Fig. 1. St Victor, St Nicholas, St George and the coat of arms of the Black Heads. Outer wing of the high altarpiece of St Nicholas' Church, Tallinn. Hermen Rode, Lübeck, 1478–1481. Niguliste Museum, Tallinn. Photo Stanislav Stepashko.

Black Soldier – Patron Saint:
St Maurice and the Livonian Merchants

Anu Mänd

Abstract This article discusses the cult and visual representation of St Maurice in late medieval Livonia (i.e. present day Estonia and Latvia), set in the broader context of the Baltic Sea region. The main, but not the only, promoters of his cult were the confraternities of the Black Heads – associations of journeyman merchants, existing in the three largest Livonian Hanse towns from the early fifteenth century onwards. The aim of the article is to offer explanations about why these associations chose warrior saints as their identity markers and why St Maurice figured so prominently among them.

Visitors to the historical centre of Riga or Tallinn can hardly fail to notice a building called the Black Heads' House, decorated with a Moor's head in profile (fig. 2), or to discover a similar emblem on some symbolic objects and works of art in churches and museums (fig. 1). They may have heard or read about the owner of this emblem, the Brotherhood of the Black Heads (Ger. *Schwarzenhäupter*), existing in these cities from about 1400 until 1939/40. They may even have heard that the head on the emblem belongs to St Maurice, a black saint. However, what is most puzzling is prob-

ably the question of why these confraternities, predominantly consisting of young unmarried merchants, had such a peculiar name, and why they, in the far North, on the edge of Catholic Europe, chose to venerate a black saint. In short, why did a merchants' association prefer a soldier, and moreover, a black one?[1]

In order to try to answer that question, it is necessary to begin with a short overview of the development of the cult and iconography of St Maurice in medieval Europe. According to the legend, Maurice lived in the third century. He was a high

ranking Roman officer in command of the Theban legion, recruited in Egypt and consisting entirely of Christians. During the military campaign against the Gauls, the emperor Maximian (286–305) ordered his army to sacrifice to the Roman gods before battle. The Theban legion refused to do so. Maximian first had the legion decimated, and later, since the survivors remained firm, had the entire legion executed. This was reported to have happened in Agaunum (today Saint-Maurice-en-Valais in Switzerland). The first story of the martyrs was recorded in the middle of the fifth century. However, the popular cult of the Theban soldiers must have existed earlier, because in the fifth century pilgrimages to their graves were already frequent.[2]

The spread of the cult of St Maurice is closely connected with the rulers in the region, first with the Burgundian princes and later with the Merovingian kings. Thanks to the thorough monograph on St Maurice by Gude Suckale-Redlefsen (1987), there is no need for a detailed overview; therefore, I will merely outline some of the most important facts. By the seventh century, St Maurice had become the patron saint of the Merovingian royal house. His cult spread all over the Frankish kingdom, in the territories of today's France, Germany, Italy and other countries. After some relics of the saint had been transferred to Cologne at the end of the sixth century, an intensive St Maurice cult began to spread in the Lower Rhineland. A new phase in the veneration of St Maurice began with the Emperor Otto the Great, who chose the city of Magdeburg as his centre of power. Otto founded a monastery there, obtained relics of St Maurice, and began to build a magnificent new church. St Maurice was not only the personal patron saint of Otto, but also of the city of Magdeburg and the entire Holy Roman Empire. Churches dedicated to St Maurice became particularly common during the reign of Emperor Henry II (1002–1024).[3]

An interesting phenomenon is the connection between St Maurice and the Holy Lance. The latter, one of the most sacred relics of Christendom and one of the imperial coronation insignia (now in the Imperial Treasury in Vienna), was reputedly the same weapon with which the blind Longinus had pierced the side of the crucified Christ. At the time of Otto the Great, the Holy Lance was declared to have been the weapon of St Maurice. Later on, in the fourteenth century, the Emperor Charles IV put an end to this tradition, and after that the lance was again described as that of Longinus. To Charles IV, a relic connected with Christ had more value than that of a saint. A lance is nevertheless the main attribute of St Maurice in late medieval art.[4]

From the time of Otto the Great and his successors, the cult of St Maurice was closely connected with the coronation rituals of the Holy Roman emperors. The king-elect kept his vigil in the chapel of St Maurice in the Cathedral of Aachen. Before the coronation, he was given the spurs of the saint and the lance was carried in front of him in the procession. After the

Fig. 2. Portal of the Black Heads' House in Tallinn, 1597–1600. Side stones from 1575. Pikk Street 26. Photo Stanislav Stepashko.

mid-twelfth century, the emperors were anointed by the pope in front of the altar of St Maurice in St Peter's Basilica in Rome.[5]

It is important to note that in the twelfth century, St Maurice and his companions were seen as models for the crusaders traveling to the Holy Land, and that in the following century he developed into a symbol of the German crusades against

the Slavs. This role of St Maurice also influenced the iconography of the saint.[6]

Although in the late Middle Ages the cult of St Maurice was no longer as intense as in the high Middle Ages, he was still widely known all over the Europe. The centre of the cult of St Maurice in the German territories was Magdeburg: the cathedral, the archdiocese and the city lay under his protection. Magdeburg Cathedral possessed several important relics of the saint, and even obtained a new one – his cranium – as late as 1220 (a gift from Emperor Frederick II). Magdeburg was not only the centre of the archdiocese but also an influential Hanse town, and was is mainly through Magdeburg that the cult of St Maurice reached the eastern territories of the empire, including medieval Livonia.[7]

Magdeburg also played a crucial role in the development of the iconography of St Maurice, for it was there that the saint was first depicted as black (see below). Although people knew that the Thebaid, the home of St Maurice, was populated by blacks, and St Maurice himself is described as being black, for instance, in the twelfth-century *Kaiserchronik* and in the thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea*, he was, for a long time and in many regions, depicted as white.[8]

As is commonly known, blackness in the Middle Ages had primarily a negative connotation. Since God is light, blackness incarnated the ugliness of evil and sin. The Devil and the demons were generally depicted as black. Enemies of the Christian faith, such as Jews and Saracens, and oth-

Fig. 3 (and fig. 4). St Maurice at the southern wall of the chancel of the Magdeburg Cathedral, ca. 1240. Sandstone, h. 110 cm. Photos Anu Mänd.

er negative characters, such as executioners or torturers, were sometimes depicted with dark skin.[9] How could blackness then be associated with a Christian saint? The attitudes towards blacks gradually began to change in the second half of the twelfth century. The crusades and other contacts with the Orient and its highly developed cultures broadened the knowledge of exotic lands and people. Reports on blacks became more frequent, and they began to be seen in European courts. Emperor Frederick II, for instance, had a dark skinned chamberlain, as well as other black retainers. Gradually, faith became more impor-

tant than outward appearance. Of great significance was also the fact that dark-skinned holy persons were mentioned in the Bible.[10]

The first positive figure to be depicted in art with dark skin was the Queen of Sheba in the ambo of Klosterneuburg, completed in 1181. The Queen was identified with the "black bride" in the Song of Songs and was thus regarded as the prefiguration of the *Ecclesia*. However, the iconography of the Queen of Sheba remained inconsistent, and in most surviving images, she is represented as white.[11]

The next holy person to be depicted as black was St Maurice. The oldest surviving depiction of him as a black African is a life-size sandstone sculpture from about 1240 in the Cathedral of Magdeburg (fig. 3–4). Not only is his skin dark, but he also has distinct Negroid features, such as thick lips and a broad nose. He is dressed in the armour of a crusading knight. The sculptural decoration of the new cathedral was determined at the time of Archbishop Albert of Käfernburg (1205–1232), who strongly supported the cult of St Maurice. An image of a knightly soldier also suited his plans to extend the domain of Magdeburg farther east and to convert the heathens on the edge of it.[12]

Other positive persons to be represented as black included one of the Three Kings (Balthasar) and St Gregory the Moor. The city of Cologne, possessing the relics of these holy persons, played an important part in propagating their cult.[13] One can conclude that from at least the fifteenth

Fig. 4. St. Maurice, Magdeburg Cathedral.

century saints with black skin, albeit rare, were no longer extraordinary. What mattered was their holiness.

Returning to St Maurice, however, it is relevant to point out that his iconography varied in different regions. For instance in the territories of France, Italy and Switzerland, as well as in south-western Germany, he was almost always represented as white.

Fig. 5. St Maurice and St Olaf in the wing
of the high altarpiece from St George's
Church in Wismar, ca. 1430.
St Nicholas' Church, Wismar.
Photo Stanislav Stepashko.

Fig. 6. St Maurice in the
shrine of the Krämer altar-
piece from St Mary's Church
in Wismar, ca. 1430.
St Nicholas' Church, Wismar.
Photo Stanislav Stepashko.

In other regions, a compromise was some-times made: the saint's face was painted dark, but he had no Negroid features.[14] In fact, the next surviving depiction of St Maurice as a black African originates from the Holy Cross Chapel in the Karlstein cas-tle: the painting was completed between 1359 and 1365. Emperor Charles IV had a particular interest in black Africans: the Luxembourg dynasty was believed to have started with Ham, a son of Noah, and ac-cording to medieval tradition, the blacks were also descendants of Ham.[15]

In Denmark and Sweden – countries that were geographically and culturally close to medieval Livonia – one can find both black and white Maurices in the sec-ond half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, although few images of him have survived. In the Ca-thedral of Roskilde and in the churches of Östra Herrestad (Scania) and Högs-by (Småland), the saint is depicted as a black African, whereas in the murals of the Linderöd, Vittskövle (Scania), and Skive Gamle (Jutland) churches he is a white knight, recognizable only by the inscrip-tion.[16] The concentration of his visual rep-resentations in the churches belonging to the Archdiocese of Lund can probably be

explained by the fact that Lund Cathedral possessed several relics of St Maurice.[17]

In the northern and eastern German ter-ritories, St Maurice was depicted as black and with Negroid features.[18] Characteris-tic examples of this are two fifteenth-centu-ry carved altarpieces from the Hanse town Wismar (fig. 5–6). The same pictorial tra-

dition reached Livonia as well. Although the number of images of St Maurice from Livonia is rather small, all of them depict a black saint. The oldest known piece of evidence is a mid-fifteenth century draw-ing of a banner that belonged to the Mas-ter of the Livonian branch of the Teuton-ic Order: on one side of it stood the Ma-
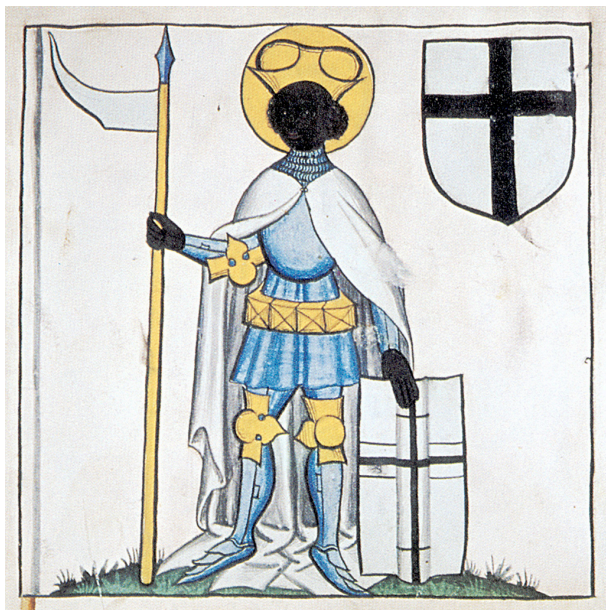
Fig. 7. St Maurice on the banner
of the Livonian branch of the Teu-
tonic Order, ca. 1431.
Pen-and-ink drawing.
From Ekdahl 1976.

Fig. 8. St Maurice on the
outside of the inner wing
of the Wiener Neustadt
altarpiece, 1447. St Stephen's
Cathedral, Vienna.
Photo Stanislav Stepashko.

donna, and on the other, St Maurice (fig. 7).[19] There, the saint is wearing a duke's hat – an attribute of St Maurice, mainly to be found in Bohemia, Silesia and Austria (e.g. in the Wiener Neustadt altarpiece, see fig. 8).[20] This banner was captured by Polish troops in the battle at Nakel (Polish Nakło) on 13 September 1431. Although Virgin Mary was the principal saint of the Teutonic Order, the banner indicates that in Livonia, St Maurice was an important co-patron.

On the whole, there is surprisingly little evidence for the cult of St Maurice in medieval Livonia. There is only one church dedicated to him, the parish church of Haljala in northern Estonia, built in the fifteenth century.[21] This fortified church was situated in the territory of the Teutonic Order

on the road between the towns of Tallinn and Narva. It may well be that the cult of St Maurice within the Livonian branch of the Order influenced the choice of the patron saint of this church. There is no information on relics of St Maurice in Livonia, or on altars dedicated to him.

Fully preserved calendars, which would enable us to study the degrees of importance of different saints' days, survive only from the two largest cities, Riga and Tallinn. They reveal that the feast of St Maurice and his companions on 22 September was not among the high-degree feasts: in the calendar contained in the early-fifteenth-century Missal of Riga, it is only marked with nine *lectiones*.[22] In Tallinn, the feast was celebrated as *festum simplex* during the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[23]

The rest of the evidence for the cult of St Maurice originates from the Brotherhoods of the Black Heads in Riga and Tallinn. However, prior to the discussion of this evidence, it is necessary to briefly introduce these confraternities, as well as the Great Guilds to which they had close connections. Merchants in Riga and Tallinn were divided between these two associations. The Great Guild was the most important: it consisted mainly of independent merchants involved in long-distance trade who were married men and held the status of burgher. The Brotherhood of the Black Heads, in contrast, united predominantly young unmarried merchants and

journeyman merchants, but the confraternity also admitted foreign merchants and ship captains. The first records concerning the Black Heads in Riga and Tallinn originate from the early fifteenth century, that is, from almost half a century later than records dealing with the Great Guild. Quite probably, they separated from the Great Guild at a time when it was necessary to draw stricter borderlines between the burghers of the town and the independent merchants on the one hand, and journeymen and foreign merchants on the other. It was a common practice that when a Black Head married and took the burgher's oath he moved over to the Great Guild.

The two associations also celebrated certain festivals together, and it is known that in Tallinn they jointly used two altars in the Dominican church.[24] Due to the close connections between these associations, we also have to consider their cult of saints together.

Unlike the older guilds, such as the St Canute and St Olaf guilds in Tallinn, the Great Guild and the Black Heads did not have a particular patron saint. Instead, they venerated several saints. The Great Guild had two altars in St Nicholas' Church (the first dedicated to Sts Blasius, Victor and George, the second to St Christopher), and two more in St Olaf's Church (that of St Olaf and St Magnus). The Black Heads had two altars in St Catherine's Church of the Dominicans: that of Virgin Mary, St Gertrude and St Dorothy (first mentioned in 1400, consecrated in 1403), and that of the Holy Trinity, St John the Baptist and St Christopher (first mentioned in 1418, consecrated in 1419).[25] On the surviving altarpiece of the Black Heads, which most probably stood on Virgin Mary's altar having arrived from Bruges in 1493, one can see the following saints: the Virgin with St George and St Victor in the central panel, and St Francis and St Gertrude on the wings. In the second view, which depicts the double intercession, Christ and God the Father are accompanied by Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist.[26] A bench end of the confraternity, dating from about 1480, depicts St George slaying the dragon (fig. 9). No images of St Maurice have survived in Tallinn, but according to

Fig. 9. Bench end with St George and the coat of arms of the Black Heads, ca. 1480, renovated in 1561. Oak, 130 x 42 cm.
Tallinn City Museum, Kiek in de Kök tower.
Photo Stanislav Stepashko.

the account book of the altar wardens of the Black Heads, they bought an antependium from Bruges in 1481 for the altar of Virgin Mary, and this antependium was decorated with the figures of Virgin Mary, St Maurice and St Victor.[27]

A remark has to be made here in connection with a knightly saint standing in the shrine of the high altarpiece of St Nicholas' Church in Tallinn. Prior to the restoration that took place in the 1980s, this sculpture was regarded as St Maurice.[28] It still figures as St Maurice in Suckale-Redlefsen's book from 1987, although the author rightfully admits that the "Negroid features are not stressed".[29] However, the restoration revealed that the knight has light complexion and blond hair. Moreover, although for about 25 years after the restoration he held a spear, one of the traditional attributes of St Maurice, it was not his original attribute: each figure has his/her attribute drawn on the panel behind his/her back, and the sketch behind this knight depicts a sword and a crowned head. In his left hand, the knight is holding a shield with the lion *rampant* on a red and grey-blue background. All this allows us to identify him as St Reinold – according to legend a knightly saint (d. 810), Charlemagne's nephew, who killed the heathen King Saforet, and who is the patron saint of Dortmund.[30] There is no St Maurice in this altarpiece, except for the painted coat of arms of the Black Heads (see fig. 1).

There is more evidence of the cult and visual representation of St Maurice among the Black Heads in Riga. However, let us

begin with the information on the altars of the confraternity. The patron saint of the Black Heads' altar in the Franciscan church is not known. In 1481, they founded an altar and a chantry (*vicaria*) in St Peter's Church, and this was most likely dedicated to St George. In 1487, the Black Heads dedicated an eternal mass there in honour of Sts George, Maurice, Gertrude, Francis and Reinold.[31] In this list, St George held the first position, but St Maurice came right after him. The cult of St George was much stronger: according to a late-fifteenth-century inventory list of the Black Heads, a wooden statue of St George, containing a relic of the saint, stood on their altar and, in 1503, the confraternity ordered a silver reliquary in the shape of St George with the dragon, likewise intended for their altar.[32] The latter, made in 1507 by the Lübeck goldsmith Bernt Heynemann, has been preserved and is on display in the Roselius-Haus in Bremen.[33]

Before World War II, there were three late Gothic wooden figures in the Black Heads' House, depicting St George, St Gertrude and St Maurice (fig. 10).[34] They have been dated to approximately the mid-fifteenth century.[35] The original location of the figures is unknown, but most probably they belonged to an altarpiece of the Black Heads. Today, only the first two are still in Riga (in the Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation),[36] whereas St Maurice has been lost since 1945.[37]

The entrance to the Black Heads' House in Riga was flanked by two side stones

Fig. 10. St George, St Gertrude and St Maurice from an altarpiece of the Black Heads in Riga, ca. 1430–1450. Oak, h. 86.5 cm. From Neumann 1892.

(*Beischlagsteine*) from 1522: on one of them the Virgin Mary and the coat of arms of the town are depicted, on the other St Maurice and the coat of arms of the Black Heads (fig. 11).[38] (The house was destroyed in World War II, but rebuilt in the 1990s. The original side stones are nowadays displayed in the cloisters of the Riga Cathedral-Museum.) Both the figure on the side stone relief and the fifteenth-century wooden sculpture show distinct Negroid features, which confirms that in Livonia, St Maurice was known as a black person.

As the listed examples indicate, both documentary and visual evidence exist for the cult of St Maurice within the confraternities of the Black Heads in Riga and Tallinn. However, it is also clear that despite being depicted on their coat of arms, he was not their most important saint: the cult of St George and Virgin Mary was much stronger.

A brief digression concerning the occurrence of the name Maurice (Mauritius, Mauris, and in the sixteenth century also Moritz) among Tallinn city-dwellers: interestingly, the name seems to have been used predominantly among the merchants and not at all among the lower social strata. True, the name is not among the "top ten" or even "top twenty" Christian names, but it is nevertheless conspicuous that one cannot find a single Mauritius in the medieval account book (1437–1596) of the St Canute Guild or a single craftsman of that name in the book of burghers from 1409 to about 1550.[39] In the lists of the Black Heads, in contrast, there are a dozen men called Mauritius from the late fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries.[40] Four of them (Mauritius Bretholt, Mauritius Roleffes, Mauritius Rotert, Mauritius Schomaker) became members of the Great Guild.[41] The correlation between the popularity of a saint within a certain social group in a particular time period and the choice of Christian names is a topic that certainly requires further research.

Let us return to the fact that the cult of St Maurice was not as strong among the Black Heads as that of St George or Virgin Mary. This brings us to the question that has been much debated in the local historiography: did the name of the confraternity really originate from St Maurice? It is interesting that the Black Heads never called themselves the confraternity

Fig. 11. Side stones with the Virgin Mary and St Maurice, formerly in front of the Black Heads' House in Riga, 1522. Limestone. Cloisters of the Riga Cathedral-Museum. From Spliet 1934.

of St Maurice (or of the Black Head, in the singular). However, one of the arguments in favour of St Maurice has been the confraternity's own tradition. The first history of the Brotherhood of the Black Heads in Riga was written in 1831. It was a work commissioned by the confraternity and in the book is explained that their somewhat peculiar name derives from St Maurice.[42]

Fig. 12. The earliest depiction of the coat of arms of the Black Heads in Riga, ca. 1441. Pen-and-ink drawing. From Mänd 2005.

Only later on, in the 1880s, some other explanations were offered. For instance, it was assumed that since the members (or at least the elders) of the Great Guild were older and wiser, they were called 'white heads' or 'grey heads', and consequently, the young men had to be 'black heads'. Another opinion was that their name originated from some kind of headgear, such as a black helmet.[43]

It is important to note that, in fact, two different types of the Black Heads in Livonia existed. The earlier type, known since the fourteenth century, was the Stable Brethren (*Stallbrüder*), who were guards and servants at castles.[44] There is information on such corporations from around 25 castles, most of them belonging to the Teutonic Order. The Stable Brethren were occasionally called the Black Heads, and their

patron saint was believed to have been St Maurice. It has been assumed that the merchants' associations in Riga, Tallinn and Tartu, which came into existence in the fifteenth century, adopted the name and the coat of arms from the Stable Brethren.[45]

The earliest surviving depiction of the coat of arms of the urban Black Heads is from about 1441 – a pen-and-ink drawing in the statutes of the Riga confraternity (fig. 12). The Moor's head on the coat of arms is referred to in medieval sources as the 'black head' (*swarte hovet*). An inventory list from the Tallinn Dominican church from about 1495 describes two chalices belonging to the Black Heads: *Noch 2 grote kelke, up dem enen steit er swarten hovet unde up dem andern steit gescreven: dusse kelk hort to der swarten hoveden altare* ("Also, two big chalices; on one of them stands their black head, and on the other it is written: this chalice belongs to the altar of the Black Heads").[46] A stipulation in the Carnival regulations of the Riga Black Heads prescribes the setting out of the banner with the coat of arms of the confraternity: *Item desz mandagz des morgens to 7 sal de knecht upt husz dat swarte hovet uthangen* ("On Monday morning at 7, the servant must hoist the black head on the house").[47] From these and other examples it is clear that the name of the confraternity is connected with the image on their coat of arms, and not with helmets or anything else.

However, in the 1930s there was a growing uneasiness with the notion that the Black Heads' name originated from an

African saint. In a monograph by a Baltic German scholar from 1934, the author returns to the theory that the confraternity received its name from black helmets worn by the members.[48] This must be understood in the ideological context of the time. The National Socialists in Germany regarded Negroids as inferior and this was the reason, for instance, why the black head of St Maurice was removed from the old coat of arms of the city of Coburg in 1933 and replaced by a sword and swastika.[49] Despite the fact that post-war scholarship on medieval Livonia supports the version favouring St Maurice, one can still find references to the black helmets in some works, including the article on the Black Heads in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*.[50]

It seems to me that the right question to ask is not why the Black Heads venerated St Maurice, but why the merchants in Livonian Hanse towns venerated several warrior saints, usually associated with the nobility, such as St George, St Maurice, St Reinold and St Victor. The latter was even chosen as the patron saint of the merchant-dominated Hanse town of Tallinn.[51] I believe that the answer lies, at least partly, in the political history of the region. Livonia was conquered and Christianized during the northern crusades of the early thirteenth century. Recent research has shown that in addition to the knights, townspeople (including merchants) from various urban centres in northern Germany and along the Baltic coast were directly engaged in the crusades.[52] Virgin Mary was the main patron saint of the German crusaders, and

the newly conquered region was dedicated to her but, in addition to the Mother of God, warrior saints, especially St George, were much favoured among the conquerors.[53] As for St Maurice, it is important to stress that the crusaders, as well as settlers later on, mainly came from northern and eastern Germany (Lower Saxony, Westphalia and Prussia, and to a lesser extent from the Rhineland), that is, from the regions where the saint was customarily depicted as black.[54]

In newly conquered regions, such as Livonia, but also Prussia, the nature of the merchants' associations differed from those in Western Europe. This is revealed, for instance, by their involvement in several "knightly" activities. The Black Heads in Riga and Tallinn, just like members of the King Arthur's Courts in Danzig and other Prussian towns, imitated courtly culture and arranged jousts at their festivals. Their chivalric values were also translated into a visual medium: the house of the Black Heads in Riga was decorated with a bust of King Arthur, and the house of the Black Heads in Tallinn with two jousting figures.[55] During the Russian-Livonian War, a troop of the Tallinn Black Heads took part in the battle on 11 September 1560.[56] Thus, in the overall context, it seems no longer surprising that the merchants in Livonia chose to venerate warrior saints, including St Maurice.

Notes

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2 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 29. For the story of the Theban legion as a fiction, see Woods 1994.

3 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 31–35; see also Brackmann 1937, 279–305.

4 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 35–37, 63, 135; LCI, vol. 7, 610–611.

5 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 37.

6 Thurre 1992, 9, 11.

7 Ehbrecht 2000, 217–222; Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 39–41; Devisse 1979, 158–159.

8 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 17; *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, 188. For the early images and the development of the iconography of St Maurice, see Thurre 1992.

9 Devisse 1979, 64–73; Mellinkoff 1993, vol. 1, 127–130.

10 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 23.

11 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 25.

12 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 19, 39–43, 53–55.

13 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 27–29, 125–127.

14 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 71, 75, 77.

15 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 57–61, ill. on p. 59.

16 See http://medeltidbild.historiska.se/medeltidbild and http://www.kalkmalerier.dk (visited 2.5.2013). For Högsby, see also Pegelow 2006, 196, fig. 265.

17 Pegelow 2006, 196; more specifically, see *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii aevi*, T. VIII, 447–448, 450, 453–454.

18 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 67–69.

19 Ekdahl 1976, 274–277. For the dating of the drawings, see p. 3.

20 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 133. The military rank of St Maurice was *primicerius*, which in the late Middle Ages was interpreted as equal to duke. LCI, vol. 7, 611.

21 Raam 1997, 130–131.

22 Bruiningk 1904, 210.

23 Kala 1992, 24.

24 Mänd 2005, 29–32, 36, 49; Mänd 2007, 39–40, 44.

25 Leimus *et al.* 2011, 81–83; Mänd 2007, 40.

26 Mänd 2007, 38, 41.

27 Staatsarchiv Hamburg, B. 612-2/6, no. E 1, fol. 56r, 61r; Mänd 2000, 232.

28 Karling 1946, 120, 129, fig. 120; Raam 1976, 40–41.

29 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 192–193.

30 Mänd 2013, 129, 261, plates 29–30. For the iconography of St Reinold, see Weifenbach 2004, Martens 1995.

31 Bruiningk 1904, 62, 417–418.

32 Bruiningk 1904, 418–420.

33 *Der Silberschatz* 1997, 32–37; *Melngalvju nams* 1995, 199.

34 Neumann 1892, 4–5, plate III; *Melngalvju nams* 1995, 37.

35 For various opinions, see Grosmane 2000, 537–539.

36 *Melngalvju nams* 1995, 196–197.

37 According to Grosmane, the figure of St Maurice was taken to Czechoslovakia. Grosmane 2000, 537.

38 *Melngalvju nams* 1995, 200–201, 237.

39 Tallinn City Archives, coll. 190, inv. 1, no. 60; *Das Revaler Bürgerbuch 1409–1624*.

40 Tallinn City Archives, coll. 87, inv. 1, no. 20, pag. 118, 320; no. 21a, pag. 48, 66, 120, 156, 220, 248, 277, 286, 322, 353.

41 Tallinn City Archives, coll. 191, inv. 2, no. 1, fol. 59r, 60v, 63r; no. 15, pag. 97, 161, 223.

42 Tielemann 1831, 2.

43 Gutzeit 1885a, 1885b; Spliet 1934, 62–63.

44 Spliet 1934, 2–5.

45 Amelung & Wrangell 1930, 8; Spliet 1934, 6–7; Kala, Kreem & Mänd 1999, 62–63.

46 Mänd 2008, 102.

47 Stieda & Mettig 1896, 583, § 22, see also 562, § 11.

48 Spliet 1934, 62.

49 Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 17.

50 Brück 1995, 1621.

51 For visual and textual evidence, see Mänd 2009a.

52 Jensen 2001, 84–94.

53 Mänd 2009b, 202–205.

54 See e.g. Arbusow 1939; Johansen 1958, 271–278.

55 Mänd 2005, 238–248.

56 Amelung & Wrangell 1930, 153–158; Kivimäe 1999, 70–79.

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