

ART, CULT AND PATRONAGE

**DIE VISUELLE KULTUR IM OSTSEERAUM
ZUR ZEIT BERNT NOTKES**



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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
ANU MÄND UND UWE ALBRECHT

Ludwig

2013

Die Publikation dieses Buchs wurde unterstützt durch
die M.C.A. Böckler-Mare Balticum Stiftung,
das EuroCORECODE Projekt "Symbols that Bind and Break Communities"
und das Institut für Geschichte der Universität Tallinn

Bibliografische Information Der Deutschen Bibliothek

Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

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© 2013 by Verlag Ludwig
Holtener Straße 141
24118 Kiel
Tel.: +49-(0)431-85464
Fax: +49-(0)431-8058305
info@verlag-ludwig.de
www.verlag-ludwig.de

Gestaltung: Sirje Ratso

UMSCHLAGBILDER

VORDERSEITE: Bischof Jens Iversen Lange und Johannes Evangelista, Hochaltar-Retabel des
Århuser Domes, Detail des linken Außenflügels

RÜCKSEITE: Anna Selbdritt, Hochaltar-Retabel der Heilig-Geist-Kirche in Tallinn, Detail
der Schreinseite

FRONTISPIZ: Stifterfigur, Hochaltar-Retabel der Heilig-Geist-Kirche in Tallinn, Detail
der Schreinseite

Fotos: Stanislav Stepashko, Tallinn

Gedruckt auf säurefreiem und alterungsbeständigem Papier
Printed in Germany

ISBN: 978-3-86935-184-1

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SYMBOLS THAT BIND COMMUNITIES

THE TALLINN ALTARPIECES OF RODE AND NOTKE
AS EXPRESSIONS OF THE LOCAL SAINTS' CULT

ANU MÄND

The cult of saints was one of the most important factors in constructing and maintaining collective identities in the Middle Ages. Communities of different types and size (from territorial entities, dioceses and towns to religious houses, churches, guilds, crafts etc.) usually each had their own patron saint or saints. The veneration and depiction of a specific saint and the rituals connected to his/her cult functioned as identity markers for a particular group and assisted in strengthening social cohesion.¹

One of the principal sources for studying the cult of saints is formed by their visual representations, not only in art but in all kinds of (symbolic) objects. Particularly informative in this respect are the art commissions by a specific group or an individual, because – as the surviving contracts between the customers and the artists indicate – it was generally the former who decided which saints and other holy persons were to be depicted in commissioned objects.² Thus, an artwork can reveal the patron saint(s) of a guild or confraternity, a noble house, a private individual and so forth. The question becomes more complicated if a work of art was paid for by a larger community and depicted several dozens of saints, e.g. a retable for the high altar of an urban parish church which was not donated by a private individual but commissioned by the church wardens in the name of the entire congregation. In instances where the “target group” consisted of hundreds of people of different social statuses and positions, it is often difficult to figure out who had the final word in the shaping of the iconographic programme, and why exactly some saints were chosen and not others who were equally popular in the given community at that time.

This article focuses on two late-fifteenth century altarpieces produced for churches in Tallinn (Ger. Reval). Both of them were commissioned from famous artists in Lübeck and completed temporally close to one another. The first, made by Hermen Rode and his workshop during the years 1478–81, was meant for the high altar of St. Nicholas' Church.³ The second, produced in the workshop of

Bernt Notke and finished in 1483, was made for the high altar of the Holy Spirit Church.⁴ Both are two-winged altarpieces: a type that was widespread in the late medieval Baltic Sea region. In the first and second views, various saints and their legends can be seen, whereas the fully open altarpieces display a sculpted corpus and wings.

In order to study the iconographic programme of the altarpieces and to discuss what social groups might have influenced the selection of the saints to be depicted, it is essential to set these artworks in their historical and social context and to investigate the data on the saints' cult in late-fifteenth century Tallinn, particularly within the communities of St. Nicholas' and the Holy Spirit Church. The visual language of these altarpieces also provides opportunities to analyse how the images expressed the closeness between the saints and the community. Although both altarpieces have been targets for scholarly studies for more than a century, they have not been analysed from these perspectives, nor have all the saints depicted on them been correctly identified.⁵

ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH AND ITS COMMUNITY

The lower town of Tallinn was divided into two parishes: St. Nicholas' and St. Olaf's. Both parish churches were large and wealthy and, by the early sixteenth century, had about thirty side altars in addition to the high altar.⁶ Thanks to the surviving account book of the wardens of St. Nicholas' Church from the years 1465–1520,⁷ and some other documents, it is possible to define the social groups and individuals who were among the supporters of the church. The following associations had their own altar or altars there, and regularly gathered for collective services: the town council, the Great Guild of the merchants, St. Canute's Guild (one of the two umbrella organisations of artisans), the minters, the blacksmiths, the shoemakers, the butchers and the furriers. The goldsmiths, the stonemasons, the painters and woodcarvers, the beer-carters and the carters paid for masses and services.⁸ The Brotherhood of the Black Heads (an association of journeyman and foreign merchants) had their own pews in the northern aisle from at least the 1470s,⁹ and from about 1492 in the recently completed New Chapel (i.e. the chapel of St Matthew on the south side of the tower).¹⁰ Of the religious confraternities, the Corpus Christi Guild, the confraternity of St. Anthony and the confraternity of St. Job were connected to St. Nicholas' Church.¹¹ It cannot be excluded that some other minor guilds or confraternities also had ties with this church, but records on them are extremely scarce and, thus far, no such information has been found. According to a register of the churches' income

from about 1525, compiled during the Reformation, St. Olaf's Guild (the other artisans' guild) had been among the contributors to the Corpus Christi Mass.¹² However, it is not known how long ago this connection was established. Near the altar of St. Anne, the Virgin Mary and the Holy Kinship, founded in 1476, there existed a special sermon chair (ambo) for the non-Germans, probably the Estonian peasants living in the vicinity of the town.¹³ Thus, the congregation, in the narrow sense, and the wider circle of supporters consisted of people of different social statuses, occupations and ethnic groups.

The side altars founded by various guilds, crafts and private individuals were equipped by them with liturgical vessels, books, textiles and other necessary items, the materials, quantities and qualities of which depended on the wealth of the donor. On some altars, there also stood an altarpiece or a statue of a saint. Liturgical objects for the high altar, however, were ordered by the church wardens or received as donations. One of the wardens was traditionally a town councillor, the other a respected and influential member of the community, meaning that, in practice, both of them were members of the mercantile elite.¹⁴

There is no information on what might have stood on the high altar prior to the 1470s. St. Nicholas' Church was rebuilt and enlarged in about 1405–20, and it is likely that the idea of commissioning a new altarpiece arose soon after the reconstruction work. However, the economic crisis that reached the town and culminated in the second third of the century¹⁵ was probably the main reason why this plan had to be postponed for almost fifty years. Another factor that could have influenced the financial situation of the church was a devastating plague epidemic that struck the town in 1464–65: the Great Guild and St. Canute's guild, for instance, lost approximately half of their members.¹⁶ By the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the economic situation had improved, and in 1471 the wardens of St. Nicholas' Church began to raise money for a large silver-gilt monstrance for the high altar. The expensive vessel, the total cost of which was 761 Riga marks, was ready in 1474.¹⁷

The next step was the commissioning of a magnificent altarpiece from Lübeck, the leading art centre in the Baltic Sea region. This was an even more expensive acquisition: as confirmed by the account book of the church wardens, the total cost of the altarpiece, which arrived in Tallinn in 1481, was about 1250 Riga marks.¹⁸ For the same amount of money, one could have bought two or three stone houses in the town. It was certainly not easy for the church to gather this much money. For instance, in the summer of 1479, the wardens organised a collection in the entire town, passing from door to door, but received only around 160 marks.¹⁹ Individual donations for the benefit of the new altarpiece (*nige tafel*)

did not usually exceed five marks,²⁰ one of the exceptions being the donation from the merchant Dirick Houet, who bequeathed 100 marks for that purpose.²¹ It is obvious that not all the donations and bequests are recorded in the account book. As revealed by the coats of arms of the Great Guild and the Brotherhood of the Black Heads, painted in the first and second views of the altarpiece, these two merchants' associations were the chief forces behind the commission. Due to the lack of sources, the exact amount of their generous support will probably never be known.²²

RETABLE OF ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH: THE FIRST VIEW

The magnificent two-winged altarpiece is among the largest in the Baltic Sea region: approximately 3.5 metres high and over 6 metres wide (with the open wings). Its first view (Plate 11 and 12) depicts three female saints on one wing (St. Catherine of Alexandria, the Virgin Mary with the Child and St. Barbara) and three male saints on the other (St. Victor, St. Nicholas and St. George). Five of them are very well-known saints, who had acquired a universal position by the late Middle Ages: they were venerated everywhere in Europe and by "everyone". However, one can point to several site-specific connections as well.

The Virgin Mary was the patron saint of Livonia, and of the Diocese and Cathedral of Tallinn.²³ There were altars dedicated to her in every church of the town, there were two confraternities of her name (one on Cathedral Hill, and the other at St. Olaf's Church), and she was among the favourite saints of the Great Guild and the Brotherhood of the Black Heads.²⁴ The cult of St. Catherine was particularly promoted by the friars – under her protection stood the Dominican church in Tallinn and the Franciscan church in Riga – but she was also venerated by the Tallinn butchers, who had an altar dedicated to her and to some other saints in St. Nicholas' Church.²⁵ St. Barbara was associated with a good death and was believed to protect against sudden death,²⁶ which may explain why both of her chapels in Tallinn were located in cemeteries. St. Barbara's chapel on the north side of St. Nicholas' Church was first recorded in sources in 1342, when a chantry of St. Barbara was founded there by the knight Helmoldus de Sagha (from the manor of Saha in northern Estonia).²⁷ The altar of St. Barbara in the same chapel (later known as the Small Chapel) still existed some years after the Reformation, in 1525–27, but at that time it was referred to as that of the furriers;²⁸ thus, over time the right of patronage over the altar had changed or widened. The other chapel of St. Barbara, erected in the first half of the fourteenth century, was located outside the town walls, not far from the Smith's (later Harju) Gate.²⁹ The

feast days of all three virgins, depicted on the external wing, were celebrated in Tallinn as *totum duplex*.³⁰

St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the church, standing in the middle of the other wing, was highly venerated as a protector of merchants and seafarers, particularly in the Hanse towns.³¹ In St. Nicholas' Church, there was also an altar dedicated to him.³²

Next to him, one can see St. George, who was one of the favourite saints of the Great Guild and the Black Heads: he was the co-patron of the guild altar in St. Nicholas' Church, dedicated to St. Blasius, St. George and St. Victor; he is depicted on the central panel of the surviving altarpiece of the Black Heads (ca. 1493) and on the bench end of the confraternity (1480s).³³ On the north side of St. Nicholas' Church, there was St. George's chapel, built in the first half of the fourteenth century.³⁴ Like the aforementioned saints, St. George was venerated by various social layers in Livonia. Hospitals or leper-houses were dedicated to him in Riga, Tartu (Dorpat) and Narva.³⁵ He was one of the favourite saints of the nobility and one of the three patron saints of the Teutonic Order, which was the overlord of Tallinn from 1346. There was a confraternity of St. George mentioned in 1419: it was one of the minor guilds in the town, most probably active on Cathedral Hill.³⁶

It should also be noted that, on the external wing of the altarpiece, St. George's helmet has a ribbon in the Tallinn colours: red and white.³⁷ Although one can argue that these colours were also those of St. George (the saint is frequently depicted with a shield displaying a red cross on a white background), it is more likely that here they were meant to be those of the town. The same colours can also be seen in the ribbon around the Moor's head on the coat of arms of the Black Heads, painted on the lower end of the wing. These small details emphasised, on the one hand, the connection between St. George and the Black Heads and, on the other hand, the connection between the saint and the entire urban community. It was one of the means to make the saint "ours".

Unlike the previously discussed saints, the third man standing on the external wing – St. Victor of Marseilles – was barely known in the Hanseatic region. His cult was comparatively strong in France but not in the German territories (his feast, 21 July, was celebrated only in Trier and Metz) or Scandinavia. On the altarpiece of St. Nicholas' Church (and also of the Holy Spirit Church, as we shall see later), he carries a shield with the coat of arms of Tallinn. The same emblem, a white cross on a red background, is also depicted on his banner. As I suggested in a study in 2003, there is plenty of evidence, written and visual, to prove that St. Victor was the patron saint of medieval Tallinn.³⁸ However, his cult did not occur there prior to the second half of the fifteenth century, which leads to the assump-

tion that perhaps the town managed to acquire his relic around that time. It is also interesting that the cult of two different Victors was conflated in Tallinn: on the altarpiece of St. Nicholas' Church, one can recognise the legend of St. Victor of Marseilles, but his feast day was not known there; instead, 10 October, which is the feast of St. Victor of Xanten, was celebrated as *festum duplex*. In the chronicle of the town councillor Johan Gellinkhusen from 1503 it is written that on 10 October, "on the day of our beloved protector and patron St. Victor", the town council assembled in the Great Guild Hall for a drinking feast. In 1487 the town council commissioned three statues of St. Victor from Lübeck and placed them at the town gates, clearly indicating the protector of the town.³⁹

THE SECOND VIEW: VISUALISING THE CLOSENESS TO THE COMMUNITY

The prominent position of St. Victor is even more visible in the second view of the altarpiece, which is visually divided in two: the eight scenes on the left depict the legend of St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the church, and the eight scenes on the right, the legend of St. Victor, the patron saint of the town (Plate 13). Below each scene, there is an inscription in Middle Low German, explaining what is going on in the picture. These legends have been repeatedly described and analysed by scholars; therefore, I will not go into further detail here.⁴⁰ Instead, I would like to draw attention to two scenes that strongly emphasise the connection between the saints and the merchant-dominated community of Tallinn.

The first is the fourth scene in the upper row, in which St. Nicholas is saving a ship (Plate 15). The mast is broken, the merchants are busy saving their goods, and an elderly man is making a gesture of gratitude to the saint. The text says: *Hir lyden schyplude groter not van storm vnd winde vnd se repen sunte nyclus an vnd he halp en* [Here the shipmen suffered greatly from storm and wind and they invoked St. Nicholas and he helped them]. The ship is a Hanseatic cog, a type that was most familiar to the inhabitants of any medieval Hanse town, and it bears the coats of arms of the Great Guild and the Black Heads. The aim of the coats of arms is not only to advertise and commemorate the donors but to convey a clear message to the community: St. Nicholas' is with *us*, and he protects the merchants and sailors of *our town*. This scene has a central position in the altarpiece, due to its placement (in the middle of the second view), as well as due to its powerful symbolic meaning.

It was a widespread phenomenon in the late Middle Ages to integrate familiar places and objects in an image in order to increase its "proximity" to the viewers.

If a miracle or a holy story was depicted taking place in one's own (recognisable and idealised) town or landscape, it integrated the daily life of the viewers into the religious situation and strengthened the presence of the (patron) saint in the community.⁴¹ In Tallinn, as in other Hanse towns, one is likely to find religious images that are linked to the sea and that manifest the saintly powers of St. Nicholas and other protectors of seafarers. In some other regions that did not have access to the sea, such images would not have had the same emotional effect. For instance, in the mining areas of Central Europe, it was important to stress the bond between saints and miners. A fine example of this is a panel in the Rožňava altarpiece (present day Slovakia) from 1513 depicting St. Anne with the Virgin and Child, against a background filled with mountains and miners at work: in this manner, the saint participated in the community's daily effort, and a "universal" saint was effectively turned into a "local" one.⁴²

The last scene in the legend of St. Victor of Marseilles connects him with the sea as well (Plate 16): executioners are throwing the decapitated body of the saint into a river but, on the other shore, angels are lifting it up. The explanatory text, however, clearly refers to the sea and not the river: *Hir werpen se synen lycham in dat mer vnd de engele brochten en to lande vnd wart erliken begrauen* [Here they cast his body into the sea and the angels brought him to the land and he was honourably buried]. In the background, one recognises the panorama of the "mother town" of Tallinn – Lübeck – a place familiar to every merchant and seaman of the region.⁴³

In different versions of his legend, St. Victor of Marseilles is described as a knight (occasionally as a bishop) who was placed between millstones and beheaded. Only a few authors mention that afterwards his corpse was cast into the sea,⁴⁴ but it was apparently this detail that made the saint so popular in harbour towns. In Marseilles, St. Victor was, above all, the patron saint of sailors (as well as of millers), and his cult is claimed to have replaced that of Neptune. A hagiographer from Marseilles added elements from the Passion of St. Phocas (a patron saint of sailors in the Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean) to that of St. Victor, which shaped the image of the latter as a seafarer.⁴⁵ Anja Rasche has rightfully drawn a parallel between St. Victor and St. Clement, who was tied to an anchor and cast from a boat into the sea, but who was likewise honourably buried by angels (as depicted, e.g., in Notke's altarpiece in Århus; see Fig. 3 on page 68), and who became a protector of seafarers.⁴⁶

The first seven scenes of the Tallinn altarpiece depict St. Victor as a brave soldier who spreads Christianity and whose sufferings are comparable to those of Christ – there the main role of the saint is to provide a positive religious

model, and there is hardly anything “local” in the landscape elements in the background. However, the last scene indicates that it was particularly important for the community of St. Nicholas’ Church to emphasise the saint’s connection to the sea.⁴⁷ After all, it was the wish of each merchant and sailor that, if the worst happened at sea, his body would be found and honourably buried in the Christian manner. Similarly to the image where St. Nicholas is saving the ship, this one also communicates the closeness between the community and its saint: St. Victor is with *us*, he protects *us*, he is *our* saint.

THE THIRD VIEW: PARADE OF SAINTS

In the fully open altarpiece (Plate 14), there are three types of sculptures. First, the large (approx. 70 cm high) figures of saints arranged in two rows. In the middle of the upper row, one can see Christ blessing the crowned Virgin (a sub-type of the Coronation of the Virgin).⁴⁸ In the middle of the lower row, one recognises St. Anne with the Virgin and Child. Both central scenes are flanked by standing figures of saints; there are a total of 28 of them. The second type of sculpture consists of the eight half-figures (approx. 45 cm high) in the predella, two of which were replaced, probably in the late seventeenth or the first half of the eighteenth century. Third, there are small figures (approx. 25 cm high) placed on the pillars between the large figures.

What has caused major difficulty for scholars in identifying the saints is the fact that several figures have lost their attributes and some of them even their hands, the positions of which would perhaps have indicated what they were holding. For instance, it was quite obvious to nineteenth-century scholars, who provided the first descriptions of this work of art, that the upper row begins with St. Nicholas and ends with St. Victor, and between them stand the twelve Apostles. However, since only half of the Apostles still had their attributes, it was only possible to identify with certainty Sts. John, Andrew, Philip and James the Greater. More attributes, including those of some Apostles, were lost or misplaced during World War II and during the restoration of the altarpiece in Moscow in the 1980s. All this has made the identification of several saints problematic, although almost every scholar who has dealt with the subject has made some useful observations.

Carl Rußwurm (1841), Wilhelm Neumann (1892), Sten Karling (1946) and Villem Raam (1976) relied on the attributes and sometimes also on the clothing of the figures.⁴⁹ In Raam’s book on Gothic wooden sculpture in Estonia (which largely summarises Karling’s monograph), the following list is provided. The

upper row, from left to right (from the viewer's perspective): St. Nicholas, the apostles James the Lesser, Paul, Thomas, Andrew, John and Peter, and left from the central scene: Sts. Matthew, James the Greater, Philip, Bartholomew, Simon, Jude Thaddeus and Victor. The lower row: two unknown virgins, Sts. Barbara, Ursula, Maurice, Eleutherius and John the Baptist, and left from the St. Anne-group: Sts. Cyriacus, Lawrence, George, Hedvig of Silesia, Gertrude, Birgitta of Sweden and Elizabeth of Thuringia.

New opportunities for the identification of the saints opened up during the restoration of the altarpiece in Moscow in the first half of the 1980s, when it was discovered that behind each of the 28 standing figures there was a drawing (or rather a sketch) of his or her attribute. However, since the primary interest of the chief restorer, Nikolai Bregman, was not in iconography, he published only five underdrawings: those of St. John the Baptist and of the four virgins on the left wing.⁵⁰

The next scholar to study the altarpiece was Anja Rasche, who wrote her Master's thesis (1994) on this work of art. Based on the sketches of attributes published by Bregman, she identified the four virgins as Sts Apollonia, Dorothy, Barbara and Catherine of Alexandria. Due to close observation of the figures, Rasche was also able to correctly identify St. Matthew (formerly thought to be St. James the Lesser), St. Bartholomew (formerly thought to be Philip) and St. Matthias (formerly thought to be Jude Thaddeus). She also suggested that the Apostle on the right side of the central scene (i.e. the "twin" of St. Peter who stands on the left) must be St. Paul.⁵¹ Undoubtedly, she would also have recognised St. Thomas with a spear, had the spear not been moved (by the restorers?) and placed with the alleged St. Maurice in the lower row.

A systematic study and documentation of the sketches was carried out in 2006–2007 on my initiative (Plates 17–30). With regard to the Apostles in the upper row, it was possible to confirm Rasche's suggestions concerning St. Bartholomew and St. Paul (the drawings represent, respectively, a butcher's knife and a sword), and to finally identify St. Thomas (a spear) on the left wing and St. Simon (a saw) on the right wing. Behind the apostle next to St. Simon, a club is drawn. The saint in question may therefore be either St. Jude Thaddeus or St. James the Lesser, because both of them were, in the Hanseatic region, depicted with this particular attribute. One can perhaps find St. Jude with a club more frequently than St. James the Lesser, whose other well-known attribute was a fuller's staff (e.g., in Notke's Århus altarpiece). The position next to St. Simon could also provide evidence of it being St. Jude; however, one cannot be entirely certain which of the two Apostles is depicted there.⁵²

A jar of ointment drawn behind the female saint, formerly regarded as St. Hedvig, allows us to identify her as St. Mary Magdalene (Plates 25–26). In the late Middle Ages, there were different traditions in depicting this ambivalent saint; here, the artist has chosen the type of the pious and repentant woman with her head covered with a veil (in contrast to the luxuriously dressed and turban-wearing princess-like Magdalene in Notke's triumphal crucifix in the Lübeck Cathedral). It is also relevant to note that Mary Magdalene was a well-known and deeply venerated saint in medieval Tallinn (e.g., there was an altar dedicated to her in St. Olaf's Church⁵³); whereas St. Hedvig was practically unknown in Livonia.

A similar problem concerns two male saints in the lower row, formerly regarded as St. Cyriacus and St. Eleutherius.⁵⁴ The first is grasping the Devil by the hair, while the other is carrying a monstrance (Plate 27 and 29). Although the mentioned saints were indeed sometimes depicted with these attributes, the Devil and a monstrance were also characteristic of some other saints. And, what is even more important, Sts. Cyriacus and Eleutherius were very little, if at all, known in medieval Tallinn and, therefore, it would not have made sense to choose them to be depicted on the altarpiece. Moreover, the location of the alleged Cyriacus – he flanks the central group, thus having a position equally significant to St. John the Baptist on the other side – indicates that the figure in question must have been someone very important to the community. The underdrawing depicts the Devil and a sword, revealing the presently missing weapon that the saint had in his right hand. If we consider these attributes, as well as some characteristic details of the saint's clothing and the diadem decorating his forehead, it is clear that the figure is St. Michael the Archangel. The fact that he lacks wings is not important, because there are several wingless Michaels that have survived from the late medieval art of northern Europe. St. Michael was enormously popular in Tallinn, being, among others, venerated by the influential butchers' craft, whose members formed the confraternity of St. Michael and who also had an altar dedicated to St. Michael and some other saints in the chapel of St. Matthew of St. Nicholas' Church.⁵⁵

The alleged Eleutherius (or, according to Suckale-Redlefsen, St. Norbert⁵⁶) with a monstrance is actually St. Blasius (Plate 29), one of the patron saints of the Lübeck Cathedral and one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, who was very popular in medieval Livonia. His cult in Tallinn was particularly promulgated by the Great Guild: St. Blasius was the main patron saint of the oldest and most important altar of this guild, mentioned in sources from the early fifteenth century onwards.⁵⁷ It should be noted that the tradition of depicting St. Blasius with a

monstrance was limited to a very narrow region in northern Germany: most of the examples can be found in the Cathedral of Lübeck (among others, Notke's triumphal crucifix, rood screen and Lay Altarpiece), but also in St. Mary's Church in Rostock (the St. Roch Altarpiece from ca. 1525/30). Elsewhere in Europe, St. Blasius was depicted with a candle or an iron comb, but Rode's workshop naturally followed the local, that is the Lübeck, pictorial traditions (just as Bernt Notke did).⁵⁸

The last falsely identified saint in the lower row is the soldier saint standing next to St. Blasius (Plates 29–30). Before the restoration in the 1980s, when all the figures had dark faces, he was unanimously regarded as St. Maurice.⁵⁹ Indeed, this opinion seems entirely logical if one considers the importance of St. Maurice in Livonia. This saint was particularly popular among the Brotherhood of the Black Heads who, according to the presence of their coat of arms, played an important part in commissioning this work of art. The identification was further supported by the fact that, at some point, the spear of St. Thomas was placed with this soldier, and a spear, as is well known, is the main attribute of St. Maurice. However, once the figure was cleaned, it turned out to be a man of fair complexion and blond hair. Although in many parts of Europe St. Maurice was depicted as white, in Livonia (as in the eastern German territories in general) he was portrayed as a black African with distinctly Negroid features.⁶⁰

The underdrawing shows that the true attributes of this saint are a sword and a crowned head (the latter was probably located at the feet of the soldier). On the shield, cleaned during the restoration, one can see a raised lion on a red and greyish-blue background. All this leads to the conclusion that the figure in question is St. Reinold, the patron saint of the town of Dortmund. According to a legend, he was Charlemagne's nephew. During one of his adventures, he beheaded the heathen King Saforet, and that explains his attribute: a crowned head attached to the point of a sword. The feast day of St. Reinold was celebrated on 7 January. He was venerated and depicted in medieval Germany either as a knight or a monk-stonemason. The oldest known representation of him is a nearly three-meter high wooden sculpture in St. Reinold's Church in Dortmund, made in the first half of the fourteenth century. In this and some other works of art, he is dressed in armour and carries a shield with the lion of Flanders. The centres of the cult of St. Reinold were Westphalia and Rhineland, and both of these regions had close connections to medieval Livonia.⁶¹

Thus far, the earliest known reference to St. Reinold in Livonian sources was from 1487, when the Brotherhood of the Black Heads in Riga founded a chantry in honour of Sts. George, Maurice, Gertrude, Francis and Reinold in

St. Peter's Church. It was assumed that the cult of St. Reinold reached Livonia from the Prussian *Artushöfe*, particularly from that in Danzig (Gdańsk).⁶² In those Prussian elite confraternities, St. Reinold was venerated as a knightly saint and depicted with the head of Saforet.⁶³

However, thus far I have found no evidence of the Black Heads in Tallinn venerating St. Reinold. On the other hand, considering the close economic, social and family connections with Riga and Danzig, the saint could hardly have been unknown in the Tallinn brotherhood.

There is evidence that St. Reinold was the patron saint of the Tallinn stonemasons. Moreover, the centre of his veneration was St. Nicholas' Church. According to the account book of the church wardens, the stonemasons annually celebrated St. Reinold's Day on 7 January and paid for the ringing of the church bells, organ music and the Eucharistic wine and bread. Regular entries of their payment survive from 1489 until the Reformation.⁶⁴ However, since on our altarpiece St. Reinold is depicted as a soldier and not as a monk-stonemason, it remains questionable whether he was chosen due to the influence of the stonemasons (or of the stonemasons exclusively). This sculpture is the earliest evidence for the cult of St. Reinold in Livonian towns, even earlier than the foundation of the chantry in Riga. Compared to the other saints depicted on the altarpiece, St. Reinold was a saint venerated in very few parts of Europe. Therefore, it deserves particular attention that he was preferred to some other saints well-known in medieval Tallinn, and that he was given such a prominent position in the central part of the altarpiece. The possible promoters of his cult in Tallinn should be investigated in more detail in the future, as well as the question of whether his cult reached Tallinn through the Prussian *Artushöfe* or directly from Westphalia (Dortmund and Soest) or the Rhineland (Cologne).

A couple of remarks are necessary concerning the figures of the female saints in the lower row of the wings. First, it is somewhat surprising to find St. Apollonia among the four virgins (Plate 23). The four capital virgins (Lat. *quattuor virgines capitales*), frequently depicted in medieval art, were Sts. Barbara, Catherine of Alexandria, Margaret of Antioch and Dorothy.⁶⁵ Judging from the number of altars dedicated to St. Margaret in Tallinn, she was much more popular than Apollonia: there was a St. Margaret's altar in three churches – St. Nicholas', St. Olaf's and the Holy Spirit⁶⁶ – whereas the only known altar of St. Apollonia was in St. Nicholas' Church. The patronal right over this altar, which was occasionally also called the St. Crispin and Crispinian altar, belonged to the shoemakers.⁶⁷ Although St. Apollonia was rather well-known in the Baltic Sea region, the cult of St. Margaret was much stronger; she was also one of the Fourteen

Holy Helpers, whose veneration reached a climax in the late fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth centuries.⁶⁸ Hence, it may have been due to the influence of the shoemakers that St. Apollonia is standing in the altarpiece and not St. Margaret.

The four women in the other wing (Plate 25) also express certain local idiosyncrasies in the saints' cult. St. Mary Magdalene was already mentioned above. Next to her stands St. Gertrude of Nivelles, who in the Hanse towns was venerated as a patron of travellers, including merchants.⁶⁹ In Tallinn, there was a chapel of St. Gertrude outside the town walls, near the harbour.⁷⁰ A guild of St. Gertrude, which presumably united sailors and foreign travellers, was mentioned in 1451 and 1460.⁷¹ St. Gertrude was among the favourite saints of the Black Heads: she was a co-patron of their first altar, consecrated in 1403 in honour of the Virgin Mary, St. Gertrude and St. Dorothy, and she is depicted in their extant altarpiece.⁷² On the other hand, the depiction of St. Birgitta indicates the spread of religious influence from geographically close Sweden. Even more important in the local context was the erection of the Birgittine Convent of Mariental (nowadays Piritä) in the vicinity of Tallinn in the first third of the fifteenth century.⁷³ St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, one of the patron saints of the Teutonic Order, was popular in Tallinn mainly as a hospital saint, a consoler of the sick and poor.

The limited scope of this article does not allow me to discuss in detail the small figures standing on the pillars between the large ones. Presumably, they depict prophets and patriarchs, just like on Notke's triumphal crucifix in Lübeck.⁷⁴ There were originally 36 of them, but only 29 have been preserved and four of these are newer, made in the late seventeenth or the first half of the eighteenth century.⁷⁵ On three medieval figures one can see fragments of a metal scroll: it is quite likely that most (if not all) of the figures held scrolls with their names on them. The sequence of those figures in the altarpiece has been changed several times and the original arrangement cannot be ascertained.

Unlike the large figures of the saints, the eight half-figures in the predella have no sketches of attributes behind them. Thus far, scholars have regarded them as Old Testament figures⁷⁶ or, more precisely, as prophets.⁷⁷ Three of them are wearing oriental or Jewish headgear, which indeed seems to support this opinion. However, it makes more sense that the half-figures would be iconographically connected to the paintings on the wings of the predella. There one can see four groups of people from the Holy Kinship, depicting Esmeria (the sister of St. Anne) and her descendants. The sister of St. Anne comparatively rarely turns up in art, and never without the main characters of the Holy Kinship. Moreover, one of the figures in the predella (the third one from the left,

holding a hat in his hand) can be identified as St. Joseph, the spouse of the Virgin Mary. Therefore, I propose that the eight half-figures were originally the three husbands of St. Anne (Joachim, Cleophas and Salome), Joseph, and the half-sisters of Mary with their husbands.

Some of the half-figures no longer stand in their original places. The sequence was probably changed in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, when two of the figures – those of Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome – were replaced by new, male figures.⁷⁸ I assume that originally those women were the second figure from the left and the second from the right. Obviously, the topic of the Holy Kinship did not fit the Lutheran context and this led to the changes in the iconographic programme of the altarpiece.

However, in medieval Tallinn, St. Anne (and the Holy Kinship) was enormously popular, particularly from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards: there were at least four altars dedicated to her, a confraternity of her name, and she was depicted in several altarpieces and artefacts.⁷⁹ In all likelihood, the commissioners of the Rode altarpiece wished the Holy Kinship to be part of its pictorial programme. However, since there were so many saints to be depicted there, the artist found a clever solution: he placed St. Anne with the Virgin and Child in the middle of the lower row of the corpus, and the less important members of the Holy Kinship in the predella.

The saints and other holy persons in the fully open altarpiece are subject to vertical and horizontal hierarchies: the most important figures in all three levels are in the centre; the Apostles and the patrons of the church and the city are placed higher than the other saints; the most important Apostles stand in the corpus, flanking the heavenly scene with the Virgin and Christ; in the lower row, the more important saints are again placed right next to the central group; and in the predella, St. Joseph and the three husbands of Anne have a more prominent place than the other characters of the Holy Kinship. In the upper row, one can even notice a certain degree of difference between the (heraldically) right and the left wings: the Apostles on the right wing (the viewer's left) are more important than those on the left.

The complex iconographic programme of the altarpiece was probably fixed during the negotiations between Rode's workshop and the clients. It cannot be excluded that a sketch was made as a part of the contract. As mentioned above, the visual evidence – the coats of arms of the Great Guild and the Black Heads – indicates that the merchants had a leading role in this commission. The choice of the saints points in the same direction: in particular St. Victor, St. Nicholas, the Virgin Mary, St. George, St. Blasius and St. John the Baptist, but also

St. Gertrude, St. Dorothy and St. Catherine: all of them were highly venerated by the merchants' associations. Nevertheless, it is likely that the retable for the high altar not only reflected the preferences of one particular, albeit very influential group, but that the wishes of other social layers and corporations connected to this church were also taken into account. As discussed above, it is probable that some of the crafts, such as the butchers, shoemakers and stonemasons, may have had influence on the selection of the saints as well. Certainly one cannot forget the preferences of the parish priest and other clerics serving in St. Nicholas' Church. It cannot even be excluded that a wealthy individual who donated a large sum for the acquisition of this work of art requested his favourite saint to be depicted there.

After surveying the multi-level connections between the depicted saints and the community, it is relevant to ask which of the saints who were popular in Tallinn were *not* depicted in this altarpiece. St. Margaret has already been mentioned, but the same concerns, for example, St. Anthony the Great, who had a guild of his name in Tallinn, St. Christopher, one of the Holy Helpers and one of the favourite saints of the Great Guild and the Black Heads, St. Canute the King, the patron of the guild of the same name, St. Olaf, likewise the patron of a guild and of the other parish church, St. Luke, the patron of the painters and woodcarvers, St. Eloy of the goldsmiths, and so on. It would certainly be no more than speculation to guess the reasons for leaving them out. Some of the listed saints (e.g. Sts. Canute, Christopher and Anthony) had their own altars in St. Nicholas' Church, either prior to the commission of the Rode altarpiece or afterwards. St. Olaf was most probably not selected because he, as the patron of the other parish, was a "rival" to St. Nicholas. A similar kind of careful selection of saints can also be seen in the Bernt Notke altarpiece.

RETABLE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT CHURCH

The church of the Holy Spirit (Est. Püha Vaimu) was connected with the hospital of the same name. It was situated in the town centre, almost on the borderline between the two parishes, although in practice it was within the parish of St. Olaf. In all likelihood, the hospital was founded by the town council. Among the obligations of the priest was the pastoral care of the hospital sick and poor, as well as of other hospital inmates, including retired clerics. The church was also used for the assemblies of the town council.⁸⁰

It was the town council who ordered the new retable from Lübeck, which, according to the inscription, was completed in 1483.⁸¹ In all three views, one can

see the coats of arms with the white cross on a red background – in this particular context they signal the city and not the Great Guild. There also exists a letter from 24 May 1484, written by Bernt Notke to the town council of Tallinn, in which he reminds the councillors that they owe him some money for a *tafel* (i.e. altarpiece) which he has made at their request. Prior to World War II, there also existed another letter of Notke, from 3 May, but this has been lost.⁸² In both letters, Notke indicated that the commissioners were the burgomaster Diderick Hagenbeke⁸³ and his companion, i.e. the two wardens of the Holy Spirit Church.

The iconographic programme of the altarpiece was designed to suite the context of a hospital church: it depicts physical suffering, but also promises the grace of God. On the outer wings (Plate 31), one can see Christ as the Man of Sorrows and St. Elizabeth of Thuringia (1207–31), who was known for taking care of the sick and poor and whose images can often be found in hospitals.⁸⁴ The coats of arms of Tallinn beneath them are remarkably large, advertising the influential donor. The coat of arms below Christ is attached to his cross and decorated with other Instruments of the Passion. One of the three nails creates the impression that the shield is nailed to the vertical beam. The blood from Christ's wounds drops into the chalice placed on the top of the coat of arms and containing both the blood and the Host, visualising the concept of transubstantiation.

The paintings of the second view depict the Legend of St. Elizabeth and the Passion of Christ. The scenes in which St. Elizabeth performs acts of mercy, and in which parallels are drawn between taking care of the infirm and Christ (Matt. 25: 35–40), again fit particularly well in the context of a hospital church. In one image, St. Elizabeth is taking care of beggars and lepers, not noticing that the leper whose feet she is washing is Christ himself (Plate 32, upper scene on the right). In medieval sermons and *exempla*, Christ was said to have visited the world disguised as a leper.⁸⁵ Thus, the viewers of this altarpiece were constantly reminded of the biblical concept that by aiding the sick and poor they were aiding our Saviour. The same idea is expressed in the scene below it, depicting the Miracle of the Crucifix. According to a legend, once St. Elizabeth allowed a leper to rest in her own marriage bed, and the servants complained about this to her husband. However, when Margrave Ludwig came home, the sick body of the leper had transformed into the Holy Body, the crucified Christ (Plate 32, lower scene on the right).

The sculpted corpus of the fully opened altarpiece depicts the miracle of the Pentecost, i.e. the descent of the Holy Spirit (Plate 86). This scene makes a visual reference to the dedication of the church. In the centre, the Virgin Mary is seated on a throne, while the twelve Apostles have gathered around her. The dove – the

symbol of the Holy Spirit – has been lost, as have most of the small statuettes of prophets that once stood on the background pillars (only two of them, Job and Tobias, survive, holding scrolls with their names). The kneeling figure in the left foreground differs from the rest. On the one hand, he is meant to be one of the Apostles (without him, there would not be twelve); on the other hand, he is depicted in a typical donor position (frontispiece). Although scholars have made various suggestions concerning his identity,⁸⁶ none of these has been convincing.

In the left wing stand the figures of St. Olaf and St. Anne with the Virgin and Child, and in the right wing St. Elizabeth and St. Victor. Thus, the central scene is flanked by the patron saint of the parish in which the church was located and by the patron saint of the town. Most of the tiny figures that once stood on the pillars between the large figures have been lost. Only two such figures, St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Dorothy, can be found on the pillars framing the corpus. It is likely that the missing figures, too, depicted saints (and not some other holy persons), similarly to Notke's altarpiece in the Århus Cathedral. In the pseudo-predella, there are half-figures of St. Barbara, St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony the Great and St. Gertrude. In the tabernacle above the corpus is the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin (Plate 86).

The connection between all these saints and the community of late medieval Tallinn was already pointed out in the analysis of the previous altarpiece. In addition, some of the saints, depicted in the Notke altarpiece, had altars dedicated to them in the Holy Spirit Church: the Virgin Mary, St. Victor, St. Anne, St. Anthony, St. Gertrude and some of the Apostles.⁸⁷ Thus, the saints chosen to be represented in this retable reflect the cults popular in the entire town in the late fifteenth century, and more specifically in this church. The mercantile elite and other supporters of the Holy Spirit Church could admire and pray to their favourite saints depicted in the most solemn view of the altarpiece. The particular closeness to the hospital community was expressed through the images of the suffering Christ and of the acts of mercy by St. Elizabeth. The iconographic programme as a whole gave hope for the healing of the body and the soul, and promised salvation.

The high altar was the liturgical centre of the church and, as such, the most desirable and prestigious place for expressing one's religious and earthly aspirations. For a medieval man, the saints did more than simply decorate an altar: through their painted or carved images, they were "physically" present among the faithful during the masses and prayers. The selection of the saints depicted in these two Tallinn altarpieces reveals a great deal about the local preferences in the saints' cults, which, in turn, was influenced by veneration in culturally

and economically related regions, as well as in the supra-territorial military and religious orders that were active in Livonia.

The commission of the retable for the high altar of the parish church of St. Nicholas was a collective undertaking and, therefore, its iconography reflects the interests of several social groups, although certainly more those of the rich and powerful – the merchants. This is also visualised by the scenes that underline the symbolic relationship between the saints, the sea and trade: the saints protect the local community and the community is present in the images. The pictorial programme of the retable of the Holy Spirit Church was shaped to correspond to the needs of a hospital church, but at the same time it also expressed the religious preferences of the town council and indicated its role as the hospital's patron and benefactor.

The coats of arms of the donors in both altarpieces had multiple functions: they had to emphasise the wealth and status of these organisations, to perpetuate their gracious deeds and to grant them intercessory prayers. These altarpieces and their visual language can be regarded as powerful symbols for the community – as focal points of the cult, as large and expensive objects reflecting the communal pride, as images communicating the closeness between the community and its saints, and as bearers of the collective memory.

NOTES

- 1 This article was written under the auspices of the EuroCORECODE grant “Symbols that Bind and Break Communities: Saints’ Cults as Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universal Identities”, supported by the Estonian Science Foundation.
- 2 Hans HUTH, *Künstler und Werkstatt der Spätgotik, Darmstadt 1967*, pp. 25–28, 110, 114–116, 118–119, 124–125, 127–128, 132–133, 135–136, 138–139.
- 3 Recent studies: Anja RASCHE, *Lübeck und Reval: Zwei Altarretabel Hermen Rodes im Vergleich*, in: *Die Stadt im europäischen Nordosten. Kulturbeziehungen von der Ausbreitung des Lübisches Rechts bis zur Aufklärung*, ed. R. SCHWEITZER / W. BASTMAN-BÜHNER, Helsinki 2001, pp. 499–525; *Idem*, *Werke des Lübecker Malers Hermen Rode im Ostseeraum*, in: *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Ostmitteleuropas (Tagungen zur Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung 13)*, ed. H. NOGOSSEK / D. POPP, Marburg 2001, pp. 126–136; *Idem*, *Das Hochaltarretabel der Nikolai-kirche in Reval/Tallinn von 1481*, in: *Gotik im Baltikum. Acht Beiträge zum 6. Baltischen Seminar 1994*, ed. Uwe ALBRECHT, Lüneburg 2004, pp. 67–106; *Idem*, *Lübeck in Reval: Die Stadtansichten auf Hermen Rodes Retabel in der Revaler Nikolaikirche*, in: *Sakrale Kunst im Baltikum. Zehn Beiträge zum 8. Baltischen Seminar 1996*, ed. Claudia Annette MEIER, Lüneburg 2008, pp. 109–123; Anu MÄND, *Püha Viktor – Tallinna kaitsepühak? [St. Victor – the patron saint of Tallinn]*, in: *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi / Studies on Art and Architecture 3/4 (2003)*, pp. 9–29; *Idem*, *Kes on kes Niguliste kiriku peaaltari retaablil [Who’s who on the reredos of St. Nicholas’ Church]*, in: *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi / Studies on Art and Archi-*

- ecture 1/2 (2009), pp. 7–34; *Idem*, Kass voodi all. Ühest motiivist Hermen Rode ja Bernt Notke Tallinna retaablitel [A Cat under the Bed. On a Motif in the Altarpieces by Hermen Rode and Bernt Notke in Tallinn], in: *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi / Studies on Art and Architecture* 1–2 (2012), pp. 231–246.
- 4 Recent studies: Kerstin PETERMANN, Bernt Notke. Arbeitsweise und Werkstattorganisation im späten Mittelalter, Berlin 2000, pp. 94–111, 243–245; *Idem*, Neue Ergebnisse zur Werkstattorganisation Bernt Notkes am Beispiel seiner Werke für Reval/Tallinn, in: *Die Stadt im europäischen Nordosten* (cit. n. 3), pp. 369–402; *Idem*, Zwei Aufträge der Werkstatt Bernt Notkes für Reval/Tallinn: Das Retabel von 1483 in der Heilig-Geist-Kirche und der Totentanz in der Nikolai-Kirche, in: *Sakrale Kunst im Baltikum* (cit. n. 3), pp. 61–84; Anu MÄND, Bad Boys, Men, and Dogs in Bernt Notke’s Tallinn Altarpiece, in: *Bilder i marginalen. Nordiska studier i medeltidens konst / Images in the Margins. Nordic Studies in Medieval Art*, ed. Kersti MARKUS, Tallinn 2006, pp. 305–320; *Idem*, Kass voodi all (cit. n. 3).
 - 5 I have discussed the saints depicted in the Rode altarpiece in an article published in Estonian: MÄND, Kes on kes Niguliste kiriku pealtari retaablil (cit. n. 3).
 - 6 The best available list so far can be found in: Tiina KALA, Tallinna raad ja katoliku kirik reformatsiooni algaastail [The town council of Tallinn and the Catholic church in the early years of the Reformation], in: *Muinasaja loojangust omariikluse läveni* [From the end of the ancient times to the beginning of one’s own state], ed. Andres ANDRESEN, Tartu 2001, pp. 147–172, here pp. 156, 158–159. However, there exists information on more altars than mentioned in Kala’s article.
 - 7 Tallinn City Archives (Est. *Tallinna Linnaarhiiv*, abbr. TLA), collection (coll.) 31, inventory (inv.) 1, no. 216.
 - 8 Anu MÄND, Kirikute hõbevara. Altaririistad keskaegsel Liivimaal [Church silver. Liturgical vessels in medieval Livonia], Tallinn 2008, pp. 48–50; *Idem*, Tallinna Kanuti gild ja selle oldermannid keskajal [St. Canute’s guild and its aldermen in medieval Reval (Tallinn)], in: *Vana Tallinn* 16 (2005), pp. 129–157, here pp. 134–136; Tiina KALA, Keskaegse Tallinna väikekorporatsioonid ja nende usuelu normatiivsed vormid [The small corporations of medieval Tallinn and the normative framework of their religious life], in: *Tuna* 2 (2010), pp. 6–24, here pp. 21–23.
 - 9 First referred to in 1476: TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Bk 2, fol. 37r. For other references, see Anu MÄND, Über den Marienaltar der Revaler Schwarzenhäupter und seine Ikonographie, in: *Eesti kunstisidemed Madalmaadega 15.–17. sajandil / Die Kunstbeziehungen Estlands mit den Niederlanden im 15.–17. Jh.*, ed. T. ABEL / A. MÄND / R. RAST, Tallinn 2000, pp. 228–238, here p. 238, note 32.
 - 10 TLA, coll. 31, inv. 1, no. 216, fol. 73r.
 - 11 KALA, Keskaegse Tallinna väikekorporatsioonid (cit. n. 8), pp. 15–16, 19–20; KALA, Tallinna raad (cit. n. 6), p. 168 [fol. 20r]; MÄND, Kirikute hõbevara (cit. n. 8), p. 51.
 - 12 TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Aa 15a, fol. 24v–25r.
 - 13 Tiina KALA, Gab es eine “nationale Frage” im mittelalterlichen Reval?, in: *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 7 (2012), pp. 11–34, here p. 27.
 - 14 Town councillors were elected from the members of the Great Guild. For the names of the wardens of St. Nicholas’ Church, see Erkki Olavi KUUSJO, Die rechtliche und wirtschaftliche Stellung der Pfarrkirchen in Alt-Livland (Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia, B 79,2), Helsinki 1953, p. 189.
 - 15 On the crisis, see Ivar LEIMUS, Die spätmittelalterliche grosse Wirtschaftskrise – war auch Livland davon betroffen?, in: *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte* 1 (2006), pp. 56–67.

- 16 MÄND, Tallinna Kanuti gild (cit. n. 8), p. 139; Anu MÄND, Matused ja surnute mälestamine [Funerals and the commemoration of the dead], in: Ivar LEIMUS et al., Tallinna Suurgild ja gildimaja [The Great Guild of Tallinn and the Guild Hall], Tallinn 2011, pp. 92–95, here p. 94.
- 17 MÄND, Kirikute hõbevara (cit. n. 8), p. 101 and fig. 90, p. 247. Nowadays, the monstrelion belongs to the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg.
- 18 TLA, coll. 31, inv. 1, no. 216, fol. 57r: *Item wy leten de tafele tom hogen altare maken vnde van Lubek halen kostede to samen vmme trent 1250 mr.* For comparison: Notke's triumphal cross (1477) cost ca. 2000 marks of Lübeck. PETERMANN, Bernt Notke (cit. n. 4), p. 46.
- 19 TLA, coll. 31, inv. 1, no. 216, fol. 43r: *Item anno 79 vmme trent sunte Jakop ginge wy vmme van huse to huse vnde beden tor der nyen tafelen to dem hogen altare so vntfenck ik vp sunte Laurens auent dat wy geldes hadden an golde vnde sulwer gelde to samen 100 vnd 60 mr. vnd 7 fr. flamssch golden.*
- 20 Ibid., fol. 43r–44v.
- 21 Ibid., fol. 44r. Houet entered the Great Guild at Christmas of 1460/61 and died in 1480. *Ibidem* and TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 1, fol. 29r, 41v.
- 22 The surviving account books of these associations include records on only their own altars, i.e. the guild altars in both parish churches and the confraternity altars in St. Catherine's Church of the Dominicans.
- 23 For the cult of the Virgin, see Anu MÄND, Saints' Cults in Medieval Livonia, in: *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Alan V. MURRAY, Farnham 2009, pp. 191–223, here pp. 194–199.
- 24 See MÄND, Über den Marienaltar (cit. n. 9), pp. 231–234; KALA, Tallinna raad (cit. n. 6), pp. 156–160; Friedrich STILLMARK, Der älteste Schragen der Dom- oder Mariengilde zu Reval, in: *Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands 18:1* (1932), pp. 25–46; KALA, Keskaegse Tallinna väikekorporatsioonid (cit. n. 8), pp. 16–18.
- 25 KALA, Keskaegse Tallinna väikekorporatsioonid (cit. n. 8), p. 22.
- 26 *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (hereafter LCI), ed. E. KIRSCHBAUM, Rome 1968–76, reprint 1990 and 2004, vol. 5, col. 305–306.
- 27 Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch (hereafter LECUB), vol. 2, ed. Friedrich Georg von BUNGE, Reval 1855, no. 808. At first, the chapel stood in the cemetery, but in about the 1390s it was re-built and attached to the church; see Kersti MARKUS / Kaire TOOMING, Hilis-keskaegsest Niguliste kirikust hingepalvete ja eneseeksponeerimise peeglis, in: *Acta Historica Tallinnensia* 16 (2011), pp. 31–66, here pp. 33, 39–40.
- 28 TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Aa 15a, fol. 21r. The altar of the furriers is also mentioned in the testament of Hans Weydeman from 1511. TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. BN 1 Weydeman.
- 29 Rasmus KANGROPOOL, Püha Barbara kabel ja kalmistu [The chapel and cemetery of St. Barbara], in: *Vana Tallinn* 2 (1992), pp. 6–15.
- 30 Tiina KALA, The Church Calendar and Yearly Cycle in the Life of Medieval Reval, in: *Quotidianum Estonicum (Medium Aevum Quotidianum, Sonderband 5)*, ed. Jüri KIVIMÄE / Juhan KREEM, Krems 1996, pp. 103–110, here p. 110.
- 31 See, e.g., Matthias ZENDER, Heiligenverehrung im Hanseraum, in: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 92 (1974), pp. 1–15, here pp. 10–11.
- 32 One of the earliest references is from 1451. *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1432–1463 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte 22/1–2)*, ed. Reinhard VOGELANG, Cologne 1976, no. 852. See also KALA, Tallinna raad (cit. n. 6), p. 158.

- 33 MÄND, Über den Marienaltar (cit. n. 9), p. 235; Anu MÄND, The Altarpiece of the Virgin Mary of the Brotherhood of the Black Heads in Tallinn: Dating, Donors, and the Double Intercession, in: *Acta Historiae Artium Balticae* 2 (2007), pp. 35–53; *Eesti ajalugu*, 2: *Eesti keskaeg* [The History of Estonia, vol. 2: The Middle Ages], ed. Anti SELART, Tartu 2012, p. 236, fig. 68. The cult of St. George was probably even stronger among the Black Heads in Riga, because they possessed relics of the saint; see Hermann von BRUNINGK, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet nach dem Brauche der Rigaschen Kirche im späteren Mittelalter* (Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands 19), Riga 1904, pp. 418–419.
- 34 MARKUS / TOOMING, *Hiliskeskaegsest Niguliste kirikust* (cit. n. 27), pp. 43–48.
- 35 Anu MÄND, Hospitals and Tables for the Poor in Medieval Livonia, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 115/3–4 (2007), pp. 234–270, here pp. 239–240, 248.
- 36 KALA, *Keskaegse Tallinna väikekorporatsioonid* (cit. n. 8), p. 10.
- 37 The town of Tallinn and the Great Guild had the same coat of arms – white cross on the red shield. It is not surprising, since the town councillors were elected from the members of the Great Guild and the guild had an enormous influence on every aspect of town's life. If depicted on a work of art, it depends on the context whether to interpret it as the coat of arms of the guild or the town. In the altarpiece of St. Nicholas' Church, it is juxtaposed with the coat of arms of the Black Heads, and therefore clearly refers to the guild. In the altarpiece of the Holy Spirit Church, however, it features as the coat of arms of the town.
- 38 For details, see MÄND, Püha Viktor (cit. n. 3). An abbreviated version of this article was published in English: Anu MÄND, The Patron Saint of Medieval Tallinn, in: *Maasta, kivistä ja hengestä / Earth, Stone and Spirit*. Markus Hiekkanen Festschrift, ed. Hanna-Maria PELLINEN, Turku/Helsinki 2009, pp. 360–366.
- 39 MÄND, The Patron Saint (cit. n. 38), pp. 363–365.
- 40 See RASCHE, *Das Hochaltarretabel* (cit. n. 3), pp. 79–82. For the scenes of St. Victor, see MÄND, The Patron Saint (cit. n. 38), pp. 361–362.
- 41 See Gerhard JARITZ, *Nähe und Distanz als Gebrauchsfunktion spätmittelalterlicher religiöser Bilder*, in: *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter. Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen*, ed. Klaus SCHREINER, Munich 2002, pp. 331–346, here pp. 331–333; Kateřina HORNÍČKOVÁ, Contextualising and Visualising Saints in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, in: *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 62 (2011), pp. 21–40.
- 42 HORNÍČKOVÁ, Contextualising and Visualising Saints (cit. n. 41), pp. 33–35, ill. 8, 8a, 8b.
- 43 Anja Rasche has argued that the depiction of Lübeck, appearing also on some other works of Hermen Rode, can be understood as the painter's trade mark. RASCHE, *Werke des Lübecker Malers* (cit. n. 3), pp. 129–130.
- 44 *Acta Sanctorum, Mensis Julii*, vol. 5, Antwerp 1727, pp. 136, 143, 147.
- 45 Felix RÜTTEN, *Die Victorverehrung im christlichen Altertum. Eine kultgeschichtliche und hagiographische Studie*, Paderborn 1936, pp. 66–68.
- 46 RASCHE, *Das Hochaltarretabel* (cit. n. 3), p. 84. For the cult of St. Clement in the Hanseatic region, see ZENDER, *Heiligenverehrung* (cit. n. 31), p. 6 and a map on p. 5.
- 47 Another piece of evidence for the connection between St. Victor and the sea is the fact that in 1465, the town council of Tallinn bought a barque (*barse*), i.e. a fast multiple-masted sailing vessel, bearing the name of the saint. It was equipped with cannons, hence apparently not

- only meant to transport goods but also to be used for military purposes. The ship cost over 400 marks of Riga. LECUB 12, no. 312: *do brochte ik dem rade van Revel eyne barseyy genaent Sanctus Wychtorys*.
- 48 Gertrud SCHILLER, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 4:2 Maria, Gütersloh 1980, pp. 149–150.
- 49 Carl RUSSEWURM, *Das Altarblatt der St. Nicolaikirche zu Reval*, in: *Das Inland* 35 (1841), pp. 554–560, here p. 554; Wilhelm NEUMANN, *Werke mittelalterlicher Holzplastik und Malerei in Livland und Estland*, Lübeck 1892, p. 7; Sten KARLING, *Medeltida träskulptur i Estland* [Medieval wooden sculpture in Estonia], Stockholm 1946, pp. 123–126; Villem RAAM, *Gooti puuskulptuur Eestis* [Gothic wooden sculpture in Estonia], Tallinn 1976, pp. 40–41.
- 50 Nikolai G. BREGMAN, *Podsoloinyi risunok v altare Chermena Rode* [Underdrawings in Hermen Rode's altar], in: *Chudozhestvennoye nasledye* 8 [38] (1983), pp. 87–97, here pp. 94–95 and fig. 3.
- 51 RASCHE, *Das Hochaltarretabel* (cit. n. 3), pp. 88, 90–91.
- 52 MÄND, *Kes on kes* (cit. n. 3), pp. 12–13.
- 53 KALA, *Tallinna raad* (cit. n. 6), p. 156.
- 54 RASCHE, *Das Hochaltarretabel* (cit. n. 3), pp. 88–89.
- 55 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 121, fol. 15r; LECUB II/3, no. 502; KALA, *Keskaegse Tallinna väikekorporatsioonid* (cit. n. 8), pp. 22–23. In the beginning of the contract (1489) and in the statutes of the butchers (1509), the altar is named as that of St. Michael, whereas in the main text of the contract, St. Severin, St. John the Evangelist and St. Catherine are listed as patron saints.
- 56 Gude SUCKALE-REDLEFSEN, *Mauritius: Der heilige Mohr / The Black Saint Maurice*, Houston/Munich/Zurich 1987, p. 192.
- 57 MÄND, *Püha Viktor* (cit. n. 3), p. 22.
- 58 See MÄND, *Kes on kes* (cit. n. 3), pp. 14–15 and fig. 16–17.
- 59 In addition to scholars listed in note 49, also by SUCKALE-REDLEFSEN, *Mauritius* (cit. n. 56), pp. 192–193. Rasche doubted if it was St. Maurice but did not offer any alternatives: RASCHE, *Das Hochaltarretabel* (cit. n. 3), p. 88.
- 60 SUCKALE-REDLEFSEN, *Mauritius* (cit. n. 56), pp. 68–69.
- 61 MÄND, *Kes on kes* (cit. n. 3), pp. 16, 29, and fig. 18–19.
- 62 BRUININGK, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet* (cit. n. 33), pp. 418, 536–537.
- 63 Paul SIMSON, *Der Artushof in Danzig und seine Bruderschaften, die Banken, Danzig 1900*, reprint Aalen 1969, pp. 47–48; Paul FIEBIG, *St. Reinoldus in Kult, Liturgie und Kunst*, Dortmund 1956, pp. 140, 161–162, fig. 5–6. See also Beate WEIFENBACH, *Die Reinoldiikonographie und ihre Deutung*, in: *Reinold. Ein Ritter für Europa, Beschützer der Stadt Dortmund*, ed. WEIFENBACH, pp. 151–173.
- 64 TLA, coll. 31, inv. 1, no. 216, fol. 13v, 65v, 71v and elsewhere. The last record survives from 1520 (fol. 109r).
- 65 LCI, vol. 8, col. 573.
- 66 KALA, *Tallinna raad* (cit. n. 6), p. 156 (St. Olaf), p. 159 (St. Nicholas); *Kämmereibuch 1432–1463* (cit. n. 32), no. 2 (Holy Spirit); TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Bl 11, fol. 45r (Holy Spirit); no. BN 1 Hossierink 1521 (Holy Spirit). St. Margaret's altar in St. Nicholas' Church was one of the oldest, being mentioned already in 1350. *Das älteste Wittschopbuch der Stadt Reval (1312–1360)*, ed. Leonid ARBUSOW, Reval 1888, p. 131, no. 787.
- 67 KALA, *Tallinna raad* (cit. n. 6), pp. 158, 168.

- 68 LCI, vol. 8, col. 546–550.
- 69 ZENDER, Heiligenverehrung (cit. n. 31), pp. 6–7.
- 70 Valdeko VENDE, Gertrudi kirik [St. Gertrude's Church], in: Vana Tallinn 4 (1994), pp. 14–23.
- 71 LECUB 11, no. 158.
- 72 MÄND, Über den Marienaltar (cit. n. 9), pp. 231, 235; MÄND, The Altarpiece of the Virgin Mary (cit. n. 33), p. 38, fig. 1.
- 73 See the latest discussions about the foundation and the founders in: Pirita klooster 600 [Pirita Convent 600]. Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi / Studies on Art and Architecture 4 (2007).
- 74 For the triumphal cross in Lübeck, see Hartmut FREYTAG / Hildegard VOGELER, Das ikonographische programm des Triumphkreuzes und die Einbildung seines Auftraggebers in die christliche Heilsgeschichte, in: Bernt Notke. Das Triumphkreuz im Dom zu Lübeck. Festwochen im Lübecker Dom 5.–21. Mai 2009. Beiträge zum 500. Todesjahr von Bernt Notke, ed. Hildegard VOGELER / Uwe ALBRECHT / Hartmut FREYTAG, Kiel 2010, pp. 125–142, here pp. 132–133 and fig. on p. 168.
- 75 The early modern artist wished to depict the apostles: one can recognize St. Peter with the keys and St. Paul with the sword. The two other apostles hold simply a book.
- 76 KARLING, Medeltida träskulptur (cit. n. 49), p. 121.
- 77 RASCHE, Das Hochaltarretabel (cit. n. 3), p. 86.
- 78 The sequence of figures was again changed during the restoration in the 1980s and in 2008.
- 79 MÄND, Saints' Cults (cit. n. 23), pp. 216–219; Merike KURISOO, *Sancta Anna ora pro nobis*. Images and Veneration of St Anne in Medieval Livonia, in: Acta Historiae Artium Balticae 2 (2007), pp. 18–34, here pp. 21–27.
- 80 See MÄND, Hospitals and Tables for the Poor (cit. n. 35), pp. 243–246.
- 81 *Anno d[omi]ni m cccc lxxxiii deus relegavit In die penthecostes apostolos confirmavit Sanctum su[u]m spiritum* (Anno Domini 1483. At the Pentecost, God sent out the Apostles and confirmed the Holy Spirit).
- 82 Published in: Walter PAATZ, Bernt Notke und sein Kreis, vol. 1, Berlin 1939, pp. 291–292; Otto GREIFFENHAGEN, Zwei unveröffentlichte Briefe Bernt Notkes von 1484 aus dem Stadtarchiv Tallinn, in: Fornvännen 35 (1940), pp. 54–55.
- 83 Hagenbeke originated from Duisburg; he is first mentioned as a town councillor in Tallinn in April 1468; he made his testament on 1 July 1482 and was dead by Easter 1483. Torsten DERRIK, Das Bruderbuch der Revaler Tafelgilde (1364–1549), Marburg 2000, Mikrofiche-Ausgabe, pp. 118–119.
- 84 E.g. the cycle of 23 scenes painted on the gallery of the Holy Spirit Church in Lübeck, ca. 1440. Christiane SAUMWEBER, Zum spätgotischen Elisabethzyklus im Lübecker Heiligen-Geist-Hospital: Auswertung des technologischen Befundes, in: Malerei und Skulptur des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Norddeutschland: Künstlerischer Austausch im Kulturraum zwischen Nordsee und Baltikum, ed. Hartmut KROHM / Uwe ALBRECHT / Matthias WENIGER, Berlin 2004, pp. 125–130, fig. 1.
- 85 Sheila SWEETINBURGH, The role of the hospital in medieval England: Gift-giving and the spiritual economy, Dublin 2004, p. 31.
- 86 See PETERMANN, Bernt Notke (cit. n. 4), pp. 98–99.
- 87 KALA, Tallinna raad (cit. n. 6), pp. 157–158.