SOME ASPECTS OF CULTURAL INTERACTION BETWEEN SWEDEN AND LATVIAN PART OF LIVONIA IN THE 17. CENTURY

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Preface. Background

Latvian history and culture in the 17th century grew out of the cardinal changes of the preceding century. With the spread of the Reformation movement, the Teutonic Order in Livonia and the Catholic Church lost their power as feudal seigneurs. Livonia’s neighbouring powerful absolute monarchies – the Polish-Lithuanian state, Sweden, Denmark and Russia – all claimed dominance in the Baltic region. In the wake of the Hanseatic League downfall, the Netherlands increasingly encroached on the Baltic seaborne trade. England, France and even Spain claimed their interests in the region. Rome, which strove to achieve its aims with the efforts of Livonia’s Catholic neighbours, was also interested in dividing the Hanseatic and Catholic Church heritage. Mutual fighting destroyed the medieval political and confederate administrative system.

Having agreed on a common political aim to keep Russia away from the Baltic Sea, other countries started a struggle for influence and territorial re-division, which resulted in new political and administrative borders and had an essential impact on the development of the economy, construction, art and crafts in the conquered territories. The 17th century concluded with the Polish-Swedish alliance’s invasion of the Baltic region in 1575–82, which resulted in a certain balance of forces and a mutual interest in securing power in Livonia. In 1561, a Poland-dependent vassal country, the Courland Duchy, was formed in the territory of the secularised German Order in Zemgale (Semgallen) and Courland. The Polish-Russian truce, signed in Zapolye in 1582, stipulated that Livonia should come under Polish rule. A year later, the Russians acknowledged Sweden’s claims on northern Estonia and Ingria (Ingermanland) at the Bay of Finland, but Denmark had to accept a few Estonian islands and
the territory of the former archbishopric of Courland, which in 1674 was integrated into the Duchy.

Naturally, the balance in the Polish-Swedish contest for political influence was not long-lasting. In 1592, Sigismund III Vasa, King of Poland and Lithuania, inherited the Swedish throne, and the denominational discord between the countries grew into a military conflict. In 1599, the Swedish parliament issued a special decree by which Sigismund III Vasa was dethroned, and in 1604 the Protestant Duke of Södermanland became King Charles IX. Under his leadership, a war had already been launched against Poland in 1600. The Swedes had first invaded Polish-ruled southern Estonia, then moved on to the Latvian part of Livonia. The intermittent warfare lasted until 1629 and then until 1653, when the respective Altmark and Stumsdorf peace treaties were signed. It was these victories that motivated Sweden to carry out certain reforms in the conquered territories, some of which were directly linked to the sphere of culture. Most of the author’s conclusions in this article are based on research of various archives in Sweden that have preserved a huge amount of information on Baltic history and culture in the 17th century, when political and economical interaction between Sweden and Livonia was most intensive.

The Northern War and the Great Plague laid waste to Estonia and Livonia both materially and population-wise. Count Sheremetyev’s army left behind ruins, trampled corn-fields, and slaughtered villages and farmsteads. Sheremetyev’s report to the Tsar in late 1702 is eloquent in describing the Russian army’s atrocities: “Almighty God and Our Lady have satisfied your wish. There is nothing else to destroy in the enemy’s land. From Pleskau [Pskov] to Dorpat [Tartu], down the Velikaya, along the banks of Lake Peipus up to the mouth of the Narva, around Dorpat, beyond Dorpat [...] and from Riga to Valka everything has been destroyed; castles have been blown up. Nothing has been preserved, just Pernau [Pärnu] and Reval [Tallinn], and a manor here and there along the seaside. Everything else between Tallinn and Riga has been razed to the ground. Inhabited places can be found on maps only. Captives can relate the experience of devastation. What shall I do with the plunder?”1 However, there was some cultural heritage that was partly saved from the sword and fire: church architecture and religious art. The Swedish administration had tried to rehabilitate social consciousness, which had been shaken by the Catholic Reforma-

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tion, to stabilise the Protestant Church as a united institution, and to fill the regained spiritual space with temples fit for Martin Luther’s teaching.

Between 1600 and 1621, during the changing fortunes of the Swedish-Polish War, the attitude of the Swedes to the Polish-ruled Courland, Livonia and Riga was unsparing. An example of a peculiar “interaction of cultures” is the fact that the altar of the Jelgava (Mitau) Holy Trinity Church – woodcut in Riga in 1620 – on Gustav II Adolf’s order, was taken away to Sweden in 1621 as a valued work of art and war trophy. There had been precedents: the altar and the pulpit from the Oliva church in Poland, as the property of General Wrangel, ended up in the Skokloster church. Because of their high artistic quality, works of art and crafts suffered the merciless fate of the spoils of war: outstanding masterpieces were snatched out of continental Europe to improve Sweden’s artistic collection and stimulate the development of crafts. The actual evidence for this can be seen in the hall of the St Nicolaus Church tower in Stockholm: the stone reliefs on the walls representing the Passion of Christ had been made in Riga in 1612 as decor for a new stone pulpit of Riga’s St Peter’s Church.

Once Riga and Livonia had fallen into the hands of the Swedes, the situation changed. Jesuits were banished, while their zealous adversary, the clergyman of St Peter’s Church Herman Samson, in 1622 was appointed by the Swedish administration as Superintendent of Riga and Livonia. In the early days of his service, the situation of churches and parishes was critical; there were only 46 parishes, and only half of them had churches, badly in need of repair yet temporarily fit for service. At the end of the Swedish rule in the Latvian part of Livonia alone, there were 92 churches and chapels in good repair, 29 stone and 63 wooden buildings. Eighteen churches had survived from the pre-Reformation period, but the rest were built or substantially repaired in the 17th century. Radical changes in the life of the Church took place at the end of the century, when the Swedish Church Decree issued by Charles XI was applied to Livonia. This promoted the translation and printing of the full text of the Bible in Latvian (1698), the opening of schools for children of Estonian and Latvian peasants, and the choosing of clergymen as well as educators from among the Latvians. These steps strengthened Lutheranism in the country and allowed an ever-increasing number of the indigenous population to obtain an average minimum level of intelligence – the ability to read and write.

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CARTOGRAPHY AND ITS ADVANTAGES

In the wake of the Renaissance, it was common practice in the modern era to mark the army’s disposition in the schemes of military strategists, engineers or cartographers, or even in artistically designed panoramas, with significant geographical details, objects, fortresses and their plans. The principal function of such drawings undoubtedly was the preservation of military information. These drawings are essential for the history of architecture because they show the development of those branches whose progress was motivated by war. It is only thanks to such drawings stored in the Latvian State Historical Archive and The Military Archives in Stockholm that we have an idea of the convent-type castle ensemble of the Cistercian monastery in Daugavgrīva (Dünamünde), on the right bank of the Vecdaugava (Alt-Düna). Founded by Bishop Albert in 1205, it has not survived. The Teutonic Order had made it an important fortress at the mouth of the Daugava. Stephan Batory, too, had realized the strategic importance of the place and in 1582 had ordered the fortification of Daugavgrīva, adding a moat and bastions. The fortification system with round bastions-rondels, invented by Italian Renaissance engineers and widely used elsewhere in Europe, was already known in the Baltics at the turn of the 17th century. This system made it possible to keep the battle off the castle walls and to form an additional protective line of canons, but it was not efficient enough in modern warfare. In 1608, having re-occupied the fortress and wishing to blockade Riga’s trade, the Swedes sank several ships in the mouth of the Daugava, thus fostering a silting-up process. The Military Archives in Stockholm have preserved a map of the Daugavgrīva fortress, which gives a detailed plan of the blocks of the castle, as well as the perimeter protective wall, with Polish-built circular rondels. Evidence of the fact that the Swedes had, already in the mid-17th century, thought of modernising the old fortress can be found in another chart, which shows a castle with a hexagonally fortified island and rhombic bastions at the angles, in accordance with the modern fortifications of the French architect Vauban’s design.

Cartographic and graphic materials, which from the point of view of the genre could be defined as a transitional stage between a battle scheme and a topographical chart, record the persistent Swedish expansion and, paradoxical as it may appear, its progressive role in the sphere of culture. The disposition of forces for the battle at Salaspils (Kirchholm) on 17 September 1605 was presented by an anonymous topographer as a dispassionate
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arrangement of figures, while the witness of the battle at the Valle (Wallhof) clergyman’s mansion on 7 January 1626 laid out the development of the events in several scenes, like a real masterpiece, depicting the attacking Swedes and the disgraceful flight of the Polish army. The panoramic copper engraving is full of details and expression, which is typical of the pompous genre of battle-painting, and it is easy to see the engraving as a plafond or a mural like the ones in the Castle of Stockholm or Skokloster palace. The Army Museum in Stockholm holds a unique relic – the map of the siege of Riga, made by the cartographer Georg von Schwengeln in 1621 and showing the attack of the Swedish army under the leadership of their King, their victory over the Poles, and a detailed topography of the vicinity of the city (Fig. 1). With the exactness of an eye-witness and good knowledge of the locality, von Schwengeln created a panorama of the attack that is rich in detail and encyclopaedic in the realistic depiction.

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3 The Military Archives of Sweden [Krigsarkivet, KrA], Ordres de Bataille, Bd I, Sammanstalt av E. Dahlberg och dedicerat till Karl XI, 44.


5 Army Museum [Armémuseum Stockholm], Vera Delineatio memorabilis obsidionis Rigensis Metropolis Livoniae a. Seren. R. Sueciae Gustauo Adolpho die 16 septembris Anno 1621 occupata, 82,6 x 42,5 cm.
of the social background of the episodes. The cartographic value of the impressive picture is undeniable: it gives a visual sense of the Swedish navy and the architectonic qualities of the objects in the vicinity of Riga.

To have control over the territories conquered after 1621, the Swedish king established the post of governor general. The administration of Estonia, Livonia, Ingria and Keksholm in 1628 was entrusted to State Councillor Johann Skytte, who chose Riga for his seat. The politics and economy of the two major cities Riga and Narva were also under the control of specially appointed governors. The historian Edgars Dunsdorfs, describing the functions of the governor general, created a striking impression of the scale of changes that were necessary to secure the rule of a united and strong super-power in the new territories. The Riga and Livonian governor had “to organise courts, consolidate the matters of the Church, set up schools, arrange taxing and financial matters (including credit for the administration), revise privileges, organise the cavalry service, keep abreast of the intentions of the Russians and the Poles, together with the Poles outline the borders of the Duchy of Courland and Polish Livonia, take care of castles and fortifications, and form a support base in the supervised territory for the Swedish war in Germany”. The Swedish administrative division of Estonia and Latvia envisaged four districts: Riga, Koknese (Kokenhusen), Pärnu and Tartu. Before the Northern War, the districts were subdivided into castle courts or parishes. From a peasant’s point of view, the most important administrative unit was the manor, to which the peasant, as a producer, belonged body and soul. The other bigger towns – Cēsis (Wenden) and Valmiera (Wolmar), as the share of the Catholic Church, were included in the territory allotted to Axel von Oxenstierna. Riga and Koknese had their own town council rule.

On the initiative of Gustav II Adolf, the production of maps in Sweden was started in the 1620s. He had found maps useful on his military campaigns. The occupation of Riga in 1621, for example, was made easier because the fortification plan (the work of the Dutch engineer Crayle von Bemberg) had been secretly delivered from the besieged city to the King. A home-produced map of Scandinavia and all the countries bordering on the Baltic Sea was printed in Stockholm in 1626. Created by V. Trautmann and A. Bureus, it was an invaluable contribution to the precise mapping of Finland and other provinces. Gustav II Adolf was extremely interested in uniting and developing his empire, and for this he needed graphic images

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6 Edgars Dunsdorfs, Latvijas vēsture 1600–1710 (Uppsala: Daugava, 1962), 70.
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of all its regions and towns. In order to have an overview of revenues from agriculture, to plan mining industry, to design castles, towns and fortresses and, last but not least, to ensure successful expansion of the Swedish army and navy in Europe by providing them with intelligence information, in 1628 the King established the State Survey Department. A number of cartography specialists were involved in its activities, among them the engineer, town- and fortress-building expert Örnehufvud, General Crayle von Bemberg and Schwengeln, a resident of Riga.7

It is interesting to follow the career of Georg von Schwengeln in Sweden’s military service, which also shows how open the Swedish recruiting policy was to good foreign specialists. The Baltic-born German cartographer “Prutenus Civis Rigensis”, as he called himself on the panoramic map of the occupation of Riga, seems to have had a good humanitarian education. From the scope of his activities, it is obvious that he knew Polish, Latin, German and, possibly, a Latvian dialect. Soon after the occupation of Riga, he entered the Swedish service and started working. On 6 April 1625, Field Marshal Jacob de la Gardie sent Schwengeln, with a letter of mission, to Stockholm to hand the plan of the town and fortress of Koknese to Gustav II Adolf, before the intended decisive battle. Thanks to this information, the Swedes achieved an easy victory and occupied Koknese on 14–15 July 1625. In the years to come, the king presented Schwengeln with landed property in southern Estonia. De la Gardie, in his letter of 8 April 1625, wrote to Axel von Oxenstierna: “He [Schwengeln – O. S.] will serve for it with his life and blood.”8 Owing to his knowledge of languages, cartography skills and the know-how of fortification construction, in 1627–28 he was entrusted with a diplomatic mission to Poland, as well as the making of maps of Estonia, Livonia and the island of Saaremaa (Ösel). Schwengeln also drew the earliest scale maps of Riga’s vicinity and of Zemgale. One of Schwengeln’s maps, in Indian ink, bears the date 1628; the other, coloured and informative, dates back to 1634 and spans the territory from Riga to Jelgava, and from the village of Kauguri (Kaugershof) to Bauska (Bauske). His task was to delineate as clearly as possible the border between the Swedish-occupied Livonia and Riga, and the Duchy of Courland.

In his letter of 10 March 1631 to Chancellor von Oxenstierna, Schwengeln wrote that Valmiera’s fortification improvement project had been

8 Ibidem, 68.
completed. His Majesty’s cousin being the owner of Valmiera, it was his
duty, upon accepting the award of a town, to fortify it properly and main-
tain a garrison there. In the 1630s, Schwengeln worked out similar plans
for improved town planning and fortifications for Tartu, Narva and Kek-
sholm. In appreciation of Schwengeln’s loyalty and achievement, on 31
August 1631 King Gustav II Adolf ennobled him. Moving up the career
ladder, Schwengeln was given the post of Field Headquarters Intendant,
and in 1642 he became the Intendant of Ingria, Estonia and Livonia. After
that, he worked on the map of the Daugava and the design of new fortifi-
cations on the banks of the Daugava; he also prepared fortress drafts for
Nyen (now St Petersburg), Pärnu, Kuressaare (Ahrensburg), Yama and
Narva. Desiring self-assertion in his role of military commander, he was at
the head of his army units in Finland, Lithuania, Germany and Denmark.
Schwengeln concluded his military career in 1661, retiring at the rank of
Major-General and spending the last years of his life at his Estonian hold-
ings of Kastre (Kaster), Haage (Haakhof) and Varangu (Wrangelshof).

The by-products of cartography and land surveys of Schwengeln’s time
were drawings of town panoramas, plans and maps of towns, topographic
maps of fortresses, castles and manors, and of new military or residential
architectural ensembles. They were cooperative achievements of mili-
tary spies, engineers, cartographers and the employees of the State Sur-
vey Department. In terms of Latvian history and culture, the most impor-
tant achievements are the approximate topographic drawings of Liepāja
(Libau) and Ventspils (Windau), and of the port towns of the Duchy of
Courland (in the collection of maps in the Military Archives of Sweden).
The mid-17th century drawings give an insight into the development of
the two ports. Having entered a competition with Riga, they also became
objects of Swedish strategic interest in Courland. The image of Liepāja is
engaging, with its “hornwerk”, the defensive structure of the port and the
bridge. However, the shipyard that was depicted on the fringes of the port
of Ventspils, for any researcher of sacral art, is primarily associated with
the workplace of the Soeffrens, woodcutters for three generations. They
used to cut wooden figures for the ships that were built in the Duchy, but
in their free time they made church interiors. Neither seas nor museums
have preserved the Courland ships, but the sculptures in church interiors
have immortalised the names and work of these woodcutters.

The first Swedish surveyors whose activities can be traced in Estonia
and Latvia, as early as the 1640s, were Jonas Mefäld and Johann Samuel
Faber. Many other surveyors and topographers, some known and others
unknown, worked at the time, their commissions being to put on paper the fortresses of the medieval Livonian confederation and to appraise their military potential. The Swedish Military Archives in Stockholm saved several hundred plans of the Baltic castles and fortresses, along with various measurements and drawings, from being lost during the Northern War or confiscated as war trophies in Russia’s vast collections of documents. As concerns the evidence of the architectural objects that have not survived, the cartographic plan of the castle of the Teutonic Order and a mill, and their vicinity in Ādaži (Neuermühlen), are of particular interest. Signed by J. Palmstruck, the map shows a stage of this important Livonia military and trade route, whose security, control and tax collection were ensured by the castle garrison. Other plans document, for example, the walls of castles in Bērzaune (Bersohn), Rūjiena (Ruien) and Ērgeme (Ermes) – in later centuries they suffered considerably from erosion and deformation. In a similar fashion, plans depict the Swedish period alterations to the modest bishop’s castellum in Vecpiebalga (Alt-Pebalg): ramparts, bastions and an extended defensive masonry wall.

During the reign of Charles XI, reforms in the army supply system and the reduction of estates in Sweden’s overseas provinces triggered off further extensive survey work. Cartography reached an altogether different scale and quality. In 1681, 38 surveyors under the leadership of Major Emerling travelled to Riga to prepare cartographic material for the Great Land Cadastre. The mapping of Livonia took five years, but in 1691 surveyors were commissioned to take comprehensive measurements for the layout of roads and milestones, in order to solve borderline disputes and apportion new estates.\(^9\) In 1691–92 these activities extended to visual and cartographic recording of churches. Compared to von Schwengeln’s “subjective artistic” maps, the new cartographic methods and instruments ensured a greater degree of precision and quality, introduced symbols for the unified recording of information and removed marginal data. The map scale was in Swedish cubits, with occasional addition of a diagonal scale. The graphical culture of drawings was also much higher than that of the maps in the first half of the century. This is why a highly-paid surveyor’s qualification could be obtained only after a special course, followed by practice and, beginning in 1687, passing an examination under the supervision of the Director of the Land Survey Department.

\(^9\) The National Archives of Sweden [Riksarkivet, RA], Kartavdelning, Livonica, Riga, Handlingar vol. II – 165 a. Map by landsurveyor J. Svenburg from Riga to Pinkenhof supplemented by milestones, 1671.
The Uppsala University library houses a remarkable map of the Central Livonia estates and farmsteads. Hand-drawn, and of good graphic quality, the map depicts the territory from Gaujiena (Adsel) and the Gauja (Liefländische Aa) bend in the north, to Veselava (Meselau) and Bauņi (Baunenhof) in the south, Trikāta (Trikaten) being the furthermost point to the west and Piebalga (Pebalg) and Ranka (Ramkau) to the east. The drawing skill and imagination of the surveyors is admirable, for they adorned the map with coloured cartouches and an ornate rose, at the same time providing visual and detailed information on farmsteads, manors, churches, castles and towns. Included on the map are roads and inland waters, and there is an attempt at presenting relief features. There is only one hand-drawn map that displays an even higher degree of precision – the map of the Duchy of Courland that was created in two months (August 1710 and June 1702) by surveyors under K. M. Stuart’s supervision. The map is in the State Archives of Sweden and was made to determine the taxes for the Courland estates that had fallen into the hands of the Swedes. The high quality of the map is the work of the next generation of surveyors.

MANOR AND CIVIL ARCHITECTURE. GARDENS

The Swedish warfare in Central Europe and Northern Europe all through the 17th century brought into the country new ideas, human resources and material values. During the reign of Gustav II Adolf, Sweden started “cutting a window to Europe”, to acquire wealth and to modernise the country’s archaic lifestyle. Similarly, in the 18th century Peter I announced this as the goal of his foreign policy. Coming into contact with the cultural achievements of Denmark, Germany, Bohemia, Poland and Austria, the Swedish aristocracy became familiar with the art and architecture of these countries. The culture of construction was noticed and appreciated; trends in interior design, fashion, etiquette and the spiritual content of everyday life were tailored to the Swedish mentality, environment, traditional building materials and concept of taste. For European culture, this was a transitional period from High Renaissance to Baroque aesthetics, and Sweden attempted to master the “thesaurus” of this system of culture. A collection of graphic pictures, “Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna” (1716), compiled by E. Dahlberg and containing several hundred copper engravings,
documents Sweden’s panoramic image, which had changed over a brief period of time into that of a superpower with towns, castles, manors, fields and gardens. Sweden’s rulers, aristocracy and the common people could rightly boast of these achievements for, without losing their self-esteem or Scandinavian identity, they had acquired archetypes of Central European culture and synthesized them in a typically Swedish manner. This is manifested by castles and their interiors in Skokloster, Angsö, Tidö, Gripsholm and Läkö, numerous art collections, parks and gardens. Did this culture leave any perceivable trace in the politically dependent, though patriarchal Latvia? Prior to the Swedish potential cultural “offer”, Latvia already had its own structure, with a “German-forged” overlay of colonial culture on top of the ethnographic culture of the Baltic people. The answer is yes, it did leave a trace, although the Swedish military and political elite stayed in Livonia sporadically, never really contemplating settling down in Livonia. Their estates in Latvia and Estonia were run by lease-holders or specially appointed administrators, who were not always Swedes. This fact considerably hindered the inflow of archetypes of Swedish material culture into rural areas of Latvia. Just as in earlier times, characteristic features of Latvian countryside were both dispersed peasant farmsteads and evidence of German colonial culture: manors, inns, mills and medieval urban structures – towns and castles.

Today we cannot find examples of the 17th century civil engineering that would allow us to have a clear idea of the Swedish building traditions striking root in Latvia. However, even indirect evidence can lead to conclusions about common processes and also cultural interaction. Latvia’s culture landscape has not been documented the way Dahlberg had done, though maps, plans, and surveyors’ drawings contain evidence. By summing them up, a more comprehensive impression can be obtained. In the politically restless century of Swedish rule, rural manors were usually enclosed constructions. Following the contours of the fencing around the territory or the inner logic of the functional structure of the ensemble, the main buildings of the manor were placed around a courtyard, while secondary ancillary buildings were freely dispersed throughout the rest of the manor territory, or at the sides of access roads. Surveyors, with quite a bit of precision, fixed the manor plans, reflecting even the visual aspect of the buildings and commenting on the functions of the buildings. In an anonymous surveyor’s carefully water-coloured plans of manors at Rauna (Ronneburg), Sigulda (Segewold), Smiltene (Smilten), Krimulda (Kremon) and
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Turaida (Treyden), one can easily make out the most important residential and household buildings, as well as ancillary structures, bridges, fences and gardens. The Smiltene manor plan is especially rich in details, where among other buildings there is a brewery and a granary; the farming centre consists of three fenced-off and, consequently, protected territories: a) ancillary buildings within the old castle walls; b) the manager’s residential building, granaries, and stables behind the main gate with a tower and a rectangular fence; and c) a separately fenced-off fruit-and-vegetable garden, with elements of regular planning. The details of the drawing lead to the conclusion that all the buildings, including the single-storey residential building, were built of wood and had plank or reed roofs. There is no information as to whether paint as an additional decorative element had already been used in Latvian rural wooden architecture, for example, tar, quicklime or the “Swedish red” pigment.

At this time, when Livonia and Scandinavia were one, some farmsteads or smaller manors were arranged with considerable taste and architectonic, as well as artistic, quality, for example, Närkö’s manor house, wooden, on brickwork foundations, in Skansen of Stockholm. Its interior displays a wish to follow the architectural examples and stylistic novelties of the magnates’ castles: there are wooden floors, tile stoves and furniture for various functions; ornamental and genre paintings adorn the walls and ceilings. There is period-specific luxury in every detail: the symmetrical placement of ancillary and decorative buildings in the front courtyard, an alley of trimmed lime-trees, a pergola, a tea-house and a Baroque garden of geometrical forms.

The few available materials of cartographic iconography make it possible to make assumptions, but it is not possible to determine how the manor houses corresponded to the general picture of 17th century architecture. The maps that were drawn when the Livonia estates underwent the reduction process show, for example, the Skujene (Schujen) manor house. In 1625 Gustav II Adolf had given the estate as a present to State Marshall K. K. Gyllenhielm, and the manor house must have been built by its previous owner. It had been a long, single-storey horizontal-log structure with a ridge roof and a row of windows that hinted at the interior plan. The surveyor drew a development plan similar to the Jaunpiebalga (Neu-Pebalg) manor, the property of the same owner. At the centre, towards the middle of the courtyard, stands the manor house. However, the Vecpiebalga

manor house, whose construction after 1670 coincides with the appanage of Queen Hedvig Eleanora, in splendour and scope seems to have outdone the other two. The Vecpiebalga residential building in the late 17th century might have been built on stone or painted decorative rustication foundations – a lord’s manor house built of smoothly trimmed logs and decorated with a portal.¹³

The Governor General and Gustav II Adolf’s Field Marshall G. K. Horn’s wish to build a residence for himself on his estate at Vainiži (Wainsel) near Limbaži (Lemsal) is a rare exception in the Swedish vice regents’ attitude to their life in Livonia. Horn had participated in the conquest of Livonia; in the Thirty Years War he was one of Gustav II Adolf’s closest companions-in-arms. It was primarily to such loyal supporters of the king that the newly acquired lands and estates were allotted. Horn, awarded the districts of Alūksne (Marienburg) and Gulbene (Schwanensee), as well as the Vainiži estate, after 1638 was the third biggest land proprietor in Livonia, after Axel von Oxenstierna and Baner. The National Archives of Sweden in Stockholm have preserved the surveyor Faber’s plans (1649–

¹³ RA, 2042:05, Kartor och ritningar No. 233, “Pebalg”.

Fig. 2. Johann Samuel Faber. Plan of the estate Vainiži (Wainsel) and baroque garden (The National Archives of Sweden).
54) for the layout of a manor ensemble and a Baroque garden (Fig. 2). The first page of the project folio displays his intention of building a new manor castle, surrounded by a circular moat and a fence. In the plan it is called “a new, big building” (Stoora nya Bygningen), to be supplemented beyond a moat, with extensive outbuildings, ponds, a mill, fruit-and-vegetable gardens and decorative parkland. Although the idea was never implemented, it deserves high praise as an ambition to build a spacious lord’s manor house, which would consist of two rectangularly conjoined parts, and to lay out the earliest known Baroque garden in Latvia where, within a rectangular fence, smaller and bigger fruit-trees would be planted in straight rows to form squares. Other project pages reflect the surveyor Faber’s proposal to plan the garden according to the “closed rooms” or boscage principle – placing the plants evenly within the fenced territory or arranging them along the perimeter.

In the latter part of the century, Baroque gardens with trimmed hedges, labyrinths and complicated geometrical patterns were a common feature. Palmstruck’s project of the Citadel of Riga (1672) also intended to surround the military headquarters with a Baroque garden of regular forms. A garden that actually existed and that was included in the Rauna castle plan by an unknown Livonian surveyor in 1699 is impressive in its almost royal splendour. And it is no wonder, since Rauna had been bestowed on the Swedish State Marshall Baner, whose widow and progeny maintained the estate until the Northern War.

Common guidelines in art unite the architecture of all the towns on the Baltic Sea coasts during the Renaissance and Baroque period. The geographical placement of Riga in terms of the Baltic Sea urban culture is defined by its being between Danzig and Stockholm. It is for this reason that the facade of Schantzskas huset at the Stockholm Big Market (Stortorget 20) manifests, firstly, the inspiring influence of the architecture of castles and residences in the facade design of domestic buildings, and, secondly, a certain affinity with the facade of the Riga Great Guild. This could be a case of an eventual prototype and a variant of it, enriched by the same sources of cultural impressions within the limits of a style. A Riga burgher had also followed this or a similar example when building the Mentzendorff House in the mid-17th century. In terms of the wealth of interior decoration of private houses, there may be no better example than the 1992-restored Mentzendorff House. Its walls and ceilings are covered

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At the end of the century, when the new houses embodied the flourish of Baroque as a synthesis of architecture and sculpture, activities of domestic building were remarkably on the increase. The house of the merchant and town councillor Johann Reutern, built in 1686 at Mārstaļu Street 2, the house at Mārstaļu Street 19, built ten years later by his son-in-law, the merchant Metsue von Dannenstern (Fig. 3), and the recently restored house of Michael von Strokirch at Pils Street 21 are examples of the most embellished Baroque domestic buildings of burghers in the Baltic region, and their relation to the Stockholm building culture is obvious. The last decades of the 17th century in the architecture of Riga was a boom period, displaying the architect Ruppert Bindenschuh’s talent. Having come to Riga from Strasbourg, he created houses, towers, portals and facades that featured borrowings from the Amsterdam Palladian building culture, as well as from the classicized Baroque buildings of Stockholm. The facades of the outstanding buildings in Riga were adorned with pilasters of a high order, and a richly decorated finish of fruit, acanthus

Fig 3. House of Reutern and house of Dannenstern in Riga. Photos by Vitolds Mašnovskis.

leaves and allegories, where a parallel with the buildings designed by Tessin, Spihler and de la Vallet (the Stockholm Riddarhuset and the Göteborg Town Council\textsuperscript{16}) and other stylistically related buildings of Charles XI’s time is undeniable. On similar evidence, one may even assume that the project author for the ennobled merchant von Dannenstern’s dwelling house might have been N. I. Eosander, who was experienced in the Baroque culture. He had for many years worked in Riga, Narva and Stockholm and had even been the town architect of Stralsund, where he designed Wrangel’s castle (Fig. 4),\textsuperscript{17} in terms of forms very close to the Dannenstern house.

What else characterises the close ties between Livonia and Stockholm and the whole of the Kingdom of Sweden? What symbols express the essence of these one hundred years of alliance? One of them could be the Lyceum for the preparation of civil and military functionaries. It was founded by King Charles XI and opened in 1675. Over the course of time, it was moved, but the foundation plaque and the royal insignia with the inscription \textit{Lyceum regium Caroli XI pietate fundatum Anno 1675} has survived on the facade of the building that now belongs to the Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church.\textsuperscript{18} The Lyceum was not the only educational establishment in Latvia, because after the closing of the Jesuit collegium there was a need for alternative schools in Riga and Cēsis. Tartu being Gustav II Adolf’s intended academic centre of Livonia, a classical school (\textit{Gymnasium}) was opened there.

\textsuperscript{16} Göran Alm, \textit{Signums svenska konsthistoria. Barockens konst} (Lund: Signum, 1997), 100, ill. 110.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibidem}, 41, ill. 20.

\textsuperscript{18} Ojārs Spārītis, \textit{Riga’s Monuments and Decorative Sculpture} (Rīga: Nacionālais apgāds, 2007), 22.
in 1630. The instructions envisaged that “young people should be taught there, irrespective of their class – nobility, house owners or peasants”.19

The most zealous supporter of the classical school and university foundation idea was Governor General Skytte, who in 1623 managed to get Gustav II Adolf, on a battlefield in Germany, to sign the order of the foundation of the university in Tartu. At the end of the century, in 1699, because of the deterioration of the building, the university was shifted to Pärnu. This town could proudly consider itself a university town up until the Russian invasion during the Northern War. The Swedish authorities had even started preparatory work for the design of a new higher school building in Pärnu. In the Swedish State Archive, the draft of the Pärnu university facade is ascribed to the engineer Lars Fleming. However, as concerns the opportunities for getting an education, the Swedish administration found it difficult to achieve significant changes. At the time of the abolition of serfdom, the indigenous population of Livonia still remained subordinate to the manor, tied to the land, and their mass education was able to develop only in the towns or after the dean, Ernst Glück, had in 1683 founded three country schools in Southern Livonia – Alūksne (Marienburg), Apukalns (Oppekaln) and Zeltiņi (Seltingshof).

FINE ARTS AND PUBLIC MONUMENTS

After Riga was conquered by the Swedes, life gradually took on the forms and contents of an affluent epoch; Swedish-and-German-oriented artefacts entered the daily urban culture. Riga, the second most important city in Sweden, after Stockholm, was more European in many ways – a metropolis of weighty Hanseatic spiritual heritage. It possessed a centuries’ old cultural capital of the Order, bishops and burghers, with traditions of everyday life, construction and crafts. When Livonia became part of Sweden, it was Stockholm that could learn a lot from Riga. The whole southern coast of Scandinavia benefited from the communication with Tallinn and Riga. This was illustrated by facts in Kampe’s work Lexikon Liv- und Kurländischer Baumeister, Bauhandwerker und Baugestalter regarding the migration of builders, craftsmen and artists. Between 1565 and 1780 burgeoning Riga had provided jobs for 85 Swedish craftsmen.20 The lexikon does not show the migration of craftsmen in the opposite direction, but it

19 Juhan Vasar, Tartu ülikooli ajaloo allikaid (Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, 1932), 63.
is an open secret that the Swedes imported educated German, Dutch and Polish specialists for work in the military department, the development of the country's industry, and construction of castles and residential buildings. Sweden had already managed to lure from Riga such experts as the earlier mentioned cartographer von Schwengeln, the Livonian-born Elbas, in the capacity of the court painter in Stockholm, and the son of the cannon master H. Meyer, who became the Manager of the Stockholm Royal Cannon Works and the father of four generations of cannon masters.

Swedish rule, which lasted until 1710, brought about new administrative reforms in Livonia and, following the example of semi-democratic western European countries, initiated the formation of a structured social pyramid. As usual in social transformations, changes first affected the top of the pyramid. Poland and Sweden, having divided Livonia, introduced in the occupied lands their own characteristic administrative order and related military, religious, legal and financial structures. The new tendencies were reflected in artefacts too, with a touch of Late Renaissance and Baroque that was typical of the northern countries in the 17th century. The art panorama in the Swedish-conquered territories of Estonia and Latvia developed similarly. With the dominance of the cult of sovereigns, absolute monarchs, the parade portrait genre in painting served to document the cult. Changes in the Houses of the sovereigns caused changes in the iconography of the portrayed person and, in a way, the portraits. Pictures of Gustav II Adolf and his daughter Christina appeared in the governors' castles in Riga and Tallinn. The walls of churches, courts, guilds, town councils and the headquarters of fortresses were decorated with mass-produced printed or painted portraits of kings, governors and superintendents. An outstanding collection of the late 16th and early 17th century portraits of Swedish sovereigns was preserved by the Compagnie der Schwarten Häupter zu Riga (Brotherhood of Blackheads), the guild house of unmarried merchants, before a fire at the outset of World War II. The portraits of four sovereigns – Gustav II Adolf, Christina, Charles XI and Charles XII – were works of prominent painters of the time: von Sandrart, Wedekind and others. All monarchs, with the exception of Christina, were presented as military leaders on horseback. This is why the pictures were large and set in exceptionally ornate Baroque woodcut frames. The emotional impact of portraits of riders was well known in

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21 Campe, Lexikon, 30, 23.
Europe, and thus the owners of the portraits aimed at overt compliments to the portrayed persons by displaying such dynamic portraits in special rooms. Prototypes of the lost portraits even today adorn royal palaces in Sweden – Gripsholm, Strömsholm and Drotningholm – as well as several public buildings and collections, such as the Hall of Uppsala University and the Swedish Army Museum in Stockholm. In 1996–99, while rebuilding the Schwartzhäupter Haus in Riga, copies of the kings were painted on the basis of the examples found in Sweden, so that the newly created Festive Hall in Riga has regained its symbolic significance and pays tribute to the past.23

The Swedish administration adjusted the castle built by the German Order in Riga to the needs of the Chancellery, the governor general’s residence and representational purposes. They set up a chapel there and in 1681 allotted office and residential space for Sweden’s councillor to the Crown and the customs director. In the period after 1625, the castle underwent numerous alterations and extension work. The most impressive construction took place in 1646–49, when three additional residential blocks were built around the wall of the former north front courtyard, for the needs of the governor general and an eventual visit of the queen. The role of the castle as a political symbol was demonstrated by the decorative sculpted relief on the bay that, in 1649, was added to the north-east corner of the castle. Typical of the late Renaissance, it featured images of guards and grotesque ornaments as well as the three crowns of the state insignia of Sweden, the coat-of-arms of the Vasa dynasty, and the portrait of Gustav II Adolf, Queen Christina’s father. Obviously, this iconographic programme is the result of Queen Christina’s propagated cult of her father and also her own frequent visits to the Riga castle. From the bay – the “window to Europe” that her father, the King of Sweden, had cut – one had a splendid view of ships entering the Daugava, and of the Citadel, the new symbol of military might.

In King Charles XI’s time, the castle ensemble was enlarged with an object of political significance – the arsenal, built in 1682. Guests of the governor general and royal delegations used to be officially shown around the arsenal where rows or heaps of weapons, ammunition, trophies, uniform stores and various military attributes were on view. It is enough to remember how highly the town of Danzig valued its defensive potential and its material provisions: in 1603–06 they commissioned the prominent

23 Ojārs Spāritis and Jānis Krastins, *Rigas Architecture in Eight Hundred Years Mirroring European Culture* (Riga, 2005), 45, 59.
Dutch architect von Opbergen to build an imposing and overly decorated arsenal at the town wall. In this context, the Swedish demonstration of the might of their arms and the prestige of the state is understandable – they erected the arsenal right in front of the castle, where their propaganda of military achievement reflected methods worthy of an artistic show and Kunstkammer. As the visitor stepped over the arsenal threshold, a hidden mechanism was set in motion and a wooden figure, painted in the colours of a Swedish grenadier, with a squeak started turning its head, moving its arms and beating on a drum hanging around its neck. Among the rows of objects and shelves in the arsenal, there were 19 more painted wooden sculptures of soldiers, made in 1688, at a cost of two thalers a piece, by the woodcut master and Riga town sculptor Michel Brinckmann.24

Following the medieval traditions of social care in Riga, the Swedish administration supported St George’s Hospital, which had been founded by Bishop Albert in 1220 and which, in the mid-17th century, had been transferred, out of hygienic and strategic considerations, from the inner city to the foot of Kube Hill at the Livonian road. In 1657–58 new masonry buildings and a church were added to the hospital. The sources of the hospital funds were rent from its numerous holdings, city magistrate subsidies and private donations. Two collection points for donations appealed to the conscience of society in the name of the ailing and afflicted. One point may have been on the side of the Livonian road, at the entrance to the hospital, marked by a woodcut figure of St George, the work of the sculptor M. Brinckmann (1686). At the southern gate to Riga, on the Karl’s ravelin, a figure of St Christopher (popularly called Big Kristaps)25 by the same sculptor was erected in 1683 to decorate and stand guard over another alms collection place. The image of St George perished in the early days of the Northern War when, in 1700, E. Dahlberg was forced to order that Riga’s suburbs and the hospital be burned, to impede the approaching Russian army. The popular Big Kristaps with the infant Jesus on his shoulder (Fig. 5) – the patron saint of the Daugava ferrymen, fishermen and marketers – stood on its original site until 1919, when it was transferred to the Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation.

To maintain a high living standard in the metropolis, Riga depended on a large number of resident craftsmen and artists. In 1352, the Small, or Artisans', Guild was founded to protect the interests of craftsmen

24 Campe, Lexikon, 74; Museum of The History of Riga and Navigation (Riga, 1992), 51, ill. 89.
and to contest to the monopoly of German guilds, and the Swedish administration was unable to change anything in this situation. The west-east migration of the Small Guild’s masters and journeymen, mostly between port towns, brought an active influx of art impressions from northern Germany and the Netherlands into Livonian culture. The monopoly of the Great, or Merchants’, Guild over transit trade guaranteed a turnover of huge value in the city and in the trade with suppliers of raw materials from the continent. The status and activities of the Great Guild facilitated the accumulation of money in the hands of wealthy citizens, burghers, and they strove to spend their money on furnishing their homes to their taste. One can even claim that the image of Riga has at all times been created by merchants and representatives of subsidiary crafts, connected with trade, transport, storage, packing and weighing. Other social spheres were subordinate to this pyramid. In 1692–97, following the new fashion, the merchants had their guild house renovated. Originally built in the 13th century, the Great Guild House acquired early Baroque forms, with mirrors in plastering, rustication and spirals of volutes, obelisks, vases and even an allegorical sculpture. The entrance to the building was adorned with a rich decorative stone portal, at the top of which there were reclining allegorical female images. Riga was rich in similar portals, which decorated facades of warehouses, public institutions and private houses. The sumptuously sculpted decor hinted at the magnificence of the interior. This referred to the Great Guild House, where there was a 15th century conference hall with Gothic columns that were typical of Gotland sculpture, a “living Hansa spirit” and a unique mantelpiece. Soon
after the Swedish-Polish war, the officials of the Great Guild had agreed to have the “Bride Hall” furnished with a stone-cut mantelpiece. The opportunity arose in 1633 when the experienced sculptor Michael Rappenecker arrived in Riga from Andernach, Germany. He decorated the monumental stone mantelpiece with five allegorical sculptures representing the five senses and a relief featuring motifs of Aesop’s fables (Fig. 6).26 This communal room was designed for the enjoyment of what the five senses could offer. The mantelpiece relief, featuring a dying father and his sons at his deathbed, reminded the members of the guild that they should always be unanimous, for might lay in unity, just like an unbreakable handful of arrows.

![Fig. 6. Stone mantelpiece in the Great Guild House. Author M. Rappenecker, 1633. Photo by Vitolds Mašnovskis.](image)

The symbol of the Swedish courts and law came to Riga in the form of a pillory, which was erected in 1677 outside the town centre at the Livonian road. A 17th century traveller might have taken it for a milestone, for there was a tradition in Sweden of putting up a stone pillar at major roads, on a base, with a ball on top. In fact, this Riga “milestone” of law, morals and history was intended to remind citizens of the great fires in the city that in May 1677 devastated about 250 buildings and warehouses, two schools and two churches, i.e. about 30% of all the buildings in the inner city. Not only interests of private persons but also state interests had suffered damage. To demonstrate severity to the inner opposition of the burghers and to draw attention to Russia’s desire to weaken the Baltic towns, the Swedish administration ordered the erection of the pillory at the arsonists’ punishment site. The criminals were the Swede Petrus Andersson

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and the German student Gabriel Franck. Their “confession” had been extorted by inquisitional means and was valid enough for the court to pass a “just” sentence on the basis of trumped-up political charges. As a warning to others, the culprits were to be pinched with red-hot tongs, impaled, strangled and set on the stake. After the execution, a pillory was built at this place, which had been an ancient execution site, a peculiar monument to remind people of a historical event and the public reaction to it (Fig. 7). The stone pillar with an image of a burning ball on top remained on the site till 1849. As the pillar interfered with the extension of the suburbs, it was taken down.

Did all interaction between Sweden and Livonia come to an end in 1721, after the Northern War? This appears to be the situation because over the following 200 years, until the proclamation of Latvia’s independence in 1918, Sweden’s place was taken over by tsarist Russia, which had occupied Livonia, Poland, and Finland and which could not stand any rivalry, not to mention its fiercest adversary to the north. Evidence can be found in some manifestations of Russian public opinion. By putting up memorials and glorifying certain episodes of the Northern War, which allowed Peter I to finally win access to the Baltic Sea and its ports, Russia also kept its enemies in mind. In July 1701, units of the Russian army, about 400 men who were attacking Riga, fortified their positions in Lucavsala (Lutzauholm). Overwhelmed by the superiority of the Swedish army, all the soldiers of Prince Repnin’s advance guard regiment lost their lives. To commemorate this war episode, the pro-Russian citizens of Riga erected a granite memorial in Lucavsala in 1891. Built as a Russian Orthodox chapel, the memorial had an inscription stating that the soldiers had fallen at the hands of the Swedish adversary. However, not everybody was negative about the

Fig. 7. A pillory of execution in Riga, 1677 (Johann Christoph Brotze, Zeichnungen und deren Beschreibungen, Bd. 2 (Riga, 1996), 65).

27 Spārītis, Riga’s Monuments, 21.
“Swedish times”. Swedes themselves used to build memorials devoted to the war in Livonia. For example, in the mid-19th century, while reconstructing Suitia castle in Finland, its owners, the Wrede family, commissioned the artist Hartmann to make a mural that would depict the battle at Salaspils on 27 September 1605. The mural immortalised Heinrich von Wrede giving his horse to Carl IX to save the King from the surrounding Poles.

Riga has always been a citadel of free-thinkers. As the years passed, it managed to preserve its cosmopolitan openness and Hansa free-town spirit. At the end of the 19th century, during the rule of Tsar Alexander III, Russia turned against the legal, economic and cultural autonomy rights of the Baltic Germans, thus coming into conflict with the whole Baltic German minority, Russia’s original ally. This turn of events made the Baltic Germans forget Charles XI’s reduction of estates and, during the reconstruction of the Riga Dom Church, the Livonian nobility had one of the windows decorated with stained glass that depicted a scene from the early period of the Swedish times – King Gustav II Adolf’s ceremonial welcome in Riga on 25 September 1621 (Fig. 8). This stained glass window, made after the painter Dietrich’s design in Meier’s workshop in Munich in 1884, is an illustration of the Livonian landed gentry’s hopes of enjoying the king’s favour in terms of land-owners’ rights and

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Fig. 8. King Gustav II Adolph’s ceremonious welcome in Riga on 25 September 1621. Stained glass window in the Riga Dom. Photo by Vitolds Mašnovskis.

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privileges. The stained glass window features the king with his retinue – his brother Prince Charles Philip, General Baner, Field Marshall Horn and the page Torstenson. Among the welcomers is the clergyman Samson, the burgomaster Ecke, the town councillor Zimmerman, representatives of the Livonian nobility Falckenberg and Eulenbrock, and the poet Plinius.

Sweden’s political goodwill and friendly intentions in more recent times were confirmed by its de jure acknowledgement of the new and independent State of Latvia on 5 February 1921. A bright example of economic cooperation in the 20th century is the design and construction of the hydro-electric power station at Kegums (Keggum). The Swedish company Svenska Enterprenad A. B. developed the project for the power station. It was built in 1937–39 and was the biggest in pre-war Latvia and the Baltic states. The technical and financial aid that Latvia received towards the implementation of this modern project was huge, though the invaluable spiritual and moral support was just as important. Instead of ramparts and fortresses, the new Swedish-Latvian relations created light for many years to come.

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KOKKUVÕTE: Mõnedest Rootsi ja Liivimaa Läti osa vastastikuse mõju aspektidest 17. sajandil
