

ANU MÄND

LITURGICAL VESSELS IN MEDIEVAL LIVONIA

M. A. Thesis in Medieval Studies

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I, the undersigned, Anu MÄND, candidate for the M.A. degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegimate use was made of the work of others and no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.
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Signature

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- EKA* *Eesti kunsti ajalugu*. [History of Estonian art]. Vol. 1, *Eesti kunst kôige varasemast ajast kuni 19. sajandi keskpaigani*. [Estonian art from the earliest times to the middle of the 19th century]. Edited by I. Solomôkova, and others. Tallinn: Kunst, 1975.
- LCI* *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*. Edited by E. Kirchbaum, and others. 8 vols. Rome: Herder, 1968-1976; reprint, Rome: Herder, 1990.
- LGU* *Livländische Güterurkunden*. Edited by H. von Bruiningk, and N. Busch. 2 vols. Riga: Häcker, 1908, 1923.
- LMA* *Lexikon des Mittelalters*. Edited by G. Avella-Widhalm, and others. Munich: Artemis, 1980 - .
- LThK* *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. Edited by M. Buchberger. 2d ed. 14 vols. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1957-1967.
- LUB* *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*. Edited by F.G. von Bunge, H. Hildebrand, and Ph. Schwartz. 12 vols. Reval, Riga, Moscow: Deubner, 1853-1910.
- LUB II* *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*. 2d series. Edited by L. Arbusow. 3 vols. Riga, Moscow: Deubner, 1900-1910.
- PRB* *Revaler Pergament Rentenbuch 1382-1518*. Edited by A. Plaesterer. Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv 5. Tallinn: Eesti Kirjastuse Ühisus, 1930.
- Sb GEG* *Sitzungsberichte der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft*
- Sb Riga* *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands*

INTRODUCTION

"To me, I confess, one thing has always seemed preeminently fitting: that every costlier or costliest thing should serve, first and foremost, for the administration of the Holy Eucharist."¹

Abbot Suger

In comparison with medieval architecture, painting, or sculpture, the objects of the applied arts, even the most "attractive" among them, the goldsmith's works, have merited relatively little attention from (art) historians over the centuries.² However, there is a very special group of objects which on no occasion should be considered to be of secondary relevance, namely, the vessels used in the Christian liturgy. The sacred function and spiritual value of these vessels was reflected in their materials, as well as in their form, decoration, and iconography, which allows them to be placed among the works of art in the highest rank of medieval craftsmanship.³

¹ *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, ed., trans., and annotated by E. Panofsky (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946), 65.

² As an exception of this "rule," the monumental work by Johann Michael Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik in Mitteleuropa* (Munich: Beck, 1982) must be named in the first rank. See also K.B. Heppe, "Gotische Goldschmiedekunst in Westfalen vom zweiten Drittel des 13. bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts" (Ph.D. diss., Wilhelms-Universität in Münster, 1973); H.-J. Heuser, *Oberrheinische Goldschmiedekunst im Hochmittelalter* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1974); D. Lüdke, *Die Statuetten der gotischen Goldschmiede*, 2 vols. (Munich: tuduv-Verlag, 1983). Predominantly, the medieval period has been included in general overviews of goldsmiths' works, see, e.g., G. Taylor, *Silver Through the Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1956); G. Schade, *Deutsche Goldschmiedekunst: Ein Überblick über die kunst- und kulturgeschichtliche Entwicklung der deutschen Gold- und Silberschmiedekunst vom Mittelalter bis zum beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1974); C. Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Silversmith, 1430-1830*, 2 vols. (London, Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1977), etc. Concerning the history of hallmarks, the basic work by Marc Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, 3d ed., 4 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1922-28), must be mentioned.

³ The fundamental work, concerning the historical, liturgical, and art historical development of these vessels, is the monograph by Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung* (Munich: Hueber, 1932). The information on church utensils can, above all, be found in exhibition catalogues, see, e.g., *Eucharistia: Deutsche eucharistische Kunst*, Katalog zur Ausstellung anlässlich des Eucharistischen Weltkongress in der Residenz zu München, ed. G. Ritz and others (Munich: Schnell und Steiner, 1960); *Eucharistic Vessels of the Middle Ages*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Busch-Reisinger Museum (Harvard University: Garland Publishing, 1975); *Rhein und Maas, Kunst und Kultur 800-1400*, ed. A. Legner (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1972); *Vergessene Zeiten: Mittelalter im Ruhrgebiet*, Katalog zur Ausstellung im Ruhrlandmuseum Essen, 2

Subject.

The following study will focus on the liturgical vessels used in the Roman Catholic Church. The geographical area chosen is medieval Livonia, that is, approximately modern-day Estonia and Latvia. Since Livonia was conquered and Christianised in the first half of the thirteenth century, the time period will begin at this point and continue up to the Reformation in 1524/25.

First, it is necessary to clarify the terminology. The term **liturgical vessels** has to be understood as a somewhat conventional term, since it does not have a strictly determined content. In a narrower sense, liturgical vessels can be defined as containers used in liturgical worship, and in this case, only the following objects would be included: the chalice and paten for the eucharistic elements, the ciborium and pyx to contain the consecrated hosts, the monstrance to display the Sacrament, the cruets to carry wine and water to the altar, the censer to burn incense, and the oil stocks.⁴

In a broader sense, liturgical vessels can be equated with the term **altar vessels**, which includes the vessels and instruments used in celebrating the mass that are in direct or indirect contact with the altar.⁵ These are usually divided into two main groups, *vasa sacra* and *vasa non sacra*. The *vasa sacra* or **sacred vessels** include the objects that were absolutely necessary for celebrating the Eucharist, such as the chalice, paten, vessels to contain the hosts (pyx, ciborium), and the monstrance. In the Middle Ages, one more item was on this list, namely the liturgical straw or fistula used during the communion. Since the sacred vessels were in direct contact with the

vols. (Essen: Peter Pomp, 1990), and many others (a detailed bibliography of such exhibition catalogues can be found in Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, 355-56).

⁴ *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), s.v. "Liturgical vessels," by C.W. Howell, 8: 915.

⁵ *Glossarium Artis*, vol. 2, *Kirchengeräte - Objets liturgiques - Ecclesiastical Utensils*, ed. R. Huber and R. Rieth (Munich: Saur, 1992), 9-10, 30; *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. G. Avella-Widhalm and others (Munich: Artemis, 1980), s.v. "Altargerät," by V.H. Elbern, 1: 466. The expression "direct or indirect contact" should be emphasized because the majority of the vessels used in the mass were not allowed to be placed on the altar.

eucharistic elements—bread and wine—it was obligatory to consecrate them before their first use.⁶

The second group, *vasa non sacra*, consists of vessels and instruments that served either for preparing the consecration of the bread and wine or in other specific rituals during the mass, such as censuring, ablution, sprinkling holy water, etc. It was enough to simply bless these vessels, although consecration did sometimes occur.⁷ The range of the non-sacred vessels is again not very precise. One of the most widely accepted classifications of liturgical vessels is presented by Joseph Braun, the author of *Das christliche Altargerät* (1932). According to him, the *vasa non sacra* includes the following items: *ampullae* or altar cruets for wine and water, the liturgical spoon and wine-strainer, boxes to contain non-consecrated wafers, the altar crucifix and candlesticks, the aquamanile and basin for ablution, the censer together with the incense-boat and spoon, the holy water basin and aspergillum, the pax, altar bells, and the liturgical fan.⁸ Of course, other variants also exist when defining *vasa non sacra*. Some scholars have excluded the altar cross and candlesticks due to their relatively passive function in the liturgy but have added the holy oil stocks.⁹ Sometimes, the reliquaries are considered as belonging to this group as well.¹⁰

One more possibility in the case of this term, liturgical vessels, is to differentiate the group of the **eucharistic vessels**, the function of which was to hold and carry the sacramental bread and wine, both before and after the act of consecration. These eucharistic vessels include the chalice, the paten, vessels for the hosts (pyx, ciborium, eucharistic dove), and the monstrance.¹¹

⁶ Braun, *Altargerät*, 2, 662.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 670-72.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁹ H. Otte, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunst-Archäologie des deutschen Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Weigel, 1883), 214, 251.

¹⁰ LMA, 1: 466.

¹¹ *Eucharistic Vessels of the Middle Ages*, 1-2.

In this thesis, liturgical vessels are defined in the broader sense of the term and will be used as the synonym of altar vessels.¹² In general, the classification by Braun of *vasa sacra* and *vasa non sacra* will be followed, only the containers for holy oil will be included with the non-sacred vessels.

Aims, sources, and methods of the thesis.

The liturgical vessels in medieval Livonia have never been studied by scholars as a particular group of items. One of the reasons for this is certainly the fact that only a few objects have been preserved from the Middle Ages. On the one hand, the numerous wars held on the territory of Livonia over the centuries were detrimental to objects made of precious metals. On the other hand, since Livonia became a Lutheran area after the Reformation, the majority of vessels used in the Catholic liturgy were sooner or later removed from the churches, melted, re-made or turned into coins, etc. The second reason for the minimal scholarly attention could be that since Livonia has remained within the Lutheran tradition, the study of Catholic ecclesiastical utensils has probably not seemed to be of great importance. Concerning the medieval liturgical vessels in Livonia, the only studies until the present day have concentrated on the investigation of some preserved objects from an art historical point of view.¹³

In this thesis, the main emphasis will also be put on the art historical analysis, but for the first time, all types of liturgical vessels will be examined together, which provides us with far deeper knowledge concerning these vessels as a group and of each individual object as well. Only a microscopic part of the former richness of altar vessels in Livonia has remained. There are altogether only 32 objects on which information can be gathered. This information varies widely in its approaches, accessibility, and quality. Alongside the objects that have been thoroughly examined by scholars, there are some vessels that have been only briefly referred to in the literature. There are also

¹² Even more precise would be to use the term **liturgical vessels and instruments or altar utensils** since some of the objects cannot be denominated as "vessels," for example, the liturgical fans or bells. However, for the reason of convenience, I will use the brief version—liturgical vessels.

¹³ See further the section of historiography.

some objects that have never been published or only recently published by the author of this thesis. Some of the vessels are in very good condition; whereas, the others, mainly the finds from archaeological excavations, have been preserved in fragments which aggravates any complete examination. What causes a major difficulty is that some of the objects no longer exist since they were lost during the two World Wars of this century. However, I have collected maximum data on all the objects that can be connected with Livonia. For this task, I considered it very relevant to register the lost objects also. It should be emphasised here that even the extant objects are in some cases difficult to access. Although they are predominantly located in the museums and parish churches of Estonia and Latvia, there are a few also in other countries, for example, one chalice in Stockholm, Sweden; a monstrance in St. Petersburg, Russia; and three more objects which have disappeared, though known to have existed in the early part of this century in Germany and Russia. Thus, as previously stressed, this thesis is the first attempt to study all these vessels together. The main attention will be paid to the characteristics of their style, that is, the form and decoration, and their iconography. At the same time, a large variety of comparative material from other countries will be used in order to trace the art historical influences, to determine the dating of the Livonian vessels more precisely, and, in some cases, to solve the problem of the vessels' origin, as far as possible. Since only four objects from Livonia are provided with hallmarks or master's signature, this kind of comparative study is of great necessity and interest.

Moreover, this thesis is the first attempt to investigate the liturgical vessels by comparing the data from different types of sources; that is, in addition to the original objects themselves, the written evidence from Livonia will be taken into account, above all the inventories and account books of the churches, visitation protocols, testaments, etc. The use of varied sources will enable a more complete investigation, providing answers for a whole range of questions that the individual preserved vessels alone do not allow. For example, it would be necessary, first of all, to find out what types of altar vessels were actually in use in Livonia during the Middle Ages. Naturally,

this question does not concern the vessels of primary importance, such as *vasa sacra*, but those which during the centuries became rather objects of luxury than of necessity, such as liturgical fans. Moreover, Livonia was Christianised comparatively late, in the thirteenth century, and approximately by that time, due to the changes in the Western liturgy, some vessels were generally no longer in use, for example, *fistulae* and wine-strainers. Therefore, to rephrase the question, my primary interest is to find out whether all the vessels used in the Roman Catholic Church in the late Middle Ages were also known in such a peripheries land as Livonia. Secondly, the preserved objects alone do not reflect the data concerning the various materials that the liturgical vessels were made of. The problem of "suitable" and "unsuitable" materials was a constant concern of the Church throughout the Middle Ages.¹⁴ Therefore, it would be interesting to find out what materials were used in Livonia.

The next questions that can be investigated with the help of the written sources concern the craftsmen dealing with artistic metalwork in Livonia. The information on their background is especially of great importance for tracing the possible art historical influences from other regions. Finally, the regulations concerning the marking of goldsmith's works add valuable information to the problem of provenance of the objects.

However, my aim is not to limit myself to an art historical analysis of the liturgical vessels, but also to make a further attempt to investigate them in the broader context of medieval Livonian society. Thus, the next range of questions will concern the meaning, function, and perception of these objects within medieval society and mentality. The latter can perhaps be illustrated in the best way by the phenomenon of donations. Due to their high spiritual value—their meaning and function as *ornamentum Dei*, and, at the same time, due to their great material/economic value—the liturgical vessels were considered especially appropriate as donations to the churches. Another possibility to investigate the perception of those vessels in medieval

¹⁴ See, e.g., an overview of the prescriptions concerning the material of chalices and patens in Braun, *Altargerät*, 30–47, 200–205.

mentality would be to analyse their depiction on the works of art. However, since the few extant medieval altarpieces and mural paintings in the Livonian churches would not add much valuable information, but would serve as mere illustrations, the data from pictorial sources is not included in this study.

It is obvious that the limits of the present thesis impose a restriction on the areas to be analysed. Hence, I have omitted consideration of liturgical and theological questions, predominantly due to the lack of such sources concerning Livonia. Second, I have been arbitrarily selective in regard to medieval craftsmanship. The goldsmiths and their guilds in Livonia are wide-ranging topics that need far deeper research than has been done in the present thesis. Finally, it did not seem necessary to provide a general overview of the historical, liturgical, and art historical development of the altar vessels;¹⁵ however, the most important aspects will be introduced in the cases where it is relevant to explain certain questions.

Historiography.

As previously stressed, the liturgical vessels of Estonia and Latvia have never been scholarly investigated as a specific group of items. However, quite many of these objects have been briefly mentioned or studied in isolation in books or articles concerning the history of artistic metalwork in the region.

The collection of information about local antiquities and church treasures began in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries. At the end of the nineteenth century the Baltic German scholars provided a solid intellectual foundation for the research of goldsmiths' works.

The first systematic study on the topic was published in 1892 by Anton Buchholtz. In his catalogue, *Goldschmiedearbeiten in Livland, Esthland und Kurland*, he described among other objects three medieval chalices: the one of St Jacobus'

¹⁵ A good overview of these questions with a further bibliography can be found, for example, in Braun, *Altargerät* (1932), and in *Eucharistic Vessels of the Middle Ages* (1975).

Church of Riga, and two chalices belonging at that time to St Nicholas' Church of Tallinn.¹⁶ None of these three works survived the Second World War.

At the end of the 1890s, the monstrance of Hans Ryssenbergh, originally made for St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn, was "rediscovered" by Baltic German scholars. Namely, the object had been in Russia over 150 years, and entered the collection of the Hermitage of St. Petersburg. In 1897, Richard Hausmann published the first article about the monstrance,¹⁷ initiating a fruitful debate between himself and Eugen von Nottbeck. As a result, not only the monstrance was thoroughly analysed¹⁸ but also written evidence concerning other silver treasures of St Nicholas' Church was discussed in a profound article.¹⁹ Due to its high artistic level, the monstrance of Ryssenbergh is undoubtedly the most significant precious-metal object surviving from medieval Livonia and, therefore, has been investigated by many art historians since Hausmann and Nottbeck. The monstrance has also generated international scholarly interest.²⁰

At the end of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, the *Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands* in Riga collected information concerning the antiquities in Latvia and Estonia. In the

¹⁶ A. Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten in Livland, Esthland und Kurland* (Lübeck: Nöhring, 1892), nos. 42, 48, 49.

¹⁷ R. Hausmann, "Die Monstranz des Hans Ryssenbergh in der K. Ermitage zu St. Petersburg," off-print from *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands* 17 (Riga: Häcker, 1897), 165-212. Two years later, this article was reprinted in the entire issue of *Mittheilungen* 17.

¹⁸ See E. von Nottbeck, "Die Ryssenbergsche Monstranz," *Revaler Beobachter*, no. 64 (March 1898): 1-12; E. von Nottbeck, and W. Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval*, vol. 2 (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1899), 90 (In this study, besides the monstrance, also the both medieval chalices of the St Nicholas' Church were described in detail); R. Hausmann, "Die Monstranz des Hans Ryssenbergh vom Jahre 1474 in der Ermitage zu Petersburg," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, n.s. 13 (1902): 225-28.

¹⁹ R. Hausmann, "Der Silberschatz der St. Nikolaikirche zu Reval," in *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands* 17 (Riga: Häcker, 1899), 213-376.

²⁰ J.M. Fritz, *Gestochene Bilder: Gravierungen auf deutschen Goldschmiedearbeiten der Spätgotik* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1966), 315-17, 501, fig. 248-249, cat. no. 414; idem, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, 311, fig. 899; E.A. Lapkovskaya, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo srednikh vekov v Gosudarstvennom Ermitazhe: Izdeliya iz metalla* [Applied art of the Middle Ages in the collection of the State Hermitage: Artistic metalwork] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1971), 28, cat. no. 73.

yearly publications of this organisation, many articles about single liturgical objects appeared such as those by Hermann von Bruiningk investigating the two bronze aquamaniles found at Laiuse²¹ and Adavere²², and the chalice and paten of Livonian origin in the church of Woltershausen, Germany.²³ The lion-shaped aquamanile from Laiuse is another object besides the monstrance that is known outside the region.²⁴

In 1931, Adolf Friedenthal published a monograph about the goldsmiths and their guild in Tallinn.²⁵ In the catalogue section, Friedenthal, relying upon a handbook by Wilhelm Neumann about the Baltic goldsmiths and their marks (1905),²⁶ made another attempt to connect the names of goldsmiths with the existing objects. Unfortunately, some of his hypothetical attributions were utilised by subsequent generations as proven facts, creating the spread of inaccurate information.

The books and articles by the Baltic German scholars are of special value due to their detailed and accurate descriptions. Many objects which no longer exist are only known from their works. However, they rarely ventured beyond descriptions and cataloguing.

After the Second World War, there was a long break in the research of Livonian artistic metalwork. Only as late as in 1967, Ella Vende's monograph appeared about the goldsmith's works in Estonia.²⁷ In addition to the monstrance, the two chalices of St Nicholas' Church and the one from the Dominican Friary of Tallinn, analysed by

²¹ H. v. Bruiningk, "Das Aquamanile im Dommuseum zu Riga," in *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands* (henceforth *Sb Riga*) aus dem Jahre 1905 (Riga: Häcker, 1906), 6-12.

²² Idem, "Das auf dem Gut Addafer ausgefundene kirchliche Giessgefäß (Aquamanile)," in *Sb Riga aus dem Jahre 1911* (Riga: Häcker, 1913), 344-47.

²³ Idem, "Kelch und Patene der Kirche zu Woltershausen in Hannover," in *Sb Riga aus dem Jahre 1907* (Riga: Häcker, 1908), 107-17.

²⁴ O. v. Falke and E. Meyer, *Romanische Leuchter und Gefässe, Giessgefässe der Gotik, Bronzegeräte des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1935), 66, 112.

²⁵ A. Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals* (Lübeck: Verlag des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins, 1931).

²⁶ W. Neumann, *Verzeichnis baltischer Goldschmiede, ihrer Merkzeichen und Werke* (Riga: Häcker, 1905). This book did not add much new information concerning the medieval period.

²⁷ E. Vende, *Väärismetallitööd Eestis 15. - 19. sajandini* [Precious metal works in Estonia from the 15th to the 19th century] (Tallinn: Kunst, 1967).

previous scholars, she introduced three "new" medieval chalices, namely those in the churches of Muhu, Harju-Jaani, and Suure-Jaani. However, Vende limited herself still to the descriptions just like the Baltic Germans, making no attempt to analyse the vessels in a wider comparative context. Moreover, her study, at least the chapter about medieval objects, is full of inaccuracies. In spite of that, this monograph is still the basic handbook for goldsmith's works in Estonia. In the 1970s and 1980s, art historians in Estonia focused on silver objects from later periods (especially baroque and neo-classic) or on secular silver, generally ignoring the medieval material.²⁸

Similarly, the Latvian specialists on silver have paid major attention to the Post-Reformation period. However, in the last decade, the goldsmith's works in Latvia have begun to be thoroughly studied by Valda Vilite, who, in her catalogue about Latvian silverwork²⁹, also describes the only two preserved medieval chalices and one paten. Vilite's recent articles³⁰ are the first attempts towards a comparative study using the objects from other countries.

In Estonia, in the last decades, there has been a campaign to compile the inventories of the parish churches, in the course of which some unpublished medieval patens have come into light. Moreover, archaeological excavations from the 1950s to the recent years, unearthed some medieval liturgical vessels. Thus, to repeat one of the main aims of the following study, it is necessary, at first, to gather all this "mosaic" information together, using the medieval written sources as well as the objects themselves—both published and unpublished, existing and lost. This would provide the

²⁸ As one exception, Mai Raud, the specialist on Estonian silver in Sweden, can be named, who has included some medieval objects in her works. See M. Raud, "Studier i Tallinns äldre silversmide: 1474 - omkring 1650" [Studies of the early goldsmiths in Tallinn: 1474 - ca. 1650] (Lic. thesis, University of Stockholm, 1972); idem, *Baltiskt silver i svensk ägo: katalog* [Baltic silver in Swedish collections: a catalogue] (Lund: Kulturen, 1986).

²⁹ V. Vilite, ed., *Khudozhestvennoye srebro Latvii s V po XX v.* [Artistic silverwork in Latvia from the 5th to the 20th century] (Riga: Avots, 1990).

³⁰ Idem, "Silver from Latvia," in *Kunst und Architektur im Baltikum in der Schwedenzeit*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Baltica Stockholmiensia 12 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993), 87-106; idem, "Goldschmiedekunst in Lettland im 17. und in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts und ihre Beziehungen zu Schweden," in *Kunst und Architektur im Baltikum in der Schwedenzeit*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Baltica Stockholmiensia 12 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993), 107-14.

base for the critical analysis of the objects, and would lead to a comparative study with the material from other countries.

Structure of the thesis.

The basic divisions of this thesis are the following:

In the first part, the data from the written sources will be analysed. Here, the main questions concentrate on different types of liturgical objects used in medieval Livonia, and their material. It will also be argued which vessels were or were not recorded in the sources. Next, I will turn to the meaning of the liturgical vessels in medieval Livonian society and illustrate this with examples of donations. Then, a brief introduction to the goldsmiths, their background, and the development of the marking system of their works will be provided. Finally, the problem of the possibility of connecting the written evidence with existing objects will be briefly addressed.

The second part, which is the main part of this thesis, is dedicated exclusively to the art historical analysis of the original objects. There, the previously mentioned questions of the form, decoration, and iconography of individual items will be discussed. The dating and possible place of origin of the vessels will be determined, and a comparison with the works of art from other countries conducted.

The third part includes the comparison of the data from the previously analysed sources, that is, the written evidence and the objects themselves.

In the conclusion, the main results of the thesis will be summarised, and questions for further studies will be raised.

The subsequent appendices contain: the concordance of the place names in Estonian, Latvian, and German; the terms for the altar vessels in the languages relevant for this thesis; and some samples of medieval church inventories from Livonia.

The illustrations depict not only the liturgical vessels of Livonia, but also some objects from other countries that were used as comparative examples.

The catalogue at the end of the study contains the description of the vessels, their dating, material, dimensions, location, and bibliographical references.

PART I

WRITTEN EVIDENCE

Chapter 1. Liturgical vessels recorded in the sources

1.1. Introduction to Livonian written sources: inventories, visitation protocols, account books, testaments

The main sources from which it is possible to gather information on the liturgical vessels are the inventories and visitation protocols that list the valuables of ecclesiastical institutions. In addition, the account books of the churches, usually recorded by the guardians (*Vormünder*), reflect the data on the acquisition of new vessels either by ordering them from certain countries or masters, or by donation. Particularly, when a new guardian was appointed to office, there was a need to check and make a list of mobile goods. Occasionally, the testaments determined the donation of objects to the churches, or their acquisition by donation of money, although the bequeath of money was more frequent. Finally, other documents have been preserved such as bequests concerning, for instance, the establishment of an altar in a church and its provision with all the necessary equipment.

Unfortunately, the amount of such sources which have survived from medieval Livonia is not very large. The numerous wars, especially the Russian-Livonian and the Northern war, were detrimental not only to the valuable objects, but to the archives of the churches as well. Thus, for example, the oldest preserved parochial register books of the churches in the countryside date from the end of the sixteenth century. Similarly, the archives in the towns have been lost with only one exception—that of Tallinn.

We possess unequal amounts of information from the different time periods and different parts of Livonia. No records concerning the liturgical vessels have been preserved from the thirteenth century, and only very few from the fourteenth century. The majority of such sources, including all the preserved inventories and visitation protocols, date from the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Moreover, the majority of sources reflect the valuables of the churches and monasteries in the two largest towns of Livonia, Riga and Tallinn. But even there, we possess inventories from only some of the churches. For example, in the case of Tallinn, quite sufficient material has been preserved concerning the treasures of St Nicholas' Church and of the Dominican friary, but comparatively less data can be found on the churches of St Olav, St John, the Holy Ghost Church, and St Michael's Cistercian Nunnery.³¹ At the same time, we lack any such kind of sources concerning the Cathedral Church, and some smaller churches and chapels. Similarly, no medieval inventories have survived from the most important church in Livonia, the Cathedral of Riga.

With regard to the valuables of the parish churches in the countryside, we can rely on two main sources. First, there are the visitation protocols of the Saare-Lääne (*Ösel-Wiek*) Bishopric from 1519-1522.³² During these years, Bishop Johannes Kyvel visited the churches of his Diocese on the islands of Saaremaa, Hiiumaa, and on the continent. Only thirteen protocols have survived, eight of them include the inventories of the churches. The second exceptional source is the account book of the guardians of the church Keila in northern Estonia from 1472-1553, published by the Tallinn city archivist Paul Johansen.³³ This account book includes five inventories: those from the years 1477, 1503, 1518, 1531, and 1553.

Information on medieval liturgical vessels can also be gleaned from Post-Reformation sources, above all from the lists of confiscated vessels from the churches. Taking into consideration, on the one hand, the long period of wars in the sixteenth

³¹ Some archival materials concerning the former treasures of the churches in Tallinn, have been published by G. Hansen, *Die Kirchen und ehemaligen Klöster Revals* (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1885); Nottbeck and Neumann, *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval*; Hausmann, "Silberschatz," and Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals*.

³² These protocols have been published by E. Blumfeldt, "Saare-Lääne piiskopkonna visitatsiooniprotokolle aastast 1519-1522" [Visitation protocols of the Saare-Lääne Bishopric from 1519-1522], *Ajalooline Ajakiri*, nos. 1-3 (1933): 44-55, 116-25, 160-64. Some of the protocols are in Latin, the others in Middle Low German, and sometimes these languages are mixed.

³³ P. Johansen, *Das Rechnungsbuch der Kegelschen Kirchenvormünder 1472-1553* (Reval: Wassermann, 1926).

and in the first half of the seventeenth centuries which to a great extent influenced the economic possibilities of the churches, and, on the other hand, the Counter-Reformation in the southern part of Livonia during the period of Polish rulership, there is some hope to get information on medieval vessels also from the sources of late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. However, one must be very careful with this kind of data, because even if a vessel was described in the inventories as "an old one" or "old-fashioned," it does not necessarily mean that it originated from the Middle Ages. In this thesis, I have included only the reports of the revision from the year 1599 in the Polish part of Livonia.³⁴

1.2. Types of objects and their use

While investigating the written sources in order to find out what types of liturgical vessels were used in medieval Livonia, some difficulties must be faced. The major problem is that of the terms used. Sometimes it is uncertain what one or another word means or what type of object it refers to. Even if the general meaning of the term is known, the precise function of the named object may remain obscure. For example, it is almost impossible to differentiate between the various 'boxes' or 'pyxes' listed in the sources, unless there are no specific indications added. The term 'pyx' did not necessarily refer to a container for the hosts, but also to that for non-consecrated wafers, relics, incense, and holy oil.³⁵ Similarly, a 'cross' may imply an altar-cross, a processional cross, a votive cross, a reliquary-cross, an amulet, etc. However, one can at least be sure of the following—if a vessel was recorded in the sources, it did exist, it was in use.

The investigation of the different types of vessels must naturally begin with the most relevant group—the *vasa sacra*. The chalice is the most important one among the sacred vessels because it contains the eucharistic wine, the Blood of Christ, and

³⁴ *Polska XVI wieku* [Poland in the sixteenth century], vol. 13, *Inflanty* [Livonia], edited by J. Jakubowski, and J. Kordzikowski (Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1915).

³⁵ See further the passages on the host-pyxes and oil-stocks. Cf. Braun, *Altargerät*, 282-83; *Eucharistic Vessels of the Middle Ages*, 65.

especially because it is the only specifically mentioned object in all Biblical accounts of the Last Supper. This central position of the chalices is clearly underlined in the written sources since they were usually among the first items listed in the inventories.³⁶

The Livonian sources do not reflect the different types of chalices, which is quite understandable since after the denial of the cup from the laity,³⁷ there was no need to distinguish the consecration chalices and ministerial chalices.³⁸ In addition to the eucharistic chalices, I have found only one record concerning a special type of chalice. Namely, in the church of Keila, alongside the six other chalices, a large chalice for rinsing - *I groth kelk tho der spolinghe* - was mentioned in 1503.³⁹ As known, the custom of passing some unconsecrated wine to the faithful after the communion in order to help them in swallowing every piece of the host continued to be practised even after the denial of the cup. This purpose was served by a special rinsing-chalice (*Spülkelch*).⁴⁰ Of course, a vessel for rinsing-wine did not necessarily have to be a chalice, but could also have been a goblet or any kind of drinking-bowl, as the records from Livonian sources prove.⁴¹

The number of the chalices in Livonian churches varied widely; naturally, it depended on many factors, for example, on the importance, and on the economic situation of the church and the community, as well as on the number of altars in the church. The monasteries usually possessed more chalices. For instance, the different

³⁶ See, e.g., LUB 10, no. 528; Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 3, S. 11a, 38, S. 49b; appendix 3, nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 10, 13.

³⁷ As commonly known, the process of the withdrawal of the cup from the laymen gradually developed in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, and was finally confirmed by the Council of Constance in 1415: LThK 6, s.v. "Kelchkommunion," by B. Opfermann, and "Laienkelchbewegung," by K. Rahner.

³⁸ The terms '*calix sanctus*' and '*calix ministerialis*' disappear from the Western sources as early as in the eighth-ninth centuries; the larger ministerial chalices themselves disappeared during the twelfth-thirteenth centuries: Braun, *Altargerät*, 24-25, 65. For other types of different chalices, see *ibid.*, 24-29.

³⁹ Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 23; see appendix 3, no. 6, line 19.

⁴⁰ H. Bergner, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunstaltertümer in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1905), 320. During the communion of the sick, only water was normally given for rinsing.

⁴¹ Cf. LUB 9, no. 836: *sulveren vat, dar men spolinghe mede giift*; LUB II, 3, no. 502A: *eyn sulveren beecker, dar men dat volk de spolinghe ut gyfft* (*spolinghe* = *die Spülung* = rinsing).

inventories of the Tallinn Dominican Friary throughout the fifteenth century list 14, 18, 20, or 23 chalices.⁴² In comparison, the largest and richest parish church in Tallinn, St Nicholas' Church, which had almost twice as many altars as the friary,⁴³ possessed only 8 chalices in the same period.⁴⁴ This can, above all, be explained by the special task of the Dominicans: when they went to preach outside the town or even to more distant regions, they took a set of communion vessels with them. According to the sources, even smaller churches had more than one chalice.⁴⁵ Of course, it should be kept in mind that the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century was a period of peace and economic wealth in Livonia. The towns flourished on the basis of the trade, especially those belonging to the Hanseatic League, and this favoured the provision of churches with every kind of liturgical vessels.

In most cases, the chalices were named in the inventories along with the accompanying patens. It is quite natural since these objects were usually made as a set, from the same material and with corresponding dimensions.⁴⁶ Sometimes it is even specified at which altar the set was meant to serve.⁴⁷ In the cases when the number of chalices and patens is not equal, the number of chalices is always higher.⁴⁸ However, it

⁴² LUB 7, no. 451; LUB II, 1, nos. 106, 898; Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 216.

⁴³ According to G. Hansen, there were 16 altars in St Nicholas' Church in the late Middle Ages: Hansen, *Die Kirchen Revals*, 27. The same is repeated in EKA, 77. However, using the records from various sources, above all from *Revaler Pergament Rentenbuch 1382-1518*, ed. A. Plaesterer, Publikationen aus dem Revaler Stadtarchiv 5 (Tallinn: Eesti Kirjastuse Ühisus, 1930); and from *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1432-1507*, ed. R. Vogelsang, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte, vol. 22/1-2, vol. 27/1-2 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976, 1983), I have counted 31 different altars in St Nicholas' Church, and 16 or 17 in the Dominican friary.

⁴⁴ Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 241-42. (See also appendix 3, no.1, lines 3-10). It is obvious that not every side-altar was provided with its own set of communion vessels which would have been ideal. Thus, this is one more reason why chalices were considered particularly appropriate as objects for donations to the churches; cf. the subchapter on the donations.

⁴⁵ The visitation protocols of the parish churches in the Saare-Lääne bishopric usually list two or three chalices (appendix 3, nos. 8, 9, 11, 12), but sometimes more, e.g. five chalices in Püha (appendix 3, no. 10). (In these cases, the number of chalices may have corresponded to that of the altars, since usually two or three side-altars are mentioned in the same sources.) The list of confiscated treasures from St Gertrude's chapel in Tallinn from the year 1544 includes four chalices: Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals*, 50.

⁴⁶ For further details, see subchapter 4.1.1.

⁴⁷ Appendix 3, no.12, line 2: *Item twe vorguldede kelcke und twe patenen tho deme hogen altare.*

⁴⁸ Ibid., no. 8b, line 1: *Due calices deaurati cum una patena.*

is strange that some inventories do not name patens at all, for example, those of Kärla and Püha, of the hospital church of St John in Tallinn, or that of the Dominican friary from the year 1495 (the latter lists 20 chalices but no patens).⁴⁹ I am convinced that this does not mean that these churches lacked the patens (the inventory of the friary in about 1500, that is, five years later, names 18 chalices with patens⁵⁰). Perhaps it was just regarded as so natural that the patens always accompanied the chalices that it did not seem necessary to record them separately.

As mentioned in the introduction, one of the fascinating problems is to determine whether the *fistulae* or liturgical straws were known in Livonia. These small reeds were used to drink eucharistic wine from the chalice. Since they were in contact with the holy sacrament, they were preferably made of precious metals like the other *vasa sacra*. The eucharistic reed was most popular during the eleventh-twelfth centuries; after the denial of the cup from the laity, its use decreased to a great extent. Then the fistula retained its function as an instrument for the communion of the clergy; whereas, for the laymen it became simply a means through which the rinsing-wine was consumed after the Easter communion.⁵¹ In any case, the fistula was an instrument which was usually found only in the larger churches, even during the period of its most frequent use.

Taking into consideration the above mentioned facts, it was a great surprise for me to discover two records about such reeds in Livonia. First, the inventory of St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn from the year 1488 lists seven(!) silver pipes which were meant to serve the community.⁵² These were obviously used in passing the rinsing-

⁴⁹ Ibid., nos. 2, 9, 10; LUB 10, 528.

⁵⁰ Ibid., no. 2, lines 1, 25.

⁵¹ Braun, *Altargerät*, 256-57. The use of liturgical straws continued particularly in the monasteries, in some regions until the eighteenth century.

Since Luther approved the use of *fistulae*, the practice was restored in Lutheran areas together with the renewal of the communion in both elements for the laity. However, it was denied, for example, in Germany in the eighteenth century for the reason that it was not guaranteed whether the communicant actually received wine: Otte, *Kunst-Archäologie*, 219.

⁵² 7 *silveren schale mit 7 silverne ror, dar men dat volk ut plecht ut berichtende*, see appendix 3, no. 1, lines 15-16 (*ror* = *Rohr* = pipe).

wine, since they were specified to have belonged to seven drinking-bowls, and not the chalices. Seven *fistulae* is a considerably large number, even for such an important church as St Nicholas.⁵³ The other source originates after the Reformation, from 1531. It is the list of confiscated vessels from the churches of Tallinn which records one chalice with two silver reeds, once belonging to the Dominican friary.⁵⁴ Thus, it may be assumed that the *fistulae* were at least used in some of the monasteries and larger churches in the towns of Livonia.

In Western sources, various terms were used to denote containers for the consecrated hosts.⁵⁵ However, in the late Middle Ages, the 'pyx' and 'ciborium' were the two most widespread ones.⁵⁶ These two terms were and are used almost synonymously. To simplify the classification of these host-containers, then, in general, under the term 'pyx' a box is understood, while a 'ciborium' is a chalice-shaped vessel with a cover.⁵⁷

In Livonian sources, the following terms for the container of the hosts occur: *pixis*, *ciborium*, and *viaticum* in Latin, and *sacramenten busse* in Low German. Among these, the use of *viaticum* needs a further explanation. According to Braun, the *viaticum* or viatic-pyx indicated a special type of host-pyx that contained the sacrament for the sick.⁵⁸ However, it seems to me that in Livonian sources it was also used to denote host-pyx in general, since some inventories record no ciboria but only the

⁵³ For example, the inventory of the Cathedral of Mainz from the twelfth century lists five *fistulae*: Braun, *Altargerät*, 256.

⁵⁴ Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals*, 52.

⁵⁵ Braun, *Altargerät*, 282-90. The name often indicated the shape of the vessel, e.g., *pyxis*, *bustia*, *capsa*, *capsula*, *vas*, *ciborium*, *custodia*, *turris*, *columba*, etc.

⁵⁶ The third widespread vessel used to store the hosts was a eucharistic dove or peristerium; especially famous were the ones produced in Limoges and covered with enamel. However, since there is no data on the existence of such doves in Livonia, this type will not be studied.

⁵⁷ Cf. Hernmarck, *European Silversmith*, 1: 316. On the development of these two terms, see Braun, *Altargerät*, 282-85. The other meanings of the term 'ciborium' are discussed in J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, vol. 2 (Munich: Guenther & Co, 1924), 193-94.

⁵⁸ Braun, *Altargerät*, 290.

viaticum, and sometimes even more than one item in a church.⁵⁹ Moreover, sometimes a *viaticum* that contains a relic has been mentioned.⁶⁰ Thus, I think that *viaticum* could mean 'pyx' in a wider sense than only the container of the hosts for the sick.

In the late Middle Ages, the hosts were quite often not laid directly into the container, but first inside a small box or a piece of cloth, and then into the container.⁶¹ This custom is also revealed in the Livonian sources, for example, in the inventory of the church of Keila, a silver ciborium is mentioned, and within the latter - a small box.⁶²

The youngest item among the *vasa sacra* is the monstrance - a specific liturgical vessel for the visual exposition of the sacred host. Monstrances first came into being in the thirteenth century when transubstantiation became a dogma, and the reserved host became a cult object also outside of the mass.⁶³ The term itself (from *monstrare* - to show, to exhibit) came into use in the fourteenth century; and the typical gothic form of the object—a large, footed tower-shaped container, the middle part of which was provided with a glass cylinder—began to dominate during the fifteenth century.⁶⁴ According to Braun, the fourteenth-century inventories still recorded the monstrance very rarely.⁶⁵ However, the Livonian sources from that period mention the object at least twice: in 1381 in the Holy Ghost Church and in 1384 in St Olav's Church of

⁵⁹ See appendix 3, nos. 9, 11, 13.

⁶⁰ Ibid., no. 14, lines 5-6.

⁶¹ Braun, *Altargerät*, 330-32. These small boxes usually bear the same name in the inventories as the host-containers themselves.

⁶² Appendix 3, no. 7, line 5.

⁶³ On the historical and art historical development of the monstrance see Braun, *Altargerät*, 353-410; and *Eucharistic Vessels of the Middle Ages*, 97-101. A thorough analysis of the theological and liturgical background of the genesis of the Corpus Christi feast (the feast was established mainly as a consequence of the visions of Juliana of Liège) that prompted the first use of the monstrance, is provided by M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); see especially the third chapter of this monograph. On the Corpus Christi feasts in medieval Tallinn and Riga, see L. Arbusow, jun., *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland* (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1921), 92.

⁶⁴ Braun, *Altargerät*, 350; Hernmarck, *European Silversmith*, vol. 1, 317.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 356.

Tallinn.⁶⁶ In the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century, one can find monstrances in every preserved Livonian inventory. Because of its important liturgical function, the monstrance gained an equal position with the chalice as a symbol of faith, of the Church, of the Eucharist, and, therefore, it was also listed among the first items in the inventories.⁶⁷

Alongside the eucharistic monstrances, there also existed those to contain and display the relics—monstrance-reliquaries.⁶⁸ Such different types of monstrances were recorded in Livonian sources as well. For instance, the inventory of St Jacobus' Church of Riga lists one monstrance which contains *hyllighe lychnam*, that is, the host; three monstrances which contain *hylligedome*, the relics; and one monstrance with a gilded box from which the sacrament was passed to the sick.⁶⁹ The latter could perhaps have been a ciborium-monstrance.⁷⁰ One of the most precious relics in medieval Livonia was the Holy Blood in the Cathedral of Riga.⁷¹ It was kept in a monstrance which was made of pure gold and decorated with pearls (*van puren golde, mit finen parlen besattet*) - a donation made by Wendele von Pitkever, a lady of noble origin.⁷²

As indicated above, the Livonian churches often possessed more than one monstrance. For example, St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn, which in 1488 had two monstrances, ordered the third one to be made in Lübeck in 1509.⁷³ The inventory of the Tallinn Dominican Friary lists five monstrances;⁷⁴ this large number can perhaps be explained by the fact that the cult of relics flourished more in the monasteries.

⁶⁶ LUB 3, no. 1176: "... monstrantia mit dem hilgen lichamme...;" PRB, no. 17: "ad luminacionem ante monstranciam corporis Christi in ecclesia beati Olai 15 marcas."

⁶⁷ Cf. appendix 3, nos. 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Glossarium Artis*, vol. 2, 179.

⁶⁹ Appendix 3, no. 4, lines 1-5.

⁷⁰ On ciborium-monstrances, see Braun, *Altargerät*, 377.

⁷¹ The relic was mentioned in the sources from the 1480s onwards, see, e.g., LGU 1, no. 144; LUB 4, no. 1388.

⁷² LUB 5, R. 3010. On the destiny of this monstrance-reliquary during the wars between the Archbishop of Riga and the Livonian order, see Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation*, 96.

⁷³ Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 243-44, 275; cf. appendix 3, no. 1, lines 19, 22-23.

⁷⁴ Appendix 3, no. 3, lines 10-11, 13.

However, even some small churches in the countryside possessed more than one monstrance, for example those in Keila and Märjamaa.⁷⁵

It is interesting to note that alongside the monstrance, the Livonian inventories sometimes also list the holiest part of it - the *lunula* or the receptacle for the host. Moreover, a very special term has been used to denote it, namely *Melchisedech*,⁷⁶ in honour of the high-priest and king of Salem, the prefiguration of Christ in the Old Testament. According to Braun, this term was used in the East- and South-German areas from the sixteenth century onwards.⁷⁷ In the account book of St Nicholas' Church, the Low German translation of lunette, *halve mane* (half moon), was used.⁷⁸ The lunette, usually made of silver and gilded, was placed inside a glass or crystal cylinder. The latter was sometimes also made of semi-precious stones, for example, in St Jacobus' Church in Riga, a beryl is named.⁷⁹

Although the monstrance was a liturgical vessel used exclusively in the Catholic liturgy, some Post-Reformation sources of Livonia still record it, for example, the inventories of Keila from 1553, or of Viljandi from 1599.⁸⁰ It cannot be determined whether they served in the liturgy⁸¹ or whether they were just listed as precious objects among the other valuables of the churches.

The next vessels to be discussed belong to the group of *vasa non sacra*. Some of these objects were of greater importance at the liturgy; the others, on the contrary, were not regarded as of primary necessity and could even miss in the churches.

⁷⁵ Ibid., no. 6, lines 4 and 24; no. 11, lines 1-2.

⁷⁶ See the three *melchistdech*'s in the inventory of Märjamaa, *ibid.*, no. 11, lines 1-3.

⁷⁷ Braun, *Altargerät*, 353. However, According to Karl Künstle, the term was known already in the fifteenth century; K. Künstle, *Ikongraphie der Christlichen Kunst*, vol. 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder & Co, 1926), 283.

⁷⁸ Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 234.

⁷⁹ Appendix 3, no. 4, line 26.

⁸⁰ Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 45, S. 57a; *Polska XVI wieku*, 175.

⁸¹ This question is connected with the problem of how quickly and to what extent the Lutheran faith and liturgy were accepted during the continuous troublesome times in Livonia in the sixteenth century.

The *ampullae* or altar cruets to carry wine and water to the altar⁸² were certainly among the most relevant vessels among *vasa non sacra*. Pairs of cruets came into being around the turn of the eleventh century, but became more common from the end of the twelfth century onwards.⁸³ The Synod of Cologne in 1289 decreed that the cruets should be marked with the letters "V" (for *vinum*) and "A" (for *aqua*) in order to indicate their content.⁸⁴

The Livonian sources, too, always list the pairs of *ampullae*. Quite often there were more than one such pair possessed by the church.⁸⁵ Although these cruets also served to store ecclesiastical wine, sometimes other objects for the same purpose, such as wine-bottles, were mentioned in the sources as well.⁸⁶

Another important ritual in the mass was the burning of incense for which the thurible or censer was used. This object was listed almost in every medieval inventory of Livonia, but usually not more than one item per church.⁸⁷

Very few records have survived on the vessels for containing holy water or on those for liturgical hand-washing. The vessels for holy water usually had the shape of a kettle or a bucket.⁸⁸ Three kettles were mentioned in St Jacobus' Church of Riga; however, only one of them is specified as a kettle for holy water.⁸⁹ Six kettles were donated to St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn in 1504.⁹⁰ Apparently they were originally

⁸² On the four theological explanations of why the sacred wine was to be mixed with water, see *Eucharistic Vessels of the Middle Ages*, 57-58.

⁸³ Braun, *Altargerät*, 414.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 436.

⁸⁵ Cf. appendix 3, no. 2, lines 31, 40; no. 4, lines 8, 12; no. 6, line 20; no. 7, line 17, etc.

⁸⁶ Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 3, S. 11a: 2 *vynvl[a]sschen*; appendix 3, no. 9, line 21: *una lagena stannea pro usu vini ecclesiastici*.

⁸⁷ Appendix 3. However, in St Nicholas' Church, two censers have been recorded, see *ibid.*, no. 1, lines 13-14.

⁸⁸ Braun, *Altargerät*, 592-93.

⁸⁹ Appendix 3, no. 4, lines 22-23: 1 *kopperen wyketel* (= *Weihkessel*); 2 *myssinge ketele*.

⁹⁰ Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 264.

used in the household; their function in the church is not revealed in the source. An ablution-dish for hand-washing is listed in the inventory of the church in Keila.⁹¹

Vessels for holy oil, on the contrary, were frequently documented in the Livonian sources. Three different kinds of holy oil were used in the Middle Ages; the chrism was perhaps the most important one among them, as it was also used in the consecration of altars and altar vessels.⁹² Sometimes, vessels consisting of three parts were made to include all three oils.⁹³ There is no evidence of such tripartite boxes in Livonia: the sources record either 'the box for oil' or 'the box for chrism'.⁹⁴

The pax or pacificale was the object used in giving the kiss of peace. The ritual, symbolising a communal unity, derives from Apostolic times; however, originally the members of the congregation kissed or embraced each other. A special object to be kissed, a pax, began to spread from the thirteenth century onwards, first in the monasteries, then also gaining use in the service in the parish churches.⁹⁵

The shape of the object as well as its material varied a great deal.⁹⁶ The Livonian sources rarely mention the shape of the paxes; as one exception the round pacificale in the church of Jāmaja can be named.⁹⁷ The "standing pax" in the church of Mārjamaa

⁹¹ Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 11, S. 20a, 45, S. 57b: *1 messinges hantfath*.

⁹² Braun, *Altargerät*, 666.

⁹³ Bergner, *Handbuch*, 333. The three parts were sometimes marked with the letters I (for *oleum infirmorum*), C (for *chrisma*), and O (for *oleum catechumenorum*).

⁹⁴ Cf. appendix 2; cf. also Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals*, 50: *1 sulueren olyebusse*; Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 282: *eyne hilge oliibusse*; appendix 3, no. 3, line 15; no. 9, line 6; no. 11, line 11; no. 12, line 6; no. 13, line 12.

⁹⁵ Braun, *Altargerät*, 558; LThK 6, s.v. "Kuss, 2: Friedenskuss," by E. Lengeling; Hernmarck, *European Silversmith*, 343. According to other sources, the pax was already known in the eleventh century: Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 74.

⁹⁶ Braun lists three main shapes: a small rectangular plate, provided with a handle on the obverse; a retable-like pax with an architectural frame; and a round or oval medallion. Braun, *Altargerät*, 565-68.

⁹⁷ Appendix 3, no. 8a, line 2.

perhaps implies a pax provided with a foot.⁹⁸ The widespread habit in the late Middle Ages—to provide paxes with relics—is also revealed in the Livonian sources.⁹⁹

Sometimes the pax was substituted by a cross which was given a kiss of peace, and which also could have been called a *pacifical*.¹⁰⁰ In Livonia, too, such crosses to be kissed were recorded in the inventories.¹⁰¹ Alongside these, some other objects were used in giving the kiss of peace. For example, the missal of Riga from the beginning of the fifteenth century prescribed the kissing of the chalice after the prayer *Oratio pro pace*; whereas, the missal of Riga from around 1500 required the kissing of the book and paten.¹⁰²

As mentioned in the introduction, some scholars do not regard the altar cross and candlesticks as belonging to *vasa non sacra* because of their relative passivity in the liturgy. However, as the Roman Missal from 1570 states: the cross is not only meant to memorise the sacrifice of Christ, or to adorn the altar, but it is also the subject of certain ceremonies during the mass.¹⁰³ Similarly, the lighting has always played an important role in the liturgy.

Prior to the eleventh century, it was not allowed to place a cross upon the altar.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, the custom to place the cross on the mensa between the two candelabra was for the first time clearly expressed by Pope Innocent III in his *De sacro altaris mysterio*.¹⁰⁵ According to Braun, the crosses were predominantly used on the

⁹⁸ Ibid., no. 11, line 4.

⁹⁹ Ibid., no. 8a, line 2: *Pacifical argenteum rotundum instar agnus dei cum reliquijs*; no. 11, line 4: *Item 1 stande pacificail cum reliquijs*.

¹⁰⁰ Braun, *Altargerät*, 568.

¹⁰¹ See, e.g., Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 3, S. 11a: *1 suluer kruse, dar men de pese mede gyfft*; appendix 3, no. 4, line 47: *2 sulver cruseken, dar men pacem mede gheven mochte*; no. 2, lines 4-5; no. 15, § 6.

¹⁰² H. von Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet nach dem Brauche der Rigaschen Kirche im späten Mittelalter* (Riga: Häcker, 1904), 33, 87.

¹⁰³ Braun, *Altargerät*, 466.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., *Altargerät*, 469. At that time, only the following objects were allowed to be placed on the altar: the chalice and paten, the gospel-book, the viatic-pyx, and reliquaries.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 470.

main altar; whereas, the side-altars often lacked crosses even in the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶

Some of the Livonian inventories mention a cross, some do not. Moreover, it is almost never specified whether a cross is the altar cross.¹⁰⁷ Some exceptions can be found in the Saare-Lääne visitation protocols. On the main altar of the Käina church, *ein sulueren cleen crutze upp holte genegelt* is mentioned, which most likely refers to the altar cross.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, *1 sulueren kruitze op deme hogen altair*, is described in the Märjamaa church.¹⁰⁹ As known, the altar crosses usually consisted of two parts - the cross itself and a foot or base.¹¹⁰ Therefore, the "large silver cross standing on the foot" in the church of Keila¹¹¹ may also imply an altar cross. Actually, quite often the altar crosses also served as processional crosses,¹¹² and this could be one reason why the function of crosses is not specified in the inventories.

Some Livonian sources record St Anthony crosses;¹¹³ however, as known, such T-shaped crosses were predominantly used as reliquary-crosses.¹¹⁴ Although the altar crosses sometimes were also provided with relics, especially in the late Middle Ages, it was not considered to be obligatory.¹¹⁵

As was the case with altar crosses, the candlesticks were also not placed on the altar prior to the eleventh century. Instead, they were standing before or behind the altar, or at its sides. Even in the late Middle Ages, when the candelabra were normally

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 469.

¹⁰⁷ As previously indicated, quite many crosses were described as those to be kissed, that is, the pax-crosses.

¹⁰⁸ Appendix 3, no. 13, line 5.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., no. 11, line 31.

¹¹⁰ Braun, *Altargerät*, 478.

¹¹¹ Appendix 3, no. 6, line 16.

¹¹² Bergner, *Handbuch*, 336; Braun, *Altargerät*, 479.

¹¹³ See, e.g., Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 247: *Item noch eyn sulveren Antoniuskruse, dar steit up unse her an dem cruce, und up den anderen siden unser leven vrowen bilde mit dem kinde.*

¹¹⁴ Braun, *Altargerät*, 483.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 486. A silver cross *mit dem hilgen holte*, that is, which contains a particle of the Holy Cross, was mentioned in the convent of Dünamünde; see appendix 3, no. 5, line 13.

placed on the mensa, they were sometimes still to be found in the above mentioned places.¹¹⁶

Unlike in the case of altar crosses, the candlesticks were frequently placed on the side-altars as well.¹¹⁷ This custom is also reflected in the Livonian sources. For example, the visitation protocols of the Saare-Lääne Bishopric never mention the crosses on the side-altars, but almost always the candlesticks.¹¹⁸

Usually, two candelabra were standing on the altar, but at some important feast days even more.¹¹⁹ The Livonian sources list either 2, 3, 4, or 5 candlesticks per altar. Concerning the situation on feast days, only one prescription has been preserved. Namely, in the account book of St Nicholas' Church it is fixed that at Easter, a special large Easter-candle should be made; then, on the main altar, there should be four candles, on the Virgin Mary's altar - four candles, on the Holy Cross altar - also four candles, and in the basin before the Holy Sacrament - sometimes 20, sometimes 25 candles.¹²⁰

Miri Rubin emphasises that in the late Middle Ages, quite often additional candles were lit during the elevation.¹²¹ Another means to call attention to the elevation as well as to other solemn moments during the mass, was the ringing of small altar bells. These bells were not used in the Passion Week from Maundy Thursday until Holy Saturday. It was also prohibited to ring a bell at private masses that took place near the choir in order to avoid disturbing the service at the main altar. These small altar bells came into use at the end of the twelfth century, and they became widespread during the thirteenth century.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Braun, *Altargerät*, 493-95.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 472.

¹¹⁸ Cf. appendix 3, no. 8b, line 6; no. 9, line 9-10; no. 12, lines 15, 18; no. 13, lines 17-19, no. 14, lines 27-28, 30-31.

¹¹⁹ Braun, *Altargerät*, 495.

¹²⁰ Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 237.

¹²¹ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 60-61.

¹²² Braun, *Altargerät*, 573-74.

Such small bells were occasionally recorded in the Livonian sources as well: either one or two bells per church.¹²³ Apparently, the use of altar bells continued for some time even after the Reformation since they were mentioned in the churches of Viljandi and Põltsamaa in 1599.¹²⁴ Moreover, the inventory of the Cathedral in Haapsalu from 1634 still describes "a very small bell, hanging near the altar, which is used during the consecration."¹²⁵

The liturgical fan was an instrument which actually never spread widely in the Western liturgy.¹²⁶ The fan came into being in the ninth century, but the records concerning it became more frequent from the eleventh century onwards. The liturgical fan was originally used to scare away the insects near the altar in order to avoid them falling into the consecrated wine. However, this ritual became to be of more symbolic character during the centuries. Due to its function, the fan was made of light materials, preferably of peacock's feathers, silk, or parchment. The other type of fans, which had the shape of a disk, and which were used at processions, were made of precious metals.¹²⁷

According to Braun, the late medieval inventories from German areas do not mention liturgical fans.¹²⁸ Considering the German influence on Livonia, it was a great surprise to discover the records on the fans made of peacock's feathers in two Livonian mid-fifteenth century inventories: those of St Jacobus' Church and St Peter's Church in Riga.¹²⁹ Since the function of scaring insects in such a northern area as Livonia is somewhat doubtful, it can be assumed that these fans were rather exotic objects of luxury, and perhaps used during solemn ceremonies. It can also be suggested that the

¹²³ Appendix 3, no. 8a, line 6; no. 8b, line 10; no. 9, line 24.

¹²⁴ *Polska XVI wieku*, 175, 258.

¹²⁵ Estonian Archive of History, stock no. 1239, *EELK Haapsalu kogudus* [Community of Haapsalu of the Estonian Evangelic Lutheran Church], n. 1, s. 8, l. 180p.

¹²⁶ Braun, *Altargerät*, 652. In the Eastern liturgy, the case was just the opposite.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 653-57.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 652.

¹²⁹ LUB 8, no. 376: *weygher van palven vedderen*; LUB 9, no. 704.8: *weyer van pauwen vedderen*; see appendix 3, no. 4, line 25; no. 15, § 8.

liturgical fans were to be found only in some larger churches of Livonia, as were the two aforementioned ones.

These previously discussed objects represent all the different types of liturgical vessels for which there is information in the Livonian sources. However, if one compares this data with the list by Braun, it is clear that some objects among *vasa non sacra* were not recorded in the Livonian sources. These are: liturgical spoons and wine-strainers, incense-boats and incense-spoons, aspersories, containers for wafers, and aquamaniles. In addition, there are others which were very rarely mentioned, such as holy water basins or ablution-dishes. There could be various reasons for this. In some cases, it can be assumed that a vessel or instrument was unknown in Livonia. For example, during the centuries, the wine-strainer lost its original function, to filter the wine brought by the members of the community, and its use continued rather as a traditional part of the ceremony.¹³⁰ Since there was no direct necessity for this instrument, it was not widely spread in the late Middle Ages, and, apparently, it did not reach Livonia either. The same may perhaps be true concerning the different spoons. The eucharistic spoon, used to mix wine with water,¹³¹ often became superfluous since it was possible to regulate the amount of water poured into the wine with the aid of the spout of the cruets. The grains of incense could be taken out of the container by hand. Of course, the Livonian inventories sometimes record silver spoons¹³² (they were usually given to the churches according to the testaments), but there is no proof that they were used for liturgical purposes. It can rather be supposed that the spoons were collected in order to make some larger and more important object out of them, or the church could also lend them out.

On the other hand, if a vessel is not mentioned in the sources, it does not always mean that it was not known and used. The objects documented in the inventories followed a certain gradation dependent upon their importance in the religious service,

¹³⁰ Braun, *Altargerät*, 448, 451.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 444; cf. *Glossarium Artis*, vol. 2, 62.

¹³² Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 264; appendix 3, no. 8b, line 4; no. 11, line 9.

and the costliness of their material. Considering this gradation, there were also objects that were not regarded as valuable enough to be listed. Therefore, the 'reality' of medieval inventories does not correspond to the situation in life.¹³³ For example, the containers made of wood or ceramics (boxes, vases, phials, etc.) could have held unconsecrated substances such as wafers or incense. Such "lower" materials were never recorded in the sources. However, at the same time, on the basis of archaeological finds we know that they were used. Some small ceramic flagons and vases which have been assumed to have contained oil or other liturgical substances have also been unearthed from the Tallinn Dominican friary and Pirita Brigittine Nunnery.¹³⁴ Similarly, the dishes and buckets for ablution or for containing holy water, could have been made of lower metals that were not considered worth mentioning. The other possibility is that these vessels were not regarded as particularly sacred, and, therefore, not worth recording. Moreover, for hand-washing the stone *piscinae* inside the niches on the walls were often used. In Estonian churches, quite often such *piscinae* can be found, usually on the southern wall of the choir or in the sacristy.¹³⁵ These objects were regarded as part of the architecture, and they were almost never documented in the sources.¹³⁶ Although the problem of the ablution-dishes can be explained by the aforementioned possibilities, it is somewhat puzzling why the aquamaniles were not recorded in the Livonian sources. These vessels for pouring water were preferably made of bronze or brass, and these metals were usually

¹³³ On the problem of worthwhile objects to be mentioned, and on the 'inner hierarchy' of the vessels listed in the inventories, see G. Jaritz, "Spiritual Materiality or Material Spirituality: Cistercian Inventories of the Late Middle Ages," *Mediæ Aevum Quotidianum* 30 (1995): 25-26.

¹³⁴ E. Tool-Marran, *Tallinna dominiiklaste klooster* [Tallinn Dominican friary] (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1971), fig. 79; J. Tamm, "Eesti kloostrite materiaalne kultuur 15.-16. sajandil," [The material culture of Estonian monasteries in the 15th-16th centuries] (Ph.D. diss., Estonian Academy of Sciences, 1988), 48.

¹³⁵ Unfortunately, these architectural details have rarely been published. See, e.g., the two elaborate limestone *piscinae* in the Pirita Brigittine Nunnery, in V. Raam, *Pirita klooster* [Pirita Brigittine nunnery] (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1984), 18, 31.

¹³⁶ As one exception, the record of the limestone *piscina* in the sacristy of St Nicholas' Church can be pointed out. It was called *hantvath*, which is exactly the same term used to denote metal ablution-dishes: M. Lumiste, and R. Kangroop, *Niguliste kirik* [St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn] (Tallinn: Kunst, 1990), 35; cf. Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 11, S. 20a, 45, S. 57b.

considered valuable enough to be listed. The aquamaniles, both for ecclesiastical as well as for secular use were widespread objects in the Middle Ages. Moreover, at least three such vessels have been found from Livonia which proves that they were used here as well.¹³⁷ Thus, it seems that aquamaniles were regarded as of too "secular" character and, therefore, they were not mentioned in the Livonian sources.

More evidence concerning the problem of which objects were documented or not in the inventories, and why, will be provided by the following examination of the materials of the liturgical vessels.

1.3. Material of the liturgical vessels

In the early Middle Ages, liturgical vessels were made of a large variety of materials. However, during the centuries, the Church repeatedly made attempts to regulate and standardise the materials used for these vessels, especially for *vasa sacra*. The precious metals were considered to be the most appropriate ones; on the one hand, they were durable and noncorrosive materials, and on the other hand, their value and aesthetic qualities corresponded to their sacred essence and function. In the later Middle Ages, it was required that all surfaces touching the consecrated bread and wine must be made of precious metals or at least covered with gold or silver.¹³⁸ These regulations did not concern *vasa non sacra*; however, the latter was also preferably made of silver.

Although some indications concerning the materials of the liturgical vessels revealed in the Livonian sources were already mentioned in the previous subchapter, a

¹³⁷ The two liturgical bronze aquamaniles will be discussed in subchapter 5.3; the third one, obviously of secular character and made of ceramics, is published by Tamm, "Eesti kloostrite materiaalne kultuur," fig. 295.

¹³⁸ The first prescriptions concerning the material of chalices and patens have been preserved from the last decades of the eighth century when horn was prohibited. Later, such materials as glass, wood, and corrosive metals like copper and brass were also forbidden (the latter were allowed when gilded). See Braun, *Altargerät*, 30-44. The reform movements of the eleventh-twelfth centuries strongly opposed the use of precious metals in liturgical art as a sign of 'vanity' and 'luxuriousness.' However, the assessments could change with time as can be seen in the example of the Cistercians: throughout the thirteenth century, the statutes of their General Chapter prohibited precious metal objects, but by the fifteenth century, these vessels were considered to be acceptable. See Jaritz, "Spiritual Materiality," 22-23, 25-26.

closer study is still needed. The majority of sacred vessels listed in the inventories were made of silver, and quite often gilded. However, this concerns not only *vasa sacra* as proved by the numerous records on silver ampullae, censers, paxes, oil-stocks, crosses, etc.¹³⁹ The *vasa sacra*, especially the chalices, patens, and monstrances were frequently described in the inventories as 'gilded' (*vorgulde*) or 'not gilded' (*unvorgulde*) without naming the basic material. However, there is a reason to believe that they were made of silver since the silverware was listed on the top of the inventories, whereas the vessels made of other metals usually occupied the last place. This can, for example, be illustrated by the inventories of the Keila church.¹⁴⁰

Gold was extremely rarely mentioned in Livonian sources: in addition to the famous monstrance in the Cathedral of Riga (see p. 20), a chalice made of gold is known to have belonged to the Tallinn Dominican Friary.¹⁴¹

Other widespread materials besides silver were copper and its alloys - bronze and brass. These metals were more frequently used for *vasa non sacra* than for sacred vessels. The Livonian sources often record brass candlesticks and censers;¹⁴² in addition, the ablution-dish in Keila was made of brass, and the holy water basin in St Jacobus' Church of copper.¹⁴³ However, brass and copper were, although less frequently, also used in the case of *vasa sacra*. Two chalices, a monstrance, and a host-pyx made of brass were mentioned in the church of Keila.¹⁴⁴ The named chalices were *bouen vorgult*, that is, the cup was gilded inside as required by the ecclesiastical prescriptions. St Gertrude's chapel in Tallinn possessed a chalice and paten, made of copper and gilded.¹⁴⁵ A brass ciborium, gilded inside, was listed in Jāmaja church, a

¹³⁹ Cf. appendix 3.

¹⁴⁰ Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 3, S. 11a; 23, S. 41a; 45, S. 57a.

¹⁴¹ Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals*, 52.

¹⁴² Appendix 3, no. 1, line 14; no. 8a, line 12; no. 11, line 2, 28, 30; no. 12, line 9, etc.

¹⁴³ Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, S. 20a, 45, S. 57b; appendix 3, no. 4, line 22.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., no. 6, lines 22-24.

¹⁴⁵ Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals*, 50.

copper monstrance was to be found in Anseküla, and a brass monstrance in Märjamaa.¹⁴⁶

Pewter, although not among prohibited materials, was not regarded as particularly appropriate for liturgical vessels.¹⁴⁷ There is no data on *vasa sacra* made of pewter in Livonian sources. Non-sacred vessels, on the contrary, were quite often made of this "lower" metal. Especially frequent are the records on pewter candlesticks; sometimes even tin (*tynnen lughtere*) and lead candelabra (*blyen lughtere*) were differentiated.¹⁴⁸ Besides the candlesticks, records on pewter *ampullae* occur.¹⁴⁹

The mentions of iron vessels in Livonian inventories were extremely rare, and only iron candlesticks were listed.¹⁵⁰

Occasionally, the sources refer to additional materials or means used in decoration of the liturgical vessels, such as pearls, precious stones, or mother-of-pearl.¹⁵¹

Thus, as already indicated in the previous subchapter, a certain level of value can be traced in the medieval inventories. The vessels made of materials below this level, such as wood or ceramics, were not considered worth documenting.¹⁵² Therefore, the information from other sources must also be taken into account, above all the preserved objects and archaeological finds.

¹⁴⁶ Appendix 3, no. 8a, line 3: *ciborium unum ex auricalco, intus deauratum*; no. 8b, line 10; no. 11, line 2.

¹⁴⁷ Pewter chalices were in the Middle Ages used predominantly at funerals, or for the communion of the sick and criminals. Pewter vessels were to be found, above all, in poorer churches.

¹⁴⁸ Appendix 3, no. 8b, line 6; no. 9, line 9; no. 10, line 4; no. 12, lines 9, 15, 18; no. 13, lines 13, 17-19; no. 14, lines 2, 27-28, 30.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., no. 8a, line 4; no. 13, line 11; Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 3, S. 11a: *3 par tynnen apullen*.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., no. 4, line 16; no. 12, line 15.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., no. 9, line 3: *pacificalc unum myt eyner parlemoder*; LUB 9, no. 832: *crux cum diversis margaritis*; LUB II, 1, no. 1057: *crux argentea cum diversis margaritis, ... alia crux deaurata cum tribus berillis*.

¹⁵² Of course, as known from Western European sources, "lower" materials such as wood, ceramics, and even glass were relatively rarely used in making liturgical vessels; they prevailed among containers for nonsacred substances. However, there is data on wooden *vasa sacra* as well. For example, on two preserved late Gothic wooden chalices, see Bergner, *Handbuch*, 321. A fine wooden

1.4. Donations to the churches

Subsequently, I would like to discuss the meaning and role of liturgical vessels in medieval society. I have chosen to illustrate this by the phenomenon of donations, in this particular context—the donation of objects. The motivations for donations as well as the choice of objects to be donated express the medieval mentality, and reflect the attitude towards these objects. In addition, the examination of what types of liturgical objects predominated among the donations will provide further evidence on the grade of importance of different vessels.

The motivations and reasons for the donations to the churches were certainly diverse. On the one hand, the acts of charity, including those of donations, were believed to help to achieve the salvation of the soul. In response to the donations, the intercession by prayers of the clergy was expected to secure and quicken the way to salvation. On the other hand, the donated goods were also a means to commemorate the donors themselves, both during their lifetime and particularly after their death. The last mentioned motivation naturally contained secular aspects as well: the donations were often related to the questions of prestige, self-representation, and even social competition.

The things or means which were donated had to correspond to certain criteria. First, they had to be something that the recipients, that is, the churches felt a constant need for. Second, since the act of donation was a means to achieve salvation, the gift had to be something appropriate, something with a certain quality or value.¹⁵³

monstrance from about 1468 has been preserved in the Cathedral of Freising, see *Eucharistia: Deutsche eucharistische Kunst*, fig. 45, cat. no. 166.

¹⁵³ G. Jaritz, "Seelenheil und Sachkultur. Gedanken zur Beziehung Mensch - Objekt im späten Mittelalter," in *Europäische Sachkultur des Mittelalters*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs 4 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 62. The basic needs as well as the criteria of appropriateness were certainly not something constant, but changed throughout the Middle Ages, see *ibid.*, 70-77; *idem*, "Religiöse Stiftungen als Indikator der Entwicklung materieller Kultur im Mittelalter," in *Materielle Kultur und religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs 12 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 16-23, 32-35.

Liturgical vessels fit especially well the criteria of appropriateness, both from the point of view of the donators as well as the recipients. Precious metal objects formed a part of the material base of the churches, and, when necessary, could be used as a substitute for money. However, even more important than the economic value and costliness of those objects was their meaning and function as *ornamentum Dei*, which raised them to a much higher rank than, for example, the silver objects of secular use. There was also a constant need for liturgical objects considering the increasing number of private masses in the late Middle Ages. Moreover, it is obvious that a church could never possess "enough" sacred vessels.

Of course, liturgical vessels made up only one part of the various goods donated to the churches. As reflected in the late medieval Livonian sources, especially in testaments, donations of money were clearly dominant. The objects to be donated naturally depended upon the social status and financial possibilities of a person. The laymen usually donated something from their household, for example, textiles or silver plate; whereas, the clergy had more possibilities to bequeath liturgical books, vessels, and vestments.¹⁵⁴

The preserved Livonian testaments comparatively rarely provide evidence on donations of liturgical vessels to the churches. As an example of an especially pious and generous person one can mention Conrad Visch, a citizen of Riga, who in his testament (1425) willed the establishment of two 'eternal *vicariae*' in St Peter's Church "for the salvation of his soul, his wife's and their children's souls, and the souls of all his relatives." He also provided the altars with all the necessary equipment, such as liturgical vestments and parements, chalices, ampullae, candlesticks, etc.¹⁵⁵

Sometimes, a certain sum of money was bequeathed for the purchase of a liturgical object. For example, one testament from 1395 willed that a silver host-pyx

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Jaritz, "Seelenheil und Sachkultur," 66-67.

¹⁵⁵ LUB 7, no. 372: "...Item de andere vicarie sal syn in dem nyen chore in der kapellen, de ik gestichtet hebbe to zalicheit myner zele, myner husvruwen unde unser kindere unde alle unser leffhovede zele. Dar ik votmer tho getuget hebbe to blivende dre ornate, en gulden stucke, kelk, bok, unde sulveren ampullen, pallen unde luchtere, de man darinne vorhegen sal to Godes denste..."

should be made in honour of St John for ten marks, and the object was to be given to the Cathedral of Riga.¹⁵⁶ Occasionally, the donators expressed a wish for when or where the donated object should be used, for example, at a certain altar (usually at the main altar) or on certain feast-days.¹⁵⁷

More data on donations can be found in the sources that list the valuables and incomes of the churches, above all, in the account books. The one of St Jacobus' Church of Riga documents several chalices given by laymen.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, the account book of St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn lists chalices and patens donated to the church.¹⁵⁹ The inventory of the Dominican church in Tallinn from 1495 mentions a gilded pax given by a layman;¹⁶⁰ another inventory from the same church records the objects donated by a monk, brother Craen, among which there were a silver chalice and paten.¹⁶¹ The donation of a golden monstrance-reliquary to the Cathedral of Riga has already been referred to in previous subchapters. According to the Livonian sources, the chalices clearly prevailed among the donated liturgical vessels. This fact certainly corresponds with the outstanding role of the chalice as the most important sacred vessel. In general, the donations of *vasa sacra* evidently predominate over *vasa non sacra*, which is to be expected.

The range and amount of donated objects varied from single items to the extensive complexes. The latter were usually not performed by a single person (although exceptions existed, for instance, the aforementioned Conrad Visch), but by all kinds of corporations. For example, the goldsmiths' guild in Tallinn, when establishing an altar in St Catherine's Church, also purchased a retable for it, an

¹⁵⁶ LUB 4, no. 1338; LGU 1, no. 144 (Testament of Woldemar von Rosen): "...dat men solde maken laten in sunte Johannes ere een sulvern host van X mark Rig., dat solde men geven in den dom to Rige."

¹⁵⁷ See, e.g., appendix 3, no. 1 line 41-42: "...these ampullae should serve at the main altar on the Apostle's feast;" also lines 32-33, 38-39; no. 4 line 28-29: "a chalice...that should be used daily."

¹⁵⁸ LUB 8, no. 376; cf. appendix 3, no. 4, lines 28, 39-43.

¹⁵⁹ Appendix 3, no. 1, lines 27-28, 29-33, 36-37; Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 248-51.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., no. 2, lines 29-30.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., no. 3, lines 25-28. It is also stressed that he gave those valuables for the monks to be used for 'eternal times', and not sold, in order that they would pray for his soul.

antependium, a silver cross, a chalice, candlesticks, etc.¹⁶² An especially long list of donations made by the Brotherhood of Blackheads,¹⁶³ a corporation of unmarried merchants, to the churches of St Catherine and St Peter in Riga, has survived from the year 1441.¹⁶⁴ The list starts with the building of an altar (*stipes* of stone, mensa of marble stone), then records the liturgical vessels such as the chalice, paten, two ampullae, pax-cross, three candelabra, a fan of peacock's feathers, etc., and finally mentions objects of secular use.

The inventories and account books of the churches often record the names of the donors. The reason for that was, on the one hand, to recognise the listed objects, but also to commemorate the donors. The latter also took ensured the perpetuation of their names by means of inscriptions or their coats of arms on the donated objects. This can be illustrated especially well by the aforementioned donation-list of the Blackheads which frequently adds that the vessels are provided with their coat of arms, or with corresponding inscriptions.¹⁶⁵

Thus, it can be concluded that the liturgical vessels had diverse functions in the medieval society. Although these objects were primarily to be used at the religious service and as divine adornment in the churches, there were also several additional aspects. The liturgical vessels were the objects of cult and deep devotion, and means to achieve salvation. They were also works of art to benefit the donors, to assist in their commemoration. Besides, these vessels were of high material value, and, as such, supported to a great extent the welfare and economic basis of the churches. Although these functions seem to differ a great deal, in fact, they were all interconnected.

¹⁶² Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revels*, 18. In a similar way, the goldsmiths equipped their altars in other churches of Tallinn as well, see *ibid.*, 19-20.

¹⁶³ *Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter*.

¹⁶⁴ LUB 9, no. 704; partially included to appendix 3, no. 15.

¹⁶⁵ Appendix 3, no. 15, § 3-5: for example, "...uppe dem kelke steit der swarten hovenen wapen," cf. no. 2, lines 37-40: "Noch 2 grote kelke, up den enen steit er swarten hovet unde up dem andern steit gescreven: dusse kelk hort to der swarten hovenen altare..., 1 par sulveren appullen, dar steit er wapen up."

Chapter 2. The craftsmen

The aforementioned sources, in general, do not describe liturgical vessels in detail; they record the type, number, and material of different objects. In addition, the keepers of the account books documented data relevant from their point of view, such as the weight or cost of the vessel, and in the case of donated objects, sometimes the name of the donator.

This kind of information does not help to answer the questions art historians are mainly interested in: how did these vessels look, what techniques and means of decoration were used? Where did the art historical influences originate? Is it possible to trace certain local characteristics on Livonian vessels? These are questions that can mainly be answered with the help of the preserved objects.

However, there is one area of research, and a very important one, that the written sources can throw light on—namely, who were the masters accomplishing these vessels, where did they come from, how were they organised, how did they mark their works, and so on. This range of problems is closely connected with the art historical influences as well. Since there is no sufficient data on craftsmen working with copper, or pewter in medieval Livonia,¹⁶⁶ the following overview will predominantly focus on goldsmithing - the most relevant branch of craftsmanship in relation to the making of liturgical vessels.

2.1. Goldsmiths and their guilds in Riga and Tallinn

The organisation of the inhabitants on the basis of profession in the Livonian towns developed gradually from the fourteenth century onwards. The typical medieval system of craftsmen's guilds was mainly established during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

¹⁶⁶ The profession of coppersmith can be traced in the sources from Tallinn from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards. Coppersmiths as well as the pewterers did not establish their own corporations in the Middle Ages, but belonged to the smiths' guild. For further information, see K. Kaplinski, *Tallinn - meistrite linn* [Tallinn: the town of craftsmen] (Tallinn: Koolibri, 1995), 161, 169.

The first records on goldsmiths in Livonia originate from the early fourteenth century: in 1312, Wedike *aurifaber* was mentioned in Tallinn;¹⁶⁷ in 1334 Johannes Ribbenisse *aurifaber* in Riga.¹⁶⁸ In the Middle Ages, the goldsmiths' guilds (*ampte*) are known to have existed only in the two largest towns in Livonia;¹⁶⁹ the goldsmiths in some other towns founded their corporations in the course of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The statute (*skra*) of the goldsmiths in Riga was confirmed by the Town Magistrate on Jan. 25, 1360;¹⁷⁰ the one in Tallinn on Aug. 15, 1393.¹⁷¹ The goldsmiths' guilds were the oldest among the medieval craftsmen's guilds in Livonia, since the statute of Riga was the first such document to be confirmed by the Town Magistrate,¹⁷² and the statute of the goldsmiths of Tallinn was the second in the town.¹⁷³ Besides these first statutes, the next complemented and revised versions from Riga (1542), and from Tallinn (1453, 1537) are also of special interest in order to make comparisons and follow the development of the regulations.

The model for the Livonian goldsmiths' statutes was the statute of Lübeck. The statute of Riga is practically identical to that of Lübeck; however, in the case of Tallinn's statute, the similarities are not so strong and instead, the relationship is stressed by the last words of some articles "as it is done in Lübeck" (*alse men tu Lubeke deit*).¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁷ LUB 2, no. 935.5.

¹⁶⁸ *Die Libri redituum der Stadt Riga*, ed. J.G.L. Napiersky (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1881), 3, no. 2.

¹⁶⁹ Although there is no written data to prove it, it could be possible that besides Riga and Tallinn some goldsmiths were active in other larger towns as well, having the status of '*Mitmeister*' in the guilds of Riga or Tallinn. J. Kuuskemaa assumes the goldsmiths' guild to have also existed in medieval Tartu, see J. Keevallik [J. Kuuskemaa], "Tartu kullassepad 1640-1800" [Goldsmiths of Tartu 1640-1800], in *Töid kunstiteaduse ja -kriitika alalt 2* (Tallinn: Kunst, 1977), 308. However, there is no evidence to support this hypothesis.

¹⁷⁰ LUB 2, no. 969.

¹⁷¹ LUB 3, no. 1343.

¹⁷² See V. Vilite, ed., *Serebryanykh del mastera Latvii: kleyma i raboty* [Silverwork by masters of Latvia: marks and works] (Riga: Avots, 1992), 5.

¹⁷³ In Tallinn, there were altogether only three statutes confirmed in the fourteenth century, the first was the statute of the tailors 1363/1374, the second was that of goldsmiths, and the third was the statute of the butchers in 1394. Kaplinski, *Tallinn - meistrite linn*, 57, 249.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 172; cf. LUB 3, no. 1343, § 2, 6.

The guilds strictly followed the rule that the native inhabitants of Livonia could not join the corporation. In Riga's statute, it is only stated that a prospective apprentice must be of decent origin;¹⁷⁵ however, the statute of Tallinn asserted that no Estonians were allowed to be taken on as apprentices.¹⁷⁶ It is known that in spite of these strict regulations, at least four Estonians succeeded in learning this profession in Tallinn in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries; however, none of them became a master.¹⁷⁷ Considering these facts, it would be interesting, first of all, to find out, how many goldsmiths were active in medieval Riga and Tallinn, and whether it is possible to determine the places where the masters came from. The latter task is quite complicated, since in most cases only the first names are recorded in the sources. Although this allows suppositions to be made concerning the nationality of the masters (for example, alongside German names, the Scandinavian ones occur), it does not help to clarify their place of origin.

According to A. Friedenthal, the number of goldsmiths known from medieval Tallinn is the following:¹⁷⁸

14th century - 35,
15th century - 45,
16th century - 36.

Later, K. Kaplinski found data on 20 more goldsmiths in Tallinn in the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁹

According to V. Vilite, the respective numbers concerning the goldsmiths in Riga are the following:¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ LUB 2, no. 969, § 5: "... dat he si echte boren van vader und muder."

¹⁷⁶ LUB 3, no. 1343, § 11: "Ock so en sal nemand unechte kinder noch Esten to lere junge untfaen."

¹⁷⁷ Kaplinski, *Tallinn - meistrite linn*, 173. Alongside professional goldsmiths, the medieval sources also record the *etekenmaker*, the lower-class craftsmen, predominantly of native origin who made pieces of jewelry for the lower classes in the towns and for peasants. Although they were quite numerous (there is data on 15 *etekenmaker* in the fifteenth century, and 46 in the following century), these craftsmen never established their own corporation: Kaplinski, *Tallinn - meistrite linn*, 179-181.

¹⁷⁸ Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revels*, 1, 24.

¹⁷⁹ Kaplinski, *Tallinn - meistrite linn*, 177.

¹⁸⁰ Vilite, *Serebryanykh del*, 21-27.

14th century - 7,
15th century - 21,
1500 - ca. 1550 - 40.

Only in very few cases, the place of origin of the masters was recorded in the sources. Among the fourteenth-century goldsmiths in Tallinn, one is described as *aurifaber de Colonia*, that is, from Cologne; and the names of Petrus de Åbo and Johann Grifenberg indicate the Swedish town Åbo (present-day Turku, Finland).¹⁸¹ Out of the 45 masters in the fifteenth century, the place of origin of nine masters can be determined: 3 were born in Tallinn, and the others came from Königsberg, Lübeck, Münster, Westphalia, Amsterdam, and Cracow.¹⁸² In 1467, the goldsmith Peder from Wiborg (Viipuri) was mentioned in Tallinn.¹⁸³ From the sixteenth-century masters, six are known to have originated from Tallinn, two from Lübeck, one from Greifswald, Breslau, Cologne, Aachen, and "Germany."¹⁸⁴

I am convinced that the data on masters must be studied more thoroughly, and that it is possible to find out much more detailed information on their origin and background than has been done until now. In particular, the names of the masters occurring in the Livonian sources have to be compared with the similar data concerning the goldsmiths in the towns of Germany, Sweden, Poland, etc.

The first statutes of Tallinn and Riga do not reveal any data concerning the wandering years of the future masters. However, the revised statute of Tallinn's guild from 1537 stated that a journeyman had to spend one year in Germany "according to the ancient custom."¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revels*, 23-24, 59-60, nos. 20-21, note 1. About Petrus de Åbo, see also R. Fagerström, *Suomalaista hopeaa* [Finnish silver] (Porvoo: WSOY, 1983), 9, 24, 214.

¹⁸² Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revels*, 24.

¹⁸³ T. Borg, *Guld- och silversmeder i Finland: deras stämplat och arbeten 1373-1873* [Gold- and silversmiths in Finland: their marks and works 1373-1873] (Helsinki: Tilgmann OY, 1935), 434.

¹⁸⁴ Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revels*, 24.

¹⁸⁵ "... *de sal in Duitschlant ein jar up dat ampt gedenet hebn, nha older wise und gewonheit...*," *Statuta aurifabrum praescripta et confirmata a senatu primum anno 1537*, quoted in Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide," appendix 3, 164.

The first statute of the goldsmiths in Riga stated that the goldsmiths had to work with "good gold and silver," and the one of Tallinn added "...as in Lübeck."¹⁸⁶ However, it is interesting to note that the statute of Tallinn contained an exceptional article neither to be found in Riga nor in Lübeck: namely, that one must not make copper chalices, *ampullae*, antependiums, and other copper objects without the knowledge of the aldermen and the guild.¹⁸⁷ The same is repeated in the following statute from 1453,¹⁸⁸ but no longer in 1537. According to Fritz, the prohibitions to work with copper without the permission of the workshop can be found, for example, in the statutes of Cologne (1397) and Strasbourg (1482).¹⁸⁹ These regulations in a way indicate that the liturgical vessels made of copper and covered with gilding were also accomplished by the goldsmiths. For example, in the case of Tallinn it is known that in 1509, the goldsmith Hans Wyttenberg made a brass host-pyx for the church in Keila.¹⁹⁰

The requirements concerning the pieces of work to be executed in Tallinn and Riga in order to become a master have been compared by Mai Raud with those in the other towns in the Baltic Sea region.¹⁹¹ In Riga, the same four masterpieces were required as in Lübeck,¹⁹² the same pieces with slight variations concerning the number of works or the techniques were prescribed in Tallinn as well as in Wismar (1380) and Hamburg (1375). Similarities can also be found in the cases of Königsberg, Danzig,

¹⁸⁶ LUB 2, no. 969, § 1: "*To deme ersten sal ein jewelk goltsmid maken und arbeiden gud golt und sulver...*," LUB 3, no. 1343, § 6: "*... de sal werken gut golt, alse men tu Lubeke deit.*"

¹⁸⁷ LUB 3, 1343, § 7: "*Vortmer so sal nemant kopperne kelke, noch appollen, noch alter-lysten edder icht van kopper maken, he en du dat den olderluden und dem werke witlick.*"

¹⁸⁸ See Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide," appendix 2, 159, § 4.

¹⁸⁹ Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, 42-43.

¹⁹⁰ EKA, 82.

¹⁹¹ M. Raud, "Meisterstücke der Revaler Goldschmiede," in *Eesti Teadusliku Seltsi Rootsis Aastaraamat / Annales Societatis Litterarum Estonicae in Svecia 9: 1980-1984* (Stockholm: Mariehamns Tryckeri Ab, 1985), 47.

¹⁹² The pieces required, were: a golden ring with pierced ornament (*en gulden vingerin mit vinsteren*), an "english"(?) brooch (*ene Engelsche brazen*), a betrothal-brooch decorated with niello (*ene hantruwe brazen geblackmalet*) and one enamelled ring on a knife-handle (*einen biworp mit smelte*), cf. LUB 2, no. 969, § 8. Cf. also the required masterpieces in Tallinn: LUB 3, no. 1343, § 4.

and Lüneburg. Thus, as M. Raud concludes, the similarities concerning the types of objects to be made, and the techniques required, demonstrate the close cultural connections of the Hanseatic towns in the Baltic Sea region.¹⁹³

The flourishing period of the Livonian goldsmiths was the fifteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century—the general age of economic and political stability in the Livonian towns. At that time, for example, ten to twelve masters were simultaneously active in Tallinn, which is a relatively high number.¹⁹⁴ The masters in Tallinn received orders from other places in Livonia as well. For example, within the years 1480-1494, the account book of the Keila church documents several payments to Jakob Luban, a well-known goldsmith in Tallinn, who produced a chalice and paten, pairs of *ampullae*, a chrismatory, and a cross for the church.¹⁹⁵ The *Corpus Christi* corporation in Lihula (West-Estonia) ordered a monstrance from Tallinn's master Hinrich Scrame, and sent silver to him.¹⁹⁶ The services of Tallinn's goldsmiths were also used outside of Livonia. Around 1488 Hans Ryssenbergh senior was invited to Moscow to the court of Ivan III;¹⁹⁷ and his son, Hans Ryssenbergh junior, is known to have made a silver monstrance for the Nykyrka (Uusikirkko) church in Finland.¹⁹⁸

Thus, when investigating the activity of goldsmiths in Riga and Tallinn, it is clear that the study must not be limited exclusively to Livonia, but the data has to be compared in an international context, above all, in the context of the cultural region around the Baltic Sea.

¹⁹³ Raud, "Meisterstücke," 47.

¹⁹⁴ Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals*, 21. For example, in Lübeck, 22 masters were simultaneously active in the late Middle Ages, see Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, 14.

¹⁹⁵ Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 5-16: S. 14a, 22a, 25a, 27a, 30a.

¹⁹⁶ LUB II, 1, no. 396.

¹⁹⁷ Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals*, 62.

¹⁹⁸ Neumann, *Verzeichnis baltischer Goldschmiede*, 39, no. 275.

2.2. The development of the marking system of goldsmiths' works

The necessity to control the quality of goldsmiths' works, above all, the metal standard required, led to the prescriptions concerning the provision of completed objects with hallmarks.

As known, the oldest such prescriptions were established in Paris in 1275 when the use of the town mark was introduced. The other larger towns in France and in the Netherlands followed the example in the course of the fourteenth century. The statute of the goldsmiths' guild in Strasbourg from 1363 was the first in the German areas to make the town mark as well as the maker's mark compulsory. Nuremberg followed in the beginning of the fifteenth century; however, in many German towns, such regulations were not established prior to the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁹⁹ For example, in Lübeck, which was the most important town in terms of the influence on Livonia, the town mark and maker's mark began to be required from 1492 onwards.²⁰⁰ In Sweden, the use of the maker's mark was prescribed in 1485, but of the town mark as late as in 1596.²⁰¹ Of course, the maker's marks sometimes appeared on the objects even earlier than the establishment of respective regulations in a country, but usually not prior to the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. The voluntary provision of the works of arts with the master's signature, which besides the identification served as an intercession for the artist as well, also became more frequent during the last centuries of the Middle Ages.

In Livonia, the development concerning the marking system of goldsmiths' works is quite interesting to observe. Considering the fact that the first statute of Riga was confirmed as early as 1360 and that it copied that of Lübeck, it is not surprising that no indications of the marking of the objects can be found. In fact, the provision of

¹⁹⁹ Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, 40, 110.

²⁰⁰ M. Hasse, ed., *Lübecker Silber 1480 - 1800*. Lübecker Museumshefte 5 (Lübeck, 1965), 10, 12.

²⁰¹ Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, vol. 4, 469, 491.

goldsmiths' works with the town mark as well as with the maker's mark was prescribed in the next, revised statute of Riga in 1542.²⁰²

In the case of Tallinn, the development is much more complicated. Scholars, starting with R. Hausmann in 1897 and most recently, M. Raud in 1986, have usually stressed that the maker's mark was imposed by the regulation of the Tallinn Town Magistrate in 1503, and that it was fixed by the third statute of the goldsmiths in 1537 which also introduced the use of the town mark.²⁰³ However, as already noted by Buchholtz (1892), the first statute of Tallinn's goldsmiths from 1393 included an article which stated that "whoever works with silver should not mark (*tekenen*) the work himself but should send it to another goldsmith, who, if the work is good, should provide it with marks."²⁰⁴ Although this article is of suggestive character rather than a strict demand, it is still worth mentioning that among the fourteenth-century statutes this kind of regulation is quite rare, and that Tallinn is one of the oldest places in the German areas to begin to require the marking of objects.

However, this kind of prescriptions were by no means strictly observed as proven by the preserved goldsmiths' works. As will be presented in the second part of this thesis, only three Livonian chalices are provided with the maker's mark, two of them also with the town mark of Tallinn. In addition, the monstrance made by Hans Ryssenbergh bears the master's signature. The situation was not different in the other parts of Europe. For example, in Strasbourg, the first German town to prescribe the use of hallmarks, only two fourteenth-century objects are provided with these marks, and from the fifteenth to early sixteenth century, five more marked masterpieces are known.²⁰⁵ The same tendency can be observed elsewhere; thus, it demonstrates that

²⁰² Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 2.

²⁰³ Hausmann, "Monstranz in der K. Ermitage," 174; Raud, *Baltiskt silver*, 11; cf. Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide," appendix 3, 165: "*Wes men von deme hamere arbeidet, dar sol de mark lodich van holden voftein loth, dat sol men tekenen mith der stadt teken und ein jeder mith sinem eigenen teken...*"

²⁰⁴ Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 2; cf. LUB 3, no. 1343, § 14: "*Vortmer we silver bernet, de en sal des nicht tekenen, he en sende dat tu voren eneme andern goltsmede, de id erst tekene, ofte id is werdich si.*"

²⁰⁵ Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, 110.

the actual practice of marking the works was certainly not consistent in the Middle Ages. It is needless to say that this makes it much more difficult to determine the place of origin of preserved objects.

2.3. Acquisitions of religious objects from other countries

With regard to the question of possible art historical influences, it would be necessary to trace whether the liturgical vessels were ordered from other countries as well, and if so, then from where.

As previously indicated, the Livonian towns in the late Middle Ages had, above all, closer cultural and economic contacts with the Hanseatic towns in Germany and the Low Countries. In particular, the close connections between Tallinn and Lübeck should be emphasised. These were revealed in the orders made for religious objects as well. As widely known, late medieval Lübeck was a centre for the mass production of winged altar-retables, and there are many records concerning the purchase of such retables by the churches of Tallinn.²⁰⁶ Also, the most famous late Gothic altarpieces that have been preserved in Tallinn originate from the well-known Lübeck workshops of Hermen Rode and Bernt Notke. Besides Lübeck, there is information on commission of altarpieces or carved statues from Hamburg, Brugge, and Brussels.²⁰⁷

One of the best sources of data on the acquisitions of goldsmiths' works from other countries is the repeatedly cited account book of St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the church ordered a silver statue of St Nicholas to be made in Antwerp.²⁰⁸ In 1509, a new silver gilt monstrance was

²⁰⁶ It is irrelevant to count all these records; however, some examples can be found in appendix 3 of this thesis, see, e.g., no. 2, lines 20-22: "...de grote monstranssye der swarten hoveden quam to unsrer leven frouwen bilde, dat se to Lubeke leten maken...;" no. 15, § 4: "...do quam de tafel (i.e. altar-retable) over van Lubeke..." The first mentioned gilded statue of the Virgin Mary was ordered by the Blackheads from Lübeck ca. 1476, see *EKA*, 82.

²⁰⁷ *EKA*, 71-76; Tool-Marran, *Dominiiklaste klooster*, 119-23. On the ordering of the retable for the main altar of St Nicholas' Church from Lübeck, see also data in the medieval account book: Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 236-38.

²⁰⁸ Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 266, 271-72.

purchased from Lübeck, made by the goldsmith Andreas Söteflesch.²⁰⁹ According to the account book, vessels made of other materials were also acquired from the same regions. For example, in 1518, two brass candelabra were ordered from Lübeck for the main altar of the church.²¹⁰ It is also interesting to note the data on the commission of some additional objects connected with liturgical vessels. For example, in 1489, a glass cylinder was bought from Lübeck for the monstrance made by Hans Ryssenbergh; in 1503, a lockable shrine for the same monstrance was obtained from Brugge.²¹¹

Although the extant records of acquisitions of liturgical vessels from other countries are by no means numerous, it is evident that these vessels were purchased from the same places as the other religious works of art—from the Hanseatic towns in North-Germany (especially Lübeck), and from the Netherlands. It is remarkable that some vessels, and very expensive ones, such as the silver statues or the monstrance made by Söteflesch, were ordered from abroad at a time when so many goldsmiths were active in Tallinn. Perhaps it may be seen rather as a question of prestige than of necessity.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 275-77. The monstrance, although not a very large one as can be concluded from its weight, was relatively expensive - 640 marks of Riga.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 282.

²¹¹ Ibid., 235: "*Item ik leth eyn glas van Lubek halen to der monstrancien*;" 236: "*Anno [150]3 laten maken to Brugge eyn koffer to unser monstrancien behof mit ysen beslagen unde mit twen sloten*."

Chapter 3. The problem of connecting the written evidence with existing objects. The relevance of comparative stylistic analysis

As can be seen from the previous two chapters, there is a considerable number of liturgical vessels recorded in the Livonian sources, and more than two hundred goldsmiths are known to have been active in medieval Tallinn and Riga. It is also known that the religious objects were not ordered only from local masters, but from abroad as well. Alongside the written evidence, there is information on 32 liturgical objects that represent the former richness of the churches in Livonia. In comparison with the amount of the written data, the number of preserved objects is actually microscopic—a situation similar to other regions of Europe.

Considering the data from different sources, a question arises: to what extent is it possible to connect the written evidence with existing objects? First, is it possible to recognise any of those objects recorded in the sources? And second, to what extent is it possible to determine the place of origin of the vessel, or the master who made it?

As previously emphasised, medieval inventories or account books almost never describe objects in detail. The means that would best enable the identification of an object, are all kinds of inscriptions, depictions, coats of arms, etc. An ideal opportunity to connect the existing object and the written data would occur if such an inscription or sign on the extant vessel could be found in contemporary medieval written sources. Such cases are, of course, exceptional.

Concerning the second question, the master and place of origin of the object, the data on hallmarks is of primary importance. However, as presented, the marking system of goldsmiths' works only gradually developed in the Middle Ages. In most European countries, the prescriptions concerning this matter did not occur prior to the fourteenth century, and in Livonia it became obligatory as late as in the first half of the sixteenth century. Moreover, in spite of these regulations, very few medieval objects bear such marks. It should also be emphasised that since maker's marks often depicted not the initials of the master but any kind of symbolic signs (figural, geometrical,

vegetal, etc.), there is a number of medieval maker's marks in Europe that have remained unidentified or have been only hypothetically attributed to certain masters.

Concerning the determination of the place of origin, the master and the dating of an object, the most helpful cases are when a vessel is provided with an inscription or signature indicating the name of the artisan or the donator (and, of course, when there is historical data on these persons). However, as known, such inscriptions also became more frequent towards the end of the Middle Ages. More commonly, medieval inscriptions consisted of prayers, or sacred expressions connected to the function of an object.

Thus, both the hallmarks and inscriptions on objects, even in the later Middle Ages, are rather exceptions than frequent appearances. Therefore, we have to face the fact that the majority of medieval works of art are and will remain anonymous for us.

However, one of the major tasks of art historians is to solve the problems concerning the dating and place of origin of the objects as well as the problems of workshops and individual masters. Since the objects themselves usually reveal very little historical data, one has to rely on art historical methods, first of all, on the critical comparative analysis of the objects, their types, form, and style. Although in the case of liturgical vessels, the relative similarity of their form and decoration throughout the centuries or their "international style" has been emphasised, there are certain features characteristic to different areas and different time periods.

Therefore, a comparative stylistic analysis of the vessels is of great importance by determining their dating and possible place of origin. Of course, one should be aware that art historical methods also have their limits, and that one should often be reconciled with assumptions rather than insisting on firm attributions.

PART II

ORIGINAL OBJECTS: AN ART HISTORICAL STUDY

The aim of the following chapters is to conduct an art historical study of the original objects. They are divided into two groups according to their function in liturgical use, namely into *vasa sacra* and *vasa non sacra*. The following study incorporates not only the existing objects but also the vessels that have been lost during the last century, but of which descriptions and/or photographs have survived. In the case of each individual object, the main attention will be focused on the characteristics of its form and decoration. In addition, some historical data concerning, for instance, the donation and later destiny of the object will be discussed, if known.

Chapter 4. *Vasa sacra*

4.1. Chalices and patens

The analysis of the original objects has to begin with the two most essential eucharistic vessels—the chalice and the paten. The reason to examine them together is, on the one hand, their connected function in liturgical use; on the other hand, they were often made by goldsmiths as a set of objects with corresponding dimensions.²¹²

In order to provide a clearer overview, the vessels are divided into three groups according to their date of origin. This kind of division is somewhat conventional for two reasons. First, a chalice may consist of parts made in different time periods. For example, it was quite usual in the Middle Ages to replace the "old-fashioned" foot or cup with the "modern" one. Second, since the form of the liturgical vessels usually remained very traditional (not to say conservative), the changes in the shape and decoration took place quite slowly, and the new and old forms continued to exist simultaneously for a long time. Therefore, it is often impossible to date the objects

²¹² In general, the only possibility to determine the dating of medieval patens since their simple form and poor decoration remained the same for centuries, is to compare them to the accompanying chalice.

precisely unless there are inscriptions or hallmarks to aid identification. In this study, the chalices and patens will be discussed more or less in relative chronological order with only a few exceptions caused either by necessity to analyse together a group of vessels with similar features or by certain historical connections between some objects.

4.1.1. Thirteenth—fourteenth century

The oldest chalice from Livonia belongs to the church of Kaltene in Latvia (Cat. no. 1; fig. 1-3). It reflects the late Romanesque style with a low, almost hemispherical cup and a broad circular foot. The latter is decorated with four quatrefoil medallions bearing the symbols of the Evangelists and the scrolls with their names. Between the medallions of St Mark and St Matthew, there is a crucifix: the cast figure of Christ installed on the engraved cross. The foot is also provided with a narrow unadorned rim. The stem is round, decorated with stylised leaf-ornament. The six lozenge-shaped bosses of the flattened knop each bear an engraved rosette.

A closer look at the chalice reveals a slight disharmony between the foot and the stem. The latter is more slender than the upper section of the foot, and, therefore, the point at which they are joined appears somewhat clumsy. This is the first hint leading to an assumption that the chalice might have consisted of two parts made during two different periods. V. Vilite supposes that the cup and the base of the chalice were accomplished in the twelfth century or even earlier; whereas, the stem with the knop and the medallions of the foot originate from the fourteenth century.²¹³ However, Vilite's opinion is only partially correct. The foot and the stem with the knop do seem to originate from different periods as the awkward connecting zone indicates. In addition to this, the stylistic features also provide evidence of the changes in time period. However, there is no reason to insist on a the twelfth-century dating. Such a comparatively low circular foot, characteristic of the earlier periods, did continue to exist, especially on the German chalices, throughout the thirteenth century and even

²¹³ Vilite, *Khudozhestvennoye serebro*, 350-51; idem, "Silver from Latvia," 94, 99.

later. Only in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did it grow taller and the rim became more elaborate.²¹⁴ For example, the low circular feet of the chalices in Herford, Soest, and Euskirchen from the end of the thirteenth century are quite similar to that of the Kaltene chalice.²¹⁵ Also, considering the fact that the conquest of Livonia was more or less complete by the 1220s, it would be logical to assume that the chalice was probably made after that.

More evidence for this later dating is provided by the form of the knop and the cup. The shape of the cup has nothing to do with the relatively high beaker-shaped cups of the twelfth century. On the contrary, the cup indicates very clearly the features of the transition period from Romanesque to Gothic style. From the end of the thirteenth century onwards, the low hemispherical cups began to develop into conical ones. The form and the style of the decoration of the knop is also very characteristic for the early Gothic period. The cup and the knop of the Kaltene chalice strongly resemble the chalice of St Lambertus' Church in Gladbeck, Westphalia (Fig. 4), dating from the second quarter of the fourteenth century.²¹⁶

Thus, I would like to propose that only the foot of the Kaltene chalice is an earlier work dating most likely from the thirteenth century; whereas, the stem with the knop, the cup, and the medallions were all added later—probably during the first half of the fourteenth century.

The next oldest chalice was found during the archaeological excavations of the 1950s in the former Bishop's castle of Otepää, Estonia (Cat. no. 2; fig. 5). Besides the chalice, half of a paten, fragments of two *ampullae*, and a censer also came to light.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Braun, *Altargerät*, 93, 112-13. Cf. J.-U. Brinkmann, *Silbernes Altargerät aus Göttinger Kirchen vom 14. - 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Goltze, 1986), no. 1-2, 9-10, 12-13; H. Kohlhaussen, *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters und der Dürerzeit 1240 - 1540* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1968), 180-200.

²¹⁵ K.B. Heppe, ed., *Gold & Silber: Meisterwerke der gotischen Goldschmiedekunst aus westfälischen Kirchenschätzen* (Unna: n.p., 1976), 18, 29; Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, no. 80.

²¹⁶ *Vergessene Zeiten*, vol. 1, 80, no. 74; cf. Heppe, "Gotische Goldschmiedekunst in Westfalen," 281, 437, no. 101.

²¹⁷ The *ampullae* and the censer will be examined in the subchapters no. 5.1 and 5.2.

The vessels apparently belonged to St Michael's Chapel in the castle mentioned in 1363.²¹⁸ According to the results of the latest research, the castle of Otepää was destroyed in 1396.²¹⁹ Although the liturgical vessels had already been found in the 1950s, the data was not published until 1995.²²⁰

The Otepää chalice is ca. 12-13 cm high, the diameter of the foot is ca. 9.5 cm, the diameter of the cup is ca. 8.8 cm. Since the chalice is deformed, it is possible to present only approximate dimensions.

As in the case of the Kaltene chalice, a contrast between the foot and the upper part can also be observed. The circular foot of the Otepää chalice is very low and without any decoration. It is not even provided with the simplest rim. The stem and the knop, on the contrary, are elaborately designed. The two parts of the round stem are adorned with two narrow dotted borders and a broader ornamented belt between them. The lozenge-shaped bosses of the knop each bear a rosette on black enamel,²²¹ the surfaces between the bosses being decorated with motifs similar to Gothic tracery.

The cup of this chalice is deeper than that of the Kaltene chalice, its cross-section recalls the shape of a parabola. This is one of the three types of cups that came into being in the fourteenth century,²²² replacing the hemispherical cup of the previous century. Thus, we should look for comparative material from the fourteenth century

²¹⁸ "Livonica aus den Supplikenregistern von Avignon (1342 Okt. 11 – 1366 Mai 9)," ed. Dr. A. Motzki, in *Mitteilungen aus der livländischen Geschichte* 21 (Riga: Kymmell, 1921), no. 124-25: "... capella sancti Michaelis in castro Odepe..."

²¹⁹ A. Mäesalu, "Tuhandeaastane linnus" [A thousand year old castle], *Eesti Loodus* 11 (1986): 751. Before, the scholars had assumed the castle to have been burnt down in 1480s.

²²⁰ A. Mänd, "Keskaegsed altaririistad Otepää linnusest" [Medieval altar vessels from Otepää castle], in *Ars Estoniae Medii Aevi grates Villem Raam viro doctissimo et expertissimo*, ed. K. Altoa (Rapla: AS Ramona, 1995), 183-94. Only the photo of the censer was published in 1956, but it was for some reason considered as an instrument for sprinkling holy water: L. Jaanits, "Arheoloogilistest välitöödest Eesti NSV-s 1955. aastal" [Archaeological fieldwork in the Estonian SSR in 1955], *Eesti NSV TA Toimetised* 4 (1956): 314, fig. 3/2.

²²¹ The rosettes have survived on the four bosses, the remains of the enamel on two of them. Since the chalice is burned, it is difficult to say whether the enamel was also originally black or it changed colour as a result of fire.

²²² Braun, *Altargerät*, 98; A. Andersson, *Silberne Abendmahlsgeräte im Schweden aus dem XIV Jahrhundert*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956), 53.

while the *terminus ante quem* is 1396—the year of the destruction of the Otepää castle.

A comparison can be drawn between the Otepää chalice and some German chalices. The same kind of proportions, a very low circular base in contrast to a relatively high cup, can be discerned in the chalice of St Martin's Church in Geismar dated around 1300 (Fig. 7).²²³ Also some mid-fourteenth century chalices from Nuremberg bear similar features although their feet are already somewhat higher which balances the proportions.²²⁴ The Swedish chalices from the fourteenth century, with their richly decorated bases and round bosses of the knop, illustrate a relatively homogeneous type, different from the German ones. However, when the Swedish chalices from the first and the second half of the century are compared to one another, the development towards the elongation of the foot can also be observed. Only very few objects from Sweden resemble the Otepää and the above mentioned German chalices: the one from Öja, Gotland, and the two chalices of unknown origin.²²⁵

Further material from the fourteenth century which supports the dating of the Otepää chalice is offered by the decorative elements of its knop. In general, the lozenge-shaped bosses began to protrude from the corpus of the knop at the end of the thirteenth century; this type of knop became widespread in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.²²⁶ The tracery, borrowed from contemporary architecture, began to spread as a decorative element on the knops in the beginning of the fourteenth century (e.g. on the chalices in Sigmaringen and Osnabrück, ca. 1330), became common in the middle of the century, and was employed until the end of the Middle Ages.²²⁷ Once again it is the chalice of St Lambertus' Church in Gladbeck from the second quarter of the fourteenth century which offers a viable comparison, since its knop bears both the

²²³ Brinkmann, *Altargerät aus Göttinger Kirchen*, no. 2.

²²⁴ Kohlhaussen, *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst*, 126.

²²⁵ Andersson, *Abendmahlsgeräte*, vol. 2, plates 61, 103, 118.

²²⁶ Braun, *Altargerät*, 91-92.

²²⁷ Andersson, *Abendmahlsgeräte*, vol. 1, 68.

tracery and the rosettes.²²⁸ Analogous rosettes to the Otepää chalice can also be found on the previously analysed Kaltene chalice.

Thus, it can be concluded from the comparative material that the Otepää chalice is probably of German origin and was made in the first half of the fourteenth century, conclusively no later than the middle of the century. However, the possibility that the foot originates from a somewhat earlier time (as was also the case of the Kaltene chalice), cannot be excluded from consideration.

Another object from the Otepää excavations is a fragment of a paten which is less than half of its original size (Cat. no. 3; fig. 5). However, it is possible to reconstruct its former appearance (Fig. 6). The paten has been provided with a four-lobed depression; on the single surviving surface between the lobes two engraved leaves can be seen. The rim may have been engraved with a cross since it was a very common decoration on the eucharistic vessels from the thirteenth century onwards.²²⁹ The diameter of the entire paten was ca. 12.8 cm, and the diameter of the lower inside edge of the central depression ca. 8.6 cm.

From at least the eleventh century, the paten was usually carried to the altar on the top of the chalice; therefore, the paten was designed to fit over the chalice as a cover.²³⁰ In the well-known medieval handbook on the techniques of the arts, *De Diversis Artibus* (ca. 1100) written by the monk Theophilus, it is expressed that the diameter of the centre of the paten must correspond to the diameter of the cup.²³¹ In addition, the total diameter of the late medieval patens was approximately equal to the

²²⁸ *Vergessene Zeiten*, vol. 1, 80, no. 74.

²²⁹ Braun, *Altargerät*, 223. There was no prescription in the Middle Ages to provide a foot of a chalice or a rim of a paten with a cross. It was just a habit, becoming widespread during the thirteenth century, as mentioned above. It should not be interpreted as a consecration cross (*signaculum*), although some scholars have done so, e.g. Bergner, *Handbuch*, 324. The purpose was rather to provide the vessels with a religious symbol, to emphasize their sacred function, see Braun, *Altargerät*, 175-177.

²³⁰ Braun, *Altargerät*, 211.

²³¹ E. Brepohl, *Theophilus Presbyter und die mittelalterliche Goldschmiedekunst* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1987), 139.

height of the chalice.²³² Comparing the measures of the cup and the paten of Otepää, correspondingly 8.8 and 8.6 cm, a conclusion may be drawn that they were made to accompany each other. Therefore, the paten was probably also made in the first half of the fourteenth century.

4.1.2. Fifteenth century

In general, the chalices of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with their circular foot and relatively low cup represented only a slight development in form in all parts of Europe. In contrast, in the course of the fourteenth, and even more in the fifteenth century, the form of the chalices began to vary widely demonstrating an astonishing diversity in details. Therefore, before continuing the study of the Livonian chalices and patens, it is necessary to point out some of the most relevant features concerning the development of the form of the European eucharistic vessels in the fifteenth century. As presented in the previous chapter, the chalices tended to grow taller and more slender in the course of the fourteenth century. The changes in form were mainly connected with the foot. First, in addition to a vertical rim of the base, another rim, placed horizontally below it, began to appear. This lower rim also gradually increased in thickness so that by the end of the fifteenth century the chalice had two vertical rims. The upper one was generally more elaborate, often decorated with pierced ornament or openwork, while the lower one, usually slanting diagonally outwards, was simply decorated with mouldings. Second, the fourteenth century had already introduced a hexagonal foot with scalloped sides, the outline of the base resembling a hexagonal star. In the fifteenth century, chalices with hexafoil foot became tremendously popular. Some scholars assume that this form derived from a certain method of decoration in which six round medallions were soldered on to the circular foot.²³³ According to W.W. Watts the replacement of the circular foot with a polyfoil or polygonal is in connection to the changes in liturgy: since the fourteenth

²³² Braun, *Altargerät*, 220.

²³³ Hernmarck, *European Silversmith*, vol. 1, 307.

century the chalice had begun to be laid on its side on the altar at the end of the mass.²³⁴ This theory has been strongly criticised by such scholars as J. Braun and C. Hernmarck.²³⁵

Third, more evidence for the variety of form in the fifteenth century is provided by the stem of the chalice. Namely, a new six-lobed foot was followed by hexagonal stem. The general principle was to keep corresponding forms together; thus, for example, the circular foot was never joint to hexagonal stem, nor was the polyfoil foot followed by round stem. The six sides of the stem as well as the six bosses of the knop were very often engraved with the letters *I-H-E-S-U-S* and *M-A-R-I-A*.²³⁶

These new forms were established first in Italy, Spain, and France. The German chalices retained the fourteenth century forms, including the circular foot, comparatively longer, and the old and the new features existed simultaneously until the end of the Middle Ages.²³⁷

The Livonian chalices were closely related to the German vessels, thus it is no wonder that among the fifteenth-century Livonian pieces both the ones with the circular and the six-lobed foot can be found. Therefore, it seems more expedient to analyse the chalices with similar forms together, which, however, in some cases may cause an alternation from the initial pattern of the relative chronological order.

First, the chalices with an "old-fashioned," that is circular, foot should be examined. There is altogether four of them. The chalice that belonged to St John's Church of Riga, but is presently located in the museum of the Rundale Palace (Cat. no. 4; fig. 8), has been described by V. Vilite.²³⁸ She dates the chalice quite generally

²³⁴ W.W. Watts, *Catalogue of Chalices and Other Communion Vessels*, Victoria & Albert Museum (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922), 22-23.

²³⁵ Braun, *Altargerät*, 115; Hernmarck, *European Silversmith*, vol. 1, 306-7.

²³⁶ Hernmarck, *European Silversmith*, vol. 1, 308; Braun, *Altargerät*, 174. In the case of MARIA, the sixth side was filled with a suitable symbol or ornament, e.g. a cross or a rose, or sometimes the combination was *O-M-A-R-I-A* or *V(irgo)-M-A-R-I-A*.

²³⁷ Ibid., 95-96, 113-19; Hernmarck, *European Silversmith*, vol. 1, 307.

²³⁸ Vilite, *Khudozhestvennoye serebro*, 186-87; idem, "Silver from Latvia," 94, 100; idem, "Goldschmiedekunst in Lettland," 107.

within the fifteenth century. However, it is possible to establish a more precise dating. The circular foot of this chalice is much taller than that of the Kaltene or Otepää chalices. Moreover, it is already provided with a relatively thicker vertical rim adorned with pierced ornament. These features indicate that it was made in the first half of the fifteenth century when chalices were not yet provided with the second rim, which became characteristic during the mid- and late fifteenth-century. To the form of the foot corresponds a round stem. The knop has a shape of a slightly flattened sphere; it is decorated with tracery, and its bosses bear the engraved letters *i-h-e-s-u-s*.²³⁹ Vilite has compared this chalice with the ones from Gotland, Sweden, and with a chalice from Travemünde.²⁴⁰ The Travemünde chalice is dated either around the year 1444²⁴¹ or even to the beginning of the fifteenth century²⁴² which also indicates in favour of dating the Riga chalice into the first half of the fifteenth century.

Quite similar to this chalice is the one that until the Second World War was kept in the Holy Ghost Church of Bauska, Latvia²⁴³ (Cat. no. 7; fig. 9), but which has been lost since 1944. The description of the chalice as well as the drawing of it can be found in an article by Leonid Arbusow.²⁴⁴ Like the Riga chalice, it has a circular foot with only one (vertical) rim, a round stem, and a conical cup. The foot bears a crucifix, and is bordered with an inscription in Gothic minuscules: *help ihesus unde maria got to allen tiden*. The stem above the knop is engraved with *salv maria*, and below the knop with *ihesus xps*. The knop itself is decorated with engraved tracery, and its bosses are

²³⁹ It is interesting that the stem with the knop is connected to the chalice upside down as proven by the inscriptions on the stem as well as the letters on the knop. See also the catalogue.

²⁴⁰ Vilite, "Goldschmiedekunst in Lettland," 107.

²⁴¹ *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck*, vol. 4 (Lübeck: Nöhring, 1928), 611-12.

²⁴² M. Hasse, *Lübeck Sankt Annen-Museum: Die sakralen Werke*, Lübecker Museumsführer, vol. 1 (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 1970), 213.

²⁴³ D. Brugis, ed., *Bauskas Sv. Gara baznīca 1594 - 1994* [The Holy Ghost Church in Bauska 1594 - 1994] (Bauska: Iespiests SIA "B&S", 1993), 32.

²⁴⁴ L. Arbusow, "Die Kelche der deutschen Kirche zu Bauske und die Goldschmiede-Arbeiten Bauske'scen Ursprungs," in *Sitzungs-Berichte der kurländischen Gesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst aus dem Jahre 1888* (Mitau: Steffenhagen und Sohn, 1889), 29-30, plate IV. According to Arbusow, the chalice may have belonged to St Gertrude's Church, the oldest church in Bauska, which was destroyed in 1584.

inscribed with the letters *i-h-e-s-u-s* on nielloed background. Arbusow assumed that the Bauska chalice could have been made around 1500.²⁴⁵ However, the comparison between this chalice and the previously analysed Riga chalice, as well as the lack of the horizontal rim on the foot, point to the first half of the fifteenth century.

The last mentioned characteristic feature—a second rim of the foot—can be observed on the chalice from the church of Kärle on Saaremaa island (Cat. no. 8; fig. 10a). Unfortunately the chalice no longer exists, and the only surviving information about it is a two-line description by M. Körber,²⁴⁶ and a poor quality photograph from 1923. The chalice was probably lost during World War II. According to Körber, it originated "from the Catholic times," and was provided with an inscription *Maria - help Jhesus - help Got*.²⁴⁷ As can be seen from the photo, the inscription was engraved on the round stem above and below the knop. The knop was decorated with tracery as was quite usual on late Gothic chalices. The lozenge-shaped bosses of the knop protrude farther than those of the previously analysed Riga chalice. According to these stylistic features, most of all the form of the foot, the Kärle chalice should originate around the middle of the fifteenth century.

The last chalice with a circular foot to be analysed belonged to the church of Pöide on the island Saaremaa (Cat. no. 9; fig. 10b). Again, as in the cases of Bauska and Kärle chalices, a lost object must be examined. Only a short description of it and two photos from the beginning of the century have survived. However, after a closer look at the photos, it seems that the Pöide chalice consisted of two parts made during different periods. The foot is circular but very low like those on the early fourteenth-century chalices. The stem, on the contrary, has an hexagonal shape which coordinates well with the form and decoration of the knop. The foot is bordered with an inscription which may provide a solution to the problem of dating the chalice. W.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 30.

²⁴⁶ M. Körber, *Oesel einst und jetzt*, vol. 3 (Arensburg: Verlag des "Arensbürger Wochenblattes," 1915), 103.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

Neumann transcribed the text as follows: *dussen kellik hevet g'even tilet coster unde sin wiv katerine*;²⁴⁸ whereas, M. Körbers version was: *düssen kelck heweth gheben thile throster unde sin wib katherine*.²⁴⁹ After fruitless attempts to find a person called Tile(t) whose family name would have resembled Troster or Coster, I discovered that in four documents between the years 1496 and 1510, a lady named Katherine, a widow of Tile Hertenrode and a sister of Bishop Johannes Orgas (probably the most powerful among the Saare-Lääne bishops), has been mentioned.²⁵⁰ Considering the fact that Pöide belonged to the Diocese of Saare-Lääne (*Osilia*), it seems highly believable that these persons were the donators mentioned in the inscription. Thus, there is reason to assume that the chalice of Pöide, probably donated sometime in the last decades of the fifteenth century, was also re-made at that time: to the circular foot from the earlier period were added a modern hexagonal stem with the knop and the cup, and the foot was provided with an inscription.

Up to this point, the fifteenth-century chalices with a circular foot have been analysed. Next, the ones with a hexafoil foot will be discussed, beginning with a chalice in St Catherine's Church in Muhu (Cat. no. 10; fig. 11). A strong, abruptly rising six-lobed foot of the vessel rises into an hexagonal stem and a deep cup. The proportions of the chalice emphasise the elegant elongation, characteristic to the late Gothic vessels. The foot is provided with two rims; the upper one is adorned with stamped geometrical ornament, the lower, horizontal one is simple and plain. One of the lobes of the foot is decorated with an engraved figure of a bishop (Fig. 12). According to E. Vende, it represents the patron saint of goldsmiths—St Eligius.²⁵¹ However, since the figure bears no specific attribute, this identification should remain only an assumption. The form and modest decoration of the Muhu chalice resemble

²⁴⁸ W. Neumann, "Über einige Altertümer aus Öselschen Kirchen, ausgestellt im städtischen Kunstmuseum," in *Sb Riga aus dem Jahre 1913* (Riga: Häcker, 1914), 350.

²⁴⁹ Körber, *Oesel*, vol. 3, 39. The inscription can be translated: "This chalice has been given by Tile Throster and his wife Katherine."

²⁵⁰ LUB II, 1, no. 334; LUB II, 3, nos. 551, 552, 802. (No. 552 is Katherine's testament, made in 1509 in Haapsalu, i.e., in the centre of the Saare-Lääne bishopric.)

²⁵¹ Vende, *Väärismetallitööd*, 121, note no. 34.

the late Gothic German chalices.²⁵² Most likely, the chalice originates from the middle of the fifteenth century.

Quite similar features to the Muhu chalice can be observed on the chalice from Harju-Jaani, presently in the Estonian Museum of Art (Cat. no. 12; fig. 13); this vessel has the same kind of tall and slender proportions, and the same kind of understated decoration. The rim of the six-lobed foot is almost double the thickness as of the Muhu chalice which emphasises even more the impression of verticality. E. Vende has dated the Harju-Jaani chalice to within the fifteenth century.²⁵³ Based on stylistic features, the chalice should be dated to the second half of the century.

The chalices analysed above were quite modestly decorated, their ornament always subordinated to the form. However, there is evidence of one richly adorned late medieval chalice from Livonia, namely the one from St Jacobus' Church of Riga (Cat. no. 13; fig. 18). Unfortunately, this chalice has not survived World War II, and scholars have to rely on the photo and description published by A. Buchholtz.²⁵⁴ Two lobes of the six-lobed foot of this chalice bear an engraved ornamentation: on one is represented the Virgin Mary and Child, standing under a baldachin, on the other lobe, right next to this one, a coat of arms is depicted, bearing the cross of the Teutonic Order. On the rest of the lobes curls a banderole engraved with Gothic minuscules: *dirik rumel hinrick rumel den got gnedich sy un al de ut slechte vor sterm sin de rowen in gades vrede*.²⁵⁵ The relatively high rim of the foot is decorated with scrolling foliage in openwork. However, the foot is not provided with a second, that is, horizontal rim. The upper part of the foot, just before the junction with the stem, is adorned with leaves in relief. The six facets of the upper section of the stem are

²⁵² Cf. *Kostbarkeiten aus kirchlichen Schatzkammer: Goldschmiedekunst im Bistum Regensburg*. Ausstellung im Diözesanmuseum Regensburg 6. Juli bis 30. September 1979, a catalogue edited by A. Hubel (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1979), fig. 2, cat. no. 83; and Kohlhaussen, *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst*, 181-82.

²⁵³ Vende, *Väärismetallitööd*, fig. 16.

²⁵⁴ Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 17, no. 42.

²⁵⁵ "May God be gracious to Dirik Rumel, (and) Hinrick Rumel, and all who have died in this family; they rest in God's peace."

decorated with leaves, the lower section engraved with *o-m-a-r-i-a*. The lozenge-shaped bosses of the knop alternate with the rosettes in relief. The cup is set in a calyx, formed by eight leaves. The last mentioned detail, the calyx, was more characteristic to chalices made in the southern regions of Europe, especially in Italy where it had already begun to spread by the end of the thirteenth century, but also in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary) and Spain. On the German chalices, the calyx became to be used only as late as in the second half of the fifteenth century.²⁵⁶ The cup of the Riga chalice, set inside the calyx, seems to be a later addition. Namely, the cup appears to be too large in comparison with the other parts of the chalice. In addition, the upper edge of the cup is provided with a moulding which was not characteristic to medieval cups. According to the stylistic features, this chalice of St Jacobus' Church may originate from around the middle of the fifteenth century. However, Buchholtz mentioned that in Brotze's *Monumenta Livoniae*, it was written that in St Jacobus' Church of Riga there had been a gravestone of Dietrich Rumel who died in 1474. As the same person is named in the inscription on the chalice, Buchholtz assumed that the chalice was probably donated by the heirs of Dietrich Rumel soon after 1474.²⁵⁷ One more important feature has to be taken into consideration: on the bottom of the foot of the chalice is twice stamped a Gothic "E." The mark, most probably a maker's mark, has not been identified. The only goldsmith known from fifteenth-century Riga, whose family name begins with "E", is Caspar Enszer, mentioned in the sources in 1427.²⁵⁸ He was a jeweller of the master of the Livonian Order, a fact that could explain the engraved coat of arms on the foot of the chalice. However, due to stylistic features I would not suggest dating the chalice to such an early period. Further aid for determining the date of origin might be provided by the style analysis of the

²⁵⁶ Braun, *Altargerät*, 100-102.

²⁵⁷ Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 17, no. 42.

²⁵⁸ See V. Vīlīte, ed., *Serebryanykh del mastera Latvii: kleyma i raboty* [Silverwork by masters of Latvia: marks and works] (Riga: Avots, 1992), 22, no. 16. Cf. LUB 7, nos. 562, 576 : *Des erwirdigen heren meisters tho Liifflande sylverberner Caspar Enszer*.

engravings. Unfortunately, the details can not be clearly observed on the photograph. Thus, the problems remain.

As presented above, the fifteenth-century chalices demonstrated a wide variety in form. In the case of patens, however, the tendency was in general towards greater simplification. Although many of the fifteenth-century patens still had a polyfoil (preferably quatre-, hexa- or octafoil) centre, it became more and more widespread to design them as a simple plate with a round depression, the only decoration being an engraved cross on the rim.

From Livonia, the representatives of both types of patens have been preserved. The study of the patens should begin with an early fifteenth-century piece, namely with a paten that at the beginning of the twentieth century belonged to the church of Woltershausen near Hannover (Cat no. 6; fig. 15). The Livonian origin of the paten and the chalice in the same church was discovered by H.v. Bruiningk.²⁵⁹ The paten has a four-lobed centre, the surfaces between the lobes are engraved with palmettes. The horizontal rim bears a simple cross set in a double circle. The rim is bordered with an engraved inscription in Gothic minuscules: *johannes corever decanus osiliensis comparavit hunc calicem orate pro eo*. As Bruiningk discovered, Johannes Corever, the ^{Dean}~~Deacon~~ of the Saare-Lääne (*Osilia*) bishopric, was mentioned in the sources in 1416, 1426, and 1428, in the last two cases posthumously. He probably died at the latest in 1423, since in this year another deacon was mentioned.²⁶⁰ Though nothing is known of the chalice referred to in the inscription,²⁶¹ the paten apparently originates from the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

The form and decoration of the paten from St John's Church of Riga (Cat. no. 5; fig. 14) resemble strongly this paten from Woltershausen: it has also a four-lobed depression and the same kind of ornamentation with palmettes. The paten of St John's

²⁵⁹ H.v. Bruiningk, "Kelch und Patene der Kirche zu Woltershausen in Hannover," in *Sb Riga aus dem Jahre 1907* (Riga: Häcker 1908), 107-17.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 108-109. LUB 7, no. 501; LGU 1, no. 192.

²⁶¹ The paten and the chalice in the church of Woltershausen do not belong together, the latter was made more than half a century later and, therefore, will be discussed in the following subchapter.

Church is not provided with marks or inscriptions. However, since it is analogous to the Woltershausen paten and, moreover, accompanies the chalice from St John's Church originating from the first half of the fifteenth century (Cat. no. 4), it can be concluded that the paten is most likely a work from the same time period.

These two patens illustrate the continuation of the four-lobed depression in the fifteenth century. The dating of the vessels was not very difficult thanks to the inscription or the accompanying chalice. However, the rest of the Livonian medieval patens, namely the ones from the churches of Muhu²⁶², Kihelkonna, Põltsamaa, Järva-Jaani, and from St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn²⁶³ (Cat. nos. 11, 14-17; fig. 16-17) represent the later type of a simple plate the dating of which is quite complicated. All five are provided with a round centre and an engraved cross on the rim. The shape of the cross and the details of engraving enable us only rarely to determine the precise century. The patens are not provided with marks or inscriptions with only one exception—the back side of the Kihelkonna paten bears a later inscription from the seventeenth century.²⁶⁴ However, the tiny dimensions of the paten (the total diameter only 9.8 cm), the style of the cross, and the remains of medieval gilding indicate that the Kihelkonna paten originates from the Pre-Reformation period. Taking into consideration the above mentioned reasons, these four patens should actually be dated within a wider time period, that is the fifteenth century through the first decades of the sixteenth century.

4.1.3. End of the fifteenth century—first quarter of the sixteenth century

The turn of the fifteenth century was the time when the first signs of the early Renaissance style began to appear on the liturgical vessels, gradually influencing their

²⁶² This paten is too tiny to accompany the chalice from the same, i.e., Muhu church (Cat. no. 10).

²⁶³ During the Second World War, this paten was taken to Sweden by pastor Richard Koolmeister, but in 1995, it was deposited with the permission of his daughter in the Estonian Museum of Art in Tallinn.

²⁶⁴ See the catalogue, no 21. M. Körber has published only half of the inscription, moreover, with many inaccuracies. He also asserted that this inscription was engraved on the chalice and not on the paten. See Körber, *Oesel*, vol. 2, 57.

form as well as their decoration. In the case of the chalices, their foot did not grow anymore in height but rather in width, the bottom of the cup became wider and more flattened, and the pointed arches of the tracery on the knop began to be replaced with round ones. In short, the forms, originally emphasising verticality, were gradually abandoned for more horizontal ones.

This change in proportions can clearly be observed on the chalice from St Nicholas' Church of Tallinn (Cat. no. 18; fig. 19).²⁶⁵ Its decoration—the knop and the stem engraved with tracery and Gothic minuscules, the rim of the foot adorned with pierced quatrefoils—strongly resembles the chalices in Muhu and Harju-Jaani, analysed in the previous subchapter. However, the transformation is revealed in a comparison of the dimensions. For example, the height of the Muhu chalice is 21.5 cm, the diameter of its foot 12.2 cm, and the diameter of its cup 13 cm. The corresponding measurements of the chalice from St Nicholas' Church are: height 18 cm, diameter of the foot 15.1 cm, diameter of the cup 10.6 cm.²⁶⁶ Thus, the changes in relation between the diameters of the cup and foot are the most significant. The form and decoration of the chalice from St Nicholas' Church clearly indicate that it was accomplished in the end of the fifteenth century. Moreover, this vessel is very similar to the chalice from the Hagby church in Sweden which has been dated to the end of the fifteenth century (Fig. 20).

The six-lobed foot of the chalice from St Nicholas' Church is engraved with an inscription in two lines. On the upper one, running as a straight band, is written: *desse kelk hort to des hilghe lichame missen to sunte niclawes*. Below it, on the curved banderole, follows: *int iar uns heren xiiii c iar un xxxv do wart desse misse begut*.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ The chalice was lost during the Second World War; however, good descriptions and photos of it have been preserved.

²⁶⁶ Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 18, no. 49. For unclear reasons, the later scholars have mixed up the dimensions of this chalice. For example, Nottbeck and Neumann give 10.6 cm as the height of the chalice, and 18 cm as the diameter of the cup; Nottbeck and Neumann, *Kunstdenkmäler*, 96; whereas, E. Vende gives also 10.6 cm as the height of the chalice, but 18 cm as the diameter of the foot: Vende, *Väärismetallitööd*, 40, 42.

²⁶⁷ "This chalice belongs to the mass of Holy Body (i.e. Corpus Christi) in St Nicholas' [church]. This mass began (i.e. was founded) Anno Domini 1435."

E. Vende considered the year 1435 as the date of origin of the chalice.²⁶⁸ Actually, as can be seen from the inscription, the mentioned year marks the date of establishment of the Corpus Christi mass in St Nicholas' Church, and has nothing to do with the production of the chalice. As emphasised in chapter 3, an existing object can be very rarely connected with the written evidence from medieval times. As an example of such an exceptional occasion, this particular chalice has been mentioned in the account book of St Nicholas' Church. According to the account book, this chalice was donated to the church in 1495 by Magdalene Wymansce. It was also recorded that a certain Bartold Bart had had the chalice engraved with a text that was incorrect, since the chalice was not meant for the Corpus Christi mass but for the main altar.²⁶⁹ In 1481, Bartold Bart was accepted as a member of Tallinn's *Tafelgilde*; in 1493 he is mentioned as the head of the Corpus Christi mass in St Nicholas' Church.²⁷⁰ Nottbeck and Neumann, relying on the data from the account book, assumed that the chalice was actually made about fifty years later than 1435, probably in 1495.²⁷¹ As presented above, the stylistic analysis of the chalice supports this dating. According to another, later inscription on the bottom of the foot, the chalice had sometime later, probably after the Reformation, belonged to the Holy Ghost Church in Tallinn (see the catalogue); however, it was bought back to St Nicholas' Church by pastor Ripke (1855-85).²⁷²

Another good example of the development of the form on the late Gothic chalices is the chalice from the Church of Woltershausen, Germany (Cat. no. 22; fig. 24). Its Livonian origin is proven by the coats of arms installed on the lobes of the foot

²⁶⁸ Vende, *Väärismetallitööd*, 41-42, fig. 14.

²⁶⁹ The section in the account book is the following: "Anno [14]95 8 dage vor wienachten gaf Magdalene Wymansce eynen vorguldet kelk, darunder steken eynen staff unde de upscrift holt, to des hilgen lichams misse, dat is unrecht screven, ..., men dusse kelk gaf se to der kerken to dem hogen altare to blivende, men Bartolt Bart leth dat unrecht schreven, dat vorgeve em Got." Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 242; cf. appendix 3, no. 1, lines 29-33.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 242, note no. 5.

²⁷¹ Nottbeck and Neumann, *Kunstdenkmäler*, 96-97.

²⁷² Ibid., 96.

(Fig. 25). The vessel most probably originates from the former Saare-Lääne bishopric.²⁷³ The strong and high foot of the chalice is richly elaborated: the six lobes alternating with the six cusps, the upper rim adorned with pierced ornament and mouldings, the horizontal rim below it being plain and simple. The form and decoration of the foot as well as the great difference between the diameters of the foot and cup (correspondingly 16-17 cm and 11 cm) point again clearly toward a dating at the turn of the sixteenth century.

In presenting the next two chalices, one has to rely merely on the opinions of earlier scholars. The objects have been lost, and only descriptions of them have been preserved, but no photos. In 1895, Fr. Stillmark and R. Hausmann presented a paper about the chalice, located at that time in the Museum of Tver, Russia (Cat. no. 21).²⁷⁴ According to an inscription on the foot—*desse kelk hort to sunte katerinen den yuc frovven*²⁷⁵—the chalice was presumed by Hausmann to have belonged to St Catherine's Cistercian Nunnery of Tartu, Estonia. Only the lower part of the chalice, that is the foot, stem, and knop, originated from medieval times; whereas, the cup, bordered with a text in Old Slavonic, was later work. The chalice was dated by scholars to the fifteenth century²⁷⁶ or at the latest to the first half of the sixteenth century.²⁷⁷ It was supposed to have been robbed from Tartu by the troops of Ivan Grozhny during the Russian-Livonian War. When and under which circumstances the chalice got lost from the Museum of Tver, is unknown.²⁷⁸

Even less information is available on the chalice from the Cathedral of Tallinn (Cat. no. 20). A description of the vessel can be found in the book by Nottbeck and

²⁷³ Bruiningk, "Kelch und Patene," 112-17, plates II-III.

²⁷⁴ Fr. Stillmark, and R. Hausmann, "Ueber einen Kelch im Museum zu Twer," in *Sb GEG 1895* (Dorpat: Mattiesen, 1896), 67-70.

²⁷⁵ The inscription is published in an exhibition catalogue: *Katalog der Ausstellung zum X. archäologischen Kongress in Riga 1896* (Riga: Häcker, 1896), 242, no. 1311.

²⁷⁶ Stillmark and Hausmann, "Ueber einen Kelch," 69-70.

²⁷⁷ *Katalog 1896*, 242, no. 1311.

²⁷⁸ As a result of my inquiries, I received a letter (Dec. 4, 1995) from Tatyana Tsareva, the director of the stocks of the Tver Museum, who wrote that already according to the inventory from the year 1940, the chalice was no longer in the museum, and nothing is known of its destiny.

Neumann.²⁷⁹ The foot of the chalice was engraved with a two-line inscription, the lower one: *o sacrum comyuyum in quo cristus sumitur recolitur memoria passionis*; the upper one: *eius mens impletur gracia et future glorie nobis pignus datur alla*. Nottbeck and Neumann dated the foot of the chalice into the end of the fifteenth century.²⁸⁰ The cup of the vessel had been replaced. Since there is no photo in the book by Nottbeck and Neumann, it is impossible to add any comments. No later scholar has mentioned this chalice and nothing is known of its destiny.

One more chalice that has been lost since World War II belonged to St Nicholas' Church of Tallinn²⁸¹ (Cat. no. 19; fig. 21); however, unlike the chalice analysed first in this subchapter, it was not originally made for this church as will be proven later on. The six-lobed foot with its two rims, adorned with a band of pierced quatrefoils, is quite similar to the previously analysed chalice from St Nicholas' church. The knop is decorated with tracery seen on the majority of the Livonian chalices. The bosses of the knop as well as the hexagonal stem are engraved with the usual combination (though here in Gothic majuscules) of *I-H-E-S-U-S* and *M-A-R-I-A*.²⁸² More remarkable is the cup of this chalice, namely the bottom of it is already relatively wide and flattened which expresses the influence of the beginning Renaissance style. The lower part of the cup is surrounded by a calyx-like perforated leaf-chaplet. The stylistic features of the chalice from St Nicholas' Church indicate a dating of approximately the turn of the fifteenth-sixteenth century. Aside from the shape of the cup, this chalice is quite similar to one Flemish chalice from the fifteenth century (Fig. 22c).²⁸³ On the other hand, the decoration of the chalice, especially the chaplet around its cup, strongly resemble the

²⁷⁹ Nottbeck and Neumann, *Kunstdenkmäler*, 61.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ The chalice was first described in Buchholtz's *Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 18, no. 48.

²⁸² Mai Raud considers the frequent use of *m-a-r-i-a* on the Livonian chalices (e.g. those from Muhu, Harju-Jaani, and on both chalices from St Nicholas' Church) as a local characteristic, since Livonia was dedicated to the Virgin Mary: Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide," 96. I do not think that this has anything to do with *Terra Mariae* since the use of the Virgin's name, similarly to that of Christ, was very frequent on liturgical vessels all over Europe.

²⁸³ Watts, *Catalogue of Chalices*, plate 11: b, cat. no. 15.

fifteenth-sixteenth century chalices from Prussia and Polish-Silesian areas (Fig. 22a-b, 23).²⁸⁴

The bottom of the chalice from St Nicholas' Church is provided with two marks.²⁸⁵ The first one is the town mark of Tallinn—the *danebrog*. The second one is the maker's mark which depicts a nettle-leaf on a shield. Neither Buchholtz²⁸⁶ nor Neumann²⁸⁷ identify the master. A. Friedenthal attributes the mark hypothetically to Jakob Luban, a goldsmith from Königsberg who worked in Tallinn during the years 1468-1513, and was also the alderman of Tallinn's goldsmith's guild for some time.²⁸⁸ E. Vende abandons the "question mark" set by Friedenthal, and from her monograph onwards, the chalice has circulated in art historical literature as a masterpiece by Jakob Luban.²⁸⁹ However, there is actually no reason to attribute this master's mark exclusively to Luban (although certain stylistic features of the chalice indicate Prussian or Silesian influences), and it would be correct to call the anonymous goldsmith, as did Friedenthal, the Nettle-leaf master.²⁹⁰

In addition to the marks, the bottom of this chalice is engraved with an inscription in Gothic minuscules, according to which the chalice was donated for the main altar of the *ecclesia Osiliensis* by *Kanonikus* Theodericus Brinck.²⁹¹ E. Vende, ignoring the words "for the main altar", suggests that the chalice belonged to "some church on the island Saaremaa."²⁹² However, the term *ecclesia Osiliensis*, when used

²⁸⁴ Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide," 97; cf. J. Skórkowska Smolarska, *Gotyckie złotnictwo kościelne województwa Śląskiego* [Gothic goldsmiths' works from the churches of the voyevodship of Silesia] (Katowice, 1936), plates I-III; Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, fig. 827, 829.

²⁸⁵ As presented in the first part of this thesis, the marking of the goldsmith's works was in the case of Tallinn prescribed by the Town Magistrate in 1503.

²⁸⁶ Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 18, no. 48.

²⁸⁷ Neumann, *Verzeichnis baltischer Goldschmiede*, 41, no. 296.

²⁸⁸ Friedenthal, *Goldschmiede Revals*, 65, no. 64. Cf. subchapter 2.1, p. 42.

²⁸⁹ Vende, *Väärismetallitööd*, 42, fig. 18. Cf. *EKA*, 81, fig. 212.

²⁹⁰ Friedenthal, *Goldschmiede Revals*, fig. 2: *Meister des Nesselblattes*.

²⁹¹ "Do[minus] theodoric[us] bri[n]ck cano[n]ic[us] ad sum[m]u[m] altare eccl[es]ie osilien[sis] me dedit."

²⁹² Vende, *Väärismetallitööd*, 42.

to denote a specific church rather than an ecclesiastical institution, referred to the main church of the Saare-Lääne bishopric—the Cathedral of Haapsalu.²⁹³ Thus, the chalice was apparently donated for the main altar of this Cathedral. As I discovered, the donator Theodoricus Brinck was recorded in the sources as a vice-deacon of the Saare-Lääne bishopric in 1494.²⁹⁴ This fact supports the dating of the chalice at the turn of the sixteenth century, assumed above based on the stylistic analysis.

This chalice, which I assert can now be called the chalice from the Cathedral of Haapsalu, was taken to Tallinn by Swedish troops during the Russian-Livonian War. In 1567 it was donated to St Nicholas' Church as indicated by the later inscriptions and coats of arms on the lobes of the foot.²⁹⁵

The next late Gothic chalice to be discussed originates from the Tallinn Dominican Friary (Cat. no. 23; fig. 26). The vessel, that until the Second World War belonged to the church on the island of Vormsi, Estonia, was first described by A. Friedenthal.²⁹⁶ The six-lobed foot of the chalice is quite wide in diameter; it is also provided with two rims. One of the lobes is decorated with a crucifix in relief, with each arm of the cross carrying a genuine pearl. The cup with its flattened bottom and slightly broadening sides represents a type that began to spread only as late as the second half of the fifteenth century. The lower part of the cup, directly around the connecting zone with the stem, is provided with a low (ca. 0.5 cm) decorative band—a motif that was especially characteristic to the late Gothic Westphalian chalices.²⁹⁷ In addition, the foot of the Dominicans' chalice strongly resembles one of the Westphalian chalices, made around 1500: the two feet have the same shape and their rims are decorated with a line of vertical sticks.²⁹⁸ However, if the other details of these two

²⁹³ Cf. LUB 3, no. 1178; LUB 7, no. 781; and LUB II, 2, no. 781. 8.17.19.

²⁹⁴ LUB II, 1, nos. 58, 64.

²⁹⁵ Hausmann, *Silberschatz*, 339-40. The inscriptions have been transcribed by Buchholtz, see Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 18, no. 48. See also the catalogue.

²⁹⁶ Friedenthal, *Goldschmiede Revals*, 66-67, no. 78, fig. 3.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Heppe, *Gold & Silber*, fig. 59, 67, 69.

²⁹⁸ *Vergessene Zeiten*, vol. 1, 86, 88.

chalices are compared, it is clear that the chalice from Tallinn was made somewhat later: the surfaces between the bosses of the knop are round in contrast to the pointed-arch tracery of the other chalice; the more harmonious and horizontal proportions indicate the influence of the beginning Renaissance. There are three marks stamped on the bottom of the foot of the Tallinn chalice: the town mark of Tallinn, the *danebrog*, between two marks with "H".²⁹⁹ The last ones are obviously maker's marks. Friedenthal attributes them to Hans Holtappel, a goldsmith from Münster, Westphalia, who worked in Tallinn from 1495 to 1535, and from about 1510 to 1514 was the alderman of Tallinn's goldsmith's guild.³⁰⁰ Given that the master came from Westphalia, the similarities between the two chalices do not seem purely coincidental. Although the chalice under discussion was made in Tallinn as indicated by the town mark, the master obviously had the Westphalian patterns in mind. Since the Westphalian chalice is not provided with marks, it would be too daring to assume that the two chalices were made within one workshop or even by the same master.

On the bottom of the foot, inside the lobes runs an inscription in Gothic majuscules: *ISTV[M] CALICE[M] IACOB RICKMAKR REVALIEN[SIS] DEDIT CO[N]VENTVI ORD[IN]IS P[RE]DICATOR[VM] CVI[VS] A[N]I[M]A REQUIESCA[T] IN PACE IHESVS 1514*.³⁰¹ Thus, it can be concluded from the text that the chalice was donated to the Dominican Friary and that the vessel was made in 1514 at the latest. Although Jacob Rickmacker is named as *Revaliensis*, that is citizen of Tallinn, nothing further is known about him.³⁰²

²⁹⁹ Mai Raud, the next scholar after Friedenthal to describe this chalice, has some small inaccuracies in her work: she mentions only one "H", and transcribes *ORGIS* instead of *ORDIS*. See Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide," 98, 207, 216.

³⁰⁰ Friedenthal, *Goldschmiede Revals*, 66. According to Friedenthal, Hans Holtappel was a member of Tallinn's goldsmiths' guild already in 1495. It is still interesting to remark that a goldsmith Johann Holtappel was mentioned in Münster in 1496, see W. Scheffler, *Goldschmiede Rheinland-Westfalens: Daten, Werke, Zeichen*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1973), 768. Is he the same person, or perhaps a relative of Hans Holtappel?

³⁰¹ "Jacob Rickmacker from Reval has donated this chalice to the convent of the Order of Preachers (i.e., the Dominicans). May his soul rest in peace. Jesus. 1514."

³⁰² However, Friedenthal discovered that some lower class residents with a similar family name were mentioned in the sources in the second half of the sixteenth century: Friedenthal, *Goldschmiede Revals*, 67.

The later fate of the Dominicans' chalice is quite complicated. Apparently it began to circulate after the dissolution of the friary and the confiscations of its treasures during the Reformation in 1524. Until 1740, the chalice had belonged to the Cathedral church of Haapsalu, having been documented in its parochial register books from the oldest surviving inventory (1634) onwards.³⁰³ Sten Karling assumes that the chalice was brought to Haapsalu in order to replace the church vessels robbed by Swedish troops in 1563 during the Russian-Livonian War.³⁰⁴ A possible connection is obvious here. It should be recalled that the previously analysed chalice from the Cathedral of Haapsalu was taken to Tallinn by Swedish troops. The Tallinn Dominicans' chalice also changed its location, namely when the Cathedral of Haapsalu lost its roof in 1726 and was no longer in use. Its treasures were sold in 1740 by auction where the chalice was purchased for the church of Vormsi.³⁰⁵ After the Second World War, the scholars in Estonia considered the chalice to have been lost³⁰⁶ or even destroyed.³⁰⁷ Actually, it was taken to Sweden by refugees from Estonia in 1944 and is presently located in the State Historical Museum (*Statens Historiska Museum*) in Stockholm.³⁰⁸

The chalice in St John's Church of Suure-Jaani, Estonia (Cat. no. 24; fig. 28a) is the latest piece among the Pre-Reformation chalices. The six-lobed foot of the vessel is provided with a double rim. The upper rim is decorated with delicate profiles, the lower rim, on this chalice almost as thick as the upper one, slants diagonally outwards and is unadorned. On the two opposing lobes of the foot, there are sculpted figural compositions in high relief (Fig. 29). One of them represents the Golgotha scene, that

³⁰³ Estonian Archive of History, Stock no. 1239: *EELK Haapsalu kogudus* [Community of Haapsalu of the Estonian Evangelic Lutheran Church], n. 1, s. 8, l. 179p, 181.

³⁰⁴ S. Karling, *Vormsö kyrka* [Church in Vormsi] (Haapsalu: Haapsalu Ühistrükikoda, 1937), 16.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Vende, *Väärismetallitööd*, fig. 19; E. Tool-Marran, *Tallinna dominiiklaste klooster* [Tallinn Dominican friary] (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1971), 161.

³⁰⁷ *EKA*, 102.

³⁰⁸ See *Estlandssvenska kyrkominnen: Utställning i Statens historiska museum 12.6 - 12. 9 1976* [Estonian-Swedish church heritage: an exhibition in State Historical Museum], ed. Göran Tegnér (Stockholm: Trebeprint AB, 1976), 14, 16, 44, 46, 48, fig. 24; Raud, *Baltiskt silver*, 14, no. 1.

is, the crucified Christ between the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist. The other group, consisting of two persons and a child surrounded by a wreath of flowers, has been identified by E. Vende as the Virgin Mary with the Child and God the Father.³⁰⁹ This identification is incorrect for many reasons. First, the image of God was very rarely depicted at all, and was never found in such "family" compositions.³¹⁰ Second, the figures are actually both female. The person on the right side, from the viewer's perspective, is holding a sceptre. This was probably the reason why Vende considered the figure to be God the Father. However, upon a closer inspection, this person is actually a young woman with long hair, and wearing a woman's robe. Moreover, a sceptre was one of the attributes of the Virgin Mary, depicted quite often in the late Middle Ages.³¹¹ Occasionally, the sceptre had a lily on the top of it, symbolising the purity of the Virgin.³¹² The older woman on the left, whose head is covered with a veil, and whom Vende considered to be the Virgin, is actually St Anne. She wears a robe, analogous to that of the Virgin, and holds an apple(?) in her hand. Thus, this group clearly represents one of the most frequent late medieval compositions, Madonna and Child with St Anne (in German *Anna Selbdritt*).³¹³

After clarification of this iconographic problem, it is necessary to return to the characteristics of the chalice's form. Its hexagonal stem and the lozenge-shaped bosses of the knop are engraved with Gothic majuscules, presenting the usual combination of *I-H-E-S-U-S* and *M-A-R-I-A-I*. All these features, as well as the form of the foot of the chalice, are still typical for late Gothic style. However, a few details of the vessel

³⁰⁹ Vende, *Väärismetallitööd*, 42. She also considers the wreath of flowers as a mandorla (!)

³¹⁰ See LCI 2: 165-68.

³¹¹ On the goldsmiths' works, see, e.g., Lüdke, *Die Statuetten der gotischen Goldschmiede*, vol. 1, fig. 72, 277, 318-19. A figure of Madonna, holding a very similar sceptre, can be seen on the fifteenth-century monstrance from Stjärnorp, Sweden (Fig. 30a); see C. af Ugglas, *Bidrag till den medeltida guldsmidskonstens historia* [Contribution to the history of medieval goldsmiths' works], vol. 1 (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1941), plate 5, no. 2.

³¹² See, e.g., Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 1, 636, fig. 368; Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, fig. 149.

³¹³ About the iconography of this group see Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 1, 328-30; LCI 5: 185-90. Quite similar composition of Madonna and Child with St Anne can be seen on one silver fastening from 1512 (Fig. 30b), see Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, fig. 877.

clearly indicate the characteristics of the early Renaissance. These are the surfaces of the knop, which instead of tracery have been decorated with round arches, and, above all, the bell-shaped cup of the chalice, the upper edge of which turns slightly outwards. This type of cup first began to appear in the sixteenth century. The entire proportions of the chalice, and especially the design of the cup resemble one Flemish chalice from the early sixteenth century (Fig. 28b).³¹⁴ Thus, according to the stylistic analysis as well as to comparative material, the Suure-Jaani chalice originates from the first half of the sixteenth century, most probably around the 1520s.

It is relevant to mention that the Gothic features continued to appear on some Livonian chalices throughout the sixteenth century, occasionally even in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. At the same time, the majority of vessels were, of course, designed entirely in Renaissance or Baroque style. The new features usually appeared first in ornamentation, somewhat later in form. The "Gothic" chalices made after the Reformation are characterised either by a larger or differently shaped cup, or by more "profane" motifs used in decoration. However, the analysis of these later chalices is not the task of this thesis.

³¹⁴ Cf. Watts, *Catalogue of Chalices*, plate 18: b, cat. no. 36.

4.2 Monstrance from St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn

The most outstanding piece among the preserved goldsmiths' works of Livonia is the monstrance from St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn (Cat. no. 25; fig. 31-35), presently located in the Hermitage of St Petersburg, Russia. Prior to the closer examination of the object, it is necessary to give a short overview of its "re-discovery" at the end of the nineteenth century and the process of determining its provenance.

In 1896, Richard Hausmann, professor of history at Tartu University, received a message from the restorer W. von Bock concerning a monstrance of probable Livonian origin, which reached the collection of the Hermitage in 1894. After his trip to Russia and necessary investigations, Hausmann published the first article dedicated to this object in 1897.³¹⁵ Alongside the detailed description of the monstrance, including the inscriptions and artist's signature on its base (Fig. 32), Hausmann reached the conclusion that this object was made in 1474 by an outstanding goldsmith of Tallinn—Hans Ryssenberch (Ryssenbergh) senior.³¹⁶ However, since there was no written data concerning the provenance of the monstrance other than a brief note in the first catalogue of St. Petersburg's *Kunstkamera* (1741) according to which the monstrance was part of the booty of Ivan Grozhnyi from Dorpat/Tartu, Hausmann supposed that this splendid object was originally made for the Cathedral Church of Tartu, and it was taken to Russia during the Russian-Livonian War (1558-1583).³¹⁷

Hausmann's publication immediately provoked lively scholarly interest. A year later, in 1898, the lawyer and historian Eugen von Nottbeck added new data

³¹⁵ R. Hausmann, "Die Monstranz des Hans Ryssenbergh in der K. Ermitage zu St. Petersburg," offprint from the *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands* 17 (Riga: Häcker, 1897), 165-212.

³¹⁶ Hans Ryssenbergh, master in Tallinn 1450-1499; 1463-65 the assessor (*Beisitzer*), and 1492-96 the alderman of the Tallinn goldsmiths' guild. For more information, see Friedenthal, *Goldschmiede Revels*, 62-63, no. 56.

³¹⁷ Hausmann, "Monstranz in der K. Ermitage," 185-86, 210-12.

concerning the history and provenance of the monstrance.³¹⁸ Namely, he had been told by F. Luther, the *Oberpastor* of St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn, that in the account-book of this church, there were many records referring to a monstrance made by Hans Ryssenbergh. According to these records, the monstrance was specially ordered by the guardians of the St Nicholas' Church. In the later account-book, begun in 1652, it is explained how this valuable object found its way to Russia. Namely, it was given as a present to Duke Alexander Menshikov in 1711 during the negotiations concerning the privileges of Tallinn after the Russian conquest in the Northern War.³¹⁹

The information from the account-book challenged Hausmann, in turn, to publish another article in 1899, this time not only on the monstrance but all the silver treasures of St Nicholas' Church recorded in this source.³²⁰ The process of acquiring the monstrance was described in detail: according to the account-book, the donations of different kinds—predominantly money and silver—had already begun to be collected by the guardians of the church in 1471. The monstrance was basically ready in September 1471, only the gilding and some small details were finished by 1477.³²¹ At the same year, the *lunula* of the monstrance was taken to Tartu in order to be consecrated.³²² The total value of the monstrance was 761 marks of Riga, 150 marks of which was the salary paid to Ryssenbergh.³²³

³¹⁸ E. von Nottbeck, "Die Ryssenberchsche Monstranz," offprint from *Revaler Beobachter*, no. 64 (19/31 March 1898): 1-12.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 8-12. The account-book also records that the monstrance was confiscated despite of the protests of the guardians of St Nicholas' church, since the Tallinn Town Council did not offer any compensation for it. Concerning the later destiny of the monstrance, Menshikov then gave the precious vessel to Peter the Great, after whose death it entered the collection of the *Kunstkamera* in 1725, and from there that of the Hermitage in 1894. In Livonia, the monstrance was forgotten for circa 150 years. That is why the object was not mentioned in Anton Buchholtz's *Goldschmiedearbeiten* (1892).

³²⁰ Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 213-376.

³²¹ Ibid., 222-29.

³²² Ibid., 234. The note in the account-book states: "*Vor de halve mane in der munstransien to kreseme to Darpte - 8 schill.*" (*Halve mane* = half moon, i.e. *lunula*; *kresemen* = to anoint with holy chrism.) The reason it was taken to Tartu was that the Bishop of Tallinn had died early in 1477, and his successor was appointed to the seat by the Pope only at the end of this year. As known, only the bishops had the right to consecrate liturgical vessels. In the case of monstrances, the consecration of the whole vessel was not required, but only of the *lunula* which was in direct connection with the host.

³²³ Ibid., 225, 232.

Thus, the monstrance of Hans Ryssenbergh, in addition to one chalice from St Nicholas' Church, is another exceptional medieval masterpiece about which contemporary written evidence has survived. This information is of enormous value not only because it allows the provenance of this particular goldsmith's work to be determined. It also throws light on many interesting aspects concerning the economic possibilities and preferences in the acquisition of liturgical vessels and other religious objects in late medieval Tallinn. In addition, the data about the donations and material culture of the churches can be found.

Following these basic facts about the history of the monstrance, let us turn to its description. This monstrance represents the type of tower-monstrance which was most frequent among the late Gothic examples. Tower-monstrances are to be found everywhere in Germany, northern France, the Netherlands, Hungary and Poland, and somewhat less in Italy and Spain.³²⁴ The tower-shaped upper part of the Ryssenbergh monstrance, which can be visually divided into three horizontal sections, is composed of finely elaborated miniature architectural elements. Placed in the middle of the first, that is the lowest section, is a vertical glass cylinder used to display the host. A silver gilt lunula, supported by two kneeling angels, is located inside this glass. The surfaces above and below the cylinder are decorated with sets of precious stones, some of which are missing. This middle part with the glass is surrounded by an architectural framework consisting of pillars with decorative flying buttresses, pinnacles, crockets, and even gargoyles. The small galleries are provided with tracery windows which are coloured with translucent enamel to imitate stained-glass. This architectural framework continues to the next levels, unifying the whole composition of the tower. In the niches of the pillars stand the cast statuettes of the Apostles. It is possible to recognise St Peter, St Paul, St Bartholomew (Fig. 34), St Andrew, St Jacobus Major, etc. Only one of the Apostles has been lost. In the following section, under the fine baldachin, stands the Virgin Mary with the Child, surrounded by a wreath of radiance. The uppermost

³²⁴ Cf. Hernmarck, *European Silversmith*, 318.

section bears the figure of a saintly knight with a lance and a shield. The tower is crowned by a cross on the one side of which Christ is depicted, and on the other side the Virgin Mary. In addition to the architectural elements, the corpus is richly decorated with foliage, soldered to cast details. Two small bells, that were to be rung during the elevation, hang from the underside of the corpus.

The tower-shaped corpus is supported by a hexagonal stem which ends with a strong broad foot or base. The stem is provided with two knops. The upper one has the shape of a flattened sphere, resembling the knops of the chalices. Its six lozenge-shaped bosses bear the letters *i-h-e-s-u-s*. The lower knop is designed as a small chapel with tracery windows and flying buttresses. The rim of the foot is decorated with a band of pierced quatrefoils. This motif can also be observed on the feet of the two chalices from the same church (Cat. no. 18, 19). Three lobes of the foot are decorated with engravings, whereas the other three, alternating with the engraved ones, are completely unadorned.

The first lobe depicts the Christ Child holding a cross, and surrounded by other instruments of His future Passion (*Arma Christi*), such as the scourge and the pillar of scourging, the rod, the lance with the sponge, the hammer, the crown of thorns, the pincers and the dice. Curling around the pillar and above the cross, is a banderole with the inscription - *Int iar unses herē m cccc lxxiiii* - that supplies the dating of the monstrance, also confirmed by the written sources.

The next decorated lobe represents St John the Evangelist seated in a meadow or in a garden, and holding a banderole with his name - *s. johann*. In front of him there is a chalice.

The third lobe depicts a saintly bishop seated on a throne. Unlike St John, he is not provided with a clarifying inscription.

J.M. Fritz compares the fine, soft, delicate style of the engravings with the "New-year-leaves" (*Neujahrsblätter*) by master ES; however, the latter were on no occasion the direct models for the Ryssenbergh monstrance.³²⁵

On the bottom of the foot of the monstrance is engraved the signature of Hans Ryssenbergh in Gothic cursive: "*hans ryssenberch heuet dusse munstrancyge gemaket myt der godes hulpe amen got geue uns alle dat euyge leuen*," and further: "*xxxvii lod iiii lott*." ³²⁶

The form of the Ryssenbergh monstrance as well as the techniques used are, above all, similar to the monstrances preserved from North Germany and Westphalia, especially from Lübeck, Danzig and Dortmund.³²⁷ This resemblance is not surprising considering the influence of these areas on Livonia, and particularly the special role of Lübeck, repeatedly discussed in this thesis.³²⁸

Finally, I would like to call attention to some iconographical problems concerning the monstrance of Ryssenbergh. Namely, opinions have been differed as to the identification of certain figures on the vessel, especially the bishop on the foot. Most of the scholars have considered him to represent St Nicholas,³²⁹ only E. Vende regarded him as St Eligius.³³⁰ Since the bishop bears no specific attributes,³³¹ and since

³²⁵ Fritz, *Gestochene Bilder*, 315, 501.

³²⁶ Cf. Hausmann, "Monstranz in der K. Ermitage," 175. The last part of the inscription documents the weight of the monstrance - 37 1/2 Lot marks and 4 Lots. (Presently, the monstrance weighs ca. 8,5 kg, but some parts of the decoration have been lost.)

³²⁷ Cf. Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, 311, fig. 472, 573, 879, 898.

³²⁸ We should add one more fact: several persons with the family name Ryssenbergh occur in the fifteenth-century sources of Lübeck, see Hausmann, "Monstranz in der K. Ermitage," 171. Perhaps they could have been relatives of Hans Ryssenbergh.

³²⁹ Fritz, *Gestochene Bilder*, 315, 501; idem, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa*, 311, no. 899; Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide," 213; EKA, 81, fig. 208; Lapkovskaya, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo*, 28.

³³⁰ Vende, *Väärismetallitööd*, fig. 10. As presented in subchapter 4.1.2, Vende also considered the bishop on the foot of the Muhu chalice to represent St Eligius.

³³¹ The main attributes of St Eligius were the tools connected to his activity as a goldsmith: a small hammer and pincers, and sometimes a chalice. LCI 6: 123-24. Together with these instruments, St Eligius is depicted, for example, on the medieval seals of the goldsmith's guilds of Riga and Tallinn. See Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten*, title page; Kaplinski, *Tallinn - meistrite linn*, 179 (unfortunately, this reproduction is printed backwards). See fig. 48d.

both assumptions are actually well founded—St Nicholas is the patron saint of this particular church, and St Eligius is the patron of the goldsmiths—it is difficult to prefer one hypothesis to another. To repeat once again, the majority of scholars have been in favour of St Nicholas. My only question, then, would be why is St John the Evangelist depicted on the foot? Indeed, considering the pictorial program of the foot as one unit, it is possible to make a further hypothesis. Namely, St John the Evangelist was also known as the patron saint of the engravers.³³² Therefore, there is a possibility that the figures on the foot of the monstrance depict the two favourite saints of the goldsmiths—St Eligius and St John the Evangelist. This is, of course, only a hypothesis, and, as said before, this "problematic" saintly bishop could very well be either St Nicholas or St Eligius.

The other controversial figure is the statuette of a knight standing in the upper section of the corpus. Hausmann regarded him to portray St George—one of the most popular saints in late medieval Tallinn—although there is no dragon.³³³ This identification is later repeated by E. Vende.³³⁴ However, Mai Raud supposes this knight to be St Victor.³³⁵ The basis of her assumption is the fact that the monstrance served at 'he main altar of St Nicholas' Church,³³⁶ and since the paintings of the altar-wings depicted the scenes from the lives of St Victor and St Nicholas, M. Raud believes that there was a wish to unify the iconographic programs of both works of art, that is, of the altar and the monstrance. The only doubtful matter in her argumentation is that the main altar was ordered from Lübeck some years after the acquisition of the monstrance,³³⁷ and it would have been more likely to adapt the iconographic program of the monstrance to that of the altar rather than the other way round. Of course, the

³³² LCI 7: 110.

³³³ Hausmann, "Monstranz in der K. Ermitage," 168; idem, "Die Monstranz vom Jahre 1474," 225.

³³⁴ Vende, *Väärismetallitööd*, 35.

³³⁵ Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide," 213.

³³⁶ See Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 213.

³³⁷ The altar was ordered circa 1478 to be made by Hermen Rode, the outstanding master in Lübeck. It arrived in Tallinn in 1481. Lumiste, and Kangroopool, *Niguliste kirik*, 38.

above mentioned fact that there is no dragon present, is another argument in favour of St Victor. However, in this context, it is relevant to stress that both St George and St Victor were among the favourite saints of the merchants of Tallinn, and that St Nicholas' Church was also *ecclesia mercatorum*. The main altar of the church was most likely donated by the Blackheads, possibly together with the members of the Great Guild.³³⁸ Thus, since both St George and St Victor were deeply honoured in St Nicholas' Church, it cannot be decided with full certainty which one of them is represented on the monstrance.

4.3 Host-pyx from Pärnu

As discussed in subchapter 1.2, the vessels to contain the host could have very different shapes during the Middle Ages. The three most popular and widespread among them were: a small oval or round host-pyx, a larger, footed vessel called a ciborium, and a eucharistic dove.

In 1992, during the archaeological excavations in Pärnu, a deformed pewter box was unearthed which after closer examination was regarded as a medieval host-pyx (Cat. no. 26; fig. 37-38).³³⁹ The vessel is relatively small and low, its diameter is only 6 cm. The corpus, standing on three feet, is hexagonal on the outside, but round on the inside. As indicated above, the box is quite deformed: only two and a half out of the six facets have been preserved. The lid of the box is also missing. In spite of its miniature size, the vessel is richly decorated in relief; moreover, all the details have been carefully elaborated.

The three small feet of the box bear human faces on their upper sections. On each facet of the hexagonal corpus, two male figures once stood under the Gothic

³³⁸ The coat of arms of the Blackheads is depicted on the altar. The other coat of arms represented, is the *danebrog*— the little coat of arms of Tallinn, but at the same time also the one of the Great Guild.

³³⁹ A. Kriiska, A. Mäesalu, and A. Mänd, "Haruldane tinatoos Pärnust" [A rare pewter box from Pärnu], in *Ars Estoniae Medii Aevi grates Villem Raam viro doctissimo et expertissimo*, edited by Kaur Alttoa (Rapla: AS Ramona, 1995), 195-208. The different sections of this article are divided among the authors as follows: the stratigraphical data is interpreted by archaeologist Aivar Kriiska, the armour and weapons of St George are examined by Ain Mäesalu, whereas the art historical study of the box is conducted by Anu Mänd.

arcades. The figures are depicted in profile, with pairs on the same facet facing one another. Each figure holds a book in one hand and an attribute in the other which identify them as the Apostles. Of the twelve Apostles, only five can be studied. On the left side of the best preserved facet stands St Paul holding a sword. Traditionally, he is depicted with a beard. Opposite to him stands a younger beardless man, holding a stick in his hand. The latter does not resemble a pilgrim's staff which is the attribute of Jacobus Major, but rather a fuller's bat or a club that was the instrument of the martyrdom of Jacobus Minor.³⁴⁰

Next to this facet, both figures have also survived. The one on the left again holds a kind of stick. Unfortunately, the upper part of it is so damaged that it is impossible to determine whether this is a pilgrim's staff that would point to Jacobus Major, a stick ending with a Latin cross—an attribute of St Philip,³⁴¹ or even an axe that would indicate St Matthew.³⁴² The opposite figure, that is, standing on the right side, holds a small Latin cross. He could be either St Andrew, since the slanted or X-shaped cross attributed to him began to prevail on the works of art no earlier than in the late Middle Ages,³⁴³ or the person depicted could also be St Philip; in this case the Latin cross refers to the scene with the snake-worshippers in Hierapolis.³⁴⁴ St Peter, with a large key on his shoulder, can be recognised on the half-preserved facet.

It is interesting to note that the grouping of the Apostles on this particular vessel is somewhat unusual, since St Peter and St Paul were normally depicted next to each other. Here, they can be found on the opposite facets of the box.

³⁴⁰ Künstle, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 2, 324; LCI 7: 48-49.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 503.

³⁴² LCI 7: 590. An axe, or from the fifteenth century onwards also a halberd—the main attributes of St Matthew—were actually the attributes of St Mathias as well. However, the latter (as a person who was substituted for Judas) was very seldom represented in the Apostolic College, since St Paul was usually the twelfth one to be depicted. See LCI 7: 603-6; E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France. The Thirteenth Century: A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources*, trans. M. Mathews (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 307, 481, note 114.

³⁴³ During the earlier periods, St Andrew was usually depicted with the Latin cross, and this tradition continued to dominate, for example, in Italian and French art until the fifteenth century. LCI 5: 142; Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, 308-9, 481, note 107.

³⁴⁴ Künstle, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 2, 503; LCI 8: 200-1.

The Apostles wear long folded robes that reach the ground. As previously indicated, all figures are carefully worked out, even such tiny details as the eyebrows and fingers, or the folds of the dress.

The same can be pointed out in the case of the decorations on the bottom of the vessel. The pictorial scene on the bottom of the inner surface depicts a saintly rider fighting with a dragon, that is, the famous legend from the life of St George. To the left of St George, a huge hand is emerging from a cloud. This is the hand of God (*Manus Dei*, *Dextera Dei*)—one of the most important symbols of God from early Christian times up to the high Middle Ages.³⁴⁵ The background of the scene is filled with tiny trefoil motifs. The whole composition is surrounded by a dotted circle.

The underside of the box demonstrates an analogical dotted circle in the middle of which is depicted a quatrefoil (the foils bear the letters *P* (or *F*)-*L-A-D* in Gothic majuscules), and inside this a coat of arms with the lion rampant. Both the shape of this coat of arms and of the lion are characteristic to the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.³⁴⁶ However, since at that time this type of lion was one of the most widespread heraldic motifs, it seems impossible to attribute this particular coat of arms to a certain place, family or person. Similarly, I have not yet succeeded in deciphering the meaning of the letters inside the foils. However, I consider these questions very relevant since they may refer to the place of production, or to the person or institution who ordered this box to be made.

The religious symbols and persons depicted on the vessel confirm its liturgical function. The shape of the box indicates the container of the host; as previously explained, for this purpose round or oval pyxes were used that fit the shape of the hosts. Somewhat unusual is the fact that also the inner surface of the box is richly decorated, because it makes the cleaning of the vessel more difficult. However, from the thirteenth century onwards, many synodal prescriptions are known from Europe

³⁴⁵ The depiction of *Manus Dei* was especially widespread during the 4th-13th centuries, but occasionally it was represented even in the late Middle Ages. LCI 2: 212.

³⁴⁶ O. Neubecker, *Le grand livre de l'héraldique: l'histoire, l'art et la science du blason* (Paris: Bordas, 1981), 76, 104-5.

according to which the host was to be wrapped inside a piece of cloth before it was set into the pyx. These prescriptions predominantly concerned the eucharist for the sick.³⁴⁷ Thus, there is a possibility that the Pärnu box is actually a viatic pyx. Also, the fact that it is made of pewter and not of precious metal seems to confirm this assumption.³⁴⁸ We will return to this problem after examining similar vessels from other countries.

In all of Europe, relatively few liturgical vessels made of pewter have been preserved, predominantly the *ampullae* and candlesticks. However, there are some hexagonal pewter pyxes in different countries, strongly resembling the find from Pärnu. The most similar to the Pärnu pyx is the vessel from the former collection of Dr. Figdor, Vienna, that is also considered to be a host-pyx (Fig. 39a).³⁴⁹ On its six facets, there are analogously depicted twelve Apostles under Gothic arcades. Unlike in the case of the Pärnu box, the Viennese one is provided with the names of the Apostles on its lower section.³⁵⁰ The inner surface of the bottom represents the Lamb of God (*Agnus Dei*), and the underside of the box bears a coat of arms with a two-headed eagle. The form of the Viennese pyx as well as the details of its decorations—the architectural elements, the drapery of the Apostles' robe, the human-faced feet, etc.—demonstrate a striking resemblance to the Pärnu box. The Viennese pyx is somewhat larger (d. 7.5 cm), and provided with a pyramidal lid.³⁵¹ The six facets of the latter represent the scenes of the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi. The inner side of the lid is decorated with lilies. The previous owner of this box, Dr. Figdor,

³⁴⁷ Braun, *Altargerät*, 332.

³⁴⁸ Church vessels made of pewter were predominantly used for the communion of the sick, and in funerals. *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁴⁹ K. Berling, *Altes Zinn: Ein Handbuch für Sammler und Liebhaber* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1920), 57–58, fig. 31; O.v. Falke, ed., *Die Sammlung Dr. Albert Figdor, Wien*; part I, vol. 1 (Vienna: Artaria & Co, 1930), no. 226, plate LVI, fig. 226.

³⁵⁰ Falke, *Die Sammlung Dr. Figdor*, no. 226. According to Falke, the versions of the names are characteristic to the German language: Bertl (for Bartholomew), Andris, Piet', Thomaes. One more observation: on the Viennese pyx, St Andrew is depicted with a slanted cross. Thus, there is a possibility that one of the controversial figures on the Pärnu box, who holds the Latin cross, is then St Philip.

³⁵¹ It is most likely that also the Pärnu box had the same type of lid; see also the other vessels to be analysed.

considered it a work of art of French origin from the fifteenth century.³⁵² Later, O.v. Falke dated it to the fourteenth century and proposed the Lower-Rhineland as the place of production.³⁵³

Another very similar host-pyx is located in the *Landesmuseum Joanneum*, Graz (Fig. 39b).³⁵⁴ Its corpus bears the twelve Apostles, designed analogously to the Pärnu and Vienrese boxes. The inner surface of the bottom depicts the Annunciation; the underside bears the coat of arms of Novara. The feet of this pyx have been lost.³⁵⁵ The inner side of the pyramidal lid is decorated with lilies, whereas the upper side bears the following six coats of arms: those of the Holy Roman Empire, of France, of Burgundy, of Cologne, of Mainz, and of one unidentified town. Primarily due to these coats of arms, Karl Lacher assumed the Graz box to have been made somewhere in Germany, perhaps in the workshop of Nuremberg.³⁵⁶ He dated the vessel to the middle of the fourteenth century; the same was repeated by H.-U. Haedeke, who also considered it to have been produced in Germany or in Austria.³⁵⁷ A slightly different assumption is shared by Boucaud and Frégnac who estimate the Graz box to have been made in France or in the Rhineland in the second half of the fourteenth century.³⁵⁸

In the Museum of Applied Arts in Cologne, two similar pewter boxes can be found, one of them repeatedly published by Haedeke (Fig. 39d). However, instead of the Apostles, peasants are depicted working in the field and in the garden, symbolising the twelve months. At the same time, the figures are set under the arcades just as the

³⁵² Berling, *Altes Zinn*, 58.

³⁵³ Falke, *Die Sammlung Dr. Figdor*, no. 226.

³⁵⁴ K. Lacher, "Hostienbehälter im Kulturhistorischen und Kunstgewerbemuseum zu Graz," in *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk*, Jg. 9 (1906): 596-98, figures on pages 597-99; P. Boucaud and C. Frégnac, *Zinn: Die ganze Welt des Zinns von den Anfängen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Fribourg, 1978), 34, fig. 28.

³⁵⁵ Lacher presumes that the feet and the knob of the lid were removed deliberately in 1439 when this box was set inside the altar-table of the church in Teuffenbach as a container of relics. Lacher, "Hostienbehälter," 597.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 598.

³⁵⁷ H.-U. Haedeke, *Zinn: Ein Handbuch für Sammler und Liebhaber* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1963), 62.

³⁵⁸ Boucaud and Frégnac, *Zinn*, 34.

Apostles were. On the lid of one box, we can again observe six coats of arms, in this case of the Holy Roman Empire, of the Church, of Rome (with S.P.Q.R.), of Angevin Naples, and of the houses of Colonna and Orsini. Haedeke, who in his earlier works dates the Cologne boxes to the second half of the fourteenth century and assumes them to be made in Italy or South Germany,³⁵⁹ is later convinced that they are Italian works from the first half of the fifteenth century.³⁶⁰ Although the general form of the Cologne box is similar to the ones in Pärnu, Vienna, and Graz, the figures are carried out in a more stylised way. Therefore, it is possible that the Cologne box was made somewhat later than the previously analysed ones.

Three other boxes, one in Werne, two in Freiburg im Breisgau, are briefly mentioned by J. Braun;³⁶¹ unfortunately, he includes no illustrations of them. One of these boxes bears the allegories of the twelve months, and its lid represents the Annunciation and the three Magi. The other two boxes are not described in details. Braun dates the boxes to the fourteenth century. All three were found as reliquaries in the sepulchres of the altars.³⁶²

In the London and British Museums, two identical pyramidal lids can be found which are regarded as the covers of salt-cellars, and have been dated to the fourteenth century.³⁶³ However, both their shape and ornamentation resemble the previously

³⁵⁹ Haedeke, *Zinn*, 62; idem, *Altes Zinn* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1964), fig. 1.

³⁶⁰ Idem, *Kunstgewerbemuseum Köln: Zinn* (Cologne, 1968), 114; idem, *Zinn: Zentren der Zinngiesserekunst von der Antike bis zum Jugendstil* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1974), 43, 48. Haedeke's argumentation is primarily based on the coats of arms. Above all, he points to the ruling period of the first pope from the house of Colonna—Martin V (1417-31). However, even he himself doubts whether the coat of arms of this powerful and long-lasting dynasty can exclusively be connected with this particular person. In addition, since the coat of arms are not provided with colours, there are alternative possibilities in some cases. For example, the same two-headed eagle, characteristic of the Holy Roman Empire, can be found on the coat of arms of Pope Urban VI (1378-89). Haedeke, *Kunstgewerbemuseum Köln*, 114.

³⁶¹ Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, vol. 1, 642. The photo of the box in Werne is published in A. Ludorff, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Lüdinghausen* (Münster, 1893), plate 102.

³⁶² Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, vol. 1, 642. Braun adds that they were originally not meant to be reliquaries; however, he does not specify their original function.

³⁶³ R. Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. 1 (London, 1848), plate XLIII; P.R.G. Hornsby, R. Weinstein, and R.F. Homer, *Pewter: A Celebration of the Craft 1200-1700* (London: The Museum of London, 1989), 53, fig. 16.

studied vessels. These lids bear the scenes of the Annunciation and of the three Magi just like the ones of the Viennese and Werne boxes. Thus, they probably belonged to similar host-pyxes and not salt-cellars. The third, exactly the same type of lid and with the same scenes on it, was found in Kalmar, Sweden (Fig. 40).³⁶⁴

There are also a few other, somewhat earlier pewter boxes which, although they demonstrate slight differences in form and decoration, could perhaps be the models or forerunners of the aforementioned boxes. Also, these earlier vessels have been preserved in different countries, and there are different opinions concerning their function.³⁶⁵ Thus, precisely these three main questions that we have been interested until now—the exact function of the discussed boxes, their place of origin, and exact dating—are still unanswered.

Let us first return once again to the problem of the function. I believe that the hypothesis of salt-cellars is not well founded since many of these boxes have been kept in churches and all of them are decorated with religious scenes and symbols. Moreover, the majority of scholars support their identification as host-pyxes. Karl Lacher was the first to assume that these were specific host-pyxes for containing the sacrament for the sick, that is, viatic pyxes. And, as previously mentioned, there were already some arguments for this possibility. Moreover, the viatic pyxes were often as richly decorated as ciboriums kept in the churches.³⁶⁶ Haedeke argues that since

³⁶⁴ M. Olsson, *Kalmar Storkyrka* [Storkyrka church in Kalmar], *Sveriges kyrkor*, vol. 158 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1974), 209, fig. 173-75.

³⁶⁵ The two hexagonal boxes in the Cluny-Museum of Paris and the Museum of the Applied Arts in Berlin have been considered to be salt-cellars of French origin from the last quarter of the thirteenth century. See E.E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français*, vol. 2 (Paris: Morel, 1874), 149-50; *Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin: Katalog*, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin, 1963), no. 26. The third one, analogous to these two, is located in the Town Museum of Trieste. It is considered to be a liturgical vessel (perhaps for the host) and dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. See G. Bergamini, *Ori e Tesori d'Europa: Mille anni deoreficeria nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia* (Milan: Electa, 1992), 86, no. 28. By the way, the lids of these three boxes are provided with an inscription: "BOSETUS ME FECIT...", and Bergamini believes Bosetus to be an artisan of French origin. Another box, presenting slight differences in shape and decoration, is kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum of London; it is considered to be a chrismatory(?) of English or French origin from the early fourteenth century. See *British Pewter*. Victoria & Albert Museum (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), 1-2, fig. 1.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Braun, *Altargerät*, plate 61.

pewter was prohibited material for the vessels meant to contain the consecrated wine, it should have been prohibited for host-containers as well, and for this reason these boxes were used when visiting the sick.³⁶⁷ However, although I share his and Lacher's opinion about the function of these boxes, Haedeke's argumentation is not correct. First, although pewter was not preferred material for *vasa sacra*, it was not prohibited either.³⁶⁸ Second, the consecrated host and not the unconsecrated wafers were kept for the sick.

Although some of these boxes—from Graz, Werne, and Freiburg—temporarily served as reliquaries, this was most probably not their original function. Vessels used for placing a relic into the sepulchre of an altar were not usually made especially for this purpose, but some already existing containers were chosen. Thus, I tend to prefer the hypothesis that all the aforementioned boxes were originally meant to serve as viatic pyxes.

To sum up the information about the probable date of production of the different pyxes, we recall that the majority of them, either on the basis of stylistic analysis or due to the coats of arms, were dated to the fourteenth century, or even more precisely to the second half of the fourteenth century. In the case of the Pärnu box, there are also other possibilities to determine the dating besides the comparative study. Namely, after the detailed examination of the armour and weapons of St George, A. Mäesalu reached the conclusion that this type of equipment was most likely in use within the period of 1370–1390.³⁶⁹ Second, the stratigraphical analysis of the archaeological site and other finds enabled A. Kriiska to determine the box within the period starting from the mid-fourteenth century up to the first half of the fifteenth century.³⁷⁰ Thus, all three methods—the stylistic analysis and comparative study, the examination of the

³⁶⁷ Haedeke, *Zentren des Zinngiesserekunst*, 48.

³⁶⁸ Cf. Braun, *Altargerät*, 18, 44, 49.

³⁶⁹ Kriiska, Mäesalu, and Mänd, "Haruldane tinatoos," 205.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 205–6.

equipment of St George, and stratigraphical data—support the assumption that the Pärnu box was made in the second half of the fourteenth century.

The most difficult problem—the exact place of origin—must still remain unanswered. The most similar pyxes, those from Vienna and Graz, are considered to have been made in Germany, especially in the Rhineland, or in France. The differences in size and decoration of all the aforementioned pyxes indicate that they were perhaps cast in more than one place, and were probably mass produced.

Thus, to conclude, the examination of comparative material for the Pärnu box has raised most interesting questions, some of which cannot be answered in this thesis. For example, how can the combination of different coats of arms on some pyxes be explained, and what is the place of origin of these vessels; what is the meaning of the letters on the Pärnu box, and who did this coat of arms belong to? I hope that these small pewter boxes, including the one in Pärnu, will attract further attention from other art historians as well, and then, perhaps, it will be possible to solve at least some of the problems presented above.

Chapter 5. *Vasa non sacra*

Although the total quantity of sacred vessels preserved from Livonia is not very large, the number of items representing the group of *vasa non sacra* is even smaller. We can name altogether only seven objects (in one case rather fragments of objects), two of which were lost in World War II. The main reason for such a small number is certainly the fact that most of the vessels belonging to the group of *vasa non sacra* were no longer in use in the Protestant Church, and were, therefore, confiscated during or after the Reformation. The other reason could be that, unlike in case of sacred vessels, the material of *vasa non sacra* varied more widely as shown in subchapter 1.3, and objects made of "lower" metals such as copper or pewter do not survive the centuries so well as silver.

It is clear that having, for example, only one piece representing a certain type of vessel at one's disposal, it is impossible to draw any wide-ranging conclusions. At the same time, if such a single item is studied in a comparative context with other objects from the region, it can certainly complement our knowledge about the liturgical vessels in Livonia.

5.1. Fragments of two *ampullae* (altar cruets) from Otepää

The *ampullae* or altar cruets for containing unconsecrated wine and water continued to be used in the Protestant Church as well. In spite of that, relatively few pairs of medieval altar cruets have been preserved in all of the Europe. The fragments of two silver *ampullae* found during the archaeological excavations in the Otepää castle are the only representatives of this type of vessel in Livonia.³⁷¹

The finds consisted of a deformed corpus of one ampulla, of two lids, and a decorative knob belonging to one of the lids (Cat. no. 27; fig. 41a). The lids are marked with engraved letters in order to indicate the content of the vessels: "V" for *vinum*, and "A" for *aqua*. These altar cruets were quite small; the height of the preserved corpus is only ca. 7 cm. It is not very surprising since the size of the

³⁷¹ See also pages 51-52.

ampullae decreased during the Middle Ages as a result of the declining number of communicants due to the denial of the cup to the laity. The relatively long hexagonal upper part of the corpus, which can be called the "neck," opens into a wider round lower bottom resulting in a pear-shaped vessel. The flat lozenge-shaped lid, extended to cover the lip of the cruet, was joined to the corpus by a hinge. The cruet(s) was not provided with a handle, apparently because of its small size. The same cannot be said with full certainty concerning the existence of the foot or base, due to the deformation of the bottom of the preserved ampulla.

Except for the letters on both lids, and finely moulded knob, the *ampullae* seem to have been quite modestly decorated. The edge around the lip as well as the junction between the hexagonal neck and the round lower section are adorned with a narrow belt soldered onto the vessel. These belts bear a simple geometrical ornament. Directly below the hinge is engraved a small sign resembling a fork or an inverted Y.

Unlike the chalices or monstrances, the altar cruets did not develop a unique shape adapted to a special liturgical function. With the exception of the presence of the symbol on the lid, the *ampullae* looked like other containers for holding and pouring liquids. J. Braun differentiates between the three dominating shapes of altar cruets during the Middle Ages.³⁷² According to this division, the *ampullae* from Otepää could be accorded to the first group, the characteristic features of which are the shape of a pear, the long neck, and the lack of both a spout and a handle.

The dating of the Otepää *ampullae* is on the one hand determined by the year of the destruction of the castle—1396, which can be considered as the *terminus ante quem*. On the other hand, the hexagonal shape of the neck, and the style of ornamentation also clearly point towards the fourteenth century.³⁷³ Since there are not many altar cruets in the other countries that have been preserved from the fourteenth century, I have not succeeded in finding very similar vessels to compare with the ones

³⁷² Braun, *Altargerät*, 431-32.

³⁷³ In the thirteenth century, the neck of the *ampullae* was always round - good examples are the three *ampullae* from the Cathedral of Regensburg, made around 1280, see Brepohl, *Theophilus Presbyter*, 169.

from Otepää. However, quite a closely related type is exemplified by some Gothic flagons of secular use from the second half of the fourteenth century.³⁷⁴ As indicated before, the Gothic period stylistically united much of northwest Europe; therefore, it is impossible to point out any regional characteristics in case of the Otepää *ampullae*.

Considering the small dimensions of these *ampullae* as well as the fact that they are made of silver, that is, from the same material as the chalice and paten from Otepää, it is highly possible that all these objects were made at the same time as a set. The chalice and paten date, as previously shown in subchapter 4.1.1, from the first half of the fourteenth century.

5.2. Thurible from Otepää

A bronze thurible or censer found in Otepää castle is, like the *ampullae*, unique in Livonia (Cat. no. 28; fig. 43). Among the archaeological finds from Otepää, the censer is the only liturgical vessel to have been published in a photo in 1956, that is, during the excavations.³⁷⁵ However, for some reason it was not identified as a censer but as an instrument for sprinkling holy water.³⁷⁶ The correct data with the descriptions and new photo-material was published in 1995.³⁷⁷

The Otepää thurible consists of a simple bowl-shaped lower section with a relatively low polygonal foot, and of a pierced upper section which is decorated with three triangular pointed-arch gables. The purpose of the numerous holes was, of course, to allow the diffusion of the smoke of incense. The upper section or cover is crowned by a cross-shaped knob to which is attached a chain which functions to raise the cover. The other three chains, used for swinging the vessel, are not attached directly to the loops on the corpus, but are connected with the help of three bronze

³⁷⁴ See V. Brett, *Phaidon Guide to Pewter* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1983), 17.

³⁷⁵ L. Jaanits, "Arheoloogilistest välitöödest Eesti NSV-s 1955. aastal" [Archaeological fieldwork in Estonian SSR in 1955], *Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Toimetised*, no. 4 (1956): 314, fig. 3/2.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Mänd, "Altaririistad", 190-92.

pins. The opposite ends of these chains are joined to a trefoil-shaped holder. The latter is provided with a larger ring which the priest held on when using the vessel.

As can be observed, both the form and decorative details of this censer are characteristic to the Gothic style. The low and polygonal foot dominated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while towards the end of the fourteenth century it began to be designed with six lobes resembling the feet of contemporary chalices.³⁷⁸ Such a relatively low polygonal foot similar to that of the Otepää censer can be observed on many fourteenth-century German thuribles.³⁷⁹

The upper sections of the thuribles were usually richly adorned using elements borrowed from the contemporary ecclesiastical architecture. The preserved Gothic vessels demonstrate a large variety of decoration. One of the objects bearing the closest resemblance to the Otepää thurible, is a bronze censer from the Old Church of Nottebäck in Sweden.³⁸⁰

Thus, based on stylistical analysis and comparative material, it can be concluded that the Otepää censer originates from the first half or around the middle of the fourteenth century, that is, approximately from the same period as the other liturgical vessels found in Otepää. Its design is, above all, close to the vessels known from Germany and Sweden.

5.3. Aquamaniles from Laiuse and Adavere

Until 1944, two bronze aquamaniles found in Estonia were kept in the Cathedral Museum of Riga.³⁸¹ Since that year, their location has been unknown.

The first one—designed as a lion—was found in 1904 near the castle of Laiuse (Cat. no. 29, fig. 45). The vessel was thoroughly described in the articles by Johannes

³⁷⁸ Braun, *Altargerät*, 623.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., plate 132, fig. 525, 528, plate 136, fig. 541; Brepohl, *Theophilus Presbyter*, fig. 61.9, 61.10.

³⁸⁰ M. Ullén, *Granhults och Nottebäcks kyrkor* [Churches in Granhult and Nottebäck], *Sveriges kyrkor*, vol. 149 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1972), 330, fig. 338.

³⁸¹ W. Neumann, *Unser Dommuseum* (Riga: Buchdruckerei des "Rigaer Tageblatts", 1913), 17.

Frey³⁸² and Hermann von Bruiningk.³⁸³ The lion is very well modelled, a fact that demonstrates either the master's good knowledge of nature or he had some excellent examples to imitate. The lion carries a pipe between his teeth that serves as a spout. An opening for pouring water into the vessel is located on the top of animal's head, and is closed by a small hinged cover. The handle is designed in the shape of a snake—a cobra—that grows out of the tail of the lion and is attached to the back of the lion's head. The body of the lion is covered by engraved circles, giving him rather the resemblance of a panther. J. Frey assumed that the Laiuse aquamanile was probably cast by one master and decorated by another, since all the engravings are carried out in a stereotypical and unskilled way that strikes the attention especially in comparison with the excellent modelling.³⁸⁴ Another possibility is, of course, that a talented caster is not necessarily a good engraver.

In comparison with the slender abdomen, the neck and chest of the lion are more strongly emphasised. This led both Frey and Bruiningk to the assumption that the mane was supposed to be engraved later on.³⁸⁵ On the other hand, there are also many medieval lion-shaped aquamaniles in Europe without a mane.³⁸⁶

J. Frey dated the Laiuse aquamanile within a very long time period—(tenth)eleventh - thirteenth(fourteenth) century,³⁸⁷ and A. Waga proposed the end of the thirteenth century.³⁸⁸ Later, on the basis of abundant comparative material, O.v. Falke and E. Meyer dated it to the first half of the thirteenth century.³⁸⁹ Thus, this

³⁸² J. Frey, "Die mittelalterlichen Aquamanilen und der Laissche Fund," in *Sb der GEG 1904* (Dorpat: Mattiesen, 1905), 28-37.

³⁸³ H.v. Bruiningk, "Das Aquamanile im Dommuseum zu Riga," in *Sb Riga aus dem Jahre 1905* (Riga: Häcker, 1906), 6-12.

³⁸⁴ Frey, "Laissche Fund", 32-43.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 32; Bruiningk, "Aquamanile", 6.

³⁸⁶ O.v. Falke and E. Meyer, *Romanische Leuchter und Gefässe. Giessgefässe der Gotik, Bronzegeräte des Mittelalters 1* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1935).

³⁸⁷ Frey, "Laissche Fund", 30.

³⁸⁸ A. Waga, *Eesti kunsti ajalugu* [History of Estonian art], part 1: *Keskaeg* [The Middle Ages] (Tartu: Eesti Kirjanduse Selts, 1932), 279.

³⁸⁹ Falke and Meyer, *Giessgefässe*, 112.

aquamanile was the oldest known liturgical vessel from all of Livonia, and also the only one from the thirteenth century. According to Falke and Meyer, it is a masterpiece of North German origin³⁹⁰—an assertion that is most believable.

Animal-shaped aquamaniles were very frequent in the Middle ages, especially in the Romanesque and early Gothic period. Their use continued to a lesser extent until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Among the most popular shapes were lions, horses (with or without a rider), wolves, eagles, cocks, doves, but also fantastic animals such as dragons, centaurs, or basilisks.³⁹¹

These aquamaniles were not used only for liturgical purposes but for domestic ones as well. Therefore, although it seems more likely that such an excellent piece as the Laiuse lion served as a church vessel, it must remain only as an assumption.

However, the liturgical function of the second bronze aquamanile (Cat no. 30; fig. 46) is confirmed by the inscription on it. The vessel was found by chance on the manorial estate Adavere near Põltsamaa in 1911.³⁹²

This aquamanile has the shape of a kettle with two spouts on opposite sides. Out of the corpus, two female heads protrude to which originally was attached a handle. Also the lid of the vessel was lost, only a connecting hinge survived. The vessel is partially damaged by rust.

The Adavere aquamanile is quite modestly decorated; its corpus bears only some slight mouldings. The main attention is drawn to the attractively designed inscription that encircles the middle part of the vessel, and that also has a partly decorative function. The text is carried out in Gothic minuscules— *ave maria gracia plena domnus steum ynt yar xvc vn xv*— and is divided by lilies.³⁹³ The year 1515, mentioned in the inscription, can be considered as the date of origin of the vessel.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 66, 112.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 57.

³⁹² H.v. Bruiningk, "Das auf dem Gut Addafer ausgefundene kirchliche Giessgefäß (Aquamanile)," in *Sb Riga aus dem Jahre 1911* (Riga: Häcker, 1913), 344-47. The vessel was perhaps hidden in the ground as the container of a hoard.

³⁹³ Bruiningk explains the mistakes in the text: *domnus* for *dominus*, and especially *steum* for *tecum*, as the result of setting a line in movable letters and then soldering it to the vessel. Ibid., 345.

This kind of simple, kettle-shaped aquamaniles came into being and became immediately popular in the late Gothic period.³⁹⁴ A. Waga considered it possible that the aquamanile from Adavere was of local origin.³⁹⁵ However, once again we have to face the fact that the works of art of the Gothic period demonstrate a relative uniqueness in the countries surrounding the Baltic Sea. Similar aquamaniles from the beginning of the sixteenth century have been preserved, for example, in northern Germany and Westphalia.³⁹⁶ Therefore, it cannot be sure whether the Adavere aquamanile was really made in Livonia or it has been imported here.

5.4. Altar bells from the Tallinn Dominican Friary and Pirita Brigittine Nunnery.

The altar bells or liturgical bells used at the elevation, could be of different size depending on whether they were rung by hand or whether they were hung on the wall of the choir. The two small altar bells preserved in Estonia (Cat. nos. 31-32; fig. 47) represent the first mentioned group.

These bronze bells were unearthed during the archaeological excavations in two monastic sites: one from the Tallinn Dominican friary,³⁹⁷ the other from the Pirita Brigittine nunnery near Tallinn.³⁹⁸ Although the height of the two bells differs somewhat— 4.1 and 5.0 cm respectively—they are completely similar in shape. The bells are very simple, and bear no marks or inscriptions. Considering the foundation date of the Pirita nunnery (1407, the church was consecrated in 1436), it can be concluded that they originate at the earliest from the first half of the fifteenth century. It has also been assumed that these bells were produced by local masters.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁴ Braun, *Altargerät*, 549.

³⁹⁵ Waga, *Eesti kunsti ajalugu*, 279.

³⁹⁶ F. Witte, *Die liturgischen Geräte und andere Werke der Metallkunst in der Sammlung Schnütgen in Cöln* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1913), plate 48, nos. 11-13, 20.

³⁹⁷ Tool-Marran, *Dominiiklaste klooster*, 146, fig. 78.

³⁹⁸ Tamm, "Eesti kloostrite materiaalne kultuur," 72, fig. 188.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 72.

PART III

THE COMPARISON OF THE DATA FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES

Chapter 6. The results of connecting the written evidence with original objects. The role of influences.

Livonian liturgical vessels or liturgical vessels survived from Livonia?

After the preliminary results of the analysis of the information on liturgical vessels in the written sources and the individual original objects, it is relevant to return to some problems touched on in chapter 3, namely, to possibilities to connect the data from these two types of sources concerning the questions of identification of an object, its probable place of origin and master, and the artistic influences reflected in its form and decoration. In chapter 3, the potential ways of making such connections were discussed, and now the first results can be summarised.

As previously stressed, the occasions when an extant object proves to be identified with the one described in medieval written sources are extremely rare. Thus far, in the case of the Livonian liturgical vessels, only two such exceptions have been discovered. The monstrance made by the Tallinn goldsmith Ryssenbergh, on the one hand, bears the signature of the master and the year of its completion; on the other hand, the process of purchasing the vessel from the named master was described in the contemporary account book of St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn. The same account book also made it possible to recognise one chalice from St Nicholas' Church (Cat. no. 18), due to the fact that the inscription engraved on the foot of this chalice is to be found in the record concerning the donation of a certain chalice to the church. In addition to the identification of this object, the information in the account book included the name of the donator, and helped to determine the chalice to have been made ca. 50 years later than reflected in the inscription. This fact confirmed the dating of the vessel based on stylistic analysis. Although there is no information on the master of this chalice, it may be assumed to be local work.

In regard to the question of how many survived objects can be considered as originating from Livonia, the data on the development of the marking system has to be recalled. Despite the regulations confirmed in Tallinn in the beginning of the sixteenth century and in Riga a few decades later, that required the objects to be provided with hallmarks, only three late medieval chalices bear such marks. Those from the Cathedral of Haapsalu and the Tallinn Dominican friary are provided with the town mark of Tallinn as well as with the master's mark. The chalice from St Jacobus' Church in Riga bears only the master's mark (moreover, an unidentified one), but can be considered, due to the coat of arms of the Livonian Order and the inscription on its foot which indicates the donators, to have been made in Livonia, most probably in Riga.

The combination of the historical data and the inscriptions on some other vessels that include the name of the donator or the provenance of the object, also suggest their probable Livonian origin. This is the case of the paten purchased by '*decanus Osiliensis*' (Cat. no. 6); the chalice from the church in Pöide in Saaremaa, donated by the sister of the Saare-Lääne (*Osilia*) bishop (Cat. no. 9); or the chalice known to have been located in the Museum of Tver, but which, according to the inscriptions, was most probably made for the Tartu Cistercian nunnery (Cat. no. 21). Also, the inscriptions on the two previously named chalices provided with the town mark of Tallinn, indicate the local donators (*canonicus Osiliensis*, Rickmaker *Revaliensis*), and in this manner, further confirm their place of origin. The Livonian origin of the chalice known to have been located in the church of Woltershausen, Germany, can be supposed due to the coats of arms of the Livonian families soldered on its foot (Cat. no. 22).

However, as presented, only few objects are provided with such inscriptions, coats of arms, or hallmarks. Another possibility to determine the probable place of origin of the objects is the comparison of the style of the marked and unmarked vessels. Naturally, the attributions based on this method remain to a certain extent disputable; however, it is often the only way to make assumptions concerning the origin of the vessels. Because of the shortage of preserved items in Livonia, this kind

of comparative study can be conducted only in the case of chalices, and predominantly in the case of late fifteenth and early-sixteenth century chalices. On the basis of the characteristics of their form and decoration, it can be suggested that the chalices of the churches in Muhu and Harju-Jaani, and also the above mentioned chalice from St Nicholas' Church, were made in Livonia (Cat. nos. 10, 12, 18). The place of origin of the older preserved vessels, such as those found from Otepää, cannot be determined due to the lack of local comparative material. Indeed, in some cases it is much easier to declare that a vessel was not made in Livonia than that it was made there. For example, the characteristic features of the form and decoration of the host-pyx found in Pärnu, or the lion-shaped aquamanile from Laiuse confirm them to have been imported to the region.

The stylistic analysis of the original objects as well as their comparative study with the works of art from other countries, have enabled observations to be made concerning the possible artistic influences reflected in the Livonian vessels. The form of the vessels, their modest ornamentation, the techniques used, and the means of decoration closely resemble German liturgical vessels from the same time period, in particular those of North Germany and Westphalia (Lübeck, Travemünde, Dortmund, Gladbeck, Soest, Münster, etc.). The two fourteenth-century chalices from Kaltene and Otepää (Cat. nos. 1, 2) can be compared especially well with Westphalian chalices; however, the continuation of artistic influences from this region can be followed up to the end of the Middle Ages. The German influence on Livonian liturgical vessels is to be expected considering the historical, cultural, and economic connections between Germany and Livonia, the membership of the major Livonian towns in the Hanseatic League, the domination of the German upper-class and clergy in Livonia, the system of craftsmen's guilds transferred from Germany, the migration of German goldsmiths, etc. On some occasions, the direct connections between the characteristic features of an object and the origin of its master can be pointed out. For example, this is the case of the Tallinn Dominicans' chalice (Cat. no. 24), which bears similarities to Westphalian

chalices that can primarily be clarified by the fact that its master, Hans Holtappel, came from Münster.

Further influences on the art of Livonia came from the Low Countries, especially from the fifteenth century onwards, which can be explained by the shifts in the Hanseatic trade due to the development of these areas. Although thus far, only two chalices can be compared with those in the Netherlands (Cat. nos. 19, 24), the artistic influences from this region are also reflected in some other medieval works of art in Livonia, such as the late Gothic altarpieces. In the case of some Swedish chalices that indicate similar features to the Livonian ones (e.g., the chalices from Gotland and from the church in Hagby), it is difficult to determine whether we can speak of certain Scandinavian characteristics, or whether it is the result of the influence of German art on Sweden. The decoration of the cups of the two Livonian chalices with calyxes (Cat. nos. 13, 19), the cast foliage ornamentation on the stem, and their relatively rich decoration indicate influence from East Central Europe (most probably from Poland or the area of the Teutonic Order in Prussia), where these motifs were especially widely used.

The spread of influences from the named regions is confirmed by additional information from the Livonian written sources: first by the records concerning the commissions of works of art from the Hanseatic towns of northern Germany and the Netherlands, and second, by the migration of the goldsmiths, predominantly from Germany (Lübeck, Münster, Cologne, etc.), to a lesser extent from Scandinavia (Åbo, Wiborg), the Low Countries (Amsterdam), and Poland (Cracow).

Thus, the data from all the above mentioned sources, including characteristic features on original objects, the background of the craftsmen, and the economic connections of Livonia, point again and again to the very same regions—the areas surrounding the Baltic Sea, and connected to the Hanseatic trade. Therefore, it must be stressed once more that the liturgical vessels in Livonia cannot be studied in isolation, but must be compared within the wider context of medieval Europe.

However, to return to the problem of the determination of the probable place of origin of the Livonian vessels, it has to be claimed that though several objects in Livonia reflect similar features to those in the above mentioned areas, in many cases it is hard to suggest whether the vessels were imported or whether it was a diffusion of influences. The number of the preserved objects is too small to allow them to be regarded as representative of Livonian craftsmanship, and it is impossible to say whether the Livonian vessels revealed any local characteristics in the Middle Ages. Moreover, the late Gothic liturgical vessels of a similar type were to be found everywhere in the Baltic Sea region, due to the close cultural and economic connections. Therefore, to answer the question set in the title of this chapter, it would be correct to speak of liturgical vessels survived from Livonia rather than of 'Livonian liturgical vessels.'

CONCLUSION

The present study of liturgical vessels was, on the one hand, an attempt to contribute to the cultural history of Livonia. On the other hand, the results of the investigation of the vessels in this particular region may provide additional information to complement the knowledge about these objects of Latin Christianity in general.

The number of preserved liturgical vessels from Livonia is certainly too small to draw any extensive conclusions. Therefore, in order to attain better results, the study and comparison of the data from different sources is of primary importance: the original objects have to be linked with the written evidence, and vice versa, the information from the written sources must, as far as possible, be connected with the existing objects.

This comparative study, integrating both historical and art historical methods, has led to the following conclusions:

First, on the basis of the written sources, it can be claimed that almost all types of liturgical vessels used in the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages were also known in Livonia, despite its distant geographical position and relatively late Christianisation. Even the types of objects which, in general, were rarely in use in the late Middle Ages, or the function of which was modified during the centuries (e.g., eucharistic reeds, liturgical fans) occasionally occur in the inventories of the major churches in Livonia. These facts certainly demonstrate the close cultural connections of this area to other parts of medieval Europe.

At the same time, in regard to the question of the "representativeness" of the written material, it is obvious that not all types of liturgical vessels were recorded in the sources. As typical of medieval inventories in general, those from Livonia also listed only such objects that were considered valuable enough to be mentioned, that is, the vessels of greater liturgical importance and of costly and "suitable" materials, above all, the precious metal objects. The same kind of gradation can also be observed in the

order in which the items were recorded in the inventories. Knowing this and taking into consideration the extant objects as well as archaeological data, it can be supposed that some types of vessels among the group of *vasa non sacra* were not documented because they were made of "lower" materials and/or regarded as being of more profane character. For instance, this could be the case of aquamaniles, the vessels which were not recorded in the Livonian sources, but of which two examples have been found in the region.

Further evidence concerning the level of importance of different types of liturgical vessels is provided by the donations to the Livonian churches in which case the *vasa sacra* clearly dominated over *vasa non sacra*. The motivations for donations reflected in the testaments, as well as the inscriptions on extant objects, also allow us to understand better the meaning and relevance of liturgical vessels in medieval society.

The combination of historical data reflected in the Livonian sources and the comparative stylistic analysis of the original objects within the wider European context has enabled the determination or correction of the dating of the liturgical vessels and the tracing of the possible origins of artistic influences from different countries. Thus far, influences from the following regions can be pointed out:

The form of the Livonian vessels as well as their modest decoration resemble predominantly the works of art of the German areas from the same time period, which is quite understandable considering the historical connections between Germany and Livonia. The similarities with the liturgical vessels from North Germany and Westphalia can be observed especially clearly. The spread of influences was further promoted by the Hanseatic trade, the prevalence of German upper-class and clergy in Livonia, by the migration of German goldsmiths, and by the guild system that insisted that Livonian journeymen spend their wandering years in Germany. Next, the artistic influences from Scandinavia, especially present-day Sweden, must be stressed, again based on close historical and economic connections. From the fifteenth century onwards, due to the mediating role of the Hansa, the relations with the Low Countries remarkably increased, which are also revealed in the diffusion of artistic influences and

in the import of works of art. Finally, certain elements on single objects indicate probable influences from Poland and Prussia, areas that so far have received relatively modest attention in regard to the artistic connections to Livonia.

Hence, it is obvious that the liturgical vessels of Livonia cannot be studied in isolation from those of other parts of Europe, in particular, the regions connected to the Hanseatic trade. On the other hand, it is also clear that hardly any local features on the Livonian vessels can be pointed out, partly due to the scantiness of preserved vessels, partly due to the relative stylistic similarities of the works of art within the Baltic Sea region. Moreover, though quite a number of Livonian liturgical vessels can be compared with those from the above mentioned areas, it is impossible to determine whether the objects were imported or whether it is a question of artistic influence. Due to the insufficiency of historical data and the rare appearance of hallmarks on the vessels, we have to face the fact that, save in very few exceptions, the names of the goldsmiths of Livonia cannot be associated with any of the surviving objects. Only four vessels, which are provided either with hallmarks or with the master's signature, can with full certainty be determined as originating in Livonia. The well-proportioned forms and elaborate decoration of these objects—the monstrance made by Ryssenbergh and the three chalices—demonstrate the high artistic level of the craftsmen in Livonia. The stylistic comparison between these marked vessels and the rest of the preserved items, as well as the inscriptions on some objects, suggest that few others among them were produced in the very region; whereas, in some cases, the problem of the possible place of origin must remain unsolved.

Of course, the present study has to be considered as only the first step towards a multi-faceted analysis of the medieval church vessels of Livonia. My aim was not to provide answers to all the questions raised, but rather to present the problems and difficulties, the different approaches and possibilities in the investigation of this particular subject. It is clear that several aspects require far deeper research than has been possible in this thesis. First of all, the information on craftsmen, their corporations, and their background must be examined more thoroughly and certainly

within an international context. Second, the comparison of liturgical vessels with other medieval works of art from the region, especially of goldsmiths' works, would complement our knowledge concerning the questions of the local artistic level, the techniques used, and the role of influences. Third, it would be of great necessity to continue the comparative stylistic analysis with the works of art in other countries, especially in such regions where possible connections have already been indicated. And last but not least, the study of liturgical vessels must not be limited to art historical research, but the function and meaning of these vessels should be understood within the wider historical context of medieval society and mentality.

Appendix 1

CONCORDANCE OF THE PLACE NAMES

Modern Estonian and Latvian names (used in the text)	German names
Adavere	Addafer
Ansiküla	Ansekull
Haapsalu	Hapsal
Harju-Jaani	Saientacken / St. Johannis in Harrien
Harjumaa	Harrien
Hiumaa	Dagö
Jämaja	Jamma
Järva-Jaani	St. Johannis in Jerwen
Kaarma	Karmel
Kaltene	Kalleten
Käina	Keinis
Kärla	Kergel
Keila	Kegel
Kihelkonna	Kielkund
Kuressaare	Arensburg
Läänemaa	Wiek
Laiuse	Lais
Lihula	Leal
Märjamaa	Merjama
Muhu	Mohn
Otepää	Odenpäh, Odempe
Pärnu	Pernau
Pöide	Peude
Põltsamaa	Oberpahlen
Pühalepa	Pühhalepp
Saare-Lääne	Ösel-Wiek
Saaremaa	Ösel
Suure-Jaani	Wallula / Gross St. Johannis
Tallinn	Reval
Tartu	Dorpat
Viljandi	Fellin
Vormsi	Vormsö, Ormsö

Appendix 2 TERMS FOR THE ALTAR VESSELS¹

English	Latin	German	Middle Low German
chalice eucharistic chalice	calix, scyphus	Kelch, Messkelch, Abendmahlskelch	kelk, kelck, kelyk, etc.
paten	patena	Patene	patene, pateyn
fistula, pipe, eucharistic reed, liturgical straw	fistula, pipa, arundo, calamus	(eucharistisches) Saugröhrchen	ror
host-pyx, pyx	pyxis, pyx, capsa, capsula	Pyxis, Oblatendose	sacramentes busse, ablaete busse
ciborium	ciborium	Ziborium	ciburium
eucharistic dove	columba, peristerium	eucharistische Taube, Peristerium	—
monstrance	monstrantia, ostensorium	Monstranz, Ostensorium	monstrantie, monstranssye
ampulla, altar cruet	ampulla, ama, amula	Ampulla, Messkännchen	appolle, polle, pulle, ampille, ampulle, etc.
eucharistic spoon	cochlear	Kelchlöffchen	—
liturgical wine-strainer	colum, colatorium	(liturgischer) Seiher, Sieb	—
altar cross, altar crucifix	crux altaris	Altarkreuz	kruse, krus, krusze
altar candlestick, candelabrum	candelabrum	Altarleuchter	luchter (uppe dat altaer)
pax, pax brede	pax, pacificale	Kusstafel, Paxtafel	pesebret, pusifikal
holy water basin	vas (ad aquam benedictam), situla, urceus	Weihkessel, Weihwasser- behälter	wyeketel
aspergillum, holy water sprinkler	aspersorium, aspergillum	Weih(wasser)- wedel, Aspergill	—
thurible, censer	thuribulum, incensarium	Rauchfass, Weichrauchfass	wirokfath, wirokevat, weyerachvass, etc.
incense-boat (or box), navicula	acerra, navicula, navis	Weihrauchbehälter, (Rauch)Schiffchen	—
incense-spoon	cochlear(ium)	Weihrauchlöffel	—
altar bell, Sanctus bell	campanula, clinsa, tintinnabulum	Altarglöckchen, Messglöckchen	klocke, misklocke
aquamanile	aquamanile, manile, urceus	Aquamanile, Giessgefäß	—
ablution basin, ablution dish	pelvis, bacinum	Waschbecken, Ablutionsbecken	hantfath
liturgical fan	flabellum, flagellum	liturgischer Fächer	weyer (weygher) van pauwen vedderen
holy oil stock, chrismatory	capsula olei, chrismatorium	Gefäß für die heilige Öle	olyebusse, kreszemsz busse, cresemvad, etc.

¹ The first three columns are based on the *Glossarium Artis*, vol. 2; and J. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*. Only the most frequent Latin terms have been selected. The fourth column, the terms in Middle Low German, has been compiled on the basis of Livonian medieval written sources. An empty box signifies that this vessel has not been mentioned in the sources known to the author.

Appendix 3 SAMPLES OF INVENTORIES AND ACCOUNT BOOKS FROM MEDIEVAL LIVONIA

No. 1: Inventory in the account book of St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn, compiled by the guardian Hans Rothgers (1488, with later additions).

(Published in Hausmann, "Silberschatz," 241-244.)

Anno [14]88 do ik by de kerken quam, do was by der kerken, und dat ik ok getuget hebbe, so hir na gescreven stat.

- Int erste 7 vorguldet kelke mit 7 vorguldet patene. Hir van by ilk kapellan eynen kelk, unde by uns vormunders 3 kelk in dem schappe, und by dem*
(5) *koster eynen groten kelk, den men plecht to brukende des festdages mit eynem korpelrall mit parlen besticket.*

Noch is by uns vormunders eyn vorguldet kelk mit eyner pattene, den ik Hans Rotgers maken leth unde wecht 30 loet sulvers, unde dar steit up sunte Nicolaus.

- (10) *Aldus is nu by der kerken 8 vorguldet kelke.*

[...].

Noch dem koster tolevert eyn peisebret vorguldet, dar sunte Nicolaus up steit, wecht 2 loet, leth ik ok maken van nige.

Noch dem koster tolevert eyn sulvern wyrockvath unde 2 sulverne appulen, noch eyn missingen wyrockvath.

- (15) *Noch em tolevert 7 sulveren schale mit 7 sulverne ror, dar men dat volk ut plecht to berichtende, sumtiden sint dusse schalen by dem koster, sumtiden in der vormunder schappe.*

Noch dem koster tolevert by der smede altar in dem schappe eyne vorguldet monstrancien unde 2 sulverne kruse, dat eyne vorguldet, dat ander

- (20) *unvorguldet.*

Item noch hefft de koster in siner wer de vorguldet liste von dem hogen altar und dar tho de grote monstrancien, dar he ock de slotell hefft, noch eynen snor mit twen sulveren haken, dar men de monstrancien med plecht to dragen.

- (25) *Noch hefft de koster in siner wer de vorguldet liste mit spegellen von sunte Nicolaus altar.*

Later additions, all written by Rotgers's hand:

Anno [1]500 und des 1des donredages vor oculi sande mi Diderk van Katwich 1 vorguldet kelk. (This sentence is crossed out.)

- Anno [14]95 8 dage vor wienachten gaf Magdalene Wymansce eynen*
(30) *vorguldet kelk, darunder steken eynen staff unde de upscrift holt, to des
hilgen lichams misse, dat is unrecht screven, unde dar woeren welke
losgeters by, men dusse kelk gaf se to der kerken to dem hogen altare to
blivende, men Bartolt Bart leth dat unrecht schriven, dat vorgeve em Got.*

- (On the margins: Item anno [150]3 quemen 2 kelke to unser leven vrouwen*
(35) *bilde, wente dues kelke de woeren tobroken.)*

- Anno [1]500 und 1 des donredages vor reminiscere do sand mi Markus
Betauch eynen vorguldet kelk mit eyner pattenen, wecht 2 mk lod. 2 loet, und
1 körperall und eyn olt missebock. Dyt tych hort in sunte Matheus kapellen
to dem middelsten altar. (Addition: quam to dem sulvern bilde.)*
(40) *Anno [14]98 up Michael tolevert dem koster 2 sulveren appullen
vorguldet, wegen 22 loet. Dusse appullen sollen deynen to dem hogen altar
to apostel fest.*

No. 2: Inventory of the church utensils of the Tallinn Dominican Friary (partly belonging to the friary, partly to the Brotherhood of Blackheads) compiled by Brother Kersten, the former prior of the friary (latest in 1495).

(Published in LUB II, 1, no. 106.)

Item int erste is in der gerekamer 1 sulveren wirokesvat, dat let ick broder Kersten ummemaken alse ick pryer was unde woch 7 mc. lodich: so wicht et noch unde is wat vorgulden.

- (5) *So is dar noch 1 sulveren grot krutz dat men des hilligen dages utdrecht unde giff dar pesse mede dengenen de dar offeren; dit krutz let maken 1 pryer mit guder lude hulpe: dat cruce sulven hat her Stromelinck, men de swarten hoeveden de leten maken de plate dar achter etc.*

- (10) *So let ick sunte Katerynen bilde maken, dat was begunnen alse ick ersten pryer was geworden, dar quam to dat smide van broder Kankes wegen unde dar was up der swarten hove de dar henck vor unsser leven frouwen, da antworde em her Reinolt van Werden unde her Lodewich Krufft, dar sin to 33 mc. lodich min 3 lot etc.*

- (15) *So hebbe wy noch 20 kelke, den enen hebbe wy vorlent her Johan Kippen, de mit dem ridder in Russlant toch, de to hus was mit Hansz Allunssen; unde de ene is tor make, den hefft Russenberch, de sal wegen 2 mc. lodich myn 2 lot, Helmut Duker gaff it sulver dato unde dat makelon hefft he alrede enwech etc.*

- (20) *So sin dar 2 monstranssyen, de klene unvorgulden, de grote monstranssye vorgulden, dar et sakramente in plecht to stande, de horen dem kloster to; de grote monstranssye der swarten hoveden quam to unsser leven frouwen bilde, dat se to Lubeke leten maken unde dat hefft in der vordern hant 1 monstranssye unde is vorgulden unde wecht 24 mc. lodich.*

[...]

Noch dat smide in dem gasthuss.

- (25) *Int erste sin dar 5 sulveren drinckschallen, 5 sulveren bekern boven overgulden, de schallen unde bekere wegen tosamende 7 mc. lodig.*

So sin dar 15 sulveren lepel de wegen 2 mc. lodig 4 lot, wol gewogen.

So is in der kiste in der gerekammer 6 pontifiikolle unde 2 grote mit vogellen, wol vorgulden.

- (30) *Noch 1 schon pusifikal, wol vorgulden, dat uns Kersten Fulger gaff selliger dechnisse.*

[...]

Noch 1 par appullen, 2 horen den swarten hoveden to unde den barbers 2 to horen.

Noch 3 unsser leven frouwen hoyken, 2 nier ...

Noch 4 sulveren krussz, grot unde klen, dar men passen mede giff.

- (35) *De swarten hovede hebben mit unsz 1 schon Maryenbilde mit enem krallenpaternoster unde 1 gulden agnus Dei.*

Noch 2 grote kelke, up dem enen steit er swarten hovet unde up dem andern steit gescreven: dusse kelk hort to der swarten hoveden altare; unde 1 gron guldenstuk hort ock to orem altare.

- (40) *1 par sulveren appullen, dar steit er wapen up.*

**No. 3: Inventory of St Catherine's Church of the Tallinn Dominican Friary
(ca. 1500).**

(Published in LUB II, 1, no. 898.)

Int erste 16 vorguldede kelke und 1 sulveren kelk myt den patenen.

Item 3 par sulveren appullen.

5 vorguldede brettzen und 1 arne.

1 sulveren wirockevath.

(5) *12 amicte myt vorgulden spangen.*

2 liisten mith sulveren spangen vor dat hoge altar.

4 vorgulde schilde myt spangen.

An dren korkappen 3 sulverne knope.

1 grot sulveren cruse.

(10) *1 sulveren monstrancien, unvorgult, van 5 mc. lodich.*

3 koperen monstrancien.

1 vath myt enen sulveren vote, dar hilgedom inne is.

1 grote monstrancien van sulver, vorguldet, dar dat sacrament inne is.

Ene busse to der monstrancien van sulver.

(15) *1 busse dar dat sacrament der olynge ynne is.*

Sunte Dorotheen hovet, vorsulvert.

*Unser leven vrouwen rock van brunen stucke myt 4 parlen knopen under
anderen vorguldeden spangen, kleyn und grot.*

Noch enen roden rock van enen gulden stucke, ock myt spangen.

(20) *Unser leven vrowen krone van parlen.*

Unser leven vrowen huvensmide.

*Vor unser leven vrouwen altar 1 liste myt 26 grote vorguldede spangen,
under anderen kleynen spangen.*

Vor des rades altar 1 liste myt 9 vorguldeden spangen.

[...]

(25) *Item van brueder Craen 1 silveren kelck mit 1 pateen. 3 silveren schalen.*

*3 silveren lepelen. 1 verdeckt glas van 8 stuck. Und hevet ghegeven dit smide
to ewighen tyden de bruderen to bruken und nicht vorkopen, dat men vor syn
zele sal bidden.*

**No. 4: List of the utensils in the account book of St Jacobus' Church in Riga,
compiled by the guardians of the church in 1430 - 1480.**

(Published in LUB 8, no. 376.)

[...]

*1 sulver vorgulde monstrancie, dar men den hyllighen lychnam inne
drecht;*

*1 sulver monstrancie ofte eyne busse vorguld, dar men ut gyft den
hillighen lycham kranken luden, de wech 16 lodyghe mrc. sulvers;*

(5) *3 sulver vorgulde monstrancien myd hylligedome;*

1 cresemvad;

3 sulver vorgulde kelyke to dem hoghen altaer behorende;

2 sulver ampullen to dem hoghen altare;

3 runde sulver schalen;

(10) *2 sulver vorspanne;*

noch 1 sulvern wyrokvad;

[...]

4 par tynnen ampullen;

12 pallen to deme hogen altar;

1 lyste myd sulver beslaghen, vorguld und myd anhangenden vorgulden

(15) *sulvern knopen;*

[...]

1 par eerenen luchter und 3 tynnen luchter;

3 dwelen unbeneyget to der prestere behoff;

4 beneygede hantdwelen;

2 beneygede dwelen up dat pulpt to hangende vor deme altare;

[...]

(20) *2 copperen vurspannen;*

1 grote tynnen kanne und 2 cleyne tynnen kannen;

1 koperen wyeketel;

2 myssinge ketele;

1 tynnen wynvlassche van 2 stope;

[...]

(25) *1 weygher van palven vedderen;*

*eyne hoghe nye monstrancie myd eynen veereggeden brylle, dar ock
hillichdome inne is, de wecht 3 mrc. lodich und 3 lot;*

eyn kelick, den her Hermen Budde ghegheven heft, den men deghelikes ghebruken sal, de wecht 2 mrc. lodich gerade myd der patteynen.

[...]

- (30) *1 kelyk, dar is under wat blyes ingeghaten und heft eyne patteynen bynnen vorgold und nicht buten, de wecht 2 mrc. lodich und 4 lod, und ock is dar wad up deme vote gescreven;*

1 kelyk bynnen vorguld und buten unvorguld und dar is bynnen votes wad up gescreven, we ene gegheven heft, und heft alsodane merke (...) und dar is

- (35) *ock wad blyes under ingegoten, de wecht 2 mrc. lodich und 5 lod;*

2 kelike al eyns gheschapien, myd patteynen wol vorghuld und myd eggastighen voten und hebbet beyde eynerleyge scryft up den voten; de eyne wecht 2 mrc. lodich myn 3 lod, de ander wecht 2 mrc. lodich myn 2 lod.

Int jar 1436 hebben de vormundere entfangen eynen kelick mit twen

- (40) *ampullen; de kelik und de patteyne syd vorguld; de ampullen syd nicht vorguld. De kelik myd der pateyne wecht 3 mrc. lodich und 2 lot; de ampullen weghen 15 lot sulvers. Dessen vorgenomden kelik heft gegheven Claws Have und sin wyff.*

Item so is in der kisten 5 sulvern schale, de wecht 20 lot sulvers, dese heft

- (45) *gegheven eyne vrowe, gheheten de Baldesessche; eyne sulver schale, de wecht 14 lod sulvers, de is van oldinges by der kerken gewest.*

[...]

2 sulver vorgulde cruseken, dar men pacem mede gheven mochte; 7 mrc. lodiges sulvers an 3 geghoten stucken und 1 lepel; de werde van twen nobelen an ghegoten golde.

[...]

- (50) *(In 1471, a new large monstrance was purchased by the guardians for 640 marks; and another, small monstrance containing relics for 11 marks. The third monstrance cost 72 marks.)*

[...]

Item anno 80 do letten desse vorscreven sunte Jacobes vormundere, also

- (55) *Hinrick Molre und Hinrick Ronne, maken den seiger, also dat uns seigerklock myt allen ungelde koste 200 mrc.*

**No. 5: Inventory of the convent of the Livonian Order
in Dünamünde (1442).**

(Published in LUB 4, no. 1512 and LUB 9, no. 836.)

Dit is de rekenscop van dem ampte to Dunemunde.

Int erste in der kosterie 7 kelke mit 7 patenen, en vorguldet arn.

Item 2 sulveren liisten vor de altare.

2 sulveren appullen,

- (5) *1 sulveren wyrokvat.*

Item 1 sulveren vat, dar men spolinge mede giift.

1 sulveren vorguldet vorspan,

*ene sulveren vorgulde monstrantie, dar men dat hillige sacrament inne
helt.*

- (10) *5 kappen, 8 rocke, 8 ornat, gud und arch.*

Item 5 sulveren schalen, dar men ut drinket im hogen altare.

1 sulveren tafele wul hilgedomes.

Item 1 sulveren cruce mit dem hilgen holte.

Item 1 sulveren juncfrowenhovet wul hilgedomes.

- (15) *Item 1 tafele mit hilgedome, mit ener veroneken.*

15 tynnen luchtere, grod und kleine.

[...]

**No. 6: Inventory in the account book of the church in Keila,
Harjumaa (1503).**

(Published in Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 23-24: S. 41a-41b.)

*It. anno im xvc-sten vnd iij hebbe ick Fromolt Aderkas Herman
Swenckenn dess dynnstages Philippi et Jacobi ouergeantwordt dat kercken
gesmyde, welkert hir nagescreuen steyt:*

It. int erste eyn monstrancie.

(5) *It. eyn krone vnser leuen fruwen vnd eyn cleyne krone.*

It. eyn vorgulden tzepter.

It. eyn seluer taffell vnser leuen fruwen midt hillgendome.

It. eyn groith huuensmyde vann 5 stucken vnd eyn perlenbant darann.

It. 1 groff krallensnor vnd 1 cleynen krallensnor vnd 1 clen bernsten.

(10) *It. 1 beslagen halssbanth.*

It. 2 gulden docke.

*It. vnser leuen fruwen vluwelschen rock midt deme gesmyde darann tho
hangen, ock des kyndess rock dessgelicken.*

It. noch 2 vnser leuen fruwen rockbeslach.

(15) *It. eyn suluer sacramentes busse.*

It. eyn groth sulueren kruce op eyn vot.

It. noch 3 cleyne cruce midt keden, eyn ouerguldet.

It. 1 groith agnus dei midt (...)

It. 1 groth kelk tho der spolinghe.

(20) *It. 3 par suluer appollen.*

It. 4 sulueren vnd ouerguldet kelke.

It. noch 2 messingen kelke, bouen vorgolt.

It. 1 missingen monstrancie.

It. 1 missingen sacramentes busse.

(25) *It. noch 1 breff Hans Meydelss haluen, spreckende op 200 m.*

It. 21 markpunt wasses.

Noch by gekamen 3 vorgulden knope op den beslagen halsebant.

It. noch eyn agnus dei myt eyner keden.

[...]

No. 7: Inventory in the account book of the church in Keila (1518).

(Published in Johansen, *Rechnungsbuch*, 38: S. 49b.)

Int eyrste 2 vurgulden kelcke myt 2 patenen, ist eynem de voth aue, noch 1 kelck myt eynem selueren vothe, syn vngewygeth; noch 2 geweygede kelcken vorguldet, den eynen heft de kerckherre vnd den ander de vicaryes.

1 vorgulden monstrancie;

- (5) *1 sylueren ciburium myt eyner klenen bussken bynnen;*

1 sylueren taffelen myt 2 vurslegen;

1 selueren cruce;

1 sylueren angnus dei;

1 vorguldenn cronne vnsser leuer frauwen;

- (10) *1 kleyne vorguldenn cronne deme Jesueken vnd eyn houuensmyde vnd 1 kragen;*

1 vurgulden bomeken deme Jesuken in de hant;

vnser leuer frauwen smyde auer den rock;

4 krallensnore;

- (15) *3 sylueren cruce myt ketten;*

2 angnus dei myt ketten;

3 par sylueren apullen;

vnsser leuer frauwen rock, roth geblometh flouwyl, vnd des Jesuken syn rock;

- (20) *1 gulden houftdock vnd 2 syden docke;*

1 gron flwelschen kassell;

2 diaken rocke;

1 koirkappe myt eynem syluieren knoupe vnd 1/2 gestikdenn perlenknop;

1 bunth myssedtuch, is nycht gewyet;

- (25) *in eynen budell alt tobraken syluer.*

**No. 8: Visitation protocols of the churches in Jämaja and Anseküla,
island Saaremaa (1519).**

(Published in Blumfeldt, "Saare-Lääne visitatsiooniprotokolle," 51-52.)

a. *Clenodia ecclesie in Gemma.*

In primis due calices ambe deaurate.

Pacificale argenteum rotundum instar agnus Dei cum reliquijs.

Ciborium vnum ex auricalco, intus deauratum.

Vnum corporale. Due appolle blumbee cum 1 missali veteri.

(5) *Bine casule parum valentis. Tria candelabra stannea.*

Vna cappa exigui pretij. Duo tintinnabula.

Missale vnum exigui valoris, impressum in membrana.

Antifonale vnum } *in menbrana.*

(10) *Graduale vnum*

Palle quattuor exigui valoris, cuilibet altari vna deputata.

Turribulum vnum ex auricalco.

* * *

b. *Clenodia in Anszkull.*

Due calices deaurati cum vna patena.

Casula vna cum correquisitis exigui valoris.

Pacificale vnum argenteum cum cathena.

Vnum argenteum cochlear ex testamento.

(5) *Tria bona missalia ex pergameni. Vnum corporale.*

Sex candelabra stannea in quolibet altari duo.

*Item 1 sulvern schale, welcke Futinges elderen dar in de kercke
gegeuen sam[t] eynem par osszen, welcke affhendich geworden, dar van
eynen Hinrick Kuruer, den andern Philippus entgegen hebben.*

(10) *Eyne mo[n]strancz van koper vnd 1 kleyne miszklocke.*

**No. 9: Visitation protocol of the church in Kärle,
island Saaremaa (1519).**

(Published in Blumfeldt, "Saare-Lääne visitatsiooniprotokolle," 53-54.)

Parochia Kergel habet in clenodijs.

Duos calices deauratos. Vnum pacificale argenteum.

Duo viatica, vnum argenteum, reliquum deauratum.

Pacificale vnum myt eyner parlemoder.

Eyne vorgulde mo[n]strancze.

(5) *Apolle due argentee.*

Pixis vna argentea pro conseruacione sacri chrismatis.

*Antependium vnum in summo altari cum 21 maioribus quadratisque
fibulis aquilis insignitis.*

Tria stannea candelabra in summo altari.

(10) *In altari beate Virginis etiam tria. In tercio altari duo.*

Due cappe vna linnea altera lannea.

*In palneo beate Virginis super altare eiusdem erant 21 maiores
inaurateque fibule, cum insignijs quibusdam, trabibus cerulei et albi
coloris refertis.*

(15) *Item eyn gulden huuengesmide vnd 1 grote vnd kleyne suluern korone
vp Marien vnd eres kyndes houede vpm sulftigen altare ock oue[r]gulth.*

*Eyn karellen snoer myt etzwelcken eggigen suluern stenen an vnszer
leuen vruwen halsze.*

Item twe vorspanne.

(20) *Item 2 missalia. Duo gradualia. Vnum vesperale. Duo antiqua
psalteria. Vnum cancionale.*

Vna lagena stannea pro vsu vini ecclesiastici.

Vnum tintinnabulum.

**No. 10: Visitation protocol of the church in Püha,
island Saaremaa (1519).**

(Published in Blumfeldt, "Saare-Lääne visitatsiooniprotokolle," 54.)

Clenodia ecclesie parrochialis Pia.

Quinque calices. 1 mo[n]strancz. Argenteum ciborium.

Quedam crux magna argentea. Due appolle argentee.

Pacificalia duo argentea. Sex ornata.

Candelabra vndecim stannea.

- (5) *Tria missalia vnum de papiro, reliqua ex membrana.*

Quinque votinalia

Tria psalteria

Duo vesperalia

- (10) *Duo gradualia*

} *omnia in membrana.*

Vnum pacificale cum aliquibus omelijs.

*Item an vnszer leuen fruwen bilde eyne blaw floelisch mantell vnd 5
stucke huuensmide myt boslaghe, sampt Ihesus mantell, ock boslagen vnd
all myt eyne ouerguldeth.*

- (15) *Item nach eyne Marien vnd Ihesus mantell van rodem damasscken myt
suluer boslagen vnd ouer[gulth.*

*Nach eyne swart damascken mantell sampt 1 Ihesus mantell myt eyne
olden suluern boslage, ouerguldt.*

Eyne huuensmede van 5 stucken van suluer vnd gancz wol ouergulth.

- (20) *Item eyne korellen snoer vnd 1 gulden doeck.*

*Item 3 altaria myt pallen wol bokleth vnd 2 int midell. Eyne vorgulde
houetlaude. Eyne swedisch hueuengesmide van 6 stucken. Item bie 4 loth
stroy smide.*

*Eyne sulueren stromlingk, welcken de fischers gegeuen hebben.
Twe marck lodich an suluer vnd 2 loth.*

No. 11: Visitation protocol of the church in Märjamaa, Läänemaa (1521).

(Published in Blumfeldt, "Saare-Lääne visitatsiooniprotokolle," 117-118.)

Clenodia eiusdem ecclesie.

Item 1 nie sulueren vorguldene monstrantzie mit 1 milthisedech.

Item 1 missingen monstrantie mit 1 melchistdech.

Item noich 1 vorguldet melchistdech.

Item 1 stande pacificail cum reliquijs.

(5) *Item 4 sulueren appoll[e]n.*

Item 2 vorguldede kelcke mit 2 patenen vnd 1 vnuorguldet kelck mith 1 patenen.

Item 1 klein verguldet Ihesus kroen.

Item noch luttick loesz suluer dair ein sulueren lopel von gemaket.

(10) *Item 1 sulueren busse pro viatico.*

Item 1 sulueren busse pro crismate.

Item 1 nye fluellen mantel vnser lewen frowen mit 7 groite knoipe mit der Dwcker wapene, noich synt vp den mantell 28 vorguldede spangen vnd 1 vorguldet arne mit 1 sulueren herte vnd vp Ihesus mantel 2 groite

(15) *spangen mith der Loeden wapen, vnd 1 sulueren signum rinck.*

Item 1 perlen hwensmide mit 3 groiten stuecken.

Item ein groit supperl vnd 1 guelden doick.

Item 1 krallen kragen mith 3 vorguldeden knopen.

Item noich 1 dechlichs hwensmide von 5 stucken vnd ein dechlichs

(20) *krage mit 3 kleinen knope mith 1 supperl vnd eyn olt gulden doick.*

Item voir Marien altair ein antependium mit 18 groite sulueren spangen mit der Loiden wapen vnd noich vp den beiden byhenckstellen 50 spangen klein vnd groit.

Item ein antependium voir sancthe Annen altair dair op 24 brede

(25) *sulueren spangen.*

Item 2 ornait, 1 missail, 2 olde kappen, 1 altare portatile.

Item op deme antipendio vor deme hoyen altair 85 spangen suluer vnd vorgult, klein vnd groith.

Item op deme Marien bilde, dat op deme hogen altair steyt, 40

(30) *spangen klein vnd groit vnd 1 klein adeler vorgult.*

Item noich 1 sulueren kruitze op deme hogen altair.

Item op den altaren tho hope 11 tynnen luchtere.

**No. 12: Visitation protocol of the church in Pühalepa,
island Hiiumaa (1522).**

(Published in Blumfeldt, "Saare-Lääne visitatsiooniprotokolle," 119.)

Clenodia ac ornamenta ecclesie parrochialis Pwyelepp.

Item eine kleine sulueren vorguldene monstrantyen.

Item twe vorguldene kelcke vnd twe patenen tho deme hogen altare.

Item ein lanck pacificale.

Item ein agnus dei.

(5) *Item twe sulueren appullen.*

Item ein sulueren busse pro sacramento vnctionis.

Item twe gantze ornat.

Item twe corporalia.

(10) *Item twe missyngen luchtere vnd 2 tynnen luchtere vp deme hogen
altare.*

Item twe olde missalia.

Ad altare sancti Anthonii.

Item ein ornaeth.

Item ein vorgulde kelck myth 1 patenen vnd 1 corporaell.

(15) *Item twe tynnen luchtere vnd 1 iseren luchter.*

Item ein klein olde missale.

Ad altare sancte Catherine.

Item twe tynnen luchtere.

**No. 13: Visitation protocol of the church in Käina,
island Hiiumaa (1522).**

(Published in Blumfeldt, "Saare-Lääne visitatsiooniprotokolle," 119-120.)

Clenodia ac ornamenta ad summum altare.

*Item dree kelcke vnd 3 patenen, dersuluigen twee vorguldeth mith 2
patenen, vnd ein vnuorguldeth myth 1 patenen.*

Item ein monstrantie vnuorguldeth.

Item ein sulueren agnus dei myt einer sulueren keden.

(5) *Item ein sulueren cleen crutze vpp holte genegelt.*

Item ein sulueren cleen viaticum.

Item ein kopperen viaticum vorguldeth.

Item dree gantze ornatzen.

Item dree missalen.

(10) *Item dree corporalen.*

Item dree par tynnen appullen.

Item ein sulueren kreszemsz busse.

Item twe blyen luchtere.

(15) *Item Marien rock van brwen athlaesz myth vorgulden spangen vnd ein
kroen mith vorgulden spangen.*

Ad altare diue Virginis Marie.

Item twe blyen luchtere.

Item ad altare sancti Nicolai twe blyen luchtere.

Item ad altare diui patris Anthonij twe blyen luchtere.

**No. 14: Visitation protocol of the church in Kihelkonna,
island Saaremaa (1522).**

(Published in Blumfeldt, "Saare-Lääne visitatsiooniprotokolle," 124-125.)

Clenodia eiusdem ecclesie.

[...]

Vyff boklede altare cum eorum pallis.

Dre myssynges luchtere vnd twe tynnen luchtere vp dem hogen altare.

Ein sulueren vorgulde monstrantye.

Ein koper vorgult viaticum.

- (5) *Ein sulueren viaticum van ein marcklodych suluer pro condendis sanctorum reliquijs.*

Ein sulueren crutze.

Twe sulueren appullen.

Ein sulueren agnus dei myth einer korten sulueren keden thom pacificaell.

- (10) *Dre vorgulde kelcke myth dren vorgulden patenen.*

Dre vnuorgulde kelcke myth dren vnuorgulden patenen.

[...]

Item dath lydenth vnser heren veer stücke suluersz.

- (15) *Item vp vnser leuen frowen altaer ein suluer vorgulde kroen, ein suluer laude, twe sulueren agnus dei mith twen sulueren keden, eyn lanck krallen snor myth veer sulueren Anthonijs crytzen, seuenteyn vorgulde schalen, vyff vorgulde knope, acht vnd dertych veerkantige vorgulde spangen.*

- (20) *Item ein feriaell huuensmyde vnd ein feriaell rock myth velen losen sulueren vorgulden spangen. Eyn suluer vorguldet adclee, eyn suluer pater noster ock ethlycke vndussche pennynck suluer, twe grote tynnen luchtere vnd ein klen myssyncksz luchter.*

- (25) *Item in sunte Anthonius kyste eyn vorguldeth kelck vnd ein vorguldeth patene, twe sulueren apullen, eyn sulueren agnus dei mit eyner sulueren keden, eyn groen damasschen ornathe cum singulis requisitis, eyn kleen groen damasschen altaer kissen.*

- (30) *Item am sunthe Antonius bilde eyn sulueren agnus dei mith eyner sulueren keden, dree sulueren Antonius crutze mith twen grote sulueren pater noster stenen vnd achte krallen, dre myssynges luchtere vnd ein tynnen luchter.*

Item ad altare sancti Olai dre tynnen luchtere, vnd in der kapellen isz ein bosloten kyste thor gilde dar de bwer den slotell tho hebben.

- (30) *Item ad altare sancti Nicolai twe tynnen luchter[e] vnd ein missyncksz pipen luchter.*

No. 15: List of church utensils, donated by the Brotherhood of Blackheads to the churches of St Catherine and St Peter in Riga (1441).

(Published in LUB 9, no. 704.)

1. *Item int erste so hebben die swarten hovede getuget eyne kronen, die henget to sunte Katherinen vor dem hiligen lichamen, dar holde sie uppe 7 lichte to der ere Godes, des hiligen lichamens.*

2. *Item soe hebben die swarten hoveden gestichtet die vicarien to sunte Katherinen in der sudersyden, alz die breiff udwiset, den die monike utgeven hebben uppe die vicarie etc.*

3. *Item soe hebben die swarten hoveden gemaket laten dat altare; den steyn, die daruppe licht, den gaeff Hans Hattesborch dato; ok horet en die mormelensteyn, dar men uppe sackeriret den hiligen lichamen, unde ok die altarkleydinge mit dem smyde, dat men des hochtiides darup henget, dar die wapen uppe staen der swarten hoveden etc.*

4. *Item soe hebben die swarten hovede getuget uppe dat altare eyne taffelen, die steit erstes kopes 74 mrc. Lubb. Ok hebben sie getuget dat missael unde den kelick unde die patenen, die wegen tohope 3 1/2 mrc. lodich. dat sulver gaff Koert van der Heyde den swarten hoveden to der ere Godes; uppe deme kelke steit der swarten hoveden wapen. Dar qwemen to 2 Engelsche nobelen to vorgulden, de worden dar ok to gegeven van guden gesellen etc.*

(In dem 31. jar Cristi do was olderman Ludeke Mese, do quam de tafel over van Lubeke. In den jaren Criste 44 do was Tyde Knoke olderman, do wart de kelyck gemaket unde dat syden stukke gekoft.)

5. *Item soe hebben sie gemaket laten 2 appollen van sulver, die wegen 17 lot, dar stan ok der swa ten hovede wapen uppe etc.*

(In den jaren Cristi 23 do was olderman Allef Twyvel; by synen tyden worden de appollen getuget, dat myssael, dat swartte sayen stukke geven, dat boldyk getuget.)

6. *Item noch eyn cruce van sulver, dar men die pese mede giff, dat gaff Clauws Sule den swarten hoveden to der ere Godes etc.*

[...]

8. *Item soe hebben die swarten hovede getuget die klokken unde 3 luchter van missinge uppe dat altar unde den swengel, dar men dat licht uppe untfenget, wen den hiligen lichamen uphevet, unde eynen weyer van pauwen vedderen etc.*

9. *Item soe hebben die swarten hovede getuget 4 licht, die vor ereme stoel staen to sunte Katherinen. Unde noch hebben sie 4 luchterbome, die stan to sunte Peter in sunte Nyclaauws kappellen. Die 2 luchterbome gaff Hans Witte den swarten hoveden to ere Godes.*

[...]

CATALOGUE

Notes on the catalogue

The catalogue presents the data as follows:

- Type of vessel.
- The ecclesiastical institution which the vessel was made for, or, if not known, the church to which it belongs or last belonged. In the case of archaeological finds, the place where it was excavated will be named.
- The dating of the vessel.
- Material of the vessel.
- Dimensions: height, diameter.
- Description of the vessel, including the data on inscriptions and hallmarks.

NB! All descriptions have been written in the present tense, whether or not a vessel still exists or has been lost.

- Present location and/or notes on the fate of the vessel.
- Selected bibliographical references.

1. CHALICE

fig. 1-3

Kaltene church, Latvia

First half of the 14th century, foot 13th century

Silver, parcel gilt

H. 16.1 cm; d. of the foot 14.7 cm

The chalice has a low and broad circular foot provided with a narrow unadorned rim. The foot is decorated with a crucifix and four quatrefoil medallions depicting the symbols of the Evangelists. The stem is round, engraved with stylized leaf-ornament. The knop has the shape of a flattened sphere. Its six lozenge-shaped bosses each bear an engraved rosette. The cup is low, almost hemispherical.

No inscriptions.

No hallmarks.

Kaltene church, Latvia

Bibliography:

V. Vilite, "Jauni materiali" (1987), 54-55;

Idem, *Khudozhestvennoye srebro* (1990), 350-351, no. 534, fig. p. 351;

Idem, "Silver from Latvia" (1993), 94, 99, fig. 1;

Idem, "Goldschmiedekunst in Lettland" (1993), 107.

2. CHALICE

fig. 5

From Otepää castle, Estonia

First half of the 14th century

Silver

H. ca. 12-13 cm; d. of the foot ca. 9.5 cm; d. of the cup ca. 8.8 cm

The chalice is a find from archeological excavations; therefore, its shape is somewhat deformed. The foot of the vessel is circular, very low and without any decoration. The stem and knop, on the contrary, are finely elaborated. The stem is round, both its sections are adorned with two dotted borders and a broader engraved belt between them. Some of the six lozenge-shaped bosses of the knop still bear a rosette on black(?) enamel. The surfaces between the bosses are decorated with motifs similar to Gothic tracery. The cup is relatively deep, with slightly curved sides.

No inscriptions.

No hallmarks.

Tallinn, Institute of History of the Estonian Academy of Sciences.

Inv. no. AI 4036: I 1310, 1345

Bibliography:

A. Mänd, "Altariiriistad" (1995), 185-188, fig. p. 184, 185.

3. PATEN

fig. 5-6

From Otepää castle, Estonia

First half of the 14th century

Silver

D. 12.8 cm

The paten was found together with the chalice (see cat. no. 2). On the basis of the survived fragment it is possible to determine that the paten was provided with a four-lobed depression, and the surfaces between the lobes were each decorated with two engraved leaves.

No inscriptions.

No hallmarks.

Tallinn, Institute of History of the Estonian Academy of Sciences.

Inv. no. AI 4036: I 1287

Bibliography:

A. Mänd, "Altaririistad" (1995), 188, fig. p. 184, 187.

4. CHALICE

fig. 8

From St John's Church in Riga, Latvia

First half of the 15th century

Silver gilt

H. 18 cm; d. of the foot 13 cm

The chalice has a circular foot provided with a vertical rim. The rim is decorated with an ornamentation of pierced quatrefoils. The foot bears a crucifix: the cast figure of Christ soldered on the engraved cross. Under the cross, a skull and crossbones are depicted. The inscriptions on the stem and on the bosses of the knop are reversed, since this part (i.e. the stem with knop) is connected to the chalice upside down. The stem is round; its upper section is inscribed with *gracia plena*, the lower section with *ave maria*. The knop has the shape of a sphere; it is decorated with engraved tracery, and its six lozenge-shaped bosses bear the letters in Gothic minuscules *i-h-e-s-u-s*. On the edge of the cup a later inscription is engraved: *Reparieret Ao 1750 und 1823*.

No hallmarks.

Rundale Palace-Museum, Latvia

Inv. no. RPM 1717/1

Bibliography:

V. Vilite, *Khudozhestvennoye serebro* (1990), 186-187, no. 239, fig. p. 186 ;

Idem, "Silver from Latvia" (1993), 94, 100, fig. 2;

Idem, "Goldschmiedekunst in Lettland" (1993), 107-108.

5. PATEN

fig. 14

From St John's Church in Riga, Latvia

First half of the 15th century

Silver gilt

D. 15.4 cm

The paten has a four-lobed depression; the surfaces between the lobes are decorated with engraved palmettes. The rim bears an engraved cross set in a circle.

No inscriptions.

No hallmarks.

Rundale Palace-Museum, Latvia

Inv. no. RPM 1717/2

Bibliography:V. Vīlīte, *Khudozhestvennoye serebro* (1990), 186-187, no. 239;

Idem, "Silver in Latvia" (1993), 94, 100, fig. 2;

Idem, "Goldschmiedekunst in Lettland" (1993), 107-108.

6. PATEN

fig. 15

From the former Saare-Lääne (Ösel-Wiek) Bishopric

First quarter of the 15th century

Silver gilt (gilding has been renewed)

D. 16.0 cm

The paten has a four-lobed depression, the surfaces between the lobes are decorated with engraved palmettes. The rim bears a simple engraved cross set in a double circle. Around the rim, an inscription in Gothic minuscules is engraved: *johannes corever decanus osiliensis comparavit hunc calicem orate pro eo*. The text is divided by rosettes and dots.

No hallmarks.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the paten belonged to the church of Woltershausen at Harbarnsen, near Hannover, Germany.

Present location unknown.

Bibliography:

H. von Bruiningk, "Kelch und Patene" (1907), 107-110, 117, plate I.

7. CHALICE

fig. 9

From the Holy Ghost Church in Bauska, Latvia

First half of the 15th century

Silver gilt

H. 18.3 cm; d. of the foot 12.0 cm; d. of the cup 10.0 cm

The chalice has a circular foot, provided with a vertical rim. The foot is decorated with a crucifix: the cross is engraved, the figure of Christ is cast. The foot is bordered with an inscription in Gothic minuscules: *help ihesus unde maria got to*

allen tiden. The round stem is also engraved with inscriptions: above the knop - *salv maria*, below the knop - *ihesus xps*. The knop has the shape of a slightly flattened sphere; its six lozenge-shaped bosses bear the letters *i-h-e-s-u-s* on nielloed background. The surfaces between the bosses are decorated with Gothic tracery. The cup is conical, unadorned.

No hallmarks.

The chalice was lost in World War II (1944).

Bibliography:

L. Arbusow, "Die Kelche der deutschen Kirche zu Bauske" (1889), 29-30, plate IV;
D. Brugis, ed., *Bauskas Sv. Gara baznica 1594-1994* (1993), 32.

8. CHALICE

fig. 10a

From St Mary Magdalen's Church in Kärla, Estonia

Mid 15th century

Silver

No data on dimensions

The chalice has a circular foot provided with a double rim. The upper, that is, the vertical rim is decorated with pierced ornamentation; the lower, horizontal rim is unadorned. The foot bears an engraved crucifix. The stem is round, its sections above and below the knop are engraved in Gothic minuscules: *Maria - help Jhesus - help Got*. The knop has the shape of a flattened sphere; the lozenge-shaped bosses protrude comparatively far from the corpus of the knop. The bosses bear the letters *i-h-e-s-u-s*. The surfaces between the bosses are decorated with tracery. The cup is plain, unadorned.

No inscriptions.

No data on hallmarks.

Location unknown. The chalice was probably lost during World War II.

Bibliography:

M. Körber, *Oesel einst und jetzt*, vol. 3 (1915), 103.

9. CHALICE

fig. 10b

From St Mary's Church in Pöide, Estonia

14th century, re-made at the end of the 15th century

Silver, gilded(?)

No data on dimensions.

The chalice has a low circular foot, bordered with an inscription in Gothic minuscules: *dussen kellik hevet g'even tilet coster (or: tile troster) unde sin wiv katerine*. The foot also bears a crucifix in relief. The connecting link between the foot and stem is decorated with profiles. The facets of the hexagonal stem are provided with engraved letters: above the knop: (as far as it can be determined with the help of the survived photo) *i-h-e-s-u-s*, below the knop: *m-a-r-i-a*. The bosses of the knop also bear the letters *i-h-e-s-u-s*. The surfaces between the bosses are decorated with tracery. The cup is conical with slightly curved sides. The foot and

the upper part of the chalice originate from different periods; however, the decorations on the foot were added in the process of re-making the chalice at the end of the fifteenth century.

No data on hallmarks.

Location unknown. The chalice was probably lost during World War II.

Bibliography:

W. Neumann, "Über einige Altertümer aus Öselschen Kirchen" (1914), 350, plate facing page 352;

M. Körber, *Oesel einst und jetzt*, vol. 3 (1915), 39.

10. CHALICE

fig. 11-12

St Catherine's Church in Muhu, Estonia

Mid 15th century

Silver gilt (present gilding is added later)

H. 21.5 cm; d. of the foot 12.2 cm; d. of the cup 13.0 cm.

The chalice has a strong, abruptly rising six-lobed foot. The foot is provided with two rims: the upper one is adorned with stamped geometrical ornamentation; the lower, horizontal rim is plain. One of the lobes bears an engraved figure of a holy bishop standing in a garden. At the connecting point of the lobes, remains of medieval gilding can be observed. The facets of the hexagonal stem are engraved with letters in minuscules: above the knop *i-h-e-s-u-s*, below the knop *m-a-r-i-a* (the sixth facet bears the motif of a curled ribbon). The six protruding bosses of the knop are engraved with *i-h-e-s-u-s*; the background of these letters is decorated with small engraved flowers or leaves. The surfaces between the knops are decorated with tracery. The cup is quite deep, its shape recalls an overturned parabola. The lower section of the cup is provided with a slightly (ca. 1 mm) extended circle, which perhaps imitates the motif of a calyx. The connecting zone between the cup and stem has been renovated with soldering.

No inscriptions.

No hallmarks.

St Catherine's Church in Muhu.

Bibliography:

E. Vende, *Väärismetallitööd* (1967), 41; fig. 15;

M. Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide" (1972), 96;

EKA (1975), 82;

A. Mänd, "Altaririistad" (1995), 188, note 6.

11. PATEN

fig. 16

St Catherine's Church in Muhu, Estonia

15th century

Silver gilt

D. 14.5 cm

The paten is a simple round plate, with a round depression in the centre. The only decoration is an engraved Maltese cross on the rim, set inside a double circle.

No inscriptions.

No hallmarks.

St Catherine's Church in Muhu

No references.

12. CHALICE

fig. 13

From St John's Church in Harju-Jaani, Estonia

Second half of the 15th century

Silver gilt

H. 20.8 cm; d. of the foot 13.0 cm; d. of the cup 10.0 cm

The chalice has a tall, abruptly rising six-lobed foot. The upper, vertical rim is comparatively thick; it is decorated with ornamentation consisting of pierced quatrefoils inside lozenges. One of the lobes bears a cast image of crucified Christ: only the figure of Christ has survived, the cross has been lost. A later inscription is engraved on the bottom of the foot: *Wie gt dieser kellig 44 lot*. The facets of the hexagonal stem are ornamented with engraved letters in Gothic minuscules: above the knop *i-h-e-s-u-s*, below the knop *m-a-r-i-a* (the sixth facet is decorated with engraved leaf). The lozenge-shaped bosses of the knop are also inscribed with *i-h-e-s-u-s*; the surfaces in-between are decorated with engraved tracery. The relatively deep cup is unadorned.

No hallmarks.

The chalice belongs to the community of Harju-Jaani, but was deposited in the Estonian Museum of Art, Tallinn in 1977 (Deposit no. DD 2).

Bibliography:E. Vende, *Väärismetallitööd* (1967), 41, fig. 16;

M. Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide" (1972), 96;

EKA (1975), 82.

13. CHALICE

fig. 18

From St Jacobus' Church in Riga, Latvia

15th century (after 1474?)

Silver gilt

H. 19.2 cm; d. of the foot 11.6 cm; d. of the cup 11.1 cm

The chalice has a six-lobed foot; its relatively thick rim is decorated with scrolled foliage in openwork. A cast coat of arms, passed through by the cross of the Teutonic Order, is soldered on to one of the lobes. The five other lobes are decorated with engravings. One of them depicts the Virgin Mary and Child, standing under a baldachin; on the remaining four lobes there is a banderole with an engraved inscription: *dirik * rumel hinrick rumel den * got * gnedich sy * un * al de * ut * slechte vor * sterm sin de * rowen * in gades vrede*. The upper part of the foot, just before the junction with the stem, is adorned with six leaves in relief. The facets of the upper section of the hexagonal stem are decorated with stylized leaves; those of the lower section are engraved with *o-m-a-r-i-a*. The six lozenge-shaped bosses of the knop alternate with rosettes in relief. The bosses are inscribed with *i-h-e-s-u-s*. The upper and lower surfaces of the knop are decorated with engraved tracery. The large cup is set inside a calyx formed by eight leaves in relief. The cup is a secondary addition.

Hallmarks: On the bottom of the foot there is twice stamped a Gothic "E" - an unidentified maker's mark.

The chalice was lost in World War II.

Bibliography:

Katalog der Rigaschen culturhistorischen Ausstellung (1883), 147, no. 1566;
W. Neumann, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste* (1887), 106;
A. Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten* (1892), 17, no. 42, plate XV;
Katalog der Ausstellung zum X. archäologischen Kongress (1896), 232-233, no. 1245.

14. PATEN

From St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn, Estonia

15th century

Silver gilt

D. 10.6 cm

The paten has the shape of a simple plate with a round depression in the centre. The rim bears an engraved cross set in a circle.

No inscriptions.

No hallmarks.

The paten was taken to Sweden in 1944 by Richard Koolmeister, the pastor of St Nicholas' Church. Presently, it belongs to his daughter Viivi Baladi (Sweden). In 1995, the paten was deposited with her permission in the Estonian Museum of Art, Tallinn.

No references.

15. PATEN

fig. 17a

St Michael's Church in Kihelkonna, Estonia

15th century (?)

Silver, remains of gilding

D. 9.8 cm

The paten has the shape of a simple plate with a round depression. The rim is provided with an engraved cross inside a circle. On the back side of the paten is engraved: *Wagt 4. L.* Around the back side of the rim the following three-line inscription is engraved: *Anno 1676 Hat Der Königl. General und Gubernör Hoch Wolgeboren Herren Carl Johanson Siöblad Diesen Kelch und Paten Wie auch Das Silberne Creutz und Wappen Der KielKunschen Kirchen Ein Wohner Zur Nutz Lassen Verbessern und Säubern Wie Auch alles zu Guter Nachricht Wegen Lassen Mit Ein Wollgemachtes Futteral Für Den Kelch und Pateen vorehret.* A four-lobed blossom is engraved in-between the text.

No hallmarks.

St Michael's Church in Kihelkonna.

Bibliography:M. Körber, *Oesel einst und jetzt*, vol. 2 (1899), 57, no. 5.**16. PATEN**

fig. 17b

St Nicholas' Church in Põltsamaa, Estonia

15th century (?)

Silver gilt

D. 15.5 cm

The paten has the shape of a simple plate with a round depression in the centre. The rim is provided with an engraved cross inside a circle.

No inscriptions.

No hallmarks.

St Nicholas' Church in Põltsamaa.

No references.

17. PATEN**St John's Church in Järva-Jaani, Estonia**

First half of the 16th century (?)

Silver gilt

D. 15.8 cm

The paten has the shape of a simple plate with a round depression. The rim bears an engraved cross set in a circle. The cross is finely elaborated, its branches ending with curved lines. The background of the cross is decorated with stamped dots.

No inscriptions.

No hallmarks.

St John's Church in Järva-Jaani.

No references.

18. CHALICE

fig. 19

From St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn, Estonia

End of the 15th century

Silver gilt

H. 18 cm; d. of the foot 15.1 cm; d. of the cup 10.6 cm

The chalice has a relatively wide six-lobed foot. The latter is provided with a double rim. The upper, vertical rim is decorated with a band of pierced quatrefoils inside lozenges; the lower, horizontal rim is unadorned. The foot bears a crucifix - Christ's figure in relief soldered to an engraved cross. On the lobes, a two-line inscription in Gothic minuscules is engraved. On the upper line, running as a straight band, is written: *desse kelk hort to des hilghe lichame missen to sunte niclawes*. On the lower one, designed as a curved banderole, is written: *int iar uns heren xiiii c iar un xxxv do wart desse misse be gut*. On the bottom of the foot a later inscription is engraved: *W 31 loth and S.T. Heiligeist Kirche*, according to which the chalice temporarily belonged to the Holy Ghost Church in Tallinn. The stem is hexagonal, its facets above the knop are inscribed with *i-h-e-s-v-s*, below the knop *m-a-r-i-a* (with two rosettes on the sixth facet). The lozenge-shaped bosses only slightly protrude from the corpus of the knop. The bosses are engraved with *i-h-e-s-v-s*; the surfaces between the bosses are decorated with tracery. The relatively small cup has a shape of a parabola.

No hallmarks.

According to the medieval account book of St Nicholas' Church, the vessel was donated to the church in 1495.

The chalice was lost during World War II.

Bibliography:

- A. Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten* (1892), 18, no. 49, plate XVII;
- E. von Nottbeck and W. Neumann, *Kunstdenkmäler* (1899), 96, fig. 54;
- R. Hausmann, "Silberschatz" (1899), 242, 376;
- E. Vende, *Väärismetallitööd* (1967), 40-42, fig. 14;
- M. Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide" (1972), 94-95;
- A. Mänd, "Altaririistad" (1995), 188, note 6.

19. CHALICE

fig. 21

From the Cathedral of Haapsalu, Estonia

End of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century

Silver gilt

H. 20.8 cm; d. of the foot 15.9 cm; d. of the cup 11.8 cm

The chalice has a tall six-lobed foot provided with two rims. The upper one is adorned with pierced ornament consisting of the line of quatrefoils inside the lozenges. The horizontal rim is undecorated. The hexagonal stem is engraved with Gothic majuscules, above the knop *I-H-E-S-U-S*, below the knop *M-H-A-R-I-A*. The knop is decorated with engraved tracery; its six lozenge-shaped bosses bear the letters *I-H-E-S-U-S* on black enamel. The lower part of the cup is surrounded by a calyx-like perforated leaf-chaplet. The underside of the cup, around the connecting zone with the stem, is decorated with engraved blossoms of a huge rosette.

On the bottom of the foot is engraved an inscription in Gothic minuscules: *Do[minus] theodoric[us] bri[n]ck cano[n]ic[us] ad sum[m]u[m] altare eccl[es]ie osilien[sis] me dedit*. The text indicates that the chalice was donated to the main altar of the *ecclesia Osiliensis*, that is, the Cathedral of Haapsalu.

One of the lobes of the foot is decorated with a cast image of the Golgotha scene: the crucified Christ between St Mary and St John the Evangelist. The other five lobes bear the following inscriptions:

1. *DER * KON * MAIT / ZV * SCHWEDEN / ERICHS * DES / VIERZEHENDEN / BESTALTE * BE / VELICH * HABER.*
2. *OB * BEI * VNS * IST / DER * SVNDE * VIEL / BEI * GODT * IS * VIL / MER GNADE.*
3. *REINHOLT * BRAKEL / RIDTMEISTER.* Under the name the coat of arms of the Brakel family is soldered.
4. *WOLFGANG * GOLT / ZEN * V * COLN * AN / DER * SPREWE * LEV / TEN * AMBT.* A coat of arms is soldered under the text.
5. *GEGEBEN * IN * DER / ERE * GODTES * ZV / UNSER * BEIDER / GEDECHTNVS * IN / DER * KIRCHEN ZV / S * NICOLAI / ANNO * DNI / 1567.*

Two hallmarks are stamped on the bottom of the foot:

1. town mark of Tallinn - the *danebrog*,
2. maker's mark - a shield with a nettle leaf (hypothetically attributed to Jakob Luban).

According to the later inscriptions on the lobes of the foot, the chalice was donated to St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn in 1567 (the vessels was probably robbed from the Cathedral of Haapsalu during the Russian-Livonian War). The chalice belonged to St Nicholas' Church until World War II. Since 1944, it has been lost.

Bibliography:

- A. Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten* (1892), 18, no. 48, plate XVII;
 E. von Nottbeck and W. Neumann, *Kunstdenkmäler* (1899), 96-98;
 R. Hausmann, "Silberschatz" (1899), 339-340, 376;
 A. Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals* (1931), 64, no. 65, fig. 2;
 E. Vende, *Väärismetallitööd* (1967), 42-43, fig. 18;
 M. Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide" (1972), 97-98; *EKA* (1975), 81, fig. 212.

20. CHALICE

From the Cathedral of Tallinn, Estonia

End of the 15th century

Silver gilt

H. 17.2 cm; d. of the foot 12.6 cm; d. of the cup 9.7 cm

The chalice has a circular foot, decorated with a small crucifix, and a two-line inscription in Gothic minuscules. The lower line: *o . sacrum . conuyuyum . in . quo . cristus . sumitur . recolitur . memoria . passionis*. The upper line: *eius . mens . impletur . cracia . et . future - glorie . nobis . pigmus . datur . alla* (alleluja?). The six lozenge-shaped bosses of the knop bear the following letters on the black enamel: *er-ch-iu-il-oe-nu*. The surfaces between the bosses are decorated with tracery. Only the foot, stem, and knop originate from the Middle Ages; the cup has been replaced.

No hallmarks.

Location unknown.

Bibliography:

E. von Nottbeck and W. Neumann, *Kunstdenkmäler* (1899), 61.

21. CHALICE

Presumably from St Catherine's Cistercian Nunnery in Tartu, Estonia

Late 15th century or early 16th century

Silver gilt

H. 19.0 cm

The chalice consists of two parts originating from the different time periods. The foot (probably of circular shape) is boarded by an inscription in Gothic minuscules: *desse * kelk * hort * to * sunte * katerinen * den * yuc * frovven*. Between the beginning and end of this text is a hollow sign, probably an indication of a decoration which once had been soldered there (a crucifix?). Both sections of the round stem are inscribed with Gothic minuscules: *gott help - maria*. The knop is decorated with tracery and six angel's heads provided with wings. The cup has been replaced. It bears three medallions with the busts of the Saviour, St Mary, and St John the Evangelist, and it is provided with an inscription in Church Slavonic.

No hallmarks.

The chalice was presumably taken to Russia during the Russian-Livonian War in the 16th century. Later, it got into the private collection, and in 1895 it was given to the Museum of Tver. The present location of the chalice is unknown; already according to the inventory from 1940, the vessel was no longer in the Museum, and nothing is known of its fate.

Bibliography:

A. Buchholtz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten* (1892), 3-4;

Fr. Stillmark and R. Hausmann, "Ueber einen Kelch" (1895), 67-70;

Katalog der Ausstellung zum X. archäologischen Kongress (1896), 242, no. 1311.

22. CHALICE

fig. 24-25

Presumably from the former Saare-Lääne (Ösel-Wiek) Bishopric

End of the 15th century

Silver gilt

H. 22.0 cm; d. of the foot 16-17 cm; d. of the cup 11.0 cm

The strong and high foot of the chalice is richly elaborated: the six lobes alternating with the six cusps. The upper rim of the foot is relatively thick, adorned with mouldings and pierced ornament - quatrefoils inside circles. The horizontal rim is plain. One of the lobes bears a cast image of the Golgotha scene: Christ on the cross between St Mary and St John. Two coat of arms are soldered on to the neighbouring lobes. One of them depicting a "rising bat" belonged to the Livonian family of von Wettberg; the other, depicting a crowned lion, belonged to the Livonian family of Uxkull. The underside of the horizontal rim is provided with inscription in Gothic minuscules: *got * gebe * eve * den * de * evige * pin * de * dessen * kellek * nicht * let * bi * alle * godes * hiligen * to * evigen * siden * sin.*

The connecting zone between the foot and stem consists of a belt decorated with profiles. The stem is hexagonal; its upper section is engraved with *i-h-e-s-u-s*, the lower section with *v[irgo] m-a-r-i-a*. The knop is decorated with pierced tracery; the lozenge-shaped bosses have lost their original decoration and are restored with lead or filler. The bell-shaped cup is unadorned, only the connecting zone with the stem is provided with narrow foliage ornamentation.

No hallmarks.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the chalice belonged to the church of Woltershausen at Harbarnsen, near Hannover, Germany (see also cat. no. 6).

Present location unknown.

Bibliography:

H. von Bruiningk, "Kelch und Patene" (1907), 108, 110-117, plate II-III.

23. CHALICE

fig. 26

From St Catherine's Dominican Friary in Tallinn, Estonia

Early 16th century (latest 1514)

Silver gilt

H. 20.0 cm; d. of the foot 17.0 cm; d. of the cup 10.5 cm

The chalice has a wide six-lobed foot, provided with two rims. The upper rim is decorated with a line of vertical sticks, the horizontal rim is unadorned. One of the lobes bears a cast crucifix with a genuine pearl on each arm of the cross. The connecting zone between the foot and stem is decorated with a finely profiled belt. The stem is hexagonal; its facets both below and above the knop are engraved with Gothic majuscules: *I-H-E-S-V-S*. The lozenge-shaped bosses of the knop also bear the letters *I-H-E-S-V-S*, but on a dark-blue enamel. The round surfaces between the bosses are decorated with engraved tracery in a flamboyant style. The bottom of the cup is flattened; the connection zone between the cup and stem is adorned with a narrow (ca. 0.5 cm high) decorative belt.

The bottom of the foot is provided with an engraved inscription in Gothic majuscles: *ISTV[M] CALICE[M] IACOB RICKMAKR / REVALIEN[SIS] DEDIT CO[N]VENTVI / ORD[IN]IS P[RE]DICATOR[VM] CVI[VS] A[N]I[M]A / REQUIESCA[T] IN PACE / IHESVS / 1514.*

Three hallmarks are stamped on the bottom of the chalice: the *danebrog*, the town mark of Tallinn, between two shields with "H" - most likely the maker's mark of Hans Holtappel.

According to the inscription, the chalice was donated to the Tallinn Dominican Friary in 1514. Presumably after 1563 until 1740, the vessel belonged to the Cathedral of Haapsalu. From 1740 to 1944 it belonged to the church in Vormsi from where it was taken to Sweden by refugees from Estonia.

Present location: State Historical Museum (*Statens Historiska Museum*) in Stockholm, Sweden. Inv. no. SHM 29972.

Bibliography:

- A. Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals* (1931), 66-67, no. 78, fig. 3;
 S. Karling, *Vormsö kyrka* (1937), 16;
 E. Vende, *Väärismetallitööd* (1967), 43, fig. 19;
 E. Tool-Marran, *Tallinna dominiiklaste klooster* (1971), 161;
 M. Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide" (1972), 98-99, 207, 216;
EKA (1975), 102;
Estlandssvenska kyrkominnen (1976), 14, 16, 44, 46, 48, fig. 24;
 M. Raud, ed., *Baltiskt silver* (1986), 14, no. 1, fig. p. 14;
 A. Mänd, "Altaririistad" (1995), 184, note 2.

24. CHALICE

fig. 28a, 29

St John's Church in Suure-Jaani, Estonia

First half of the 16th century

Silver gilt

H. 18.5 cm; d. of the foot 13.0 cm; d. of the cup 10.4 cm

The chalice has a six-lobed foot provided with a double rim. The upper rim is decorated with finely elaborated profiles; the lower rim, almost as thick as the upper one, slants diagonally outwards and is unadorned. The lobes of the foot are bordered with engraved geometrical ornament. On the two opposite lobes there are soldered figural compositions in high relief. One of the depicts the Golgotha scene - the crucified Christ between St Mary and St John. The other group, surrounded by a wreath of flowers, represents Madonna and Child with St Anne. The Virgin Mary and St Anne are sitting next to each other and holding baby Jesus between them. St Mary has a sceptre in her hand, whereas St Anne holds an unidentified object. The stem is hexagonal, its facets are engraved with Gothic majuscles: above the knop *M-A-R-I-A-I*, below the knop *I-E-S-V-S-V*. The bosses of the knop are inscribed with *I-H-E-S-V-S*, the surfaces in-between are designed as round arches. The cup is deep and has the shape of a bell.

No inscriptions.

No hallmarks.

St John' Church in Suure-Jaani

Bibliography:

E. Vende, *Väärismetallitööd* (1967), 41-42, fig. 17;

EKA (1975), 102, fig. 210.

25. MONSTRANCE

fig. 31-35

From St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn, Estonia

1474 (-1477)

Silver gilt

H. 112 cm

The monstrance represents a type of tower-monstrance. Its corpus, that is, the upper part, is composed of finely elaborated miniature architectural elements, such as pillars with flying buttresses, pinnacles, crockets, etc. A vertical glass cylinder, used to display the host, is placed in the middle of the lowest section. Inside this glass is a silver gilt lunette, supported by the cast figures of two angels. The surfaces below and above the cylinder are decorated with precious stones, some of which have been lost. The small tracery windows of the galleries are coloured with translucent enamel. In the niches of the pillars stand the cast statuettes of the Apostles. In the second, that is, the middle section of the corpus, stands the Virgin Mary with the Child. The uppermost section bears the figure of a saintly knight. In addition to the architectural elements, the corpus is richly decorated with foliage, soldered to cast details. Two small bells hang from the underside of the corpus.

The upper part of the monstrance is supported by a strong foot and stem. The stem is hexagonal, provided with two knops. The upper knop has the shape of a flattened sphere, its lozenge-shaped bosses bear the letters *i-h-e-s-u-s*. The lower knop is designed as a small chapel with tracery windows and flying buttresses. The six lobes of the foot end with small cusps. The foot is provided with two rims; the upper one is decorated with pierced quatrefoils. Three lobes of the foot are decorated with engravings, alternating with three unadorned lobes. One lobe depicts the Christ Child with the Instruments of the Passion (*Arma Christi*), and has a banderole with the inscription: *int iar unses herē m cccc lxxiiii*. The second lobe represents St John the Evangelist seated in a meadow, and holding a banderole with his name - *s. johann*. In front of him a chalice is depicted. The third lobe represents a saintly bishop seated on a throne.

On the bottom of the foot the following inscription is engraved in Gothic cursive: *hans ryssenberch heuet dusse munstrancyge gemaket myt der godes hulpe amen got geue uns alle dat euyge leuen*, and further - *xxxvii 4 lod iiiii lott*.

No hallmarks.

According to the inscriptions and the data in the medieval account book of St Nicholas' Church the monstrance was made for the church by goldsmith Hans Ryssenberch in 1474 (the gilding and some additional details were completed in 1477). In 1711, the vessel was given as a present to Duke Alexander Menshikov, who, in turn, gave it to Peter the Great. In 1725, the monstrance entered the collection of the *Kunstkamera* in St Petersburg, and from there that of the Hermitage in 1894.

Present location: Hermitage of St Petersburg, Russia. Inv. no. F 915.

Bibliography:

- R. Hausmann, "Monstranz des Hans Ryssenberch in der K. Ermitage" (1897), 165-212, plates I-II;
 E. von Nottbeck, "Die Ryssenberchsche Monstranz" (1898), 1-12;
 Idem, and W. Neumann, *Die Kunstdenkmäler* (1899), 99, fig. 55;
 R. Hausmann, "Silberschatz" (1899), 213-240;
 Idem, "Die Monstranz des Hans Ryssenberch vom Jahre 1474" (1902), 225-228;
 A. Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals* (1931), 62-63, no. 56, fig. 1;
 J. M. Fritz, *Gestochene Bilder* (1966), 315-317, 501, fig. 248-249, cat. no. 414;
 E. Vende, *Väärismetallitööd* (1967), 33-38, fig. 1-11;
 E. A. Lapkovskaya, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo srednikh vekov* (1971), 28, cat. no. 73, plate 73;
 M. Raud, "Studier i Tallinns silversmide" (1972), 90-94, 213-214;
EKA (1975), 81, fig. 205-208;
 J. M. Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst in Mitteleuropa* (1982), 311, fig. 899.

26. HOST-PYX

fig. 37-38

From Pärnu, Estonia

Second half of the 14th century

Pewter

D. 6.0 cm; h. (excluding the feet) ca. 2.5 cm

The corpus of the vessel is hexagonal on the outside, but round on the inside. The box is quite deformed: only two and a half out of the six facets have been preserved. On each facet two Apostles stand under Gothic arcades. The Apostles wear long folded robes, and they each hold a book in one hand and an attribute in the other hand. The bottom of the inner surface depicts St George fighting the dragon. Left of the saint, the hand of God is emerging from a cloud. The background of the scene is filled with tiny trefoil motifs. The underside of the box bears a quatrefoil, in the middle of which is depicted a coat of arms with a standing lion. The foils are decorated with the letters *P* (or *F*)-*L-A-D*. The three small feet of the vessel are adorned with human faces on their upper sections. The lid of the box has been lost.

The host-pyx was found during the archaeological excavations of Malmö street, Pärnu, in 1992. It may have belonged to St Nicholas' Church in Pärnu which was situated not far from that street.

The Museum of Pärnu.

Inv no. Pä Mu 14640 : 2969

A 2509

Bibliography:

- A. Kriiska, A. Mäsalu, and A. Mänd, "Haruldane tinatoos" (1995), 195-208, fig. p. 196-199.

27. FRAGMENTS OF TWO AMPULLAE

fig. 41

From Otepää castle, Estonia

14th century

Silver

H. ca. 7 cm

The archaeological finds consist of the deformed corpus of one ampulla, two lids, and a decorative moulded knob belonging to one of the lids. The flat, lozenge-shaped lids are marked with engraved letters "V" (for *vinum*) and "A" (for *aqua*). The shape of the corpus resembles a pear: it has a long hexagonal upper part which opens to a wider round lower bottom. The edge around the lip as well as the junction between the upper and lower part of the corpus are adorned with a narrow belt soldered on to the vessel. These belts bear a simple geometrical ornament. A small sign resembling a fork is engraved on one of the hexagonal facets of the corpus, directly below the hinge.

No inscriptions.

No hallmarks.

Tallinn, Institute of History of the Estonian Academy of Sciences.

Inv. no. AI 4036: I 1387

Bibliography:

A. Mänd, "Altariiristad" (1995), 188-191, fig. p. 189.

28. THURIBLE

fig. 43

From Otepää castle, Estonia

First half of the 14th century

Bronze

H. ca. 22 cm

The corpus of the thurible consists of a simple bowl-shaped lower section with a relatively low polygonal foot, and of an upper section which is decorated with three triangular pointed-arch gables. The upper section is also provided with several round holes. The cover is crowned by a cross-shaped knob. The three chains, used for swinging the vessel, are connected to the corpus with three pins. The opposite ends of the chains are joined to a trefoil-shaped holder provided with a larger ring.

No inscriptions.

Tallinn, Institute of History of the Estonian Academy of Sciences.

Inv. no. AI 4036: I 1282

Bibliography:

L. Jaanits, "Arheoloogilistest välitöödest" (1956), 314, fig. 3/2;

A. Mänd, "Altariiristad" (1995), 190-192, fig. p. 190.

29. AQUAMANILE

fig. 45

From Laiuse, Estonia

First half of the 13th century

Bronze

Maximum h. 26 cm; maximum length 27 cm

The vessel has the shape of a lion. The handle is designed in the shape of a cobra, reaching from the tail of the lion until the back of its head. The body of the lion is covered with engraved circles, also the eyes, mouth and paws are elaborated with the aid of engraving. The lion carries a pipe between its teeth that serves as a spout. An opening for pouring water into the vessel is located on the top of the animal's head and is closed by a small hinged cover.

No inscriptions.

This aquamanile was found by chance in 1904 near the castle of Laiuse. Until World War II, it was kept in the Cathedral Museum (*Dommuseum*) of Riga, Latvia. The vessel has been lost since 1944.

Bibliography:

J. Frey, "Der Laissche Fund" (1905), 28-37, fig. 1-2;

H. von Bruiningk, "Das Aquamanile im Dommuseum zu Riga" (1906), 6-12, plate facing p. 6;

W. Neumann, *Unser Dommuseum* (1913), 17;A. Waga, *Eesti kunsti ajalugu* (1932), 279, fig. 148;O. von Falke and E. Meyer, *Giessgefässe der Gotik* (1935), 66, 112.**30. AQUAMANILE**

fig. 46

From Adavere, Estonia

1515

Bronze

H. 24 cm; length between the spouts 39 cm; perimeter 88 cm

The aquamanile has the shape of a kettle. It is provided with two spouts on the opposite sides of the corpus. The handle, which is now missing, was connected to the two female heads protruding out of the vessel. The lid is also missing, only a connecting hinge has survived. The corpus is decorated with slight mouldings; its middle part is surrounded by an inscription in Gothic minuscules: *ave maria gracia plena domnus steum (!) ynt yar xvc vn xv*. The text is divided by lilies.

The vessel was found by chance on the manorial estate of Adavere, near Põltsamaa in 1911. Until World War II, it belonged to the Cathedral Museum of Riga, Latvia. Since 1944, its location is unknown.

Bibliography:

H. von Bruiningk, "Das Giessgefäss" (1913), 344-347, plate facing p. 345;

A. Waga, *Eesti kunsti ajalugu* (1932), 279, fig. 149.

31. ALTAR BELL

fig. 47

From the Tallinn Dominican Friary, Estonia

15th century

Bronze

H. 4.1 cm

The bell was found during the archaeological excavations in the friary in the 1970s. The bell is very simple, undecorated, and provided only with a slight moulding on its lower part. No inscriptions, no marks.

Town Museum of Tallinn

Inv. no. TLM 10628: 25

Bibliography:

E. Tool-Marran, *Tallinna dominiiklaste klooster* (1971), 146, fig. 78;

J. Tamm, "Eesti kloostrite materiaalne kultuur" (1988), 72, fig. 188.

32. ALTAR BELL

fig. 47

From the Pirita Brigittine Nunnery, near Tallinn, Estonia

15th century

Bronze

H. 5.0 cm

The bell was found during the archaeological excavations in the Pirita monastery in the 1980s. The bell is very simple, undecorated, and provided only with a slight moulding on its lower part. No inscriptions, no marks.

Town Museum of Tallinn

Inv. no. 18540: 482

Bibliography:

J. Tamm, "Eesti kloostrite materiaalne kultuur" (1988), 72, fig. 188.



Fig. 1. Chalice in the Kaltene church, Latvia. Silver gilt. First half of the 14th century (foot 13th century). [Cat. no. 1]



Fig. 2. Chalice in the Kaltene church. Medallion on the foot with the symbol of St John.



Fig. 3. Chalice in the Kaltene church. Medallion on the foot with the symbol of St Mark.



Fig. 4. Chalice from St Lambertus' Church in Gladbeck, Germany. Silver gilt.
Second quarter of the 14th century.



Fig. 5. Chalice and paten from the Otepää castle, Estonia. Silver. First half of the 14th century. [Cat. no. 2-3].

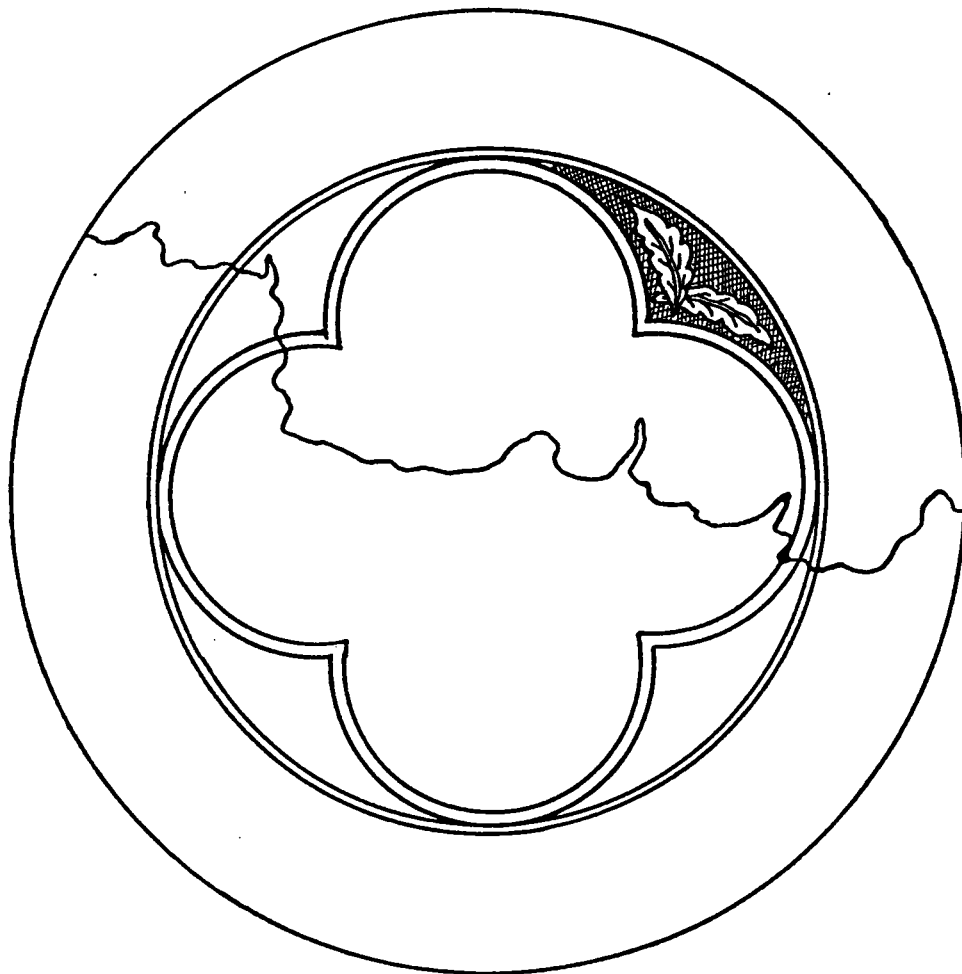


Fig. 6. Reconstruction of the Otepää paten. 1:1

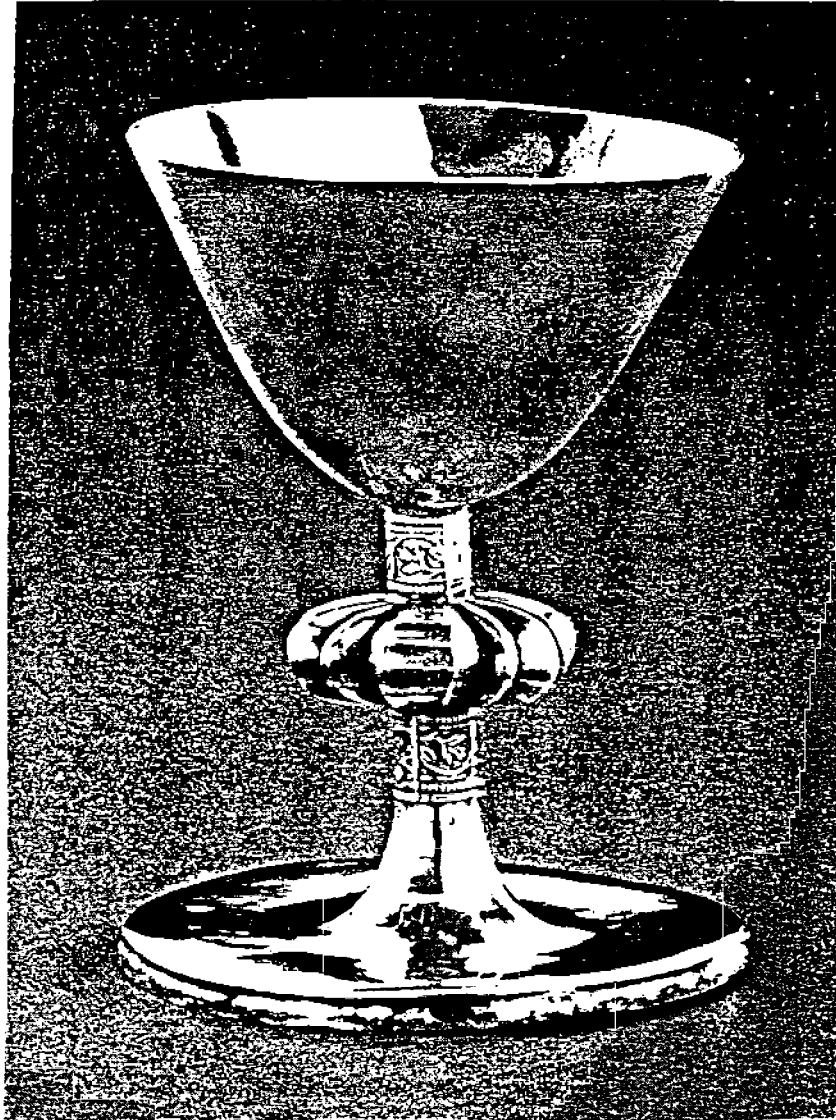


Fig. 7. Chalice from St Martin's Church, Göttingen-Geismar, Germany. Silver. Around 1300.



Fig. 8. Chalice from St John's Church in Riga, Latvia. Silver gilt. First half of the 15th century. [Cat. no. 4]

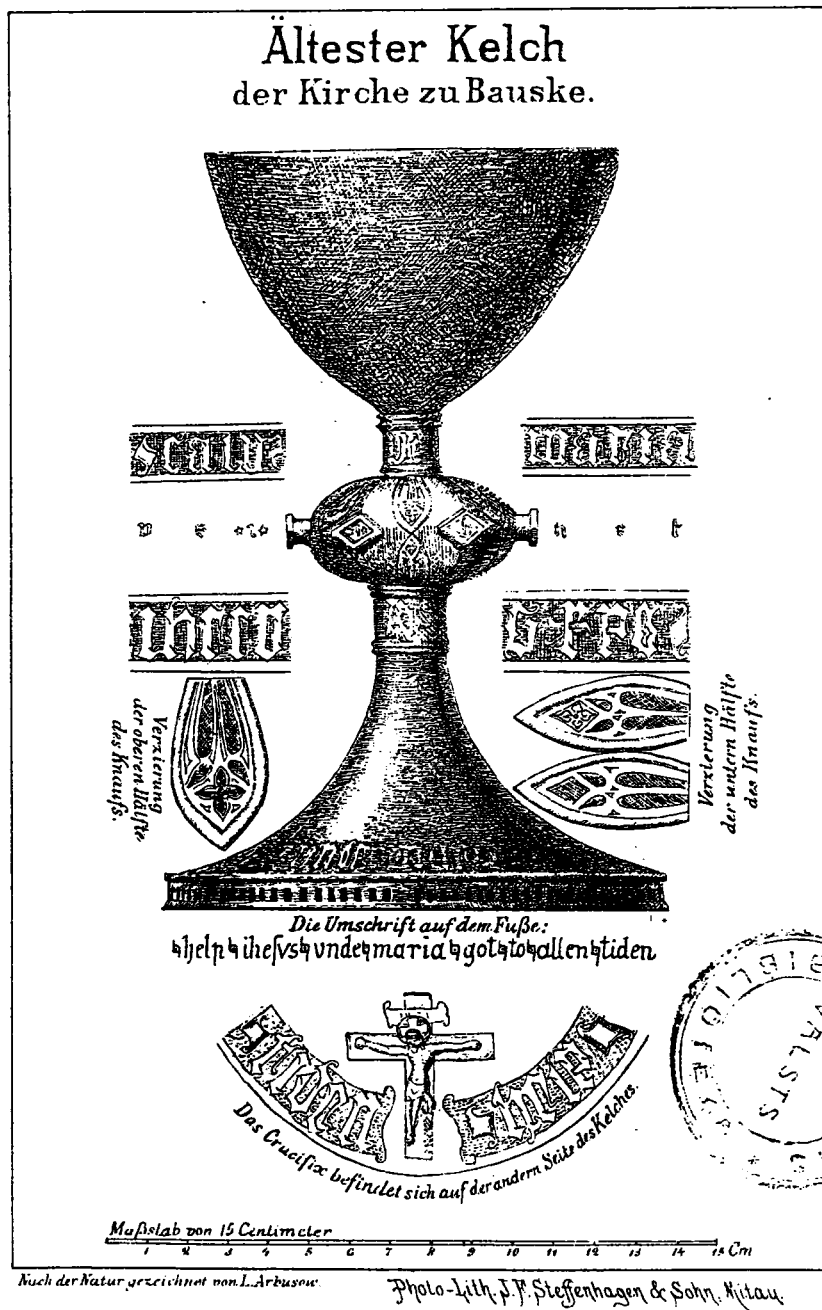


Fig. 9. Chalice from the Holy Ghost Church in Bauska, Latvia. Silver gilt.
First half of the 15th century. [Cat. no. 7]

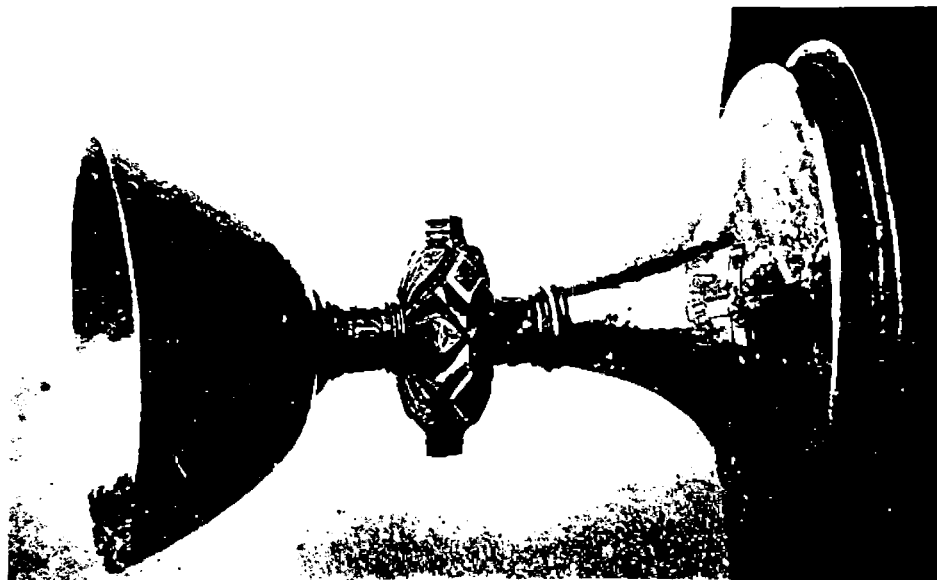
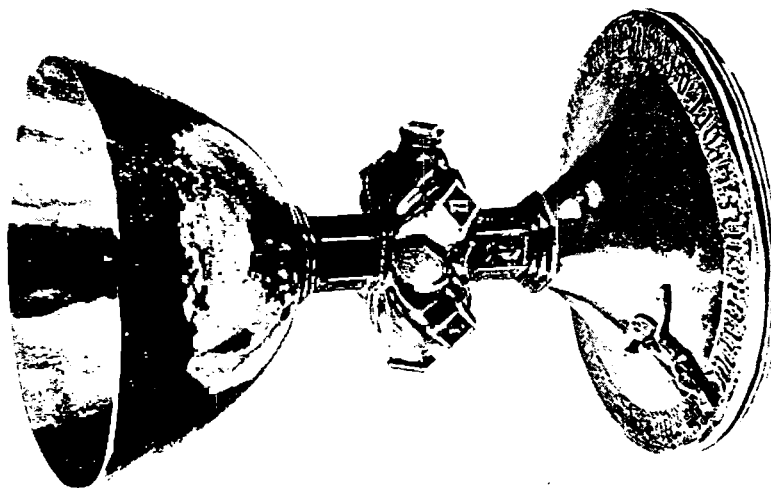


Fig.10. a. Chalice from the Kärle church, Estonia.
Silver. Mid 15th century. [Cat. no. 8]



b. Chalice from the Põide church, Estonia. Silver (gilt?). Foot 14th century; stem, knop, and cup end of the 15th century. [Cat. no. 9]

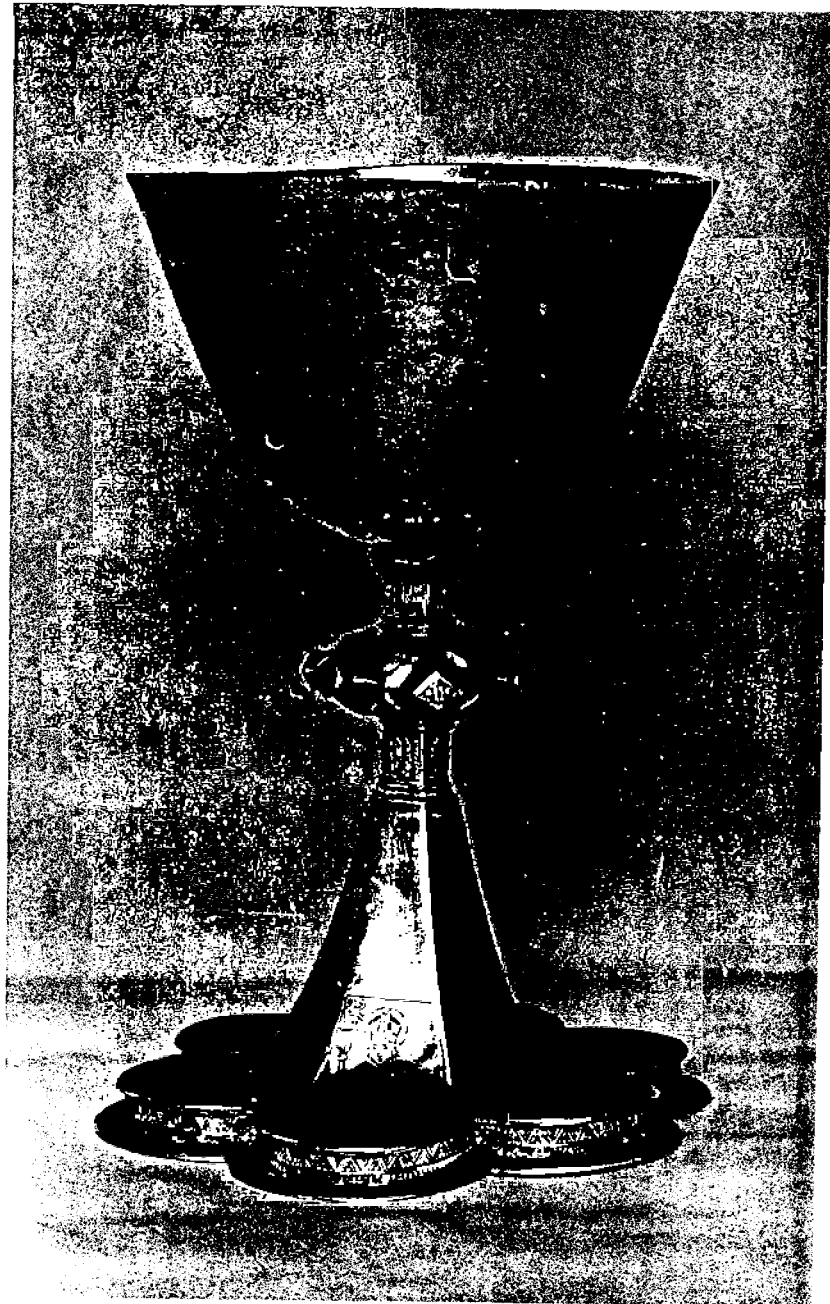


Fig. 11. Chalice in the Muhu church, Estonia. Silver gilt. Mid 15th century.
[Cat. no. 10]



Fig. 12. Chalice in the Muhu church. Figure of a saintly bishop on the foot.



Fig. 13. Chalice in the Harju-Jaani church, Estonia. Silver gilt.
Second half of the 15th century. [Cat. no. 12]



Fig. 14. Paten from St John's Church in Riga, Latvia. Silver gilt.
First half of the 15th century. [Cat. no. 5]



Fig. 15. Paten from the former Saare-Lääne bishopric, Estonia (later belonged to the church in Woltershausen, Germany). Silver gilt. First half of the 15th century. [Cat. no. 6]

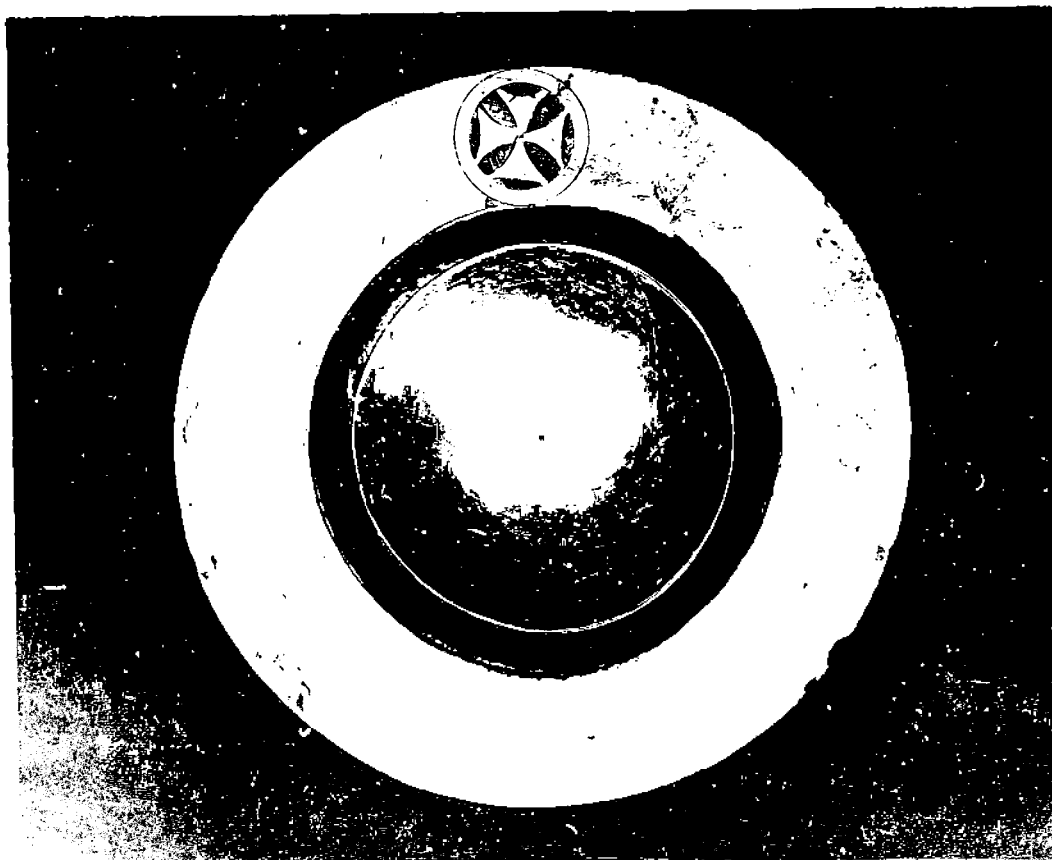


Fig. 16. Paten in the Muhu church, Estonia. Silver gilt. 15th century.
[Cat. no. 11]

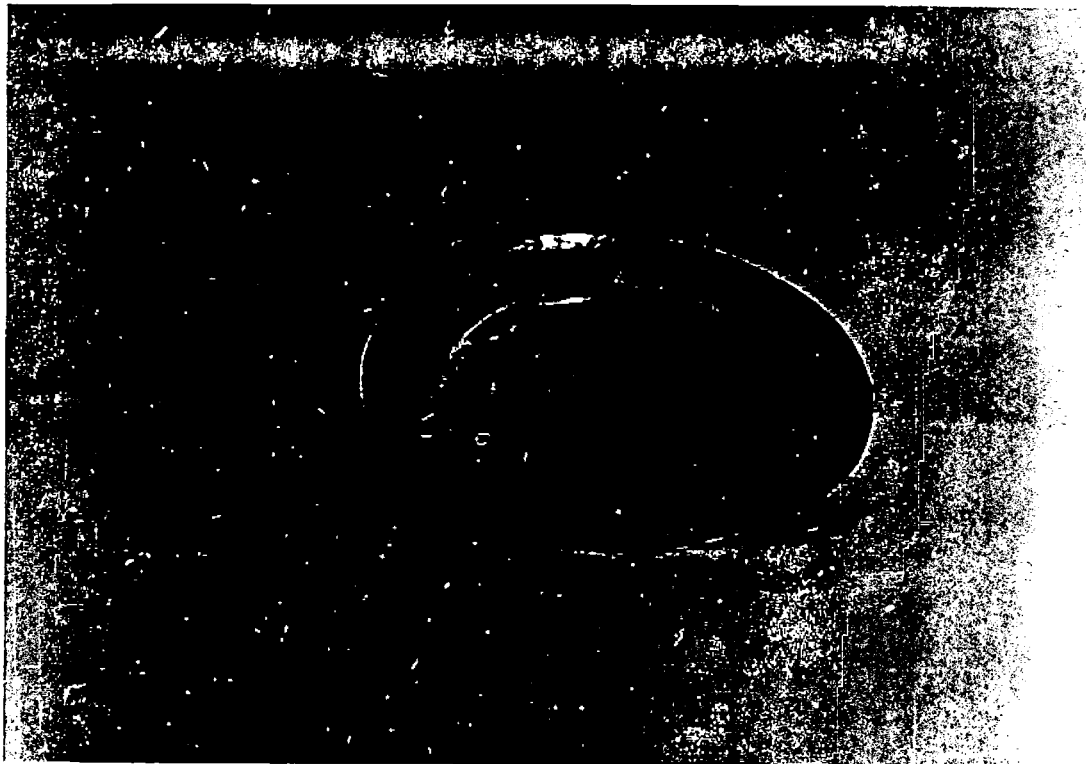


Fig. 17. a. Paten in the Kihelkonna church, Estonia. Silver gilt. 15th century(?).
[Cat. no. 15]
b. Paten in the Põltsamaa church, Estonia. Silver gilt. 15th century(?).
[Cat. no. 16]



Fig. 18. Chalice from St Jacobus' Church in Riga, Latvia. Silver gilt. Second half of the 15th century. [Cat. no. 13]

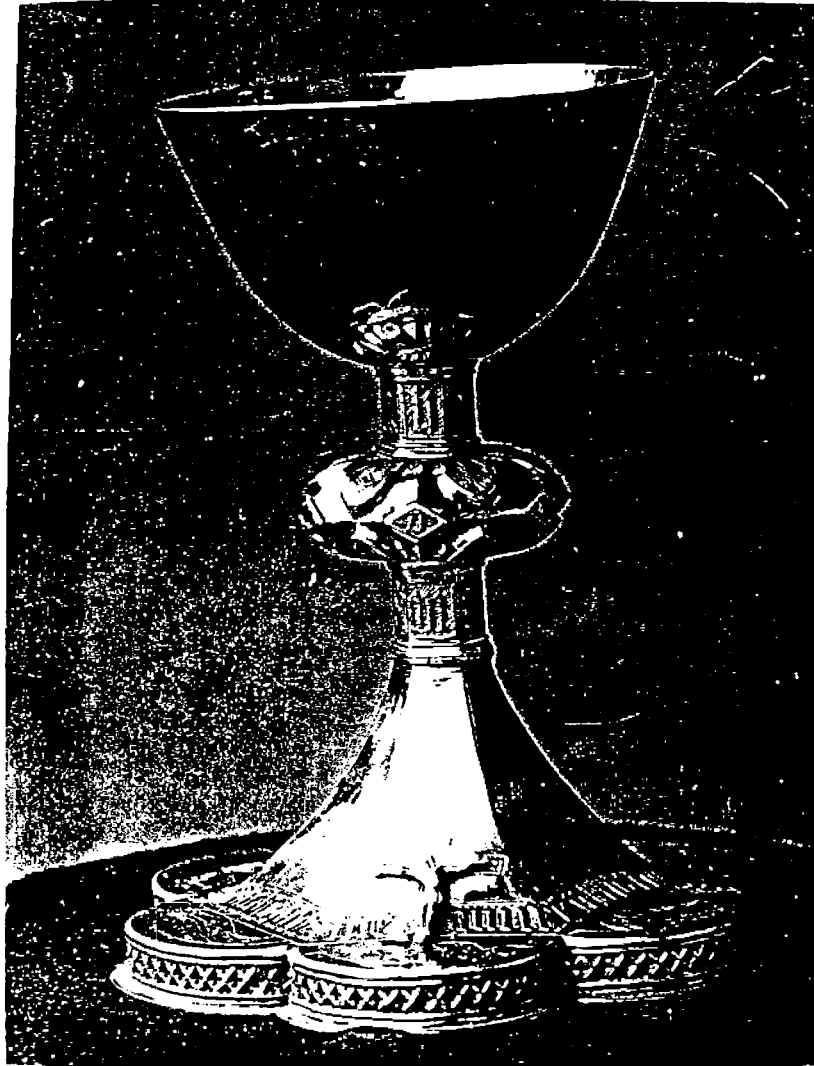


Fig. 19. Chalice from St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn, Estonia. Silver gilt.
End of the 15th century. [Cat. no. 18]



Fig. 20. Chalice from the church in Hagby, Sweden. Silver gilt.
End of the 15th century.

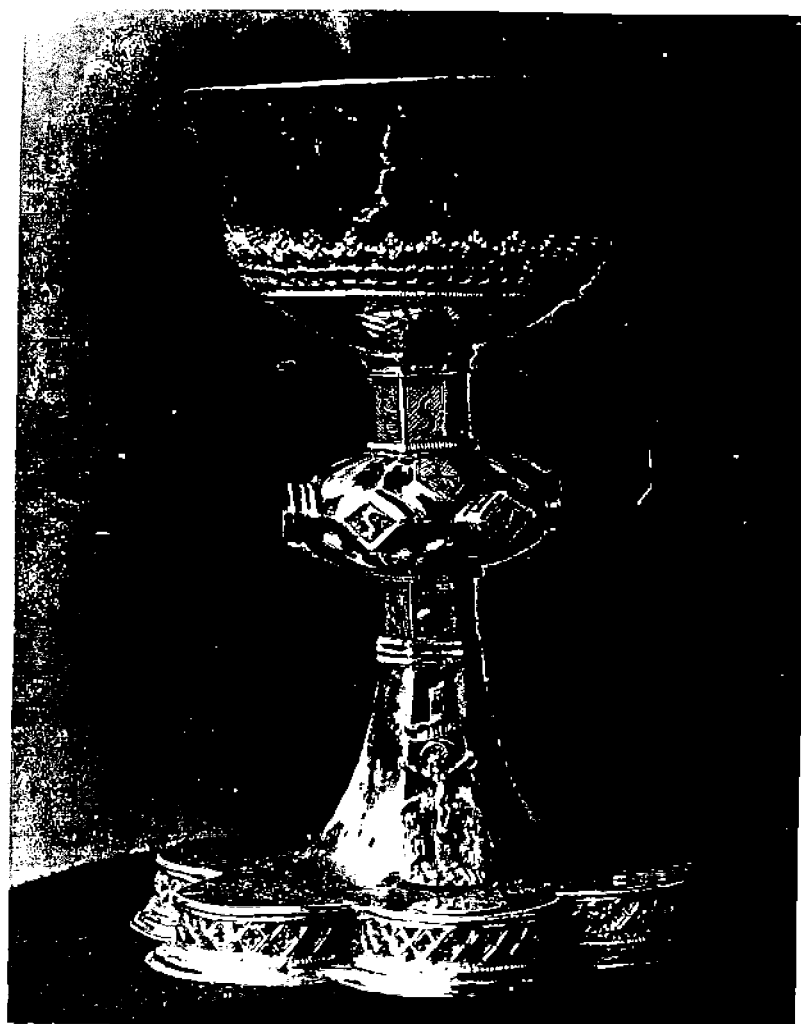


Fig. 21. Chalice from the Cathedral of Haapsalu, Estonia (later belonged to St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn). Silver gilt. End of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century. [Cat. no. 19]

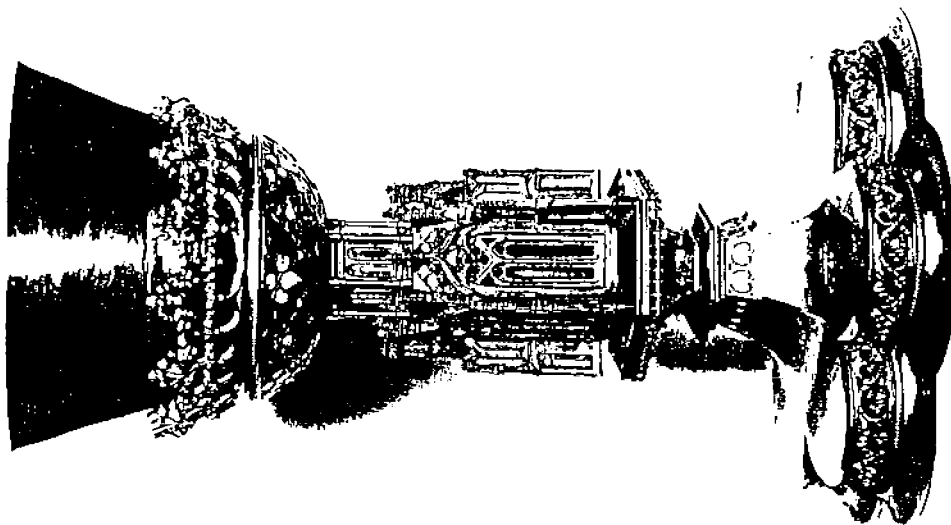
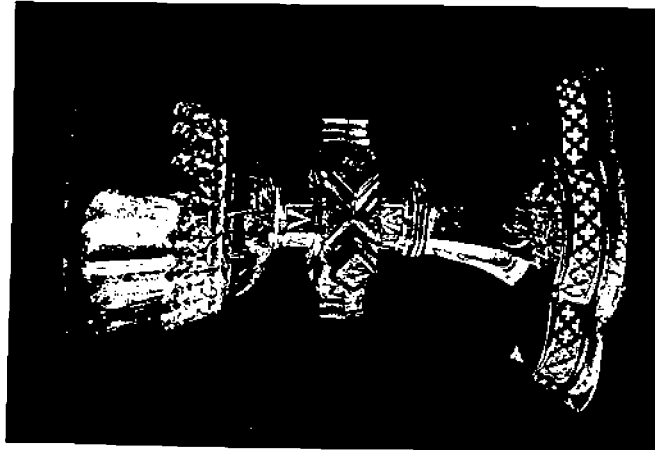
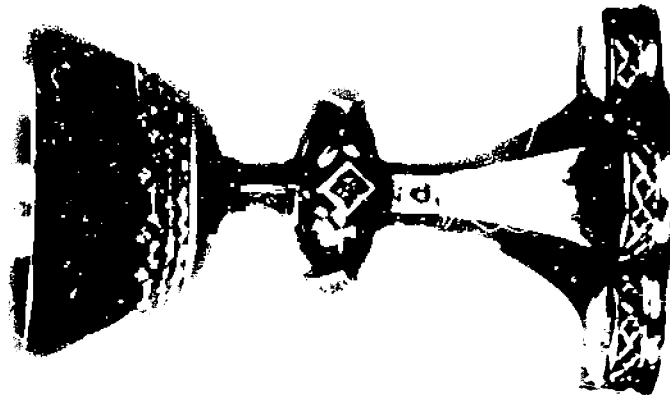


Fig. 22. a. Chalice from Płock, Poland.
Ca. 1480.



b. Chalice from Silesia.
Ca. 1494.



c. Chalice. Flemish.
15th century.

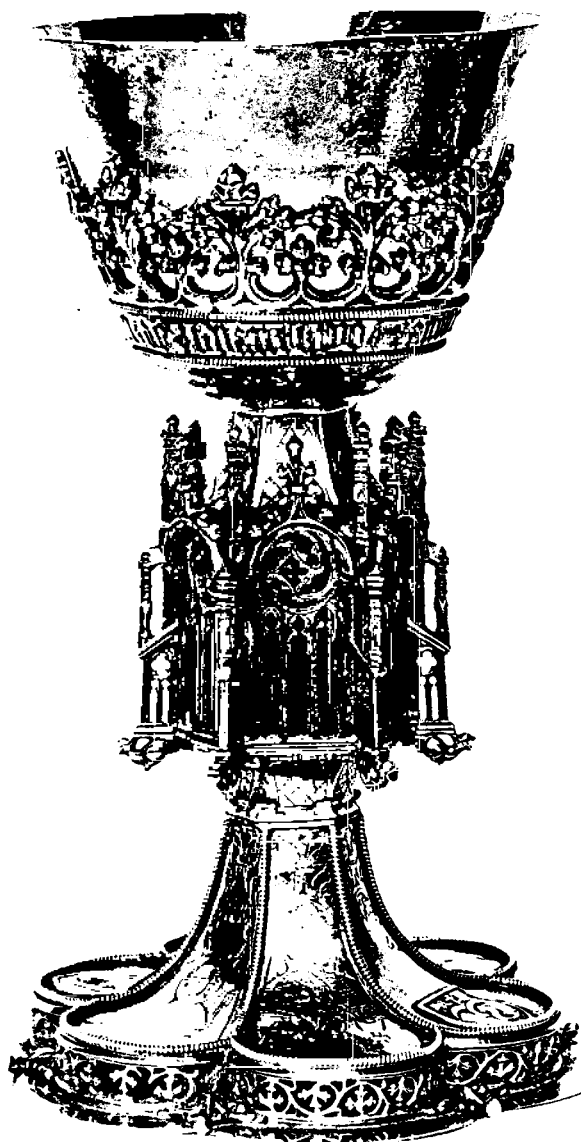


Fig. 23. Chalice in the Borås church, Sweden (made for the Cathedral in Gniezno). Silver gilt. Ca. 1500.



Fig. 24. Chalice from the former Saare-Lääne bishopric, Estonia (later belonged to the church in Woltershausen, Germany).
Silver gilt. End of the 15th century. [Cat. no. 22]

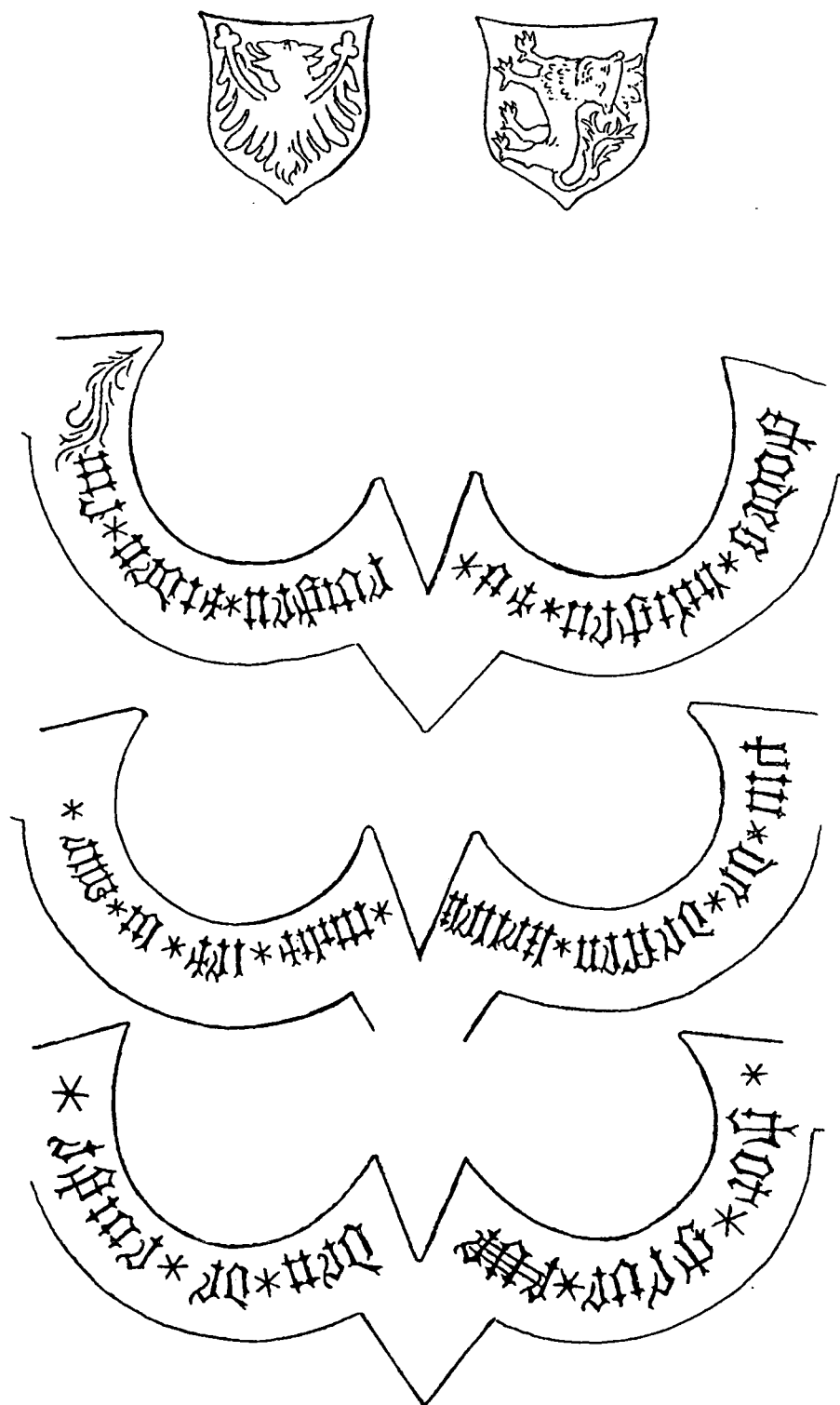


Fig. 25. Chalice from the former Saare-Lääne bishopric. Coats of arms and inscriptions on the foot.



Fig. 26. Chalice from the Tallinn Dominican friary, Estonia. Silver gilt.
Made by Hans Holtappel latest in 1514. [Cat. no. 24]

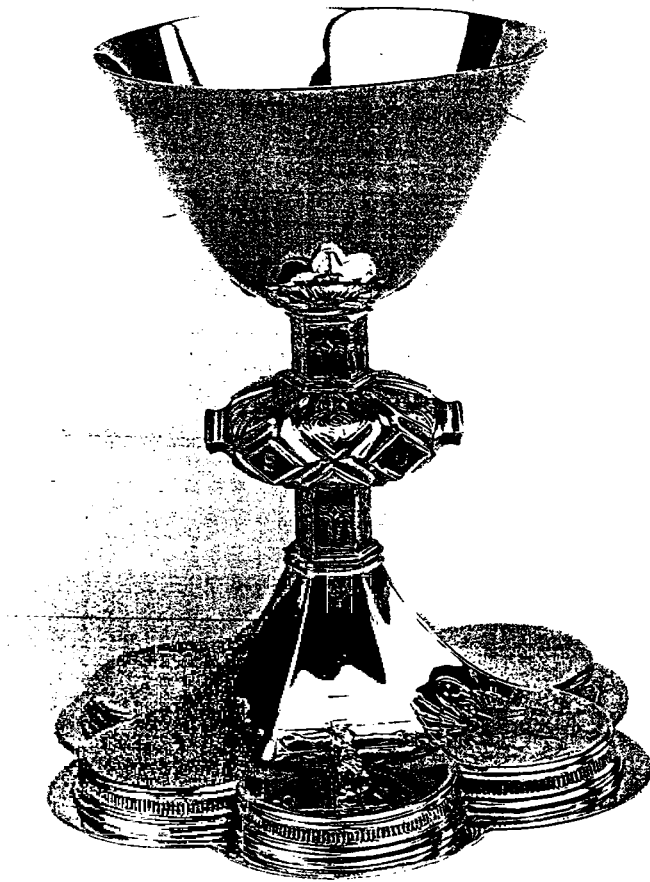


Fig. 27. Chalice from Westphalia, Germany. Silver gilt. Ca. 1500.

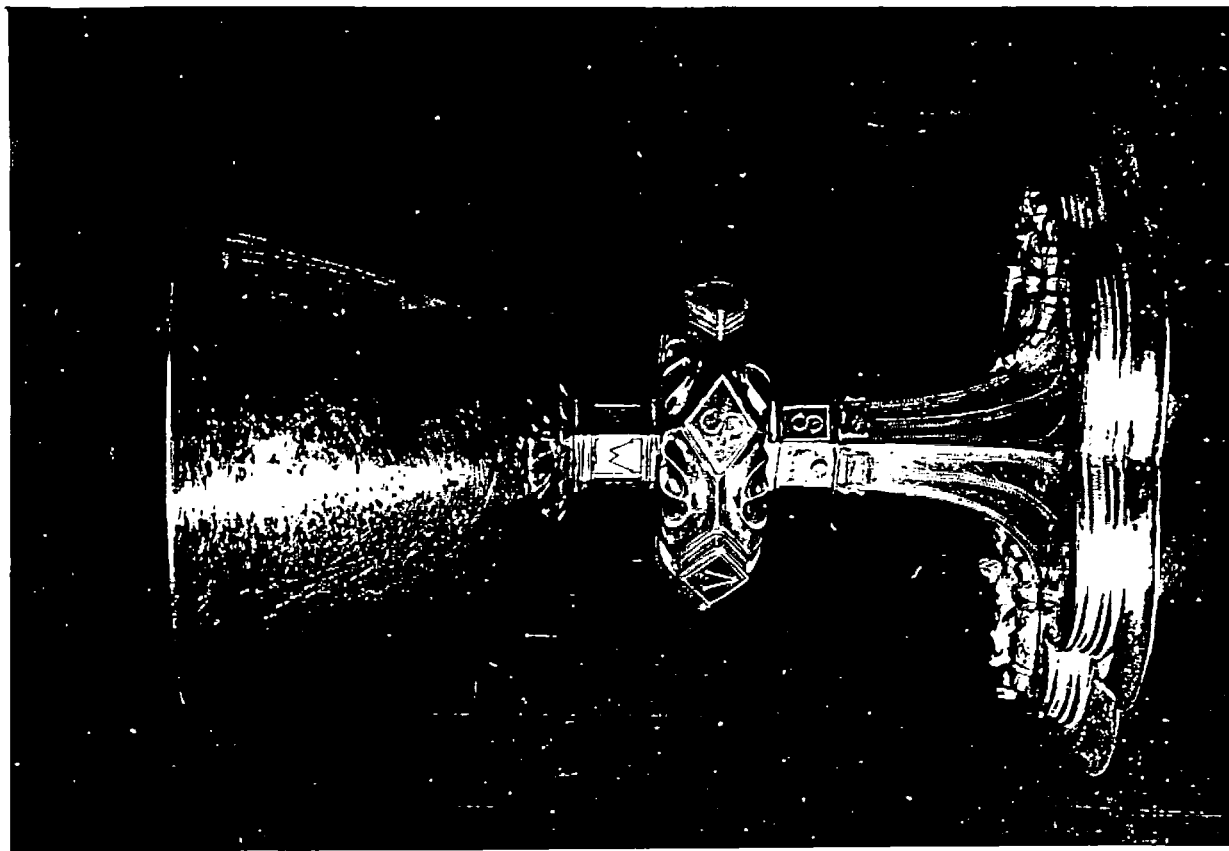
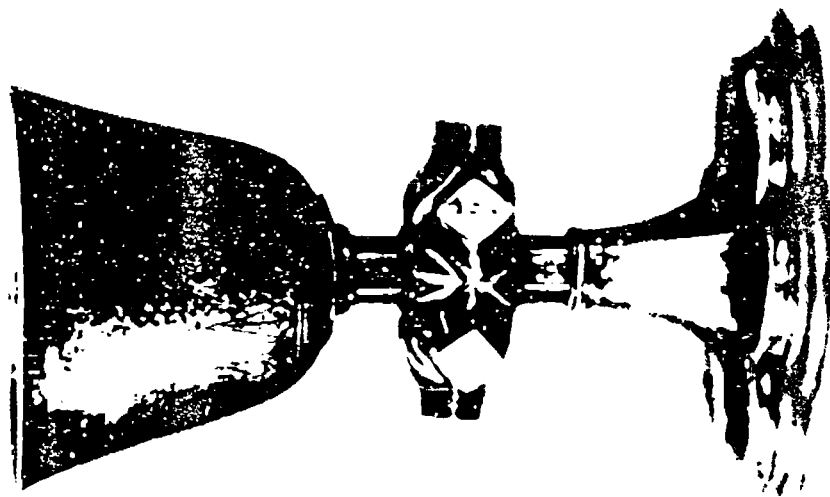


Fig. 28. a. Chalice in the Suure-Jaani church, Estonia.
Silver gilt. First half of the 16th century.
[Cat. no. 24]



b. Chalice. Flemish.
Early 16th century.



Fig. 29. Chalice in the Suure-Jaani church. Figural compositions on the foot:
 a. Crucifixion
 b. Madonna and Child with St Anne



Fig. 30. a. Madonna and Child on the 15th-century monstrance from Stjärnorp, Sweden.
 b. Depiction of Madonna and Child with St Anne on a fastening. 1512.

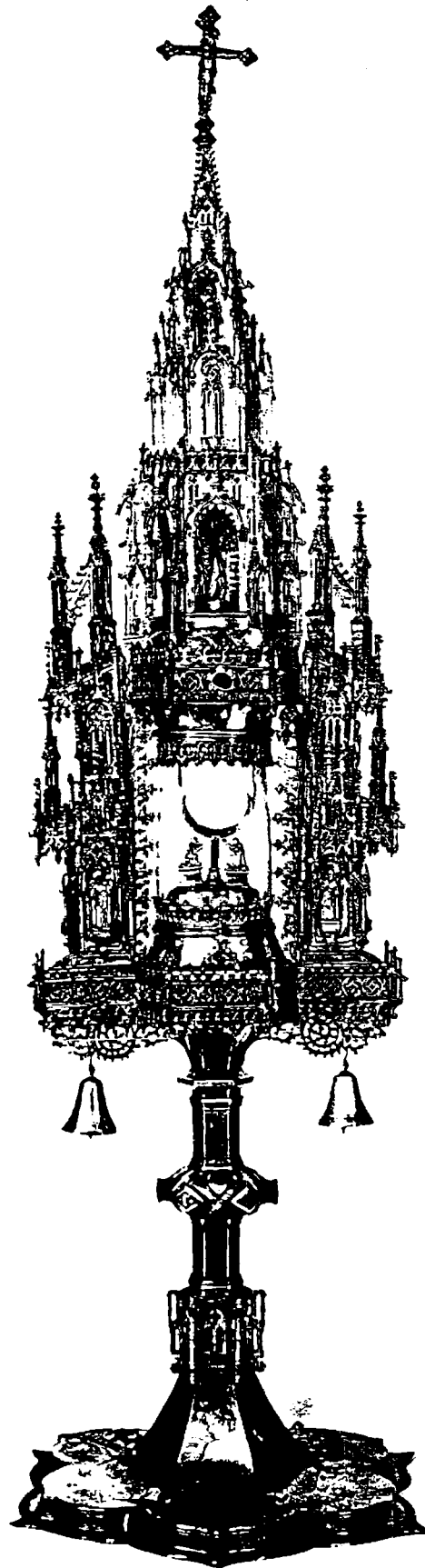


Fig. 31. Monstrance from St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn, Estonia. Silver gilt.
Made by Hans Ryssenbergh in 1474. [Cat. no. 25]

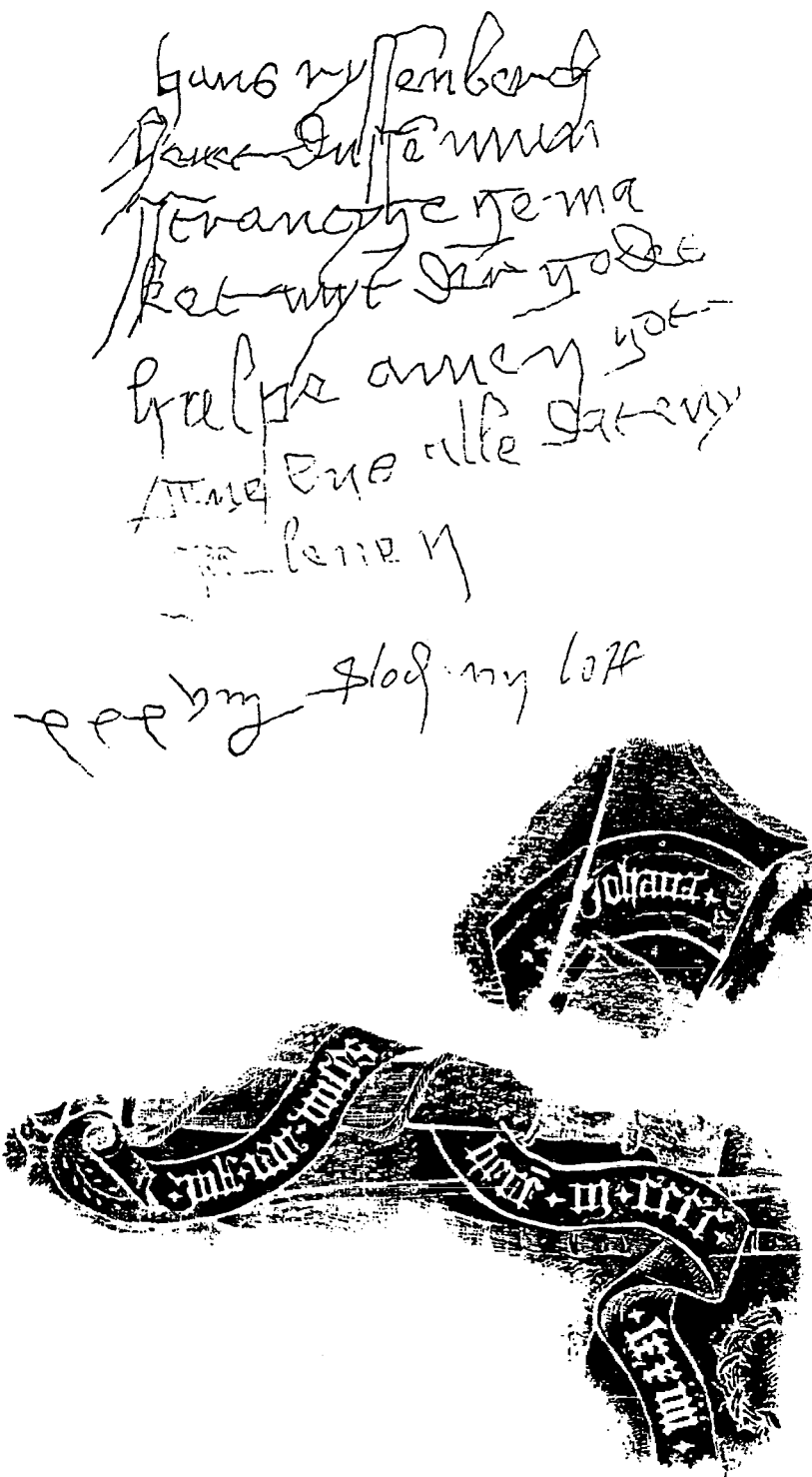
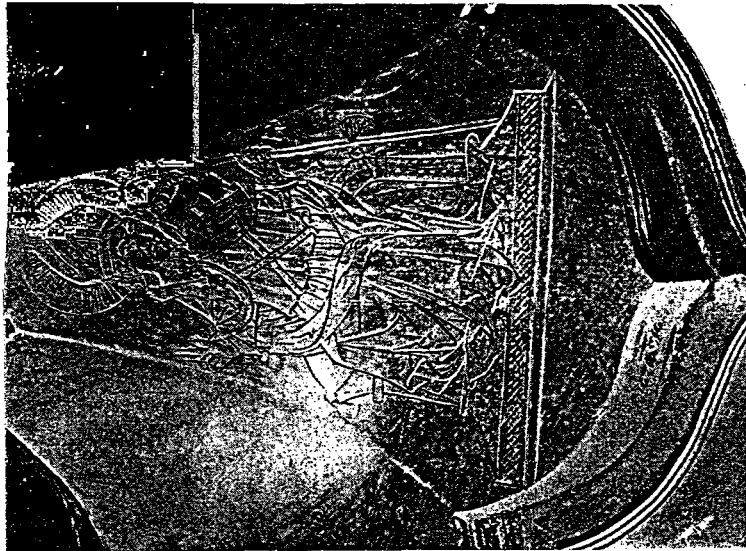
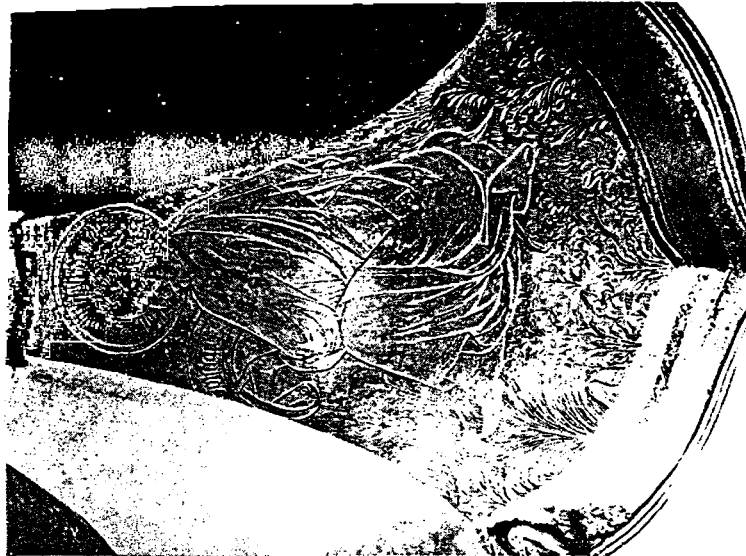


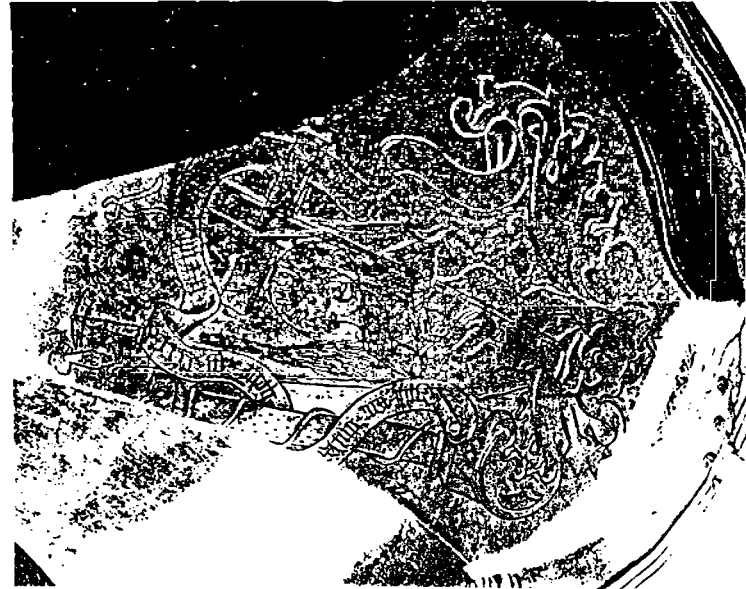
Fig. 32. Inscriptions and the master's signature on Ryssenberg's monstrance.



a. Saintly bishop (St Nicholas?)



b. St John the Evangelist



c. Christ Child with the Instruments of the Passion



Fig. 34. Ryssenbergs monstrance. Statuette of St Bartholomew.

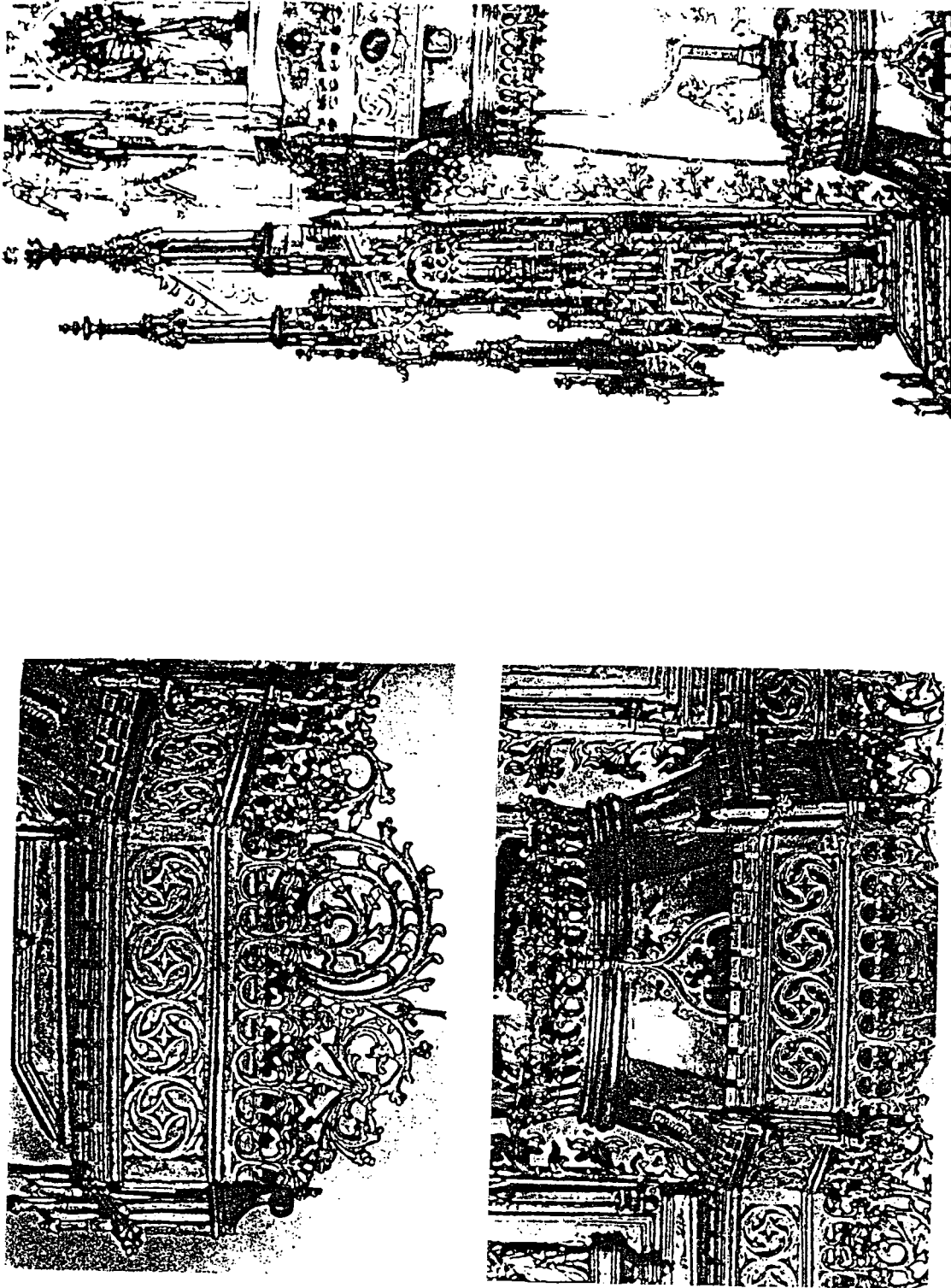


Fig. 35. Ryssenbergs monstrance. Details.

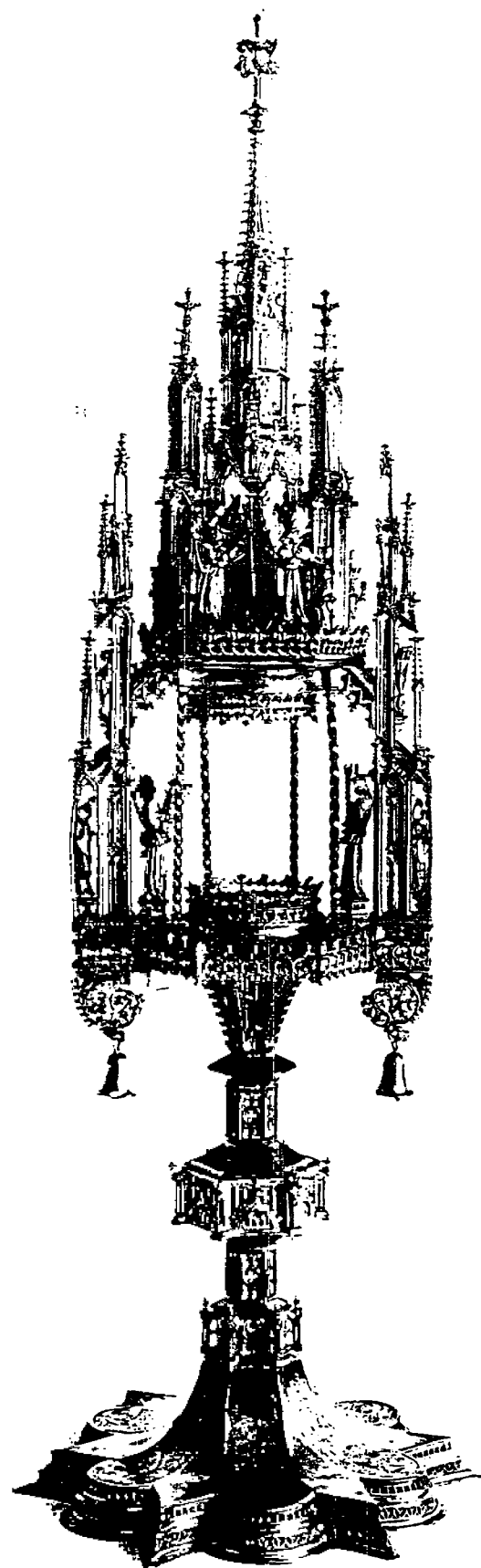
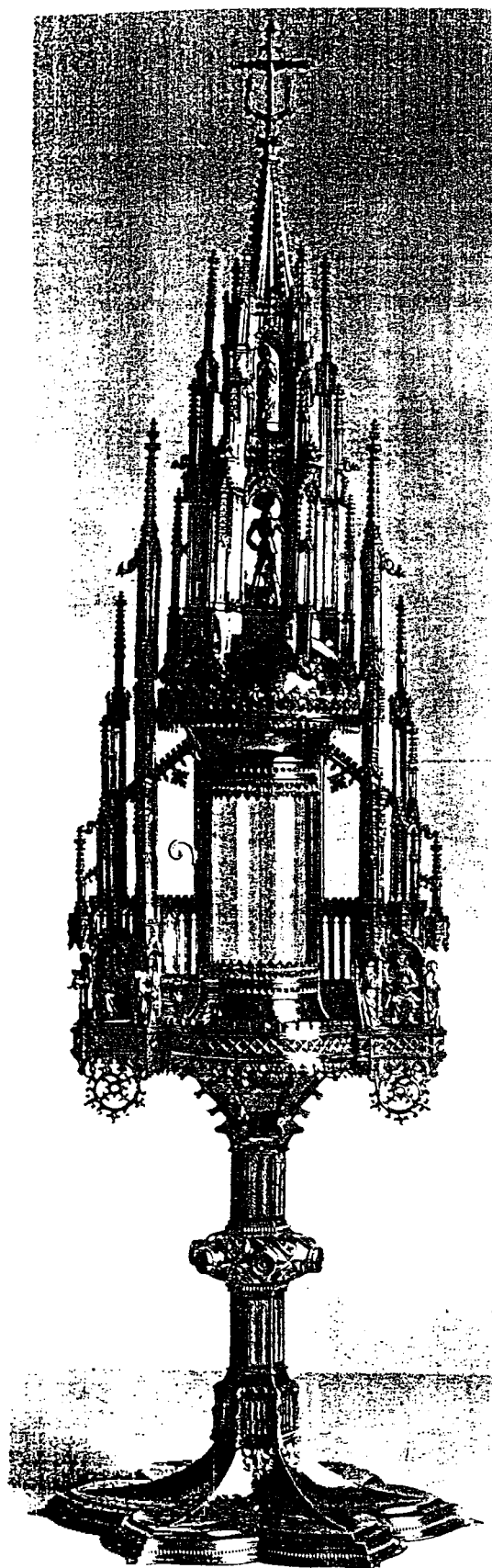


Fig. 36. a. Monstrance from Kleve, Germany. 1470.
b. Monstrance from Ochsenhausen, Germany. Mid 15th century.



Fig. 37. Host-pyx from Pärnu, Estonia. Pewter. Second half of the 14th century.
[Cat. no. 26]

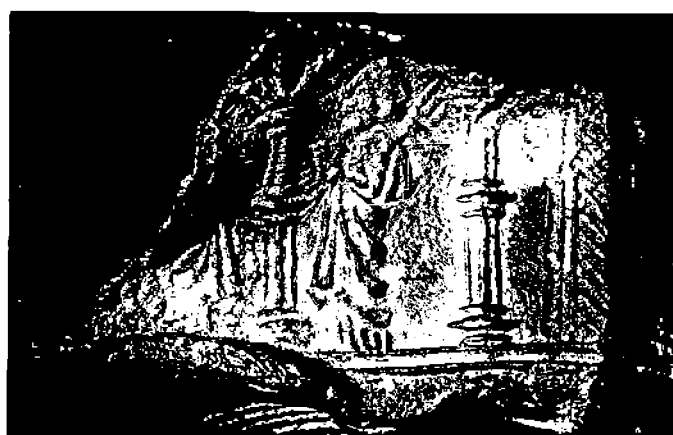


Fig. 38. Host-pyx from Pärnu.
a. Apostles on the facets: St Paul and St Jacobus Minor
b. Apostles on the facets: St Peter
c. Foot

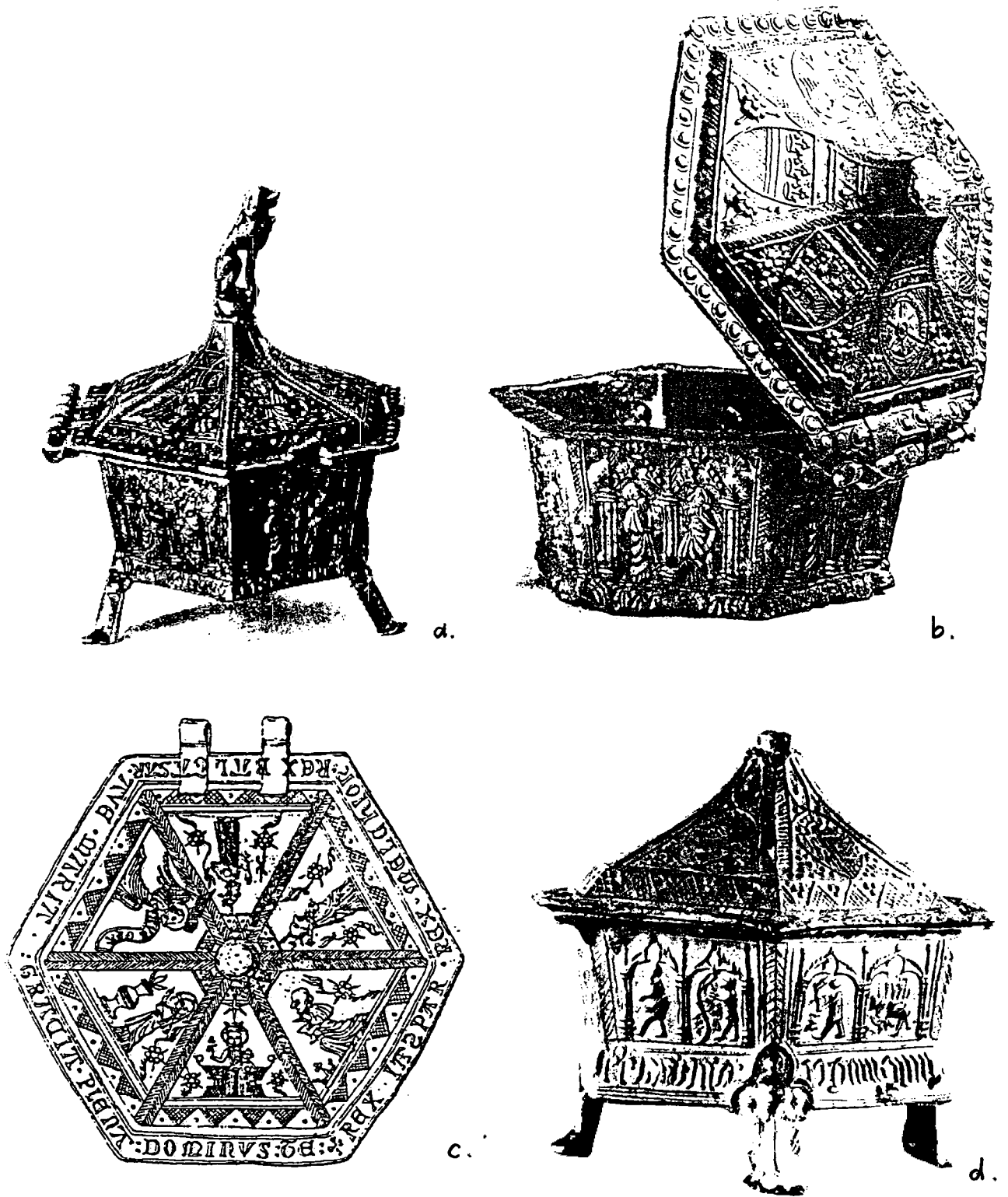


Fig. 39. Pewter host-pyxes:
 a. Vienna, former collection of Dr. Figdor
 b. Graz, *Landesmuseum Joanneum*
 c. Lid in the British Museum
 d. Cologne, *Kunstgewerbemuseum*

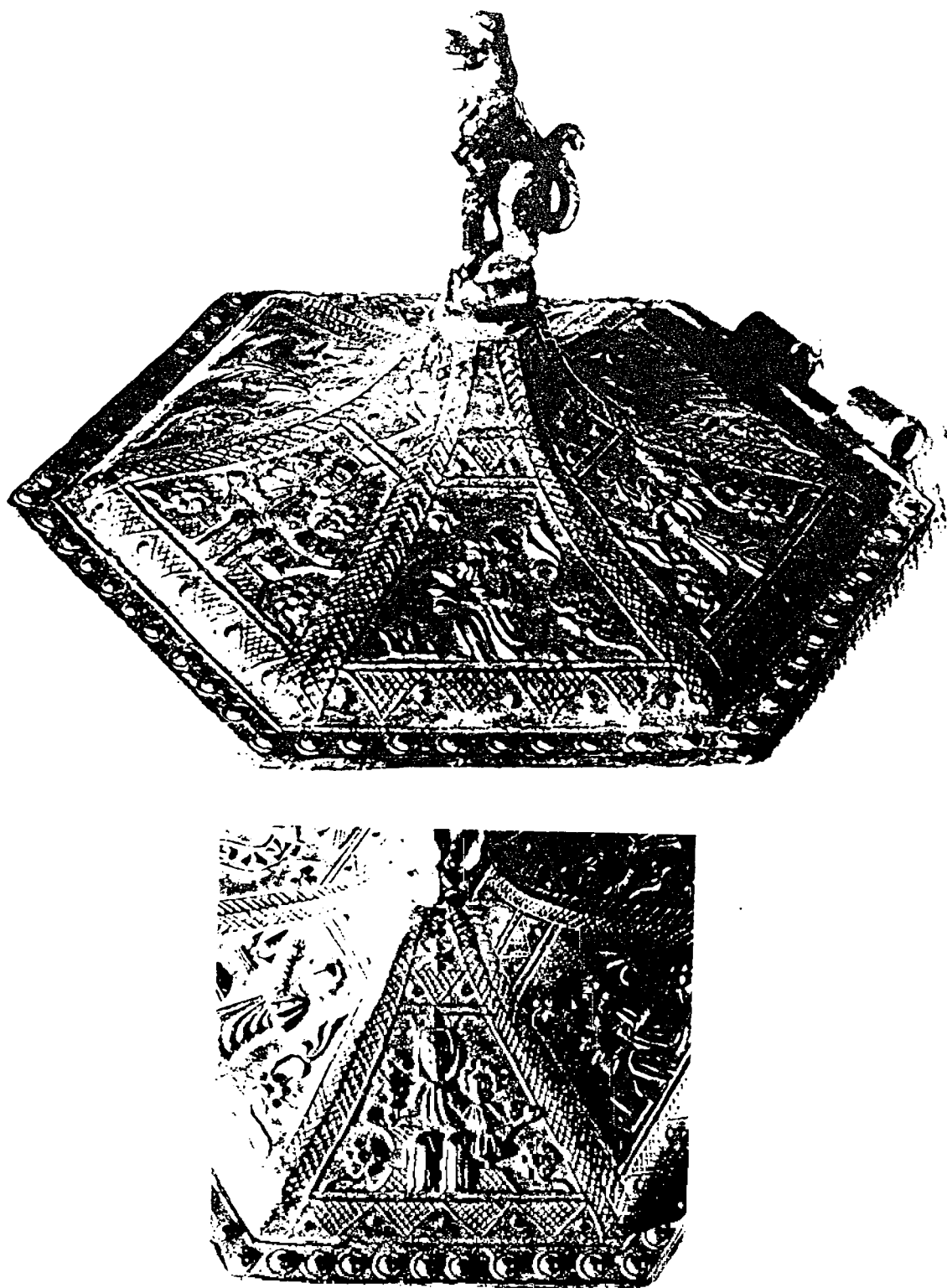


Fig. 40. Lid of the pewter pyx found in Kalmar, Sweden

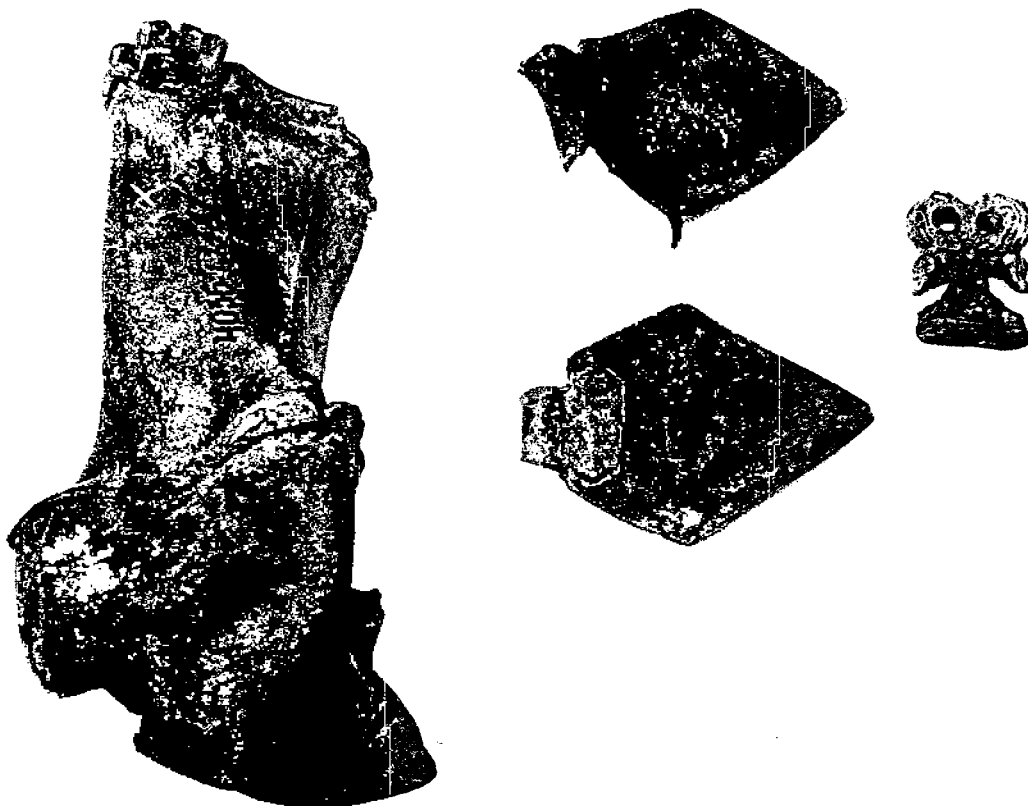


Fig. 41. a. Fragments of two *ampullae* from the Otepää castle. Silver. 14th century.
[Cat. no. 27]
b. Depiction of *ampullae* on the predella of the main altar of the Århus church.



Fig. 42. Redemption Altarpiece, Museo del Prado.

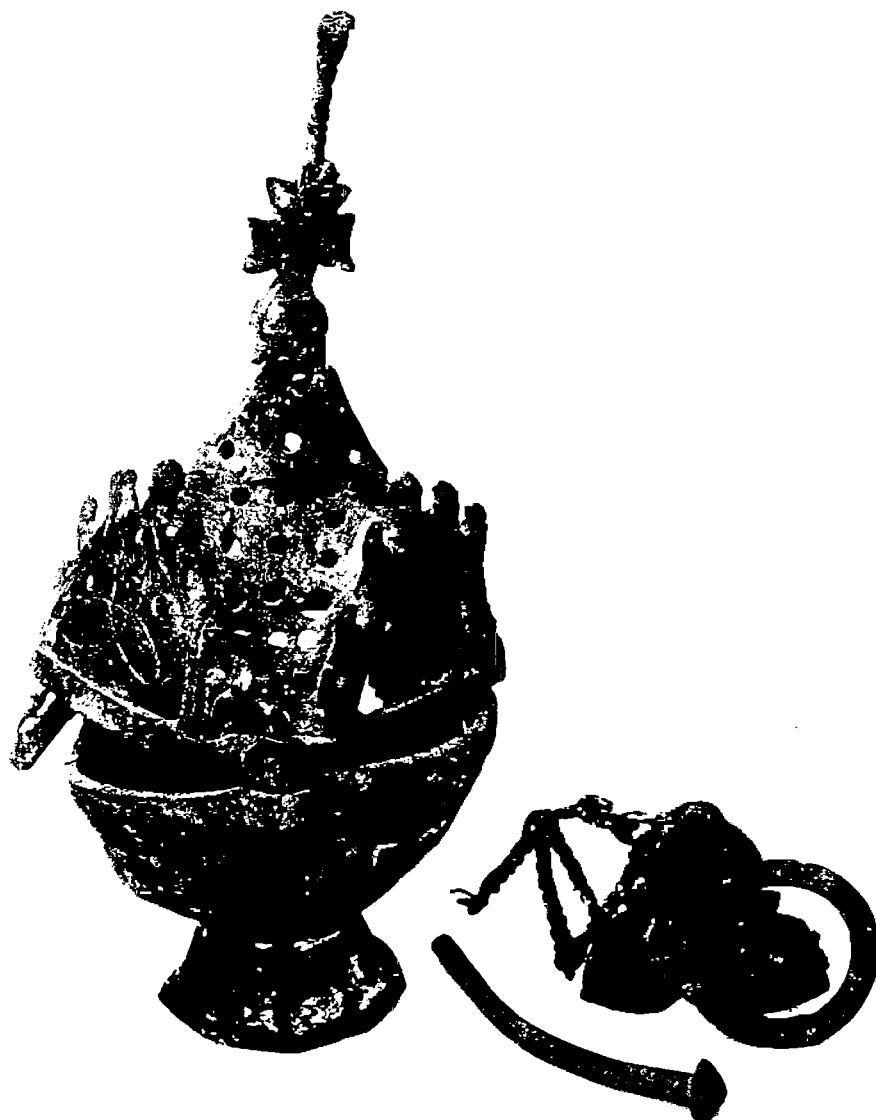


Fig. 43. Thurible from the Otepää castle, Estonia.
Bronze. 14th century. [Cat. no. 28]

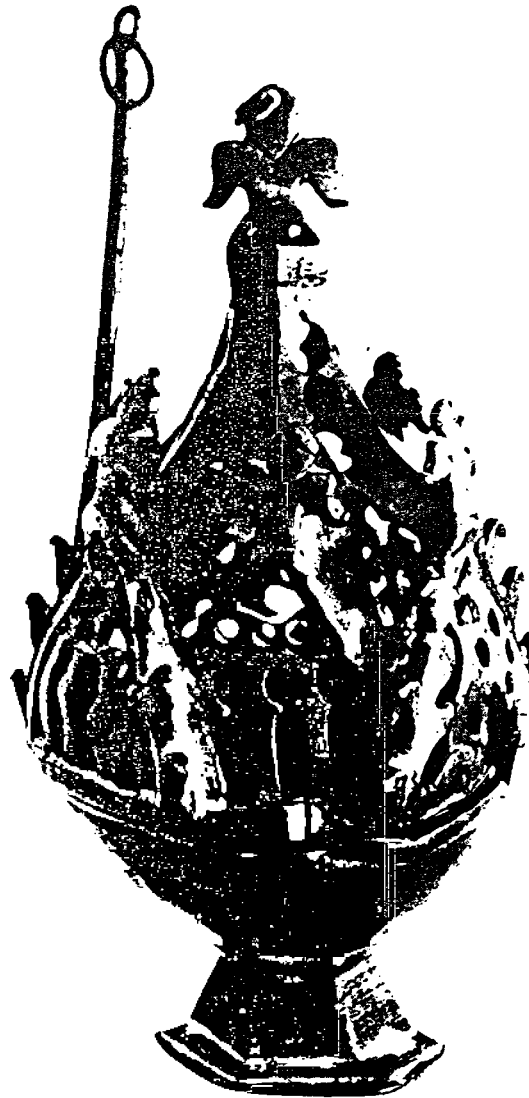


Fig. 44. Thurible from the Nottebäck church in Sweden. Bronze.
14th or 15th century.

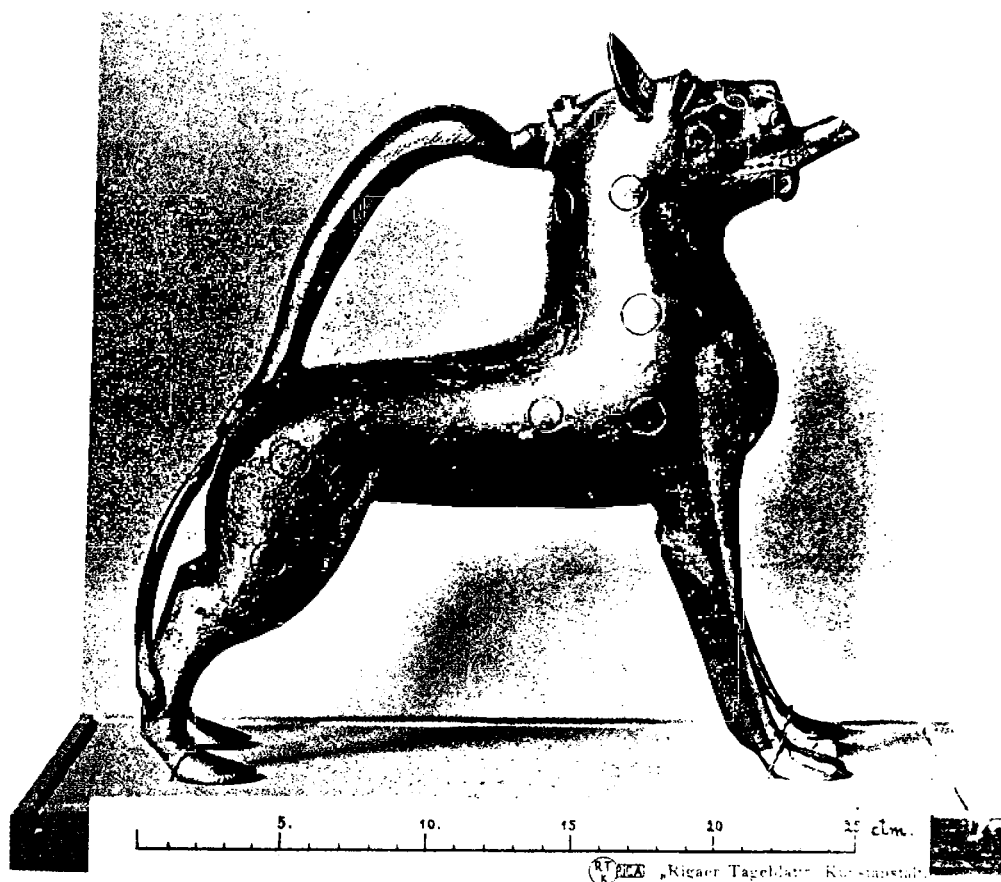


Fig. 45. Aquamanile from Laiuse, Estonia. Bronze. First half of the 13th century.
[Cat. no. 29]



AN FARMARPA

GRACE PLERMA

DOMINUS STREUENT

HEAR HUUSCHUUSCHU

Fig. 46. Aquamanile from Adavere, Estonia. Bronze. 1515. [Cat. no. 30]

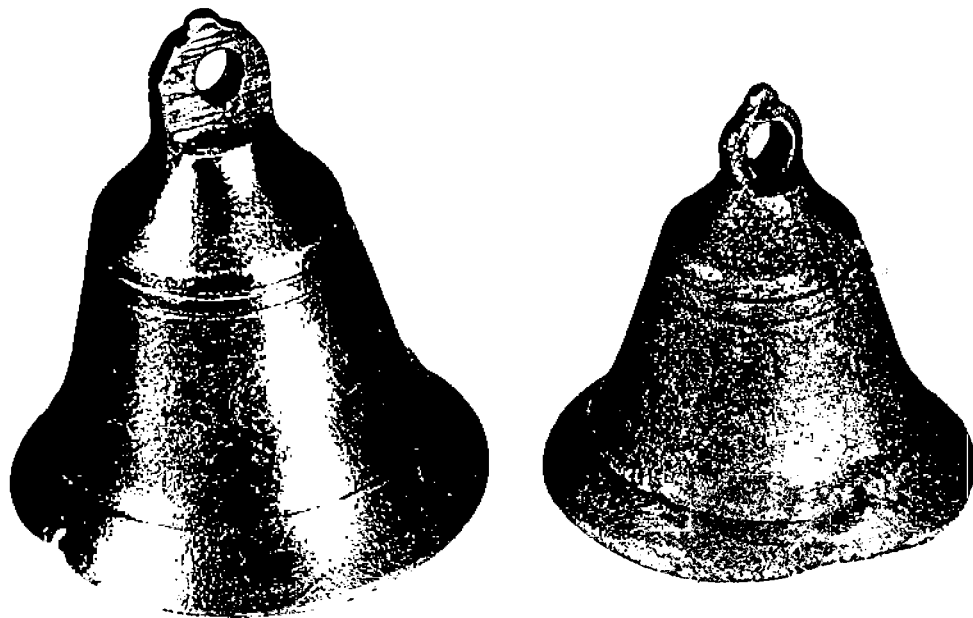
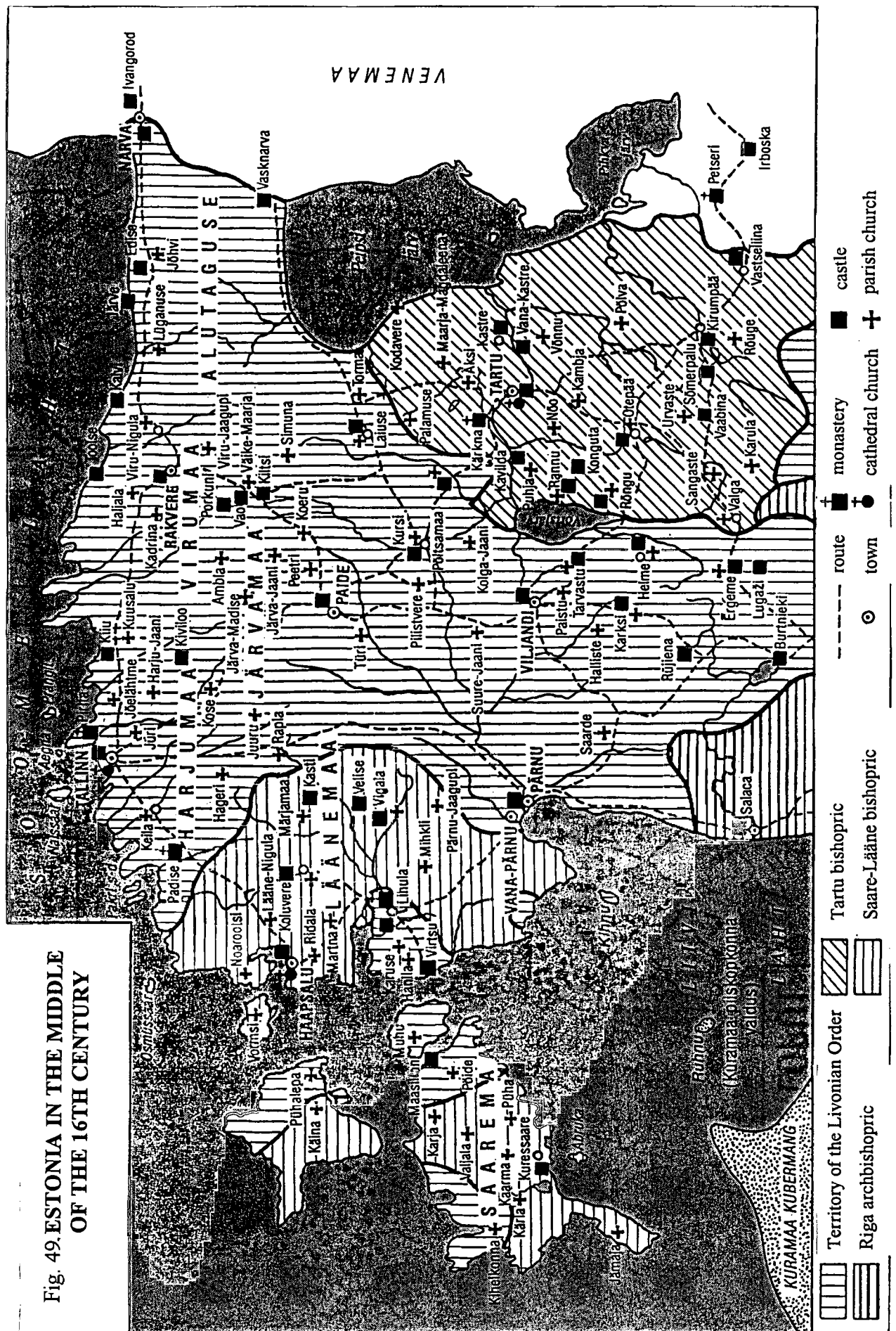


Fig. 47. Altar bells from the Pirita Brigittine nunnery and Tallinn Dominican friary.
Bronze. 15th century. [Cat. no. 31-32]



Fig. 48. Seals of the goldsmiths' guilds showing St Eligius.
a. Drawing of the seal of the Vienna goldsmiths' guild. Ca. 1367.
b. Drawing of the seal of the goldsmiths in Breslau. Mid 15th century.
c. Seal of the goldsmiths of Kashau. 1476.
d. Seal of the Tallinn goldsmiths' guild. 1393(?)

**Fig. 49. ESTONIA IN THE MIDDLE
OF THE 16TH CENTURY**



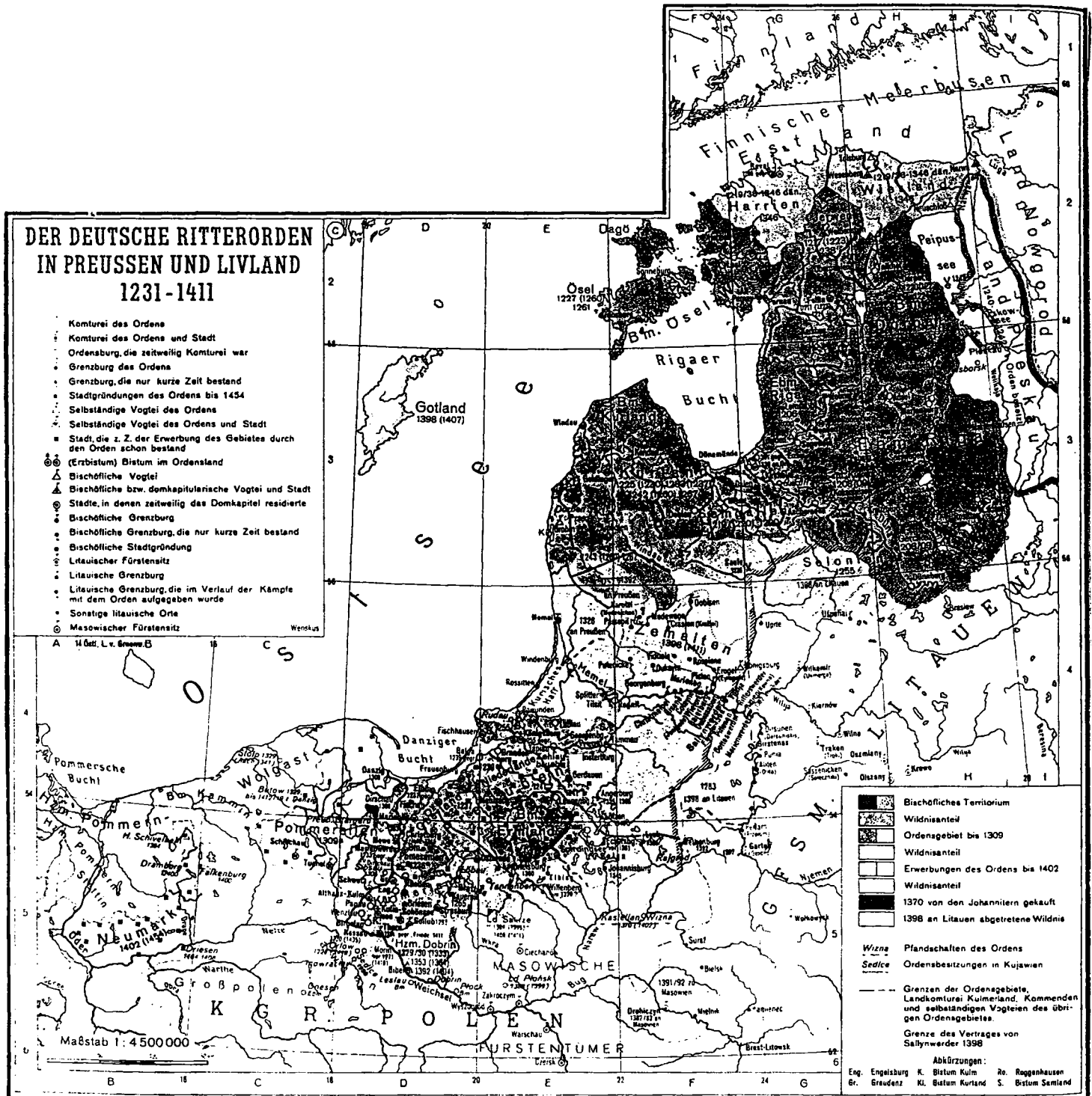


Fig. 50. Livonia in the Middle Ages.

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