

CHURCH ART, COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD AND THE SAINTS' CULT: CONSTRUCTING INDIVIDUAL AND CORPORATE *MEMORIA* IN LATE MEDIEVAL TALLINN

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This article discusses the rituals of commemoration in late medieval Tallinn, donations to the Church as a means of perpetuating one's memory, and extant artworks that can be linked to the phenomenon of *memoria*. The analysis includes individual and collective strategies for commemoration, and the selected case studies illustrate the intentions and actions of both sexes. It also addresses the role of personal and institutional patron saints in the phenomenon of endowments and in the culture of commemoration. The article begins with a review of normative sources (mainly the statutes of merchants' guilds) and proceeds to memorial monuments commissioned by groups and individuals.

In the Middle Ages, as well as later, people created a number of artworks intended to commemorate the dead: gravestones, tomb monuments, cenotaphs, altarpieces, stained-glass windows and other church furnishings – all of them usually connected to a real or symbolic burial site. These monuments and their spatial contexts were part of a complex strategy to define what was to be remembered, when and how. Memorial monuments were connected with rituals of commemoration, and they formed bridges between the living and the dead.¹

Memoria is a term that refers primarily to the liturgical remembrance of the dead. However, its wider meaning embraces all aspects of the medieval culture of remembrance, including the written word and artworks created to honor and commemorate the deceased, as well as a variety of religious and secular rituals aimed at taking care of the souls of the departed and at perpetuating their achievements. *Memoria* is a social phenomenon that concerned all layers of the society; it was a powerful tool for expressing the identity of individuals and social groups.²

¹ Valdez del Alamo, E., Pendergast, C. S. Introduction. – In: Memory and the Medieval Tomb. Eds E. Valdez del Alamo, C. S. Pendergast. Ashgate, Aldershot, 2000, 1.

² Oexle, O. G. Memoria als Kultur. – In: Memoria als Kultur. Ed. O. G. Oexle. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1995, 39; Bueren, T. van, Weijert, R. de. Medieval Memoria Online (MeMO): New Research Possibilities. http://memo.hum.uu.nl/pdf/MeMO_project-plan.pdf, 3. [Accessed 10.09.2011].

One of the pioneers who brought the topic of *memoria* to the center of scholarly attention was Otto Gerhard Oexle.³ In recent decades, research on the role of *memoria* in medieval culture and society has become increasingly popular and, in 2009, the project Medieval *Memoria* Online (MeMO) was launched in the Netherlands under the leadership of Truus van Bueren from the University of Utrecht.⁴ Research on the commemoration of the dead has naturally also involved tomb monuments and similar artworks, which can be regarded as memory *stimuli*. It has been pointed out that remembrance was not something static; it was an active, even interactive process. Memory was stimulated by image, object, space and ritual.⁵

The majority of studies on medieval *memoria* and sepulchral monuments in Western Europe have concentrated on the nobility, especially royalty, and on high clerics, such as bishops and abbots.⁶ Other social layers have received considerably less attention, partly because of the scarcity of source material. The first studies on *memoria* in medieval Livonia have been conducted within the last decade and have been limited to written sources.⁷ The aim of this article is to discuss rituals of commemoration in late medieval Tallinn (German Reval), donations to the Church as a means to perpetuate one's memory, and extant artworks that can be linked to the phenomenon of *memoria*. The latter will be explored in their social, liturgical and spatial contexts, combining the methodologies of social history and visual culture studies. The background, status and ambitions of the donors are of primary importance for understanding these monuments. The article will chiefly (but not exclusively) focus on wealthy burghers, such as merchants. The discussion includes both individual and collective strategies for commemoration, and the case

³ **Oexle, O. G.** Memoria und Memorialbild. – In: Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter. Eds K. Schmid, J. Wollasch. Fink, München, 1984, 384–440; **Oexle, O. G.** Memoria in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur des Mittelalters. – In: Modernes Mittelalter. Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche. Ed. J. Heinzle. Insel Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1994, 297–323; Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters. Eds D. Geuenich, O. G. Oexle. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1994.

⁴ See http://memo.hum.uu.nl/pdf/MeMO_project-plan.pdf.

⁵ **Valdez del Alamo, E., Pendergast, C. S.** Introduction, 1–4.

⁶ For example: Care for the Here and the Hereafter: *Memoria*, Art and Ritual in the Middle Ages. Eds T. van Bueren, A. van Leerda. Brepols, Turnhout, 2005; Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England. Eds C. M. Barron, C. Burgess. (Harlaxton Medieval Studies, XX.) Shaun Tyas, Donington, 2010; **Harris, B. J.** The Fabric of Piety: Aristocratic Women and Care of the Dead, 1450–1550. – Journal of British Studies, 2009, 48, 308–335; **Saul, N.** English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages. History and Representation. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009.

⁷ **Levans, A.** Die lebendigen Toten. Memoria in der Kanzlei der Erzbischöfe von Riga im Spätmittelalter. – In: Kollektivität und Individualität. Der Mensch im östlichen Europa. Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Norbert Angermann zum 65. Geburtstag. Eds K. Brüggemann, T. M. Bohn, K. Maier. Verlag Dr. Kovač, Hamburg, 2001, 3–35; **Strenga, G.** “Bidden vor myner sele”. The Dominicans as Intercessors between Townspeople and God in Late Medieval Reval. – Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU, 2007, 13, 111–132; **Strenga, G.** Piemiņa un atmiņa: divas parādības vēlo viduslaiku Livonijas religiskajā un laicīgajā dzīvē. – Latvijas Universitātes Raksti/Scientific Papers, University of Latvia, 2009, 725, 58–70.

studies are chosen to illustrate the intentions and actions of both sexes.⁸ First, information on the commemoration practices in the normative sources – the guild statutes – will be reviewed. Then, some extant artworks will be discussed that were commissioned by associations or individuals and, in addition to having a devotional function, served as parts of their remembrance.⁹ The article also touches upon the role of personal and associational patron saints in the phenomenon of donations and in the culture of commemoration.

CONSTRUCTING CORPORATE *MEMORIA* IN GUILDS AND CONFRATERNITIES

The arrangement of burials and the regular commemoration of its members was one of the key functions of every late medieval association. There is hardly any statute of a guild, craft or confraternity which does not include stipulations concerning these matters. The collective participation in burials, in memorial masses and in commemoration ceremonies in the guild hall expressed and strengthened the group identity. The members of an association could be certain that they would be provided with a proper Christian funeral, appropriate to their social status, and that they would not be forgotten after death. The intense attention which the late medieval associations paid to intercessory prayers was due to the idea of Purgatory that emerged in the Latin West beginning in the second half of the twelfth century and was developed into a doctrine in the following centuries: it was believed that the prayers of the living decreased the duration of time souls had to spend in Purgatory and smoothed their way to Paradise.¹⁰

Various statutes from Tallinn indicate that a guild organized the night watch over the dead body and the procession to the church, paid for the guild candles used at the funeral service, ordered a vigil and a number of requiem masses, and carried the corpse to the grave. For example, the late-fourteenth century statutes of the Great Guild, the most important association in Tallinn,¹¹ state that when a guild brother died, the guild would provide the coffin cover and the candles, and

⁸ Female piety and donations by women will be discussed in more detail in another article of mine, “Gender, *Memoria* and Sacred Art”, to be published in the proceedings of the conference “Art and Ritual in Late Medieval and Early Modern Northern and Central Europe”, which took place 1–3 Sept. 2011 in Tallinn.

⁹ The discussion excludes tombstones because there is a comparatively recent M. A. thesis on them, published in 2006: **Loit, M.** Keskaegsest surmakultuurist ja hauatähistest reformatsioonieelse Tallinna kirikutes ja kloostrites. – In: Vana Tallinn XVII (XXI). Ed. R. Pullat. Estopol, Tallinn, 2006, 13–190.

¹⁰ **Le Goff, J.** The Birth of Purgatory. Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1990, 4–5, 11–12, 154–159, 237, 283–286, 362–366; **Binski, P.** Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation. British Museum Press, London, 1996, 25–26.

¹¹ This guild consisted predominantly of more substantial merchants of German origin, involved in wholesale and long-distance trade. There were also a few representatives of other ranks and occupations, such as town scribes. See **Mänd, A.** Suurgildi teke, põhikiri ja liikmeskond. – In: **Leimus, I. et al.** Tallinna Suurgild ja gildimaja. Eesti Ajaloomuuseum, Tallinn, 2011, 34–46.

pay for the vigil in the evening and for the three requiem masses in the morning. When a guild brother passed away abroad, it was still customary to order a vigil and three requiems, and the members had to commemorate the deceased. All brothers and sisters¹² who were in town were obliged to attend the vigil, the masses and the burial. The pomp of the funeral ceremony and the number of the mourners were signs of social prestige, and expressed the high status of the deceased.¹³

Some associations, perhaps all of them, had a special coffin cover (*boldeke*) and a bier to be used at these rituals. The Great Guild had a pall, and so did the Brotherhood of the Black Heads and the Virgin Mary's Guild on the castle hill.¹⁴ It can be assumed that the pall was decorated with the emblem of the association. The Great Guild forbade the use of the coffin cover if the deceased had not taken part in the social life of the guild.¹⁵ This indicates that the pall was an important marker of group identity and it was only given to those who had honored the guild's traditions.

As already mentioned, the dead were not forgotten after burial. The guilds paid for the liturgical remembrance of their deceased members and at least some of them also arranged commemoration ceremonies in guild halls. Since it was believed that the time in the flames of Purgatory could be shortened by the number of intercessory prayers, wealthy associations commissioned memorial masses and prayers for the dead from as many churches as possible. The Great Guild regularly paid for liturgical remembrances in four houses of God: the parish churches of St Nicholas and St Olaf, the Holy Spirit Church and St Catherine's Church of the Dominicans.¹⁶ According to the statutes, the memorial masses in St Nicholas' Church were sung every month.¹⁷ In 1478, the guild endowed 200 marks for the requiems held on Mondays at the Holy Cross altar in the Holy Spirit Church. The annual interest – typically six per cent in late medieval Tallinn – covered the continuing costs of the requiem.¹⁸

Since in St Nicholas' and St Olaf's Church the sums were paid to the parish priests and not to the chantry priests who served at the altars of the Great Guild, it

¹² Guild sisters were the wives and widows of guild brothers.

¹³ **Nottbeck, E. v.** Die alten Schragen der Grossen Gilde zu Reval. Kluge & Ströhm, Reval, 1885, 43, § 26–27, 44, § 35; for details, see **Mänd, A.** Matused ja surnute mälestamine. – In: **Leimus, I. et al.** Tallinna Suurgild, 92.

¹⁴ **Nottbeck, E. v.** Die alten Schragen, 43, § 26–27, § 30; Staatsarchiv Hamburg, B. 612-2/6, Nr. E 1, fol. 12v (1426): *de swarten houede ze tugheden do en gulden stuckke tho em boeldeke*; **Stillmark, F.** Der älteste Schragen der Dom- oder Mariengilde zu Reval. – In: Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands, Bd. 18. Kluge, Reval, 1932, 40, § 25; for the major associations in Riga, see **Stieda, W., Mettig, C.** Schragen der Gilden und Aemter der Stadt Riga bis 1621. Häcker, Riga, 1896, 318, § 52, 662, § 6; **Mänd, A.** Kirikute hõbevara: altaririistad keskaegsel Liivimaal. Muinsuskaitseamet, Tallinn, 2008, 198, § 11, 200.

¹⁵ **Nottbeck, E. v.** Die alten Schragen, 43, § 30.

¹⁶ **Mänd, A.** Altarid, missad ja hingepalved. – In: **Leimus, I. et al.** Tallinna Suurgild, 82–83.

¹⁷ **Nottbeck, E. v.** Die alten Schragen, 43, § 31.

¹⁸ Tallinn City Archives (Est. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, hereafter TLA), collection (coll.) 230, list (l.) 1, no. Aa 35b, fol. 39r. See also **Kala, T.** Ludeke Karwel, kogudusevaimulik. – In: **Kala, T., Kreem, J., Mänd, A.** Kümme keskaegset tallinlast. Argo, Tallinn, 2006, 173.

can be surmised that the memorial masses were sung at the high altar, which would not be surprising considering the elite status of this guild. The names of the deceased brothers and sisters were read aloud and prayers for their souls were said from the pulpit (at that time called the *predikstol*, the sermon-chair). Naturally, it was also the task of the chantry priests to celebrate the mass and to pray for the souls of the living and the dead – for this purpose, the Great Guild had patronage over four altars, two in both parish churches. They also contributed to the maintenance of the two altars of the Black Heads in the Dominican church.¹⁹ It is not clear from the normative sources how often the memorial masses were celebrated on the guild altars, but presumably at least once a week.

The Table Guild, a charitable sub-organization of the Great Guild, commemorated its deceased members in the Holy Spirit Church. In the early sixteenth century, the general assembly of this guild took place on the second Sunday after Easter. On Saturday evening, a vigil was held, and on Sunday morning, the memorial mass.²⁰ The vigils and memorial masses for the deceased brothers were also sung shortly after Christmas, when the Table Guild elected a new warden.²¹ Their accounts indicate that the guild paid for the vigils and memorial masses for the parish priest of St Olaf as well, although this was not required in the statutes.²²

In Riga, the Great Guild commemorated its members at the end of their main festival at Shrovetide: traditionally with a vigil and five memorial masses. On All Souls' Day, on 2 November, which was the general feast to commemorate the dead, the guild paid for the singing of ten masses in both parish churches “for the consolation and salvation of all souls”.²³ Its Table Guild ordered a vigil on the second Sunday after Michaelmas and a memorial mass the day after.²⁴ According to the statutes of the Black Heads in Riga of 1416, the parish priest of St Peter's Church was to commemorate the confraternity members from the pulpit each Sunday.²⁵

Presumably it was not obligatory for the members of the guilds and confraternities to be present in the church at the monthly or weekly remembrances; however, they participated in the masses *in corpore* during their main annual festivals (*drunke*). The Great Guild in Riga obliged its members to participate in vigils and requiem masses at the end of the Shrovetide *drunke*, and added that every one had to perform his duty to the deceased in the same manner as he wished to be done for him after his death.²⁶ The statutes of the Black Heads in Riga indicate that, during the Shrovetide *drunke*, the deceased brothers were

¹⁹ Mänd, A. Altarid, missad ja hingepalved, 81–85.

²⁰ Nottbeck, E. v. Die alten Schragen, 68, § 3, 71, § 5–7.

²¹ Ibid., 66, § 18.

²² TLA, coll. 191, l. 1, no. 193, fol. 2r.

²³ Stieda, W., Mettig, C. Schragen, 318–319, § 52–53.

²⁴ Ibid., 661–662, § 6, § 10.

²⁵ Ibid., 553, § 27: *Item so scal men deme kerkeren geven veer ore vor vigilien unde veer ore deme kerkeren to denkende der swarten hovede alle sundage van deme predykstole.*

²⁶ Ibid., 318, § 52: *...unde don unsen vorvaren also na, also hee wolde, dat men eme dede na sineme dode.*

commemorated in St Catherine's Church of the Franciscans with a vigil on Friday (meaning the Friday before Shrove Tuesday) and with requiem masses on Sunday (i.e. *Estomihi*); in the parish church of St Peter, the vigil was held on Ash Wednesday and the masses the day after.²⁷ Their Shrovetide regulations of 1510 specify that on Ash Wednesday, after the vigil, the alderman demanded that each brother had to be present at the memorial mass on the following day at 8:00 am under threat of fine. Another stipulation describes the ritual as follows: on Thursday at 8:00 they assembled at the confraternity house and moved to St Peter's Church in pairs, the alderman in front of the line. The memorial mass was celebrated at the confraternity altar and each brother was expected to make an offering to the church.²⁸

The regulations of the Black Heads in Tallinn were not as detailed with regard to the commemoration of the dead as those in Riga, but there are hints that similar ceremonies were performed at the end of their Christmas *drunke* (and probably also at Shrovetide). Towards the end of the festival, the Black Heads gathered in the Dominican church for the morning mass that took place between eight and nine.²⁹ After that, the brothers proceeded to the confraternity house to hold a general assembly. Every member was obliged to take part in the mass and in the assembly, and the absentees were fined.³⁰

The Great Guild in Tallinn obliged its members to take part in the Virgin Mary mass in the Holy Spirit Church 14 days after Easter (i.e. at the time when the Table Guild held its annual gathering). The same mass was also sung at the end of their Shrovetide *drunke*, before the guild brothers assembled in the guild house.³¹ In addition to these corporate forms of remembrance, each member of the Table Guild had to individually order a memorial mass for the soul of the departed.³² The wealthier an association was, the more they "invested" in the liturgical remembrance of their deceased brothers and sisters.

How did the guilds obtain the funds for all these masses and intercessory prayers in different churches? The statutes of the Great Guild and the Table Guild in Tallinn and Riga indicate that money for the dead was regularly collected from the guild members at the general assemblies.³³ The second source of income was the endowments of individual members. For instance, in 1457, Ludeke Karwel, the priest of the Holy Spirit Church, who was a member of the Great Guild, donated 500 marks to the guild, the interest on which was partly meant for the guild altar of St Blaise in St Nicholas' Church. The interest on another 200 marks was to be

²⁷ Ibid., 553, § 25–26.

²⁸ Ibid., 615, § 169, § 174.

²⁹ **Mänd, A.** Urban Carnival. Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550. Brepols, Turnhout, 2005, 65, 294, § 61.

³⁰ Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch, Bd. 9. Ed. H. Hildebrand. Deubner, Riga, 1889, no. 696, § 10.

³¹ **Mänd, A.** Altarid, missad ja hingepalved, 83.

³² **Nottbeck, E. v.** Die alten Schragen, 66, § 14.

³³ Ibid., 50, § 80, 71, § 14; **Stieda, W., Mettig, C.** Schragen, 662–663, § 13 (1425): Each member had to pay one *artig* for every deceased brother and sister.

paid to Karwel's mother but, after her death, a perpetual mass for the souls of the deceased brothers and sisters of the Great Guild was to be celebrated in the Holy Spirit Church. It was particularly important to sing this mass on three major religious feasts: at Easter, Pentecost and Christmas; at other times the priest could say it at the time that best suited him.³⁴

Quite probably, the guilds provided the churches with the lists of their deceased members. Such a list was also necessary for the ritual of commemoration in the guild hall. The statutes of the Table Guild in Riga indicate that, after the common meal, the guild wardens had to ring a bell and announce how many brothers and sisters had died within the year.³⁵ The lists of the deceased members of the Table Guild in Tallinn have been preserved: they cover the years from 1448 to 1549 (with a few gaps).³⁶ Only the male members are recorded; there is no way to ascertain if, for the parish and chantry priests, the guild also provided the list of the guild sisters or if the priests were to pray for the sisters as a nameless group. Normally, the Table Guild wrote down the names of the deceased at Easter. However, during certain periods, the names were recorded three times a year, as well as at Christmas and Shrovetide, the main annual festivals of the Great Guild. Some of these "extra" lists can be explained by the outbreak of the plague, when the number of the dead was higher than usual. During the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century, epidemics were documented in Tallinn in 1464/65, 1474, 1481/82, 1495, 1503/04, 1520/21, 1532, 1539, 1546 and 1549.³⁷ One of the most devastating plagues was the one in 1464–65, when the Great Guild lost 35 members between Christmas and Shrovetide and another 15 between Shrovetide and Easter. Thus, in about four months, 50 guild brothers died.³⁸ St Canute's Guild of craftsmen also lost half of its members (at least 43 men) during the same plague.³⁹ The consequences of and responses to these disastrous events, in social, economic and cultural terms, have not yet been given sufficient attention by scholars.

Considering the recurrent character of the plague and the insecurity of human life in the late Middle Ages, it is not surprising that the associations paid so much attention to regulating the burials and ensuring the commemoration of their members. However, it was not only the liturgy and the guild rituals that served for the corporate remembrance of the dead; images also played a central role in the intercessory prayers and in constructing and expressing group identity. An altarpiece of the Black Heads which once stood on their Virgin Mary altar in

³⁴ Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch, Bd. 11. Ed. P. Schwartz. Deubner, Riga, 1905, no. 524; **Kala, T.** Ludeke Karwel, 175.

³⁵ **Stieda, W., Mettig, C.** Schragen, 662–663, § 13.

³⁶ TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 1, fol. 20v–72r. In 1522 and 1524, the deceased were also recorded in the account book of the warden of the Table Guild (TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 3, fol. 30r, 37v).

³⁷ **Mänd, A.** Matused ja surnute mälestamine, 94.

³⁸ Ibid.; TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 1, fol. 31r.

³⁹ **Mänd, A.** Tallinna Kanuti gild ja selle oldermannid keskajal. – In: Modus vivendi II. Vana Tallinn XVI (XX). Ed. R. Pullat. Estopol, Tallinn, 2005, 139.

the Dominican church has been preserved. It arrived in Tallinn in 1493. As is characteristic of elite associations, it was not commissioned from local masters, but – as an indicator of wealth and prestige – from Bruges, one of the leading art centers of the time.⁴⁰ The altarpiece has two pairs of wings, meaning that it was possible to display it in three different positions depending on the weekday or religious feast. Its second view represents a double intercession and two groups of donors, altogether 30 men, kneeling at the feet of the Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist (Fig. 1). Although no written evidence has survived as to which position the altarpiece was displayed in during the memorial masses of the Black Heads, its iconography suggests that it was the second one. The double intercession, in which Mary reveals her breast and turns to her Son, asking for the salvation of the donors, and Christ, in turn, pointing to his side wound, appeals to God the Father, was considered to be one of the most powerful forms of intercession in the late Middle Ages.⁴¹ The figures of the praying donors not only represent the



Fig. 1. Altarpiece of the Virgin Mary, 2nd view. Master of the St Lucy Legend, before 1493. Niguliste Museum. Photo by Stanislav Stepashko.

⁴⁰ For details, see **Mänd, A.** The altarpiece of the Virgin Mary of the Brotherhood of the Black Heads in Tallinn: dating, donors, and the double intercession. – *Acta Historiae Artium Balticae*, 2007, **2**, 35–53.

⁴¹ For this iconographic theme and for its source, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, see *ibid.*, 48–52.

commissioners but also symbolize all the confraternity members – the living and the dead – who seek the salvation of their souls, and who have powerful saints as intercessors to smooth their way to Paradise. By gathering in front of this altarpiece as a group and taking part in the Holy Mass, the confraternity members prayed for their deceased members and, in doing so, regularly renewed and strengthened the bonds between the living and the dead.

THE MERCHANT HANS PAWELS AND HIS CENOTAPH

Thus far, the corporate forms of remembrance have been discussed. A fine example of how an individual invested in a visual commemoration of himself is the cenotaph of the merchant Hans Pawels (Fig. 2). It is in the eastern wall of the chapel of the Virgin Mary, which is located on the south side of the chancel of St Olaf's Church (Fig. 3). The cenotaph, made of limestone, looks like a carved altarpiece. It depicts eight scenes from the Passion of Christ: Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, the Arrest of Christ, Christ before Caiaphas, the Crowning with Thorns, Christ before Pilate, and the Carrying of the Cross. In the now empty niche in the middle, there was most probably a Calvary scene, perhaps even with the figure of the donor kneeling at the base of the cross.

Below the “altarpiece” is a horizontal niche, forming a kind of “predella”, with the figure of a skeleton lying on a folded shroud (Fig. 4). On its chest sits a



Fig. 2. Cenotaph of the merchant Hans Pawels, 1513–1516. Photo by Stanislav Stepashko.

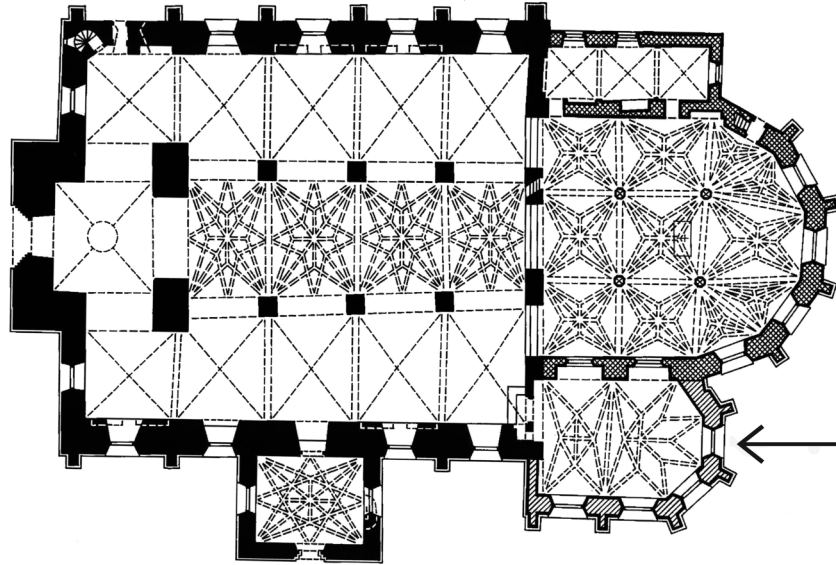


Fig. 3. Location of Pawels' cenotaph in the east end of the Virgin Mary's chapel at St Olaf's Church.



Fig. 4. Skeleton with a toad and a snake in the lower niche of the cenotaph. Photo: TÜKAF B-94-2471, c. 1943.

toad and, on the right side of the skull, a snake is approaching the socket of the eye. Both creatures are well-known symbols of death, sin and decay. This type of imagery was characteristic of the *transi* tombs, or cadaver tombs, which began to spread in Europe towards the end of the fourteenth century, and which displayed skeletons or putrefying corpses.⁴²

On the wall behind the skeleton, there is an inscribed plaque with the coat of arms (actually the house mark) of Hans Pawels in the lower left corner (Fig. 5). The verse in Middle Low German reads as follows:

*Dat ick vorgaf is mi gebl[even]
Was ick behelt heft my bo[geven]
[H]irvme sal sik nemant to h[och] [er]/heven
Also roek vorgheyt des myn/scen leuen
hans pawls / gedechtenisze 1513.
(What I gave away has stayed with me.
What I kept has left me.
Therefore no one should raise himself too high:
Human life passes by like smoke.
In memory of Hans Pawels, 1513.)*



Fig. 5. Plaque with the inscription and the coat of arms of Hans Pawels. Photo by Stanislav Stepashko.

⁴² For details, see **Binski, P.** *Medieval Death*, 139–152; **King, P.** ‘My image to be made all naked’: cadaver tombs and the commemoration of women in fifteenth-century England. – *The Ricardian. Journal of the Richard III Society*, 2003, 13, 294–295; see also **Loit, M.** *Keskaegsest surmakultuurist*, 131–135.

This didactic type of verse was rather widespread at the time: similar verses can, for instance, be found in the books of brothers of the Tallinn Black Heads and on the tombstone of a burgomaster in Gdansk (Danzig), Philipp Bischof.⁴³ On the one hand, the inscription reminds the viewers of the shortness of life and the inevitability of death; on the other hand, it commemorates a concrete person – Hans Pawels.⁴⁴ Both the verse and the image of the skeleton visualize the idea of *memento mori*.

Who was this man who commissioned such a magnificent monument for himself? According to information from one of his descendants in the late seventeenth century, the town councilor Michael Paulsen, Hans Pawels came from Frankfurt am Main.⁴⁵ Whether this is true or not cannot be ascertained, but he was certainly not the first merchant of this name in Tallinn. The first Hans Pawels was admitted to the Great Guild at the Christmas *drunke* of 1445/46, and the next one in 1466/67.⁴⁶ The second Hans Pawels took the burgher's oath in 1468⁴⁷ and one of them died as *her* Johan Pawels by Shrovetide 1469.⁴⁸ Since it was common at that time, not only in noble but also in merchant families, to name one of the sons (often the first one) after his father, it is possible that our Hans Pawels was a third-generation inhabitant of Tallinn.

He first appears in the sources at the Christmas *drunke* of 1489/90, when he was admitted to the Brotherhood of the Black Heads; he remained a confraternity member until the Christmas *drunke* of 1493/94.⁴⁹ Towards the end of the same festival, he entered the Great Guild,⁵⁰ which indicates that he had completed his journeyman years and become an independent merchant. In 1493 or 1494, he bought a house on *Lange strate* (presently Pikk 35) and got married.⁵¹ In 1495, he bought another house on *Susterstrate* (Lai 30), although he continued to live in

⁴³ **Nottbeck, E. v.** *Revals alte Schaffer-Poesie und Reime. – Beiträge zur Kunde Ehst-, Liv- und Kurlands*, 1900, 5, 393; **Loit, M.** *Keskaegsest surmakultuurist*, 136.

⁴⁴ The year 1513, mentioned at the end of the text, refers to the commission of the cenotaph, not to its completion or to the death of the donor. There is also another date, 1514, carved above the door in the scene of Christ's entry into Jerusalem.

⁴⁵ [No author]. *Denkmale gemeinnützigen Bürgersinns in Reval im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. – Das Inland*, 1844, 22, 341; see also **Karling, S.** *Die Marienkapelle an der Olaiikirche und ihr Bildwerk. – Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Aastaraamat 1935*. Tartu, 1937, 105.

⁴⁶ TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 1, fol. 19v, 32v.

⁴⁷ *Das Revaler Bürgerbuch 1409–1624* (hereafter *Bürgerbuch*). Ed. O. Greiffenhagen. *Revaler Estn. Verlagsgenossenschaft*, Reval, 1932, 28.

⁴⁸ TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 1, fol. 34r.

⁴⁹ TLA, coll. 87, l. 1, no. 20, pag. 301, 330.

⁵⁰ TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 1, fol. 47v.

⁵¹ In the real estate book of the town, the house was listed in Pawel's name in 1494 (TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Aa 35b, fol. 56r); however, the date 1493 was carved into the portal. The door-side stones (*Beischlagsteine*) of this house, representing the Virgin Mary as the apocalyptic Madonna (standing on a crescent moon and surrounded by sunbeams) and St George, were drawn by the Danish artist S. Abildgaard in 1754 (**Kangroopool, R.** *Tallinna hilisgooti etikukividest. – In: Vana Tallinn IV (VIII)*. Ed. R. Pullat. *Estopol*, Tallinn, 1994, 7, fig. 1). The depiction of the Virgin Mary in front of the house is, in addition to the chapel, another manifestation of Pawel's devotion to the saint.

the aforementioned house.⁵² He took the burgher's oath on 3 June 1495.⁵³ The highest position he reached in the Great Guild was that of assessor (*Beisitzer*), and he stayed in this office from 1512 to 1514.⁵⁴ He belonged to the parish of St Olaf and, from 1513 (possibly even earlier) until 1519, he was one of the church wardens.⁵⁵ Not much is known of the nature and scope of Pawels's actions as a merchant, but he seems to have mainly imported wine,⁵⁶ and he had connections in Lübeck and Gdansk (Danzig).⁵⁷ He died in 1519. He is last recorded as being alive in March, when he attended the Shrovetide *drunke* of the guild.⁵⁸ His will has not been preserved. His commemoration in the guild began at Easter 1520.⁵⁹ According to the aforementioned seventeenth-century document, Pawels and his wife were buried in St Olaf's Church under the same tombstone (later numbered 164), located near the new baptismal font, i.e. on the western side of the church.⁶⁰

The social career of Hans Pawels indicates that he was a respected and influential man in the community, although he did not reach the most desirable position, that of town councilor. As a church warden, Pawels was in charge of the building, or rather the re-building, of the chapel of the Virgin Mary. (It is not known when the first chapel of the Blessed Virgin was built; the earliest references to it are from 1437.⁶¹) Since it is not known when exactly Pawels was elected a church

⁵² TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Aa 35b, fol. 88r. This house is situated behind the house at Pikk Street 35. In 1523, both houses were delivered to the merchant Alert Drekop, who married the widow of Hans Pawels.

⁵³ Bürgerbuch, 36.

⁵⁴ TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 15, pag. 33, 49.

⁵⁵ Records with his hand-writing survive from 1513 (TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Aa 245, fol. 1r). The church had two wardens, one of them usually a town councilor, the other a worthy representative of the community. According to Kuujo, Pawels's partner was first Hinrik Dellinkhusen (until 1514), and later the councilor Ewert Hessels (1514–17): **Kuujo, E. O.** Die rechtliche und wirtschaftliche Stellung der Pfarrkirchen in Alt-Livland. Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, Helsinki, 1953, 187. However, Hessels was in office until June 1526, when Hans Selhorst and Jurgen Gellinkhusen were elected as new wardens (Aa 245, fol. 43v). Selhorst had already been a warden of this church from 1519 to 1523, taking the accounts over from Pawels's widow in March 1520 (*ibid.*, fol. 38v), but in 1521 he was elected an alderman of the Great Guild, in 1523 a warden of the New Hospital, and in 1524 a town councilor; thus, he presumably had to give up his post at the parish church because of too many obligations.

⁵⁶ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Ad 32, fol. 20r (27.10.1509), 55v (18.02.1514).

⁵⁷ **Derrick, T.** Das Bruderbuch der Revaler Tafelgilde (1364–1549). Mikrofiche-Ausgabe, Tectum Verlag, Marburg, 2000, 409; **Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R.** Beziehungen der Städte Deutschlands zu Reval in den Jahren 1500–1807. Revaler Regesten [I]. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1966, 59, no. 61a.

⁵⁸ TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 15, pag. 99. His last records in the account book of St Olaf's Church are dated 2 February 1519 (TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Aa 245, fol. 36r–36v).

⁵⁹ TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 1, fol. 58v.

⁶⁰ Denkmale gemeinnützigen Bürgersinns, 341. His tombstone has not been preserved and there is no information about what it looked like. Based on the ground plan by Heinrich Julius Woltemat (1691), the baptismal font stood in the south-west corner of the church; see **Kurissoo, M.** Ristimise läte. Ristimiskivid keskaegsel Liivimaal. Muinsuskaitseamet, Tallinn, 2009, 34, fig. 20.

⁶¹ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Ad 14, fol. 1r (1437): *It. gegeuen der vrowen de vnser vrowen cappelle vorwart vor er loen – 5 mr.* See also fol. 1v.

warden, we also do not know if it was his ambition to rebuild the chapel or if it had been planned by the previous wardens. The latter seems more likely because, in May 1509, a charter was issued by twelve cardinals in Rome, granting a hundred days of indulgence to those who supported the construction work on this chapel.⁶² Such charters were usually composed in response to a local initiative; therefore, it seems highly likely that the idea for grand reconstruction emerged some years before 1509, at the time of the church wardens Hinrik Dellinkhusen, Sr. (warden 1496–1514, alderman of the Great Guild 1508–11) and burgomaster Gert Witte (warden 1498–c. 1510, and town councilor from at least 1502).⁶³ In the same charter, a confraternity of the Virgin Mary at the chapel of the same name at St Olaf's Church is first recorded in the sources.⁶⁴ Quite probably, this association was founded to support, or perhaps even initiate, the re-building of the chapel.

The history of the construction work, based on the account book kept by Pawels and his successors, has been outlined by Sten Karling⁶⁵; therefore, I will only briefly summarize it, making additions where necessary. The construction began in about 1512,⁶⁶ that is, at the time when Hans Pawels was probably already the church warden. He was the chief figure behind the organizational matters, inviting masons and sculptors from well-known art centers in Germany. The building master, Bernt Wolt, and his two assistants, Gert Koningk and Hinrik van der Borch, arrived from Münster – and it was Pawels who drew up the contracts.⁶⁷ Thus, the wardens did not hire local masters, but wanted the best their money could buy. Wolt left the town in 1516 and his obligations were taken over by Koningk, now a master. The building was practically ready by 1521 when the tower and the weather vane were finished,⁶⁸ and when the statue of the Virgin Mary was back in the chapel.⁶⁹ However, in 1523 there followed a payment for

⁶² Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch. Abt. 2, Bd. 3. Ed. L. Arbusow. J. Deubner, Riga, 1914, no. 603. One hundred days of indulgence was quite a high number; usually, 40 days was granted for similar purposes.

⁶³ For the social career of these men, see **Derrick, T.** *Bruderbuch*, 321–322, 355; **Mänd, A.** *Suurgildi teke, põhikiri ja liikmeskond*, 22–23.

⁶⁴ The confraternity is also referred to in two wills from 1510 and 1512 (**Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R.** *Testamente Revaler Bürger und Einwohner aus den Jahren 1369 bis 1851. Revaler Regesten III. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen*, 1975, no. 96, no. 110), and in the accounts of St Olaf's Church from 1517 (TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Aa 245, fol. 26v; **Kala, T.** *Keskaegse Tallinna väike-korporatsioonid ja nende usuelu normatiivsed vormid*. – Tuna, 2010, 2, 20).

⁶⁵ For the building of the chapel, see **Karling, S.** *Marienkappelle*, 106–109; **Kangroopool, R., Lumiste, M.** *Mõningate Tallinna 15. sajandi arhitektuuri dateerimise küsimustest. (Tõid kunstiteaduse ja kriitika alalt, 2.) Kunst, Tallinn*, 1978, 269.

⁶⁶ This year has been deduced from a will of 1512, in which 200 marks were bequeathed for the construction of the chapel (**Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R.** *Testamente*, no. 110; Hans Pawels was one of the executors). The accounts have been preserved, as mentioned above, from 1513.

⁶⁷ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Aa 245, fol. 4r, 8v, 9v, and several other records. Hinrick van der Borch died in Tallinn by the beginning of 1520 (*Ibid.*, fol. 38v).

⁶⁸ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Aa 245, fol. 40v; **Kangroopool, R., Lumiste, M.** *Mõningate Tallinna*, 269.

⁶⁹ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. BN 1, Hans Hossierink (1521). Hossierink bequeathed his silver rosary and gilded mussel shell of St James [the Greater] to the statue of the Virgin Mary in the chapel. This will also reveals that the statue was carried in processions.

the well-known artist Michel Sittow⁷⁰ for the making and gilding of twelve roses – most probably the bosses decorating the stellar vaults.⁷¹ In 1528, the spire was covered with copper plates.⁷² The chapel of the Virgin Mary had a special status: although it was physically attached to the church, it had its own seal, which indicates that the wardens had a right to make legal agreements concerning the chapel, separately from the church.⁷³ This new chapel, visually dominating the south-eastern side of St Olaf’s Church, not only physically changed the appearance of the parish church, but became an object of collective prestige and representation for the congregation, as well as for the entire urban community.⁷⁴

No doubt, Pawels saw the building of the Virgin Mary’s chapel as his life work, and it is there he decided to erect a memorial monument for himself. The cenotaph was made at the same time as the chapel, in 1513–16, by two or possibly three master sculptors: Clemens Pale (whose name indicates that he was from Poland), Hinrik Bildensnider and probably also Gert Koningk.⁷⁵ The eight reliefs with the scenes from Christ’s Passion are based on a graphic model, namely the woodcuts of Hans Schäußelein published in Nürnberg in 1507.⁷⁶ However, the masters of the cenotaph added or altered several details (cf. Fig. 6a and 6b). They also made references to existing artworks in Tallinn: the presently undecorated shields in the corners of the four scenes in the upper row were most probably painted with the coat of arms of Tallinn, as in the altarpiece of Bernt Notke in the Holy Spirit Church, which was completed thirty years earlier, in 1483. There is also a visual reference to the chapel of the Virgin Mary and to St Olaf’s Church: the ceiling of the central niche of the cenotaph imitates the stellar vaults of the church and the chapel (Fig. 7). Its “boss” has the shape of a rose – the symbol of

⁷⁰ On him, see Michel Sittow 1469–1525. The Artist Connecting Estonia with the Southern Netherlands. Ed. T. Abel. Eesti Kunstimuuseum, Tallinn, 2001.

⁷¹ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Aa 245, fol. 41v: *It. gegeuen vor de rosen to sniden de 12 de vnder deme welte stat 30 mr. Ao 23 gegeuen mester Mychel vor de 12 rosen to bereden vnd to vorgulden vnd vor it kruse op der kappellen, haen vnd stagen to vorguldede is 48 mr.* Nowadays, one can also see exactly twelve rose-shaped bosses in the ceiling of the chapel, but they appear to be carved from stone.

⁷² Ibid., fol. 44v.

⁷³ **Mänd, A.** On two medieval seal matrices and the guild seals from Tallinn. – Baltic Journal of Art History, Spring 2010, 135–136.

⁷⁴ It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the donations of objects and the endowments of chantries to the new chapel immediately after the construction work. It is enough to mention that the donors included some very important people, e.g. Jurgen Bardin, a canon in Saare-Lääne and Tallinn bishoprics, who in 1522 founded a perpetual chantry in honor of the Annunciation of the Virgin (the mass had to be sung each Wednesday). TLA, coll. 230, l. 1-I, no. 963.

⁷⁵ Karling suggests that Hinrik Bildensnider was the chief author of the cenotaph and that he was identical with the famous master Hinrik Brabender from Münster (**Karling, S.** Marienkapelle, 127, 149–151, 158–159), but Loit in her M.A. thesis convincingly argues that they were two different people, that Brabender was never in Tallinn, and that it was Clemens Pale who was the leading sculptor of the cenotaph (**Loit, M.** Keskaegsest surmakultuurist, 120–128).

⁷⁶ **Loit, M.** Hans Pawelsi kenotaaf (1513–1516) hiliskeskaegsel *macabre*’i maastikul. – Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi, 2002, 11, figs 3–19.

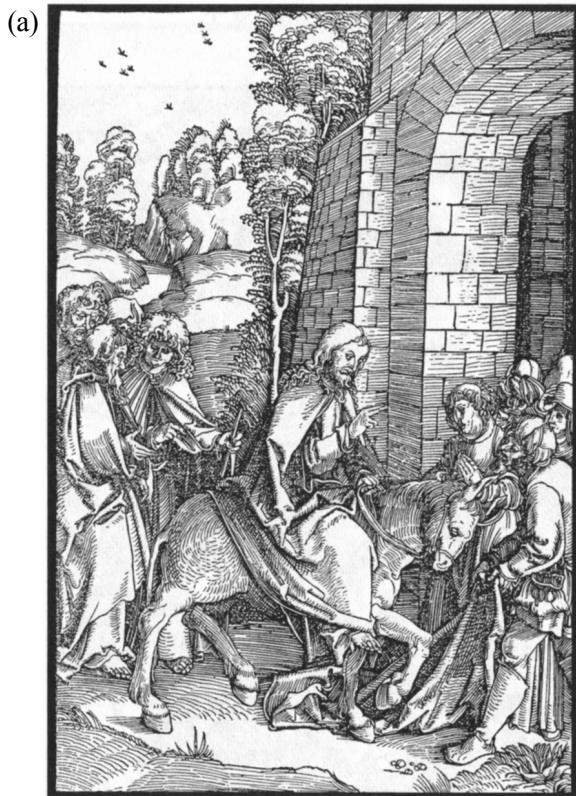


Fig. 6. Christ's Entry into Jerusalem:
a) woodcut by Schüfelein 1507,
b) relief on Pawels's cenotaph. Photo
by Stanislav Stepashko.



Fig. 7. Ceiling of the central niche with the imitation of the stellar vaults of the church. Photo by Stanislav Stepashko.

the Virgin – and in the chapel one can still see twelve roses as bosses, decorating the crossings of the ribs. Nowadays, the cenotaph is plain and gray, but in its original colors it must have been truly impressive.

What is perhaps most significant is that Pawels did not choose the interior of the chapel for his monument and did not connect it to his future grave (as indicated above, he was not even buried in the chapel of the Virgin, but in the west end of the church). It would certainly have been more prestigious for someone of his position and wealth to found an altar in the new chapel and to be buried in front of it. Was it humility that caused him to erect his monument outside, or was it something else? Whatever his intentions, there is no way to find them out. On the other hand, if we think of the spatial context of the cenotaph, the chosen location is by no means insignificant: the eastern end of the chapel was the most prestigious place in the exterior. It can be assumed that the cenotaph played an important role in certain rituals, above all in the processions that passed around the church and possibly paused in front of the monument. It should also be kept in mind that placed outside, in the public space, the cenotaph was visible to “everybody”, to every inhabitant of Tallinn and to every visitor, and so was available to a much larger audience than if it was inside the church or the chapel. The number of people who would pray in front of the cenotaph, or pass by in the procession, would certainly be higher outside than inside. The visual message of the cenotaph was manifold: to remind viewers of the shortness of

life and the presence of death, of the sufferings of our Lord, to invoke prayers, to decorate the chapel and, last but not least, to commemorate the generous benefactor Hans Pawels.

ELIZABETH TRISS AND HER PATRON SAINT – THE VIRGIN MARY

The investment in one's afterlife was closely connected to the cult of saints, whose intercession was believed to shorten the suffering in Purgatory. Each association and individual selected a patron saint (or sometimes several) to whom they paid special attention. It is considerably easier to study the saints' cult in guilds and confraternities, because their saints are referred to in their statutes, and depicted on their seals, altarpieces, houses or elsewhere. With regard to individuals, medieval sources rarely offer us a glimpse into their preferences in the saints' cult. It can sometimes be ascertained on the basis of a will, the endowment of a chantry, or visual evidence. For instance, the will of the merchant Hans Bouwer (1519) reveals his strong devotion to St Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary.⁷⁷ That of Hans Meckinck from 1507 reveals that his personal patron saint was the Apostle Matthias.⁷⁸ The merchant Hans Lange referred in his will (1508) to St Nicholas as "our holy patron".⁷⁹ In 1516, the knight Hennink Passow⁸⁰, who wished to be buried in St Olaf's Church and had established a chantry there, bequeathed 50 marks, his horse, armor, sword and saddle to the new chapel (i.e. that of the Virgin Mary) of this church, so that "St Olaf would pray for him".⁸¹ In some wills and charters of chantry foundations, the donors refer to "their altar" or "their chantry".⁸² Nonetheless, the information on private devotions of the inhabitants of Tallinn is by no means abundant, particularly concerning women.

One of the few exceptions is Elizabeth Triss, whose will (17 April 1511)⁸³ demonstrates that she must have been deeply devoted to the Virgin Mary, because

⁷⁷ For details, see **Mänd, A.** Hans Bouwer, kaupmees. – In: *Kümme keskaegset tallinlast*. Argo, Tallinn, 2006, 84–86; see also the summary of Bouwer's testament: **Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R.** Testamente, 120–123, no. 118.

⁷⁸ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. BN 1, H. Meckinck: *It. so geue ick tho sunte Gertrut tho mynen apostel sunte Mathias tho der beluchtynge 10 marck rig*. Hans Meckynck became a member of the Great Guild in 1487 (TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 1, fol. 45r).

⁷⁹ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. BN 1, H. Lange: *vnseme hilgen patrone sunte Nicolaus*. See also **Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R.** Testamente, 101, no. 91. Hans Lange was admitted to the Great Guild in 1483 (TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 1, fol. 42v).

⁸⁰ Hennink Passow (also Parssow) was a Danish vassal, formerly in the service of the Teutonic Order; he was the lord of the Lagedi and Kolga manors, who also owned real estate in Tallinn, including a house on Pikk Street. From 1515, he was a member of the Great Guild in Tallinn: **Mänd, A.** Suurgildi teke, põhikiri ja liikmeskond, 38.

⁸¹ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. BN 1, H. Parssow: *dat de hilghe her sunte Olaf ghot vor my bidden mach*. See also **Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R.** Testamente, 116–117, no. 113.

⁸² E.g. **Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R.** Testamente, 63, no. 38, 70–71, no. 50, 98–99, no. 87.

⁸³ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. BN 1, E. Triss: **Seeberg-Elverfeldt, R.** Testamente, 111, no. 106.

she made bequests to statues or altars of the saint in four different churches in Tallinn. As stated at the beginning of her will, she was the widow of the merchant Wilhelm (Wylm) Triss.⁸⁴ They had no children (or they were no longer alive at the time Elizabeth made her will). She chose the Holy Spirit Church as her final resting place. To the statue of the Virgin Mary in this church, she bequeathed her largest silver tankard, her silver rosary and the adornments (probably likewise of silver) of a dress.⁸⁵

In the parish church of St Nicholas, she made donations to four different statues of the Virgin Mary. First, to the statue of Our Beloved Lady, which stood on the altar of the “old” Holy Cross, she left the (silver) adornments of another dress.⁸⁶ (This altar, also known as the blacksmiths’ altar, was situated near the sacristy or “near the small door”.⁸⁷) To the statue of the Virgin near the chancel, Elizabeth gave her silver belt.⁸⁸ To the statue of Our Beloved Lady, which stood on the altar of *her* Heise [Patiner], dedicated to the Compassion⁸⁹ of the Virgin Mary, she donated six silver buttons.⁹⁰ It is known that this altar was located in

⁸⁴ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. BN 1, E. Triss: *ick Elizabet Wilhelm Triszes nagelatene husfrouwe*. Wilhelm Triss became a burgher in 1496 and a member of the Great Guild in 1498 (Bürgerbuch, 37; TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 1, fol. 50v). His date of death and burial place are not known. He must have died before 1509, as he is not mentioned among the participants of the Shrovetide *drunke* of the Great Guild in that year (TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 15, pag. 6–7).

⁸⁵ *Item so geue ik tom hilgen geiste vnszer leuen vrouwen to eren myne groteste sulueren drynckschalle vnde myn sulueren pater noster vnde myne rockschalen van eynem rocke.*

⁸⁶ *It. so geue ik vnszer leuen vrouwen to Sunte Nicolaws vp des Olden cruces altare myne anderen rockschalen to eynem rocke behorende.*

⁸⁷ TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Aa 35b, fol. 305r (1472): *smede vicarie to dem olden cruce to sunte nicolaus als men gheit na der cleynen doer*; no. Bl 7-1, fol. 24r (1527): *der Smedevicarie thom olden kruße yn S. Clawes kercke na der klenen dore bolegen*; no. Aa 15a (1525–27), fol. 23r: *Vp der Smede althar by der geruekamer*; **Mänd, A.** Kirikute hõbevara, 50, 142, note 62. This altar is not to be confused with the altar of the Cross of Lucca, situated in the chapel of St Barbara (later known as the Small chapel), nor with the altar of the New Cross, or Lore’s Cross. See also the article by K. Markus and K. Tooming in this volume. There was, apparently, even a fourth Holy Cross altar in the church, because the *ellende* cross, which is mentioned in sources from 1420 to 1474, was in 1464 described as “near the baptismal font” (Das Revaler Pergament Rentenbuch 1382–1518. Ed. A. Plaesterer. Revaler Estn. Verlagsgenossenschaft, Reval, 1930, no. 1053), and the baptismal font was situated in the west end of the church (**Kurisoo, M.** Ristimise läte, 34).

⁸⁸ *Item ik geue vnszer leuen vrouwen to Sunte Nicolaws to deme bilde by deme kore myn sulueren gordel.*

⁸⁹ The feast of the Compassion, or the Seven Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was, before the 16th century, limited to the dioceses of northern Germany, Scandinavia and Scotland. It was held on a great variety of dates, mostly during Eastertide or Pentecost (e.g. Lübeck 1479: Friday before Pentecost; Magdeburg: *Exaudi*), or on some fixed day (18 July, Merseburg; 19 July, Lübeck, Halberstadt and Meissen; 20 July, Naumburg); see **Grotefend, H.** *Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Bd. 1. Hahn’sche Buchhandlung, Hannover, 1891, 26–27. In the Diocese of Riga, the feast was celebrated on the Friday after *Quasimodogeniti* (**Bruiningk, H.** *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet nach dem Brauche der Rigaschen Kirche im späteren Mittelalter*. Nicolai Kymmell, Riga, 1904, 196). It is not known if Tallinn followed the tradition of Riga or Lübeck.

⁹⁰ *Item ik geue to vnszer leuen vrouwen bilde vp her Heiszen altare in de ere medelynghe Marien 6 sulueren knope.* It is likely that the statue represented the Virgin as *Mater Dolorosa* (perhaps with seven swords in her heart) or the Pietà. See, e.g. *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*. Bd. 3. Ed. E. Kirschbaum, G. Bandmann. Herder, Rom, 1994, 197.

the chapel of St George on the northern side of the church.⁹¹ The town councilor Heise Patiner was one of the executors of Elizabeth's will and was mentioned there as her good friend. Thus, in addition to her devotion to the Mother of God, personal relations may also have played a role in this particular donation. To the statue of the Virgin Mary on the altar of St Canute's Guild,⁹² she left five silver buttons, a silver cross and an embroidered tablecloth.⁹³

To the altar or statue of the Blessed Virgin in the parish church of St Olaf, Elizabeth bequeathed a silver drinking bowl with gemstones.⁹⁴ Finally, to the Dominicans, she gave, in honor of St Catherine, her coral rosary and, to the small statue of the Virgin, five buttons of her hood. The Dominicans also received two guild tankards from her.⁹⁵

Typically of their gender, women in the Middle Ages donated jewelry, pieces of clothing and objects from their household to the church. As we can see, Elizabeth was no exception. However, what was not as common in the case of late medieval women, even widows, was that she also had cash at her disposal.⁹⁶ A shortage of cash was more frequent among artisans and lower status women; Elizabeth's husband, in contrast, had been a large-scale merchant and had apparently left her considerable wealth.

Although Elizabeth requested to be buried in the hospital church of the Holy Spirit, she also invested in her remembrance in the parish church of St Nicholas. She bequeathed 33 marks there, the interest of which (two marks a year) was to cover the costs of her annual commemoration, with vigils and masses for her soul.⁹⁷ In this act of endowment, Elizabeth made provision for not only her own

⁹¹ **Kala, T.** Tallinna raad ja katoliku kirik reformatsiooni algaastail. – In: Muinasaja loojangust omariikluse läveni. Pühendusteos Sulev Vahtre 75. sünnipäevaks. Comp. A. Andresen. Sihtasutus Kleio, Tartu, 2001, 158, 168 (fol. 20v).

⁹² This altar of St Canute's Guild was sometimes referred to in sources as the altar of the Virgin Mary and sometimes as that of St Canute. It seems likely that the confusion was caused by the fact that the altar was adorned with a statue of the Virgin. The altar was located in front of the pews of the Black Heads. For details, see **Mänd, A.** Tallinna Kanuti gild, 134–136. In the ground plan from 1691, made by H. J. Woltemat, the Black Heads' pews are marked in the west end of the northern aisle, but this does not necessarily mean that they were in the same place in the Middle Ages.

⁹³ *It. ick geue to vnser leuen vrouwen bilde vp sunte Kanutes altare viff sulueren knope, 1 sulueren crucze vnde eyn beneget taffellaken.*

⁹⁴ *It. ick geue vnde beschede vnser leuen vrouwen to Sunte Olaue eyne sulueren drynckschale van den cleynsteyn.*

⁹⁵ *Item den predikern broderen geue ik in de ere Sunte Katherinen myn krallen pater noster vnde vif kogelknop der kleynen Marien darsulues. Item 2 gildekannen.* She donated two other guild tankards to the Birgittines (*Item to Sunte Birgitten geue ik 2 grote gilde kannen*).

⁹⁶ See **Hahn, K.-R.** Revaler Testamente im 15.–16. Jahrhundert. Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis. Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen, 2008, 1, 409–410.

⁹⁷ *Item ik geue vnde beschede den gemeynen presteren to Sunte Nicolaws intsament 33 mrk. rig., dar van to makende ewige rente 2 mr. alle iar iarliks vnde dar vor to holdende na guder older gewonheit alle iar eyns in allen tokomenden tyden vp den dach myner vorschedynghe eyn gedechnisse mit vigilien vnde zelemissen to salicheit myner vnde myner leuen frunde zelen.*

salvation but also for that of her beloved friends. The term “friend” (*vrunt*) in Middle Low German had multiple meanings: it referred not only to personal friends, but also to relatives and co-members of an association.⁹⁸ In Elizabeth’s case, her closest relatives mentioned in her will were the widow and children of her late husband’s brother, Arndt Triss,⁹⁹ and her half-sister. Thus it was probably they and her individual friends (such as the two executors) she had in mind. Elizabeth did not specify at which altar in St Nicholas’ Church her commemoration would take place; this was a decision she probably left to the priests.

The will of Elizabeth Triss is an exceptionally informative source in several ways. It not only indicates her personal preferences in the cult of saints – her deep devotion to the Mother of God – but also reveals her strategy of making donations to as many Blessed Virgins as possible. In doing so, she attempted to guarantee the intercession of the most powerful saint at the time, whose mediation would lead her to Paradise. No less important was her investment in memorial masses in St Nicholas’ Church. Naturally, one cannot separate the worldly aspirations from the spiritual ones: Elizabeth’s generous bequests were not only proof of her piety and a means to achieve salvation, but also a manifestation of the wealth of an influential and respected merchant’s widow. It has been pointed out that, although they played a far more modest role in public life than men, women had the opportunity to influence public space, including sacred space, through their pious donations.¹⁰⁰ Elizabeth’s bequests certainly left a visible mark on Tallinn’s churches and perpetuated her memory in the community. Unfortunately, none of the statues or objects referred to in her will have been preserved. In this sense, our next example of a rich and pious woman is an exception.

GERTRUD WRANGEL AND HER MEMORIAL COMPLEX

Evidence of a particularly generous endowment by a noblewoman survives for Gertrud Wrangel. She was a member of the powerful Wrangel family, married the nobleman Jacob Deken in 1478 and was widowed in about 1492.¹⁰¹ There appear to have been no children, and she never remarried. In her old age, she most probably lived in Tallinn.

⁹⁸ **Schiller, K., Lübben, A.** *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, Bd. 5. J. Kührtmann’s Buchhandlung, Bremen, 1880, 545–546.

⁹⁹ Arndt became a burgher in 1508 (*Bürgerbuch*, 40) and was dead by Easter 1511 (TLA, coll. 191, l. 2, no. 1, fol. 57r).

¹⁰⁰ **Hahn, K.-R.** *Revaler Testamente*, 1, 411.

¹⁰¹ **Wrangell, G. v.** *Geschichte der Wrangel zur dänischen und Ordenszeit*. Görlitz, Dorpat, [1927], 1, 48, no. 158, 54, no. 190; 2, 255–256. Gertrud was a daughter of Wolmar Wrangel, the owner of the Tuhala (Toal), Seli (Selligel) and Roela (Rojel) manors. Jacob Deken was the owner of the manors of Harmi (Harm) and Uuemõisa (Neuenhof) in Harjumaa (Harrien). Gertrud owned the Kuusiku (Sage) manor until 1496, when ownership passed to her brother Jürgen.

Gertrud's contract with the wardens of the hospital church of the Holy Spirit was written down in about 1511 (only a draft survives).¹⁰² She donated a thousand Riga marks – 800 marks in silver and 200 marks in gold – to the church.¹⁰³ From the interest on this sum, the costs for the liturgy in honor of the Virgin Mary were to be covered. Every day, the Hours of the Virgin were to be sung and a mass was to be celebrated with organ music. A large stained-glass window was to be set on the northern side of the church, near the altar of the Virgin Mary. The window was to be decorated with the image of Gertrud's patron saint (St Andrew) and her coat of arms (i.e. of the Wrangel family). In addition, a tombstone for her was to be placed near the Virgin Mary's altar. It was to be made of brass¹⁰⁴ and engraved with her coat of arms and with the image of the Apostle Andrew, her patron saint. She also ordered that, at her burial, all the bells were to be rung; she was to be covered with a beautiful golden cloth, and to be commemorated with vigils and masses for her soul. Thus, Gertrud had a very clear idea of what her memorial complex should look like, how she would be identified (through her coat of arms), and how the rituals of her burial and commemoration should be performed.

Neither the brass tombstone nor the window has been preserved. However, what can still be seen in the Holy Spirit Church is a wooden side support of a pew, carved with the image of St Andrew, the coat of arms of the Wrangel family and the date 1513 (Fig. 8).¹⁰⁵ Although the contract does not say anything about a pew, the decorative elements indicate that it was part of the donation. Alternatively, Gertrud may have commissioned the pew somewhat later, once the window and the tombstone were ready.

No doubt, Gertrud wished to link her generous endowment with one of the most important altars in the church, which had a prestigious location. The contract refers to the northern side of the church and to the presence of a window, but does not give any further specifications of where the altar stood. In medieval Sweden, for instance, it was very common to have an altar of the Virgin Mary on the east end of the northern aisle.¹⁰⁶ It can be assumed that this was also the case in the Holy Spirit Church. The east ends of the aisles were the most prestigious places for side-altars. Moreover, this particular church is two-aisled and the chancel is attached to the northern aisle, which gives this aisle a more prominent place compared to the southern one. The triumphal arch between the chancel and the

¹⁰² TLA, coll. 230, l. 1, no. Aa 11, fol. 39v. This record bears no date, but a record on fol. 39r is dated March 1511. Cf. **Kala, T.** Ludeke Karwel, 174.

¹⁰³ The initial formulation mentioned 1100 marks, but this was later crossed out. At the end of the document, it was added that if the lady ever became impoverished, "which may God prevent", the wardens would return some of the money.

¹⁰⁴ All of the extant tombstones in Tallinn are made of limestone. Gertrud could perhaps have seen or heard of brass tombstones in Lübeck or in other German towns (**Loit, M.** Keskaegsest surmakultuurist, 70).

¹⁰⁵ The pew itself, nowadays situated in the chancel, is much newer; the side support of 1513 is incorporated into it.

¹⁰⁶ **Nilsén, A.** Focal Point of the Sacred Space. The Boundary between Chancel and Nave in Swedish Rural Churches. Uppsala Universitet, Uppsala, 2003, 127.



Fig. 8. Side support of a wooden pew with the image of the Apostle Andrew, donated by Gertrud Wrangel, 1513. Holy Spirit Church. Photo by Stanislav Stepashko.

northern aisle has a somewhat asymmetrical shape, and its northern side-wall is wide enough (approx. 150 cm) to provide a space for an altar in front of it.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, it was most probably the easternmost window of the northern aisle for which Gertrud donated the stained-glass (Fig. 9).

It is not known when and by whom the altar of the Virgin Mary was founded, but it had existed in the church long before Gertrud's donations, at least from the late fourteenth century.¹⁰⁸ There is no indication that it was earlier supported by

¹⁰⁷ The space before the first niche in the wall is approx. 150 × 118 cm, which is enough for a mensa. The niche in the wall is 70 cm deep, about 220 cm wide, and about 243 cm high (measured from the present floor). The niche may have been used for a pew.

¹⁰⁸ Pergament Rentenbuch, 14, no. 55 (1396), 25, no. 96 (1387).

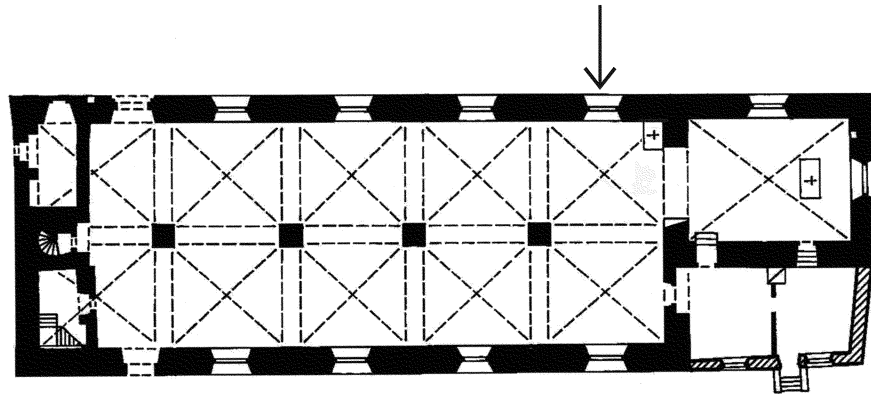


Fig. 9. Probable location of the window donated by Gertrud Wrangel, and the Virgin Mary's altar in the Holy Spirit Church.

any other member of the Wrangel family. From at least 1387, the town council had patronage over the altar,¹⁰⁹ and it can be assumed that the pews of the town council (and those of the Great Guild just behind them) were located in its immediate vicinity.¹¹⁰ As indicated in the first section of this article, the Great Guild regularly paid for the singing of the Virgin Mary mass in this church, but it is not specified if it was celebrated on this altar or, for instance, on the high altar. In summary, the altar and the liturgy of the Virgin Mary was supported by several associations and individuals.

Gertrud's date of death is not known. Her will is referred to in documents in 1515 and she is mentioned as being dead in 1537; thus she must have died within this time period.¹¹¹ Even if she died comparatively soon after composing her will, she still had some years to make the most of her generous donation: to visit the Holy Spirit Church, to sit on her "own" bench, to look at her "own" window, to participate in masses and to pray to her favorite saints – the Virgin Mary and the Apostle Andrew. If she died after the Reformation events in 1524, she would have witnessed the removal of the altar and the alterations in the liturgy, but the window, the tombstone and the pew would presumably still have remained in place.

Gertrud Wrangel played an active role in commissioning her memorial complex and gave instructions about what it was to look like. The entire complex was to emphasize her noble birth, status and wealth. It is noteworthy that she decided to use the coat of arms of her natal family and not of her husband, which was

¹⁰⁹ **Kala, T.** Ludeke Karwel, 170; see also the numerous records (c. 30) in the account books of the town: *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1432–1463*, *Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval 1463–1507*. Ed. R. Vogelsang. Böhlau, Köln, 1976, 1983.

¹¹⁰ **Mänd, A.** *Altarid, missad ja hingepalved*, 83.

¹¹¹ **Wrangell, G. v.** *Geschichte der Wrangel*, **1**, 73, no. 312, 97, no. 439; **2**, 255–256.

probably due to the fact that the Wrangels were more influential than the Dekens. Gertrud's coat of arms on the window, pew and tombstone certainly made it visible to everybody who the benefactor was, and perpetuated the memory of this lady. The liturgy and the images ensured her the intercession of powerful saints: the Blessed Virgin and the Apostle Andrew. And, last but not least, by choosing a hospital church for her final resting place, she could rely on the prayers of not only the priests and the community but also of the hospital sick and poor.

CONCLUSION

In the late Middle Ages, people paid increasing attention to the commemoration of the dead and to the corresponding imagery in churches. The reason for this was not only the recurrent plagues but also the general changes in religion, society and visual culture. Voluntary associations, such as guilds and confraternities, paid for regular (annual, monthly or weekly) liturgical remembrances in churches and performed commemoration ceremonies in guild halls by reading aloud the names of the deceased. The wealthier an association was, the more it invested in intercessory prayers and memorial masses: the aim seems to have been to ensure as many prayers and in as many churches as possible. The presence of the guild members at weekly or monthly masses was not required but, at the end of their main annual festivals, they participated in memorial masses as a group, manifesting group solidarity, expressing the group's identity and praying for the salvation of themselves and of deceased members. This kind of regular "communication with the departed" maintained and renewed the bonds of the living with the dead.

As demonstrated by the late-fifteenth century altarpiece of the Tallinn Black Heads, artworks with appropriate images were created to visualize the corporative *memoria*. Thirty members being painted as kneeling and praying at the feet of the saints who were highly venerated by the confraternity not only expresses the belief of the Black Heads in their powerful intercessors and their attempt to seek salvation, but also manifests the group identity and symbolizes the connection with the deceased. The commemorative masses celebrated in front of this altarpiece and the iconographic program of this work of art complemented each other, and assisted in creating a strong emotional atmosphere for the religious experience. The altarpiece, its spatial context and the rituals connected to it functioned as memory *stimuli*.

In the framework of late-medieval processes of individualization and self-representation, the perpetuation of one's memory was also the growing concern of individuals; however, only the wealthy and the powerful had the financial means and opportunities to fulfill their aspirations. Although many well-off burghers in Tallinn bequeathed substantial sums or valuable objects to the church, requesting memorial masses and prayers in return, there is surprisingly little evidence for the creation of memorial monuments other than tombstones. The latter, carved with the proper inscriptions and provided with coats of arms or house marks, sufficed

for most people to perpetuate their names in the community. Hans Pawels and Gertrud Wrangel should be seen as remarkable individuals with greater ambitions and a desire to establish their own *memoria* already during their lives. They actively participated in the planning of their memorial monuments, prescribing what saints or iconographic themes were to be depicted there and how to identify themselves as the donors – through the inscriptions and/or the coats of arms. Pawels, as the church warden, attached his monument to a new and prestigious chapel. He hired the best foreign masters he could afford and oversaw the building of his cenotaph, which was completed three years before his death. The pew and, in all likelihood, the stained-glass window and the brass of Gertrud Wrangel, decorated with the image of her personal patron saint and her coat of arms, were likewise ready during her lifetime. Both monuments were closely tied to church rituals: Pawels' idea of placing his cenotaph outside of the chapel was most likely due to his intention of linking it to processions moving around the church; Gertrud Wrangel, in contrast, made a generous endowment for liturgical hours and masses for the Virgin Mary, thus ensuring intercessory prayers during her lifetime and after her death. The religious aspirations cannot be separated from the secular ones: the location, material, artistic skill and cost of these monuments expressed the social status and wealth of the donors and perpetuated their memory for their contemporaries and for future generations.

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KIRIKUKUNST, SURNUTE MÄLESTAMINE JA PÜHAKUKULTUS: INDIVIDUAALSE NING KORPORATIIVSE *MEMORIA* KONSTRUEERIMINE HILISKEKAEGSES TALLINNAS

Anu MÄND

Artikli eesmärgiks on käsitleda Eesti medievistikas seni vähe uuritud valdkonda – *memoria*'t. *Memoria* esmane tähendus hõlmab surnute liturgilist mälestamist, ent laiemalt võttes võib terminit rakendada keskaegse mälestamiskultuuri kõigile avaldumisvormidele. Lääne *memoria*-uurijate tähelepanu keskmes on olnud nii surnute mälestamisega seotud rituaalid, tekstid kui ka mitmesugused kunstiteosed (hauakivid, hauamonumendid, kenotaafid, retaablid jt), mida püstitati donaatori tegelikule või sümboolsele matmiskohale ja mille üheks (ehkki mitte ainsaks) funktsiooniks oli tema mälestuse jäädvustamine. Mälestamisele aitasid kaasa nii pildid, nende ruumiline ja liturgiline kontekst kui ka nendega seotud rituaalid.

Artiklis on analüüsitud esmalt kollektiivseid mälestamisstrateegiaid ja visuaalseid mälustimulaatoreid hiliskeskajases Tallinnas. Seejärel on lähemalt vaadeldud jõukate üksikisikute tehtud annetusi kirikule ja nende eestvõttel püstitatud monumente, kusjuures valitud näited kajastavad mõlema sugupoole ambitsioone ning võimalusi. Annetamise fenomen ja mälestamiskultuur on tihedalt läbi põimunud pühakute kultusega, mistõttu on artiklis puudutatud ka kaitsepühakute kujutamist ning neile pandud ootusi eestpalvete osas.

Tallinna ja Riia kaupmeeste korporatsioonide näitel on lahatud matmise ning surnute mälestamisega seonduvat nii normatiivsetes dokumentides (skraades) kui ka tegelikke praktikaid kajastavates allikates (arveraamatud). Seoses hiliskeskajal juurdunud purgatooriumi-ideega pöörasid gildid suurt tähelepanu surnud liikmete heaks peetavatele hingepalvetele ja mälestusmissadele, mis pidid aitama lühendada puhastustule leekides viibimise aega. Mida jõukam ja mõjuvõimsam gild või vennaskond oli, seda rohkem ta teispoosusesse investeeris. Näiteks maksis Tallinna Suurgild regulaarselt surnud gildivendade ja -õdede mälestamise eest neljas tähtsamal all-linna pühakojas (Niguliste, Oleviste, Püha Vaimu ning dominiiklaste Katariina kirik) ja pidas mõlemas kogudusekirikus ülal koguni kaht altarit. Lisaks kiriklikele teenistustele mälestas gild oma surnuid ka ilmalikult, pannes nende nimed gildiraamatuisse kirja, lugedes need gildimajas ette ja viies läbi korjandusi.

Mustpeade vennaskonna Maarja altari retaabel (umbes 1493) on heaks näiteks religioosete piltide rollist kollektiivsetes eestpalvetes ja grupiidentiteedi tugevdamisel. Selle teises vaates kujutatud donaatorite figuurid sümboliseerivad nii elavaid kui ka surnud vennaskonna liikmeid, kes toetuvad lunastuse lootuses mõjuvõimsatele eestkostjatele: Kristusele, Neitsi Maarjale ja Ristija Johannesele. Kogunedes kindlatel tähtpäevadel grupiviisiliselt selle retaabli ette, osaledes pühalt missal ja võttes vastu armulauda, palvetasid mustpead oma surnud liikmete eest ning hoidsid ülal elavate ja surnute vahelist sidet.

Oleviste kiriku Maarja kabeli idaseinale püstitatud Hans Pawelsi kenotaafi (1513–1516) on kunstiajaloolased käsitletud ka varem, ent täiesti tähelepanuta on jäänud donaatori elukäik ja sotsiaalne karjäär, mis on olulised, mõistmaks ühele jõukale kaupmehele 16. sajandi esimestel aastakümnetel suunatud ühiskondlikke ootusi, tema eneserepresentatsiooni vajadusi ning majanduslikke võimalusi nende teostamiseks. Intrigeeriv on ka küsimus, miks rajas Pawels oma kenotaafi kabeli eksterjööriks, mitte liturgiliselt prestiižsesse interjööri, ega ühendanud seda oma tulevase matmiskohaga. Artiklis on välja pakutud võimalus, et Pawelsi üheks motiiviks võis olla soov siduda oma mälestusmärki kiriklike rituaalidega, eriti ümber pühakojas toimuvate protsessioonidega, mis taganuks talle suurema publiku ja suurema hulga eestpalveteid kui siseruumides.

Elizabeth Trissi testament (1511) heidab valgust ühe jõuka kaupmehele sügavale austusele Neitsi Maarja vastu ja tema võimalustele teha kirikule ühe naisterahva kohta erakordselt rikkalikke annetusi, lootuses saavutada hingeõndsust. Elizabeth, kes soovis Püha Vaimu kirikusse maetud saada, pärandas hõbeesemeid ja -ehteid Jumalaema kujudele neljas pühakojas (sh Nigulistes neljale erinevale Maarja kujule), lisaks annetas ta Nigulistele 33-margase kapitali, mille intressid

pidid katma tema iga-aastase mälestamise vigiilide ning hingemissadega. Kuigi naistel oli avalikus elus meestest tunduvalt väiksem tähtsus, oli neil annetuste kaudu võimalik sakraalruumi väljanägemist mõjutada ja seeläbi ühtlasi ka enda mälestust jäädvustada.

Elizabethist tunduvalt suuremad rahalised võimalused olid aadlidaam Gertrud Wrangelil, Jacob Dekenil lesel. 1511. aasta paiku tema ja Püha Vaimu kiriku eestseisjate vahel sõlmitud lepingu kohaselt annetas Gertrud pühakojale 1000 marka. Selle eest pidi kiriku põhjaküljele, Neitsi Maarja altari lähedale, muretsetama vitraažaken tema kaitsepühaku Andrease kujutise ja Wrangeli vapiga. Altari ette tuli Gertrudile paigutada samade kaunistuselementidega messingist hauaplaat. Lisaks pidid kapitali intressid katma Neitsi Maarja auks peetavate missade ja tunnipalvuste kulud; ka andis Gertrud korraldusi oma matusetseremoonia läbi viimiseks. Püha Vaimu kirikus on säilinud tammepuust nikerdatud pingileen apostel Andrease kujutise, Wrangeli vapi ja aastaarvuga 1513, mis osutab, et ka pink oli selle aadlidaami mälestuskompleksi osaks. Põhjamaade paralleelid ja kirikuruumi analüüs võimaldavad väita, et Neitsi Maarja altar asus suure tõenäosusega põhjalöövi idaotsas ja et Gertrudi annetatud aken oli seega pikihoone põhjaseina idapoolseim. Kompleks tervikuna – selle asukoht liturgiliselt tähtsas ruumiosas, selle kujundus, maksumus ja teostuse meisterlikkus – rõhutas Gertrudi kõrget seisust ning tema majanduslikke võimalusi.

Toodud näited annavad tõendust selle kohta, kuivõrd suurt tähelepanu linlaste koorekihti kuuluvad korporatsioonid ja üksikisikud pöörasid oma mälestuse jäädvustamisele ning annetuste läbi hingeõnnistuse saavutamisele ja kuivõrd tihedalt olid annetuste tegemisel läbi põimunud religioossed ning ilmalikud taotlused. Sellised suurejoonelised mälestusmärgid nagu Pawelsi kenotaaf või Wrangeli vitraažaknast, pingist ja hauakivist koosnev kompleks olid jõukohased siiski vaid üksikutele.