



**“BIDDEN VOR MYNER SELE”  
THE DOMINICANS AS INTERCESSORS BETWEEN  
TOWNSPEOPLE AND GOD IN LATE MEDIEVAL  
REVAL<sup>1</sup>**

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For mendicant friaries in the Middle Ages there was a clear tie between their financial incomes and their liturgical obligations.<sup>2</sup> In Reval (now Tallinn, Estonia), testators and townspeople made their donations to the Dominicans for spiritual reasons.<sup>3</sup> Every donor who gave even a single shilling hoped that the religious institution to which he offered the donation would mention him in the common Masses and liturgical services or at least just pray for his soul. Donation was a favor for which a returned favor was expected.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> The donations for religious purposes had a positive influence on both the donor and the beneficiary of the donation.<sup>6</sup> Donations and Mass foundations were made with the intention of

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<sup>1</sup> This article is based on my MA thesis with the title “Devotion, Donation and *Memoria*. Urban Society and the Dominicans in Late Medieval Reval (Tallinn),” (MA Thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Bernhard Neidiger, “Liegenschaftsbesitz und Eigentumsrechte der Basler Bettelordenskonvente. Beobachtungen zur Mendikantenarmut im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert,” in *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft*, ed. Kaspar Elm (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1981), 108.

<sup>3</sup> St. Catherine’s Dominican friary was the only mendicant community in medieval Reval. There were several attempts during the Middle Ages to found the Franciscan friary there, but those attempts were not successful.

<sup>4</sup> Birgit Noodt, *Religion und Familie in der Hansestadt Lübeck anhand der Bürgertestamente des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck: Schmidt-Römhild, 2000), 4.

<sup>5</sup> Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Memoria in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur des Mittelalters,” in *Modernes Mittelalter: Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche*, ed. Joachim Heinze (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1994), 311. (Hereafter: Oexle, “Memoria in der Gesellschaft.”)

<sup>6</sup> 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): 30. (Hereafter: Hölzel, “Pro salute anime mee.”)



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avoiding eternal torment or shortening the time which had to be spent in purgatory.<sup>7</sup> The main aim of this article is to explore the different relationships of individuals and the Reval Dominicans—how individuals in Reval used the Dominicans as intercessors between themselves and God and what kind of liturgical services were requested from them.

### 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 or she would like to have celebrated for his or 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 souls' salvation. A Mass, prayers, and good deeds were three possible ways to influence God.<sup>8</sup> However, Masses were more public and prestigious events than the personal prayers of people or good deeds and also their value was precisely known.<sup>9</sup> 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 number<sup>10</sup> and they became a popular way to invest money in one's memoria. Funding eternal Masses was costly and it bound the founder (after the 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 the founder, as donations could also be spent on purposes chosen by the community which received them.<sup>11</sup> The fact that the founder needed to have

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<sup>7</sup> Ralf Lusiardi, "Fegefeuer und Weltengericht: Stiftungsverhalten und Jenseitsvorstellungen im spätmittelalterlichen Stralsund," in *Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten*, ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 97. (Hereafter: Lusiardi, "Fegefeuer und Weltengericht.")

<sup>8</sup> Hölzel, "Pro salute anime mee," 33.

<sup>9</sup> Arnold Angenendt and others, "Gezählte Frömmigkeit," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 29 (1995): 46.

<sup>10</sup> Lusiardi, "Fegefeuer und Weltengericht," 101.

<sup>11</sup> 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.



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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<sup>12</sup> 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;<sup>13</sup> Tyl Clotbraet (1491) donated a hundred marks for an eternal Mass celebrated in the same church on the *schmede* altar.<sup>14</sup> 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 purpose.<sup>15</sup>

Testaments are not the only sources which testify about Mass foundations for the Dominicans. All over Livonia the Dominican friaries had contracts with individuals, and those contracts implied various services offered by the friars, including eternal Masses. One common quality which united all the Mass-foundation documents was that the Dominicans were obliged to pray for the founder and his relatives not only after his death but also while he was living. Two contracts between the Dominicans and individuals are known from both the monasteries of Riga and Reval. In Riga, the friary contracted for Masses and prayers with Detlef van der Pal in 1436<sup>16</sup> and with Hermann Keserlingk, his wife and children in 1495;<sup>17</sup> in Reval, the Dominicans had such contracts with the

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<sup>12</sup> During the Late Middle Ages the Revalian ecclesiastical structure consisted of two parishes—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 dedicated to St. Catherine of Alexandria. See Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1973), 79.

<sup>13</sup> Roland Seeberg-Elverfeldt, ed., *Revaler Regesten: Testamente Revaler Bürger und Einwohner aus den Jahren 1369 bis 1851*, vol. 3, Veröffentlichungen der Niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung 35 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), no. 118 (hereafter: *Revaler Regesten*).

<sup>14</sup> Leonid Arbusow, ed., *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, (Riga, 1911), no. 111 (hereafter: LUB).

<sup>15</sup> Kadri-Rutt Allik, "Die Revaler Testamente aus dem 15. Jahrhundert" (MA Thesis, Universität Göttingen, 1995), app., 3 (hereafter: Allik, "Revaler Testamente" (MA Thesis).

<sup>16</sup> LUB 1/9, no. 4.

<sup>17</sup> LUB 2/1, no. 189.



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burgher Hans Lippe (Lippen) (1453)<sup>18</sup> and the nobleman Dietrich von Vitinchoff (Vytinckhoue) (1411).<sup>19</sup>

In all four contracts, the priors of the monasteries and several other brothers represented the Dominicans, taking responsibility for fulfilling the donors' wishes and continuation when the contractors themselves had passed away. In Reval, both Lippe<sup>20</sup> and von Vitinchoff,<sup>21</sup> 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 perpetuate their own and their family's memoria and to receive spiritual benefits.<sup>22</sup> In all these contracts, the individual's role was less accentuated than the role of the family and the whole kin group. Both living and dead members of the family 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 Anna were named as founders of the eternal Mass in their contract and von Vitinchoff's deceased wife Allheyde and their sons Hinrik and Arndare are also mentioned.<sup>23</sup> Differently from von Vitinchoff, in Lippe's contract only his own deceased parents are named: Hermen Lippe and Alheid; other relatives and friends for whom he also made the foundation were left unnamed.<sup>24</sup> 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 was important for their status. As Otto Gerhard Oexle notes, memoria for the nobility had great

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<sup>18</sup> Eugen von Nottbeck, ed., *Das drittälteste Erbbuch der Stadt Reval, 1383–1458* (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1892), no. 1297 (hereafter: *Erbbuch der Stadt Reval*); LUB 11 no. 232.

<sup>19</sup> Dieter Heckmann, ed., *Revaler Urkunden und Briefe von 1273 bis 1510* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), no. 89 (hereafter: *Revaler Urkunden*).

<sup>20</sup> LUB 11, no. 232.

<sup>21</sup> *Revaler Urkunden*, no. 89.

<sup>22</sup> "...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 ...," *Revaler Urkunden*, no. 89.

<sup>23</sup> *Revaler Urkunden*, no. 89.

<sup>24</sup> LUB 11 no. 232.



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importance because their power was based on kinship<sup>25</sup> and without such memoria the nobility would not exist at all.<sup>26</sup> The family of von Vitinchoff was not the only noble family that requested memorial services from the Reval Dominicans. In 1518, the friars promised to celebrate services for the living and dead members of two noble families, the von Löwenwalde (vom Lewenwalde) and the Taubes (Tuve).<sup>27</sup> 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 friary, mention Masses and vigils celebrated for both families. The Taube family, which had high status in the local nobility,<sup>28</sup> had closer ties with the Reval Dominicans than merely 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 four days after having joined the community.<sup>29</sup>

Other entries in the account book describe donations of the local nobility to the friars in 1519.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that these records show regular payments by

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<sup>25</sup> Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria in der Gesellschaft," 312.

<sup>26</sup> Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur," in *Memoria als Kultur*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), 38. (Hereafter: Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur.")

<sup>27</sup> Tallinna Linnaarhiiv (Tallinn City Archives), f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 22r (hereafter: TLA).

<sup>28</sup> A member of the Taube family, Hinrick Taube, was the deputy of Harrien's *mannrichter* in 1525 (leader of the local nobility). See Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1973), 451. (Hereafter: Paul Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*.)

<sup>29</sup> Leonid Arbusow, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1921; repr., Aalen: Scientia, 1964), 87. Citations are to the Scientia reprint.

<sup>30</sup> "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 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 relicta. 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 Tuve dedit. Item ½ lastam brasy unum talentum siliginis ½ tunam buteri Hans Lode van Fiolen. Item ½ lastam brasy Reynolt Tuve dedit. Item ½ lastam brasy Jacobus vam 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



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the noblemen for liturgical services requested in the Dominican church, but further details are lacking. Apart from the fact that the nobility was not officially part of Reval's urban community, Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen assume that around two hundred members of Harrien-Wierland nobility resided on the Cathedral Hill of Reval.<sup>31</sup> Harrien-Wierland nobles also had regular political meetings called *manntags* in the Dominican church of St. Catherine.<sup>32</sup> Contracts for eternal Masses and records in the friary's account book testify to 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 friary 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.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, the Dominican friary was a political center for the noblemen, the place of *manntags* as well as religious activities such as 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.

Why the nobility chose the Dominicans as the community which took care of their religious life is open to discussion, but it has to be acknowledged that St. Catherine's church was the center of the nobility's memoria. The importance of memoria for the nobility is seen clearly 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 charge of the yearly rent and spend it in a way that would be beneficial for the family.<sup>34</sup> On the 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.

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Andreas Decken dedit capitalem summam silicet 700 marcas," Gertrud Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner im Mittelalter in Livland* (Rome: Institutum historicum FF Praedicatorum, 1938), app., 8 (hereafter: Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner*).

<sup>31</sup> Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 91.

<sup>32</sup> 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 Deutschen Vertriebenen, 1998), 117.

<sup>33</sup> 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.

<sup>34</sup> *Revaler Urkunden*, no. 89.



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For Hans Lippe, memoria had no less importance than for the von Vitinchoffs. If the von Vitinchoffs were noblemen, then the Lippes were no less prominent. Hans Lippe was the son of Herman Lippe (Lyppe), a town councilor and, perhaps, churchwarden of St. Catherine's church and the Dominican friary in the 1420s.<sup>35</sup> 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 between Reval's secular clergy and the friars.<sup>36</sup> Also, Lippe himself had ties with the Dominicans over a long period of time. 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.<sup>37</sup>

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,<sup>38</sup> and he also donated liturgical objects for the altar in the St. Catherine's church on which the Masses had to be celebrated.<sup>39</sup> Yearly payments for the friars after the founder's death were the responsibility of Hans Lippe's heirs,<sup>40</sup> which meant that the next generation of Lippes also remained bound to the friars who maintained the 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 he was 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 to the family, but also to the town council, as in the case of von Vitinchoff. These contracts established ties between the families of the founders and the Dominicans for a long period of time because the heirs had to continue financing liturgical services in the

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<sup>35</sup> LUB 7 no. 451.

<sup>36</sup> 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.

<sup>37</sup> LUB 1/12, no. 780.

<sup>38</sup> *Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 1297.

<sup>39</sup> LUB 11, no. 232.

<sup>40</sup> "...heft uns de erbar man Hans Lippe offte syne erven twelf mk. Rig. paymente ...," see LUB 11 no. 232.



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Dominican church and the prayers for the family included not only the deceased but also future family members.

Relations between the family of the deceased founder of an eternal Mass and the Dominicans continued for a long period after the founder's death. Reval's town councilor and burgomaster, Bertold Hunninghusen (Hunninckhusen),<sup>41</sup> who had been involved in the town government for more than fifteen years, made a foundation in the Dominican church around 1430. Unfortunately, Hunninghusen's testament has not survived and the amount of the foundation is not known. However, records in the account book of the town council testify that Hunninghusen made such a foundation in the Dominican church.<sup>42</sup> From 1434 until 1462, a rent of twelve Riga marks was given to the Dominicans once a year for the sake of Hunninghusen's memory. For the almost thirty years that the money was paid it came from different sources. It is important to stress that Hunninghusen's family members alone did not finance his vicary in the Dominican church. For six years Hunninghusen's widow financed it;<sup>43</sup> and payments were also made by other six individuals: Johan Stenwege,<sup>44</sup> Hans Berloe,<sup>45</sup> Tideke Bodeker together with his wife,<sup>46</sup> Hans Emeken,<sup>47</sup> someone called Dudenbeken,<sup>48</sup> and Cort Grumme's widow.<sup>49</sup> It is hard to discover the motivations for why all six individuals, who had no visible links among themselves and Hunninghusen, financed his vicary.<sup>50</sup> Probably these people owed money to Hunninghusen and his family and they did not have to repay the 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 St. Catherine's church between 1434 and 1458. Woldemar

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<sup>41</sup> Hunninghusen was town councilor between 1416 and 1426 and burgomaster in 1427 and 1430. See Bunge, *Revaler Rathslinie*, 106.

<sup>42</sup> Reinhard Vogelsang, ed., *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval: 1432–1463*, (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976), no. 176 (hereafter cited as *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*).

<sup>43</sup> *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 92, no. 176, no. 199, no. 416, no. 486, no. 532.

<sup>44</sup> *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 252, no. 322, no. 375.

<sup>45</sup> *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 430, no. 486.

<sup>46</sup> *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 445.

<sup>47</sup> *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 661, no. 707, no. 748.

<sup>48</sup> *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 1042.

<sup>49</sup> *Erbebuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 1204.

<sup>50</sup> A vicary was a foundation to support an altar and a priest to say Mass.



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Reval's vicary was financed by Johann Oldendorp,<sup>51</sup> town councilor between 1421 and 1458<sup>52</sup> (Oldendorp was buried in the Dominican church),<sup>53</sup> and Hermen Tzoien.<sup>54</sup> Hunninghusen's and Woldemar Reval's vicaries were financed by many different individuals, showing the social network which was created around someone's memorial cult in the Dominican church. The Dominicans were the recipients of the payments by different individuals and they relied on the ability of the individuals to make the payments.<sup>55</sup>

The entries in the Dominican account book for a two-year period (1519–1520) show that many townspeople made yearly payments to the Dominicans.<sup>56</sup> Altogether twenty-three people paid money to the Dominicans during these two years. These payments may also have been donations, but more likely they were made for such liturgical services as eternal Masses or other expensive services. Evidence for this hypothesis is a payment of twelve Riga marks (in 1519) by Jurghen Menth or on his behalf by someone else.<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup> The sums paid yearly by different Revalians fluctuated from one Riga mark up to twenty-three marks. The list of payments may also show 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 ranking Revalians, such liturgical services were too costly. For those who were not capable of making such an investment of hundreds of Riga marks, or who wished to have other kinds of services, there was another

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<sup>51</sup> *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 108.

<sup>52</sup> Friedrich Georg von Bunge, *Die Revaler Rathslinie* (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1874), 119. (Hereafter: von Bunge, *Die Revaler Rathslinie*.)

<sup>53</sup> Eugen von Nottbeck and Wilhelm Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval* (Reval: Franz Kluge's Verlag, 1896), 175. (Hereafter: von Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler*.)

<sup>54</sup> *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 590, no. 715, no. 896, no. 899, no. 927, no. 956, no. 995, no. 1023, no. 1076.

<sup>55</sup> *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval*, no. 927, no. 956, no. 995.

<sup>56</sup> Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner*, app., 8.

<sup>57</sup> Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner*, app., 8.

<sup>58</sup> *Revaler Regesten*, no. 109.



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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 St. Catherine's church, donated twenty Riga marks for unspecified memorial services to be carried out by the friars.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, Henningk Simer (Hennigk Somer) (1518) donated twenty-five Riga marks in his last will, asking the Dominicans to pray for his soul and his wife's.<sup>60</sup> These alternative ways of requesting different liturgical services and memoria from the Dominicans appeared only at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Requesting smaller and cheaper liturgical services still achieved one of the goals which testators wished to accomplish, namely, that the friars were praying for their souls and even if they did not celebrate eternal Masses services were delivered regularly and for a longer period of time.

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, he or she 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 testaments), was popular with the Dominicans.<sup>61</sup> Hennynck Kloth made such a request for the first time in 1491, donating four Riga marks to the friars in his testament and asking in return forty Masses for his soul.<sup>62</sup> From 1491 until 1521, altogether seven out of sixty-eight testators requested a certain number of Masses.<sup>63</sup> The amounts of donations given for forty Masses fluctuated between four and ten Riga marks. Although only seven out 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

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<sup>59</sup> TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1553.

<sup>60</sup> *Revaler Regesten*, no. 116

<sup>61</sup> 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.

<sup>62</sup> *Revaler Regesten*, no. 56.

<sup>63</sup> 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 said twice, 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.



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friars. In the friary's account book, from which entries of the last year (1524) before its dissolution (during the Reformation) have survived, nine entries registered requests for forty Masses.<sup>64</sup> Most of the requests are anonymous, but in several cases the names of the requestors are known. Among people, Burgomaster Johann Fyant (Viant) requested that forty Masses be celebrated for his soul.<sup>65</sup> This form of liturgical service was accessible for those who had no chance of funding eternal Masses; one peasant (*rusticus*)(!) even requested forty Masses and donated ten Riga marks.<sup>66</sup> 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 long duration of time. However, the friary'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 may have been the reason why most of those who ordered such services were townspeople and not members of the nobility.

Similarly accessible for a wide circle of individuals were single Masses celebrated by the friars. In the same account book of 1524 there are seventeen requests for one or several Masses to be said or sung<sup>67</sup> for donations ranging from fifteen shillings to three Riga marks. Donors of different social statuses requested single Masses; Burgomaster Heyse Pattimer (Pattiner) and town councilor Thomas Fegesack each paid one Riga mark for one Mass sung.<sup>68</sup> Among the donors there was one peasant who paid one mark and requested Masses and vigils in the Dominican church.<sup>69</sup> 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 the 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

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<sup>64</sup> TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 77r, 77v, 78r.

<sup>65</sup> TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 78r.

<sup>66</sup> TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 78r.

<sup>67</sup> TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 77r, 77v, 78r.

<sup>68</sup> TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 78r.

<sup>69</sup> TLA, f 230, n 1, s Bk 3, fol. 78r.



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for the local nobility and even for some peasants who were capable of remunerating those services.

### **Burials in the Dominican Church of St. Catherine**

In medieval Christianity the place of burial was just as important as the rite and ceremonies. People could be buried either in cemeteries near churches or inside church buildings; 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.<sup>70</sup> Resting in the church meant that the deceased person could be in close proximity to all religious ceremonies (Masses, processions, and prayers), the *Corpus Christi*, altars, and reliquaries of the saints.<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup> In this context it is important to discover why some individuals in late medieval Reval specified in their testaments that they be buried nowhere else than in the Dominican church. Furthermore, the circumstances or events that influenced the process of choosing a burial place in the church of St. Catherine have to be made clear.

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.<sup>73</sup> Requests in testaments for burial outside of churches were rare,<sup>74</sup> since 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 monastery, had a responsibility to care for the memoria of a defunct person.

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<sup>70</sup> 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. (Hereafter: Angenendt, "Das Grab als Haus.")

<sup>71</sup> Brigitte Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes und zum Wohl der Familie: Kölner Testamente von Laien und Klerikern im Spätmittelalter* (Cologne: Janus, 1995), 87. (Hereafter: Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*.)

<sup>72</sup> For *memoria* as a social, religious and social phenomena, see Oexle, "Memoria als Kultur," 39.

<sup>73</sup> Angenendt, "Das Grab als Haus," 24.

<sup>74</sup> Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 87.



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In late medieval towns many individuals and families chose to be buried in mendicant churches because they represented the continuity of monastic communities in the urban setting.<sup>75</sup> 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 first moment when the mendicants entered urban space at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In almost all the German Hansa towns, the number of testators who wished to be buried by mendicants was influenced by numerous conflicts between the mendicants and the 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 the deceased in their churches and nearby cemeteries.<sup>76</sup> The burial questions between mendicants and parishes were formally settled only at the beginning of the fourteenth century with the papal bull *Super Cathedram*.<sup>77</sup>

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 noble families from the surrounding territories.<sup>78</sup> Not only 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.<sup>79</sup> 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.

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<sup>75</sup> Oexle, "Memoria in der Gesellschaft," 317.

<sup>76</sup> 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 (Wesel: Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1992), 134–139. (Hereafter: Ulpts, *Die Bettelorden in Mecklenburg*.)

<sup>77</sup> Issued by Boniface VIII (1294–1303) in 1300.

<sup>78</sup> Ulpts, *Die Bettelorden in Mecklenburg*, 244, 307.

<sup>79</sup> Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 85.



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Before the conflict the Cologne Dominicans were leaders among the mendicant orders 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 that the Dominicans were the only mendicants in Reval. They were involved in a quadrangle of relations: the friary; individuals and families; the secular clergy, including the cathedral chapter and the parishes of St. Olaf and St. Nicholas;<sup>80</sup> 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 thus increasing income for the parish churches.<sup>81</sup> The Dominicans were popular in the town and outside of it and they not only offered 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.<sup>82</sup> In 1425, after the conflict had taken on a political character by the involvement of the papal curia and local Livonian bishops,<sup>83</sup> the higher clergy officially restricted the Dominicans' performance of their liturgical duties, especially the baptism of children, confession, and the public celebration of Masses.<sup>84</sup> 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 rites,<sup>85</sup> which partly favored the Dominicans,<sup>86</sup> 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

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<sup>80</sup> Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 78.

<sup>81</sup> Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, "Der Revaler Kirchenstreit (1424–1428)," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 109 (1991): 26. (Hereafter: Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit.")

<sup>82</sup> 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.

<sup>83</sup> Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 17.

<sup>84</sup> Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 17.

<sup>85</sup> LUB 7, no. 237.

<sup>86</sup> Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 18.



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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 had before, frequently choosing the Dominican church as their place of eternal rest.<sup>87</sup>

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 outside<sup>88</sup> 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 the burghers who sympathized with them, did not last long. Nevertheless, it showed that it was possible to prevent inhabitants of the town from being attached to 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 tombstone of Hans Fient has survived dated to 1425,<sup>89</sup> 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 and fifty testators specified preferences for their prospective burial place in their testaments.<sup>90</sup> This

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<sup>87</sup> Several tombstones have survived from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the former Dominican church of St. Catherine: 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 Eugen von Nottbeck and Wilhelm Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval* (Reval: Franz Kluge's Verlag, 1896), 174–180.

<sup>88</sup> Hergemöller, "Der Kirchenstreit," 21.

<sup>89</sup> 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, No. 21, (2006): 86.

<sup>90</sup> Gert van Lynden (1442), LUB 9 no. 911; Johann Budingh (1455), LUB 11 no. 442; Gherwen Bornemann (1480), Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)," app. 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),



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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.<sup>91</sup> Gunnar Meyer considers that naming 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.<sup>92</sup> Theoretically, all the testators who did not specify their prospective burial place gave preference to being buried in the parish cemeteries.<sup>93</sup>

However, this assumption contradicts examples from Reval testaments. Berndt Pael (Pal) in his testament of 1502<sup>94</sup> 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 was placed on the grave.<sup>95</sup> 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 express their wishes orally.<sup>96</sup> 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 the parish churches or their cemeteries.

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*Revaler Regesten*, no. 106; Hans Langheweder (1512), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1553; Jurgen Menth (Mente) (1512), *Revaler Regesten*, no. 109; Hans Baer (1515), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1397; Johann Bulk (1516), *Revaler Regesten*, no. 112; Hennyck Parsow (1516), *Revaler Regesten*, no. 113; Katherine, Jorgen Mellers, widow (1519), TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1578; Victor Mouver (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.

<sup>91</sup> Johannes Schildhauer, “‘Ad pias causas?’ Vermächtnisse an 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.

<sup>92</sup> 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): 136.

<sup>93</sup> Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 81.

<sup>94</sup> LUB 2/2 no. 264; *Revaler Regesten*, no. 77.

<sup>95</sup> Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval*, 117.

<sup>96</sup> Lusiardi, “Fegefeuer und Weltengericht,” 105.



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The Dominicans had seven<sup>97</sup> of eighteen explicit burial requests and both parishes together had nine (St. Nicholas five and St. Olaf's four),<sup>98</sup> two requests were made for other churches, the Holy Spirit<sup>99</sup> and Reval's cathedral.<sup>100</sup> In Reval, all the testators requested burial in the churches; burial in the parish cemeteries was not mentioned in the last wills. 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 a 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 representative this tendency is, since it is only a sample of eighteen testaments that shows 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 their wishes clearly 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 if one thinks that the individual alone made a decision about where he was to be buried.

Why did individuals in Reval decide to be buried with the Dominicans? Most of the testators in Reval did not reveal their motives in choosing their burial places. Johan Buddingh<sup>101</sup> (1455), who chose to be buried in St. Olaf's or Hans Langheweder<sup>102</sup> (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. In the testaments of Gert van Lynden,<sup>103</sup> Hermen Menne,<sup>104</sup> Herman Lette,<sup>105</sup> Dyrck Mouwersz,<sup>106</sup> and Hans Hosserinck,<sup>107</sup> it is also hard to see

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<sup>97</sup> 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).

<sup>98</sup> Requests for St. Olaf's: Johann Buddingh (1455), Gherwen Bornemann (1480), Hans Baer (1515), Hennynck Parssow (1516). Requests for St. Nicolaus: Lambert Ottingh (1505), Victor Mouver (1521), Thomas Ulrici (1523), Katherine, Jorgen Meller's widow (1519), Jurgen Menth (Mente) (1512).

<sup>99</sup> Requests for church of the Holy Ghost: Elizabeth, Wilhelm Triss' widow (1511).

<sup>100</sup> Requests for Reval's Cathedral: Johann Bulk (1516).

<sup>101</sup> LUB 11, no. 442

<sup>102</sup> TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1553.

<sup>103</sup> LUB 1/9, no. 911.

<sup>104</sup> LUB 2/1, no. 897

<sup>105</sup> LUB 2/2, no. 623

<sup>106</sup> LUB 2/3, no. 862



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possible motivations for them wanting 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 as his last resting place. Only in some cases (examined below), is it possible to find the reasons why individuals made decisions to be buried in a 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,<sup>108</sup> 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 possible social networks and their influence on these decisions.

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 family ties remained important after death not only for memoria, but also for resurrection.<sup>109</sup> Usually males, married and unmarried, were interred 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.<sup>110</sup> 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.<sup>111</sup>

Even if the individual in the testament did not mention his choice of burial place, some details show possible preferences. Wilm vame Schede (1447)

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<sup>107</sup> TLA, f 230, n 1, s BN 1, no. 1493.

<sup>108</sup> Meyer, "Milieu und Memoria," 136.

<sup>109</sup> Dietrich Poeck, "Totengedenken in Hansestädten," in *Vinculum Societatis. Joachim Wollasch zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Franz Neiske, Dietrich Poeck and Mechthild Sandmann (Sigmaringendorf: Regio-Verl. Glock und Lutz, 1991), 211. (Hereafter: Poeck, "Totengedenken in Hansestädten.")

<sup>110</sup> Klosterberg, *Zur Ehre Gottes*, 87.

<sup>111</sup> Allik, "Revaler Testamente (MA Thesis)," app. 3.



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donated two hundred marks<sup>112</sup> for the vicary at the St. Barbara altar in the Dominican church in Reval where his parents and ancestors were buried,<sup>113</sup> 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 family<sup>114</sup> with *emige viccarien*.<sup>115</sup> On the other hand, vame Schede attempted 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 arranged almost everything in their testaments: they bequeathed all their property to relatives and friends, and donated objects and money to religious institutions, but left the question of burial place 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.<sup>116</sup> This gesture from Korner, naming a possible 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 was influenced in some way by another conflict growing 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 infringing on the burial rights of the parishes.<sup>117</sup> Korner left the decision-making to people of high social and political status. His executors were Carstianus

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<sup>112</sup> 1 Mark Rigisch = 4 Ferdingen = 36 Schillinge = 48 Öre = 144 Artige = 432 Pfennige = ca. 1.5 Rh. fl, Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: University College London, 1986), 250, 283.

<sup>113</sup> "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." LUB 10, no. 334.

<sup>114</sup> Poeck, "Totengedenken in Hansestädten," 214, 224.

<sup>115</sup> LUB 10, no. 334.

<sup>116</sup> "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 bynennen Reval weszende, alder best geraden duncket, cristlicken to begravende, de hir bynnen Revall syn," see LUB 2/3, no. 849.

<sup>117</sup> LUB 2/3, no. 948.



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Czernekow, a member of the cathedral chapter in Reval,<sup>118</sup> Cord Korner, his brother and town scribe, and Heyse Pattimer, at that time a council member and later the town's burgomaster.<sup>119</sup> 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 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.<sup>120</sup> In answer to such accusations of the secular clergy, the Reval Dominicans mentioned the rights of parents, relatives, and friends to decide where to bury the deceased.<sup>121</sup> This example does not mean that one may speak about a contradiction between the decisions of the testator and the decisions of the family and testament executors, it only refers to 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.<sup>122</sup> How this request had to be made was not mentioned in these instructions, but it could have meant that only those who had named the friary as their burial place in their last wills 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.

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<sup>118</sup> In his last will (1499) Carstianus Czernekow completely neglected the Reval Dominicans, leaving them no donation; LUB 2/1, no. 845.

<sup>119</sup> von Bunge, *Die Revaler Rathslinie*, 120.

<sup>120</sup> LUB 2/3, no. 948.

<sup>121</sup> LUB 2/3, no. 949.

<sup>122</sup> "... sunder ys dat yemandes de syn bygrafft gekoren hefft by Iw ...". See Tiina Kala, *Euroopa Kirjakultuur Hiliskeskaegsetes Öppetekstides: 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), app. 1; *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), 86.



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Not only the family or friends as executors of the testament could influence the selection of the resting place for the deceased. 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.<sup>123</sup> 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,<sup>124</sup> had chosen the Dominican church of St. Catherine as the center for their religious life.<sup>125</sup> 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 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.<sup>126</sup> 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 Pael<sup>127</sup> (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.<sup>128</sup> 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.<sup>129</sup> 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.<sup>130</sup> The elders of the Black Heads wished to include

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<sup>123</sup> Eberhard Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt im Spätmittelalter* (Stuttgart: Verlag Eugen Ulmer, 1988), 223.

<sup>124</sup> Anu Mänd, *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 32. (Hereafter: Mänd, *Urban Carnival*.)

<sup>125</sup> 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.

<sup>126</sup> Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 36.

<sup>127</sup> LUB 2/2, no. 264; *Revaler Regesten*, no. 77.

<sup>128</sup> von Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Reval*, 179.

<sup>129</sup> LUB 2/2, no. 264; *Revaler Regesten*, no. 77.

<sup>130</sup> This sum was probably money which was left after fulfilling all the wishes of the testator included in his testament. See LUB 2/3, no. 18.



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this sum in a vicary,<sup>131</sup> 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 Reval<sup>132</sup> and was a member of the Black Heads,<sup>133</sup> 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 of evidence for burials of Black Heads in the Dominican church.

## Conclusions

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 society. Because of this varied public, the kinds of liturgical services offered by the friars also varied: there were eternal Masses for the nobility and the 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 the friars were not oriented toward satisfying the spiritual needs of any one specific social group.

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 a way that was meant to restrict the Dominicans in this area of pastoral care. The decision on 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 made this important decision instead of him.

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<sup>131</sup> LUB 2/3, no. 18.

<sup>132</sup> Carsten Jahnke, "Bernd Pal, ein Kaufmann des 15. Jahrhunderts: Eine biographische Skizze," *Vana Tallinn* 15, No. 19 (2004): 159. See note 87

<sup>133</sup> Friedrich Amelung, Georges Wrangell, *Geschichte der Revaler Schwarzhäupter* (Reval: F. Wassermann, 1930), 17.