

SKETCHES OF A CLERK

Juhan Kreem

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON GERHARD JARITZ

SONDERBAND XVIII

Juhan Kreem

SKETCHES OF A CLERK

Pen-and-Ink Drawings in the Margins
of the Medieval Account Books of Reval (Tallinn)

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Tallinna Linnaarhiiv (Tallinn City Archives), account book Ad 26 (1463-1507), fol. 204r.
Photo: Ervin Sestverk

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Visual Sources

Visual sources have lured historians for a long time. Pictures can tell us something that other sources cannot; it is said that one picture is worth a thousand words. It is, however, also true that pictures do not use words, and, thus, their message is in a different sign system, a different language, if not, as some say, dumb. Scholars are aware of this problem, and a historian can certainly feel the tensions between the verbal and visual ways of expression, when working with (and writing on) visual sources.

The visual has traditionally been the field of research for art historians. The focus of this discipline was originally on masterpieces and their artistic and aesthetic value. Since Aby Warburg and Erwin Panofsky, art history has been moving away from the aesthetic assessment of works towards a wider understanding of the content of pictures.¹ Historians have been approaching the same field with their specific skills and questions.² The result has been a widening of the material; not only “art” and masterpieces are nowadays considered as respectable evidence from the past, but every kind of pictorial material. The interests and methods differ in this field and have also sparked lively debates.³

Drawing in the margins is a widespread phenomenon. Many of us are inclined to draw during a boring lecture or while talking on the telephone. Numerous writers, Alexander Pushkin and Winston Churchill, for example, have scratched in the margins of their manuscripts. Thus, it is no surprise that every archivist or historian working with original textual sources has occasionally come upon different kinds of drawings in the margins of documents or books. Writing and drawing are technically not very far from each other.

The variety of marginal drawings in medieval manuscripts is huge. There are the famous marginal illustrations of Gothic manuscripts⁴ and the images on

¹ See Carlo Ginzburg, “From Aby Warburg to E. H. Gombrich: A Problem of Method,” in *Myths, Emblems, Clues*, ed. idem (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1990), 17-59.

² Ivan Gaskell, “History of Images,” in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 168-192.

³ For recent discussions, see *History and Images. Towards a New Iconology*, ed. Axel Bolvig and Philip Lindley (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003); Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001); *Historische Bildkunde. Probleme, Wege, Beispiele*, ed. Brigitte Tolkemitt and Rainer Wohlfeil, Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 12 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1991); Gerhard Jaritz, *Zwischen Augenblick und Ewigkeit* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1989), 71-93.

⁴ Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

the edge which, as Michael Camille revealed, may have been complicated, perverted commentaries on the content of the text.⁵ On the other end of the spectrum there are doodles, pen tests, sketches or graffiti.⁶ Interest in this kind of visual source is confined by the fact that it is difficult to determine what information the historian could get from them.

It is easy to dismiss marginal sketches as something frivolous. It is true that when using them we are not dealing with the “hard evidence” of traditional historical scholarship. Doodles are ephemeral. Very often, the subject of the drawing is not very clear, and the relation to the text is hard to establish. Nevertheless, pictures in the margins form a kind of evidence of the medieval mind which we can not render from other sources and which, therefore, ought to be taken seriously and analysed critically.

When looking for the documentary value of doodles, their first feature seems to be lack of meaning. Even if they seem to capture a kind of emotion, documented in the moment of drawing, it is hard to pin down what it really was. In cases when the doodle is explicitly bound to the text, historical interpretation may gain a firmer foothold. Nevertheless, the meanings and emotions do not always have to be rational or coherent; even the most frivolous doodles can show us something. At the far end of this line of thought is the hope of the surrealists that automatic drawing can be applied to explore the subconscious. Moving back from this extreme view, it is easy to note that most scribal “art” is not that automatic and is rather strongly dependent on visual conventions, the literary traditions of the scriptoria, the education, individual skills and interests of the scribes. In short, the study of doodles shares difficulties and possibilities with any other field of cultural history.

The following is a case study of the numerous pictures found in the margins of late-medieval account books of Reval (ill. 1). The first goal is to present the corpus of pictures and to analyse the forms, functions, and dynamics of this practice of drawing. Besides particular, unique features of the Reval drawings, I will show the connections of this corpus of pictures with the practices of other North European urban chanceries. Along with the discussion of the pragmatic aspects which characterise the Reval pictures, the question will be raised of the possibilities of using these pictures for reconstructing late medieval urban mentalities.

⁵ Michael Camille, *The Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), 41.

⁶ Robin Carfrae Alston, *Books with Manuscript. A Short Title Catalogue of Books with Manuscript Notes in the British Library including Books with Manuscript Additions, Proof Sheets, Illustration, Corrections* (London: The British Library, 1994).

The Medieval Account Books of Reval

The account books of fifteenth-century Reval are a rich resource for exploring the financial activities of the town.⁷ The treasury, that is, the *Kämmerei*, where two members of the town council were in charge, was the central financial institution of the town. Account books of the treasury are clean copies, written mostly by the town scribes, although traces of other hands are also present occasionally. The text of the account books is arranged chronologically. The entries were usually made on a weekly basis, mostly on Saturdays. The structure of the text for one day tends to start with income, be followed by expenses, and close with loans. The types of entries run from minute amounts like fines or tipping servants to larger summarised figures of, for example, expenses for delegations or building activities. Account books touch upon many aspects of urban life and have been the basis for a variety of studies on architecture,⁸ festivals,⁹ and daily life,¹⁰ and other topics.

Among the medieval records of Reval's town council, the account books of the treasurer form an impressive series.¹¹ The earliest fragments of account

⁷ Reinhard Vogelsang, "Zur Finanzverwaltung im mittelalterlichen Reval," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 20 (1971), 685-708 (hereafter: Vogelsang, "Finanzverwaltung"); Lilian Kotter, *Tallinna rae finantsid 15. sajandil (1433–1507)* [Die Finanzen des Revaler Rates im 15. Jahrhundert (1433–1507)], (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 1999) (hereafter: Kotter, *Tallinna rae finantsid*).

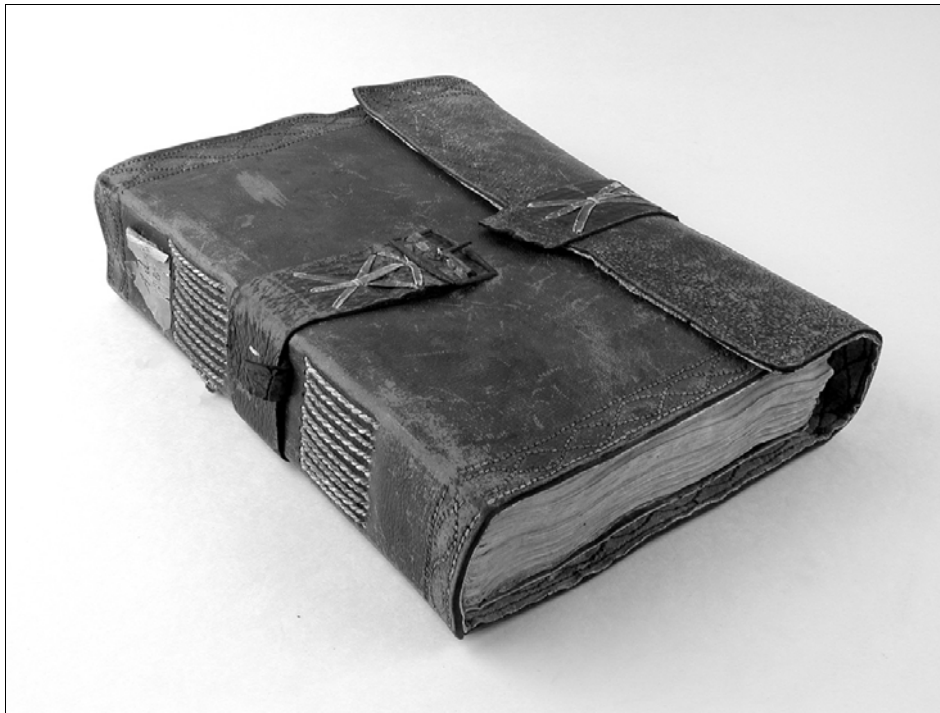
⁸ Rasmus Kangropool, "Rae kiviraidurite-mürseppmeistrite osast Tallinna vanema arhitektuuri kujunemisloos kuni umbes aastani 1650," *Kunstiteadus Kunstikriitika* 5, (Tallinn: 1983), 118-132; Lilian Kotter, "Die Stadtfestungen Revals," in *Städtisches Leben im Baltikum zur Zeit der Hanse*, ed. Norbert Angermann (Lüneburg: Verlag Carl Schirren-Gesellschaft, 2003), 113-124.

⁹ Most recently by Anu Mänd, *Urban Carnival. Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350-1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

¹⁰ Lilian Kotter, "Raekäsitöölised 15.–16. sajandi Tallinnas" [Ratshandwerker in Reval im 15.-16. Jahrhundert], *Vana Tallinn* I (V) (1991), 8–14; Lilian Kotter, "Muusikud Tallinna rae kolmes arveraamatus (1432–1533)" [Musicians in the three accountbooks of Tallinn (1432-1533)], *Vana Tallinn* I (V) (1991), 71-77; Juhan Kreem, "Gäster i Reval under medeltiden. Gåvor och mottagare i stadens räkenskaper" [Guests in Reval in the Middle Ages. Gifts and their recipients in urban accounts], *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 83 (1998), 492-506.

¹¹ On the town books of Reval, see Tapio Salminen, "Bücher, Konzepte und Briefe: Schriftlichkeit in der Kommunikation des Revaler Rates von Stadtschreiber Hermannus bis Joachim Muter (1375–1456)," in *Die Stadt im europäischen Nordosten. Kulturbeziehungen von der Ausbreitung des Lübisches Rechts bis zur Aufklärung*, ed. Robert Schweitzer and

books are preserved from the late fourteenth century.¹² It is suspected that there was another book, now lost, from the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹³ The years from 1432 to 1533 are in three massive volumes, each several hundred pages long (ill. 2-4).¹⁴ Two of these three account books have been edited by Reinhard Vogelsang¹⁵ and preparations for publication of the third are under way. The bindings of the two older books are contemporary with the contents of the text, but it is probable that the books were filled when still in quires. The unbound remains of one more account book, from the sixteenth century, have also survived.¹⁶



Ill. 2: Account book 1432-1463, TLA, Ad 15.

Waltraud Bastman-Bühner (Helsinki and Lübeck: Aue-Stiftung, 2001), 153-168 (hereafter: Salminen, "Bücher").

¹² *Tallinna vanimad arveraamatud 1363-1374. Die Ältesten Kämmereibücher der Stadt Reval*, ed. Otto Greiffenhagen (Tallinn: Revaler Stadtarchiv, 1927); Dieter Heckmann, "Das Revaler Kämmereibuch von 1376 bis 1380," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 41 (1992), 186-246.

¹³ Kotter, *Tallinna rae finantsid*, 15.

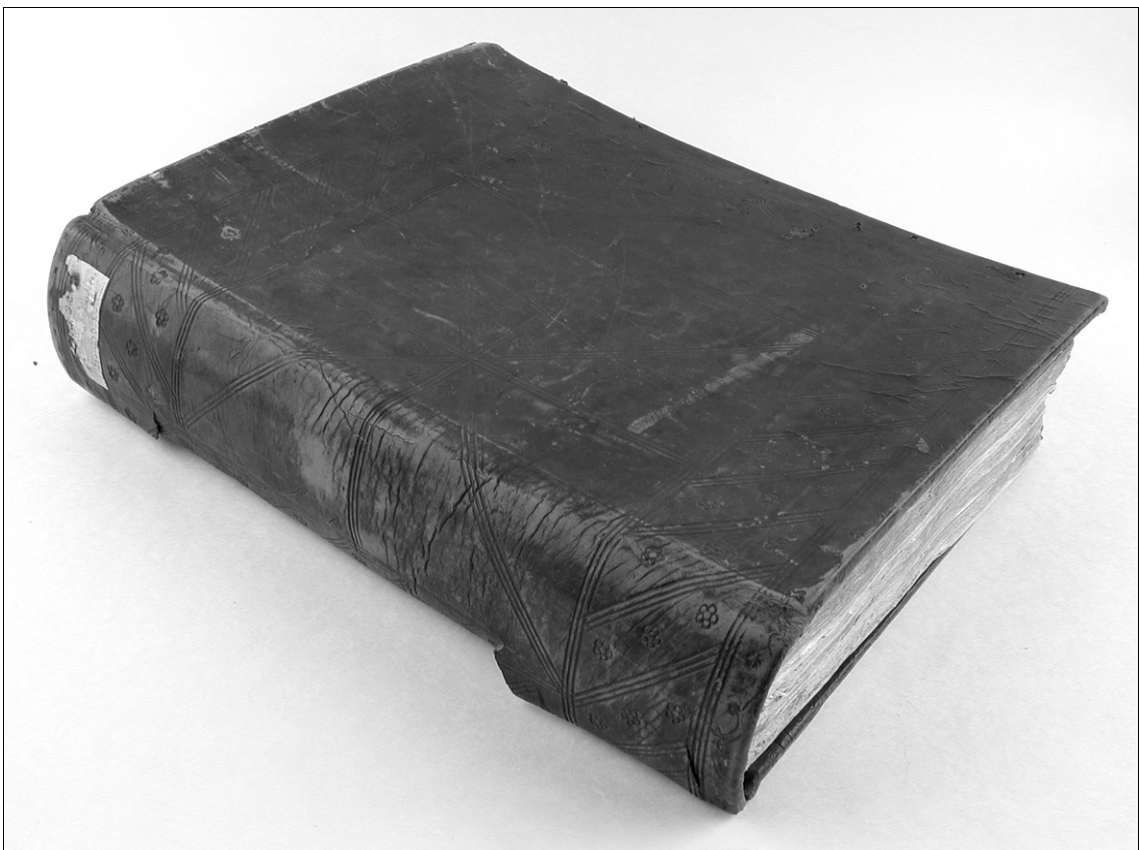
¹⁴ *Tallinna linna arhiivi kataloog. Katalog des Revaler Stadtarchivs von Stadtarchivar Gotthard von Hansen*, ed. Otto Greiffenhagen (Tallinn/Reval: Estländische Druckerei Aktiengesellschaft, 1926): Ad 15 (Kämmerei-Buch 1432-1463), 274 folios, size: 22x29 cm; Ad 26 (Städtische Kämmereirechnungen 1463 Febr. 5-1507), 238 folios, size: 28x 39,5 cm; Ad 32 (Städtische Kämmerei-Rechnungen 1507-1533), 275 folios, size: 28x38 cm.

¹⁵ *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1432-1463*, ed. Reinhard Vogelsang (Cologne: Böhlau 1976) (hereafter: *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1432-1463*); *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1463-1507*, ed. Reinhard Vogelsang (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983). (Henceforth: *Kämmereibuch 1463-1507*.)

¹⁶ *Tallinna Linnaarhiiv* (Tallinn City Archives; hereafter: TLA), Ad 40. Bruchstücke eines Kämmerei-Buches 1519-1581.



Ill. 3: Account book 1463-1507, TLA, Ad 26.



Ill. 4: Account book 1507-1533, TLA, Ad 32.

In spite of their presumed completeness, account books as a source have some serious problems. As a tool for understanding the daily administration of town finances, account books in their preserved form are rather inconvenient. First of all, the chronological entries do not distinguish between different fields of urban activities. This makes it a laborious task to follow the income and expenses in any single field. Furthermore, in calculating the “balance” according to the registered data a serious deficit in the finances of the town has been discovered¹⁷ which is hard for historians to deal with. It is clear that the account books were not kept for recording the balance or for getting an overview of the state of the treasury; the most convenient way to do that would have been a glance into the chest. Calculating the sum of the entries on one page was started in the account books as late as 1509.¹⁸ As there is virtually no sign that the “deficit” was a problem for the town and its council members it must be assumed that some income was not registered in the account books. The same is true for some expenses, for instance, for the mercenaries of the town. It becomes clear that although the most central, the *Kämmereibuch* was not the only financial record in town. Different branches of the municipal economy had relatively independent book-keeping systems.¹⁹

The town scribes who filled the account books used different kinds of preliminary documentation. Several notebooks from the sixteenth century have survived which may have served this purpose.²⁰ Some of the later entries were written on separate leaves,²¹ which would, in the normal course of events, most likely have been destroyed when their contents were written into an account book. Although the account books are sometimes quite detailed, there are entries which indicate the existence of separate records, with the main account book containing only summarised figures. This is, for example, the case for the expenses of the town in the Russo-Livonian War of 1501-1503, which were written down in a separate book, now lost.²² It seems, thus, that the function of account books was the preservation of information without a specific further use, archiving it, so to speak.

Preservation was not the only function of the account books, however, and some accounting was still done on the pages of the books. Although the account books in general do not bear many signs of active use, in some cases it was necessary to find earlier entries, for instance, summarising the expenses in one particular sphere. For this, the scribes used one word in the margins to indi-

¹⁷ Vogelsang, “Finanzverwaltung,” 707-708; Kotter, *Tallinna rae finantsid*, 98-104.

¹⁸ Kotter, *Tallinna rae finantsid*, 12.

¹⁹ Kotter, *Tallinna rae finantsid*, 13. As an example see *Tallinna mündiraamatud/Die Revaler Münzbücher 1416–1526*, ed. Ivar Leimus (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 1999).

²⁰ As examples of these, see TLA, Ad 39, 46, *Kämmereidenkelbücher*.

²¹ TLA, Ba, *Städtische Finanzen*, contains this kind of loose material, but very few from the period of the first account books.

²² *Kämmereibuch 1463-1507*, no. 2643, 24. November 1503: *so dat cleyne bokke beschetliken utwißet*. This book has not been preserved.

cate the type of entry. These words functioned to a certain extent as indices to make the account books more user-friendly. The whole complexity of the use of the margins for indexing could reveal more on the administration of the finances; in this study, however, the main concern is the pictures.

The Scribes

Before turning to the pictures themselves, however, let us briefly introduce the scribes (*schrifer*, *scriptor*), the secretaries of the town council, who were in charge of the town's books. The role and influence of the scribes on how the work in the town chancery was organised has already been noted by researchers.²³ On the one hand, the scribes introduced novelties, reshaped the old town books or started new ones. On the other hand, the town needed continuity in keeping its records and the emerging archives. The scribes were certainly also the persons who helped keep this continuity.

Information is scattered on the scribes employed by the township of Reval.²⁴ The main evidence of their work is preserved in the town's books and other documents, where distinguishing among different handwritings is one of the most important problems. The scribes often used auxiliary help, and members of the town council also wrote in the town's books. Nevertheless, most of the time one may speak of the scribe as the main person in charge, who also took care of the account books.²⁵

The first of the scribes whose work in Reval is relevant here was Joachim Muter,²⁶ a notary from Lübeck, who made a contract with the town and arrived there in 1427. Although his successor was appointed in 1456, Muter remained active as an auxiliary force in the chancery and one also finds his handwriting later in the account books. He lived at least until 1462. The beautiful handwrit-

²³ See Salminen, "Bücher," passim; Tapio Salminen, "The Earliest Missives and Missive-books of the Council of Reval – Some Remarks on the Management of Information in Fourteenth-Century Town Administration," in *Verwaltung und Schriftlichkeit in den Hansestädten*, ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky (Trier: Porta-Alba-Verlag, 2006), 123-134; Tiina Kala, "Linnakirjutaja Johannes tor Hove ja hiliskeskaegse Tallinna asjaajamine" [The town scribe Johannes tor Hove and record-keeping in medieval Tallinn], *Vana Tallinn* 14 (20) (2005), 108-128 (hereafter: Kala, "Linnakirjutaja Johannes tor Hove").

²⁴ For the biographies of the scribes see Leonid Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert," Separatabdruck aus dem *Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik* 1900, 1901, 1902 (1904), 1-160; idem, "Dritter Nachtrag," *ibidem* 1911/1912 (1913), 1-432, with a list of scribes, 347-348 (hereafter: Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit"). A revised list by Paul Johansen is available in the Lübeck City Archives, Stadtarchiv Lübeck, Depositorium Johansen, no. 35. fol. 11-14. The most recent state of research is reflected in Tiina Kala, "Reinold Korner, raekirjutaja" [Reinold Korner, the scribe], in *Kümme keskaegset tallinlast* [Ten medieval Revalians], (Tallinn: Varrak, 2006), 121-149, here 127-130 (hereafter: Kala, "Reinold Korner").

²⁵ For the activities of the scribes in the account book, see *Kämmereibuch 1432-1463*, introduction, 3-4; *Kämmereibuch 1463-1507*, introduction, 4-5.

²⁶ Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit," 121, "Dritter Nachtrag," 146.

ing of the next scribe, Reinold Storning,²⁷ first appears in the account books in 1456. Storning has been identified as a cleric from the Utrecht diocese, and, like Muter, he was also a notary.²⁸ In 1455, in Copenhagen, Storning was said to be a secretary to the Livonian master of the Teutonic Order;²⁹ whether he was also a member of the Order, however, is not clear.

Storning and Muter filled the first volume of the account books. Storning also started the next one, but died in the same year, 1463. His successor was Johann tor Hove, whose background is largely unknown.³⁰ There were other tor Hoves in Reval,³¹ but although this is a relatively widespread name, the probability of tor Hove being of local origin is rather small. In the second half of the 1470s some irregularities appeared in the account books. Between December 21, 1476, and April 26, 1477, one finds a gap in the entries.³² In addition, most likely Johann tor Hove was ill for some time because his handwriting keeps disappearing and reappearing, to vanish completely in 1476. In the years 1477 and 1478 the book was kept by a secretary named Paul Moller.³³ Moller had a master's degree and may be traced in Livonia as early as 1470 as a cleric in the bishoprics of Dorpat and Ösel-Wiek. Later, he can be identified as a cleric from the bishopric of Verden in Germany. During his employment in Reval he also represented the town's causes in Lübeck and at the imperial court.³⁴ His travels were probably the reason that his handwriting appears in the account book on only some pages (fol. 75r-82v). After leaving Reval, Moller again served the bishops of Ösel-Wiek and is mentioned in 1488 as a canon in Ösel.

When Master Borchard Kenappel³⁵ entered the scribe's office of Reval in 1478 the disorderly period came to an end. Kenappel also came from the diocese of Verden and was scribe until 1487. After that year he remained in Reval, helped his successors in the town's scriptorium, and held many different clerical

²⁷ Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit," 166. In 1437, a certain Hans Storing is mentioned as a burgher of Reval; see *Tallinna Kodanikkude raamat 1409-1624, Das Revaler Bürgerbuch 1409-1624*, ed. Otto Greiffenhagen (Tallinn: Tallinna Eesti Kirjastus Ühisus, 1932), 15 (hereafter: *Tallinna Kodanikkude raamat*).

²⁸ *Liv-, est- und curländisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Friedrich Georg von Bunge et al. (Reval, Riga, and Moscow, 1853-1914) (hereafter: *LECUB*), vol. 11, no. 275.

²⁹ *LECUB*, vol. 11, no. 461.

³⁰ On him, see Kala, "Linnakirjutaja Johannes tor Hove."

³¹ See *Tallinna Kodanikkude raamat*, register: *van der Houe, Houwe*.

³² On this, see Kotter, *Tallinna rae finantsid*, 21.

³³ Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit," 119; "Dritter Nachtrag," 143. *Kämmereibuch 1463-1507*, Introduction, 5.

³⁴ After his mission in January, 1480, the town presented him with 90 marks (*Kämmereibuch 1463-1507*, no. 1704). In May, he received another 20 Rhine Goldens (ibidem, no. 1715). See also *Katalog des Revaler Stadtarchivs*, ed. Gotthard von Hansen (Reval, 1896), 320, 322.

³⁵ Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit," 89; "Dritter Nachtrag," 99.

offices in town. He died in 1514.³⁶ From 1487, Christian Czernekow³⁷ from Danzig was employed in Reval as a scribe. He had studied and received a master's degree in Rostock; besides, in the sources, he is also called a cleric from Schwerin. In Reval he was, as many of his predecessors and successors, active as a notary and served at several altars. As a scribe, he worked in Reval until 1507, and again briefly in 1512-1513. In 1513 he was elected bishop of Reval, but died the following year.

Reinold Korner³⁸ from Lübeck was employed by Reval in 1507. He also had university training. There are some signs that Korner organised the books of the town and he is also the person who started the next volume of the account books in 1507. In 1512, Korner fell ill and died; then the work in the scriptorium was briefly kept up by members of the town council: Hans Rotgers, and the former scribe Christian Czernekow.³⁹ A new scribe, Otto Manow, licentiate of canon law,⁴⁰ arrived in Reval in 1513. He had previously been a notary in Riga. Manow also took over some services at the altars which had been held earlier by Borchard Kenappel; beyond that, he also had some income from the diocese of Ösel-Wiek.⁴¹ In 1520, Manow left his job for the township of Reval in discord and assumed a position as an official of the bishop of Reval, responsible for legal matters. Forced to leave this office, probably by the vassals of Harrien and Wirland and the town of Reval,⁴² Manow left Livonia. Years later, he quarrelled with Reval in his position as a scribe and canon of Kolberg in Pomerania.⁴³ Manow was followed by Marcus Tirbach⁴⁴ from Danzig, who had studied in Wittenberg and received a bachelor's degree there. In Livonia, he had already been a secretary of the bishop of Ösel-Wiek. Tirbach remained in the service of Reval until 1535.

This short survey of the background of Reval's town scribes reveals some common features. They mostly originated from abroad. Even when, in some cases, Reval family connections may be suspected, the education of these men happened elsewhere. Connections of the scribes may be traced to the bishoprics of Lübeck, Danzig, Verden, Schwerin, and Utrecht, an area that covered the Hanseatic northern German region. The scribes had at least some university training and many of them were also clerics. Their mobility is a difficult issue.

³⁶ According to the account book of the St. Nicholas Church, he was buried in 1514 (Tallinn City Archives, *Die Gemeinde der Revaler St. Nikolai-Kirche*, coll. 31, no. 216, fol. 104r, 236r. I am grateful to Tiina Kala for drawing my attention to this source.

³⁷ Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit," 100-101, "Dritter Nachtrag," 117-118.

³⁸ Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit," 95. "Dritter Nachtrag," 108. On him, see also Kala, "Reinold Korner."

³⁹ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 41r, ff.

⁴⁰ Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit," 112, "Dritter Nachtrag," 131-132.

⁴¹ Arbusow, "Dritter Nachtrag," 131-132.

⁴² On the escalation of these problems, see Leonid Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est-, und Kurland* (Leipzig and Riga: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1919), 201 ff.

⁴³ Arbusow, "Dritter Nachtrag," 131-132.

⁴⁴ Arbusow, "Livlands Geistlichkeit," 175, "Dritter Nachtrag," 215.

Many of them remained in Reval after their time as scribes, many others even died in office. The position of a scribe was most likely not the very first step in their careers and for some of them it was also not the last.

The Pictures

The margins of the three account books from the years 1432 to 1533 contain about 400 pictures which are contemporary to the entries themselves. In almost all cases a direct connection between the text and the picture can be established, sometimes stressed by a connecting line. In some cases, the ink or feather of the picture and the text seem to differ, but it is safe to assume that even when the pictures had not been drawn on the same day as the text entry was written, they were done when the entry was still topical. Most of the pictures do not cause problems of attribution. In the case of repeated pictures it can be shown that the handwriting in the account book changes at the same time as the style of pictures, that is, the text and the picture were both done by the same author.

There is a dynamic in the density of pictures as well as in their degree of accuracy. For two short periods (1472-1477 and 1501-1507), the pictures are conspicuously absent. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the number of pictures clearly decreases, with the last one close to an entry from the year 1521.⁴⁵ We can, therefore, say that the practice of drawing in the account books ceased at the beginning of the 1520s. When the practice began is hard to determine clearly because the account book which starts in 1432 contains pictures from the beginning onwards. In other words, drawing in the account books was a tradition that was carried on at least for 90 years. Although there are occasionally pictures in other town books of Reval contemporary to the account books of the treasurer, they were never executed with the same consistency as in the account books. This allows us to speak of these pictures as a tradition specific to this particular series of books of Reval's administration.

One is tempted to treat the pictures as a corpus. Looking closer, one finds, however, dynamics and differences. There are clearly pictures which are serial and depict one and the same object repeatedly. There are pictures which can be somehow grouped by the closeness of the subject or motif and then there are pictures which appear in the account books only once.

Horseshoes

More than half of the total number of pictures depict a horseshoe (used 226 times) (ill. 5). These simple pictograms stand near the entries that refer to the town's payments for the work of a blacksmith (*grofsmit*). Sometimes it is specified that the smith was shoeing horses, but mostly the nature of the work is not

⁴⁵ There are two exceptions: one picture of a horse on the notepad bound into the account book in 1529 and one picture from the year 1552, which is from the remains of the following account book.

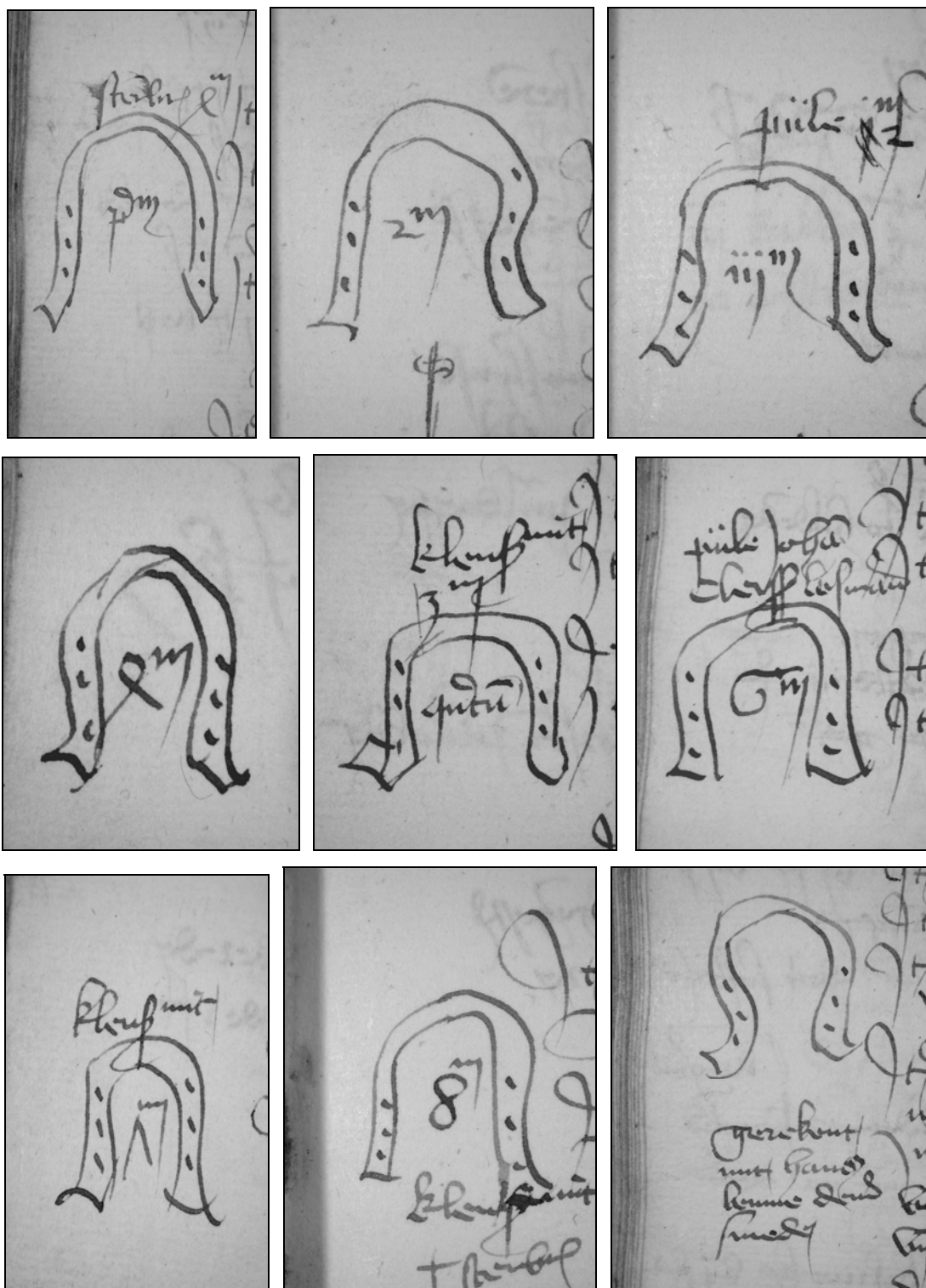
mentioned. The persons receiving the money were in permanent service to the town, a certain Gotschalck until the year 1449, Hans Benne from 1449 to 1456, Jacob Ronnenborch from 1458 to 1467, and others. During some shorter periods the business of the town smith was carried on by the widow of the late smith (Bennesche 1456-1458, Ronnenburg 1467).



Ill. 5: Horseshoe, Joachim Muter, TLA, Ad 15, fol 1v.

Two types of entries concerned the blacksmith; the first were those based on small bills (10-20 marks) presented by the smith, and then were those in which transactions over a longer period were summed up together. In the case of the latter, the scribe had to determine from earlier entries how much the smith had already been paid by the town in order to pay off the rest. During the years 1454 to 1456, the horseshoes are even marked with numbers and below the last of the horseshoes there is a text about closing the bill and payment (*abgereknet*) (ill. 6).⁴⁶ Settling the bills was done once a year, but there seems to have been no regularity about the day when it was done. Looking at the sense of the pictograms, we can clearly speak of a function of the pictures in book-keeping; they summed up the expenses for the blacksmith. One has to admit, however, that this regularity is not absolute; there are some entries for the smith which do not have a pictogram near them.

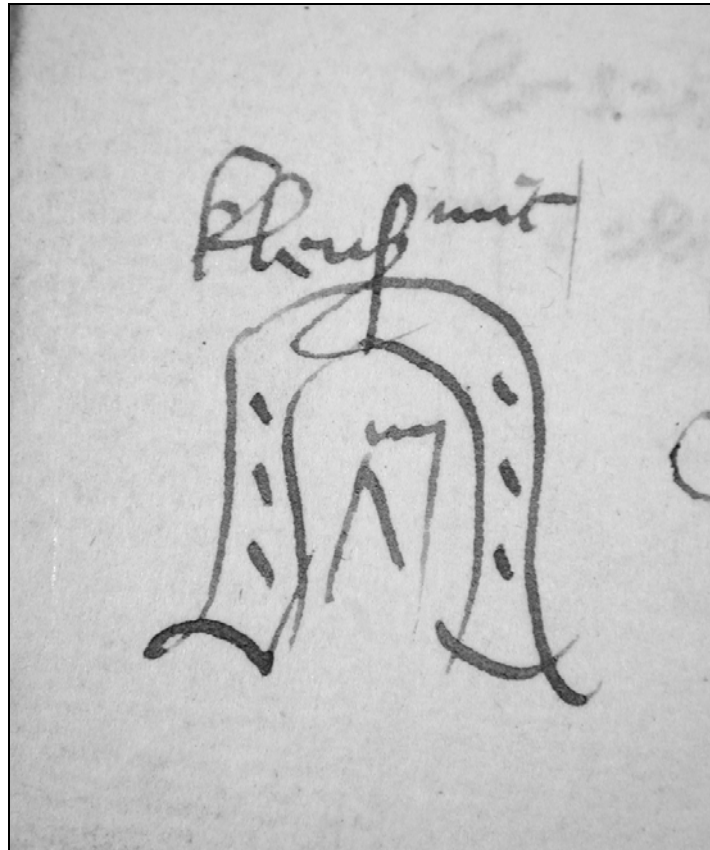
⁴⁶ E. g., TLA, Ad 15, fol. 190v, 191r, 193v, 194v, 195v, 196v, 198r, 201v.



Ill. 6: Numbered horseshoes, Joachim Muter, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 190v, 191r, 193v, 194v, 195v, 196v, 198r, 201v, 203r.

The scribes had different approaches to the horseshoes. Joachim Muter was the scribe who used them from the very beginning of the first book. All together, most of the horseshoes are to be found before the 1470s, that is, when Muter and his immediate successors, Reinold Storning and Johann tor Hove,

were in charge. While the horseshoes of Muter and Storning (ill. 7)⁴⁷ are uniform and easy to distinguish, the first three horseshoes from the time of Johann tor Hove differ from each other.⁴⁸ The handwriting of the text is attributed to tor Hove, thus it is possible that he was experimenting in his search for the most convenient type, the last of the three pictures then being the type of horseshoe that he used until the end of his office (ill. 8).⁴⁹ It is, of course, also possible that these varying horseshoes were drawn by someone else.



Ill. 7: Horseshoe, Reinold Storning, Ad 15, fol. 219r.

The system of summarising with the help of the horseshoes that was used with some variations by Muter, Storning, and tor Hove most likely decayed after them. Horseshoes became rarer. Borhard Kenappel even had technical difficulties in drawing them (ill. 9).⁵⁰ Compared with the elegant horseshoes of Reinold Storning, Kenappel's look clumsy. Once, in 1481, Kenappel drew the horseshoe in the wrong place, misreading the cutting of hay (*houschlag*) for the shoeing of horses (*hoffschlach*). When the mistake was discovered, the picture was crossed out (ill. 10).⁵¹ Christian Czernekow, the last scribe to draw horseshoes (ill. 11),

⁴⁷ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 219r.

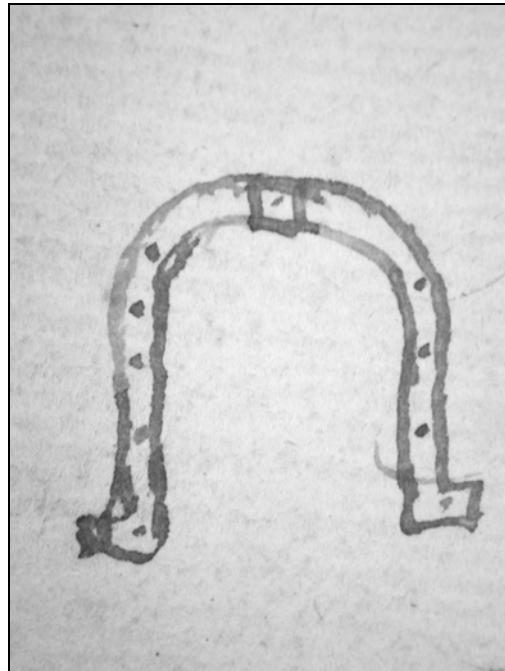
⁴⁸ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 2r, 3v, 4r.

⁴⁹ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 4v.

⁵⁰ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 94r.

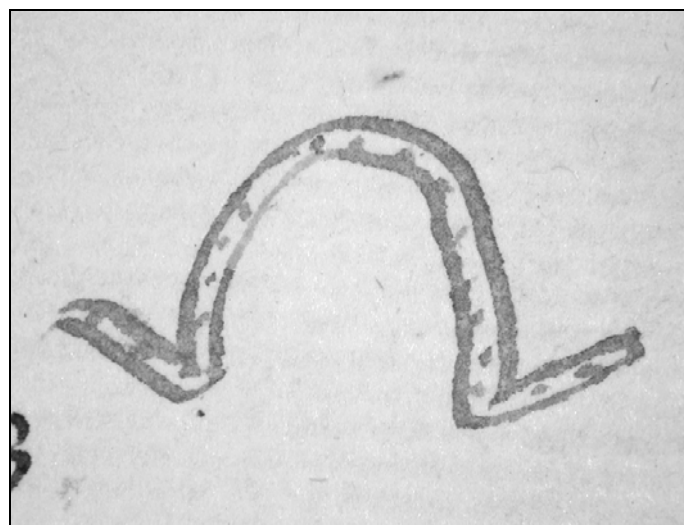
⁵¹ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 99r.

also drew one of them on the wrong place.⁵² The horseshoe pictogram disappeared from the account books after 1498.



Ill. 8: Horseshoe, Johann Tor Hove, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 4v.

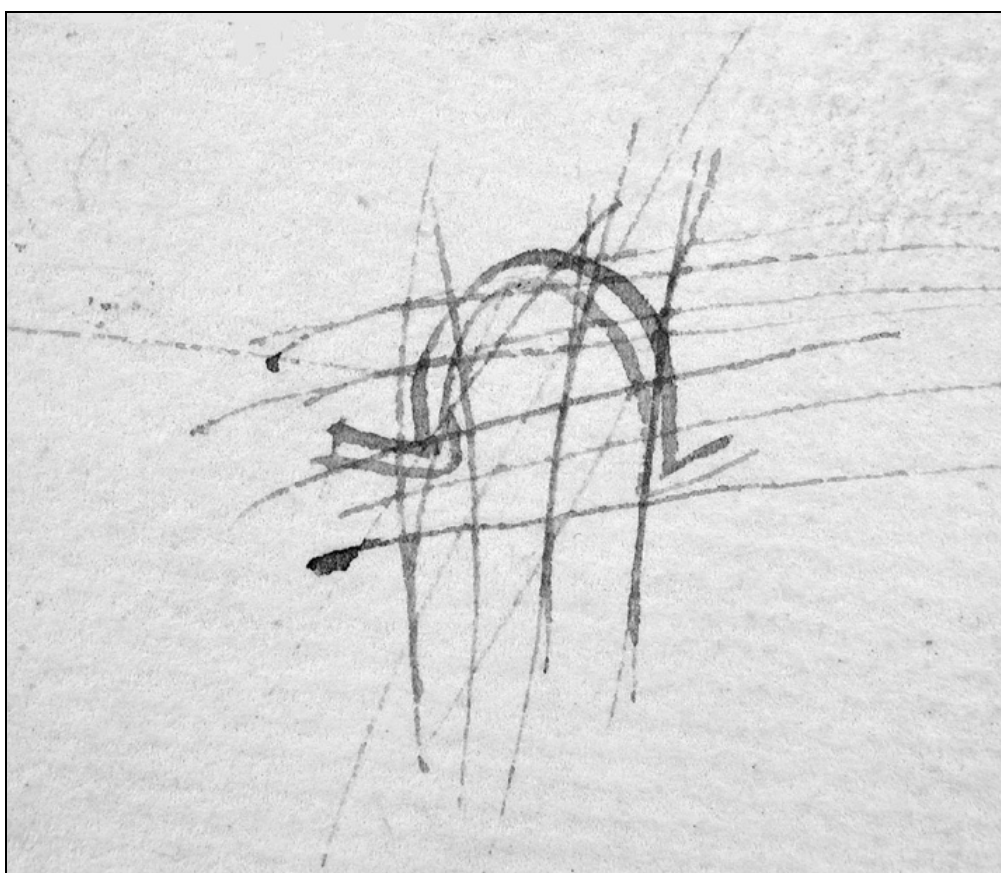
Why the smith, out of all artisans in the service of the town council, was marked in this way is difficult to say. It is possible that he caught the eye because of the relatively high circulation of money through his hands, but even when the money paid for the smith was sometimes hundreds of marks, other larger expenses were not marked with pictures. Of course, a horseshoe is easy to draw, and this could have played a part in the choice of the picture. On the other hand, some scribes clearly had difficulties in drawing them.



Ill. 9: Horseshoe, Borchard Kenappel, Ad 26, fol. 94r.

⁵² TLA, Ad 26, fol. 191r.

Among the artisans of the town, the smith belonged to the higher circles when looking at his regular income and donations of cloth. The mason, carpenter, brick maker, cook, and musicians also belonged to the same circle.⁵³ One is, thus, tempted to speculate even further. Although nothing in the source itself supports these speculations, maybe something in the work of the smith was regarded as special, as it is, after all, the oldest specialised handicraft. This is supported by the fact that for a short period in the 1460s, when Johann tor Hove was in office, another smith, the whitesmith (*klensmit*),⁵⁴ also received a small pictogram of a hammer near the entries concerning him (ill. 12).⁵⁵ Finally, horseshoes were regarded as objects bringing luck and this could have made them a relevant sign to be used in account books.



Ill 10: Crossed horseshoe TLA, Ad 26, fol. 99r.

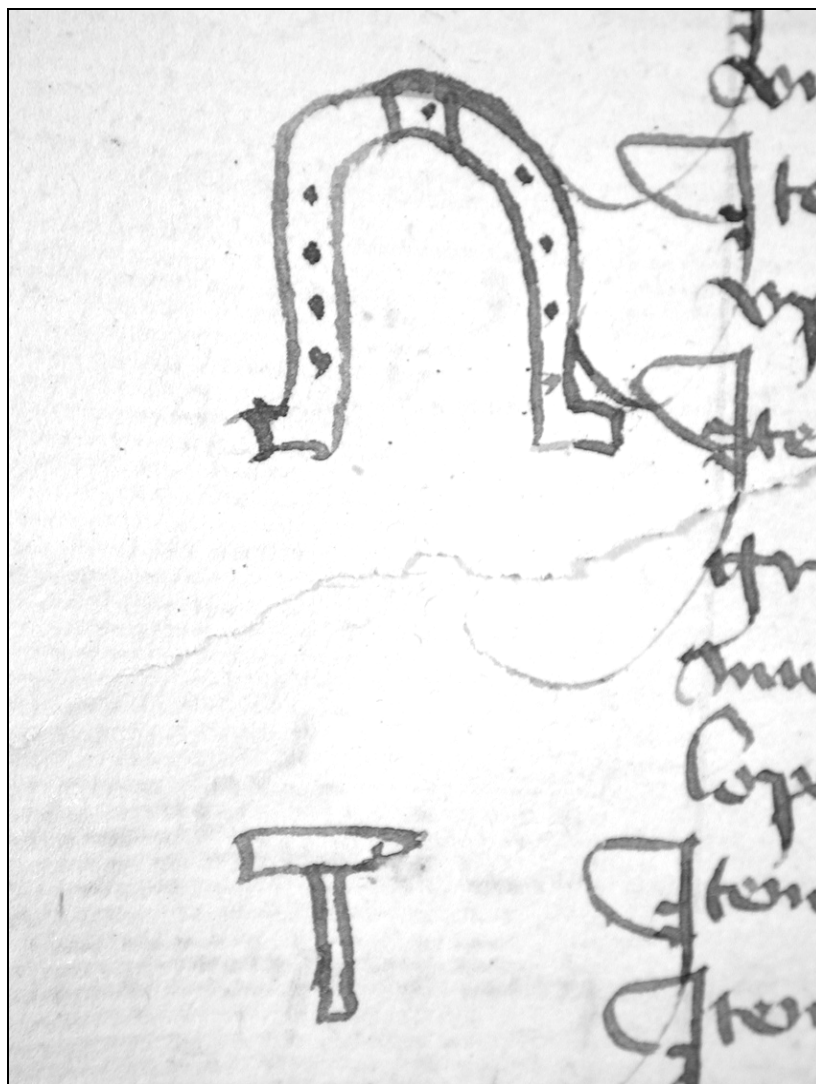
⁵³ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 275v.

⁵⁴ On the smiths in Reval, see also: Valli Konsap, *Dekoratiivne sepis Tallinna arhitektuuris XVI-XVIII sajandil* [Dekorative Schmiedearbeit in der Architektur Tallinns, Zusammenfassung], (Tallinn: Kunst, 1971).

⁵⁵ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 6r, 7r, 9v, 14v, 15v, 23r.



Ill. 11: Horseshoe, Christian Czernekow, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 160r.

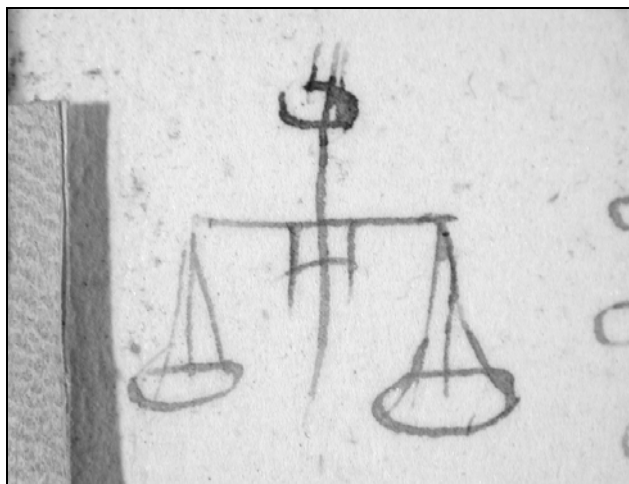


Ill. 12: Hammer of the whitesmith, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 6r.

Scales

Another pictogram used frequently (49 times) is scales (ill. 13). In contrast to the horseshoe, which marked expenses, scales marked the income of the town, based on the scales of the town where goods taxed in Reval were weighed. In the case of the pictogram of the scales, one cannot speak of an aid to summarising the entries, although it represents a bookmark used relatively consistently.

When we look at the density of the pictures, most of the scales were drawn before 1466, for the most part by Joachim Muter. The scales of Muter vary in shape and are sometimes very sketchy.⁵⁶ In some cases, this led to such simplification that Muter drew technically absurd scales, which then demanded a clarifying text below them to recognise what the object was (ill. 14).⁵⁷ Reinold Storning (ill. 15) simplified the figure of the scales and drew them less often than Muter.⁵⁸ Johann tor Hove drew only two scales, which look cumbersome (ill. 16).⁵⁹ Tor Hove occasionally wrote the word *wage* (scales) in the margins with a pointing finger (ill. 17),⁶⁰ which indicates that in his time it was still sometimes necessary to mark the entry of the scales. Between 1466 and 1509 no scales were depicted in the account books. When they reappeared in the time of Reinold Korner (ill. 18) they were no longer simplified pictograms as in the times of Muter, but were rather carefully finalised pictures.⁶¹ The successors of Korner, Otto Manow (ill. 19)⁶² and Marcus Tirbach (ill. 20),⁶³ also drew quite a few scales which resemble the earlier pictograms in their schematic outlines.



Ill. 13: Scales, Joachim Muter, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 14r.

⁵⁶ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 14r.

⁵⁷ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 90r.

⁵⁸ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 220v.

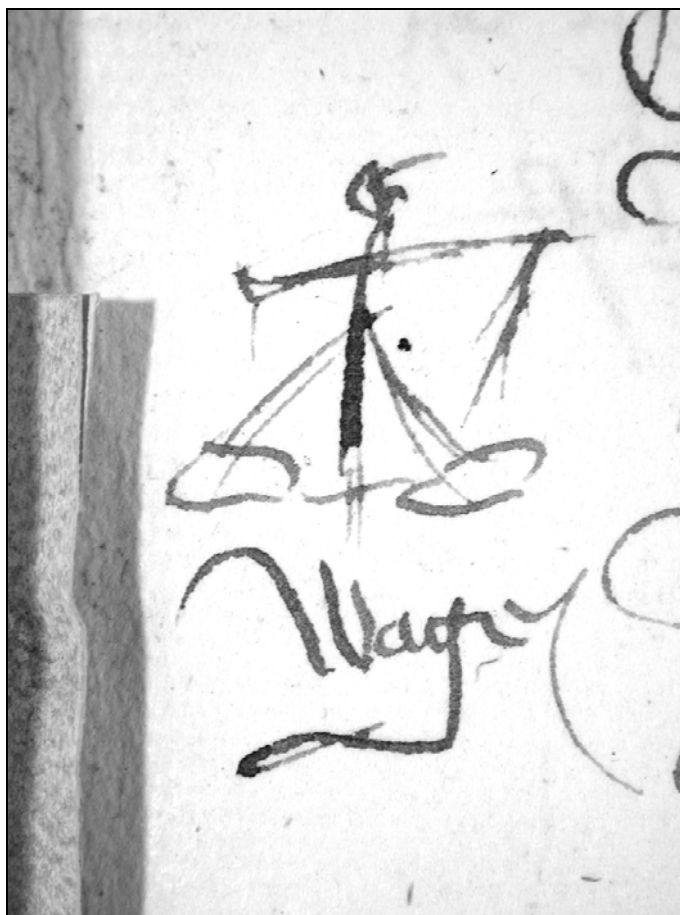
⁵⁹ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 6v.

⁶⁰ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 41r, also fol. 35v.

⁶¹ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 16v, 25v.

⁶² TLA, Ad 32, fol. 57r.

⁶³ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 130v.



Ill.. 14: Scales (with text), Joachim Muter, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 90r.

Why, then, did the town scribes use this kind of bookmark? Although the sums of money coming from the scales were in hundreds of marks, out of all the income of the town that from the scales only formed, according to Lilian Kotter, a modest 5.8%.⁶⁴ One of the possible explanations could be that the scribes needed a bookmark because this income had to be divided with the overlord of Reval, at that time the Teutonic Order.

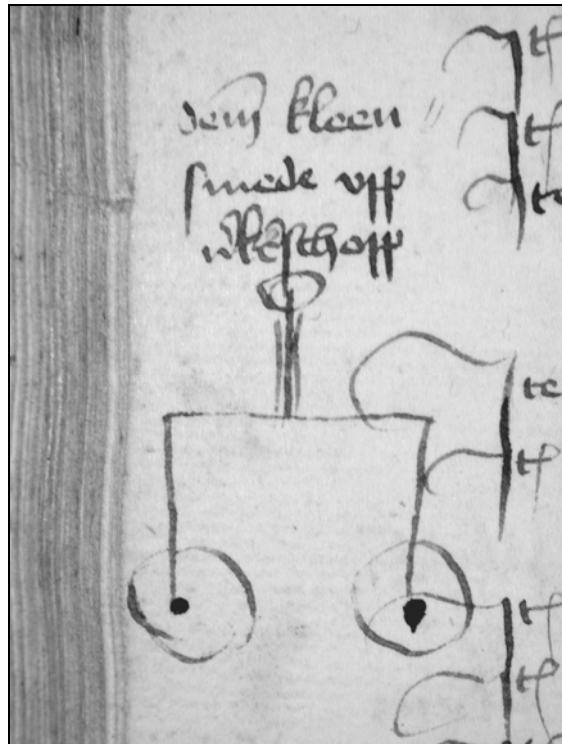
Here, again, this explanation does not have to be exclusive. Town scales were the place where transit trade, the main occupation of the Reval elite, passed. It could be that the scales pictogram itself was regarded as important. This is supported by the fact that the pictogram is once, on October 18, 1460, used not to reflect the income but the expenses of the town. This happened when Reval supported the reconstruction of the scales in Narva after a fire there.⁶⁵ A unique picture in a later account book, in 1554, is also connected with the building expenses of new scales in Reval.⁶⁶ One also cannot forget that the scales, an attribute of *Justicia*, were one of the most widespread signs among the

⁶⁴ See Kotter, *Tallinna rae finantsid*, 33-35, 71-72.

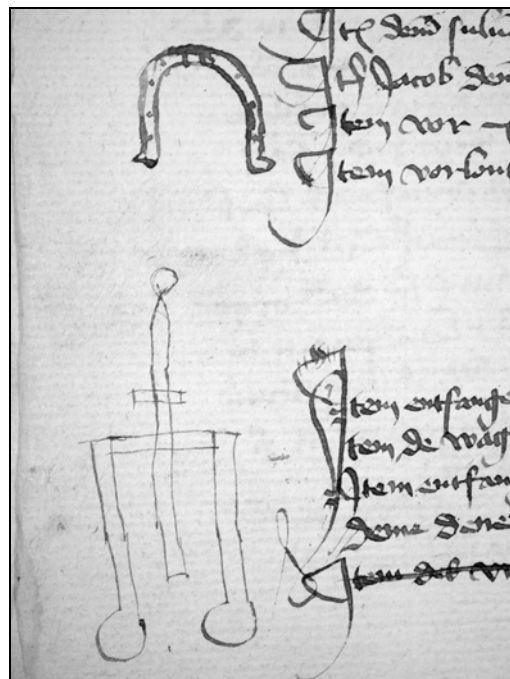
⁶⁵ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 245v. See also Arnold Süvalep, *Narva ajalugu* [History of Narva], (Narva: 1936), 77, 290-292.

⁶⁶ TLA, Ad 40, fol. 16v.

iconographic symbols used by town councils.⁶⁷ But to move away from speculation, one has to be aware that the text of the account book referred to actual weighing, not to some metaphorical meaning.

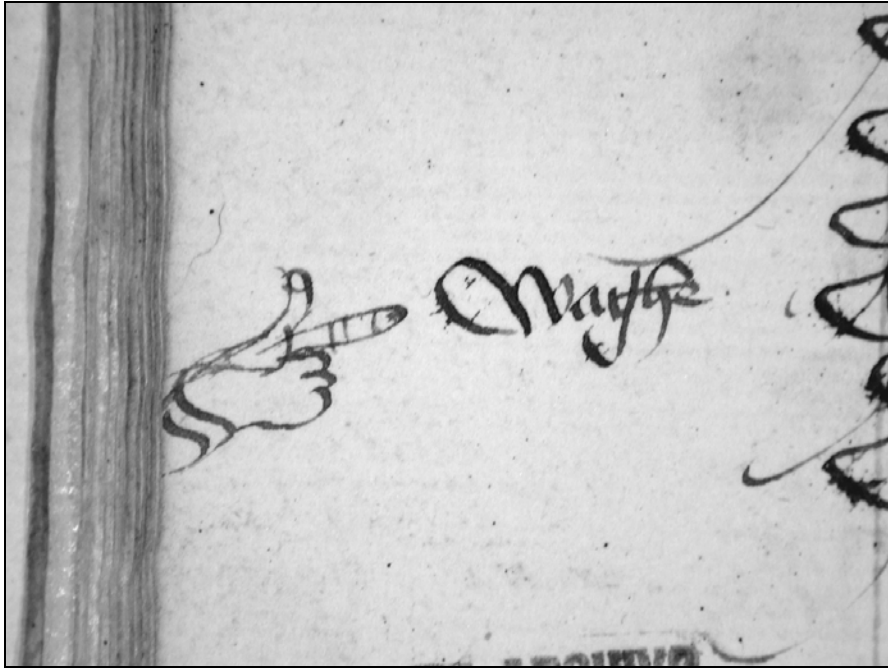


Ill. 15: Scales, Reinold Storning, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 220v.

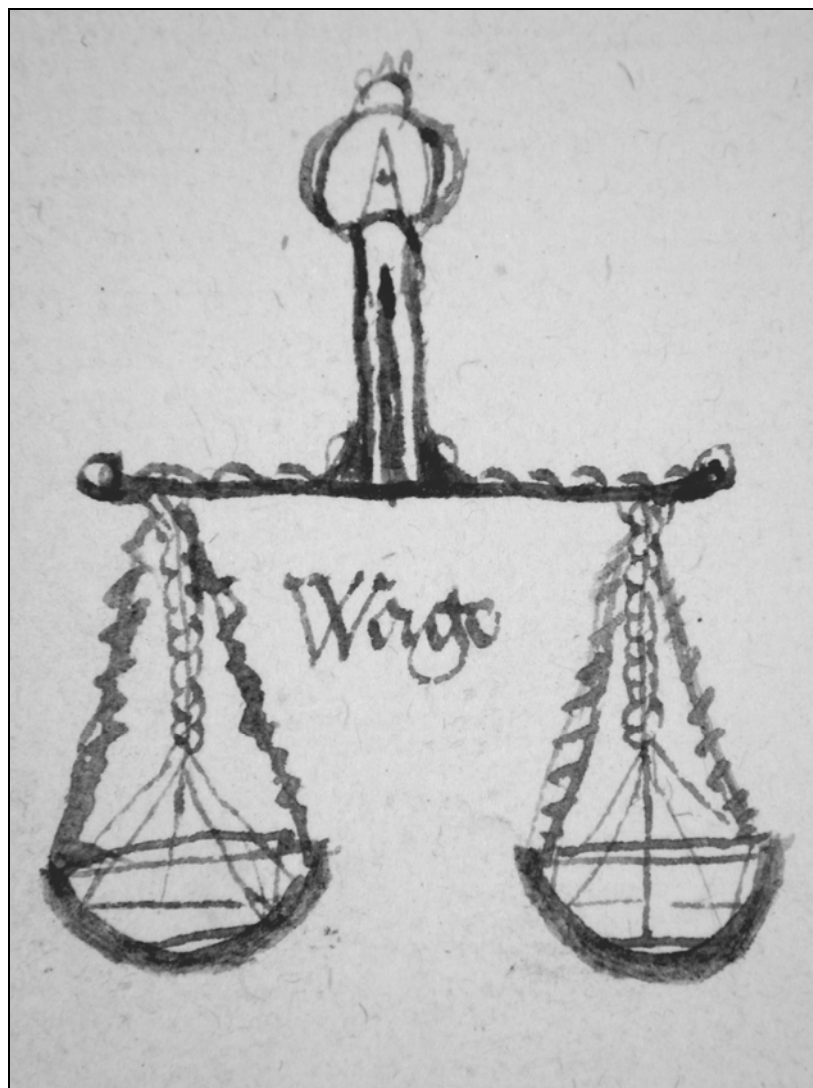


Ill. 16: Scales, Johann tor Hove, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 6v.

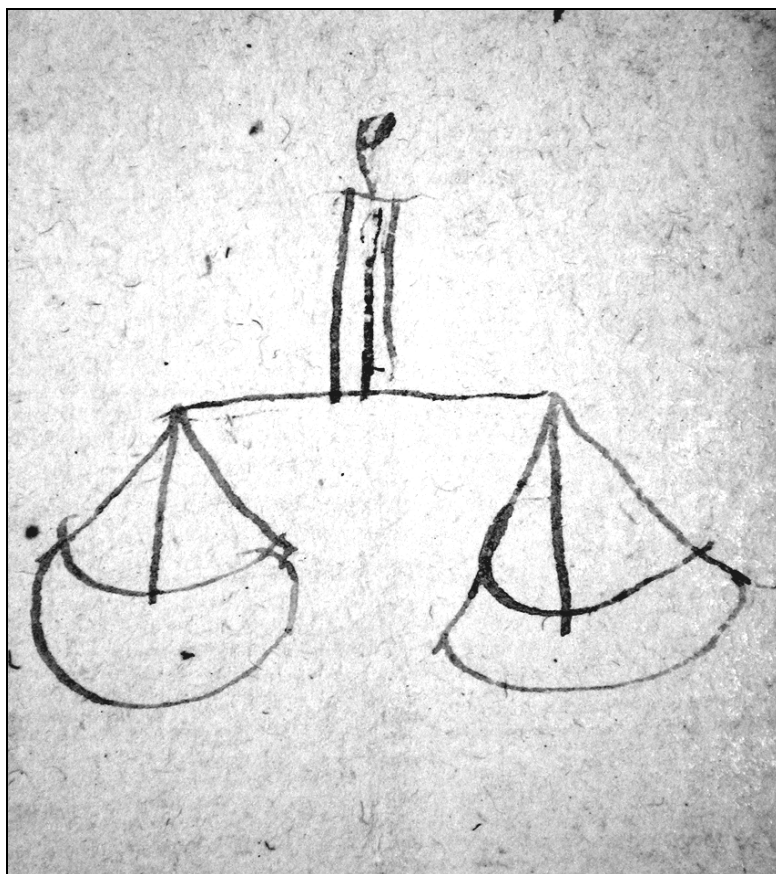
⁶⁷ For seventeenth-century examples from Reval, see: Pia Ehasalu, “*Exempla docent* ehk mõnda Tallinna raesaali pildiprogrammist ja Rootsiaegsetest portreedest” [Exempla docent oder etwas über das Bilderprogramm und die Schwedenzeitlichen Porträts im Revaler Rathaus], *Kunstiteaduslikke uurimusi* 11 (Tallinn: 2002), 165-211, here 173.



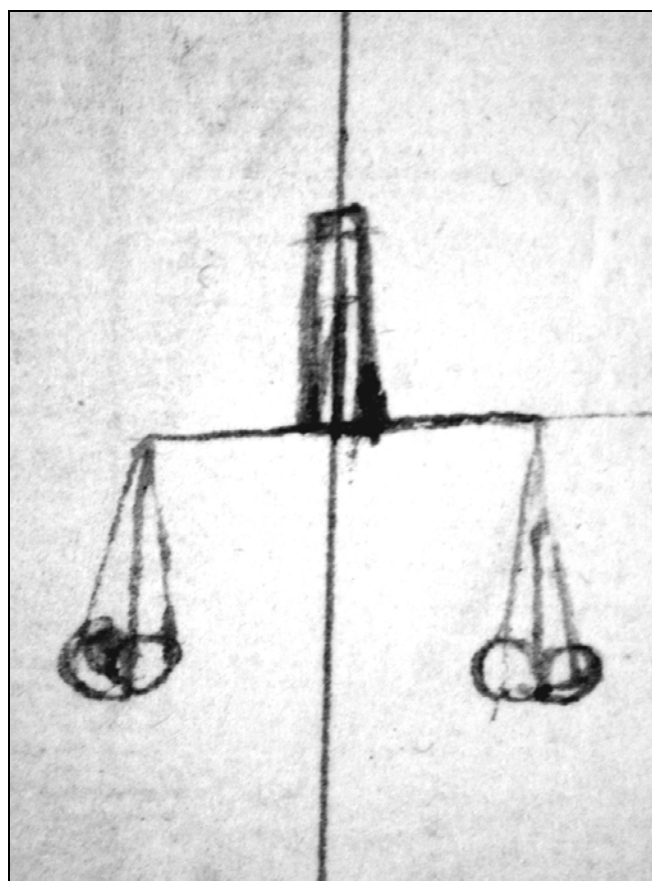
Ill. 17: Scales (text with finger), Johann tor Hove, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 35v.



Ill. 18: Scales, Reinold Korner, TLA, Ad 32, 25v.



Ill. 19: Scales, Otto Manow, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 57r.



Ill. 20: Scales, Marcus Tirbach, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 130v.

Hands

In contrast to the scales and the horseshoe, the third of the repeated pictures, the pointing hand or index finger (38 times), belonged to the most widespread repertoire of scriptoria around Europe. It is the most universal *nota bene* sign, and appears in very different manuscripts. It was used frequently in one of the Reval codices of Lübeck Town Law.⁶⁸ In the account book, the hand was used in different contexts and with different functions. Firstly, it was used to mark entries which one needed to find later. The hand is, for instance, depicted near the *pro memoria* referring to the salaries of the town servants, written on the back cover of the first of the account books (ill. 21).⁶⁹ As late as 1508, the scribe marked the donation of cloth to the servants in a similar way in the main text of the account book (ill. 22).⁷⁰

The pointing hand was also used to single out events of political importance. For example, when the town council spent altogether 1085 Riga marks, half a *ferding*, and 4 shillings on sending its envoys to Prussia, the entry is marked.⁷¹ This remarkable sum of money was spent by Johann Velthusen and Johan van Richen, members of Reval's town council who were trying to mediate the conflict between Prussian estates and the Teutonic Order which had led to war known in Prussian history as the Thirteen Years War (1453-1466).⁷²

One also finds the hand near entries which refer to important guests in Reval. When, for example, in 1509 the officials of the Teutonic Order from Jerwen, Pernau, and Wesenberg visited Reval to negotiate the town's conflict with the vassals Hermann Soye and Hans Rosen,⁷³ an index finger in the account book draws attention to the presents made to the guests.⁷⁴ In 1519, the hand, together with a crown, is to be found near the entry which tells about the gunpowder sent to the master of the Danish royal ship "Maria" (see below, ill. 30).⁷⁵ This ship was driven to Reval by a storm and the citizens were asked to help in its repair.⁷⁶ Despite of the fact that the relations of Reval with the Danes were tense because of the dispute over the dissolution of the union of Nordic monar-

⁶⁸ TLA, Cm 19.

⁶⁹ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 275v.

⁷⁰ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 14r.

⁷¹ TLA, Ad 26. fol. 10r, fol. 12r.

⁷² Juhan Kreem, *The Town and its Lord. Reval and the Teutonic Order (in the Fifteenth Century)*, (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2002), 158.

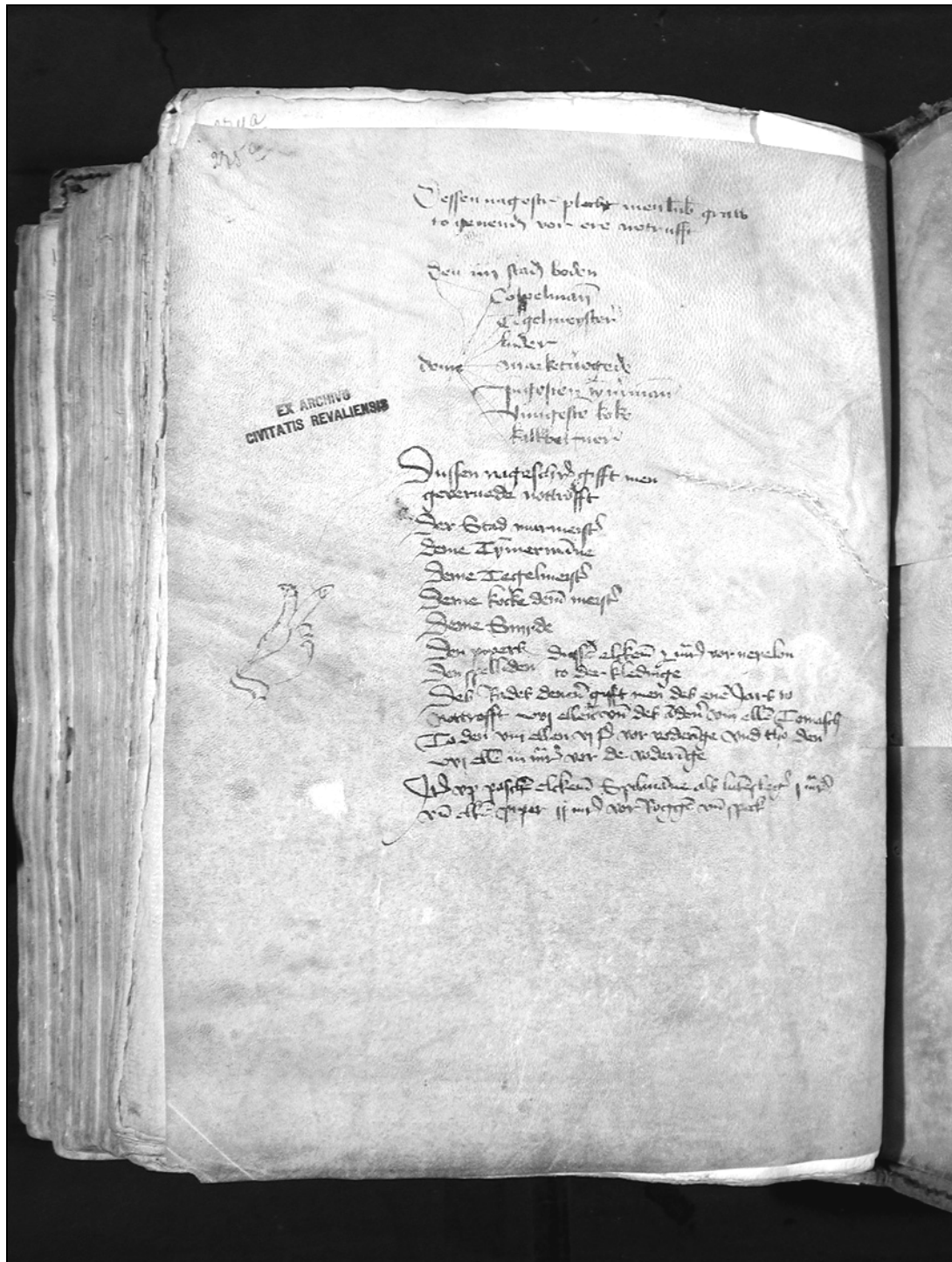
⁷³ *Est- und Livländische Brieflade. Eine Sammlung von Urkunden zur Adels- und Gütergeschichte Est- und Livlands*, ed. Friedrich Georg von Bunge and Robert von Toll (Reval: Kluge und Ström, 1856), vol 1, no. 733 (239).

⁷⁴ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 19r.

⁷⁵ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 117v.

⁷⁶ The tribulations of the ship are described in a letter written in Reval by the masters of the ship and sent to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, October 6, 1518. (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, XX. HA Hist. Staatsarchiv Königsberg, Ordensbriefarchiv, no. 22136.)

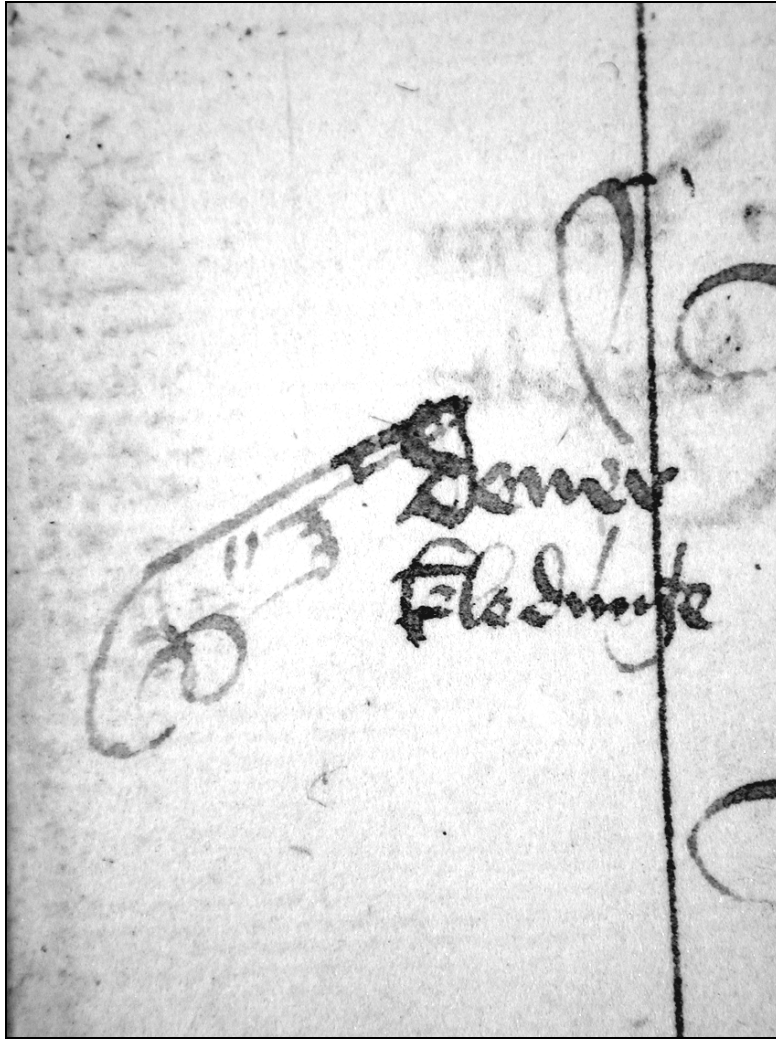
chies at that time,⁷⁷ the town helped to repair the ship and lent considerable sums of money to the representatives of the Danish king.⁷⁸



Ill. 21: Hand on the back cover of the first accountbook, Johann tor Hove, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 275v.

⁷⁷ Alferd Ritscher, *Reval an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit 1. 1510 – 1535* (Bonn: Kulturstiftung der deutschen Vertriebenen, 1998), 41-44.

⁷⁸ *Regesten aus zwei Missivbüchern des XVI. Jahrhunderts im Revaler Stadt- Archiv*, ed. Gott- hard von Hansen (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1895), no. I-109.



Ill. 22: Hand in 1509, Reinold Korner, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 14r.

Pointing hands were also used for several different economic issues. When the town council established a company in 1465 to sell furs together with the merchant Hinrik up der Strate, the entry was marked with a hand.⁷⁹ First of all, these kinds of entries in the account books are exceptional, but one can also assume that it was necessary to find them later. The arrangement with Hinrik up der Strate is not the only event in the town's economy marked with a hand. In the same way, the scribe noted expenses for building activities, in 1441 the salary of the stonemasons (ill. 23),⁸⁰ and in 1465 the summarised costs of the building of the scales house (*loehus*).⁸¹ In 1463, when the town sent out four ships to fight pirates, this entry too is marked with a hand.⁸² The costs of this enterprise, 370 marks, were considerable, even when taking into account the revenue from the ships to be taken from the pirates.

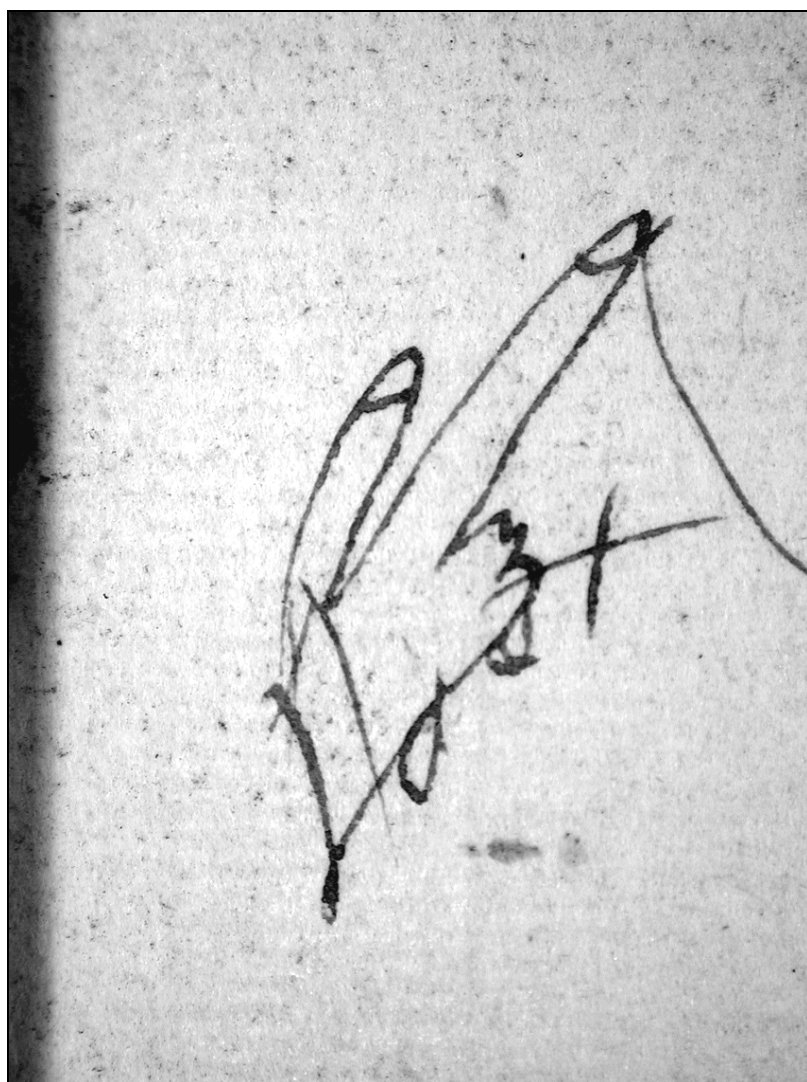
⁷⁹ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 19r. He was a burgher of Cologne who acted also later in the interests of Reval, *Kämmereibuch 1463-1507*, 74, note 3.

⁸⁰ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 78r.

⁸¹ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 19r, 660 marks, Dec. 21, 1465.

⁸² TLA, Ad 26, fol. 4r, July 23, 1463.

The economic affairs listed above could be regarded as exceptional, deserving a hand pointing to them. The pointing hand was also used in the 1480s, however, to mark much more routine transactions. This was the time when the town started to raise weekly money from the baths, and the hand was used from 1483 to 1485 to point to these entries (ill. 24); the scribe Borchard Kenappel drew some very distorted or sketchy hands (ill. 25-1 and 25-2).⁸³ Towards the end of this short period, other town income, for example, mill and excise taxes, was occasionally marked in a similar way.⁸⁴ The pointing hand is certainly universal, as can be seen from the variety of situations in which it was used in the account books. The reverse of this universality is that it does not allow differentiation.



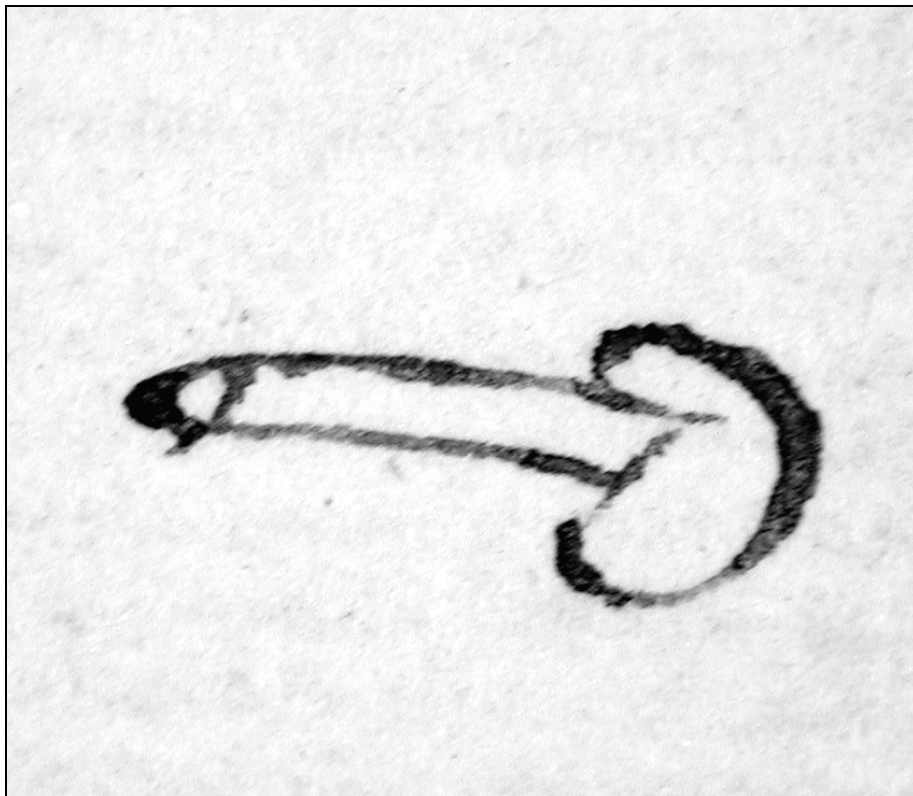
Ill. 23: Hand in 1441, Joachim Muter, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 78r.

⁸³ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 110r.

⁸⁴ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 117r-117v.



Ill. 24: Hand, Borchard Kenappel, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 108v.



Ill. 25-1: Hand, Borchard Kenappel, TLA, Ad 26, fol 110.



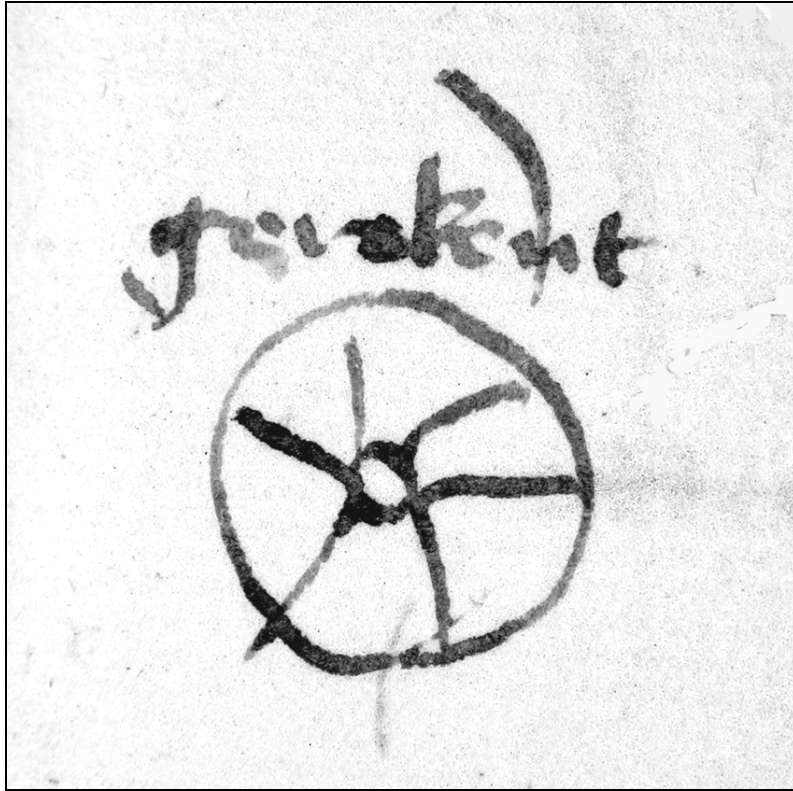
Ill. 25-2: Hand, Borchard Kenappel, TLA, Ad 26, fol 112v.

Other Repeated Pictures

Other motifs in the account books come up in smaller numbers. Although repeated, they were connected with some short period or special undertaking of the town. For example, when the town paid the wheel maker, the entry was connected with a picture of a wheel (ill. 26). This simple and suggestive pictogram comes up only 12 times in the account books, and most of the pictures date from the transition of the 1450s to the 1460s. The text *gereknet* near one of the pictures⁸⁵ suggests that wheels were also used to mark the settling of bills in a similar way as was done with the smith. The wheel is, however, not exclusively used to mark the entries for the wheel makers. For instance, in 1501, it indicated the entry on the salaries of the cart drivers.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 229r.

⁸⁶ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 206v



Ill. 26: Wheel, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 229r.

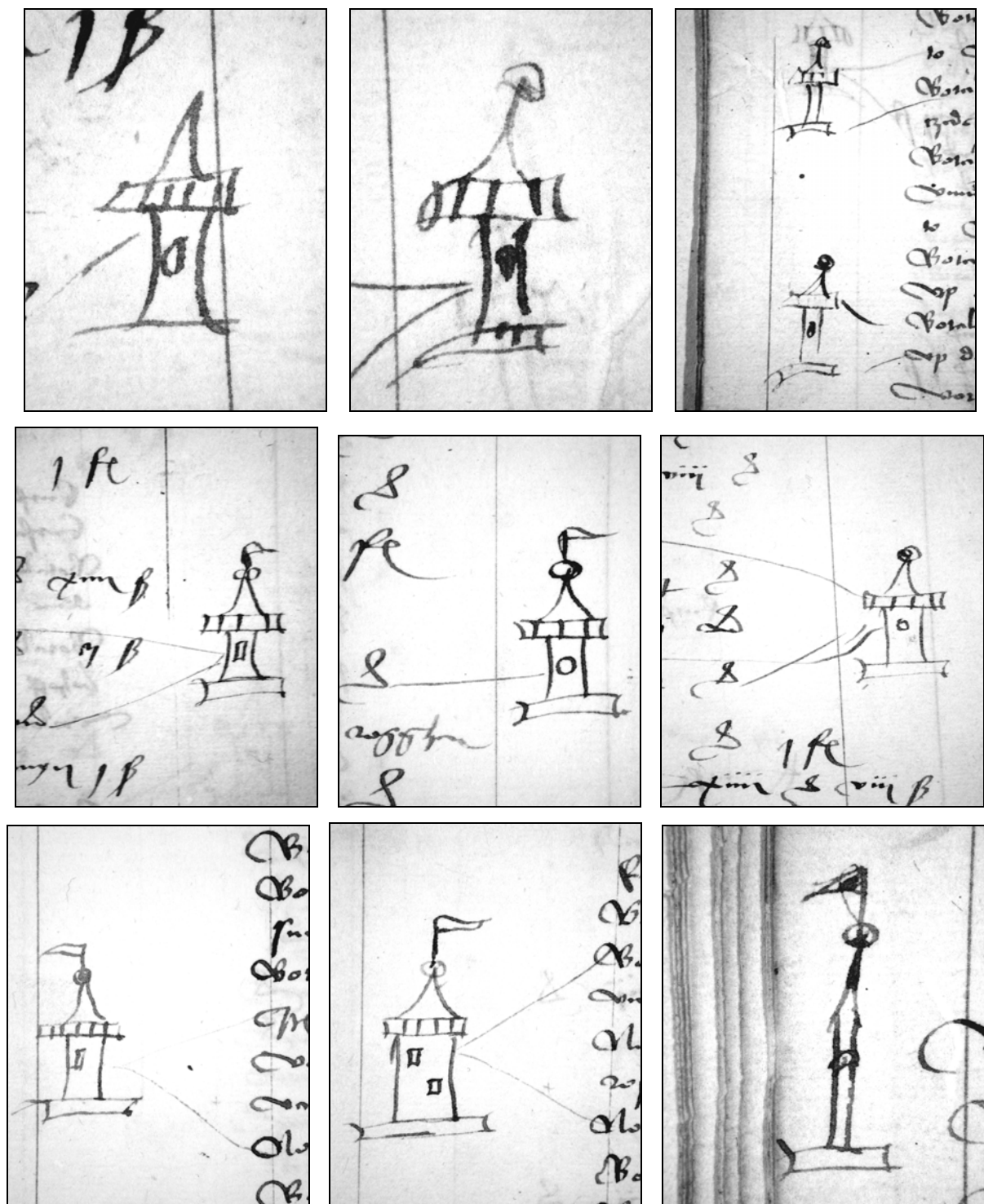
One of the significant periods when the account book had more pictures was between October, 1518, and March, 1520,⁸⁷ marking the town's expenses for building the beacon on Dagö (Hiiumaa), one of the western islands of Estonia (ill. 27). One of the most dangerous reefs on the way from the west to Reval was situated off the coast of Dagö. As early as 1500, the town was given a charter by the bishop of Ösel-Wiek which allowed them to build a beacon in Dagerort (Kõpu).⁸⁸ These building activities, however, lasted for decades and were interrupted by disagreements with the bishop about the remuneration of the local peasants for their work.⁸⁹ The expenses for building during this year and a half were marked with the drawing of a tower.

The shape of the tower varies considerably and one has no reason to believe that the scribe ever saw the building himself. Sometimes lines connect the drawing with two entries. Looking at these particular towers as a calculating aid, we have to admit that they are not fully reliable; not all of the entries on the expenses of the beacon from this period were connected with these pictures of the tower. The towers may illustrate the expenses just to underline the importance of the enterprise for the town.

⁸⁷ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 111r- 124r. The tower on fol. 111r, has earlier escaped my attention. See Juhan Kreem, "Federzeichnungen in Revaler Kämmereibüchern, eine Quelle für die Wahrnehmung der Stadt," in *Städteforschung*, Münster (in press).

⁸⁸ LECUB, Abteilung 2, vol. 1, no. 980, April 20, 1500, *kenninghe edder pyler*

⁸⁹ A good overview on the history of the beacon is missing; see Armas Luige, *Eesti Tuletornid* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1982), 15-17.

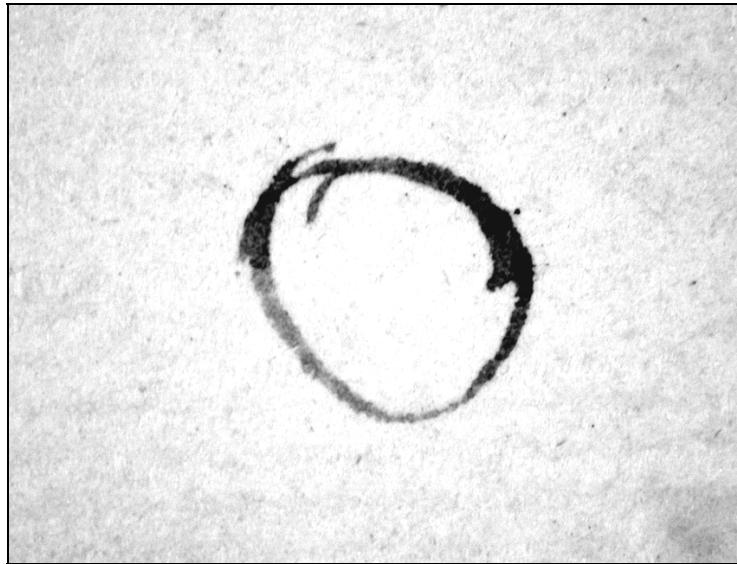


Ill. 27: The beacon of Dagerort, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 111r-124r.

The last of the motifs which may be regarded as repeated is connected with the military expenses of the town. In 1490 and 1491 the scribe marked the expenses for the cannon maker with a small cannonball (ill. 28).⁹⁰ Two men, Jurgen and Baltzer, are recorded as cannon makers at that time. They received 35 marks as salary and donations of cloth, which is considerably higher than the salaries of ordinary town servants. The cannonball, however, indicates not only

⁹⁰ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 140r ff.

the salary, but also the expenses of the actual work of casting the cannons. Cannons were cast at the stables of the town, and sometimes the town borrowed the masters who served the Teutonic Order for this purpose.⁹¹ The cannons, modern and precious objects of which some later examples from Reval have been preserved,⁹² were certainly objects of civic pride which appear among the singular drawings in the account books (see below).



Ill. 28: Cannonball, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 140r.

Singular pictures

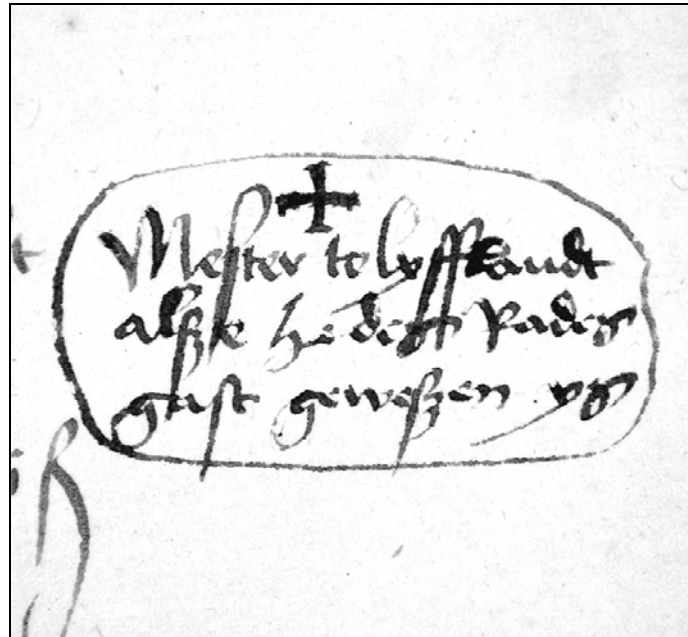
The rest of the pictures appear in the account book only once or twice and could not have been used for summarising. The drawing of these unique pictures was most likely more spontaneous in nature, inspired by some kind of emotion. It is true that we are not able to access the emotion itself and assess how conscious or how automatic the act of drawing was exactly, but as the explicit connection with the text still exists we may, to a certain extent, access what provoked this emotion. Even if the pictures themselves are unique, they also allow forming groups according to the nature of their subject matter.

The specific feature of the unique pictures is that they draw attention to a single entry in the account books, to a certain event in the life of the town. This feature was already noted when surveying the pointing hand, which was used to draw the attention to entries on delegations of Reval citizens or on receiving envoys in the town. Twice, the same types of events were marked in the account books with a cross. In 1487, the town was (as often happened) paying for wine (ill. 29). What was exceptional this time was that the expenses of the town coun-

⁹¹ Kreem, *The Town and its Lord*, 78-80.

⁹² In the Tallinn Town Museum *Kiek in de Kōk* copies are on display. The originals are kept in St. Petersburg. See also Leida Anting, *Tallinna tulirelvameistrid ja relvad XIV–XVI sajandil* [Makers of firearms and arms in Tallinn in the 14th–16th century] (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1967).

cil were connected with the visit of the master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, Johann Freytag von Loringhoven.⁹³ Another cross was drawn in 1495, when the town reimbursed Johann Gellinghusen for his travels to Lübeck and Walck on matters of the town.⁹⁴ Joachim Muter had earlier used a small cross to mark the entries on lime burning or stone breaking, that is, building activities, but these are much different. The two crosses mentioned above are drawn much more carefully and they each single out a special event in the life of the town.



Ill. 29: Cross, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 127r.

In a similar manner, one finds symbols of dignitaries in the account books. A crown appears twice referring to the king of Denmark. It is depicted together with a hand pointing to the expenses on the Danish royal ship “Maria” in 1519 (ill. 30; see also above).⁹⁵ Another crown was drawn in 1518, when the town loaned 600 marks to Knuth, the scribe of the Danish king.⁹⁶ Symbols of the bishop, the mitre and crook, appear twice in the account book (ill. 31). Both entries, from February 1521 and 1522, concern the visit of Johann Blankenfeld, the bishop of Reval and Dorpat, to Reval and presents of wine, beer, fish, and oats made to him by the town.⁹⁷ Although the variety of presents was quite similar to that generally given to dignitaries visiting Reval,⁹⁸ this event represented a spe-

⁹³ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 127r.

⁹⁴ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 173v.

⁹⁵ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 117v.

⁹⁶ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 110v. This was not the first time that the town loaned money to Knuth; see also fol. 107v.

⁹⁷ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 133r, 144v.

⁹⁸ Kreem, “Gäster i Reval.”

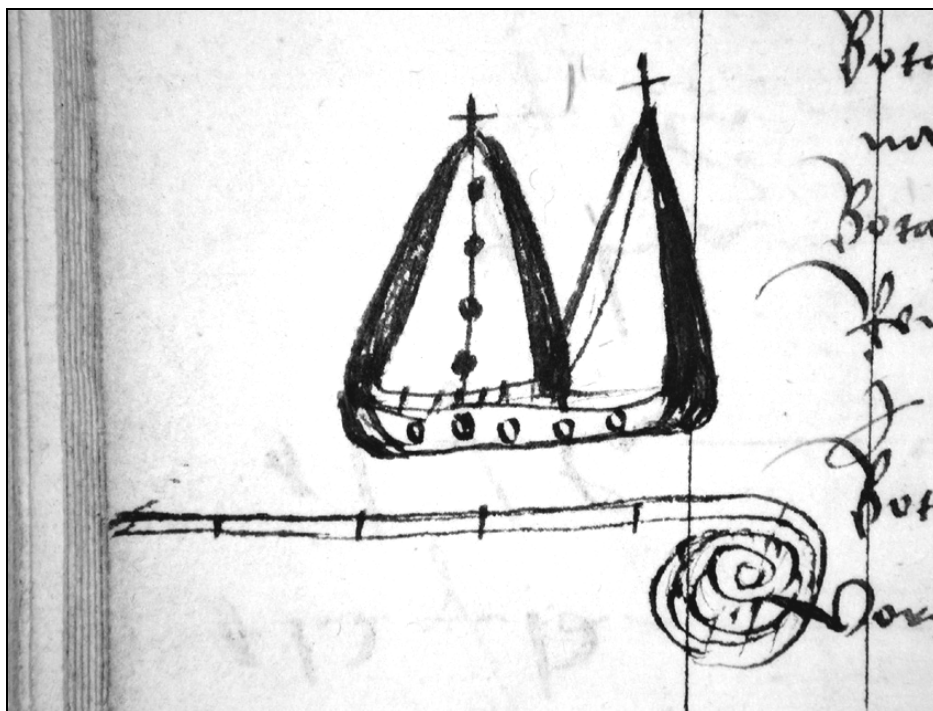
cial occasion. Johann Blankenfeld⁹⁹ was one of the remarkable personalities of these years in Livonia, known for his attempts to establish his authority as a princely ruler in his bishopric and opposition to the Lutheran Reformation. On the local level of Reval, bishops did not play a significant role, but exactly in these years Blankenfeld was attempting to fasten his grip there in spiritual matters.¹⁰⁰ Although the town authorities had only asked him to bless one of the new bells of the church of St. Olaf, Blankenfeld wanted to make a visitation to the Reval churches. Moreover, at the same time the quarrels with the former Revalian scribe, Otto Manow, now an official of the bishopric of Reval, had escalated (see above). The issue of Lutheran ideas had not come up in Reval at that time, but the relations of the town and clergy were certainly tense.



Ill. 30: Hand and crown, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 117v

⁹⁹Wilhelm Schnöring, *Johannes Blankenfeld* (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 23) (Halle: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1905); Christiane Schuchardt, "Johann Blankenfeld (+1527) eine Karriere zwischen Berlin, Rom und Livland," in *Berlin in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Jahrbuch des Landesarchivs Berlin* (2002), 27-56.

¹⁰⁰Arbusow, *Einführung der Reformation*, 150-151.



Ill. 31: Mitre and crook, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 133r, 144v

When the entries in the account books treated the expenses for receiving or dispatching delegations, they represented the events themselves, elements of political history, and were thus material for the history of the town. The town's books functioned as a reservoir for urban historiography, and this is also the reason why some of the urban chronicles look very heterogeneous.¹⁰¹ In the meagre tradition of Reval's medieval chronicles¹⁰² one finds the descriptions of different negotiations and excerpts from the town books.¹⁰³ It is of course too far-reaching to identify the drawings in the account books as the roots of Reval's historiography, the pictures are by far too unsystematic for that. We also have no evidence that the pictures were used in such way. From the perspective of a writer and a draftsman, however, marking the entries on political history indicated a certain sensibility of the author towards the historical importance of the event in the life of the town.

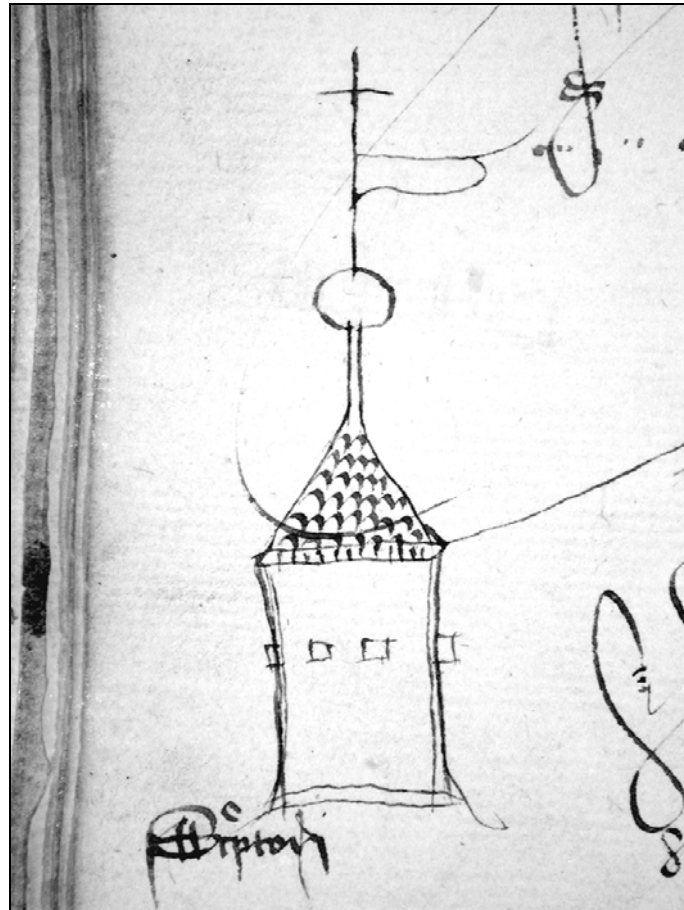
In trying to establish groups of pictures, objects of civic pride play the most important role. This means first of all the towers. Two of them, drawn by

¹⁰¹ Klaus Wriedt, "Bürgerliche Geschichtschreibung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Ansätze und Formen," in *Städtische Geschichtschreibung im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Johanek (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000), 19-50.

¹⁰² There is only one fragment of the chronicle from the beginning of the sixteenth century (TLA, Aa 23b). It is available also in a modern German retelling by Eugen von Nottbeck, "Fragment einer Revaler Chronik," *Beiträge zur Kunde Ehst-, Liv- und Kurlands*, vol. 4 (1894), 450-468.

¹⁰³ Juhan Kreem, "Between Public and Secret: Town Archives and Historiographic Notes," in *The public (in) urban space II. Papers from the daily life strand at the International Medieval Congress* (Leeds, 2003), ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Judith Rasson, *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 48 (2003), 5-12.

Borchard Kenappel in the years 1480 and 1481, can easily be connected with the need for fortification works because of the war with the Muscovites fought during these years; one of the towers is said to be the new tower.¹⁰⁴ The entry, however, does not treat the building works themselves, but the making and painting of the knob (*knop*), the weathercock and cross of the tower (ill. 32). When one looks at the picture one recognises that these objects are considerably oversized compared to the rest of the tower, thus the proportions were used to underline the importance of the accessories on the top of the tower.



Ill. 32: Tower, Borchard Kenappel, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 98v.

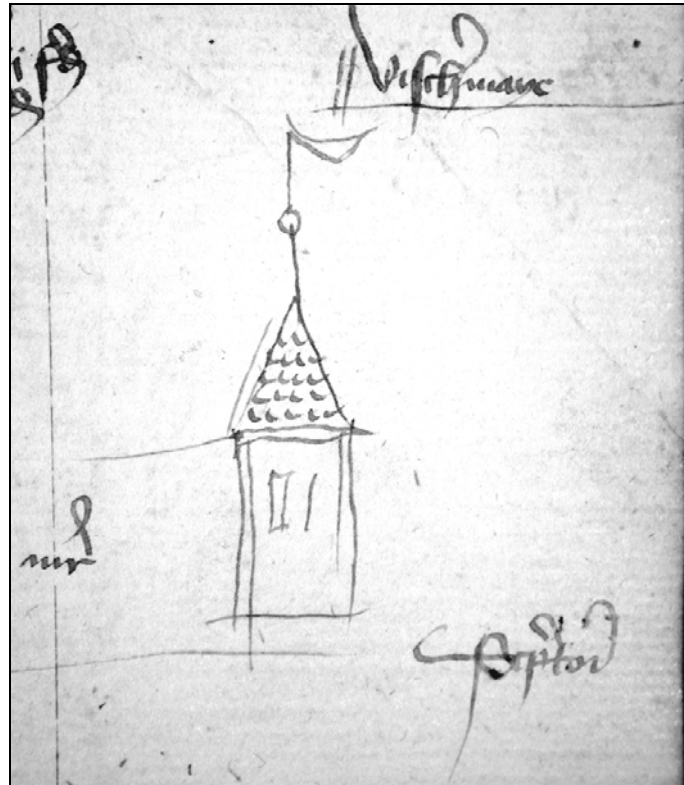
The other picture of a tower occurs beside a bill that was paid in 1481 for painting the knobs of the two big towers and two small towers of *Lemporte* (Loam Gate) (ill. 33).¹⁰⁵ This gate was the one through which the overlords of the town, the masters of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, came to the city in the course of their festive entries. The *Lemporte* was, for example, decorated shortly before the advent of the master in 1500.¹⁰⁶ The particular account book decorations from the time of Kenappel, however, do not fit any of the known visits of

¹⁰⁴ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 98v.

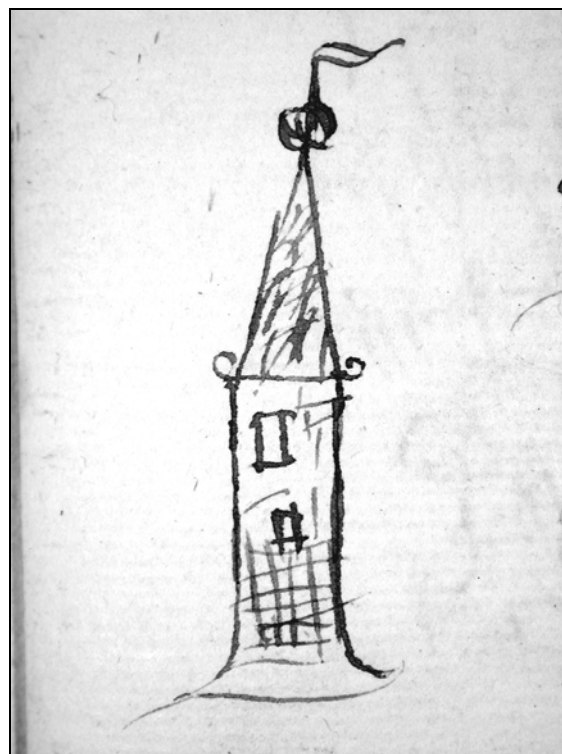
¹⁰⁵ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 104r.

¹⁰⁶ Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 199.

the master,¹⁰⁷ but the mention of this particular gate and the drawing beside it stresses the importance of the *Lemporte* among the gates of Reval.



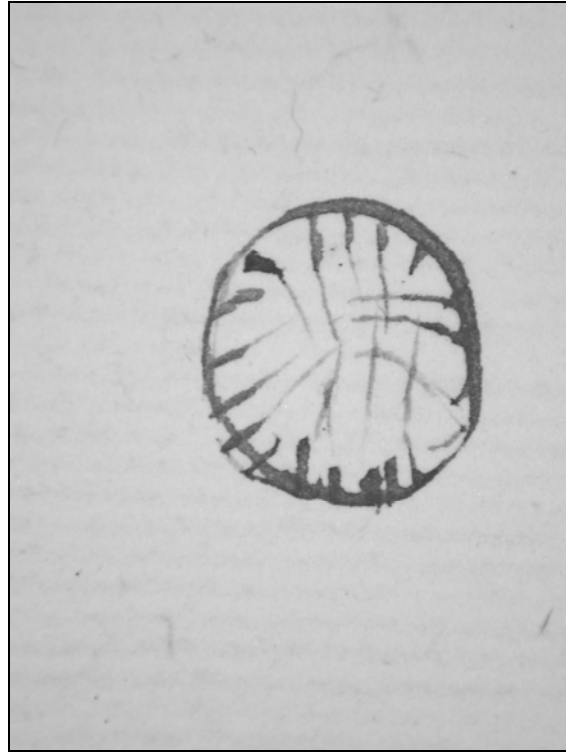
Ill. 33: Tower, Borchard Kenappel, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 104r.



Ill. 34: Tower, Christian Czernekow, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 194r.

¹⁰⁷ Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, table 8, p. 187-189.

The scribes not only depicted the fortification towers of the town. The single tower drawn by Christian Czernekow is to be seen in connection with the expenses of the town when gilding and painting the accessories of the tower of the Holy Ghost church (ill. 34).¹⁰⁸ Czernekow also used a sketchy drawing to mark the costs of the new clock (wood-carving, painting, and gilding) on the Holy Ghost church (ill. 35).¹⁰⁹



Ill. 35: Clock, Christian Czernekow, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 145v.

The scribes concentrated on the most visible signs of urban identity and pride, such as the knobs, weather-cocks, and clocks of the towers. One also has to bear in mind, however, that there are entries on the same issues in the account books, painting work or, for example, ordering a wagon cover with the coat of arms of the town,¹¹⁰ which were not marked with drawings. This again indicates how much the drawing was a spontaneous, individual act, not strictly bound to some rigid scheme of notation.

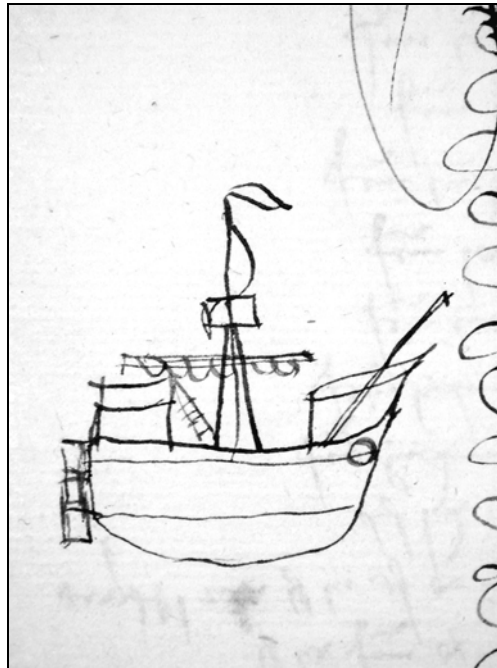
Not only the visible signs of urban identity received attention, but also valuable property of the town. In the time of Christian Czernekow, two ships were drawn in the account book. The first of them (ill. 36) illustrates the entry, which tells about the expenses for the purchase of a new ship from a certain Hinrik Sluwerk and 66 ells of cloth for a sail, altogether 75 marks and 4 shil-

¹⁰⁸ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 194r.

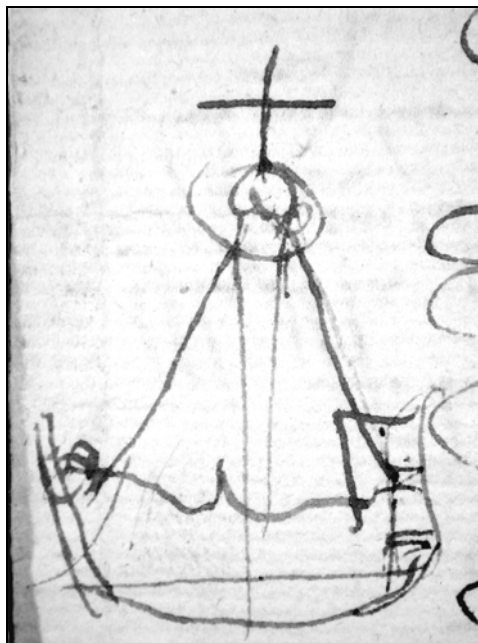
¹⁰⁹ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 145v.

¹¹⁰ *Kämmereibuch 1463-1507*, no. 1898; the cloth for the wagon cover is also mentioned in other places in the account book; see, for example, no. 1393.

lings.¹¹¹ The other image (ill. 37) is situated near the entry where the costs of building a ship are listed.¹¹² The town built a new ship, and the works of the smith alone cost 620 marks. Although the pictures are different in quality, they both depict a one-masted merchantman. The first of the ships is said to have been a *holtshute*, a small coastal vessel for bringing wood from Nargen, an island in the vicinity of Reval. About the other ship, we know only that a mast and a yardarm were purchased for 3 marks.



Ill. 36: Ship, Christian Czernekow, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 186v.

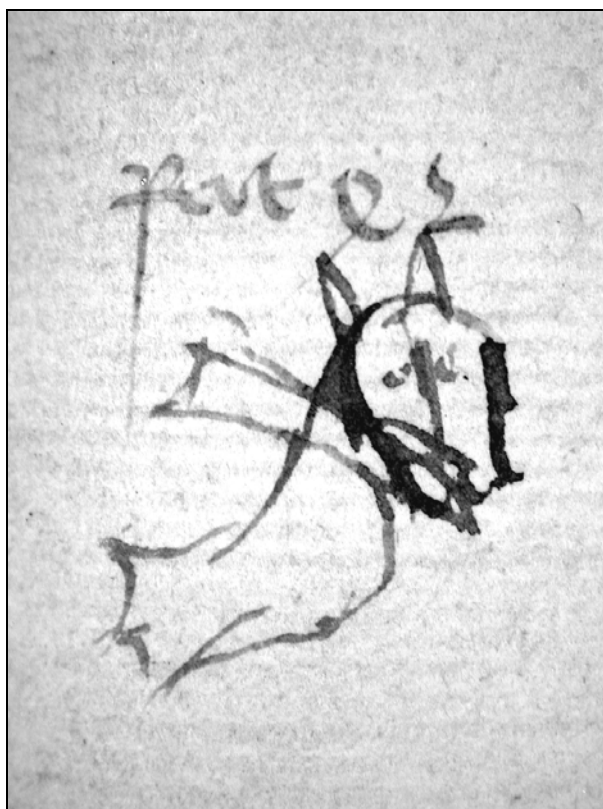


Ill. 37: Ship, Christian Czernekow, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 230r.

¹¹¹ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 186v.

¹¹² TLA, Ad 26, fol. 230r.

Looking at Reval's ships in a wider perspective, we find on the basis of the account books that the town regularly had one to three ships at its disposal.¹¹³ Usually these were *barse* and *snikke*, the first being bigger and the second smaller, but faster. In the sources, *snikke* and *shute* are sometimes even mentioned as synonyms. Among the entries on ships the ones marked with a drawing do not appear as exceptional. It was one of the scribes, Christian Czernekow, who was eager to try to draw the ships, even when the result was too sketchy to identify the distinct types of ships. Visually, the pictures occur in the same generalising mode as the images of ships on town seals, presumably depicting large merchantmen. Some interesting shifts can be found in the pictures. In case of the *schute*, the drawing of a merchantman clearly makes the event more important. In the second case, one can see a distortion of parts of the ship, especially the top of the mast with the cross. In the same way, Borchard Kenappel distorted the cross on the top of the tower that he drew. Therefore, one may speak of the manipulation of proportions, that is, drawing important things bigger.



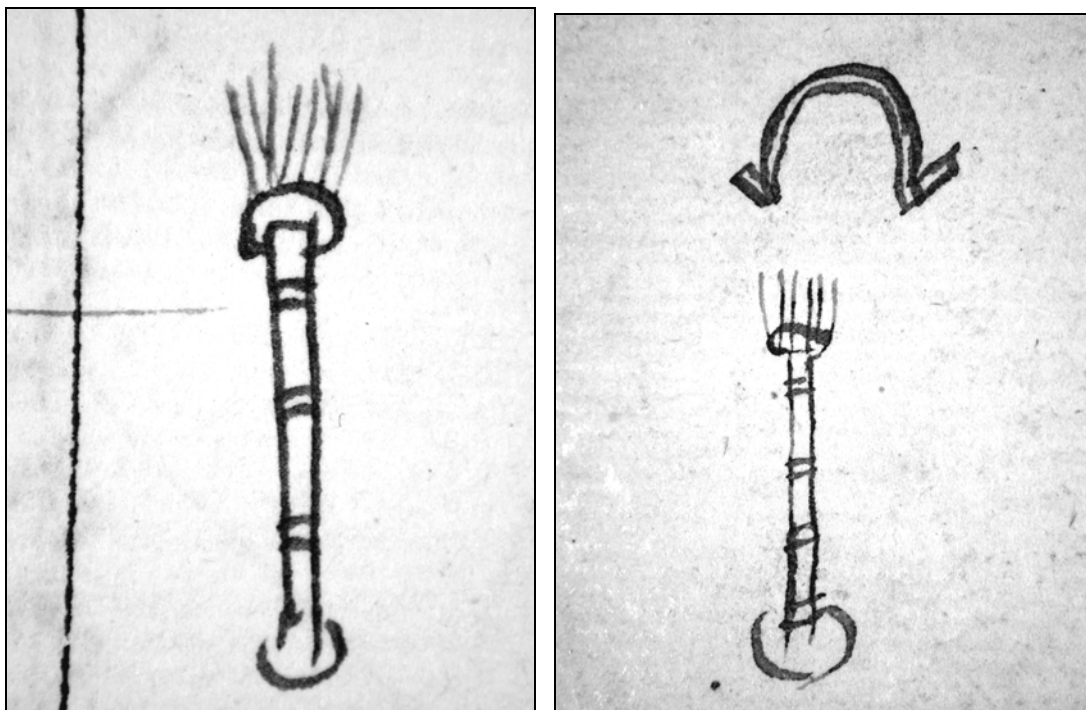
Ill. 38: Horse, Christian Czernekow, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 190r.

In the main text of the account books, a horse (ill. 38) appears only once, in 1498, during the office of Christian Czernekow.¹¹⁴ The picture illustrates the

¹¹³ Juhan Kreem, "Hans Stolmaker, sadamavaht" [Hans Stolmaker, the port guard], in *Kümme keskaegset Tallinlast* [Ten medieval Revalians], (Tallinn: Varrak, 2006), 236-252, here 244 ff.

¹¹⁴ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 190r.

purchase of the horse for a price of 42 marks. The prices of animals vary considerably in the sources. In 1500, it was decided that horses with a value of over 8 marks were of military importance and that no one should leave the country with them.¹¹⁵ The horses that were used for the members of the town council to travel to negotiations in Livonia cost around 20 marks. In 1494, when Reval negotiated with the Muscovites over the release of imprisoned merchants,¹¹⁶ a horse worth 40 marks was among the presents to the grand duke of Muscovy.¹¹⁷ In the next year, Reval gave the grand duke a stallion worth 100 marks.¹¹⁸ The picture in the account book does not refer to these animals, which were probably bought with other means. The point is that the picture in the account book refers to an animal that was worthy to be given to a grand duke as a present. In other words, the scribe stopped at a remarkable place to attempt the drawing of a horse, a rather difficult subject.



Ill. 39: Cannons, Borchard Kenappel (2) TLA, Ad 26, fol. 91r, 98r

Firearms also belong to the spectrum of valuable equipment. Two cannons were drawn by Borchard Kenappel, in 1480 and 1481 (ill. 39),¹¹⁹ when the first Muscovite war with Livonia was fought. Christian Czernekow drew a can-

¹¹⁵ LECUB, Abteilung 2, vol. 1, no. 1020.

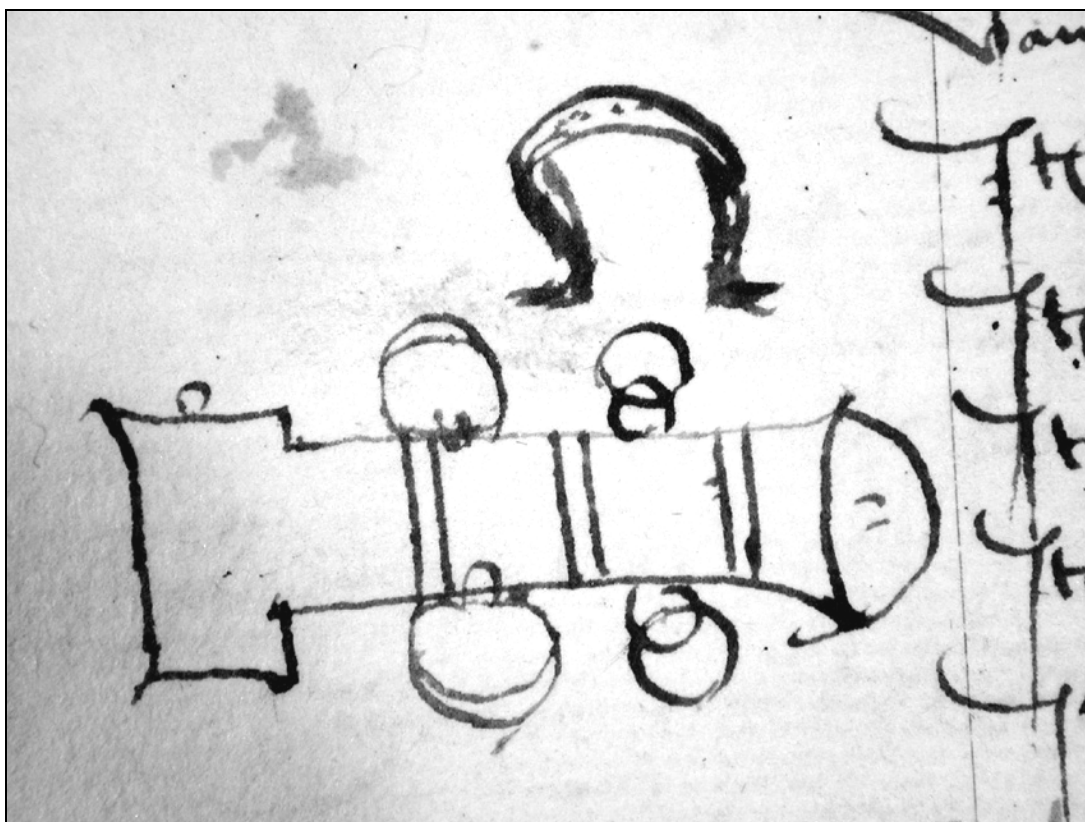
¹¹⁶ On the whole incident, see Anti Selart, "Zur Geschichte der Russen in Livland um die Wende des 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert: Der Vorwand zur Schließung des St. Peterhofes in Novgorod im Jahr 1494," in *Städtisches Leben im Baltikum zur Zeit der Hanse*, ed. Norbert Angermann (Lüneburg: Carl Schirren-Gesellschaft, 2003), 177-210.

¹¹⁷ LECUB, Abteilung 2, vol. 1, no. 630.

¹¹⁸ LECUB, Abteilung 2, vol. 1, no. 630.

¹¹⁹ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 91r, 98r.

non in 1489 (ill. 40).¹²⁰ Firearms in the account books illustrate, on the one hand, the general atmosphere of the late fifteenth century. After the Muscovite subjection of Novgorod in 1478, communication with the neighbours to the east became more and more troubled. In 1494, the Muscovites closed down the yard of Hanseatic merchants in Novgorod, and the remaining years of the fifteenth century were characterised by fear of war.¹²¹ Since most of the pictures connected with warfare date before 1494, however, one may consider that not the difficult times but the cannons themselves were the cause of drawing. They were, as noted above, valuable, modern, and expensive objects. The very last drawing in the main text of the account book from 1521 is also a firearm (ill. 41). In October the town paid cannon maker Hinrik altogether 435 marks for casting 24 guns (*bussen*) and 48 chambers for them.¹²²

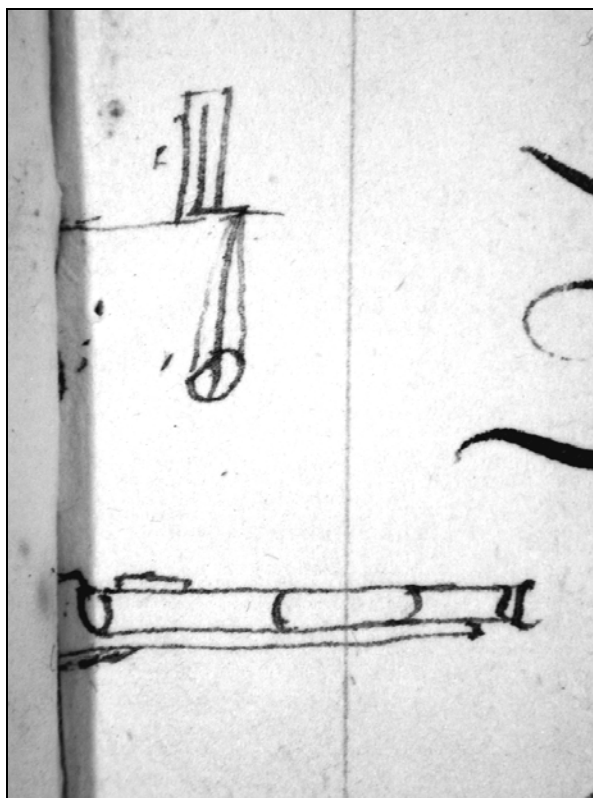


Ill. 40: Cannon, Christian Czernekow, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 135v.

¹²⁰ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 135v.

¹²¹ On this in general see Anti Selart, *Eesti idapiir keskajal* [Estlands Ostgrenze im Mittelalter, Zusammenfassung] (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli kirjastus, 1998), 119ff.

¹²² TLA, Ad 32, fol. 146r.



Ill. 41: Cannon in 1521. TLA, Ad 32, fol. 146r.

One of the puzzling groups of pictures is that of drinking vessels. They were introduced into the account books as early as the time of Joachim Muter. He drew the first one in February, 1435, when the town ordered 36 wine pots (*winpotte*) and 6 jugs (*kannen*), altogether worth 21 marks, from Hans Kannengeter (ill. 42).¹²³ In the same year, an even smaller bill, 7 marks and a quarter for beakers (*bekere*), was marked with a small drawing (ill. 43).¹²⁴ Two years later, Muter marked another bill for 20 wine pots (*winpotte*) with a drawing (ill. 44).¹²⁵ One cannot recognise a common source for all these drawings; the pictures aim to depict different types of vessels. After Muter, the vessels disappeared from the account book. Only in 1509 did Reinold Korner draw a ewer (*kanne*) (ill. 45).¹²⁶ The entry in the account book speaks of two silver vessels, a ewer and a mug (*stop*), together worth 150 marks. At least the latter, if not both, were presented by the town to a former town scribe, Christian Czernekow. In the same year, Reinold Korner made a drawing near the entry about the expenses for festivities (*drunke*) at Christmas and Carnival (ill. 46).¹²⁷ Although the picture is unclear, it resembles one of the vessels of Joachim Muter to a certain extent. The context of drinking may support the interpretation of this picture as a drinking vessel.

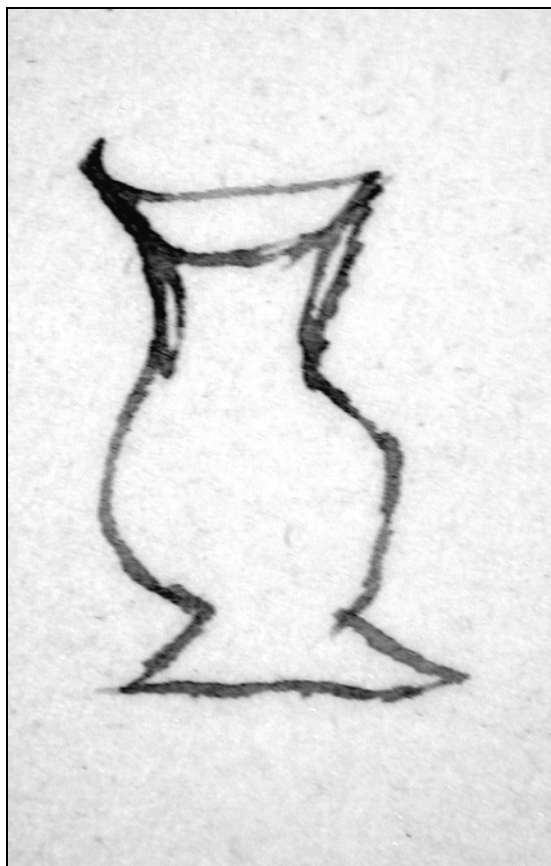
¹²³ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 17v.

¹²⁴ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 22v.

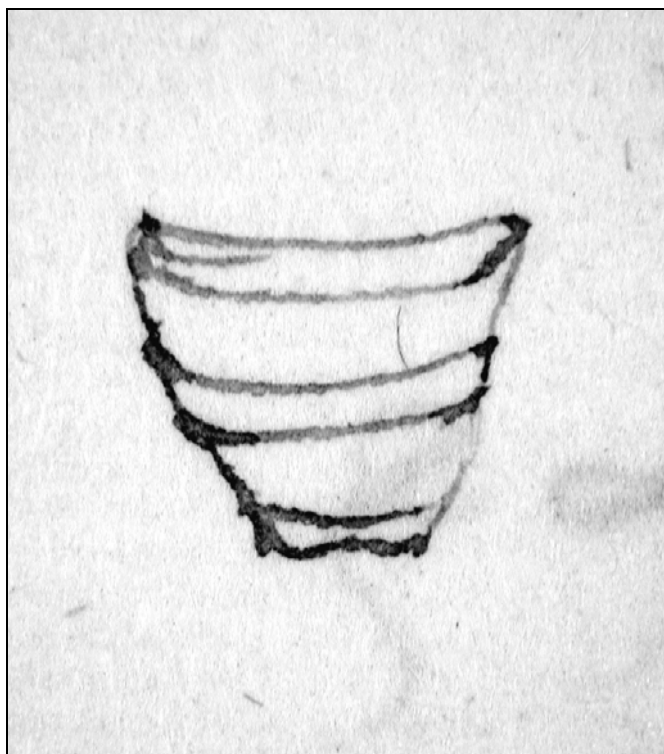
¹²⁵ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 41r.

¹²⁶ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 16r.

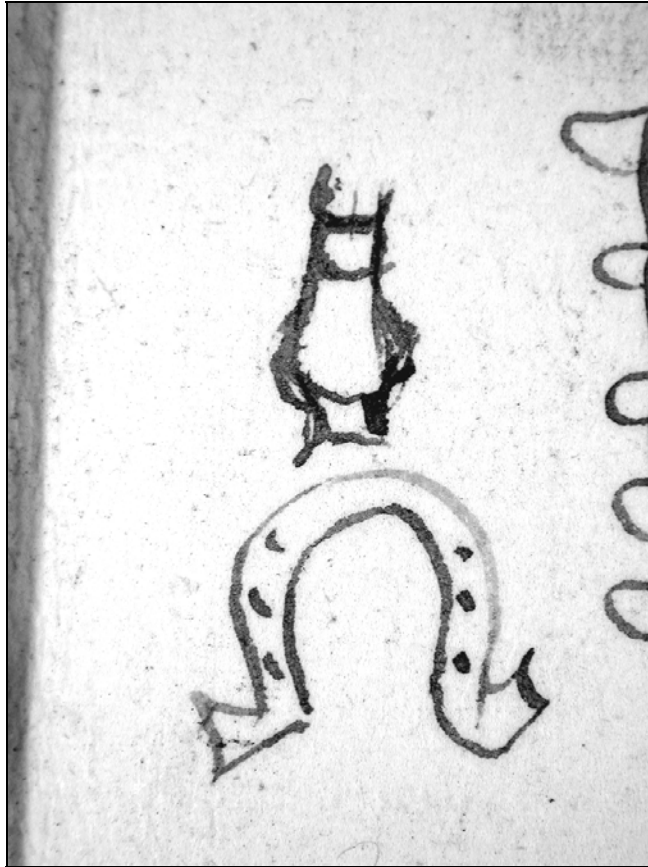
¹²⁷ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 15v. On the terminology, see Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 12-13.



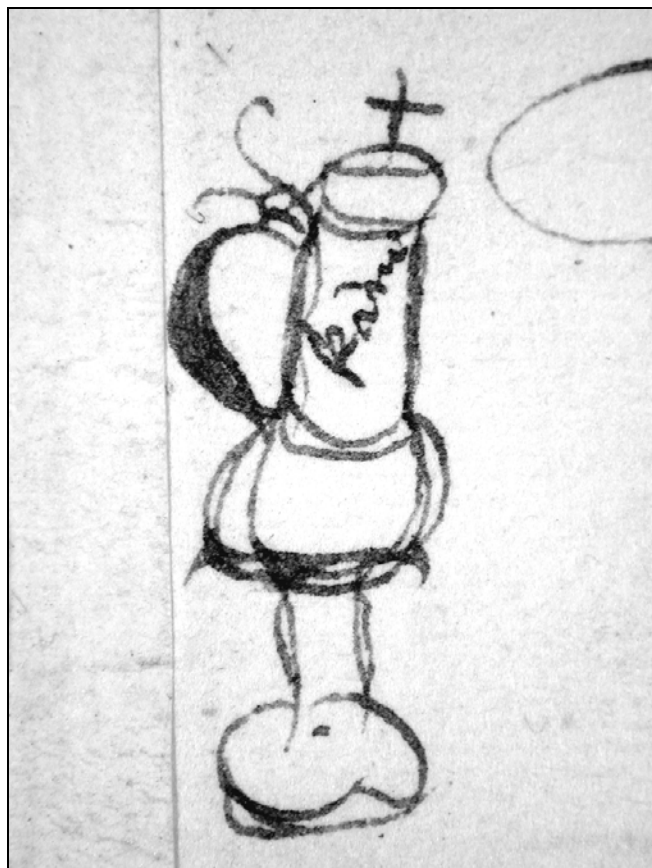
Ill. 42: Drinking vessel, Joachim Muter, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 17v.



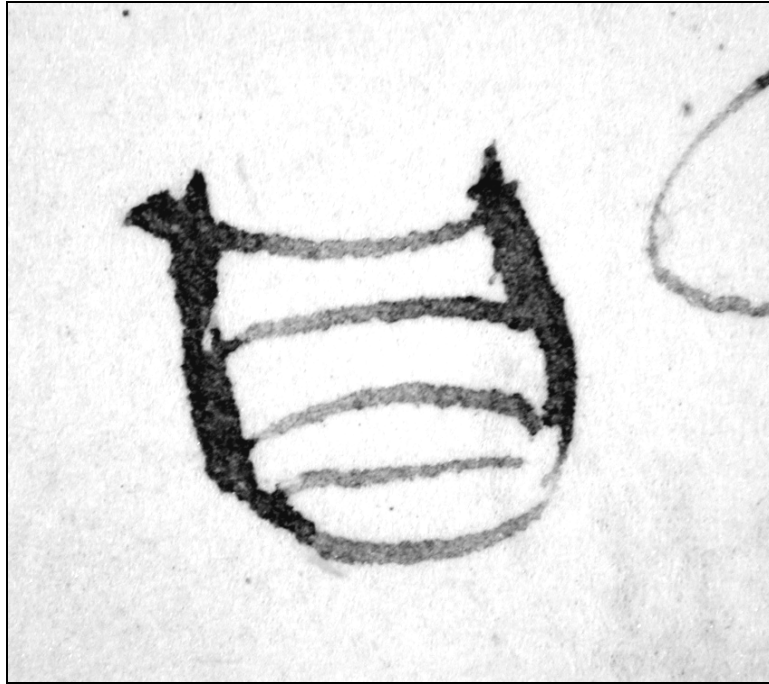
Ill. 43: Drinking vessel, Joachim Muter, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 22v.



Ill. 44: Drinking vessel, Joachim Muter, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 41r.



Ill. 45: Ewer, Reinold Korner, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 16r.



Ill. 46: Drinking vessel (?) to be compared with ill. 43,
Reinold Korner, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 15v.

The question of why two of the scribes, Muter and Korner, drew drinking vessels is difficult to answer. The case of the expensive present to a former scribe could be a good reason in itself to stop and reflect. The tableware that caused Joachim Muter to draw is less spectacular. One could speculate, however, that these objects had a special connotation in the life of the town council. Common festivities at the same table were an important means of reinforcing the ties of the council as a corporation. The word *drunke*, which stands for a festivity in Middle-Low-German sources, clearly derives from drinking. The purchase of drinking vessels, a valuable goblet as a present or simple cups in large numbers, was also part of the expenses that the town incurred during the stay of the masters of the Teutonic Order in town.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, as important as the objects were, images of drinking vessels remain rare in the account books and do not allow establishing a pattern.

A considerable number of pictures are connected with the tax income of the town. The scales mentioned above are the most numerous, but the pointing hand used to mark the income from the town's baths and for other revenues of the town in the 1480s also belongs here. Furthermore, some rare pictures may be seen as part of this group. At the beginning of the first account book, Joachim Muter used the drawing of a tun, once at the income from the beer excise (ill. 47),¹²⁹ once at an entry on *seelgelde*.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 199. Paul Johansen, "Ordensmeister Plettenberg in Reval," in *Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands* 12 (1926-1927), 100–115, here, 107, 114-115.

¹²⁹ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 2r, 40 marks.



Ill. 47: Tun, Joachim Muter, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 25r.

Another interesting drawing is to be found beside the income from another tax, the *pfalgeld*,¹³¹ that is, money for pilings (ill. 48). This was a tax used to support Narva, gathered from merchants sailing to Narva. The question of how and for what exact purpose this money was raised has been a matter of debate. It has been suggested that the pilings were rammed into the Narva River to mark the border or, what is more probable, to mark the navigable parts of the river.¹³² The picture in the account book could, with some imagination, be interpreted as a sand shoal buttressed at one end with pilings. It could be, therefore, that the pile money was used to ram the pilings in to prevent sand from filling the shipping route or the mooring place in Narva.

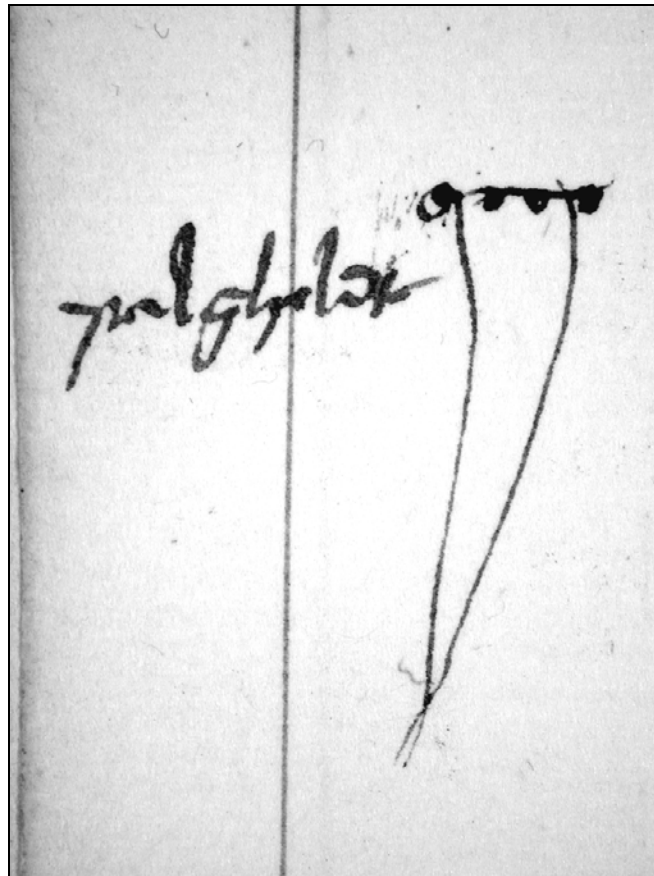
Income from taxes was vital for the town government; therefore, the tendency to mark it in the account book seems natural. On the other hand, collecting different taxes was one of the duties of the scribe for which he received extra payment. Thus, the drawing of the pictures might also have had to do with the personal interest of the scribes. One notices this personal interest of scribes on other occasions. Although Borchard Kenappel used the margins of the account books relatively rarely to mark words, one of the most common of his indexing

¹³⁰ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 25r, 19 marks, 6 ore, literally, soul-money. The exact nature of this income is not clear.

¹³¹ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 97r, 118v.

¹³² Selart, *Eesti idapiir*, 72 with further references.

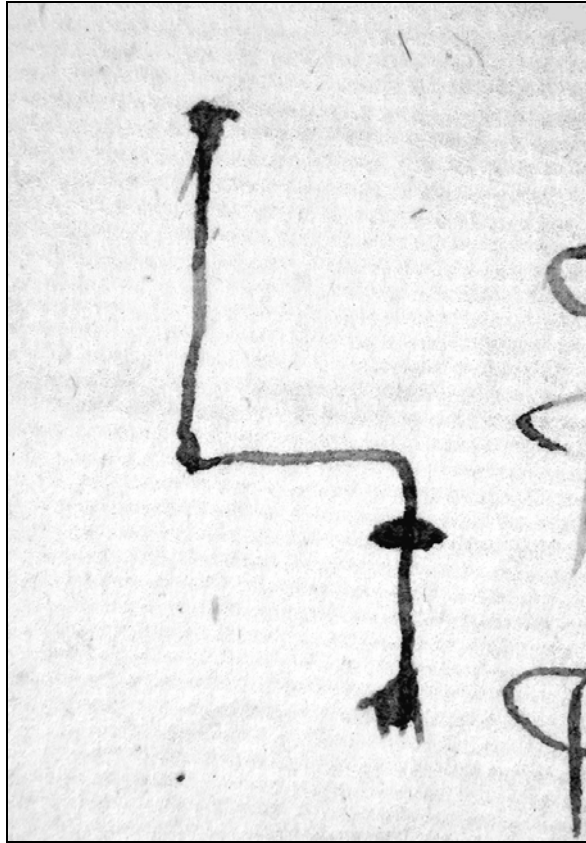
terms was *scriptor*, which he used to mark those entries where the town paid him.



Ill. 48: *Pfalz*, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 118v.

There is a circle of objects which is hard to put into connection with any of the groups described above. One could call them objects of daily life. Although the pictures of this type are rare among the drawings of Joachim Muter, he still drew a spindle (ill. 49).¹³³ The town gave the hemp spinner fifteen spindle whorls (*wervele*) on May 18, 1437, for which the spinner had to pay 2 marks by Easter (presumably of the next year). Spinners worked for the town in a similar manner as the smiths, producing different kinds of ropes for the stables or the ships of the town and receiving payment in sum after a certain time period. However, there are no drawings in connection with the other entries on spinners. The one entry with the picture is not connected with the work of the spinner, but with his tools. Although the sum owed to the town looks rather small, the picture might have been drawn because it was due in almost one year, and the scribe needed a bookmark to look back for after this period.

¹³³ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 34v.



Ill. 49: Spindle, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 34v.

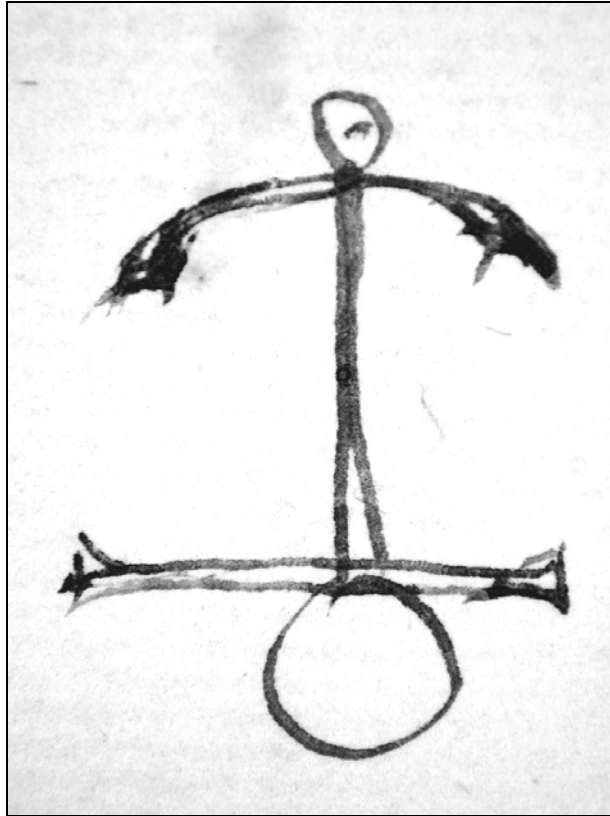
In 1446, Joachim Muter drew an anchor (see ill. 1).¹³⁴ The entry refers to half a mark which was paid to the Swedes who found, or rather salvaged, an anchor in the port. On the same day, Muter drew also a horseshoe and scales. Muter's drawings are generally on the left side of the text; the anchor, however, is on the right side, which suggests a different mode of drawing than in the case of the horseshoes. There is only one other anchor in the account book. In 1498, Christian Czernekow reported the sale of an anchor of a *kogge* that remained in the harbour (ill. 50).¹³⁵ The sum that the town received was remarkable: 41 ½ marks. Rare as the picture is, it might be also connected with the earlier tradition of the account book and perhaps Czernekow drew it because he had seen the one in the earlier books.

There is the drawing of a window with bars in October, 1510 (ill. 51). The text of the entry treats the expenses of cleaning the drums or bars (*trumme edder trallinge*) near the house of the council member Remmlinckrode on the *Monkestrate*.¹³⁶ The problem here is that although the picture clearly depicts bars, the nature of the work is unclear. We know only that the yearly cleaning cost just one mark. There is, in other words, no satisfactory explanation for why the scribe made a visual remark exactly here.

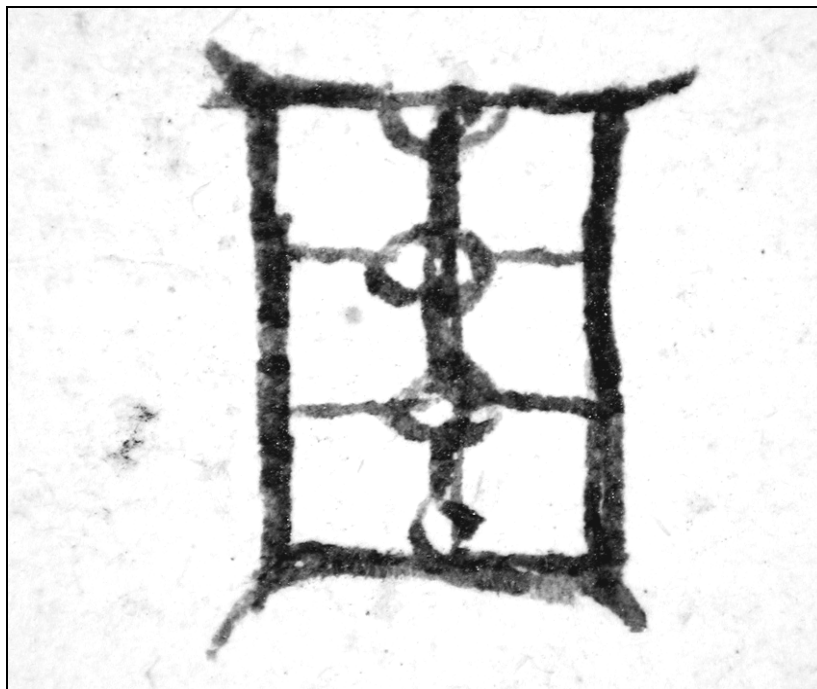
¹³⁴ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 118r.

¹³⁵ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 190v.

¹³⁶ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 29v.



Ill. 50: Anchor, Christian Czernekow, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 190v.

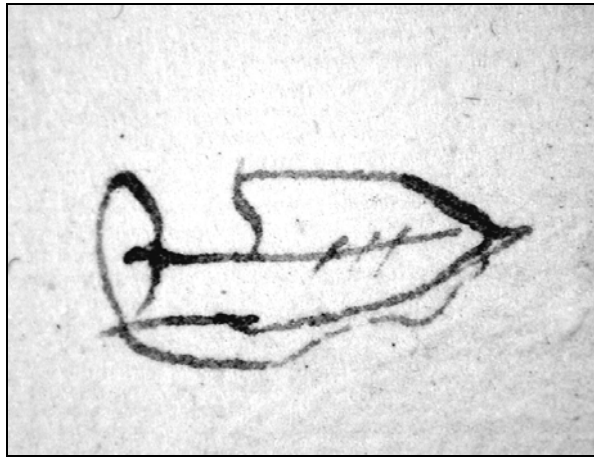


Ill. 51: Bars, Reinold Korner, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 29v.

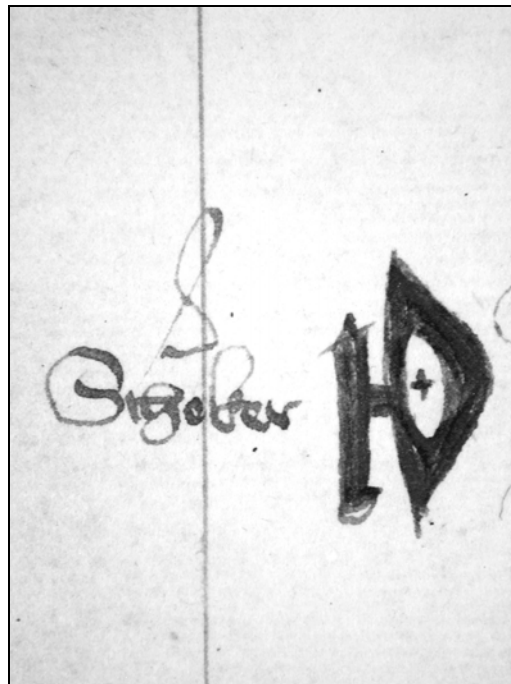
In 1509, two pictures in the account book are connected with shoemakers. In January, the town levied a fine (*brockgeld*) on the shoemakers of 3½ marks and 2 shillings.¹³⁷ Near the entry, a shoe was drawn (ill. 52). The other picture is

¹³⁷ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 15r.

beside an entry which tells about paying the shoemakers for the tanning of leather (ill. 53).¹³⁸ The word “shoemakers” is also written in the margin, but the content of the picture itself is not clear. Even if it is a part of a shoe or the tools of a shoemaker, the meaning of the drawing remains vague and the whole picture looks more like a doodle, scratched in the margin absentmindedly. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the scribe had stopped twice in one year to reflect on entries about shoemakers.



Ill. 52: Shoe, Reinold Korner, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 15r.

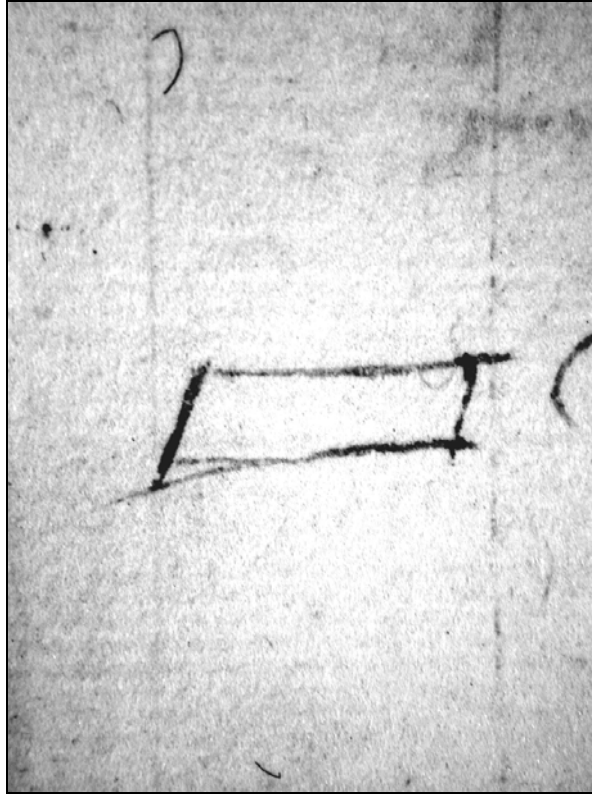


Ill. 53: Shoemaker, Reinold Korner, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 20v.

Thus, we arrive at the problematic pictures, namely the ones with no explicit meaning. In 1508, for instance, a rectangle appears in the margin and the entry notes the purchase of a quantity of limestone from a certain Hans Fran-

¹³⁸ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 20v.

ckenberg for 10 marks and a quarter (ill. 54).¹³⁹ As the limestone was delivered in slabs,¹⁴⁰ the picture could, with the help of some imagination, depict such a limestone slab. On the other hand, one cannot be sure, because the picture is just the combination of four lines which could also have been drawn with no clear intention.



Ill. 54: Limestone slab (?), Reinold Korner, TLA, Ad 32, fol. 14r.

A picture from 1511 is more elaborate (ill. 55).¹⁴¹ The entry lists the expenses of building activities near the large Strand Gate (*Grote Strantporte*), the purchase of tree trunks and roofing material (*deckebrede*). Even if there is also the possibility that the picture relates to the preceding entry on the purchase of two oxen for the town it does not help to identify it. The scribe most likely wanted to draw something in connection with building activities. The town at that time took extensive care to improve its fortifications in the direction of the harbour, which culminated in 1529 with the completion of one of the most impressive cannon towers of Reval's town wall, the "Fat Margaret."¹⁴² Whether

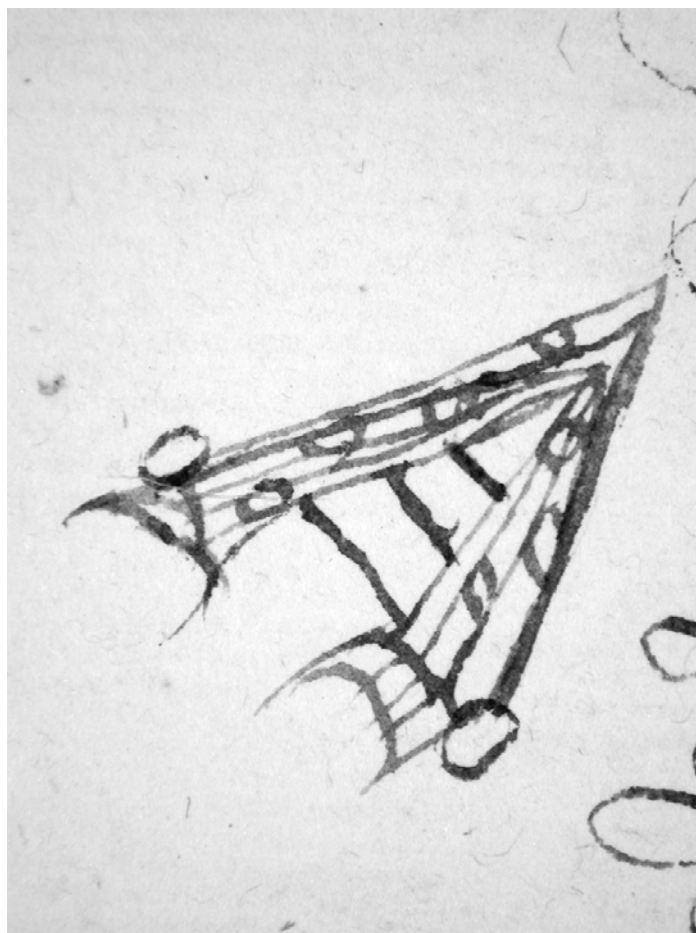
¹³⁹ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 14r.

¹⁴⁰ On Reval's stonemasons and their products, see Wilhelm Stieda, "Kabelgarn und Steine, zwei Revaler Ausfuhrartikel," in *Beiträge zur Kunde Est-, Liv- und Kurlands* 7 (912), 153-208, here 184-189. See also Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1973), 168-177, and Kangropool, "Rae kiviraidurite-müürseppmeistrite osast," *passim*.

¹⁴¹ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 33r.

¹⁴² Rein Zobel, *Tallinna keskaegsed kindlustused* [Mittelalterliche Stadtbefestigungen Tallinns] (Tallinn: Valgus, 1980), 233-250.

roof or crane, the (possibly unfinished) picture in the account book shows the reflection of the scribe on the matter.



Ill. 55: Roof (?), TLA, Ad 32, fol. 33r.

There are also some exceptional pictures which do not bear any relation to the text of the account books. Towards the end of the second book, in October, 1496, two bundles appear in the margins (ill. 56.).¹⁴³ The text near them could be read *kalberner*,¹⁴⁴ that is, the lime burner, but there is no entry on lime burners on the whole page. The bundles themselves look very much like decorative vignettes or even pen tests.

The inclination to decorate the account book is certainly also present on some other rare occasions. In 1462, Reinold Storning drew a face in profile out of the first letter of an entry (ill. 57).¹⁴⁵ In 1491, Christian Czernekow drew a bird or a fish out of an initial letter (ill. 58).¹⁴⁶ In 1500, he decorated another capital letter with a face (ill. 59).¹⁴⁷ Common to all of them is that they are to be found at the edges of the text, either at the beginning or end of the page, and in

¹⁴³ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 181r.

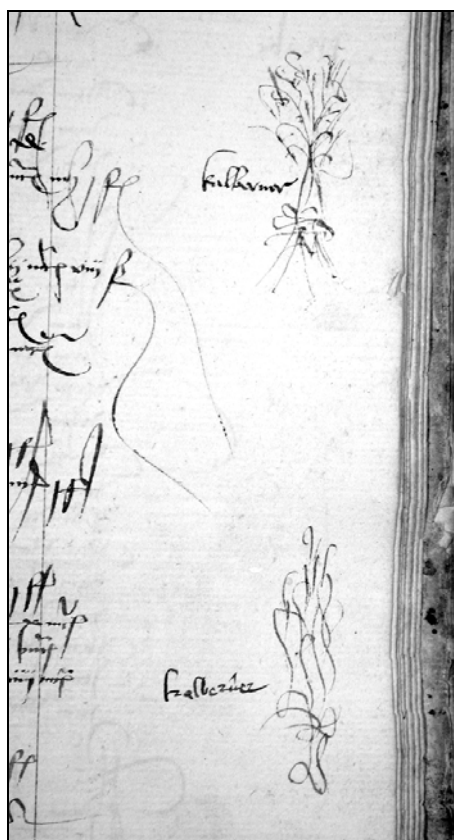
¹⁴⁴ *Kämmereibuch 1463-1507*, 647.

¹⁴⁵ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 264v.

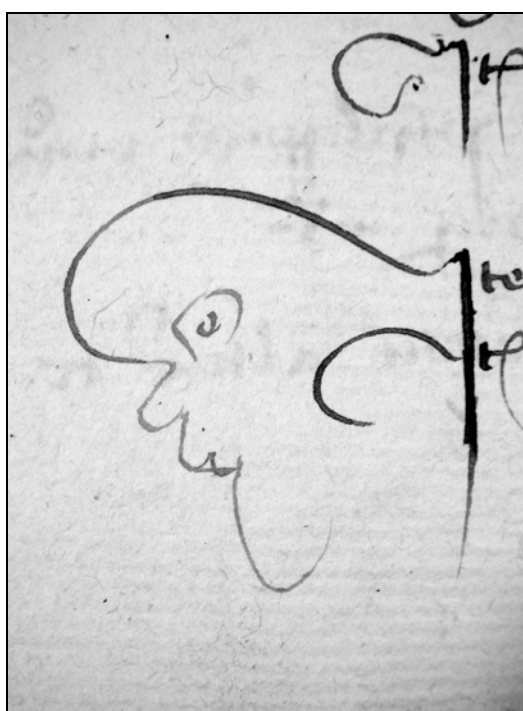
¹⁴⁶ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 152r.

¹⁴⁷ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 204r.

the case of the bird, at the beginning of a new date. This kind of decoration was in the general repertoire of scribes. In two out of three cases, the pages where they appear in the account book do not display any exceptional entries.



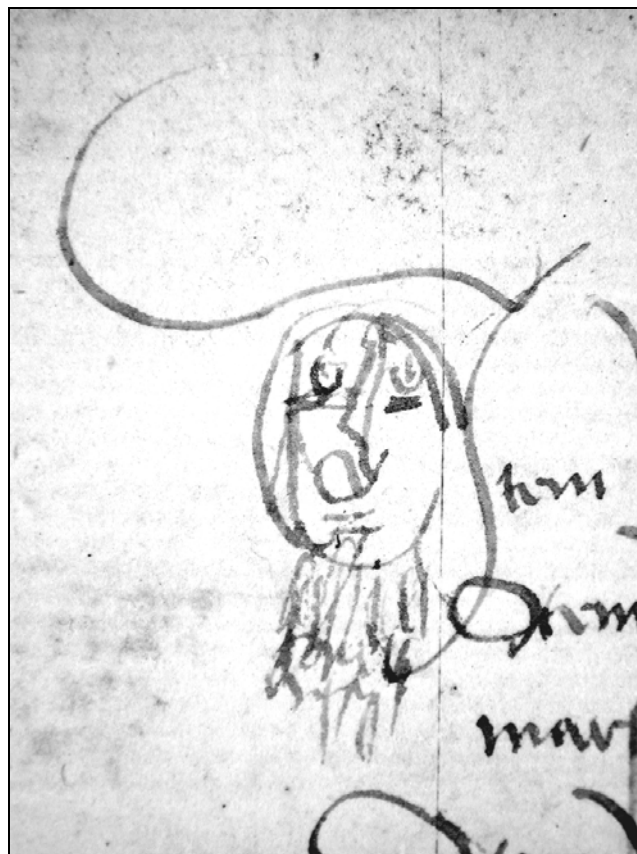
Ill. 56: Bundle, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 181r.



Ill. 57: Face in profile, Borchard Kenappel, TLA, Ad 15, fol. 264v.



Ill. 58: Bird (?), Christian Czernekow, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 152r.



Ill. 59: Capital letter with a face, Christian Czernekow, TLA, Ad 26, fol. 204r.

The case with the face, drawn in 1500 (ill. 59), is different. It stands at the beginning of the page where the long list of expenses starts for receiving the Master of the Teutonic Order in Livonia, Wolter von Plettenberg.¹⁴⁸ This visit was not only marked separately in the margins of the account book with an inscription, but was also treated at length in the preserved fragment of the chronicle of the town written by one of the participants, Burgomaster Johann Gellinghusen.¹⁴⁹ The visit of the master was preceded by tense negotiations on the conditions of his advent. Reval at that time was in a severe dispute with the nobility of Harrien and Wirland on the question of the right of peasants to move to town.¹⁵⁰ Reval wished to judge some noblemen because of their violence against the peasants on the territory of the town. The central issue was the question of who had the right to judge crimes committed in town. Reval insisted that it was the town's privilege and not that of the master. At the very last moment, a compromise was reached; the master recognised the town's right of jurisdiction, but took the culprit noblemen with him to town to pardon them in the course of his festive entry.¹⁵¹

In other words, these were remarkable days in the history of Reval. Nevertheless, it is difficult to say how much the face in the initial relates to these events. It stands at the beginning of the page and depicts a bearded man who shows his tongue (?). This widespread imagery of the devil¹⁵² could have been meant as a kind of curse towards the master, but it is also true that the initial is drawn at the beginning of the page and not at the beginning of the entries on the master of the Order. Looking closer, one could even say that the face was drawn with the same pen and ink which was used for the previous entry and that it differed from the pen and ink used on the day when the entries on Plettenberg were written. As a doodle, it could carry a variety of elusive meanings and would stand as such in a wide tradition of scribal scratchings.

The Dynamics of the Corpus

From this detailed description of different pictures found in the account books, it is time to turn towards a more general assessment of the corpus of pictures. As was already hinted above, they are not distributed evenly. During almost a hundred years different scribes also had different attitudes towards the margins and

¹⁴⁸ Published separately by: Johansen, "Ordensmeister Plettenberg", 101-102, 106-107.

¹⁴⁹ Nottbeck, "Fragment einer Revaler Chronik," 456 ff.

¹⁵⁰ Vilho Niitemaa, *Die undeutsche Frage in der Politik der livländischen Städte im Mittelalter* (Helsinki: Suomen Akatemia, 1949), here 137 ff.

¹⁵¹ On this practice, see *Katkendid Tallinna esimestest turberaamatutest 1365-1458. Revaler Geleitsbuch-Bruchstücke 1365-1458*, ed. Paul Johansen (Reval/Tallinn: Tallinna Eesti Kirjastus-Ühisus, 1929), Introduction, p. XXIII.

¹⁵² Aleksandr E. Makhov, "The Devil's Naked Tongue as an Iconographical Motif," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 53 (2006), 44-73.

drawings. This dynamic may be seen through a survey of the pictures according to the period each scribe held office.

Joachim Muter was the scribe whose repertoire did not change very much. He drew most of the horseshoes and the scales. These pictures, with some reservations, helped him in the administration of the urban accounts, that is, in calculating. Furthermore, the time of Muter was also otherwise characterised by the active use of the margins of the account books. He frequently wrote words in the margins to mark, for example, the entries on delegations, on the rescue of anchors, on setting the clock, etc. Muter also noted the money which was paid for the scribe, that is, for himself.

Reinold Storning proceeded very much in the same way as Muter, drawing repeated pictures, horseshoes, and scales. The number of marginal inscriptions, however, decreased during his time in office. One of the repeated marginal inscriptions referred to the expenses of the town during the quarrel with Engelbrecht Sturs, the servant of Karl Knutsson, king of Sweden.¹⁵³ Storning represented the town in this series of court cases. Evidently, at one point, the town council wanted to know the whole cost of this case.

Johan tor Hove widened the repertoire of pictures with the hammer of the whitesmith. He also used the pointing hand for noting historic events. The same could be said of his marginal inscriptions, which relate to diplomatic missions or to the hosting of the master of the Teutonic Order. Although tor Hove only drew two scales, one may still generally speak of a continuation of the tradition set by Muter and Storning.

The time of Paul Moller in the chancery of Reval is too short to speak of his style, but with the time of Borchard Kenappel the pictures in the account books started to change. The margins were not used that actively for inscriptions, aside from the fact that Kenappel almost always marked his own income. The only serious repeated picture in his case is the pointing hand, which he used for a short time to note the income of the town. It was new that Kenappel introduced non-repeated pictures like the cannons and towers. He was inclined to draw vignettes at the beginning of lines, and was able, as can be seen from the picture of his tower, to draw beautiful pictures. All this suggests that he, at least in some cases, regarded the pictures as a kind of decoration. When he was forced to draw routine pictures, like hands, the images became distorted.

Similar tendencies can also be followed in the case of Kenappel's successors, Christian Czernekow and Reinold Korner. Czernekow used a repeated picture, the cannonball, only once to calculate expenses. Beyond that, he drew non-repeated pictures like the ship, the clock, and the horse. These pictures are generally quite sketchy, and one is tempted to judge that he lacked a talent for drawing. There is, however, also the possibility that Czernekow did not really

¹⁵³ Reinold Storning was appointed representative of Reval in this complicated court case in 1457 (LECUB, vol. 11, no. 659). The issue of the disagreements is not clear; in 1461, Reval agreed to pay 1000 marks to Engelbrecht Sturs (LECUB vol. 12. no. 88).

want to decorate the book, but was rather spontaneously reacting to its content. The same may be said of the pictures by Reinold Korner. The total number of pictures, however, declined rapidly in Korner's period.

Otto Manow and Marcus Tirbach drew considerably less in the account books. The drawings in their time are connected with the short period of building the beacon on Dagö, in the case of Manow, or with some special event, like the visit of the bishop, in the case of Tirbach. The fact that during the long career of Tirbach as a scribe the pictures appear only at the very beginning hints at the possibility, also in the cases of some other non-repeated pictures, that the drawing was done by someone other than the scribe. Anyway, after 1521 there are no more pictures in the main text of the account books; the tradition of drawing had disappeared.

Dynamics are also characteristic of the account books as a whole. While the structure and the flow of the text of the books did not change during the period under consideration, the dynamics in the use of the margins indicate that there was a certain development in the use of the books. In the fifteenth century, the margins generally had many inscriptions, which cannot be said of the books of the sixteenth century. It has even been assumed that in the sixteenth century the clean copy of the account books was written at intervals of a couple of years.¹⁵⁴ The decline in the use of the margins could indicate a transition in the function of the account book. In the fifteenth century it still played an important role in the administration of the town's finances, while in the sixteenth century it became more and more a means of archival preservation.

The tradition of drawing in the account books thus has two different sides. The first was connected with the need for simple pictograms to find earlier entries to summarise. This pragmatic function of the pictures was dominant in the time of Joachim Muter and his successors. From the second half of 1470s, in the time of Borchard Kenappel, this started to change and the margins of the account books were covered with pictures which did not have such an explicit, pragmatic function as a finding aids.

Although the scribes had their preferences, and we may speak of a rough chronology of periods of domination of two different modes of drawing, there are also indications of the power of the book itself. The practices of former scribes influenced their successors. This continuity shows especially when the former scribe remained in town and occasionally helped his successor. In this way, we find, for example, the horseshoes Joachim Muter drew in the account books in the time of Reinold Storning¹⁵⁵ and the horseshoe Borchard Kenappel drew when Christian Czernekow was the scribe.¹⁵⁶ This continuity is also revealed in the later copying of earlier motifs at a time when they were no longer used for calculating. This is evident in the case of Czernekow's horseshoes.

¹⁵⁴ Kotter, *Tallinna rae finantsid*, 21, note 34, referring to the opinion of Jüri Kivimäe.

¹⁵⁵ TLA, Ad 15, fol. 245r, 27. Sept. 1460.

¹⁵⁶ TLA, Ad 26, fol. 154v, 5. May 1492.

Probably in this way Reinold Korner came up with the idea of drawing a drinking vessel¹⁵⁷ and revived the drawing of scales.¹⁵⁸ Korner's competence in using the books of the town from the remote past has been noted in other cases.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, it is possible that he drew in the books because he found pictures in the earlier account books, even though he was seemingly not aware of the original function of these pictures.

The Parallels

This brings us finally to the question of parallels of the drawings in the Reval account books. Finding such parallels is a laborious task for many reasons. Above all, marginal drawings as something worth studying have been neglected for a long time. For historians, the important and hard evidence has been the text of the source, and editions of town books have treated the drawings only superficially in the commentaries.

Scribal “art”, as already hinted above, was a widespread phenomenon. Many of its features, like drawing faces into the initials¹⁶⁰ or marking some lines with a pointing hand,¹⁶¹ were widespread throughout Europe. These motifs were also not specific to account books in the local context. Pointing hands can be found, for example, in the manuscript of Lübeck law used by Reinold Korner at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁶² David Sliper, a Dominican friar in Reval, also drew faces, among other things, in the initials in his *trivium* notebook.¹⁶³ Among Sliper's drawings, there are many fabulous creatures,¹⁶⁴ yet another common topic of doodles. Revalian account books, however, do not contain fabulous creatures but one (see ill. 58), and this is important to stress for the further analysis of the context of these pictures.

Looking back to the repertoire of the scribes in the account book, the pictures seem to be rather sober, even dull, reflections of the content of the text

¹⁵⁷ TLA, Ad 32, fol. 15v.

¹⁵⁸ The scales which Korner drew in 1509 (Ad. 32, fol. 16v), are the first after 1466.

¹⁵⁹ Tiina Kala, “Reinold Korner,” 133, note 54.

¹⁶⁰ Dick E. H. de Boer, “Illumination of accounts. Decorative tradition in the accounts of Holland, ca. 1360-1420,” in: *Masters and Miniatures. Proceedings of the Congress on Medieval Manuscript Illumination in the Northern Netherlands (Utrecht 10-13 Dec., 1989)*, ed. Koert van der Horst and Johann-Christian Klamt (Doornspijk: 1991), 303-314, here 311. Faces appear in the margins of the *Merchant Roll, c 1190-1265*, ed. Philomena Connolly and Geoffrey Martin (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1992), 56-57, 72-73.

¹⁶¹ *Helsingør Stadsbog 1554-1555, 1559-1560 og 1561-1565. Rådstueprotokol og bytingbog*, ed. Karen Hjorth and Erik Kroman (Copenhagen: K. Rosendahl, 1981), 331, 333, 337, 338, 398, 444, 467, 491.

¹⁶² TLA, Cm 19.

¹⁶³ Tiina Kala, *Euroopa kirjakultuur hiliskeskaegsetes õppetektides. Tallinna Dominiiklase David Sliperi taskuraamat* [Late medieval literary culture and school manuscripts. The handbook of the Dominican friar David Sliper from the Tallinn friary] (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2001), 160.

¹⁶⁴ Kala, *Euroopa kirjakultuur*, 170, 242

itself. This kind of practice is also known from other scriptoria of northern Europe. The town books of Helsingør, for instance, which contain the minutes and regulations issued by the council, contain occasional pictures: When the entry is on fishers, there is a fish in the margin, when on pigs, there is a picture of a pig.¹⁶⁵ Occasionally, the famous *Turmbuch* of Cologne, which contains court sentences, has drawings of the particular punishments in the margins: hanging, beheading, etc.¹⁶⁶ An even richer resource of pictures is to be found in the *Digestum Vetus* of Kampen, which is a town book with mixed contents that contains numerous entries on legislation and court practice.¹⁶⁷ Not only the margins were used for this purpose there, one also finds illustrations elsewhere in the text.¹⁶⁸ In other words, a drawn reflection of the content of the text in urban records was a widespread phenomenon.

Depending on the contents of the book, drawings like those in the *Turmbuch* of Cologne or the *Digestum Vetus* of Kampen tend to focus on sex and crime. Even when, for instance, in the case of Helsingør, the pictures could have served later as bookmarks to find a particular regulation issued by the town council, this was probably not generally their function. There, the occurrence of the pictures is too random to make such a system work or even to claim that it existed. Most of these pictures do not seem to have had a pragmatic function, and the impulse to draw most likely originated from the scribes' individual interests.

In Reval's account books, however, some of the pictures, most notably the horseshoe, had a pragmatic function. Despite various efforts, I have, for the time being, not found any parallel to this kind of calculating in other account books. Pictures appear as a finding aid in some sources, as for example in one of the late medieval Judeo-Italian prayer books.¹⁶⁹ In other urban account books of northern Europe, pictograms do not appear as such functional finding aids. Tracing parallels in the Hanseatic world is hampered by the fact that urban account books started to contain systematic entries very early, which made this

¹⁶⁵ *Helsingør Stadsbog*, 47 (pig), 232, (fish).

¹⁶⁶ Franz Irsigler, Arnold Lassota, *Bettler und Gaukler, Dirnen und Henker. Außenseiter in einer mittelalterlichen Stadt: Köln 1300-1600* (Cologne: dtv, 1989), 63, 256, 258, 261, 269, 280.

¹⁶⁷ There is an ongoing project in the Hanze Studie Centrum, University of Groningen, Netherlands, to realise an electronic publication of the *Digestum Vetus*, now preserved in the Municipal Archives of Kampen. I am grateful to Dick De Boer and his team in the Hanze Studie Centrum for the opportunity to become acquainted with this remarkable source.

¹⁶⁸ See also, for example, the pictures in the town book of Volkach am Main: Volker Honemann, "Stadt, Kanzlei und Kultur: Einführung in das Tagungsthema," in *Stadt, Kanzlei und Kultur im Übergang zur Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Rudolf Suntrup and Jan R. Veenstra (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), ix-xviii, here xiv-xviii.

¹⁶⁹ Nurit Pasternak, "Graphic Drawings as Signposts for Easy Spotting of Prayers. A Curious Navigation Aid Found in a Judeo-Italian Manuscript (MS London, BL Or. 2443)" in *Gazette du Livre Médiéval* 39 (Automne 2001): <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/ksbm/glm>.

kind of detailed (but from the functional side of administration also primitive) search tool superfluous.

Taking the wider perspective again, the occurrence of pictures in the account books is quite a common phenomenon. Some of the accounts, for example those of the Count of Holland from 1360 to 1420, were even decorated to an extent which enables comparison with illustrated manuscripts.¹⁷⁰ This kind of successful attempt to decorate the accounts is, however, rare among urban account books. The marginal drawings there are mostly sketchy doodles.

For the number and consistency of pictures in the account books I have found no parallel to the case of Reval. As close as Riga, the margins of the account book were used for writing, but only once for also drawing a pointing hand.¹⁷¹ This picture, just as most marginal inscriptions, related to the expenses of the town for a diplomatic mission. In Prussia, the margins of the account book of Elbing contain three coats-of-arms of the Teutonic Order,¹⁷² when the entries talk about meetings with the Order. The pictures of Elbing and Riga have analogies in the Reval corpus. It is worth stressing, however, that in the accounts of these two towns one finds only a few pictures, while in Reval there are hundreds. The pictures of Reval have many common features with scribal practices of other northern European urban chanceries, but as a corpus they are exceptionally rich and manifold.

The Reval Corpus of Pictures as a Historical Source

The final question concerns the source value of these doodles. We have seen that some of the pictures had a clear function as finding aids in book-keeping. There are, however, pictures which apparently did not have this function. How can they serve the historian in reconstructing the past? Could these pictures reveal the mentalities of the townspeople or their perception of urban life, and if so, then how?

The doodles are certainly rather spontaneous, one may even say accidental. In comparison with most other “art”, which involved time-consuming efforts of the artisan or even, in more complicated cases, lengthy elaborations of the programme with the commissioner and patron, doodles emerged from one stroke and do not bear many signs of cogitation. This feature certainly limits the possibilities of interpretation in cases of unique drawings. Arguably, the moment of drawing was random, and the drawing of the scribes could have been done absent-mindedly, almost unconsciously. But the reaction of drawing singles out the entries. Whatever made the scribe draw, it was something special that popped

¹⁷⁰ de Boer, “Illumination of Accounts,” *passim*.

¹⁷¹ *Kämmerei-Register der Stadt Riga 1348-1361 und 1405-1474*, ed. August von Bulmerincq (Leipzig: Duncker & Humboldt, 1909), 81, note.

¹⁷² *Nowa księga rachunkowa starego miasta Elbląga 1404-1414, część 1 (1404-1410)* [The new account book of Elbing old town 1404-1414, part one (1404-1410)], ed. Markian Peleck (Warsaw: Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe, 1987), 92, 161, 216.

out of the flow. Thus, despite the underlying randomness of the individual pictures, when taken together into a corpus of all pictures, they may reveal cultural patterns and could serve the historian for reconstructing the past.

The pictures witness some kind of experience. A difficulty in studying this experience lies in the fact that we are approaching the pictorial material verbally, while in the cases of most of the doodles the experience did not have to be verbal at all. In a way, we are trying to describe the indescribable. In the case of the pictures in the Reval account books, however, besides the non-verbal aspect (the picture) we also have its verbal reference (the entry), which allows access to the impulse for drawing.

Most of the pictures in the Reval account books depict something identifiable. Almost all drawings make reference to a particular entry. We can, thus, describe a circle of topics which made the scribes draw. The most conspicuous of them is the group of objects which was in some way connected with civic pride: towers, ships, cannons, horses or even drinking vessels. A field closely connected to this is diplomacy. On different occasions, the scribes marked entries that could be grouped under the denominator of historical-political events. Repeated pictures often referred to the income of town, but besides that many of the objects were connected with daily life in Reval: wheels, scales, and horse-shoes or shoes and limestone. Some of these objects, for example, the ships, could also carry multiple meanings; on the one hand, they were valuable property of the town to be proud of, but, on the other hand, just something that you would expect to come across in a major port town.

To some extent, the contents of the account books influenced the repertoire of the pictures. This is the reason why the Reval book, for instance, does not contain any sex and crime pictures, which appear in the *Tumbuch* or the *Digestum Vetus*. As the variety of entries in the Reval account books is huge, the scribes did not reflect everything they wrote down, but only a small segment. This may lead to the hypothesis that the pattern shown by the corpus of pictures was not totally random, and that the preferences described above mirror the facets of late medieval urban mentalities.

The pattern of drawing was of course not uniform. The pictures appear in connection with various types of entries, and not all entries of the same type always provoked drawing. The drawings were bound to the moment and to certain emotions of the moment. The variety of emotions behind the pictures can only be guessed at; maybe it was pain because of expenses, maybe relief because of good income. Some of the pictures communicate pride and joy, maybe others rather boredom or fun. Looking for the wider cultural context of the pictures, it may be noted that many of the motifs used in the account books could have an additional symbolic meaning, like scales, horseshoes, towers, a goblet, anchor, wheel, ship, etc. The textual side of the account book, however, does not support this connection; the account book was a secular pragmatic document, after all. Recognition of the symbolism of the pictures may have played a part in making the scribe draw, but it was certainly not the first intention of the scribes to com-

municate symbolic values. As was said above, the existence of any strong and systematic intention of the scribes can be seriously questioned in the case of unique pictures.

It is also important to ask about the context of the pictures, their authors, and recipients. The pictures appear in the town's books, which were kept by the scribes. The audience of these pictures was therefore quite limited. Only the council members had the right to look in the town's books, but we may doubt that all of them made use of this opportunity. The circle of frequent users of the book was most likely restricted to the scribe and the council members dealing with finances. We may regard the act of drawing, therefore, as an almost private, individual affair of the scribes. As important as bearing in mind the individual character of the pictures and the specific preferences that certainly existed among the scribes, it must also be stressed that it was not only one scribe who drew, but many. Maybe even some council members who were involved in writing the book drew in it occasionally. This is the reason why the corpus of pictures also hints at a perception of urban life that was collective, to some extent maybe even institutionalised. The treasury was one of the central institutions of the town council, and its account book was certainly among the most important documents of the urban community, an impressive volume with a clean copy, not a loose leaf of a draft.

Conclusion

Scribes drew pictures in the account books of Reval. The practice itself was widespread and there were many motifs, for instance, hands and faces, which can also be found elsewhere. In this sense, the pictures in the Reval account books stand in the general tradition of European medieval chanceries. The practice of directly reflecting the content of the text which is observed in the town's account books is likewise a widespread phenomenon in pragmatic literacy.

Reval's corpus of pictures represents specific features. Some of the frequently used pictograms, most notably the horseshoe, were used as finding aids. The scribes utilised the pictures to trace earlier entries of a certain type in order to calculate sums. Some pictures functioned as bookmarks to draw attention to earlier entries which one eventually had to find later. This practice was dominant in the account books until the late 1460s.

After that, the number of motifs among the pictures increased, but their use became more random. One can no longer speak of pragmatic functions. The pictures remained, however, in direct connection with the text. The scribes no longer had a strict programme in drawing the pictures and marginal drawings emerged out of the moment, spontaneously. Nevertheless, one may still characterise the circle of entries and connected drawings. The scribes reflected on objects of civic pride and valuable property of the town, as well as on smaller matters of daily life. Besides important historic events in the life of the town, mundane issues sometimes also received a drawing.

The image, as a perception or rather a feeling of urban life, had its limitations. The audience for the pictures as well as the circle of draftsmen was limited, the act of drawing itself tended to be random. The absence of a strict programme behind the drawings may be seen, however, as a virtue of the source. Through these doodles we are able to reach into the furthest corners of the minds of medieval scribes in a way that could not be rendered from other, more conventional, sources.

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