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WHERE WAS THE HOME OF THE LIVONIAN MERCHANT?
EARLY URBAN MOBILITY IN THE BALTICS*

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Medieval Livonia – approximately the territory of modern Estonia and Latvia – comprised a distinctive region in late medieval Europe. It was shaped in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by crusading conquests, Christianisation, and immigration predominantly from German lands. This region was in no way isolated from the outside world in the pre-crusade times, indeed. However, several institutions characteristic of medieval Europe were “imported” there during a rather short period between 1180 and 1300, but also reshaped through immigrant – native interaction¹.

Urban life in Livonia also emerged in the thirteenth century, with Riga becoming the first urban centre there (1201). The urban elite immigrated mostly from German lands². A small number of people of indigenous origin were also integrated into the emerging merchant class. Besides the merchants who permanently settled in Riga, Tallinn, Tartu, or in other towns in the region, the travelling merchants from the western part of the forming Hanseatic area

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¹ Indriķis ŠTERNS, *Latvijas vēsture 1180–1290. Krustakari*, Rīga 2002; *Eesti ajalugu*, vol. 2: *Eesti keskaeg*, toim. Anti SELART, Tartu 2012; *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia. The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures 13th–16th C.*, ed. by Roman CZAJA, Andrzej RADZIMIŃSKI, Toruń–Köln 2015; *Das Baltikum. Geschichte einer europäischen Region*, Bd: 1: *Von der Vor- und Frühgeschichte bis zum Ende des Mittelalters*, hrsg. v. Karsten BRÜGGEMANN, Ralph TUCHTENHAGEN, Detlef HENNING, Konrad MAIER, Stuttgart 2018.

² Anti SELART, *Sie kommen, und sie gehen. Zentrale Orte, Randgebiete und die Livländer im Mittelalter*, [in:] *Livland – eine Region am Ende der Welt? Forschungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im späten Mittelalter. Livonia – a Region at the End of the World? Studies on the Relations between Centre and Periphery in the Later Middle Ages*, hrsg. v. Anti SELART, Matthias THUMSER (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, Bd. 27), Köln–Weimar–Wien 2017, pp. 27–60.

played an important role in the urban life and even in the urban administration in this period.

This standard general story of the beginnings of urban life in the Baltics still overshadows several aspects of the progress. Especially, the migration patterns were not limited to relocation from Germany to Livonia. The social and spatial integration of this area resulted from multiple ways of travel and relocation: the people also returned back to Germany or remained permanently connected to several places. Early Livonian merchants could also be mobile within the area. Apart from the “big” towns like Riga³ or Tallinn⁴, the emerging Hanseatic trade involved the smaller places as well⁵. Likewise, it is not easy to determine the place of origin or residency of a merchant of this time. The sources of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries quite typically identify people mentioning some place-name. Yet it was also the period when the byname of origin started to develop into the family name⁶. For example, one cannot be sure whether a person at the end of the thirteenth century such as the Riga town council member Johannes de Monasterio⁷ was born in Münster and immigrated directly to Riga, or whether he came from an originally Westphalian family which may have settled in Lübeck or Visby or some other place already some time ago⁸. It was the same in the case of the Tallinn town council member Henricus de Verdene de Revalia (of Tallinn)⁹ who was active at the same time. Did he come from Verden in Lower Saxony to Tallinn, or was it just the place of origin of his father or grandfather? Bertram van Heydebu (of

³ Friedrich BENNINGHOVEN, *Rigas Entstehung und der frühhanseische Kaufmann* (Nord- und osteuropäische Geschichtsstudien, Bd. 3), Hamburg 1961.

⁴ Ivar LEIMUS, Anu MÄND, *Reval (Tallinn). A City Emerging from Maritime Trade*, [in:] *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade around Europe 1300–1600*, ed. Wim BLOCKMANS, Mikhail KROM, Justyna WUBS-MROZEWICZ, London–New York 2017, pp. 273–291.

⁵ Anti SELART, *Die kleinen Städte Livlands und ihre Rolle in der oder für die Hanse* [forthcoming].

⁶ Liselotte FEYERABEND, *Die Rigaer und Revaler Familiennamen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Herkunft der Bürger* (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, Bd. 7), Köln–Wien 1985, pp. 247–277.

⁷ *Das Rigische Schuldbuch (1286–1352)*, hrsg. v. Hermann HILDEBRAND, St. Petersburg 1872 (further cit. RS), p. 140; Heinrich BÖTHFÜHR, *Die Rigaer Rathslinie von 1226 bis 1876*, Riga–Moskau–Odessa 1877, p. 140 (no. 51).

⁸ Cf. Ernst Günther KRÜGER, *Die Bevölkerungsverschiebungen aus den altdutschen Städten über Lübeck in die Städte des Ostseegebiets*, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Bd. 27: 1934, pp. 101–158, 263–313; Heinrich VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Studien zur älteren Geschichte Revals. Gründung – Einwanderung – bürgerliche Oberschicht*, Zeulenroda 1937, pp. 30–56; Jüri KIVIMÄE, *Tallinn ja Hansa. Ühe ajaloolise struktuuri piirjooni*, Looming, 1988, no. 3, pp. 376–387, here pp. 377–378.

⁹ RS, no. 1136; Friedrich Georg VON BUNGE, *Die Revaler Rathslinie nebst Geschichte der Rathsverfassung und einem Anhang über Riga und Dorpat*, Reval 1874, p. 53.

Haithabu), Lübeck citizen and town council member (d. 1360), probably came to Lübeck from Riga. However, his name indicates that the family originated in Schleswig. Bertram but were also connected to Soest, and his sons became citizens of this Westphalian town¹⁰.

The geographic byname can refer to a specific direction of professional activity as well. An inhabitant of Cēsis called Herbordus Polonus (“the Pole”)¹¹ could have originated from Poland, but his byname more likely indicates his special personal or commercial connection to Polish territories, especially because he and his brother Wernerus had Germanic first names¹². The name of the significant Visby and Lübeck merchant family of Plescow probably also does not indicate their Pskov (medieval Russian: Pleskov, German: Pleskau) origin¹³, but rather the commercial ties of a family ancestor¹⁴.

Only in very few cases is it possible to follow the history of a family during a longer period. One such case is the Seyme family. In the 1270s, several members of the family left Osnabrück and settled in Livonia. In the *Debtors' Book of Riga*, the town register of credit transactions of 1286–1352¹⁵, ten members of the family are represented and most probably the major part of them were inhabitants of Riga. However, Ludbertus and Ludolfus became citizens of the small Livonian town Koknese. After 1309 the family disappears in Livonian sources¹⁶. A further known family is that of Johannes (registered in 1286–1288), son of Ludolfus Dives de Kokenhusen (of Koknese)¹⁷. Johannes

¹⁰ Wilhelm KOPPE, *Der Lübecker Kaufmann Bertram (van) Heydebu zwischen Livland, Soest und Schleswig*, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Bd. 70: 1990, pp. 9–26; Michael LUTTERBECK, *Der Rat der Stadt Lübeck im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert. Politische, personale und wirtschaftliche Zusammenhänge in einer städtischen Führungsgruppe* (Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck. Reihe B, 35), Lübeck 2002, pp. 275–276

¹¹ RS, no. 1569, 1866.

¹² F. BENNINGHOVEN, op.cit., p. 163; Wilhelm LENZ, *Beziehungen zwischen Lübeck und Wenden (Livland) im 14. Jahrhundert*, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Bd. 51: 1971, pp. 81–89, here p. 85.

¹³ Denis G. KHRUSTALEV, *Russkiye nemtsy i nemetskiye russkiye v XIII v.*, [in:] idem, *Severnyye krestonosy. Rus' v bor'be za sfery vliyaniya v Vostochnoy Pribaltike XII–XIII vv.*, t. 2, Sankt-Peterburg 2009 [Денис Г. Хрусталеv, *Русские немцы и немецкие русские в XIII в.*, [in:] idem, *Северные крестоносцы. Русь в борьбе за сферы влияния в Восточной Прибалтике XII–XIII вв.*, т. 2, Санкт-Петербург 2009], pp. 305–313, here pp. 310–312.

¹⁴ Jürgen WIEGANDT, *Die Plescows. Ein Beitrag zur Auswanderung Wisbyter Kaufmannsfamilien nach Lübeck im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, Bd. 38), Köln–Wien 1988, p. 17.

¹⁵ RS, pp. x–xii. The registration of a transaction was an optional means of security; hence the Book reflects only a minor part of the total commerce in Riga.

¹⁶ Friedrich BENNINGHOVEN, *Ein Osnabrücker Fernhändlergeschlecht im Livlandhandel des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburger mittel- und ostdeutsche Forschungen, Bd. 4: 1963, pp. 157–189.

¹⁷ RS, p. 139.

probably lived in Riga, because the *Debtors' Book* simultaneously records deals of his wife Margaretha (registered in 1288–1298) – maybe she acted for her husband when Johannes was away. Johannes had a brother named Hinricus, also active in Riga. Later on the *Book* mentions Johannes Dives, a citizen of Tartu (registered in 1306–1307) who could be the same person, that moved to another town, or an individual merchant. These family reconstructions still remain very hypothetical due to the lack of information¹⁸.

Another smaller group of people involved in Livonian trade and crafts are identified in the sources using some local toponym. They usually carry a typical “Christian” first name and can be either of immigrant or native origin, because people involved in trade were one of the native groups which early on started to follow the German-shaped name tradition¹⁹. At the same time, the immigrants from German lands settled not only in towns but also in non-urban centers. Ethnicity was an important feature in thirteenth-century Livonia, where people of manifold origin and language lived²⁰. Still, it is often very difficult to separate the immigrants and natives in the sources of urban provenience, which well illustrates the inclusivist nature of the early urban development there. This means that it is actually impossible to determine whether, for example, Hermannus de Tarvest (active in Riga in c. 1287–1307) was a native trader already culturally orientated towards the dominantly German-shaped urban culture, or a German immigrant who had settled in Tarvastu in Estonia²¹. Nevertheless, it indicates that the cultural integration was made possible in the evolving towns.

That natives participated in town life from the very beginning is proven by manifold archaeological research²². The recent attempts to underline the ethnic and cultural segregation in the emerging Livonian towns based on research of the material culture are not convincing²³, because it remains ex-

¹⁸ F. BENNINGHOVEN, *Rigas Entstehung*, pp. 165–168.

¹⁹ Anti SELART, *A New Faith and a New Name? Crusades, Conversion, and Baptismal Names in Medieval Baltics*, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, vol. 47: 2016, pp. 179–196, here p. 188.

²⁰ Jüri KIVIMÄE, *Henricus the Ethnographer. Reflections on Ethnicity in the Chronicle of Livonia*, [in:] *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier. A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, ed. by Marek TAMM, Linda KALJUNDI, Carsten Selch JENSEN, Farnham 2011, pp. 77–106.

²¹ RS, p. 130; F. BENNINGHOVEN, *Rigas Entstehung*, p. 162.

²² Andris CAUNE, Ieva OSE, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Stadt Riga im 12.–13. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum*, Bd. 10: *Vorbesiedlung, Gründung und Entwicklung*, hrsg. v. Manfred GLÄSER, Manfred SCHNEIDER, Lübeck 2016, pp. 497–506; Anton PÄRN, *Haapsalu – Wurzeln, Gründung und Entwicklung*, [in:] *ibid.*, pp. 519–535.

²³ Magdalena NAUM, *Multi-Ethnicity and Material Exchanges in Late Medieval Tallinn*, *European Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 17: 2014, pp. 656–677; eadem, *Migration, Identity and Material Culture. Hanseatic Translocality in the Medieval Baltic Sea*, [in:] *Comparative Perspectives on*

tremely difficult to determine the language or identity of a person or group only using archaeological objects²⁴. On the contrary, the intensive development of urban life in particular offered opportunities and chances for people of various backgrounds²⁵. Around 1200, there were two villages of Liv fishers in the location of Riga²⁶. A century later, the town had, as estimated, already 6000–7000 inhabitants²⁷. In Tallinn the existence of an early urban settlement before the Danish conquest in 1219 has been repeatedly proposed²⁸, but until now never confirmed by archaeological or written sources. By 1300, in terms of demographics, Tallinn was second only to Riga²⁹. The urban development in thirteenth-century Tartu was also similar³⁰. By the fourteenth century, even many small towns had enough resources to start the building of stone defence walls³¹. The fast progress of Livonian towns in the thirteenth century can be denoted as a real boom of urbanisation and economic development, which continued until the demographic crisis of the mid-fourteenth century³².

Past Colonisation, Maritime Interaction and Cultural Integration, ed. by Lene MELHEIM [et al.], Sheffield 2016, pp. 129–148; Emma LIGHTFOOT, Magdalena NAUM, Villu KADAKAS, Erki RUS-SOW, *The Influence of Social Status and Ethnicity on Diet in Mediaeval Tallinn as Seen through Stable Isotope Analysis*, *Estonian Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 20: 2016, no. 1, pp. 81–107; Rowena Yvonne BANERJEA [et al.], *A Multi-proxy, Diachronic and Spatial Perspective on the Urban Activities within an Indigenous Community in Medieval Riga, Latvia*, *Quaternary International*, vol. 460: 2017, pp. 3–21.

²⁴ Arvi HAAK, *Problems of Defining Ethnic Identity in Medieval Towns of Estonia on the Basis of Archaeological Sources*, [in:] *Today I Am Not the One I Was Yesterday*. *Archaeology, Identity, and Change* (Interarchaeologia, vol. 4), ed. by Arvi HAAK, Valter LANG, Mika LAVENTO, Tartu–Helsinki–Riga–Vilnius 2015, pp. 13–27.

²⁵ Cf. Klaus MILITZER, *Probleme der Migration und Integration sozialer Gruppen im Preußenland*, [in:] *Probleme der Migration und Integration im Preußenland vom Mittelalter bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Tagungsberichte der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreussische Landesforschung, Bd. 21), hrsg. v. Klaus MILITZER, Marburg 2005, pp. 11–38.

²⁶ Andris CAUNE, *Die Rolle Rigas im Dünamündungsgebiet während des 10.–12. Jahrhunderts*, *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, Bd. 41: 1992, pp. 489–500, here pp. 496–499.

²⁷ F. BENNINGHOVEN, *Rigas Entstehung*, p. 100.

²⁸ Most recently by Marika MÄGI, *In Austrvegr. The Role of the Eastern Baltic in Viking Age Communication across the Baltic Sea* (The Northern World, vol. 84), Leiden–Boston 2018, pp. 276–280.

²⁹ Erki RUS-SOW, *Origines Revaliae – Die ersten hundert Jahre*, [in:] *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum*, Bd. 10: *Vorbesiedlung, Gründung und Entwicklung*, hrsg. v. Manfred GLÄSER, Manfred SCHNEIDER, Lübeck 2016, pp. 537–558.

³⁰ Ain MÄESALU, Arvi HAAK, *Über die Entstehungsgeschichte des mittelalterlichen Dorpat (Tartu)*, [in:] *ibid.*, pp. 507–518.

³¹ Rivo BERNOTAS, *Estonian Small Towns in the Middle Ages: Archaeology and the History of Urban Defense*, *Ajalooline Ajakiri*, 2013, no. 3, pp. 265–297.

³² On the similar general development in the Baltic Sea region cf. Rolf HAMMEL-KIESOW, *Bevölkerungsentwicklung und städtische Topographie*, [in:] *Die Hanse. Lebenswirklichkeit und*

At the same time, there were people immigrating not only from Germany to Livonia. The merchants of these centuries were mobile in general. Firstly, the early trade itself presupposed travelling together with goods³³. Around 1200, guilds and companies of travelling traders shaped the Baltic Sea trade³⁴. In Lübeck and Hamburg³⁵ the shift from dominant travelling merchants to permanent residents' dominance in the town took place during the thirteenth century³⁶. According to Friedrich Benninghoven, in Riga this happened by the middle of the fourteenth century³⁷, and in smaller Livonian towns even later³⁸. Having citizen rights, family and property in one town did not indicate that an active merchant really stayed in this town for most of the time, because he had to personally visit faraway markets. Secondly, a merchant and craftsman could change his place several times during his life as well. Apart from the immigration from Germany to Livonia reverse migration also existed – people also moved from Livonia to the towns in other parts of the Hanseatic area³⁹. Thirdly, not only the “Germans”, but also the Livonian townspeople of native origin were involved in these movements.

Mythos, hrsg. v. Jörgen BRACKER, Volker HENN, Rainer POSTEL, Lübeck 1999, pp. 242–248, here pp. 243–244.

³³ Carsten JAHNKE, *Die Hanse*, Stuttgart 2014, pp. 165–167; Rolf HAMMEL-KIESOW, *The Early Hanses*, [in:] *A Companion to the Hanseatic League* (Brill's Companions to European History, vol. 8), ed. by Donald J. HARRELD, Leiden–Boston 2015, pp. 15–63, here pp. 47–50.

³⁴ Detlef KATTINGER, *Die Gotländische Genossenschaft. Der frühhansisch-gotländische Handel in Nord- und Westeuropa* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, Bd. 47), Köln–Weimar–Wien 1999, pp. 165–168. Cf. Roman CZAJA, *Die Entwicklung des Handels der preußischen Hansestädte im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Die preussischen Hansestädte und ihre Stellung im Nord- und Ostseeraum des Mittelalters*, hrsg. v. Zenon Hubert NOWAK, Janusz TANDECKI, Toruń 1998, pp. 35–50.

³⁵ Cf. Ahasver von BRANDT, *Hamburger Kaufleute im Ostseehandel des 14. Jahrhunderts (bis 1363) nach dem Lübecker Niederstadtbuch*, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte, Bd. 49–50: 1964, pp. 1–28.

³⁶ Erich von LEHE, *Der hansische Kaufmann des 13. Jahrhunderts nach dem Beispiel von Lübeck und Hamburg*, Zeitschrift des Vereins für hamburgische Geschichte, Bd. 44: 1958, pp. 73–94, here p. 81.

³⁷ F. BENNINGHOVEN, *Rigas Entstehung*, pp. 94–95, 105. Cf. Gerd HOLLIHN, *Die Stapel- und Gästepolitik Rigas in der Ordenszeit*, Hansische Geschichtsblätter, Bd. 60: 1935, pp. 89–207, here pp. 97–100, 115–116.

³⁸ Heinrich LAAKMANN, *Geschichte der Stadt Pernau in der Deutsch-Ordenszeit (bis 1558)* (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Ost-Mitteleuropas, Bd. 23), Marburg/Lahn 1956, p. 171.

³⁹ Rainer Christoph SCHWINGES, *Die Herkunft der Neubürger. Migrationsräume im Reich des späten Mittelalters*, [in:] *Neubürger im späten Mittelalter. Migration und Austausch in der Städtelandschaft des alten Reiches (1250–1550)* (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung. Beiheft, Bd. 30), hrsg. v. Rainer Christoph SCHWINGES, Berlin 2002, pp. 371–408, here pp. 396–401; Eberhard ISENMANN, *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter 1150–1550. Stadtgestalt, Recht, Verfassung, Stadtregiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2012, pp. 676–677.

The relevant historical information mostly derives from urban registers of property, wills, debts, etc. Several Stralsund citizens expected the possibility that they would die in Riga, like Luderus *pistor* and Nicolaus Losice in c. 1278, and Johannes de Linge in c. 1280⁴⁰. In the fourteenth century there are several cases indicated when a Stralsund citizen in fact died in Livonia⁴¹. The same was the case in Rostock⁴² and Wismar⁴³. A part of the people intending to travel to Livonia could be pilgrims or crusaders⁴⁴, but most probably not all of them⁴⁵. The popularity of Riga as a pilgrimage destination was already declining after 1300⁴⁶, and it was probably already too late for active and independent participation of non-nobles in the crusades in the fourteenth century⁴⁷. Most likely

⁴⁰ *Das älteste Stralsundische Stadtbuch (1270–1310)*, hrsg. v. Ferdinand FABRICIUS, Berlin 1872, p. 12 (no. 150), p. 14 (no. 208), p. 41 (no. 63). See also: Thomas BRÜCK, *Zur Geschichte der Stralsunder Rigafahrer von der Mitte des 14. bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Fernhandel und Handelspolitik der baltischen Städte in der Hansezeit. Beiträge zur Erforschung mittelalterlicher und frühneuzeitlicher Handelsbeziehungen und -wege im europäischen Rahmen* (Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, Bd. 11), hrsg. v. Norbert ANGERMANN, Paul KAEGBEIN, Lüneburg 2001, pp. 97–136, here p. 101.

⁴¹ *Der Stralsunder Liber memorialis*, Teil 1 (Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Stralsund, Bd. 5/1), bearb. v. Horst-Diether SCHROEDER, Schwerin 1964, p. 93–94 (no. 513), p. 121 (no. 681–682), p. 139 (no. 791).

⁴² *Das Rostocker Stadtbuch 1270–1288 nebst Stadtbuch-Fragmenten (bis 1313)* (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Mecklenburg, Bd. 7), hrsg. v. Tilmann SCHMIDT, Rostock 2007, pp. 97–98 (no. 787) (*sive obiero in Riga sive Rozstoc*), p. 271 (no. 2050).

⁴³ *Das zweite Wismarsche Stadtbuch 1272–1297* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, Bd. 14), bearb. v. Lotte KNABE, Weimar 1966, p. 110 (no. 783), p. 114 (no. 809), p. 125 (no. 888), p. 399 (no. 5).

⁴⁴ *Das hamburgische Schuldbuch von 1288* (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, Bd. 4), bearb. v. Erich VON LEHE, Hamburg 1956, pp. 27–28 (no. 200), p. 100 (no. 773).

⁴⁵ *Das älteste Rostocker Stadtbuch (etwa 1254–1273)*, hrsg. v. Hildegard THIERFELDER, Göttingen 1967, p. 91 (no. 70, 78), p. 146 (no. 505).

⁴⁶ Andris LEVĀNS, *War Riga eine 'heilige' Stadt im Mittelalter? Religiosität, Pilger und der urbane Raum. Riga in der Wahrnehmung des europäischen Stadtbürgertums*, [in:] *Starptautiska konference "Hanza vakar – Hanza rit". International conference "Hansa yesterday – Hansa tomorrow"*, Rīga 2001, pp. 53–81; Maja GAŚSOWSKA, *Livländer auf der Wallfahrt nach Wilsnack und das Heilige Blut zu Riga*, [in:] *Die Wilsnackfahrt. Ein Wallfahrts- und Kommunikationszentrum im Spätmittelalter* (Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien, Bd. 2), hrsg. v. Felix ESCHER, Hartmut KÜHNEN, Frankfurt am Main 2006, pp. 97–113; Carina BRUMME, *Das spätmittelalterliche Wallfahrtswesen im Erzstift Magdeburg, im Fürstentum Anhalt und im sächsischen Kurkreis. Entwicklung, Strukturen und Erscheinungsformen frommer Mobilität in Mitteldeutschland vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien, Bd. 6), Frankfurt am Main 2010, pp. 285–286; Merit JAKOBSON, *"Eestpalverännak"*. *Palverännukorraldused keskaegsetes Lübecki testamentides*, unpublished MA Thesis, Tartu 2010, <http://hdl.handle.net/10062/15266> [Accessed October 1, 2018].

⁴⁷ Werner PARAVICINI, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Teil 1, Sigmaringen 1989, p. 143, cf. pp. 153–157. Cf. Gregory LEIGHTON, *Did the Teutonic Order Create a Sacred Land-*

the majority of the townspeople mentioned as travelling to or dying in Livonia were merchants and craftsmen who were on the move due to their business. Helmicus of Rostock, who considered the possibility of dying in Riga and made his testament between 1335 and 1349, bequeathed his son Thomas two anvils⁴⁸. Consequently, he was most probably a smith who from some reason planned to settle in Riga, either permanently or for a term.

In the middle of the thirteenth century, in Wismar a *mulier* from Livonia had a property⁴⁹. Conradus de Riga (of Riga) bought a house there⁵⁰. At the same time also Willikinus Liuo (the Liv/Livonian) was active in Wismar⁵¹. The lists of Lübeck's new citizens include Willekinus de Pernowe (of Pärnu, 1325), Gotscalcus de Velin (of Viljandi, 1336), Hinricus Warendorp⁵² de Tartato (of Tartu, 1339), and several people from Tallinn and Riga⁵³. The Odempe (of Otepää) family lived in fourteenth-century Lübeck⁵⁴. Fredericus de Revalia (of Tallinn), along with his wife, owed in Riga a sum to Johannes de Monasterio with a payment deadline at Michaelmas 1288. Fredericus expected that he probably would not return to Riga at this term, and then the wife had to pay the debt⁵⁵. Therefore, the family of the merchant lived in Riga.

It is remarkable that the sources of this kind often indicate the connection of these "hanseatic" families to minor places in Livonia⁵⁶, and often noteworthy

scape in Thirteenth-Century Prussia?, Journal of Medieval History, vol. 44: 2018, pp. 457–483, here pp. 475–481; Adrian R. BELL, Tony K. MOORE, *The Organisation and Financing of English Expeditions to the Baltic during the Later Middle Ages*, [in:] *Military Communities in Late Medieval England. Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, ed. by Gary P. BAKER, Craig L. LAMBERT, David SIMPKIN, Woodbridge 2018, pp. 181–209, here pp. 191–196.

⁴⁸ *Das Rostocker Stadtbuch 1270–1288*, p. 169 (no. 1345).

⁴⁹ *Das älteste Wismarsche Stadtbuch von etwa 1250 bis 1272*, hrsg. v. Friedrich TECHEN, Wismar 1912, p. 5 (no. 63).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9 (no. 144), cf. p. 16 (no. 278).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51 (no. 776).

⁵² Cf. Albert K. HÖMBERG, *Giselbert von Warendorp: Fernhändler oder Ministerialadliger?*, [in:] *Westfalen. Hanse. Ostseeraum* (Veröffentlichungen des Provinzialinstituts für westfälische Landes- und Volkskunde. Reihe 1. Wirtschafts- und verkehrswissenschaftliche Arbeiten, Bd. 7.), hrsg. v. Franz PETRI, Münster 1955, pp. 90–93.

⁵³ Wilhelm BREHMER, *Zusammenstellung der erhaltenen Eintragungen in das älteste Oberstadtbuch*, Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Bd. 4: 1884, H. 2, pp. 222–260; *Civilitates. Lübecker Neubürgerlisten 1317–1356* (Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Bd. 19), hrsg. v. Olof AHLERS, Lübeck 1967, p. 39 (no. 13), p. 76 (no. 140), p. 84 (no. 35), p. 168.

⁵⁴ *Das Lübecker Niederstadtbuch (1363–1399)*, Teil 2: *Indices* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, Bd. 56/2), bearb. v. Ulrich SIMON, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2006, pp. 153–154.

⁵⁵ *RS*, no. 386–387.

⁵⁶ Vilho NIITEMAA, *Der Binnenhandel in der Politik der livländischen Städte im Mittelalter* (Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia. Sarja B, vol. 76/2), Helsinki 1952, pp. 51–59.

to several places simultaneously. Accordingly, not only were “big towns” connected to the whole Hanseatic region but personal networks based on family and/or commercial ties⁵⁷ included places on different levels of the settlement hierarchy. The Tartu citizen Johan Dorman⁵⁸ lived in Lübeck but bequeathed in 1337 a sum to children of the smith Hermann in Otepää; his close relatives still lived in Tartu⁵⁹. Hinrik vanme Kolke, a citizen of the tiny Livonian town Straupe, had a business in Soest and visited Lübeck personally in 1352⁶⁰. Lübeck citizen Wiggher Dartzowe had property in Lübeck and its neighbourhood in 1350, partly acquired through his wife. He also had property in Riga, where he came from⁶¹. His sister lived in Cēsis as well as his *matertera* Konegunde. He also donated a sum to Ghese Hapeselle (of Haapsalu) and her son⁶². In the same year, the *avunculus* of Marquard Langheside from Lübeck, Johan, was in Riga, and his children lived in Cēsis⁶³. It is mentioned in 1351 that one of his daughters in Cēsis had children of her own; consequently, she was married there. Marquard also endowed Gheseke and Taleke van Revele (of Tallinn) who remained in the House of Beguines in Lübeck⁶⁴. The number of personal contacts between Lübeck and Cēsis registered in the fourteenth-century sources is rather high, considering the small size of this Livonian town⁶⁵.

A similar mobility of the urban people of both immigrant and native origin occurred within Livonia. The sources register a relatively large number of Livonian towns and rural places as bynames indicating the origin of townspeople⁶⁶. Heinrich de Mythowia (of Jelgava) was a member of the town council of

⁵⁷ Carsten JAHNKE, *Handelsnetze im Ostseeraum, [in:] Netzwerke im europäischen Handel des Mittelalters* (Vorträge und Forschungen, 72), hrsg. v. Gerhard FOUQUET, Hans-Jörg GILOMEN, Ostfildern 2010, pp. 189–212; Carsten JAHNKE, *Moderne Netzwerkforschung in der regionalen Hansegeschichte: Möglichkeiten, Gefahren und Perspektiven, [in:] Hansegeschichte als Regionalgeschichte* (Kieler Werkstücke Reihe A, 37), hrsg. v. Oliver AUGÉ, Frankfurt am Main 2014, pp. 47–58.

⁵⁸ W. KOPPE, *op.cit.*, pp. 13–14.

⁵⁹ *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters*, Bd. 1: 1278–1350 (Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Bd. 18), hrsg. v. Ahasver von BRANDT, Lübeck 1964, p. 87 (no. 160). Cf. Birgit NOODT, *Religion und Familie in der Hansestadt Lübeck anhand der Bürgertestamente des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck. Reihe B, Bd. 33), Lübeck 2000.

⁶⁰ W. KOPPE, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

⁶¹ W. LENZ, *op.cit.*, p. 87.

⁶² *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters*, Bd. 1, p. 155 (no. 304).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 205 (no. 398).

⁶⁴ *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters*, Bd. 2: 1351–1363 (Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Bd. 24), hrsg. v. Ahasver von BRANDT, Lübeck 1973, p. 33 (no. 458), p. 142 (no. 659).

⁶⁵ W. LENZ, *op.cit.*, pp. 81–89.

⁶⁶ L. FEYERABEND, *op.cit.*, pp. 122–131; Paul JOHANSEN, Heinz von zur MÜHLEN, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Ostmitteleuropa in Vergan-

Riga in 1300–1330; his brother Lodewicus de Mythowia held the same office in 1290–1319⁶⁷. Nicolaus de Kegele (of Keila) did not belong to the first generation of the family living in Tallinn in 1312⁶⁸. Johannes Perona (of Pärnu) became a Tallinn citizen in c. 1335⁶⁹. The further origin names of townspeople registered in the fourteenth-century Riga are following: Cēsis, Curonia, Jelgava, Koknese, Lihula, Ludza, Mežotne, Pärnu, Pieblaga, Sigulda, Straupe, Tallinn, Tartu, Tārvastu, Ventspils, Viljandi⁷⁰; in Tallinn: Cēsis, Curonia, Juuru, Koknese, Laitse, Narva, Rakvere, Riga, Saintake⁷¹, Tartu, Turaida, and Viljandi⁷². Several members of the Odempe (of Otepää) family lived in 1377 in Tartu⁷³. However, some people with a rural origin name were nobles, who in several cases had property in towns. In 1365, Hinricus de Lechtes (of Lehtse or Lāhtse), Nicolaus van Herkel, and Andreas de Herkel (of Härgla) had to pay a sum to Johannes Ruentaken (of Rohense) in Tallinn⁷⁴. All people involved in this business were noblemen. The majority of bynames of this type still indicate common townsfolk who had come to a town from a village.

genheit und Gegenwart, Bd. 15), Köln–Wien 1973, pp. 475–480; Heinz VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Schoßlisten der Stadt Reval 1369–1372. Ein Querschnitt durch die Bevölkerungsentwicklung Revels von der Frühzeit bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Jahrbuch für Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands, Bd. 48: 2002, pp. 117–218, here p. 192, cf. p. 196.

⁶⁷ RS, p. 140; H. BÖTHFÜHR, op.cit., p. 176.

⁶⁸ *Das älteste Wittschobbuch der Stadt Reval (1312–1360)* (Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curlands. 3. Folge, Bd. 1), hrsg. v. Leonid ARBUSOW, Reval 1888, no. 9, cf. nos 237, 275. Cf. *Das zweitälteste Erbebuch der Stadt Reval (1360–1383)*, hrsg. v. Eugen VON NOTTBECK (Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curlands. 3. Folge, Bd. 2), Reval 1890, no. 507–508.

⁶⁹ *Das älteste Wittschobbuch der Stadt Reval*, nos 273, 755, 781; *Tallinna märkmeteraamatud 1333–1374. Libri de diversis articulis 1333–1374* (Tallinna Linnaarhiivi väljaanded, vol. 8), toim. Paul JOHANSEN, Tallinn 1935, no. 100.

⁷⁰ *Die Libri redituum der Stadt Riga*, hrsg. v. J. G. Leonhard NAPIERSKY, Leipzig 1881, nos I: 49, 63, 66, 75, 133, 148, 151, 154, 159, 178, 187, 196, 197, 217, 251, 258, 269; II: 66, 155, 171, 201, 222, 243–245, 273, 275, 276, 289, 290, 292, 295, 314, 322, 327, 352, 353, 394, 395, 403, 413, 419, 442, 452, 504, 512, 535, 577, 581, 597, 686, 743. Cf. F. BENNINGHOVEN, *Rigas Entstehung*, pp. 150–164.

⁷¹ District c. 25 km east of Tallinn.

⁷² *Das älteste Wittschobbuch*, nos 583, 576, 609; *Das zweitälteste Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, nos 145, 238, 493, 583, 622, 652, 705, 827; *Tallinna märkmeteraamatud*, nos 87, 106.29, 120, 193.32, 286, 369, 387.14, 527.48; H. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Schoßlisten*, pp. 161–178.

⁷³ *Das Lübecker Niederstädtbuch (1363–1399)*, Teil 1: *Einleitung und Edition* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, Bd. 56/1), bearb. v. Ulrich SIMON, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2006, p. 389 (no. 372).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65 (no. 51). Cf. Paul JOHANSEN, *35 Regesten und Urkunden zur Gütergeschichte Harrien-Wierlands (Harju-Virumaa) im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft, 1930 [published in 1932], pp. 1–46, here p. 13 (no. 11); idem, *Die Estlandliste des Liber Census Daniae*, Reval–Kopenhagen 1933, pp. 357, 473, 651, 858, 871–873, 858, 904; *Das zweitälteste Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 817.

A remarkable case is Tallinn citizen Lodewicus Rozleyne, registered in the 1310s in Stralsund⁷⁵ and Greifswald⁷⁶. His name means “the Swede” in Estonian (*rootslane*)⁷⁷. In 1295–1300 an Everhardus Suede (“the Swede”) lived in Tartu⁷⁸. In the thirteenth century there formed the Swedish settlement area on north-western Estonian coast⁷⁹ and the local Swedes also settled in towns⁸⁰. Especially the hinterland of Tallinn comprised the areas of Swedish and Finnish population in Finland. For example, around 1370 there lived a *lapidaria* Jacobus Somelene (“the Finn” in Estonian or Finnish) in Tallinn⁸¹.

The name of Thidericus de Takevere, registered in 1290 in Riga as a debtor⁸², refers most probably to Tagavere village in Lääne-Nigula parish, c. 10 km east from Haapsalu in Estonia. *Gener ejus* Thidericus was in 1294 *sartor* in Haapsalu⁸³. The archaeological research between the modern Uugla and Tagavere villages revealed a settlement and iron processing site from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Fragments of ceramics imported from Germany found outside a town or castle are exceptional and indicate the wealth of the lord of this place, probably a smith or native noble⁸⁴. It would be too hypothetical to connect this archaeological site with the de Takevere family known from the written sources, but the involvement of native elite members in the trade and crafts, and the urban life in Livonia around 1300 is evident indeed. Similar personal networks of peoples of manifold origin were not unusual. Russian Yakim lived at the home of Lambertus Hoelemepe in Riga. His brother Chome was called *de Ykeskule* (of Ikškile), but he had a *hospicium* in Riga; thus, he probably lived in Riga. The business partners of Chome were Livs

⁷⁵ *Das zweite Stralsundische Stadtbuch (1310–1342)*, bearb. v. Robert EBELING, Stralsund 1903, p. 20 (no. 141).

⁷⁶ *Das älteste Greifswalder Stadtbuch (1291–1332)* (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Pommern. Reihe 4: Quellen zur pommerschen Geschichte, Bd. 14), bearb. v. Dietrich W. POECK, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2000, p. 98 (no. 664) (*Lodewicus Roslen*).

⁷⁷ Paul JOHANSEN, *Nordische Mission, Revels Gründung und die Schwedensiedlung in Estland* (Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademis handlingar, vol. 74), Stockholm 1951, p. 77.

⁷⁸ RS, no. 1853.

⁷⁹ Kersti MARKUS, *From Rus' Trade to Crusade. St Olaf's Churches in the Eastern Baltic Sea Region*, Acta Historica Tallinnensia, vol. 23: 2017, pp. 3–25, here p. 15.

⁸⁰ *Die Quellen des rigischen Stadtrechts bis zum Jahr 1673*, hrsg. v. J. G. Leonhard NAPIERSKY, Riga 1876, p. 47 (no. 68), p. 49 (no. 2).

⁸¹ H. VON ZUR MÜHLEN, *Schoßlisten*, p. 175.

⁸² RS, nos 1058, 1070, 1410.

⁸³ RS, no. 1451.

⁸⁴ Mati MANDEL, *Von den Forschungen am Bodendenkmal zu Uugla*, Arheoloogilised välitööd Eestis. Archaeological Fieldwork in Estonia, 2006 [published in 2007], pp. 113–119. See also Heiki VALK, *Estland im 11.–13. Jahrhundert. Neuere Aspekte aus Sicht der Archäologie*, Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte, Bd. 3: 2008, pp. 57–86, here p. 76.

Caulem, Jacob, Kaire, and Gaist⁸⁵. Chome or Chomka, for his part, launched a business with German Tileko (Thidericus) de Kokenhusen (of Koknese), son of Ludeke⁸⁶.

Remarkable is the share of people from the Saaremaa island in Livonian early urban life. Saaremaa was the region which was in the late 1180s, besides the Daugava lower reaches, first strongly involved in German trade in the eastern Baltic⁸⁷ and probably one of the most populated and economically developed Livonian areas in the thirteenth century⁸⁸. Jacobus and Johannes Sarleyne⁸⁹ in Riga (registered in 1287–1338) originated from Saaremaa. *Saarlane* in Estonian means a person from Saaremaa⁹⁰. Hinricus de Osilia (of Saaremaa) had a house in Tallinn before 1325⁹¹, and in the 1330s there was a Tallinn citizen named Johannes de Osilia⁹². In the 1350s, a Tallinn property belonged to Petrus de Osilia⁹³.

As several examples already provided attest, in numerous cases people had several geographical identities at the same time. The cases when a testator bequeaths to churches or other institutions in two or more towns indicates his special personal relationship with these places. In Wismar, before 1285, Hinricus de Homborg (of Hamburg) made donations to churches in Wismar and Riga⁹⁴. Wicbold van Beveren, in Lübeck in 1303, donated to Tartu and Pärnu⁹⁵. The will of Lübeck citizen Johan Holenbeke in 1359 mentions his trunk⁹⁶ in Novgorod and his arms in Tartu. In addition to donations in Lübeck, Dassow, and Grönau, he bequeathed a sum to the leprous in Mölln. Next to Mölln

⁸⁵ RS, nos 227, 229, 1670.

⁸⁶ RS, nos 1471, 1476, 1478.

⁸⁷ Ivar LEIMUS, *Wann und woher ist der deutsche Kaufmann nach Livland gekommen? Eine numismatische Studie*, [in:] *Delectat et docet. Festschrift zum 100jährigen Bestehen des Vereins der Münzenfreunde in Hamburg* (Numismatische Studien, Bd. 16), hrsg. v. Manfred MEHL, Hamburg 2004, pp. 317–332.

⁸⁸ Andres TVAURI, *The Migration Period, Pre-Viking Age, and Viking Age in Estonia* (Estonian Archaeology, vol. 4), Tartu 2012, pp. 322–323.

⁸⁹ F. BENNINGHOVEN, *Rigas Entstehung*, p. 162.

⁹⁰ Jürgen BEYER, *Ist maarahvas ('Landvolk'), die alte Selbstbezeichnung der Esten, eine Lehnübersetzung? Eine Studie zur Begriffsgeschichte des Ostseeraums*, *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, Bd. 56: 2007, pp. 566–593, here pp. 576–577.

⁹¹ *Das älteste Wittschopbuch*, no. 240.

⁹² *Tallinna märkmeteraamatud*, no. 123.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, no. 500; *Das älteste Wittschopbuch*, no. 968.

⁹⁴ *Das zweite Wismarsche Stadtbuch*, p. 400 no. 6.

⁹⁵ *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters*, Bd. 2, p. 24 (no. 19).

⁹⁶ Maybe it was similar to the thirteenth-century merchant's trunk found in 2011 in the Tallinn Bay: Ivar LEIMUS, Maili ROIO, Krista SARV, *Watertight Sources. Unique Find from the Bottom of Tallinn Bay*, [in:] *Shipwreck Heritage. Digitizing and Opening Access to Maritime History* (Muinasaja Teadus, vol. 23), ed. by Maili Roro, Tallinn 2013, pp. 133–172.

is Hollenbek village, approximately 30 km south of Lübeck, which most probably was the place of his origin. He also bequeathed money to leprosaria and churches in Tartu, Pärnu, and Tallinn in Livonia⁹⁷. In 1363 he made another will, and his Livonian donations were now to hospitals, monasteries and churches in Pärnu and Tartu⁹⁸. Thus, Johan came from the vicinity of Lübeck, became citizen of the town, and travelled often to Livonia, and/or via Livonian towns to the Rus'. He had a close personal association with several towns on this transit road; consequently, sometimes he stayed there for a longer period, not only just passing en route – perhaps waiting for the start of navigation during the winter season, for example.

The family networks in particular supported multiple spatial identifications. The daughter of the *avunculus* of Albert Iserenhant from Lübeck was in Riga (1306)⁹⁹. The relatives of Herdeke Hamers from Lübeck were in Soest, his brother in Tallinn (1337)¹⁰⁰. Johan Russenbech of Lübeck died in Tartu in 1345. His relatives lived there, and he had some personal connections to Riga and Tallinn as well¹⁰¹. The Lübeck town council member Herman van Dulmen¹⁰² bequeathed in 1350 a silver bowl to *domina* Mechtild, the wife of Johan Hapesalle (of Haapsalu) from Pärnu¹⁰³. An additional exemplary case is Johannes de Brema (of Bremen), a merchant active in Riga, who occasionally was called de Perona (of Pärnu). At the same time, he had property in Straupe¹⁰⁴. It means that he simultaneously had three or four geographical identifications.

To conclude, the German immigration did not only integrate Livonia into the German-dominated¹⁰⁵ Hanseatic world¹⁰⁶, it also connected the ethnically

⁹⁷ *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters*, Bd. 2, p. 201 (no. 757).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 320 (no. 976).

⁹⁹ *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters*, Bd. 1, p. 26 (no. 24).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85 (no. 155).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 121–122 (no. 239).

¹⁰² Tuomas HEIKKILÄ, *Tracing a Late Medieval Canonist. Johannes Hundebek of Dülmens' Eventful Career*, [in:] *Sacri canones servandi sunt. Ius canonicum et status ecclesiae saeculis XIII–XV* (Práce Historického ústavu AV ČR, vol. 19), ed. by Pavel KRAFL, Praha 2008, pp. 390–397, here p. 390.

¹⁰³ *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters*, Bd. 1, p. 207 (no. 401). Neither Johan or Mechtild were close relatives of Herman (M. LUTTERBECK, *Der Rat der Stadt Lübeck*, pp. 258–259); she could be e.g. Herman's goddaughter. Cf. *Das Lübecker Niederstadtbuch* (1363–1399), Teil 1, p. 124; Lari AHOKAS, *Herman Hundebeken testamentti*, [in:] *Keskiaikaisen kosmopoliitin jäljillä. Johannes de Dulmen († 1420)* (Helsingin yliopiston Historian laitoksen julkaisuja, vol. 21), toim. Tuomas HEIKKILÄ, Helsinki 2007, pp. 23–64.

¹⁰⁴ RS, p.132.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Len SCALES, *The Shaping of German Identity. Authority and Crisis, 1245–1414*, Cambridge 2012.

¹⁰⁶ Ilgvars MISĀNS, *Integration durch den Handel. Die Einheit des Ostseeraumes zur Hansezeit (12./13.–15. Jahrhundert)*, Saeculum, vol. 56: 2005, pp. 227–239.

and historically diverse regions of Estonia and Latvia and shaped the medieval Livonia itself¹⁰⁷. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this mobility, at least in the context of urban life and trade, was not just moving from one town to another. People remained sometimes permanently mobile, they were simultaneously connected to several places¹⁰⁸. The ties of family, business, and worship united localities and peoples from Westphalia, Saxony, Livonia, and other Baltic regions. It also means that a geographical byname could refer to a place of origin, burgher rights, or main business and this kind of data cannot provide the unambiguous information in every individual case.

This way of living and commerce necessitated a constant interaction between immigrant merchants and native communities. The native merchants did not develop into the distinct professional and social group before crusades¹⁰⁹. In emerging towns natives either remained in the role of local retail traders, or a minority of them became Germanised as members of the “German” urban elite. During the first centuries of medieval Livonia there were also more possibilities for a social career and less restrictive politics in the towns for natives and immigrants from outside the Hanseatic area¹¹⁰. There are even a number of Russians registered as Riga or Tartu citizen in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sources¹¹¹. The mobility and presence of immigrant merchants and traders also in (semi-)rural places potentially influenced the early cultural and societal adaptation processes during the early stage of building the post-crusading Livonian society, where the urban centres had remarkable

¹⁰⁷ Matthias THUMSER, *Das Baltikum im Mittelalter. Strukturen einer europäischen Geschichtsregion*, Jahrbuch des baltischen Deutschtums, Bd. 58: 2010, pp. 17–30, here p. 20.

¹⁰⁸ On the continuous migrations in the Outremer, cf. Piers D. MITCHELL, Andrew R. MILLARD, *Approaches to the Study of Migration during the Crusades*, Crusades, vol. 12: 2013, pp. 1–12, here p. 10.

¹⁰⁹ Ivar LEIMUS, *Kaupmees*, [in:] *Eesti aastal 1200*, toim. Marika MÄGI, Tallinn 2003, pp. 43–68.

¹¹⁰ August VON BULMERINCQ, *Die Verfassung der Stadt Riga im ersten Jahrhundert der Stadt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Stadtverfassung*, Leipzig 1898, pp. 52–53; Dzintra LELE-ROZENTĀLE, *Deutsch und Undeutsch in livländischen Quellen als soziales und linguistisches Phänomen*, [in:] *Von Kotzebue bis Fleming. Literatur-, Kultur- und Sprachkontakt im Baltikum*, hrsg. v. Mari TARVAS, Würzburg 2012, pp. 199–212; Tiina KALA, *Gab es eine ‘nationale Frage’ im mittelalterlichen Reval?*, *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte*, Bd. 7: 2012, pp. 10–34; Anti SELART, *Non-German Literacy in Medieval Livonia*, [in:] *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns. Medieval Urban Literacy*, vol. 2 (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, vol. 28), ed. by Marco MOSTERT, Anna ADAMSKA, Turnhout 2014, pp. 37–63, here pp. 46–53; D. G. KHRUSTALEV, op.cit., pp. 307–308.

¹¹¹ Anti SELART, *Russians in Livonian Towns in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, [in:] *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. by Derek KEENE, Balázs NAGY, Katalin SZENDE, Farnham 2009, pp. 33–50.

potential for integrating the many groups of both natives and immigrants¹¹². However, the existing network of family and kinship relations which provided trusted partners in the vast area from Westphalia to Livonia¹¹³ was probably one of the main advantages of German merchants in the competition with their Scandinavian counterparts and with Livonian native traders.

Ilgvars Misāns pointed out that the regional co-operation of Livonian towns developed only from the mid-fourteenth century onwards; before this the dominating connections led to Lübeck and other towns in Germany¹¹⁴. The conclusion is certainly valid when speaking about political cooperation between towns. Still, the personal ties within Livonia existed as well and they connected with each other not only the “big” towns. The “Hanseatic” integration reached deeper into the Livonian post-crusade life as it may look like at the first glance. Resettling from Soest to Lübeck, from Visby to Tartu, from Tallinn to Rostock, or from Pärnu to Riga in every case was a movement within a common area. Indeed, Westphalia or Pomerania, Livonia or Gotland all had their own specifics, including the several native languages spoken and various political situations. Still, these kinds of movements most probably were in no way “going abroad”. An economically active person could have had many places of identification, and moving from one town to another during a lifetime was the rule, not an exception.

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¹¹² Priit RAUDKIVI, *Saksa migratsioonist Liivimaale keskajal. Kriitlisi märkmeid*, Acta Historica Tallinnensia, vol. 17: 2011, pp. 16–36, here p. 32.

¹¹³ See also: *Societates. Das Verzeichnis der Handelsgesellschaften im Lübecker Niederstadtbuch 1311–1361* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, Bd. 54), hrsg. v. Albrecht CORDES, Klaus FRIEDLAND, Rolf SPRANDEL, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2003; F. BENNINGHOVEN, *Rigas Entstehung*, p. 104.

¹¹⁴ Ilgvars MISĀNS, *Die späten Anfänge städtischer Zusammenarbeit in Alt-Livland*, [in:] *Zwischen Lübeck und Novgorod. Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur im Ostseeraum vom frühen Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. v. Ortwin PELC, Gertrud PICKHAN, Lüneburg 1996, pp. 89–98; idem, *Die Städte als zentrale Orte im mittelalterlichen Livland und die Anfänge ihrer Vernetzung bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Städtelandschaften im Ostseeraum im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, hrsg. v. Roman CZAJA, Carsten JAHNKE, Toruń 2009, pp. 87–102, here pp. 101–102.

WHERE WAS THE HOME OF THE LIVONIAN MERCHANT?
EARLY URBAN MOBILITY IN THE BALTICS

Abstract

Key words: Hanseatic League, Livonia, social relations, migrations in the Middle Ages

Medieval Livonia and its town life were created in the 12th and 13th centuries as a result of crusading conquests. Livonian urban elites immigrated mostly from German lands. A small number of people of indigenous origin were also integrated into the emerging merchant class. Besides merchants who settled down in Riga, Tallinn, Tartu, or in other towns in the region, travelling merchants from the western part of the forming Hanseatic area played an important role in the urban life and even in the urban administration. On the basis of anthroponyms and geographical identifications of medieval townspeople, the author of the article argues that the migration patterns were not limited to immigration from Germany to Livonia. The social and spatial integration of this region resulted from multiple ways of travelling and relocation: people also returned to Germany or remained simultaneously connected to several places and sometimes remained permanently mobile. Early Livonian merchants could also be mobile within the area including minor towns and even rural places. Not only the “Germans”, but also people of native origin were involved in these movements. The family networks in particular supported multiple spatial identifications. An economically active person could have many places of identification; moving from one town to another during a lifetime was the rule, not an exception. However, the existing network of family and kinship relations, which provided trustworthy partners in the vast area from Westphalia to Livonia, was probably one of the main factors which made German merchants enjoy an advantage over their Scandinavian and Livonian native counterparts.

WO LAG DIE HEIMAT DES LIVLÄNDISCHEN KAUFMANNS?
FRÜHE STÄDTISCHE MOBILITÄT IM OSTSEERAUM

Abstract

Schlüsselwörter: Hanse, Livland, soziale Beziehungen, Migrationen im Mittelalter

Das mittelalterliche Livland und das dortige städtische Leben entstanden im Lauf des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts als Folge der Eroberung durch einen Kreuzzug. Die städtischen Eliten in Livland kamen vor allem aus Deutschland. Auch eine kleine Zahl von Personen örtlicher Herkunft fand Aufnahme in die sich bildende Kaufmannsschicht. Außer Kaufleuten, die sich dauerhaft in Riga, Reval, Dorpat oder in anderen Städten

der Region ansiedelten, spielten reisende Kaufleute aus dem westlichen Teil des entstehenden Hansegebiets eine wesentliche Rolle im städtischen Leben und sogar in der Stadtverwaltung. Der vorliegende Artikel stützt sich auf die Anthroponymie und die geografische Identifikation der mittelalterlichen Einwohner und argumentiert, dass die Migrationswege sich nicht auf die Einwanderung aus Deutschland nach Livland beschränkten. Die soziale und räumliche Integration dieser Region leitete sich aus verschiedenen Arten des Reisens und der Umsiedlung her: Menschen reisten auch nach Deutschland zurück oder waren gleichzeitig mit mehreren Orten verbunden und blieben manchmal dauerhaft mobil. Die alten livländischen Kaufleute konnten auch innerhalb einer Region mobil sein, wobei kleinere Städte und sogar ländliche Gebiete eingeschlossen waren. Nicht nur „Deutsche“, sondern auch Menschen örtlicher Herkunft waren an solchen Ortswechselln beteiligt. Vor allem Familienbande förderten vielfältige räumliche Identifikationen. Eine im Feld der Wirtschaft aktive Person konnte viele Orte haben, mit denen sie sich identifizierte, und die Übersiedlung von einer Stadt in eine andere im Lauf eines Lebens war die Regel und nicht die Ausnahme. Jedoch war das bestehende Netz von Familien- und Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen, das bewährte Handelspartner in der ausgedehnten Region von Westfalen bis Livland sicherte, wahrscheinlich einer der Hauptfaktoren, der den deutschen Kaufleuten ein Übergewicht gegenüber ihren Konkurrenten skandinavischer und livländischer Herkunft sicherte.



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