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RIGA'S TRADE WITH ITS MUSCOVITE HINTERLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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This paper will examine an important and under-researched aspect of the economic history of Riga in the seventeenth century, the city's commercial relations with its Muscovite hinterland. Trade with Russia was of long standing and an important preoccupation for the city's merchants and politicians alike, as well as constituting a central focus of the foreign policy of the city's Swedish overlords. In spite of this, while the general history of Riga's trade has attracted considerable attention by researchers, relatively little of this voluminous writing has specifically addressed the question of commercial ties with Russia. The most important surveys of Riga's trade by G. Jenšs (1930, 1937, 1938, 1947), E. Dunsdorfs (1935, 1936, 1938), V. V. Doroshenko (1966, 1968, 1974, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1985), V. Pāvulāns (1968, 1971), and V. Pāvulāne (1975) treat the topic in passing at best and the more specific studies on Muscovite trade are limited to Jenšs' studies on the Pskov route, studies by Doroshenko, and S. Troebst's analysis of Riga's role in the Swedish government's 'derivation' policy (1993, 1997). Related issues were examined in Iu. V. Kurskov's (1958) study of A. L. Ordin-Nashchokin, as well as E. V. Chistiakova's (1950) and K. V. Mitiaev's (1942) surveys of the trade relations of Pskov and Smolensk respectively. Trade with Lübeck has been examined by E. Harder-Gersdorff (1976).

The primary source materials on Riga's trade with Muscovy are scattered over several archives. The most important collections are at the Latvian State Historical Archive (*Latvijas valsts vēstures arhīvs*) – some of whose holdings were transferred to the Estonian Historical Archive (*Eesti Ajalooarhiiv*) during World War I – and at the Swedish National Archive (*Riksarkivet*). The Russian State Archive of Old Documents (*Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov*) contains valuable sources on Riga's trade with Smolensk.¹ The holdings of the Lübeck City Archive (*Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck*) include the records of the Company of *Novgorodfahrer*, Lübeck merchants with trading bases in Novgorod and Pskov.

General Background of Riga's Trade with Muscovy

Riga in the seventeenth century was the dominant port of the Eastern littoral of the Baltic Sea. The annual average number of ships from Riga passing the Danish Sound was 127 in 1557-1630, two-thirds of all ships

from the eastern coast of the Baltic. The surviving customs data from 1596 and 1632 suggests that the export volumes of the key commodities -- flax, hemp, seeds, grain, timber, hides, and ashes -- remained largely constant over the period, although hide and skin exports doubled from 50,000 to 101,030 hides.² Nonetheless, trade around the turn of the century appears to have been seriously perturbed by friction with Poland and the Swedish-Polish war of 1600-21. Already in 1585, disagreements with Poland led some city councillors to send Klaus von Berg to Moscow with a request for protection, a mission that failed due to Muscovite desire not to perturb the recent peace with Poland.³ A similar mission was proposed in 1600 with the hope that the Tsar would grant new freedoms in Muscovite trade. Evidently connected with this was a visit by Novgorod merchant Iurii Afanas'evich Igolkin to Riga in 1599-1600, in part for negotiations about Riga's transfer to Muscovite sovereignty. As a pre-emptive move, a copy of von Berg's letter was also given to Lew Sapieha as evidence of Riga's loyalty to Poland with the hope of gaining the city a seat in Polish-Russian negotiations.⁴

By the seventeenth century, Riga's merchants had become rather passive intermediaries in the city's transit trade between Eastern and Western Europe. Riga's trade had fallen almost entirely into Dutch hands by the middle of the sixteenth century, whereas trade with the eastern hinterland -- which provided some three-quarters of Riga's exports -- was largely managed by Lithuanian-Belorussian merchants.⁵ Access to unparalleled capital resources from Amsterdam was among the factors that allowed Riga to regain its pre-eminent position after its surrender to Sweden in 1621. Initially, however, trade slumped dramatically as some goods began to be taken to Königsberg and even certain merchants emigrated there. Still in 1627, Riga's exports were said to be insufficient to fill even three ships.⁶ However, a robust recovery soon materialized and several fold increases were recorded in the export volumes of all the main export commodities until the return to armed conflict in the 1650s. In 1653, a fairly representative prewar year, *Portorium* customs duties collected in Riga amounted to Rtl 39,775, or 71 percent of the total for the main Swedish Baltic ports of Riga, Reval, Narva, and Pernau. There were a total of 875 arrivals and departures by duty-paying ships and 382 by smaller vessels, compared to a total of 485 for the other three cities. The degree of Riga's dominance declined somewhat during the second half of the century. Trade diversion was stimulated by the Gates Tax in 1655-68 and a sustained recovery had to wait until the 1670s. The prewar peak was only attained again in the 1690s.⁷

Riga possessed some considerable advantages in Russian trade. The city's wealth of capital and multitude of West European import wares often drew Muscovite merchants there rather than to the Estonian-Ingrian coast.

However, Riga's natural hinterland covered mainly Lithuanian lands in the Dūna valley and the city was not in an ideal geographic location to become the centre of the Swedish government's policy of diverting Russian foreign trade from Arkhangel'sk to the Swedish-held Baltic ports. The two principal Muscovite areas with regular trade links with Livonia were: (i) Pskov, whose trade with Riga was of long standing, and (ii) Smolensk, which was regained by Muscovy in 1654 -- having been conquered by Poland-Lithuania in 1611 -- and whose location close to the upper reaches of the Dūna, via the tributary Kasplia (only fifteen km to the north of the city), ensured the continuation of trade with Riga under the new rulers. This trade was enhanced by the policies of the tsarist government, who controlled a large share of the city's export trade (Doroshenko, "Riga i eë khinterland v XVII veke" 59).

Trade with Pskov

The historic centre of Riga's Muscovite hinterland was the northwestern Russian city of Pskov, although also Pechory, Ostrov, and Velikie Luki were involved in this trade. Traditional Pskov exports consisted of flax, hemp, hemp seed, tallow, hides, furs, wax, soap, coarse cloth, linen, and various handicrafts (clothing, shoes, horse gear, etc.). However, the absence of river connections curbed large-scale trade in bulky goods. Russians bought mainly Dutch and Silesian woollen textiles, piece goods, gold, silver, French wine, and herring in Riga.⁸ Much of the trade took the form of barter and many Russians were tied into Riga's commercial sphere of influence by means of the usual mechanism of granting credit *auf Bord*, i.e. against future deliveries. A number of Muscovites had a patron (*Wirt*) in Riga. Due to unforeseen contingencies and wars, the credit issued often evolved into long-term loans and tied Muscovite traders into a quasi-permanent relationship of dependency. While this system ensured a steady supply of Russian goods in Riga, it also encouraged trade diversion inasmuch as prices on the Riga market were often fixed in contracts long before the actual delivery of goods. In addition, there was a great deal of open or implicit collusion even after the City Council banned open collusion in 1651 and further attempts at liberalization in the '70s.⁹

Relatively little is known about the details of Riga's trade with its Pskovian hinterland during the Polish period, although anecdotal evidence points to a secular decline. Burgomaster Franz Nyenstedt, who visited Pskov in 1560 and Novgorod ten years later, reported that these previously lively centers of trade had fallen into decay and foreigners had abandoned them. Trade also suffered from multiple taxes. In addition to border imposts,

merchants were asked to pay duty at both Riga and Dorpat (a *pobor* of 8-9 percent) (Jenšs, "Rivalry between Riga and Tartu..." 153). Corruption, as well as administrative overzealousness, frequently led to arrests and confiscations of merchandise, something that often became a weapon in commercial diplomacy. A Riga merchant, Werner Depenbrock, was arrested in Pskov in 1597. In 1603, Pskov *Voevoda* B.S. Saburov threatened to arrest Riga merchants, unless the property of Pskovian Ivanka Stepanov, who had died in Riga, was returned to his partner B.I. Spirov. The demands were duly met, yet another complaint concerning the non-payment of debts followed in 1607.¹⁰

Particularly revealing of the decline in trade was the city authorities' gradual loss of interest in Russian trade. In 1601, the Riga Council in fact responded to Tsar Boris Godunov's decision to allow the city's merchants to trade freely in Novgorod, Pskov, Moscow, and other Russian cities by refusing to compensate the mediator Fiedler (the Tsar's personal physician) for his expenses. In 1604, the new rights were pronounced worthless due to the general passivity of Riga's own merchants. A further blow came from the Russian Time of Troubles as the local governor Jan Chodkiewicz closed down all links with Russia in 1610.¹¹ Even in this atmosphere of tension, trade nonetheless continued and occasionally involved quite significant shipments. Between December 1589 and August 1590, thirty-eight merchants passed Neuhausen (Est. *Vastseliina*) on their way to Riga with Rtl 7,544 worth of goods. Imports by Riga merchant Benedict Hinz included 10,000 squirrel skins, 160 sables, one beaver, 1,065 calf skins, 100 S# flax, 1:4 S# wax, and 12 tn linseed oil, jointly valued at Rtl 2,500. The Muscovites carried 18,788 squirrel skins, 559 sables, 637 wolf skins, 4,406 cow hides/calf skins, 202 elk hides, 7,540 pairs of gloves, 390 lashes, 700 girdles, 242 bridles, 46:10 S# flax, and 5 loads and 2 tn of onions. Simultaneous Riga imports by merchants via Dorpat totalled 14,000 squirrel skins and 160 sables, 5:12 S# of flax, and 3 l# of tallow. In 1600, Riga authorities confiscated R 2,000 worth of goods belonging to a Pskov merchant Timokha.¹²

Even against the backdrop of a marked decline in trade, Riga merchants entertained some hopes of restoring their eastern commerce. Attempts were made in 1606 and 1611 to bring about free trade with Russia. Heinrich Flagel was granted a special right to trade with Pskov free of duty and Nyenstedt stressed the need for a new departure in Riga's eastern trade after the *smuta*. A delegation of the Livonian cities to Zygmunt III in late 1612 called for a complete diversion of Arkhangel'sk's trade to the Baltic and Riga's envoy I. Ulrich upheld the city's right "since the days of King Stefan" to free trade all the way to Siberia.¹³ While Livonia concluded short-term truces with Pskov, Pskovians were only allowed to visit Riga from 1614 on

with a special royal letter. Normalization of relations was further delayed by continued raiding and looting of the Pskov district by a guerrilla leader Lisowski, who even caused an interruption in the armistice negotiations. The Poles also repeatedly banned the export to Russia of weapons, gunpowder, copper, and grain. Riga's central demands in the truce negotiations in 1612-18 consisted of the reconstruction of a new guest house in Pskov in place of an earlier one which had burnt down, as well as freedom from any responsibility for losses incurred by Russian merchants in Livonia outside of the city limits.¹⁴

Even after trade was normalized, frequent tensions resulted from usually Muscovite attempts to contravene Swedish regulations. Russians were required to sell their textiles to a special group of Riga merchants, the so-called *Reusche Lakenhändler*, who, however, frequently complained of illicit sales of inferior cloth ('*schlechte Kondack*') in the countryside. *Kondack* mainly came from the Iaroslavl' and Vologda regions and was resented in Riga as a way of cheating "poor" peasants who could not wear it "even for two weeks." In 1660, there were at least ten carriages with 'Russian cloth' and in 1663, eleven such carts. Muscovite merchants similarly sold vodka in the countryside. In February 1629, some eighty to ninety Russian sledges were detained for forbidden trade beyond Riga's walls. In 1638, the Swedish Governor General issued a patent against this *Landhandel* and in 1639, all Muscovites were required to procure a passport from the Governor of Narva and to provide documentation of imposts paid. Passports granted after 1655 explicitly forbade trade with peasants outside of Dorpat and Riga, although some flexibility was evidently shown so as not to deter Russian traders.¹⁵

Pskov trade suffered a great deal from a constant wrangling over trade routes across Livonia. The most convenient road went through the city of Neuhausen and on to Marienburg (Latv. *Alūksne*), Adsel (Latv. *Gaujiena*), and Wenden (Latv. *Cēsis*). However, Dorpat had enjoyed a right of emporium in Livonian trade since 1336, confirmed by Stefan Batory in 1584 for four days at a time and extended to fourteen days in 1592. The legislation fostered corruption: when, in 1585, Dorpat Under-Chamberlain Łoknicki threatened to punish Lübeck merchants for evading the Dorpat route, they responded by complaining of high imposts and expenses, dishonesty of the local officials, and the need to keep their wares on sale for five to six weeks. The Dorpat route was not only longer and less convenient but, given its connections with Reval and Narva, it also challenged Riga's role as the obvious destination. The Dorpat route measured 640 kilometers, compared to 490 km via Neuhausen (forty km less in the winter). The cost differential was significant: in 1641 the cost of a loaded cart was Rtl 2 between Riga and

Neustadt and Rtl 4-5 between Riga and Dorpat.¹⁶

For the Polish court, the issue in the controversy had to do with two highly important issues of precedent and economics, objectives that it found very difficult to balance. While legal factors militated for Dorpat's position, the restrictions harmed trade and threatened customs revenues in Riga. For instance, in 1600, German merchants living in Pskov appealed to Riga because of excessive duties at Dorpat. Absolute insistence on the Dorpat route would likely have reduced Riga's Russian trade to a trickle, something that threatened the Crown's fiscal position as the King received two-thirds of the *Portorium* receipts in Riga, whereas the Dorpat taxes were pocketed by the local *Starosta*. Nonetheless, the Neuhausen route continued to be used and grain exports through it greatly helped Riga during the famine of 1599-1600. With the authorities ultimately unwilling to make up their minds, the conflicts between economic and legal arguments led to a protracted tug-of-war over the two routes.¹⁷

The 1603 appointment of Count Jan Karol Chodkiewicz as the administrator of Livonia was followed by an increase in the Dorpat customs duty to 12 percent and a renewed ban on the Neuhausen route. At the end of 1605, twenty-two Lübeck and Dutch merchants warned Riga that the closure of the more convenient Marienburg route would force them to conduct their trade with Pskov via Reval and Narva. An additional problem was posed by Wenden's right of emporium on Muscovite goods which required merchants to present themselves to the burgomaster and offer their goods for sale for three days. In 1616, Wenden Deputy *Starosta* Szachowski began to stop all traders and the city was often congested with forty to fifty wagons and merchants with no place to stay. He also added a city tax, as well as other illegal payments, to the traditional bridge duty. Also the Adsel duty was raised from one to 22 grosz until an appeal by the Riga Council rectified the matter. In the circumstances, Chodkiewicz demonstrated some flexibility, allowing Hinz, a Riga burgher, to use the southern route in 1607, since he owned a house and a shop in Neuhausen. In addition, the Deputy *Starosta* of Neuhausen, Mykołaj Kulasz, occasionally allowed Russian merchants to use this shorter route against a payment. The consequent losses in customs revenues at Dorpat led Chodkiewicz to demand 10,000 Hungarian guildens from Kulasz in 1610 when Chodkiewicz still ordered the *Starosta* of Neuhausen to refrain from harassing Muscovite merchants due to falling customs receipts, an order that was later repeated by the King. Even Chodkiewicz continued to stress Dorpat's legal position, however, prompting Zygmunt III in October 1620 to make a renewed plea for the Neuhausen route to be restored.¹⁸

The controversy by no means died down with the Swedish takeover of Riga. Governor-General Skytte in 1626 declared the Dorpat route obligatory

for Muscovite merchants, although at least during the Swedish-Polish war the Neuhausen route was used to transport goods from Belorussia when the Düna waterway was closed. In 1627, 1,000 sledges of hemp from Polock reached Riga through Opochka. In an attempt to divert Arkhangel'sk's trade, the Dorpat duty on Russian imports was abolished in 1630. Dorpat's rights were reconfirmed in 1634, although only two years later Queen Christina once again permitted the use of the Neuhausen route, partly due to Skytte's attempt to attract English traders who faced tough Dutch competition elsewhere. The failure of the project led to the restoration of the Dorpat duty in 1638 (Jenšs, "Rivalry between Riga and Tartu..." 153, 156).

At a Riga-Dorpat conference in 1641, representatives of the latter went as far as to offer to give up the city's right of emporium on the condition that the Dorpat route should remain compulsory. However, still in 1646 -- with Riga calling for new negotiations -- Dorpat's right of emporium was reconfirmed with the four-day rule applied to Muscovites. The decision was reiterated the following year and Riga merchant Johann Haselhorst had his three cartloads of Russian leather confiscated on the Neuhausen road in 1647. The controversy continued to brew as Riga refused to recognize Dorpat's rights and used its economic muscle to circumvent the regulations. In 1648, even the Governor-General asked for the Neuhausen route to be reopened while Dorpat in 1650 demanded that it be closed again. No agreement was ever reached by diplomatic means, however, and the shorter route prevailed only after the 1656-58 war, as a result of which Dorpat lost its significance. The treaties of Valiesaar and Kardis granted the Muscovites free access to Livonia.¹⁹

The constant diplomatic wrangling adversely affected the land route during the early years of Swedish rule. A list of transactions at the German guest house in Pskov in 1624 does not contain names of any Riga merchants. Even a surviving 1642 Neuhausen customs list of imports from Russia reveals that the volumes traded were fairly modest: 36 S# of flax, 10 S# of wax, 210 *iufti*, 7 *saffian* hides, 2,700 cow, ox, and calf hides, 7 horse hides, 2,300 sheep skins, 120 pairs leather gloves, 4,260 sables, 2,600 sable bellies, 260 marten, 560 ermine, 600 musk rats, 90 fox, 3 lynx, 47 otter, 49 beaver, 27 wolf, and one bear skin, 12,925 *arshin* cloth, 180 ell ticking, 30 pieces of woollen yarn, 36 S# of silver wares, D 860 worth of fine silk cloth, 72 *fuder* fish, as well as sundry goods, which paid D 81:60 in duty. In value terms, sable furs accounted for 65.4 percent of the total.²⁰ The relatively small-scale trade was thus dominated at the time by long-distance imports, often from Siberia, rather than products of the local northwestern Russian economy. This trade may have received a renewed impetus from Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich's 1649 decision to allow residents of border cities to

visit Livonia without a pass. Even in the 1630s and '40s, there were at times truly sizeable contingents of Russian wares. In 1633-4, Muscovite foreign merchant Andrea Kelderman sold R 10,000 worth of sables in Riga. He took a smaller contingent worth R 3,040 to the Swedish Baltic ports in 1648. In 1650, Novgorod merchant Fedor Fedorov brought R 50,000 worth of wares to Riga. Petr Mikliaev, an agent of Novgorod's Stoianov family brought R 27,000 worth of silk to the Baltic coast.²¹

Of considerable importance for Riga's eastern trade was settling the question of accommodation for Muscovite visitors. In 1612, the Magistrate permitted Muscovites to stay with certain Riga landlords. The first mention of a formal guesthouse dates from 1642, although it may have been established as late as 1648. It was located outside the city wall "near the last lodge of the castle wall" and offered highly inadequate facilities. Its two bedrooms -- one for six and the other for two people -- soon came to accommodate ten and four respectively. Russians were not able to visit the city and thus were unable to collect money owed to them by Riga merchants, sometimes as much as Rtl 2-400. The only recourse were Riga's courts of law. Friction often resulted from the visitors' ignorance of the rules of the house: the 1654 *Ordinanz* was not translated into Russian. In 1659, two Riga merchants who allowed Muscovites to stay at their homes were fined Rtl 15 and 80 respectively. In 1661, Russian merchant Stoianov was fined for staying in the city.²²

Muscovite merchants frequently complained about the housemaster (since 1650) Jürgen Strieß (*Jurij Stris/Strisch*) who regularly abused his position as the person in charge of recording all interactions and, if necessary, of dividing up the Muscovite goods between Riga merchants. Stris charged a one percent *ad valorem* commission on all transactions he brokered, as well as one gulden for all written contracts and documents of less than Rtl 200, for sums of more than Rtl 200 the charge was half a *Thaler*. In addition, he took Mk 10 per week from each Russian and three *grosz* for each horse. An exception was made for people bringing 'fresh' fish, their rates being reduced to Mk 2 (Mk 1 for their drivers) for the entire stay. The rates were eventually deemed too high and reduced to one *färding* a day per person or horse. The housemaster was, moreover, required to supply the guests with reasonably priced hay and barley. Stris, however, tended to overcharge for things, and demanded an additional commission on finding buyers and debtors. He expected 'gifts' and bribes and discriminated against guests who refused to offer them to him. The generally arbitrary behavior sometimes gave way to outright theft and physical violence. Pechora merchant Iasko Karpenkov came to Riga in 1649 with fresh smelts, only to have his wares stolen and himself beaten up by soldiers at the Muscovite house, which left him bed-ridden for fourteen days. Stris' high-

handedness led the Pskov *Voevoda Okol'nichii* Prince Vasilii Petrovich L'vov to lodge formal complaints in 1648 and 1652. The Riga Council tended to stand by their man, however, and at least some Russians were fined for slandering and assaulting Stris. In 1654, Pskov *Voevoda* Ivan Ivanovich Saltykov demanded Stris' dismissal. The Council fined Stris Rtl 30 but did not remove him from his position.²³

The Muscovite House burnt down during the Muscovite offensive of 1656, yet commercial relations were restored immediately following the Valiesaar truce when Muscovite visitors were assigned to the suburban house of Berendt Helsing. Trade continued to be burdened by a web of regulations, however. For instance, the sale of copper, much sought after during the Muscovite copper standard, was forbidden by the Swedes. The consequent diplomatic dispute in the summer of 1660 led to the detention in Pskov of Adolf Lüders, with his hemp and flax, pending the release of paid-for copper from Riga. Russians also complained of counterfeit Russian coin put into circulation by the Dutch.²⁴ In Riga, the restrictive mercantilistic policies of the authorities were codified in a new charter -- *Ordinanz des moscowitischen hauses* -- issued in 1663. All trade was to take place within the confines of the guest house under strict supervision and, in order to prevent direct dealings with West European merchants, guards 'protected' the building day and night. However, there were frequent violations of the regulations. In 1661, the Furriers' Guild -- incensed by an apparent violation of their priority of fur purchases -- accused Riga burgher Hintze of taking a Pole, Łukiński, to the guest house. Muscovites also engaged in illegal trade with the primarily Latvian artisans of Riga's suburbs.²⁵ Attempts to smuggle out goods, especially gold and silver, led to the issuance of a decree -- *Des Moscovitischen Hauses Mekeley angehende Ordinance* -- in October 1679, according to which all transactions had to be recorded by the house master who reserved the right to inspect the wares of departing Muscovites and to confiscate unrecorded wares. Another provision required Muscovite merchants to present their wares to potential buyers for a period of two days before selling them, so as to ensure that as many Riga merchants as possible would participate. The house was managed from 1685 by Peter Mehrmann who served until 1700 when, in anticipation of a Russian-Saxon attack, the house was burnt down. The pattern of abuse appears to have continued throughout and trade was further plagued by highway robbery.²⁶

The problems of Russian merchants at the Muscovite House were often mirrored by similar tensions affecting Riga merchants trading in Pskov. Quite frequently, Muscovites subjected to 'unfair' treatment in Riga made sure that Riga merchants would be appropriately 'punished' in Russia. Novgorod merchant Ivan Mikolai, penalized in Riga for selling dyed sable

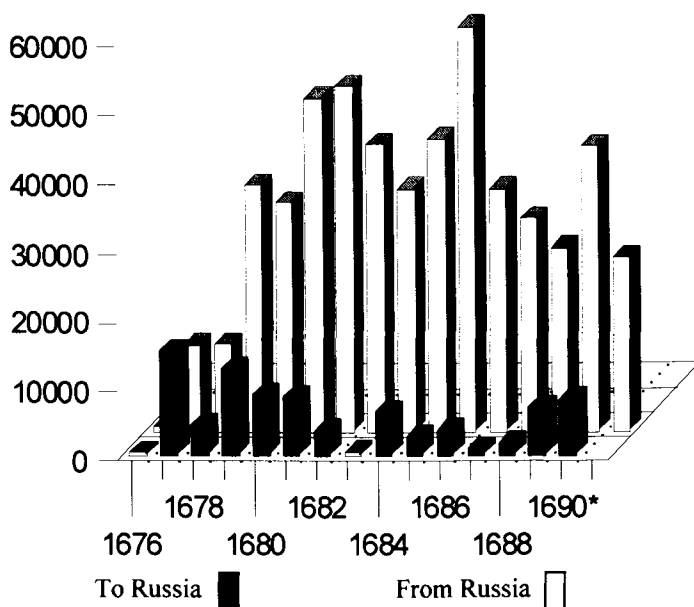
furs, had a Riga merchant Christofer Zimmermann arrested in Pskov. The foreign guest houses in Pskov were placed outside the city walls and Riga merchants claimed that they were kept under strict supervision and not permitted into the city. Corruption was alleged to be widespread and the exchange rates were rigged. Trade beyond Pskov was made prohibitively expensive by multiple duties which for instance on the Moscow route amounted to some 12 percent. In addition, waits of up to two weeks were needed to procure the appropriate passports for the Russian interior.²⁷ In 1674, Riga refused to participate in a project sponsored by Reval to build a new guest house in Pskov on grounds that the city's trade there was 'too insignificant.' Indeed, trade on the land route came to rely more and more heavily on Pskov's own merchants whose endeavours received a major boost from the support given by Afanasii Lavrent'evich Ordin-Nashchokin who served as the *Voevoda* of Pskov in 1665-6. He himself had been active in trade with Riga and, for instance in 1655-6, had supplied Riga merchant Hendrik Alegir with 82 lasts of potash valued at Rtl 3,168, as well as tar. The only surviving seventeenth century customs book for Pskov, for 1670-1, indicates that the total exports by Russian merchants amounted to over R 25,000 and came in part from central Russia, at least 2,989:29:6 worth of goods originating from Iaroslavl', Moscow, Kostroma, Uglich, and Nizhnii Novgorod. These included at least 28:5 S#, but possibly as much as over 154 S# *iufti* (some 9,240 hides). Unfortunately, however, the source does not always specify the destinations of the Russian merchants. The exports by foreign merchants residing at the Pskov guest house amounted to R 25,691:13:2 and went primarily to Narva.²⁸

Towards the end of the century, renewed Russian interest in trade with Riga presented new opportunities. At the 1666 Pliussa (Ger. *Plüsemünde*) negotiations, the Muscovite petitioned for the immediate abolition of a 7 percent toll on Russian wares in Riga. The same year, the head of Pskov customs (*tamozhennaia golova*) described a transition in the nature of the city's trade with Sweden from trade in locally produced commodities to exchange involving also goods, especially *iufti* and tallow, produced in Moscow, Iaroslavl', and elsewhere.²⁹ The Swedish government under Chancellor M.G. de la Gardie adopted a policy of lower taxes: the border duty between Muscovy and Livonia was abolished in 1668 and the combined state and city duties (*Lizent, Anlage, Portorium, various Ungelder*) were reduced to 2 percent. At the same time, the corresponding duties at Arkhangel'sk were being raised with the introduction of the *Novotorgovyi ustav* in 1667, although they apparently still remained 1-2 percentage points below Riga's. Karl XI also proved responsive to other attempts to stimulate Riga's trade. In 1676, the authorities were approached by two prominent Riga merchants, Adolf Lüders and Friedrich Wesseling,

both veterans of Russian trade. Their petition was submitted to the Royal *Kommerskollegium* in late 1675-early 1676, with a report entitled *Memorial, wasgestalt die Handlung von Archangel auff Riga allgemöhlig von Jahren zu Jahren könne transferiret und versetzt werden*. The two merchants proposed that all goods imported from Muscovy should be subjected to a duty of only 12 percent of which two-thirds would go to the Crown and the rest to the city. The same duty, it was argued, should apply to Muscovite imports of English, Dutch, and German origin. In addition, the two called for a simplification of the procedures in the Riga harbour and lower rates at the Muscovite House. Karl XI, in his response of May 24, 1676, refused Lüders and Wesseling's request for a twenty-year monopoly on Muscovite trade citing the two men's limited capital resources and the inadvisability of tying the Crown's hands for a long time. However, he appointed them as his agents (factors) for a period of twelve years.³⁰

The royal *Oktroi* was granted on June 12, 1676 at the proposed rate of 12 percent. The rates at the Muscovite House were reduced, and Lüders and

Figure 1. The Value of Riga's Muscovite Imports Subject to the *Oktroi* Duty (Rtl)



(Source: RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet: Inkomna handlingar: Kungliga brev och remisser: Huvudserien (E I a), vol. 12: 1691, fols. 129-130)

Wesseling given a fifteen-year *de facto* monopoly on all Muscovite imports and exports, in order to allow them to enjoy the benefits of their suggestion and compensate for their efforts. However, in line with the original request, the merchants were to handle only wares to and from Moscow, Iaroslavl', Novgorod, and Pskov. Smolensk was left out of the agreement (Troebst, "Stockholm und Riga...?" 280). Under the arrangement, Wesseling stayed in Pskov for ten years and sent Muscovite wares to Lüders in Riga who then exchanged them for western European products. The government in fact revised the arrangement only ten years later. On June 5, 1678, trade in *iufiti*, furs, and silk was opened to all Riga merchants. However, the competition remained imperfect as the partners, citing their original privileges, demanded 8 percent of the Muscovite imports of their Riga competitors.³¹

In May 1691, Wesseling along with Lüders' widow Margareta Giese petitioned the King for a renewal of the privileges, arguing that Riga's trade with Muscovy had experienced a renaissance during the preceding fifteen year period. In response, the *Kommerskollegium* deemed itself unable to assess the positive effects of the *Oktroi*, inasmuch as detailed information on Riga's trade prior to 1676 was not available. It recommended that the lower rates of import and export duty be left in place, while advising against the proposed renewal of the monopoly. The King, however, appointed Wesseling his Commissar for Muscovite Trade in Riga on January 15, 1692, with the responsibility, among other things, to curb smuggling. The rate of the *Oktroi* duty was increased to 22 percent with the government's share 2 percent.³²

Wesseling and Giese's petition was accompanied by a detailed list of Riga's trade with the Pskov region since 1676. While a comparison between the beginning years of and the bulk of the period points to a clear increase, overall, the values exchanged remained fairly stable. The local peak of 1681-2 was only matched by the exceptional year of 1686, after which trade declined. Thus, there was no boom and not even the kind of robust increase seen at the other Baltic ports of Reval, Narva, and Nyen at the time. In addition, typically for Russian trade, his exchange was passive. The value of the Riga imports from Muscovy (on the Pskov land route only) was equal to 86.3 percent of the total. The Muscovite trade surplus of 72.6 percent (Rfl 443,920) was mainly financed in specie (Troebst, "Stockholm und Riga...?" 289). Although Karl XI's provisions had undoubtedly enriched Lüders and Wesseling, the original goals of the merchants' report remained a pipe dream. The government did not gain much from the arrangement. The only commodity which appears to have become available in steadily growing quantities were Muscovite *iufiti* (Figure 2).

Apart from the *Oktroi* lists, there are two more or less comprehensive accounts of Riga's trade on the Pskov route. The Swedish National Archive

possesses the only surviving book of imports reaching Riga 'on the land route.' The 1664 volume makes it possible to identify goods brought to Riga by Russian merchants, which clearly underrepresented total Russian trade. A 1695 *Okroi* list allows for a comparison.³³ Additional evidence on the nature of Riga's trade at the end of the century is offered by the *Wettgericht* records. A series of sixteen entries from 1687-99 points to the activities of 'Muscovite' Ivan Shukin 'of Doropsha' and his companions Miron and Ivan Damaskin who traded in Riga, Moscow, Smolensk, and Wilno (Lith. *Vilnius*). They supplied Riga with masts, fox and marten furs, wool, *iufti* and other hides, sheep skins, *Biebergeil*, etc. Riga merchants offered them loans amounting to hundreds of *Reichsthaler*. Of particular importance at the end

Table 1. Quantities of Riga's Imports Subject to the *Okroi* Duty, 1676-1691

	<i>Iufti</i> S#	Potash S#	Flax S#	Hemp S#	Furs Rtl	Tallow S#	Rhubarb <i>Biever- geil</i> , Rtl	Raw silk S#	Linen Arshin	Mats
1676	10:14									
1677	137	115	175:5							
1678	144:8		84		879		303	980		
1679	281:10	1,171	64		80					
1680	271*	687	587							
1681	285	595	1,449	205:10	49	30:14	125			2,000
1682	433		1,429		507	20:3	350			3,500
1683	311		1,233			1:13	3,905			
1684	446:10		446		550		285			440
1685	371:12		854:12		100				4,146	400
1686	267:16		2,324		3,290		605		36,420	3,300
1687	279:2		992:4		40				66,474	
1688	267:4		657:5	49:15	810				100,54	
1689	118:5		563:13	3:1	4,390	8:16		380	205,11	
1690	455:7		423:17	10:14					330,57	2,600
1691	397**		79:10							

* Brotze's figure is 277.

**Jenšs provides the figure 600 S#. The 1687 imports also contain eight packets of sheet cloth. In 1689, there were 460 ox hides.

(Source: RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet: Inkomna handlingar: Kungliga brev och remisser: Huvudserien (E I a), vol. 12: 1691, fols. 129-130)

Table 2. Riga's Imports, Muscovite Imports on the Pskov Route, 1664 (estimate) and 1695

	1664*	1695
Flax, S#		199:16
Soap, <i>tafel</i>	685 2/3	5 boxes
<i>lufti</i>	9,227	55,130**
Saffian	20	90
Gloves, pair	1,099	100
Furs, Rtl	***	735****
<i>Bievergeil</i> , l#	1	
Linen cloth, <i>arshin</i>	102,418	35,067 + 3,000 ell
Woollen cloth, <i>arshin</i>	615	
Blankets	1,264	
Mats	382	6,920
Repontica, #		15
<i>Haußblaßen</i> , #		30
Anis, #		300
Persian silk, Rtl	650	334

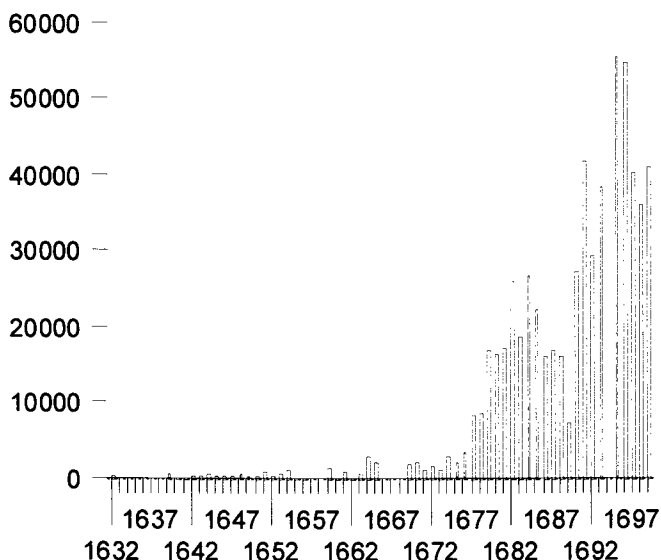
* In addition there were 22 l# tallow, 13 l# candles, 11:15 l# wax, 8 elk hides, 523 ox hides, 10 buck hides, 234 coloured hides, 1692 tanned hides, 100 pieces of sole leather, 20 tail pieces, 23 pairs of boots, 116 lashes, 12 *fuhr* of fish, 20 *loff* of nuts, and 4:9:10 S# seeds.

** 918:14:14 S#.

*** *Reichsthaler* value not specified. Fur exports consisted of 316.5 timber and 30 linings of squirrel, 28 timber, 18 skins, and 9 linings of sable, 2,931 sable bellies, 2,333 sable tails, 16 sable feet, 23 timber and 8 skins of marten, 690 marten tails, 2 mink skins, 30 timber and 37.5 skins of ermine, 402 cat skins and 289 linings, 138 wolf skins and one lining, two bear skins, 1,326 fox skins, 44 lynx skins, 9 gluttons, 53 beaver skins, and 9 otter skins. The 1695 total contained 20 timber minks, 12 bear skins, and 81 lynx skins.

**** The total value of furs. Of this, Rtl 118 worth was listed as generic *Peltery*. The quantities of different types of furs that are included in this total but were specified are given in brackets.

(Source: RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vols. 41, 42)

Figure 2. Riga's Exports of Muscovite *iufti*, 1632-1700 (number of hides)

N.B. According to the 1664 *Landlizent* book (RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 41), a significantly larger quantity, viz. 4,6132 pairs, came into Riga from Russia.

(Source: LVVA A.9-1-10691; LVVA 1744-1-2 - 19; LVVA 1744-2-3; LVVA 4038-2-1074, p. 29; RA Kommerskollegium: Huvudarkivet: Inkomna handlingar: Kungliga brev och remisser: Huvudserien (E I a), vol. 12: 1691, f. 129-130; RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vols. 39, 42; *Latvijas akadēmiskā bibliotēka* (Latvian Academic Library) J.C. Brotze *Livonica*, vol. 15, pp. 204, 210)

of the century appears to have been Muscovite cloth, especially linen cloth (*Laken, Tuch, Leinwand*). For instance, in 1662, Lüders illegally seized 5,680 ells of cloth, and 3,500 pairs of shoes supplied by Muscovite merchants to the Swedish governor. In 1688, Lüders acquired 24,128 ells of linen cloth from Mikhail Iakim and, in 1690, 20,000 *arshin* of 'Russian cloth' from Fedor Paltus. In 1683, there was a dispute concerning 6,000 *arshin* of Russian sheet cloth (*Reusche Laken*) and 2,728 *arshin* Russian *Kondack* at the Muscovite guest house in Riga.³⁴

Another source of considerable interest and importance on Riga's trade in Muscovite goods are the records of Lübeck's *Compagnie der Rigafahrer*. The company imported among other things some Muscovite wares based on an agreement with the *Novgorodfahrer*, who specialized in trade with the Estonian-Ingrian ports of Reval, Narva, and Nyen. However, Muscovite

goods probably did not account for more than 2-4 percent of the total value of the *Rigafahrers'* imports. A 1683 agreement between the two companies -- to redirect one-half of the *Rigafahrers'* contribution to the Russian tolls back to the company -- was justified by the increased importation of Russian wares via Riga. Eventually, however, *iufti* were the only Riga export subjected to the Russian toll. The total Lübeck *iuft'* imports via Riga amounted to Mk 29,550 in 1690, or 13 percent of the total Lübeck *iuft'* imports that year. Overall, Riga's share in Lübeck's Russian imports was five percent. Thirteen of the thirty-four Lübeck ships visiting Riga in 1690 carried Muscovite wares. The ratio in 1691 was 16:40. In 1691, *iuft'* imports were complemented by 16 decker squirrel skins, 702 S# pure flax, 32 S# tallow, and 200 mats.³⁵

The Düna Route

The primary source base on the Düna trade with western Russia is unfortunately very fragmentary, a state of affairs which has tended to lead scholars to incorrectly dismiss this component of Riga's eastern trade as insignificant. The surviving lists of river barges going to Riga consist of one list in Riga and three in Stockholm. The Tartu archive possesses one list from 1653, the last year Smolensk was still in Lithuanian hands. The main assets of the Moscow collections are the surviving Smolensk and Dorogobuzh customs books from the 1670s, as well as individual lists of sales of timber and hemp by the Muscovite authorities to Riga. In addition to the scanty quantitative sources, the surviving records of the Riga *Wettgericht* provide valuable descriptive data. Among other things, contracts which were normally signed in the eastern hinterland in the winter, would be 'confirmed' at the court in the spring with the two parties present. The entries would record the names of the people involved, the nature, and the quantity of the commodities to be delivered. The Russian cities mentioned are Smolensk, Kasplia, Dorogobuzh, Serpeisk, Kaluga, and Starodub, the key centres of the Muscovite periphery of the Düna basin.³⁶

The scarcity of sources is particularly acute for the early part of the century, although Riga's long standing ties with the Smolensk area were clearly maintained. The western Russian districts produced mainly hemp, flax, and timber which were among Riga's most important export wares. It is clear that at least some Muscovite wares were transmitted to the Livonian metropolis by especially Witebsk (Belor. *Vitsebsk*) but possibly also Połock (Belor. *Polatsk*) merchants before Polish-Lithuanian conquest of the Smolensk area in 1611. Referring to fifteenth and sixteenth century grants of privilege, Połock merchants refused to let their Riga counterparts engage in direct trade with Witebsk and Smolensk, something that gave the two

cities a lucrative intermediary role in this growing trade. A unique 1605 customs book for Witebsk records a number of instances of exports to Riga, although the origins of the commodities, whether Belorussian/Lithuanian or Muscovite, are normally not specified. River exports not explicitly identified as being of local Belorussian origin totalled: 16 barrels of potash, 265 last and 26 barrels of ashes, 114 bundles of hemp (581 *kamień*), 9.5 bundles of ticking (low grade hemp, 154 *kamień*), 110 barrels of linseed, 59 barrels of hemp seed, 56 barrels of peas, 69 barrels of wheat, one barrel of grouts, 11 bags of hops (263 *kamień*), 95 fox skins, 7 *kamień* of wax, 17 *iufti*, 2 beaver skins, 7 marten skins, and two rafts of timber. A significant proportion of these came from Russia.³⁷ After the Lithuanian conquest of Smolensk, Viaz'ma became the most important Western Muscovite border town and, in the absence of the old river connections, local Russian trade with Riga is likely to have come to a complete standstill.

We still possess a number of trade-related sources from the era of the so-called Second Northern War when the Russians conquered much of the Dūna valley. Smolensk and Połock fell in the summer of 1654, Witebsk followed in the autumn. The war with Sweden in 1656 was followed by the conquest of much of the rest of the Dūna valley. Dūneburg (Latv. *Daugavpils*) and Kokenhusen (Latv. *Koknese*) were conquered in the summer of 1656, although the autumn offensive against Riga itself was unsuccessful. Riga's trade with Russia underwent a particular increase during the Russian occupation of Eastern and North-Eastern Belorussia in 1654-63. Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich's 1654 decree granted Witebsk merchants the right to duty-free trade down the Dūna. Some of this trade was overland, as is suggested by a June 21, 1661 request by twenty-nine Witebsk burghers to be allowed to proceed to Riga to buy goods and reclaim their debts. The war years appear to have constituted the only instance of Belorussian -- primarily Witebsk -- burghers trading in Muscovite timber, at least some of which came from Smolensk and Porech'e. Otherwise timber trade was the monopoly of the Lithuanian nobility who had temporarily lost control of their northeastern latifundia.³⁸

Of particular importance in developing Riga's trade with Russia was A.L. Ordin-Nashchokin who served as the *Voevoda* of the conquered Livonian city of Kokenhusen (renamed *Tsarevichev-Dmitriev*) in 1656-61. While Nashchokin -- the mastermind of the 1656 offensive on Riga -- never really abandoned the goal of a Muscovite conquest of the port, he quickly implemented measures on the consolidation of the local Livonian economy and sought to restore trade ties with Riga. In a "Report of the subjugation of the Livonian cities" in 1658, he recognized that acts of violence committed by Russians had generated widespread distrust and resentment of the

Muscovites among the local population. He called instead for more benevolent treatment of them, as well as a peace treaty between Sweden and Russia.³⁹ In April 1658, he wrote to Riga Governor Simon Gründel-Helmfeldt with a request that Riga's merchants be allowed to trade freely in the areas occupied by the Russians. On the other hand, however, since 1656, Nashchokin had sought to curb the sale of Muscovite tar, flax, and hemp to German merchants, evidently in an attempt to centralize the trade in these key commodities so as to maximize foreign specie receipts in a catastrophic monetary situation following the introduction of the copper rouble. At the same time, closer economic ties were sought with Courland (Kurskov 252 ff.).

The *Wettgericht* records describe activity by the Tsar's agents in Druja, Jakobstadt (Latv. *Jēkabpils*), and Kokenhusen starting in the summer of 1657. Relations were established with Riga merchants Dreyling and Post, as well as Dutch and English commercial agents, although at least Witebsk and Smolensk merchants still retained their intermediary role. Existing evidence on Muscovite wares floated to Riga are: some 625 S# of hemp (115 *Bunten*, 200 S#, and unspecified *Partyen*) in the summer of 1657, white and potash in the autumn of 1658, six rafts of timber, 107 last potash, 500 S# pure hemp, and 200 S# flax in May 1660. The Tsar's agents Liubovetskii, Mirsvinskii, Sm. Borusovich, etc., in turn acquired wire, salt, herring, and other wares in Riga. In May 1661, 16 rafts carrying timber from Porech'e reached Riga. A similar shipment, as well as two barges with hemp followed in June 1671 (Doroshenko, "Protokoly Rizhskogo torgovogo suda..." 143). A surviving record of so called *ukaznye tovary*, sold to Połock merchants between September 1, 1661, and January 11, 1662, lists a total of 680 S# of hemp, as well as 24:10 S# of tallow reached Riga from Smolensk. However, local trade appears to have been seriously perturbed at the time. A report by *Voevoda* Wolkoński in May 1662 reveals that efforts to enforce the state monopoly of tar, potash, *iufi'*, sable, hemp, and tallow trade in Witebsk were unsuccessful. Trade with Poland-Lithuania had been at a standstill since 1659, the local treasury lacked money, and the first four commodities were simply unavailable. Połock merchants, similarly, claimed to lack such goods, with the exception of "small" amounts of hemp acquired the previous year at Smolensk. In a collective plea to the Tsar, the merchants asked to be allowed to sell their hemp to Riga in return for their outstanding debts to Riga burghers. The rhetoric notwithstanding, there was an obvious reluctance among Belorussian merchants to support a measure that would have threatened their ties with Riga, not least perhaps because the temporary government monopoly of the *ukaznye tovary* led to steep increases, possibly a doubling, in flax and hemp prices. Profit rates of some 15 percent were recorded on sales to Riga.⁴⁰

Commercial relations with Smolensk appear to have continued on a regular basis after the restoration of southwestern Livonia to Sweden in 1661 and the return of the rest of the Düna valley -- along with other large segments of Riga's Muscovite hinterland -- to Lithuania in the 1667 Andrusovo treaty. However, fears that the trade of the Muscovite periphery would be diverted to the Arkhangel'sk route seem to have prompted the aforementioned abolition of the Russian-Livonian border duty in 1668. Still in 1674, the *Kommerzkollegium* warned the King that all export products of the Smolensk district and Severia were being sent to Arkhangel'sk and recommended a reduction in the overall duties on Russian wares to 2 percent. In response, Karl XI ordered the creation of a special Trade College (*Handelskollegium*) for Riga. However, the reduced duties appear to have been applied only to overland trade on the Pskov. Surviving customs lists point to unchanged rates on the Düna where no distinction was made between the 'muscowitische' and 'reussische' wares, the latter being a generic term applied to 'Ruthenian,' i.e. mainly Belorussian products which were normally identical to purely Muscovite exports. Moreover, the goods reaching Riga did not cross the Swedish-Russian border but rather had to pass through the Polish-held Inflanty (Latv. *Latgale*) (Troebst, "Stockholm und Riga...?" 276, 278).⁴¹ Nonetheless, the concerns of the Swedish authorities may have been exaggerated. Smolensk's economy relied very heavily on hemp which regularly accounted for one-half of the total turnover of the city's trade. Long-distance trade in the bulky commodity was unprofitable and most of the hemp sold within Russia was eventually processed into cordage, etc. At least two-thirds of Smolensk's hemp was exported, invariably down the Düna which provided easy access to a significant market and where water transportation minimized costs. In sum, while Riga needed Smolensk, the latter had few alternatives to trading with the Livonian port (Mitiaev 61).

A note dated December 30, 1667 by Smolensk *Voevoda* I.B. Repin to the *Posol'skii prikaz*, in response to the non-payment of duties by merchants, gives a description of the Düna route and sheds light on the incorporation of the Muscovite controlled Smolensk area into Riga's hinterland, largely through the intermediation of the traditionally dominant Witebsk burghers. Lithuanian merchants, mainly from Witebsk, would come to the Belyi district and purchase wares on commission from Riga merchants (*na riskoi promysl*). These would then be sent down the Obscha and Mezha rivers to the Düna. Another area of activity for the Lithuanian-Belorussian merchants was Velizh where they would also acquire goods from the Toropets district. Also Toropets and other merchants on commission from Riga burghers, would take their wares past Velizh to Witebsk, both along the Düna, as well as on

the winter route.⁴²

The surviving Smolensk customs records reveal the robust recovery especially of the hemp trade with Riga. Witebsk merchants continued to play a central role in this exchange, although they were increasingly eclipsed by Smolensk's own merchants. Between September 1673 and August 1674, Smolensk's total hemp exports were valued at R 22,670:28:4 and amounted to some 6,386 S#. Virtually all of this is likely to have been sold to Riga, although the records do not always explicitly specify the destination. Witebsk merchants accounted for 1,211 S# of this. Smaller quantities of hemp were acquired at Dorogobuzh, as shown by customs records of September 1, 1674 to February 23, 1675 listing total exports of 353:18 S# purified and unpurified hemp (*pen'ka chistaia*, ~ *polovaia*, or *Reinhenf* and *Matthenf* in the German terminology used in Riga) by Belorussian merchants. It is thus reasonable to assume that in a good year, some 7,000 S# of Muscovite hemp reached Riga from the Smolensk region in the early-mid-1670s.⁴³

Smolensk's hemp exports amounted to some 4,663 S# -- or R 17,205:11:0.5 in value terms -- between September 29, 1675 and August 31, 1676. The share of Witebsk merchants was 1,246:14:10 S#. Imports between September 2, 1676 and August 31, 1677 rose to some 5,174 S#, or R 21,317:5.5, of which Belorussians accounted for a mere 577:18 S#. On January 27, 1677, a Dorogobuzh *posadskii chelovek* Ivan Bogdanov sold a total of 50:10 S# hemp for R 165:27:2. Hemp sales at Dorogobuzh were significantly higher during the rest of the year totalling 634:18 S# or over R 1,900, although some of it was taken to Smolensk and Porech'e. The bulk of the hemp was sold by a large number of local *posadskie liudi* and small merchants. Less important imports from the Smolensk area included linseed and hempseed, as well as various kinds of grain. In 1675-6, Belorussian merchants brought 736.5 *solianki* of linseed and 185.5 *solianki* hemp seed to Riga. In addition, there were 640 *solianki* of rye, 1,750 *solianki* of barley, and 105 *solianki* of oats. The total estimated value of the grain approached R 10,000, a not insignificant figure which is unlikely to have represented the normal state of affairs.⁴⁴ Additional information on Riga's trade with Smolensk in 1678 can be gleaned from a number of surviving customs receipts issued to Witebsk merchants taking Muscovite wares across the border. The total volumes exported in February-March 1678 was at least 417 S# hemp, 63 *solianki* linseed, 40 *solianki* hemp seed, and 1,345 *solianki* grain.⁴⁵ The bulk of these wares probably ended up in Riga.

The final surviving Smolensk customs book covers the period between September 16, 1678 and August 20, 1679. Hemp exports during the year totaled 5,240 S#, valued at R 16,455:12:3.5, of which Witebsk merchants accounted for 840 S#. Relatively small quantities of linseed were also

exported.⁴⁶ There is again sporadic evidence of smaller transactions elsewhere in the region. A group of eleven Witebsk merchants exported a total of 624:15 S# of hemp, 96 *solianki* of linseed, seven *solianki* of hemp seed, and four *kul'ki* hops from the Belyi region in March 1678. While it is reasonable to assume that the hemp probably ended up in Riga, it is far more difficult to establish the destination of simultaneous grain exports by Witebsk merchants. These totalled at least 1,110 *solianki*. However, at least 160 *solianki* of rye exported from Belyi by Witebsk nobleman Tomasz Staroselskoj were clearly intended for the Riga market. A May (?) 1678 letter by Witebsk and Połock merchants headed by Paweł Trofimow suggests that the grain trade was not without problems as some grain sold to Lithuanians in the Belyi district had been detained by the Muscovite authorities. By this time, extensive credit relations existed between Smolensk and Witebsk merchants, the former owing the latter over Rtl 14,154 in June 1678.⁴⁷

Riga also received naval stores from the Smolensk area whose forest resources were almost entirely controlled by the Russian Crown which relied on the labour of the local court villages. The exports consisted of two types of oak timber: the *Wagenschoß* (*vanches*), which were used in shipbuilding and sometimes for making barrels, and *Faßholz* (*vasil'ka*), smaller oak pieces used for making large barrels (Pāvulāne 152). According to the 1670 Porech'e *raskhodnye knigi*, 3,670 *Wagenschoß* and 9,900 *Faßholz* were produced in the Porech'e and Rudnia *volosti* for export to Riga at a unit cost of 5:2 altyn and 7 den'gi respectively. A total of 12 river boats were sent off and 420 *Wagenschoß* and 900 *Faßholz* lost at rapids. Following duty payments of 5 altyn and 2 den'gi, the goods were valued at 12 and 2 altyn respectively. They were sold in Riga at unit prices of Rtl 1 and 2:2 and the total sale price of R 2,195 entailed a net profit of R 485 (Mitiaev 60). A list dated May 20, 1675 from the inventory (*rospis*) of revenues of Smolensk crown lands shows that the Porech'e *volost'* had produced six barges of oak timber. One *Wagenschoß* equalled four pieces of *Faßholz* in value. Two barges, containing 1,584 *Wagenschoß* were sold to Voevoda Antoni Chrapowicz of Witebsk for Rtl 720 with the same quantity going to Witebsk burghers Michał Kudrjawicz and Andrzej Kudrjanicz. In the Kasplia *volost'*, 3 barges of 2,370 *Wagenschoß* were produced and sold in their entirety to Prince Karel Ogiński for Rtl 1,080.⁴⁸

According to a document dated June 20, 1677, Czar Fedor Alekseevich had issued a decree for the sale to Riga of *Wagenschoß* and *Faßholz* made by Fedor Nelidov and colleagues in the Smolensk and Velizh districts and the royal *volosti* of Porech'e and Kasplia. The production of the Velizh district amounted to 660 pieces of *Wagenschoß* which were sold, with 66

extra pieces, at Rtl 330 (R 198). The cost of production of R 66 left the Tsar with a profit of R 132. 3,960 pieces of *Wagenschoß* produced by Porech'e peasants were sold to three Witebskians for a total of R 805:40 and remarkable total profits of R 445:46:4. One of them also bought a raftfull, 708 pieces, in the Kasplia area at R 184:2:4 -- yielding profits of R 112:2:4 -- and 5,190 pieces of *Faßholz* for Rtl 360 (R 216), which generated a profit of R 86:8:2. The total timber sales of the Smolensk, Velizh, Porech'e, and Kasplia districts were 7,370 pieces of new *Wagenschoß*, 2,880 pieces of old *Wagenschoß*, and 10,260 pieces of *Faßholz*. Total receipts were put at R 1,404:16, and the profits at R 776:24:2.⁴⁹

A third similar document dates from 1678. A Belorussian nobleman Jan Prowonij bought 2,376 pieces of *Wagenschoß* at Rtl 1,080 or R 648 from Rutskaia *volost'*. The sovereign's profit amounted to R 420. Nobleman Adam Kisel bought 792 pieces in Porech'e *volost'* for Rtl 360, as well as a similar amount of old *Wagenschoß* from Kasplia *volost'*. The Tsar earned a profit of R 244 on the two transactions. Witebsk Prince Fjodor Łukomski bought 393 pieces of *Wagenschoß* from Porech'e at Rtl 180 (yielding profits of R 72), as well as a similar amount of old *Wagenschoß* which yielded a profit of R 50. Witebsk burgher Steńka Kudrjawiec bought 1,188 pieces for Rtl 540, on which the Tsar earned R 214, and 792 pieces of old *Wagenschoß* which yielded a profit of R 100. Thus total sales of new *Wagenschoß* were 4,320, valued at Rtl 2,160 or R 1,296. Old *Wagenschoß* sales amounted to 1,800 pieces worth Rtl 720.

Total sales of timber in the Porech'e and Kasplia *volosti* were valued at R 1,606:26:4. In addition, Witebsk burghers Mikołaj Adamski and Andrzej Kudrjanicki who were to receive 160 pieces of *Wagenschoß* and 400 pieces of *Faßholz* from Velizh.⁵⁰ In 1679-80, also some 82-168 masts were exported from Smolensk to Riga. Hamburg merchant and Danish royal factor Andres Butenant von Rosenbusch tried to stop these exports, since he claimed that they undermined his monopoly position (since 1680) as an exporter of Russian timber via Arkhangel'sk.⁵¹

The situation with potash appears to have been largely analogous to timber. Potash was an important and sought-after product of the Western Russian forests and the production and sale of this good was a royal monopoly. Yet, significant quantities did not reach Riga on an annual basis. The 1676 Smolensk customs book contains entries on the sale of potash to Witebsk customs official (*mytnik*) Prowonij and nobleman A. Kisel. In early April, 70 barrels (217 S#) of potash were sent to Riga from Porech'e. Of these, 31 barrels (91:6 S#) were sold to Prowonij at Rtl 854. In August, 39 barrels (106:13 S#) were sold to Kisel for Rtl 1,000. In 1679, Kisel's agent Jan Rudnitskoj bought 168:9 S# of potash from the Tsar's administrative office (*prikaznaia izba*) at R 880:5. In good years, the Tsar's profits from his

Riga-oriented commercial operations in the Smolensk area reached Rtl 2-3,000.⁵²

Anecdotal evidence from the 1680s points to the continuation of intensive relations. A successful petition by a Kaluga *posadskii chelovek* Akimka Ivanovich Evsev'ev to the Tsar in early October 1684 contains a request for a royal passport for Russian and Lithuanian cities, including Riga. Evsev'ev, who had previously traded in hemp and other goods, had incurred considerable losses due to delays caused by Muscovite administrators who had repeatedly demanded to see a passport.⁵³ The Russians in some cases even issued credit to Witebsk merchants. Thus a *pevchii d'iak* Maksimko Ievlev in January 22, 1686 requested a passport for Witebsk where he wished to collect debts from burghers and merchants.⁵⁴ Twenty-seven entries from the 1680s and '90s in the *Wettgericht* records on seven Smolensk merchants point to the arrival of 21 barges (' c. 4,200 S#) of pure hemp, 5 barges of hemp seed, two barges of linseed, as well as some loads of rye. In addition, Smolensk merchants supplied Riga with timber and ashes, particularly from the Porech'e region, but occasionally also hides, mats, etc. (Doroshenko, "Protokoly Rizhskogo torgovogo suda..." 141).

Detailed information on the Dūna route is once again available for the closing years of the century from the so-called *Strusen-Rollen* -- lists of river barges -- at the Swedish National Archive. The *Strusen* were flat and wide barges which could carry 30-40 lasts worth Rtl 100-200 (Jenšs, *Der Handel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert* 69). By the '90s, the number of vessels arriving from Muscovy, which appears to have been in the range of 5-10 percent of the total

river traffic on the lower Dūna. The wares carried consisted mainly of hemp from Muscovy appears to have been in the range of 5-10 percent of the total whose volumes reached over 7,000 S# in 1699. In addition, hemp seed and linseed were carried in significant quantities. Unfortunately, yet understandably, the sources list only the point of origin of the barges heading for Riga, rather than the owners of the wares they carried. Consequently, it is impossible to determine the significance of Witebsk merchants in this trade.⁵⁵

It seems safe to assume that overall Muscovite exports of hemp on the Riga route may have exceeded 10,000 S# by the end of the century. The 1698 totals of key imports on the Dūna route were 13,410 bundles (*Bunten*) of hemp, 74,661 tn of hemp seed, and 4,958 tn of linseed, which compared to 16,393 bundles of hemp, 133,028 tn of hemp seed, and 35,108 tn linseed in 1699.⁵⁶

Table 3. Muscovite Trade on the Dūna Route in the 1690s⁵⁷

	1692	1696	1698	1699
Total number of boats	376	3752	5613	705.125
Number from Muscovy	35	29	34.625	42
Smolensk	31	30	30.625	37
Starodub				5
Dorogobuzh			3	
'Muscovy'	4		1	
Hemp	3 <i>Strusen</i> (= c. 600 S#)	30 <i>Strusen</i> (= c. 6,000S#)	1,278 <i>Bunten</i> (= c. 4,700S#)	1,967 <i>Bunten</i> (= c. 7,250S#)
Hemp seed	4 <i>Strusen</i> (= c. 2,380 tn)		4,300 tn	1,610 tn
Linseed			400 tn	1,200 tn
Hemp, hemp seed	18 <i>Strusen</i> (= c. 3,600S#)			
Hemp, hemp seed, linseed	2 <i>Strusen</i> (= c. 400 S#)			

(Source: LVVA 7349-1-93; RA Livonica II:342)

The Relative Significance of Russian Trade

The two dimensions of assessing the relative significance of Riga's Muscovite trade are: (i) examining the relative weight of Muscovite wares in Riga's overall export bundle, and (ii) determining Riga's share of Russia's combined export trade by means of a comparison with other trade routes, most notably Arkhangel'sk, the only fully Russian-controlled sea port at the time. These two issues have received relatively little attention in Riga's trade history and the professional opinion on these questions has, consequently, tended to be dominated by (erroneous) collective wisdom.

The surviving customs data points to a rather peripheral role of Muscovite goods in Riga's trade. The *Oktroi* revenues of some hundreds of *Reichsthaler* p.a. paled in comparison to the typical annual receipts from the *Lizent* (c. Rtl 100,000), *Anlage* (c. Rtl 40,000), and *Portorium* (c. Rtl 30,000) (Jenšs, "Moskovskoe torgovoe podvor'e..." 78). Nonetheless, Harder-Gersdorff, pointing to robust growth in Riga's *Oktroi* trade during the final decades of the century, has argued that the Muscovite share of

Riga's exports amounted to as much as 15 percent (Harder-Gersdorff 72). We know that the *Oktroi* receipts in 1695 totalled Rtl 1,812:18 at 22 percent *ad valorem*, suggesting a total value of trade of over Rtl 72,000. This compares to *Akzis* receipts in 1694 of 34,605 at 1.2-5.5 percent *ad valorem*. This suggests that the share of Pskovian, etc. wares may have reached 5 percent of the total.

An accurate analysis of the significance of Russian trade, however, has to focus on the role of Muscovy as a supplier of individual commodities. For instance, the 628 S# of Muscovite flax traded on the average p.a. in 1676-83 accounted for 6 percent of the total average exports of 10,539 S#. The corresponding averages for 1684-91 are 894 S# and 16,472 S#, respectively, putting the Muscovite share at 5.4 percent (Troebst, "Stockholm und Riga...?" 284). Hemp, however, was a different matter altogether. While the overland hemp imports from Pskov, etc., were insignificant, the surviving customs records for Smolensk reveal that the city's annual exports, sent primarily to Riga, varied between 4-6,500 S# in the 1670s. The total hemp exports of Riga averaged some 37,290 S# p.a. in 1670-80 (Dunsdorfs, "Der Außenhandel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert" 477). By the '90s, hemp imports from Muscovy were invariably in excess of 5,000 S# and may have been as high as 10,000 S# p.a. The annual average for 1690-9 was just short of 65,000 S# which suggests that the Muscovite share may have been close to one-sixth. Overall, hemp accounted for 37.4 percent of Riga's total exports in 1678-84, 24.7 percent in 1694 and 38 percent in 1699.⁵⁸ In contrast, Arkhangel'sk's hemp exports in 1673 totalled 8,000 S#, while Narva's combined flax and hemp exports rose from 7,500 S# in 1675 to almost 32,000 S# in 1695. Nyen and Reval exported roughly half as much.

Muscovite *iuft'* exports via Riga averaged 10,120 hides p.a. in 1676-80, 22,180 p.a. in 1681-5, and 16,640 p.a. in 1686-90. The three average figures accounted for 54.9, 61.7, and 58.4 percent respectively of the known total *iuft'* imports of Lübeck and the *iufti* passing the Danish Sound combined pointing, once again, to the great significance of the Riga market for particular Muscovite wares, although the city was eventually eclipsed by Narva. Riga's known *iuft'* exports peaked at some 55,000 hides p.a. This compares to a known total of some 450,000 via Arkhangel'sk in 1652 and 267,000-333,000 hides in 1673. It is thus very likely that Riga's *iuft'* exports even during the best years did not significantly exceed 15 percent of Arkhangel'sk's total. While *iufti* were a weighty component of Muscovite trade with Riga, they did not play a significant role in Riga's overall export trade where various animal products only accounted for 3.4 percent of the total in 1694 and 8 percent in 1699 (Doroshenko, *Torgovlia i kupechestvo Rigi...* 141, 285).

The share of Muscovite exports appears to have been particularly significant in the case of potash exports. Thus, the annual average of Riga's potash exports in 1676-83 was 833 S#. The Muscovite share (even excluding the Düna route) was 321 S#, or 38.5 percent (Troebst, "Stockholm und Riga...?" 284). The vast bulk of Russian potash was exported through Arkhangel'sk, however. In contrast, the relative significance of Muscovite tallow exports was relatively small. The average annual imports from Muscovy accounted for 6.1 percent of Riga's combined exports to Lübeck and past the Danish Sound in 1681-5. This share fell to 3.9 percent in 1686-90 (Troebst, "Stockholm und Riga...?" 287). The average Muscovite imports of Riga were only 10:12 S# and 1:16 S# during the two time periods respectively. In comparison, the exports of Arkhangel'sk in 1673 were 2,000 S#.

Overall, a relatively small proportion of Riga's trade came from the Muscovite hinterland. The Pskov region typically accounted for at best 3 percent of the total. The exports of the Smolensk area would probably add another 3-4 percentage points, making 6-7 percent of Riga's overall exports. However, the above analysis has indicated that the share of the Pskov route approached, and may have exceeded, 5 percent in the '90s. The Smolensk route in the end provided over 6 percent of Riga's total exports, taking the combined total of Muscovite wares closer to Harder-Gersdorff's 15 percent, albeit probably still not quite there. Very clearly, however, Muscovy accounted for a significant proportion of the Riga market by the end of the century. A surviving petition from Wesseling to the City Council on December 4, 1700 reveals that the combined debts of Muscovites to Riga merchants amounted to Rtl 23,023 1/3 consisting mainly (Rtl 20,580) of unpaid credit predating 1699. The total of Muscovite debts to thirty-two Riga merchants at the outbreak of the war was Rtl 81,744:32 1/4. Extensive supply networks of long standing constituted the basis of Riga's trade with Russia by the end of the century.⁵⁹

In conclusion, while Riga's trade with Muscovy stagnated for much of the seventeenth century, the century ended on a high note with a steady expansion of trade, especially in hemp and *iufiti*. This made Riga an important center of Russian trade, even if it continued to lag behind Narva. However, the Livonian capital did pose a serious challenge to Nyen whose location in the Neva estuary was not far inferior to Narva's. Moreover, Riga by far eclipsed Reval which for much of the century had still entertained grandiose notions of becoming a leading star of the derivation policy. While mixed, the results of Riga's commercial '*Ostpolitik*' do ultimately constitute an important example of the successes of Swedish 'derivation' policy.

Notes

1. Doroshenko (1979); Jenšs (1957); Dunsdorfs (1940). Many of the holdings of RGADA have been published in various collections of primary documents, e.g.: Azarov, Karpachev, and Korneichik (1960); Abetsedarskii and Volkov (1963); Ignatenko and Koroleva (1972); Davydova, Shaskol'skii, and Iukht (1960); Attman, Dolgikh, Karlgren, Kromnov, Narochnikskii, Tikhvinskii, Cherepnin, and Iarring (1978).
2. Piirimäe (1964); Doroshenko (1985) 52, 59. On Dutch trade in the Baltic, see: Bogucka (1969); LVVA 673-1-1253, fols. 67-76, 1381-1-10691.
3. Klaus von Berg, writing in Pskov to Riga Burgomaster Nicholas Ecke in February 1600, referred to his earlier mission. Doroshenko (1985) 95.
4. For a detailed account of this period, see for instance: Dunsdorfs (1962) 19-52; Varentsov 45; LVVA 673-4: a. 19, No. 260, 264.
5. Jenšs (1947) 79; Troebst (1993) 274; Doroshenko (1980) 55.
6. Jenšs (1930) 55; Pāvulāns (1968) 90.
7. Piirimäe 103, 105-6; Pāvulāns (1968); Dunsdorfs, "Der Außenhandel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert."
8. Doroshenko (1968) 141-2; --- (1985) 93; Jenšs (1937) 163; --- (1947) 75, 78.
9. Doroshenko (1980) 50; Jenšs (1937) 76-7; LVVA 673-4-223.
10. LVVA 673-4: a. 20, Nos. 9-12; Jenšs (1938) 157.
11. On Reval, see Kotilaine, "Tallinna kaubandusest Venemaaga 17. sajandi algul."
12. Twenty-six of the merchants were Muscovites -- four from Pskov and one from Novgorod -- and they mainly brought their goods on sledges in the winter. Jenšs (1938) 152; LVVA 673-4: a. 19, No. 186.
13. Surviving notes by Isidor Dalz, a Riga agent of an Amsterdam Ostland-merchant Arent Fabry, point to the existence of fairly intensive relations with Pskov in the 1570s. In 1674, he acquired Rtl 667 worth of tallow (45 S#) in Pskov which was then sold in Riga for Rtl 956. Other purchases totalled Rtl 2,200 and appear to have included 4 S# wax (Rtl 206), 10 decker *iufiti* (Rtl 108), and 12 decker goat skins (Rtl 59.5). In December 1574, Dalz purchased 28 decker elk hides (Rtl 746), 15 percent of the total value (Rtl 17,500) of his purchases in 1575 consisted of mainly Muscovite *iufiti*, tallow, and wax purchased in Pskov and Dorpat. Doroshenko (1985) 71-2, 75; Denucé 12-34; Koppe 226-36; Jenšs (1937) 157; --- (1938) 151; LVVA 673-4: a. 20, Nos. 62, 73, 87.
14. Jenšs (1937) 156-7; (1938) 151, 156; LVVA 673-4-449, 459.
15. LVVA 1381-1-1, fol. 519; Doroshenko (1968) 142; --- (1980) 60; --- (1985) 96; Jenšs (1937) 159; --- (1947) 75, 79; LVVA 9-1-1, fol. 519; 3, fols. 412, 438; 25, fols. 455, 488; 6773-4: a. 4, No. 203.

16. The distance between Pskov and Walck (Latv. *Valka*, Est. *Valga*) is 140 km, that between Walck and Riga 150 km, the distance between Dorpat and Riga 165 km. Jenšs (1938) 145-6, 151-3;--- (1947) 75; Doroshenko (1985) 75.
17. LVVA 673-4: a. 19, No. 259; Jenšs (1937) 154;--- (1938) 152.
18. "In 1616 the Under-Starosta of Cēsis, Szachowski, began to stop all merchants whether they were bound for Riga or coming thence, and to examine their goods. The result was that there were frequently forty or fifty waggons and merchants at Cēsis who could obtain neither lodging nor even enough bread or fodder for their horses. Besides the usual one-groat bridge-toll for crossing the river Gauja, the Under-Starost demanded a further one-groat 'castle-money' and other unlawful payments. Similarly at Gaujiena in 1616, the bridge-toll was raised from one to 22 groats per waggon, although the whole bridge consisted only of from twelve to fourteen beams laid side by side. At Riga's request the Starosta of Cēsis, Count Tarnoff, abolished all these new imposts." Jenšs (1938) 152-3, 156. The influence of Wenden is rather striking in light of its size. In 1647 the city had only 86 houseowners, including 37 artisans and 29 traders, figures which further fell to 22 and 15, respectively, in 1698. Wenden's development was held back by four major fires during the century. Strods 38-9. Jenšs (1937) 155-6; LVVA 673-3-439, 446, 673-4; LVVA 673-4: a. 20, Nos. 33, 57; Doroshenko (1985) 95.
19. EAA 995-2-622, fol. 1. The Crown denied Dorpat's request for the reinstatement of its old privileges.
20. Jenšs (1937) 159;--- (1938) 154;--- (1947) 74; TLA (= *Tallinna Linnaarhiiv*, Tallinn City Archive) 230-1-B.H. 12; RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 27.
21. Jenšs (1947) 75; Demkin 2: 47; Rukhmanova 50.
22. Jenšs (1947) 74-6; "Die vormalige Russische Herberge in Riga," *Rigaische Stadt-Blätter* (1812) 43-4; Doroshenko (1985) 162; LVVA 9-1-3, fols. 176, 404; 4, fol. 162.
23. LVVA 7349-3-17; *Rigaische Stadt-Blätter* (1812) 44-5.
24. ASPOIOIANRF (= *Arkhiv Sankt-Peterburgskogo otdeleniia Instituta otechestvennoi istorii Akademii nauk Rossiiskoi Federatsii*, The Archive of the St Petersburg Department of the Institute of National History, Academy of Sciences of the Russian Federation) f. 109, No. 308, fols. 4-5; LVVA 7349-2-60, fols. 15-6, 21, 27, 30; 62, fols. 7-9; letter by L. Pashin and A.L. Ordin-Nashchokin to R. Douglas in Riga.
25. Jenšs (1930) 162-3; --- (1937) 161; --- (1947) 77-8.
26. Jenšs (1937) 162; --- (1947) 77. A 1699 *Gravamina* by Russians regarding Livonian trade lists instances of alleged miscarriages of justice and losses caused by additional dues and false weight measurements in Riga. LVVA 673-1-524; 9-1-9, fols. 278-9; 12, fols. 326-7.
27. Jenšs (1947) 76.

28. Jenšs (1937) 160; Pskovskii oblastnyi muzei (Pskov District Museum), rukopis' No. 380 (tamozhennaia kniga za 1670/71 g.); Chistiakova 216-8.
29. RGADA f. 64, 1666 g., No. 1, fols. 4-5. The 1665-6 Tikhvin customs record mentions a Riga merchant Konrad Johanson (Kondratei Ivanov syn) who on July 18, 1665 acquired 243 pud of *iufti* in Tikhvin, thus offering evidence of active trading by Rigans. ASPOIOIANRF f. 132, op. 2, No 1337, fol. 200.
30. Lüders in 1662 had supplied the governor of Riga and the Swedish army with 5,680 *arshin* Russian woollen cloth at Mk 2 per *arshin* and 3,500 pairs of boots at Mk 122 a pair. Jenšs (1937) 162; Troebst (1993) 275-7, 279; RA Handel och sjöfart, vol. 17.
31. Jenšs (1930) 127; Troebst (1993) 281.
32. Troebst (1993) 282; Jenšs (1937) 160-1.
33. RA Östersjöprovinsernas tull- och licenträkenskaper, vol. 41: Landlicentjournal för Riga över inkommande varor 1664; vol. 42: Portorii och anlagsjournal Andra delen 1695.
34. There are a total of sixty-seven seventeenth century volumes, covering the years 1613-33 and 1657-1700, of *Wette-Gericht* (*Wettgericht*) protocols. The court dealt with commercial affairs, including complaints by merchants, as well as recording contracts between Riga merchants and their Belorussian, Lithuanian, and Muscovite suppliers. Suits could be initiated by domestic as well as foreign merchants and the court thus provided Lithuanian and Muscovite merchants with an institutional mechanism for expressing their grievances against Riga citizens. Doroshenko (1968) 141-2; LVVA 9-1-4, fol. 166; 27, fol. 430; 29, fol. 181; 30, fol. 186; 35, fol. 294.
35. Harder-Gersdorff 62, 67-8; AHL Alte Bürgerschaft, D 7, CCCIII, fol. 3.
36. LVVA f. 9, apr. 1, ll. 1-67; Doroshenko (1968) 120, 122-4, 140-1.
37. Doroshenko (1985) 91; "Regestr wybirania myta starego na przykomorku Witebskim przez mie Eustaphia Mereckiego Począwszy od iedynastego dnia Janry X^o DNI: 1605," VUB (= *Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka, Ranksraščių skyrius*; Vilnius University Library, Manuscripts Division) F4-13157; Meleshko (1958).
38. Adashchik 574.
39. Doroshenko (1968) 134; Kurskov 246, 251.
40. RGADA f. 214, stb. 1470, fols. 15-32, 39-44, 48-9; reproduced in Azarov et al. 329-39 (No. 225); Kurskov 258-9.
41. Troebst, "Stockholm und Riga als "Handelsconcurrentinnen" Archangel'sks?" 276, 278.
42. RGADA f. 145, 1668 g., stb. No. 6, fols. 317-8.
43. RGADA f. 145, kn. 12, ch. 1; 1675 g., stb. No. 9; Mitiaev 61.
44. RGADA f. 145, kn. 12, ch. 1-2; 1676 g., stb. No. 19, fol. 21^v, 1677 g., stb. No. 6.

45. RGADA f. 145, 1678 g., stb. No. 10, fols. 2-9, 11-8.
46. RGADA f. 145, kn. 12, ch. 2.
47. RGADA f. 145, 1678 g., stb. No. 10, fols. 2-9, 11-8; f. 79, 1678 g., stb. No. 8, fols. 7-11, 245.
48. RGADA f. 145, 1675 g., tetrad' No. 14, fols. 2-6.
49. RGADA f. 145, 1677 g., tetrad' No. 12, fols. 1-15.
50. RGADA f. 145, 1678 g., tetrad' No. 14, fols. 2-9^v.
51. The eventual results of the petition are unknown. Demkin 2: 22-3.
52. RGADA f. 145, kn. 12, ch. 2, fols. 355-6^v, 771; Doroshenko (1980) 59-60.
53. RGADA f. 79, 1684 g., stb. No. 1, fol. 7.
54. RGADA f. 79, 1686 g., stb. No. 1, fol. 6.
55. Further on this argument, see: J.T. Kotilaine, "Opening a Window on Europe: Foreign Trade and Military Conquest on Russia's Western Border in the 17th Century," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* (forthcoming).
56. RA Livonica II:342.
57. The conversions given in brackets are based on estimates by Doroshenko (1968: 128).
58. Dunsdorfs, "Der Außenhandel Rigas im 17. Jahrhundert" 478; Doroshenko (1985) 140-1.
59. While there may have been some quantities of Lithuanian-Belorussian *iufti* on the Riga market, Muscovite *iufti* clearly dominated. For instance in 1683, all *iufti* sold in Riga came from Russia. EAA 278-1-XXII:151 Extract aller aus Riga ausgeschifften Wahren 1683; LVVA 673-4-226, fols. 3-5.

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