger state-owned manors constituted an exception and still had district gatherings at certain times (wardejstwa). District duties as such were replaced by monetary duties. Hares were usually included in peasants’ duties.
written sources of Münster also mention a festive loaf – *Gebildbrote*, but we do not know what it looked like, nor what its recipe included. It weighed 1,359 g. Written sources of Hanseatic towns mention various other local treats too, for example, Elbląg Striezel (braided bread), the look and recipe of which is unknown to us. According to 1545 and 1547 regulations each baker or bakery in Lübeck was required to have a special sign hung outside the bakery and used by the baker to mark his bread (strumpe, schoenroggen u. Spysebroet), the only breads not marked were bread rolls and white bread (Semmel).

A young townswoman buying bread in Nuremberg, 1568. Illustration from the chronicle of Jörg Urlaub. Available at http://www.nuernberger-hausbuecher.de/75-Amb-2-317b-23-r/data

Such legumes and vegetables as broad and/or horse beans, peas, neeps and turnips, black radish, cabbage, beets, carrots, cucumbers, onions, garlic, horseradish, parsley etc. were widely used as food.

Garlic and onions were considered peasants’ food in the Middle Ages, although, in the Hanseatic region, for example in the territory of Poland, onions were used by all classes, by townspeople too. Medieval Livonian writings use the name “sipollen”, which in modern Latvian is considered a loan from German language. In Estonian the word for onion also sounds similar – 'sibul', in Lithuanian, on the other hand, it is called 'svogūnas', and its etymology in Lithuanian is linked to the influence of Turkic languages.

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59 Kleinschmidt, W. Essen und Trinken… p. 218.
61 LUB II, 1, No. 636.; LUB II, 2, No. 679; LUB II, 3, No. 7343.
Garlic is considered to have been less important in German towns than it is nowadays. However, it was widely used in the preparation of daily meals according to the writings of Riga Archbishop’s physician Zaharias Stopius, who maintained that peasants used fresh lard and garlic as a medicine. Salomo Gubert, a priest at Suntaži and Mālpils, recommended to salt lard with garlic (1645/49).

Broad beans, peas, from which flour was made and sold in Livonia as well, were one of the staple foods. While it was simple food, rich people used it too, and more refined recipes were known. A manuscript of a German cookery book from the 15th century in Vienna Library contains a recipe of broad bean mash with figs, onions, sage and butter.

Peas were considered simple rural food. Some priests in Northern Germany believed that God had better food than beans and peas. Snow peas were valued a bit more, even if priests reproached nuns that they enjoy pears, cherries and snow peas too much. Nevertheless, deliveries of products to the papal court in the 14th century indicate that peas (Latin: *pisū*) along with onions, spinach, parsley, fennel, neeps, sage, turnips were always on delivery lists for the preparation of soup (*pro

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64 A letter written to the Duke of Prussia on 5 November 1565 in Riga. (Herzog Albrecht und Preussen (1565-1570), No. 3401).
65 *Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent..*, p. 241.
66 LUB I, 10, No. 320, 604-606, 613, 614; LUB I, 11, No. 160 (white peas too) LUB II, 2, No. 679. Peas were called *arweis*, *erweten*.
67 *Um die Wurst..* CD appendix, Rezepte für Gemüse.
In Tallinn, during the 15th century, beans and peas were given to the poor, as well as soldiers (mercenaries) as part of their pay. The poor were given rye bread as charity.

Different dishes were made from cabbage, seasonal herbs, neeps and turnips in the Middle Ages. It is believed that some vegetables popular in the Middle Ages have been forgotten, for example, the seeds of the green foxtail (*Amaranthus*), orache spinach (*Atriplex hortensis*). Cabbage sellers (male and female) are mentioned in Riga at the end of the 15th century, but cultivation of cabbages in Livonia during the second half of the 16th century is described in more detail. Fresh local seasonal fruit, like apples, pears, cherries, along with local herbs and salads were also available at town markets. There is information that salads, vegetables and apples were traded at the Riga town market from the 16th century.

1) Merchants, Italy. 15th century. Ill. from the book Um die Wurst, original Biblioteca Estense., Modena.

2) Cinnamon seller. In the Middle Ages, cinnamon was imported from China in the form of 30-40 cm long one-sided rolls. Ill. from the book Um die Wurst., from the 15th century. Dioscorides work “Tractatus de Herbis” from Biblioteca Estense;

3) Onion, wax, cherries. Ill. from Britisch Library manuscript “Tractatus de Herbis” around 1440 f. 30; available at http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&illID=49301

No detailed information is available about the cultivation of fruit trees in Livonia. Perhaps the climate was too cold for many Central European species. In the Middle Ages, the fruit growing in trees (in a symbolic way) were reserved for those of higher social rank, while peasants had to dig their food out of the earth. In the Middle Ages different varieties of apples, pears, cherries, plums were cultivated in German lands and the fruits were used to prepare various dishes. Apple cider vinegar, fruit marmalades, plum jam and many other traditional recipes originated in medieval times.

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70 Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) *Die Libri reditum* III, No. 80.
Linguistic material indicates that yellow plum was known in the Middle Low German language area.\(^71\)

The zwetschge (German: Zwetschke, Pflaume, Latin: prunus domestica)\(^72\) traditional for the Southern German lands was widely cultivated and consumed, however, in the medieval handbook on health Tacuinum Sanitatis, plums from Damascus were believed to be the best. In the 14th-16th century Livonia apples, rhubarbs and pears are mentioned,\(^73\) a cherry drink was known in the 15th century.\(^74\)

Cherry trees that had died of cold injury were marked during the blossom period in parish annals kept by priests in the 17th century, but it is likely that there were gardens with fruit-bearing trees and bushes in towns and villages earlier as well. There was also a special group among peasants in the 16th century – gardeners (Latin: hortulanis), but they would rather had been growers of vegetables (as opposed to crops). In Straupe a “light garden” is mentioned, which probably means a fruit garden, not a vegetable garden. Close to the end of the Middle Ages redberry, blackberry and other domestic plants began to appear in gardens, and J.H. In 1803, Cigra mentions that redberry was brought to Vidzeme two hundred years ago, but in his lifetime it was considered known for a long time.\(^75\)

In the 16th century in Riga, on the other hand, “Russian apples” were a part of a meal.\(^76\) During the Middle Ages fruit were dried, caramelized in honey and sugar, and were thus sold on the market and in long-distance trade. Imported raisins\(^77\) dried dates and lemons\(^78\), figs\(^79\) and oranges were known as merchandise in Livonia.\(^80\)

Salt was an important merchandise in demand in all social classes and actively traded by merchants of the Hanseatic League\(^81\). Coarse salt was brought to Livonia from Brouage in France or from Lisbon, fine salt – from Lüneburg; there is also mention of grey sea salt, white, clean salt and various other types of salt\(^82\).

Writings also mention oleaginous plants and herbs of local origin. Linseed was consumed as food, used to make oil and as an additive to other foods, but mainly cultivated as a source of fibre to produce clothing and other items. Hemp in medieval German cuisine was used as a medicine, but

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\(^{72}\) *Stanzer Zwetschke* is a traditional and protected species in Austria.

\(^{73}\) LUB I, 11, No. 747.

\(^{74}\) LUB I, 10, No. 52 (kersedranch).

\(^{75}\) Cigra, J. H. *Tas ābolu dārznies jeb pilnīga pamacišana visādus augliģus dārza kokus audzināt un kopt. 1803.*

\(^{76}\) Zwei Kämmereregister der Stadt Riga..., p. 219.

\(^{77}\) LUB II, 1, No. 636

\(^{78}\) Zwei Kämmereregister der Stadt Riga..., pp. 72, 83.

\(^{79}\) LUB I, 11, No. 454; LUB II, 2, No. 716; LUB II, 3, No. 781.

\(^{80}\) See LUB I, 12, p. 527 – an index of goods.


\(^{82}\) Dunsdorfs, E., Spekke, A. *Latvijas vēsture 1500-1600.* Stockholm, 1964, p. 460. Salt, of various kinds and from different locations, is mentioned in all volumes of LUB as one of the goods traded.
hemp milk and hemp porridge were consumed during fasts. In Central Europe, the use of hemp increased in the Middle Ages, when it was used as a raw material for textile and oil production as well. The use of and trade in hemp is mentioned in Livonia too. It was a simple food for lower classes around the town of Tartu, but refined dishes made of hemp were served to higher feudal lords, for example, to the Bishop of Tallinn during his visit to the Church of Saint Nicholas (1501). He was served hemp paste with saffron, honey and pepper.83

Hemp seed butter (roasted and crushed hemp mixed with butter) and "stuks" ("stenķis", "stuķis", "štaka", "staks") were considered traditional dishes in Vidzeme. "Stuks" in taste and the way of preparation seems to have come straight out of the Middle Ages – roasted hemp seeds are crushed in a mortar, water and salt are added afterwards to obtain a paste-like substance. "Stuks" can be added to minced peas, when making pea balls.84

Archaeobotanical investigation helps to determine the herbs used in Livonia on a regular basis – dill, caraway, black pepper, parsley, celery, juniper berries from young trees, horseradish. Horseradish, like mustard, was used in Riga, Tallinn and Tartu as a condiment during smaller meals. Black mustard (Brassica nigra), as well as beets and radishes, have been found in towns. Mustard produced by Latvian peasants was brought to Estonian towns.85 In Europe, caraway was also used in the form of sweet snacks – roasted in honey or sugar, but in 17th century Vidzeme it was recommended to add caraway to bread to reduce colic.86

The use of dairy products in the Middle Ages has been subject to some discussion among historians. Cows did not produce much milk, therefore its share among other products was not significant, but milk, cheese and butter were used in the preparation of many dishes. Cheese and butter were made in summer for more continuous use in winter, when cows stopped producing milk. Merchants from towns bought it from farmers. There are reports of export and import of butter and cheese in Livonian time. Cheeses of various quality levels – for lords and servants – are also mentioned, as well as Swedish and Russian butter.87 Around 1400, there was a special butter shop (botterhus) in Riga,88 and the importance of butter as a merchandise is evidenced by the fact that approximately 20.4 % of butter imported to Lübeck in the 15th century came from Riga.89 Bread with salted butter was a customary food in the Hanseatic region in contrast to the South of Europe,
and unclarified butter was widely used for cooking (herring and other fish fried in butter), butter produced in May (Maibutter) was especially highly valued.\textsuperscript{90} However, it should be noted that butter duty was not a usual one among the duties in kind collected from Livonian peasants. It was introduced by Swedes along with the cheese duty, which was first introduced in Western Estonia and in Vidzeme (in the 17th century).\textsuperscript{91}

Meat of domestic animals – pork and chicken – with bread was a staple food \textit{when not fasting}, roast of young goat, lamb was popular, as well as dishes made of poultry (chicken, geese). Eggs were eaten in great quantities, they were used in many dishes and were a merchandise on the local market for the most part as well. Like chicken, they are depicted in many medieval manuscripts, but there are no manuscripts with such illustration written in Livonia. However, eggs and chicken are often mentioned in Livonian written historical sources – they were on the lists of traditional duties and were traded in Riga and in other towns. Roast chicken is depicted often enough in the illustrations of medieval manuscripts, but it was considered a refined and expensive, even aristocratic food. At the end of the 16th century, a prohibition was imposed on serving “yellow” and stewed chicken at weddings\textsuperscript{92} in Riga, regardless of the fact that chicken were undoubtedly consumed in the town. In 1577-1578, for example, a meal served in connection with an outing to the dunking place of a witch included salmon, some other fish, chicken and butter.\textsuperscript{93}

Livonian documents mention sausages, smoked meats, salted meats, lard – pork and beef, as well as roast. All part of animals were used – head, ears, stomach, feet etc. Jellies were made. Lard was very import for the preservation of food (it was used as a preservative casing), and to prepare other foods (for example, chicken with bacon and parsley etc., game with bacon, fish with bacon). The basic preservation method of meat was salting. Salt was used for the preservation of meat in Hanseatic towns in the North of Germany and in Livonia. In the 17th century, priest Gubert remarked that Latvian peasants know a way to preserve lard so that it retains its good properties for up to three years, and they store it in corn (in a barn).\textsuperscript{94} Livonian documents especially mention salt-cured lard from Saaremaa and Dago island.\textsuperscript{95} Lard had various uses in the household and was an important merchandise, exported from Livonia as early as in the 13th century, and later too, including the 16th century.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{Lig} Лиги, Х. М. Феодальные повинности эстонских крестьян... pp. 41, 51; Heyde, J. Bauer, Gutshof und Königsmacht... p. 227.
\bibitem{Riga} Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna 1593.gadā iespiestais Karala pilsētas Rīgas - Vidzemē - godātās rātes atjaunotais kāzu un apģērbu nolikums: tulkojums no agrās jaunaugšavācu valodas un zinātniskie komentāri. Turaidas muzejrezervāts, 2013, Nr. XIV, p. 16.
\bibitem{Str} Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent..., p. 241 – abgeschmolzene Salack zusieden/abzuschäumen/ und wenn sie kalt worden, wieder auffzugiessen.
\bibitem{LUB} LUB II, 3, No. 219.
\end{thebibliography}
Lamb and mutton were used in regions with developed sheep farming, however, sheep were mainly reared for their wool. In the 15th century, various pastes became popular in German towns. There was even a guild of paste makers among the other guilds.

Many medieval recipes of meat and vegetable dishes for the upper classes diverge from the contemporary taste due to the addition of sweet flavour, because at the time of the Crusades, the Arabian custom to prepare meat with sugar and spices — figs, saffron, cinnamon, cloves — was adopted. It is not clear how often the custom to sweeten roast and prepare food by a cookery book was actually adhered to.

Game was traditionally reserved for the nobility, the right to maintain ponds was initially bestowed on the nobility in the 15th-16th century too. Bioarchaeological research data indicates that inhabitants of Livonian towns might have eaten less refined food than the nobility, but their diet included a lot of meat and freshwater fish and was rather balanced regardless. They had better teeth, greater life expectancy, better bones and were not as susceptible to infections as peasants, which is an indication of good diet, high in proteins. According to research, the aforementioned applies not only to inhabitants of large towns, but to those who lived in small towns (Valmiera, Cēsis, Ikšķile etc.) as well. For the most part their diet was the so-called dry land diet.

Food stocks included considerable amounts of salt-cured and dried fish, especially salted herring and dried codfish. For example, at Sigulda castle (1451), food stocks along with salted meat included 25 barrels of salted herring, 10 tons of dried codfish, 1,080 redfish, 1,060 roaches, 1,006 dried pike-perches, 1,030 Atlantic herring, 300 dried pikes, 80 bundles of lamprey, 4 barrels of salted sea trout, 1 dish with sturgeons, 8 barrels of salted Atlantic herring and 1,005 Flackfisch (sea fish cut into two pieces). A fish duty list of Grobiņa Vogtei (prefecture) from 1560 details, what sea fish was included in the duty collected from local fishermen, as well as its prices.

One of the main goods traded by the Hanseatic League was salted herring. The Book of Income and Expenses of Rīga Revenue Board indicates that herring was a part of the pay to workers — stonemasons, low ranking officials, in the 15th–16th century in Rīga, higher ranking officials, in their turn, received a more refined pay and foods — on 2 November 1555 the town a sent to the mayor, according to an old custom — *Wittbrot*, Russian butter and *Puder* (ginger powder or a spice blend), along with a large pike prepared with saffron, almonds and raisins and a roast hare with sugar, lemon, olives and wine. Similar foods are mentioned on 15 February 1556. The Archbishop of Tallinn, during his visit to
the Church of Saint Nicholas in 1501, was served food made of onions, raisins, pepper and fish. In the 16th century Livonian sources mention that noblemen constructed ponds for growing carps. Salmon was exported or passed in transit to towns in Northern Germany. There is no doubt that fish was consumed not only by townspeople, but by the local non-Germans as well, who prepared them using imported spices.

A typical fasting food prepared from fish and almond milk was the so-called “Food of Jerusalem” – a recipe from the manuscript “Das bouch von guoter spîse” (1345–1354), No. 62.: “If you want to make a good dish for the fast, take a perch and put it [the fillet] into thick almond milk and boil it in almond milk. Add sugar. It can be served warm or cold.”

Townspeople prepared products for daily consumption locally – each town had a bakers’ guild or craft, butchers’ guild etc. All Livonian towns, which had adopted Rīga Law (Limbaži, Pärnu, Viljandi, Koknese, Rīga), had their own rural district or march, where townspeople grew their own food and kept livestock. In the 15th century a prohibition was introduced that forbade townspeople to keep livestock in the town proper, on its streets. Towns bought live animals and butchers – usually a separate guild – slaughtered and butchered them. It is believed that consumption of beef and poultry increased in the German speaking towns during the late Middle Ages, in the 14th–15th century. Town council ensured supervision of meat products, severe fines were imposed for selling bad meat. Townspeople bought grain from peasants and it was stored in warehouses in towns for long periods of time. Poultry and vegetables were bought or grown by townspeople.

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103 Sillasoo, U. A. Cultural History of Food... p. 322.
104 The Archbishop of Rīga, for example, writes about rearing carps and ordering juvenile fish from Prussia on 6 December 1539 in Limbaži. (Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1534-1540), No. 1049, 1064).
105 1499, Dunsdorfs, E., Spekke, A. Latvijas vēsture 1500-1600, Daugava, 1964, p. 459.
107 Almond milk (Latin: amygdalate) was a widely used product. Its preparation is often omitted in medieval manuscripts and books and seems to have been well known: pour hot water over cut almonds, roasted almonds can be used too, and leave to rest for a couple of hours.
108 Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) Die Libri reditum, III, No. 218 – the cow pass
109 In 1412 in Rīga (Zariņa G. Latvijas iedzīvotāju... p. 135)
The sweet and spicy flavour of the Middle Ages – sugar, *crude, konfett*

Pepper\(^{110}\), nutmeg\(^{111}\), ginger\(^{112}\), saffron\(^{113}\) appeared in Livonia as merchants' goods, but were probably used in preparation of sophisticated dishes too. Nuts were brought to Livonia as well – almonds (various use – almond milk, almond flour, marzipan)\(^{114}\). Wine products were traded – wine, grape vinegar (*agrest* or *vinaigrette*)\(^ {115}\), raisins\(^ {116}\); moreover Roman pepper (*Kümmel*), African pepper (*Paradiskorne*), cardamom, dates, figs from Cyprus, ginger, walnuts, thyme\(^ {117}\), anise, powder of spices\(^ {118}\) etc. were known. In the 13th-15th century, spices were expensive,\(^{119}\) but they were still available not only to monarchs and nobility, but to wealthier townspeople as well. In the 16th century, the prices on spices dropped significantly and they became increasingly available to population. Merchant Hildebrand Vechinchusen in a letter of 21 October 1411 to his mother-in-law in Riga writes that he sends her various spices *crude*, but in 1419 he sends *crude* and rice to his wife from Bruges to Lübeck. Brothers Vechinchusen bought ginger and different spices (*crůde*) in Venice – in 1411 for 8000 ducats.\(^{120}\)

In addition to spices, another important component of medieval food recipes was rice or rice flour, which was well known even to the average inhabitant of a town.\(^{121}\) Rice was used in Livonian towns too. Rice was known in the territory of Latvia even before the foundation of German towns – it has been found in Asote in the archaeological layer of the 12th century.\(^{122}\) Rice was very likely a luxury product in the 13th century, whereas later – from the 14th century onward – spices, raisins, dates, figs and rice were not only merchandise, but appeared on the tables of the richest townspeople as a part of their daily meals.\(^{123}\) Rice was especially important as fasting food and was used as one of the main components in various desserts. Sweet rice with saffron (colourant) and cinnamon appears in German cookery books, and recipes often include rice flour as a binding agent (starch).\(^{124}\)

\(^{110}\) Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga, pp. 45, 141; LUB I, 10, No. 320, 606; LUB I, 11, No. 272.  
\(^{111}\) Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga, p. 43.  
\(^{112}\) Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga, No. 43-47; LUB I, 11, No. 56; LUB II, 2, No. 138; LUB II, 3, No. 734  
\(^{113}\) LUB I, 10, No. 320, 606; LUB II, 1, No. 31, 217, 233, 476, 532, 636, 721.; LUB II, 3, No. 734.  
\(^{114}\) LUB I, 11, No. 56; LUB II, 2, No. 679.  
\(^{115}\) LUB I, 10, No. 320; LUB II, 3, No. 734.  
\(^{116}\) LUB II, 2, No. 679.  
\(^{117}\) LUB I, 10, No. 626; LUB II, 1, No. 34. LUB II, 3, No. 194, 732.  
\(^{118}\) LUB II, 3, No. 734.  
\(^{119}\) In 1404 in Vienna, for example, in a will an amount of saffron was bequeathed, the price of which equalled the value of a cow (*Um die Wurst...*, p. 59.)  
\(^{121}\) Schubert, E. *Essen un Trinken im Mittelalter.* 2010. p. 155:  
\(^{122}\) This dating seems questionable due to the fact that it is one of the earliest known to historians in the Hanseatic region, and the earliest finds of rice in German towns are linked to the 13th century. (Sillasoo, U. and Hie, S. An archaeobotanical approach... pp. 83–84.)  
\(^{123}\) LUB II, 1, No. 532, 635 etc.  
There was some trade in sugar in Livonia as well. Town apothecaries were in charge of trade in spices and sugar for a long time. In medieval Europe, sugar was considered a medicine and besides its use in the preparation of luxury dishes it was also used as food for the sick (with rice and almonds). Some dishes were not only made according to special recipes, but their preparation and trade in them depended on privileges that gave one such rights. Marzipan is one such example. Its recipe and components were brought to Europe in the Middle Ages. It was a food of kings and princes. Often various figures were made of marzipan to be presented as luxurious gifts. In time it became available to wealthier townspeople as a medicine (heart sugar, bread for strength (Herzzucker, Kraftbrot), which only apothecaries were permitted to make and sell based on special privileges bestowed upon them. However, even at the end of the 16th century consumption of marzipan was a luxury, and, like almond cheese and gilded dishes, it could not be served at weddings of maidservants in Rīga.

Another typical medieval sweet luxury food worth mentioning is the so-called “hand of Christ”, which was ascribed healing properties. These sweets, as far as one can discern based on their descriptions, were long strips of melted sugar with additions of violet water, cinnamon or rosewater. Quite often they were also gilded. In the Middle Ages, noblemen came from Western Europe to Prussia and Livonia to take part in the fight against the infidels (Lithuanians), and in 1369, for example, Duke Edward from Gelderland brought with him 46 pounds or approximately 20 kg of such sweets, including crystallised ginger, pine candies and another 10 pounds of fruit jelly.

Apothecaries in Livonian towns, like their colleagues in other Hanseatic towns, made luxury sweets, which were also considered a medicine – Backenkrut, backenkrutt, borstcruth, kruserkurm, ladenkrut, magenkruth. It was not just the powdered herbs that were considered medicine, but sugar as well. Even more so than honey. Since the time of old Romans and up to the 13th century, honey was the main component used as a preservative for spices or medicinal plants. Honey was cultivated by humans, possibly originated in Southern China, but cultivated on a comparatively large scale in India in the time of ancient Greeks and Romans, and in the Middle Ages (Dalbu, A. Dangerous Tastes: The Story of Spices. Los Angeles: Berkeley, 2000. pp. 26-27)
a merchandise\textsuperscript{131}, but it seems as though sugar was more important for long-distance trade in the 14th-16th century. One may assume that Livonian “Backenkrut” was a common designation for confectioneries known in other European countries too. Luxury sweets were also called Konfect, Latin – electuarim, and among them were crystallised spices with icing, sweet spice powder, syrup, candied fruit jelly, pastries with spices. Krüde is mentioned in Livonian Knights’ Law (Livonisches Ritterrecht)\textsuperscript{132}, but it was prepared by apothecaries in towns, and towns’ accounts books contain records that it was served to distinguished guests. It should be noted that Straupe was an intermediate stop on such journeys to the meeting of classes of the entire Livonia (the territory of today’s Latvia and Estonia), which took place in towns that could be reached within a similar amount of time from different directions – Valmiera, Valka. Delegates from Rīga in the curia of townspeople (councilmen, mayors of Rīga) used to stay in Straupe on their way to the Landtag (possibly on a regular basis). On one such occasion on 8 September 1438, several of them stayed there overnight on their way to Valka and probably enjoyed some fine meals. Despite the fact that Backenkrut was reserved for feudal lords for the most part, in the 15th–16th century, inhabitants of small towns could offer it to the patricians from Rīga or vice versa – Rīga presented it as a gift to its cooperation partners – towns located farther inland, and sent wine to the mayor of Straupe\textsuperscript{133}. At the end of the 16th century (luxury regulation of 1593) this food was given away at weddings of Rīga townspeople.\textsuperscript{134} The product seems to have become freely available to almost any social class due to the increasing availability of sugar. In the 16th century sugar became more and more available mainly thanks to Portuguese, who began growing sugar cane on the Madeira island; new spice trade routes were discovered after the expedition of Vasco da Gama (in 1498).\textsuperscript{135}

In the 14th century, special luxury treats were enjoyed at the papal court in Avignon. They were bought from apothecaries. These sweets were also called comfits (drageae), species confectae, and were bought as accompaniment to a drink nectar. It is likely that these candies consumed by the Pope were crystallised fruit, jellies or sugar candies, with rosewater and fennel water and anise used in their preparation. They were served on special platters – massapanes – stone pine tree plates, scented with the essence of cinnamon flowers. Sometimes Pope Clement VI bought konfect at tremendous prices and in large quantities (1,445 kg, or 7 tons of konfett in 1344/45). The papal curia bought ginger, pine nuts, lemon juice, special royal coriander, gilded pistachios too, for the most

\textsuperscript{131} In Livonia LUB I, 11, No. 75, 160, 321, 580 LUB II, 2, No. 532, 630, 679.
\textsuperscript{132} Bunge F.G. Altlivlands Rechtsbücher. Leipzig, 1879, p. 160, Art. 3.:  
\textsuperscript{133} In 1420/1421 the town of Rīga sends wine of 5 shillings worth to the mayor of Straupe (LUB I, 5, No. 2521 (MMDXXI), sends wine, beer, krude to inland towns too.  
\textsuperscript{135} Sugar was known to the ancient Greeks (i.e. they wrote about its existence). Persians began to use sugar on a wider scale around the 7th century. Later Arabs cultivated it in Europe as well, and merchants from Venice acquired their wealth by maintaining a monopoly over trade in sugar. Arabs introduced sugar cane to Sicily as early as the 13th century, Portuguese started to cultivate it on the Madeira island and on Cyprus in the 15th century.
part around Christmas and during the month of Easter.  

Up to the 19th century characteristics of this product have remained among the components of *Latwerge* (*Latwære*): a sweet dish with the texture of plum jam or syrup-like boiled fruit juice or a kind of marmalade. It could have been similar to the product, which was attributed miraculous healing and strengthening properties, — theriac (*Theriak*), described by ancient Romans, later by the monks of Lorsch’s monastery (in 795), Avicenna (in 1030), Hildegard of Bingen (died in 1179) and physicians of the 15th century in numerous books of medicinal recipes. It should be noted that the list of foodstuffs distributed among heirs to a manor in Livonian Knights’ Law includes a product called *lactuaria*, probably, meaning the Latin name for *Latwerge* – *electuarium*.  

Names found in documents from the time of Livonia – *Konfect* – are used to denote a treat, sweet delicacy (?) (on 5 July 1449 – at the reception for the Archbishop of Rīga, in 1448 – a meal for the Master of the Livonian Order in Tallinn, a meal during the visit of the coadjutor of the Archbishop of Rīga in 1530). At the end of the 16th century, these were already served at a wedding feast of Rīga townspeople, where *confect* and *Brustkrut* was consumed. It is hard to tell, in what way *confect* and *crude* in Rīga differed from *Brustkrut*, but both names are used simultaneously in the 14th century and in 1515, when feudal lords were served *crude* in Rīga, but in 1555, the council was sent *Brustkrutt*. *Krüt, krude* in Middle Low German meant all kinds of spices, but the Law of the town of Lipe of 1385 states, *Krude* is not drunk, it consists of spices and *confect* and is served as an irritant substance accompanying the drink instead. It is not spiced wine, because here it is called *ipenkraß*, or spices added to food, since they are called *tafelcrûde* and have some other names too.  

*Crude* of the Grand Master and ordinary members of the Teutonic Order in the 14th–15th century has been researched by Hartmut Boockmann, who established that in Prussia luxury sweets were crystallised fruit or candied jellies, to which rosewater, fennel water and anise were added too. These treats were very expensive, served to ordinary members of the order (all of whom were of

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137 Bunge F.G. Altlivlands Rechtsbücher. Leipzig, 1879, p. 160, Art. 3. : .. alle spise, de dar de man in siner were hadde.. binamen vlesch, grüne edder dröge, smer, smolt, alle gebachen brot, allerlei gedrenke, alle kokenspise, als erweten, bonen, grütte, sennip, vische, heringe, böckinge, stockvisch, botter, cier, kese, alle molken, ölje, zippollen, knuflock, röven, alleb afgebraken ovest, alle krüde, gemalen edder gebraken, honnick, lactuaria, vigen, rosinen, mandeln, riis, [...].  
138 LUB I, 10, No. 628, pp. 465-470; LUB I, 11, No. 1, 13, 51, 56, 208 (Konfekt, condeccio, confection); No. 56, 335, 489 (krude, krut backen)  
139 Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1525-1534), No. 126, p. 123. – *Konfekt* presented in a large box.  
140 The translator of the document Valda Kvaskova. Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna, Nr. V, p. 15, 2nd and 3rd footnote. V.Kvaskova believes that *konfekt* mentioned here is not related to candies in the modern meaning, instead, it stems from the Latin word *confectum* – to prepare. *Brustkrut* could mean biscuits made with sugar and different spices and served with wine, or biscuits with crystallised fruit.  
141 Kämmereri-Register der Stadt Riga, Brustkraut pp. 70, 82; Krude – ibid., pp. 40, 43, 45, 46, 82.  
142 In 1515, the townspeople of Rīga served feudal lords wine, beer, bread and crude. The physician of the Danish King was served dates, ginger, wine (*Zwei Kämmereiregister..*, pp. 214, 72, 219).  
noble origin) only on the evening of All Saints’ Day and on St. Thomas day. In the first half of the 15th century, apothecaries delivered tons of *konfekt* / *konfect* and *crude* of different kinds to the Grand Master of the Order on a regular basis. Forks, spoons and dishes for the sweets were purchased too. The principal meaning was representation, emphasising hierarchy. Estimates have been made that an ordinary town shoemaker could have bought on his yearly earnings only 75 pieces of *crude*, thus spending all his pay on them. 144 The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order brought with him cartloads of dates, raisins, ginger, spice, *crude* and *konfekt* for his own use and to be presented as gifts during his stay in Kaunas in 1408. Lithuanians presented expensive horses, gyrfalcons and other luxury goods as gifts to noblemen. Fine foods and spices were a symbol of power, authority and prestige. 145 Neither German nobility, nor townspeople lived as extravagantly as the grand master, regardless of the fact that dishes used for such medieval luxury treats owned by prosperous townspeople of Lüneburg and other Hanseatic towns have been preserved to our days.

Wealthy Livonians tried to emulate the nobility in consumption of luxury foods; trade in spices and sugar flourished in the 15th century. Hanseatic merchants brothers Vechinchusen, who were mentioned earlier, bought ginger and various spices (*crūde*) from Venice in 1411 for 8,000 ducats and sent them to Livonia as well. 146 One of them indicated in his will in 1406 that he


146 Stieda, W. (Hg.) Hildebrand Vechinchusen., pp. 67, 76, 127, 239.
possessed different silver jugs, large silver plates and a silver crūdenap – a dish for sweets. In the 15th century, it is also mentioned, in letters from Lübeck, that trade in spices does not always progress so well and raisins have not been sold out as people in Lübeck do not buy treats as eagerly as before, in Danzig and Novgorod figs and spices remain on shelves for lengthy periods of time in 1416.

It may be assumed that, eventually, the use of spices and sweets spread to all social classes of townspeople and they were consumed not only at wedding feasts. In 1527, an ordinary townswoman in Tallinn was accused of trying to poison her rival in the matters of heart with “krude”. Several other cases are known, when various accusations were brought up because of improper preparation of spices and medicinal herbs.

Table etiquette

In the late Middle Ages, nobility throughout Europe adopted proper rules of conduct at the table, which originated mainly from France. Rich townspeople sought to follow them as well. Social hierarchy was represented by the “wooden peasants”, who used wooden tableware, “clay townspeople”, who ate from earthenware, and “metal and glass nobility”. The existence of this notion in Livonia is proved by the fact that at the beginning of the early modern period, in 1655, three noblemen and a priest from Straupe testified that Adelhaida Krīdenere from Rozbeķe castle was poor: “she does not eat from copper, nor drink from silver, but uses tableware made of wood and stone.”

Tableware was manufactured locally in towns. During the time of the Hanseatic League, lead-glazed earthenware was widely used. Tableware was rather uniform throughout a vast region. Finds everywhere include glasses for vine and beer. Glassware with the German name Nuppenbecher is very typical. Wooden tableware was popular in towns too – turned wooden bowls and plates, pewter plates. For fine meals, special bowls were used to wash hands, and one of them was the so-called Hansa finger bowl or plate – copper or brass ‘Hanseschale’ – a rather typical find in archaeological explorations of German towns – a shallow bowl, initially (in the 11th–12th century)
made of tin, later of brass, often decorated with engravings, with a highlighted rim, 25–30 cm in diameter. Locations of their manufacture have been researched in Goslar and Braunschweig. These bowls were also made in Aachen, Cologne, Rhine and Meuse region.¹⁵⁵

1) The so-called Hansa finger bowl made of bronze. Cologne, the 13th century. Ill. from the book: Schultz, A. Essen und Trinken im Mittelalter (1000-1300): Literarische, kunsthistorische …2011, p. 515, ill. 84.;
2) Townspeople’s Meal. The Netherlands. Oil painting on the face of a clock, a fragment, from around 1490/1510. Ill. from http://www.imareal.sbg.ac.at/home/ (Institut für Realienkund des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Krems)

Pewter dishes and jugs were very widely used by townspeople near the end of the Middle Ages. Pewter plates were used too. Wealthier people had silver cups and other silver tableware.

Each inhabitant of a town had his/her own knife and many carried a spoon with them all the time, often attached to the belt. At the end of the Middle Ages, in the 16th century, townspeople used forks too. These tools could be very simple, made of iron with a wooden handle, or expensive and artistically elaborate. It is very likely that there was a communal knife on the table used to cut off a piece of food and put it into one’s mouth. 15th-16th century wills of townspeople mention silver tableware, glass.¹⁵⁶ Even poor townspeople owned some, for example, the will of the maidservant Meyse in Tallinn lists several silver spoons as her property.¹⁵⁷ A splendid silver spoon that could be transformed into a fork belonged to a 26-year-old woman, who died in the basement of Cēsis castle, probably during the Russian attack on the town in 1577. She kept this luxurious piece of cutlery in a purse attached to the belt. The purse contained some beads, buttons, brocade ribbons, a ring and a thimble too.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. Testamente Revaler Bürger… No. 10 (1435 – 12 silver spoons, 4 silver wine-cups; No. 24 (1472) – 7 silver spoons and several cups; No. 52 – silver tableware, No. 56; No. 105, No. 107(1511), No. 108 (1512), No. 112 (1516) etc.
¹⁵⁷ Tallinn City Archives, Collection 230 "Tallinn magistraat", Description 1, BN case. Descriptions of townspeople’s property upon their death, however, indicate that often the poorest of them actually had only one spoon among their belongings.
Drinks

Large amounts of beer and wine were consumed in towns. Beer was brewed in large quantities. There were brewer guilds in towns, and the valuable beer brewing equipment was passed on from generation to generation (the roasting pan, copper pots etc.). The right to brew and sell beer was awarded as a special privilege to townspeople or particular social groups. The easiest to brew was the small beer (Dünnbier) consumed on a daily basis. More expensive beers were imported. For the most part beer was imported to Riga from Hamburg, Rostock and Wismar. At the beginning of the 16th century the Riga Expenses’ Book contains records of a fruit drink, a ginger beverage and mead (Meth).¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga, pp. 43, 44, 46; Zwei Kämmereiregister., pp. 43, 21, 44, 46, 206, 211, 213, 214.
There were a lot of different wines and all of them were imported, since grapes were not grown in Livonia. In the 15th-16th century, Rhineland wine, Klaret or clareth (spiced wine), red wine, Southern wine romenie or rumeninge, malmesie, and simple or bastard wine was used in Livonia.\textsuperscript{160}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Distillation of spirits. Ill. from the book Brunschwig, H. Liber der arte distillandi simplicia et composita. Strassbur, 1505.\textsuperscript{161}}
\end{figure}

An increasingly larger part of society acquired the knowledge of the principle of distillation of spirits (vodka) in the Middle Ages. In the 15th century vodka was called the water of life (Latin: "Aqua Vitae"), from the 16th century, the same applies to German, in which it was called "Brennen Wein". This method of obtaining alcohol was known in Europe since the 12th century. Initially distillation was performed in monasteries\textsuperscript{162}, later in pharmacies in towns and in alchemists’ workshops. Vodka was used as a medicine for many centuries, even regarded as a miracle cure against various ailments. There is information about distillation of vodka in larger quantities in German towns from the 16th century. For example, a special vodka tax was introduced in Osnabrück in 1536. In Livonia, however, it did not occur so early, and in 1545 the Archbishop of Riga still asked to send him vodka from Prussia.\textsuperscript{163} Production of vodka lost its cloak of secrecy at the end of the 16th century and during the 17th century, and the distillation process is described in detail by priest S.Gubert (1645) in Vidzeme. He described the process of producing vodka from rye, wheat, with addition of spices – anise, garden angelica, sweet flag, liquorice, caraway or sugar, honey, nutmeg, cloves, ginger etc. He

\textsuperscript{160} In 1530 the coadjutor of the Archbishop of Riga was sent claret – spiced wine with honey, Rhine wine (1 barrel), ginger beverage (3 stone mass mugs) (Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1525–1534), No. 123. Names of wines from LUB I, 10, LUB II, 1-3)
\textsuperscript{161} Available at https://books.google.lv/
\textsuperscript{162} At Vienna Museum (inv. No. MV 8.876) distillation flasks from the 15th century are preserved, which were used by Waren monastery monks to produce liqueurs.
\textsuperscript{163} Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1540-1551), No. 1289.
advised to add saffron or sage to vodka as colourants. But the production of *aqua vitae*, which according to Gubert is also *crudos humores*, seems identical to Paracelsus’s and alchemists’ recipes using *Ellebori nigri* root and other spices, and is recommended even as a medicine against the plague. Priest Gubert emphasises that vodka is a medicine, not a drink, and pregnant women and children should use it with care. It should be noted that *Spiritus Iuniperi* – genever was used as a medicine in 1631 at Turaida castle. Centuries passed and vodka became very popular in Vidzeme and was produced in great quantities in manors in the 18th–19th century. In the 19th century E.Brēms, the parish physician of Lēdurga, knew to tell that Arabs were the first to discover the method of producing vodka and they still consider it a blessed medicine, not a drink.

**Food in towns and rural areas. The matter of eating habits at the time of the Hanseatic League and traditional Latvian cuisine.**

In towns, human beings were isolated from the world of nature. They created their own culture separated from the rural society by stone walls, its own law, daily habits and the pace of life that did not depend solely on nature and seasonal changes. In the time of Livonia, which coincided with the period of the Hanseatic League, in the 14th–16th century, an ethnic barrier existed too – Germans and non-Germans ate and dressed differently. But they had some things in common. These common things were staple foods of that time, foodstuffs and drinks available during different seasons. Another thing they must have had in common was their attitude towards daily consumption of food and feasts, since peasants and townspeople alike regarded festive meals as something special, something long anticipated that one had to prepare for long before. In medieval towns, whose inhabitants were religious people, this contrast was emphasised by long fasts, interspersed with splendid and rich feasts with special festive foods.

Rye bread and various bakery products that were made of wheat and related to the calendar cycle, as well as special feasts were characteristic of the traditional cuisine of Vidzeme up to the beginning of the 20th century.

I made a loaf of bread
With four corners,
As an offering
To the mummers (Latvian: ķekatas). Latvian folk song 14 161

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164 *Stratagema Oeconomicum oder Ackerstudent*, p. 229ff.
165 Ibid., pp. 233-234.
166 Ibid., p. 235.
167 Minutes of Rīga Land Court in the case of accusations in witchcraft against a peasant from the Lēdurga neighbourhood of the Turaida castle district, Laks Mārtiņš brought by Kike Mārtiņš, on 22 September 1631. Latvia State Historical Archives. Collection 110 “Rīgas zemes tiesa” (Rīga Land Court), Description 3, Case 1.
168 Brēms, E.V. *Padomi priekš Vidzemes laudīm, kā no niknām sérgām un grūtām vajibām būs izzargāties*. Riga, 1843, p. 50.
169 Makenna T. *Pišča bogov*. Moskva, 1995. 91
Latvian folk songs emphasise a festive meal related to the turn of the season:

I had not eaten goat-meat / The entire year;

At last I had goat-meat / On Ķekatas evening. Latvian folk song 14 066. In Northern Germany Christmas was called “Vullbuuksobend or Vollbauchabend” – the evening of the full belly. A common theme for many nations is pig’s happiness, which also means a belly full of pork, and is even used to denote the Christmas evening in Moravian dialects. At Christmas, the fast was broken and, like on other similar occasions, a meal of meat induced a festive feeling. Special culinary preparations were made – Easter ham and cake are mentioned even in Straupe in 1585170.

Traditional dishes of Vidzeme suit well the "medieval flavour", even if rich townspeople at the time of the Hanseatic League loved expensive foreign spices too, which are not very characteristic of the traditional Latvian cuisine.171 Typical medieval dishes of the Hanseatic region, which are still an important part of Latvian cuisine, like rye bread, bread with salted butter and hemp dishes have already been mentioned. The traditional dishes of Vidzeme go back a very long way – “koča”, “ķūķis” (porridge made of pearled grains with bacon and onions, which was usually prepared at Christmas); sour porridge, flat bread, bacon buns, grey peas with bacon, roasted peas, "sutnes", "sutņi" or kama (boiled, roasted and ground grain, which is then steamed and dried, afterwards ground, and later used as gruel with milk).172 It should be mentioned that grey peas with bacon were a traditional Carnival dish (before the Lent) in Schleswig-Holstein. They are also called Capuchins' peas (Graue Arfen mit Swiensback, Kassler und Kokswust).173 Medieval cookery books contained recipes for spiced mash peas with almond, cinnamon, nutmeg, ginger and honey (the so-called heathen or Arabian peas), as well as recipes that remind us very closely of Latvian cuisine, like “Bohemian peas” from Philippine Welserin’s cookery book “De re coquinaria” (1545):174 “If you want to make good Bohemian peas and a good meat sauce, take a large pot and cover it with a towel to keep the steam inside. Let the peas steam until they are soft. Then grind them well with the grinding stone. Afterwards put them through a sieve and mix thoroughly with the meat sauce, which should not be too thick, because it will get thicker in the process of stewing. And then stew them well. Afterwards take fresh bacon, boil it and when it is well boiled, cut it into fine little pieces, but not too small, they should not dissolve; put them into hot lard and roast them stirring a couple times, then take them out of the lard and put in the middle of the plate on the peas”. It should be mentioned that at the end of the 18th century, when the first cookery books were published in

170 VSVA, p. 299. In 1585, Nandelstads who had come from Koknese served as a priest in Straupe and was due a ham and a cake at Easter along with other pay.
172 The aforementioned dishes from Vidzeme are particularly singled out in the work of Signe Meirāne (Meirāne, S. Mūsu mantajums. R., 2016.)
173 The recipe was written down for the first time in the cookery book written by Sofija Vilhelmine Šaiblere in the 18th century.
174 The manuscript of the cookery book by Philippine Welserin is preserved in Ambras Castle, which today is a part of Austria, Inv. No. PA 1473. The number of the recipe is 135.
Latvian, they continued the tradition of German cookery books of adding different spices to dishes of peas, for example, “Sieved peas soup with roasted bacon and low juneberry fruits”.

Our “bukstinputra” (barley-potato stew) has deep roots too, even if a traditional component of this stew nowadays is the potato, which was not known at the time of the Hanseatic League. However, historically porridges were very varied and prepared from various products. In the 18th century, German physician and scientist Rosinus Lentilius wrote that peasants in Vidzeme tend to eat lightly ground buckwheat porridge, barley porridge, both made with milk, curdled milk more often, and porridges are served in wooden tableware. They also eat gruels and various root vegetables. [...] They make and eat a dish they call soost. It is jokingly told that foreigners who have once tasted this food, are very reluctant to leave the country, and once gone they suffer from an exquisite longing to return there. [...] This dish is in a way a mixture of different things, for example, lamb gammon and small intestines, dried eels, flounder, herrings, turnips and I do not know what else, and it is all boiled in milk. One might think that this is neither fish nor fowl, oysters mixed with fieldfare, but it does not smell bad and actually tastes very good.

**PRODUCTS RECOMMENDED FOR STRAUPE HANSA MARKETS**

The daily diet of medieval townspeople was very similar to the traditional Latvian cuisine, which was identified at the end of the 19th century and was used up to the middle of the 20th century, except for potatoes. Peas with bacon, bacon buns, rye bread and other bakery products made of rye flour, honey cakes, beer and cheese, sausages, smoked meats etc. all are medieval food. Seasonal produce and meat consumption in medieval German towns resonate with Latvian customs related to changes of seasons at Mārtiņi (Martinmas), Meteņi (Shrove Tuesday), Jāņi (St. John’s Day or Midsummer) etc., because they all have their roots in medieval Catholic Church and its calendar of fasts and feasts.

In German towns and rural regions, as well as in Latvian towns, many traditions were forgotten or changed, but Latvian peasants observed their customs for a long time, up to the 19th century. For preparation of medieval food of the Hanseatic region, produce of simpler species of cultivated plants should be chosen, which are not the result of breeding efforts of the end of the 20th century, nor cultivated plants that have been adopted for farming in Latvia at the end of the 20th or even in the 21st century. One should avoid products that were brought to Europe as a result of discovery of America, or be able to tell customers that in the middle of the 16th century very modern, new crops

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175 Harders, K. Tā pirmā pavāru grāmata no vāces grāmatām pārtulkota. Jelgava, 1796., p. 35.
177 Preparation of the honey cake – the whites of the eggs are added to whipped honey and it is all mixed again. Then flour, cinnamon, cloves and baking soda are added to the mixture and it is kneaded thoroughly. Then it is put into a cake mould and baked.
and animals were introduced – the common bean, pumpkin, corn, tomatoes, which were called “Apples of Paradise”, turkey etc. Potato, however, was introduced later – at the beginning of the 19th century in Latvia.

Today’s traditional medieval Christmas markets are inconceivable without gingerbread, mulled wine, marzipan figurines, pralines, which were among products used in towns at the time of the Hanseatic League. Medieval food was often decorated and dyed with colourants. A number of medicines used in folk medicine or homeopathy today were used in the Middle Ages and thus could be traded in such markets. Nowadays such medieval luxury foods as candied fruit jelly or biscuits with spices/ medicinal herbs will surprise no one, but it would be interesting to try caraway seeds toasted in honey or sugar.

A peculiarity of Straupe, even a unique occurrence in the region is dating 23 December with Saint Victoria’s name, which could be used to give a new name to a traditional treat, for example, **Saint Victoria's gingerbreads**. A document made in Straupe in 1535 is dated – *am dage Vycktoria junkfrawen* i.e. on 23 December or 24 April. No other document in Livonia is dated with the feast day of this saint, and the cult of Saint Victoria was not popular in Livonia or in other Hanseatic towns.

**Saint Victoria from Rome** (Vittoria in Italian) is a Christian saint, whose legend is related to the persecution of Christians during the reign of Roman Emperor Decius, although it is more likely that the historical roots of the legend stretch to the reign of Roman Emperor Diocletian in the 3rd century. Victoria had a sister named Anatolia. Their marriage to two noble Roman men was arranged, however, Anatolia convinced her sister that they should dedicate themselves to God. Victoria sold her dowry, gave all money to the poor and refused to marry. Their prospective grooms denounced them and arranged their imprisonment until they would agree to marry. But the sisters remained steadfast and converted their servants and guards to Christianity as well. Anatolia was soon sentenced to death, but Victoria’s groom Eugenius tried for years to convince her and kept her captive, but in the end he had to return her to the authorities. Under prefect Julian’s orders, Victoria was tortured and killed with a stab to her heart. Her executioner Liliarcus was immediately struck by leprosy and died six days later an awful death – eaten by worms. Victoria was supposedly buried to the West of Monteleone Sabino in the church of Santa Vittoria. Both sisters appear in a 6th century mosaic in a church at Ravenna, and nowadays the Catholic feast day of the saint is celebrated on 10 July, Orthodox feast day – on 23 December.

Why does the name of the saint appear in Straupe and is the date related to the Orthodox feast day? It could mean that a merchant or a councilman from Straupe originally hailed from those rare places in Germany, to which Saint Victoria’s cult had spread, or that merchants had close trade relations with Orthodox Russian towns – like Peter Nowogordenn, who is mentioned in the document that mentions Saint Victoria. Based on this, one could look for ideas in the Orthodox cuisine, especially for the cycle of fasting food. Just like in German towns, Old Russians living at their trade centres prepared treats with abundance of spices, and made "prjaņiki" gingerbreads similar to...
German gingerbreads. The contemporary gingerbreads originate in Southern Germany in the 16th century at the latest. Initially honey cakes from dough mixed with spices and herbs were made in monasteries and in pharmacies in towns, later in the 13th–14th century – in towns too. The craft was further developed in towns. Gingerbreads became popular, and guilds of ginger bread bakers appeared. To this day, the most famous are Nuremberg gingerbreads Lebkuchen, which have a protected designation of origin. The cookery book of Sabina Welserin, published in Augsburg in 1553, contains several recipes of gingerbreads, one of them is “How to make good gingerbread”: “First take a pound of sugar, a quarter of the light honey, take a whole quarter of flour, 5 lots of cinnamon rolls, 3 lots of cloves, 4 lots of ground cardamom. Grind the rest of the spices thoroughly. Add ginger and sugar to honey and let it simmer, then put flour into a trough, mix in cardamom first, then ginger and other spices. Knead the dough and then flatten it a little. Bake carefully!”


A recipe of gingerbread was published in the book written by Suntaži and Mālpils priest S.Gubert (1645/49) in German – a mixture of gingerbread and vodka is recommended as a medicine for liver diseases: “Take honey and melt it, stir and remove foam, when it has liquefied, remove it from the hearth. Add well-sieved rye flour, which has been warmed up to room temperature on a winter day, and stir well until the substance reminds thick porridge. Knead the lumps and store it in a cold place overnight. On the next day, knead it thoroughly, add ground ginger, cinnamon, pieces of bitter orange, anise, cardamom. Afterwards take a sheet of paper, grease it with butter, place the

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178 Tönnies Fenne’s Low German Manual, p. 81 – Russian word ‘preprani’ is translated in Middle Low German as ‘peperkokenn’.
179 In olden times in Rīga one pound was equivalent to 418.8 g, one lot in Lübeck – 15.2 g.
dough in flat pancakes on it and put into the oven. Gingerbread can be put in the oven only after the bread is baked. It can be done, if the oven is good. If you want them baked, you need to know the characteristics of the oven. The oven must be preheated to the right temperature.”

One could use cherries to create a traditional product with a new name, since they have been grown in Straupe. In the 17th century cherries were grown at Straupe Manor as evidenced by records of a witch trial: In 1675 the supervisor of Lielstraupe Manor carried with him salt treated by a witch, but lords still ordered him flogged for allowing birds to eat cherries. Regardless of the fact that there are no written records from earlier centuries, cherries were cultivated during the Middle Ages and used in cakes, compotes, syrups and marmalades in the form of dried fruit etc. Cherries were brought to Europe from the Middle East. They were known to Romans who brought them to England and other provinces in Europe. Romans valued them highly and a recipe of cherries preserved in honey is included in the cookery book Apicus. In the Middle Ages, cherries were grown in monasteries and in townspeople’s gardens, but some cases are known of their mass production for sale. Medieval cookery books recommended the use of cherries in fruit purées, pies and drinks. Cherries were particularly appreciated in German lands. Tacuinum Sanitatis names two types of cherries – sweet cherries (Cerasia dulcia) and sour cherries (Cerasia acotosa). Their properties are cold and moist, therefore dangerous for the belly, but boiling and adding wine negates those bad effects. In Middle Low German, [sour] cherries were known as Wisselbere, Wisselböm, but sweet cherries were cultivated in German lands too. In Russia, cherries are mentioned in written sources from the 11th century, they were introduced to Northern regions as cultivated plants in the 15th century. According to 16th century sources, in Livonia, cherries were cultivated on the territory of Estonia – in the orchard of Kudina manor to the North of Tartu – apples, plums, cherries in the 16th century. Cherry stones have been found in Tartu. Latvians in Vidzeme called cherries “ķezberes” for a long time, and Latvian peasants started to cultivate them in their own gardens only in the 19th century.

II. Clothing at the time of the Hanseatic League

Priest Ziegler writes about Riga townspeople at the end of the 16th century: "Many people seem to find the greatest delight in wearing splendid clothing. They strive incessantly to obtain it. And it seems to them that if they dress like peacocks, they will be happy and nobody will equal them. Should anyone invent a new fashion […], regardless of its absurdity and strangeness, there will always be people who will ape it. And the stranger and spookier such fashion will be, the more the
contemporary [...] dazed world will love it.” The hunger of townspeople of that time for luxury could have passed Straupe by taking into account that it prospered in the second half of the 14th century – the beginning of the 16th century, which coincided with the time of flourish of the Hanseatic League.

In an effort to determine clothing that could have been worn in Straupe at the time of the Hanseatic League, one must take into account that historical sources about Straupe and Livonia in general are scarce and incomplete on this matter. And they have not been researched to a sufficient extent, based on different types of evidence. Physical evidence of townspeople’s clothing is scarce – no authentic costumes have been preserved and there is no archaeological evidence. In the Middle Ages, townspeople in contrast to indigenous people, who buried their dead in their finest clothing with jewellery\(^\text{185}\), were buried in a linen sheet or sack without any funerary gifts. Written sources on clothing in the largest Livonian towns are very fragmented – they provide information about the diversity of fabrics traded\(^\text{186}\), raw materials for textiles, names of items of clothing and jewellery in different contexts, for example, in the charter of the tailors’ guild etc. However, this information has not been summarised and thus does not allow for a reconstruction of a costume of a Livonian townsman/townswoman.\(^\text{187}\)

Research performed to date, however, indicates that clothing of German merchants and craftsmen in the Hanseatic region was similar to that in Livonia, Prussia and Northern Germany, except for some local influences. With regard to names of jewellery and, likely its appearance as well, an example of a local variation is the masterpiece that had to be made to obtain membership in the guild of jewellers founded in Rīga in 1513. It was a brooch that was not called the typical German name \textit{Handtruw}, but \textit{Bresze}, which, in the opinion of linguists, seems to be a loanword from Finno-Ugric languages.\(^\text{188}\) Use of various types of brooches was typical for a wide region. Brooches were used to fasten men’s and women’s outerwear.\(^\text{189}\) The masterpiece of Rīga goldsmiths was the same as in Lübeck – a ring, a brooch and a black engagement brooch (\textit{handtruwü breze geblackmalet}) decorated with gold.\(^\text{190}\) Brooches were the one element that was common in the clothing of Livonian townspeople and peasants – townswomen wore brooches of gold or cheap circle brooches or the so-called Hansa brooches found in archaeological excavations in the territory of Latvia in rural cemeteries from the second half of the 14th century. They could be decorated with a depiction of

\(^{185}\) Ethnographic and archaeological history of clothing is available in research papers of I.Žeiere, M.Slava, A.Zariņa, archaeologists V.Muižnieks, A.Radinš, A.Vijups etc.

\(^{186}\) For example, LUB I, 11, p. 751 – a list, which names over 20 types of fabrics traded in Livonia.


\(^{189}\) See, for example, http://www.mittelalterliche-kleidung.com/gewandungen-glossar/

joined hands (*handtruwe* – the symbol of engagement) or with pious inscriptions (*AVE MARIA* etc.)

In the 13th century, following Christianisation, new developments appeared in the clothing of indigenous people, probably as a result of the influx of German craftsmen and townspeople. For example, more and more often, mantles varied visually and technically from the previous historical period: wool and linen chequered or woven in stripes using the three-shaft tick technique. They could have been made on the horizontal loom in artisans’ workshops in towns.

It should also be noted that Germans in Livonia used fabrics woven by the locals – the craft of the linen weaver in Riga was mainly performed by Latvians, but in 1560, in Grobiņa, a “Latvian fabric” (*Lettisch Tuch*) is mentioned among peasants’ duties.

In the vicinity of Straupe, several burial fields, where the dead were buried until the 13th century, have been explored by archaeologists and the research shows that for the most part Livs were buried in Pūricas burial field in Lielstrape and in Zvejnieki burial field in Mazstrape. Written

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2) Antiques found at Baukalns near Straupe – a horseshoe brooch and a ring. Ill. from the Depository of Archaeological Materials of the Institute of Latvian History, number on the pre-documentation list 1645 Collection No. 201, 45. Baukalns, 1976.

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192 Ceļā uz latviešu tautu..., pp. 81-82, reconstruction at Valmiera Museum

193 Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und Livland (1557-1560), No. 2580.

194 Ceļā uz latviešu tautu..., p. 16.
sources, on the other hand, indicate that Livs and Latvians inhabited the area around Straupe in the Middle Ages. The Baukalns cemetery was explored in 1976 as part of small scale excavations, and several burials from the 16th century were found with rather typical decorations of peasants’ costumes – horse shoe brooches, glass beads, a necklace made of beads and little bells, cowrie shells, pewter and lead adornments for clothing.

Artisans, who made jewellery and accessories for peasants, provided connection between townspeople and peasants, i.e. between local customs and peculiarities of the local dress. In Livonian towns it was usual for non-Germans to make jewellery and clothing accessories for peasants. On the territory of Livonia, jewellery was of great importance in the dress of all ethnic groups, since fabrics were dyed using natural dyes, and such jewellery – bright and providing a contrast to the monochrome fabric – was very popular.

Earlier jewellery was made of bronze, whereas, in the 14th–16th century, pewter and lead rosettes were used to decorate edges of clothing.

1) A replica of a non-German woman’s dress, 13th–14th century, the edge of the mantle is decorated with glass beads and pewter rosettes. 2016. ill. from LNKC (Latvian National Centre for Culture).


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195 Auns, M. Turaidas un Krimuldas pilsnovadu..., pp. 53-58.
According to written sources, the influence of indigenous people on artisanship in towns was most prominent in Tallinn, where jewellers and jewellery dealers – ettekenmekere (from Estonian Ehe – an adornment) were for the most part Estonians, Germans and Swedes too. These craftsmen were later called „Pistelmaker“ – brass masters, pewter casters, who also sold the jewellery. Men and women working as jewellers (at least five female jewellers paid duties to the town of Tallinn in the first half of the 14th century) manufactured various types of brass or low quality silver rosettes and pendants for decoration of clothing. One did not have to possess the skills of a smith to make them and a considerable number of moulds for casting various small pewter and lead adornments for clothing have been found in towns and castles of Livonia, including Cēsis, Tartu, Rīga. Written sources provide information about production of various accessories as well. In Rīga, the craft of belt makers and jewellers (breeszmaker) was established in 1513. There was also the craft of dealers in "Russian goods" (belts, non-German jewellery etc.) (rules of 1569). Crosses, combs and women’s purses were produced by non-German merchants, but sheep shears were produced by German merchants. In Tartu, seven jewellers (pistelmaker) acquired the rights of citizens in 1544, and three more silversmiths and five goldsmiths worked there at the time. There was one “pistelmeker” in Uus-Pärnu in 1553 – the non-German Jakob.

Glass beads were commonly used to decorate clothing and make jewellery for non-German women. The widespread use of yellow beads is due to the fact that glass beads were produced in Rīga as early as at the beginning of the 14th century. Blue, yellow, green and brown ring beads were

198 In 1459, the guild of jewellers was established and it was given a joint guild charter with beltsmiths approved by the town council.
199 During the first half of the 16th century, restrictions were imposed upon Estonian jewellers and jewellery sellers in Tallinn in the form of a double increase of the rent for a trading place for non-Germans – it went up from 6 to 12 marks. For German haberdashers the rent amounted to mere 4–5 marks a year.
used too. They were made in Livonian towns using the techniques of the craftsmen of Old Russian towns. Cobalt, lead or copper oxide was used to impart colour to glass. Dark, opaque beads, on the other hand, made of K-Ca-MG-Si glass are very similar to beads produced in medieval German towns. Yellow, blue and green beads have been found at Baukalns cemetery, too.

When undertaking reconstruction of costumes of Livonian townspeople, one should not overemphasise the local influence, because townspeople and peasants in Livonia belonged to two distinct sections of population from the legal point of view and from the point of view of daily life from the middle of the 14th century at the latest. It is likely, that there were even demonstrably accentuated differences in the lifestyle and visual messages encoded in clothing and jewellery, which became especially pronounced near the end of the Middle Ages. Urban commune made a distinction between Germans and non-Germans with some variations in rights, lifestyle peculiarities and customs related to clothing. There could have been some common trends in the dress of townspeople and peasants in Livonia – wearing wool-blend fabrics (wool, linen) on a day-to-day basis, use of brooches and amber beads, use of a belt with knives, coin purses and women’s purses attached to it. In the 16th century, the dress of a Livonian woman, regardless of her social standing, included a woman’s purse. Silver belts worn by young girls or brides are mentioned in the wills of townspeople from the 15th century onward and in the documentation of feudal lords in the 16th century. They have been found in several 16th century deposits in towns and villages.

In the Middle Ages, during the 13th–14th century, clothing of local non-German population could include an element of the traditional Liv’s clothing – woman’s skirt with fastenings on shoulders.

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202 Apals, J. Apala, Z. Āraīšu arheoloģiskās.. p. 8. For example, grave No. 6 – a woman’s necklace made of 4 bells and 21 beads.
203 Latvijas PSR arheoloģija. Rīga, 1974, p. 307. It is possible that this fabric was called by German merchants “sage” – light wool fabric – (LUB II, 1, No. 897) or “sardock, sarduck” LUB I, 10, No. 337; LUB I, 11, No.77, 689.
204 There was the craft of the amber turner or maker of amber rosaries (Bernstendregier) in Rīga – Napiersky, J. G. L. (Hg.) (1881) Die Libri reditum., II, No. 337, 517, 660.
206 Silver jewellery of unwed women with a sheath for knife (VSVA, No. 74, p. 349.)
In Livonia, non-German women wore long linen shirts with sleeves, a skirt was worn over it, often a long coat and a crown decorated with bronze (bronze plates), embroidered with glass beads, pewter rosettes etc. Men’s clothing was rather uniform – a coat made of a wool fabric, the hem of which did not reach the knee, was worn over a shirt. The coat was gathered at the waist and a leather or woven belt was worn over it. Fur coats were worn in the winter. A knife, a coin purse or a pouch for carrying various necessary things, often a whetstone were attached to the belt. Hats were worn – a felt hat in summer and a leather hat in winter. Leather footwear. Leg wrappings (found in rural cemeteries and in Riga) were worn in winter. They could be adorned with small bronze rings, but the foot itself was wrapped with an unadorned piece of cloth. Leg wrappings were held in the place by "celaines" (narrow woven garters). Medieval "pastalas" could be made without any adornments or in openwork technique, some of the latter have been found in towns too.

The clothing of peasants in the 14th–16th century bears resemblance to the later ethnographic tradition, whereas 13th–14th century and 15th century clothing of German speaking townspeople belongs more to the Late Gothic dress style popular in the towns of Central and Northern Europe. Some grave slabs with depictions of Livonian townspeople in a period-typical dress have been preserved to this day. The likeness of the wife of the mayor of Tallinn Kunigunde Schotelmunde (1381) shows a typical Late Gothic style woman’s dress. Grave slabs in Cesis St. John’s Church display images of wealthy townspeople of the 15th century in typical European townspeople’s garb.

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208 Latvijas PSR arheoloģija, p. 307.
211 Kalniņš, G. Cēsu svētā Jāņa baznīca. Cēsis, 2015, p. 44, No. 7. – figures of a man and a woman in long outer garments with arms folded in prayer, 1418; p. 45. No. 8 Grave slab of Margareta Segebaden (died in 1441).
It is believed that within the Hanseatic region the latest trends in clothing fashions reached Livonian towns quickly, even if the greatest part of the society wore traditional clothing for a long time, thus leaving any concern with fashion to the richest. In the 15th–16th century, German speaking upper class townspeople of the richest Hanseatic towns displayed their wealth in luxury textiles. In the 16th century, on the other hand, the so-called German burgher clothing style developed. Popular at the same time was the Flanders dress, later Spanish dress etc.

Costumes of Straupe townspeople can be made based on an array of analogues – fabrics used during that period, jewellery, accessories, fashionable trends in dress silhouettes using the rich visual material and research material on townspeople’s dress in Hanseatic towns in general, and including accents from the local material for details of clothing of Livonian townspeople and peasants. However, one must always keep in mind the social status of the wearer – a wealthy merchant; a prosperous artisan; someone from the lower classes, a non-German living in the town. Additionally marital status was important for women – a married woman always had her head covered (a bonnet, a headscarf worn in various styles), young women of marriageable age, widows. Only fabrics made of natural materials should be used – linen, wool-blend (wool and linen), wool, silk.

An abundance of visual material from Hanseatic towns in the territory of contemporary Germany and Poland is available starting from the 15th century, when costumes of townspeople from different social classes were depicted: wealthy townspeople and patricians’ families, craftsmen, sometimes maidservants. In the 16th century, at the beginning of the early modern period, social differences between the social groups of townspeople became more and more distinct and were strictly regulated by town administration. Differentiation by material situation increased too. 15th–16th century is the time, when more varied historical sources appear with fragmented yet diverse information about the types of dress. Descriptions of townspeople’s dress can sometimes be found in chronicles and other narrative sources. Items of clothing that presented a thing of value are often mentioned in wills and sometimes their description is included – colour, type of fabric etc. A great number of wills are preserved in Tallinn starting from the end of the 15th century, less in other Livonian towns. They provide insight into the daily lives of lower classes as well. Towns’ books of expenses sometimes mention and describe items of clothing given as a pay to servants, construction workers etc. Many facts about townspeople’s clothing and especially their jewellery are provided by luxury prohibitions of the 15th–16th century. Details of clothing can best be explored by viewing their depictions – clothing of contemporaries in stone

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216 Russow’s Livonian Chronicle, Ciglers works etc.  
217 Pärn, A. Russow, E. Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum .., 602; Wills – published in LUB too.
carvings and sculptures, wood carvings, miniatures, altarpieces. This approach presents a problem with regard to Livonian towns. However, there is for example the Tallinn school of painting, the representatives of which used individual townspeople as prototypes for characters in their paintings in churches in the 16th-17th century.

Exploration of burials shows social differentiation in towns, but it is almost impossible to connect the archaeological material to the clothing and jewellery of townspeople mentioned in written sources. Written sources mention silver and gilded belts worn by townswomen in Livonia in the 14th–15th century, but archaeological evidence indicates their presence only from the 16th century.\(^{218}\) It is also mentioned that townswomen wore expensive adornments on their bonnets, but no archaeological evidence of that has been found.\(^{219}\)

Information about the external appearance of Livonian townswomen in the 16th century is supplied by dress albums, which contain some depictions of women. Their reliability can be debated. Dress albums have rather detailed representations of women's, less often men's, clothing in Hanseatic towns, with visual differences among the dresses of women from different social groups and with different family status emphasised. The well-known German illustrator Jost Amman (1586\(^{220}\)) drew the dresses of 8 different women from Frankfurt am Main, 6 from Nuremberg, 5 from Augsburg, 3 from Cologne, 3 from Danzig and Leipzig, but one from Lübeck, because he had not been to Lübeck himself and redrew it from works of other authors. Similarly, Livonian women represented in the dress albums of Jost Amman, Jean-Jacques Boissard etc. wear clothing of the second half of the 16th century, which has often been redrawn several times. Dress albums (printed books) started to gain popularity from the 30s of the 16th century. At this time, first books of patterns for embroidery were published too, along with other books for educated and wealthy public. In some cases a dress in the album can be compared to a painting depicting real people. For example, the dress of a woman from Lübeck in Jost Amman’s album of 1586 can be compared to the women of Lübeck depicted in the residence of a Lübeck’s burgher at Breite Straße 4-6 (wall painting, 1572-1583), some of whom are depicted wearing clothing typical for the town, some – clothing worn in Flanders at the time.\(^{221}\)

\(^{218}\) Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. *Testamente Revaler Bürger…* No. 3 (1376). No. 59 (1493), No. 105 (1511) – a gilded belt etc.

\(^{219}\) Ibid., No. 9 (1418). It is recorded that a silver belt presented as an engagement gift was worn by the bride during the wedding ceremony in church in the Baltic Sea region in the 17th century (Heikinmäki, M. L. *Die Gaben der Braut bei den Finnen und Esten*. Teil 1. Helsinki, 1971, p. 32).


\(^{221}\) Ibid.
The manufacture of clothing was a labour intensive process that required a variety of skills. \textsuperscript{222} A \textit{spindle} was used for spinning wool and flax fibres, and the task was performed by women in Livonia, as well as throughout the Hanseatic region and Europe. Girls were taught to perform household tasks from a very early age, and noblewomen, townswomen and peasants alike are depicted holding a spindle. Virgin Mary was often depicted holding a spindle in the Christian iconography, especially at the moment of Annunciation, the same applies to the ancestress to all humanity Eve. The so-called "spinning prayer" was deemed appropriate for women – regardless of her descent, a woman who was working and praying at the same time could achieve the greatest virtue available to one of her gender. \textsuperscript{223} The spindle was a symbol for a life full of reflection, and distracted from bad thoughts. \textsuperscript{224} Archaeological finds of spindle whorls made from clay, bone, sandstone, and slate have been made in Livonian towns up to the 18th century. (Koknese) \textsuperscript{225} The spinning wheel has been known in towns in the Baltic Sea region since the second half of the 13th century. Such spinning wheels were made in Hamburg around 1400, \textsuperscript{226} in Tallinn they were probably made by local turners in the 15th century too. \textsuperscript{227} On the territory of Latvia, a spinning wheel from the 17th century has been found during archaeological excavations in Koknese. \textsuperscript{228} In towns, various types of horizontal looms were used, which were still rather similar, (like pulley looms used in rural areas in the 19th century), even if people in the rural areas of Livonia used archaic technologies. For example, in the 17th century Kastrāne Skubiņi burial the initial selvedge of a fabric has been found woven on a warp-weighted loom. \textsuperscript{229} Both women and men weaved, but as a craft it was mostly performed by men in Hanseatic towns. \textsuperscript{230}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{222} Archaeological material indicate that for the most part, clothing was made with great care, but there were exceptions too – tangled embroideries etc., probably, due to incompetence. See Žeiere, I. \textit{Arheoloģiskās liecības par apgērbu Latvijā 13.–18.gs}. Rīga, 2008; Zariņa, A. \textit{Vērpšanas rīki Salaspils Laukskolas 10.–13.gs. apbedījumos. Latvijas vēstures institūta žurnāls}. 2002. No. pp. 4–5.
\bibitem{225} \textit{Latvijas PSR arheoloģija}, p. 302.
\bibitem{228} \textit{Latvijas PSR arheoloģija}, p. 302.
\bibitem{229} Zariņa, A. \textit{Apgērbs Latvijā 7.–17 gs}. Rīga, 1999, p. 36.
\bibitem{230} Hildebrandt, H. (Hg.) \textit{Das Rigische Schulbuch 1286–1352...} No. 104: The name of a female weaver Alheydis (\textit{Alheydis rubea textrix}, 1305), appears in the Riga Debt Book. She is mentioned alone as well as together with her husband (\textit{Johannes rubeus textori et Alheidis, uxor ejus}, 1305); Stieda, W., Mettig, C. \textit{Schragen der Gilden...} No. 55, §36. – in the charter of Riga tanners’ and pelt dressers’ guild (Kürschener) in the 14th century; Kaplinski, K. \textit{Tallina käsitöölised XIV sajandi}. .. pp. 46–102.
\end{thebibliography}


A considerable amount of information and an extensive historiography is available about the craft of linen weavers in Rīga. In the 15th century, the guild tried to ensure equal earning opportunities for all its members by introducing a rule that one master could only have a maximum of four weaving stands (looms). Linen weaving was considered a shameful craft, because it was closely associated with naked flesh – shifts, shrouds etc., and it was mainly performed by non-Germans in Rīga. A separate craft was the dyer and washer of fabrics. Stretching and smoothing of fabrics is depicted in the Books of Nuremberg Almshouses, but ironing of ready garments required a different approach. Seams were ironed using glass discs curved on one side or special stones. Such glass discs were called “Saumglätter”, “Glättglas” in German. They have been found in archaeological excavations in Rīga and in centres near Daugava and in Valmiera.

Ironing glasses found in Rīga and Valmiera Ill. from: Caune, A. 10.-17.gs.gludināmstiklu atradumi Latvijā. AE XVII. Rīga, 1994, p. 50.

231 Stieda, W., Mettig, C. Schragen der Gilden..
232 Libri reeditum 1:1, No. 235.
It is believed that glass discs were used for pressing or ironing moist linen fabric and clothing. They were used in particular for ironing edges of fabrics, as well as seams, collars, cuffs, women’s bonnets and headscarves.\textsuperscript{233}


Sewing and handicraft was done individually by townsfolk and townswomen\textsuperscript{234} or by craftsmen organised in guilds. There were no artisans’ workshops (weavers, tailors etc.) separate from residential homes at the time. To learn the craft one had to become an apprentice with a master for several years and thereby complete the so-called apprenticeship. Tailors\textsuperscript{235}, tailor’s cutters, and other crafts were separate from leather treatment and fur tailors\textsuperscript{236}, hatters and makers and sellers of trinkets (i.e. accessories). Scissors and needles were the tools of tailors and other craftsmen for centuries. Scissors or shears – in Hanseatic towns in Livonia spring scissors and the newer pivoted scissors (appeared in the 14th century) with blades held together by a rivet were used.\textsuperscript{237}

\textsuperscript{234} Kaplinski, K. Tallina käsitöölised XIV sajandi. .. pp. 46–102..
\textsuperscript{236} Stieda, W., Mettig, C. Schragen der Gilden... No. 55.
\textsuperscript{237} Latvijas PSR arheoloģija, p. 301.
A Dyer of Fabrics and a Tailor. Ill. from the Book of Nuremberg Almshouse, 1425 (Mandel I) – a dyer of fabrics and a tailor. Available at http://www.nuernberger-hausbuecher.de/ (Mendel I)

It is believed that most of underwear was made by family members of townspeople themselves, but wealthy people ordered men’s and women’s outerwear from tailors. On top of this individual approach, trade in ready-made clothing and second-hand clothing existed in towns. Craftsmen’s families and specialised trinket sellers were engaged in it. The sale of trinkets (Krämerei und Hökerei) encompassed various sectors and was regarded as craftsmanship. In 1360 the charter of goldsmiths in Rīga mentions that women, sellers of second-hand clothing (Cledersellerschen), were required to inform master craftsmen about their gold and silver items, who then evaluated them, otherwise the trader had to pay a fine in the amount of 3 marks. In 1522, the craft of trinket seller or Russian trinket sellers was introduced in Rīga – only non-Germans were allowed to trade in women’s purses, but German and Russian merchants had their own assortments of goods. Women being occupied with embroidery and decoration of clothing are mentioned in various descriptions, and the contents of women’s purses provide some evidence to that. Parts of clothing and utensils of a 26-year-old Cēsis townswoman have been preserved as a result of a tragic event. It is likely that she died in 1577 when the Tsar of Moscow Ivan the Terrible, after five days of bombardment of Cēsis Castle, took it, and she was buried under its walls as a result of an explosion. The woman had a belt with keys and a purse, which contained beads, buttons, a brocade ribbon, a ring, a thimble, etc. A purse was attached to the silver chain belt found in the Jumpravmuiža deposit; this purse contained thimbles and material for making trinkets – a silver bead, a couple of red glass beads, small rock crystal plates, a small silver ring and a pendant, along with gold brocade threads and a bronze thimble.

238 Hildebrandt, H. (Hg.) Das Rigische Schuldbuch 1286–1352... No. 927.
239 Stieda, W., Mettig, C. Schragen der Gilden... No. 30. A woman, seller of clothing, (Tale Klederzellersche) is mentioned in 1402 too, see Die Libri reditum II, No. 561, p. 76.
Townspeople's dress included a linen (silk was rare and only meant for upper classes) shift worn by both men and women. The book "Tacuinum Sanitatis", on which upper classes' notion of good quality of life was based for a long time, told this (No. XLVII. Vestis Linea) about linen: the inherent danger is in the pressure it exerts upon skin, thus preventing sweating, which can be averted by combining it with silk. Wool, on the other hand, (XLVI. Vestis Lania) was recommended to mix with linen to prevent skin irritation. These combinations of fabrics were well known to townspeople. One version of Rīga luxury regulations states that wealthy townspeople were allowed to use velvet and silk trimmings on the lower edges of their inner clothing, which did not exceed 1.5 cubits (0.9 m) in width. The cut of the men's shift was very simple – it was made of rectangle and triangle pieces of fabric. Its lower edge reached the wearer's knee. Design of the collar and the ends of sleeves varied depending on the current fashion. It is possible that linen brasies were worn too. Theoretically, cotton fabrics appeared in the late Middle Ages (in the 15th century).

Outerwear was made of fabric, furs, tanned leather. As a matter of fact, all fabrics that were traded and used for German fashion were available in Livonian towns. They could be rather lavish. The charter of the tailors' guild and luxury prohibitions of towns in the 15th–16th century mention all kinds of fabrics with their prices. It is likely that wool fabric was used on a wide scale, because it could be made locally, but finer fabrics were imported. Theoretically, townspeople were prohibited from wearing clothing made from some fabrics (Rīga, 1593) – velvet, silk satin, damask. At the same time it was noted that women wore silk satin and damask clothing, armozinе (French – dense plain or twill silk fabric dyed black), silk camlet (French – camel's hair) overcoats, capes and skirts, scarlet (fine and expensive woollen cloths, usually dyed purple), rep capes (Hoicken) and coats (Röcke). Councilmen and the elders of Riga Merchant Guild wore overcoats and coats (Röcke) with velvet trimmings. Clothing was made by tailors who were usually united in guilds with their own charter in larger towns. In Straupe tailors are mentioned in connection with the town's liege lords Bosens, but there is no doubt that independent craftsmen conducted their business there too.

Furs of various animals were used too. They were processed by pelt dressers. There was also the craft of the tanner. During the second half of the 16th century, Balthasar Russow wrote: at a merchants' wedding clothing was lined with the fur of lynxes, martens, but the clothing of the less

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241 "Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna.. 24
243 "Flax and wool, on the other hand, were produced locally and exported. Tiderihs Azgalis from Straupe mentioned in the Rīga Debit Book in the 13th century traded in flax. In the 13th–14th century, the crafts of linen weavers and bath attendants were considered shameful in Riga, because they dealt with linen shifts that touched bare flesh, and linen sheets were also used as shrouds. Linen weavers were present in towns during the entire period encompassed by this study. In Riga, the craft was for the most part performed by non-Germans.
244 Tailor Berteltt (GU II, No. 549)
wealthy – with the fur of foxes and wolves. Luxury rules (Riga, 1593), on the other hand, prohibited use of marten fur linings, the expensive furs of marten, sable, lynx, but allowed to use 3 marten skins for trimmings – the collar and patches, which at the end of the 16th century seems to have made a rather modest outerwear.

Wealthy and poor wore similar garments, mainly distinguished by the material they were made of.

Men’s outerwear consisted of a doublet or camisole, and an overcoat or a cape, sometimes a jerkin with or without sleeves (a vest, a coat too, German: Rock). The doublet had sleeves, the simplest version did not even have a collar. There were holes at the base of the garment to attach the hose. Usually it had lining. It could have gold buttons, which also served the purpose of decoration.

Hose was a complicated garment, its cut changed with different trends in fashion. The close fitting hose or chausses (French) was a garment that consisted of two parts – long stockings attached to the belt or something that functioned as underpants; and was part of the Gothic style

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245 Rusovs, B. Livonijas kronika. Translated by Ed. Veispals. Riga, 1926, pp. 63, 64.
246 Rīgas pilsētas tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna.. I., p. 23.
of clothing. In the 15th century, a garment similar to modern trousers appeared. It was fastened with buttons or laced to the doublet. From the 30s to the 50s of the 16th century, new types of trousers became the fashion, for example, the so-called Plunderhose, which was made of wide strips of fabric with slits between them, through which a pleated silk lining of another colour was woven. Other types of trousers were worn too. The belt to which a coin purse, often tools for starting fire, weapons etc. were attached and the head-wear were important details of the dress.

A longer jerkin or a coat made of a more expensive cloth or leather\(^\text{248}\) could be worn over the camisole, with or without sleeves [attached with buttons in the 16th century], usually with lining. In the 15th century, overcoats with pleats became very popular with townspeople, in particular in towns in Northern Germany. They were still worn in the 16th century. An overcoat was worn over the coat – often without any fastening and with fur lining.

![Examples of man's overcoats 1) 13th–14th century.

1) The Court of Townspeople. Ill. from Volkacher „Salbuch“, around 1500. Available at http://www.hdbg.de/fra-mitt/german/salbuch/4/4_0.html

\(^{248}\) A goat skin jerkin from the 16th century found in archaeological exploration in Cēsis.
Women’s clothing included various combinations of petticoats, dresses, gowns and coats, as well as overcoats and cloaks. Usually women wore at least three layers of clothing – a shift, petticoats and a dress.

*Woman’s basic kirtle, 13th–15th century; from the book: Thursfield, S. The Medieval Tailor’s Assistant. .. p. 16.*

In the Gothic age, women and men wore long clothing (surcoats from linen, less often from silk, which were pulled on over the head), for men in the 14th century, it was fully replaced by a cotehardie (German Rock).

*Examples of the Gothic woman’s dress (surcoat, gown) silhouettes (1 – 13th century; 2, 3, 4, 5 – 14th century) from the book: Thursfield, S. The Medieval Tailor’s Assistant. .. p. 17.*

Wealthy women in towns had casual dress (worn at home) and several formal or Sunday outfits for going to church. In the 16th century, a woman’s dress became more complicated, social differentiation became more distinct. It is rather customary to designate the outer garments of more festive formal outfits with the colour red. In 1506, in Tallinn a maidservant was bequeathed the Sunday overcoat and the red skirt with bows by her mistress. In 16th century Rīga, formal and wedding skirts could be red. The skirt could have silver decorations too. Rosaries made of

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249 Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. Revaler Regeste: Testamente Revaler Bürger und Einwohner aus den Jahren 1369–1851. Göttingen: 1975, No. 56 (1491) – to the daughter, jewellery for two gowns, a silver ribbon, 6 silver spoons etc.

250 LUB II, 3, No. 78; Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. Testamente Revaler .., No. 57 (1 red jacket to the sister), No. 106.; Line, I. Line, I. Turīga pilsētnieka un muižnieka tērps.. pp. 97-139.

251 Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. Revaler Regeste: Testamente .., No. 106., p. 111 (rockenscale)
amber, adorned with coral and silver stones etc. could be used as splendid accessories with clothing.\textsuperscript{252}

In German and Livonian towns unwed women were distinguished from married women by their head-wear – married women wore headscarves and bonnets (\textit{Fruwen haube}), which were often adorned with pearls, silver or gold decorations in the 15th–16th century.\textsuperscript{253} Unwed girls wore hair ribbons that could be lavishly decorated with or made from silver, or very plain. Riga tailors’ guild charter (1492) set the fee for a young girl’s dress from the age of 8 and older, and it is likely that girls of marriageable age were the ones dressed most splendidly.\textsuperscript{254} Like men, women carried various useful things attached to their belts – a women’s purse, a bunch of keys, a coin purse.


\textsuperscript{252} ibid., No. 106., p. 111.
\textsuperscript{253} LUB II, 3, No. 78: In 1506, a maidservant in Tallinn was bequeathed adornments for the bonnet, which weighed 12 lots of silver, and a casual head-wear with fastenings. ; the expensive bonnet decorations were inherited from generation to generation (Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R. \textit{Testamente Revaler Bürger…} No. 39 (1418)
\textsuperscript{254} Stieda, W., Mettig, C. \textit{Schrägen der Gilden und Ämter der Stadt Riga bis 1621}. Riga, 1896, No. 92.
Townspeople mainly wore leather shoes made by shoemakers in towns. They were also called detail shoes because they were made of several cut pieces of leather, not from one piece like "pastalas". Overshoes made of wood, cork or leather (Glotzen) by specialised craftsmen were worn in the 15th century. Several names of the craft are mentioned in Riga – Glotzemakersche, Patynemaker, Trippenmacker\textsuperscript{255}. Overshoes or pattens were worn to protect the expensive leather footwear, they resembled sandals and had a thick sole. In addition, winter footwear of people in Riga was fitted with ice spurs or the sole was covered with iron to prevent slipping.

\textit{Openwork "pastala", 14th–16th century, found in Riga, in the collection of the Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation, RVKM41995; 1456}

1) Ice spurs found in Rīga, reconstruction of ice spur’s holder and the fitting used to attach it to the shoe.

In the late 14th – early 16th century, at least some of the families in Straupe were merchants’ families who could afford the finest cloths available in Europe, as well as expensive jewellery. Depictions of patricians of Hanseatic towns, especially townspeople of Lübeck around 1500, show us refined dresses. This is also evidenced by descriptions of contemporaries who wrote about the 16th century. The most expensive part of clothing was the outerwear. Robbing one of outer garments was akin to shaming the individual and taking a part of his/her wealth.

1) Jörg Breu the Elder, around 1510–1515. Augsburg Labours of the Months
2) A fragment of the altarpiece in Lübeck by the local artist Hermen Rode, end of the 15th century

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256 Line, I. Turīga pilsētnieka un muižnieka tērps… 97-139.
The special status of different social groups was particularly emphasised in town regulations in the 15th–16th century. The oldest speeches of burghers indicate that a maidservant was not allowed to cover her head with a crown at her wedding in Riga at the end of the 15th century, and the master was not allowed to present furs (Buntwerk) as a gift to a maidservant, except, if she was German and married "an honest German". Later on, clothing and actions of women belonging to other social groups were regulated too. Town councils distinguished councilmen's families, families of the wealthiest merchants, craftsmen and maidservants. Early 16th century regulations provided that clothing of councilmen's families was the most splendid and such could not be worn by members of the Riga Merchant Guild. At the end of the 16th century, the luxury law for the town of Jelgava of 1591 prohibited wearing gold chains at weddings and other gatherings. The prohibition did not extend to officials' wives. All townswomen were prohibited from wearing the clothing of princes, nobility or foreigners. This ordinance demonstrates that women mostly showed themselves off in rich clothing at weddings and other gatherings (Gestereien). However, women found opportunities to demonstrate their best clothing in everyday situations too. Russow's Livonian Chronicle mentions a case when the daughter of Tartu pelt dresser went to the church dressed like a merchant's daughter. Upon exiting the church she was attacked by a couple of town's guards dispatched by Tartu town council, who tore off her dress in public, thus shaming her for dressing in a manner inappropriate to her status.

In Livonian towns, the splendid and refined lifestyle of the 16th century is supported by archaeological evidence, even if not as impressive as in other towns of the Baltic Sea region where the social boundaries between the patricians and ordinary townspeople were even more prominent.

Merchants in Straupe had to take into consideration that they could not dress in a manner more splendid than the town's lieges Rosens: At the end of the 16th century, a chest owned by Georg Rosen from Mazstraupe and Raiskums contained 2 gold chains with 300 links, gold and silk.

259 In the majority of towns in the Baltic Sea region and throughout Western Europe, town councils tried to instil strict distinctions between all classes of townspeople by means of various measures of social control, so that each class would have its place and function within the society, its own boundaries that could not be trespassed, and tried to regulate social practices, including women's fashions and organisation of family events. The aim of social control was especially pronounced after the Reformation in protestant towns, where sumptuary laws found theoretical grounds in theological works too. See Kizik, E. Die reglementierte Feier. Hochzeiten, Taufen und Begräbnisse in der frühneuzeitlichen Hansestadt. Osnabrück, 2008.

260 LUB Bd. 11, No. 75, p. 61.


264 See Rīgas pilsetās tipogrāfa Nikolausa Mollīna... Art. XXVIII.

265 Aus baltischer Vergangenheit... p. 22.

266 Rusovs, B. Livonijas kronika .. 27

embroidered bonnets with pearls and garnets, gilded brooches, silver belts, strings of pearls etc. Riga townspeople were also prohibited from wearing too expensive trinkets, including gold jewellery, by special sumptuary laws.

268 VSVA, pp. 349-350.
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Straupe, 2016