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**THE TOWN OF CĒSIS**  
**FROM 13TH TO 16TH CENTURY**

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## SUMMARY

In Livonia, the establishment of cities coincided with the territorial land subjugation and the development of trading system. To promote the subjugation of the territory crusaders as a long-term strategy implemented the building of fortified castles. In the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century mostly around fortified castles occurred several central sites formed mostly by traders. One of such settlements was Cēsis, which in the Middle Ages was called Wenden and which formed at the Order of Cēsis stone castle together with which it created united complex. Cēsis settlement originally consisted of both trader's warehouses and buildings of the residents of the settlement. There were trade routes near the area that were important factor in determining the development. In the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Cēsis settlement had developed into a village with active trade. City quality of the settlement was reached at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, because in 1314 for the first time Cēsis citizens and Fogt were mentioned in written historical sources thus indirectly conforming the existence of legally valid location.

The location of Cēsis settlement at one of the most important castles in the power system of German Order determined its exposure throughout the whole existence of Livonia. Therefore, although there was a town council, highly autonomous self-governing body did not develop. A few indications reveal that the town in its decisions and actions was always exposed the Order. On the one hand, it obstructed the development of autonomous organisation but on the other hand, it always ensured the town with support and safety, determining that the town since its formation not even once until the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was not ruined due to military conflict. Also, various circumstances indicate that the relationship between the Order and the town were close and strictly defined, which characterised the status of the town in the power system of the Order. In the same way, the town only gained with the transfer of the residence of masters of Livonia to the Order of Cēsis stone castle.

From the very beginning Cēsis settlement was created and inhabited by German origin traders. In further development trading had very essential role, because the town had good preconditions for that. First, here the traders were ensured with the very essential safety aspect. Castles, which for a very long time were the safest places in Livonia, played a very remarkable role in the development of population. Similarly as other castles, also Cēsis castle was a security guarantee for every man who went to this place. It was a place where to shelter and if necessary ask for help. At the same time the structure of the castle determined that it would not be the manufacturer but the consumer. It gave an opportunity to those who could produce as well as those who could transfer the produced goods from place to place. In other words, the opportunities appeared to craftsmen and traders. With time a community that made up Cēsis was settled at the castle. Secondly, a trade route Riga – Tartu led through the place and connected near and far, small and big places both in Livonia and outside it. The

amount of money Cēsis traders' circulated both in Luebeck and Riga suggest that traders dealt with relatively large amounts of money and were willing to take risks for their occupations. The prosperity of Cēsis was an important factor for it to become a part of Hanseatic system in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The welfare of the city was also enhanced through the trade with the East, in particular, Pskov. This trading partner gained particular importance in the 16<sup>th</sup> century when Cēsis was frequently visited by Russian origin traders who were forced to trade in the city due to existing legal provisions. Cēsis town was created by traders and was one of the elements of economic space.

Cēsis, similarly as other densely populated places had very expressed Christian religious life. Five churches were located in the town and near it. In the town, there was one main congregation church in which there were several vicarages. The church is believed to have been established already at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, furthermore, on the burials of the local inhabitants of the Late Iron Age. Religious life was closely connected to the town's inhabitants whole. At least some insignificant sources of written evidence on this have remained. In several of the written sources there is mentioned a craftsman or a trader who did not give a chance to judge about the overall structure of the population. The same type of information is given by sculpture exhibits sources – thumb stones. They provide information about the city's town councillors, nobles, tradesmen, clergy and Masters of Livonia. However, based on analogies, it can be asserted that the town's population social structure was formed by both German origin people as well as native people. What should also be considered is the fact that people of other nationalities were involved in trading processes.

Similarly as in other cities also in Cēsis there was mixed type of construction. Originally in the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Cēsis settlement was characterised by wooden buildings. German origin traders' warehouses were built in half-timbered technique. Among them were stationed passageways created from logs which served as notional streets. It is thought that the construction was irregular. The further process of the construction cannot be characterised due to the lack of sources and only the final result at the end of 17<sup>th</sup> century with 128 land units is known. There is a possibility that due to frequent fires in the city, land units were not combined or divided, thus it is possible to at least realise the planning of the city in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. There was the main church which was built in the past. There was also the town hall of the establishment of which there is no information. The town was surrounded by walls which existed already at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The town in the 16<sup>th</sup> century had seven towers and four gates. There was also a school and the Small Guild building. Compositionally the town consisted of three streets which alternatively are mentioned in sources written in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. The buildings in the town were built from both wood and stone presumably on town's population social stratification. For example, according to archaeological research the West part of the town, where wooden buildings concentrated was largely inhabited by the locals.

Administrative, commercial, religious and construction principles of the Livonian cities were taken over and transformed from the Western Europe. Cēsis settlement and later the town was the Orders power system centre in Livonia. To the same extent, it was important town and together with other central locations formed united economical space. Although its existence and developmental foundation was trade, it had specific, with the Order related political status. Basically, the status of the location was formed by two equivalent items – castle and the town. It is possible that if the city had not been exposed that much to the order, it would have become more independent and gained a different status. Also, perhaps, the city without the Order's dominance would not have been able to develop and grow to a status which it reached in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

It cannot be forgotten that Cēsis settlement was formed by its inhabitants as well as the fact that people at all times have sought opportunities to make their lives better. The understanding of Hansa nowadays argue that Hansa was formed by exactly such people. Those were people whom we know as traders who took the risk in order to deliver something from one place to another thus gaining profit. Later, when the structures of Cēsis settlement were formed, these or other traders represented this town to all the Livonian region in joint cooperation instrument – town meetings. Those were the traders who in case of Cēsis, could ensure its development and involvement in larger scale, in this case, Hansaetic events.

If the big cities actively took part in meetings organised by Hansa and were directly involved in accepting different issues then small towns due to financial circumstances had no opportunities to be involved in international meetings by Hansaetic League. Therefore, they participated in Hansaetic events by participating in regional town meeting in Livonia. However, the role of small towns was rather passive even though together they formed separate community. It seems that it was important for the big cities to attract small towns in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century so that they indirectly strengthened the importance of big cities' opinions in Hansaetic meetings as well as to provide economic support for both Hansaetic joint events and financing travel expenses of big cities. The situation changed in the other half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century when Cēsis similarly as other small towns were in a way expelled from town meetings. In particular, big cities did not invite them to the meetings. The reasons for this may vary. Perhaps the small towns simply were not able to provide regular financial support to the activities of big cities. Consequently, although the presence of far-traders in Cēsis is recorded also in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, town's role in Hansaetic context on the other half of 15<sup>th</sup> century and 16<sup>th</sup> century definitely decreased.

## INTRODUCTION

Cēsis populated area was created over 800 years ago. The conclusion of the Canon of the Bishopric of Courland in 1378 that events that have happened a long time ago fade from people's memories is quite true. And it is because people have a short memory that is destined to vanish<sup>1</sup>. In order to solve this, events were recorded. But even this did not protect them from oblivion — fires that occurred later destroyed many records and documents. Thus, we can find out about the majority of processes in the past from archaeological expeditions.

Modern Cēsis is still quite a small town with a unique historical charm. Nowadays, towns are not divided into smaller towns or bigger towns or cities without a special reason. But such division existed in the Middle Ages. At the Landtag in Valmiera from 25 February to 7 March 1532, the secretary of Reval Marcus Tierbach recorded the decisions made during it. It is specified in point 43 that “the appointed masters gathered in the town hall on 28 February and [such] small towns as Parnu, Narva, Cēsis, Viljandi and Valmiera read their decision”<sup>2</sup>. Calling these towns small was not a free interpretation of the secretary, since a similar division exists also in other documents<sup>3</sup>, which indicates that Livonia had a division of towns not only by trade areas or *derdendeles*<sup>4</sup> but also between big and small towns. And Cēsis, as we shall see, belonged to the second group of towns. To understand the reason for it, it is important to look at the town closer.

### 1. “THE SMALLEST FORTIFICATION IN LIVONIA”: DEVELOPMENT OF CĒSIS POPULATED AREA

Town development in the Middle Ages was directly linked to the existence of a castle. The Latvian word for a town (“pilsēta”) is derived from the designation of a castle (“pils”), which is not a coincidence. In Latvia and other parts of Europe, populated areas were formed along with a castle or soon after its construction.

Towns in Livonia developed along with territorial land subjection and the development of the trade system. In order to facilitate the subjection of a territory, crusaders implemented a long term strategy of building fortified castles. Construction of such castles started in the beginning of the 13th

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<sup>1</sup> *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten*, Abt. 1., Bd. 3. Bunge, F., G. (Hg.) Reval: In Commission bei Kluge und Ströhm, 1857. No. 1131 (hereinafter — LUB)

<sup>2</sup> *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage*, Bd. 3. Arbusow, L. (Hg.). Riga: J. Deubner, 1910. No. 301 (hereinafter — AR).

<sup>3</sup> AR, Bd. 1., Lief. 4. No. 362.

<sup>4</sup> LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 6. No. 2895.

century near Vends<sup>5</sup> Castle Mound (*also known as Riekstu Hill*) (Appendix 1). Thus, after a short while the location<sup>6</sup> was given a name *Wenden*, which is mentioned in The Chronicle of Novgorod as *Кесъ*. Latvian linguist J. Endzelīns thinks that the name “Cēsis”<sup>7</sup> is of Baltic origin and could have been borrowed from similar names of areas or houses in other parts of the territory of Latvia. He considers that the letter “c” changes to “k” in Russian, thus creating the toponym mentioned in the Chronicle<sup>8</sup>. Just like in other parts of Livonia, succession and development of Cēsis area was not possible without a castle. Thus, an important general characteristic of Livonia and therefore also Cēsis area was the line “castle mound — castle — town”.

Results of the archaeological investigation suggest that the above mentioned Riekstu Hill was inhabited already in the 11th/12th century<sup>9</sup>. This means that this area was inhabited already in 1202 when the Order of Livonian Brothers of the Sword (*fratres milicie Christi*)<sup>10</sup> that implemented the actual subjection of the territory was established. During the rule of the first Master of the Order Winne (*master from 1204 to 1209*) three fortifications were built: Sigulda (*Sigewalde, Segewold*), Cēsis (*Winden, Wenden*), and Aizkraukle (*Aschrâte, Aschraden*) Castle<sup>11</sup>. Whereas information in the Livonian Chronicle of Henry (*Heinrici Cronicon Lyvoniae*) about Vends (*wendi*) states that around 1206 a Christian priest settled with Vends<sup>12</sup>, and apparently that was Daniel from Gotland<sup>13</sup>. This means that it is likely that the construction of fortifications started a little later — around 1207 or 1208. In summer or autumn of 1210 the Castle of Cēsis survived a siege where “Estonians (estones)

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<sup>5</sup> Historians still have not come to consensus with regard to Vends, but the context of the paper does not require detailed analysis of ethnic matters. Generally speaking, Vends were a group of local inhabitants, and its name for the purposes of this paper is taken from the Livonian Chronicle of Henry. More about Vends and Cēsis: Apals, J. Vendi un Cēsu Riekstu kalns. In: *Senā Rīga: Pētījumi pilsētas arheoloģijā un vēsturē*, 2. d. Rīga, 1998, pp. 125-143.

<sup>6</sup> Since this name is mentioned in the Livonian Chronicle of Henry, which was written approximately between 1224 and 1227, it can be concluded that this name was given somewhere between 1206 and the time of writing the Chronicle.

<sup>7</sup> This toponym will be used hereinafter in this paper to designate both the castle and the area where the town of Cēsis was created later.

<sup>8</sup> Endzelīns, J. Par Cēsu un Cesvaines vārdu. In: *Filologu biedrības raksti*, 11. sēj. Rīga, 1931, p. 198, 200.

<sup>9</sup> Apals, J. Vendi un Cēsu Riekstu kalns. In: *Senā Rīga: Pētījumi pilsētas arheoloģijā un vēsturē*, 2. Rīga, 1998, p. 136.

<sup>10</sup> *Atskaņu hronika* / reproduction by V. Bisenieks from Middle High German, preface by Ē. Mugurēvičs, comments by Ē. Mugurēvičs, K. Kļaviņš, Rīga, 1998, p. 53.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 55.

<sup>12</sup> *Heinrici Chronicon. Indriķa hronika*. Translated by A. Feldhūns. Comments and preface by Ē. Mugurēvičs. Rīga, 1993, p. 93.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 90.

fought Berthold and his brothers three days near the old castle<sup>14</sup> where the brothers lived together with Vends back then (*fratres cum Wendis*).<sup>15</sup> This means that at the time of Master Winne the construction of a brick castle was not started and only the old wooden castle of Vends was fortified with a wall, which was established in the archaeological investigations in 1980<sup>16</sup> and 2009<sup>17</sup>. An interesting fact to mention is also a document from 1259 where an official from Riga town council Iohannes de Meydeborch says that he was a brother of the order and spent five years in the “castle of Vends” (*in castro Wenda*) until the foundation of the new castle was laid (*fundamentum castris poneretur*)<sup>18</sup>. If it is assumed that Iohannes was one of the brothers who settled in the castle of Vends around 1207, it can be concluded that the construction of Cēsis brick castle was initiated around 1212 or 1213. The German historian F. Benninghoven has a similar opinion<sup>19</sup>.

At the end of 1218 “Russians (*ruthenum*) [...] besieged the castle of Vends. Archers of the Brothers of the Order (*sagittarii fratrum milicie de castro suo*) also came down from their castle, came to Vends, and killed many Russians with their crossbows (*balistis*) [...]. But the master of the knights of Cēsis (*Magister autem milicie de Wenden*) had left with his brothers a day earlier [...]. Then the Russian forces besieged their castle. Therefore the brothers of the Order carefully slipped away through the enemy forces and returned to their castle.”<sup>20</sup> This means that there were two fortifications in Cēsis area at that time. The foundation of Cēsis brick castle today is also lower than Riekstu Hill, thus the location of the castles corresponds to that mentioned in the Chronicle (“came down”). This event indicates that Cēsis brick wall was constructed between 1212/1213 and 1218. The chronicler indicates that the castle of Vends is “the smallest fortification in Livonia” (*cum sit tamen minus castellum, quod habet Lyvonia*). Considering the information above about the existence of

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<sup>14</sup> Attention is drawn to the phrase “old castle” (*antiquum castrum*). Logic suggests that there should be the new castle if the old one is mentioned. However, there are no indications of any other fortification. It could be explained by the fact that the Livonian Chronicle of Henry was written between 1224 and 1227, thus the chronicler designated this castle at Riekstu Hill as the old castle only to separate it topographically from the new castle of the Order which existed at that time.

<sup>15</sup> *Heinrici Chronicon. Indriķa hronika*. Translated by A. Feldhūns. Comments and preface by Ē. Mugurēvičs. Rīga, 1993, p. 141.

<sup>16</sup> Apals, J. Vendi un Cēsu Riekstu kalns. In: *Senā Rīga: Pētījumi pilsētas arheoloģijā un vēsturē*, 2. Rīga, 1998, p. 136.

<sup>17</sup> Apala, Z. Jaunākie arheoloģiskie pētījumi Cēsu Riekstu kalnā. In: *Arheologu pētījumi Latvijā 2008.–2009. gadā*. Rīga, 2010, pp. 35-40.

<sup>18</sup> Perlbach, M. Urkunden des rigaschen Kapitel- Archives in der Fürstlich Czartoryskischen Bibliothek zu Krakau. In: *Mitteilung aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands*, Bd. 13, Riga, 1881, p. 22.

<sup>19</sup> Benninghoven, F. *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder*. Köln, 1965, p. 134.

<sup>20</sup> *Heinrici Chronicon. Indriķa hronika*. Translated by A. Feldhūns. Comments and preface by Ē. Mugurēvičs. Rīga, 1993, pp. 233-235.

fortifications of Riekstu Hill and the fact that the total area of the flat part of the hill is around 1,250 m<sup>2</sup>, the chronicler was right in his assessment and the castle was indeed quite small.

The location of the castle was not a coincidence. Cēsis brick castle is located on a hill surrounded by two natural hollows. This means that the castle only had to be fortified from two sides. The peculiarity of this hill is that its northern and western parts have strong underground water streams<sup>21</sup>, which foresaw a possibility of landslides. It is most likely that the builders of the castle knew this and solved this problem by strengthening the slopes with wooden fortifications in the ground<sup>22</sup>. The location of the castle was also beneficial for military operations as it was quite close to Estonian lands. It is indicated by frequent campaigns to the lands in the modern territory of Estonia<sup>23</sup>, especially Sakala, which was 70 km away from Cēsis measured in a straight line. The castle of the Order was the northernmost fortification in Livonia. With regard to Valmiera area, the construction time of Valmiera Castle is unknown and current investigations only suggest that Valmiera area was inhabited already in the 13th century and formed as a more established structure in the second half of the 13th century<sup>24</sup>.

Castles, which were the safest places in Livonia for a long time, had a significant role in the development of population. Cēsis, just like other castles, was a guarantee of safety for everyone who decided to go there. It was a place to find shelter and also ask for help if it was needed. At the same time, the structures of the castle indicated that it would be a consumer, and not a producer. Since Cēsis was close to the route Riga–Tartu, Riga–Pskov, and other roads, it was a good precondition for creating a fortification and also provided an opportunity for those who could produce and those who could transport the produced goods from one place to another. Namely, it provided an opportunity for craftsmen and merchants. As time went by, a community settled near the castle, in a way establishing the town of Cēsis.

## 2. ESTABLISHMENT OF CĒSIS POPULATED AREA

In 1314, the first known written records refer to “town councillors just like citizens from Cēsis” (*Consules ibidem civibus de Wenden*)<sup>25</sup>, which means that Cēsis populated area had acquired town

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<sup>21</sup> Apala, Z. Cēsu pils arheoloģiskās izpētes (1974.- 2006.) rezultāti. In: *Quo vadis, Cēsis?* Cēsis, 2007, p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> Apala, Z., Ducmane, K. *Cēsu pils dārgumi*. Cēsis, 2007, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> *Indriķa hronika*. Translated by Ā. Feldhūns, preface and comments by Ē. Mugurēvičs. Rīga, 1993, p. 201.

<sup>24</sup> Plētiens, E., 2016. Mazpilsētu nozīme Livonijā 13.–16. gadsimtā: Valmieras pilsētas piemērs. Rokpelnis, A. Jauno vēsturnieku zinātniskie lasījumi I. Valmiera: Valmieras muzejs, pp. 35–45.

<sup>25</sup> LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 2. No. 649.

rights according to the Western European standard and its daily management was in the hands of a council. Town rights usually governed management and justice, trade rules, as well as citizen rights and obligations. But Cēsis populated area near the castle was established even earlier — before 1314.

The Livonian Chronicle of Henry includes only brief information about the population of Cēsis area outside the castle with regard to an attack of Russians from Pskov in 1221: “*Brothers of the Order and their Vends went to the gates, but they could not fight the great force, burned houses and the village (domos et villam), and pulled back to their castle*”<sup>26</sup>. An attack in 1222 is also mentioned in The Chronicle of Novgorod (*Новгородская первая летопись*): “*People from went to Kes (Kecu) with Svyatoslov, Lithuanians helped them, and they fought a lot, but the town (gorod) was not occupied*”<sup>27</sup>. Information in both chronicles is very vague and obscure. The Livonian Chronicle of Henry does not state the location of the houses and the village, and it is also not likely to ever find out at which gates the battle became hopeless. The Chronicle of Novgorod, however, dates this event one year later and refers to the location as a town.

The description of the Livonian Chronicle of Henry could become clearer by understanding the thoughts of the chronicler. It can be assumed that the chronicler writes and thinks in terms of a Western European. Thus, it is expected that he could use appropriate terminology. The chronicler used the words he thought to be the most suitable ones. It is often indicated in literature sources that *domos* means the front castle and *villam* means the settlement of merchants and craftsmen or a location inhabited by Latgalians<sup>28</sup>. The chronicler does not use the term *locus*, because the appearance of the location is not unclear, which means that the location is somewhat structured. He also does not use terms such as *civita*, *oppidum* or *vicus*, since apparently the location does not have any legal status. Thus the chronicler thought that *villa* was the best term to describe this location. This Latin word usually referred to a village or a settlement that was economically self-sufficient, i. e. was able to provide itself with all necessities and therefore was agrarian. Merchant and craftsmen settlements could not do that, whereas local villages could. But the designation *domos* seems to be literally referring to houses, since several building traditions existed simultaneously. It could be that these were houses built according to the building traditions of Northern German merchants which could have been isolated from one another and thus there could have been a separate living area next to the village. Moreover, a house according to the Western European understanding referred to a specific

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<sup>26</sup> *Heinrici Chronicon. Indriķa hronika*. Translated by A. Feldhūns. Comments and preface by Ē. Mugurēvičs. Rīga, 1993, pp. 272–273.

<sup>27</sup> *Новгородская первая летопись Старшего и младшего изводов / Под редакцией и с предисловием А. Н. Насонова*. Москва, Ленинград, 1950, pp. 60–61; *The chronicle of Novgorod 1016-1471*. Translated by R. Michell and N. Forbes, introduction by C. R. Beazley. London, 1914, p. 63.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. Strods, H. Cēsis attīstītā un vēlā feodālisma laikā. In: *Cēsis senāk un tagad*. Rīga, 1960, p. 25; Vasmanis, D. *Cēsu novada pagātnes ainas*. Cēsis, 1996, p. 35.

land unit (land), as the towns did not have large areas to expand any construction. Generally, a house was a land unit under a house. Later, if it had any space left, other household buildings were added. So it is possible that there was both a village of local inhabitants as well as German merchant buildings near the castle. The phrase *domos et villam* is separated by a conjunction “and” (*et*), thus seemingly indicating two separate bodies instead of a single area of houses and a village. Therefore, it seems that the locations could be separated topographically. Moreover, the houses were most likely not related to the front castle, otherwise burning houses would endanger the castle. Overall, it can be concluded that there were both merchant buildings and a village of locals near the castle at that time. It can also be concluded that the populated area had an enclosure with gates (*ad portam*) which could be burned down in case of an attack. It is most likely that there was no wall at that time, thus it must be assumed that the area was surrounded by a wooden palisade. There is nothing more that can be deduced from this fragment.

Similar analysis can be performed with regard to The Chronicle of Novgorod. A difference of one year (1221 in the Livonian Chronicle of Henry and 1222 in The Chronicle of Novgorod) might be explained by a time counting error. The word *zopod*, however, has changed its meaning. In modern Russian it means a town, while earlier it was used to designate a populated area surrounded by a wooden fence. Also a word *grad* or *gorod'e* could be used, which designated a castle mound. Other words used for designating populated areas in Russian were *detinec*, *podol*, *pogost*, *posad*, *pretgorode*, etc.<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, this chronicle also does not provide any further explanations with regard to the topographical structure of Cēsis populated area.

It is often indicated in literature sources<sup>30</sup> that a Thidericus de Wenden<sup>31</sup>, called a town councillor of Cēsis, has been mentioned in documents from 1226<sup>32</sup>, 1230<sup>33</sup> and 1232<sup>34</sup> that settle disputes, provide attestations, or set rules. Based on this, it is assumed that there was a council in Cēsis and therefore it also had acquired town rights at that time. Analysis of the documents shows that witnesses mentioned in the documents are citizens (*cives*) of Riga, and in one of the documents they are referred to as town councillors (*de ratmannis*). Among them is also this Thidericus de

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<sup>29</sup> Blomkvist, N. 2001. The concept of the town and the dawn of urban life east and west of the Baltic. On the emergence of centres, turn-over places, towns and cities. In: *Lubeck Style? Novgorod Style? Baltic Rim Central Places as Arenas for Cultural Encounters and Urbanization 1100-1400 AD*. Riga, 2001, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Polis, J. (ed.) *Cēsu hronika*. Cēsis, 2006, p. 20.

<sup>31</sup> Spelling of the name differs among the documents. Theodericus de Wentha is mentioned in the document from 1226, Thidericus de Wenden — in 1230, and Thiderico de Wenda — in 1232.

<sup>32</sup> Senās Latvijas vēstures avoti, 1. burtnīca. In: *Latvijas vēstures avoti*, 2. Rīga, 1937, p. 115.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, p. 141.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, p. 153.

Wenden. It seems that it has to do with a last name, which in this case indicates the former place of residence of Thidericus — Cēsis. Possibly in order not to have confusion between several persons with the name Thidericus, he had been given a last name by indicating his previous place of residence. Latvian historian Indriķis Šterns also has a similar opinion and indicates that having a surname was very rare in the Middle Ages, while everyone had a Christian name. To distinguish people with the same name, a last name was used indicating a person's looks, trade, place of residence, or the previous place of residence<sup>35</sup>. Thus there was no reason for attributing a town councillor, a town council, or town rights to Cēsis at that time.

In another literature source<sup>36</sup>, based on information found in Riga Book of Accounts (*Das Rigische Schuldbuch*)<sup>37</sup> in 1295 about a merchant named Jacobus, it is stated that Cēsis populated area had the so-called “*Russian gate*”, i. e. Cēsis populated area was surrounded by a wall at the end of the 13th century. The trade book mentioned above also includes a record “*Jacobus ante portam Rutenorum in Wenda*”, which means “*Jacobus before the Russian gate in Cēsis*”. Again, as it can be seen, the person is given a designation not to mistake him for anyone else. However, it is not indicated that this is a gate of Cēsis populated area. It is only stated that the person is Jacobus before some kind of a Russian gate without a precise location. Namely, there is a person named Jacobus who lives before the Russian gate and comes from Cēsis populated area. Thus this record in the book of accounts cannot be a basis for maintaining that there was a wall with a “*Russian gate*”<sup>38</sup> at the end of the 13th century. Moreover, not only towns had gates in the Middle Ages. All kinds of closed areas had gates, and it was an important element of a certain area. It could be the reason why Jacobus is associated with this specific gate and not any other element close to his place of residence. Thus the gate could be attributed to a possible “*Russian farm*”, the existence of which cannot be proven with any documents, although there was a Russian church. It could also be the gate of the front castle or the castle. It is clear that the plan of the town of Cēsis from the 17th century<sup>39</sup> shows four gates that existed at least in the 16th century. Russian gate is not mentioned among the fortifications of the town.

There is no information about any written sources about the development of Cēsis populated area in the 13th century. The only evidence of this comes from archaeological investigations, which indicate that the former market square (*the current Rose Square*) was built-up (Appendix 2). The

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<sup>35</sup> Šterns, I. *Latvijas vēsture 1180–1290. Krustakari*. Rīga, 2002, p. 476.

<sup>36</sup> Vasmanis, D. *Cēsu novada pagātnes ainas*. Cēsis, 1996, p. 36.

<sup>37</sup> *Das Rigische Schuldbuch (1286–1352)*. Hildebrand, H. (Hg.). St. Petersburg, 1872. No. 766

<sup>38</sup> Polis, J. (ed.) *Cēsu hronika*. Cēsis, 2006, p. 24.

<sup>39</sup> Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: *Quo vadis, Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienas nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai*. Cēsis, 2007, p. 156.

oldest structure here could be from 1240s, as the dendrochronological analysis of a building constructed in 1280s suggests that the wooden planks of this building were taken from another building constructed in 1240s. The foundation row of buildings in the 13th century was made from round logs. The walls were constructed from torn planks. The building also had a basement, which is indicated by wooden stairs leading down. The cultural layer of the building revealed a large amount of burned grains (oats, barley, rye). Parts of burned dishes and pottery were also found. The building might have been used for storage. Another building had an annex in the form of a log building. Interestingly, walls of another building were made from lime mortar from stones. This building also had a basement with wooden footbridges for walking, most likely due to high moisture levels<sup>40</sup>. Overall, fragments from five buildings and also a street pavement from round logs were uncovered. Based on the results of the archaeological excavations, it can be assumed that the initial development of Cēsis populated area was very similar to that of Riga at the beginning of the 13th century. Interesting facts were obtained as a result of archaeological excavations in the western part of the Castle of Cēsis, revealing evidence on the outside of the western wall of the castle about the local crafts, i. e. about processing bones and horns<sup>41</sup>. It means that there might have been some crafts workshops around the castle and the town.

Cēsis populated area could be associated with the position of a vogt (Latin *advocatus, uidice*, German *Vogt*), mentioned in 1255<sup>42</sup>. The Western European example shows that the position of a vogt was a typical structure of justice in populated areas, which often became and sometimes did not develop into towns. He settled disputes, judged offenders, collected duties, and also ensured military recruitment based on the request of the governor of the land on which the populated area or town was. When the towns acquired more independent self-government rights, the role of the vogt decreased or changed. Initially the vogt was appointed by the seigneur of the town, later — the town council<sup>43</sup>. Based on the analogy, there should have been a position of a vogt in Cēsis populated area as well as the surrounding areas. Moreover, commanders continued to reside in the Castle of Cēsis from 1207, which indicates that the position of a vogt might have been more related to the populated area or the surrounding lands — the region. The position of a vogt is later mentioned in documents from 1304

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<sup>40</sup> Apala, Z. Arheoloģiskie pētījumi Cēsu Rožu laukumā. In: *Arheologu pētījumi Latvijā 2008.–2009. gadā*. Rīga, 2010, pp. 68–71.

<sup>41</sup> Apala, Z., Ducmane, K. *Cēsu pils dārgumi*. Cēsis, 2007, p. 14.

<sup>42</sup> Fenske, L., Miltzer, K. (Hrsg.) *Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens: Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte*, Bd. 12. Köln, 1993, pp. 781–782; Arbusow, L. Die im Deutschen Orden in Livland vertretenen Geschlechter. In: *Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik 1899*. Mitau, 1901, p. 128.

<sup>43</sup> Isenmann, E. *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter*. Stuttgart, 1988, pp. 76–95, 109–115, 136–148, 152–160, 236–239, 276; Lazdiņš, J., Blūzma, V., Osipova, S. *Latvijas tiesību avoti*, 1. sēj.: Seno paražu un Livonijas tiesību avoti 10. gs.–16. gs. Rīga, 1998, p. 170.

(*Wend advocati*) and 1312 (*advocatus in Wenda*)<sup>44</sup>. It must also be remembered that the governor of Cēsis populated area was the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order. The subordination of the populated area in nature is largely indicated by its direct proximity to the castle of the Order and its dominance over the populated area. Obviously, it had a simple explanation — the community of the populated area benefited from being in the defence area of the castle.

Development of the populated area seems to be reflected in the construction of a church. The Chronicle of Livonia by Hermann von Wartberge (*Chronicon Livoniae*) states that “[..] *he [brother Willikinus de Endorpe] together with the Archbishop of Riga Johannes established and supplied churches in the territory of the Order — Valmiera, Cēsis [in Wenden], Burtnieki, and Trikāta*”<sup>45</sup>. So this excerpt might indicate that all the churches were established and supplied or that some of them were established and some of them were supplied. It is known that Master Willikinus de Endorpe (*Wilhelm von Nindorf, 1281–1287*) was in Viljandi in 1283 and fell in the Battle of Garoza already in 1287. There were two archbishops of Riga at that time — Johannes I von Lune (*1273–1284*) and Johannes II von Vechten (*1285–1294*). If it is assumed that the church in Cēsis was constructed during that time, it apparently happened in the period between 1283 and 1287. If it is assumed that the church was supplied, the church was built earlier. Moreover, it is unknown which church it is, as, for example, the map of the area of Cēsis from 1688 marks six churches “*from ancient times*”: St. John's Church, St. Catherine's Church, St. George's Church, St. Anthony's Church, Russian church, and the church of the castle (apparently, the chapel of the Castle of Cēsis) (Appendix 3)<sup>46</sup>. The majority of researchers assume that the text of the chronicle refers to the construction of St. Catherine's Church although there is no documentary evidence to prove it. It can only be assumed that the master and the archbishop established and supplied St. John's Church, since it is the only church that was later inside the walls of the town and was related to the citizens of German origin. Another document from 1226 should also be mentioned where Bishop William of Modena (*Guilielmum Mutinensis episcopus, Wilhelm von Modena, 1184–1251*) settles disputes between the Bishop of Riga and the Livonian Brothers of the Sword about various topics and which also mentions churches in castles in Sigulda and Cēsis<sup>47</sup>. It cannot be stated for certain whether these are castle chapels or other churches, but

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<sup>44</sup> LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 2., No. 608, 638 (XXIII 23).

<sup>45</sup> “Item cum domino Joanne archiepiscopo Rigensi instituit et dotavit ecclesias in Wolmar, Wenden, Burtnic et Tricaten in parte fratrum”. *Vartberges Hermaņa Livonijas hronika*. Translation, comments and preface by Ē. Mugarēvičs. Rīga, 2005, p. 53; Hirsch, Th., Töppen, M., Strehlke, E. (Hrsg.) *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Untergange der Ordensherrschaft*, Bd. 2. Leipzig, 1863, p. 50.

<sup>46</sup> Zandberga, R. *Cēsu pilsētas vēsturiskā centra pirmsprojekta izpēte*, 2. d., 2. sēj., 1. pussēj. Rīga, 1979.

<sup>47</sup> “...episcopum pertinet in Wenda et Segevaldo [...] episcopus duabus ecclesiis magistri in praedictis castri...”, LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 1., No. 84.

since these churches are a part of a church, this case most likely refers to the chapel of the Castle of Cēsis. With regard to the construction of St. John's Church, it must be noted that it was built on an existing burial ground. In 1937/1938 there were major reconstruction works in the church during which the inspector of the Monument Board P. Ārends performed archaeological excavations (Appendix 4). They revealed graves at a depth of 1.50 metres behind the altar of the church (*between the outer wall and the altar*). The deceased were buried right in the subsoil. The majority of them were under the foundation stones of the church, which suggests that the burial ground was there a while before the construction of the church. It is also indicated by the evidence collected from the graves — fragments from a decayed wool cloth with bronze strands, as well as a large amount of partially decomposed shells. Some excavations were also done on the other side of the altar and the middle aisle. Several graves were found that could not be dated<sup>48</sup>. However, the general nature of discoveries indicates that the burials were made in the Late Iron Age, i. e. between the 9th century and the end of the 12th century. Generally, this practice is nothing unusual and was also common in other places.

An important impetus for the development of Cēsis populated area was moving the place of residence of the Master of the Livonian Order Bruno (1296–1298) to the Castle of Cēsis. The presence of the governor of the land definitely facilitated the reputation of the area and thus also the development of trade and crafts. The Castle of Cēsis was also the main place of residence of the next two Masters — Gotfried von Rogge (1298–1307) and Gerhard von Jorke (1309–1328)<sup>49</sup>. It is possible that one of these masters assigned town rights to Cēsis populated area based on the fact that their residence required the area to have a different status.

By 1314 Cēsis was established as a populated area with a governing body, thus indicating that it was a town (*Consules ibidem civibus de Wenden*)<sup>50</sup>. St. John's Church already existed at that time, which leads to the conclusion that the town had acquired its initial shape around this uniting element. It is most likely that wooden structures were dominating in the town at that time. If there were any streets, they were also most likely made from round logs. However, there is much more that we do not know about it. Written records do not indicate the size of the government or the town council. It is currently unknown whether the town had a stone wall or a wooden palisade. There is almost no information about the social structure of the town, except that the locals and the German merchants and craftsmen as well as Russian merchants lived in a peaceful coexistence. The town rights did not

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<sup>48</sup> Ārends, P. Ziņojums par pārbaudes izrakumiem Sv. Jāņa baznīcā Cēsīs. 15 August 1937. Doc. No. CVVM 230516: 1, AO 520: 1 (stored at the National History Museum of Latvia).

<sup>49</sup> Fenske, L., Militzer, K. (Hrsg.) *Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens: Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte*, Bd. 12. Köln, 1993, p. 750; Bunge, G. F. (Hrsg.) *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, Bd. 1. Reval, 1855, p. 111.

<sup>50</sup> LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 2. No. 649.

regulate the look of the town. The most important factors were its sustainability and location. The area had to be recognizable and popular. However, according to the general principles of town development, Cēsis populated area had to acquire the right to trade as well as the status and privileges of a town earlier. There are no known written records about it. Moreover, there are no indications of Cēsis populated area being a town until the beginning of the 14th century, since it had not fulfilled the required criteria for being a town. Based on currently known written records, it can be said that until 1314 Cēsis was only a castle village with a marketplace that was formed around the Castle of Cēsis.

### 3. DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF CĒSIS

The medieval town was a complex structure composed of several elements. Firstly, it must be noted that each town was built on a land belonging to a higher authority (*i.e. territorial lord, landesherren*) – a church or a secular authority. Cēsis was built on the land belonging to the Christ Knights (*i.e. Livonian Brothers of the Sword*), which was taken over by the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order after the Battle of Saule. This means that the highest authority in the administration of the town belonged to a seigneur or a person representing him (*i.e. vogt*). But the community of the town consisting of merchants and craftsmen created their own form of self-government – a town council. Thus the vogt and the town council implemented joint administration of the area. Secondly, the town was formed by people who engaged in trade and crafts. But the town was divided into separate communities: corporations, societies, and various fraternities. Since the castle was near the town, people belonging to the Order also resided there. Moreover, the social composition of the town was not homogeneous – it hosted people of different ethnic backgrounds. Thirdly, the medieval society was a Christian society, so the town and its surroundings formed a pronounced religious area, which formally consisted of churches, chapels, monasteries, and cemeteries, but in reality – various religious establishments, donations, and activities of religious fraternities. Fourthly, the main source of income for the town was always trade, but just as important for the economy of small towns were crafts and agriculture. Last but not least, the town could be distinguished from rural areas by a structured development and planning with row houses and streets, as well as town fortifications. To get a better understanding of how the town worked, let us look at each of its elements separately.

#### 3.1. ADMINISTRATION

An integral part of the town development was its inclusion in the specific system of power of the territory, which consisted of castles and populated areas of various sizes. All areas were mainly connected by trade networks, but additionally there was a system of various levels of information networks.

The legal status of the town was established along with acquiring the town rights, which consisted of a set of freedoms and privileges. It is known that Cēsis had the same rights as Valmiera and Kuldīga<sup>51</sup>. Since Kuldīga was assigned the right of Riga<sup>52</sup> in the 13th or 14th century, Cēsis also lived by the same set of rights. Other towns that benefited from the same rights were Ventspils, Aizpute, Piltene, Limbaži, Koknese, and Straupe<sup>53</sup>. The town rights of Cēsis have not been preserved, so nothing more is currently known about the privileges or any other freedoms of the town.

Cēsis was administered by a town council<sup>54</sup>, which is known to have existed since the beginning of the 14th century<sup>55</sup>. It consisted of several (at least two) burgomasters<sup>56</sup>, as well as several (at least two) councillors. The chancery of Cēsis town council had at least four secretaries, but currently unknown duties in the chancery were performed by other people as well<sup>57</sup>. The burgomasters of Cēsis town council were members of the Great Guild of Riga<sup>58</sup>, which means that they were pretty wealthy merchants.

Processes related to administration were often reflected in documents, while the authority of the administration approved them with a seal. There is information about three seals of Cēsis, the analysis of which can lead to some important findings. With regard to the composition of the seal, it consisted of a caption or a legend, which was created from a specific sample<sup>59</sup>. It was separated from the secondary or graphical part of the seal by a line. Those who could not understand the legend of the seal could understand it by the image that included important information. Therefore, the image was created by using symbolic elements or an image that could be easily interpreted. It was an iconographic piece of art characteristic to the Middle Ages which included complex information. It

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<sup>51</sup> Bunge, G., F., 1849. *Einleitung in die liv-, esth- und curländische Rechtsgeschichte und Geschichte der Rechtsquellen*. Reval: Verlag von F. J. Koppelson. S. 156.

<sup>52</sup> LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 3. No. 1131.

<sup>53</sup> LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 3. No. 1131; Napiersky, E., C. (Hrsg.), 1835. *Index Corporis Historico-Diplomatici Livoniae, Esthoniae, Curoniae oder: Kurzer Auszug aus derjenigen Urkunden-Sammlung, für die Geschichte und das alte Staatsrecht Liv-, Ehst- und Kurlands, Th. 2*. Riga und Dorpat: Eduard Frantzens Buchhandlung. No. 3564.

<sup>54</sup> Švābe, A. *Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.-1551. gads*. Rīga, 1941. No. 188, 233, 235, 310, 342.

<sup>55</sup> LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 2., No. 649.

<sup>56</sup> Švābe, A. *Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.-1551. gads*. Rīga, 1941. No. 342.; LUB, Abt.1., Bd. 12., No. 850.

<sup>57</sup> Švābe, A. *Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.-1551. gads*. Rīga, 1941. No. 339.

<sup>58</sup> LUB, Abt.1., Bd. 12., No. 850.

<sup>59</sup> The “formula” of creating the legend of a seal: the word “seal” (sigillum) in genitive → position / status → place.

was a clearly interpreted identification mark and an element certifying the rights<sup>60</sup>. Apart from a flag and a coat of arms, the seal was one of the symbols of power. Symbolically, it was the expression of self-image, physically – the acknowledgement of the writer's will<sup>61</sup>.

One seal of Cēsis town has been preserved since 1365, the second – since 1383, and the third – since 1504 (Appendix 5). As it can be seen, the periods of using the seals differ, thus, there are some stylistic changes in their design, which may be explained by both the preservation level of the seals and different qualification levels of the masters. The possibilities of the seal maker to incise and treat the relatively small surface must also be taken into consideration. The legend of the seal provided a clear reference to the origin of the seal to those who could read: “SIGILLUM : CIVITATIS : DE : WENDA”<sup>62</sup> and “SIGILLUM : CIVITATIS : DE : WENDEN”<sup>63</sup>. So the legend indicates that this is a seal of Wenden, or Cēsis. Moreover, it has been developed according to the traditional principles of creating seal legends. Those who could not read had to understand the origin of the seal by looking at the image incised in the stamp. It is difficult for a modern person to understand the meaning of symbols used in the Middle Ages, as the visual representation and interpretation has changed.

The seals of Cēsis clearly indicate the outline of fortifications. Fortifications are one of the most common depictions on seals in the Middle Ages. They were also the simplest town representation elements, as, for example, even the smallest Western European towns had walls in the 15th century and it was a “modern” trend to use them in testimonies representing the town. An important aspect was the depiction of towers, which, considering their role in defence and the high costs of construction, indicated the level of prosperity of a town<sup>64</sup>. The seals depict a man above the walls who seems to be holding a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left hand. The seal indicates neither the rank he belongs to nor his status. An indirect evidence is his stylised clothing, which suggests that the man depicted might be a brother of the Order. If the seal expert and the person who copied it have not mistaken, it seems that the man is wearing an overskirt characteristic to medieval

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<sup>60</sup> Stieldorf, A. Zur Funktion von Stadtbefestigung auf Siegeln un Münzen. In: *Beihefte zur Mediaevistik*, Bd. 15.: „vmbriingt mit starcken turnen, murn“: Ortsbefestigungen im Mittelalter. Frankfurt am Main, 2010. S. 76.

<sup>61</sup> See more about seals and their meaning in the Middle Ages here: Diener- Staeckling, A. Zwischen Stadt und Rat. Das Siegel als Zeichen von städtischer Repräsentation seit dem 14. Jahrhundert. In: *Die Bildlichkeit Korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter. Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch*. Weimar, 2009.

<sup>62</sup> The seal from 1383. Sachssendahl, J. (Hrsg.) *Est- und Livändische Brieflade*, Bd. 4.: Siegel und Münzen der weltlichen und geistlichen Gebietiger über Liv-, Est- und Curland bis zum Jahre 1561 nebst Siegeln einheimischer Geschlechter. Reval, 1887. S. 94.

<sup>63</sup> The seal from 1504. Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Stieldorf, A. Zur Funktion von Stadtbefestigung auf Siegeln un Münzen. In: *Beihefte zur Mediaevistik*, Bd. 15.: „vmbriingt mit starcken turnen, murn“: Ortsbefestigungen im Mittelalter. Frankfurt am Main, 2010. S. 80.

times worn by knights over their armour<sup>65</sup>. A good source in this regard is the *Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift* or *Codex Manesse*<sup>66</sup>, which depicts knights of different statuses. It also depicts a scene similar to the image of the seal with a knight wearing an overskirt and standing on the fortification walls. It must be noted that the overskirt was worn not only by knights, while weapons indicate that he was a warrior and therefore a knight. It must also be remembered that – unlike the secular power of the Archbishop of Riga – the Teutonic Order was a military power, which was best associated with weapons. The possible position of the brother of the Order above the town walls might suggest the authority of the Teutonic Order over the town. Also, due to the image of the seal, it is often indicated in literature sources that the town was surrounded by a wall in the 14th century. However, it has not been confirmed in any known written records. Moreover, the image of the seal does not suggest it at all considering the accuracy of the incision<sup>67</sup>. But then again nothing suggests that the town did not have walls at the time. What proves the existence of walls at the beginning of the 15th century is a travel description by Guillebert de Lannoy<sup>68</sup> in 1413, which states that “[...] and from there I went [...] through a big town surrounded by a wall called Wenden”<sup>69</sup>. If we trust the translation into German and the fact that Guillebert is objective in his description, it can be concluded that Cēsis was surrounded by a wall already at the beginning of the 15th century. Considering that the construction of a wall is a long and expensive process, it can be assumed that the construction had started earlier, which indirectly substantiates the graphic material included in the seal.

As mentioned previously, although the actual administration of the town was in the hands of the town council, the Teutonic Order also played an important role as the highest authority of the town. Moreover, Livonian masters of the Teutonic Order were frequent visitors to Cēsis Castle, which means that along with them the number of servants in the castle and, most likely, also the number of knights increased. More human resources in the town meant additional income, and the economy of the town only benefited from it. Meanwhile, the town partially lived the life of the castle, as the events that took place in the castle influenced the daily life of the town. One interesting example comes from

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<sup>65</sup> Thiel, E. *Geschichte des Kostüms*. Berlin, 1963. S. 178.

<sup>66</sup> *Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift* (Codex Manesse), around 1304. Available at: <http://diglit.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg848/0523> [retrieved on 08.04.2011]

<sup>67</sup> Stieldorf, A. Zur Funktion von Stadtbefestigung auf Siegeln un Münzen. In: *Beihefte zur Mediaevistik*, Bd. 15.: „vmbriingt mit starcken turnen, murn“: Ortsbefestigungen im Mittelalter. Frankfurt am Main, 2010. S. 81.

<sup>68</sup> Guillebert de Lannoy (1386–1462) was a Flemish knight of the Golden Fleece who served as an ambassador in England, France, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, lands of Prussia, and the Kievan Rus'. See more in: Halecki, O. Gilbert de Lannoy and his “discovery” of East Central Europe. *The Polish Review*, 1944, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 315-317.

<sup>69</sup> “[...] Und von da zog ich [...] durch eine große ummauerte Stadt, genannt Wenden [...]”. See more in: Bunge, G. F. (Hrsg.) *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curlands*, Bd. 5. Dorpat, 1846.

1538, when lightning struck in of the towers of the castle. The tower caught fire and, since gunpowder and items related to artillery were stored there, there was an explosion with quite severe consequences according to a report from 12 May 1538. The Livonian Master Hermann Hasenkamp von Brüggeneye requested Cēsis town council to lend a gunpowder for the needs of the castle and promised to return it someday. His servant Johann Nigehof sent a message to the master saying that Cēsis town council had assigned one last<sup>70</sup> of gunpowder to the castle (!)<sup>71</sup>. Indirect information, probably related to these or other events, is provided by a message of the commander of Cēsis Castle of 1546 to the Livonian master, which explains the situation about a section of convent buildings that had collapsed a year ago and about the progress of reconstruction and building works. This message could be indicating another reconstruction of the castle. As it can be seen, Cēsis was a place where the Order could request the necessary items and help, and it was done in quite an imperious manner. It is likely that the town was interested in helping when it was requested to do so, since the castle and the town had a common defence system and the castle was the most important element of defence in case of an attack. It also indicates that the castle suffered serious damage already in 1538, which was even before the explosion as a result of an attack in 1577.

An unusual event in the summer of 1548 indicates the importance of the opinion of a Livonian master in relation to the decisions of Cēsis town council. Namely, Cēsis town council wrote to the Livonian master to receive a permission to perform a witch trial test or the so-called swimming test<sup>72</sup> on a non-German woman according to the sample of Riga process and based on the town's customs and rights. The master answered to this request by writing that he is suspicious with regard to the Riga process and this woman should be judged according to the general written law<sup>73</sup>. Furthermore, the town rights did not specify anything about such trials<sup>74</sup>. This case suggests that the town council could not make important decisions without notifying the Livonian master.

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<sup>70</sup> Last – a weight measurement unit used in the Middle Ages which equals approximately 1,900 kg. See more in: Benninghoven, F. Probleme der Zahl und Standortverteilung der livländischen Streitkräfte im ausgehenden Mittelalter. *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 1963, Bd. 12(4), S. 618.

<sup>71</sup> Tallinn Linnaarhiiv (hereinafter – TLA), f. 230 (Reval Linn Nõukogu), n. 1, s. BB 24 IV, fol. 44.–45.

<sup>72</sup> A woman who was thought to be a witch was tested in trials involving both water and fire. In this case the swimming test was a method of throwing a woman with bound arms and legs or in a sack in a body of water. If the accused was a witch, she would bob on the surface; if she was innocent, she would sink. If a woman rose to the surface, she was pulled out of the water and burned. Basically, if a woman was accused of being a witch, death was inevitable. See more in: Behringer, W. *Hexen und Hexenprozesse in Deutschland*. München, 1993.

<sup>73</sup> A reference to *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina*, which includes burning of witches (trial by fire), but not drowning (trial by water).

<sup>74</sup> Švābe, A. *Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.-1551. gads*. Rīga, 1941. No. 233, 235.

Sometime later, in the autumn of 1548, the Livonian master requested the commander of Cēsis Castle to ensure that the chosen man named Franz Luther would be appointed the deputy burgomaster of Cēsis<sup>75</sup>. Moreover, the master indicated that this matter can be settled by the commander himself by outlining the “thoughts and wishes” of the master. It is highlighted in the document several times that the citizens and inhabitants of Cēsis are under the command of the Livonian master, but it also specifies that the town community is the one that designates its head or burgomaster. Overall, it is a clear indication of the master’s powers over the town administration as a seigneur.

There were also matters where the representative of the Order and the town council of Cēsis was involved. For example, the commander of Cēsis Castle, its burgomaster and town council wrote to the town council of Reval in 1502, asking for help to find a person<sup>76</sup>.

## 3.2. ECONOMY: TRADE, CRAFTS, AGRICULTURE

Establishment and further development of a town in the Middle Ages largely depended on the prospective sector of economic activity. This was also the case of Cēsis. Cēsis was established on the route Riga–Tartu, which means that trade had an important role in the town’s economy. Craftsmen also offered their services for those who lived in the castle and in the town. In addition to these sectors, another important branch in smaller towns was agriculture, which allowed the people to acquire the resources for their subsistence by working in the gardens and fields around the town.

### 3.2.1. TRADE

Brief information about trade in the 13th century is provided by Riga Book of Accounts (*Das Rigische Schuldbuch*). It was a book of accounts introduced by Riga city council for recording debts of merchants, and its preserved part contains information about the period from 1286 to 1352<sup>77</sup>. The names of merchants are listed in alphabetical order, and it mainly includes only the names of the merchants with the repayable amounts and due dates. Merchants from Cēsis (*de Wenda*) are mentioned 36 times in the period from 1286 to 1306. Only entries about February, July, and October are missing in the Book of Accounts. Since several letters (*e.g. G, M, O, etc.*) are missing in the book, it is possible that these months were also recorded earlier. This means that the activity of merchants from Cēsis populated area in Riga was quite high and covered almost the entire year. In the years specified above there was one case in January, three in March, six in April, one in May, one in June,

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., No. 238.

<sup>76</sup> LUB, Abt. 2., Bd. 2., No. 630.

<sup>77</sup> Šterns, I. *Latvijas vēsture 1180–1290. Krustakari*. Rīga, 2002. p. 475.

one in August, nine in September, seven in November, and six in December<sup>78</sup>. These data suggest that the activity was higher in autumn. One question, however, remains unanswered – why was the activity of merchants from Cēsis populated area recorded only until 1306? Another question without any answer is whether all persons were really inhabitants of Cēsis populated area considering the circumstances of recording surnames only.

Similar information can be acquired from Lübeck<sup>79</sup> Book of Accounts, which records merchant debts from 1325 to 1360. Trade deals of the inhabitants of Cēsis are mentioned 40 times from 1325 to 1363. Merchants who lived in the town of Cēsis and were guarantors to a deal are mentioned 52 times from 1325 to 1360. These numbers are relatively high, since Riga is mentioned 97 times, Tartu – 95, Tallinn – 19, Valmiera – three times, Pärnu – twice, Straupe – twice, and Viljandi – once. Unlike Riga Book of Accounts, Lübeck Book of Accounts does not contain entries about winter. In the period specified above there are five entries in May (the earliest entry is on 6 May 1326), 17 in June, 13 in July, 11 in August, five in September, and one in November (only on 1 November 1333). Seasonality of trade is obviously related to the need of travelling through the sea and gulfs which froze in winter. It can be concluded from the entries that May 1326 was relatively warm, while November 1333 was so cold that it was not possible to travel by ships any more. It is possible that the seasonality was simply related to relatively long distances. Debts usually had to be repaid by Midsummer<sup>80</sup> or Easter<sup>81</sup> of the next year, and their amount was indicated in silver marks<sup>82</sup> until 1335, while as from 1339 they were regularly indicated in pfennings<sup>83</sup>. Merchants from Lübeck who owed one payment to the merchants from Cēsis are mentioned 43 times. Several merchants are mentioned in the list repeatedly. Names and surnames of merchants suggest that several of them were descendants of notable persons, for example, sons of councillors. Trading involved various amounts of money. For example, the highest sum recorded was 600 pfennings, while the lowest – 35 pfennings. For the merchants to pay off their debts, it was possible that the remaining sum was repaid by someone else. If the entry of the lender had a word “*vel*” (*or*) instead of “*et*” (*and*) in it, this meant that the merchant had received a letter of attorney to repay the debt of another merchant. In this regard, citizens of Cēsis are mentioned 17 times and citizens of Lübeck – six times. The debt of

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<sup>78</sup> Das Rigische Schuldbuch (1286–1352). Hildebrand, H. (Hg.). St. Petersburg, 1872. S. 1-119.

<sup>79</sup> A city in the territory of modern Germany (the state of Schleswig-Holstein). One of the biggest cities in the Hanseatic League.

<sup>80</sup> St. John's Day, 24.06.

<sup>81</sup> St. James' Day, 24.04.

<sup>82</sup> Mark argentum, shortened in documents as “m.a.”

<sup>83</sup> Mark denarius, shortened in documents as “m.d.” Pfenning was the smallest unit of the mark with the following value: 1 mark – 16 schillings – 192 pfennings.

a merchant could also be repaid by the town the merchant lived in – the town council. There are four recorded cases when merchant debts were repaid by Cēsis town council (*consulum Wenda*). Debts of merchants who lived in Cēsis were deleted 11 times from 1342. This debt deletion system was necessary because Lübeck was not visited by the same long distance merchants every year<sup>84</sup>. Entries in the Book of Accounts also suggest that merchants from Cēsis had relatives in Lübeck. Most likely, this was the reason these merchants decided to get involved in long distance trade and also the factor that facilitated such trade, as it solved a wide range of problems related to travelling, like matters concerning accommodation, food, and safety. Travelling in the Middle Ages was dangerous and complicated, because the merchant had to look after his own safety and his goods, not to mention a possibility to spend the night and have a meal. These matters were important to every merchant, because aliens were regarded with precaution. There was always a chance of pillager or pirate attacks<sup>85</sup>, so the merchant had to think about his safety himself. Topicality of these circumstances is indicated by a request from Albert von Brinken, vogt of Cēsis (*in position from 1371 to 1375*), to the master of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order in 1374 to provide safety during travel so that merchants could observe trading freedoms<sup>86</sup>. Weather conditions characteristic to every season also brought challenges and, most likely, surprises.

There are some cases indicating that trade was quite an important activity for the town's subsistence. In a meeting on 21 February 1464 in Valmiera, all Livonian cities and towns, including Cēsis, took action against Hermen Blome tor Smylten, vassal of the Archbishop of Riga Silvester Stodewescher (*in position from 1448 to 1479*), who harmed the trade of towns with his unfair trading practices. The record states that the vassal used scales and measures, which was against the town freedoms and long-standing traditions<sup>87</sup>. Another interesting story is about a complaint by the city of Riga in the meeting of Hanseatic cities in Lübeck, which took place from 28 May to 15 June 1487. Representatives of Riga affirmed that the activity of merchants outside the Hanseatic League expanded and they were sending journeymen on horses, on boats, or on foot for peasant produce<sup>88</sup> –

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<sup>84</sup> Das Lübecker Niederstadtbuch 1363-1399, Teil 1.,2. / Bearbeitet von Ulrich Simon. Böhlau, 2006.; Lenz, W. Beziehungen zwischen Lübeck und Wenden (Livland) im 14. Jahrhundert. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 1971, Bd. 51. S. 81-89.

<sup>85</sup> Eihmane, E. Pirātisms Baltijas jūrā 14.-15. gs.- Rietumeiropas krīzes atbalsis? In: *Vēsture: avoti un cilvēki*. Daugavpils Universitātes Humanitārās fakultātes XVII starptautisko zinātnisko lasījumu materiāli. Daugavpils, 2009., pp. 97-102.

<sup>86</sup> AR, Bd. 1., Lief. 1. No. 100.

<sup>87</sup> AR, Bd. 2., Lief. 1., No. 61.

<sup>88</sup> “[...] senden mit perden, boten unde tho vote, ock korn, honnich, hoppen, molt kopen unde verkopen ock to Wolmeren, Wenden dat [..]”. *Hanserecesse von 1477-1530*, Abt. 3., Bd. 2. Schäfer, D. (Hrsg.) Leipzig, 1883. No. 164. (hereinafter – HR)

grains, honey, and hops – even to Valmiera and Cēsis<sup>89</sup>. These cases show that the towns were concerned about threats to internal trade<sup>90</sup> and competition. And these cases also confirm the major and important role of trade in town economy.

The trade environment changed in the 16th century, and it was influenced by several factors. First of all, the biggest trading point in the eastern part of the Hanseatic League was closed in 1494. It was a trading station in Novgorod, known as Peterhof. As a result, more active involvement in trade was seen from merchants in Pskov, which was the second biggest trading point in the Kievan Rus' after Novgorod. The closing of Peterhof was a loss for the entire Hanseatic League, except cities in the Central and Northern Livonia. Since the main destination in the Kievan Rus' before closing the Hanseatic station was Novgorod, merchants mainly used roads via Tartu, Reval, and Narva to get to Novgorod, and roads via Tartu to get to Pskov. When the trading station in Novgorod stopped operating, a more commonly used route was Riga-Pskov or the so-called *Marienburg Road* or *Russian Road*, which went from Pskov to Riga via Vastseliina<sup>91</sup>, Alūksne, Gaujiena, Smiltene, Trikāta, and Cēsis<sup>92</sup>. Due to the reasons mentioned above, Tartu, Narva, and Reval objected to using this road at the beginning of the 16th century, since they did not get the income from trade that they had before. It was requested to close this road. Master of the Livonian Order Wolter von Plettenberg did not listen to these objections and refused to close the road<sup>93</sup>. It is likely that the master had his own personal interests in this matter, which were related to Cēsis. Since his main residence was Cēsis Castle, the master was not interested in closing the road and divert the important income away from Cēsis, which was still regulated by the principle that merchants from the Kievan Rus' were not allowed to trade with merchants from cities in the Northern Germany<sup>94</sup>, or long distance merchants, who arrived in Riga from various cities located in the territory of modern Germany. Due to this, there was a system that Livonian town dwellers bought goods from Russian merchants and then sold them to long distance merchants from cities in the territory of modern Germany. It must be admitted, however, that this principle was violated. Representatives of Tartu wrote to Riga in 1498 stating that Russians

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<sup>89</sup> Lands active in trading such as the Kingdom of England and the Duchy of Burgundy were not included in the Hanseatic League.

<sup>90</sup> See more about the internal trade: Niitena, V. *Der Binnenhandel in der Politik der Livländischen Städte im Mittelalter*. Helsinki, 1952.

<sup>91</sup> Neuhausen, Vastseliina, populated place in the south-eastern part of modern Estonia.

<sup>92</sup> Pāvulāns, V. *Satiksmes ceļi Latvijā XIV-XVII gs.* Rīga, 1971. pp. 76-78; Jenšs, J. Rīgas pilsētas tirdzniecība ar Pliskavu XVI un XVII g. simtenī. *Izglītības Ministrijas Mēnešraksts*, 1937, No. 1, p. 51.

<sup>93</sup> The only exception was in 1532 when the road was closed from February to June.

<sup>94</sup> Jenšs, J. Rīgas pilsētas tirdzniecība ar Pliskavu XVI un XVII g. simtenī. *Izglītības Ministrijas Mēnešraksts*, 1937, No. 1, p. 51.

(*russen*) traded with peasants at cellars and booths in Cēsis and Valmiera regions. Tartu only added that they wanted to suspend this activity<sup>95</sup>. Internal trade issues, especially the use of roads, remained topical also in the 16th century<sup>96</sup>.

The principle described above was very favourable for the merchants of Livonian towns. Thus the towns were searching for various ways for merchants to be forced to make stops in towns. There was a set of rules that existed in the Hanseatic area named Staple Rights<sup>97</sup>, and these rules laid down that long distance merchants<sup>98</sup> had to offer their goods to the local merchants before carrying them further. This principle in Cēsis required Russian merchants to make a stop and created a need for places for storing goods. Several messages from councillors and citizens of Cēsis from November 1590 have been preserved stating that Russian merchants (*russischen Kaufleute*) used the road from Pskov to Riga<sup>99</sup> that went through Adzele<sup>100</sup> to Cēsis. For example, Councillor Georg Hemer confirmed seeing Russian merchants in Cēsis in 1535 who went to Pskov and had booths in Cēsis. He had also heard that their route from Pskov went to Adzele first, but he had not heard that Russian merchants were going to Tartu<sup>101</sup>. Councillor David Schwab also testified having heard from Germans and Russians from Moscow<sup>102</sup> that Russian merchants from Pskov first went to Alūksne<sup>103</sup>, then Adzele, Cēsis, and Rīga. This councillor also did not testify about merchants going through Tartu. Citizen of Cēsis Simon Matteus mentioned that he was in Cēsis for the first time 70 years ago<sup>104</sup>, but he had grown up in Alūksne where he had seen Russian merchants passing by his house who went past Marienburg and then went to Adzele, followed by Cēsis and Rīga. He had not heard anything about merchants going through Tartu as well. Citizen of Cēsis Kersten Zimmermann acknowledged that he arrived in Cēsis when Galen<sup>105</sup> was still the master of the Order. His wife had told him that her father often wanted it to be like it was before when Russian merchants had to make

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<sup>95</sup> LUB, Abt. 2., Bd. No. 742.

<sup>96</sup> LUB, Abt. 2., Bd. 2., No. 436, 475.

<sup>97</sup> *Ius emporii* (Latin), *Stapelrecht* (German) – a set of trading rules assigned to cities as additional privileges. It was also incorporated in agreements, such as Corpus Treaty in 1406. LUB, Bd. 6., No. 2967.

<sup>98</sup> All merchants doing transit trade. These merchants could be from the territory of modern Germany and they wanted to go further to the Kievan Rus'. They could also be Russian merchants who wanted to sell their goods to long distance merchants, for example, from Lübeck.

<sup>99</sup> “*weg von Pskow nach Riga*”

<sup>100</sup> Alūksne was also part of Adzele region

<sup>101</sup> Dorbt

<sup>102</sup> Also called Muscovitern or Muscovites.

<sup>103</sup> He mentions the other name of Alūksne (Marienburg) – Allisz.

<sup>104</sup> I.e. 1520.

<sup>105</sup> Heinrich von Galen, master from 1551 to 1557.

a stop in Cēsis, unload, and trade before going further. He had heard that violating this rule could result in being hanged on a tree<sup>106</sup>. Citizen Rudolph Schmit testified that during the rule of Master Heisenkamp<sup>107</sup> Russian merchants travelled from Alūksne to Adzele and then Cēsis, from where they were not allowed to go further. Merchants from Riga delivered other goods to Cēsis for them and they traded. He had not heard anything about a road to Tartu. Several other testimonies were heard in December of the same year. One of them was given by a Livonian official<sup>108</sup> Heinrich Wardow who was 55 years old<sup>109</sup> and mentioned that Russian merchants were obligated to offer their goods in Cēsis for three days and only then go to Riga if they had not been sold<sup>110</sup>. As it can be seen, the period of storehouses for Russian goods generally coincides with the time when the Marienburg Road started to be used more often.

### 3.2.2. CRAFTS

Information about crafts in Livonian cities, including Cēsis, is very limited. It might be explained by the specific nature of the work of craftsmen. While the activity of merchants was registered in various documents in various cities, the products of craftsmen were mainly used by the community of the specific city or town or the adherent castle. So the activity of craftsmen was most likely documented in the archive of the city or town. Unfortunately, the oldest archive of Cēsis has not been preserved.

Initially – in the 13th–15th century – some craftsmen were travelling from one town to another. It is indicated by a request from a citizen of Rostock Matthias David to the city council of Lübeck to allow him and the person in his service (*journeyman*) to go to various Livonian towns – Reval, Pärnu, Cēsis – to make bells (*Glockengiesser*)<sup>111</sup>. Considering the trades in Riga, it is clear that there was a wide area of crafts and the most important branches developed in Riga. The presence of a smith community in Cēsis can only be identified in the 16th century, as in 1550<sup>112</sup> there is mention of a citizen of Cēsis Rolof whose surname was Klennschmidt, which means a small-smith<sup>113</sup>. An indirect

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<sup>106</sup> “*ahnn die beume hencken*”

<sup>107</sup> Hermann von Brüggenei, also called Hasenkamp, in position from 1535 to 1549.

<sup>108</sup> “*livländischen Landsassen*”

<sup>109</sup> I.e. born in 1535.

<sup>110</sup> Schwartz, Ph. Wenden, ein Stapelplatz für den russischen Handel. In: *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1896*. Riga, 1897. S. 5-7.

<sup>111</sup> “[...] *to Revel to der Parnouwe unde to Wenden alle in Lyflande beleggen dar ik kloeken ghegoten hebbe [...]*”. LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 12., No. 289.

<sup>112</sup> Švābe, A. *Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.-1551. gads*. Rīga, 1941. No. 333.

<sup>113</sup> A smith who makes small items like knives.

reference to the existence of a glassmaker and a plate armour maker goes back to 1546 with a person named Arnd whose surname was Glasemaker or glassmaker and a person named Hermann whose surname was Platenschleger or metal plate maker<sup>114</sup>.

In 1546 there is mention of a building near Catherine's Gate that belonged to a Lutheran preacher and priest Bernhard Birgemann and was called the Small Guild<sup>115</sup>. This is an important reference as it indicates that at least at the end of the 15th century and in the 16th century, just like in the big cities, there was a crafts society called the Small Guild in Cēsis. And it is also an indirect indicator that there should have been several crafts societies in Cēsis. It is likely that the aforementioned bell maker, cannon maker, and steel plate maker was in the smith society and the glassmaker was in the glassmaker society. Later in the text there will be a reference to a gravestone in St. John's Church that depicts symbols of a tailor – scissors and a needle. It must be assumed that there was also a tailor society.

Significant evidence regarding the nature of trades has been collected in archaeological excavations, for example, in the western part of Cēsis, the current location of Līvu Square. A significant amount of leather items were found during the investigation. A major part of them are shoe fragments, like soles and shoe tops, which were apparently thrown out since they were worn out. It is also likely that there was a leather worker who worked near the square. It is indicated by the shoe parts found in quite good condition, as well as leather clippings and even undamaged shoes. So it can be assumed that there was also a cobbler society. There were also smiths in this area, which is indicated by the large number of various forged items (horseshoes, nails). This square was also a trading area, which is indicated by the comparatively significant amount of seals found there. Other items that point to crafts and the daily life are large amounts of pottery (pots, bowls, plates, and mugs with handles), mainly made on the spot. Unlike in Cēsis Castle, the pottery brought to the town from abroad (Rheinland) was hardly found and hence rarely used<sup>116</sup>.

Also involved in crafts and trade were people who lived outside the town – north-west from Cēsis, not far from the Gauja River, and the crossing over it (Appendix 6)<sup>117</sup>. There was a farm in the 15th–16th century information of which has been collected from archaeological investigations. There was a wooden building with stoves built from both stones and bricks in lime mortar. Fragments of

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<sup>114</sup> Švābe, A. *Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.-1551. gads*. Rīga, 1941. No. 188.

<sup>115</sup> Caune, M. Cēsis Livonijas ordeņa laikā. Vēsturiskās topogrāfijas problēmas. *Latvijas Vēstures institūta žurnāls*, 1994, No. 2. p. 114.

<sup>116</sup> Apala, Z. *Pārskats par 2002. gada arheoloģiskajiem izrakumiem Cēsīs, Līvu laukumā*, 1. sēj. Rīga, 2003. pp. 26-27 (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>117</sup> A good indicator of this is the overall situation in the map of Lindenhof drawn around 1691. The map is inserted in: Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: *Quo vadis, Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai*. Cēsis, 2007. p. 160.

pottery from Rheinland were found there, as well as undamaged, intact crocks (Appendix 7), which means that people in this area were involved in trade, since this kind of pottery was imported in Livonia from the territory of Germany. Discoveries like millstone and iron nails made by a smith, on the other hand, indicate that the people were involved in crafts and agriculture<sup>118</sup>.

In the 15th century Cēsis was inhabited by a wide range of craftsmen who worked in the mint. The location of the mint will be mentioned later. It should only be noted that the oldest money coined in Cēsis found in the archaeological excavations was a coin that was made in the time of Bernhardus von der Borch<sup>119</sup> – schilling<sup>120</sup>. It indicates that the mint in the town of Cēsis was there during the rule of this master and the money was made there. Coins made in Cēsis during the rule of Livonian Masters Johann Freitag von Loringhofe<sup>121</sup> and Wolter von Plettenberg<sup>122</sup> were also found in the archaeological excavations<sup>123</sup>. Every coin had inscriptions “MAGISTRI LIVONIE” (Master of Livonia) and “MONETA WENDNS” (Coin of Cēsis). The numismatic material found so far does not provide any evidence about money being made in Cēsis after 1500, which, according to the currently available records, suggests that the mint in Cēsis worked only until the end of the 15th century.

### 3.2.3. AGRICULTURE

There is virtually no information about this sector and people who were involved in it. With regard to knowledge about the citizens of other towns<sup>124</sup>, it is clear that agriculture had an important role in the economy of town citizens. Gardens are mentioned in documents several times. For example, it is noted in a document from 1537 that the citizen of Korbach<sup>125</sup> Hans Strack sold his garden for 20 Riga’s marks to Sigmund Secklern, surgeon (*wundartzt*) of the master of Livonia, which was located in Cēsis, in front of the Gate of Catherine (*garden tho Wenden vor sanct Katharinen*

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<sup>118</sup> Apala, Z. Aizsardzības izrakumi Cēsīs, Dzirnau ielā 33. In: *Zinātniskās atskaites sesijas materiāli par arheologu un etnogrāfu 1988. un 1989. gada pētījumu rezultātiem*. Rīga, 1990. pp. 17-20.

<sup>119</sup> Master from 1472 to 1483.

<sup>120</sup> Apala, Z. Arheoloģiskie pētījumi Cēsu viduslaiku pils pagalmā un uzraudzība Jaunajā pilī. In: *Arheologu pētījumi Latvijā 2006.-2007. gadā*. Rīga, 2008. p. 100.

<sup>121</sup> Master from 1483 to 1494.

<sup>122</sup> Master from 1494 to 1535.

<sup>123</sup> Apala, Z., Ducmane, K. *Cēsu pils dārgumi*. Cēsis, 2007. pp. 30-31.

<sup>124</sup> For example, in the case of Straupe. See more in: Plētiens, E. Pils un pilsēta Livonijā 13.-16. gadsimtā: Straupes piemērs. In: Ose, I. (comp.) *Latvijas viduslaiku pils*, 9. d. Rīga, 2016. pp. 192-193.

<sup>125</sup> A city in the area of modern Germany’s district of Hessen.

porten) between the gardens of preacher Bernth Bruggeman and Jochim Buchssenschutt<sup>126</sup>. This garden had been previously entrusted to him by Cēsis town council, and the seller acknowledged this fact by using the town book. Another document issued by Cēsis town council in spring 1546 mentions a citizen who owns two agricultural land plots and one garden. It is also mentioned that the deceased burgomaster of Cēsis Johann Frilinkhuisen owned fields and gardens<sup>127</sup>. It is also noted in 1549 that there are fields in front of the town of Cēsis belonging to some person<sup>128</sup>. It can be assumed that the fields and gardens were bound to a property in the town, as it was in the case of Koknese<sup>129</sup>. Not far from the town – the road that went to Riga – there was also a horse pasture<sup>130</sup>.

In 1561, when the king of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth gained power over Livonia, Cēsis acquired the right to organise a weekly market twice a week and a fair once a year<sup>131</sup>. It is most likely that this system was also in force in the Livonian Cēsis, as the new highest power usually simply reapproved the previous privileges with slight changes. Presumably the overall situation in trade and crafts in the town changed along with the Livonian War (1558–1583) when the town was destroyed. When it ended, in the first half of the 17th century, administration of Cēsis was taken over by the Swedish Count Axel Oxenstierna, whose manor household books<sup>132</sup> already included more detailed information about both the social structure of the inhabitants and their occupation. Documents from the 17th century also provide information about the statutes of guilds and societies<sup>133</sup>. Unfortunately, this information does not refer to the situation in the town in the 16th century.

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<sup>126</sup> *Livländische Güterurkunden 1500- 1545*, Bd. 2. (1923). Bruiningk, H. (Hg.). Riga: Kommissionsverlag von A. Gulbis, 1923. No. 703. (hereinafter – LG).

<sup>127</sup> Švābe, A. *Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.-1551. gads*. Rīga, 1941. No. 188.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 275.

<sup>129</sup> LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 1., No. 454.

<sup>130</sup> LG, Bd. 2., No. 442.

<sup>131</sup> I.e. the so-called Zygmunt's privilege assigned to Cēsis by Zygmunt II August, king from 1548 to 1572. Strods, H. *Cēsis attīstītā un vēlā feodālisma laikā*. In: *Cēsis senāk un tagad*. Rīga, 1960. pp. 28.

<sup>132</sup> Graf Axel Gustafsson Oxenstierna af Södermöre (1583–1654) took over the administration of Cēsis in 1627. His household books provide a quite detailed insight into the overall situation of the inhabitants of the town of Cēsis. In 1647 the town had two burgomasters, five councillors, one secretary, one priest, one schoolmaster, one organist, 37 merchants who were in a merchant guild, and 38 craftsmen. See more in: Dunsdorfs, E. (comp.) *Uksenšernas Vidzemes muižu saimniecības grāmatas 1624.-1654*. Rīga, 1935. pp. 154-157.

<sup>133</sup> Zeida, A., Zeids, T. *Amatniecības attīstība Cēsīs feodālisma laikmetā*. In: *Vēstures problēmas*, 4. d. Rīga, 1961. pp. 86-92.

### 3.3. INHABITANTS

There were various social groups in the town. Previously often mentioned merchants and craftsmen, who formed the majority of the inhabitants and were ordinary citizens, were also part of the town council. Analogies from other towns suggest that vassals of the seigneur of the town – in this case the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order – also resided in the town. Also related to the town were servants of the Order or the so-called blackheads<sup>134</sup>. Priests also resided in the town. It is not possible to say anything about the number of inhabitants or their ethnic composition. It can be assumed that there were also local inhabitants<sup>135</sup>, especially their descendants who had lived there since the 13th century. Both citizens and inhabitants of the town are also mentioned in the documents<sup>136</sup>. Apparently, the former ones owned properties and the latter ones rented them. Although information about the town dwellers is limited, putting together various indications provides a picture about who might have lived in the town.

Very specific information about some inhabitants of the town is contained in iconographic and sculptural monuments – gravestones. Generally they have been mostly preserved in the big cities, but St. John's Church in Cēsis is an exception. It is one of the rare town churches where such evidence has been preserved in significant numbers. Let us have a closer look at each of them. The oldest gravestones at St. John's Church are from the second half of the 14th century – 1373 and 1387. The earliest gravestone contains only a year, whereas the other one is related to a specific person. The gravestone from 1387 has an inscription “*anno. dni. m. ccc. l. xxx. viii. die. beati. georgii. obiit. dns. tide. rimann*”, partial interpretation of which might be “*dies beatitas Georgi [...] Tideman Riman*”<sup>137</sup>. Tydeman Ryman as the councillor of Cēsis and the representative in city meetings has been mentioned in several sources<sup>138</sup>. The gravestone suggests that the councillor died on St. George's Day. There is another gravestone of Albert Pauli from 1392 with a home sign and an inscription “*anno domini mccc lxxxii obiit [al]bertus pauli [...] requiescat un pace amen*”<sup>139</sup>. This gravestone is

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<sup>134</sup> This is not a reference to the Brotherhood of Blackheads whose main occupation was long distance trade. In this context, blackheads mean the serving staff of a castle, all people involved in its internal life.

<sup>135</sup> A reference to the Livonian Chronicle of Henry should be made here, which states that the bishop of Modena met some locals – wenden and letten – as well as some inhabitants of German origin in Cēsis Castle. See more in: *Heinrici Chronicon. Indriķa hronika*. Translated by A. Feldhūna. Comments and preface by Ē. Mugurēvičs. Rīga, 1993. p. 313.

<sup>136</sup> Švābe, A. *Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.-1551. gads*. Rīga, 1941. No. 238.

<sup>137</sup> On the blessed St. George's Day Tydeman Ryman.

<sup>138</sup> Tydeman Ryman (also Riman) is mentioned in 1441 as a delegate from Cēsis in the meeting of cities in Valmiera. LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 9., No. 687.

<sup>139</sup> Albert Pauli deceased in the year 1392 [...] may he rest in peace.

interesting because an altar table or mensa was used for covering his grave. Another gravestone from 1404 with an inscription “[m]cccciiii obiit frater franco spe[.]”<sup>140</sup> suggests that the person buried under this gravestone was Vogt Frank Spede<sup>141</sup> of Cēsis Castle. A gravestone from 1418 reveals only a small part of the inscription “*anno dni mccccxviii [..] [nativita] tis dni obiit w[.] in pace amen*”<sup>142</sup>, which is not enough to find out the names of the deceased. The only indication on the gravestone is two people – a man and a woman. It can only be assumed that they were wealthy citizens of Cēsis. Another very interesting gravestone dates back to 1441. It was part of a grave for two people. One of them was a man who died on 10 August 1441, the other – a woman who passed away on 29 June 1445. This information and even more can be obtained from its inscription: “*Int. iar. unses. her. simon. schotdorp. rathman. darna. in. dem. xlv. iar. viii. dage. nasunte. peter. unde. pawel. do. stars. sine. moder. gertrud. de. got. gnedich. sh. se. weren. de. ersten. stichtere. des. loveclanges*”<sup>143</sup>. This gravestone was for Cēsis Town Councillor Symon Schotdorp<sup>144</sup> and his mother Gertrude, who were the creators of “loveclanges”. This word creates uncertainty, but it is clear that it is related to some kind of sounds. If it is especially noted on the gravestone, it can be assumed that the sounds are related to the church, which, in turn, suggests that they made care of the music that was heard in the church. Initially it may seem that they gave the church the organ as a gift. However, the organ was not a widespread instrument in churches, so it may be that both persons paid for church chants. In this regard, more clarity is brought by a will issued in Haapsalu in 1501, where a widow lays down that her relatives have to take care of chants (*lavesangen*<sup>145</sup>) she and her husband created and the vicariate<sup>146</sup>. Since there are several locations – Riga, Haapsalu, and Limbaži – mentioned in the will, it is difficult to say which location it refers to. But the most important thing is that the words are similar in their structure. It is an indirect confirmation of the fact that these people funded chants, which were part of religious services, in the 15th century. Moreover, the inscription indicates that these people were the first patrons of chants, which suggests that someone still paid for chants in the

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<sup>140</sup> Brother frank spe[.] died in 1404.

<sup>141</sup> Frank had a brother Karl, a Benedictine monk who served as a priest in a small church 2 miles from Bonn. In 1418 he was considered as one of the candidates for the position of the Archbishop of Riga. See more in: LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 5., No. 2198.; Arbusow, L. Die im Deutschen Orden in Livland vertretene Geschlechter. In: Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik 1899. Mitau, 1901. S. 94.

<sup>142</sup> V[.] died in peace in 1418, Amen.

<sup>143</sup> On Sunday of 1441 before the Saint Lawrence’s Day died Councillor Symon Schotdorp, then on the 8th day after St. Peter’s and St. Paul’s Day in 1445 died his mother Gertrude.

<sup>144</sup> Symon Schotdorp (also Schoddorp) is mentioned in 1441 as a delegate from Cēsis in the meeting of cities. LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 9., No. 687.

<sup>145</sup> Lavesangen – promised chants. They are also mentioned in the Münster Chronicles as part of the procession.

<sup>146</sup> LG, Bd. 1., No. 652.

15th century. Another gravestone of a woman named Margarethe Segebadensche has been preserved since 24 June 1441. It says: “*Int. iar. unses. hern. m. cccc. unde. xli. des. dinestages. na. sunte. iohannes. do. stars. mgharete. segebadensche. dat. er. got. gnadig. sh. amen.*”. A gravestone from 1470 reads as follows: “*anno. dni. mcccclxx. obiit. dns. sim. [on] helewich. vicar temp. eccle. cat. cui. ai. req. in. pace*”<sup>147</sup>. A part of the text can be interpreted as “*Simon Helewich vicar Templum ecclesie Caterina*”<sup>148</sup>. A gravestone from 1471 for Johann Spar von Hertzen<sup>149</sup>, Landmarschall of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, has an inscription “*int iar m cccc lxxi up lichtmisse[n] starf broder ioha[n] van kreke[n]beke spor ge[.]*”. An unknown person was buried in 1481 and the gravestone says “*anno mcccc lxxxi des andere[n] sondages n asu[n]te iurg[ne] we den got gnade*”<sup>150</sup>. A knight Dirik Lode was buried in the church in 1518, and his gravestone has an inscription “*int iar mcccc und xviii vorblef selige dirik lode deme got mote gnedich sin siner seele ihs maria joes*”<sup>151</sup>. It might be the same knight mentioned in a document from 1501 named Dyderich Loyde<sup>152</sup>. Further, a Lodowic Gralow died in 1549, and his gravestone says “*int jaer mccccclxix starf de h[er] lodowic gralow*”<sup>153</sup>.

Three Livonian masters have also been buried in St. John’s Church in Cēsis. A gravestone of Johann Freitag von Loringhofe<sup>154</sup>, Master of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, has been preserved since 26 May 1494, which states that the Livonian master died on Trinity Sunday: “*Int. iar. x(vii) des. ma-dages. na. de. hillige. drevoldichkeit. do. stars. her. ioha. Fridach. va. lorinhoffe. meste. to. liflat. dusches. ordes. de. got. gnade.*”<sup>155</sup>. Wolter von Plettenberg<sup>156</sup> was also buried in the church in 1535. His gravestone has the following inscription: “*int. iar. 1535. des. verden. sundages. in. der. vasten. do. starf. de. hochlofflike. furst. her. wolter. von. plettenberch. d. o. meister. to. liffland.*

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<sup>147</sup> Heine, W. Die ehemalige St. Katkarinenkirche zu Wenden. *Rigasche Stadtblätter*, 1893, No. 11. (84.) S. 84.

<sup>148</sup> Vicar of St. Catherine's Church and Sanctuary. A vicar was a temporary or permanent priest appointed by a higher religious official. For example, congregation vicars were assistants to the main priest of the congregation (assistant priests). See: Trūps, H. *Katoļu baznīcas vēsture*. Rīga, 1992. p. 338.

<sup>149</sup> Johann Spar (also Spore) von Hertzen, also called Krieckenbeck. Due to political reasons he was locked up in Cēsis Castle Prison where he died on 2 February 1471.

<sup>150</sup> [...] died on the second Sunday after St. George’s Day in 1481, may God be merciful to him.

<sup>151</sup> Dirik Lode died blissfully in 1518. May God be merciful to his soul. Jesus, Maria, Joseph.

<sup>152</sup> LG, Bd. 2., No. 3.

<sup>153</sup> Mister Lodowic Gralow died in 1549.

<sup>154</sup> Master from 1483 to 1494.

<sup>155</sup> Johann Freitag von Loringhofe, Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, died on Monday after Trinity Sunday in 1494, may God be merciful to him.

<sup>156</sup> Master from 1494 to 1535.

*regerte. 44. iar.*”<sup>157</sup>. Livonian Master Hermann von Brüggenei<sup>158</sup> was buried in 1549, and his gravestone had an inscription “*Anno 1549. mandach. nach. maria. lichtmessen. ist. her. herman. vo. bruggenei genand. hasenkampf. des. ritt. d. o. meister. zu. lieflandt. in. got. seliglich. verstorben. hat. christlich und. vol. regirt. 14. iar.*”<sup>159</sup><sup>160</sup>.

Several gravestones or their fragments cannot be dated. One of them has a house sigil, which was usually a sign of recognition of a town’s citizen. Another gravestone fragment depicts a house sigil surrounded by a shield. There is also an inscription “[..] *proconsul we[nd]*”<sup>161</sup>, which means that assistant burgomaster of Cēsis was buried under it. Another fragment shows an outline of a coat of arms with open scissors in it. They are vertically crossed by a longish object, which might be a needle. If so, the person buried under it might be a member of a tailor society. Another unknown burial has a gravestone depicting an altar table with a house sigil on it.

Some references to the inhabitants of the town are provided by documents. For example, a sales document of 1537 mentions a priest of Cēsis church Johan Schnelle and two citizens of Cēsis. One of them was Bernt Briggemann who propagated Lutheranism in Cēsis. The other one was Jochim Buchssenschutt whose surname indicates that he made firearms. Several persons mentioned suggest that they were blackheads of Cēsis Castle. For example, in 1551 there is mention of a barber Peter<sup>162</sup>, in 1550 – weapon masters<sup>163</sup> of the Livonian master, who might have had a relation with craftsmen in the town, as well as an artillery master Hanns von Homberch<sup>164</sup> who made cannons<sup>165</sup>. It is possible that the brotherhood of blackheads existed already in 1451 when a visitation of Cēsis Castle indicates that there were people who had works to do in the castle<sup>166</sup>. However, the name of the Brotherhood

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<sup>157</sup> On the fourth Sunday of 1535, at Fastelavn, died the highly honoured Prince Wolter von Plettenberg, Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, who ruled for 44 years.

<sup>158</sup> Hermann von Brüggenei, also called Hasenkamp, in position from 1535 to 1549.

<sup>159</sup> Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, died blissfully on Monday after Maria’s Candle Mass in 1549. He ruled blissfully and well for 14 years.

<sup>160</sup> Heine, W. Von Alterthümern und Monumenten, wie auch verschiedenen Inscriptionen der Dohm-oder St. Johanniskirche in Wenden. *Rigasche Stadtblätter*, 1895, No. 43. (86.) S. 344-346.

<sup>161</sup> Proconsul of Cēsis.

<sup>162</sup> Švābe, A. *Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.-1551. gads*. Rīga, 1941. No. 341.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 333.

<sup>164</sup> Hanns von Homberch. Possibly from Homberg (Hoimberch), populated place in the western part of Germany, the current territory of Rheinland-Pfalz.

<sup>165</sup> Švābe, A. *Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.-1551. gads*. Rīga, 1941. No. 333.

<sup>166</sup> “Summa alles getreydes, korn, gerste, hawer, 750 leste; dy helfte dynet is zcu dem slosse, dy ander helfte den leuten, dy dem slosse reyten zcu noten”. See more in: LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 11. No. 160.

of Blackheads (schwarten hoveden tho Wenden) in the historical records is mentioned only in 1544<sup>167</sup>. Documents from 1500 mention a group of people called “stalbrodern<sup>168</sup> tho Wenden”<sup>169</sup>, which is often considered to be the same brotherhood of blackheads. Considering the translation and the information in the statutes<sup>170</sup> of the blackhead community of Kuldīga Castle, these “stalbroder” were members of a community (*in the case of Kuldīga – members of the brotherhood of blackheads*) in the broadest sense, which means that it was not a separate community, and this word can be understood from the context of the document. The blackhead community was subordinated to the schaefer<sup>171</sup> of Cēsis Castle.

In general, all the gravestones indicate that all the buried persons were of German origin and were among the wealthiest or otherwise notable people in the town. People buried in the central church of the town were councillors, burgomasters, priests, and knights. It is also possible that among them were members of crafts societies and other citizens of the town who have not been identified yet. These are some of the limited data available to analyse the social structure of the inhabitants of Cēsis. It is not possible to identify the approximate number of inhabitants, since there are no testimonies which would allow to make at least rough estimates. The same refers to the ethnic composition. Analogies from other towns suggest that local people who were involved in crafts also resided in the town. The structural composition of various social groups is also unknown.

### 3.4. DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

Information about the development of Cēsis in the 13th–15th century is limited. It is likely that further archaeological investigations will provide more specific data. However, the planning of Cēsis in the 16th century can only be apprehended from written testimonies of later times. Thus the planning must also be regarded retrospectively. Both historian Māra Caune and architect Rita Zandberga have written a lot about the issues of the historical topography of Cēsis. There is no need to repeat in detail the knowledge of these authors, therefore we will look at the planning of the town as a whole.

The layout of a typical medieval town in the Western Europe was characterised by various elements of development and planning. Radially circular planning alternated with right angle forms

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<sup>167</sup> LG, Bd. 2., No. 1083.; Siliņa, M. *Melngalvju nams*. Rīga, 2009. pp. 7, 18; Milicers, K. *Vācu ordeņa vēsture*. Rīga, 2009. p. 166.

<sup>168</sup> Stallbruder – comrade, fellow, member.

<sup>169</sup> LG, Bd. 1., No. 694.

<sup>170</sup> LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 4., No. 1520.

<sup>171</sup> Brother of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order responsible for trading matters. Mentioned in LG, Bd.2., No. 1081, 1082, 1083.

typical to Greek and Roman towns. The outlines of towns varied – from square and rectangular shapes to polygonal, round and oval lines. Traditionally, the centre of the medieval town, which was a free square, was where the main church of the congregation and the town hall was located. The town hall could also be located in the corner of the square at the entrance to the square. The square or squares usually formed a space which clearly indicated it as the closing element of streets. Several streets starting from the square went to the gates or bridges of the town. Another typical element was the vertical outline of town walls and towers. The buildings were usually close to one another so that their narrowest sides were faced towards the streets. The roof was usually steep and the façade was narrow. The development was mainly dominated by narrow views, and smaller buildings (*like houses*) alternated with larger ones (*like the church*). It created unique compositions characteristic to the medieval town planning. Fire safety matters determined the introduction of wall developments. The buildings had various sizes, but several-storey structures dominated due to the limited space and involvement of citizens in trade<sup>172</sup>.

The planning of Livonian towns can be relatively divided into two groups. The first group consisted of towns formed as a result of medieval castle walls (like Riga, Valmiera, Cēsis, Viljandi, and the majority of other Livonian towns). The second group consisted of towns formed in open populated areas not far from medieval castles (like Rakvere). Both types of towns usually formed near important trade routes or in strategically important areas, for example, densely populated regions. In general, both types of town planning cannot be separated, as both their planning elements and functionality in various executions alternated and overlapped.

The oldest cartography materials of Cēsis have been found from the second half of the 17th century and are to be used with precaution, since the town was destroyed both during the Livonian War and the Polish–Swedish Wars. The plan of Cēsis of 1693 marks 128 land units (Appendix 8). It is unknown whether the same number of land units also existed in the 16th century. It can only be assumed that the land units were not joined or divided as a result of frequent fires in the town. More precise information could be gathered from archaeological investigations. Due to the lack of information, it is not possible to analyse either the size of the land units or their number. It can be assumed that the size of lands surrounded by the walls changed infrequently and the towns usually retained their initial structure. But these are only assumptions.

The social topography of the town is complex. In this respect, except for a few dozens of properties, it is not possible to establish the division of properties between the citizens of the town. Archaeological investigations only suggest that the western part of the town was mainly inhabited by

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Buka, O., Volrāts, U. *Pilsētībūvniecība*. Rīga, 1987. pp. 13-14.

the locals<sup>173</sup> and it was the economically active part of the town where cobblers, smiths, and other craftsmen worked<sup>174</sup>. Considering the structural composition of the town, it is possible that the eastern part of the town was related to the castle and served as a residing place for the servants of the castle<sup>175</sup>, while the western part was formed on the basis of the village mentioned in 1221<sup>176</sup>.

What do we know about the building structures of the town? It is clear that the majority of the town was occupied by residential buildings<sup>177</sup>. It is currently not possible to say how they looked. There were also taverns, which offered food, accommodation, forage for horses<sup>178</sup>, and storage<sup>179</sup>. Let us look at some of the structures of the town separately.

Cēsis was surrounded by a wall in the medieval times. Considering the information provided above, it existed at least in the 15th century. It might have been built in the 14th century, but there is no information about it. Since the construction of a wall is a relatively long and expensive process, it can be assumed that it was built slowly. It is also indicated in a testimony from the 18th century which states that the citizens of Cēsis previously used to live outside the town, and not in it<sup>180</sup>. It is also known that there used to be a cemetery of the locals called the Liv Hill. And this location was outside the town<sup>181</sup>. This means that the town walls did not surround the entire territory seen in the plan of the 17th century. Consequently, some part of the populated area was surrounded by the wall and some part was not. And this, in turn, means that the wall had gates. Development of the town walls could be indicated by the discontinuous lines of the town fortifications seen in the given plan. If town walls (Appendix 9) were built gradually, it must have been an expensive process, because tearing down the walls and moving them further away from the previous location was time-consuming and required significant funds. Since the town was quite actively involved in trade, it is most likely that the town

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<sup>173</sup> Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: *Quo vadis, Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai*. Cēsis, 2007. p. 157.

<sup>174</sup> Apala, Z. *Pārskats par 2002. gada arheoloģiskajiem izrakumiem Cēsīs, Līvu laukumā*, 1. sēj. Rīga, 2003. p. 28 (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>175</sup> Fjodorovs, D. *Cēsu pils vēsturiskā izpēte*, 2. sēj.: Arhīva materiāli. Rīga, 1961. p. 35. Inv. No. 92018 III (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>176</sup> *Heinrici Chronicon. Indriķa hronika*. Translated by A. Feldhūna. Comments and preface by Ē. Mugurēvičs. Rīga, 1993. pp. 272-273.

<sup>177</sup> LG, Bd. 2., No. 707, 1087. Švābe, A. Vidzemes saimniecības vēstures avoti 1336-1551., No. 142.

<sup>178</sup> LUB, Abt.2., Bd.1., No. 217., 476.; LUB, Abt. 2., Bd. 2., No. 561.

<sup>179</sup> Švābe, A. Vidzemes saimniecības vēstures avoti 1336-1551., No. 142.

<sup>180</sup> Caune, M. Cēsis Livonijas ordeņa laikā. Vēsturiskās topogrāfijas problēmas. *Latvijas Vēstures institūta žurnāls*, 1994, No. 2. p. 112.

<sup>181</sup> Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: *Quo vadis, Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai*. Cēsis, 2007. pp. 157-160. Also: Latvijas Valsts Vēstures arhīvs (LVVA), 220.f., 1. apr., 1.l., 105.-107.l.

was wealthy and could afford it. Overall, the process of wall creation remains unknown until further archaeological investigations are performed. With respect to town fortifications, it is also not clear when the town towers were built. The construction of three town towers is mentioned in the Livonian Chronicle<sup>182</sup>, but it is not clear whether these towers were for the castle or for the town. The same plan of the 17th century suggests that the town had seven towers at least in the 16th century. Some of them still have names, for example, Guard Tower<sup>183</sup>, Caster Tower<sup>184</sup>, and Torture Tower<sup>185</sup>. The town also had four gates – Gate of Riga, Gate of Rauna, Catherine’s Gate, and Water Gate. More detailed information about the look of the gates was obtained from archaeological excavations at the location of the Gate of Rauna. Results of the investigation suggest that the towers and thus the gates in such numbers were created later than the walls of the town. It is most likely that the previous gates were less fortified. The investigated tower and the gate was built from limestone, which was bound together by lime mortar. Going through the tower into the town and out of it was Raunas Street, which was more than six meters wide on the inside near the tower. It is possible that there was another building or a moat in front of the tower and a bridge over it<sup>186</sup>.

As it was mentioned before, there was also a mint (*monetaria*) in Cēsis. Property lists and plans of the 17th century suggest that it occupied an entire block in the western part of the town<sup>187</sup>. There was also a school<sup>188</sup>, which was situated south-east from the church, as well as a separate building for the Small Guild. This building was situated north-west from the market square on the left side of Catherine’s Street<sup>189</sup>. The location of the town hall, however, is indicated in the manuscripts with drawings left by the Baltic German local historian Johann Christoph Brotze (1742–1823). It is pointed out in these manuscripts that only the unbuilt square of the town hall had survived<sup>190</sup> until 1797. An unanswered question is still the topography of the previously mentioned Russian merchant booths. It

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<sup>182</sup> Rusovs, B. *Livonijas Kronika*. Translated by Ed. Veispals. Rīga, 1926. p. 45.

<sup>183</sup> Caune M. Viduslaiku naudas kaltuve Cēsīs. *Druva*, 1994, 9 July; Caune, M. Cēsis Livonijas ordeņa laikā. Vēsturiskās topogrāfijas problēmas. *Latvijas Vēstures institūta žurnāls*, 1994, No. 2. p. 111.

<sup>184</sup> Strods, H. Cēsis attīstītā un vēlā feodālisma laikā. In: *Cēsis senāk un tagad*. Rīga, 1960. p. 28.

<sup>185</sup> Švābe, A. *Straumes un avoti*, 1. d. Nebraska, 1962. p. 384.

<sup>186</sup> Treijs, N. Izrakumi Cēsīs un Dzērbenē. In: *Zinātniskās atskaites sesijas materiāli par arheologu un etnogrāfu 1988.-1989. gada pētījumu rezultātiem*. Rīga, 1990. pp. 150-151.

<sup>187</sup> Caune M. Viduslaiku naudas kaltuve Cēsīs. *Druva*, 1994, 9 July; Caune, M. Cēsis Livonijas ordeņa laikā. Vēsturiskās topogrāfijas problēmas. *Latvijas Vēstures institūta žurnāls*, 1994, No. 2. pp. 114-115.

<sup>188</sup> Caune, M. Cēsis Livonijas ordeņa laikā. Vēsturiskās topogrāfijas problēmas. *Latvijas Vēstures institūta žurnāls*, 1994, No. 2. pp. 115-116.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Broce, J. K. *Zīmējumi un apraksti*, 4. sēj.: Latvijas mazās pilsētas un lauki. Rīga, 2007. p. 31.

can only be assumed that, just like in Riga, they were situated in Cēsis near the Greek or Eastern Catholic Church.

A common problem in towns due to the tight planning and thus lack of space in the Middle Ages and the early modern period was burying the deceased. This issue was closely related to faith, as Christians buried the dead in a special isolated area so that it would be easier to take care of them, i.e. pray for them. Moreover, people retained their status even after death – the noble ones were buried in the church or next to it, while the common people were buried further away. There was one cemetery in Cēsis and two more just outside the town walls. The size of the former cannot be identified. An inspection of 1582 indicates that “the cemetery next to the church was spacious”<sup>191</sup>, which does not say a lot about its specific size and topography. As it has been established in archaeological investigations, it was definitely located east or south-east from the church. The current archaeological investigation results show that the deceased were buried there in the second half of the 16th century, and in the 17th and 18th century<sup>192</sup>. The deceased were buried in the cemetery in 2–3 layers. The burial traditions of these cemeteries and earlier traditions may be related to graves found at the end of the 19th century when building a house at present-day Rigas Street 16. Digging works at the time led to the discovery of several graves where the deceased had been buried in carved wooden coffins<sup>193</sup>. Considering the above, it is quite hard to determine the size of the cemetery that existed in the Middle Ages. The cemeteries outside the town walls seem to have been owned by congregation churches. The first one was located north-east from the town walls. An indication of this are graves<sup>194</sup> discovered during digging works in 1933, which does not provide any further information, and the church<sup>195</sup> marked in the map of 1683. The second cemetery outside the town walls was located west from the town. The first indication of this is the graves discovered during construction works in 1991. A total of five graves dating back to the 17th and 18th century were uncovered.<sup>196</sup> Indicating the location of the cemetery are church visitation minutes which state that

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<sup>191</sup> Fjodorovs, D. *Cēsu pils vēsturiskā izpēte*, 2. sēj.: Arhīva materiāli. Rīga, 1961. p. 12. Inv. No. 92018 III (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>192</sup> Apala, Z. Arheoloģiskās uzraudzības darbi Cēsu vecpilsētā. In: *Arheologu pētījumi Latvijā 2002. un 2003. gadā*. Rīga, 2004. pp. 57-58; Zariņa, G. *Latvijas iedzīvotāju paleodemogrāfija. 7. g. t. pr. Kr.- 1800. g.* Rīga, 2009. pp. 103-104.

<sup>193</sup> Berkholce, E. *Apcerējums par Cēsu būvniecības vēsturi*. Rīga, 1952., 1953. p. 64 (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>194</sup> Konventa laukuma viduslaiku kapsētas lieta, Inv. No. 6708. (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>195</sup> Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: *Quo vadis, Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienas nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai*. Cēsis, 2007. p. 161.

<sup>196</sup> Vilka, A. *Pārskats par arheoloģiskās uzraudzības darbiem Cēsīs Palasta ielas No. 22. nama pagalmā*. Cēsis, 1992. p. 3-6. (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

“Latvians were buried in 3 locations: (1) near St. Catherine’s Church, (2) in Liepa, (3) at Lezenhof. These are privileged chapels”<sup>197</sup>. The third indication of a cemetery is a map of 1683, which marks the location of St. Catherine’s Church<sup>198</sup>. As it can be seen, these data also do not provide any information about the size of the cemeteries in the Middle Ages, but the information above about churches in Cēsis and its vicinity suggests that they existed even earlier.

A separate topic is the streets of Cēsis<sup>199</sup>. The street names of medieval towns usually had a practical purpose. The name of the street could indicate where the street was leading to. The name of the street could also indicate possible occupations in workshops on the side of the street. Other practical indications were also possible. The small streets were usually not given any names<sup>200</sup>. Three streets of Cēsis have been mentioned in written records from the 15th and 16th century. Raunas Street was mentioned in 1474 in the records that point to a meeting place for the representatives of the Order and the Archbishop<sup>201</sup>. An indirect reference to Rigas Street is made in 1526 when there is mention of a gate leading to Riga (*viam Rigensem*)<sup>202</sup>, while Catherine’s Gate, which indicates the presence of a street, was mentioned in 1537 when there was an undergoing matter regarding the purchase of gardens in front of it or outside of the wall near Catherine’s Gate (*vor sanct Katharinen porten*)<sup>203</sup>. It is likely that these were the most important streets of Cēsis. Their names point to that. Raunas Street went through the Gate of Rauna and led to Rauna Castle, which was some 20 km away and was a frequent residing place of the Archbishop of Riga, as it can be seen in the documents issued<sup>204</sup>. Rigas Street went through the Gate of Riga and went to the city of Riga, which was some 80 km away and was mentioned as an important trade partner. Catherine’s Street went through Catherine’s Gate to the nearby St. Catherine’s Church. A precise initial topography of the streets is unknown. While it can be assumed regarding Rigas Street and Raunas Street that they were created instead of the long existing trade route, which was surrounded by a wall, there is no clear answer with regard to the

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<sup>197</sup> “Die letten würden an 3 örten begraben (1) bey der Catharinen kirche, (2) zu Lindenhoff, (3) zu Lenzenhoff. Diese wären privilegirte capellen”. See more in: Bregžis, K. *Baznīcu vizitāciju protokoli. Izraksti par jautājumu: Kristīgās ticības cīņa ar latvju tautas reliģiju*. Rīga, 1931. p. 105.

<sup>198</sup> Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: *Quo vadis, Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai*. Cēsis, 2007. p. 161.

<sup>199</sup> More detailed information about the history of the streets of Cēsis: Caune, M. Cēsu senās ielas un to nosaukumi. *Druva*, 1994, 30 August.

<sup>200</sup> Caune M. Viduslaiku naudas kaltuve Cēsīs. *Druva*, 1994, 9 July; Caune, M. Cēsis Livonijas ordeņa laikā. Vēsturiskās topogrāfijas problēmas. *Latvijas Vēstures institūta žurnāls*, 1994, No. 2. pp. 115-116.

<sup>201</sup> LG, Bd. 1., No. 503.

<sup>202</sup> LG, Bd. 2., No. 442.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., No. 703.

<sup>204</sup> One of them, for example, is a document from 1381. See more in: LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 3. No. 1178.

location of Catherine's Street. It is possible that its initial planning was different and the configuration marked in the map of 1693 was only acquired after another expansion of the wall<sup>205</sup>.

When looking at the planning of Cēsis in general, the difference between the western and eastern part of the town in the plan of 1693 is obvious. The western part is characterised by narrow, small, slightly curved streets typical to the medieval town, while the eastern part is completely different. It can be described as quite badly structured development with the central market square mentioned at the beginning of the 16th century<sup>206</sup> with the main congregation church of the town. This isolated development might be explained by the fact that this part of the town was included in the jurisdiction of the town only in the middle of the 17th century<sup>207</sup>. Development of Cēsis was quite small<sup>208</sup> with a small number of storeys<sup>209</sup>. The buildings were made of wood and stone<sup>210</sup>. Compared to the Western European medieval cities, Cēsis was not a widely built-up area. Overall, Cēsis was a small medieval town with all the necessary typical elements of a town: a wall, a church, a town hall, and a market square.

### 3.5. THE RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT

Christianity played a major role in the lives of medieval people. Both their daily life and holidays were regulated by it. The names of saints mentioned in the church calendar were often used to name the newborn. As it was mentioned previously, there were six churches in Cēsis and its vicinity. Although none of them has survived in their initial state, they formed the sacred area of the religious life of the town and its surroundings.

The main church of Cēsis was St. John's Church (Appendix 10). It has already been discussed in Section 2 of the research. It must be noted that the church was reconstructed several times, has suffered almost ten town fires, and has been raided<sup>211</sup>. For example, in the Polish inspection of Cēsis

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<sup>205</sup> More about the possible reconstruction attempts: Zandberga, R. *Cēsu pilsētas vēsturiskā centra pirmsprojekta izpēte*, 2. d.: Cēsu arhitektoniski pilsētbūvnieciskās struktūras attīstības vēsture, 1. sēj. Rīga, 1979. p. 56 (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>206</sup> LUB, Abt.2., Bd.2., No. 243.

<sup>207</sup> Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: *Quo vadis, Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienas nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai*. Cēsis, 2007. p. 158.

<sup>208</sup> A corner building at the town market in Cēsis is mentioned at the beginning of the 16th century (orthus am Markte). LUB, Abt.2., Bd.2., No. 243.

<sup>209</sup> Zandberga, R. *Cēsu pilsētas vēsturiskā centra pirmsprojekta izpēte*, 2. d.: Cēsu arhitektoniski pilsētbūvnieciskās struktūras attīstības vēsture, 1. sēj. Rīga, 1979. p. 113 (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>210</sup> Švābe, A. Vidzemes saimniecības vēstures avoti 1336-1551., No. 142.

<sup>211</sup> The church burned during the Livonian War, as well as later in 1640, 1665, 1667, 1671, 1676, 1677, 1686, 1694, 1742, 1746, and 1748. The church was also ravaged by Russian forces who kept their horses in

Castle in 1582 it is stated that “[...] *The church has suffered major damage, especially its roof, tower, and vaults in one place [...]*”<sup>212</sup>. Further in 1613 it is indicated that the church is on the verge of collapsing, as the roof is open from all sides, vault coves<sup>213</sup> are partially broken, and the tower has burned down. In 1665 it is said that the church has burned down, while in 1691 it is said to be on the verge of collapsing again. In 1703 it is written that the pillar<sup>214</sup> has collapsed, while in 1724 it is said that the church is simply in bad condition and not safe. After the big fire in 1748 the church was destroyed and could not be used<sup>215</sup>. This information from later years shows why it is not possible to speak about the authenticity of the interior of the church, precise building structures, and the overall look. It is more likely that the only elements from the Middle Ages in the church are the outer walls, some details, and the gravestones in it. Brief information about the planning of the church is provided in the already mentioned inspection of 1582, which states that “[...] *there is a stone church with vaults and two rows of columns in the town near the castle. The church could be just as big or smaller than St. James' Church in Riga [...]* This church has one altar. [...]”<sup>216</sup>. It is enough to conclude that St. John's Church was a three-nave<sup>217</sup> building in the Middle Ages located in the north-eastern part of Cēsis. It also seems that the church was initially built in the Romanesque style and it had a rectangular tower characteristic to this style of architecture. It is also said that the church had an altar, which means that it had a crescent apse in the eastern side, which is characteristic to Romanesque churches. As it can be seen, the church is compared to St. James' Church in Riga, which is the smallest church in Riga. If the inspectors and their eyes can be trusted, it can be concluded that St. John's Church was considerably smaller at the end of the 16th century than it is now. Overall, information about St. John's Church is scarce. Neither its construction year nor its look is known for certain. Priests from a congregation church in Cēsis are also mentioned repeatedly in the documents. It must be assumed that they served for St. John's Church, as it was the only Catholic Church in the territory

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the church, as well as by Polish forces. See more in: Caune, M. *Cēsu Sv. Jāņa baznīcas vēsturiskās izpētes materiāli*, 1. sēj. Rīga, 1987. pp. 35-48. (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>212</sup> Fjodorovs, D. *Cēsu pils vēsturiskā izpēte*, 2. sēj.: Arhīva materiāli. Rīga, 1961. p. 12. Inv. No. 92018 III (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>213</sup> An elongated stone structure used for supporting vaults.

<sup>214</sup> A massive support of a cross-piece.

<sup>215</sup> Caune, M. *Cēsu Sv. Jāņa baznīcas vēsturiskās izpētes materiāli*, 1. sēj. Rīga, 1987. pp. 35-47. (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>216</sup> Fjodorovs, D. *Cēsu pils vēsturiskā izpēte*, 2. sēj.: Arhīva materiāli. Rīga, 1961. p. 12. Inv. No. 92018 III (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>217</sup> A part of a church separated with a row of poles or columns. There are usually three naves in a church, the middle one being wider than the other two.

of the town. A church priest Martino de Sindato<sup>218</sup> is mentioned for the first time in written records in 1329. A priest Vrederike Papendorpe<sup>219</sup> is mentioned in 1364. A son of Ulsen, who is the son of a priest of Cēsis congregation church, is mentioned in 1375<sup>220</sup>. A priest Thideriko de Hamme<sup>221</sup> is mentioned later, in 1369. Almost 30 years later, in 1395, another priest of this church named Nicolao Hanen<sup>222</sup> is mentioned. Another priest Johan Schnelle<sup>223</sup> is mentioned in 1537. Later, in an inspection in 1601, it is indicated that the priest is preaching in both languages and the council pays him for that<sup>224</sup>. It is most likely that the priest was funded by the town council in the medieval times as well. With regard to the language, Middle Low German dominated in the town environment, as the citizens were mostly of German origin. But since the merchants were also involved in the internal trade, they had to understand the basics of the local language or use interpreters.

With regard to another church, St. Catherine's Church, its remaining walls were developed to create Cēsis Christ Enlightenment Orthodox Church<sup>225</sup> (Appendix 11). Information about St. Catherine's Church is scarce. St. Catherine was often chosen in Western Europe as a patroness of congregation churches, which were often located at the crossroads or in marketplaces<sup>226</sup>. Based on the analogy and its location outside the town walls, it can be concluded that St. Catherine's Church in the town of Cēsis was a congregation church. It is difficult to describe how it looked, since neither its initial type and form nor its possible reconstructions are known. Its construction year is also

<sup>218</sup> "Martino de Sindato, rectori parochiali ecclesiae in Wenda, Rigensis diocesis". The surname "Sindato" cannot be clearly interpreted. Surnames at the time indicated a location. It is similar to a Latin word "sindaco", which means the burgomaster of the town. In: LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 6., No. 867.(e)

<sup>219</sup> "[...] unsere sunderliken leven her Vrederike Papendorpe, ickswanne kerckheren to Wenden [...]". LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 3. No. 1003.(a)

<sup>220</sup> "Idem dilecto filio Ulsen, rectori parrochialis ecclesiae in Wenden, Terbatensis diocesis". In: LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 6., No. 1302.(c)

<sup>221</sup> "[...] Tarbatensis ecclesiarum canonicis, ac Thideriko de Hamme in Wenden [...]". In: LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 2., No. 991-993. It is not known for certain, but this priest might be coming from the current German city of Hamma in the region of Westphalia.

<sup>222</sup> "[...] presentibus discretis viris, dominis Nicolao Hanen, rectoris parochialis ecclesie in Wenden [...]". In: LG, Bd. 1., No. 129. This priest was also mentioned in 1393: "Nicolao Hanen, plebano in opido Wenden". In: LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 3., No. 1345. The same priest was mentioned in 1423: "praeterquam dominum Nicolaum Hanen, plebanum in Wenden". In: LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 5., No. 2705.

<sup>223</sup> "[...] Johan Schnelle, kerckherrn tho Wenden [...]". See more in: LG, Bd. 2., No. 703.

<sup>224</sup> "[...] Der pastor predigett beyde sprachen worfur der rath ihme seine besoldung gibt [...]". See more in: Švābe, A. Die älteste schwedische Landrevision Livlands (1601). In: *Latvijas Universitātes raksti. Tautsaimniecības un tiesību zinātņu fakultātes sērija*, 2. sēj. Rīga, 1932./ 1933. p. 505.

<sup>225</sup> Zandberga, R. *Cēsu pilsētas vēsturiskā centra pirmsprojekta izpēte*, 2. d.: Cēsu arhitektoniski pilsētbūvnieciskās struktūras attīstības vēsture, 1. sēj. Rīga, 1979. p. 87 (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>226</sup> Schmieder, F. *Die mittelalterliche Stadt*. Darmstadt, 2005. S. 46.

unknown, but, as it was mentioned before, a gravestone of a priest of this church from 1470 is stored at St. John's Church in Cēsis. This means that the church existed in the 15th century.

The part of the Russian Orthodox Church, which was preserved in the cultural layer of the town according to written testimonies<sup>227</sup> from the 18th century, was completely or partially destroyed in 1994 during illegal construction works<sup>228</sup>. The only information about it is from a town plan of 1693 (Appendix 12)<sup>229</sup> where it is marked as a small rectangular building with a crescent apse<sup>230</sup> in the east. Written records indicate that the church was not used any more in the second half of the 16th century, as there was a wooden building<sup>231</sup> in its location in 1558.

There is nothing left from St. George's Church and St. Anthony's Church. St. Anthony of Padua was a friar of the Franciscan Order and thus the saint of this Order. Therefore it is possible that this church was created by the friars of the Franciscan Order who served in Riga. The location of this church is indicated in the map of 1688<sup>232</sup> (Appendix 13). It was located near the Gate of Rauna. Now there is the building of Vidzeme District Court in this location. It is possible that this church had a cemetery with the remains of the deceased that were discovered during water pipe construction works in 1933<sup>233</sup>. Saint George, in turn, was one of the most widely known saints in the medieval society who served as a protector of those who fought wars and worked. He is also one of the saints of Riga's blackheads, which might indicate the relation to the blackheads of Cēsis Castle who served there, as mentioned before. There is a small entry in the Vatican Archive about St. George's Church on 14 January 1432. It says that St. George's Church is "outside Cēsis town walls". The entry also refers to its vicar Johann Somer<sup>234</sup>. This church is marked in the given map not far from the town. It was on the right side of the road that led to Riga. With regard to the former castle chapel, which is one of the oldest parts of the wall of Cēsis Castle, only a small part of it has survived until today.

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<sup>227</sup> Caune, M. Cēsis Livonijas ordeņa laikā. Vēsturiskās topogrāfijas problēmas. *Latvijas Vēstures institūta žurnāls*, 1994, No. 2. p. 114.

<sup>228</sup> Cēsu senpilsētas lieta, Inv. No. 46685- I (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>229</sup> The plan inserted in: Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: *Quo vadis, Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai*. Cēsis, 2007. p. 157.

<sup>230</sup> The closing part of the middle nave or the altar of the church in a crescent or polygonal form.

<sup>231</sup> Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: *Quo vadis, Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai*. Cēsis, 2007. p. 158.

<sup>232</sup> Zandberga, R. Cēsu pilsētas vēsturiskā centra pirmsprojekta izpēte, 2. d., 2. sēj., 1. pussēj. Rīga, 1979.

<sup>233</sup> Vietējās nozīmes arheoloģiskais piemineklis Konventa laukuma viduslaiku kapsēta (No. 396) (stored at VKPAI PDCA)

<sup>234</sup> "extra muros opidi Wenden". Hildebrand, H. *Livonica, vornämlich aus dem 13. Jahrhundert, im Vatikanischen Archiv*. Riga, 1887. S. 71.

As it can be seen, there were two churches in the town of Cēsis, one chapel in the castle, and three more churches in close proximity to the town. In comparison, Tallinn had seven churches and two monasteries, Riga – six churches and three monasteries, and Tartu – four churches<sup>235</sup>. Also, Koknese had three churches, whereas Limbaži and Salaspils – two.

An integral part of the religious life was the patron saint of the town. There is no specific data with regard to Cēsis, but some literature sources<sup>236</sup> indicate that it might have been Saint Catherine of Alexandria<sup>237</sup>, who is depicted in the stamps of the commander of Cēsis Castle. They date back to 1271, 1306, and 1349 (Appendix 14)<sup>238</sup>. These assertions are not based on written historical records and also indicate that St. Catherine might have been the patroness of the position of a commander of Cēsis Castle. This opinion is based on the fact that the stamp was a kind of an accessory issued to each vogt or commander as he took office. So the stamp and thus the patron saint was linked to both the location and the duties to be performed. When the office was left due to any reasons, the stamp was passed on to the successor. This procedure was followed until some kind of circumstances (loss, wear) forced to change the stamp. The chance to use the private stamp along with the official stamp appeared only at the end of the 15th century<sup>239</sup>. However, there are many circumstances indicating that St. Catherine could not have been the patroness of Cēsis. Firstly, it seems that the patron of the main church of Cēsis congregation was John the Baptist. Although the saints of the town and the

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<sup>235</sup> More information about the number of churches in each town: Pärn, A. Die Lage der Stadtarchäologie in Estland: Der Stand der Forschungen und die bisherigen Ergebnisse. In: *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum: Stand, Aufgaben und Perspektiven*. Lübeck, 1997. S. 333.; Caune, A., Ose, I. *Latvijas viduslaiku mūra baznīcas 12. gs. beigās – 16. gs. sākums*. Rīga, 2010. p. 248-345; Wienberg, J. Churches and Centrality: Basilicas and Hall-Churches in Medieval Scandinavia and Livonia. In: *Lubeck Style? Novgorod Style? Baltic Rim Central Places as Arenas for Cultural Encounters and Urbanization 1100-1400 AD*. Riga, 2001. pp. 291-299; Mäesalu, A. Über den Stand der archäologischen Forschungsarbeit in Dorpat (Tartu). In: *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum: Stand, Aufgaben und Perspektiven*. Lübeck, 1997. S. 344.

<sup>236</sup> Caune, A., Ose, I. *Latvijas viduslaiku mūra baznīcas 12. gs. beigās – 16. gs. sākums*. Rīga, 2010. p. 126; Polis, J. (ed.) *Cēsu hronika*. Cēsis, 2006. p. 23.

<sup>237</sup> St. Catherine was one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers. The oldest legend of her dates back to the 11th century. It says that Catherine was born in a noble family. She was beautiful and well educated. She had a dream where she became the bride of Jesus Christ and was baptised by a man from a desert. After the dream she tried to convince the ruler about her beliefs, which led to discussions with several dozens of philosophers, who became committed Christians after the discussion. She was sentenced to death on a breaking wheel. The torture was unsuccessful as the wheel shattered, so the death penalty was performed by beheading her. She was a patroness to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV. According to the Western Christianity, St. Catherine's Day is on 25 November. Her depiction attributes: the breaking wheel, a sword, a lamb, and a cross. The arrangement of the attributes is irrelevant.

<sup>238</sup> Sachssendahl, J. (Hrsg.) *Est- und Livländische Brieflade*, Bd. 4.: Siegel und Münzen der weltlichen und geistlichen Gebietiger über Liv-, Est- und Curland bis zum Jahre 1561 nebst Siegeln einheimischer Geschlechter. Reval, 1887. S. 75.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid*, S. 48-51.

church could differ, the patroness of Kuldīga town and its church was the same St. Catherine. Secondly, the church of the rural congregation of Cēsis was already dedicated to St. Catherine, which would be odd if St. Catherine would have already been the patroness of the town. Thirdly, if St. Catherine would have been the patroness of Cēsis, she should have been included in the stamp or any other characteristic element of the town. Based on these circumstances, it can be said that the higher power of the specific location could have assigned their saint, but this was not the case here. It is more likely that the rural congregation adopted the saint of the Order. Due to the lack of records, it is not possible to provide unequivocal answers with regard to the stamp and patron of Cēsis.

An integral part of the religious space were specially designated praying spaces – vicariates<sup>240</sup>. They were usually made and maintained by those who ordered them – a community, a family, or a separate person. It required funds, so only bigger communities, wealthier families, or rich citizens could afford a vicariate. Two vicariates are mentioned in Cēsis town church. In 1502 there is mention of St. Thomas' vicariate and its vicar or assistant priest Peter Walraven<sup>241</sup>, while in 1546 there is also mention of St. Nicholas' vicariate and its creator, burgomaster Johan Frilinckhuisen<sup>242</sup>. The creator of the former was Johann Osse van Walhusen<sup>243</sup>, brother of the Teutonic Order. It means that either St. Thomas<sup>244</sup> was the patron of the brother, or the brother of the Order created this vicariate for the interests of all the brothers who resided in Cēsis Castle of the Order. With regard to St. Nicolas' vicariate, it is said that it was created by said burgomaster who handed it over to the council, which means that it was maintained from the funds of the council. Moreover, two land units were attached

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<sup>240</sup> Vicariate – a foundation usually designated for commemorating someone. Vicariate in the Middle Ages was something similar to a foundation in the modern society. Vicariates were usually dedicated to a saint of the church, so they obtained a more precise form, as the creator had often dedicated an altar in the church to the saint. Vicariates operated simply. It was important for the specific person or the creator that the person was commemorated, which was significant in the Middle Ages. Thus, by creating a vicariate, the person designated a specific sum for it, used for paying the vicar (assistant priest) who held prayers for the soul of the creator, as well as bought the items necessary for the vicariate (for example, candles). But it was also possible to release part of the sum dedicated for the vicariate in circulation, for example, to lend it to someone on lease terms. As a result, the sum increased and the commemoration services could be held for longer periods. Of course, it involved certain risks, for example, the money could have not been returned in time, which caused problems for further maintenance of this foundation.

<sup>241</sup> “[...] der vicarie s. Thome bynnen Wenden in der perlekerke in der norderside belegen [...] Her Peter Walraven, prester, viccarn [...]”. See more in: LUB, Abt. 2., Bd. 2., No. 243.

<sup>242</sup> “[...] vicarie, genomt Nicolai, vann etwan disser stadt burgermeister, zeligen herrn Johan Frilinckhuisen gestiftet [...]”. See more in: Švābe, A. *Vidzemes tiesību vēstures avoti 1336.-1551. gads.* Rīga, 1941. No. 188.

<sup>243</sup> Possibly from Walhausen, populated place in the western part of Germany, the current territory of Rheinland-Pfalz.

<sup>244</sup> It is not possible to say which of the Saint Thomases is meant here. There were three saints with this name in the Catholic Church. One of them was Saint Thomas Aquinas. The other two were Saint Thomas of Canterbury and Saint Thomas the Apostle.

to this vicariate, which are thought to have been used for its maintenance. Besides the town council of Cēsis asked the master of Livonia to leave the properties to their owners. Every church had a vicariate, including the chapel of Cēsis Castle. One dedicated to the Virgin Mary is mentioned at the beginning of the 16th century<sup>245</sup>. Moreover, a priest serving the masters received a permission from Rome to create a vicariate at the beginning of the 16th century<sup>246</sup>. Since the master resided in Cēsis at the time, it is likely that the vicariate was created in Cēsis Castle.

The medieval church could also have several religious brotherhoods. One such brotherhood in Cēsis was *Fratres Calendarii*<sup>247</sup>, a member (*calandeshern*) of which was the already mentioned vicar Peter Walraven<sup>248</sup>. Apparently, the assistant priest performed several tasks in the town church.

It is important to note again that several masters of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order were buried at St. John's Church in the 15th and 16th century, which suggests that both the church and the town was of a high status.

Just like in the entire Livonia, the beginning of the 16th century marked the Reformation in Cēsis. It is said in the Livonian Chronicle that “*the Gospel light started to shine in the Livonian towns in 1522 [...]*”<sup>249</sup>. Since Cēsis was not an exception to other Livonian towns, Lutheranism also spread there. It is indicated by the activity<sup>250</sup> of the preacher and pastor Bernhard Brugemann, who preached in the mint<sup>251</sup> of Cēsis as well as at St. Catherine's Church<sup>252</sup>. The spread of Reformation ideas and their popularity at Cēsis Castle is indicated by the tiles with an image of Martin Luther (1483–1546)

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<sup>245</sup> LUB, Abt.2., Bd.2., No. 244.

<sup>246</sup> LG, Bd. 2., No. 253.

<sup>247</sup> *Fratres Calendarii* – a brotherhood in the Middle Ages consisting of both priests and laymen. The brotherhood included 6-12 clericals and more laymen. It was especially popular in the central and northern parts of German lands. The brotherhood especially highlighted charity and commemoration of the deceased. Meetings of the brotherhood took place on the first day of the month called *kalandae* according to the Roman tradition. The name of the brotherhood is also derived from it. The brotherhood was open for clericals, laymen, men, and women. *Fratres Calendarii*, just like all medieval brotherhoods, had its own statutes that regulated the operation of the brotherhood, its meeting principles, allocation of funds for charity, etc. The brotherhood considered its main objective to be promoting the religious life and Christian discipline. It also had a separate altar in the church of the congregation they served.

<sup>248</sup> LUB, Abt.2., Bd.2., No. 243.

<sup>249</sup> Rusovs, B. *Livonijas Kronika*. Translated by Ed. Veispals. Rīga, 1926. p. 48.

<sup>250</sup> Arbusow, L. *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland*. Leipzig, Riga, 1919. S. 466.

<sup>251</sup> Caune M. Viduslaiku naudas kaltuve Cēsīs. *Druva*, 1994, 9 July.

<sup>252</sup> Heine, W. Die ehemalige St. Katkarinenkirche zu Wenden. *Rigasche Stadtblätter*, 1893, No. 11. (84.) S. 85.

found there<sup>253</sup>. But it definitely does not suggest that the brothers of the Teutonic Order in Livonia had turned to Lutheranism. It is likely that these tiles indicated affinity and was a modern design element at that time. It must be noted that Wolter von Plettenberg did not turn to Lutheranism but only allowed to propagate it. Therefore it can be assumed that other brothers of the Order followed the master of Livonia. It is unknown whether there were any external manifestations of the Reformation, for example, church demolishing, but it is most likely that the Reformation was calmer there since Cēsis, unlike Riga, was under direct control of the Order.

## 4. THE ROLE OF CĒSIS IN LIVONIA AND HANSE LEAGUE <sup>254</sup>

Compared to the countryside, a medieval town was an environment with a different rhythm of life. The landscape was also different. As it was mentioned previously, towns were not independent. Their life largely depended on the seigneur of the specific town who assigned specific freedoms and privileges and also indirectly participated in the town's administration. It seems that economy was the only aspect in which towns, governed by the town council, could be more independent because, unlike in important legal matters, this was the area where town citizens could express their opinions. On the other hand, the opinion of towns was not an aspect taken into consideration by cities during joint meetings. Nevertheless, merchants or their partners who were involved in long distance trade also resided in towns. And this aspect made the town attractive to the Hansa.

### 4.1. WHAT IS THE HANSA

In order to understand the conditions for a town or a city to be part of the Hansa, it is important to understand what it was. There is a stable opinion in literature that the Hanseatic League was a confederation of towns and cities. However, this opinion is incorrect, as recent studies convincingly prove the opposite. The Hansa was not a confederation of towns and cities, as it is indicated in the majority of literature sources; it was a union of merchants<sup>255</sup> who shared a language and rights. And these merchants came from specific towns or cities and often even formed their administration, thus it was also a union of towns and cities. This union did not have the typical characteristics of an

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<sup>253</sup> Apala, Z. Arheoloģiskie izrakumi Cēsu viduslaiku pilī. In: *Zinātniskās atskaites sesijas materiāli par arheologu 1992. un 1993. gada pētījumu rezultātiem*. Rīga, 1994. p. 8.

<sup>254</sup> Šī nodaļa veidota uz 2016. gada novembrī Valmieras zinātniskajā konferencē “Jauno vēsturnieku zinātniskie lasījumi” nolasītā referāta “Viena no daudzām: Valmieras mazpilsēta Hanzā” un 2017. gadā publicējamā zinātniskā raksta “Mazpilsētu dalība Hanzā: Valmieras piemērs” bāzes. Paustās atziņas attiecināmas uz visām Livonijas mazpilsētām, kas atrodas tagadējās Vidzemes teritorijā.

<sup>255</sup> Hamels- Kīzovs, R. *Hanza*. Rīga: LU žurnāla “Latvijas vēsture” fonds, 2003. 15., 29., 44. lpp.

organisation, such as joint administration and common, specific financial resources. Thus the description “*gemeinen Steden vnde gemeinen kopmann*” or “common towns and common merchants” indicates a free partnership, not a structured union. But no one can explain the Hansa as good as the contemporaries. Namely, in 1468 the ships of the Kingdom of Denmark attacked the ships of the Kingdom of England. The King of England Edward IV (1442–1483) blamed the Hansa for it for some unknown reasons, so he arrested the Hanseatic merchants in London and seized their goods. The king based his actions on the provisions of the medieval human rights, which were based on the Roman rights. He wrote to the city council of Lübeck requesting to explain whether Hanza Theutonica was a society (*societas*), a collegium, (*collegium*), or a corporation (*corpus, universitas*). It was indicated in the letter that the Hansa was apparently a union of towns and villages acting together, thus each town was individually responsible for common misdeeds. As it can be seen, the king of England did not understand the idea of the Hansa, but he received an answer from the senior secretary of the city council of Lübeck already in 1469 stating the following: Hanza Theutonica is neither a society, nor a collegium or a corporation. The Hansa has neither common deposits or savings, nor any responsible persons or administration. The Hansa is a free union of towns and cities allowing them to implement their personal trade interests in a safe and advantageous manner<sup>256</sup>. It can be seen that the Hansa did not have a stable structure and any common characteristics of an organisation. The Hansa was formed by common interests of towns and cities in a specific area, implemented through trade routes. So being a member of the Hansa depended on the trade activities of merchants of a specific town or city, as well as participation of a town in defining and defending specific interests on city days (*Städtetage*). These were international meetings usually held in Lübeck. But the towns usually also had their regional meetings, and in the case of Livonia they were mainly held in Valmiera. Let us take a closer look at what attracted the Hansa to Cēsis and the role of Cēsis in the Hanseatic trade system.

#### 4.2. MERCHANTS FROM CĒSIS

The location of Cēsis on the route Riga–Tartu (Appendix 15) was a very favourable precondition for the development of a populated place. It could be the reason why ever more merchants from Cēsis (de Wenda) took part in deals registered in Riga at the end of the 13th century. There is information about 36 such persons<sup>257</sup>. They borrowed money as well as lent it to others. For

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<sup>256</sup> Bracker, J.(Hg.) *Die Hanse. Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos*, 4. Aufl. Lübeck: Verlag Schmidt-Römhild, 2006, S. 15-20.

<sup>257</sup> E.g. Das Rigische Schuldbuch, No. 45, 255, 471, 699, 777, 894, 1069, 1173, 1200, 1499, 1562, 1866.

example, in 1286 a Johannes von Zverin<sup>258</sup> lent 9 marks to Helmik von Cēsis, which provides Hartwick's money for the vogt and the house of Helmik, as well as everything in it, and also a mutual promise of Hartwick and Johannes at a copper smith.<sup>259</sup> Also, in 1296 a person named Aspelan lent 50 marks to his trade partner in Cēsis<sup>260</sup>. Then, in 1292, merchants Johann, Ivan and Peter lent 5 marks to Ludolf from Cēsis, a member of a joint ownership (*communi manu*)<sup>261</sup>. A joint ownership was an association free to join, which was a typical form of trading in the Middle Ages. Joint ownerships were formed by several merchants with common interests, but this association usually had neither common rules nor any representations. Namely, these were merchants who already operated under the Hansa. This means that Ludolf was one of the merchants who created the system of the Hansa, besides he has been mentioned in trade deals ten times.

The contacts of merchants from Cēsis indicate that Riga was a meeting place for various Livonian merchants who were involved in long distance trade in German-speaking lands. With regard to some cases, we know that the merchants were related, which was nothing unusual in the medieval trade. Financial deals also suggest that the merchant Ludolf from Cēsis and a larger long distance merchant family from Beveren<sup>262</sup> were cooperation partners<sup>263</sup>. Trade companions of Seyme family, long distance merchants, also performed their deals in Cēsis<sup>264</sup>.

The populated area of Cēsis was involved in the Hanseatic trading system by specific persons. We are familiar with many names of merchants, which means that at the end of the 13th century Livonia was actively involved in trade – with long distance merchants, merchants from small towns and populated areas without town rights, as well as merchants from the Kievan Rus'. But this was only one of the trading networks. There was a different kind of cooperation between communities with a certain legal status. Namely, between towns and cities.

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<sup>258</sup> The toponym is most likely to refer to the city of Swerin in the territory of modern Germany (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, about 70 km from Lübeck and 30 km from Wismar). It must be noted that there is a Zverin Monastery in Novgorod.

<sup>259</sup> Das Rigische Schuldbuch, No. 471.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., No. 64.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., No. 699.

<sup>262</sup> A town in the former territory of East Flanders, modern Belgium.

<sup>263</sup> Das Rigische Schuldbuch, No. 649.

<sup>264</sup> Benninghofens, F. Kāda Osnabrikas tāljūras tirgotāju dzimta 13. gs. Livonijas tirdzniecībā. In: Caune, A. (Ed.) *Senā Rīga*, 3. d. Rīga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds, 2001. pp. 213-235 (here: pp. 216, 220)

#### 4.3. THE TOWN OF CĒSIS: MEMBER OF THE HANSEATIC NETWORK

Although the Hansa did not have the characteristics of an organisation, there were certain tools for addressing common issues, for example, city meetings. This tool also enabled smaller towns to get involved at a regional level, as their budget was too small to participate in international meetings. Long distance travelling was expensive in the Middle Ages, and only persons or communities with remarkable funds could afford it. Let us see some examples. Trips to the international city days in Lübeck<sup>265</sup> were very expensive: for example, an envoy from Riga spent around 181 marks for the trip to Lübeck in 1419, around 192 marks in 1422, and as much as 487 marks in 1429<sup>266</sup>. Travelling within Livonia was cheaper, but it depended on the number of envoys. In 1509, an estimation of the Councillor of Reval Hans Fiend about the trip of envoys Albert Vegesack and Hans Wien to Cēsis shows that they spent 77 marks. Nowadays, the distance between these two places is about 300 km. About 20 marks of the sum were spent by the envoys for food, about 12 marks for replacing nine horses one way (*both ways: about 26 marks*), 10 marks to cover tavern costs, about 8 marks for the cook and his assistants (boots and salary), and 5 marks for stable workers (salary and trousers). Another 2 marks were spent for the scribe of the master, as well as other small expenses<sup>267</sup>. In 1497, however, the sum for the trip of two envoys was larger – 84 marks<sup>268</sup>. A trip of two envoys from Riga to Cēsis in 1424 cost considerably less – about 14 marks<sup>269</sup>. It can be assumed that a considerable part of the costs involved the distance covered, which was less than 90 km in the case of Riga. Then, in 1444, three envoys from Riga went to a meeting in Valmiera, which cost almost 40 marks<sup>270</sup>. This proves that travelling expenses and also sustenance according to the time spent on the way accounted for the majority of costs. This is thought to be a major condition for the relations between the Livonian towns. Valmiera was one of the towns that formed a single unit in city meetings, thus we will not break it up, as it is not possible, but we will look at this interesting cooperation model as a whole.

It is possible to identify a message from Tartu to Reval from 1352 where the Councillor of Visby Jordanum Koninc invites the Livonian towns to cooperate regarding the right of a trade union

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<sup>265</sup> It seems that the procedure in the city meetings in Lübeck was the same as in the Livonian city meetings. They took place over several days. They were attended by a certain number of delegates from each invited city (usually one delegate from each town). They also stayed in the city. There were bigger and smaller meetings each day for all towns and cities together and separately in groups (cities and towns).

<sup>266</sup> Bulmerincq, von A. (Hg.) *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga 1348-1361 und 1405-1474*, Bd. 1. Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker&Humblot, 1909, No. 126, 142, 174.

<sup>267</sup> LUB, Abt.2., Bd.3., No. 561

<sup>268</sup> LUB, Abt.2., Bd.1., No. 476

<sup>269</sup> LUB, Abt.1., Bd.7., No. 132

<sup>270</sup> LUB, Abt.1., Bd.9., No. 687

(*justicia communis mercatoris*) in Flanders. The councillor had personally visited Riga, Cēsis, Valmiera, and Straupe to arrange a joint meeting in Viljandi. It was a meeting that, according to the letter, “was beneficial for everyone”<sup>271</sup>. This situation reflects very well the cooperation principles of the Hansa – a free coexistence for the sake of common interests.

However, it is clear that the co-existing towns and cities were not equal, which depended on both political and economic opportunities. Some Hanseatic cities, called maritime cities (*civitates maritimas*), had joined their forces to implement a military action against the Kingdom of Denmark and its King Valdemar IV (*Waldemar, Valdemar Atterdag, 1320–1375, king from 1340 to 1375*). This union of cities lost the war, which lasted from 1361 to 1365, and the treaty that was signed by both warring parties was ratified by each city. Interestingly, the treaty was ratified by Riga instead of Cēsis and Valmiera<sup>272</sup>. Such action of Riga might be explained with the existing division of territory in the areas of influence of specific cities or the so-called thirds (*derdendele*), where the *derdendele* of Riga included the above mentioned towns<sup>273</sup>. However, it was nothing unusual, as this division existed in other regions of the Hanseatic territory as well<sup>274</sup>. There is another interesting detail in the process of ratification of this treaty. When it was ratified, the town council of Cēsis sent a letter to the city council of Riga, promising to support the city in any pledge given by the above mentioned Maritime Cities<sup>275</sup>. Thus the towns accepted this system, as, apparently, this was the order of things. Moreover, it could be said that it was a hierarchical<sup>276</sup> relationship that was organised according to a specific system. This means that there was some kind of a partnership – the bigger city had specific, delegated authority arising from the available resources over the smaller city or town. A similar situation repeated in August 1365 when the city council of Riga sent a letter to the city council of Lübeck to inform about regulations that were issued regarding sea pirates and applying a tax to some port. At the end of the letter it was highlighted that the citizens of Cēsis and Valmiera also agreed to the content of the letter<sup>277</sup>. It can be seen that these towns had sort of supportive and accompanying functions.

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<sup>271</sup> *Die Rezesse und andere Akten der Hansetage von 1256- 1430*, Abt. 1., Bd. 3. (1875), Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1875. No. 10 (hereinafter – HR); AR, Bd.1., Lief.1., No. 61

<sup>272</sup> LUB, Abt.1., Bd.2., No. 1011

<sup>273</sup> LUB, Abt.1., Bd.6., No. 2895

<sup>274</sup> HR, Abt.1., Bd.1., No. 143

<sup>275</sup> LUB, Abt.1., Bd.2., No. 1012

<sup>276</sup> More about the hierarchical aspect among the biggest Livonian cities: Misāns, I. Hierarhijas aspekti Livonijas pilsētu attiecībās viduslaikos. Misāns, I. (resp. ed.) *Latvijas vēstures institūta žurnāls*, 1. Rīga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds, 2014.

<sup>277</sup> LUB, Abt.1., Bd.6., No. 3092. With regard to these payments, there is an opinion in the literature that in 1367 Cēsis joined the Confederation of Cologne, which was an alliance of the cities of the Hanseatic

The conflict between the two parties escalated in 1368 and continued until 1370 when the Hanseatic cities gained dominance. Another principle of the Hanseatic system was revealed here – specific payments of cities to reach a common goal. Namely, each *derdendele* of the big Livonian city was supposed to make a certain payment. Payments had one specific purpose – to provide the jointly established fleet for the war against the Kingdom of Denmark. Payments were registered at the city meeting in Pärnu, and the minutes of the decisions or the recess stated that the payments would cover weapons, armour, and ships. The amount of payments varied significantly: Riga paid about 304 marks, Limbaži – 8 marks, Valmiera – 36 marks, Cēsis – 72 marks, Tartu – 450 marks, Pärnu – 73 marks, Viljandi – 43 marks, and Reval – 265 marks<sup>278</sup>. There is no information about any similar payments, so the principle of establishing the amounts payable is unclear. Considering that the Hanseatic League was based on the principle of free coexistence of towns and cities, it is possible that the amount was also a free choice and each town or city paid what it could at the time or in general. Maybe there was a specific algorithm based on which the amounts were calculated. Whatever the system, these are only speculations and there is no clear answer to this.

The already mentioned *derdendele* of Riga encompassed not only Valmiera and Cēsis but also Koknese and Limbaži<sup>279</sup>. As it can be concluded from the information above, Riga had a peculiar partnership with the towns in its *derdendele*. It could also be the case of Tartu, the *derdendele* of which included Pärnu and Viljandi. The city of Reval, however, was on its own according to this system. The towns of the *derdendele* not only jointly solved economic matters, but also met due to other issues shared by all the towns. For example, the representatives of Cēsis, Valmiera, Koknese, and Limbaži met in Riga in 1425<sup>280</sup>. It could be a meeting after the city days in Pärnu where a very important issue directly related to the towns had been raised. Namely, the city of Reval complained that the envoys from Riga and Tartu always received support from the small towns (*cleynen steden*) to cover their travel expenses, while the envoys of Reval never received such support<sup>281</sup>. This complaint is understandable, as the city of Reval was on its own in the system of *derdendeles*. The

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League. It must be noted that the Confederation of Cologne was a temporary alliance (which existed until 1385) and was created with a purpose of representing common interests of the Hanseatic League in the war against the Kingdom of Denmark. It is currently unknown whether the representatives of Cēsis had any separate agreement about the membership in this alliance. It is clear that the town acknowledged its commitment to this alliance with a payment. It is possible that the smaller towns joined the alliance to represent the bigger cities.

<sup>278</sup> HR, Abt.1., Bd.3., No. 29, 30.

<sup>279</sup> HR, Abt.1., Bd.3., No. 29.

<sup>280</sup> Bulmerincq, von A. (Hg.) *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga 1348-1361 und 1405-1474*, Bd. 1. Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker&Humblot, 1909, S. 154

<sup>281</sup> LUB, Abt. 1., Bd. 7., No. 300.

reason for this situation would require a separate research, but this problem had been heard. It was decided in a meeting in Valmiera in 1427 that “Pärnu, Cēsis, Valmiera, Viljandi, Limbaži, and other towns need to give the authority to these three cities, Riga, Tartu, and Reval, in what they do, and provide support to these cities in the form of money, which they will use in their authority of free will. This will all be used for the expenses of [city] envoys to Lübeck from the city community, which will provide authority of its will”<sup>282</sup>. Hence, in addition to the system of *derdendeles*, another principle of joint cooperation was established – the big cities represented the small towns in the international meetings of the Hanseatic League, thus receiving support from the small towns for covering the expenses for travelling to international meetings outside Livonia. However, as it can be seen, this model was actually more beneficial to the big cities of Livonia, since the influence of smaller towns was insignificant, although they formed a separate group in such meetings<sup>283</sup>. It is unlikely a wrong statement that the role of the small towns did not reflect in their actions, but rather in taking part or simply being present during solving bigger or smaller matters, thus strengthening the role of the opinion of the big cities in the international Hanseatic meetings. This kind of cooperation has been mentioned again in the city meeting in 1434 in Valka populated area with the participation of envoys from Riga, Tartu, Reval, Pärnu, Cēsis, Valmiera, Koknese, and Limbaži. It is stated in the minutes of the decisions that the internal towns, i.e. the small towns, have the right to receive the extracts of the minutes of the international Hanseatic meetings. This meant that, despite not being able to influence anything, the small towns had the right to be informed about the discussed matters and discussion results. The small towns also complained in this meeting about not being able to cover the expenses of the cities and that this issue should be reviewed<sup>284</sup>. It is unknown whether this issue was solved, but the meeting in Valmiera in 1477 was the last one to which the representatives of Cēsis were invited<sup>285</sup>. We are also unaware of any names of merchants who actively engaged in the Livonian trade. The only thing that is certain is that the merchants still used their safe routes to Reval and Tartu through Cēsis and Valmiera in 1503<sup>286</sup>. However, the assumption that Cēsis did not belong to the Hanseatic League in the second half of the 15th century and in the 16th century would be overstated, since it was still in the Hanseatic area. At the same time, the regional importance of the town and its engagement in the Hanseatic system had definitely decreased.

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<sup>282</sup> HR, Abt. 1., Bd. 8., No. 136.

<sup>283</sup> Plētiens, E. 2015. *Livonijas mazpilsētas: kas tās bija un kāda bija to ietekme?* Lipša, I. (resp. ed.) *Latvijas vēstures institūta žurnāls*, 3. Rīga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds, 2005. pp. 25, 35; AuR, Bd.3., No. 301

<sup>284</sup> LUB, Abt.1., Bd.8., No. 956.

<sup>285</sup> HR, Abt.3.,Bd.1., No. 2.

<sup>286</sup> LUB, Abt.2., Bd.2., No. 436.

Town meetings in Valmiera continued to be held periodically, but neither Cēsis, nor other small towns of Livonia continued to participate in them. It seems that due to some reasons the big cities did not require the presence of the small towns any more in the second half of the 15th century. This means that the big cities did not see the point in involving the small towns in their meetings. It might be explained with the restricted financial resources of the small towns which did not live up to the needs of the big cities. It is important to remember that the small towns had previously objected to covering travelling expenses due to their financial incapability. Anyway, it is clear that the small towns were excluded from the participation in an important tool of the Hanseatic League – city meetings. But it had taken its toll. Namely, the small towns were the communities that, in some respect, ensured the operation of the internal trade system, the existence of which also largely depended on the roads. The small towns were trading places for both people who arrived in Livonia from the Kievan Rus' and merchants who cooperated with the locals. Representatives of Riga complained in 1487 that the activity of merchants not belonging to the Hanseatic League had expanded. These people travelled on horses, in boats, and on foot to get from ports to Valmiera and Cēsis, where they bought produce like grains, honey, and hops from peasants<sup>287</sup>. Tartu also wrote to Riga in 1498 that they want to put an end to Russians (*russen*) trading with peasants at cellars and booths in Cēsis and Valmiera regions<sup>288</sup>. It is possible that this coincidence would have appeared even if the small towns would still be involved in city meetings, but this is a coincidence worth paying attention to. As it was mentioned previously, Cēsis continued to be the area that merchants used for travelling through when going to other Livonian towns and cities even in the 16th century. It also cannot be denied that the internal trade of the surrounding area still concentrated there.

## CONCLUSIONS

Towns in Livonia developed along with territorial land subjection and the development of the trade system. In order to facilitate the subjection of a territory, crusaders implemented a long term strategy of building fortified castles. In the 13th and 14th century, there were several central areas near such fortified castles, usually created by merchants. One of them was Cēsis populated area, which was developed near Cēsis Castle of the Livonian Order and formed a single complex with the castle. Cēsis populated area initially consisted of merchant buildings (warehouses) as well as houses of the local inhabitants. The area was located near trade routes, which was an important precondition for further development. In the second half of the 13th century Cēsis populated area had turned into

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<sup>287</sup> HR, Abt.3.,Bd.2., No. 164.

<sup>288</sup> LUB, Abt.2., Bd.1., No. 742.

a small village with active trade. It reached the quality of a town at the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century, as the citizens and vogt are mentioned in written historical records for the first time in 1314, which indirectly indicates the legal status of a town.

The fact that Cēsis populated area was located next to one of the most important castles of the Teutonic Order defined its subordination throughout the entire existence of Livonia. That is the most likely reason why, despite having its own town council, an autonomous administration structure of the town was never created. There are several indications that the town was always subordinated to the Order with regard to its decisions and actions. On the one hand, it did not contribute to creating an autonomous administration. On the other hand, it always provided support and security of the town, since from its creation up until the second half of the 16th century the town was never ruined as a result of military conflicts. Various circumstances also indicate that the relations between the Order and the town were close and strictly regulated, which shows the status of the town in the authority system of the Order. Moreover, the town only benefited from the fact that the main residence of the masters of Livonia was transferred to Cēsis Castle.

From the very beginning merchants of German origin were those who formed the town and settled there. Trade had a major role in its further development, as the town had good preconditions for that. First of all, merchants were provided with security in this area, which was very important for them. Castles, which were the safest places in Livonia for a long time, had a significant role in the development of population. Cēsis, just like other castles, was a guarantee of safety for everyone who decided to go there. It was a place to find shelter and also ask for help if it was needed. At the same time, the structures of the castle indicated that it would be a consumer, and not a producer. It was an opportunity for those who could produce as well as those who could transport the goods from one place to another. Namely, it provided an opportunity for craftsmen and merchants. As time went by, a community settled near the castle, creating the town of Cēsis. Secondly, there was a trade route Riga–Tartu going through the area, connecting bigger and smaller places in Livonia and outside of it. The turnover generated by merchants from Cēsis both in Lübeck and Riga indicates that the merchants operated with relatively large amounts of money and were ready to risk in their business. Wealth of the town of Cēsis was an important condition for it to become part of the Hanseatic League. Its prosperity flourished also due to trade with the East, i.e. Pskov. This trade partner became especially important for the trade in Cēsis in the 16th century when more and more Russian merchants arrived in the town, as they were forced to trade there due to the existing legal regulations. The town of Cēsis was formed by merchants and was one of the elements of the economic area.

Cēsis, just like other densely populated areas, had a pronounced religious life led by Christianity. There were five churches in the town and its vicinity. There was one main congregation church in the town with several vicariates. It is believed that the church was built already at the end of the 13th century in the place where the locals from Late Iron Age had been buried. The religious

life was closely related to the local community of the town. There are only a few written records about this. Some written accounts refer to a craftsman or a merchant, which is not enough to make conclusions about the general structure of inhabitants. The same information can be obtained from sculptural material accounts – gravestones. The data obtained provides information about councillors of the town, as well as noblemen, craftsmen, priests, and Livonian masters. However, based on analogies, it can be concluded that the social structure of the inhabitants of the town covered people of German origin, as well as locals. Moreover, it must be noted that trade also involved people of other ethnicities.

Architectural development in Cēsis was mixed, just like in other towns. The initial development at the beginning of the 13th century is characterised by wooden structures. Buildings of merchants of German origin – warehouses – were constructed from a timber frame with infill. Between them there were beams that created passages, which relatively served as streets. It is likely that the development was irregular. Due to the lack of records, further development of the town cannot be described. There is information only about the final result at the end of the 17th century with 128 land units. It is possible that, as a result of frequent town fires, the land units were not joined or divided, thus it is possible to get an idea about the planning of the town in the 16th century. It had one main congregation church, which was built earlier. There was also a town hall, but there is no information about its construction. The town was surrounded by a wall, which existed already at the end of the 14th century. In the 16th century the town had seven towers and four gates. There was also a school and a building of the Small Guild. Structurally, the town had three streets, which are mentioned in written records from the 15th and 16th century. Buildings in the town were constructed from wood and stone, which could be an indicator of the social stratification of the inhabitants. For example, archaeological investigations only suggest that the western part of the town generally consisting of wooden structures was mainly inhabited by the locals.

Principles regarding administration, trade, religion, and construction in the Livonian towns were adopted and transferred from the Western Europe. Cēsis populated area and later also the town was the central location of power of the Order in Livonia. It was also an important town and created a single economic area along with other central locations. Although the basis for its existence and development was trade, it had a specific political status related to the Order. The status of the location was generally based on two equal units – the castle and the town. It is possible that the town would become more independent and would acquire a different status if it was not subordinated to the Order. It is also possible that the town would not have formed without the higher power of the Order and would not have developed to the status it acquired in the 16th century.

It cannot be forgotten that Cēsis populated area was created by the locals and that people have always searched for opportunities to make their lives better. The understanding about the Hanseatic League in the modern world implies that it was exactly these kind of people who created

the Hansa. They were people that we call merchants, who risked to get something from one place to another, thus making profit. When the structures of Cēsis populated area had been created, these or other merchants represented this town in a single cooperation instrument in the Livonian region – city meetings. These were merchants who could ensure the development and involvement of Cēsis on a wider scale – events at the level of the Hanseatic League.

While the big cities participated in the Hanseatic meetings and were directly involved in decision making, the small towns did not have opportunities to attend international Hanseatic meetings due to financial reasons. Thus they engaged in the Hansa by attending regional city meetings in Livonia. However, the role of the small towns was rather passive although they all formed a separate community. It seems that it was important for the big cities to involve the smaller towns in the 14th and 15th century, as they could indirectly support the importance of the opinion of the big cities in the international Hanseatic meetings, as well as provide economic support for financing both the general Hanseatic events and the travel expenses of the big cities. The situation changed in the second half of the 15th century when Cēsis, along with other towns, was in a way banished from city meetings. Namely, the big cities stopped inviting the small towns to their meetings. There could be various reasons for it. It is possible that the town simply could not provide regular financial support for the activities of the cities. Thus, although the presence of long distance merchants was identified in Cēsis also at the beginning of the 16th century, the importance of the town in the Hansa definitely diminished in the second half of the 15th century and in the 16th century.

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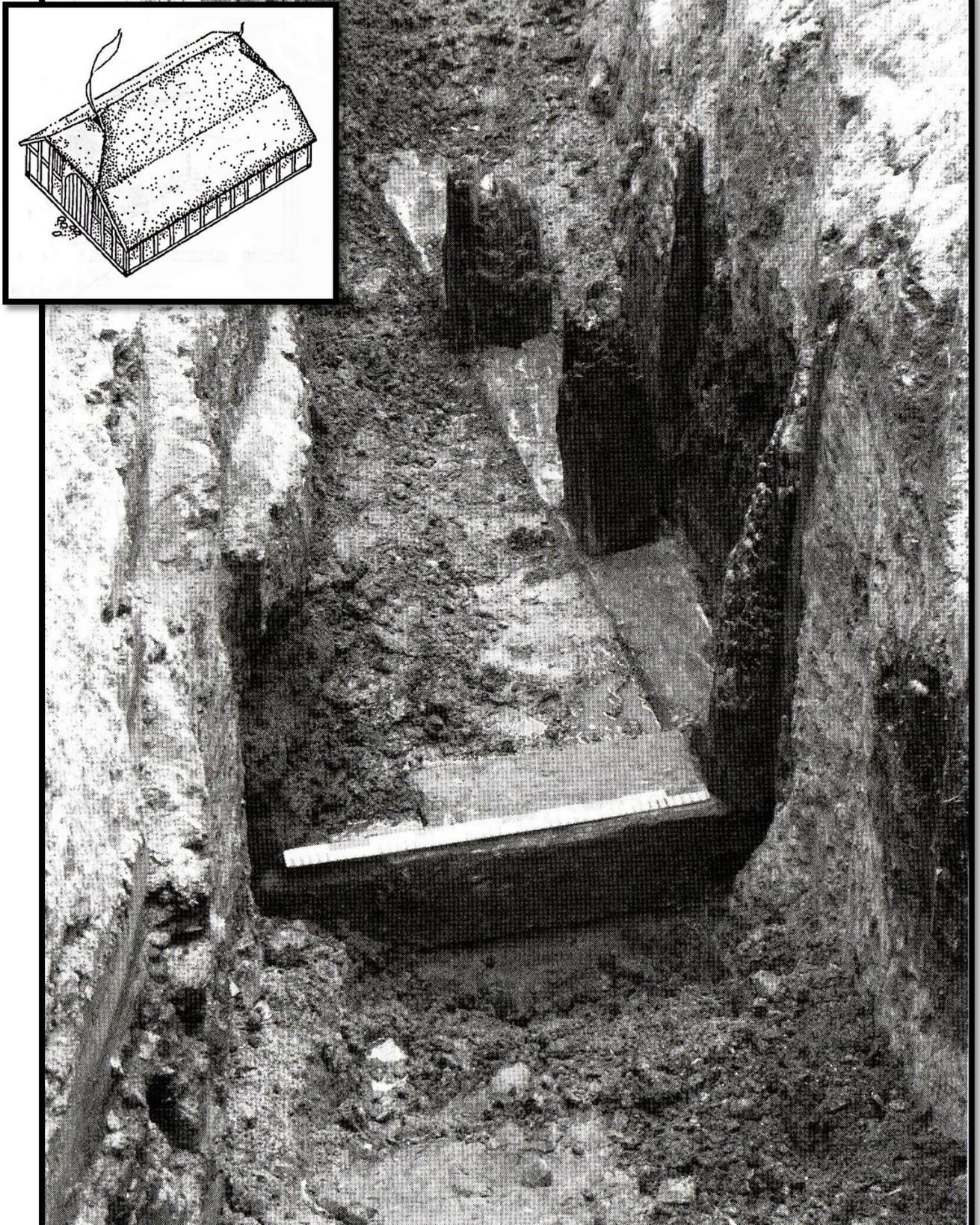
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**Vends Castle Mound (Riekstu Hill). Cēsis from the north-west. Before reconstruction (2008. Author's photography)**



**Vends Castle Mound (Riekstu Hill). Cēsis from the north. After reconstruction (2010. Author's photography)**

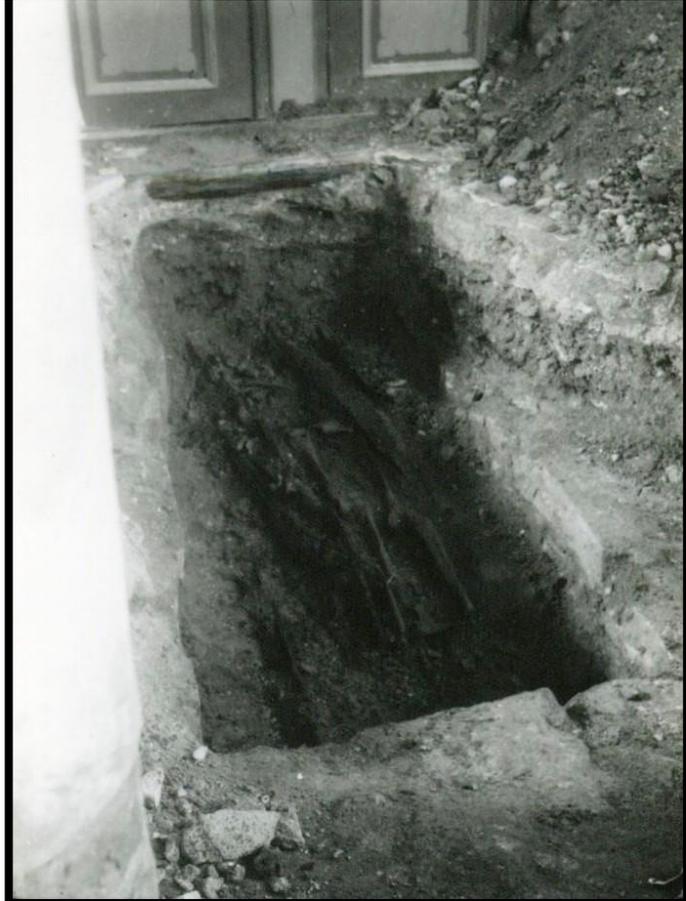


**The earliest development of Cēsis populated area in the 13th century**  
(from Apala, Z. Arheoloģiskie pētījumi Cēsu viduslaiku pils pagalmā un uzraudzība Jaunajā pilī. In: Arheologu pētījumi Latvijā 2006.-2007. gadā. Rīga, 2008. p. 103)



**Map of the lands of the citizens of Cēsis of 1688**

(from Zandberga, R. Cēsu pilsētas vēsturiskā centra pirmsprojekta izpēte, 2. d., 2. sēj., 1. pussēj.  
Rīga, 1979. (stored at VKPAI PDCA))



**Excavations at St. John's Church in 1937/1938**  
(from the National History Museum of Latvia, Neg. No. 43596)



**Excavations at St. John's Church in 1937/1938**  
(from the National History Museum of Latvia, Neg. No. 43596)



Stamp of the town of Cēsis from 1383



Stamp of the town of Cēsis from 1504

(from Sachssendahl, J. (Hrsg.) Est- und Livändische Briefflade, Bd. 4.: Siegel und Münzen der weltlichen und geistlichen Gebietiger über Liv-, Est- und Curland bis zum Jahre 1561 nebst Siegeln einheimischer Geschlechter. Reval, 1887. S. 94)



**The town of Cēsis and its surroundings in the map of Lindenhof. Drawn by E. Tolks in 1691**  
 (from Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: Quo vadis, Cēsis?  
 Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai. Cēsis, 2007. p. 160)



A clay crock from Rheinland in the 16th century found in a farm near the town of Cēsis (from Apala, Z. Aizsardzības izrakumi Cēsīs, Dzirnau ielā 33. In: Zinātniskās atskaites sesijas materiāli par arheologu un etnogrāfu 1988. un 1989. gada pētījumu rezultātiem. Rīga, 1990. p. 19)



The plan of Cēsis Castle and the town. Drawn by J. A Ulrihs in 1693.

(from Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: Quo vadis, Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai. Cēsis, 2007. p. 156)



**Walls of Cēsis Castle at the current Vaļņu Street**  
(2008. Author's photography)

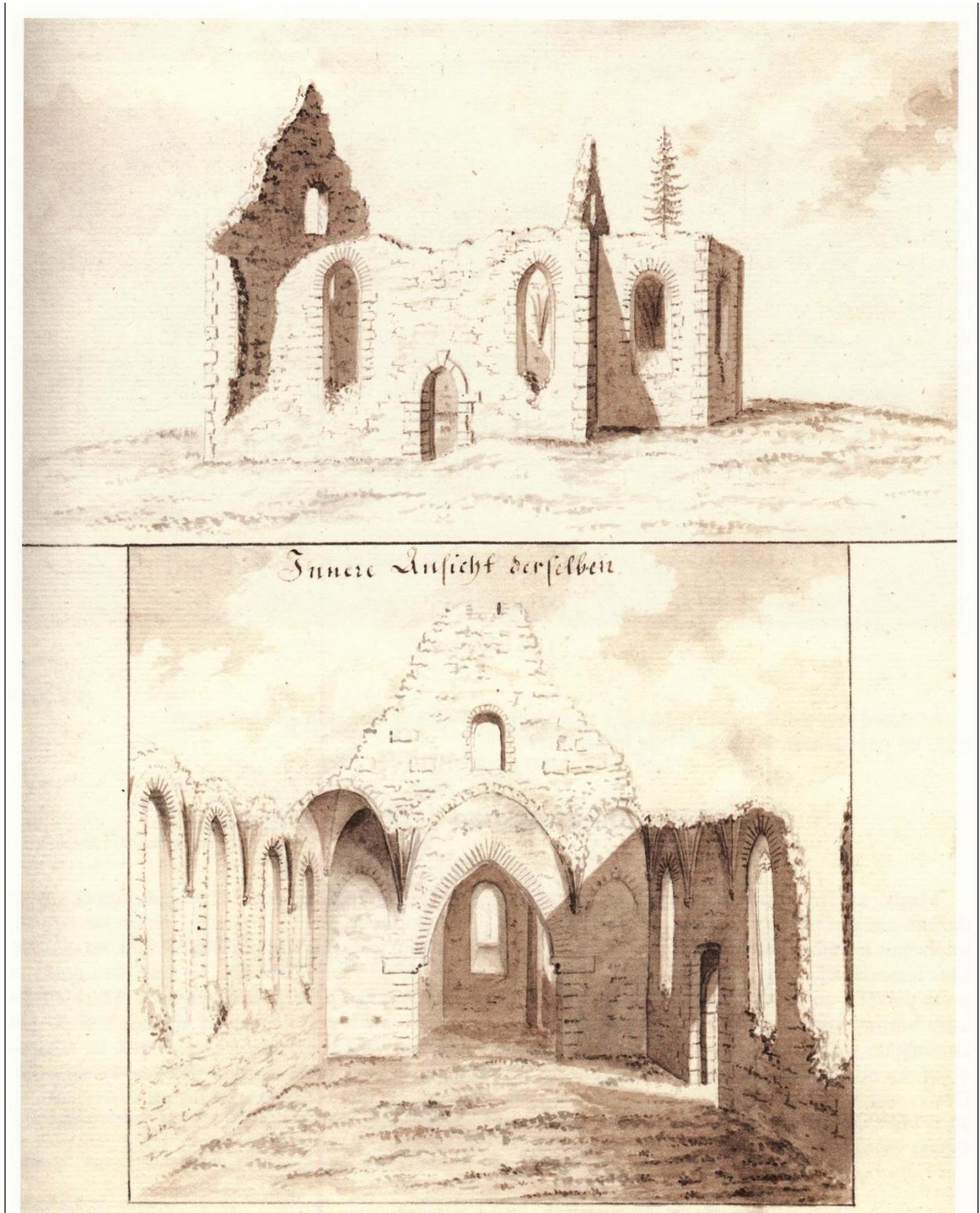


**Walls of Cēsis Castle at the current Palasta Street**  
(2008. Author's photography)

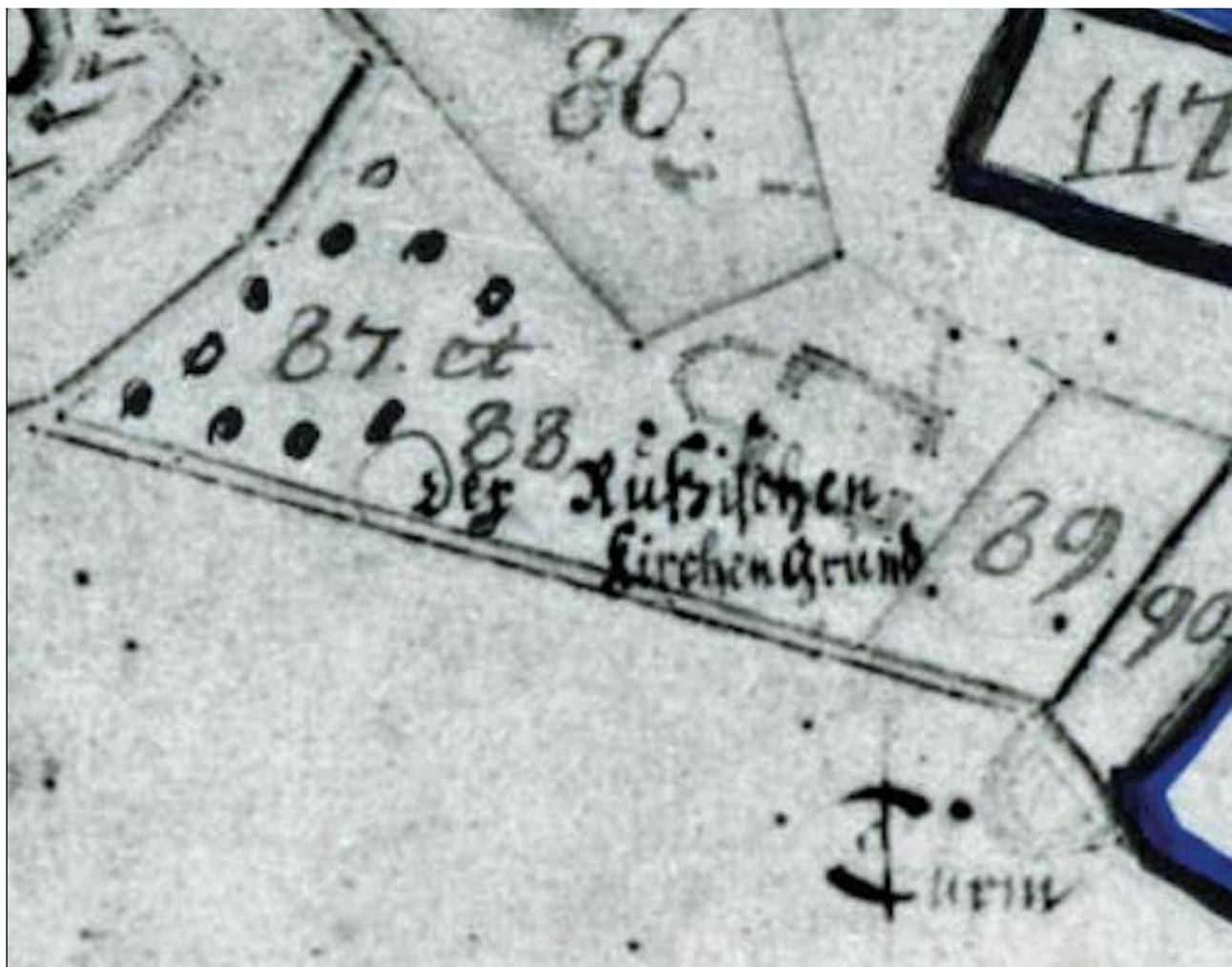


**St. John's Church in Cēsis. 1793. Drawn by J. K. Broce.**

(from Broce, J. K. *Zīmējumi un apraksti*, 4. sēj.: Latvijas mazās pilsētas un lauki. Rīga, 2007. p. 17)



**St. Catherine's Church in Cēsis. 1793. Drawn by J. K. Broce.**  
(from Broce, J. K. *Zīmējumi un apraksti*, 4. sēj.: Latvijas mazās pilsētas un lauki. Rīga, 2007. p. 17)



**A fragment of the plan of Cēsis Castle and the town. Lettering “Site of the Russian Church” (“Russischen Kirchen Grund”).** Drawn by J. A. Ulrihs in 1693.  
 (from Caune, M. Cēsis 14.-18. gadsimtā: plānojums, apbūve un iedzīvotāji. In: Quo vadis, Cēsis? Vēsture un mūsdienu nosacījumi pilsētas attīstībai. Cēsis, 2007. p. 156)



A fragment of a map of the lands of the citizens of Cēsis. St. George's Church visible in its left bottom corner, St. Anthony's Church – near the Gate of Rauna. Drawn by E. Kelčs in 1688.

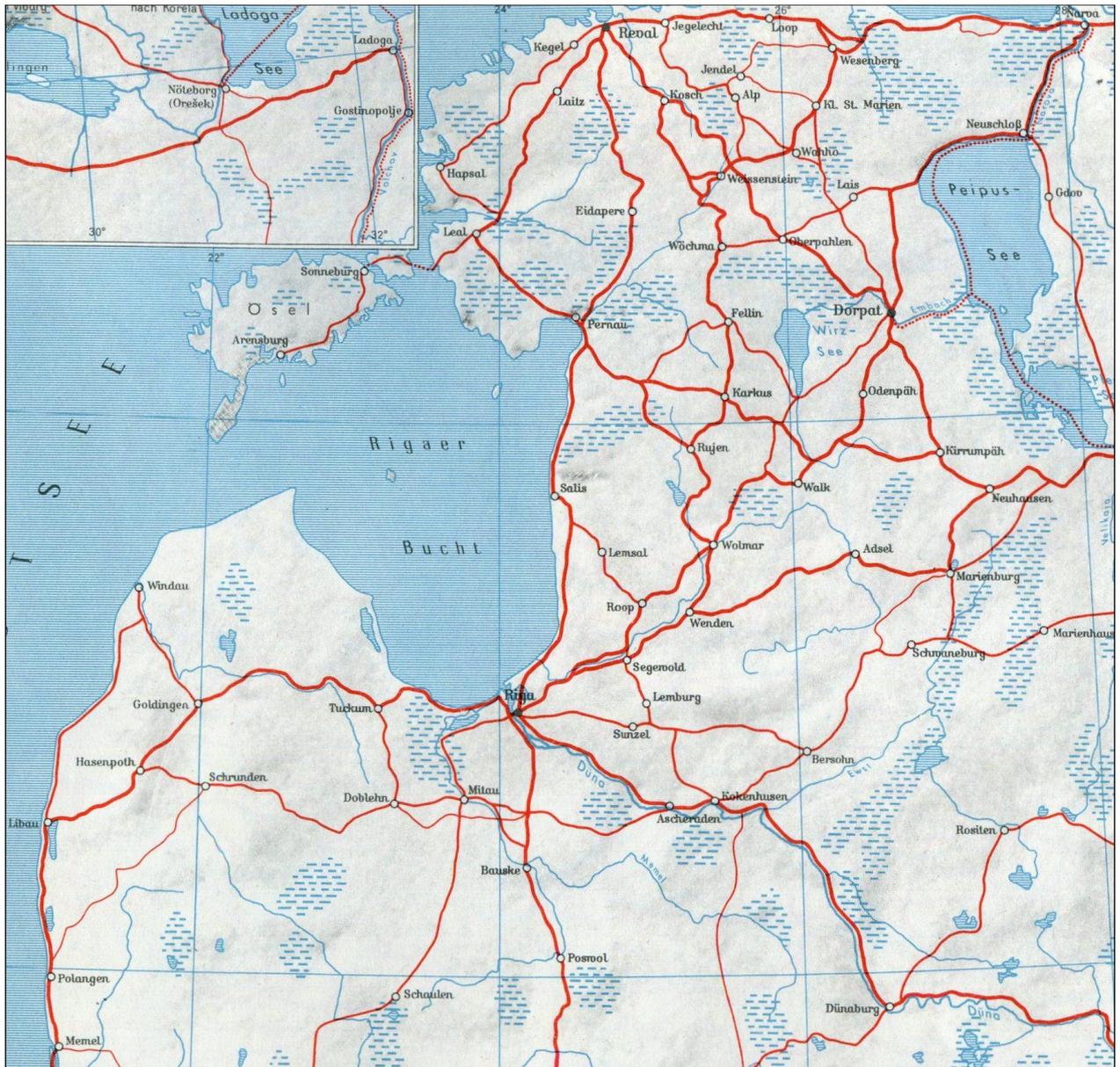
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**Stamp of the commander of Cēsis Castle of the Livonian Order in 1271**



**Stamp of the commander of Cēsis Castle of the Livonian Order in 1306 and 1349**  
 (from Sachssendahl, J. (Hrsg.) Est- und Livländische Brieflade, Bd. 4.: Siegel und Münzen der weltlichen und geistlichen Gebietiger über Liv-, Est- und Curland bis zum Jahre 1561 nebst Siegeln einheimischer Geschlechter. Reval, 1887. S. 75)



**Trade routes in the Baltic region in the Middle Ages.**

(from Bruns, F.& Weczerka, H. Hansische Handelsstraßen. Atlas. Köln, 1962. Map VIII.)

The research was developed within the project “Hanseatic Approach to New Sustainable Alliances” (HANSA), which takes place from October 2015 to December 2018. The project is implemented with the support of the Central Baltic Programme 2014-2020 under the European Regional Development Fund and is aimed at reviving the heritage of the historical Hanseatic League in the modern-day society.