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REPRESENTATION OF THE LIVONIAN CLERGY IN 13TH–16TH CENTURY SIGILLOGRAPHIC SOURCES

INTRODUCTION

From the 4th to 11th century, the authentication of documents with a seal was an exclusively royal privilege. In the middle of the 11th century, the usage of seals entered the public circles of clergy, dukes, and counts¹. The theoretical beginnings of the study of seals can be traced back to the 13th century. Since the 17th century, the study of seals was viewed as a part of diplomacy. The work of Jean Mabillon (*Jean Mabillon*, 1632–1707) «*De re diplomatica*» (1681) can be

¹ *Bedos-Rezak B. M.* Women, seals, and power in Medieval France, 1150–1350 // Women and power in the Middle Ages. Athens; London, 1988. P. 61–63.

considered the first scientific work on sigillography, in which Mabillion proposed a specific method of seal analysis. Unfortunately, this method was mainly used for authentication of medieval documents. In Latvia research on sigillography began relatively late. Significant is the work of Johann Christoph Brotze (*Johann Christoph Brotze*, 1742–1823), who focused on copies of ancient documents, accompanied by pictures of seals. J. C. Brotze made drawings of various seals that belonged to archbishops, abbots, cities, nobles, etc.²

From the 17th century until the second half of the 20th century, seal research was based on the research model proposed by Jean Mabillon. The main task of this method is to acquaint the reader with seals, describing their features, owners, and their source value. However, in all works where this method is used, the only function of seals is their role in authenticating documents. No attention is paid to the social nature of seals, especially their role as a social tool that forms a link between rulers, authority, authenticity, kinship, and gender. The tendency to study various social groups in Western Europe dates back to the 1960s, while historians who study sigillography did not address this trend until the late 1980s. Unfortunately, there are very few studies where seals are analyzed using, for example, the iconographic analysis, mostly focusing on the analysis of a particular group of seals, such as the seals of cardinals³ or high-born women⁴.

Latvian State Historical Archive of the National Archive of Latvia holds large collections of parchment documents with pendant wax seals. These collections, until very recently, have not been properly examined even from the point of view of historical research. And consequently there have not been many studies of these seals.

The paper focuses on the investigation of the sigillographic sources: pendant wax seals that belonged to the representatives of Livonian Bishops and Archbishops of Riga. For this purpose, an analysis of wax seals from the Latvian State Historical Archive's, Fund 8, «Archives of Internal Magistrate of Riga», was carried out. Fund 8 is one of the largest funds, containing more than 700 pendant wax seals that were appended to documents from the beginning of the 13th century.

The paper is divided into two parts, the first part focusing on the wax seals that belonged to the representatives of the Archbishopric of Riga, and the second part focusing on the wax seals that belonged to the representatives of the Livonian Bishoprics.

WAX SEALS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF RIGA

The foundations for the establishment of the later Archbishopric of Riga were laid by the Christian preacher — monk Meinard. Initially, the bishop's chair was in Ikšķile (*Uexküll*,

² Broce J. K. *Zīmējumi un apraksti*. 1. sējums: Rīgas skati, ļaudis un ēkas. Rīga, 1992. L. 12.

³ Gardner J. 1) Some Cardinals' seals of the thirteenth century // *Journal of the warburg and courtauld institutes*. Vol. 38. London, 1975. P. 72–96; 2) Curial narratives: The seals of Cardinal Deacons 1280–1305 // *Good impressions: Image and authority in Medieval seals*. London, 2008. P. 85–91.

⁴ Danbury E. Queens and powerful women: Image and authority // *Good impressions: Image and authority in Medieval seals*. London, 2008. P. 17–25; Clark W. W. Some observations on pairs of French round seals from the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries // *Notes in the history of art*. Vol. 33. No. 3/4. Special issue on secular art in the Middle Ages. Ars brevis foundation. 2014. P. 34–43.

Üxküll or Yxkull), but with the foundation of Riga, it moved there. Three stages in the development of the Archbishopric of Riga can be distinguished:

Bishopric of Ikšķile (1186–1200);

Bishopric of Riga (1201–1255);

Archbishopric of Riga (1255–1561).

The oldest wax seal that belonged to the representative of the church is a seal of the first bishop of Riga, Albert I (*Albert von Buxhövdn*, c. 1165–1229). Albert was a bishop of Riga from 1198–1229 (Fig. 1). In total, five seals of Albert I have been preserved. There may have been more, but since many of the early 13th century seals survived only in fragments, the true number cannot be determined. All seals are made of uncolored wax and are round in shape; due to loss of some fragments, their measurements vary from 4,5 × 4 cm to 6,5 cm in

diameter. All seals depict a bishop seated on the throne with a crozier in the left hand, while the right hand is raised for a blessing. The legend reads: ALBERTVS DEI GRA LIVONENSIS EPS⁵. Albert's seals bear a strong resemblance to the seals of 13th–14th century rulers, both depicting throne-seated figures holding their regalia.

After the death of Albert I in 1229, Nikolaus (*Nikolaus von Nauen*, ?–1253) was appointed Bishop of Riga, who held office until 1253 and was the last Bishop of Riga. There are five seals preserved that can be attributed to bishop Nikolaus. Seals were made of uncolored or green wax, all have a pointed oval shape, and dimensions vary from 7–7,2 × 5–5,3 cm. However, the size difference is not too large, so it can be assumed that a single seal matrix was used. Seals also show the bishop sitting on the throne, with a crozier in his right hand and a Bible in his left hand. The legend reads: NICOLAVS DEI GRATIA RIGENSIS EPISCOPVS⁶.



Fig. 1. Seal of Albert I, Bishop of Riga, 1225 (LNA LVVA 8-2B-74)

In 1255 the Archbishopric of Riga was established and its first archbishop was Albert II Sauebeer (*Albert Suerbeer*, ?–1273). He held this post until 1273. There are four seals preserved that belonged to Albert II, three of which are double-sided. It is possible that the fourth seal also was double-sided, but it came off the cord and the reverse side disappeared. All four seals are from the period from 1256 to 1272, are made of both uncolored and red wax (this is the first case when the seal of the Archbishops of Riga is made of red wax, as the use of red wax in the later period is very typical), with the reverse of one seal made of green wax. They are pointed oval, with dimensions ranging from 6,7–7,3 × 4,7–5 cm.

⁵ National archive of Latvia, Latvian state historical archive (Latvijas Nacionālais arhīvs Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs, further — LNA LVVA). Fund 8. Inventory 2B. File 41 (further will be reduced as 8-2B-41 etc.), 2nd seal*; 8-2B-74, 2nd seal; 8-3A-3, 2nd seal; 8-3A-4, 2nd seal; 8-3A-7, 2nd seal. (*The indication shows which one is the seal in consecutive order from all of the seals attached to the document. If no indication is given, it means it is the only seal attached to the document.)

⁶ LNA LVVA. 8-3A-22, 1st seal; 8-3A-25; 8-3A-30, 2nd seal; 8-3A-33; 8-3A-34.

The obverse of Albert II's seals depicts a standing archbishop at the upper part of the seal. In the right hand, the bishop is holding a jug from which he is pouring water, while in the left hand he is holding a Bible. To the right from the archbishop is a novice with a crozier, and to the left stands a novice with a cross. At the bottom of the seal, four men standing in the river are depicted. Above their heads is a hand reaching from the sky. On the seal are three inscriptions — PCIA, LIVOI, and ESTONI — Prussia, Livonia, and Estonia. The legend reads: ALBT DI GRA ARCHIEPS PRVS BAPTIZO GETES OVARV DS ABLVE METES



Fig. 2. Seal of Albert II, Archbishop of Riga, 1272 (LNA LVVA 8-2B-43)

(*Albertus Dei Gratia Archiepiscopus Prusciae Baptizo Gentes Quarum Deus Alblue Mentes*). The reverse shows a standing archbishop with a scepter in the left hand while the right hand is raised for blessing. From the right edge of the seal, a hand is giving a crozier. On the right side of the archbishop's head is a half-moon, but on the left side is a star⁷ (Fig. 2).

Later seals of the Archbishops of Riga belonged to John I von Lune⁸ (*Johannes I von Lune*, ?–1284) and his successor John II von Fechten (*Johannes von Vechten*, ?–1294). There are only two seals preserved that belonged to each archbishop. Both seals are pointed oval and very similar in size, 8 × 6,2 cm and 7,5 × 5,5 cm respectively. The seals differ in color. The obverse of the John II seal is made of green wax, but the reverse is uncolored. In contrast, the seal of John I is made of red wax. The obverse of the seals of both archbishops is identical. The reverse side of the seal was used only by John II. Both seals show the archbishop seated on a throne with a scepter in his left hand, while the right hand is raised for a blessing. The only differences between the two seals are the legend inscriptions: S IONIS DEI GRASEE RIGENSIS ECCLIE ARCHIEPI⁹, and IONES DEI GRA SCE RIGEN ECCLIE ARCHIEPS TERCIVS, respectively¹⁰. There is also a depiction of an animal figure in John II's seal. The reverse of John II's seal depicts the coronation of Mary at the upper part of the seal. At the bottom of the seal a bishop on his knees, praying, facing the left side is depicted. The legend on the reverse side reads SECTV IONIS RIGEN ARCHIEPI TERCII¹¹.

There is only one seal preserved that belonged to the Archbishop of Riga John III von Schwerin (*Johannes von Schwerin*, ?–1300), which dates from 1296. The seal has retained its pointed oval shape and is made of red wax. However, the round shape of the seal is used in the reverse. Seals' obverse is 7,2 × 4,6 cm large, but the reverse is 2,8 cm in diameter. The depiction of the archbishop seated on a throne, with a scepter in the left hand while

⁷ LNA LVVA. 8-2B-43; 8-3A-44; 8-3A-53, 2nd seal; 8-3A-58, 1st seal.

⁸ LNA LVVA. 8-3A-62.

⁹ LNA LVVA. 8-3A-62.

¹⁰ LNA LVVA. 8-3A-75.

¹¹ LNA LVVA. 8-3A-75.

the right hand is raised for blessing, also has been retained. At the upper side of the seal, a seated Virgin Mary with Jesus is depicted. The legend on the obverse reads S IONIS DEI GRA SCE RI [...] CCE ARCHIEPI QVARTI. The depiction on the reverse side is round and it shows Jesus nailed to a cross, with people silhouettes standing on both sides¹² (Fig. 3 and 4). It is safe to assume that on the reverse side a counterseal (*sigillum secretum*) was used¹³.

From the mid-14th–16th centuries, the seals of Archbishops of Riga are very similar. Great seals and counterseals were used, and respectively they are pointed oval and round in shape, and all are made of red wax. The great seals depict an archbishop standing in the tabernacle with a scepter in the left hand while the right hand is raised for blessing. On the sides, angels are depicted, but at the top Mary's coronation is depicted. In this period the lower part of the great seals becomes more personal by adding two shields, one bearing the coat of arms of the Archbishopric of Riga, and the other bearing archbishop's family coat of arms.

There are four great seals of Archbishop Henning Scharpenberg (*Henning Scharpenberg*, ?–1448) preserved. All seals are pointed oval in shape and made of red wax.

Dimensions of all seals are similar — 7–8,5 × 4,3–5 cm. One shield at the lower part of the seal depicts the archbishop's office regalia, and the other depicts the coat of arms of the archbishop, a heraldic lily. Between the shields, an inverted branch with three leaves is depicted. The legend reads *Sigillum henninghi dei gra sce rigensis eccle archiepi*¹⁴. There have been five Archbishops' Silvester Stodewescher (*Silvester Stodewescher*, ?–1479) great seals preserved. All seals are pointed oval and made of red wax. Dimensions are 8 × 5–5,5 cm. In the great seals lower part also two shields with an inverted branch with three leaves are depicted. One shield depicts office regalia, while the second shield is parted per pale with three stars. The legend reads: *Sigillum sylwestri dei gracia sancte rigensis ecce archiepi ordiis theoi*¹⁵ (Fig. 5).

A different approach in the depiction of shields had Archbishop Michael Hildebrand (*Michael Hildebrand*, 1433–1509) and Archbishop Jasper Linde (*Jasper Linde*, ?–1524). There are four seals preserved that can be attributed to Archbishop Michael Hildebrand. They are pointed oval



Fig. 3. Obverse of the seal of John III von Schwerin, Archbishop of Riga, 1296 (LNA LVVA 8-3a-78)



Fig. 4. Reverse of the seal of John III von Schwerin, Archbishop of Riga, 1296. (LNA LVVA 8-3a-78)

¹² LNA LVVA. 8-3A-78.

¹³ Toll R. von, *Sachssendahl J.* Est- und Livlandische Brieflade. Viertel Theil. Siegel und Munzen der weltischen und geistlichen Gebietiger uber Liv-, Est- und Curland bis zum Jahre 1561. Reval, 1887. S. 99.

¹⁴ LNA LVVA. 8-3A-82; 8-3B-30; 8-3C-3; 8-3C-20, 1st seal.

¹⁵ LNA LVVA. 8-2C-9, 1st seal; 8-3A-39; 8-3A-40; 8-3C-29; 8-3C-33.

and made of red wax, and the dimensions of the seals are $8 \times 5-5,5$ cm. Also, four seals have been preserved that belonged to Archbishop Jasper Linde. They are pointed oval I shape and made of red wax, and dimensions are $8-8,5 \times 5-5,5$ cm. At the lower part of these seals, only one shield is used. The shield is parted per cross, 1st and 4th fields show the office regalia, a cross crossed with the bent scepter, and 2nd and 3rd fields show the family coat of arms, a claw cross for the Hildebrand family¹⁶ and the Linden tree for the Linde family¹⁷. The legends of the seals read: *Sigillum michaelis hildebrant Sancte rigen sis ecclie arepi ordis b m theicorum*, and *Sigillum dm iasperi Sancte rigen ecclie arepi or b m thevicoru*.

The counterseals also had few variations. Archbishop Silvester Stodewescher and Archbishop Jasper Linde used the depiction of a seated, crowned Virgin Mary with Jesus on her left hand. In the counterseals also two shields are depicted, one with the coat of arms of the Archbishopric and the second with the coat of arms of the family, parted per pale with three stars¹⁸ and Linden tree¹⁹ (Fig. 6).

Archbishop Jasper Linde had one more counterseal that depicts just a shield. Such a counterseal was in two seals. Both are round and made of red wax, dimensions are $3-3,3$ cm in diameter. In this counterseal a shield that is parted per cross is depicted. 1st and 4th fields show the coat of arms of the Archbishopric of Riga, but 2nd and 3rd fields show the family coat of arms, the Linden tree²⁰. Such a counterseal was also used on three occasions by Archbishop Wilhelm von Brandenburg (*Wilhelm, Markgraf von Brandenburg*, 1498–1563). These seals are round in shape and made of red wax, dimensions are $4,5$ cm in diameter. The shield is parted per cross with a heart. The 1st field depicts the eagle of Brandenburg, the 2nd the griffin of the Pomerania, the 3rd the Lion of Nuremberg, and the 4th field is parted per cross like the coat of arms of the Hohenzollern. The heart is also parted per cross where



Fig. 5. Great seal of Silvester Stodewescher, Archbishop of Riga, 1462 (LNA LVVA 8-3A-40)



Fig. 6. Counterseal of Jasper Linde, Archbishop of Riga, 1512 (LNA LVVA 8-2C-12A)



Fig. 7. Counterseal of Wilhelm von Brandenburg, Archbishop of Riga, 1547 (LNA LVVA 8-3D-20)

¹⁶ LNA LVVA. 8-3C-65, 1st seal; 8-3C-66, 1st seal; 8-3C-72; 8-3C-74.

¹⁷ LNA LVVA. 8-2C-13; 8-2C-16, 1st seal; 8-2D-36, 1st seal; 8-3C-76.

¹⁸ LNA LVVA. 8-3C-30; 8-3C-32; 8-3C-34.

¹⁹ LNA LVVA. 8-2B-76, 1st seal; 8-2C-12A; 8-2C-18; 8-2D-49A.

²⁰ LNA LVVA. 8-2D-48; 8-2D-49.

1st and 4th fields depict the office regalia, the 2nd the cross of the Livonian Holy Order, and in the 3rd is a heraldic lily²¹ (Fig. 7).

WAX SEALS OF THE BISHOPS OF LIVONIA

Under the direct authority of the Archbishopric of Riga were bishoprics of Osel-Wiek, Dorpat, and Courland, but the bishopric of Reval was economically bound to the Archbishopric of Riga. Bishops like archbishops used both great seals and counterseals. Also, the visual appearance of seals is similar to those that belonged to archbishops.

One of the oldest seals in Livonia belonged to Bishop of Osel-Wiek Konrad I (*Konrad*, 1297(?)–1307(?)). There are two seals preserved to this day which are from 1306 and 1307. Both seals are pointed oval in shape and made of uncolored wax, dimensions are 5–5,3 × 3,2–3,3 cm. Seals depict a standing bishop with a Bible in his right hand and a scepter in his left hand. The legend reads: S CONRADI DEI GRA OSILIEN ECCE EPI²².

There has been one seal preserved that belonged to the bishop of Dorpat, Engelbert von Dolen (*Engelbert von Dolen*, ?–1347). The seal is pointed oval in shape and made of uncolored wax, its dimensions are 7,5 × 4,9 cm. It shows a bishop seated on the throne with a scepter in his left hand and the right hand raised for a blessing. On the right side is a shield with the coat of arms of the bishopric, a sword crossed with the key. On the left side is a shield with the family coat of arms, three jackdaws. By the bishop's legs, an animal is depicted. The legend reads S ENGELBERTI DEI GRA [...] BATENSIS²³.

A different approach to the visual appearance of the great seal can be witnessed in the seals of bishops of Courland, Martin Levita (*Martinus Levita*, ?–1500) and Heinrich von Basedow (*Henricus von Basedow*, ?–1523). Martin Levitas' great seal has been preserved in two copies. Both are pointed oval in shape and made of red wax, and the dimensions are 8,5 × 5–5,3 cm (Fig. 8). Heinrich von Basedows' great seal has been preserved in one copy. It is pointed oval in shape and made of red wax, and its dimensions are 8,5 × 5,5 cm. Both Martin Levitas' and Heinrich von Basedows' great seals depict a standing Virgin Mary with the Christ child on her left hand in the middle. To her right is the Apostle John with a cup in his left and the Bible in his right hand. On the left, a man in a long coat holding a sword, with a man kneeling in front of him (possibly Saint Maurice), is depicted. At the lower part of the seal, a kneeling bishop with a scepter in his left hand is depicted. On either side of the bishop, a shield is placed. The shield on the right depicts a lamb with the cross flag, the coat of arms of



Fig. 8. Great seal of Martin Levita, Bishop of Courland, 1486 (LNA LVVA 8-3C-66)

²¹ LNA LVVA. 8-3D-13, 1st seal; 8-3D-20; 8-3D-29.

²² LNA LVVA. 8-3B-4; 8-3B-5, 1st seal.

²³ LNA LVVA. 8-3B-20, 1st seal.

the bishopric of Courland. The left side shield depicts the family coat of arms, the sun for the Levita family²⁴ and a shield that is divided per bend with two sickles for the Basedow family²⁵. The legends read accordingly *Sigillum martini dei gra epi curoniensis* and *Sigillum hinrici dei gra epi curoniensis*.

Unusual seal belonged to the bishop of Courland: Magnus, Herzog von Holstein (*Magnus Herzog von Holstein*, 1540–1583) (Fig. 9). The seal has been preserved in three copies, all are round in shape and made of red wax, and dimensions are 8,5 cm in diameter. Seals depict a bishop sitting on the throne with a scepter in his left hand. On both sides of the bishop, angels with horns are depicted, but above his head is the number of the year: 1562. The legend



Fig. 9. Seal of Magnus, Bishop of Courland, 1568 (LNA LVVA 8-3A-83)

is in three rows: SIGILLVM — MAIESTAT — IS MAGN — I DEI GRA — TIA EPISC — OPI OSIL — IAE MARI TIME C; VRONI — AE ECCLE — ESIARV — M AD — MINISTR — ATORIS — REVALIE — HAEREDIS; NORVEG — IAE DVCIS — SLESVIC — HOLSAT — STORET — DITMAR — COMI OL — ET DELM. Between the words in the legend 8 shields are depicted, they show coat of arms of Norway, Holshtein, Oldenburg, Reval, Courland, Saaremaa, Shtormran and Schleswig²⁶. The seal of bishop Magnus is the only seal that resembles the seals of rulers.

The counterseals of bishops are very similar and they all date back to the 15th and 16th centuries. A common visual appearance is a depiction of the Virgin Mary with Jesus, which is accompanied by the use of the bishop's family coat of arms. Such a depiction can be witnessed in the seal of Simon von der Borch (*Simon von der Borch*, ?–1492), Bishop of Reval. Simon von der Borchs' counterseals have been preserved in two copies. Both are round in shape and made of red wax, and dimensions are 4 cm in diameter. In one of the shields depicted on the seal, the coat of arms of the bishopric of Reval, two crossed scepters, are depicted, but the other shield depicts the coat of arms of the family, three birds²⁷. Bishops of Osel-Wiek — Peter Wetberch (*Peter Wetberch*, ?–1491) and John IV Kyvel (*Johannes IV Kyvel*, ?–1527) also used the same depiction. Peter Wetberchs' seals have been preserved in two copies, both seals are round in shape and made of red wax, and dimensions are 4,5 cm in diameter. John IV Kyvels' seal has only one copy. It is round and made of red wax, and its dimensions are 4 cm in diameter. The shields in their seals depict the coat of arms of the bishopric,

²⁴ LNA LVVA. 8-3C-65, 4th seal; 8-3C-66, 3rd seal.

²⁵ LNA LVVA. 8-2C-12, 1st seal.

²⁶ LNA LVVA. 8-3A-83; 8-3C-26; 8-3D-11.

²⁷ LNA LVVA. 8-3C-47; 8-3C-48.

the eagle. While the other shield depicts a bat for the Wertberch family²⁸ and a shield parted per fess, with three stars in the 2nd field for the Kyvel family²⁹.

Different visual appearances of the counterseal again relate to the bishopric of Courland. There are three counterseals preserved that can be attributed to bishop Martin Levita.



Fig. 10. Counterseal of Martin Levita, Bishop of Courland, 1482 (8-3C-58)

All counterseals are round and made of red wax, and dimensions are 4–4,5 cm in diameter. The seal depicts a ray-bound, crowned Virgin Mary on an overturned crescent, with Jesus on her left hand (a motif in art also known as Woman of the Apocalypse). At the lower part of the seal, at the feet of Mary, on the right side is a shield bearing the coat of arms of the bishopric, and on the left side is a shield bearing the family's coat of arms. The legend reads: *Secretu martini epi curonien*³⁰ (Fig. 10). The counterseal of the bishop Heinrich von Basedow has been preserved in one copy, it is round in shape and made of red wax, dimensions are 4,5 cm in diameter. It shows a shield parted per cross, the 1st and 4th fields showing the bishopric's coat of arms, and the 2nd and 3rd showing the family coat of arms. The shield is placed upon a crossed curved scepter and sword, above the shield the bishop's mitre³¹.

CONCLUSION

In the Middle Ages, the seal can be viewed as a sign that embodied both the personal identity of its owner and the structure of the society in which it was used³². Since one of the main tasks of the seal was to authenticate the document, the seal had to be a precise representation of its owners' name and status³³.

The earliest wax seals that belonged to the representatives of the Livonian clergy display a well-known image that had been used since the 4th century for depictions of Jesus Christ. This image can be both a symbolic reference to Christ, as well as distant representations of their owners.

In later periods, when bishops and archbishops are depicted standing in the church surroundings, such an image can be viewed as a more direct indication not only of the seal owner's status, but also of the public perception of how the seal owner should be represented³⁴.

An analysis of the seals of Livonian clergy reveal that several stages can be distinguished in their development, each of which has several common features:

²⁸ LNA LVVA. 8-3C-59, 2nd seal; 8-3C-60, 2nd seal.

²⁹ LNA LVVA. 8-2B-76, 3rd seal.

³⁰ LNA LVVA. 8-3C-58, 1st seal; 8-3C-59, 3rd seal; 8-3C-60, 3rd seal.

³¹ LNA LVVA. 8-2B-76, 2nd seal.

³² Bedos-Rezak B. M. Women, seals, and power... P. 61.

³³ Bedos-Rezak B. M. Medieval identity: A sign and a concept // The American historical review. 2000. Vol. 105. No. 5. P. 1489–1490.

³⁴ Danbury E. Images of English Queens in the Later Middle Ages // Historian. 1995. No. 46. P. 3.

Stage 1: early 13th century seals, characterized by the use of uncolored wax, and the transition to the pointed oval shape.

Stage 2: the middle and end of the 13th-century seals, characterized by the transition to use of red wax, and appearance of the first double-sided seals (where the reverse can be considered as the counterseal).

Stage 3: 14th-century seals, characterized by the changes in depiction, from the archbishop sitting on the throne with his regalia, similar to the seals of the 13th–14th century rulers, to depicting the archbishop standing in church surroundings. During this period, the use of the family coat of arms also appears.

Stage 4: 15th–16th-century seals, when archbishops used both the great seal and counterseal separately, as they were no longer used as the obverse and reverse of one seal.

During the Middle Ages, the Christian church was present in almost all the areas of life, hence the widespread prevalence of Biblical motifs, direct and indirect references to the Scriptures in the wax seals of this period.

The cult of the Virgin Mary in Livonia held an important place. Livonia itself and its main sacral building, the Riga Dome Church, were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Mary was the object of human devotion, well reflected also in the seals of bishops and archbishops of Livonia. It can be assumed that the depiction of the Virgin Mary was also one way of formation of the perceptions of what a woman should be. The Virgin Mary's image can be seen as a model for medieval women. The Virgin Mary was not only an indigent mother but also an example of simplicity, virginity, virtue, and humility³⁵.

Another important mode of self-representation was the use of the coat of arms. The display of a personal coat of arms on the seal adopted by bishops and archbishops was a clear indication of the owners' individual status and identity³⁶.

Medieval religious communities were specialists in symbolization. During the Middle Ages, they adopted and readjusted their equivalent of self-representation devices used not only in sigillographic sources but also in artistic and architectural works.

Информация о статье

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Заголовок: Representation of the Livonian clergy in 13th–16th century sigillographic sources [Репрезентация ливонского клира в XIII–XVI вв. на материале печатей]

Резюме: Статья посвящена исследованию вислых восковых печатей, принадлежавших представителям ливонских епископов и архиепископов Рижских. В рамках исследования были проанализированы более 700 подвесных восковых печатей из Латвийского государственного Исторического архива, фонда № 8 «Архив внутреннего магистрата Риги». Основное внимание уделено восковым печатям, принадлежавшим рижским архиепископам и ливонским епископам. Анализ печатей ливонского духовенства показывает, что в их развитии можно выделить несколько этапов. На самых ранних восковых печатях, принадлежавших представителям ливонского духовенства, изображен известный образ — епископ, сидящий на троне, держащий в руках регалии власти. Для самых ранних печатей было принято использовать неокрашенный воск. Печати в основном были круглой формы, но в XIII в.

³⁵ *Teplouhova I.* Sieviešu zīmogi un sieviešu attēlojums Livonijas vaska zīmogos // *Latvijas Universitātes Žurnāls Vēsture*. Nr 5. Rīga, 2018. L. 53–66.

³⁶ *Heale M.* Mitres and arms: Aspects of the self-representation of the monastic superior in late Medieval England // *Self-representation of Medieval religious communities* / Ed. by A. Müller and K. Störber. Berlin, 2009. P. 100.

произошел переход к остроконечной овальной форме. К середине и концу XIII столетия печати стали окрашиваться в красный цвет. В это же время появились и первые двусторонние печати, где реверс можно рассматривать как контрпечать. В этот период епископы и архиепископы изображаются стоящими около церкви, что указывает на статус и ранг владельца печати. В XIV в. также начинается использование фамильного герба. В XV–XVI вв. контрпечати используются отдельно как большая печать и контрпечать, а изображение, помещенное в них, показывает, что продолжает сохранять свою важность культ Девы Марии в Ливонии. Тем не менее, ливонские священнослужители применяют для саморепрезентации именно свой фамильный герб. Средневековое религиозное сообщество было тесно связано с символикой. В этот период времени происходила эволюция саморепрезентации, что проявилось в использовании, как сигиллографических, так и художественных и архитектурных элементов.

Ключевые слова: сигиллография, сфрагистика, восковые печати, Ливония, епископат, клир

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Title: Representation of the Livonian clergy in 13th–16th century sigillographic sources

Summary: The paper focuses on the investigation of the sigillographic sources — pendant wax seals, that belonged to the representatives of Livonian Bishops and Archbishops of Riga. For the investigation, more than 700 pendant wax seals from the Latvian State Historical Archive's Fund No. 8 — “Archives of Internal Magistrate of Riga” were analyzed. The paper focuses on the wax seals that belonged to the representatives of the Archbishopric of Riga, and representatives of the Livonian Bishoprics. Analysis of the seals of Livonian clergy reveal that several stages can be distinguished in their development. The earliest wax seals that belonged to the representatives of the Livonian clergy display a well-known image — a bishop seated on a throne holding his regalia. For earliest seals it was common to use uncolored wax, these seals mostly were round in shape but the transition to the pointed oval shape took place during the 13th-century. By the middle and end of the 13th-century seals transitioned into use of red wax. During this time also first double-sided seals (where the reverse can be considered as the counterseal) appeared. In this period bishops and archbishops are depicted standing in the church surroundings, indicating the seal owner's status and rank. In the 14th-century the use of the family coat of arms also appears. Counterseals in 15th-16th-centuries are used separately as the great seal and counterseal and the depiction used in them represent the importance of the cult of Virgin Mary in Livonia. Nevertheless, Livonian clergymen also used their family coat of arms for self-representation.

Medieval religious communities were specialists in symbolization. During the middle ages they adopted and readjusted their own equivalent of self-representation devices used not only in sigillographic sources but also in artistic and architectural works.

Keywords: Sigillography, sphragistics, wax seals, Livonia, bishops, clergy

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