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**DEVOTION, DONATION, AND *MEMORIA*. URBAN SOCIETY
AND THE DOMINICANS IN LATE MEDIEVAL REVAL
(TALLINN)**

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by

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**THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES,
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OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN MEDIEVAL STUDIES**

External Examiner

I, the undersigned, **Gustavs Strenga**, candidate for the MA 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 illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 26 May 2006

Signature

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INTRODUCTION

Two years ago, when I defended my bachelor's thesis on the Dominicans in Riga during the Middle Ages¹ at the University of Latvia, my opponent criticized me for being too descriptive and positivist. After that defense, I understood that my research should be continued on the Dominicans in medieval Livonia, but the way of research had to be changed. Influenced by studies of the German historians: Klaus Schreiner on medieval piety,² Otto Gerhard Oexle on *memoria*,³ and Michael Borgolte on foundations,⁴ I wanted to go into this direction, which may lead to the understanding of religious practices and of the contacts between laypeople and religious communities.

The source material which could provide enough data for such research on Livonian Dominicans has survived only from Reval (Tallinn).⁵ Thus, I decided to do this study on the Reval Dominicans in the late Middle Ages and the relation of urban society towards them.

¹ Gustavs Strenga, "Rīgas Sv. Jāņa Kristītāja dominikāņu klostera (konventa) vēsture (1234-1524)," (The History of St. John the Baptist's Dominican Friary in Riga [1234-1524]) (BA Thesis, University of Latvia, 2004).

² See Klaus Schreiner, "Frommsein in kirchlichen und lebensweltlichen Kontexten," in *Die Aktualität des Mittelalters*, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz (Bochum: Dr. Dieter Winkler, 2000), 57-106. See also *idem*, "Laienfrömmigkeit – Frömmigkeit von Eliten oder Frömmigkeit des Volkes? Zur sozialen Verfaßtheit laikaler Frömmigkeitspraxis im späten Mittelalter," in *Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelalter. Formen, Funktionen, politisch-soziale Zusammenhänge*, ed. Klaus Schreiner and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1992), 1-78.

³ See Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur," in *Memoria als Kultur*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), 9-78. See also *idem*, "Memoria in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur des Mittelalters," in *Modernes Mittelalter: Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. Joachim Heinzle (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1994), 297-323.

⁴ See Michael Borgolte, "Stiftungen des Mittelalters im Spannungsfeld von Herrschaft und Genossenschaft," in *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, ed. Dieter Geuenich and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1994), 267-285. See also *idem*, "Der König als Stifter: Streiflichter auf die Geschichte des Willens," in *Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 39-58.

⁵ In this thesis the German names of Livonian towns will be used, because they were in common use in the Middle Ages. See Appendix 2.

This research will, therefore, focus less on the Reval Dominicans themselves than on the urban society around them. Often, scholars researching the history of ecclesiastical institutions focus their attention on the structure and group themselves, partly ignoring the society in which these institutions operated. Also, the research done on Reval Dominicans has concentrated on the structure of the friary, the Dominicans as a group, or remarkable events in which the friars were involved. No analytical study has tried to look at the Dominicans' roles and images in the local society of late medieval Reval. However, without studying the society's perception of a monastic community it is not possible to evaluate the role of the community in the society. This means that it is crucial to analyze the sources which give information about Reval Dominicans but were not created by themselves. In this case, mainly testaments are the best sources for such an approach.

In Reval, around a hundred testaments have survived from the fifteenth and early sixteenth century in which the Dominicans are mentioned as recipients of donations. There are also a number of other sources which can testify about the spiritual relations of lay people with the Dominicans.

The main question on which my research will focus is what role the Reval Dominicans played in the local urban society. It is clear that because of the scarcity of sources I will only be able to concentrate on some specific aspects of the problem. I will be particularly interested in the position that the Dominicans had in Reval's society according to the testaments and which ecclesiastical institutions were their rivals in this respect. Moreover, I want to find out what kind of liturgical services the Dominicans offered to individuals and who those individuals were who requested these services. Finally, I intend to analyze the relations of the Dominicans and some institutional urban groups to see how those groups used the Dominicans as their spiritual guides.

This thesis chronologically focuses on the time period from the beginning of the fifteenth century until the closure of the friary during the Reformation in 1525. These chronological borders are drawn mainly because there are not many sources on the topic before the beginning of the fifteenth century. From the fifteenth century onwards there are not only enough testaments that have survived, but also other kinds of sources can give a better view of the relations between the society and the Dominicans.

Research on the Dominicans in Reval started at the beginning of the twentieth century. First, the architect Ernst Kühnert published his work on the Reval Dominicans in the 1920s,⁶ but more important research on this topic had yet to follow. In the 1930s, a young Benedictine nun of Baltic German descent, Gertrud Walther-Wittenheim, wrote her PhD dissertation on the Dominicans in medieval Livonia.⁷ Despite the fact that this work is dedicated to the Dominicans in Livonia, the Reval Dominicans occupy a central role in it, partly because of the well-surviving archival material. No one can deny that this research is still widely used by historians and it still has an impact on the perception of the Dominicans in modern historical literature concerning the history of Livonia. After Walther-Wittenheim no one else has made such thorough research on the Dominican friaries in Livonia,⁸ their structure,⁹ intellectual life,¹⁰ the economic state of the friaries,¹¹ relations with the secular clergy, the Teutonic order, nobility and townspeople,¹² and on the reform of the friaries.¹³ She also worked in the archives of the Dominican order in Santa Sabina and was able to

⁶ Ernst Kühnert, *Das Dominikanerkloster zu Reval* (Reval: Kentmann, 1927).

⁷ Gertrud Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner im Mittelalter in Livland* (Rome: Institutum historicum FF Praedicatorum, 1938).

⁸ Ibid., 5.

⁹ Ibid., 19.

¹⁰ Ibid., 26.

¹¹ Ibid., 48.

¹² Ibid., 58, 63, 80, 93.

use sources which had not been approached before her in the research on Livonian Dominicans.

However, this work was partly influenced by the nationalistic ideologies of the time when it was written; Walther-Wittenheim justified her research with a need to “substantiate the existence of Germans in the Eastern Baltic.”¹⁴ Perhaps the author is not to be blamed for the nationalistic trends, because she defended her dissertation at the University of Freiburg (Germany) in the late 1930s, at the time of the Nazi regime. There are also other points apart from ideological ones which have to be criticized. Walther-Wittenheim followed the trend of being very descriptive and one cannot find many analytical parts in her work. Walther-Wittenheim also focused more on the relations of the friars with the rulers of Livonia—the bishops and Teutonic order, and less on their relations with urban society. On the Dominican relations with the burghers of Riga, Reval, and Dorpat, Walther-Wittenheim wrote only five pages, which is an exceedingly small number.¹⁵ Walther-Wittenheim also neglected aspects of the religious life of the Dominicans and the individuals who had ties with the friars. She did not use Reval testaments in her work and thus neglected the social feedback of the society to the friars.

After the publication of Walther-Wittenheim’s PhD dissertation, for several decades, there was silence in the research on the Reval Dominicans. Estonia after the war, for fifty years, fell behind the Iron Curtain, and extensive research on the topics of ecclesiastical and religious history were not possible. Also, researchers in the West during the post-war period did not do many studies on Reval Dominicans. There were some researchers who, despite the Soviet regime, wrote something on the Reval

¹³ Ibid., 105.

¹⁴ Ibid., 5.

¹⁵ Ibid., 93-98.

Dominicans,¹⁶ but, real research on the topic restarted in the late 1980s and 1990s after the collapse of the regime.

The leading figure in the research on the Dominicans in Reval, for the last fifteen years, has been Tallinn's archivist, Tiina Kala. Kala has written several books on the Reval Dominicans,¹⁷ articles and publications of archival material.¹⁸ Her research has focused more on the history of Reval's friary in the early sixteenth century and less on the periods before. Differently from other researchers, Kala does not neglect the intellectual history of the Reval Dominicans,¹⁹ but in most of her works she focuses on the friary's life just before and during the Reformation, in particular the conflicts with the town council in the Reformation period. Similarly to Walther-Wittenheim, Kala also concentrates more on the political events, not on the life of the friary or the religiosity of the people who were under the influence of the Dominicans.

The topic of the Reval Dominicans has been researched more than the topic of Reval's medieval testaments. Several articles were published on them in the 1980s,²⁰ but the largest work was done only in the 1990s by Kadri-Rutt Allik (Hahn). During her studies at the University of Göttingen, Allik wrote an extensive MA thesis on the

¹⁶ Elfriede Tool-Marran, *Tallinna Dominiiklaste klooster* (The Dominican friary in Tallinn) (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1971).

¹⁷ Tiina Kala, *Euroopa Kirjakultuur Hiliskeskaegsetes Õppetekstides: Tallinna Dominiiklase David Sliperi Taskuraamat*, (Late Medieval Literary Culture and School Manuscripts: The Handbook of the Dominican Friar David Sliper from the Tallinn Friary), (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2001). See also *eadem*, *Tallinna dominiiklased kloostrimõtisklusi*. (Reflections on the Reval Dominicans) (Tallinn: As Olearius, 1993)..

¹⁸ Tiina Kala, "Tallinna jutlustajad vennad reformatsiooni eelõhtul," (The Tallinn Friars on the Eve of the Reformation), *Vana Tallinn* 10 (14) (2000):117-120. See also *eadem*, "Das Dominikanerkloster von Reval/Tallinn und die lutherische Reformation" in *Die Stadt im Europäischen Nordosten*, ed. Robert Schweitzer and Waltraud Basman-Bühner, Veröffentlichungen der Aue Stiftung 12 (Helsinki: Aue Stiftung, 2001), 83-93.

¹⁹ Kala, *Euroopa Kirjakultuur*, Appendix

²⁰ Küllike Kaplinski, "Die Tallinner mittelalterlichen Bürgertestamente als Quelle der Untersuchung der sozialen Struktur der Bevölkerung Tallinns," in *Problemy razvitija socialno-ekonomičeskich formacij v stranach Baltiki* (Problems of the Development of the Social-Economic Formations in the Baltic Countries). (Tallinn, 1987), 109-122.

fifteenth-century testaments,²¹ which will remain an important achievement for a long time. In her thesis, Allik studied almost all possible aspects of the testaments: their type, the personalities of testators, recipients of the pious donations, and recipients of heritage. Allik looked through hundred of Reval's testaments created in the late fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Allik's thesis did not neglect the pious donations and she did an analysis of all kinds of donations made for ecclesiastical institutions and for caritative purposes.²² However, sometimes the data are simply described and not compared with each other. The picture still stays fragmented. Allik has also published an article in which she particularly analyzes the testament of Gerd Satzern (1491).²³ In that article Allik also shows her skills in contextualizing one certain case with all the data and patterns seen there, but as also in the thesis, in her article Allik is quite descriptive.

As seen in this review, thorough research has been done on the Reval Dominicans and on Reval testaments, but none of these authors has looked at the aspects in which I am interested. The previous research has dealt mainly with the structural history of the Dominican friary in Reval and the description of Reval testaments, without reflecting the ties of the friars with society or the religiosity of the testators. On the other hand, the previous research gives enough feedback for the research on aspects with which I will deal in this thesis.

My study will be mainly based on hundred and forty-two Reval testaments, created in the time period from 1400 until 1524.²⁴ If compared with other Hanseatic towns, the number of medieval testaments in Reval is rather small. For example, in

²¹ Kadri-Rutt Allik, "Die Revaler Testamente aus dem 15. Jahrhundert" (MA Thesis, Universität Göttingen, 1995). (Hereafter: Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)")

²² Ibid., 58-90.

²³ Kadri-Rutt Allik, "Revaler Testamente aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Das Testament des Revaler Bürgers Gerd Satzern (1491)," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa Forschung* 46 (1997): 178-204.

²⁴ See Appendix 1

Lübeck in 1945 there were 6,400 testaments for the whole period of the Late Middle Ages²⁵ and in Stralsund for the same period 1,200 testaments.²⁶ But it has to be considered that Reval was smaller than other main Hanseatic towns and that other Livonian towns have an even smaller survival rate for testaments. In Riga, only one testament has survived from the beginning of the fifteenth century.²⁷ Despite the fact that the number of Reval's testaments is rather small, they have great importance for the context of urban history in Livonia.

While working with the testaments, one has to take into account that not all inhabitants of towns, not even all burghers, created testaments. As the German historian Ahasver von Brandt stated, the testaments are sources created mainly by the social elite and middle class of towns.²⁸ This does not mean that people who belonged to lower social strata did not create their own testaments, but they are a minority among the testators. In Reval, there were also cases when individuals who were servants created testaments and distributed their few belongings. One also has to take into account that the testaments did not always show the real economic state of testators. Testaments only in rare cases give information about the whole property of the testator²⁹ and a small amount of property mentioned in a testament did not mean that the testator was poor.³⁰

²⁵ Ahasver von Brandt, *Mittelalterliche Bürgertestamente*, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 3 (1973) (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1973), 8.

²⁶ Johannes Schildhauer, *Hansestädtischer Alltag: Untersuchungen auf der Grundlage der Stralsunder Bürgertestamente vom Anfang des 14. bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1992), 12.

²⁷ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, (Henceforth, LUB) 1st ed, vol. 7, ed. Hermann Hildebrand (Reval [Tallinn]: 1881), Nr. 372.

²⁸ von Brandt, *Mittelalterliche Bürgertestamente*, 11.

²⁹ Allik, "Revaler Testamente aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Das Testament des Revaler Bürgers Gerd Satzern (1491)," 189.

³⁰ Gunnar Meyer, "Milieu und Memoria. Schichtspezifisches Stiftungsverhalten in den Lübecker Testamenten aus dem 2. Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 78 (1998): 120.

Testaments deal with imaginary amounts of money or objects, because often even very rich merchants did not possess hundreds of marks or guildens in cash. It also has to be taken into consideration that the economic state of a testator could change between the moment when a testament was created and when it had to be executed after his/her death, and sometimes this period could be several decades long.³¹ In many cases, the bequeathing of property or donations made in testaments has to be seen not as actions which were executed, but as an expression of the testators' wishes, even if after the testators' death the executors of his testament were not able to realize those actions. In this case, the term "last will" could be appropriate, because the testament as a source is rather an expression of the individual's preferences and will, not "pure reality."

In one aspect, Reval is not different from other Hanseatic towns: comparatively few of the testaments have been completely published. Only one third of Reval's testaments have full publication, mainly in the *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch (LUB)*.³² The rest are published either in the form of regesta³³ or are not published at all.³⁴

There are several problematic aspects which the researcher has to be aware of while working with the testament publications of *LUB*. One has to take into account that this is a source publication created at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, and for the first six volumes any additional information

³¹ In Reval there are cases when testators created their testaments even thirty years before their death, as Gherd Witte, who created his testament in 1394 but died around 1428. See *Revaler Regesten: Testamente Revaler Bürger und Einwohner aus den Jahren 1369 bis 1851. Vol. 3. Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung* 35. ed. Roland Seeberg-Elverfeldt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), No. 6.

³² *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, 1st ed, vol. 4, ed. F. G. von Bunge; 1st ed., vol. 8-12, ed. Hermann Hildebrand, Philipp Schwarz and August von Bulmering; 2d ed., vol. 1-3, ed. Leonid Arbusow (Reval [Tallinn] and Riga: 1853-1914).

³³ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 7-127.

³⁴ In this thesis twenty-one unpublished testaments from Tallinn's City Archives were used. See Tallinna Linnaarhiiv (Tallinn City Archives), henceforth, TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1.

about the sources (publications, archival information, etc.) is lacking. In some cases the editors published only fragments, without giving reasons why the whole testaments were not published.³⁵ For various reasons the publishers of *LUB* left testaments unpublished for long time periods; while most testaments from the beginning of the fifteenth and mid-fifteenth century were published, the situation for the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century is very different. No testaments are published which were created in the period from 1471 to 1494 and 1511 to 1524. Later historians have also criticized the early volumes of *LUB* for many mistakes made from a palaeographic point of view.

For this thesis, I have used also the regesta of Reval's testaments compiled by Roland Seeberg-Elverfeldt.³⁶ The first detail which really is important is the fact that Seeberg-Elverfeldt's work was influenced by the political situation after the Second World War. Seeberg-Elverfeldt, a West German historian, was working on Reval's testament regesta in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the time when Europe was divided by the Iron Curtain. Seeberg-Elverfeldt used mainly Reval testaments which after the war were situated in Göttingen—West Germany, and that was only a part of all Reval's testaments. Another part of the testaments was located in Tallinn's City Archives. As Seeberg-Elverfeldt wrote later in the introduction of his regesta, when he had a chance to go to Tallinn (at that time in the USSR), on September 1, 1972, he arrived too late, when the archive was already closed (!).³⁷ Also later, he had no chance to receive necessary information from Tallinn and his regesta were compiled only from the testament collection located in Germany.

³⁵ LUB 2/2 No. 545, LUB 2/3 No. 744.

³⁶ *Revaler Regesten*.

³⁷ *Revaler Regesten*, 6.

Maybe also the circumstances under which an author of a compilation created his regesta influenced the contents. At least in the case of pious donations, for some testaments, the author did not give any additional information about the donations, just naming sums not precisely mentioning purposes given in the testaments. For example, in the case of Hans Bouwer's testament Seeberg-Elverfeldt wrote that the testator donated seventy Riga marks to the Dominicans and requested prayers from them.³⁸ However, in the original of the testament it is written that Bouwer donated seventy marks for building purposes of the Dominican church and the friary, wished that his name was written into the memorial book of the friars and that they had to pray for his soul forever.³⁹ This example, showing that in some of the cases the regesta compiled by Seeberg-Elverfeldt are not precise, makes aware that the style of regesta compilations does not allow to deal with some details in testaments that might be important for specific research problems.

In this thesis, I have also used testaments which have not been published, neither in LUB nor in Seeberg-Elverfeldt's regesta. The unpublished testaments were almost all created at the beginning of the sixteenth century, just shortly before the Reformation. They are from that part of Reval's testament collection which stayed in Tallinn after the Second World War and because of that Seeberg-Elverfeldt was not able to incorporate into his regesta. .

Apart from the testaments there is another type of sources which has had important role in this thesis. Those are parts of Reval's friary's account book, which is kept in the Tallinn City Archives.⁴⁰ These parts of the account book were created

³⁸ Ibid., No. 118.

³⁹ "... Item szo gheve ick den prediker broder bynnen Revel LXX mark tom buwete und sollen se my screven in eer denckelbock und gott in ewicheit vor my bidden.." See TLA, f 230, n 3 B, No. 75.

⁴⁰ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3.

from 1516 to 1524. Parts of them were published by Gertrud Walther-Wittenheim,⁴¹ but the records which show the requests for Masses made in 1524 have not been published.⁴² These records are important because they show the patterns of Mass requests. Walther-Wittenheim published the part of account book where people made payments to the Dominicans, probably for eternal Masses celebrated in the church of St. Catherine. The account book of the friary bears information not only about incomes of the friary in its last years of existence, but also the names of individuals who became friars.⁴³

The Dominicans arrived in Reval as early as 1229, with the support of the papal legate William of Modena, and the friary was probably founded on the cathedral hill.⁴⁴ This first foundation, for various reasons, did not exist for a long time, and the friars were forced to leave again in 1233.⁴⁵ In 1246, the Dominicans returned to Reval and took up residence again on the cathedral hill. In the period when the Dominicans had been absent, the buildings of the friary were used to build the cathedral. In 1262, the Dominicans received a large plot in the territory of town, just next to the town wall, where they finally built their friary, dedicated to St. Catherine of Alexandria.⁴⁶

From its very beginnings, the Dominican friary in Reval belonged to the Danish Dominican province, in contrast to other Dominican friaries in Livonia, which belonged to the province of Saxony. There were attempts to incorporate Reval's friary into the province of Saxony, first unsuccessfully in 1399 and then in 1517 when its

⁴¹ Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, Anhang 8.

⁴² TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 77r, 77v, 78r

⁴³ The records of friars who entered Reval's friary in the last years of its existence have been published. See Tiina Kala, "Tallinna jutlustajad," 117-120.

⁴⁴ Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, 8.

⁴⁵ See Marek Tamm, "Millal jõudsid dominikaanid Tallinna?" (When did the Dominicans Arrive in Tallinn?), *Tuna. Ajalookultuuri ajakiri* 2 (2001): 13-23. See also Jaan Tamm, *Eesti keskaegsed kloostrid: Medieval monasteries of Estonia* (Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus, 2002), 168.

incorporation into the province of Saxony was finally successful.⁴⁷ Apart from the fact that the friary in Reval and those in Riga and Dorpat were in different provinces, probably they were all part of the Livonian vicariate and had a common vicar who resided in Riga.⁴⁸ Reval's friary was the largest Dominican house in Livonia with the largest number of friars. All Livonian Dominican friaries became part of one structure when, in the late 1470s, they were integrated into the *Congregatio Hollandiae* where they stayed until 1517. Reval's Dominican friary was reformed in 1474/1475,⁴⁹ and some of the members of the community who did not want to live as observant friars were supposed to leave.⁵⁰ The reform of the friary was complicated and during it the reformers were changed several times. It is known that Reval's town council also supported the reform.

During the Middle Ages the Dominicans had only two serious conflicts with the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. At the beginning of the fifteenth century (1424 to 1428), the Dominicans were involved in a conflict with the secular clergy; the formal reason for it was the Dominican school.⁵¹ The secular clergy and bishop claimed that only the cathedral chapter had the right to have a school, and even the papal curia was involved in this conflict. The Dominicans had to close their school, and the town was allowed to open a school in St. Olaf's parish. But the question of education rights was only a pretext for the conflict. It was more connected with an attempt of Reval's bishop to minimize the general Dominican influence in Reval. During the conflict, the friars were for a while stripped of the rights of public liturgical services and, thus, lost considerable part of their income. The town council

⁴⁶ Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, 10.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁴⁸ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 256r

⁴⁹ Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, 108.

⁵⁰ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 11r

supported the friars and when the Dominicans got into this financial crisis, the council granted them a no-interest-loan of four hundred Riga marks.⁵²

The Dominicans had a second large conflict during the Reformation, when the town council decided to support Protestantism. Already in the beginning of 1524 the members of the town council arrived in the friary and expressed demands. These demands had both economic and religious components. The town council wished to audit all the property and belongings of the friary and it prohibited the friars to give sermons.⁵³ The town council later arrested the prior and subprior of the friary because they were suspected in an attempt to rescue property and valuables of the friary. On January 12, 1525, the town council officially closed Reval's Dominican friary and confiscated all its property. The friars had to leave Reval forever.

⁵¹ Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, "Der Revaler Kirchenstreit (1424-1428)," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 109 (1991): 16.

⁵² LUB 1/7 No. 451.

⁵³ Tiina Kala, "Das Dominikanerkloster von Reval/Tallinn," 86.

CHAPTER 1 THE DONATIONS OF REVAL'S TOWNSPEOPLE FOR THE DOMINICANS

Theodor Nagel (Dietrich Nagel), dean of Riga cathedral chapter, in a foundation document for an eternal Mass⁵⁴ (1447), wrote that there are three kinds of deceased people: those who are saints and help the living, those who are forever condemned, and those who, despite of dying in a state of grace, have to spend time in purgatory.⁵⁵ After the development of the idea of purgatory in the twelfth century, prayers for an individual's soul after his or her death became the main instrument of salvation for most of the humans -- for those who were not saintly enough to go to heaven directly and those who were not condemned to rest in hell. Individuals all over Western Europe in the Late Middle Ages made pious donations to clerical institutions with the intention that someone would pray for their salvation after their death and they would not need to spend a long time in purgatory. As the German historian Hildegund Hölzel states, individuals made donations *ad pias causas* because of their dirty consciences, anxiety over purgatory, and individual egotism.⁵⁶ Apart from the religious meaning, the donations and foundations for religious reasons had another role -- every such action was a formulation and demonstration of human will and preferences.⁵⁷ Through donations for clerical institutions, individuals were able to

⁵⁴ From here now, in the text the term "foundation of an eternal Mass" will be used. The term "foundation" has been chosen as equivalent for the German term "Stiftung." This kind of foundation was made giving a large sum for purpose of daily, weekly or monthly Masses celebrated over a long time period. Every year the ecclesiastical institution which celebrated those requested Masses received interest from an original sum -- so-called rent money.

⁵⁵ Leonid Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1921; reprint, Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 108.

⁵⁶ Hildegund Hölzel, "'pro salute anime mee... ordino testamentum meum...': Studien zur Lübecker Kirchengeschichte des 14. Jh.," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 70 (1990): 29-30.

⁵⁷ Michael Borgolte, "Der König als Stifter: Streiflichter auf die Geschichte des Willens," in *Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 40.

show their sympathies for one or the other institution and to entrust someone with their commemoration. The aim of this chapter is to show the place the Dominicans in Reval had in the ecclesiastical structure of the town, basing the analysis on the donations made in testaments during the Late Middle Ages. The number of people who left testaments is not known with certainty and they have had a low survival rate.⁵⁸ Although they cannot show precisely in great detail what role the Dominicans had in the local urban society, it is possible to see what the tendencies were and how popular the Dominicans were. In addition, it is important to see which other ecclesiastical institutions were popular among Revalian testators and whether there was any kind of rivalry between those institutions and the Dominicans.

1.1 ANALYSIS OF DONATIONS TO THE DOMINICANS

Every religious community expected financial support from the society and the society expected spiritual support from the community in the form of prayers, Masses, and religious ceremonies. The German historian Dietrich Poeck states that the prosperity of the medieval town did not rely only on economic factors, but Masses and prayers in churches and monasteries also had an important impact.⁵⁹ Similarly, prayers in churches and monasteries had an influence on the economic prosperity of the individual in this world and the state of the individual's soul while living and also in the afterlife. To achieve the aim, to have a successful life and to reach salvation in the afterlife, individuals, families, and social groups chose those religious institutions which in their opinion had the greatest capabilities to achieve those goals. Many

⁵⁸ Gunnar Meyer assumes that, at least in Lübeck, the survival rate of testaments is around twenty-five percent and the number of testators out of whole society was around one fourth, mainly members of a society's upper strata. No such research has yet been made for Reval, but probably, the results would be similar. See Gunnar Meyer, "Milieu und Memoria," 118-119.

⁵⁹ Dietrich W. Poeck, "Klöster und Bürger: Eine Fallstudie zu Lübeck (1225-1531)," in *International Conference: Hansa Yesterday- Hansa Tomorrow*, ed. Ojārs Spārītis (Riga: Vārds, 2001), 187.

people chose not only one religious institution, but if they had enough resources, they chose several churches and monasteries that prayed for their souls or even the souls of their ancestors, friends, and future family members. In Reval, the Dominican convent was a part of this spiritual system which had the aim and obligation to help their donors achieve salvation through prayers and Masses.

For the time period of 1400 to 1525, which is the focus of this thesis, one hundred and one out of one hundred and thirty-three testators⁶⁰ who donated at least something *ad pias causas* made donations to the Reval Dominicans.⁶¹ For the time period of 1400 to 1500 fifty out of sixty-four testators made donations for the friars and in the period of 1501 to 1525 fifty-one of sixty-nine testators. This means that for the whole period around seventy-five percent of Reval testators gave donations to the Dominicans and a similar correlation is seen in time periods of 1400 to 1500 and 1501 to 1525, between seventy-eight and seventy-five percent. If the percentage of Reval's testators donating to the Dominicans in the fifteenth century is compared with other German medieval towns, the results have to be considered high. For example, in Cologne in the fifteenth century, around fifty-eight percent of lay testators donated something to the mendicants (taken together),⁶² meaning that the Dominicans there were mentioned in even fewer last wills. In Lübeck in the second half of the fourteenth century (1351 to 1400), twenty-six percent of testators were donors to the Dominicans and around the same percentage of testators were donors to the Franciscans.⁶³ The Dominican convent in Reval may have received donations from

⁶⁰ For this time period altogether there are hundred and forty-two testaments and in eight of them no pious donations were made. See Appendix 1.

⁶¹ The survival rate of fourteenth-century testaments in Reval is quite low; only seven testaments have survived, and among them, four in which testators had made donations to the friars.

⁶² Brigitte Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes und zum Wohl der Familie: Kölner Testamente von Laien und Klerikern im Spätmittelalter* (Cologne: Janus, 1995), 121.

⁶³ Birgit Noodt, *Religion und Familie in der Hansestadt Lübeck anhand der Bürgertestamente des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 2000), 237.

testators more frequently than in other towns partly because of the fact that it was the only mendicant convent in Reval for the whole Middle Ages. In other medieval towns the number of testators who donated something to the Dominicans also differed because of the larger number of religious institutions and mendicant convents and the local context.

As already said, the number of testators who mentioned the Dominicans in their testaments did not change during this time--in the fifteenth century there was the same percentage of donations as at the beginning of the sixteenth. However, it has to be assumed that there were probably periods when the number of testators who donated to the friars shrank below this percentage. An insufficient number of testaments from the third and fourth decades of the fifteenth century, when there was the conflict between the Dominicans and the secular clergy in Reval (1424-1428), make it impossible to estimate what influence this conflict had on the donations made to the friars. At least it would not be wrong to assume that for the second half of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century the number of testators who mentioned friars as receivers of donations was stable.

In most cases, testators donated money for the Dominicans; only four testators gave objects or food. For example, Kathryn Kulmes (1518)⁶⁴ donated a black cloak for an unspecified friar in the convent⁶⁵ or Margareta, Pawel Snytker's widow (1510), donated several cloaks, tin dishes, small and large jugs, three pots, and several pieces of cloth to the friars for the sanctity of her own soul.⁶⁶ The donations of objects and food do not mean that the donor was poor or had a low social status; sometimes, as in

⁶⁴ From now on the year after the testators name shows the year when the testament was created.

⁶⁵ TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1542.

⁶⁶ LUB 2/3 No. 744.

Margareta Stytker's widow's case, those donations had great value (metal dishes and pots!).

Most of the donations for the Dominicans in the testaments of Reval's townspeople were made using money: ninety-seven testators donated money for the friars.⁶⁷ Usually the currency used was the Riga mark⁶⁸ and only on some rare occasions were Rhenish guildens or other currencies used. From the ninety-seven money donations, sixty percent had a value from one to ten Riga marks. Donations of ten Riga marks were popular and twenty-three donors donated such sums. This sum was also popular for the donations to other ecclesiastical institutions. Ten marks at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century was a suitable payment for the illumination of altars in St. Catherine's church⁶⁹ and for forty Masses celebrated by the friars.⁷⁰

In the group of relatively smaller donations, predominantly the largest part were the donations with a value of five marks and lower -- thirty-three out of fifty-nine donations. Thirty-seven of these small donations that did not surpass the value of ten marks were made in the fifteenth century. Peter Bredouw (1488) donated one Riga mark to the Dominicans as also to the parishes of St. Olaf and St. Nicholas;⁷¹ Clawes Muess (1478) donated one Riga mark for all the ecclesiastical institutions in Reval, also to the Dominicans, except for the parish of St. Nicholas for which he made a donation of the value of five marks.⁷² Smaller donation amounts for several clerical

⁶⁷ There were the testators who mentioned in their testaments that they would like to donate money for the friars, but did not specify an amount of their donation. Such donors are not included in this following division of the groups.

⁶⁸ 1 Riga Mark = 4 Ferding = 36 Schilling = 48 Ore = 432 Pfennig, One Rhenish gulden around the end of the fifteenth century had the value of one Riga mark and twenty-four shillings, see Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1986), 250, 283.

⁶⁹ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 45.

⁷⁰ LUB 2/3 No. 586; LUB 2/3 No. 718; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 112.

⁷¹ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 40.

⁷² *Ibid.*, No. 31.

institutions did not mean that the whole amount of donations *ad pias causas* was small. Godert Tyes (1490), who donated three marks to the friars for the organ in their church, gave twenty Riga marks for poor people in Lübeck, three marks for poor people at the St. Barbara's chapel in Reval and the same sum for poor ones at St. Olaf's.⁷³ The examples show that small donations for the Dominicans did not always mean that donors did not have sufficient resources to donate more; simply they could have had other priorities and other ecclesiastical institutions to which they felt bound more than to the Dominicans. The prosperous and influential merchant Gerd Satzern, who was a member of Reval's urban elite,⁷⁴ in his testament (1491) donated ten Riga marks to the Dominicans.⁷⁵ The complete value of property which is mentioned in his testament was 10,400 Riga marks⁷⁶ and other religious institutions such as St. Olaf's church received over a hundred marks and the Franciscans in Fellin thirty marks. Apparently, for Satzern, who had enough financial resources, the Dominicans did not play an important role in his strategies to secure his afterlife and that is why he donated such a small sum to them.

There were slightly fewer donors who gave sums larger than ten Riga marks and less than fifty marks; in this group, twenty-seven donors of ninety-seven can be listed. The donation of twenty Riga marks was popular, eight donors made it. Testators who made donations that had a value over ten marks were keener to specify for which purposes the friars had to spend it. For example, Margiete Katvick (Katvick) (1501), widow of Derick Katvick, a painter and glazier,⁷⁷ donated ten Rhenish guildens for the friars, requesting in return forty Masses said twice for her

⁷³ Ibid., No. 44.

⁷⁴ Kadri-Rutt Allik, "Revaler Testamente aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Das Testament des Revaler Bürgers Gerd Satzern (1491)," 185.

⁷⁵ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 52.

⁷⁶ Kadri-Rutt Allik, "Revaler Testamente aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Das Testament des Revaler Bürgers Gerd Satzern (1491)," 188.

soul;⁷⁸ Heningk Simer (Hennigk or Hennynck Somer) (1518) donated twenty-five Riga marks to the Dominicans and asked the brethren to pray for his and his wife's souls.⁷⁹ Larger donations gave the possibility for the testators to diversify the purposes for which they donated the money. Gerdt Stomberch (1482) donated ten Riga marks for the Dominicans themselves, plus ten marks for the decoration of the organ in St. Catherine's church.⁸⁰ The town councilor, Hans Hosserinck⁸¹ (1521), donated ten marks for the Dominicans, wax for the illumination of St. Catherine's church, and ten marks for forty Masses.⁸² There were also the cases when the testators specified that they would like to donate money separately for the Dominicans and their church, as Hinrick Horneyt (1503) donated ten marks for the friary and ten marks for St. Catherine's church.⁸³

The minority of all testators are those who donated sums larger than fifty Riga marks to the Dominicans; only nine out of ninety-seven testators made such donations. However, from those nine cases, two cannot be considered proper donations. Wilm vame Schede (1447)⁸⁴ and Gherwen Bornemann⁸⁵ (1480)⁸⁶ both donated smaller sums for the friars, but at the same time created vicaries in the church of St. Catherine by giving large sums for that reason, two hundred and hundred Riga marks. Vame Schede and Bornemann made foundations from which each year a certain sum had to be given for the maintaining of those vicaries. There were also testators who donated large sums without specifying the purpose. The burgher Evert

⁷⁷ Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)," 42.

⁷⁸ TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1508.

⁷⁹ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 116.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 37.

⁸¹ Friedrich Georg von Bunge, *Die Revaler Rathslinie* (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1874), 104.

⁸² TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493.

⁸³ LUB 2/2 No. 545.

⁸⁴ LUB 1/10 No. 334.

⁸⁵ Bornemann became a burgher in 1445. See *Das Revaler Bürgerbuch 1409-1624*, ed. Otto Greifenhagen (Reval: Revaler Estn. Verlagsgenossenschaft, 1932), 16.

⁸⁶ Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)," Anhang No. 42.

Gruter (Euert Gruther)⁸⁷ (1520) donated one hundred marks⁸⁸ and burgomaster Joan Viandt⁸⁹ (Viant) (1524) gave two hundred marks.⁹⁰ Large donations were mostly made by rich and influential people, for example, a prosperous merchant who traded with the Russians, Gert van Lynden (1442),⁹¹ gave hundred marks for building purposes at St. Catherine's church.⁹²

As shown above, most of Reval's testators willed donations of small value and only thirty-seven out of ninety-seven testators wished to give more than ten marks for the Dominicans. However, the value of a donation cannot lead to an assumption about the importance the recipient of donation had for the donor and what place the institution had in society. The value of a donation itself does not show the individual's attitude toward an institution. For example, probably for Evert Gruter (1520), who wished to make pious donations to a value of hundreds of Riga marks,⁹³ ten marks had a different value and meaning than for Clawes Muess⁹⁴ (1478), who donated altogether only fourteen marks for pious purposes.⁹⁵ In addition, the value of money changed during the time and decreased in value;⁹⁶ the economic situation also changed during the time. All these factors influenced the ability of testators to donate money and also influenced the amounts of their donations. One may assume that in case of pious donations money played a role as an instrument through which testators showed their sympathies and attitudes towards different ecclesiastical institutions.

⁸⁷ *Revaler Bürgerbuch*, 37.

⁸⁸ TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1471.

⁸⁹ Bunge, *Revaler Rathslinie*, 94.

⁹⁰ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 127.

⁹¹ Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)," 42.

⁹² LUB 1/9 No. 911.

⁹³ TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1471.

⁹⁴ Muess became a burgher in 1451. See *Revaler Bürgerbuch*, 18.

⁹⁵ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 31.

⁹⁶ A Riga mark in the fifteenth century was losing its value against Rhenish gulden. In 1412-1415 one Rhenish gulden was worth twenty-two Riga shillings and six pfennings (one Riga mark was thirty-six shillings or 432 pfennigs), in 1422 it was valued at one Riga mark and three shillings, in 1471 its value was one Riga mark and twenty-four shillings. See Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, 250.

Nevertheless, one should not consider money as the instrument for manifesting human feelings and expectations, but money given to certain institutions could show the individual's attitude towards it. It is hard to imagine that someone gave large donations to a religious community which in the eyes of donors was not capable of achieving the spiritual goals set by them.

To see what importance the Dominicans had for the testators in Reval, it is necessary to compare donations made for the friars and other ecclesiastical institutions. By comparing pious donations given to the different institutions in the last wills of testators, it is important to see what positions the Dominicans occupied in those testaments. This analysis can show whom the testators trusted most and whether the Dominicans were among the most trusted ecclesiastical institutions in Reval. In most of the testaments the amounts which were supposed to be given to different ecclesiastical institutions differed -- some institutions received more, some less. Presumably, larger donations could have meant that the person had greater spiritual expectations of this institution or closer social ties with it. Smaller donations for other institutions could have meant that they had less prestige in the eyes of a testator or simply that a testator did not feel especially close ties.

From the ninety-seven testaments in which the Dominicans received money donations, in twenty-two the friars were chosen to receive the largest donations among all the ecclesiastical institutions named in the testaments. This means that one fifth of Reval's testators chose them as the ecclesiastical institution for which they donated the most and perhaps trusted most. Even for those individuals who declared in their testaments that the Dominicans were to receive the largest donations, it is hard to find out the possible motivations and reasons why they chose the friars as main receivers of the benefits. Nevertheless, one can try to discover motivations behind this decision to give to the Dominicans more than to other institutions. The burgher

Ludeke Witte (1435) gave five marks in his testament to the Dominicans and five marks for building purposes to St. Catherine's church.⁹⁷ Ludeke Witte was a merchant,⁹⁸ as was his father, Gherd Witte, Reval burgomaster, who was involved in the town government for around forty years between 1384 and 1423.⁹⁹ The Witte family was a member of Reval's leading social and political elite and had significant wealth. Gherd Witte left for his five sons, Ludeke, Gerlach, Bernd, Kersten, and Hans, prosperous properties in Reval: several stone houses, warehouses, and gardens, one of them near the friary.¹⁰⁰ The Wittes lived in the parish territory of St. Nicholas,¹⁰¹ where most of Reval's elite's members lived. Gherd Witte was not only an influential local politician, but at least at the turn of the century, he was churchwarden of St. Catherine's church.¹⁰² Witte senior (1394),¹⁰³ similarly to his son, donated ten Riga marks to the friars.

At least regarding the attention and relations with the friars, Ludeke Witte followed in his fathers footsteps, except the fact that Ludeke had neither such a political influence in Reval (he was not even town councilor) nor did he act as churchwarden for the Dominicans. Ludeke's pious donations also were less ambitious than his father's. The whole value of his pious donations was a bit over forty Riga marks;¹⁰⁴ his father donated a fortune for the Holy Ghost church alone: one hundred

⁹⁷ LUB 1/8 No. 896.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Witte was the town councilor from 1384 until 1396 and the burgomaster from 1397 until 1423. See Bunge, *Revaler Rathslinie*, 141.

¹⁰⁰ *Das drittälteste Erbebuch der Stadt Reval (1383-1458)*, ed. Eugen von Nottbeck (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1892), No. 1007.

¹⁰¹ In the tax list of St. Olaf's parish in 1402 the name of Gherd Witte is missing, and this can only mean that Witte was living in the parish of St. Nicholas. See Dieter Heckmann, "Das Schossverzeichnis der Revaler Kirchspiels St. Olai von 1402," in *Aus der Geschichte Alt-Livlands. Festschrift für Heinz von zur Mühlen zum 90. Geburtstag*, ed. Bernhart Jähnig and Klaus Militzer (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), 79.

¹⁰² TLA, f 87, n 1, s 88.

¹⁰³ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 6.

¹⁰⁴ LUB 1/8 No. 896.

and fifty marks.¹⁰⁵ It is not clear whether Ludeke Witte donated the greatest sum of his property to the Dominicans because of family ties with this institution or for his own personal reasons. This is the only case in Reval when testaments of father and son have survived and one can trace the donation habits of family members over two generations.

The continuity of relations between individuals and the Dominicans in the second generation can also be seen in the testament of Wilm vame Schede (1447), in which the Dominicans had an important role. As mentioned above, vame Schede donated ten marks to the friars and made a foundation in the Dominican church worth two hundred marks.¹⁰⁶ Vame Schede's foundation was made as eternal vicary for his parents and ancestors who were buried in the Dominican church. Wilm vame Schede probably was the son of Hans vame Schede, a Reval burgher in the 1420s.¹⁰⁷ Apparently, Hans vame Schede was successful enough in his business and after his death, in 1443, his son received payments worth three hundred Riga marks.¹⁰⁸ It seems that the family of vame Schede was part of the urban elite and was bound in a social network to other families of the leading social and political elite. Wilm's mother's sister Gertrud was the wife of Albert Rumoer, town councilor in the 1430s and burgomaster in the 1450s,¹⁰⁹ and the other sister of his mother, Elzebe, was married to Hinrik Tolner, brother-in-law of Ludeke Witte (!).¹¹⁰ Wilm himself also had ties with the influential Wittes; in his testament, he named several members of the Witte family as recipients of several objects and donated money for the altar, founded

¹⁰⁵ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 6.

¹⁰⁶ LUB 1/10 No. 334.

¹⁰⁷ *Revaler Bürgerbuch*, 7; *Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, No. 847, No. 855.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 1219, No. 1223.

¹⁰⁹ LUB 1/10 No. 334; Bunge, *Revaler Rathslinie*, 127.

¹¹⁰ *Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, No. 1007.

by Gherd Witte, in the Holy Ghost church.¹¹¹ Wilm vame Schede in the testament gave a considerable amount of wax for Hans Lippe, who in 1453 requested an eternal Mass in the Dominican church.¹¹² This evidence of Wilm's and his family's involvement in the local urban elite and the example of Witte's family show that the members of the local urban elite had close ties with the friars and on some occasions chose them as the main receivers of pious donations.

For one group of testators it is possible to trace their motivations of why they donated the largest sums to the friars. Those are the testators who requested their burial in the Dominican church and in addition gave the largest donations to the friars. Four testators wished to be buried in St. Catherine's church and donated money to the friars: Hermen Menne (1500) donated thirty Riga marks,¹¹³ Hermen Lette (1504) gave ten Riga marks,¹¹⁴ Dyrck Mouwersz (Mouwes) (1510) fifteen marks,¹¹⁵ and Hans Langheweder (1512) sixty marks.¹¹⁶ Probably these four testators who requested burials by the friars made the largest donations for the Dominicans in gratitude for their burial in St. Catherine's church.

Not all testators showed clear sympathies for one specific ecclesiastical institution. Ten testators chose not one single ecclesiastical institution, but several institutions, for which they donated sums of equal value. Arndt Johansen (1510), brother-in-law of the town councilor and burgomaster Heyse Pattimer (Pattiner), donated twenty Riga marks to the friars and also left equally large sums to the churches of St. Olaf and St. Nicholas and the Franciscan friary in Fellin.¹¹⁷ Almost all of the donors who chose not to specify a clear leader among recipients of pious

¹¹¹ LUB 1/10 No. 334.

¹¹² *Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, No. 1297; LUB 11 No. 232.

¹¹³ LUB 2/1 No. 897.

¹¹⁴ LUB 2/2 No. 623.

¹¹⁵ LUB 2/3 No. 862.

¹¹⁶ TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1553.

donations made donations with small amounts of money. Jaspar Pawels (1522), for instance, gave only twelve marks altogether *ad pias causas* and divided them between the friars, the parishes of St. Olaf and St. Nicholas, and the church of the Holy Ghost, giving each three marks.¹¹⁸ Donating small and equal sums of money to all the important ecclesiastical institutions gave greater possibilities for the testators who did not have sufficient financial resources. For them it was important that with small resources they could receive spiritual benefits from not one but from many institutions, which all received small donations.

The Dominicans in Reval were part of a densely knit ecclesiastical structure in Reval; many testators did not choose them as the main receivers of pious donations, and sometimes the friars were not even among the three biggest receivers of donations. In twenty-eight testaments out of ninety-seven, the Dominicans had the second largest donation, in twenty-two testaments they had the third position and in fourteen last wills they had fourth position or lower. This is a point where one should look on the rivalry between the Dominicans and other ecclesiastical institutions in Reval's testaments. Perhaps, "rivalry" is not the adequate term to be used here, because in Reval, at least in the testaments, a "fight" between the ecclesiastical institutions for the donations of the testators is not evident. The greatest ecclesiastical conflict in Reval between the Dominicans and the secular clergy broke out of because of financial interests of the secular clergy,¹¹⁹ although the question of the testamentary incomes was not at the center of that conflict. One has to see which ecclesiastical institutions received larger donations than the Dominicans and what the possible reasons were.

¹¹⁷ TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1504.

¹¹⁸ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 123.

Here comparison with other Hanseatic towns is almost impossible, because the local situations in those towns differed significantly. For example, in Lübeck, which was almost ten times bigger than Reval, there were five parishes, two mendicant friaries, and several nunneries in the Late Middle Ages;¹²⁰ in Stralsund, which was as big as Reval, the town had three parishes, several chapels, Franciscan and the Dominican friaries, and the Bridgetine monastery.¹²¹ Reval's ecclesiastical structure was less developed than in its sister towns of the Hansa. During the Late Middle Ages in Reval there were only the two parishes of St. Olaf and St. Nicholas, the cathedral dedicated to the Holy Virgin, the church of the Holy Ghost, and chapels of St. Barbara, St. Gertrud, and St. Anthony, the Cistercian nunnery of St. Michael, the Bridgetine nunnery on the outskirts of Reval, and the Dominican friary.¹²² In the testaments, besides the Dominicans, only the parishes and monastic communities had important roles and because of that, smaller and less important recipients, such as chapels, the cathedral, and the Holy Ghost church, will not be evaluated in the next two subchapters.

1.2 THE PARISHES AND THE DOMINICANS IN THE TESTAMENTS

In medieval towns, the parishes were centers of religious life.¹²³ A parish church was a place where most of townspeople were baptized, later received all the sacraments, and finally were buried either in the church or in its cemetery. With the

¹¹⁹ Juhan Kreem, *The Town and its Lord. Reval and The Teutonic Order (in the Fifteenth Century)*, Tallinna Linnaarhiivi Toimetised 6 (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2002), 141.

¹²⁰ Noodt, *Religion und Familie*, 6.

¹²¹ Johannes Schildhauer, "Religiöse Vorstellungen, soziale Verhaltensweisen und kaufmännisches Denken des hansischen Städtebürgers auf der Grundlage Stralsunder Bürgertestamente," in *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte* 16 (1989): 30.

¹²² Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1973), 79.

¹²³ Hartmut Boockmann, *Die Stadt im späten Mittelalter* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1986), 191.

entrance of the mendicant orders into the urban landscape and the beginning of their pastoral activities, the parishes lost their role as the only centers of religious life.¹²⁴ In the thirteenth century, periodically, in many medieval towns conflicts arose between parishes and mendicants, because the mendicants began offering liturgical services, for example, burials, which at that time only parishes had the right to offer.¹²⁵ As mentioned above, in Reval, the impact of the conflict between the secular clergy and the friars 1424-1428 cannot be observed in the testaments because only a few testaments have survived for the period before and a short time after the conflict.

Even after the entry of the mendicants into urban space, all townspeople still belonged to parishes and had ties with them. In Reval, most of the hundred and thirty-three testators who made pious donations mentioned parishes in their testaments and gave them donations.¹²⁶ However, among them there were individuals who apparently had closer ties with the mendicants than with a parish. Before the Reformation, the testators were able to choose the receivers of their donations freely and whether or not they wished to donate something to their own parish.¹²⁷ From those testators who made donations to the friars, two -- Hennynck Kloth (1491)¹²⁸ and Margareta, widow of Pawel Snytker (1510)¹²⁹ -- did not even mention parishes as the receivers of donations.

On the other hand, most of the testators who donated to the Dominicans, also chose parish churches as receivers of donations. Thirty of the testators who mentioned

¹²⁴ Eberhard Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter* (Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer, 1988), 216.

¹²⁵ See also, Ingo Ulpts, "Zur Rolle der Mendikanten in städtischen Konflikten des Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Beispiele aus Bremen, Hamburg und Lübeck," in *Bettelorden und Stadt: Bettelorden und städtisches Leben im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, ed. Dieter Berg (Wern: Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1992), 134-139.

¹²⁶ It is not possible to determine whether such individuals were among the testators who did not belong to the parishes, even in the case of Bernd Pael (1502), who was not a burgher of Reval. See LUB 2/2 Nr. 264.

¹²⁷ Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)," 60.

¹²⁸ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 56.

the Dominicans as receivers of donations in their testaments gave the largest donations for the church of St. Olaf and twenty-six gave their largest donations for the St. Nicholas church. In thirteen cases, the parishes and other ecclesiastical institutions received donations of the same value. Altogether, in sixty-nine out of one hundred and one testaments in which donations were made to the friars, the parish churches were leaders and received the largest donations. The leadership of the parishes cannot be argued with, partly because the individuals were tightly bound to those institutions. One of the elements which influenced people to make larger donations for the parishes was their wish to be buried in one of the parish churches. However, testators who wished to be buried in the parish churches did not neglect the friars. Lambert Ottingh (1505) wished to be buried in St. Nicholas' church and he made a donation of fifty Riga marks to that church; he donated the second largest amount to the Dominicans, a value of ten marks, requesting prayers for his soul.¹³⁰ In a similar way, Hans Baer (1515) requested his burial in St. Olaf's church, donating one hundred-twenty marks, and he donated the second largest amount of money to the friars, a value of ten marks.¹³¹

Probably it was a certain pattern to request burial in the parish church and also to donate to the Dominicans asking for their prayers. Like Ottingh, Katherine, Jorgen Meller's widow (1519), wished to be buried in St. Nicholas' church and asked the Dominicans to celebrate Masses for her soul, donating ten marks. Jurgen Menth (Mente) (1512), a merchant who had his own cloth business, in a similar way requested burial in St. Nicholas' church and asked the Dominicans to sing *Tenebre*

¹²⁹ LUB 2/3 No. 744.

¹³⁰ LUB 2/3 No. 133.

¹³¹ TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1397.

regularly for his soul.¹³² To support the friars, Menth gave an unspecified foundation sum, from which twelve marks yearly had to be given for the Dominicans and after his sister's death another twelve marks each year.

Not only in cases of burial requests did testators donate larger sums to the parishes and at the same time request specific services from the Dominicans. Hans Bouwer (1519) in his testament gave around a thousand marks for the St. Nicholas' church, founding there eternal Mass in honor of St. Anna, and giving money for various objects.¹³³ Bouwer did not make such an investment for the Dominicans or any other monastic community but, donating fairly insignificant sums, he requested from the Dominicans in Reval and other monastic communities in Livonia to write his name in the "denckelboch" (memorial book) and to pray for his soul. In a similar way Heningk Simer (1518) donated eighty marks for different liturgical services in St. Olaf's church and twenty-five marks to the Dominicans requesting prayers for his and his wife's souls.¹³⁴ Hans Mecknick (1504) donated twenty-four marks to St. Nicholas' church and twenty to the friars, asking their prayers in return.¹³⁵ In Bouwer's, Simer's, and Mecknick's testaments it is evident that the testators wanted different kinds of spiritual benefits from the Dominicans than from the parishes. These "different" spiritual benefits surely were not only characteristic for the Dominicans, but they were characteristic for monastic communities, which were able to offer common prayers in return to donations.¹³⁶

For Reval's testators, who had close relations with the parishes, the Dominican friary was the community which could also offer the "monastic" benefits

¹³² *Revaler Regesten*, No. 109.

¹³³ TLA, f 230, n 3 B, No. 75; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 118.

¹³⁴ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 116.

¹³⁵ LUB 2/2 No. 656.

of common prayer because their friary was the only male monastic community located in the town. If one takes into account this aspect of different approaches of testators to the parishes and the friars, then the interaction between the parishes and the friary cannot be called rivalry. Rivalry would be if communities offered similar or the same services for the testators. The difference between the roles of these institutions is seen also in requests for liturgical services and prayers. In the testaments, one cannot find requests of the testators for common prayers from the parishes; such requests were made only to the Dominicans and other monastic institutions in Reval and all of Livonia. There was also a difference between the liturgical services requested in the parish churches and by the friars. With the Dominicans one can find only one foundation for an eternal Mass and liturgical services in the testaments, but the testators made such foundations in the parish churches more frequently.¹³⁷ The testators requested forty masses celebrated for their soul from the Dominicans¹³⁸ and such requests were not made of the parishes. Those few examples of different liturgical services requested of the Dominicans and the parish churches show that the testators distinguished the functions of the parish churches and the Dominicans.

¹³⁶ Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur des Mittelalters," in *Modernes Mittelalter: Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. Joachim Heinzle (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1994), 311.

¹³⁷ Large Mass foundations and foundations for other liturgical services in St. Olaf's church: Gherwen Bornemann (1480), Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)," Anhang No. 42; Gerd Satzern (1491), *Revaler Regesten*, No. 52; Hinrick Horneyt (1503), LUB 2/2 No. 545; Claues Rype (1509), *Revaler Regesten*, No. 93; Hans Butberch (1512), *Revaler Regesten*, No. 110; Johannes Widemann (1518), *Revaler Regesten*, No. 117; Evert Gruter (1520), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1471.

Large Mass foundations and foundations of other liturgical services in St. Nicholas' church: Martinus Lefferdes (1476), *Revaler Regesten*, No. 27; Tyl Clotbraet (1495), LUB 2/1 No. 111; Hans Potgether (1505), LUB 2/2 No. 709; Borchgerd (Borcherd) Herde (1510), *Revaler Regesten*, No. 98; Jurgen Menth (Mente) *Revaler Regesten*, No. 109; Hans Bouwer (1519) *Revaler Regesten*, No. 118; Martin Sawyarge (1519) *Revaler Regesten*, No. 119; Hans Rothgers (1520) *Revaler Regesten*, No. 121; Victor Mouwer (1521) TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1587; Hinrick Wideman (1521) *Revaler Regesten*, No. 122.

¹³⁸ The topic of forty Masses as typical request for the friars is discussed in the second chapter.

Apart from the testators, who were aware of different functions of the parishes and the friars and who gave donations for both kinds of the institutions in their testaments, there were testators who ignored the Dominicans. From thirty-three testators who gave donations for pious purposes, but did not mention the Dominicans as recipients, twenty-one made donations to the parishes. Among them were the testators who ignored not only the friars in their testaments, but also other ecclesiastical institutions. For example, Claues Rype (1509)¹³⁹ gave all the money that he reserved for pious donations – one thousand and four hundred Riga marks -- to St. Olaf's church for the foundation of an altar there. There were also testators who made smaller donations and separated them between two parishes and the church of the Holy Ghost, as Clawes Droghe (1489) did, donating ten marks for St. Olaf's church, three marks for St. Nicholas, and one mark for the Holy Ghost.¹⁴⁰ Among those testators who donated to the parishes and neglected the Dominicans, were two clerics: Carstianus Czernekow (1499),¹⁴¹ a member of the cathedral chapter in Reval and also town scribe, and Thomas Ulrici (1523),¹⁴² vicar in the St. Nicholas church. Probably the reason why they did not make any donations to the friars was the rivalry between the secular clergy and the Dominicans in Reval. It is important to stress that most of the testators who did not donate to the Dominicans gave their donations to a small number of recipients. The number of recipients in these testaments did not exceed three, usually both parish churches and one of the chapels, or the church of the Holy Ghost or the Bridgetine monastery. If compared with the number of testators who made donations to the Dominicans, the testators who ignored them were a minority. In addition, one cannot assume that all of the testators who did not mention the friars

¹³⁹ LUB 2/3 No. 810.

¹⁴⁰ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 41.

¹⁴¹ LUB 2/1 No. 845.

in their last wills, had similar intentions for this action. There might have been a group of testators who had political reasons for not donating anything to the Dominicans, like Czernekow and Ulrici, and those who simply had only enough resources to choose one or two institutions to which to make pious donations.

Even if one is willing to find traces of rivalry between the parishes of St. Olaf and St. Nicholas on one side and the Dominicans on the other, it is hard to trace them. In medieval towns, the parishes tended to be centers of religious life, even after the entry of the mendicants, and also in Reval in the Late Middle Ages they played that role. Parishes had most of the donations in the testaments and in Reval only a few donors ignored them. Probably the testators were conscious of the different roles which the parishes and the Dominicans played, and there was no great rivalry for the donations between these institutions.

1.3 OTHER RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES AS “RIVALS” OF THE DOMINICANS

Reval's ecclesiastical structure may suggest the assumption that the Dominicans were the leaders in receiving testamental donations among monastic institutions in Late medieval Reval. Throughout the Middle Ages the Dominicans in Reval were the only male religious institution, despite several attempts to create a Franciscan friary there. As early as 1407, burgomaster Gherd Witte sold a plot in Reval to the Franciscans, but the friary was not founded.¹⁴³ A second attempt to create a Franciscan friary in Reval was made in 1506, when the Master of the Teutonic Order, Walter Plettenberg, and the nobility of Harrien-Wierland wanted to found it,

¹⁴² *Revaler Regesten*, No. 126.

¹⁴³ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 146r.

but this was unsuccessful again.¹⁴⁴ The Baltic German historian, Leonid Arbusow, Junior, assumed that Reval's town council did not want to create another male religious community in Reval because they considered that "Reval has enough churches, monasteries, and hospitals."¹⁴⁵ Usually the Franciscans in medieval towns were the main rivals of the Dominicans for receiving testamental donations and both mendicant orders were leading receivers of donations among religious communities. For example, in Lübeck's testaments the Dominicans and the Franciscans, at least in the fourteenth century, had similar positions in receiving pious donations.¹⁴⁶ There was a similar rivalry in Cologne between the Franciscans and the Dominicans and the Franciscans gained stronger positions only after a conflict between the Dominicans and the town's government in mid-fourteenth century.¹⁴⁷

However, the fact itself that the Dominican friary was the only male monastic community in Reval does not prove that they were clear monopolists in receiving donations from the testators. One has to take into account that there was a Cistercian nunnery in Reval, a Bridgetine convent on the outskirts of Reval, and a large number of monastic institutions throughout Livonia to which the testators could make pious donations. There were Cistercian nunneries in Riga (1255), Leal (1262-1285) and Dorpat (before 1345), Cistercian abbeys in Padis (in the bishopric of Reval) (founded in 1305) and Falkenau (1233), Franciscan friaries in Fellin (1466-1472), Dorpat (1466), Wesenberg (in the bishopric of Reval) (1502), Lemsal (1466-1472), Hasenpoth (1484-1500), Kokenhusen (1484-1500), and Riga (1238), Dominican friaries in Riga (1234), Dorpat (1300), Pernau (1505) and Narva (1502), an Augustinian nunnery in Lemsal (after 1477) and two beguine houses, in Riga (end of

¹⁴⁴ Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation*, 112.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Noodt, *Religion und Familie*, 237.

the thirteenth century) and Reval (late fifteenth century).¹⁴⁸ Reval's testators did not restrict themselves in choosing recipients of pious donations and also chose freely monastic institutions outside Reval as recipients.

One has to admit that in Reval itself the Dominican role as the main recipient of pious donations among monastic communities during the Late Middle Ages was not endangered. The testators made smaller donations to the Cistercian nunnery of St. Michael, partly because it was controlled by the nobility of Harrien-Wierland and daughters of the burghers could not enter it.¹⁴⁹ From one hundred-thirty-three testators who made pious donations in their testaments, only forty-two listed the Cistercian nuns in their testaments. From these forty-two testaments, the Cistercian nuns were not leaders in any of them. The amounts donated to the nunnery were low, only in four cases was the value of the donations larger than ten Riga marks.¹⁵⁰ Only once did a testator make larger donation to the Cistercian nuns than the Dominicans, when Johann van Richen donated twenty marks for a picture in the Cistercian church and only eight marks for the friars.¹⁵¹ One may also see the low popularity of the nuns at the beginning of sixteenth century; at that time only fourteen donations were made to the nuns out of sixty-one testaments with pious donations. In addition, the testators were not requesting any kind of liturgical services in the church of St. Michael's nunnery and none of the testators chose it as the place of memoria. Probably this low popularity of the Cistercian nunnery among the townspeople in the early sixteenth century influenced the archbishop's plans to reorganize it and to allow daughters of

¹⁴⁷ Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 118.

¹⁴⁸ Andrzej Radziwiński, "Podziały kościelne Inflant z Estonią (The Ecclesiastical structure of Livonia and Estonia)" In *Inflanty w średniowieczu. Władztwa zakonu krzyżackiego i biskupów* (Livonia in Middle Ages. The territories of Teutonic Order and the bishops), ed. Marian Biskup (Toruń: TN, 2002), 32-34.

¹⁴⁹ Kreem, *The Town and its Lord*, 141.

¹⁵⁰ LUB 1/9 No. 911; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 24; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 110; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1471.

townspeople to enter it, or to close it.¹⁵² One has to assume that the Cistercian nunnery was not a center of religious life for many testators.

If there were no monastic institutions inside Reval which could have been rivals of the friars or at least could have fulfilled similar functions as they did, perhaps one should look outside Reval for institutions which could have delivered such services. Before the 1490s only one testator had made a donation for a monastic community outside Reval.¹⁵³ But then, some testators looked for such monastic institutions not only in Livonia, but also far away from it. For example, Peter van Zeghen (1491) requested Masses celebrated for one year in Cologne's Franciscan friary¹⁵⁴ and Hans Dinckermann (1456) made only one pious donation, it all went to the Franciscan observant friary in Hamm.¹⁵⁵

Donations for monastic communities in Livonia were more frequent. Most of them were made for male communities only, with a few exceptions when the Cistercian nunnery in Riga (1504)¹⁵⁶ and the Augustinian nunnery in Lemsal (1503)¹⁵⁷ were named as recipients. The other Livonian Dominicans were not among the favorites of Reval's testators; the Dominican friaries in Riga¹⁵⁸ and Dorpat¹⁵⁹ were only named twice each. Perhaps, the testators were not so enthusiastic about donating to the Dominicans in other Livonian towns because they had the Dominicans in their own and there was no larger necessity to create tighter links with other Dominican communities.

¹⁵¹ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 24.

¹⁵² Kreem, *The Town and its Lord*, 141.

¹⁵³ LUB 1/11 No. 689.

¹⁵⁴ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 53.

¹⁵⁵ LUB 1/11 No. 689.

¹⁵⁶ LUB 2/2 No. 623.

¹⁵⁷ LUB 2/2 No. 545.

¹⁵⁸ TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 118.

¹⁵⁹ LUB 2/2 No. 656; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493.

The leaders among other monastic communities that received pious donations from Reval's testators were the Livonian Franciscans. Out of twenty-two testaments in which the monastic communities outside Reval received donations, they were named in eighteen. Moreover, the testators chose more Franciscan friaries that were located in northern part of Livonia. The leader was the Franciscan convent in Fellin with fourteen donations,¹⁶⁰ and the Franciscan convent of Dorpat with eight donations followed it.¹⁶¹ The Franciscan friaries located in the bishopric of Riga -- Riga, Lemsal and Kokenhusen -- and in the bishopric of Courland -- Hasenpoth -- were less popular and only received a few donations.¹⁶² Despite the fact that the Franciscans only received larger donations than the Dominicans in two testaments,¹⁶³ the tendency shows the popularity of the Livonian Franciscans among Reval's testators at the end of fifteenth and the beginning of sixteenth century. The fact is important that among monastic communities outside the town the Dominicans were less popular than the Franciscans. Perhaps the testators in Reval wished to have another male monastic community, and this was reflected in the attempt to found a Franciscan friary in 1506. The town government was against it, however, like in 1407 when three rich Revalian merchants founded the Bridgetine monastery, but the town government did not want to accept its existence.¹⁶⁴ This may lead to the conclusion that the town council's

¹⁶⁰ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 42; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 49; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 51; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 52; LUB 2/1 No. 897; LUB 2/2 No. 264; LUB 2/2 No. 545; LUB 2/2 No. 623; LUB 2/2 No. 656; LUB 2/3 No. 133; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 98; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1504; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 118; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493.

¹⁶¹ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 42; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 49; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 52; LUB 2/2 No. 545; LUB 2/2 No. 656; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 112; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 122.

¹⁶² *Revaler Regesten*, No. 118; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493; LUB 2/2 No. 545.

¹⁶³ Hinrick Horneyt (1503) donated twenty marks to the Reval Dominicans, but sixty marks each to the four Franciscan friaries in Lemsal, Dorpat, Fellin and Wesenberg. See LUB 2/2 No. 545. Hans Bouwer (1519) donated seventy marks to the Reval Dominicans, but he gave hundred marks to the Franciscans in Fellin and wished that they would pray for his soul. See *Revaler Regesten*, No. 118.

¹⁶⁴ Kreem, *The Town and its Lord*, 139.

attitude towards new monastic houses in Reval, stating that there were enough ecclesiastical institutions in the town,¹⁶⁵ did not reflect wishes of the faithful.

Here one may pose a question of why the town government resisted Master Walter Plettenberg and the nobility of Harrien-Wierland in their attempt to found a Franciscan friary in Reval. Perhaps the town council had political reasons for doing so. For example, the town's government was perhaps afraid that there would be another monastic community apart from the Cistercian nunnery in which the local nobility would have influence. On the other hand, it is known that in the period of 1503 to 1505 sixteen friars died in Reval's Dominican friary,¹⁶⁶ and this could lead to the assumption that the friary at that time had a crisis and shortage of friars. Also, around 1515 the local nobility complained that many peasants had fled their lands and gone to the town, working there as servants because of the great mortality in Reval in the first decade of the century.¹⁶⁷ It is probable that in the situation when the Dominican friary had lost a considerable number of its personnel and also there was great mortality in Reval, the town council decided to protect the friary from possible rivals, in order to help the Dominicans recover from the high losses and not to put more stress on the damaged economy of the town.

The case of the Livonian Franciscans shows that the monastic institutions outside Reval were popular as recipients of pious donations in Revalian testaments. However, the Franciscans, despite the fact that their influence in Livonia at the end of fifteenth century rose considerably with the foundation of friaries in smaller Livonian towns, did not threaten the position of the Reval Dominicans. So, who was the greatest rival of the Reval Dominicans in receiving pious donations from Reval's

¹⁶⁵ Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation*, 112.

testators, if anyone? Among all the monastic communities which were not situated in Reval itself the greatest support of testators was given for the Bridgetine house situated a few miles outside Reval. During the period from the foundation of the monastery in 1407 until the Reformation in 1525, altogether sixty-one testators mentioned it in their testaments. The monastery was founded by three Revalians: Heinrich Swalbart, Heinrich Huxer and Gerlach Kruse, and it was recognized by Pope John XXIII in 1411.¹⁶⁸ Not only the fact that the community was founded by Revalian merchants is important. The convent was the first ecclesiastical institution in which the daughters of Reval's townspeople were accepted. Daughters of many influential Revalians entered this monastery and even several daughters from some families, as three daughters of Hans Bomhower became Bridgetine nuns.¹⁶⁹ It is important to emphasize that at the end of the fifteenth century monks also appear as recipients of the donations there,¹⁷⁰ so it was a monastery with monks and nuns. For many Revalians the motivation for why they made donations to this monastery was their personal ties with the monastic community. Dyrck Mouwersz (Mouwes) (1510) donated eight Riga marks for the monks there and his brother Ghert was one of the monks, but his sister Anghette was also a Bridgetine nun living in the nunnery in Kampen.¹⁷¹ For urban society, it was important to trust liturgical functions to individuals who not only had spiritual ties with themselves but also kinship; the guild

¹⁶⁶ *La Congrégation de Hollande ou la Réforme Dominicaine en Territoire Bourguignon 1465-1515. Documents inédits, ornés d'une introduction générale, de notes historiques, critiques et biographiques*, ed. Albert de Meyer (Liege: Solédi, 1948), 277.

¹⁶⁷ Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 93.

¹⁶⁸ Tore Nyberg, *Birgittinische Klostergründungen des Mittelalters* (Leiden: CWK Gleerup, 1965), 97.

¹⁶⁹ Hans Bomhower was also father of Christian Bomhower- Reval's bishop before the Reformation (died in 1518) and Antonius Bomhower, the Franciscan friar who was active during the Reformation in Riga. See Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation*, 88.

¹⁷⁰ Diderick Busch (1490) donated twenty marks for the monks in the Bridgetine monastery. See *Revaler Regesten*, No. 49. Dyrck Mouwersz (Mouwes) (1510) donated eight marks for the monks in the Bridgetine monastery. See LUB 2/3 No. 862. Hans Langheweder (1512) donated five marks for the monks in the Bridgetine monastery. See TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1553.

¹⁷¹ LUB 2/3 No. 862.

members trusted their altars to their sons who were priests or founded nunneries for the daughters of burghers,¹⁷² as also happened in case of the Bridgetine monastery near Reval.

Similarly, as in the case of the Cistercian nuns and the mendicants outside Reval, the popularity of the Bridgetines among testators, when compared with the Dominicans in the fifteenth century, was smaller than at the beginning of sixteenth. In the fifteenth century, twenty-four testators made donations to the Bridgetine monastery and fifty testators left something to the Dominicans. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, thirty-seven testators made donations to the Bridgetines and forty-eight to the Dominicans. Until the beginning of the sixteenth century the donations to the Bridgetines were relatively small, they exceeded the value of twenty marks only a few times. Also, compared with the Dominicans, if in the fifteenth century only four testators made larger donations for the Bridgetine monastery than for the Dominicans,¹⁷³ then in the beginning of the sixteenth century there were already twelve testators who made such a decision.¹⁷⁴ For example, Joan Viandt (Viant) (1524) chose the Bridgetine monastery as the largest recipient of his pious donations, and donated three hundred marks to the monks and nuns.¹⁷⁵ At the beginning of the sixteenth century the testators also began to request liturgical services from the monks and nuns of the monastery, as Heningk Simer (1518) requested Masses celebrated for his soul.¹⁷⁶ However, the testators did not ask

¹⁷² Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt*, 212.

¹⁷³ LUB 1/11 No. 442; LUB 1/11 No. 385; LUB 1/11 No. 397; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 24;

¹⁷⁴ LUB 2/2 No. 264; LUB 2/2 No. 545; LUB 2/3 No. 849; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 98; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1562; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 116; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1578; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 120; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1471; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 122; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 127.

¹⁷⁵ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 127.

¹⁷⁶ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 116.

liturgical services from the Bridgetine monks and nuns so frequently as from the Dominicans.

It appears that the testators did not support the Bridgetine monastery at a similarly high level as they did the Dominicans. It has to be taken into account that the Bridgetine monastery had certain disadvantages if compared with the Dominicans. Their monastery was not located in the urban area and they did not have such close ties with the townspeople as the Dominicans did, because the latter were living next to the faithful.

In late medieval Reval it is hard to draw strict lines where the influence of each ecclesiastical institution began and ended. Most of the testators did not show themselves in their testaments as eager supporters of one or another ecclesiastical institution. Only two testators showed their support for Dominicans, neglecting the two parish churches. A larger number, but still a minority of all testators, supported the parishes and neglected the friars. However, in Reval's testaments there is no evident competition between the parishes and the Dominicans, because those institutions had different functions and the testators differentiated purposes for which they made donations to the parishes and to the Dominicans. Even eager supporters of parishes made donations for the Dominicans, looking for their prayers and vice versa - eager supporters of the Dominicans supported the parishes financially. It was a certain kind of cohabitation and differentiation of the functions and because of that there is no evident fierce competition between the parishes and the Dominicans.

The Dominicans and other monastic communities in Reval's testaments have to be seen as certain kind of competitors. This was so because the testators donated money for monastic institutions expecting in return common community prayers and

liturgical services. All the monastic institutions offer similar services and spiritual benefits, and some competition among them was inevitable. The other monastic communities in Livonia appeared as possible rivals of the Reval Dominicans only at the end of fifteenth century, but almost simultaneously the popularity of two groups, the Franciscans and the Bridgetines, rose. Both the Livonian Franciscans and the Bridgetine monks and nuns increased their popularity among testators but did not threaten the leading position of the Dominicans, only in some cases receiving larger donations than the Reval Dominicans did. Probably the sympathies of testators towards monastic institutions outside the town resulted in the wish to found new male monastic house in Reval, but the town's government denied it.

CHAPTER 2 “*BIDDEN VOR MYNER SELE.*” THE DOMINICANS AS INTERCESSORS BETWEEN TOWNSPEOPLE AND GOD

For the mendicant friaries in the Middle Ages, there was a clear tie between their financial incomes and their liturgical obligations.¹⁷⁷ In Reval, testators and the townspeople made their donations for the Dominicans for spiritual reasons. Every donor who donated even a single shilling hoped that the religious institution to which he offered a donation would mention him in the common Masses and liturgical services or at least just will pray for his soul. Donation was a favor for which a returned favor was expected.¹⁷⁸ In Reval also, individuals who donated money or objects for the Dominicans expected their prayers in return. This was a normal expectation, because prayers (and liturgical ceremonies in general) of religious communities had the character of a social donation made in return for material donations.¹⁷⁹ The donations for religious purposes had a positive influence on both the donor and beneficiary of the donation.¹⁸⁰ Donations and Mass foundations were made with the intention to avoid eternal torment or shorten the time which had to be spent in purgatory.¹⁸¹ Hence, the main aim of this chapter is to find out how individuals in Reval used the Dominicans as intercessors between themselves and God and what kind of liturgical services were requested from them. Therefore, the chapter explores the different relationships of individuals and the Reval Dominicans.

¹⁷⁷ Bernhard Neidiger, “Liegenschaftsbesitz und Eigentumsrechte der Basler Bettelordenskonvente. Beobachtungen zur Medikantenarmut im 14. un 15. Jahrhundert,” in *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft*, ed. Kaspar Elm (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1981), 108.

¹⁷⁸ Noodt, *Religion und Familie*, 4.

¹⁷⁹ Oexle, “Memoria in der Gesellschaft,” 311.

¹⁸⁰ Hölzel, “pro salute anime mee,” 30.

2.1 MASSES AND PRAYERS

Donors, even donating money without specifying a purpose, expected that in return they would receive prayers. Yet, if an individual wanted to have particular liturgical services, it was important for him or her to name precisely what kind of ceremonies he/she would like to be celebrated for his/her soul. It is adequate to say that the Mass was the most popular and important religious ceremony requested by people in all kinds of clerical institutions for the purpose of their soul's salvation. A Mass, together with prayers and good deeds, were three possible ways to influence God.¹⁸² However, Masses were more public and prestigious events than the personal prayers of people or good deeds and also their value was precisely known.¹⁸³ Mass foundations were also a beneficial and adequate investment in the memoria of an individual. If someone wished to create his own memorial cult-- a foundation for eternal Masses celebrated regularly would have been appropriate. Foundations for eternal Masses in Hansa towns in the fifteenth century had the tendency to increase in numbers¹⁸⁴ and they became a popular way to invest money in someone's memoria. Funding eternal Masses was costly and it bound the founder (after founder's death his relatives or friends) to an ecclesiastical institution which he or she had chosen. The capital of a Mass foundation had to be spent precisely for the purpose chosen by founder, as donations could also be spent on purposes chosen by community which

¹⁸¹ Ralf Lusiardi, "Fegefeuer und Weltengericht: Stiftungsverhalten und Jenseitsvorstellungen im spätmittelalterlichen Stralsund," in *Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten*, ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 97.

¹⁸² Hölzel, "pro salute anime mee," 33.

¹⁸³ Arnold Angenendt, Thomas Braucks, Rolf Bush, Thomas Lentz and Hubertus Lutterbach, "Gezählte Frömmigkeit," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995): 46.

¹⁸⁴ Lusiardi, "Fegefeuer und Weltengericht," 101.

received them.¹⁸⁵ The fact that the founder needed to have sufficient financial resources for funding Masses implies that the founders of eternal Masses were individuals or families with high social status and financial capabilities.

In Reval it was usual for testators to found eternal Masses in their testaments; Hans Bouwer (1519), with four hundred Riga marks, founded St. Ann's Mass, which had to be celebrated every Tuesday in front of the main altar in the St. Nicholas church;¹⁸⁶ Tyl Clotbraet (1491) donated a hundred marks for the eternal Mass celebrated in the same church on the *schmede* altar.¹⁸⁷ There is only one case when the testator founded an eternal Mass in the Dominican church of St. Catherine. Gherwen Bornemann (1480) requested one Mass read every week on the *broderschopp* altar, donating a hundred marks for that reason.¹⁸⁸

Testaments are not the only sources which testify about Mass foundations for the Dominicans. All over Livonia the Dominican friaries had contracts between themselves and individuals, and those contracts implied various services offered by the friars, including eternal Masses. One common quality which united all those Mass' foundation documents--the Dominicans were obliged to pray for the founder and his relatives not only after his death but also while he was living. In both the convents of Riga and Reval there are two known contracts between the Dominicans and individuals. In Riga, the friary contracted for Masses and prayers with Detlef van der Pal in 1436¹⁸⁹ and with Hermann Keserlingk, his wife and children in 1495;¹⁹⁰ in

¹⁸⁵ Michael Borgolte, "Stiftungen des Mittelalters im Spannungsfeld von Herrschaft und Genossenschaft," in *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, ed. Dieter Geuenich and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1994), 270.

¹⁸⁶ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 118.

¹⁸⁷ LUB 2/1 No. 111.

¹⁸⁸ Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)," Anhang 3.

¹⁸⁹ LUB 1/9 No. 4.

¹⁹⁰ LUB 2/1 No. 189.

Reval, the Dominicans had such contracts with the burgher Hans Lippe (Lippen) (1453)¹⁹¹ and the nobleman Dietrich von Vitinchoff (Vytinckhoue) (1411).¹⁹²

In all four contracts, the priors of the convents and several other brothers represented the Dominicans, taking the responsibility for the fulfillment of them and continuation when the contractors themselves had passed away. In Reval, both Lippe¹⁹³ and von Vitinchoff¹⁹⁴ as founders, requested Masses celebrated by one of the Dominicans every day in the church of St. Catherine. It is quite clear that for both of them the aim was to settle their own and their family's memoria and to receive spiritual benefits.¹⁹⁵ In all these contracts, the individual's role was less accented than the role of the family and whole kin group. Living and dead members of the family both were treated as the main recipients of the spiritual benefits. Lippe's and von Vitinchoff's contracts contain the names of all the family members who had to be remembered in liturgical services. Von Vitinchoff himself and his wife Annen were named as founders of the eternal Mass in their contract and the following relatives are mentioned: von Vitinchoff's deceased wife Allheyde, their sons Hinrik and Arnd.¹⁹⁶ Differently from von Vitinchoff, in Lippe's contract only his own deceased parents were named: Hermen Lippe and Alheid; other relatives and friends for whom he also

¹⁹¹ *Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, No. 1297, LUB 11 No. 232.

¹⁹² *Revaler Urkunden und Briefe von 1273 bis 1510*, ed. Dieter Heckmann (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), No. 89.

¹⁹³ LUB 11 No. 232.

¹⁹⁴ *Revaler Urkunden*, No. 89.

¹⁹⁵ "...Wy bekennen apenbare an dysser yeghenwardyghen scrift, dat wy myt guder eyndracht unde wol beradene moede vor uns unde vor unse nakomelynghe to eweghen tiden loven, to holdende ene eweghe mysse in unser kerken to sunte Anthonius altare, des hilghen abbetes, deme erbaren strenghen ryddere, her Tyderik van Vytinckhoue, unde Annen, syner erbaren husfrouwen, gode to love unde to eren unde her Tyderikes, vorbenomet, unde Annen salicheit erer selen unde vor alle deer van Vytinckhoue rechten erven ...," Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

made foundation were left unnamed.¹⁹⁷ The naming pattern differences between Lippe's and von Vitinchoff's contracts are important.

Von Vitinchoff's contract is typical for the nobility; its intention was to show the broad circle of relatives and the contract had importance for their status. As Otto Gerhard Oexle notes, memoria for the nobility had great importance because their power was based on kinship¹⁹⁸ and without such memoria nobility would not exist at all.¹⁹⁹ The family of von Vitinchoff was not the only noble family that requested memorial services by the Reval Dominicans. In 1518, the friars promised to celebrate services for living and dead members of two noble families—the von Löwenwalde (vom Lewenwalde) and the Taubes (Tuve).²⁰⁰ It is probable that both Jakob von Löwenwalde and Reynolt Taube had similar contracts with the Dominicans, but the only surviving records, in the account book of the convent, mention Masses and vigils celebrated for both families. The Taube family, which had high status in the local nobility,²⁰¹ had close ties with the Reval Dominicans not only because of the Masses in the Dominican church. One of their family members, Arend Taube, a nobleman of Harrien-Wierland, became a Dominican friar in Reval some time between 1508 and 1511, and died for four days after having joined the community.²⁰²

Other records in the account book show donations of the local nobility to the friars in 1519.²⁰³ It is possible that these records show regular payments by the

¹⁹⁷ LUB 11 No. 232.

¹⁹⁸ Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur Mittelalters," in *Modernes Mittelalter: Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. Joachim Heinzle (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1994), 312.

¹⁹⁹ Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur," in *Memoria als Kultur*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), 38.

²⁰⁰ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 22r.

²⁰¹ A member of the Taube family, Hinrick Taube, was the deputy of Harrien's *mannrichter* in 1525 (leader of the local nobility). See Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 451.

²⁰² Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation*, 87.

²⁰³ "Item XVIII Marcas Hans Bremen dedit anno 21 post Letare. Item VI Marcas de Meydelsche dedit post Letare anno 21. Item VI marcas Hinrik Todowen dedit infra octaves Pentecostes anno 21. Item VI

noblemen for the sake of liturgical services requested in the Dominican church, but further details are lacking. Apart from the fact that the nobility was not part of Reval's urban community officially, Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen assume that around two hundred members of Harrien-Wierland's nobility were residing on the Cathedral hill of Reval.²⁰⁴ Harrien-Wierland nobles also had regular political meetings called *manntags* in the church of St. Catherine.²⁰⁵ Contracts for eternal Masses and records in the convent's account book testify about intensive relations between the nobility and the friars. The requests for eternal Masses and the flow of different payments to the friars show that the Dominican convent was the center of religious life for the Harrien-Wierland nobles. There were also other religious communities, however, which satisfied their religious needs; the noblemen also had influence in Reval's Cistercian nunnery and the Bridgetine monastery on Reval's outskirts.²⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the Dominican convent was a political center for the noblemen, the place of *manntags* as well as religious activities--eternal Masses for themselves and their families. It is not clear, however, whether the local nobility held their meetings in the church of St. Catherine because of their spiritual ties with the friars or religious services were held because of political meetings there.

marcas Evert Delwich dedit in prima ebdomada quadragesime sed non illas 150 marcas. Item VI marcas Jurghen Hastwer dedit eodem tempore. Item VI marcas Hinrick Mistak dedit in ebdomada prima quadragesime. Item VI marcas Otto Vitynck dedit eodem tempore eius relictas. Item XXX marcas Jurghen Poll dedit in cena Domini anno vicesimo secundo. Item I lastam brasy cum quartali buteri Jacob Tuwe van Netzs solvit. Item XXV talenta siliginis Marcus Poll nihil dedit nec dabit hoc anno. Item I lastam brasy Lodovicus Tuwe dedit. Item ½ lastam brasy unum talentum siliginis ½ tunam buteri Hans Lode van Fiolen. Item ½ lastam brasy Reynolt Tuwe dedit. Item ½ lastam brasy Jacobus van Lewenwalde dedit in Quadragesima. Item LX marcas Henrick Hastever van Condes, conventus habet literas dedit. Item XII marcas Andreas Derkey dedit post Laetare. Item XLII marcas adhuc Andreas Decken dedit capitalem summam silicet 700 marcas." See Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, Anhang 8.

²⁰⁴ Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 91.

²⁰⁵ Alfred Ritscher, *Reval an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit: Vom Vorabend der Reformation bis zum Tode Wolters von Plettenberg (1510 - 1535)*, Vol. 1. (Bonn: Kulturstiftung der Dt. Vertriebenen, 1998), 117.

²⁰⁶ Kreem, *The Town and its Lord*, 141.

One may argue why the nobility chose the Dominicans as the community which took care of their religious life, but it has to be acknowledged that the St. Catherine's church was the center of the nobility's memoria. The importance of memoria for the nobility is well seen in von Vitinchoff's contract. Von Vitinchoff's contract contains the formula which implies that if the Dominicans were not capable of celebrating Masses for von Vitinchoff's family, Reval's town council had to take care of the yearly rent and spend it in a way it would be beneficial for the family.²⁰⁷ On one hand, the family of von Vitinchoff trusted their memoria and Masses for their souls to the Dominicans; on the other hand, the family was aware of the fact that the friars might not be able to carry out their duties.

For Hans Lippe, memoria did not have less importance than for the von Vittinchoffs. If the von Vitinchoffs were noblemen, then the Lippes were no less prominent. Hans Lippe was the son of Herman Lippe (Lyppe), the town councilor and, perhaps, churchwarden of St. Catherine's church and the Dominican friary in the 1420s.²⁰⁸ Probably Hans Lippe also chose the Dominicans to maintain his and his family's memoria because of his father Herman's almost thirty-year-long ties with the friars and his father's good deeds for the Dominicans during the conflict of 1424-1428.²⁰⁹ Also Lippe himself had ties with the Dominicans for a longer time period. Almost twenty years after this contract, in 1471 Lippe donated fifty marks for the illumination of an altar on which the daily Mass for him and his family was celebrated.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ *Revaler Urkunden*, No. 89.

²⁰⁸ LUB 7 No. 451.

²⁰⁹ The town councilors, Hermann Lippe and Arnd Saffenberg, represented the town council in the financial transaction through which the Dominicans received a loan of four hundred marks in 1426. In 1426, the Dominicans were stripped of many sources of possible income and they depended on the town council's help, *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ LUB 1/12 No. 780.

In Lippe's contract, his parents' memoria had a greater role than his own. For the eternal Mass Lippe gave the sum of two hundred Riga marks, from which twelve marks had to be paid out in rent every year,²¹¹ and he also donated liturgical objects for the altar in the St. Catherine's church on which the Masses had to be celebrated.²¹² Yearly payments for the friars, after the founder's death were the responsibility of Hans Lippe's heirs,²¹³ and it meant that also the next generation of Lippes remained bound with the friars who were maintaining memoria of their ancestors.

The two contracts for eternal Masses from Reval and two from Riga have three aims: to take care of the founder's soul while living, to exercise the founder's family's and kin's memoria, and to create the founder's memoria after his death. The Dominicans were those who maintained this memoria and were responsible for the memoria of founders not only in front of their family, but also the town council, as in the case of von Vitinchoff. These contracts implemented ties between the families of founders and the Dominicans for a longer period of time, because the heirs had to continue financing liturgical services in the Dominican church, and the prayers for the family also included not only the deceased family members but also the future ones.

Relations between the family of the deceased founder of an eternal Mass and the Dominicans continued for a longer period after the founder's death. Reval's town councilor and burgomaster Bertold Hunninghusen (Hunninckhusen),²¹⁴ who had been involved in the town government for more than fifteen years, around 1430, made a foundation in the Dominican church. Unfortunately, Hunninghusen's testament has not survived and the amount of the foundation is not known. However, there are

²¹¹ *Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, No. 1297.

²¹² LUB 11 No. 232.

²¹³ "...heft uns de erbar man Hans Lippe offte syne erven twelf mk. Rig. paymente ...," See Ibid.

²¹⁴ Hunninghusen was town councilor between 1416 and 1426 and burgomaster in 1427 and 1430. See Bunge, *Revaler Rathslinie*, 106.

records in the account book of the town council, which testify that Hunninghusen made such a foundation in the Dominican church.²¹⁵ From 1434 until 1462, rent of twelve Riga marks was given to the Dominicans once a year for the sake of Hunninghusen's memory. For almost thirty years while the money was paid it came from different sources. It is important to stress that not only Hunninghusen's family members financed his vicary in the Dominican church. For six years Hunninghusen's widow financed it.²¹⁶ Besides Hunninghusen's widow, the vicary was financed by other six individuals: Johan Stenwege,²¹⁷ Hans Berloe,²¹⁸ Tideke Bodeker together with his wife,²¹⁹ Hans Emeken,²²⁰ someone called Dudenbeken,²²¹ and Cort Grumme's widow.²²² It is hard to discover the motivations why all six individuals, who did not have visible links among themselves and Hunninghusen, financed his vicary. Probably those people owed money to Hunninghusen and his family and they did not have to return money, but to invest it in Bertold Hunninghusen's memoria. On the other hand, it is possible that the donors had different reasons for financing Hunninghusen's vicary; perhaps, they were relatives or close friends, but such relations cannot be demonstrated. Similarly, different individuals financed the vicary of Woldemar Reval in the St. Catherine's church between 1434 and 1458. Woldemar Reval's vicary was financed by Johann Oldendorp,²²³ the town councilor between 1421 and 1458²²⁴ (Oldendorp was buried in the Dominican church),²²⁵ and Hermen

²¹⁵ *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval: 1432-1463*, ed. Reinhard Vogelsang (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976), No. 176.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 92, No. 176, No. 199, No. 416, No. 486, No. 532.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 252, No. 322, No. 375.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 430, No. 486.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 445.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 661, No. 707, No. 748.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, No. 1042.

²²² *Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, No. 1204.

²²³ *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, No. 108.

²²⁴ Bunge, *Revaler Rathslinie*, 119.

Tzoien.²²⁶ Financing Hunninghusen's and Woldemar Reval's vicaries was done by many different individuals, showing a social network which was created around someone's memorial cult in the Dominican church. It is important to say that the Dominicans were receivers of those payments by different individuals and they relied on the capabilities of the individuals who had to make those payments.²²⁷

The entries in the Dominican account book for a two-year period (1519-1520), testify that many townspeople made yearly payments to the Dominicans.²²⁸ Altogether twenty-three people paid money to the Dominicans during the two years. Those payments may also have been donations, but more likely they were made for such liturgical services as eternal Masses or other expensive services. The evidence for this hypothesis is a payment of twelve Riga marks (1519) by Jurghen Menth, or on his behalf by someone else.²²⁹ Seven years earlier, in his testament, Menth had specified that after his death he wished to have liturgical services for his soul in the Dominican church and twelve Riga marks were to be paid yearly to the friars.²³⁰ The sums paid yearly by different Revalians fluctuated from one Riga mark up to twenty-three marks. The list of payments may also testify that many of Reval's townspeople, similarly to Hans Lippe, had their own contracts with the Dominicans, which included eternal Masses and other memorial services.

Eternal Masses were not only forms of liturgical services for the salvation of an individual's soul and memoria carried out by the Dominicans. Eternal Mass foundations demanded considerable investment and even for some socially high

²²⁵ Eugen von Nottbeck and Wilhelm Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval* (Reval: Franz Kluge's Verlag, 1896), 175.

²²⁶ *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, No. 590, No. 715, No. 896, No. 899, No. 927, No. 956, No. 995, No. 1023, No. 1076.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 927, No. 956, No. 995.

²²⁸ Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, Anhang 8.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

ranking Revalians, such liturgical services were too costly. For those who were not capable of making such investments, of hundreds of Riga marks or who wished to have other kinds of services, there was another possibility. They could request less prestigious services and services for a shorter time or intensity, for example, not eternal Masses, but Masses celebrated only for several weeks after the death, or Masses for a longer period, celebrated only on the anniversaries of the founder's death. Hans Langheweder (1512), who wanted to be buried in the St. Catherine's church, donated twenty Riga marks for unspecified memorial services to be carried out by the friars.²³¹ Similarly, Henningk Simer (Hennigk Somer) (1518) donated twenty-five Riga marks in his last will, asking the Dominicans to pray for his and his wife's souls.²³² These alternative ways of requesting different liturgical services and memoria carried out by the Dominicans appeared only in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Requesting smaller and cheaper liturgical services still achieved one of the goals which testators wished to accomplish: the friars were praying for their souls, and even if they did not celebrate eternal Masses, services were delivered regularly and for a longer time period.

If an individual did not have enough resources or did not wish to have either Mass foundations or other liturgical services, as described in the previous paragraph, there was another chance to receive spiritual benefits and liturgical services from the Dominicans--one could request a certain number of Masses to be celebrated. This pattern of requesting a certain number of Masses, usually forty (at least in Reval's

²³⁰ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 109.

²³¹ TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1553.

²³² *Revaler Regesten*, No. 116.

testaments), was popular mostly with the Dominicans.²³³ Hennynck Kloth made such a request for the first time in 1491, donating four Riga marks in his testament for the friars and asking in return forty Masses for his soul.²³⁴ During the time period from 1491 until 1521 altogether seven out of sixty-eight testators requested a certain number of the Masses.²³⁵ The amounts of donations given for forty Masses fluctuated between four and ten Riga marks. Although only seven of sixty-eight testators requested a certain number of Masses in the Dominican church, other sources testify that many individuals wished to have forty Masses for their soul by the friars. In the convent's account book, from which entries of the last year (1524) before its dissolution have survived, nine entries registered requests for forty Masses.²³⁶ Most of the requests are anonymous, but there are several cases in which names of the requestors are known. Among people for whom these Masses were requested is burgomaster Johann Fyant (Viant); forty Masses had to be celebrated for his soul.²³⁷ This form of liturgical service was accessible for those who had no chance of funding eternal Masses, even one peasant (*rusticus*) (!) requested forty Masses and donated ten Riga marks.²³⁸ When requesting a certain number of Masses the donors did not settle any conditions or state their preferences. For an individual who wished to have services such as forty Masses celebrated for his soul, the Dominicans offered the possibility of receiving spiritual benefits for reasonably low investments and for a

²³³ The testators also requested such services from other monastic institutions in Reval. The Bridgetine monastery had two such requests and the Franciscans in Dorpat only one, see TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1578; TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 112.

²³⁴ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 56.

²³⁵ Katvick (1501), donated ten guldens for forty masses said twice, TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1508; Tylle van der Sey (1509), donated ten Riga marks for forty masses twice said, LUB 2/3 No. 586; Kort Becker (1509), donated ten Riga marks for forty masses read, LUB 2/3 No. 718; Johann Bulk (1516), donated ten Riga marks for thirty masses, *Revaler Regesten*, No. 112; Katherine (1519), donated ten Riga marks for forty masses, TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1578; Hans Hosserinck (1521), donated ten Riga marks for forty masses, TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493.

²³⁶ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 77r, 77v, 78r

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 78r

long duration of time. However, the convent's account book testifies that the "package" of forty Masses was a kind of "mass product," widely distributed and with less prestige than eternal Mass foundations. The lack of prestige was probably the reason why most of the requestors were townspeople and not members of the nobility.

Similarly accessible for a wider circle of individuals were single Masses celebrated by the friars. In the same account book of 1524, there were seventeen requests for one or several Masses.²³⁹ Those were requests for said and sung Masses and the amounts of donations fluctuated from fifteen shillings to three Riga Marks. Donors of different social statuses requested single Masses. The donations for one Mass sung were made by burgomaster Heyse Pattimer (Pattiner) and also the town councilor Thomas Fegesack, who each paid one Riga mark.²⁴⁰ Among the donors was one peasant who requested Masses and vigils in the Dominican church, paying one mark.²⁴¹ Although both the anonymous peasant and the burgomaster requested Masses, a social difference is visible. Pattimer wished to have the Mass sung, which meant that this Mass had higher prestige than Masses which were simply said. The examples of the peasant and burgomaster who asked for Masses from the friars, testify to the social openness of the Dominicans in Reval, although services offered for different social groups varied. This kind of social openness also can be seen in the foundations for eternal Masses and foundations for forty Masses. The Dominican church was a place of memoria and liturgical services not only for the burghers, but also for the local nobility and even for some peasants who were capable of requesting those services.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid., fol. 77r, 77v, 78r

²⁴⁰ Ibid., fol. 78r

²⁴¹ Ibid.

2.2 DONATIONS FOR INDIVIDUAL DOMINICAN FRIARS

The friary was not an anonymous institution, and individuals had a decisive role in its life. The testators donated money and objects not only to the institution, but also to individuals. Despite the fact that many Reval burghers' sons were friars in the Dominican convent,²⁴² there is only one case when the testator in his testament willed something to his relative who was a friar. In 1341, Rother Dunevar, senior, gave one silver mark to the son of his brother, Volquin, who was a friar.²⁴³ In this context, Reval's situation was different from other European towns, for example, Lübeck²⁴⁴ and Cologne,²⁴⁵ where many testators willed parts of their property for their relatives who were members of religious communities. There is also only one case when the testator donated money to a particular friar who was not his relative, mentioning the friar by name: Wilm vame Schede (1447) donated one Riga mark to "old friar Johann."²⁴⁶ One can also find occasions when testators donated objects for unspecified Dominican friars; Kathryn Kulmes (1518) donated one black cloak for an unnamed Dominican in the convent.²⁴⁷ These three examples are cases when the testator willed money to a particular friar probably knew the recipient personally.

Most of the testators only specify that donations were to be given to all friars in the convent or to all young friars, or even to all friars who are priests. Between 1378 and the 1470's, eight Revalian testators²⁴⁸ donated different sums of money or

²⁴² Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, 93.

²⁴³ *Revaler Urkunden*, No. 20.

²⁴⁴ Noodt, *Religion und Familie*, 362.

²⁴⁵ Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 247.

²⁴⁶ "... deme olden her Johanne ... ene mk. ...," see LUB 1/10 No. 334.

²⁴⁷ TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1542.

²⁴⁸ Johannes Duderstat (1378), donated six ores for the Dominican prior and three ores each for the friars, *Revaler Regesten*, No. 4; Johann Buleman (1389), donated six ores each for the Dominican priests and four ores each for the friars, LUB 1/3 No. 1263; Gherd Witte (1394), donated for the Dominican friars six ores each, *Revaler Regesten*, No. 6; Gert van Lynden (1442), donated two guldens for the preachers of the friary and one ferding for each friar, LUB 1/9 No. 911; Wilm vame Schede

objects in this way, as Gert van Lynden (1442) donated one ferding to each friar in the convent²⁴⁹ or Derthart Helpyn (1465) intended three shillings “given in hand” for each friar.²⁵⁰ The individual donations for friars did not exclude donations for the whole community or for the building purposes of the Dominican church: Mertin Busch (1449) donated money for the building of the St. Catherine’s church and also for the “young and old friars.”²⁵¹

Testators donated different sums of money for all friars individually, but not because a testator knew all the brothers personally. The reason for those donations was the wish of the testators to receive prayers from each friar in the convent. Testators in Reval and in other medieval towns were looking for people who would be able to pray for their souls after their death and usually this function was assigned to friars, priests,²⁵² nuns²⁵³ or poor people.²⁵⁴ In Lübeck, the townspeople chose monks as those who would pray for their souls and they played the same role as secular priests²⁵⁵ who also received money for their liturgical services. The money for Reval’s Dominican friars was paid for liturgical reasons, even if testators did not mention that each friar who received money was supposed to pray for the donor. This

(1447), donated one Riga mark each for the prior, lector and older brother Johann , one horse for each priest and five shillings for each brother, LUB 1/10 No. 334; Mertin Busch (1449), donated three Riga marks for all the young and old friars , LUB 1/10 No. 582; Evert van der Linden (1455), donated four pieces of cloth for the young brothers, LUB 1/11 No. 385; Derthart Helpyn (1465), donated three shillings for each friar, LUB 1/12 No. 303;

²⁴⁹ LUB 1/9 No. 911.

²⁵⁰ LUB 1/12 No. 303.

²⁵¹ LUB 1/10 No. 582.

²⁵² *Revaler Urkunden*, No. 20; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 3; LUB 1/11 No. 397; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 42; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 48; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 50; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 52; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 53; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 57; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 93; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 105; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 106; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 110; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 118.

²⁵³ LUB 1/3 No. 1263; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 4; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 6; LUB 1/9 No. 911; LUB 1/10 No. 334; LUB 1/10 No. 582; LUB 1/12 No. 303; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 36; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 50; LUB 2/3 No. 849.

²⁵⁴ LUB 1/8 No. 1965; LUB 1/9 No. 911; LUB 1/10 No. 582; LUB 1/11 No. 442; LUB 1/11 No. 385; LUB 1/12 No. 303; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 24; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 35; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 36; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 44; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 50; LUB 2/2 No. 264.

personal link between donor and individual friar was beneficial for the benefactor because the donor inflicted personal responsibility for the prayers on the friar. It seems that the testators in the period from the end of fourteenth century until the 1470s favored donating money not only for Reval's Dominican convent, but also for the friars individually. In this period eight out of fifteen testators²⁵⁶ who gave money for the Dominicans as a community, also donated to individual friars. In Reval as in Lübeck,²⁵⁷ the testators valued those friars more who were priests, and their liturgical actions (for example, Masses) had more value than the prayers of simple brethren. Wilm vame Schede (1447) donated one Riga mark for the prior and one horse for each friar who was a priest, but others who were simple brethren received only five shillings each.²⁵⁸ This example shows that in Reval it was important what kind of position each friar was in, who received a donation, and those who were priests,²⁵⁹ lectors,²⁶⁰ and preachers,²⁶¹ received larger benefits.

The popularity of the donations for each friar personally decreased at the end of the fifteenth century. After the 1470s only three testators donated money to each friar in the Reval Dominican convent: Diderick Hagenbeke (1482)²⁶² donated one shilling for each friar, Hinrik Schelewent (1490)²⁶³ donated three shillings for each priest in the friary, and Reynoldus Korner (1510) ordered four shillings to be paid for

²⁵⁵ Dietrich W. Poeck, "Klöster und Bürger: Eine Fallstudie zu Lübeck (1225-1531)," in *International Conference: Hansa Yesterday- Hansa Tomorrow*, ed. Ojārs Spārītis (Riga: Vārds, 2001), 186.

²⁵⁶ *Revaler Urkunden*, No. 20; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 4; LUB 1/3 No. 1263; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 6; LUB 1/8 No. 1965; LUB 1/8 No. 896; LUB 1/9 No. 911; LUB 1/10 No. 334; LUB 1/10 No. 582; LUB 1/11 No. 442; LUB 1/11 No. 385; LUB 1/11 No. 397; LUB 1/12 No. 297; LUB 1/12 No. 303; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 24.

²⁵⁷ Poeck, "Klöster und Bürger," 186.

²⁵⁸ LUB 1/10 No. 334.

²⁵⁹ LUB 1/3 No. 1263.

²⁶⁰ LUB 1/10 No. 334.

²⁶¹ LUB 1/9 No. 911.

²⁶² *Revaler Regesten*, No. 36.

²⁶³ *Revaler Regesten*, No. 50.

every friar on the anniversaries of his death.²⁶⁴ Until 1465 eight of fifteen testators donated money for each friar in the Dominican convent,²⁶⁵ but after 1465 this correlation is three out of approximately ninety. The question then arises, why the testators in Reval after 1465 donated money for each friar in the friary more rarely. One possible reason for this decrease was the Dominican Reform in Reval in 1474/1475. This reform in the Dominican order from its very beginnings at the end of fourteenth century was aimed to restore an ideal of poverty and to prohibit private property.²⁶⁶ For example, the individual Dominicans in Rostock in the fourteenth century regularly received money from the rent of donated properties.²⁶⁷ Before the Reform in the order, friars in the whole order were allowed to have individual belongings and income, but the Reform demanded that friars abandon property. Also in Reval, the reformers of the convent during the reform demanded that the friars abandon individual property.²⁶⁸ This meant that after the reform the friars of Reval's convent were prohibited from having any kind of a property and did not have the right to keep donations. Even if there were donations after 1475 intended for all friars in the convent, the friars were not allowed to keep them and those donations lost a sense of individuality and became the property of the whole community.

On the other hand, the decrease of the individual donations for all friars may not have had direct connection with the reform of Reval's convent, but may also have followed a general trend. The donations for all individuals in the monastic community not only decreased in the case of the Dominicans. After the 1470s, the Cistercian nuns and even poor people in hospitals, also received fewer individual donations than

²⁶⁴ LUB 2/3 No. 849.

²⁶⁵ Here only those testaments are mentioned in which testators donated something for the Dominicans.

²⁶⁶ Sabine Heusinger, *Johannes Mulberg OP (1414†). Ein Leben und Beginenstreit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 13.

²⁶⁷ Ingo Ulpts, *Die Bettelorden in Mecklenburg* (Werl: Dietrich Coelde Verlag, 1995), 237.

before intended for all members of the community.²⁶⁹ Thus, modification of general donation habits for individuals in monastic institutions may have been influenced by the Dominican Reform or by other unknown reasons. It has to be stated that apparently the strongest motivation for the modification of donation habits for friars was the reform and not general social change.

2.3 BURIALS IN THE DOMINICAN CHURCH OF ST. CATHERINE

In medieval Christianity the place of burial was as important as the rite and ceremonies of burial. People were buried in cemeteries near churches and inside church buildings. From these two prospective burial places, churches were the most prestigious places of interment in medieval towns. The tomb was the place where the body had to rest until the day of resurrection.²⁷⁰ Resting in the church meant that the deceased person could be in the nearest proximity to all religious ceremonies (Masses, processions, and prayers), the *Corpus Christi*, altars, and reliquaries of the saints.²⁷¹ Burial in the church was also important because, to a certain extent, it guaranteed liturgical and social memoria of the deceased long after his or her death.²⁷² In this context it is important to discover why some individuals in late medieval Reval in their testaments chose to be buried nowhere else than in the Dominican church.

²⁶⁸ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 11r

²⁶⁹ If before the 1470s there was a larger number of donations, after that there were only two donations, which set that all the nuns of the St. Michel's Cistercian monastery had to receive money individually: Diderick Hagenbeke (1480) donated one shilling for every nun, *Revaler Regesten*, No. 36; Hinrik Schelewent (1490) donated three shillings for every nun in the convent, *Revaler Regesten*, No. 50.

²⁷⁰ Arnold Angenendt, "Das Grab als Haus des Toten. Religionsgeschichtlich – christlich – mittelalterlich," in *Grabmäler. Tendenzen der Forschung an Beispielen aus Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Wilhelm Maier, Wolfgang Schmid and Michael Victor Schwarz (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2000), 29.

²⁷¹ Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 87.

²⁷² For memoria as a social, religious and social phenomena see: Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur," in *Memoria als Kultur*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), 39.

Secondly, it has to be made clear what (circumstances or events) influenced the process of choosing the burial place in the church of St. Catherine.

The burials in the Dominican church and those in the cemetery around the church are the focus of this subchapter because there are almost no sources about that cemetery, partly because its status was lower. In the late Middle Ages generally, not everyone had the chance to be buried inside the church; only people of a certain social and political status were able to take advantage of this privilege.²⁷³ Burial requests in testaments for burial outside of churches were rare,²⁷⁴ and burial outside of a church meant a shorter time for the person's memoria. Individuals and families choosing burial places also considered the spiritual qualities of the burial place. The ecclesiastical community which was in charge of the church could influence the decision of the person. This ecclesiastical community, no matter whether it was a parish, a brotherhood or a monastic convent, had a responsibility to care for the memoria of a defunct person.

In late medieval towns, people were buried either in parish churches or in monastic ones, usually mendicant churches. Many individuals and families chose to be buried in mendicant churches because they represented the continuity of monastic communities.²⁷⁵ Even if individuals who were responsible for the memoria of defunct persons died themselves, the institution carried on this responsibility. The other important reason was the activity of the mendicant orders in the field of pastoral care of lay people and the bonds of individuals with friaries and friars.

Parishes and mendicants were rivals from the very first moment when the mendicants entered urban space at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In almost

²⁷³ Angenendt, "Das Grab als Haus," 24.

²⁷⁴ Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 87.

²⁷⁵ Oexle, "Memoria in der Gesellschaft," 317.

all the German Hansa towns, the number of testators who wished to be buried by mendicants was influenced by numerous conflicts between mendicants and secular clergy. The most frequent reasons for such quarrels in the early period were burial questions; parishes in thirteenth-century Hamburg and Lübeck regularly protested against Dominicans and Franciscans burying deceased in their churches and nearby cemeteries.²⁷⁶ The burial questions between mendicants and parishes were formally settled only in the beginning of the fourteenth century with the papal bull *Super Cathedram*.²⁷⁷

Conflicts in the thirteenth century show that mendicant churches were popular burial places in towns and their popularity grew or remained constant in the late Middle Ages. The Dominican friaries in Rostock and Wismar were popular burial locations, especially among the families of the political and economic elites and the noble families from the surrounding territories.²⁷⁸ Not only the conflicts between mendicants and secular clergy, however, influenced the number of testators who wished to be buried in mendicant churches. In Cologne in 1347, a conflict between the town council and the Dominicans arose concerning the real estate that Dominicans received from testators; the town council prohibited offering any kind of donations to the Dominicans, and subsequently testators stopped choosing the Dominican church and the friary as their burial place.²⁷⁹ This prohibition not only influenced burghers until the end of the conflict several years later, but for almost fifty years in Cologne there were only a few burghers who chose to be buried in the Dominican church. Before the conflict the Cologne Dominicans were leaders among the mendicant orders

²⁷⁶ Ingo Ulpts, "Zur Rolle der Mendikanten," 134-139.

²⁷⁷ Issued by Boniface VIII (1294.-1303.) in 1300.

²⁷⁸ Ulpts, *Die Bettelorden in Mecklenburg*, 244, 307.

²⁷⁹ Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 85.

in the reception of donations and burial requests, but afterwards they completely lost their influence.

Reval's situation in the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century did not differ from the other Hanseatic towns, except the fact that the Dominicans were the only mendicants in Reval. The Dominicans in Reval were involved in a quadrangle of relations: the friary; individuals and families; secular clergy, including the cathedral chapter and the parishes of St. Olaf and St. Nicholas;²⁸⁰ and the town authorities. Interaction of these four groups determined the patterns of burials in the friary. The burial rights of local parishes and secular clergy and the burial regulations of local town councils determined all the Dominican activities in this field.

The burial patterns in Reval's Dominican friary were influenced by the conflict between the Dominicans and the cathedral chapter between 1424 and 1428. As Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller states, the bishop of Reval and the cathedral chapter were interested in weakening the position of the Dominicans and through that gaining income for the parish churches.²⁸¹ The Dominicans were popular in the town and outside of it and they did not just offer a public burial ground in their own church and cemetery in the churchyard, but they also actively took part in funeral ceremonies outside the town walls.²⁸² In 1425, after the conflict had also taken on a political character by the involvement of the papal curia and local Livonian bishops,²⁸³ the higher clergy officially restricted the Dominicans in performing their liturgical duties, especially the baptism of children, confession, and the public celebration of

²⁸⁰ Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 78.

²⁸¹ Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 26.

²⁸² Later testimonies from the beginning of the sixteenth century show that Dominicans were taking part in burial ceremonies, probably not hosted in their church. See TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 77r, fol. 77v.

²⁸³ Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 17.

Masses.²⁸⁴ Thus, one influential religious community was partly excluded from the religious life of the urban society; the town council issued new regulations concerning donations and religious rites²⁸⁵ which partly favored the Dominicans,²⁸⁶ but had no influence on the prohibition announced by the bishop. Although, the prohibition did not mention burial services directly, it was issued to restrict Dominican public activities, and burial services were part of their public activities. This prohibition meant that not only burghers, but also the noble families of Harrien-Wierland who had their tombs with the Dominicans, were stripped of the right to choose freely their prospective tomb and place of their after-death memoria as they did before, frequently choosing the Dominican church as their place of eternal rest.²⁸⁷

The situation worsened dramatically when Reval's bishop, Heinrich Üxküll (1419-1456), decided to keep all the income from the funeral payments in Reval itself and outside²⁸⁸ without sharing it with the Dominicans in the cases when the funeral ceremonies in the parish cemeteries were conducted by Dominican friars. The consequences for the Dominicans were dramatic. It meant that at least for the time of the conflict (1425-1428) they were excluded from the burial business, and for the friary it could have meant not only an economic but also a spiritual crisis, because the burial liturgy was part of Dominican pastoral care. This crisis, luckily for Reval's Dominicans and burghers who sympathized with them, did not last long, but it showed that it was possible to prevent inhabitants of the town from being attached to

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ LUB 7 No. 237.

²⁸⁶ Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 18.

²⁸⁷ Several tombstones have survived from the fourteenth century in the former Dominican church of St. Catherine and also from the fifteenth century: Kunigunde (Kune) Schotelmund (1381); Adolf (1330); Arnoldus de Hove (1371); Bremen (1388); Hinricus Cocuse (1385); Hans Fient (1425); Lodevicus de Holte (1437); Johan Oldendorp (1448); Hans Verlink (1470); Tidemanus de Hereke (1488); Diderick Boholt (1501); Bernd Pael (1503); see Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval*, 174-180.

²⁸⁸ Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 21.

a popular burial place. It is probable that some inhabitants did not observe this temporal prohibition of burials carried out by the Dominicans and burials in the church of St. Catherine, because in the friary the burial stone of Hans Fient has survived dated with 1425,²⁸⁹ the year when the burial prohibition was introduced.

For the period of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century in Reval only eighteen out of approximately one hundred fifty testators specified preferences for their prospective burial place in their testaments.²⁹⁰ This fact differentiates Reval from other towns in the Baltic Sea region. In Stralsund, where the number of surviving last wills is eight times higher than in Reval, approximately fifty percent of the testators specified the place of their burial in their testaments.²⁹¹ Gunnar Meyer considers that the naming of the burial place in the testaments was necessary only when the testator wanted to be buried in a particular place in the church or wished to rest, for instance, in the church of the mendicants.²⁹² Theoretically, all those testators who did not specify their prospective burial place gave preference to being buried in the parish churches or parish cemeteries.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ Mari Loit, “Keskaegsest surmakultuurist ja hauatähistest reformatsioonieelse Tallinna kirikustes ja kloostrites,” (On the medieval “culture of death” and tombstones in the churches and monasteries of Tallinn from 1309 to 1524), *Vana Tallinn* 17 (21) (2006): 86.

²⁹⁰ Gert van Lynden (1442), LUB 9 No. 911; Johann Budingh (1455), LUB 11 No. 442; Gherwen Bornemann (1480), Allik, “Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis),” Anhang 3; Hermen Menne (1500), LUB 2/1 No. 897; Herman Lette (1504), LUB 2/2 No. 623; Lambert Ottingh (1505), LUB 2/3 No. 133; Reynoldus Korner (1510), LUB 2/3 No. 849; Dyrck Mouwersz (Mouwes) (1510), LUB 2/3 No. 862; Elizabeth, Wilhelm Triss widow (1511), *Revaler Regesten: Testamente Revaler Bürger und Einwohner aus den Jahren 1369 bis 1851*, vol. 3, ed. Roland Seeberg-Elverfeldt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), No. 106; Hans Langheweder (1512), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1553; Jurgen Menth (Mente) (1512), No. 109; Hans Baer (1515), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1397; Johann Bulk (1516), *Revaler Regesten*, No. 112; Hennynck Parssow (1516) *Revaler Regesten*, No. 113; Katherine, Jorgen Mellers widow (1519), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1578; Victor Mouwer (1521), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1587; Hans Hosserinck (1521), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493; Thomas Ulrici (1523), *Revaler Regesten*, No. 126.

²⁹¹ Johannes Schildhauer, “‘ad pias causas:’ Vermächtnisse und die Kirche und an die Armen in Stralsunder Bürgertestamenten,” in *Symposium und Ausstellung anlässlich der Wiedereinweihung des Doms St. Nikolai in Greifswald im Juni 1989*, ed. Norbert Buske (Schwerin: Helms, 2005), 60.

²⁹² Meyer, “Milieu und Memoria,” 136.

²⁹³ Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 81.

However, this assumption contradicts examples from Reval testaments. Berndt Pael (Pal) in his testament²⁹⁴ of 1502 did not mention anything about his wish to be buried in the Dominican church, but after his death in 1503 he was buried there and a tombstone with his name placed on the grave.²⁹⁵ The example of Berndt Pael shows that in Reval not necessarily all the testators who did not mention their prospective burial place in their testaments were buried in the parish churches. One must not forget that individuals could not only express their last will in a written form, but also could devise their properties and orally request their burial places or special burial ceremonies.²⁹⁶ Hence, there is no firm reason to assume that all the individuals who did not request their burial places in a written form were buried in parish churches or their cemeteries.

The Dominicans had only seven²⁹⁷ of eighteen explicit burial requests, both parishes altogether nine (St. Nicholas--five and St. Olaf--four),²⁹⁸ two requests were made for other churches--Holy Ghost²⁹⁹ and Reval's cathedral.³⁰⁰ In Reval, all testators requested to be buried in the churches; in the last wills, burial in the parish cemeteries was not mentioned. Correlation between the requests made for burial in parishes and with the Dominicans may also support Meyer's assumption about the wishes of the testators who did not express any preference for the burial place in their testament. Data from surviving testaments show that there were more requests to be buried by the Dominicans than in other churches. Still, it is questionable how

²⁹⁴ LUB 2/2 No. 264; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 77.

²⁹⁵ Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval*, 117.

²⁹⁶ Lusiardi, "Fegefeuer und Weltengericht," 105.

²⁹⁷ Requests for the Dominican church of St. Catherine: Gert van Lynden (1442), Hermen Menne (1500), Herman Lette (1504), Reynoldus Korner (1510), Dyrck Mouwersz (Mouwes) (1510), Hans Langheweder (1512), Hans Hosserinck (1521).

²⁹⁸ Requests for St. Olaf's: Johann Budingh (1455), Gherwen Bornemann (1480), Hans Baer (1515), Hennyneck Parssow (1516). Requests for St. Nicolaus: Lambert Ottingh (1505), Victor Mouwer (1521), Thomas Ulrici (1523), Katherine, Jorgen Mellers widow (1519), Jurgen Menth (Mente) (1512).

²⁹⁹ Requests for church of the Holy Ghost: Elizabeth, Wilhelm Triss widow (1511).

representative this tendency is, seen in only eighteen testaments that show the Dominicans as possible leaders in burial requests. Perhaps those seven testators who chose to be buried in the church of St. Catherine were keen to express clearly their wishes to rest with the Dominicans, compared to those who wrote nothing about a burial place in their testaments being sure that they wanted to be buried in their parish church or parish cemetery. This argument is sufficient in case one thinks that only the individual himself made a decision about where he was to be buried.

What were the reasons why individuals in Reval decided to be buried with the Dominicans? Most of the testators in Reval did not reveal their motives in choosing their burial places. Johan Buddingh³⁰¹ (1455), who chose to be buried in St. Olaf's or Hans Langheweder³⁰² (1512), who wished to rest with the Dominicans, did not specify the reasons why they wanted to be buried there and not in other churches. Also in the testaments of Gert van Lynden,³⁰³ Hermen Menne,³⁰⁴ Herman Lette,³⁰⁵ Dyrck Mouwersz,³⁰⁶ and Hans Hosserinck,³⁰⁷ it is hard to see possible motivations why these individuals wanted to be buried in the Dominican church. For example, in Hans Hosserinck's last will his gratitude towards the religious community can be seen; he made three donations to the Dominicans: 10 Riga marks for the community, wax for the illumination of his tomb, and 10 Riga marks for 40 Masses in the Dominican church. Hosserinck's sympathies with the Dominicans are obvious, but these donations seem more like gratitude for a possible burial place in St. Catherine's church and do not show possible motivations for choosing this church and community

³⁰⁰ Requests for Reval's Cathedral: Johann Bulk (1516).

³⁰¹ LUB 11 No. 442;

³⁰² TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1553.

³⁰³ LUB 1/9 No. 911.

³⁰⁴ LUB 2/1 No. 897

³⁰⁵ LUB 2/2 No. 623

³⁰⁶ LUB 2/3 No. 862

as his last resting place. Only in some cases (examined below), is it possible to find out the reasons why individuals made decisions to be buried in the specific church.

Still, the matter of how the preferences were made or influenced in the process of selection is not clear. If one follows Meyer,³⁰⁸ then mentioning the burial place outside of the parish church may seem like the solitary decision of the individual, but one has to take into account the social network in which a person lived. The examples listed below were selected because they show traces of the possible social network and its influence on the decisions of persons.

In medieval burial rites, the role of the family was crucial. After the individual's death the family was responsible for the memoria. In fact, the deceased was included in the memoria of the whole family and this secured his remembrance. Families tried to create altars and chapels in proximity to their own burial places in order to secure their memoria. Individuals chose to be buried in the family burial places because the family ties remained important after death concerning not only memoria, but also the resurrection.³⁰⁹ Usually males, married and unmarried, were buried in the burial places of their families; married women were buried together with their husbands, but unmarried women found their resting places where tombs of their ancestors were.³¹⁰ The common practice was to be buried with relatives. Gherwen Bornemann from Reval in his last will (1480) stated his wish to be buried in the parish church of St. Olaf near the altar he had donated and where his two wives were buried.³¹¹

³⁰⁷ TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493.

³⁰⁸ Meyer, "Milieu und Memoria," 136.

³⁰⁹ Dietrich Poeck, "Totengedenken in Hansestädten," in *Vinculum Societatis. Joachim Wollasch zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Franz Neiske, Dietrich Poeck and Mechthild Sandmann (Sigmariningendorf: Regio-Verl. Glock und Lutz, 1991), 211.

³¹⁰ Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 87.

³¹¹ Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)," Anhang 3.

Even if the individual in the testament did not mention his choice of burial place, some details show possible preferences. Wilm vame Schede (1447) donated two hundred marks³¹² for the vicary at the St. Barbara altar in the Dominican church in Reval where his parents and ancestors were buried,³¹³ but he did not mention in his will that he wanted to be buried there. Regardless, the donation to St. Barbara's altar was the largest donation for devotional purposes that vame Schede made in his testament. On one hand, Wilm vame Schede's donation was an investment in the memoria of his family and it was a customary action to secure an eternal memoria of the family³¹⁴ with *ewige viccarien*.³¹⁵ On the other hand, it was vame Schede's attempt to incorporate his own memoria into the family's memoria, to take part in this memoria he had to be buried together with his ancestors. One may also expect similar practices in other cases.

The free will of the individual and his wishes were not always the most important component in the choice of burial place. Sometimes individuals in their testaments arranged almost everything: they bequeathed all the components of the property to their relatives and friends, donated objects and money to religious institutions, but the question of the burial place they left unsettled. Reval's town scribe, Reynoldus Korner, in his last will (1510), requested that he be buried with the Dominicans, but if the executors of his testament had other preferences, he could also be buried somewhere else in Reval.³¹⁶ This gesture from Korner, naming a possible

³¹² 1 Mark Rigisch = 4 Ferdingen = 36 Schillinge = 48 Öre = 144 Artige = 432 Pfennige = ca. 1.5 Rh. fl.; see Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: University College London, 1986), 250, 283.

³¹³ "Vortmer geve ik to ener ewigen viccarien to sunte Barbaren altare to den monniken, dar mine oelderen unde min slechte vor begraven liggen, twehundert mk. Rig." See LUB 10 No. 334.

³¹⁴ Poeck, "Totengedenken in Hansestädten," 214, 224.

³¹⁵ LUB 10 No. 334.

³¹⁶ "Den lichnam der erden, dar he van geworden, darin to begravende, unde deme ene stede to gevende by den predicker broders, edder wor dat mynen testamentarien hie bynnen Reval weszende, alder best geraden duncket, cristlicken to begravende, de hir bynnen Revall syn," see LUB 2/3 No. 849.

place of burial, but at the same time leaving the question open, also means that the executors and heirs could have had a right to choose the burial place for the deceased. At first glance, it could seem that Korner was hesitating to make a concrete decision about this question. Perhaps Korner's precaution in some way was influenced by another growing conflict between the secular clergy and the Dominicans in the second decade of the sixteenth century in which the Dominicans were blamed for several misdeeds, including trespassing the burial rights of the parishes.³¹⁷ Korner left the decision making for people of high social and political status. His executors were Carstianus Czernekow, a member of the cathedral chapter in Reval,³¹⁸ Cord Korner, the town scribe and Korner's brother, and Heyse Pattimer, who at that time was a council member and later the town's burgomaster.³¹⁹ In this context, it could also mean that the executors were responsible for reacting if the Dominican church, for political or other reasons, would not be accessible as the burial place.

The executors of the testament, family and friends of the testator, did not make decisions about the deceased's burial place only in politically tense situations. This may have been the reason why the secular clergy in Reval at the beginning of the sixteenth century was not satisfied with the situation that people were buried in the friary who had not requested burial there.³²⁰ In answer against such accusations of the secular clergy, the Reval Dominicans mentioned the rights of parents, relatives, and friends to decide where to bury the deceased.³²¹ This example does not mean that one may speak about a contradiction between the decisions of the testator and the

³¹⁷ LUB 2/3 No. 948.

³¹⁸ Carstianus Czernekow in his last will (1499) completely neglected the Reval Dominicans leaving them no donation; LUB 2/1 No. 845.

³¹⁹ Bunge, *Revaler Rathslinie*, 120.

³²⁰ LUB 2/3 No. 948.

³²¹ LUB 2/3 No. 949.

decisions of the family and testament executors, but it only refers to the cases when the testator had expressed no preference.

It seems that it was a common practice in Reval for the relatives and friends (executors of the testament) to choose a tomb in the Dominican church, and events during the Reformation also demonstrate this. At that time the town council tried to restrict the activities of the Dominicans, including burials. In 1524 the council declared that the Dominicans should accept only those who had requested (*gekoren hefft*) burial in their church and cemetery.³²² The way in which this request had to be made was not mentioned in this instruction, but it could have meant that only those who had named the friary as their burial place in their last will should be buried there. By excluding those who had not made their request in their testament and those who were buried there because of their relatives, the town council wanted to decrease the popularity of the Dominicans and their church.

Not only family or friends (executors of the testament) could influence the selection of the resting place for the deceased. Thus, the individual's membership in a religious or professional brotherhood could also be crucial. In fact, care for the appropriate burial and after-death memoria of the members was one of the main religious aims for all medieval urban brotherhoods.³²³ Usually, every church had one or more brotherhoods attached to it. The brotherhood of the Black Heads, in which members could only be young unmarried merchants, journeymen merchants or foreign merchants,³²⁴ had chosen the Dominican church of St. Catherine as the center

³²² "... sunder ys dat yemandes de syn bygrafft gekoren hefft by Iw .."; see Tiina Kala, *Euroopa Kirjakultuur*, Appendix No. 1; Kala, "Das Dominikanerkloster von Reval/Tallinn," 86.

³²³ Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt*, 223.

³²⁴ Anu Mänd, *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350-1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 32.

for their religious life.³²⁵ There are no direct sources about the existence of the Black Heads' burial grounds in Reval's Dominican church. One of the reasons is that in most of the cases the members of this confraternity did not stay in it until their death because it was the brotherhood of unmarried merchants. When they married and took the burgher's oath they left the confraternity.³²⁶ Moreover, written sources concerning the official burial places of the Black Heads come only from the second part of the sixteenth century.

There is only one case from the whole Middle Ages when the testator died, while probably still a member of the Black Heads. Berndt Pael³²⁷ (1437-1503) (see above), who was not local, but a merchant from Lübeck, died in Reval in 1503 and was buried in the Dominican church.³²⁸ In his last will Pael did not mention any links with the Black Heads and expressed no wish to be buried with the Dominicans, only donating ten Riga marks and fish to the Dominicans and asking for prayers for his soul.³²⁹ Three years after Pael's death, in 1506, the Dominican friary issued a document in which they confirmed that they had received Pael's donation of one hundred Riga marks, a sum, which was not mentioned in his testament.³³⁰ The elders of the Black Heads wished to include this sum in a vicary,³³¹ showing that they had certain rights over the donation made by Pael and it confirms his connection with the Black Heads. As Pael did not have relatives and family in Reval³³² and was a member

³²⁵ Tiina Kala, Juhan Kreem, and Anu Mänd, "Die Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter im Mittelalter," in *Die Revaler Schwarzenhäupter: Geschichte und Schätze der Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter* (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiivi, 1999), 63.

³²⁶ Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 36.

³²⁷ LUB 2/2 No. 264; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 77.

³²⁸ Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval*, 179.

³²⁹ LUB 2/2 No. 264; *Revaler Regesten*, No. 77.

³³⁰ This sum was probably money which left after fulfilling all the wishes of the testator included in his testament; LUB 2/3 No. 18.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Carsten Jahnke, "Bernd Pal, ein Kaufmann des 15. Jahrhunderts: Eine biographische Skizze," *Vana Tallinn* 15 (19) (2004): 159.

of the Black Heads,³³³ the confraternity was responsible for his burial and after-death memoria because the brotherhood was Pael's only tie with the local society. The case of Berndt Pael is the only one in which one can speak about the evidence of burials of the Black Heads in the Dominican church.

The surviving sources about requests for liturgical services from the Dominicans cannot show a complete picture. However, the eternal Mass foundations, requests for prayers and a certain number of Masses do show the different social origins of individuals who chose the Dominicans to celebrate services for their souls and the souls of their families. The Dominicans succeeded in attracting local nobility, the urban elite, and even people from the lower strata of the society. Because of this varied public, the kinds of liturgical services offered by the friars also varied: there were eternal Masses for nobility and urban elite, "packages" of forty Masses for townspeople and single Masses for individuals of lower status. It is not possible to conclude which group had the closest ties with the Dominicans, nobility, urban elite, or those who were not considered influential. However, this variety of people requesting services from the Dominicans, shows that they were not oriented toward satisfying the spiritual needs of one specific social group.

In Reval, the individual links of the friars and townspeople were also used for liturgical purposes. In the fifteenth century it was common for testators to make donations to all friars in the convent. Such an individual approach was an attempt of the testators to receive personal prayers from all the friars who were living in the Dominican convent. This pattern was reduced in the late 1470s, which probably

³³³ Friedrich Amelung, Georges Wrangell, *Geschichte der Revaler Schwarzhäupter* (Reval: F. Wassermann, 1930), Anhang.

happened because the Dominican Reform prohibited friars from having individual property.

The burial question in medieval Reval was the sphere where the interests of several groups coincided. Reval's town authorities and secular clergy from time to time regulated the field of funerals and burial places in such a way trying to restrict the Dominicans in this area of pastoral care. The decision where to be buried was not only in the hands of the individuals. Family, friends (testament executors), and brotherhoods influenced burial place preferences and sometimes after the death of the testator took this important decision instead of him.

CHAPTER 3 INSTITUTIONAL GROUPS AND THE DOMINICANS

Fraternities played an important role in the life of a medieval town. Each fraternity had its own specific place in society, which was also determined by the aims and legislation of the brotherhood and the social status of the members. In most cases the four components of the daily life of the members: their work, family, leisure and religion, were equally integrated in the life of the brotherhood.³³⁴ Brotherhoods also shaped the social framework of medieval towns.

Separating the religious and secular confraternities is difficult. Even if a fraternity, for example a guild or brotherhood of merchants or artisans, did not position itself as a purely religious confraternity, religious activities still had a great importance in the inner life of the fraternity. The religious activities of the brotherhoods usually consisted of common liturgical services, taking care of their members' burials, intercession for dead members, visitation of the sick, and taking part in other religious activities.³³⁵ This chapter will deal with the Black Heads, one of Reval's brotherhoods, and their relations with Reval Dominicans. The first aim of this subchapter is to find out how the well-known urban fraternity managed its cooperation with a religious community, the possible reasons of this cooperation, and the goals each group achieved from this cooperation.

However, the Black Heads were not the only institutional group represented in St. Catherine's church. The town council as a group was also represented in the Dominican church. It is important to understand that not only fraternities had their

³³⁴ Miri Rubin, "Fraternities and Lay Piety in the later Middle Ages," in *Einungen und Bruderschaften in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt*, ed. Peter Johanek (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993), 187.

³³⁵ Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt*, 223.

own religious lives, but also the governmental institutions had their own religious activities and habits. In modern research, it is a popular trend to look for the influence of memoria and other religious activities on different structural groups, including the town councils.³³⁶ For the town councils different common religious activities had great importance not only for their own religious life, but also for representation and the construction of their own power. In Reval context, it has to be discovered for what purposes the town council used the religious services of the Dominicans and what kind of liturgical ceremonies they requested from the friars.

3.1 THE BLACK HEADS AND THE REVAL DOMINICANS

The Black Heads, probably founded in 1399, were one of the most prestigious urban fraternities in Reval. The brotherhood united young unmarried merchants, journeyman merchants, foreign merchants and ship captains who stayed in Reval for a certain time.³³⁷ Such a concept of a brotherhood was not something unique to Reval, brotherhoods of the Black Heads also existed in two other important Livonian towns - in Riga (1413/1416) and Dorpat (1445) -- and all the brotherhoods in these towns had the same symbols, similar structures and traditions. The number of the Reval brotherhood's members fluctuated constantly throughout the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. There are no fraternity member's lists, but the numbers of the people (most of them members) taking part in the brotherhood's annual festivals (obligatory for members) in the time period of 1450-1525 fluctuated between 50 and 130.³³⁸

³³⁶ See Dietrich W. Poeck, "Rat und Memoria," in *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, ed. Dieter Geuenich and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1994), 286-333.

³³⁷ Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 32.

³³⁸ Ibid., 91, 92.

The origins of the Black Heads in Reval have to be sought in the development of the most important urban communal organization in the town – the Great Guild. The Great Guild in Reval and in other Livonian towns was an association of the socially, politically, and economically active merchants, who formed the political and social elite and the town councils in the Hanseatic towns.³³⁹ In Reval, the Great Guild was first mentioned in 1363 as a *Kindergilde*.³⁴⁰ In the mid-fourteenth century, when the communal structure of Reval was still forming, there was no distinct separation between the different kinds of merchants and until the turn of the century the only merchant organization was the Great Guild. There has been some speculation that the fourteenth-century *Kindergilde* could have been an association of unmarried merchants.³⁴¹

Even if one does not assume that the origin of the Great Guild was an association of young, unmarried merchants, there was a direct link between the Great Guild and the Black Heads. The Estonian historian, Anu Mänd, who has specialized in the history of the urban associations in medieval Reval, considers that presumably: “the Black Heads separated from the Great Guild at the time when it was necessary to draw stricter borderlines between the burghers of the city on the one hand, and the journeymen and the foreign merchants on the other.”³⁴² Mänd stresses the aspect which suggests that the brotherhood of the Black Heads was the association which gathered the journeymen and the foreign merchants. There are no full lists of the brotherhood’s members throughout its history, but probably most of the Black Heads

³³⁹ Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt*, 303.

³⁴⁰ Tiina Kala, Juhan Kreem, and Anu Mänd, “Die Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter im Mittelalter,” in *Die Revaler Schwarzenhäupter: Geschichte und Schätze der Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter*, ed. Juhan Kreem and Urmas Olup, (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhivi, 1999), 62.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 32.

were sons of Great Guild members.³⁴³ If one assumes that most of the Black Heads were sons of burghers, then there were also other reasons for the separation of the Black Heads from the Great Guild, not just the desire to separate the local merchants from the foreign ones. One of the aims was to separate the merchants who had already established themselves and also took part in governing the urban community from those merchants who were young, inexperienced, and had not yet established themselves, but who also needed some kind of group membership.

In fact, through the separation of the Black Heads from the Great Guild, the brotherhood of the Black Heads became the organization from which the Great Guild received its new members. When a member of the Black Heads left the brotherhood, married, and took the burgher's oath, in most cases he became a member of the Great Guild.³⁴⁴

Why is the genesis of the Black Heads so important for understanding Dominican-town relations? In 1400, when the Black Heads were first mentioned, the brotherhood concluded a contract with the Reval Dominicans that allowed them to found their own altar in the Dominican church of St. Catherine and regulate the relationship between the brotherhood and the friary.³⁴⁵ This contract between the Dominicans and the Black Heads implies that the brotherhood of the Black Heads was probably founded in the year 1399,³⁴⁶ at least that is the foundation year preferred by most researchers interested in the history of the Reval Black Heads. It seems quite probable that the Black Heads chose the religious community with which they wanted to have strong ties soon after the foundation of their fraternity. The contract between

³⁴³ Friedrich Amelung, Georges Wrangell, *Geschichte der Revaler Schwarzhäupter*, (Reval: F. Wassermann, 1930), 17.

³⁴⁴ Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 36.

³⁴⁵ TLA, f 87, n 1, s 88.

³⁴⁶ Kala, Kreem, and Mänd, "Die Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter im Mittelalter," 62.

the Dominicans and the Black Heads shows that the recently founded brotherhood was looking to secure its religious identity by creating ties with an important religious community. In fact, the concluding of this contract may be seen as the end of the formation process of the Reval Black Heads. Disregarding the fact that the first document of inner legislation, the so-called *schrage*, was only issued in 1407³⁴⁷ (it is thought that in 1407 the Reval Black Heads became fully independent from the Great Guild³⁴⁸), one should say that the contract shows the existence of a certain structure in the brotherhood.

The sources themselves do not give a direct answer as to why the Black Heads in Reval chose the Dominican church as the place in which they would have their altars and take part in the services. Thus, one has to consider the possible motivations why the Black Heads decided to create a long-term spiritual relationship with the Reval Dominicans in 1400.

In all kinds of relationships between individuals or groups on one side and religious communities on the other, an important factor was the institutional continuity of religious organizations.³⁴⁹ The Black Heads in Reval chose not only the Dominican St. Catherine's church as the place for their religious ceremonies, but also the Dominicans as the community who would be responsible for the religious life around the Black Heads' altars. The question of the personnel around the altars had a great importance for the group. If the person or the fraternity had chosen, for example, the parish church or other non-monastic churches, someone had to look for the priest or priests who would celebrate the services for the person or the group and problems could arise if the chosen priest or priests died. By choosing the Dominicans, the Reval

³⁴⁷ Amelung, Wrangell, *Geschichte der Revaler Schwarzhäupter*, 11.

³⁴⁸ Kala, Kreem, and Mänd, "Die Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter im Mittelalter," 62.

³⁴⁹ Oexle, "Memoria in der Gesellschaft," 317.

Black Heads had solved this problem. The contract of 1400 implied that the friars had to celebrate Masses for the Black Heads on their altar of the Holy Virgin³⁵⁰ and that meant that the members of the brotherhood could be sure that there would always be some Dominicans in the friary who could celebrate the services.

Perhaps one of the reasons why the Black Heads in Reval decided to have their altars in the Dominican church was also the fact that the Dominican convent at that time was the only male monastic community in Reval. The Black Heads could have chosen one of the two parish churches or the church of the Holy Spirit as the place for their religious activities. In fact, in Reval the Black Heads had also one altar in the parish church of St. Nicholas,³⁵¹ likewise the Black Heads brotherhood in Riga had two altars, one in the parish church of St. Peter³⁵² and another one in the Franciscan church of St. Catherine.³⁵³ In 1525, when Dominican activities were restricted because of the Reformation in Reval, there were four priests in the St. Nicholas church who celebrated services for the brotherhood.³⁵⁴ Nevertheless, Reval's Dominican church, as the Franciscan church in Riga, was the central place of Reval Black Heads' religious activities, and most of the liturgical objects of the brotherhood were kept there.³⁵⁵ Closer ties of the Black Heads with the parishes could have meant closer relationship with the urban community itself, but being outside of the parochial

³⁵⁰ TLA, f 87, n 1, s 88

³⁵¹ Anu Mänd, "Über den Marienalter der Revaler Schwarzenhäupter und seine Ikonographie," in *Die Kunstbeziehungen Estlands mit den Niederlanden in den 15. - 17. Jahrhunderten : der Marienaltar des Meisters der Lucialegende, 500 Jahre in Tallinn*, ed. Tiina Abel (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstimuuseum, 2000), 233.

³⁵² Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 80.

³⁵³ Roberts Malvess, Pētījumu Materiāli par Arhitektūras Pieminekli – bijušā Franciskāņu klostera atliekām Rīgā. (Materials about Architectural monument- the ruins of the former Franciscan friary in Riga) Valsts Kultūras Pieminekļu Aizsardzības Inspekcija. Pieminekļu Dokumentācijas Centrs (Inspection of protection of cultural heritage in Riga. Center of Documentation), 60.

³⁵⁴ Tiina Kala, "Tallinna raad ja katoliku kirik reformatsiooni algaastail," (Tallinn's town council and the Catholic Church in the First Years of the Reformation,) in *Muinasaja loojansgust omariikluse läveni: Pühendusteos Sulev Vahre 75. sünnipäevaks*, ed. Anders Andresen (Tartu: Ajalookirjanduse Sihtasutus Kleio, 2001), 168.

³⁵⁵ Mänd, "Über den Marienalter der Revaler Schwarzenhäupter," 233.

system gave the brotherhood more freedom in their religious practices, and it also represented the difference of the Black Heads from other Revalian brotherhoods.

Otto Gerhard Oexle, in his article about social groups in the Middle Ages,³⁵⁶ mentions five features which were important for the continuity of groups; two of them were also important in respect of the Reval Black Heads. These two factors are “the forms of memory (memoria)” and “the forms of representation.”³⁵⁷ Oexle emphasizes the role of memoria for the group identity of brotherhoods.³⁵⁸ Beyond a doubt memoria also created group identity or was associated with the creation of those identities, but this memoria was only part of a larger religious identity.

The Black Head brotherhood’s memoria in the Dominican church is still partly unknown. Revalian sources do not reveal a well-organized memorial system among the Black Heads, despite the fact that in general the memoria of its members was a priority for every brotherhood.³⁵⁹ Partly it may be understandable that the Reval Black Heads did not have a well-developed system of memoria which would commemorate deceased members of the brotherhood. The nature of the brotherhood itself determined that usually its members either married and took the burghers’ oath, consequently becoming a member of the Great Guild, or left the town and moved their business somewhere else. In Reval, there is only one Black Head who probably

³⁵⁶ Oexle’s understanding of social groups in urban environment implies that social groups were also guilds, brotherhoods or other kinds of urban fraternities.

³⁵⁷ “Zunächst also die Frage nach den Bedingungen der Dauer von Gruppen in der Zeit. Hier sind Faktoren zu nennen, die oft erst neuerdings und zum Teil noch gar nicht eigentlich die notwendige Aufmerksamkeit gefunden haben: (1) die Formen der Bindung von Individuen in Gruppen; (2) die Formen der Erinnerung (Memoria); (3) die Differenzierung von Funktionen; (4) die über Gruppen geführten ‘Diskurse’; und schließlich (5) die Formen der Repräsentation...” Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Soziale Gruppen in der Ständegesellschaft: Lebensformen des Mittelalters und ihre historischen Wirkungen,” in *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen: Texte – Bilder – Objekte*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle and Andrea von Hülsen-Esch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1998), 30.

³⁵⁸ Oexle, “Memoria in der Gesellschaft,” 315.

³⁵⁹ Isenmann, *Die Deutsche Stadt*, 223.

died as the member of the fraternity; that was Bernd Pael, mentioned above.³⁶⁰ Moreover, it is not known whether the Black Heads also commemorated their former members who died after having left the brotherhood. Also concerning their active members, there are no sources which tell how the memoria was practiced by the Reval Black Heads. However, here a comparison with the Riga brotherhood can be made. The Black Heads in Riga, even in their legislation (*schrägen*), included the obligation for the brotherhood to celebrate memorial services in St. Catherine's church: on Fridays vigils for the souls of the deceased and on Sundays Masses for the same purpose.³⁶¹

Despite the lack of detailed sources and understanding of Reval's brotherhood's memoria patterns, there are hints which show the importance of memoria. The provincial of the Danish Dominican province in his letter to the Black Heads wrote that the dead members of the fraternity would be commemorated in the Dominican province of Denmark.³⁶² Perhaps also the donation of the rest of Bernd Pael's property for the illumination of the Dominican church in 1506 was a kind of brotherhood memoria³⁶³ because it went through the hands of the Black Heads. Those two examples do not make it possible to reconstruct the memoria patterns of the Reval Black Heads, but they do show the existence of memoria in Reval's brotherhood as in others.

It is important to emphasize that the Black Heads' relations with the Dominicans also had aspects which should be linked with Oexle's "forms of representation."³⁶⁴ The Black Heads' alliance with the Reval Dominicans and their

³⁶⁰ See chapter 2.3.

³⁶¹ Malvess, *Pētījumu Materiāli*, 62.

³⁶² LUB 12. No. 34, TLA, f 87, n 1, s 90.

³⁶³ LUB 2/3 No. 18.

³⁶⁴ Oexle, "Soziale Gruppen in der Ständegesellschaft," 30.

presence in the church of St. Catherine can also be analyzed from the point of view of the Black Heads' self-representation. In fact, the liturgical ceremonies which were celebrated in the Dominican church can be pointed out as a direct form of such self-representation. The Black Heads had two altars in the church of St. Catherine³⁶⁵ and their own liturgical vessels.³⁶⁶ Details of the brotherhood's practical religious life in the Dominican church concerning religious ceremonies remain unknown because of the lack of sources. However, it is known that the Black Heads had regular services in the Dominican church, and there were also prestigious services during important feasts in which all the Black Heads had to take part.³⁶⁷ On the basis that liturgical objects owned by the Black Heads were separated from the liturgical objects owned by the Dominicans themselves already in the contract of 1400³⁶⁸ and also later in the list of the church property (around 1495),³⁶⁹ one may assume that not only at great feasts,³⁷⁰ but also on other occasions the Black Heads had separate services.

A popular form of self-representation was donations of different objects to churches: altarpieces, benches, stained glass windows, organs and their decoration, different liturgical objects, etc. With such an investment in these objects, the donor wanted to present himself or a group in front of the present and future faithful who were attending services in the church where the objects were situated. The Reval Black Heads from the very beginning of their presence in the church of St. Catherine donated different objects and sums of money for the church with the intention of building their own altars and providing them with necessary liturgical objects.

³⁶⁵ Mänd, "Über den Marienalter der Revaler Schwarzenhäupter," 231.

³⁶⁶ LUB 2/1, No. 106.

³⁶⁷ Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 65.

³⁶⁸ TLA, f. 87, n. 1, s. 87.

³⁶⁹ LUB 2/1, No. 106.

³⁷⁰ Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 65.

The first altar of the Black Heads was consecrated in 1403 and dedicated to the Holy Virgin, St. Gertrude, and St. Dorothy.³⁷¹ In fact, this altar, which in most texts was called the altar of the Holy Virgin (*leven vrowen altier*), was already mentioned in the contract of 1400.³⁷² The second altar of the brotherhood was consecrated in 1419 and dedicated to the Holy Trinity (*hiligen drevoldicheit altar*), St. John the Baptist, and St. Christopher.³⁷³ The existence of the altars demanded their ongoing care and liturgical activities there, and for that reason the Black Heads appointed two of their members as altar wardens (*voermundere*).³⁷⁴ They took care of the altars, probably also of their constant illumination and were in charge of the donations made.³⁷⁵ The guardians also were responsible for the purchase of new liturgical objects.³⁷⁶

The contract of 1400 shows that the foundations of the altars and the liturgical objects in general were supported by the donations of the brotherhood's members. It is not possible to estimate the amounts of those donations, however, it is certain that this process of the church's arrangement was a highly costly business and demanded significant investments. The objects obtained by the Black Heads varied from small objects like ampoules for liturgical wine and water,³⁷⁷ and decorated robes for the silver statue of the Holy Virgin,³⁷⁸ to large and costly altarpieces or statues placed on the altars. Most of the liturgical objects requested by the Black Heads were not bought

³⁷¹ Mänd, "Über den Marienalter der Revaler Schwarzenhäupter," 231.

³⁷² TLA, f 87, n 1, s 87.

³⁷³ Mänd, "Über den Marienalter der Revaler Schwarzenhäupter," 231.

³⁷⁴ TLA, f 87, n 1, s 87.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Mänd, "Über den Marienalter der Revaler Schwarzenhäupter," 232.

³⁷⁷ LUB 2/1 No. 106.

³⁷⁸ LUB 2/1 No. 898.

in Livonia, but usually in Lübeck, as the monstrance for the altar of the Holy Virgin around 1485.³⁷⁹

Perhaps the most costly and prestigious objects bought by the Black Heads for the Dominican church were the altarpieces and the statues for the two altars. When the altar of the Holy Virgin was consecrated in 1403 it already had a figure of Our Lady on it. Later, in 1486, the Black Heads requested a silver statue of the Virgin to be sent from Lübeck for the same altar.³⁸⁰ At the end of the century, the Black Heads bought an exclusive two-winged altarpiece of the Holy Virgin on which the donors themselves were depicted.³⁸¹ In the case of the latter altarpiece, which has survived until present time, it is not clear when it was requested and how expensive it was, but, probably it was created in the Low Countries. The Estonian historian Anu Mänd assumes that the altarpiece was quite expensive when purchased at the end of the fifteenth century.³⁸² At approximately the same time, two similar altarpieces for churches in Riga and Reval were bought in Lübeck, for 300 and 1250 Riga marks, respectively,³⁸³ which were significant expenses. Also in other cases the Black Heads invested time and finances to elaborate their altars in the Dominican church. In 1424, they bought an altarpiece for the Holy Trinity altar. Five years later, it was sent to Hamburg for more decoration and in 1436 it returned to Reval.³⁸⁴ There were also other liturgical objects requested from masters in Western Europe and created for the altars of the St. Catherine's church.

It was mentioned above that it is not possible to discover the common expenses of the Black Heads for arranging their altars in the Dominican church, but

³⁷⁹ LUB 2/1 No. 106.

³⁸⁰ Mänd, "Über den Marienalter der Revaler Schwarzenhäupter," 232.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 228-230.

³⁸² Ibid., 230.

³⁸³ Ibid., 229.

certainly these were serious investments. One should not forget that these expenses were not only done for religious purposes, but also would have showed the status of the brotherhood in local urban society. The fact that most of the brotherhood's liturgical objects were made by highly qualified masters from Western Europe and not by local artisans only emphasizes the high ambitions of the Black Heads. This high status of the Black Heads was also seen during the yearly Corpus Christi procession, when they went almost right after the sacrament itself and were only preceded by the Table guild.³⁸⁵

The self-representation of the brotherhood was not only carried out on a local level, it had also an "international" perspective. An alliance with only the local parishes would not have given such possibilities. The Dominican order's structure, spread throughout Europe, linked every friary from the local level (the town where the friary was situated) up to the regional level (the Dominican provinces, which united a great number of friaries in one or several political entities), and the international level with the administrative center in Rome.³⁸⁶

Thus, concluding the contract in 1400 with the local Dominicans in Reval, the Black Heads were entering an alliance not only with a regional structure, but also with a global one. It implemented benefits from this relationship with the Dominicans that would not only be spiritual guidance of the fraternity, but also possible support from the whole order. Even in this contract,³⁸⁷ the local officials of the Dominican order were not the only ones present; a certain brother Bertold, a vicar of the Dominicans in Livonia, also took part as an issuer of this contract. Nonetheless, one may doubt that

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 231.

³⁸⁵ Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 166.

³⁸⁶ This exact idea of the Dominican order's "internationality" and "regionality" is borrowed from: Bernhard Neidiger, "The Basle Dominicans between Town and Province," in *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 132.

in this way the Black Heads were striving to reach a global level of support, because it is not possible to find out about any such general motivations in the beginning of the cooperation in 1400. On the other hand, during the common history of the Black Heads and the friary the importance of the Dominican order as an “international” organization can be seen.

In 1460, Ludolph, the provincial of the Danish Dominican province, sent a letter to the Reval Black Heads in which he acknowledged the work done by the brotherhood in support of the Reval friary and the great piety of the Black Heads.³⁸⁸ Later, after the reform of the Reval friary in 1475, the Black Heads received an even more solemn letter. In 1478, the master of the Dominican order himself, Leonardus de Mansuetis (*Leonardo Mansueti*) sent it to the Reval Black Heads, appreciating their role in the religious life of the friary and order.³⁸⁹ The letter of the master certainly had a connection with the reform in the friary, because the master mentions one of the friary’s reformers, Albertus Petri, as the inspirer of this letter. Perhaps it was a kind of gratitude for the support during the reform of the Reval friary in 1474/1475, in which the Black Heads were at least present.³⁹⁰

Besides the spiritual benefits, as the recognition of their piety -- promises to hold prayers and services for the Reval Black Heads in the Dominican convents all over Europe -- the brotherhood received “international” acknowledgement and recognition. These letters and the attention paid by the officials of the Dominicans not only strengthened the Black Heads’ ties with the order and bore spiritual benefits, but also may have had an impact on the local public in Reval. In fact, this was a matter of exclusivity, because no other social group in Reval had received such a spiritual

³⁸⁷ TLA, f 87, n 1, s 87.

³⁸⁸ LUB 12 No. 34; TLA, f 87, n. 1, s 90.

³⁸⁹ TLA, f 87, n 1, s 91.

benefit from a religious institution at the “international” level. One must not forget that the public of those letters were also the members of the brotherhood themselves, being reminded of the exclusivity of the Black Heads. The self-representation had two goals -- affecting the broader public and affecting the brotherhood’s members.

As mentioned above, the Black Heads not only donated money and objects for the Dominican church, but also supported the Dominican community itself, and the letters of the provincial and master of the order were an expression of gratitude. In the sources, it is hard to find cases when the Black Heads actually supported the Dominicans during different conflicts, for example during the one between the cathedral chapter and the friars in the 1420s. Nonetheless, there were such cases. The letter of the order’s master to the brotherhood in 1478 gives some clues, because apparently master Leonardus de Mansuetis was influenced by the reformer of the friary, Albertus Petri, to express gratitude for the help during the reform of the friary.³⁹¹ Usually reforms in friaries were quite complicated and this was the case also in Reval, where even the reformers were changed during the process.³⁹² It is known that the representatives of the Black Heads as also the members of the town council, the Great Guild, and Canute’s guild were present at the beginning of the reform in 1474.³⁹³ The Black Heads were represented by three members of the brotherhood: Ewert van Schede, Peter Templin, and Hinricus Bander; only the town council was represented by more members.³⁹⁴ The reforms in the friaries were usually enforced partly with the help of the town councils, as for example in Basel.³⁹⁵ The positive attitudes from the leaders of the Dominican order show that not only the town council

³⁹⁰ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 11r

³⁹¹ TLA, f 87, n 1, s 91.

³⁹² Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, 109.

³⁹³ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 11r

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

supported the reform, but also that the Black Heads took part in the reform of the friary. For the leaders of the order this action seems to have been positive, because at least Leonardus de Mansuetis was an enthusiastic supporter of the observant reforms. One may assume that the Black Heads played a similar role in the reform of the friary as did other brotherhoods and the town council, but the Black Heads had more intense relations with the Dominicans than other organizations present at the reform. The brotherhood had an interest in this reform because it could influence their economic, social, and religious relations with the Dominicans.

Besides political support of the Dominicans, the Black Heads also supported the community economically. It is not known when they began to offer food for the Dominicans, but from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, each year the brotherhood offered different kinds of food for the friars. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Black Heads offered several tuns of fish (salmon and cod), one tun of peas, and at least two and a half Riga marks every year around All Saints' Day.³⁹⁶ Before the reform of the friary meat was also given to the Dominicans, but because the regulations of the newly reformed friaries forbade consuming meat it was substituted with fish.³⁹⁷ However, this economic support offered by the Black Heads is hardly comparable with the amounts of capital invested in the elaboration of St. Catherine's church.

3.2 THE TOWN COUNCIL AND THE DOMINICANS

Relations between a town council and a religious community took place not only based on relations between a government and its subordinates. Theoretically,

³⁹⁵ Neidiger, "The Basle Dominicans," 138.

³⁹⁶ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 22r, fol. 77r

³⁹⁷ Kala, Kreem, and Mänd, "Die Bruderschaft der Schwarzenhäupter im Mittelalter," 63.

monastic institutions based in the urban space were autonomous, but in reality, town councils controlled at least their economic activities, appointing churchwardens for monastic communities³⁹⁸ and sometimes even intervening in the life of friaries. Bernhard Neidiger states that in Basel the town council took many decisions concerning the inner life of the Dominican friary there, for example about the reform of the friary.³⁹⁹ Also in Reval, the members of the town council were present when the Dominican friary was reformed in 1474/1475.⁴⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the town councils also had ties with the religious communities for spiritual and religious reasons; politics were not the main driving force of these relations. The town council and its members could demonstrate their status and power not only through instruments of their secular power, but also through religious services and ceremonies, and this subchapter focuses on how Reval's town council used the services of the Dominicans for religious purposes.

A late medieval town council generally has to be seen not only as a governing body but also as group, which had a common religious and social life besides political or economic interests. Most of the councilors, at least in Reval's case, did not change frequently and all of them had the same background; they were members of the merchant-dominated Great Guild. During time, Reval's town council became a group which had the character of a closed society. Until 1457 it consisted of twenty-four or twenty-six councilors, four to five burgomasters among them, but after 1457 the number of councilors decreased to fourteen and four burgomasters.⁴⁰¹ This rather small group had its own identity if compared with other urban associations which had tens and hundreds of members. Activities which were not directly associated with the

³⁹⁸ Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt*, 220.

³⁹⁹ Neidiger, "The Basle Dominicans," 138.

⁴⁰⁰ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 11r

town's government played an important role in the creation and renewal of the town council's corporate identity.⁴⁰² Common festivals and religious ceremonies brought together the whole group and it is known that Reval's councilors celebrated the most important feasts together: Christmas, Carnival and All Souls' Day.⁴⁰³

Not only celebrating feasts together was important for the common identity; common prayers and Masses played an equally relevant role. Both in Riga and in Reval the town councils had their benches in the Dominican churches. Gertrud Walter-Wittenheim assumes that there were also town council altars,⁴⁰⁴ which, however, may be doubtful. The constant presence of the town council in the Dominican church shows that the relations between both groups did not end on the level of political patronage. Hence, it is important to stress that the presence of the town council and its members in the church of St. Catherine was well established. That was not the usual case everywhere. For example, in Lübeck, town councilors were not represented as unified group in the Dominican church, but many of them were members of brotherhoods based with the Dominicans.⁴⁰⁵

However, it has to be stressed that the town council in Reval was not represented in the Dominican church on the same level and with the same intensity as the Black Heads were. In the sources only the *raetstole* (the town council's benches) are mentioned.⁴⁰⁶ There are no traces of liturgical objects donated by the town council or the mentioning of objects which may have belonged to the town council's altar, if there was one. The problem is to define when the town council's financial support for

⁴⁰¹ Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 61.

⁴⁰² Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 41.

⁴⁰³ At least the town's account books have records which show the expenditures of the council for the main feasts. See Ibid., 45.

⁴⁰⁴ Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, 95.

⁴⁰⁵ The two brotherhoods based in the Dominican church in Lübeck were the brotherhood of St. Anthony and the brotherhood of Corpus Christi. See Dietrich W. Poeck, "Klöster und Bürger," 181.

the Dominicans was the support of the town and when this financial support was a donation on behalf of the council. Sometimes the town council supported the friary financially and with goods in its function as the town government, for instance, in the case when the order's officials visited the community.⁴⁰⁷ However, there are donations which were made with the intention to receive liturgical services from the Dominicans. In 1519 and 1520, the town council and the town councilors as a community donated large sums to the friary three times.⁴⁰⁸ In two cases, the town council was mentioned as donor, giving twenty-nine and fifteen Riga marks without specifying a purpose for the donation; once the town councilors donated fifty-three marks requesting that daily Masses be celebrated by the friars.

The relations between the town council and the friary had a different character than those between the friary and the Black Heads. If in the case of the relations with the Black Heads the Dominicans had many roles, the relationship with the town council reveals memoria of the town council as one of the main reasons for the cooperation between both parties. The Reval Dominican role was similar to that of other religious institutions in Hansa towns, for example, in Lübeck, one monastery had to have special religious services on the anniversaries of the town councilors' and their family members' deaths.⁴⁰⁹

In 1386, after the death of Reval's burgomaster Hermann van der Hove,⁴¹⁰ the town council founded a daily eternal Mass on St. Dominic's altar.⁴¹¹ This Mass had to be funded from van der Hove's property with six Riga marks yearly. In usual cases

⁴⁰⁶ *Revaler Urkunden und Briefe von 1273 bis 1510*, ed. Dieter Heckmann (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), No. 44.

⁴⁰⁷ *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, No. 1115.

⁴⁰⁸ Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, Anhang 8.

⁴⁰⁹ Poeck, "Rat und Memoria," 301.

⁴¹⁰ Bunge, *Revaler Rathslinie*, 105.

⁴¹¹ *Revaler Urkunden*, No. 44.

when an individual died, executors of his testament were those who took the responsibility of founding the memorial mass if the individual wished it. However, in the case of van der Hove the town council took up this responsibility and took care of the former burgomaster's memoria. This was not a usual practice and the town council did not create memorial Masses for every deceased member; perhaps van der Hove was an exception because of his long presence in burgomaster's office (1361-1386)⁴¹² and political deeds.

On the other hand, this foundation for eternal Mass was not made only for van der Hove's soul. The prior of the friary, Johan Vrolinch, who issued this foundation document, wrote that the eternal Mass was founded because of "the will and benefit of Reval's town council."⁴¹³ One cannot exclude the possibility that this liturgical service was intended as the daily Mass of the town council, but funded by the rent money of van der Hove. If it were an eternal Mass for the honor of the former burgomaster van der Hove it would have not been stressed that the Mass was founded because of the will of the town council. It may be considered that this Mass foundation in 1386 was the beginning or continuation of the tradition for the town council to have daily Mass in the Dominican church. The foundation of the daily Mass in 1386 and the donation for the daily Mass in 1519⁴¹⁴ may testify that the town council had a tradition to have daily Masses in the Dominican church for a longer period and this tradition had continuity.

The Dominican church was a place not only of religious activities requested by the town council itself, but also by its members. The town councilors themselves asked for liturgical services from the Dominicans. One may associate the private

⁴¹² Bunge, *Die Revaler Rathslinie*, 105.

⁴¹³ "... na willen unde begehelicheit des rades tho Reuele ...," *Revaler Urkunden*, No. 44.

⁴¹⁴ Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, Anhang 8.

religious activities of the town councilors with their own political status. In other words, the services requested by the town councilors individually could be not only services for their own souls, but also for them as the representatives of the ruling elite. There are a number of cases when Masses were celebrated in the Dominican church for the sake of burgomasters and town councilors. In the friary's 1524 account book there is a record which testifies that someone requested forty Masses for the soul (*pro anima*) of burgomaster (*proconsul*) Johannes Fiant⁴¹⁵ (*Fyant, Viant*) and donated four Riga marks.⁴¹⁶ Usually the formula *pro anima* had been used for persons who already had died or by the testators in their testaments while creating their own memoria. However, in the case of Johannes Fiant it is not clear whether he was already dead or still alive. Friedrich Georg Bunge, in his list of Reval's town councilors, writes that Fiant only died in 1529, but the last time he was mentioned as burgomaster was in 1519.⁴¹⁷ It has to be stressed that Bunge's list is not always accurate, but one may not exclude the possibility that those forty Masses were requested while Fiant still lived. Nevertheless, this request had a memorial character and it does not have major importance whether Fiant was burgomaster in office (in 1524 he was not mentioned as acting burgomaster) or he was still alive or not.

Fiant was not only burgomaster and member of the town council who or for whom Masses were requested in the Dominican church. In 1524, the burgomaster, Heyse Pattimer⁴¹⁸ requested one sung Mass, donating one Riga mark;⁴¹⁹ also the town

⁴¹⁵ Fiant became a burgher in 1502 and was a town council member in 1508 and 1510, becoming burgomaster in 1519. See Ibid., 94.

⁴¹⁶ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, 77v

⁴¹⁷ Bunge, *Die Revaler Rathslinie*, 94.

⁴¹⁸ Heyse Pattimer became a burgher in 1502 and was a member of the town council in 1509, 1510, 1512, taking the office of burgomaster in 1520, (probably also in 1524) and 1526. See Ibid., 120.

⁴¹⁹ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, 77r

councilor Thomas Fegesack⁴²⁰ donated one mark for a sung Mass in the Dominican church.⁴²¹ In the case of Pattimer, it is emphasized in the account book that the requestor of the Mass was the burgomaster of Reval, as also in his donation for the friars four years earlier.⁴²² Both Fegesack and Pattimer were not simple donors requesting liturgical ceremonies because the Dominicans were aware of their status, also noting it down in the accounts. These donations may be associated with the positions held by the two individuals. However, here is also the problem of dividing individual sympathies from the preferences of the town officials who represented the whole town council. Heyse Pattimer apparently was a zealous Catholic and even after the Reformation he remained an eager supporter of the Catholic faith.⁴²³

Reval Black Heads had close relations with the Dominicans and it had symbolic meaning that the first time the Black Heads are mentioned was in their contract with the Dominicans in 1400. This contract between the friars and the Black Heads shows that shortly after its foundation the brotherhood was looking for religious identity and chose St. Catherine's church as center of their religious life. Apart from the fact that the Black Heads had regular liturgical services in the Dominican church and made large investments in the liturgical objects there, the Black Heads used the Dominicans as "media" for their own self-representation. The letters of the provincial Ludolph and the master of the order Leonardus de Mansuetis show that the Black Heads received recognition from the Dominican order for their support of the friars. For the Black Heads this recognition was a great honor and it

⁴²⁰ Thomas Fegesack was the town councilor in 1525 and the burgomaster from 1525 to 1539. See Bunge, *Die Revaler Rathslinie*, 94.

⁴²¹ TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, 77r

⁴²² In 1520 Pattimer requested Masses in honor of St. Simon and St. John, giving twenty-three marks for the friars. See Walther-Wittenheim, *Dominikaner in Livland*, Anhang 8.

meant that they were in alliance with an organization which had an “international” character.

The town council, in contradistinction to the Black Heads, did not have altars in the Dominican church, only their own benches. However, the town council also had close ties with the Dominicans and used religious services offered by the friars. The town council’s religious activities in the Dominican church had continuity and it is known that they had daily Masses at least at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the case of Reval’s town council, it is hard to draw a line between the religious activities of the town council as a group and the religious activities of the individual town councilors in the Dominican church. There is no precise answer whether Mass requests of the individual town councilors were part of the religious services for the leading urban elite as a whole.

⁴²³ Ibid., 96.

CONCLUSIONS

According to Reval's testaments, the Dominicans played an important role in local urban society. Most of Reval's testators who made pious donations mentioned the Dominicans as recipients and only a small group of testators neglected them. This shows that the Dominicans had a stable position in Reval, and the testators who did not trust them as an ecclesiastical community were in the minority. However, their role should not be exaggerated. The parishes were the absolute leaders in the receipt of pious donations, and the Dominicans did not threaten their positions. There were a few testators who neglected the parishes and donated all their pious donations to the friars, but that practice was rather an exception than the pattern. The actual pattern was to donate to both, the parishes of St. Olaf and Nicholas as well as the Dominicans. Some testators, who also donated to the parishes, made their largest pious donations to the friars. However, the largest group of testators who made donations to the friars, around sixty percent, gave small amounts in the value from one to ten Riga marks. The percentage of those testators who donated larger sums of more than fifty marks was only around ten percent. All this shows that the Dominicans seem to have had less popularity among urban society than the parishes, but still played an important and general religious role.

In Reval, one cannot speak about a rivalry between the Dominicans and the parishes in receiving pious donations. The testators entrusted different functions to the Dominicans and the parishes. The Dominicans received more donations for which the testators explicitly requested prayers for their souls. The parishes did not obtain such requests.

If there was any rivalry between the Dominicans and other religious institutions, then it was the one with other monastic communities. At the beginning of the sixteenth century one may trace a rise in popularity of the Livonian Franciscans and the Bridgetines in Reval's testaments; from then onwards the Dominicans were no longer such clear leaders in receiving donations among monastic houses as they had been in the fifteenth century. However, they were also not really threatened and still held a leading position.

The testaments show that the friary was an important religious center for the townspeople but that it did not have such importance as the parishes of St. Nicholas and St. Olaf. The Dominicans were the leading monastic institution in town, partly because there were no other male monastic communities in Reval which could have competed with them. On the other hand, the testaments of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century do show that the Dominicans were partly losing their popularity to the Bridgetines from the outskirts of Reval and the Franciscan friaries in other Livonian towns.

There were many individuals who requested liturgical services from the Dominicans. Those individuals did not form a consistent social or political group: noblemen, members of the urban elite, men and women, and even some peasants requested liturgical services from the Dominicans. This certainly had to lead to the situation that those services were rather different. For the nobility and the members of urban elite, eternal Masses were popular. They demanded large financial resources, meaning that only rich and influential families were capable of requesting them. The individuals who requested such eternal Masses used them particularly for the creation of memoria, for themselves as well as for their ancestors and families.

The Dominicans offered alternatives for those people who were not able to finance costly eternal Masses. The friars were the leaders in Reval testaments for requests of forty Masses. Other sources also show that “packages” of forty Masses requested from the friars were popular in town. Individuals from different social strata asked for them, from burgomasters to peasants. Also, the people who requested single Masses were not socially unified and included everyone from burgomasters to peasants. Despite all these different social origins, financial capabilities, and types of memoria, the explicit wish for prayers for their souls is included in all donations to the Dominicans.

A group of individuals in Reval who sometimes did not request liturgical services from the Dominicans but still had strong spiritual bounds with the friars, were those who wished to be buried in the Dominican church. The number of such testators who requested their burial in St. Catherine’s church in their last wills does not give a clue how many testators had actually chosen the Dominican church as their last resting place. It cannot be accepted that all testators who did not specify in their testaments where they liked to be buried found their resting places in the parish churches. The case of Bernd Pael shows that even testators who did not specify any place of their possible interment, were buried by the Dominicans. The popularity of the Dominican church as the burial place for people who did not actually request it in written form can also be seen in the pre-Reformation period when the secular clergy complained that the friars accepted bodies of those who had made no specification about their burial place.

The Reval Dominicans had intense relations with two important institutional groups in particular: the fraternity of the Black Heads and the town council. These relations had social and economic aspects, but what is important is that both the Black

Heads and the town council used the religious services offered by the Dominicans. The Black Heads chose the Dominican church as the center of their religious life shortly after the creation of the brotherhood at the very end of the fourteenth century. They had regular services in the Dominican church and founded two altars there. The Black Heads also donated various precious liturgical objects to the Dominicans, which not only reflects religious purposes but was also the self-representational wish of the donating group. The brotherhood also benefited in another way from the cooperation of the Black Heads and the Dominicans: the fraternity received recognition from the Dominican order's authorities. For the brotherhood it must have had great importance that this kind of international organization acknowledged them and emphasized their gratitude with solemn letters from the Master and provincial of the Danish province.

The town council had other kinds of relations with the Dominicans than the Black Heads. The town council did not have its own altar in the Dominican church, but they had their benches there. Already by the end of the fourteenth century the town council also requested a daily Mass in the Dominican church. It can be testified that for the town council the Dominican church was a place of memorial services and after-death memoria for deceased councilors. The requests of the council members for Masses and prayers for their souls may also show that the Dominicans had to celebrate liturgical services for the living members of the urban elite generally.

This thesis has tried to contribute a new viewpoint to the existing research of Reval Dominicans on the community and their role in urban society. If the research before concentrated on the community itself, this research has attempted to discover hints at how the townspeople perceived the Dominicans as a community. In my research one also can see those parts of urban religious life that took place in the

Dominican church and which liturgical services were popular among individuals. I have traced how the religious community was not only “used” for spiritual purposes but also for self-representation.

Several aspects still leave room for research in the future. One may, for instance, look more at the personalities of the townspeople who supported the Dominicans and whether the ties with the friars had an influence on other aspects of their lives. On the other hand, the question of how Dominican community life may be seen as “urbanized” and was influenced by secular life style will also offer a good perspective for future research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

List of Reval's Testaments (1400-1524) used in the Thesis

1.	1407	Herrman Groete	LUB 1/4 No. 1728.
2.	1414	Hans Lyndenbeke	LUB 1/8 No. 1965.
3.	1435	Ludeke Witte	LUB 1/8 No. 896.
4.	1442	Gert van Lynden	LUB 1/9 No. 911.
5.	1447	Wilm vame Schede	LUB 1/10 No. 334.
6.	1449	Mertin Busch	LUB 1/10 No. 582.
7.	1455	Johann Budingh	LUB 1/11 No. 442.
8.	1455	Evert van der Linden	LUB 1/11 No. 385.
9.	1455	Jacob Vresze	LUB 1/11 No. 397.
10.	1455	Laurens Nieberger	LUB 1/11 No. 395.
11.	1457	Hans Dinckermann	LUB 1/11 No. 689.
12.	1465	Vicke Howenpew	LUB 1/12 No. 297.
13.	1465	Derthart Helpyn	LUB 1/12 No. 303.
14.	1469	Helmeyt Rysebiter	LUB 1/12 No. 636.
15.	1471	Hans Hederbeke	LUB 1/12 No. 863.
16.	1472	Peter Tornow	Revaler Regesten, No. 23.

17.	1472	Johann van Richen	Revaler Regesten, No. 24.
18.	1474	Katheryne Nyestades	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1595.
19.	1474	Hermen Wemeynck	Revaler Regesten, No. 25.
20.	1476	Oleff Laurenszon (Lawerenson)	Revaler Regesten, No. 26.
21.	1476	Martinus Lefferdes	Revaler Regesten, No. 27.
22.	1477	Gerd Schale	Revaler Regesten, No. 28.
23.	1477	Hans Hesstede	Revaler Regesten, No. 29.
24.	1477	Godike Schutte	Revaler Regesten, No. 30.
25.	1478	Clawes Muess	Revaler Regesten, No. 31.
26.	1479	Hinrik Hagen	Revaler Regesten, No. 32.
27.	1480	Benth Koppersleger	Revaler Regesten, No. 33.
28.	1480	Mathias Bleke	Revaler Regesten, No. 34.
29.	1480	Thomus Pawls	Revaler Regesten, No. 35.
30.	1480	Gherwen Bornemann	Allik, Revaler Testamante, Anhang 42.
31.	1480	Herman Cuwyne	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1548.
32.	1482	Diderick Hagenbeke	Revaler Regesten, No. 36.
33.	1482	Gerdt Stomberch	Revaler Regesten, No. 37.
34.	1484	Hans Holste	Revaler Regesten, No. 38.
35.	1488	Laurentz Bildener	Revaler Regesten, No. 39.

36.	1488	Peter Bredouw	Revaler Regesten, No. 40.
37.	1489	Clawes Droghe	Revaler Regesten, No. 41.
38.	1489	Peter Smyd	Revaler Regesten, No. 42.
39.	1489	Hans Wedemen	Revaler Regesten, No. 43.
40.	1489	Mathys Muell	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1589.
41.	1490	Godert Tyes	Revaler Regesten, No. 44.
42.	1490	Peter Bachendorp	Revaler Regesten, No. 45.
43.	1490	Clawes Erler	Revaler Regesten, No. 46.
44.	1490	Peter Kempe	Revaler Regesten, No. 47.
45.	1490	Hans Schonenberch	Revaler Regesten, No. 48.
46.	1490	Diderick Busch	Revaler Regesten, No. 49.
47.	1490	Hinrik Schelewent	Revaler Regesten, No. 50.
48.	1491	Hans Slythere	Revaler Regesten, No. 51.
49.	1491	Gerd Satzern	Revaler Regesten, No. 52.
50.	1491	Peter van Zeghen	Revaler Regesten, No. 53.
51.	1491	Clawes Plugge	Revaler Regesten, No. 54.
52.	1491	Hans Molre, Oleffes Sohn	Revaler Regesten, No. 55.
53.	1491	Hennynck Kloth	Revaler Regesten, No. 56.
54.	1492	Pawel Stolle	Revaler Regesten, No. 57.

55.	1492	Gorgis Sweder	Revaler Regesten, No. 58.
56.	1493	Detmar Steen	Revaler Regesten, No. 59.
57.	1493	Hans Leueken (Leveken)	Revaler Regesten, No. 60.
58.	1494	Hinrick Balm	Revaler Regesten, No. 61.
59.	1494	Albert Hertzberch	LUB 2/1 No. 97
60.	1495	Hinrik Swarte	LUB 2/1 No. 267
61.	1495	Diderick Merenschede	LUB 2/1 No. 268
62.	1495	Tyl (Tyle) Clotbraet in Abo	LUB 2/1 No. 111.
63.	1497	Bernt Trechouw	LUB 2/1 No. 515
64.	1497	Gerdt Strobuck	LUB 2/1 No. 545
65.	1498	Bartholomeus Nagel	LUB 2/1 No. 657
66.	1499	Carstianus Czernekow	LUB 2/1 No. 845
67.	1500	Frederick Strodingk	Revaler Regesten, No. 70.
68.	1500	Henninck Westval	Revaler Regesten, No. 71.
69.	1500	Vincentius van Vorst	LUB 2/1 No. 814
70.	1500	Marquard van der Molen	LUB 2/1 No. 895
71.	1500	Gert Swartwolt	LUB 2/1 No. 896
72.	1500	Hermen Menne	LUB 2/1 No. 897
73.	1501	Katvick	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1508.

74.	1502	Clawes Meyer (Meygher)	LUB 2/2 No. 242
75.	1502	Berndt Pael	LUB 2/2 No. 264.
76.	1503	Hermann Grothus	LUB 2/2 No. 564
77.	1503	Hinrick Horneyt	LUB 2/2 No. 545.
78.	1504	Hermen Lette	LUB 2/2 No. 623.
79.	1504	Hans Mecknick	LUB 2/2 No. 656.
80.	1504	Hermen Ordey	LUB 2/2 No. 688
81.	1504	Hans Resse	LUB 2/2 No. 672
82.	1504	Hans Rychenrode	LUB 2/2 No. 596
83.	1504	Albarth Sampson	LUB 2/2 No. 595
84.	1505	Lambert Ottingh	LUB 2/3 No. 133
85.	1505	de Lippishe	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1561.
86.	1505	Hans Potgether	LUB 2/2 No. 709
87.	1506	Berndt Haghen	Revaler Regesten, No. 88.
88.	1507	Hans Tempelyn	LUB 2/3 No. 145
89.	1507	Hinrick Brockhuss	LUB 2/3 No. 272
90.	1508	Hans Lange	LUB 2/3 No. 367
91.	1509	Tylle van der Sey	LUB 2/3 No. 586
92.	1509	Claues Rype	Revaler Regesten, No. 93.

93.	1509	Elsebe Kremerssche	Revaler Regesten, No. 94.
94.	1509	Kort Becker	LUB 2/3 No. 718
95.	1510	Diderick Nascharth	LUB 2/3 No. 810
96.	1510	Reynoldus Korner (Revaler Stadtsschreiber)	LUB 2/3 No. 849.
97.	1510	Borchgerd (Borcherd) Herde	Revaler Regesten, No. 98.
98.	1510	Dyrck Mouwersz (Mouwes)	LUB 2/3 No. 862
99.	1510	Margareta, Witwe des Pawel [Snytke]	LUB 2/3 No. 744.
100.	1510	Arndt Johansen	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1504.
101.	1510	Heinrich Grest	LUB 2/3 No. 745
102.	1510	Symon Kastelor	LUB 2/3 No. 746
103.	1510	Gert van Hatten	LUB 2/3 No. 747
104.	1511	Ludeke Losseke	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1562.
105.	1511	Hans van Epen	Revaler Regesten, No. 104.
106.	1511	Wolter van Mer	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1581.
107.	1511	Hans Weydeman	Revaler Regesten, No. 105.
108.	1511	Elizabeth, Witwe des Wilhelm Triss	Revaler Regesten, No. 106.
109.	1511	Bernt Clever (Cleuer)	Revaler Regesten, No. 107.
110.	1512	Klaus Lange	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1549.
111.	1512	Jorries (Sorries) Hulderman	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1498.

112.	1512	Hans Langheweder	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1553.
113.	1512	Herr Tonnis van Werne	Revaler Regesten, No. 108.
114.	1512	Jurgen Menth (Mente)	Revaler Regesten, No. 109.
115.	1512	Hans Butberch	Revaler Regesten, No. 110.
116.	1513	Jacob Luban	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1565.
117.	1514	Vincentius Lowe (Lauwe)	Revaler Regesten, No. 111.
118.	1515	Hans Baer	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1397.
119.	1516	Johann Bulk	Revaler Regesten, No. 112.
120.	1516	Hennynck Parsow	Revaler Regesten, No. 113.
121.	1517	Jurgen Voeth	Revaler Regesten, No. 114.
122.	1517	Berdt (Gerdt) Holle	Revaler Regesten, No. 115.
123.	1517	Hinrik Bermann	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, 1407.
124.	1518	Kathryna Kulmes	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1542.
125.	1518	Heningk (Hennigk, Hennynck) Simer (Somer)	Revaler Regesten, No. 116.
126.	1518	Hinrick Koneke	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1530.
127.	1518	Johannes Widemann	Revaler Regesten, No. 117. No other publications
128.	1519	Hans Bouwer	Revaler Regesten, No. 118.
129.	1519	Katherine sel. Jorgen Mellers Wwe.	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1578.
130.	1519	Martin Sawyarge	Revaler Regesten, No. 119.

131.	1520	Hans Holsshorst (Hulshorst)	Revaler Regesten, No. 120.
132.	1520	Evert Gruter	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1471.
133.	1520	Hans Rothgers,	Revaler Regesten, No. 121.
134.	1521	Victor Mouver	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1587.
135.	1521	Hans Hosserinck	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1493.
136.	1521	Hinrick Wideman	Revaler Regesten, No. 122.
137.	1522	Jaspar Pawels	Revaler Regesten, No. 123.
138.	1522	Meyghe	TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, No. 1537.
139.	1522	Tymman Wittekop	Revaler Regesten, No. 124.
140.	1522	Hans Schele	Revaler Regesten, No. 125.
141.	1523	Thomas Ulrici	Revaler Regesten, No. 126.
142.	1524	Joan Viandt (Viant)	Revaler Regesten, No. 127.

APPENDIX 2

Towns in Medieval Livonia

German	Local language (Latvian or Estonian)
Dorpat	Tartu
Fellin	Viljandi
Narva	Narva
Pernau	Pärnu
Reval	Tallinn
Wesenberg	Rakvere
Lemsal	Limbaži
Hasenpoth	Aizpute
Kokenhusen	Koknese