

The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier

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Chapter 10

Saints' Cults in Medieval Livonia¹

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Saints' cults played a crucial role in medieval society. Although we know very little about the beliefs and rituals of the indigenous peoples of Livonia, either before or after the thirteenth-century conquest, we may assume that the process of Christianization must have caused major changes in their religious practices.² How quickly these changes took place, and how deep they were, is a question which is difficult to answer, given the scarcity of sources describing the attitudes of the indigenous peoples towards the Christian faith, or dealing with their religious customs. This is valid not only for the thirteenth century but also for the rest of the medieval period. There exist, of course, brief complaints in documents such as church statutes about the ignorance and superstition of the 'non-Germans', but these texts were written by and from the point of view of the ruling elites and not that of non-Germans themselves, who did not possess a written culture before the nineteenth century. One may also assume that complaints about such matters were a commonplace in other newly Christianized countries as well.

However, it is not only the beliefs and customs of the native inhabitants of Livonia that we are interested in, but also those of the 'newcomers' in the country, that is, the (predominantly German) upper and middle classes. The location of Livonia between the Roman Catholic West and the Russian Orthodox East (not to mention the neighbouring Lithuanians who remained pagan until the late fourteenth century) makes this region an interesting melting pot of different cultural and religious influences. The political, economic and cultural connections to Germany, Denmark and Sweden, the role of the Hanseatic League, the presence of the military orders (first the Sword Brethren, then the Teutonic Order) and the monastic orders (most notably the Cistercians and the Dominicans) must all have had a significant impact on the development of local religious life.

This chapter explores only one aspect of religious life in Livonia, namely the cults of saints. This is perhaps most conspicuously reflected in the choice of the patron saints of the churches, towns and other institutions. However, the study is hindered by the scarcity of sources: there are very few surviving calendars and dedication charters of churches and altars. In the majority of cases we do not know when a church or altar was founded and by whom. This makes it difficult

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² See Marek Tamm and Tõnno Jonuks, 'Religious Practices of the Estonians in the Medieval Written Sources (11th to 15th centuries)', in *Estonian Mythology*, ed. Mare Kõiva (Helsinki, forthcoming).

to estimate the range of the saints known in Livonia, and the ebbs and flows in the cult of individual saints. The same can be said about possible changes of dedications. Although the Catholic period in Livonia lasted only slightly longer than three centuries, there is evidence of such changes in the patron saints of the churches, monasteries and altars. More changes took place in the early modern period, which, together with the shortage of evidence from the Middle Ages, complicates the study of the original patron saints.

This chapter will first outline the role of the Virgin Mary as the patron of the country and of the German mission in Livonia. It goes on to discuss the local idiosyncrasies of the saints' cults. Among the questions to be addressed are: to what extent the thirteenth-century crusade and the presence of the Teutonic Order may have influenced the cult of certain 'military' saints; why no local saints emerged in Livonia; and which of the new saints, canonized between the thirteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, were introduced in the region. It is also interesting to detect how the veneration of 'Northern' or 'Scandinavian' saints reached different parts of Livonia, and whether the geographical factor was decisive in this respect.

The cult of saints in medieval Livonia is a subject that has thus far attracted only minimal scholarly attention. The complex political history of the region in the twentieth century, not least the restrictions of the Soviet period, did not favour topics connected with religion. Secondly, since modern Latvia and Estonia have remained within the Lutheran tradition, the study of Catholic religious practices has not been considered of great importance even in those periods when there was no such political pressure. The first scholarly writings on church history which also touch the subject of the saints originated among Baltic German scholars from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The monograph of Hermann von Bruiningk from 1904, discussing a missal and a breviary of Riga, can still be regarded as the best reference work on the subject: the second part of the volume consists of a catalogue of the saints known in Riga.³ About the same time, a study devoted specifically to the saints' cults was published, though anonymously, by Wilhelm Heine.⁴ While predominantly focusing on Estonian and Latvian folk customs on particular saint's days, he also listed churches, chapels and altars dedicated to these saints. A comprehensive monograph by Leonid Arbusow on the Reformation is still widely consulted for pre-Reformation practices as well.⁵ The main value of these

³ Hermann von Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet nach dem Brauche der Rigaschen Kirche im späteren Mittelalter* (Riga, 1904).

⁴ [Wilhelm Heine], 'Hagiologisches aus Alt-Livland. Studien und Analekten zur Geschichte der Heiligenverehrung in Liv-, Est- und Kurland vom Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts bis auf die Gegenwart von einem Livländer', *Der Katholik: Zeitschrift für katholische Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben* 27 (1903), 306–32, 414–30; 29 (1904), 378–91; 30 (1904), 24–41; 32 (1905), 128–37, 217–30, 282–94.

⁵ Leonid Arbusow, Jr, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland* (Leipzig, 1919–21).

studies lies in the amount of documentary evidence collected by the authors; they did not, however, attempt to place the Livonian material within the wider European comparative context. Furthermore, they generally counted on the continuity of (oral) tradition: that is, they assumed that if the patron saint of a church turns up in nineteenth-century sources, this also represents the medieval situation.

A growing interest in the mentality and religious practices in medieval Livonia, including the cult of the saints, has occurred since the 1990s. Tiina Kala in particular has studied the church calendar and religious life in medieval Reval (mod. Tallinn, Estonia).⁶ Heiki Valk has analysed folkloric and archaeological material from cemeteries, chapels and other holy sites in Estonia.⁷ Art historians have explored the relations between the cult of certain saints and their representation in art.⁸ This chapter does not aim to provide a thorough analysis of the saints' cults in the region, but rather to draw attention to certain problems indicated in the introductory remarks above.

Since fully preserved calendars survive only from Riga and Reval and not from other parts of medieval Livonia, one of the best options to study the cult of the saints is to analyse the patron saints in the region.⁹ In the following, we shall move from the patron saint(s) of the land and bishoprics to those of the towns and churches. Since the number and quality of the sources on different institutions

⁶ Tiina Kala, 'The Church Calendar and Yearly Cycle in the Life of Medieval Reval', in *Quotidianum Estonicum*, ed. Jüri Kivimäe and Juhan Kreem (Krems, 1996), pp. 103–10.

⁷ Heiki Valk, 'Christian and Non-Christian Holy Sites in Medieval Estonia: A Reflection of Ecclesiastical Attitudes towards Popular Religion', in *The European Frontier: Clashes and Compromises in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jörn Staecker (Lund, 2004), pp. 299–310.

⁸ Anu Mänd, 'The Patron Saint of Medieval Tallinn', in *Maasta, kivistä ja hengestä / Earth, Stone and Spirit: Markus Hiekkänen Festschrift*, ed. Hanna-Maria Pellinen (Turku, 2009), pp. 360–66; Mänd, 'Über den Marienaltar der Revaler Schwarzenhäupter und seine Ikonographie', in *Eesti kunstisidemed Madalmaadega 15.–17. sajandil*, ed. Tiina Abel, Anu Mänd and Reet Rast (Tallinn, 2000), pp. 228–38; Merike Kurisoo, 'Sancta Anna ora pro nobis. Images and Veneration of St Anne in Medieval Livonia', *Acta Historiae Artium Balticae* 2 (2007), 18–34.

⁹ The missal of the cathedral of Riga from the beginning of the fifteenth century, including a calendar, and the breviary from 1513 of the Rigan diocese have been thoroughly analysed by Bruiningk in his *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*. A medical-astrological manuscript from the first half of the sixteenth century, kept in the Latvian National Library in Riga, includes a calendar that most likely originates from Reval: Anu Mänd, 'Ootamatu leid Riias – 16. sajandi kalender Tallinnast', *Tuna* 3 (2007), 70–86. Handwritten remarks in a *Martyrologium* of Belinus de Padua (printed in Venice in 1509), that most probably originates from the Dominican friary in Reval, also enable us to reconstruct the local calendar of feasts: Kala, 'The Church Calendar', p. 110; Kala, 'Tallinna dominiiklaste kalender reformatsioonieelse ajakasutuse peeglina', *Vana Tallinn* n.s. 2 (1992), 16–28. Fragments of a calendar (for May and June only) survive from the Birgittine nunnery near Reval: Paul Johansen, 'Kalendrikatkend Pirita kloostri', *Vana Tallinn* o.s. 3 (1938), 24–27.

varies widely, I will also outline the difficulties one should be aware of when conducting research on saints in Livonia.

The Virgin Mary: Patron Saint of Medieval Livonia

As repeatedly emphasized in the *Chronicon Livoniae* by Henry of Livonia (written about 1224–27), the German conversion and conquest of Livonia took place under the patronage of the Virgin Mary. In 1201 or 1202, when Bishop Albert von Buxhövdén moved the episcopal see from Üxküll (mod. Ikšķile, Latvia) to Riga, he ‘dedicated the episcopal cathedral with all of Livonia to Mary, the Blessed Mother of God’.¹⁰ From the same passage we learn that the convent in Üxküll, established by Bishop Meinhard, was already named after the Virgin.¹¹ The Mother of God was depicted on the banner of the crusaders,¹² and those who undertook the pilgrimage to Her land were miraculously healed.¹³ The patronage of Mary over Livonia is expressed by Henry several times.¹⁴ Perhaps the most important instance in this respect is his report on the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, where, according to Henry, Bishop Albert addressed the council as follows:

Holy Father, as you have not ceased to cherish the Holy Land of Jerusalem, the country of the Son, with your Holiness’ care, so also you ought not abandon Livonia, the land of the Mother, which has hitherto been among the pagans and far from the cares of your consolation and is now again desolate. For the Son loves His Mother and, as He would not care to lose His own land, so, too, He would not care to endanger His Mother’s land.

¹⁰ Henry of Livonia, *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. Leonid Arbusow and Albert Bauer (Darmstadt, 1959), ch. VI.3, p. 24: *cathedram episcopalem cum tota Lyvoniam beatissime Dei genitricis Marie honori deputavit*. Translation from *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. James A. Brundage (Madison, Wis., 1961), p. 40.

¹¹ Cf. *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum ex recensione I. M. Lappenbergii*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hannover, 1868), ch. 5.30, p. 213: *Anno igitur verbi incarnate 1186 fundata est sedes episcopalis in Livonia a venerabili viro Meinhardo, intitulata patrocinio beate Dei genitricis Marie, in loco qui Riga dicitur*. Arnold of Lübeck, writing about 1210, did not know that the original location of the episcopal see was in Üxküll.

¹² Henry of Livonia, ch. XI.6, p. 78, ch. XII.3, p. 88, ch. XVI.4, p. 160. In some other cases, Henry uses the expression ‘under the banner of the Blessed Virgin’ metaphorically: see ch. XXIII.10, p. 252, ch. XXIV.2, p. 256.

¹³ Henry of Livonia, ch. XV.4, p. 136.

¹⁴ Henry of Livonia, ch. XIX.7, p. 196, ch. XXI.1, p. 210, ch. XXIII.10, p. 252, ch. XXV.2, pp. 268, 270, 272, ch. XXV.4, p. 276, ch. XXIX.8, p. 326.

To this Pope Innocent III replied: 'We shall always be careful to help with the paternal solicitude of our zeal the land of the Mother even as the land of the Son.'¹⁵ Thus it seems that the dedication of Livonia to the Mother of God was the initiative of Bishop Albert, who gained papal approval for this in Rome. Albert's aim was to make Livonia attractive for the crusaders and placing the land under the patronage of the Virgin was an effective means to sacralize it and make it comparable to the Holy Land. The conquest of Livonia took place in the period when the cult of the Virgin Mary in Europe had reached its peak, and this certainly favoured the dedication of the newly converted areas to her. In addition to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, there also exist other contemporary sources about the Virgin Mary's patronage of the country. In 1257 Albert Suerbeer, the archbishop of Riga, in a donation charter for the Cistercian nunnery in Riga, refers to the Virgin Mary 'to whom Livonia is specially dedicated' (*cui et ipsa Livonia specialiter ist dicata*).¹⁶ That Livonia was the 'property' of the Mother of God is also expressed in a letter of the Teutonic Order to the Roman Curia at the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁷

The image of the Blessed Virgin in Henry's chronicle is twofold: she is described on the one hand as a tender and loving mother to her 'children'; on the other hand as a protector of the crusaders in their battles and ruthless to her enemies (that is, above all, the pagans, the Danes and the Russians, who 'invade Her land' or 'hinder the faith').¹⁸ Such rhetoric is particularly understandable in the context of a missionary chronicle like Henry's whose aim was to describe the legitimacy of the Rigan (i.e. German) mission. The overwhelming role of the Virgin in conquest ideology and the placing of the country under her patronage were by no means specific to Livonia. Similar phenomena can also be traced elsewhere, most notably in the Iberian Peninsula, where, as Angus MacKay has said: 'the late medieval frontier was a Mariological one'.¹⁹

¹⁵ Henry of Livonia, ch. XIX.7, p. 196; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, p. 152.

¹⁶ *LUB* 1/1, no. 300 (1 May 1257).

¹⁷ Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, p. 324.

¹⁸ Henry of Livonia, ch. XXV.2, pp. 268, 270, 272 (see also ch. XXV.4, p. 276); *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. Brundage, pp. 198–99, particularly the following lines: 'Behold how the Mother of God, so gentle to Her people who serve Her faithfully in Livonia, always defended them from all their enemies and how harsh She is with those who invade Her land or who try to hinder the faith and honor of Her Son in that land! See how many kings, and how mighty, She has afflicted! [...] And what kings whether of pagans or of Danes or of other nations, have fought against Livonia and have not perished? Consider and see, you princes of the Russians, or the pagans, or the Danes, or you elders of whatever people. Fear this gentle Mother of Mercy. Adore this Mother of God and give satisfaction to Her, Who takes such cruel revenge upon Her enemies.'

¹⁹ Angus MacKay, 'Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford, 1988), pp. 217–43 (here 230).

Several major churches in Livonian cities were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. That she was the patron saint of the cathedral of Riga, as already mentioned, is reported in Henry's chronicle.²⁰ From other sources we learn that the anniversary of the dedication of the cathedral was the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August).²¹ There were, exceptionally, two high altars in the cathedral, both dedicated to the Virgin: one in the chancel, the other in the chapel of the Virgin in the north side of the church.²² Mary was also the patron saint of the cathedral and the cathedral chapter in Reval and Curonia.²³ Other cities and towns with a church dedicated to St Mary include Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia), Narva, and Wesenberg (mod. Rakvere, Estonia). Altars, chapels or statues of the Virgin Mary existed in every larger church in Riga and Reval,²⁴ and possibly also in other towns. The cult of the Blessed Virgin was also very strong among the military orders active in Livonia: the Sword Brethren and the Teutonic Order, whose main patron saint she was.²⁵ The Virgin and Child were depicted on the banner of the Livonian Master of the Order.²⁶ The first paragraph in the regulations of the Livonian branch of the Order stresses that the Master had to guarantee the celebration of masses and horary prayers in honour of the Virgin in the convents.²⁷ Thus, the two main political rivals in late medieval Livonia, the Church of Riga and the Teutonic Order, 'shared' the same patron saint.

²⁰ Henry of Livonia, ch. VI.3, p. 24, ch. XIII.3, p. 100, ch. XVIII.6, p. 176. See also *LUB* 1/2, no. 723 (1 April 1326), as well as the seals of the cathedral and the cathedral chapter: *Est- und Livländische Brieflade 4: Siegel und Münzen*, ed. Johannes Sachssendahl (Reval, 1887), pp. 108–10, Tafel 27–28, no. 42.

²¹ Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 226, 327.

²² Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 327–28.

²³ *LUB* 1/2, no. 715 (16 Aug 1325). The cathedral of the Virgin Mary in Reval is referred to in several other sources as well (incl. testaments of the citizens). See also the seals of the bishops and the cathedral chapter: *Est- und Livländische Brieflade 4*, Tafel 31, 34, nos 26–27, Tafel G, nos 5–6. For Curonia, see *LUB* 1/1, no. 530 (Jan 1290); see also the seals of the bishops of Curonia: *Est- und Livländische Brieflade 4*, Tafel 45–46. No direct evidence survives about the patron saint of the cathedral in Hasenpoth.

²⁴ For Riga see Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 327–34. Altars of the major churches in Reval are listed in: Tiina Kala, 'Tallinna raad ja katoliku kirik reformatsiooni algastail', in *Muinasaja loojangust omariikluse läveni: Pühendusteos Sulev Vahre 75. sünnipäevaks*, ed. Andres Andresen (Tartu, 2001), pp. 147–72 (here 156–60).

²⁵ In the later Middle Ages, two other saints also became highly venerated among the Teutonic Knights: St George and St Elizabeth of Thuringia. See Udo Arnold, 'Elisabeth und Georg als Pfarrpatrone im Deutschordensland Preußen: Zum Selbstverständnis des Deutschen Ordens', in *Elisabeth, der Deutsche Orden und ihre Kirche*, ed. Udo Arnold and Heinz Liebing (Marburg, 1983), pp. 163–85.

²⁶ Sven Ekdahl, *Die 'Banderia Prutenorum' des Jan Długosz – eine Quelle zur Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410* (Göttingen, 1976), pp. 274–75.

²⁷ *LUB* 1/9, no. 275, § 1 (15 April 1438), no. 716, § 1 (28 April 1441).

The image of Mary as the protector of the land against the 'others' continued to be utilized throughout the Middle Ages. In the 1340s, due to increasing conflicts with the Pskovians, two fortresses, dedicated to St Mary, began to be erected on the border between Livonian and Russian territories. The castle of the Teutonic Order, located a little way from the border, was named Marienburg (mod. Alūksne, Latvia). The other – the mightiest fortress in the bishopric of Dorpat, was built directly on the border; the castle of Our Beloved Lady (MLG *unszer leven frouwen borch*), as it was originally named, became known as Neuhausen, the 'New Castle' (mod. Vastseliina, Estonia).²⁸ According to the chronicle of Bartholomäus Hoeneke, both fortresses were founded on the Annunciation of the Virgin (25 March) in 1342, but the date could have been deliberately chosen by the author.²⁹ However, it is a remarkable fact that the only fortresses in Livonia that are known to have been dedicated to the Virgin Mary were erected near the border against the 'schismatics', where her protection was perhaps most needed at that time. Since very little data survive on the chapels in the castles of the Teutonic Order, it is impossible to say how many of these were dedicated to the Virgin, but this was the case at least in the castle of Karkus (mod. Karksi, Estonia).³⁰

The cult of the Virgin Mary was also strongly promoted by monastic orders, particularly by the Cistercians, who played an important role in the Livonian mission,³¹ but also by the Dominicans and the Birgittines. Cistercian monasteries were usually dedicated to the Virgin Mary, although sometimes they had co-patrons as well, such as St Nicholas at Dünamünde (mod. Daugavgrīva, Latvia).³² The Virgin Mary was the original patron saint of the Cistercian nunnery in Riga, founded in the mid-thirteenth century; however, from the second half of the fourteenth century, the convent began to be referred to as that of St Mary Magdalene.³³ In the church of the Dominican friary in Reval (dedicated to St Catherine of Alexandria), there were at least three if not four altars of the Virgin Mary, and all the major feasts connected with the Virgin (and her mother Anne) were celebrated by the Dominicans as *totum duplex*.³⁴ All the Birgittine nunneries had to be dedicated to St Mary, and so too was the convent of Mariendal (Lat.

²⁸ Anti Selart, *Eesti idapiir keskajal* (Tartu, 1998), pp. 58–59.

²⁹ Bartholomäus Hoeneke *Liivimaa noorem riimkroonika*, ed. and trans. Sulev Vahre (Tallinn, 1960), p. 72.

³⁰ *Livländische Güterurkunden*, ed. Hermann von Bruiningk and Nicolaus Busch, 2 vols (Riga, 1908–23) I, no. 305 (18 April 1441).

³¹ See Wolfgang Schmidt, *Die Zisterzienser im Baltikum und in Finnland* (Helsinki, 1941), pp. 20–32.

³² Henry of Livonia, ch. VI.3, p. 24; *Est- und Livländische Brieflade* 4, p. 112, Tafel 28, nos 53–55; Lore Poelchau, *Die Geschichte des Zisterzienserklosters Dünamünde bei Riga (1205–1305)* (St Ottilien, 2004), p. 10.

³³ *LUB* 1/1, no. 300; *LUB* 1/3, nos 283, 336. Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, p. 333. The Cistercian nunnery in Reval was dedicated to St Michael.

³⁴ Kala, 'Tallinna raad ja katoliku kirik', p. 160; Kala, 'The Church Calendar', p. 110.

Vallis Mariae) near Reval (actually dedicated to St Mary and St Birgitta), the only one of its kind in Livonia.³⁵

Although the patron saints of the parish churches in the countryside are rarely mentioned in medieval sources, it is clear that the number of churches and chapels dedicated to the Virgin Mary significantly surpassed those of other saints. In the territory of present-day Estonia, at least a dozen parish churches were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, whereas the saints next in popularity, such as St John the Baptist, St Nicholas, St Michael and St Martin, each had no more than five or six.³⁶ It can be added that the widespread tendency in the late Middle Ages of dedicating churches and altars to a particular event in a saint's life³⁷ can in Livonia be discerned only in the case of the Virgin Mary.³⁸

That the conquest of Livonia took place in the period when the cult of the Virgin was flourishing through Europe, that she became the patroness of the country and the main patron saint of the Teutonic Order and that her cult was strongly promoted by the monastic orders – all this must have influenced her enormous popularity as the patron saint of cathedrals, churches and altars. One might ask if the situation would have been radically different had Livonia not been dedicated to the Mother of God. If we look at some other regions in Europe, for instance Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Silesia or Finland, it is clear that she was the most popular patron saint there as well. In Silesia, where the patron of the country was St Hedwig, only ten churches were dedicated to her, but as many as fifty-eight to the Virgin Mary.³⁹ The bishopric of Åbo (mod. Turku, Finland), which covered the entire territory of medieval Finland, was dedicated to St Henry, the 'national saint' of Finland. Apart from the cathedral of Åbo and the church in Nousiainen, in which St Henry shared the patronage with the Virgin Mary, he was the patron saint of only two or three

³⁵ LUB 1/5, no. 2485 (9 July 1420); *Est- und Livländische Brieflade* 4, pp. 126–7, Tafel 34, nos 34–36.

³⁶ Cf. Lauri Vahtre, 'Keskaegsete maakirikute ja -kabelite nimipühakute kajastumine Eesti rahvakultuuris', *Kleio* 1 (1988), 38–45 (here 39). He has also included post-medieval parish churches.

³⁷ See, for example, Joseph Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols (München, 1924), 1: 729.

³⁸ The churches in Jegelecht (mod. Jõelähtme, Estonia) and Karulen (mod. Karula, Estonia) were dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, those in Klein St Marien (mod. Väike-Maarja, Estonia) and Merjama (mod. Märjamaa, Estonia) to the Nativity of the Virgin, the church in Paistel (mod. Paistu, Estonia) to the Annunciation, and the chapel in Maholm (mod. Viru-Nigula, Estonia) probably to the Visitation of the Virgin: MS Tartu, Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, collection (coll.) 1187, inventory (inv.) 2, no. 730, fol. 14r (Jegelecht); coll. 1187, inv. 2, no. 5166, fol. 2v (Merjama); Friedrich Georg von Bunge, 'Protocoll der Catholischen Kirchenvisitation in Livland vom Jahre 1613', *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Curlands* 1 (1842), 23–77 (here 31, Karulen); Johan Köpp, *Kirik ja rahvas* (Lund, 1959), pp. 221–2; Hugo Richard Paucker, *Ehstlands Geistlichkeit* (Reval, 1849), p. 196.

³⁹ Heinrich Tukay, *Oberschlesien im Spannungsfeld zwischen Deutschland, Polen und Böhmen-Mähren* (Köln, 1976), pp. 281–84.

other churches or chapels,⁴⁰ whereas there were twenty-five churches dedicated to St Mary.⁴¹ The number of churches dedicated to the Mother of God in Lower Saxony and Westphalia amounted to hundreds and surpassed all the other saints.⁴² It would thus be too simplistic to claim that the enormous popularity of the Virgin Mary in Livonia was based on her patronage of the country; it was a far more complex phenomenon.

Patron Saints of Cathedrals and Bishoprics

By the late thirteenth century, the following four bishoprics existed in Livonia in addition to the archbishopric of Riga: Reval, Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia), Ösel-Wiek with its centre in Hapsal (mod. Haapsalu, Estonia) and Curonia with its centre first at Hasenpoth (mod. Aizpute, Latvia), and from about 1300 in Pilten (mod. Piltene, Latvia).⁴³ In general, the patron saint of the cathedral, cathedral chapter and bishopric were identical. As noted above, the cathedrals in Riga and Reval and the cathedral chapter of Curonia were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In the two latter cases we do not know if Mary was the only patron saint or if there were co-patrons, as in Riga. According to the breviary of the Rigan diocese from 1513, the co-patrons of the *ecclesiae Rigensis* were St Adalbert (bishop of Prague, d. 997) and St Augustine of Hippo.⁴⁴ The latter is not so surprising since the canons of Riga, at least during certain periods, followed the Augustinian rule.⁴⁵ In the cathedral of Riga there was also an altar dedicated to St Augustine.⁴⁶ However, there is no

⁴⁰ Tuomas Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda* (Helsinki, 2005), pp. 85–87.

⁴¹ Jukka Korpela, 'The Patronal Saints of the Medieval Finnish Churches and Altars', in *Saints of Europe: Studies towards a Survey of Cults and Culture*, ed. Graham Jones (Donington, 2003), pp. 199–209 (here 204).

⁴² *Die mittelalterlichen Kirchen- und Altarpatrozinien Niedersachsens*, ed. Hans-Walter Krumwiede (Göttingen, 1960), pp. 302–6; Heinrich Kampschulte, *Die westfälischen Kirchen-Patrocinien, besonders auch in ihrer Beziehung zur Geschichte der Einführung und Befestigung des Christentums in Westfalen* (Paderborn, 1867), pp. 185–86.

⁴³ *Baltische Länder: Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas*, ed. Gert von Pistohlkors (Berlin, 1994), p. 92. During the formation of the bishoprics in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, the name and/or centre of some of them changed. For details, see Tiina Kala, 'The Incorporation of the Northern Baltic Lands into the Western Christian World', in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 3–20 (here 10–12). The name Ösel-Wiek was invented by scholars in the nineteenth century; in the Middle Ages, the bishopric was usually referred to in Latin as *Osilia*. See Tiina Kala, 'Über das Schicksal des Bistums Ösel-Wiek', in *Saare-Lääne piiskopkond / Bistum Ösel-Wiek*, ed. Ülla Paras (Haapsalu, 2004), pp. 177–208 (here 177–78, n. 1).

⁴⁴ Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 149, 223–24, 348–49, 366.

⁴⁵ Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 12–13.

⁴⁶ Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, p. 366 (a reference from 1477); Hermann von Bruiningk, 'Die Altäre der Domkirche zu Riga im Mittelalter',

other evidence for the cult of St Adalbert in Riga (or elsewhere in Livonia).⁴⁷ It remains an open question when exactly these two saints became the co-patrons of the Church of Riga, or who stood behind the promotion of their cult.

The patron saints of the cathedrals and chapters of Dorpat and Hapsal are likewise referred to in medieval sources: in the case of the former, SS Peter and Paul,⁴⁸ and in the case of the latter, St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist. However, since these medieval patrons were forgotten (as at Dorpat) or changed (as at Hapsal) in later centuries, and since confusion can still be encountered in the literature about this matter, we should briefly clarify the situation. One might assume that given the importance of the cathedral churches and their location in the larger cities, knowledge about their patron saints would persist even after the Reformation, but this was not necessarily the case. Dorpat suffered severely in the Russian–Livonian war (1558–83) and the cathedral was in ruins from the late sixteenth century. This may go a long way to explain why its patron saints were forgotten: in 1695, the chronicler Christian Kelch described the cathedral as that of St Dionysius,⁴⁹ and this assertion is repeated in later writings until about the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ This is somewhat strange, given that the coat of arms of the city of Dorpat bears the keys of St Peter and the sword of St Paul.⁵¹ Perhaps they were only remembered as the patron saints of the city and not of the cathedral.

The story of the cathedral of Ösel-Wiek differs from that of Dorpat. The first cathedral, dedicated to St John the Evangelist, was founded in 1251 in Old Pernau (mod. Pärnu, Estonia), which at that time was the residence of the bishop.⁵² This cathedral was destroyed by the Lithuanians in 1263. Thereafter, the residence was moved to Hapsal, where the cathedral is first referred to in 1279.⁵³ This cathedral is

Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1901 (1902), 8–13 (here 9).

⁴⁷ Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, p. 349.

⁴⁸ LUB 1/6, no. 2716 (8 January 1225), no. 2824 (21 November 1346); Arthur Motzki, 'Livonica aus den Supplikenregistern von Avignon (1342 Okt. 11–1366 Mai 9)', *Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte* 21 (1911–28), no. 24 (1346). See also the seals of the bishops and the cathedral chapter: *Est- und Livländische Brieflade 4*, Tafel 40–44.

⁴⁹ Christian Kelch, *Liefländische Historia* (Reval, 1695), p. 68.

⁵⁰ For example, August Wilhelm Hupel, *Topographische Nachrichten von Lief- und Ehistland*, 3 vols (Riga, 1774–82), 1: 254. The first to draw attention to the problem was Axel von Gernet, 'Zum Namen der Dorpater Domkirche', *Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft 1891* (1892), 93–99. There was an altar of St Dionysius in the cathedral of Dorpat, and Kelch's mistake could have been based on that knowledge. See LUB 1/6, no. 2941 (6 May 1397).

⁵¹ *Est- und Livländische Brieflade 4*, pp. 83–84, Tafel 18, nos 3–6, Tafel C, nos b–c; Arnold Feuereisen, 'Das Wappen der Stadt Dorpat: Seine historische Entwicklung und Rekonstruktion', *Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik 1907 und 1908* (1910), 4–16.

⁵² LUB 1/6, no. 2731 (1251), see also no. 2734 (24 Aug 1253).

⁵³ LUB 1/1, no. 461 (1279).

sometimes referred to in historical sources as that of St John the Evangelist,⁵⁴ and sometimes as that of St John the Evangelist *and* St John the Baptist.⁵⁵ Likewise, on the seals of the bishops of Ösel-Wiek we sometimes find both St Johns, and sometimes only the Evangelist.⁵⁶ It is possible that the Baptist became the second patron of the church only later on, from about the mid-fifteenth century. In any case, it seems that the patronage of the Evangelist was the stronger of the two and the one that was promoted more by (at least some of) the bishops.

In the post-medieval period there occurred a change in the patron saint. After a heavy storm in March 1726, when the cathedral lost its roof, the congregation moved to the city church of St Nicholas (built in the 1520s and first mentioned together with the patron saint in 1524⁵⁷) and took the name of St John with it. Since then, the city church has borne the name of St John. After the reconstruction works of the nineteenth century, the former cathedral church was dedicated to St Nicholas on 15 October 1889, thereby completing an exchange of patron saints between the two churches.⁵⁸ It is important to insist on these facts, as some scholars still take it that St Nicholas was the medieval patron saint of the cathedral in Hapsal.⁵⁹

The patrons chosen to be the protectors of the Livonian bishoprics belonged to the most powerful and well-known Christian saints. One may assume that the cult of the patron saint(s) of a cathedral was strongly promoted in the bishopric and that the feast day was celebrated more solemnly than those of the ordinary parish churches in the town or countryside. To what extent the cathedral's dedication influenced the choice of the patron saints of the parish churches in the bishopric is difficult to say. As mentioned above, the number of churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the region was higher than that for any other saint, but this may have less to do with her patronage of the country and three bishoprics than with the flourishing of her cult in late medieval Europe in general. In the bishopric of Ösel-Wiek there was only one church – the parish church in Goldenbeck (mod. Kullamaa, Estonia) – dedicated to St John (or to both St Johns).⁶⁰ It may well have been the case that the bishops were reluctant to dedicate the parish churches to the

⁵⁴ LUB 1/2, no. 667 (15 June 1319); LUB 1/7, no. 781 (17 Feb 1429).

⁵⁵ LUB 1/10, no. 562, § 5 (9 March 1449); LUB 2/1, no. 827 (11 June 1499).

⁵⁶ *Est- und Livländische Brieflade* 4, Tafel 37–39. Both St Johns first appear on the seal of Petrus Wetberch, bishop 1471–91 (Tafel 37, no. 13).

⁵⁷ MS København, Rigsarkivet, Fremmed proveniens, Lifland, Øsel stift, Registrant 1a, fol. 183v.

⁵⁸ MS Tartu, Eesti Ajalooarhiiv, coll. 1239, inv. 1, no. 21, fol. 28r. See also Anu Mänd and Kalev Jaago, 'Haapsalu toomkiriku kaitsepühakute', *Lääne Elu* 3/72 (24 Jan 1991), pp. 1, 5.

⁵⁹ For instance, Lauri Vahre, *Eestlase aeg: uurimus eesti rahvapärase ajaarvamise ajaloost*, 2nd rev. edn (Tallinn, 2000), p. 106; Vahre, 'Keskaegsete maakirikute', p. 42.

⁶⁰ Leonid Arbusow, 'Livlands Geistlichkeit vom Ende des 12. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert, Dritter Nachtrag', *Jahrbuch für Genealogie, Heraldik und Sphragistik 1911–1912* (1913), 1–430 (here 329).

same saint(s) as the cathedral in order to avoid possible rivalry in attendance at Mass and the market on the feast day.

Patron Saints of Cities and the Cult of Soldier-Saints in Livonia

Our information on the medieval patron saints of the cities is mainly based on their coats of arms. Sometimes, as we have seen in the case of Dorpat, the patron saints of the cathedral also became the patron saints of the city. Hapsal chose only one of the patron saints of the cathedral to protect the city: its coat of arms displays the eagle of St John the Evangelist.⁶¹ In Riga, the patron saint of the city was not identical with that of the cathedral but with that of the most important parish church: St Peter. The crossed keys of St Peter are likewise to be found on the coat of arms of the city.⁶² The Virgin Mary or her rose can be seen on the coat of arms of Fellin (mod. Viljandi, Estonia).⁶³ She may have been chosen as patroness of the town because one of the most important castles of the Teutonic Order was located in Fellin. The patron saint of Lemsal (mod. Limbaži, Latvia) was apparently St Laurence, because he (or, later on, his main attribute, a gridiron) is depicted on the coat of arms.⁶⁴ Apart from these examples, there is very little evidence on the medieval patron saints of Livonian urban centres. After the Reformation they were gradually forgotten, and since there are very few documentary sources preserved from the smaller towns, it is virtually impossible to trace them. We cannot even be certain if every smaller town had a patron saint.

Strangely enough, the identity of the patron saint of Reval, the second largest city in Livonia, had been totally forgotten in the post-medieval period, and was rediscovered only in 2003. A comparison of the written sources with iconographical evidence (particularly the reredos of the high altars of two Reval churches) led to the conclusion that it was St Victor. In fact, the cult of two distinct Victors, of Marseilles and of Xanten respectively, had become conflated in Reval: on the high altar of the Church of St Nicholas one can recognize the legend of St Victor of Marseilles (Fig. 10.1), whereas the feast day celebrated in Reval was that of St Victor of Xanten (10 October). In addition to the surviving altarpieces and goldsmiths' works where images of St Victor can be found, there is evidence on altars and statues of St Victor in the written sources. His cult was particularly strong among the two merchants' corporations in Reval, but there also existed a religious guild dedicated to St Victor. In 1487, the city council had three statues of

⁶¹ *Est- und Livländische Brieflade* 4, p. 85, Tafel 18, no. 7.

⁶² *Est- und Livländische Brieflade* 4, p. 91, Tafel 20, nos 21–23; Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 522–23.

⁶³ *Est- und Livländische Brieflade* 4, p. 91, Tafel 20, nos 25–27.

⁶⁴ *Est- und Livländische Brieflade* 4, Tafel 19, nos 9–10; Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, p. 459.

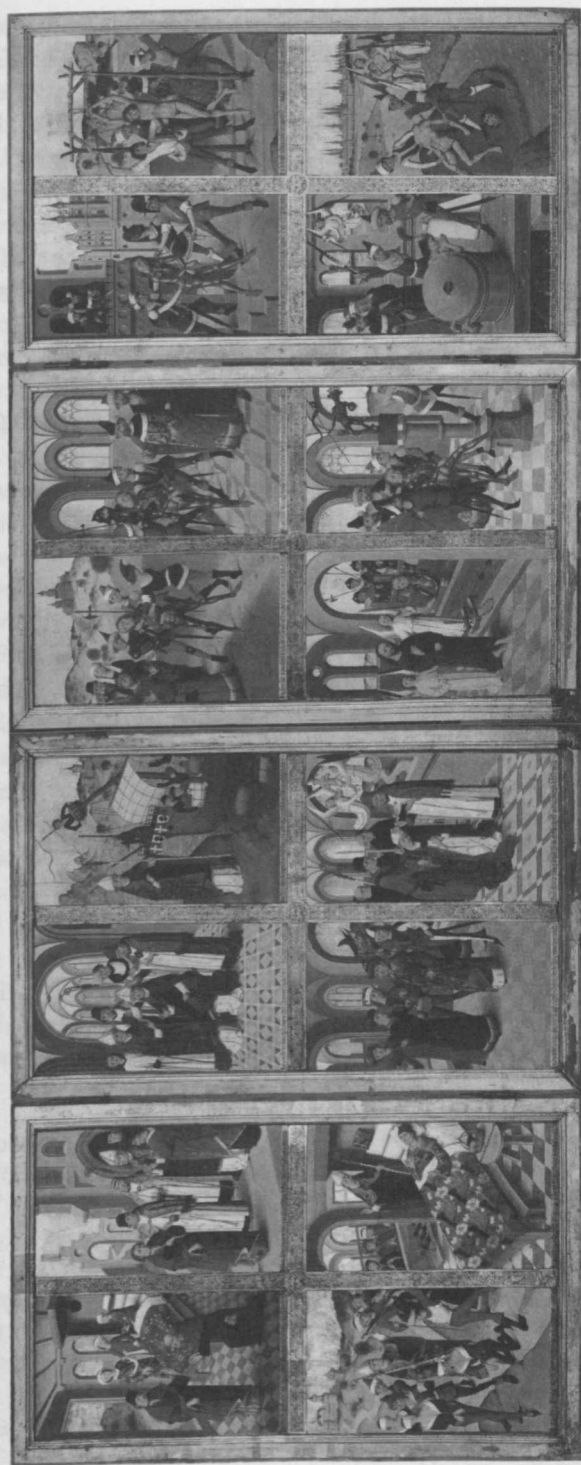


Fig. 10.1 Reredos of the high altar of St Nicholas's church in Reval, 1478–81, workshop of Hermen Rode in Lübeck. 2nd position. The eight scenes on the left depict the legend of St Nicholas, the patron of the church, and the eight scenes on the right – the legend of St Victor, the patron saint of the city (here depicted as St Victor of Marseilles). In the scene where St Nicholas saves the ship of the Hanseatic merchants, one can see the coats of arms of the Great Guild and the Brotherhood of the Black Heads. Photo: S. Stepashko. © The Art Museum of Estonia, Tallinn.

St Victor placed at the city gates. According to a chronicle written by a councillor, Johann Gellinckhusen, the city council celebrated St Victor's Day with a feast.⁶⁵

Both Victors were comparatively little known in the German territories or in the Baltic Sea region in general, and their feast days usually belonged to those of the lower categories. In Reval, 10 October was celebrated as a *festum duplex*.⁶⁶ The reason why St Victor, a military saint, was chosen as the patron saint of a Hanseatic city is not yet clear. Perhaps Reval had at some point acquired relics of the saint? Thus far, no evidence on this has been found in written sources. The cult of St Victor seems to have been specific to Reval: no data on his veneration have survived elsewhere in Livonia. It is, however, noteworthy that St Victor was not the only soldier-saint strongly venerated in merchant-dominated Reval: so, too, were St George and St Maurice. The Great Guild of the merchants had its most important altar dedicated to SS Blasius, Victor and George.⁶⁷ From St Maurice, reputedly a black soldier, derived the name of the Brotherhood of the Black Heads, an association of unmarried merchants and journeymen.⁶⁸ The head of St Maurice is also depicted on their coat of arms. In 1481, the Reval Black Heads bought an antependium from Bruges, decorated with the images of SS Victor and Maurice.⁶⁹ On the central panel of their surviving altarpiece, one can see St George, the Virgin and Child, and St Victor. For the Black Heads in Riga, St George was the most important saint. In 1487, they endowed a Mass at the Church of St Peter in honour of SS George, Maurice, Gertrude, Francis and Reinold.⁷⁰ A wooden statue of St George, containing a relic of the saint, stood on their altar, and in 1503 the confraternity decided to order a silver reliquary of the saint, likewise intended for their altar.⁷¹ Three wooden sculptures from the mid-fifteenth century depicting SS George, Maurice and Gertrude, that had probably belonged to an altarpiece of the Black Heads, have been preserved. On the side stones (*Beischlagsteine*) from 1522 of their confraternity house stood the Virgin Mary and St Maurice.⁷²

⁶⁵ Mänd, 'The Patron Saint of Medieval Tallin', pp. 360–64.

⁶⁶ Kala, 'Tallinna dominiiklaste kalender', pp. 18, 24.

⁶⁷ Mänd, 'The Patron Saint of Medieval Tallin', p. 364.

⁶⁸ On the Black Heads (and the Great Guild) in major Livonian cities, see Anu Mänd, *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 29–38.

⁶⁹ Mänd, 'Über den Marienaltar', p. 232.

⁷⁰ Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 62, 418.

⁷¹ Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 418–20. The latter, a silver reliquary from 1507, has been preserved and is nowadays kept in the Roselius-Haus in Bremen. *Der Silberschatz der Compagnie der Schwarzen Häupter aus Riga*, ed. Maria Anczykowski (Bremen, 1997), pp. 32–37.

⁷² *Melngalvju nams Rīgā / Das Schwarzhäupterhaus in Riga / The Blackheads House in Riga*, ed. Māra Siliņa (Riga, 1995), pp. 37, 196–97, 200–201.

Thus, it is clear that, although the merchants' associations in Riga and Reval also venerated other saints, the 'military' ones had a very prominent position.⁷³ Naturally, the cult of SS George and Maurice was not limited to the merchants. St Maurice, for instance, played a very important role in the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, being depicted on their banner (as we have seen, the Virgin Mary was depicted on the other side).⁷⁴ St George was the patron saint of the Sword Brethren and their chapel in Riga was named after him (later on, after their incorporation into the Teutonic Order, the chapel passed on to the Teutonic Knights).⁷⁵ However, St George was highly venerated by other social layers as well, and featured rather frequently as the patron saint of churches and altars. One is certainly tempted to link the roots of the strong cult of the soldier-saints to the thirteenth-century crusade (and this may indeed be partly the case) but one should not forget that there was usually more than one factor that determined the saints' cults. Therefore, the role of the soldier-saints in different layers of the Livonian society and the reasons for their veneration definitely require further research.

Churches in the Hanseatic Cities

The patron saint of a rural church or a castle was usually chosen by the owner of the land and the initiator of the building: a bishop, a monastery, the nobility or the Teutonic Order. In towns, especially in the late Middle Ages, the role of the citizens, particularly of merchants, grew in this respect. Since the Livonian towns belonged to different lords, they had very little in common politically. The connecting factor was their membership of the Hanseatic League. The most important Hanseatic towns in Livonia were Riga, Reval and Dorpat, but in addition to these there was also Fellin, New Pernau, Wolmar (mod. Valmiera, Latvia), Wenden (mod. Cēsis, Latvia) and some others.⁷⁶

The Hanse or the merchants, unlike some crafts, did not venerate one particular saint. However, scholars have pointed out that some saints appear more frequently than others as the patron saints of churches and chapels in the Hanseatic towns, and therefore one can speak of certain 'Hanseatic saints'. These included the Virgin

⁷³ For more on the subject, see Hermann von Bruiningk, 'Die Schutzheiligen der Kompanie der Schwarzhäupter in Riga', *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1901* (1902), 33–35; Anu Mänd, 'Hans Bouwer, kaupmees', in Tiina Kala, Juhan Kreem and Anu Mänd, *Kümme keskaegset tallinnlast* (Tallinn, 2006), pp. 60–89 (here 67–68, 70).

⁷⁴ Ekdahl, *Die 'Banderia Prutenorum'*, pp. 276–77.

⁷⁵ Friedrich Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwerbrüder: Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia* (Köln, 1965), p. 64; Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, p. 414.

⁷⁶ *Baltische Länder*, p. 110.

Mary, St Peter, St Nicholas and St James the Greater.⁷⁷ Their churches can be found in most important Hanse towns in German territories, such as Lübeck, Hamburg and Danzig (mod. Gdańsk, Poland), in Visby on Gotland and also in medieval Livonia. Some churches founded on the initiative of the merchants functioned not only as places of worship but also as storehouses. For instance, the Church of St Peter of the German merchants in Novgorod has often been presented as a classic example of the *ecclesia mercatorum*.⁷⁸

It has been pointed out that the merchants, when founding a church in a foreign land, often preferred to name it after the patron saint of their home church: for instance, the Scandinavian merchants had their Church of St Olaf in Novgorod, and the Danish churches in London and Visby were dedicated to St Clement.⁷⁹ However, knowing the preferences towards certain saints of merchants from certain regions, one should not automatically conclude that all churches dedicated to St Nicholas in the Hanseatic cities were founded by German merchants, or all churches of St Olaf by Scandinavian ones. This has, unfortunately, been the case in Reval, where the two late medieval parish churches, St Olaf and St Nicholas, have been declared to have been founded by Scandinavian and German merchants.⁸⁰ However, recent research has shown that the founders of the Church of St Nicholas (and likewise the exact time of the foundation) are not known,⁸¹ and that the Church of St Olaf was originally not a parish church, but most probably erected on the initiative of the Danish royal house, since its *ius patronatus* belonged first to the Danish kings and, from 1267, to the Cistercian nunnery in Reval.⁸²

One of the major problems with Livonian churches (in towns as well as in the countryside) is that in most cases we do not know the time of their foundation or who stood behind it. In general, we also do not know whether a church had more than one or two patron saints, since the co-patrons were normally listed only in the consecration charters.⁸³ This makes it difficult to study the preferences toward

⁷⁷ Matthias Zender, 'Heiligenverehrung im Hanseraum', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 92 (1974), 1–15 (here 10–13); Rainer Postel, 'Kirche und religiöses Leben', in *Die Hanse: Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos*, ed. Jörgen Bracker, 2 vols (Hamburg, 1989), 1: 426.

⁷⁸ Paul Johansen, 'Die Kaufmannskirche im Ostseegebiet', in *Studien zu den Anfängen des europäischen Städtewesens: Vorträge und Forschungen* 4 (Lindau, 1958), pp. 499–525 (here 499–503).

⁷⁹ Zender, 'Heiligenverehrung', p. 3.

⁸⁰ Johansen, 'Die Kaufmannskirche', pp. 505–7; Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Köln, 1973), pp. 40–41.

⁸¹ *Kui vana on Tallinn?*, ed. Tiina Kala (Tallinn, 2004), pp. 109–10.

⁸² Tiina Kala, 'Ludeke Karwel, kogudusevaimulik', in Tiina Kala, Juhan Kreem and Anu Mänd, *Kümme keskaegset tallinlast* (Tallinn, 2006), pp. 150–76 (here 155).

⁸³ Very few such charters have survived. For instance, the church of St John's hospital near Reval was in 1449 dedicated to St John the Baptist, the blessed Elias and St Jodok: *LUB* 1/10, no. 649 (17 Aug 1449). The church of the Cistercian monastery in Paddis

certain saints among particular social layers, and the popularity of individual saints at certain periods in time.

Returning to the saints frequently appearing in Hanseatic cities, it is perhaps important to point out that the image of a saint constantly developed. For instance, in the late Middle Ages, additional functions were ascribed to certain saints in order to make them more 'suitable' or to bring them mentally closer to some professions or social groups. For instance, in the Hanseatic region, the role of St Peter as a fisherman was particularly emphasized, and the designation of the Virgin Mary as Star of the Sea (Lat. *stella maris*) may have increased her popularity among seafarers.⁸⁴ Her mother, St Anne, was also known as a maritime patroness.⁸⁵

One of the best-known patrons of the merchants and seafarers was certainly St Nicholas, whose cult reached an unprecedented popularity in the Hanseatic region. Churches dedicated to St Nicholas existed in such important cities as Lübeck, Hamburg, Rostock, Visby, Danzig, Stralsund and so on. Quite frequently they were religious centres of the seafarers and their organizations. For example, in St Nicholas's Church in Hamburg, a special Mass was celebrated for the protection of seafarers (*missa prima nautarum*).⁸⁶ In the Livonian Hanseatic towns, churches of St Nicholas existed in Reval and New Pernau. In Riga, Reval and Dorpat, there were also Russian churches of St Nicholas.⁸⁷ The role of St Nicholas as a patron saint of merchants and seafarers becomes particularly visible in works of art: on a panel of the high altar of the church in Reval he is saving a ship (Fig. 10.1), and on a stone sculpture in the church of Karris (mod. Karja, Estonia) in Ösel, a merchant, probably saved from a storm, offers his ship to St Nicholas in gratitude.⁸⁸

Another characteristic of the Hanseatic towns is the cult of St Gertrude of Nivelles. From the end of the thirteenth century, and particularly after the Black Death, a new wave of her cult spread from the region of Mecklenburg and Pomerania and reached the Baltic region as well. Gertrude was regarded as the

(mod. Padise, Estonia) was dedicated to the Holy Cross, St John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist, SS Bartholomew, Laurence, Nicholas, Bernard, Benedict, Anthony, Catherine, Barbara, Mary Magdalene, Anne and, finally, to all saints: *LUB* 1/10, no. 511 (30 Nov 1448). Both lists begin with the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mary, but it was customary to name them before the actual patron saints.

⁸⁴ Zender, 'Heiligenverehrung', p. 4.

⁸⁵ Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2004), p. 18.

⁸⁶ Zender, 'Heiligenverehrung', p. 11.

⁸⁷ In Dorpat, which was geographically closer to the Russian territories, there were two Russian churches: St Nicholas of the Pskovians and St George of the Novgorodians. Kaur Altoa, 'Das Russische Ende im mittelalterlichen Dorpat (Tartu)', *Steinbrücke* 1 (1998), 31–42. See also Chapter 13 by Anti Selart in the present volume.

⁸⁸ This sculpture group of Karris has most recently been analysed in Helen Bome and Kersti Markus, 'Karja kirik – kõige väiksem "katedraal"', *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi* 4 (2005), 9–51 (here 23–24).

patron saint of travellers and pilgrims, but she was also venerated as the founder of hospitals and a protector against the plague. In the fifteenth century, one can find a church or a chapel of St Gertrude in almost every town around the Baltic Sea. Chapels of Gertrude were usually located at the harbour, before the city gates or at the cemeteries. In Reval, there existed a guild of St Gertrude, presumably uniting ships' captains and foreign travellers, and a chapel of St Gertrude stood near the harbour.⁸⁹ Towards the end of the fifteenth century Michael Hildebrand, the archbishop of Riga, donated to Reval a relic of St Gertrude which, if dipped in water, was a help against the plague, fever and forbidden love. In 1506, he demanded it back with the excuse that the Revalians had not used it during the plague epidemic, and had a special chapel built for the precious relic in Riga.⁹⁰ In addition to Reval and Riga, a St Gertrude's chapel also existed near the Coast Gate in New Pernau.⁹¹

A well-known patron saint of pilgrims and other travellers was undoubtedly St James the Greater, whose veneration culminated in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries. In Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland, most churches and depictions of St James can be found in the regions characterized by active international trade and mercantile activity.⁹² It has been claimed that the Hanseatic League played an important role in the spread of the cult of St James, and that his church was to be found in every important harbour town. Unlike in France and Spain, where the saint was mainly known as the patron of pilgrims, St James was venerated in the Hanseatic region as a special patron of merchants and seafarers: there is evidence of that, for instance, from Visby, Hamburg and Rostock.⁹³ In the Livonian Hanseatic towns, the Church of St James in Riga was one of the parish churches, and there was a Church of St James in Dorpat too.

However, it would be simplifying matters to connect all these churches exclusively to merchants or assume that they were necessarily founded by them. Warnings against assuming such stereotypical attitudes towards certain saints in Livonia have also been expressed before, in the form of demonstrations that the cult of saints such as Olaf, Maurice, James and Nicholas was equally high among the crusaders, the Teutonic Knights and the merchants, and that for instance the Teutonic Order played as important a role in spreading the cult of these saints as

⁸⁹ LUB 1/11, no. 158 (1451); Johansen and Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, p. 67; Valdeko Vende, 'Gertrudi kirik', *Vana Tallinn* n.s. 4 (1994), 14–21.

⁹⁰ LUB 2/3, no. 26 (19 March 1506); Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation*, p. 97.

⁹¹ Heinrich Laakmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Pernau in der Deutsch-Ordenszeit* (Marburg, 1956), pp. 42, 57; *Pärnu linna ajaloo allikad 13.–16. sajandini / Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Pernau 13.–16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Inna Pöltsam and Aldur Vunk (Pärnu, 2001), p. 127, no. 21.

⁹² Christian Krötzel, *Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag: Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter* (Helsinki, 1994), p. 113.

⁹³ Zender, 'Heiligenverehrung', p. 11.

did the merchants.⁹⁴ One should thus be very careful in stressing the uniformity of the cult of saints in the Hanseatic region. The veneration of saints changed in time and space, and one should always consider the different factors influencing the cult of a given saint in a particular period.

The Cults of 'Scandinavian' Saints

The same stereotypes should be avoided when studying the cults of 'Scandinavian' saints in Livonia, for some scholars have stressed the particular importance of merchants in mediating their cults. In Reval, there exists evidence for the veneration of five 'Nordic' saints: Olaf, Knud, Henry of Finland, Magnus of Orkney and Birgitta of Sweden. The Church of St Olaf had an altar dedicated to Olaf, whose *ius patronatus* belonged to the Great Guild.⁹⁵ The same guild also took care of the altar of St Magnus in the same church.⁹⁶ However, the cult of St Olaf was not limited to merchants: there were two artisans' guilds in the city (St Olaf and St Knud), both probably founded in the thirteenth century.⁹⁷ St Knud's Guild had altars of Knud in St Olaf's Church and in St Nicholas's Church, and a silver statue of the saint in the guildhall.⁹⁸ St Olaf is depicted on the reredos of the high altar of the Church of the Holy Spirit in Reval (Fig. 10.2), and his feast was celebrated by the Dominicans as *totum duplex*. The latter circumstance was probably due to Olaf's great importance in Reval, since the Dominicans elsewhere did not celebrate his feast (nor did it exist in the calendars of German bishoprics).⁹⁹

It is not known when the altar of St Henry in St Olaf's Church was founded: the first known record of it survives from 1405.¹⁰⁰ According to a document from 1449, its *ius patronatus* belonged to the heirs of the merchant Gerd van der

⁹⁴ Niels von Holst, 'Olaf – Mauritius – Jakobus – Nikolaus: Schutzheilige der Christen Altlivlands in heidnischer Umwelt oder neutrale Förderer von Handel und Verkehr?', *Jahrbuch des baltischen Deutschtums* 25 (1978), 71–82.

⁹⁵ *Das Revaler Pergament Rentenbuch 1382–1518*, ed. Artur Plaesterer (Reval, 1930), no. 635 (1421); MS Tallinn, Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, coll. 191, inv. 2, no. 16, pp. 41, 57, 58, 80.

⁹⁶ *Das Revaler Pergament Rentenbuch*, no. 554 (1426); MS Tallinn, Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, coll. 191, inv. 2, no. 16, pp. 149, 163.

⁹⁷ On these guilds, see Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, pp. 38–39; Anu Mänd, 'Tallinna Kanuti gild ja selle oldermannid keskajal', *Vana Tallinn* n.s. 16 (2005), 129–57. It is not certain to which Knud (the king [d. 1086] or his nephew, the duke Knud Lavard) the guild was originally dedicated, but from the fourteenth century onwards it was regarded as being King Knud (pp. 133–34).

⁹⁸ For details, see Mänd, 'Tallinna Kanuti gild', pp. 134–36. St Knud's altar in the Church of St Nicholas was occasionally called St Mary's altar.

⁹⁹ Kala, 'Tallinna dominiiklaste kalender', pp. 18, 23.

¹⁰⁰ *Das Revaler Pergament Rentenbuch*, no. 410.



Fig. 10.2. Reredos of the high altar of the Holy Spirit Church in Reval, 1483, workshop of Bernt Notke in Lübeck, commissioned by the city council of Reval. In the corpus: the miracle of Pentecost; on the left wing: St Olaf, St Anne with the Virgin and Child; on the right wing: St Elizabeth of Thuringia, St Victor. Photo: S. Stepashko.

Linden; hence, it was probably a private altar.¹⁰¹ There are regular entrances on St Henry's altar in the city books of Reval until the Reformation. It has previously been assumed that it was dedicated not to St Henry of Finland, but to Henry II, Holy Roman emperor, but this seems highly unlikely, particularly in the context of Reval, where the aforementioned Nordic saints were so well known.¹⁰² The only other piece of evidence on the cult of St Henry in Reval is a reference from 1518 to a silver statue of the saint which belonged to the goldsmiths' guild.¹⁰³ St Birgitta was, next to the Virgin Mary, the patron saint of the Birgittine convent of

¹⁰¹ LUB 1/10, no. 566. Later, the *ius patronatus* passed to the heirs of the merchant Evert van der Linden: *Das Revaler Pergament Rentenbuch*, no. 1007.

¹⁰² Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, p. 431. See also Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda*, pp. 124–25.

¹⁰³ MS Tallinn, Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 82, fol. 16r (1518): *in der laden en sulueren bild sunte Hinrices van 6.5 mr. lodich*. This statue did not belong to any

Mariendal near Reval, founded in the early fifteenth century.¹⁰⁴ She is also one of the female saints depicted on the reredos of the high altar of the Church of St Nicholas (Fig. 10.3). The cults of SS Knud, Magnus and Henry of Finland probably did not spread south to Reval: there is no trace of their veneration elsewhere in Livonia. The cult of St Olaf was more universal: there were chapels dedicated to him in Estonia, and in Riga there was a Guild of St Olaf, one of the religious guilds in the city that were dissolved after the Reformation.¹⁰⁵ The veneration of St Birgitta reached Riga, too: in the Church of St Peter there was a chapel and a chantry in her honour.¹⁰⁶

That more 'Northern' saints were known in Reval than elsewhere in Livonia is naturally related to its geographical closeness to Scandinavia and to economic connections, as well as to the fact that until 1346 the city belonged to the Danish Crown. Only the cults of more universal saints, who were well known in late medieval Europe, reached the southern part of Livonia. Although the merchants may have played an important part in spreading the cult of the aforementioned saints, they were obviously not the only factor.

Livonian 'Jeruselems'

Near some Livonian cities or castles there existed a place called Jerusalem. Quite probably, these 'Jeruselems' were chapels, although only some of them are indeed specified as such in the historical sources. In Reval there were two Jeruselems, both located outside the city walls: the first is usually described as 'behind St Anthony' (i.e. behind the Tönnisberg),¹⁰⁷ the other 'at the Fischermay'.¹⁰⁸ Both of them appear in the sources comparatively late, from the early sixteenth century.¹⁰⁹

altar of the goldsmiths, but was kept by the alderman in the guild's chest. See also Adolf Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revels* (Lübeck, 1931), p. 13.

¹⁰⁴ LUB 1/5, no. 2485; *Est- und Livländische Brieflade* 4, pp. 126–27, Tafel 34, nos 34–36.

¹⁰⁵ Constantin Mettig, 'Über die St. Olavgilde in Riga', *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1904* (1905), 16–20; Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 498–99.

¹⁰⁶ Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, p. 375.

¹⁰⁷ Tönnisberg, literally the 'hill of St Anthony' (Est. Tõnismäe) was a small hill in the suburb of Reval where the chapel of St Anthony stood.

¹⁰⁸ Fischermay (Est. Kalamaja) was a suburb of Reval which was mainly inhabited by fishermen, predominantly of Estonian origin.

¹⁰⁹ The Jerusalem behind the Tönnisberg is better known than the other. At least three citizens of Reval (all of them merchants) bequeathed money to this place: Hinrick Horneyt 10 marks in 1503 (MS Tallinn, Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, coll. 230, inv. 1-III b, no. 55), Hans Bouwer 5 marks in 1519 (Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, coll. 230, inv. 1-III b, no. 75) and Hans Hosserinck 5 marks in 1521 (Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. BN 1 Hosserinck). The place, 'Jerusalem Hill', is mainly known in Estonian historiography as the location

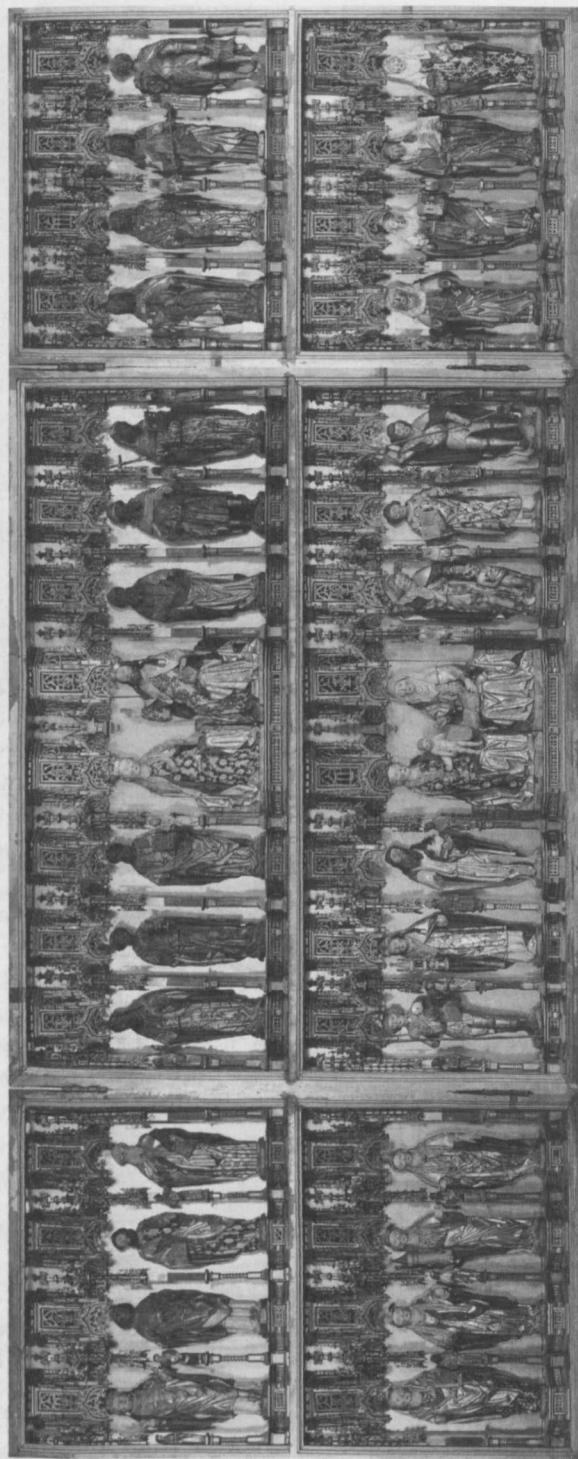


Fig. 10.3 Reredos of the high altar of St Nicholas's Church of Reval with the opened wings. The upper row depicts the patron saints of the church and of the city, and the twelve apostles; in the lower row one can see several well-known saints in Reval. Upper row: SS Nicholas, Matthew, Bartholomew, Thomas, Andrew, John the Evangelist, Peter, Coronation of the Virgin, SS Paul, James the Greater, Philip, Simon, Jude or James the Lesser, Matthias, Victor. Lower row: SS Apollonia, Dorothy, Barbara, Catherine of Alexandria, Reinold, Blasius, John the Baptist, St Anne with the Virgin and Child, SS Michael, Laurence, George, Mary Magdalene, Gertrude, Birgitta of Sweden, Elizabeth of Thuringia. Photo: S. Stepashko. © The Art Museum of Estonia, Tallinn.

A once existent chapel 'of the crusaders', called Jerusalem, is recorded near the town of Fellin in 1599.¹¹⁰ Another Jerusalem (as well as a Bethlehem) existed near the town of New Pernau. In the vicinity of the castle of Dünaburg (in mod. Daugavpils district, Latvia) there were chapels of Jerusalem and of Bethlehem, and in Hapsal there was a street called Jerusalem, which once possibly had led to a holy place as well.¹¹¹

It has previously been assumed that the Jerusalem chapels were local pilgrimage places, founded by the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, and mainly for the needs of the Teutonic Knights.¹¹² This assumption is probably based on the 1599 Fellin reference, and on the fact that most of the Jerusalems were situated near the towns or settlements where there was a castle of the Order: Reval, Fellin, New Pernau and Dünaburg. In addition, Jerusalem chapels are also known to have existed near some Prussian towns which were important centres of the Order, such as Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia), Elbing (mod. Elbląg, Poland) and Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland).¹¹³

However, if one looks at the wider European context, it is clear that the chapels of Jerusalem were founded by very different social groups or even individuals. In Paris and in several towns in the Low Countries, such chapels were usually erected by a group of former pilgrims who had visited Jerusalem, and on their return formed a brotherhood named after Jerusalem or the Holy Sepulchre. In some cities, as in Paris and Utrecht, these brotherhoods also admitted people who had not gone on a pilgrimage. The earliest references to such brotherhoods originate from the fourteenth century, but most of them were founded during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹¹⁴ Chapels of Jerusalem were mainly erected as

of a battle in the Russian–Livonian war. See Jüri Kivimäe, 'Das Scharmützel hinter dem Jerusalemer Berg Anno 1560', in *Tallinna mustpead: Mustpeade vennaskonna ajaloo ja varadest / Die Revaler Schwarzenhäupter: Geschichte und Schätze der Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter*, ed. Juhan Kreem and Urmas Oolup (Tallinn, 1999), pp. 67–83. The Jerusalem Hill was still extant in the late seventeenth century: see p. 77, and also ill. 2 on p. 27. The Jerusalem at the Fischermay is referred to in only one testament, that of Hans Bouwer from 1519 (see above). The only other reference known to me originates from 1539 (Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ab 1, p. 325); at that time, the chapel still existed.

¹¹⁰ *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzko-statystycznym*, 13: *Inflanty*, ed. J. Jakubowski and J. Kordzikowski (Warszawa, 1915), p. 174; 'Viljandi linn 1599', trans. Katrin Vabamäe, *Viljandi Muuseumi aastaraamat 1998* (1999), 114–62 (here 116–17).

¹¹¹ Paul Johansen, 'Saksa kohanimedest Eestis' (originally published in 1930), in Johansen, *Kaugete aegade sära*, ed. Jüri Kivimäe (Tartu, 2005), pp. 24–49 (here 40).

¹¹² Friedrich Amelung, *Revaler Alterthümer* (Reval, 1884), pp. 62–66; Johansen and Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, p. 89; Johansen, 'Saksa kohanimedest Eestis', pp. 39–40; Kivimäe, 'Das Scharmützel', p. 77.

¹¹³ Amelung, *Revaler Alterthümer*, p. 65.

¹¹⁴ Wolfgang Schneider, *Peregrinatio Hierosolymitana: Studien zum spätmittelalterlichen Jerusalembrauch und zu den aus der Heiliglandfahrt*

separate buildings, but in some cases they were attached to a cathedral or a parish church. The architecture of the Jerusalem chapels imitated that of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in Palestine, and the 'tomb of Christ' was almost an obligatory feature of their interior.¹¹⁵

Not all the chapels of Jerusalem were founded by or connected to Jerusalem pilgrims, however. Since only a few individuals could actually undertake a journey to the Holy Land, it became popular in Europe from the fourteenth century onwards to create 'local Jerusalems', that is, chapels of that name, mounts of Calvary, roads to Calvary with the Stations of the Cross and so forth. These were places of devotion and pilgrimage, accessible to broader segments of the population. For instance, in Lübeck it was a local city councillor who in 1468 had crosses, referring to those at Golgotha, erected on a hill near the city, and the place became known as the hill of Jerusalem.¹¹⁶

Due to the lack of sources, we do not know when the Livonian 'Jerusalems' were founded or by whom, and what they looked like. It seems doubtful that the two Jerusalems near Reval were erected by the Teutonic Order since neither of them was situated on the territory of the Order, but on that of the city, and in 1520 a city councillor, Johann Eckholt, is mentioned as a warden of one Jerusalem.¹¹⁷ In addition, as noted above, local merchants bequeathed money to these Jerusalems (although this does not necessarily imply that the chapels were erected on the initiative of the city). Since too few sources on these Livonian Jerusalems have survived, many questions must remain unanswered. However, it is evident that one should consider the phenomenon of erecting such Jerusalems in the context not only of local cults and pilgrimages but in the wider European context.

Patron Saints of Rural Churches and the Cult of St Anne

Prior to the Reformation there were about eighty parish churches in the territory of present-day Estonia.¹¹⁸ The medieval sources specify the patron saint in only twelve cases. This should cause no surprise: in the cities where there were several churches and chapels it was essential to differentiate among them in documents by referring to their patron saint(s), while in the case of the parish churches in the countryside it was usual to refer to the place-name.

hervorgegangenen nordwesteuropäischen Jerusalembruderschaften (Münster, 1982), pp. 28–29, 82, 165.

¹¹⁵ Schneider, *Peregrinatio Hierosolymitana*, pp. 123–24.

¹¹⁶ Schneider, *Peregrinatio Hierosolymitana*, pp. 229–32.

¹¹⁷ MS Tallinn, Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. BN 1 (Hans Bouwer), fol. 3r.

¹¹⁸ This section was mainly written on the basis of the sources from the territory of present-day Estonia (i.e. the northern part of medieval Livonia). It has not yet been possible for me to conduct a similar study on Latvian material.

Patron saints of about fifty rural churches are first recorded in the sources from the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century, when the new (Polish and Swedish) authorities carried out land revisions and church visitations to obtain an overview of the condition of the churches as well as the villages and peasants belonging to the parishes.¹¹⁹ After more than half a century of intermittent wars, the land was devastated and many churches and chapels were in ruins. It cannot be excluded that, in some places, the original patron saint had been forgotten. We therefore cannot be certain whether all the dedications referred to in these sixteenth- to seventeenth-century sources represent the medieval situation. There are also districts from where there are no surviving visitation protocols and where the patron saint of a church is first referred to as late as the nineteenth century.

In fact, there is evidence for changes of patron saints in post-medieval periods. For instance, it was quite usual that if a church had two or more patron saints in the Catholic period, only one of them (normally the first one) was retained in the following centuries. For example, the church in Katküll (mod. Simuna, Estonia) was in 1346 referred to as the church of the apostles SS Simon and Jude.¹²⁰ From at least the seventeenth century onwards, the church was known as that of St Simon only.¹²¹ The same probably happened to the church in Emmern (mod. Järva-Peetri, Estonia), which in 1627 is still documented as dedicated to SS Peter and Paul, but thereafter St Peter remained the only patron.¹²² St Paul was also the second patron saint of St Peter's Church in Karmel (mod. Kaarma, Estonia).¹²³

There are also examples of the outright substitution of the patron saints. For instance, the Neukirche, later known as St. Marien-Magdalenen (mod. Maarja-Magdaleena, Estonia), was in 1443 and 1627 referred to as dedicated to the Virgin Mary.¹²⁴ From the second half of the seventeenth century, the church and the parish bear the name of St Mary Magdalene.¹²⁵ The church in Kapstfer (mod. Torma, Estonia), which is first referred to in documents in 1319 (without the patron saint), was, according to the visitation protocol of 1601, dedicated to the Eleven

¹¹⁹ *Hefte zur Landeskunde Estlands*, ed. Oleg Roslavlev, 7 vols (München, 1965–73); *Polska XVI wieku*; Bunge, 'Protocoll der Catholischen Kirchenvisitation', pp. 23–77.

¹²⁰ *LUB* 1/2, no. 847 (2 May 1346).

¹²¹ *Est- und Livländische Brieflade: Eine Sammlung von Urkunden zur Adels- und Gütergeschichte Est- und Livlands*, 2/1: *Schwedische und polnische Zeit*, ed. Eduard Pabst and Robert von Toll (Reval, 1861), no. 377 (1625), no. 547 (1643).

¹²² E.H. Busch, *Materialien zur Geschichte und Statistik des Kirchen und Schulwesens der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden in Russland* (Sankt-Peterburg, 1862), p. 627.

¹²³ MS København, Rigsarkivet, Fremmed proveniens, Lifland, Øsel stift, Registrant 1a, fol. 181v (1522). There is also pictorial evidence for this: SS Peter and Paul are depicted on a pillar of the church (stone reliefs from the fifteenth century). See Kersti Markus, Tiina-Mall Kreem and Anu Mänd, *Kaarma kirik* (Tallinn, 2003), pp. 76–77, figs 95, 97.

¹²⁴ *LUB* 1/9, no. 950; *Hefte zur Landeskunde Estlands* 1: 7.

¹²⁵ Recorded as such, for example, in 1680. Carl Eduard Napiersky, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen und Prediger in Livland*, 4 vols (Mitau, 1843–52), 4: 172.

Thousand Virgins.¹²⁶ In all likelihood, this was a Catholic tradition. However, only a few decades later, the church is referred to as the *Jungfernkirche* (Church of the Virgin).¹²⁷ The church was rebuilt in the eighteenth century and since then it has borne the name of the Virgin Mary. It remains open whether the development from the Eleven Thousand Virgins to the Mary the Virgin took place because the original dedication was indeed forgotten and Mary was considered to be the true patron, or because Mary fitted the Protestant context better and the patronage of the Eleven Thousand Virgins was deliberately abrogated. These examples suffice to demonstrate that we cannot draw any conclusions or make statistics of the patron saints based on the surviving evidence. The patron saints could have been changed not only in the post-medieval period, but also during the Middle Ages (as indicated already in the case of the Cistercian nunnery in Riga). Some general remarks can still be made, however. The number of different saints chosen for the parish churches was not large: there were only about twenty saints to whom more than one church was dedicated. The most preferred saints included the Virgin Mary, St John the Baptist, St Nicholas, St Michael, St Martin, St Peter (and St Paul), St James the Greater, St Catherine of Alexandria, St George, St Andrew and St Laurence. A single church was dedicated to St Elizabeth of Thuringia, St Maurice, St Dionysius and some others.

The Catholic period in Livonia lasted from the early thirteenth century to the 1520s, when the Reformation process began. Consequently, the time during which churches and chapels were erected was comparatively short, which also explains the small number of patron saints. The saints chosen were those whose cult was particularly popular in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, or whose veneration played a particular role in ideology of the conquest. By contrast, if there were no churches dedicated to a given saint, this did not necessarily mean that his or her cult was unknown in Livonia. If we consider the information on the altars and chantries,¹²⁸ from the surviving calendars and works of art, we obtain quite different results than on the basis of church dedications.

Let me provide but one example, that of St Anne. There were no parish churches dedicated to her, and probably the only two chapels whose history reaches back to the medieval period were located in New Pernau and Ilsen/Funkenhof (mod. Bunkas, Latvia).¹²⁹ True, there existed two monastic houses dedicated to her (the Dominican friary in Narva and the Augustinian nunnery in Lemsal) but they

¹²⁶ *Hefte zur Landeskunde Estlands* 3: 159.

¹²⁷ *Hefte zur Landeskunde Estlands* 1: 174 (1624/27); 4: 166, 184 (1638).

¹²⁸ The problem with altars and chantries is the same as with most of the churches: normally we only know the main patron saint, and not the co-patrons, who are usually listed only in consecration charters. In this sense, the lists of altars compiled for the cathedral of Riga and for the major churches of Reval are incomplete: Bruiningk, 'Die Altäre'; Kala 'Tallinna raad ja katoliku kirik'.

¹²⁹ Laakmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Pernau*, pp. 51, 57; *LUB* 2/1, no. 76. The chapel in Ilsen was actually dedicated to SS Bartholomew and Anne.

were established very late, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹³⁰ There was also a plan to found a nunnery dedicated to St Anne in Reval (although it is unknown for which order), but it was never realized.¹³¹ However, if we consider the information on altars, it becomes clear that St Anne was immensely popular in medieval Livonia: in Riga, she had an altar and chantry in the cathedral, in St Peter's Church and in St James's Church;¹³² in Reval in St Nicholas's Church and the Church of the Holy Spirit, and two altars in St Olaf's Church.¹³³ In Riga and Reval, there was a confraternity of St Anne.¹³⁴ There was an altar of St Anne in the cathedrals of Dorpat and Hapsal, in St Nicholas's Church in New Pernau, in the Cistercian monastery in Falkenau (mod. Kärkna, Estonia),¹³⁵ as well as in several parish churches in the countryside.¹³⁶ Many depictions survive of St Anne in late medieval works of art: most frequently she is depicted together with the Virgin Mary and Christ Child (Figs 10.2 and 10.3).¹³⁷ According to the *Martyrologium* from 1509, the feast of St Anne (26 July) was celebrated in pre-Reformation Reval as *totum duplex*.¹³⁸

It merits attention that the cult of St Anne in Livonia begins very early. In medieval Europe, it intensified from the mid-fourteenth century, and culminated around 1500.¹³⁹ In Livonia, her feast began to be used in dating from about the

¹³⁰ Gertrud von Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner in Livland im Mittelalter. Die Natio Livoniae* (Rome, 1938), pp. 15, 125, 139. For the nunnery in Lemsal see *Livländische Güterurkunden* 1, no. 652 (1504); *LUB* 2/1, no. 894 (c. 1500).

¹³¹ Kala, 'Tallinna raad ja katoliku kirik', p. 162; *LUB* 2/2, no. 75; MS Tallinn, Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, coll. 230, inv. I-III, no. 75.

¹³² *LUB* 1/6, no. 2880; *LUB* 1/7, no. 372; Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, p. 359.

¹³³ Kala, 'Tallinna raad ja katoliku kirik', pp. 156–57, 159.

¹³⁴ Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 359–60; *LUB* 2/1, no. 845 (1499); *LUB* 2/2, no. 709 (c. 1505); Roland Seeberg-Elverfeldt, *Testamente Revaler Bürger und Einwohner aus den Jahren 1369 bis 1851. Revaler Regesten* 3 (Göttingen, 1975), nos 33, 54, 69, 87, 118, 126.

¹³⁵ *Livländische Güterurkunden* 1, no. 288 (Dorpat); MS København, Rigsarkivet, Fremmed proveniens, Lifland, Øsel stift, Registrant 1a, fol. 182r, 183r (Hapsal); *Pärnu linna ajaloo allikad*, p. 127, no. 22, p. 184, no. 76 (Pernau); *Livländische Güterurkunden* 1, no. 559 (Falkenau).

¹³⁶ *LUB* 2/3, no. 883 (Katküll); *Livländische Güterurkunden* 1, nos 322, 408, 421 (Lemsal), 2, nos 370 (Kreuzburg: mod. Dižkrizbergi, Latvia), 637 (Roop: mod. Lielstraupe, Latvia); Evald Blumfeldt, 'Saare-Lääne piiskopkonna visitatsiooniprotokolle', *Ajalooline Ajakiri* (1933), 44–55, 116–25 (here 118, Merjama); *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands* 3 (1845), 112 (Bauske: mod. Bauska, Latvia).

¹³⁷ See Kurisoo, 'Sancta Anna ora pro nobis', 24–33.

¹³⁸ Kala, 'The Church Calendar', p. 110.

¹³⁹ Religious developments that resulted in the intensive cult of St Anne have been thoroughly discussed in: Angelika Dörfler-Dierken, *Die Verehrung der heiligen Anna in*

mid-fourteenth century.¹⁴⁰ In 1360, Pope Innocent VI, granting indulgence to the supporters of the cathedral of Riga, lists several feast days on which the cathedral is to be visited, among them the feast of St Anne.¹⁴¹ Four years later, the chantry of St Anne in the cathedral is mentioned.¹⁴² In 1363, in a charter given to the hospital of St John the Baptist at Reval, indulgence was promised to those visiting the church on certain feast days, including that of St Anne.¹⁴³

The rapid development of the cult of St Anne in Livonia was probably due to many factors. On the one hand, her veneration is linked to the flourishing cult of the Virgin Mary and the growing interest in the origin of Mary and Jesus. On the other hand, the cult of female saints in the later Middle Ages grew generally. A novel phenomenon was the connection between saintliness and motherhood: it was acknowledged that a saint could be a mother, and St Anne became venerated as one of the most exemplary mothers and grandmothers in the history of Christianity.¹⁴⁴ The cult of St Anne probably reached Livonia via several channels: the Teutonic Order, the Hanse and the mendicants (she was popular among the Franciscans as well as the Dominicans). It should be added that the interest in Jesus' origin was not confined to the cult of his mother and grandmother. In the cathedral of Riga, there were two altars dedicated to St Joseph;¹⁴⁵ the altar of St Anne, the Virgin Mary and the Holy Kinship was founded in 1476 in St Nicholas's Church of Reval,¹⁴⁶ and there are three surviving late-medieval altarpieces and a pen-and-ink drawing with the depiction of the Holy Kinship (Fig. 10.4). In sum, the dedications of churches do not provide us with an adequate picture of the cults of the saints. In order to attain a better result, we have to combine data from as wide a variety of sources as possible.

Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit (Göttingen, 1992), pp. 45–74. For the development of the images of St Anne, see Nixon, *Mary's Mother*.

¹⁴⁰ *Das älteste Wittschopbuch der Stadt Reval (1312–1360)*, ed. Leonid Arbusow (Reval, 1888), no. 904 (26 July 1354).

¹⁴¹ *LUB* 1/6, no. 2868 (17 Aug 1360).

¹⁴² *LUB* 1/6, no. 2880 (25 Dec 1364), see also no. 2941 (6 May 1397).

¹⁴³ *LUB* 1/2, no. 997 (6 Sept 1363).

¹⁴⁴ Pamela Sheingorn, 'The Holy Kinship: the Ascendancy of Matriliney in Sacred Genealogy of the 15th Century', *Thought* 64 (1989), 268–86 (here 272); Ton Brandenburg, 'St. Anne and Her Family: The Veneration of St. Anne in Connection with Concepts of Marriage and the Family in the Early Modern Period', in *Saints and She-Devils: Images of Women in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Lène Dresen-Coenders (London, 1987), pp. 101–28 (here 123).

¹⁴⁵ *LUB* 1/10, no. 297 (2 Feb 1447); *LUB* 1/12, no. 255 (4 April 1464); Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet*, pp. 454–55.

¹⁴⁶ MS Tallinn, Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Bk 2, fol. 37r: *in de ere sunte Annen vnd der leuen Junckvrouwen Maryen tho loue vnd to eren myt eren geslechte*.

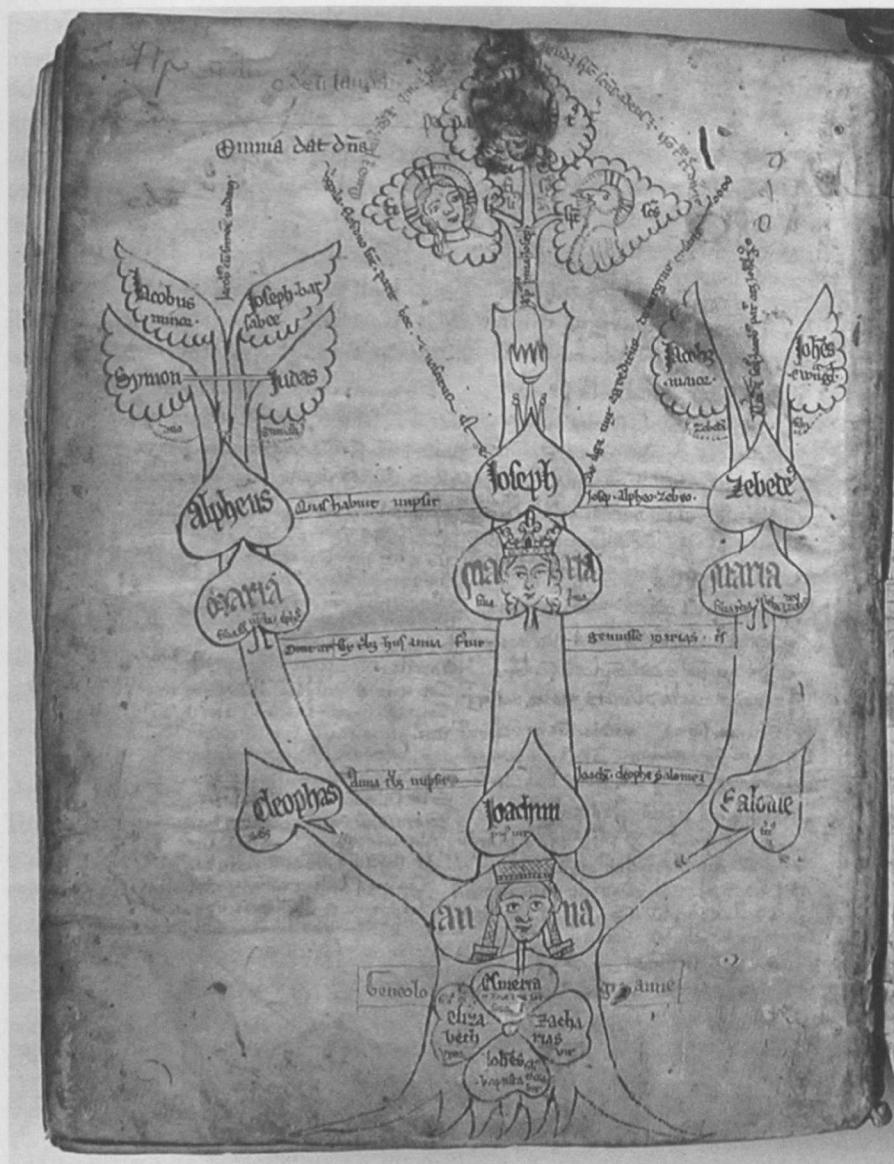


Fig. 10.4 The Holy Kinship. Pen-and-ink drawing in a thirteenth–fourteenth-century codex, presumably from the Dominican friary in Reval. MS Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, Cm 4, fol. 71v. © Tallinn City Archives.

Were the First Livonian Bishops Regarded as Saints?

In 1903, Hermann von Bruiningk published an article in which he addressed the question of whether the bishops Meinhard, Berthold and Albert von Buxhövdén had been venerated as saints.¹⁴⁷ They were certainly not canonized, nor do we find them in the calendar and other liturgical sources in Riga. However, there are some hints in chronicles, particularly that of Henry of Livonia, that point to the possibility that these first bishops, above all Meinhard and Berthold, were locally regarded as saints. When Henry describes the martyrdom of two newly converted Livs, Kyrian and Layan, he notes that they were buried in the church of Üxküll 'beside the tombs of the bishops Meinhard and Berthold, of whom the first was a confessor and the second a martyr'.¹⁴⁸ Most noteworthy is also his record from 1225 on the visit of William of Modena to the church of Üxküll, where the papal legate 'recalled the memory of the first holy bishops' (*sanctorum episcoporum*).¹⁴⁹ Bruiningk asserts that Henry's expression 'holy' must be taken literally, and that this could only mean that the two bishops were, at least at that time, recognized as saints and venerated as such.¹⁵⁰ He regards it as strange that Henry did not describe any miracles connected with the two, particularly since such miracles appear in other contemporary texts. In the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, there is a story about the miraculous refilling of a chest with bread, after Meinhard had distributed everything to the poor; and Arnold of Lübeck in his chronicle reports on the miraculous preservation of Berthold's body on the day after the battle (while other corpses were covered with flies and worms).¹⁵¹

In some post-medieval chronicles, Meinhard is also described as 'holy', notably by Johann Renner in his *Livländische Historien* (written in the second half of the sixteenth century) and by Moritz Brandis in his *Lieffländische Geschichte* (c. 1600).¹⁵² Another important factor to be taken into account is the fact that the remains of Meinhard and Berthold were at some point (it is uncertain exactly when) transferred from Üxküll to the cathedral of Riga. The location of Meinhard's new

¹⁴⁷ Hermann von Bruiningk, 'Die Frage der Verehrung der ersten livländischen Bischöfe als Heilige', *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands aus dem Jahre 1902* (1903), 3–36. All three plus Bernard of Lippe, the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Dünamünde (see Henry of Livonia, ch. XV.4, pp. 136, 138), are included in the list of the 'Praetermissi' of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

¹⁴⁸ Henry of Livonia, ch. X.6, p. 50; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, p. 57.

¹⁴⁹ Henry of Livonia, ch. XXIX.5, p. 322; *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, p. 234.

¹⁵⁰ Bruiningk, 'Die Frage', pp. 11, 13.

¹⁵¹ *Livländische Reimchronik*, ed. Leo Meyer (Paderborn, 1876), lines 458–80; *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum*, p. 215.

¹⁵² Bruiningk, 'Die Frage', pp. 18–20. Renner reports the miraculous story with bread, and states that Meinhard 'wert in Liflande vor hillich gehalten': *Johann Renner's Livländische Historien*, ed. Richard Hausmann and Konstantin Höhlbaum (Göttingen, 1876), p. 19.

burial place was particularly prestigious, in the chancel, north of the high altar, near the altar of the Holy Blood, while Berthold rested in front of the altar of the Holy Cross, that is, also very near to the chancel. The translation would have hardly taken place if the two bishops had not been regarded as holy.¹⁵³ Bruiningk concludes that in all likelihood, Meinhard and Berthold were initially regarded as 'blessed' or 'holy' by the Church of Riga and venerated as such, but at some point their cult was suppressed by the authorities. This must have happened before 1400, as there is no trace of their veneration in the early fifteenth-century missal of the cathedral. The passage in Johann Renner's chronicle indicates, however, that the 'holiness' of Meinhard was still remembered by the local population in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁵⁴

One of the reasons for such suppression may have been the tightening control of the Roman Church in the late Middle Ages concerning the popular cult of saints and the proclamation of new saints. However, there is no evidence that the Rigan Church ever made an attempt to initiate the canonization process of these first Livonian bishops. Almost every country had its own 'national' saint(s) in the Middle Ages. In neighbouring Scandinavia, this was either the first 'apostle' in the region, like St Henry of Finland,¹⁵⁵ or someone from the royal dynasty, such as St Knud the King, St Knud Lavard, St Olaf or St Erik Jedvardsson. It is difficult to explain why local cults emerged in some lands and not in others. Pious life and miracles may not have been enough, since canonization was usually dependent on complex political, ideological and religious factors.

One should not forget that Livonia was a conglomeration of small feudal states, belonging to different lords – the archbishop of Riga, the bishops, the king of Denmark (until 1346) and the Teutonic Order – who often were in conflict with each other. In this context, one should ask if there ever was real 'demand' for a local saint. The obvious potential promoter of a cult of the first bishops would have been the Rigan Church, but, as we have seen, even if it did so in the thirteenth century, it ceased in the following centuries. It may be argued that times had changed: in the late Middle Ages, when the importance of the merchant class had grown considerably and when new functions were given to the 'old' saints such as the Virgin Mary, St Peter or St John the Baptist so that they could be prayed to in matters of sealing or trade, missionaries or martyrs like Meinhard or Berthold had nothing to 'offer' the Livonians.¹⁵⁶ However, in order to provide a more satisfactory explanation to this problem, a further analysis of political and ideological circumstances of Livonia is required.

¹⁵³ Bruiningk, 'Die Frage', pp. 6–9.

¹⁵⁴ Bruiningk, 'Die Frage', p. 20.

¹⁵⁵ Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda*, pp. 8, 16.

¹⁵⁶ Zender, 'Heiligenverehrung', p. 4.

Conservatism of the Rigan Church

Scholars have emphasized the conservatism of the Church of Riga, not only because the first bishops were not venerated as saints, but because only very few saints canonized in the late Middle Ages were included in the missal, the calendar and the breviary of Riga. Of those canonized in the thirteenth century there were only four: Dominic Guzman, Francis of Assisi, Elizabeth of Thuringia and Hedwig of Silesia. Of those canonized in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, only Birgitta of Sweden can be found there. And although the Cistercians were the first monastic order to arrive in Livonia at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and played an important role in the conversion of the country, Bernard of Clairvaux (canonized 1173) was only included in the missal and calendar of the cathedral of Riga as late as in the fifteenth century. In those sources from Riga, we also do not find such important saints as Anthony of Padua, Bernardino of Siena or Thomas Aquinas, although Franciscan and Dominican friaries had existed in Riga since the thirteenth century. Although there is evidence for the cult of some late-medieval saints who were not included in the calendar, such as St Ivo (d. 1303, canonized 1347), whose altar is known from the cathedral of Riga, one can characterize the Rigan Church as unusually closed to new saints and new feast days.¹⁵⁷

Naturally, the Rigan sources reflect only the situation in the diocese of Riga (although its influence on the rest of Livonia must not be underestimated). Due to the lack of calendars from other cities or dioceses, we cannot obtain a general overview of the acceptance or rejection of the cult of new saints in Livonia. That differences must have existed, for instance between Riga and Reval, is evident from the handwritten additions to the *Martyrologium* (printed in Venice in 1509), preserved from Reval: there, two feasts of St Thomas Aquinas (7 March and his translation on 29 January) have been marked with the highest degree: *totum duplex*.¹⁵⁸ The *Martyrologium* most probably belonged to the Dominican friary, and it is difficult to determine to what extent the feasts celebrated by the Dominicans influenced the general calendar of feasts in the city. In the future, it will be necessary to conduct a detailed analysis of the surviving sources from both cities, including not only the written documents but also works of art.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Bruiningk, 'Die Frage', pp. 22–24.

¹⁵⁸ Kala, 'The Church Calendar', p. 110.

¹⁵⁹ For instance, four Franciscan saints, including Anthony of Padua and Bernardino of Siena, were originally depicted on the wings of the Passion altarpiece (c. 1510–15, in the Niguliste Museum, Tallinn), but were repainted in the 1520s and replaced with St James the Greater, the Virgin Mary, St Adrian and St Anthony the Great. See Helena Risthein, 'Über den Passionsaltar und die Franziskaner: Die ursprüngliche Gestalt der Flügelaussenseite', in *Eesti kunstisidemed Madalmaadega*, pp. 97–109. It is not known who ordered the overpaintings to be made or why and where they were made (in the Low Countries, that is, before the altarpiece arrived in Reval, or in Reval).

Conclusions

Due to the limitations of space, it has been possible to discuss only a few aspects of the cult of saints in Livonia. Several subjects, such as the cult of saints in the monastic orders as well as among the guilds and confraternities, a closer analysis of altars and iconographic sources, of relics and pilgrimage sites, and the possible interaction between the official forms of cult and popular practices, remain untouched in this chapter. As a result of political events, the geographical location and economic connections of Livonia, one can observe here influences from several countries and regions that played an important role in its history: (northern) Germany, Denmark and Sweden. The cult of saints was promoted via several channels and organizations, such as the Teutonic Order, the Hanse and the monastic orders (most notably the Cistercians, the Dominicans and the Franciscans). The Church of Riga can, on the one hand, be described as rather conservative, because the cult of the first bishops was not promoted and very few new saints were introduced into the calendar. On the other hand, the cults of certain saints such as the Virgin Mary and St Anne were particularly strong, and perhaps stronger than in other culturally related countries.