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PIOUS GIFTS IN LATE MEDIEVAL STOCKHOLM IN THE CONTEXT  
OF BALTIC TOWNS

Doctoral thesis in the field of humanities  
in the discipline of history

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## List of abbreviations

APD	A. Krarup and J. Lindbæk (eds), <i>Acta Pontificum Danica. Pavelige aktstykker vedrørende Danmark 1316–1536</i> , vol. 2: <i>1378–1431</i> (København, G.E.C. Gad, 1907)
APS Cam.	L.M. Bååth (ed.), <i>Acta pontificum Svecica</i> , vol. 1: <i>Acta cameralia</i> , vol. 2: <i>Ann. MCCCLXXI–MCDXCII</i> (Holmiae, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1957)
DS	<i>Diplomatarium Suecanum</i> ; available online at <i>Svenskt diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbreven</i> , <a href="https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SDHK">https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SDHK</a> , accessed online 14 April 2023
FMU	<i>Finlands Medeltidsurkunder</i> ; available online at <i>Diplomatarium Fennicum</i> , <a href="http://df.narc.fi">http://df.narc.fi</a> , accessed online 14 April 2023
REA	R. Hausen (ed.), <i>Registrum ecclesiae Aboensis eller Åbo domkyrkas svartbok</i> (Helsingfors, Finlands statsarkiv, 1890)
SDHK	<i>Svenskt diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbreven</i> , <a href="https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SDHK">https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SDHK</a> , accessed online 14 April 2023
SJB	H. Hildebrand (ed.), <i>Stockholms stads jordebok 1420–1498</i> , vol. 1–2 (Stockholm, Ivar Hæggströms boktryckeri, 1876)
STB I	E. Hildebrand (ed.), <i>Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1474–1483 samt burspråk</i> (Stockholm, Ivar Hæggströms boktryckeri, 1917)
STB II	G. Carlsson (ed.), <i>Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1483–1492</i> (Stockholm, Ivar Hæggströms boktryckeri, 1944)
STB III	J.A. Almquist (ed.), <i>Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1492–1500</i> (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1930)
STB IV	J.A. Almquist (ed.), <i>Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1504–1514</i> (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1931)
STB V	J.A. Almquist (ed.), <i>Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1514–1520. Jämte utdrag ur de förlorade årgångarne 1520–1524 samt stadens kopiebok 1520–1522</i> (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1933)

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## Introduction

The aims and scope of the thesis

This thesis aims to analyse gifts for pious purposes made by burghers and suburban dwellers of late medieval Stockholm. In order to highlight which features of pious gift-giving in Stockholm were typical or untypical for towns and cities of the Baltic Sea region, the investigated situation in Stockholm will be compared against the background of several other Baltic urban centres. Although religious donations and foundations of Stockholm urban dwellers have been researched in various contexts by Swedish and Scandinavian historians, this topic was never treaded by a separate monograph which would provide a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon in the largest and most important town of the Swedish realm before the Reformation (see more below). The comparative approach is meant to identify features that were characteristic (and possibly unique) for Stockholm on the one hand, and features that were common for the urban culture and lay piety of the entire Baltic region (and possibly the whole of Latin Christendom) on the other. Moreover, the comparison may be used to track and interpret the spread of ideas and practices regarding pious gifts from the European ‘core’ to the northern ‘periphery’. However, it ought to be determined, based on the source material and the conducted investigations, whether using such categories as ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ is even reasonable with regard to the religious life of burghers in the late medieval Baltic region.

This approach focused on the slow and gradual cultural transfer from the ‘core’ Western European territories to ‘peripheral’ areas bordering them in all directions during the Middle Ages was adopted by many historical works. Arguably, the best-known and the most influential of them was the scholarly piece by Robert Bartlett.<sup>1</sup> An example of this perspective being applied to the history of the Baltic and Nordic regions is a monograph by Nils Blomkvist.<sup>2</sup> However, this approach has been challenged since both these books were published. More recent scholarship has voiced the need to reconsider whether Western European ‘core’ structures, models, ideas and practices were simply copied and assimilated by local ‘peripheral’ cultures and societies and whether those ‘core’ patterns were always superior to the local ones and brought about an improvement. The necessity to consider more the local actors and their

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<sup>1</sup> R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (London, Penguin Books, 1994).

<sup>2</sup> N. Blomkvist, *The Discovery of the Baltic: The Reception of a Catholic World-System in the European North (AD 1075–1225)* (Leiden, Brill, 2005).

role in the culture transfer has been also highlighted.<sup>3</sup> Concerning late medieval Stockholm specifically, Sofia Gustafsson argued that it should not be perceived simply as a smaller and more peripherally located town modelled after Lübeck and other ‘core’ North German cities. Stockholm had its own distinctive laws, practices and solutions to the challenges of municipal politics. It was also part of the wider Northern European urban culture, and at that hardly a ‘peripheral’ one.<sup>4</sup>

To shed light on this ‘core’ – ‘periphery’ dynamic, and whether it even existed in the first place, with regard to pious gift-giving in pre-Reformation Stockholm, a few key points need to be examined. Firstly, how did local laws, customs and practices impact burghers’ pious gifts? Secondly, whether some characteristic of Stockholm and untypical of the rest of the analysed Baltic towns forms of pious gift-giving emerged during the late medieval period. Or were they simply copied from the ‘core’ cities, such as Lübeck and Danzig (Pol. Gdańsk)? Thirdly, did Stockholm burghers and suburban dwellers share the same ideas and thinking patterns concerning pious gifts with the rest of the urban population around the Baltic Sea, or were those limited or delayed in their spread by Stockholm’s alleged ‘peripherality’?

By ‘pious gifts’ are meant here material gifts, such as money, movable items, immovable properties and the income thereof, that were exchanged for spiritual benefits, such as prayers, masses, and other forms of intercession. The latter was ultimately meant to aid the benefactor’s soul and facilitate its salvation. Thus, the thesis follows the key concept of gift exchange and reciprocity. These notions were popularised among cultural anthropologists and social scientists through the famous essay *The Gift* by Marcel Mauss.<sup>5</sup> The research on forms and functions of gift exchange, particularly pious gift-giving, was later introduced to medieval studies and

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, K.V. Jensen, T. Jørgensen, and K. Salonen, ‘Introduction’, in K. Salonen, K.V. Jensen, and T. Jørgensen (eds), *Medieval Christianity in the North: New Studies* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2013), pp. 1–6. It does not mean, however, that certain aspects of Nordic kingdoms’ culture cannot be assessed as ‘underdeveloped’ or ‘peripheral’; see, for example, S. Lodén, *French Romance, Medieval Sweden and the Europeanisation of Culture* (Cambridge, D.S. Brewer, 2021), pp. 39–40, 44–45.

<sup>4</sup> S. Gustafsson, *Svenska städer i medeltidens Europa. En komparativ studie av stadsorganisation och politisk kultur* (Stockholm, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> For the English translation, see M. Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, transl. I. Cunnison, intro. E.E. Evans-Pritchard (London, Cohen & West, 1966).

further developed by historians such as Joel T. Rosenthal,<sup>6</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein,<sup>7</sup> Ilana F. Silber,<sup>8</sup> and Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld.<sup>9</sup>

Obviously, various property transfers between ecclesiastical institutions, members of the clergy and laypeople of Stockholm, such as selling, purchasing, exchanging, mortgaging and renting out, were excluded from the investigations offered here, as those could not be considered pious gifts. For the sake of consistency and coherence of the analysis some gifts offered by burghers and suburban dwellers of late medieval Stockholm which otherwise could be considered to be made ‘for pious purposes’ were deliberately omitted as well. This applies to donations to religious and charitable institutions which were to be reciprocated with ‘worldly’ services. Those were entrance fees paid to charitable institutions serving as rest homes for wealthy and respectable burghers and gifts connected with the admission of one’s relative into a religious house.

Admittedly, Elseby Linouen, who transferred her stone house together with all the movable and immovable belongings to the administrator of the Homestead of the Holy Spirit in 1438 to be admitted into the said Homestead, wished that ‘hon thaer anamadh aer for ena syster badhe liffuandis ok dødh.’<sup>10</sup> The phrase used there – ‘to be received as a sister both alive and dead’ – suggests that she indeed looked for some commemoration and not only bodily care. Similarly, enabling one’s offspring or other relatives to pursue a priestly and monastic career by covering the costs of their admission could have been done with the resulting intercessory prayers of a grateful clergy member in mind. Nevertheless, both kinds of admission fees discussed here were used to meet first and foremost very particular ‘worldly’ needs, and thus significantly limited forms and functions of such gifts. Their inclusion in the quantitative analysis would have skewed it in favour of certain religious institutions while the ‘pious’ nature of those gifts is arguable at best. Therefore, those research issues should not be intermingled with ‘proper’ pious gifts aimed primarily at spiritual benefits

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<sup>6</sup> J.T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307–1485* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).

<sup>7</sup> B.H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny’s Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1989).

<sup>8</sup> I.F. Silber, ‘Gift-Giving in the Great Traditions: The Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West’, *European Journal of Sociology*, 36/2 (1995), pp. 209–243.

<sup>9</sup> A.-J.A. Bijsterveld, ‘The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach’, in E. Cohen and M.B. de Jong (eds), *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* (Leiden, Brill, 2001), pp. 123–156. More recently, he published a comprehensive monograph focused on the medieval Low Countries, see A.-J.A. Bijsterveld, *Do ut des: Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries*, transl. R. Stuve (Hilversum, Verloren, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> SJB, no. 136.

(see also Appendix 1). They should be treated separately and they have, in fact, already received attention from Scandinavian scholars (see below).

Donations to various urban associations, such as merchant and craft guilds, and religious fraternities, were also excluded. Those gifts, entrance and annual fees collected by guilds were usually used not only for group commemoration but also to provide their members with ‘social security’, upkeep guild houses and organise communal feasts. Only gifts that were aimed directly at places of worship and religious services established and maintained by guilds were taken into account.

The subject of the thesis is the pious gifts made by two intertwined groups inhabiting the town of Stockholm and its suburbs. Precisely, only people who owned immovable property in the town proper of Stockholm, i.e. on the central Town Island (Swe. *Stadsholmen*), lived there, paid taxes from their properties and engaged in burgher occupations (i.e. trade and crafts) were considered burghers of that town.<sup>11</sup> Using the available source material it is often difficult to distinguish proper burghers from suburban dwellers unless they are explicitly referred to as Stockholm burghers, councillors, burgomasters or other municipal officials. People from outside the town (e.g. suburban dwellers, peasants, nobles and clergymen) appeared before the town council of Stockholm and were registered in the official town records, and Stockholm burghers owned properties located in suburban areas making the distinction more complicated. Moreover, people living in the suburbs constituted part of the wider urban community through their constant interactions with the inhabitants of the Town Island and the municipal authorities. Typically, persons referred to as burghers and municipal officials of Stockholm, those who owned immovable property in the town proper and its suburbs, engaged in trade or crafts and were recorded in the official town records of Stockholm and issued their documents there were encompassed by the analysis. Unless they were identified as members of other social strata (see also Appendix 1). Nobles living in Stockholm were excluded unless they obtained a burghership there at some point. Priests and other members of the clergy who originated from burgher families and lived in the town or its vicinity were excluded from the quantitative analysis and are referred to only occasionally when it was required by the qualitative analysis.

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<sup>11</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret. Arv och egendom i bostadsbristens Stockholm 1479–1530* (Stockholm, Institutet för Rättshistorisk Forskning, 2019), p. 31.

Thus, the thesis focuses on burghers and suburban dwellers of Stockholm and its geographical framework covers first and foremost the town proper, its suburbs and imminent vicinity but some religious institutions and individuals who were recipients of Stockholmers' pious gifts were located or lived further away within the Kingdom of Sweden and beyond. The chronological framework encompasses the period from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This period is marked on the one hand by the first identified pious gift which certainly was made by a burgher in 1315, and on the other hand by the 1520s when the Protestant Reformation began in the Sweden realm. The Reformation and post-Reformation period in Stockholm and the changes it brought about to the local pious gift-giving have been studied by Marko Lamberg.<sup>12</sup> Thus the research offered here should provide additional depth to Lamberg's study and investigate the entire 'Catholic' period in the history of Stockholm covered by available burgher-related primary sources.

Overall, applying the selection criteria outlined above it was possible to identify 242 pious gifts made in late medieval Stockholm and elsewhere by its residents. However, some of them had to be discarded as their nature (e.g. being a financial transaction instead of a pious gift) or the social background of their donors (i.e. being a burgher or suburban dweller) could not be defined and remained uncertain. That necessary reduction left 192 suitable gifts for the designed analysis.

## The method

In order to achieve the goals set above three research methods will be combined. The quantitative method will be used to analyse the data set collected from relevant primary sources (see Appendix 1) in various configurations throughout the thesis. Individual cases and groups of selected cases will be discussed in a qualitative manner to both analyse them in-depth and exemplify the investigated phenomena. Additionally, as was mentioned above, all chapters employ a comparative approach to identify the typical and untypical features of pious gift-giving in late medieval Stockholm in the context of other Baltic towns and cities. This approach will not only provide additional contextualisation for cases discussed here but will also allow the assessment of how the town dwellers of Stockholm shared their lay piety with the urban

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<sup>12</sup> M. Lamberg, 'Religiosity and Readiness for the Reformation among Late Medieval Burghers in Stockholm, c. 1420–1570', in R.M. Toivo and S. Katajala-Peltomaa (eds), *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe, c. 1300–1700* (Leiden, Brill, 2016), pp. 178–203.

population of the entire Baltic region and, more broadly, the inhabitants of the whole of Latin Christendom.

#### Available primary sources

The bulk of primary sources relevant to the study of pious gifts in pre-Reformation Stockholm consists of two categories. The first one is individual parchment and paper documents issued by Stockholm burghers and suburban dwellers. The extremely useful online database prepared by the National Archives of Sweden (Swe. *Riksarkivet*) allows access to a catalogue of medieval documents issued in the Kingdom of Sweden or relating to it, which is known as *Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbrev* (SDHK). Many of the documents catalogued there have been digitalised and made available online, others require a visit to the archives. A few medieval documents, both registered by the SDHK catalogue and not, were accessed through other archives around the Baltic Sea, such as the City Archives of Stockholm (Swe. *Stockholms stadsarkiv*), the Archives of the Hanseatic City of Lübeck and the Archives of the Hanseatic City of Lüneburg. The survey was supplemented with individual documents scattered around various source editions and other edited primary sources, such as the calendar book of the Franciscan convent in Stockholm. The sources identified through the survey consist of foundation and donation documents, as well as a few wills (for discussion on wills and will-like posthumous property transfers, see subchapter 1.2.1).

The other main category of primary sources surveyed and used for the analysis comprises entries (notes) in the official town records of Stockholm. The governing body of medieval Stockholm – the town council – produced various types of official records through a designated town registrar. Those included lists of municipal officials and account books. The two types of official registers which turned out to be most relevant for the conducted survey were the official property registers of Stockholm (Swe. *jordböcker*) and the registers of town council minutes (Swe. *tänkeböcker*). Due to a fire which destroyed the town archives of Stockholm in 1419, the medieval property registers are available only for the period between 1420 and 1498. The preserved minutes of the town council meetings begin only in 1474 and, with a considerable gap in 1501–1503 and other minor gaps in the early 1500s, continue until 1520 (very fragmentarily until 1524). Some entries overlap between the two kinds of registers for the period they both cover. The registers recorded various property transfers and other legal

proceedings regarding religious institutions and chantries in Stockholm. For a complete list of pious gifts identified through the survey and exact source references, see Appendix 1.

In addition to this brief description of the most relevant available (i.e. preserved to this day) primary sources, what is lacking from late medieval Stockholm should be also mentioned. Unfortunately, the account books kept by the churchwardens of the parish church of St Nicholas, as well as other financial and property registers used by various ecclesiastical institutions, individual chantries and their lay administrators, produced during the medieval period are now lost. Many of those, in all likelihood, were scattered and disappeared during the Reformation when monastic and mendicant convents were dissolved, charitable institutions were merged and reorganised, and privately founded chantries were terminated. The lack of such sources, essential for the registration of endowments, and its implications are discussed multiple times throughout the thesis.

#### Previous scholarship – secondary sources

Pious gift-giving, religious foundations and donations, and various forms of commemoration in which the urban community of Stockholm engaged in the late Middle Ages have been touched upon by several historical studies, a few of which made those issues their main focus. Pious gifts and other intertwined phenomena, such as religious commemoration (often referred to with the Latin term *memoria*), were addressed in monographs dedicated to the medieval history of the town and some of the ecclesiastical institutions located therein. For example, interesting data concerning the number of endowments received by the Clarissan nunnery and the Franciscan convent, both located around Stockholm, have been provided by, respectively, Dagny Torbrand<sup>13</sup> and Jørgen Nybo Rasmussen.<sup>14</sup> One of the most comprehensive of those scholarly pieces, although lacking analytical depth, is part of the first scholarly volume dedicated to the history (and art history) of the parish church of St Nicholas authored by Frans de Brun. The author collected and presented pieces of information extracted from various sources regarding the medieval history of the church and its chantries. Only a few additions from sources not used by de Brun could be offered in this thesis with regard to the parish church.

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<sup>13</sup> D. Torbrand, 'Klara kloster i Stockholm – ett exempel på agrar stordrift under medeltiden', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B: Human Geography*, 50/1 (1968), pp. 75–85.

<sup>14</sup> Rasmussen's book has a broad scope and does not discuss the Stockholm convent exclusively but all Franciscan convents in medieval Scandinavia, see J.N. Rasmussen, *Die Franziskaner in den nordischen Ländern im Mittelalter* (Kevelaer, Butzon & Bercker Verlag, 2002).

However, his text focuses on the parish church exclusively, as this was the purpose of the volume, and presents the collected information in a rather descriptive manner going from chapel to chapel and altar to altar without any further analysis.<sup>15</sup>

Much more recent and at the same time more analytical studies than the one authored by de Brun have been published by Marko Lamberg and Gabriela Bjarne Larsson. The former, as it has been mentioned above, investigated the impact of the Reformation on pious gift-giving in Stockholm while also referring to the pre-Reformation period for a background. Bjarne Larsson discussed donations for pious purposes in at least four of her scholarly works in the context of, among other things, the legal framework and inheritance law in late medieval Stockholm, the pursuit of spiritual and bodily care in the medieval Kingdom of Sweden, the changes brought about to the Swedish realm by the Reformation, and the functioning of mendicant convents and guilds in pre-Reformation Stockholm.<sup>16</sup> Additionally, an important text chiefly dedicated to charity and bodily care but also discussing gifts reciprocated with ‘spiritual aid’ in late medieval Sweden and Stockholm has been published by Conny Blom.<sup>17</sup> Their insightful scholarly pieces not only provide background for my research but also offer interesting interpretations.

This small sample of a much broader body of scholarship on the late medieval history of Stockholm is enough to make clear that research issues connected with pious gift-giving are not unfamiliar to Swedish and Scandinavian scholars. However, as no monograph dedicated to pious gifts specifically is available and the texts focused on this research thread were constrained by length limits typical of journal articles and chapters in multi-authored volumes, some issues have not been addressed so far. Those include, for example, the exact spatial and temporal distribution of gifts, the communal approach to charity, and the town council’s

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<sup>15</sup> F. de Brun, ‘Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal under medeltiden’, in J. Roosval (ed.), *S. Nikolai eller Storkyrkan i Stockholm*, vol. 1: *Församlingshistoria* (Stockholm, Victor Pettersons bokindustriaktiebolag, 1924), pp. 1–94.

<sup>16</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*; G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Omsorg om själen – vård av kroppen’, *Historisk tidskrift*, 131/3 (2011), pp. 433–458; G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Skärseld, mässor och döda själar 1527’, in E.-M. Letzter (ed.), *Auktoritet i förvandling. Omförhandling av fromhet, lojalitet och makt i reformationens Sverige* (Uppsala, Uppsala universitet, 2012), pp. 13–31; G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Stockholmsborgarnas donationer och den tidiga reformationens indragningar’, in K. Brilkman, M. Fink-Jensen, and H. Sanders (eds), *Reformation i två riken. Reformationens historia och historiografi i Sverige och Danmark* (Göteborg, Makadam förlag, 2019), pp. 174–201.

<sup>17</sup> C. Blom, ‘Att inte förgås i “vanrykt”. Sytning, själägagn, vård och omsorg under senmedeltid och 1500-tal’, *Scandia. Tidskrift för historisk forskning*, 66/1 (2000), pp. 5–54.



commemoration. This thesis, entirely devoted to the study of pious gifts made by burghers in pre-Reformation Stockholm, aims to investigate those and other issues more in-depth.

Moreover, none of the aforementioned studies treating pious gifts in late medieval Stockholm tries to systematically compare, apart from occasional references, the data collected therefrom with previous relevant research on pious gift-giving in other medieval urban environments. Thus, this thesis is the first more systematic attempt to apply the comparative approach to the research on pious gifts in pre-Reformation Stockholm. The much-needed contextualisation and comparative material are provided by scholarly pieces, often monographic books, on religious donations and foundations, wills and the commemoration resulting from them in various towns and cities located around the Baltic Sea. Although other Scandinavian and Baltic towns are occasionally referenced in the thesis, Lübeck, Stralsund, Prussian towns and Reval (Est. Tallinn) have been chosen as the base for the comparison. This decision was motivated by the availability of secondary sources dealing with those urban centres on the one hand,<sup>18</sup> and their geographical proximity, maritime trade and the shared influence of the Hansa which allowed cultural transfer between them, also with regard to ideas and practices of pious gifts, on the other. Previous comparative studies that put medieval Stockholm into Scandinavian,<sup>19</sup> Baltic<sup>20</sup> and wider Northern European<sup>21</sup> contexts demonstrate the relevance of such a research approach.

Last but not least, the investigations offered by the thesis benefited greatly from the long-established and productive studies on medieval *memoria*. They have gained popularity

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<sup>18</sup> See, for example, B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie in der Hansestadt Lübeck anhand der Bürgertestamente des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 2000); G. Meyer, 'Besitzende Bürger' und 'elende Sieche'. *Lübecks Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer Testamente 1400–1449* (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 2010); R. Lusiardi, *Stiftung und städtische Gesellschaft. Religiöse und soziale Aspekte des Stiftungsverhaltens im spätmittelalterlichen Stralsund* (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 2000); P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Królewiec, Braniewo)* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2008); R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta i jego mieszkańców w późnym średniowieczu* (Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2020); K.-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2015).

<sup>19</sup> D. Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat. Stockholm, Malmö och Bergen ca. 1350–1622* (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1991); M. Lamberg, *Dannemännen i stadens råd. Rådsmanskretsen i nordiska köpstäder under senmedeltiden* (Stockholm, Stockholmia förlag, 2001); H. Haugland, 'Fellesskap og brorskap. En komparativ undersøkelse av gildenes sosiale, religiøse og rettslige rolle i et utvalg nordiske byer fra midten av 1200-tallet til reformasjonen', PhD thesis (Bergen, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> G. Dahlbäck, 'Mittelalterliche Städte im Ostseeraum. Versuch eines vergleichenden Überblicks', in R. Schweitzer, W. Bastman-Bühner, and J. Hackmann (eds), *Die Stadt im europäischen Nordosten. Kulturbeziehungen von der Ausbreitung des Lübisches Rechts bis zur Aufklärung* (Helsinki, Aue-Stiftung, 2001), pp. 209–218; M. Ojala, *Protection, Continuity and Gender: Craft Trade Culture in the Baltic Sea Region (14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> Centuries)* (Tampere, Tampere University Press, 2014).

<sup>21</sup> S. Gustafsson, *Svenska städer i medeltidens Europa*.

especially in German historical scholarship with such influential scholars as Karl Schmid, Joachim Wollasch, Otto Gerhard Oexle, Dietrich W. Poeck and Michael Borgolte originating from Germany and publishing mostly in German.<sup>22</sup> Their impact is noticeable, for example, in the historical studies concerning *memoria* in towns and cities around the Baltic Sea mentioned earlier.

### The disposition of the thesis

In order to organise the narrative as well as present and analyse subsequent research issues, the thesis is divided into three main chapters, and these in turn are divided into subchapters and sometimes sub-subchapters. The three main chapters and the subchapter they contain are arranged according to the three points of view from which one can look at the phenomenon of pious gift-giving. Namely, the gift itself, the donor who endowed it, and the community which created the circumstances for and was influenced by the gift. The first chapter introduces to the reader the sacred topography of late medieval Stockholm and presents the spatial and chronological analysis of the distribution of pious gifts and their typology. It also discusses the impact of the local legal framework on religious foundations. The second chapter investigates the background of Stockholm donors, their motivations for donating and traces of their mentality and thinking patterns left in the available sources. Finally, the third chapter examines three ‘communal’ aspects of pious gift-giving in pre-Reformation Stockholm and their impact on the local urban community. These are charity-related gifts and poor relief, collective and individualised approaches to commemoration, and the role of the municipal governing body, i.e. the town council, in the local pious gift-giving.

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<sup>22</sup> See, for example, K. Schmid and J. Wollasch (eds), *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (München, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1984); D. Geuenich and O.G. Oexle (eds), *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); O.G. Oexle (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); D. Poeck, ‘Totengedenken in Hansestädten’, in F. Neiske, D. Poeck, and M. Sandmann (eds), *Vinculum Societatis. Joachim Wollasch zum 60. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringendorf, Verlag Glock und Lutz, 1991), pp. 175–232; M. Borgolte, *Stiftung und Memoria*, ed. T. Lohse (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2012).

# 1 The Gift

## 1.1 Sacred topography of late medieval Stockholm

According to the estimations based on preserved registers of taxpayers of the 1460s, Stockholm at the time had approximately 4,500–5,500 inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Thus, its population was far from those of the largest cities in the Baltic region, such as Lübeck and Danzig (Pol. Gdańsk), which at the end of the Middle Ages had populations of around 25,000 and 30,000–35,000 respectively.<sup>2</sup> A recent study found that in some respects, particularly in the case of the relationship between craft guilds and the town council or, more broadly, between the general populace and the ruling oligarchy, Stockholm was more similar to middle-sized towns located around the Baltic Sea, such as Marienburg (Pol. Malbork).<sup>3</sup> However, it would be an oversimplification to regard late medieval Stockholm as a ‘peripheral’ town. Recently, Sofia Gustafsson rejected the ‘core’ – ‘periphery’ theory with regard to Swedish towns, including Stockholm. She argued that there was no significant delay in the spread of urban policies and municipal institutions among Swedish towns, which should be expected from a ‘peripheral’ area. Moreover, the universal Northern European patterns of urban organisation were rather received and adapted in Sweden than directly copied from the ‘core’ Northern German cities, as some older studies suggested.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Stockholm was definitively the largest town in the Kingdom of Sweden, a strategic and key location for Scandinavian rulers and a vital trade hub at

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<sup>1</sup> S. Lilja, ‘Stockholms befolkningsutveckling före 1800: problem, metoder och förklaringar’, *Historisk tidskrift*, 115/3 (1995), pp. 307–309.

<sup>2</sup> M. Biskup, ‘Pod panowaniem krzyżackim (od 1308 r. do 1454 r.)’, in E. Cieślak (ed.), *Historia Gdańska*, vol. 1: *Do roku 1454* (Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1978), p. 500; W.-D. Hauschild, ‘Frühe Neuzeit und Reformation. Das Ende der Vormachtstellung und die Neuorientierung der Stadtgemeinschaft’, in A. Graßmann (ed.), *Lübeckische Geschichte*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 1989), p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> Stockholm and Marienburg were selected for the study, not only because of their similar population size in the late Middle Ages, but also because both were seats of territorial rulers, were important religious centres despite not being episcopal sees, and developed a variety of craft guilds. See A. Girsztowt and P. Kołodziejczak, ‘The Participation of Craftsmen in Municipal Governance in Late Medieval Marienburg and Stockholm’, in M.F. Stevens and R. Czaja (eds), *Towns on the Edge in Medieval Europe: The Social and Political Order of Peripheral Urban Communities from the Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 120–141.

<sup>4</sup> S. Gustafsson, *Svenska städer i medeltidens Europa. En komparativ studie av stadsorganisation och politisk kultur* (Stockholm, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2006); S. Gustafsson, ‘Comparability between the Medieval Swedish Town Law and the Lübeck Law’, in L.B. Varela, P. Gutiérrez Vega, and A. Spinosa (eds), *Crossing Legal Cultures* (München, Martin Meidenbauer Verlagsbuchhandlung, 2009), pp. 129–140; S. Gustafsson, ‘Governance of Northern European Towns in the Middle Ages: The Benefits of a Comparative Perspective’, in J.Á. Solórzano Telechea and B. Arizaga Bolumburu (eds), *La gobernanza de la ciudad europea en la Edad Media* (Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2011), pp. 47–74.

the Baltic Sea. These features allowed Göran Dahlbäck to place it among the largest and most important towns and cities of the Baltic region.<sup>5</sup>

Before analysing pious gifts that were donated in Stockholm the sacred topography of this town should be outlined. It is important to pay attention to the actors of the pious gift-giving on both sides of this phenomenon. The giving side, i.e. the benefactors, is discussed in the second chapter. Here is presented the receiving side, i.e. the beneficiaries, the endowed religious institutions, and the clergy and the needy behind them. How did the sacred topography look like in this neither ‘peripheral’ nor genuinely ‘core’ Baltic town? The term ‘sacred topography’ is used here in the most basic sense as a simple spatial description of places of worship in medieval Stockholm to present their number and location.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the chapter mostly omits the more sophisticated approach to ‘sacred topography’ which focuses on the symbolic meaning conveyed through the location of religious institutions in urban space as well as the resulting perception and experience of those sacred elements by town dwellers; sometimes referred to as the ‘sacred geography’ to distinguish it.<sup>7</sup>

The most important church of each town was its parish church. The parish church of St Nicholas in Stockholm was mentioned for the first time in 1279 in the will of Johan Karlsson of Fånö as an already functioning church.<sup>8</sup> It certainly existed earlier in the period not covered by preserved primary sources. Robert Murray claimed that originally the church had three patron saints, that is St Nicholas – the patron saint of merchants and sailors – as well as St Eric and St Olof – the two patron saints of the Diocese of Uppsala to which Stockholm belonged – of which only the former remained.<sup>9</sup> Despite having such a suitable patron saint for a coastal trade town, the parish church of Stockholm in the medieval period was most often referred to

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<sup>5</sup> G. Dahlbäck, ‘Mittelalterliche Städte im Ostseeraum. Versuch eines vergleichenden Überblicks’, in R. Schweitzer, W. Bastman-Bühner, and J. Hackmann (eds), *Die Stadt im europäischen Nordosten. Kulturbeziehungen von der Ausbreitung des Lübbischen Rechts bis zur Aufklärung* (Helsinki, Aue-Stiftung, 2001), p. 210.

<sup>6</sup> Despite the simplifying approach, the term ‘sacred topography’ has been used in this context in numerous scholarly publications concerning pious gifts. See, for example, R. Kubicki, ‘Formy pobożności w mieście późnośredniowiecznym w świetle zapisów na rzecz kościoła i biednych w testamentach elbląskich (XV – początek XVI wieku)’, *Zapiski Historyczne*, 76/2 (2011), p. 11. Kubicki employed a broader and more nuanced approach to the ‘sacred topography’ in his recent article, see R. Kubicki, ‘Topografia sakralna średniowiecznego Gdańska jako problem badawczy’, *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza*, 25 (2022), pp. 170–189.

<sup>7</sup> One of the scholars who, on the one hand, addressed this simplifying approach to the ‘sacred topography’ and, on the other, distinguished the term ‘sacred geography’ was Halina Manikowska. See H. Manikowska, ‘Sacred Geography of a Town’, *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 101 (2010), p. 52; H. Manikowska and M. Słoń, ‘Über zwei Dimensionen hinaus. Die sakrale Geographie der mittelalterlichen Stadt “nach innen” und “nach oben”’, *Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej*, 12 (2017), pp. 78–79, 85–86.

<sup>8</sup> SDHK 1121 / DS 695.

<sup>9</sup> R. Murray, *Stockholms kyrkostyrelse intill 1630-talets mitt* (Stockholm, Svenska Kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1949), pp. 3–5.

simply as the Town Church (*bykyrkan*) and since the 17<sup>th</sup> century as the Great Church (*storkyrkan*). After a fire, it was renovated and reconsecrated by Archbishop Nils Kettelsson in 1306. The church underwent further extensive reconstructions during the 15<sup>th</sup> century under the rule of Queen Margaret of the Kalmar Union and Regent (*riksföreståndare*) Sten Sture the Elder.<sup>10</sup>

The governing body of Stockholm, that is, the town council supervised the property of the Town Church and was responsible for its maintenance. This duty was carried out by two designated churchwardens (*kyrkvärदार*). The town council appointed also the bell ringer and organist. Officially, the parson of Stockholm was appointed by the archbishop of Uppsala but the right to present a candidate belonged to the territorial ruler, that is, the Swedish king.<sup>11</sup> According to the privilege granted to the town of Stockholm by the Council of the Realm (*Riksrådet*) in 1436, the Swedish ruler was obliged to choose first and foremost a candidate originating from the town. If the ruler's candidate did not take up the duty within six months of his designation and had no valid justification for that, the right to present a new one passed to the burgomasters and the town council.<sup>12</sup> The town council must have treated this privilege seriously. In a reply to a letter of Regent Svante Nilsson of 1510, the burgomasters and councillors answered that they wanted to wait before consenting to the appointment of one of Nilsson's candidates to the office of the parson because some young men who had studied abroad came back to the town and they might have been more suitable for that office.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, the municipal authorities had some influence on the appointment of additional priests who were to help the parson in providing pastoral care and religious services in the town. In 1419, Pope Martin V allowed the parson of Stockholm Johannes Petri and his successors to designate their subordinate priests to serve in the parish church with the consent of the town council.<sup>14</sup> In some instances, even the general populace took upon themselves the responsibility for the *fabrica ecclesiae*, e.g. in 1482 when members of the congregation

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<sup>10</sup> H. Schüeck, *Stockholm vid 1400-talets slut* (Stockholm, Wahlström & Widstrand, 1940), pp. 124–128; N. Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1953), pp. 496–497; S. Högberg, *Stockholms historia*, vol. 1: *Den medeltida köpstaden. Hans Nådes stad. Stormaktens huvudstad. Borgarnas stad* (Stockholm, Bonnier fakta bokförlag, 1981), p. 78; G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Stockholm, Stockholmia förlag, 1995), p. 134.

<sup>11</sup> H. Schüeck, *Stockholm vid 1400-talets slut*, p. 132; R. Murray, *Stockholms kyrkostyrelse*, pp. 12–15; G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, p. 138.

<sup>12</sup> N. Herlitz (ed.), *Privilegier, resolutioner och förordningar för Sveriges städer*, vol. 1: *1251–1523* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1927), no. 79, p. 80.

<sup>13</sup> SDHK 36689.

<sup>14</sup> SDHK 19374.

asked the town authorities to pledge that the parish church would be renovated in the summer of that year.<sup>15</sup>

Nils Ahnlund counted that there were at least 34 altars in the Town Church that are known today and concluded that this number is even larger than in the case of the cathedral of Uppsala. He also stated that some altars and choirs require special attention from scholars due to their ‘social’ functions, e.g. the Choir of the Soul (*Själakoret*) and the Homestead of the Soul (*Själagården*) associated with it.<sup>16</sup> The choir, referred to as the Chapel of the Soul (*Själakapellet*),<sup>17</sup> was officially approved by Archbishop Jöns Håkansson in 1430 when he issued a statute for it and granted the patronage right to the town council of Stockholm.<sup>18</sup> However, the choir certainly existed even earlier as it received its first donations in the 1420s. The two administrators (*föreståndare*) of the choir were mentioned among the municipal officials already in 1421, thus these institutions must have been dependent on the town council even before the regulations introduced by the archbishop.<sup>19</sup> The goal of the Choir of the Soul was to pray for the souls of all faithful Christians. For that reason, four chaplains were employed at the choir. They were accommodated at the Homestead of the Soul and the town authorities took care of their living and the necessary liturgical equipment for them. Furthermore, one of the administrators, who was obliged to live in the Homestead of the Soul together with the chaplains, was responsible for charity. Each Sunday, the administrator was to distribute alms to 60 of the poor, once a month to provide them with access to a bathhouse, and once a year to give them a free meal. The homestead also served as a rest home for wealthy elderly people who could pay for their living. Thus, the choir and the homestead shared the administrators and supervision of the town council.<sup>20</sup> Apart from the one in Stockholm, Choirs of the Soul were established in other Swedish towns, for example, in Uppsala, Strängnäs and Linköping.<sup>21</sup> It seems that Homesteads of the Soul were less frequently encountered but still not unique to Stockholm. Such homesteads (referred to either as *själagård* or *själahus*) are known to have

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<sup>15</sup> STB I, pp. 334, 412.

<sup>16</sup> N. Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa*, pp. 496–497.

<sup>17</sup> The Swedish word *ett kor*, translated here literally into ‘a choir’, refers first and foremost to a chancel – the place where the high altar is located – but may also refer to a side chapel. See *Svenska Akademiens ordbok*, [https://svenska.se/saob/?id=K\\_2219-0214.XqD4&pz=3](https://svenska.se/saob/?id=K_2219-0214.XqD4&pz=3), accessed online 10 June 2022.

<sup>18</sup> SDHK 21351, 21352, 30826; F. de Brun, ‘Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal under medeltiden’, in J. Roosval (ed.), *S. Nikolai eller Storkyrkan i Stockholm*, vol. 1: *Församlingshistoria* (Stockholm, Victor Pettersons bokindustriaktieförlag, 1924), pp. 8–9.

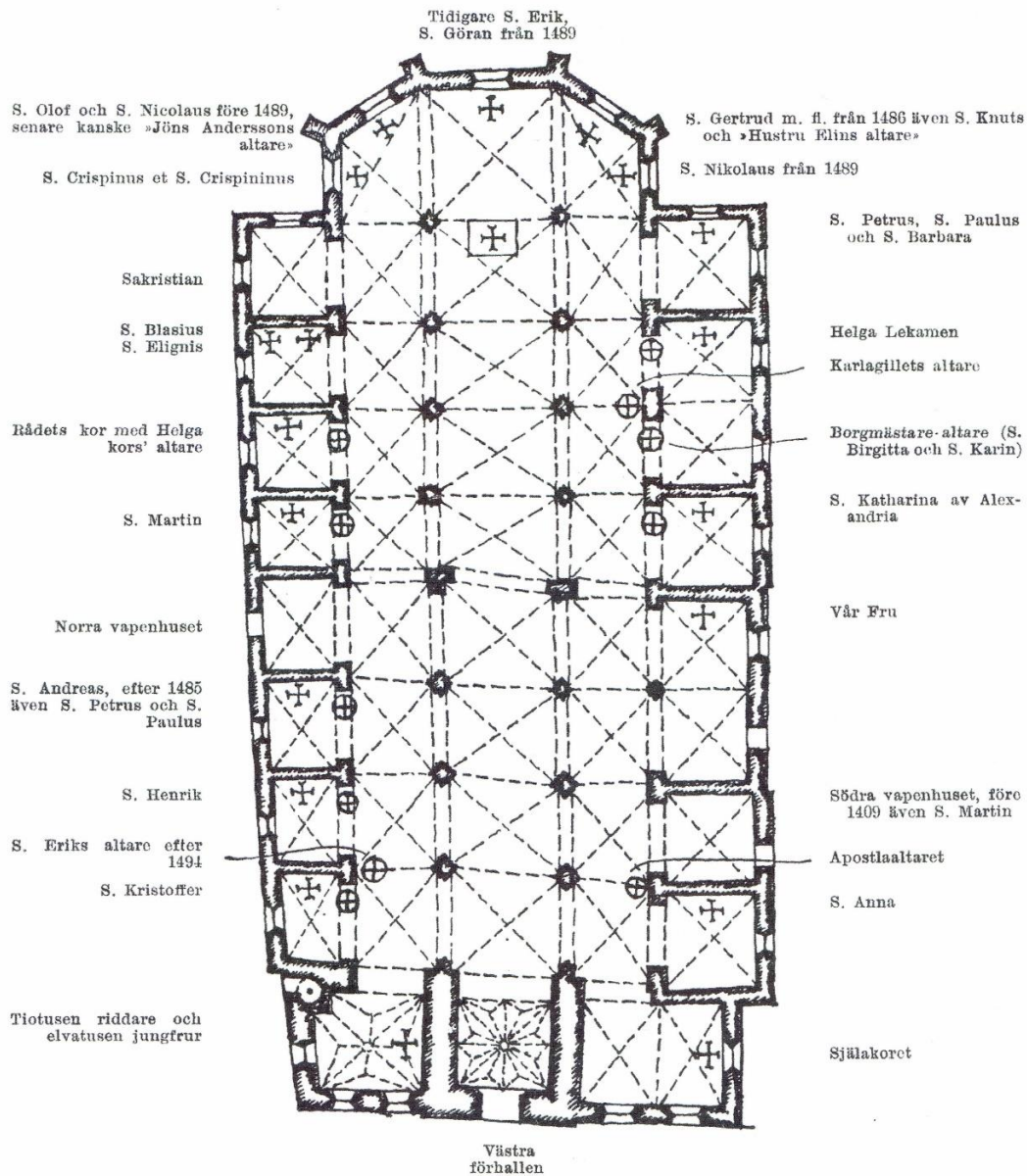
<sup>19</sup> J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok 1419–1544* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1927), p. 7 (they were referred to as ‘altaris animarum prouisoeres’).

<sup>20</sup> H. Schück, *Stockholm vid 1400-talets slut*, pp. 180–183; S. Högberg, *Stockholms historia*, vol. 1, pp. 80–81; G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, pp. 154–155.

<sup>21</sup> G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, p. 154.

existed in Uppsala, Kalmar and Åbo (Fin. Turku). Likely they resembled the one in Stockholm.<sup>22</sup>

**Fig. 1.** The medieval choirs and altars in the parish church of St Nicholas in Stockholm



**Source:** J. Roosval, *S. Nikolai eller Storkyrkan*, vol. 2: *Byggnadshistoria* (Stockholm, Centraltryckeriet, 1927), p. 355.

<sup>22</sup> V. Hedqvist, *Den kristna kärleksverksamheten i Sverige under medeltiden* (Strängnäs, Westerlundiska boktryckeriet, 1893), pp. 82 (footnote 2), 122–123; L.M. Bååth, 'Själagård', in Th. Westrin (ed.), *Nordisk familjebok. Konversationslexikon och realencyklopedi*, vol. 25, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Stockholm, Nordisk familjeboks förlags aktiebolag, 1917), col. 750; S.-E. Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 2: *Hög- och senmedeltid* (Stockholm, Verbum, 2005), p. 64.

There were two other charitable funds associated with the parish church of St Nicholas in Stockholm. The Fund of the Sunday Alms (*söndagsallmosan*) was mentioned for the first time in the list of town officials when his two administrators were named. However, it was likely older than that, as the town records from before 1419 were lost in a fire. The other fund – the Fund of the Friday Alms (*fredagsallmosan*) and his two administrators first appeared in the same list in 1434 and it may be the year when it actually was established. They were responsible for distributing alms among the poor on the respective days of the week.<sup>23</sup> Henrik Schück noted that both funds probably had their respective altars and chaplains praying for the benefactors in the parish church but it was not explicitly stated in the primary sources. However, the four administrators of the two funds were followed, at least temporarily during the 1430s, in the officials' register by a separate administrator *ad lumen* who likely was responsible for the everlasting light at their altar(s).<sup>24</sup>

The precise boundaries of the parish of Stockholm remain unknown. Certainly, it included the central Town Island (*Stadsholmen*) with the town proper of Stockholm, part of the Greyfriars Island (*Gråmunkeholmen*) where the Franciscan convent was located and part of the Island of the Holy Spirit (*Helgeandsholmen*) with the Homestead of the Holy Spirit. Most of the inhabitants of the northern suburb called *Norrmalm* did not belong to the parish of Stockholm but had their church of St James. It was probably this sacred place that was first mentioned in 1311 as a 'recently constructed chapel in *Norrmalm*' which was later elevated to a church. The church of St James during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries often shared its parson with the nearby parish church of Solna and thus probably belonged to that parish.<sup>25</sup> There were at least two separate chapels located on the other side of the Town Island, that is, in the southern suburb known as *Södermalm*. The chapel of St Mary Magdalene was founded by King Magnus Eriksson in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century and was associated with a graveyard for the poor. Because two of four known chaplains of that chapel also served in the parish church of Stockholm and the purpose of the chapel was to facilitate burials of the poor from the town and its suburbs, it was

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<sup>23</sup> J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok*, pp. 3, 25; G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, p. 155.

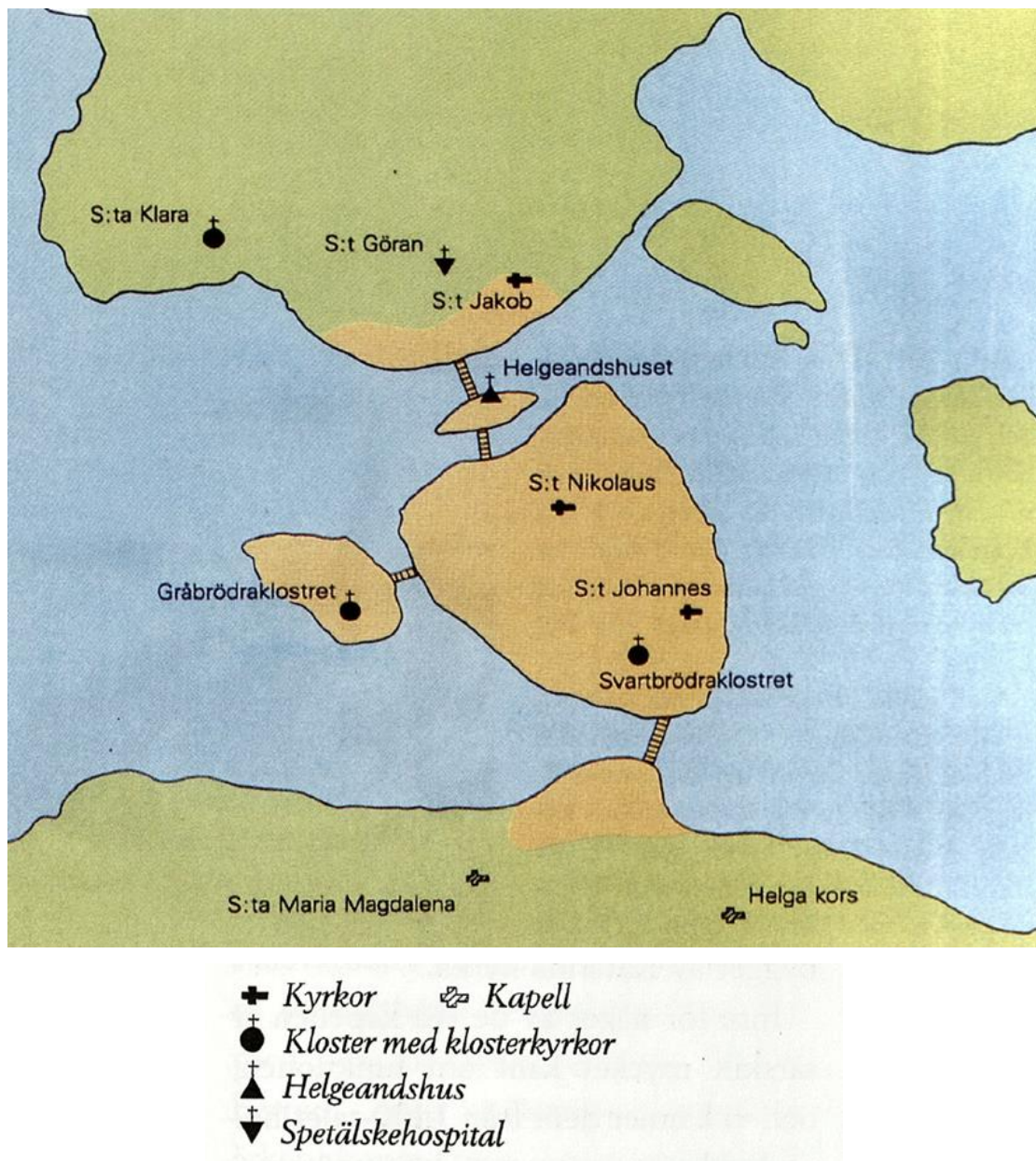
<sup>24</sup> J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok*, pp. 25–26, 28–29; H. Schück, *Stockholm vid 1400-talets slut*, pp. 188–190.

<sup>25</sup> A. Quensel, *S. Jakobs kyrka*, vol. 1: *Församlingshistoria* (Stockholm, Centraltryckeriet, 1928), pp. 10–13; I. Hansson, 'Sankt Jakobs medeltidskyrka på Norrmalm', *Sankt Eriks årsbok* (1958), pp. 76–78.



probably subordinated to the Town Church.<sup>26</sup> The other less-known chapel was erected in the 1420s near the gallows and was devoted to the Holy Cross.<sup>27</sup>

**Fig. 2.** Churches and other religious institutions in and around Stockholm before the Reformation



**Source:** G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn (Stockholm, Stockholmia förlag, 2019), p. 140.

<sup>26</sup> G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, pp. 138–139; E. Lundmark, *S:ta Maria Magdalena kyrka i Stockholm* (Stockholm, Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts förlag, 1934), pp. 7–11.

<sup>27</sup> E. Lundmark, *S:ta Maria Magdalena kyrka*, p. 14.

Convent houses of two mendicant orders and a nunnery were located in and around Stockholm. The Franciscans arrived in Stockholm and had their convent established on Greyfriars Island (named after the Franciscan friars) in 1268 or 1270. A meeting of the Franciscan provincial chapter was held there already in 1273, although the construction of a proper church and convent house took many more years. In 1290 neither of these buildings was completed as they were regarded as under construction. The founder was probably Duke and later King of Sweden (1275–1290) Magnus Ladulås, the great benefactor of the Franciscan Order in Sweden. However, as the foundation took place around 1270, that is, before Magnus' ascension to the throne, a second founder was likely his brother and predecessor King Valdemar Birgersson (1250–1275). This assumption is reaffirmed by the fact that both rulers were buried in the Franciscan convent church.<sup>28</sup>

The establishment of the Franciscan convent was followed, as in other places across Europe, by the foundation of a Clarissan nunnery in the 1280s. The nunnery was located to the north of Town Island. This foundation also received extensive support from King Magnus Ladulås who donated various lands around Stockholm to the Poor Clares.<sup>29</sup> The convent house of the second mendicant order – the Dominicans – was founded by King Magnus Eriksson, grandson of King Magnus Ladulås, in 1336 when he donated a plot of land in the southern part of the Town Island to erect the building there.<sup>30</sup> However, the construction started only after 1343, when Pope Clemens VI issued a bull to address the supplication of Magnus Eriksson and permitted him to establish a new Dominican priory in Stockholm.<sup>31</sup> Thus, the Blackfriars,

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<sup>28</sup> M. Olsson, *Riddarholmskyrkan*, vol. 1: *Byggnadshistoria* (Stockholm, Centraltryckeriet, 1928), pp. 8–10; J.N. Rasmussen, 'Survey of the Province of Dacia in the Middle Ages', in H. Roelvink, *Franciscans in Sweden: Medieval Remnants of Franciscan Activities* (Assen, Van Gorcum, 1998), p. 2; J.N. Rasmussen, 'The Franciscans in the Nordic Countries', in H. Roelvink, *Franciscans in Sweden: Medieval Remnants of Franciscan Activities* (Assen, Van Gorcum, 1998), pp. 9–10; J.N. Rasmussen, *Die Franziskaner in den nordischen Ländern im Mittelalter* (Kevelaer, Butzon & Bercker Verlag, 2002), pp. 92–93; H. Roelvink, *Riddarholmens kyrka och kloster. Varför är Sveriges kungar begravda hos franciskanerna?* (Stockholm, Veritas Förlag, 2008), pp. 23–26, 43.

<sup>29</sup> N. Staf, *S. Klara kyrka*, vol. 1: *Församlingshistoria* (Stockholm, Centraltryckeriet, 1927), pp. 11–13; J.N. Rasmussen, 'Die Klara-Schwester im Norden Europas', *Wissenschaft und Weisheit. Franziskanische Studien zu Theologie, Philosophie und Geschichte*, 47/1 (1984), p. 65; B. Roest, *Order and Disorder: The Poor Clares between Foundation and Reform* (Leiden, Brill, 2013), p. 153.

<sup>30</sup> A. Bergman, K. Söderlund, and M. Johansson, *Svartbrödraklostret. Stående byggnader och arkeologiska lämningar. Gamla stan, Stockholm* (Stockholm, Stockholms stadsmuseum, 2012), pp. 7–9. Frans de Brun, following the *Diarium fratrum minorum Stockholmensium*, indicated the year 1335 as the date of the founding. However, the date provided by the *Diarium*, also associated with the coronation of Magnus Eriksson, was incorrect and both events took place in 1336. See F. de Brun, 'Anteckningar rörande Svartbrödraklostret i Stockholm', *Sankt Eriks årsbok* (1916), p. 28; T.O. Nordberg, 'Stadsplaneregleringen i staden inom broarna och det gamla Svartbrödraklostret i Stockholm', *Sankt Eriks årsbok* (1929), p. 192.

<sup>31</sup> Johannes Schütz likely assumed that the proper founding of the Dominican priory in Stockholm took place only after the papal permission was granted as he claimed it was founded 'around 1345', see J. Schütz, *Hüter der Wirklichkeit. Der Dominikanerorden in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft Skandinaviens* (Göttingen, V&R unipress, 2014), pp. 62–63.

in contrast to the Greyfriars, had their convent house and church located within the borders of the town proper. However, as in most Swedish towns, their priory was situated rather far from the parish church and, typically for Scandinavian towns, it was located in a neighbourhood heavily populated by German speakers.<sup>32</sup>

The last church erected in Stockholm before the Reformation belonged to the Order of St John. A plot of land on the Island of the Holy Spirit was granted to the Knights Hospitallers' priory in Eskilstuna by King Magnus Eriksson at the beginning of his reign in the early 1330s. Knights Hospitallers had residential buildings constructed on the island but they had to wait for their own church for nearly two centuries, although it is possible that earlier they had a chapel there. In the 1490s the Order of St John received new plots of land on the Town Island via exchange with the town authorities for its previous property on the Island of the Holy Spirit, donations and purchases. The church of St John, located on the Town Island and usually referred to as the 'New Church', was inaugurated on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September) in 1514 by Bishop Otto Svinhufvud of Västerås. The New Church, however, did not survive long due to the onset of the Protestant Reformation in Sweden.<sup>33</sup>

The aforementioned Homestead of the Soul associated with the parish church was not the only charitable institution in medieval Stockholm. Elderly burghers who had a good reputation and could afford to pay an entrance fee, e.g. by endowing their houses and other properties, were able to enter the Homestead of the Holy Spirit (*Helgeandshuset*). It probably was established at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and received its first known donation in 1301 with others following in the subsequent years. The institution received a plot of land on *Helgeandsholmen* from Swedish Prince and Duke of Finland Valdemar Magnusson, son of King Magnus Ladulås, which was confirmed in 1320 by Archbishop Olof of Uppsala.<sup>34</sup> It was overseeded by two administrators appointed by the town council of Stockholm and had its own chaplain, or probably a few chaplains, as some of them were referred to as vicars and there was more than one altar in the homestead's chapel. The Homestead of the Holy Spirit hosted a few kinds of inmates. The aforementioned wealthy burghers who entered it as 'brothers' and 'sisters'

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<sup>32</sup> J.G.G. Jakobsen, 'At Blackfriars Priory: Dominican Priors within Urban Geography in Medieval Scandinavia', in E. Bhreathnach, M. Krasnodębska-D'Aughton, and K. Smith (eds), *Monastic Europe: Medieval Communities, Landscapes, and Settlement* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2019), pp. 339, 343.

<sup>33</sup> N. Östman, *Bidrag till Johanniterordens historia i Stockholm 1334–1526* (Stockholm, Svenska Kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1932), pp. 9–24, 31–34, 39; Ch. Carlsson, 'Johanniterordens kloster i Skandinavien 1291–1536. En studie av deras ekonomiska förhållande utifrån historiskt och arkeologiskt material', PhD thesis (Odense, 2008), pp. 243–247.

<sup>34</sup> SDHK 3008 / DS 2247.

to receive care and dine at the ‘free table’ (*fribordet*), also called the ‘lords’ table’ (*herrebordet*), and employees of the homestead and personal servants of those wealthy inmates, who were eating separately. It also served as a hospital and almshouse for the needy, i.e., the poor, sick and orphans. In this regard, the Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Stockholm resembled other charitable institutions, often regarded as hospitals or churches and devoted to the Holy Spirit, located in numerous North European towns and cities.<sup>35</sup>

In *Norrmalm*, not far from the church of St James, there was the Homestead of St George (*Sankt Örjansgården*), also referred to more precisely as the hospital of St George (*Sankt Örjans hospital*). Its main function was being a leprosy but, similarly to the Homestead of the Holy Spirit, it hosted also different groups of people than just lepers. Its buildings, obviously separated from those occupied by the lepers, were also used as a rest home and almshouse. Just as in the case of the Homestead of the Holy Spirit, wealthy elderly burghers capable of paying an entrance fee were accommodated there. Moreover, its employees, servants of the rest home inmates, poor people and, probably, orphans lived on the premises of the hospital of St George. It was founded as early as 1278 but shortly ceased to operate in the vicinity of Stockholm, as the hospital was probably moved near Enköping. The hospital of St George was relocated back to the environs of Stockholm around 1420 and afterwards was granted the properties of the former hospital of Enköping. In 1497, during the struggle between Sten Sture the Elder and King Hans of Denmark, the buildings of the hospital were burnt down but quickly rebuilt afterwards. Like the other charitable institutions of Stockholm, the leprosy was supervised by the town council through two designated administrators. It also had its own chapel and a chaplain (or several chaplains). Apart from the Homestead of the Holy Spirit and the hospital of St George, at least two other less-known infirmaries functioned in Stockholm and its vicinity.<sup>36</sup>

Likely, some other separate chapels (i.e. not attached to a church) functioned in the town and its suburbs but the source material regarding them is scarce. Also, there was a better-known chapel at the royal castle in Stockholm.<sup>37</sup> However, neither of these places of worship was a recipient of pious gifts donated by burghers of Stockholm. Thus, the brief review presented

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<sup>35</sup> G. Dahlbäck (ed.), *Helgeandsholmen. 1000 år i Stockholms ström* (Stockholm, Liber Förlag, 1982), pp. 62–72.

<sup>36</sup> H. Schück, *Stockholm vid 1400-talets slut*, pp. 191–201; G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, pp. 150–153. On the caregiving to the needy in late medieval Sweden and Stockholm, see C. Blom, ‘Att inte förgås i “vanrykt”. Sytning, själagagn, vård och omsorg under senmedeltid och 1500-tal’, *Scandia. Tidskrift för historisk forskning*, 66/1 (2000), pp. 5–54.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, the document regarding the organisation of religious services in the chapel at the royal castle in Stockholm: SDHK 1267 / DS 785.

above highlights all the major religious and charitable institutions in and around Stockholm that made up the church or sacred landscape, as Carsten Jahnke names it,<sup>38</sup> of this Swedish town before the Reformation.

Importantly, characterising late medieval commemoration, Halina Manikowska pointed out three factors that brought about its ‘democratisation’. These were the popularisation of the theological idea of Purgatory, wider and cheaper access to liturgical commemoration (often referred to by the Latin term *memoria*), and the development of the rent market which was a source of annual rent for the maintenance of religious foundations. They made individual commemoration, previously reserved for the clergy, royalty and aristocracy, accessible to other social strata, including burghers.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, the inhabitants of Stockholm, as the earliest traces of their pious gifts come from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, were introduced to these already ‘democratised’ forms of commemoration and could participate in shaping the sacred landscape of their town. Nevertheless, this ‘democratisation’ was partial at best even within the urban community. The most lavish commemorative foundations, such as chapels, altars and prebends, were reserved for wealthier burghers; poorer town dwellers had to settle for more modest donations to the Church.

The assessment of whether the number of places of worship in Stockholm was large or small, especially in relation to the size of its population and in comparison to other Scandinavian and Baltic towns, will likely remain subjective. Murray stated that late medieval Stockholm was a vibrant centre of religious life with around 10 places of worship serving a population of slightly less than 8,000 town dwellers.<sup>40</sup> The latter number was certainly overestimated. On the contrary, Ahnlund assessed that Stockholm, compared with other Scandinavian towns, especially Lund and Visby, did not boast many churches, monasteries, chapels, etc.<sup>41</sup>

Regardless of the assessment of their number, religious and charitable institutions in Stockholm developed gradually and rather steadily from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century until the 1520s. The Protestant Reformation, as elsewhere, brought about a significant change to

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<sup>38</sup> C. Jahnke, ‘A Church Landscape that Disappeared: Hanseatic Merchants, Churches and the Scanian Fairs’, in I. Gustin, M. Hansson, M. Roslund, and J. Wienberg (eds), *Mellan slott och slagg: Vänbok till Anders Ödman* (Lund, Lunds universitet, 2016), pp. 97, 101–102; C. Jahnke, ‘Hansische Kaufleute und deren Religiosität außerhalb ihrer Heimat’, *Zapiski Historyczne*, 84/1 (2019), pp. 8, 18, 35.

<sup>39</sup> H. Manikowska and P. Okniński, ‘Przeszłość osobista i tożsamość wspólnotowa. Formy i treści memorii w późnym średniowieczu’, in H. Manikowska (ed.), *Przeszłość w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski*, vol. 2 (Warszawa, Instytut Historii PAN, 2018), pp. 273–277.

<sup>40</sup> R. Murray, *Stockholms kyrkostyrelse*, pp. 3–4.

<sup>41</sup> N. Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa*, p. 495.

the sacred landscape of Stockholm and the practice of pious gift-giving.<sup>42</sup> One of the turning points for the introduction and propagation of the Evangelic faith in Sweden was the *riksdag* held in Västerås in June 1527. Its proceedings resulted in a recess and an accompanying ordinance which comprised resolutions made by the *riksdag* in Västerås and regarding the organisation of the Church in the Kingdom of Sweden. Changes introduced by these documents concerned, among other things, preaching ‘clear’ (i.e. unaltered by the medieval tradition) Gospel, collecting fines previously due to bishops by the monarch, reducing the number of canons in cathedral chapters, and reducing monasteries’ incomes in favour of the king along with the possibility to reclaim property previously donated to religious institutions. Furthermore, mendicant friars in the kingdom were permitted to leave their convents to beg for alms only for five weeks in the winter and five weeks during the summer with a few exceptions made for some convents. However, there is no reason to assume that the still-functioning monasteries and convents were forcibly demolished during this period. They were usually destroyed or repurposed after being depopulated. Only in the case of the Clarissan nunnery located in the northern suburbs of Stockholm, did the *riksdag* in Västerås decide to tear it down to improve the town’s defences.<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless, what followed the *riksdag* and the gradual transition to the new Evangelic faith was the dissolution of convents in the Kingdom of Sweden, also in Stockholm. The Stockholm Dominicans left the convent on their own accord. In December 1528, the prior and other representatives of the convent appeared before the town council and announced that they intended to leave the convent because they were having difficulty obtaining alms and thus were not able to provide for their livelihood. The Franciscan convent near Stockholm must have been depopulated even earlier as the Poor Clares were moved there in August 1527 because their nunnery was to be demolished according to the aforementioned resolutions of the *riksdag* in Västerås. The Clarissan convent of Stockholm, in one form or another, survived unusually long. The last remaining nuns were likely moved to work in the newly established Danviks hospital as late as the 1570s.<sup>44</sup> Arguably more significant changes to religious life in the Kingdom of Sweden were introduced only in the 1540s when several elements of Catholic worship, such as the cult of saints, Latin liturgy, masses for the dead, sacramentals and

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<sup>42</sup> On the latter, see M. Lamberg, ‘Religiosity and Readiness for the Reformation among Late Medieval Burghers in Stockholm, c. 1420–1570’, in R.M. Toivo and S. Katajala-Peltomaa (eds), *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe, c. 1300–1700* (Leiden, Brill, 2016), pp. 178–203.

<sup>43</sup> Å. Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 3: *Reformationstid* (Stockholm, Verbum, 2005), pp. 46–53.

<sup>44</sup> M. Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen. Upplösningen av kloster och konvent i Sverige 1523–1596* (Skellefteå, Artos & Norma bokförlag, 2003), pp. 96, 102, 108.

pilgrimages, were abolished.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, the dissolution of monastic and mendicant orders combined with the closure and merger of charitable institutions so far run by the Roman Church (which sometimes were replaced by new ones run by the municipal and territorial authorities)<sup>46</sup> irretrievably altered the sacred landscape of Sweden and Stockholm.

No less radical changes awaited the practice of pious gift-giving. Laurentius Petri, Swedish reformer and the first Lutheran archbishop of Uppsala attacked the institution of medieval chantries. He clearly expressed his attitude towards them in his commentary on the recess and ordinance produced by the *riksdag* in Västerås, which was published in 1533. He considered chaplains serving at various chantries to be ‘useless priests’, as the main task of a priest, according to this reformer, was to serve the people by preaching and evangelising, and not to celebrate masses for the living and the dead at secluded altars and chapels. His opinion, shared by other Lutheran reformers, among others by Laurentius’ older brother Olaus Petri, and supported by King Gustav Vasa, led to the gradual abolition of chantries in cathedrals and elsewhere, and the withdrawal of funds and estates earlier allocated for those religious foundations, which were reclaimed by donors and their heirs or claimed by the Swedish Crown.<sup>47</sup>

## 1.2 Distribution of pious gifts in late medieval Stockholm

This subchapter consists of a quantitative analysis of the distribution of pious gifts in two contexts: spatial (i.e. among places of worship) and chronological (i.e. over time). In total, 242 pious gifts donated between 1305 and 1521 were identified (see Appendix 1 for the full list and the criteria of selection). For comparison, Marko Lamberg identified 254 donations endowed between 1315 and 1570.<sup>48</sup> However, it needs to be remembered that his survey covered a longer period and reached far into the time of the Reformation in Sweden, and it did not exclude entrance fees paid to religious institutions serving as rest homes. For the period up to 1520, both surveys provide a similar number of findings. Furthermore, some of the 242 identified pious gifts were deemed unsuitable for the quantitative analysis. For the sake of

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<sup>45</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Skärseld, mässor och döda själar 1527’, in E.-M. Letzter (ed.), *Auktoritet i förvandling. Omförhandling av fromhet, lojalitet och makt i reformationens Sverige* (Uppsala, Uppsala universitet, 2012), pp. 15, 25–27.

<sup>46</sup> C. Blom, ‘Att inte förgås i “vanrykt”’, pp. 48–49; G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Skärseld, mässor och döda själar’, pp. 27–30.

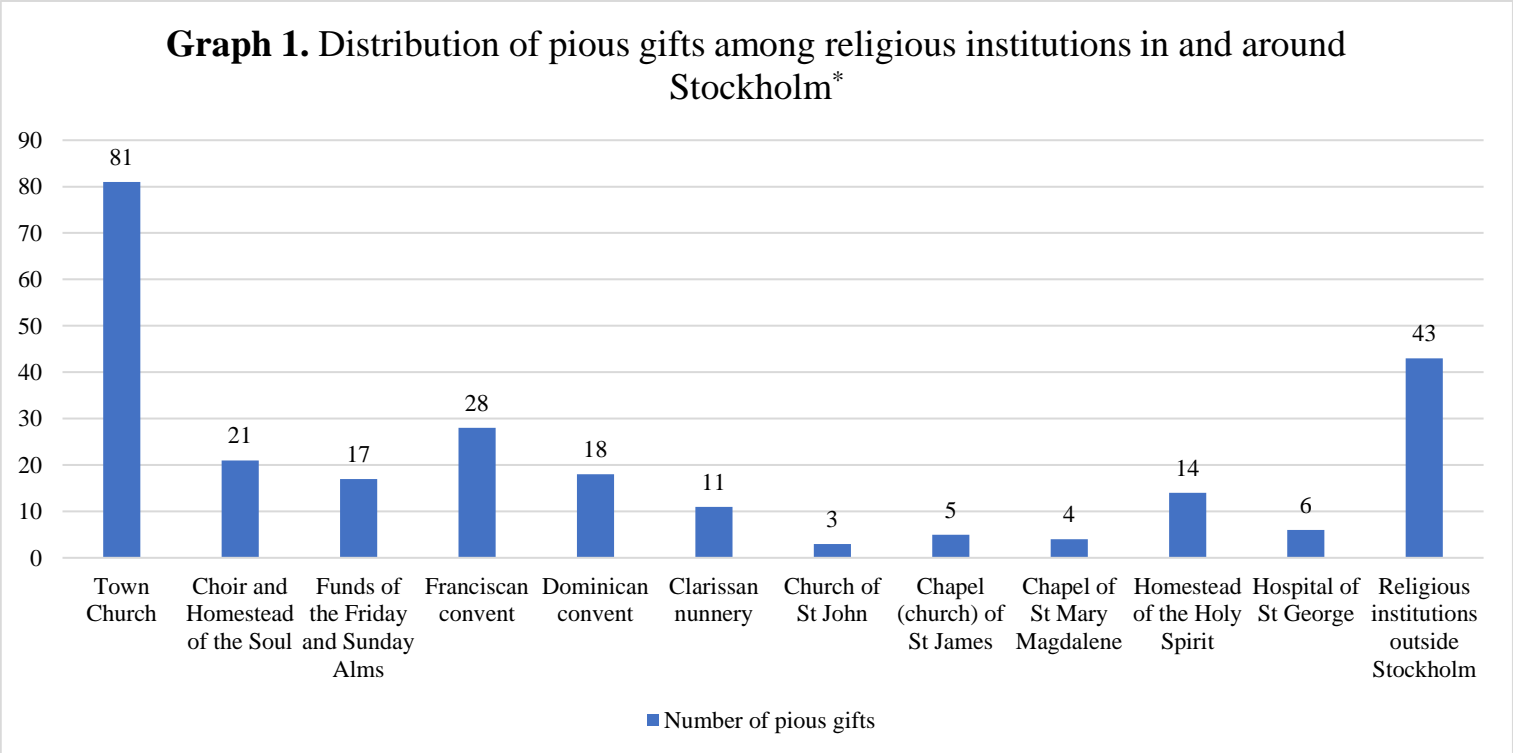
<sup>47</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Skärseld, mässor och döda själar’, pp. 20–23.

<sup>48</sup> M. Lamberg, ‘Religiosity and Readiness for the Reformation’, p. 186.

clarity and certainty, some of them were discarded. Ambiguous cases that left the social background of a donor (i.e. being a burgher or not) or the nature of the donation uncertain (e.g. property transfer resulting from a financial transaction, and not from a pious gift) were excluded. Similarly, pious gifts donated by ‘urban priests’, i.e. priests serving in Stockholm who had burgher relatives, were of burgher descent themselves and functioned within the urban community, were included in Appendix 1 but ruled out here for additional cohesion. Thus, after this reduction, 192 ‘certain’ pious gifts were left for analysis.

1.2.1 Distribution of pious gifts among religious institutions

**Graph 1.** Distribution of pious gifts among religious institutions in and around Stockholm\*



\* Based on the 192 ‘certain’ gifts donated by burghers. Typically, donations to (and foundations of) chapels (choirs), altars and prebends were included in the total number of pious gifts for a given place of worship. An exception was made for the Choir of the Soul and the Funds of the Friday and Sunday Alms, all three associated with the Town Church.



**Table 1.** Per cent of gifts including endowments for particular religious institutions in and around Stockholm\*

<b>The name of a given religious institution</b>	<b>Per cent of gifts endowing the institution</b>
Town Church	42.2
Choir and Homestead of the Soul	10.9
Founds of the Friday and Sunday Alms	8.9
Franciscan convent	14.6
Dominican convent	9.4
Clarissan nunnery	5.7
Church of St John	1.6
Chapel (church) of St James	2.6
Chapel of St Mary Magdalene	2.1
Homestead of the Holy Spirit	7.3
Hospital of St George	3.1
Religious institutions outside Stockholm	22.4

\* Based on the 192 'certain' gifts donated by burghers. See the footnote to Graph 1 above.

Before any conclusion can be drawn from the analysis of the graph and table above, a few important remarks must be added. Firstly, the 'lifespan' of particular places of worship needs to be taken into account. The Knights Hospitaller were able to establish a proper church in Stockholm only at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, shortly before the Reformation spread across the Kingdom of Sweden. According to the survey, the small number (3) of pious gifts it received – in fact, the smallest number of gifts among the analysed ecclesiastical institutions – comes as no surprise in this context. Especially, as some of the religious institutions of Stockholm were founded already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and thus continued to function from the period not yet covered by the survey. Secondly, as in the case of almost every historical investigation, the results of the survey and the analysis depend largely on the preservation and availability of primary sources. Due to this obvious but crucial fact, the findings displayed above as a graph and table and discussed below do not present the full picture of gift-giving in late medieval Stockholm. However, the number of identified donations was sufficient to provide

a representative sample, look for general trends, and to analyse particular examples in depth in the later parts of the thesis.

Probably the most visible trend was the overwhelming popularity of the Town Church as the recipient of burghers' pious gifts. The second most popular religious institution – the Franciscan convent – received 53 donations fewer than the Town Church (14.6 per cent vs 42.2 per cent of the appearance rate in analysed gifts in favour of the Town Church). This statistic supports the claim made by Ahnlund that the parish church of Stockholm was a seat of burghers' *memoria* during the medieval period and only later its sacred space was dominated by the commemoration of nobles and aristocrats.<sup>49</sup> It is not surprising considering the great significance that a parish church had for a local congregation in medieval Europe. A parish church could be treated by members of a congregation as genuinely *their* church – a place where the sacraments were administered for them and where they received pastoral care. They were also responsible for its maintenance and construction and could use it to form their identity.<sup>50</sup>

Such observations can be found also in scholarly publications dealing with pious gifts and wills in the towns and cities of the Baltic region in the late Middle Ages. The vital role of parish churches for local congregations was reflected by the considerable number of donations they received in, among other places, Lübeck,<sup>51</sup> Stralsund<sup>52</sup> and Reval (Est. Tallinn).<sup>53</sup> In the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the five parish churches in Lübeck, of which the church of Our Lady was the most popular, received significantly more testamentary bequests than the local mendicant convents and charitable institutions.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, Rafał Kubicki estimated that from 30 to 38 per cent of the wills issued between 1409 and 1515 by the burghers of Elbing (Pol. Elbląg) in Prussia, depending on the social strata they belonged to, included bequests for the parish church of St Nicholas in the Old Town of

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<sup>49</sup> N. Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa*, p. 496.

<sup>50</sup> In English see, for example, E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400 – c. 1580*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, (London, Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 132–134; R.N. Swanson, 'Bishoprics and parishes', in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity, 1050–1500* (London, Routledge, 2015), pp. 25–26.

<sup>51</sup> D. Poeck, 'Totengedenken in Hansestädten', in F. Neiske, D. Poeck, and M. Sandmann (eds), *Vinculum Societatis. Joachim Wollasch zum 60. Geburtstag* (Sigmariningendorf, Verlag Glock und Lutz, 1991), pp. 207–209.

<sup>52</sup> R. Lusiardi, *Stiftung und städtische Gesellschaft. Religiöse und soziale Aspekte des Stiftungsverhaltens im spätmittelalterlichen Stralsund* (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 2000), pp. 78–84.

<sup>53</sup> K.-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2015), pp. 228–236.

<sup>54</sup> A. Reitemeier, "'... to den buwe gheve ik ...'. Bedeutung und Attraktivität der Pfarrkirchen im späten Mittelalter', in A. Graßmann (ed.), *Der Kaufmann und der liebe Gott. Zu Kommerz und Kirche in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Trier, Porta Alba, 2009), pp. 68–70.

Elbing,<sup>55</sup> which is not far off from the 42.2 per cent estimated for Stockholm's Town Church. Thus, the focus given by the burghers of Stockholm to the Town Church and its choir, altars, and prebends was rather typical of Baltic towns in particular and medieval Christianity in general.

Not insignificant to the popularity of the church of St Nicholas in Stockholm among the burgher benefactors must have been the fact that it was the only parish church within the town proper (i.e. located on the Town Island) and inside the town walls. This distinguished this Swedish town from several other Scandinavian towns, most notably Bergen which had at least eight parish churches already around 1300. In all probability, this was due to the later foundation of Stockholm, which was established some 150 years later than Bergen at a time when the local parish structure was already well established. In contrast, it is likely that during the early development of Bergen, nobles founded private churches on the outskirts of the town, which later became its parish churches.<sup>56</sup>

The importance of mendicant convents for Hanseatic merchants who travelled abroad, attended religious services and received pastoral care on foreign soil was emphasised by Jahnke. In the case of Scandinavia, he also pointed out that numerous mendicant friars residing there were of German ethnic background, and thus could serve German-speaking merchants without the language barrier.<sup>57</sup> Obviously, mendicant convents were also important for local communities, especially for urban communes, within which begging friars functioned and from which they often originated. As David Foote put it while discussing mendicants in medieval Italy, '[t]hey came to the cities, and yet they were from the cities.'<sup>58</sup> In the case of the Franciscan convent near Stockholm, burghers certainly appeared among their benefactors, as demonstrated by the graph and table above, but they were not the biggest group of donors. The same holds for the Clarissan nunnery.

According to the data collected by Jørgen Nybo Rasmussen, burghers constituted 23 per cent of donors who financially supported convents of the Franciscan Order in the whole of Sweden (not including Finland). He also counted that the Franciscan convent on *Gråmunkeholmen* received in total 192 donations from all kinds of donors.<sup>59</sup> The 28 pious gifts

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<sup>55</sup> R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta i jego mieszkańców w późnym średniowieczu* (Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2020), p. 119.

<sup>56</sup> G.A. Ersland, *Byens konstruksjon. Varige spor i byens landskap* (Oslo, Dreyers Forlag, 2011), pp. 97–104.

<sup>57</sup> C. Jahnke, 'Hansische Kaufleute und deren Religiosität', pp. 30–31.

<sup>58</sup> D. Foote, 'Mendicants and the Italian Communes in Salimbene's Cronaca', in D.S. Prudlo (ed.), *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies* (Leiden, Brill, 2011), p. 236.

<sup>59</sup> J.N. Rasmussen, *Die Franziskaner in den nordischen Ländern*, pp. 322, 325.

donated to the Franciscan convent near Stockholm by the local burghers according to the survey offered here correspond to about 14.6 per cent of that total number, which would be below average in the light of Rasmussen's research. However, the first bequest to the Franciscans of Stockholm deemed as certainly made by a Stockholm burgher was recorded as late as 1350. Preserved primary sources produced during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, especially during its first half, and concerning pious gifts donated by Stockholm townspeople are rather scarce in general. This period was not covered by the available official town records (see more in subchapter 1.2.2). If one discards endowments made before 1351, there were, according to Rasmussen's survey, 94 donations to the Franciscans of Stockholm from all kinds of donors. The 28 made by Stockholm burghers correspond to about 29.8 per cent of this total number, which aligns with Rasmussen's findings and even exceeds the percentage he reported.

The data presented in the graph and the table suggest that the Clarissan nunnery was not particularly popular as a recipient of pious gifts among the burghers of Stockholm. The Poor Clares, alike the Franciscans and Dominicans, certainly received alms from the townspeople to support their living.<sup>60</sup> However, in terms of 'proper' pious gifts, that is gifts individually registered in written sources and discussed here, the number of 11 donations (excluding entrance fees) is not impressive, especially compared to the endowments received by the Franciscan convent. It aligns with the findings of Dagny Torbrand who assessed that 60 per cent of persons who donated (including entrance fees) to the Clarissan nunnery near Stockholm were nobles, only 17 per cent were burghers of Stockholm, and 23 per cent belonged to different social strata.<sup>61</sup>

Unfortunately, no study would provide the total number of donations received by the Dominican convent in Stockholm from all kinds of benefactors to compare the 18 identified endowments made by Stockholm burghers. It is possible that the presence of two mendicant convents in Stockholm and its direct vicinity had a negative impact on the distribution of pious gifts by making some donors choose one or the other. Both convents were endowed by the same benefactors only six times, always through bequests in 'fragmented' wills (see more about them

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<sup>60</sup> See a letter sent in 1508 by Anna Reinholdsdotter Leuhusen, the abbess of the Clarissan nunnery near Stockholm, to the burgomasters and the town council of Stockholm. The abbess expressed gratitude for all donations and alms handed over to the nuns so far and asked the municipal authorities for financial support to conduct renovation works at the nunnery. See SDHK 36103 / J.A. Nordberg, *S. Clarae minne, eller Berättelse om det gamla S. Clarae kloster, så wäl som den nu warande kyrkan med alla des tilhörigheter. Jämwäl om S. Olofs capell som derunder lyder* (Stockholm, Johan Henrich Werner, 1727), no. 170, p. 109.

<sup>61</sup> D. Torbrand, 'Klara kloster i Stockholm – ett exempel på agrar stordrift under medeltiden', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B: Human Geography*, 50/1 (1968), p. 79.

below in this subchapter). According to Kubicki, the sole mendicant convent in Elbing belonging to the Dominicans received from 18 to 27 per cent of burghers' pious bequests, depending on the donor's standing in the urban hierarchy. However, according to this author, the convent needed to compete for burghers' endowments with the Bridgettine abbey that temporarily existed near Elbing during the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>62</sup> Kadri-Rutt Hahn assigned the Dominican convent in Reval to the category of most popular recipients of burghers' donations, next to the two parish churches, which must have been affected by the lack of competition with other mendicant convents.<sup>63</sup> It is possible that the number of endowments received by the Stockholm convents was reduced by the competition between them. Nonetheless, the Franciscan convent, with an appearance rate among the investigated gifts equal to 14.6 per cent, was the second most popular recipient of the pious gifts made by Stockholm dwellers.

A striking feature of the pious gifts donated by the burghers of Stockholm was that the overwhelming majority of them had only one recipient, that is, they served a sole pious purpose.

**Table 2.** Pious gifts of Stockholm burghers by the number of recipients\*

<b>The number of recipients</b>	<b>The number of pious gifts</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
One	170	88.6
Two	6	3.1
Three	2	1
Four	2	1
Five and more	9	4.7
Uncertain (more than one)	3	1.6

\* Donations to (and foundations of) two separate altars or choirs in the same church, or to an altar or a choir and to the church itself were counted separately, i.e. a donation to the building of the Town Church and an altar located in one of its choirs was counted as two. Donations to a single altar located in a given choir were counted as one, thus the altar and the choir were not separated.

<sup>62</sup> R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie*, pp. 119, 132–133.

<sup>63</sup> K.-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente*, p. 228.

It comes as a surprise in the context of the late medieval tendency to fragment pious bequests which affected wills issued by inhabitants of other Baltic towns and cities. Intending to secure the widest possible circle of people praying for their intentions (sometimes regarded as the prayer choir), testators often preferred to divide their bequeathed property and distribute it among several places of worship. Thereby they acquired a larger number of intercessory prayers and masses. Sometimes they did it instead of creating a single well-endowed and ‘everlasting’ foundation, and sometimes in addition to creating such a foundation.<sup>64</sup> Such fragmented pious bequests can be found in wills originating from several late medieval towns and cities located around the Baltic Sea, primarily in Lübeck, due to a large number of preserved burghers’ wills from that city.<sup>65</sup>

Seemingly, the fact that pious gifts made by the dwellers of Stockholm were dominated by endowments to a single pious purpose might indicate that Stockholmers preferred to focus on one chosen recipient instead of dividing their pious bequests. But before making any assessment, the nature of those gifts needs to be investigated. There are at least three factors that contribute to the untypical, for the Baltic region, distribution of endowments in Stockholm. Firstly, wills and non-wills need to be distinguished. The phenomenon of fragmenting pious endowments in other Baltic towns and cities usually concerned testamentary bequests. Thus, it needs to be established how many of the gifts identified as made by Stockholm burghers and suburban dwellers were actually conveyed through wills. Secondly, the way that pious gifts were registered, presented and analysed here could influence their distribution according to the number of recipients. Thirdly, there were legal conditions in late medieval Stockholm that might have prompted its inhabitants to choose single-purpose pious gifts over wills including fragmented bequests.

Starting with the distinction between wills and non-wills, sometimes it may be confusing whether a gift for a pious purpose that resulted in a posthumous transfer of property was an actual will or another kind of posthumous endowment. In his recent book, Jakub Wyszniński defined a will as ‘a gift made by an individual to another person, group of persons or institution,

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<sup>64</sup> R. Lusiardi, ‘Fegefeuer und Weltengericht. Stiftungsverhalten und Jenseitsvorstellungen im spätmittelalterlichen Stralsund’, in M. Borgolte (ed.), *Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2000), pp. 98–102.

<sup>65</sup> For the summaries of burghers’ wills issued in Lübeck between 1278 and 1363, see A. von Brandt (ed.), *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters*, vol. 1–2 (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 1964–1973). For the edition of wills issued in Lübeck during the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, see G. Meyer (ed.), *Lübecker Testamente 1400–1449. Edition*, vol. 1–2. The edition is included on the CD attached to the book by the same author: G. Meyer, ‘Besitzende Bürger’ und ‘elende Sieche’. *Lübeck’s Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer Testamente 1400–1449* (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 2010).

resulting in the transfer of rights to the bequeathed property after the death of that individual.<sup>66</sup> This broad definition encompasses individual *mortis causa* donations that were not explicitly named as wills and mutual donations between spouses. Wysmulek noted that those mutual donations made by married couples in late medieval Kraków were sometimes combined with *mortis causa* gifts for pious purposes made jointly by the spouses.<sup>67</sup> Such cases can be found in the source material from Stockholm as well. In 1474, Burgomaster Magnus Eriksson and his wife Elseby made a mutual donation for each other and decided to establish a prebend in the Town Church. After the death of one of the spouses, the other one was obliged to donate the income from their stone house for that purpose.<sup>68</sup> Lamberg who investigated this particular endowment and other mutual donations made by married couples in late medieval Stockholm, both combined with pious gifts and not, referred to them as ‘mutual testaments’,<sup>69</sup> thus treating the term ‘testament’ or ‘will’ rather broadly.

On the contrary, according to Gabriela Bjarne Larsson, in late medieval Sweden gifts made jointly by two spouses only exceptionally took the shape of a will, and wills should be rather treated as individual and personal acts made separately by a husband and wife.<sup>70</sup> Whether a given posthumous property transfer was categorised as a will or not depended not only on its form but also on the definition used and the approach of a given researcher.<sup>71</sup> Because the division lines between wills and non-wills were, therefore, often blurred, pious gifts were distinguished in the table below according to whether the endowed property was transferred during the donor’s lifetime or only after their death.

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<sup>66</sup> J. Wysmulek, *History of Wills, Testators and Their Families in Late Medieval Krakow: Tools of Power* (Leiden, Brill, 2021), p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> J. Wysmulek, *History of Wills, Testators and Their Families*, pp. 78–79.

<sup>68</sup> See SJB, no. 808; STB IV, pp. 349–350.

<sup>69</sup> M. Lamberg, ‘Mutual Testaments in Late Medieval Stockholm, c. 1420–1520’, in M. Korpiola and A. Lahtinen (eds), *Planning for Death: Wills and Death-Related Property Arrangements in Europe, 1200–1600* (Leiden, Brill, 2018), pp. 192–193.

<sup>70</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Omsorg om själen – vård av kroppen’, *Historisk tidskrift*, 131/3 (2011), pp. 435, 446. The only example of a testament drawn up jointly by spouses and explicitly referred to as their last will that I managed to find was a posthumously transferred endowment made by Councillor Peter Ålänning and his wife Kristina Petersdotter, further discussed in the text below. See SDHK 15683. Otherwise, distinguishing jointly made wills from jointly made posthumous endowments is mostly a matter of definition.

<sup>71</sup> For example, the author of the Swedish summary of the medieval document catalogued as SDHK 23480 used the verb *testamenterar* even though words such as a ‘will’ or ‘testament’ were not used in the source text, and the donation was made by spouses, which was untypical for late medieval Swedish wills.

**Table 3.** Pious gifts according to the moment when the gifted property was transferred

<b>The number of recipients</b>	<b>Gifts transferred during the donor's lifetime</b>	<b>Gifts transferred posthumously</b>	<b>Uncertain when the gifts were transferred</b>
One	74	44	52
Two	3	1	2
Three	0	1	1
Four	0	2	0
Five and more	0	9	0
Uncertain (more than one)	1	2	0

The table above shows that donations and foundations involving property transfer during the donor's lifetime were almost exclusively aimed at a single ecclesiastical recipient or charitable purpose. According to the data collected from Stockholm, each property transfer made for a pious purpose, either during one's lifetime or posthumously, without the involvement of testament executors required a separate written record which authorised a separate legal action. Obviously, testament executors appeared only in wills. They were responsible for distributing the bequeathed property among the testament's beneficiaries, including religious institutions. Otherwise, an endowment made by other means must have taken the form of a property transfer between a donor and the representatives of a single receiving institution. The only cases involving gifts for more than one religious recipient, which were not transferred by testament executors, were connected with the Town Church and the choirs and funds associated with it.<sup>72</sup> Thus, despite having separate administrators, account books and property registers, they were likely treated as a single entity concerning bequests.

This rule applied also to the posthumously transferred gifts made jointly by spouses, 11 of which were found among the 44 *mortis causa* endowments to one recipient. All of them served a single pious purpose and neither of them involved testament executors. In this regard,

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<sup>72</sup> See the following examples of single gifts endowing jointly the Town Church and the choirs and funds associated with it and located inside its sacred space: SJB, no. 60, p. 448; SJB, no. 830, 863, STB I, p. 43; SJB, no. 1147, STB II, p. 489. The silver belt which Hans Laurensen donated to the Town Church in Stockholm and the Franciscan convent in Uppsala – presumably to be sold and to donate the acquired money – was likely one of the bequests included in his unpreserved 'fragmented' will. See STB I, p. 42.



they were closer to single-purpose gifts than to actual wills, as Bjarne Larsson claimed.<sup>73</sup> Knowing that pious gifts other than those bequeathed via wills and distributed by testament executors could not typically involve more than one beneficiary, we should investigate how popular those endowments made via wills and with the help of testamentary executors were among all the posthumously transferred gifts. If their role in endowing religious and charitable institutions turns out to be marginal, it will mean that the aforementioned late medieval trend to fragment pious bequests well-known from other Baltic towns and cities largely omitted Stockholm.

All fragmented bequests endowing at least three religious institutions were conveyed via wills. Only 12 such ‘fragmented’ wills have been preserved.<sup>74</sup> The SDHK catalogue contains seven wills drawn up by Stockholm burghers which may be classified as ‘fragmented.’<sup>75</sup> Moreover, as many as six of them were issued in Lübeck by, respectively, Albert van Unna (1350),<sup>76</sup> Johan Castel (1367, another version issued the same year),<sup>77</sup> Peter Hjälmbergsson (1374),<sup>78</sup> Everhard Kansten (1376),<sup>79</sup> Klaus Vorneholt (1376)<sup>80</sup> and Herman Hundebeke (1381, another version was issued in 1387).<sup>81</sup> Hjälmbergsson and Hundebeke, at the time when their wills were issued, were already referred to as former burghers of Stockholm who moved to Lübeck. Whereas van Unna, Castel and Vorneholt were not named in their wills as burghers of Stockholm at all, but it was possible to identify that they acquired the burghership of Stockholm at some point in their lives by using other sources.<sup>82</sup> However, all three issued their wills in Lübeck at a moment when they were not burghers in Stockholm. The only such will issued in Stockholm belonged to Herman Lytting (1510, another version was issued in 1523).<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Omsorg om själen’, p. 446.

<sup>74</sup> In addition, there was also at least one will that included fragmented endowments but for an unspecified number of religious recipients. Greta Raffwenhorst, the widow of Peder Raffwenhorst, wanted to posthumously endow half of a house to the Town Church, and the other half to the Fund of the Sunday Alms. Additionally, after her death, all her movables were to be donated to unspecified churches and monasteries. See SJB, no. 520. The other possibly ‘fragmented’ will was mentioned in 1475 when the executors of late Ingegård’s will sold a cellar that she owned intending to donate the acquired money ‘henne till siälarycht.’ The number of recipients remains uncertain but it cannot be ruled out that it was meant for more than one. See STB I, p. 19.

<sup>75</sup> For a Swedish ‘fragmented’ will from beyond Stockholm see, for example, the will issued in 1502 by Olof Larsson, likely a burgher of Arboga: SDHK 34474.

<sup>76</sup> SDHK 5896 / A. von Brandt (ed.), *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente*, no. 293.

<sup>77</sup> SDHK 9111 / DS 7557 (another version: SDHK 9144 / DS 7587).

<sup>78</sup> SDHK 39694 / DS 8667.

<sup>79</sup> SDHK 40693 / DS 9235.

<sup>80</sup> SDHK 10882 / DS 9332.

<sup>81</sup> SDHK 44950 / DS 10472 (another version: SDHK 13357).

<sup>82</sup> Both Albert van Unna and Klaus Vorneholt were explicitly named as burghers of Stockholm in a document of 1361, see SDHK 7972. Johan Castel owned a house in Stockholm according to an even earlier version of his will issued in 1350 in Lübeck, likely after he moved there from Stockholm, see SDHK 6013.

<sup>83</sup> SDHK 36703 (another version: SDHK 38528).

Additionally, an eighth ‘fragmented’ will (this time not covered by the SDHK catalogue), and a seventh one issued in Lübeck, was drawn up in 1472 by Dethard Krake, the former burgomaster of Stockholm who moved to Lübeck.<sup>84</sup> All eight testators appointed executors for their wills to distribute the numerous bequests that they made, also for recipients based outside their current places of residence.

An exceptional will was issued in Lübeck in 1392 by Wilhelm Stenking. Before moving to Lübeck, he lived in Stockholm and held the offices of councillor and burgomaster there. His will contains multiple bequests for his relatives and acquaintances, but only two endowments for pious purposes. Wilhelm only bequeathed the Dominican convent in Lübeck, where he wanted to be buried, and left money to be distributed as alms among the poor in Lübeck and Stockholm.<sup>85</sup> Thus, his will could hardly be classified as ‘fragmented’ regarding pious endowments and was not counted among the 12 wills discussed here.

Thereby, seven of the 12 preserved ‘fragmented’ wills were issued in Lübeck and an eighth one was issued by a testator of German descent, as Herman Lytting drew up the first version of his will in German.<sup>86</sup> Lübeck was a hub through which many immigrants from German-speaking regions, such as Westphalia, Rhineland and Danzig, came to Stockholm, and to where they often returned after living in Stockholm for a time. Also, Stockholmers often maintained lively relations with their relatives, friends and trade partners in Lübeck.<sup>87</sup> Functioning between these two cities, and ultimately moving to Lübeck in the case of three of them, likely prompted the testators to make bequests for pious purposes in both places. Perhaps

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<sup>84</sup> Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Dethard Krake (22.04.1472). Interestingly, Dethard Krake bequeathed mostly ecclesiastical institutions in Stockholm and not in his new place of residence. See H. Dormeier, ‘Das laikale Stiftungswesen in spätmittelalterlichen Pfarrkirchen’, in E. Bünz and G. Fouquet (eds), *Die Pfarrei im späten Mittelalter* (Ostfildern, Thorbecke, 2013), pp. 296, 324.

<sup>85</sup> Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Wilhelm Stenking (7.11.1392). About his will and its unusual bequests, see W. Koppe, *Lübeck-Stockholmer Handelsgeschichte im 14. Jahrhundert* (Neumünster, Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1933), p. 239; W. Koppe, ‘Stockholm under Hansans inflytande. Några notiser ur Lübecks statsarkiv’, in H. Ahnlund (ed.), *Historia kring Stockholm*, vol. 1: *Före 1520*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Stockholm, Wahlström & Widstrand, 1985), p. 124.

<sup>86</sup> Carl C. Sjödén claimed that Herman Lytting belonged to ‘de utpräglat tyska kretsarna i staden’, see C.C. Sjödén, *Stockholms borgerskap under Sturetiden med särskild hänsyn till dess politiska ställning. En studie i Stockholms stads historia* (Stockholm, Ivar Haeggströms boktryckeri, 1950), p. 300.

<sup>87</sup> I. Svanberg and M. Tydén, *Tusen år av invandring. En svensk kulturhistoria* (Stockholm, Gidlunds Bokförlag, 1992), p. 39; G. Dahlbäck, ‘Invandring – särskild tysk – till Sverige under medeltiden’, in L. Nilsson and S. Lilja (eds), *Invandrarna & lokalsamhället. Historiska aspekter på integrationen av invandrare i nordiska lokalsamhällen* (Stockholm, Stockholms universitet, 1998), pp. 18–19; J. Wubs-Mrozewicz, ‘Interplay of Identities: German Settlers in Late Medieval Stockholm’, *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 29/1 (2004), p. 55. More about the history of the research on the migration of Germans to Swedish towns and their influence therein during the medieval period, and the conclusions regarding this issue drawn by historians, see S. Gustafsson, ‘German Influence in Swedish Medieval Towns: Reflections upon the Time-bound Historiography of the Twentieth Century’, in L. Bisgaard, L.B. Mortensen, and T. Pettitt (eds), *Guilds, Towns, and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300–1500* (Odense, University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), pp. 109–129.

they decided to fragment their testamentary bequests following the local customs of Lübeck, or perhaps the ‘fragmented’ wills issued in Lübeck simply had a better chance to be preserved. The latter explanation is highly likely, as wills issued in Lübeck and certain other Baltic towns and cities, such as Stralsund and Elbing, must have had at least two copies, one of which had to be kept in the archives of the town council for safekeeping and the later execution.<sup>88</sup>

This practice of safeguarding wills in the town archives was not present in Stockholm. However, the official town registers of Stockholm contain two ‘fragmented’ wills the contents of which were, at least partially, transcribed into them. The first case concerns an entry of 1465 in the property register of Stockholm. It starts with the mutual donation made by Erik Jonsson and his wife Barbara who transferred one-third of their possessions to each other. Later in the entry, it is mentioned that Erik asked to inscribe ‘myn yterste wilia’ into the official register. The fragment of the will transcribed into the register does not indicate any testament executors. It is possible that this part of the document was simply left out and Erik in fact designated executors for his will. Otherwise, it may be explained by the nature of the recipients all of which were structures, choirs and funds associated with the Town Church and could be treated as a single entity that did not require distribution by testament executors. The third possible explanation involves the role that Erik entrusted to the town council which he tasked with safeguarding the annual rent that he donated,<sup>89</sup> which could render the appointment of testament executors unnecessary. Ultimately, the bequests included in Erik’s will were not transferred as his wife gave birth to his posthumous child whose inheritance rights could not be interfered with.<sup>90</sup>

The other will was issued in 1491 by Councillor Sven Hellsing and transcribed in the register of the town council’s minutes under 1493. Unlike the aforementioned Erik Jonsson, Sven without a doubt appointed executors to ensure the implementation of his will.<sup>91</sup> To make it 12, two more registered wills may be added to these ten. The property register of Stockholm mentioned urban properties that Margit, wife of Burgomaster Johan Hoppener, donated ‘i sit ytersta’ to the Choir of the Soul and the Funds of the Sunday and Friday Alms. This case

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<sup>88</sup> C.S. Jensen, ‘Fromme gaver i senmiddelalderlige lybske testamenter’, PhD thesis (Odense, 1997), p. 70; J. Schildhauer, “Ad pias causas”. Vermächtnisse and die Kirche und an die Armen – auf der Grundlage der Stralsunder Bürgertestamente (Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts bis zur Reformation)’, in A. Wyrobisz and M. Tymowski (eds), *Czas, przestrzeń, praca w dawnych miastach. Studia ofiarowane Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1991), p. 292; R. Kubicki, ‘Formy pobożności w mieście późnośredniowiecznym’, p. 9.

<sup>89</sup> More about the role that the town council of Stockholm played for burghers’ pious gifts, see subchapter 3.3.

<sup>90</sup> SJB, no. 650.

<sup>91</sup> STB III, pp. 136–138.

was brought before the town council by priest Henrik Surbeke and burgher Mattis Brethold who were most likely the executors of her will.<sup>92</sup> The town council's minutes registered a legal proceeding of 1513 during which the representatives of the endowed religious institutions acknowledge the reception of bequests made by Margit, wife of Karl *guldsmed*, which arguably reflects the content of her will. The person who officially received those acknowledgements and confirmations was Karl *guldsmed* and it was done in the presence of Regent Sten Sture the Younger, the lawman (Swe. *lagman*) of Uppland Knut Eskilsson Banér, parson of Stockholm Per and the town council.<sup>93</sup> No testament executor was named during the proceeding but this does not exclude that one has been appointed. Perhaps it was even Karl *guldsmed* whom himself served as an executor for his wife's will.

The presence of those 12 'fragmented' wills explains how gifts endowing three and more pious purposes were made. Moreover, the certain or at least probable involvement of testament executors in the implementation of those wills (except for Erik Jonsson's will) confirms the relationship between the engagement of executors and the larger number of bequests that could have been made. Nevertheless, the number of preserved 'fragmented' wills is very small in comparison to the number of single-purpose posthumous gifts, which is 44. This raises two questions: were all these posthumously transferred gifts genuinely aimed at single recipients and were there 'single-purpose' wills (as opposed to the 'fragmented' ones) among them?

Preserved documents which were explicitly referred to as wills and contained only a single endowment are very rare. Ultimately, only one such case has been found. It is the will of Councillor Peter Ålänning and his wife Kristina Petersdotter of 1401. The testators explicitly stated: 'Tha gifuom wi meth thesso waro opno breue Vadzsteno clostre i rætto testament [...] i rætto testament Vadzsteno clostre oaterkallerlica til enna euerdhlica aegho [...]'.<sup>94</sup> The will was used to bequeath only one religious institution, namely Vadstena abbey. Also, no executors were appointed. Likely they were simply not needed in this case. Once the testators had died, the bequeathed property was to be transferred directly to the sole recipient – Vadstena abbey – which likely also received a copy of the document. Thus, despite being explicitly named as a will, it resembled all the other posthumous gifts made jointly by married couples for a single pious purpose. Earlier Peter Ålänning and his wife founded, with an immediate effect, two prebends at the cathedrals of Åbo and Uppsala, and enriched both of them with additional

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<sup>92</sup> SJB, no. 215, 222.

<sup>93</sup> STB IV, pp. 314–315.

<sup>94</sup> SDHK 15683 / SD 92.

assets after a few years from their foundations.<sup>95</sup> For some reason, they decided to separate their pious gifts and spread them over time for more than a decade instead of drawing up one ‘fragmented’ will.

Oddly enough, the document issued in 1505 by Councillor Ingevald Torstensson, preserved only as a post-medieval copy, which was described as his *will* (‘Thetta her aer mijn wilie och begaerelse’) includes only an immediate property transfer. It was made by the councillor and his wife to found a weekly mass celebration in the choir of St Erasmus in the Franciscan convent.<sup>96</sup> Thus, it could not be categorised as a *mortis causa* endowment, not to mention a will.

Thus, only one *preserved* ‘single-purpose’ will has been found. However, the available source material contains also pieces of information about *unpreserved* burghers’ wills and their execution. Notices in the official town registers inform us about properties that ‘giffuen war i testamente’<sup>97</sup> and testament executors carrying out their duties.<sup>98</sup> All these unpreserved wills were, supposedly, endowing a single religious institution or serving only one charitable purpose. However, this impression is likely extremely misleading. A fragment of the account book kept by the churchwardens of the Town Church was transcribed into the register of the town council’s minutes under the date 5 December 1491. It mentioned 20 marks that Elseby, wife of Hans van Nasken, donated to the church through her will.<sup>99</sup> This piece of information was preserved only because the churchwardens’ account book was examined by the town council. It is most likely that many such small monetary gifts and movables bequeathed to religious institutions in and around Stockholm remain unknown because no relevant account books and property registers have survived.<sup>100</sup> This hypothesis is further strengthened by the content of the available account books kept by the churchwardens of other late medieval churches, e.g. from the rural parish churches in Kumla in Närke and Funbo in Uppland, and the parish church of St John in the Old Town of Thorn (Pol. Toruń), which have been examined

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<sup>95</sup> SDHK 13175 / FMU 950 / REA 264; SDHK 13294 / FMU 958; SDHK 15464 / FMU 1099 / REA 290; SDHK 15465 / FMU 1100.

<sup>96</sup> SDHK 35085 / O. Celsius, *Fata templi Riddarholmensis* (Uppsala, [s.n.], 1748), no. X, pp. 38–40.

<sup>97</sup> SJB, no. 871.

<sup>98</sup> For example, see STB I, p. 146.

<sup>99</sup> STB II, p. 595.

<sup>100</sup> See the registers of the town council’s minutes for the information about the account book of the churchwardens of the Town Church, the account book of the everlasting light (in the Town Church?), and the property register of the Choir of the Soul, all of them now lost: STB II, pp. 75–76, 595; STB IV, pp. 95–96; STB V, p. 109.

by researches. They registered various revenues and expenditures of those churches, including incomes from immovable properties donated to them and other gifts that they received.<sup>101</sup>

Unlike the account books used by the churchwardens of particular churches, which were rather detailed and used to register all relevant incomes and expenses, the official town records of Stockholm recorded pious gifts merely selectively. This observation applies to endowments transferred both during the donor's lifetime and posthumously. Bjarne Larsson argued in her study of legal and practical aspects of inheritance in late medieval Stockholm that when the annual rent from urban properties was endowed to ecclesiastical institutions no change of ownership occurred. Only when properties encumbered with rent due to religious institutions were redeemed or purchased by burghers did their ownership change, which required a proper written notice in the official town records. Before that, it was enough to mention such donations of annual rent in the account books of the benefactor and the recipient.<sup>102</sup>

It is certain that not all pious gifts concerning the movable and immovable property in Stockholm, originally registered in account books and property registers or issued in the form of individual parchment documents, were transcribed or notified in the official town records of Stockholm. For example, Elseby, widow of Sven Jonsson Moise requested in 1516 that a document confirming an endowment to the Dominican convent issued by her late husband in 1501 be transcribed into the register of the town council's minutes. The town registrar added under the transcribed text that it was entered in the register 'til en witnisbórd.'<sup>103</sup> Earlier, in 1485, Bishop Kort Rogge of Strängnäs issued a donation document for the Choir of the Soul in Stockholm and wanted it to be 'j stadzsins book, teslikes ok j Siälachorens jordabok jnscriffua lata.'<sup>104</sup> These stipulations confirm that it was not customary to register every pious gift in the official town registers, as on some occasions it was necessary to specifically request it to be done.

The aforementioned observations apply not only to the official town records but also to individual parchment documents which were issued due to the execution of unpreserved wills. For example, between 1419 and 1432, *herr* (most likely a priest) Hans Jung, Councillor Anders

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<sup>101</sup> G. Dahlbäck, 'Stockapenningar, tjärtunnor och beläten. Något om den senmedeltida sockenkyrkans ekonomi', in O. Ferm (ed.), *Kyrka och socken i medeltidens Sverige* (Stockholm, Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1991), pp. 353–377; A. Sumowska and M. Sumowski, 'Średniowieczne rachunki kościoła Świętojańskiego w Toruniu. Uwagi źródłoznawcze', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 58 (2020), pp. 231–251.

<sup>102</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret. Arv och egendom i bostadsbristens Stockholm 1479–1530* (Stockholm, Institutet för Rättshistorisk Forskning, 2019), p. 234.

<sup>103</sup> STB V, pp. 131–132.

<sup>104</sup> STB II, pp. 75–76.

Nilsson, and burghers Nisse Prål and Peter Långben, who acted as testament executors for the late Jakob Constanten, who probably served as a priest in Stockholm, informed the abbess of Vadstena that Jakob bequeathed 40 marks for the abbey which were to be handed to her later.<sup>105</sup> The document did not mention any other pious bequests made by Jakob. Further considerations are therefore based on speculations only, nevertheless, it seems quite possible that these 40 marks for Vadstena abbey were only one of the endowments originally made by the deceased. His will did not survive, and it is possible that his testament executors issued a separate document for each bequeathed religious institution, of which only one has been preserved. Those examples render it highly likely that many more wills drawn up by Stockholm dwellers included fragmented pious bequests, but part of them was completely lost over time, and part left only scattered ‘splinters’ in the available sources that create a false impression of being aimed at single recipients.

As it was mentioned, there were at least two other factors that contributed to the domination of single-purpose pious gifts in late medieval Stockholm. How the data collected from primary sources were arranged for the presentation and analysed here could distort the distribution of pious gifts. For example, the property register of Stockholm mentioned that Tala, widow of Gerd Sorbeck, had endowed the annual rent from a stone house to the Choir of the Soul which was disputed after her death, in 1455, between her heirs and one of the administrators of the choir. The edition of the register also includes a summary of a document dated 1440 which informs about an altarpiece and a gilded chalice that Tala donated to the same choir. These two records have been identified as two separate gifts, but it cannot be ruled out that they were originally part of the same donation made through an unpreserved will, deed or account book entry.<sup>106</sup> The execution of Councillor Olof Andersson’s will resulted in three separate entries in the register of the town council’s minutes. All of them were written under the same date in 1505 but each with a separate heading and with its own introductory formulations.<sup>107</sup> In this particular case, one unpreserved will, which could be even more ‘fragmented’ than these three endowments suggest, has been counted here as three separate gifts.

However, the number of distinct pious gifts, i.e. gifts registered separately, made by the same donors was limited. Using the total number of pious gifts (regardless of the number

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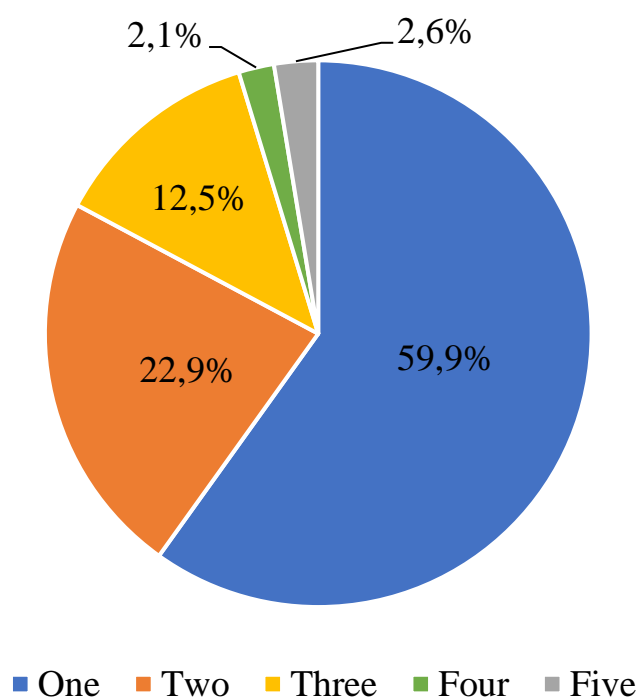
<sup>105</sup> SDHK 19391.

<sup>106</sup> SJB, no. 496, 583a; SJB, no. 81, p. 450.

<sup>107</sup> STB IV, pp. 86–87.

of their recipients) deemed eligible for the analysis, which is 192, it may be concluded that in 22 cases two gifts were made by the same donor(s) (i.e. 44 gifts = 22.9 per cent); three gifts were made by the same benefactor(s) in eight cases (i.e. 24 gifts = 12.5 per cent); and four and five gifts were made in one case each (i.e. 4 gifts = 2.1 per cent, and 5 gifts = 2.6 per cent). The remaining 115 cases (= 59.9 per cent) consist of donors (single or multiple) who left only one gift (regardless of the number of recipients). Wills issued in multiple versions (three wills having at least two versions have been identified)<sup>108</sup> are included in this number because the latest version of a will replaced the previous one.<sup>109</sup>

**Graph 2.** Pie chart on the number of gifts made by the same donors



Therefore, the impact of such multiple endowments registered separately but originating from the same will, as it certainly was in the case of Councillor Olof Andersson and possibly in the case of Tala Sorbeck, could not be decisive for the analysis offered here. According to

<sup>108</sup> SDHK 44950 / DS 10472 and SDHK 13357; SDHK 36703 and SDHK 38528.

<sup>109</sup> No case of a will that was meant to supplement the previous version, e.g. by including only bequests for pious purposes, was found in Stockholm. About such 'supplementary' wills in late medieval Danzig and Elbing, see R. Kubicki, 'W trosce o zbawienie – testamenty kupców Gdańska i Elbląga z drugiej połowy XV i początku XVI wieku', *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*, 31/1 (2016), p. 115.



the collected data and statistics based on them, the most popular way of making endowments for pious purposes among the residents of pre-Reformation Stockholm was donating once to a single recipient. However, as it was mentioned above, the picture of pious gift-giving emerging from those statistics was most probably distorted by incomplete and scattered data from unpreserved wills.

Now we can turn to the third and final factor, other than the preservation and availability of primary sources and their arrangement here, which contributed to the untypical, for the Baltic region, focus on single religious recipients in Stockholm. In this town, endowments transferred during the benefactor's lifetime were more popular than the ones transferred posthumously (including the ones conveyed via wills) and by a significant margin (74 'lifetime' gifts vs 44 posthumous gifts, and 52 uncertain ones). As was already mentioned, property transfers for pious purposes, other than through wills, typically required separate written records and, effectively, were limited to one beneficiary per gift. The explanation for the popularity of such endowments lies in the Swedish Town Law of the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. As Bjarne Larsson explained, the Town Law and the administrative praxis in Stockholm secured that lineal heirs inherited an equal share of their parent's property, regardless of the heirs' gender and the marriage they were born from in case one or both parents remarried.<sup>110</sup> The Swedish Town Law regulated the order of potential heirs in case there were no lineal heirs and encompassed also members of one's extended family.<sup>111</sup>

The provisions of the Town Law and the local legal practices left Stockholm burghers less freedom to divide their inheritance between heirs than the legal systems in other Baltic towns and cities. It was evidenced by the proceedings of the town council of Stockholm which tried to 'correct' testamentary bequests made by German merchants and burghers of German descent should they favour one lineal heir over the other.<sup>112</sup> Thus, the Swedish Town Law was more precise than the Lübeck Law used in Lübeck, Reval, Elbing and other Baltic towns. The Lübeck Law also provided basic rules for the inheritance of movable and immovable

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<sup>110</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*, pp. 101–103.

<sup>111</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*, pp. 124–129. For the rules on dividing inheritance in Swedish towns, see *Ärvdabalken* in Å. Holmbäck and E. Wessén (eds), *Magnus Erikssons stadslag i nysvensk tolkning* (Stockholm, Nordiska bokhandeln, 1966), pp. 56–69.

<sup>112</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*, pp. 105–106.

property, and encouraged its ‘equal’ division among lineal heirs and the surviving spouse, but did it in a way that left room for different interpretations.<sup>113</sup>

Whereas there was no need to issue a will in towns and cities governed by the Lübeck Law and the Kulm (Pol. Chełmno) Law (used in the state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia)<sup>114</sup> when the division of the inheritance took place in the ‘standard’ way, cases involving members of extended family, friends, unpaid debts and, especially, pious bequests required an individually drawn up will.<sup>115</sup> Similarly, Bjarne Larsson noted the following in the case of Stockholm: ‘A testamentary will was very unusual in Stockholm. Wills regulated by Swedish town law were created to regulate the right to give gifts to religious institutions, that is, to unrelated individuals or entities.’<sup>116</sup> The Town Law in Sweden not only regulated inheritance and safeguarded the equal share for lineal heirs but also imposed limitations on how much property could be donated to the Church. Typically, a testator who had children could not bequeath more than a tenth of their property, unless his lineal heirs agreed to a larger bequest. The more distant (in terms of both kinship and geographical distance) the heirs were, the larger part of one’s possessions could be donated to unrelated persons and ecclesiastical institutions, up to half of one’s property.<sup>117</sup> It is most probable that the Town Law’s restrictions regarding bequeathed property also applied to the posthumous gifts made jointly by spouses, which were usually not referred to as wills.<sup>118</sup>

Stockholm was not the only town in the late medieval Baltic region where laypeople tried to limit the extent of goods which could be donated to the Church. In the 1520s, during

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<sup>113</sup> B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie in der Hansestadt Lübeck anhand der Bürgertestamente des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 2000), pp. 290–291; K.-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente*, pp. 467–469; R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie*, pp. 32–35.

<sup>114</sup> More about the legal systems that the foundation charters of Prussian towns and cities were based on, see R. Czaja, ‘Towns and Urban Space in the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia’, in R. Czaja and A. Radziwiński (eds), *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia: The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures, 13<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> C.* (Toruń, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2015), pp. 88–91.

<sup>115</sup> J. Schildhauer, ‘“Ad pias causas”’, pp. 291–292; R. Kubicki, ‘The Will as a Legal Instrument in the Dominion of the Teutonic Order and in Royal Prussia until the Early 16<sup>th</sup> Century’, in J. Sarnowsky et al. (eds), *Studies on the Military Orders, Prussia, and Urban History: Essays in Honour of Roman Czaja on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Debrecen, University of Debrecen, 2020), pp. 233–238.

<sup>116</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*, p. 291.

<sup>117</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*, p. 257.

<sup>118</sup> The intent to establish a prebend in the Town Church expressed in the aforementioned mutual will of Burgomaster Magnus Eriksson and his wife Elseby of 1474 was conditioned on the couple not having children. Thus, the restrictions imposed by the Town Law on testators with lineal heirs must also have applied to the posthumous gifts that were not wills. See SJB, no. 808; STB IV, pp. 349–350. The founding of a second prebend planned by Elseby – most likely as an individual posthumous gift or a testamentary bequest – was opposed in 1495 by her relatives as an act crossing the legal boundaries for endowments and thus lawless. See STB III, pp. 226–227.

a turbulent period of civil unrest and the spread of the Reformation in Prussia,<sup>119</sup> the townspeople of Thorn demanded that clergymen were allowed to visit the homes of the sick and elderly only with the approval of the town council. It was meant to prevent members of the clergy from pressuring testators into making pious bequests. Also, wills were to be drawn up following the municipal ordinance (Ger. *Willkür*). Polish King Sigismund the Old addressed those demands by introducing the requested legal provisions to the royal edict issued in 1523 for the town of Thorn.<sup>120</sup> This implies that the Kulm Law and municipal ordinances in Thorn did not, until the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, impose precise restrictions on testators as to how much of their property could have been bequeathed to the Church, as they could be persuaded to make larger donations.<sup>121</sup>

The significant restrictions, especially compared to other Baltic towns and cities, imposed by the Swedish Town Law on pious testamentary bequests must have prompted Stockholm burghers to utilise forms of conveying pious gifts other than wills, that is donations and foundations implemented during one's lifetime. As mentioned above, these were typically aimed at single ecclesiastical institutions. Burghers who wanted to donate to more than one religious recipient during their lifetime, or posthumously but not through a will and its executors, usually had to issue multiple documents or make multiple entries in account books

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<sup>119</sup> More on this turbulent period in the history of Thorn, see J. Buława, *Walki społeczno-ustrojowe w Toruniu w I połowie XVI wieku* (Toruń, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1971); P. Oliński, 'Pierwsze ślady reformacji w Toruniu', in J. Kłaczek, P. Oliński, and W. Rozynkowski (eds), *Toruń. Miasto wielu wyznań* (Toruń, Towarzystwo Miłośników Torunia, 2017), pp. 9–16.

<sup>120</sup> R. Kubicki, 'Kultura materialna w testamentach elbląskich z XV – początku XVI w.', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 58/2 (2010), p. 198 (footnote 4); J. Tandecki, 'Die mittelalterlichen Thorner Bürgertestamente als Ego-Dokumente', in R. Skowrońska et al. (eds), *Selbstzeugnisse im polnischen und deutschen Schrifttum im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit (15.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2014), pp. 72–73; J. Tandecki, 'Kilka uwag na temat toruńskich testamentów mieszczańskich w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych', in W. Chorążyczewski, A. Rosa, and M. Zmudziński (eds), *Wokół metodyki archiwalnej. Księga dedykowana prof. Wiesławie Kwiatkowskiej w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2018), pp. 317–318; M. Sumowski, 'Duchowni w testamentach mieszczańskich – mieszczanie w testamentach duchownych. Zapisy ostatniej woli jako źródła do badania powiązań (Prusy, XV – początek XVI wieku)', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 68/3 (2020), pp. 320–321.

<sup>121</sup> The oldest preserved municipal ordinance of Thorn was issued around 1300 for the New Town of Thorn but later 'updated' with more recent provisions. More ordinances were issued during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, probably in 1385 and 1420 for the Old Town and in 1414 for the New Town, but they have not been preserved. The next preserved *Willkür* was issued in 1523 after the New Town was incorporated into the Old Town in the 1450s. It remains unknown what the previous ordinances stipulated regarding wills. The ordinance of 1523 prohibited making testamentary bequests for sons who became priests, monks and friars, and daughters who became nuns, and to endow churches, monasteries, religious orders and other ecclesiastical entities. However, it was likely a novelty that appeared in 1523 due to the aforementioned civil unrest in Thorn, as the general rules of inheritance were based on the Kulm Law and only modified by town ordinances when needed. See T. Maciejewski, *Wilkieze miasta Torunia* (Poznań, Przedsiębiorstwo Wydawnicze 'Ars boni et aequi', 1997), pp. 31–32, 71–72.

and property registers, out of which only a portion has been preserved.<sup>122</sup> Thus, the legal framework in Stockholm forced its dwellers to turn to single-purpose pious gifts transferred during their lifetime to avoid the limits imposed on testamentary bequests. Perhaps the fear of breaching the law was the reason why Peter Ålänning and his wife Kristina split their pious gifts between four foundation/donation documents and one single-purpose will. However, it needs to be emphasised that Stockholmers and other Swedish burghers were not free to transfer property for pious purposes during their lifetime however they pleased. The Swedish Town Law also limited donations to religious institutions made during one's lifetime.<sup>123</sup>

Interestingly, Bjarne Larsson observed a similar pattern in a slightly different context. She analysed endowments to various parish churches, cathedrals, monasteries and convents in Sweden (all located outside Stockholm and its vicinity) made in return for the soul (*själavård*) and corporeal care (*kroppslig vård*). After comparing endowments made during two periods, namely 1282–1314 and 1401–1410, she noted that the usual form of these endowments changed from multiple bequests conveyed through a will to a single-purpose donation, sometimes transferred during the donor's lifetime.<sup>124</sup> Therefore, the presented picture of pious gift-giving in late medieval Stockholm may be a result not only of the scattered and unpreserved source material but also of an actual preference of the inhabitants of the town to intentionally choose single-purpose gifts due to the local legal conditions and customs.

Helle Vogt arrived at a similar conclusion by investigating pious donations transferred during the donor's lifetime and testamentary bequests made in Denmark and Norway between c. 1200 and 1450. She concluded in one of her texts that: 'The limited number of wills, especially from the later Middle Ages, cannot be explained simply by accidents of survival, but must also indicate that written wills were not that common in this period. Perhaps the fact that land had to be transferred *inter vivos* influenced donors to make other transactions *inter*

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<sup>122</sup> As another example, in 1476, Joan Håkansson *grovsmed* with the consent of his wife Elin transferred their stone house with other immovables and movables to his brother-in-law Henrik. As long as Henrik shall own the house, he was obliged to 'aarliga giffua Siälakoorens forstandarome lega aff tomptenä.' The Choir of the Soul is the only recipient of Joan and Elin's gift explicitly named in the book entry, but it was also mentioned that the silver and money, that the married couple 'skulo göra sith siälagagn mädher', was excluded from the property transferred to Henrik. Thus, it is plausible that they made other – likely monetary – gifts to different religious recipients, which could result in separate written records being made. See STB I, p. 69.

<sup>123</sup> More on those legal restrictions, see subchapter 1.3.

<sup>124</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, 'Omsorg om själen', pp. 443–444, 446–447.

*vivos* as well.<sup>125</sup> In those Scandinavian countries, like in Stockholm, it was the local law that favoured endowments implemented during one's lifetime.

All in all, the trend to fragment pious bequests known from other Baltic towns and cities, must have been limited in Stockholm by the local inheritance law. It caused the turn towards single-purpose pious gifts transferred immediately and not upon one's death. However, the presence of this trend in Stockholm was highly likely not as negligible as Table 2 might suggest due to the traces of several unpreserved 'fragmented' wills which possibly could have significantly changed the general picture of pious gift-giving in that town if they had survived.

The popularity of some ecclesiastical institutions as recipients of burghers' gifts, or rather the lack of those gifts, can be explained in two ways. Again, either by the lack of preserved sources or by the limitations introduced by the Town Law. The chapel (church) of St James and the chapel of St Mary Magdalene appear to be significantly less popular among Stockholm burghers as they received only five and four gifts, respectively. They were only donated to by the same five testators of German ethnic background who issued long 'fragmented' wills. Perhaps they received only small gifts of money and movables, which were not registered in the available sources. But this would also indicate their irrelevance, as other church institutions received donations in the form of annual rents and real estate. The other explanation would be to assume that these 'minor' sacred objects were perceived by Stockholm burghers as less attractive providers of intercessor prayers. Constraints imposed on pious donations by the legal provisions might have convinced Stockholm burghers to choose more 'prestigious' and 'efficient' intercessors.<sup>126</sup> Thus, the 'minor' places of worship were only endowed if all the 'major' ones were endowed too, which, effectively, limited the gifts they received to the few preserved 'fragmented' wills. The church of St John, which received only three donations, should probably be treated differently because of its late foundation and short lifespan. Moreover, the church of the Knights Hospitallers was specifically endowed (i.e. was the sole recipient) with incomes from landed properties at least once.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> H. Vogt, 'Protecting the Individual, the Kin and the Soul: Donation Regulations in Danish and Norwegian Medieval Legislation', in O.-A. Rønning, H.M. Sigh, and H. Vogt (eds), *Donations, Inheritance and Property in the Nordic and Western World from Late Antiquity until Today* (London, Routledge, 2017), p. 135.

<sup>126</sup> Medieval benefactors were genuinely concerned with the quality of prayers and religious services they received, and the responsible and dutiful character of priests who were to attend to them, see J.T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307–1485* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 27–29. For more about social prestige obtained through pious gifts, see subchapter 2.2.

<sup>127</sup> STB V, pp. 303–306; possibly also STB V, p. 298.

To wrap up the analysis of the spatial distribution of Stockholm burghers' pious gifts some statistics and remarks about the recipients located further away from the town can be offered. The results of the survey regarding those more distant beneficiaries were presented in the table below.

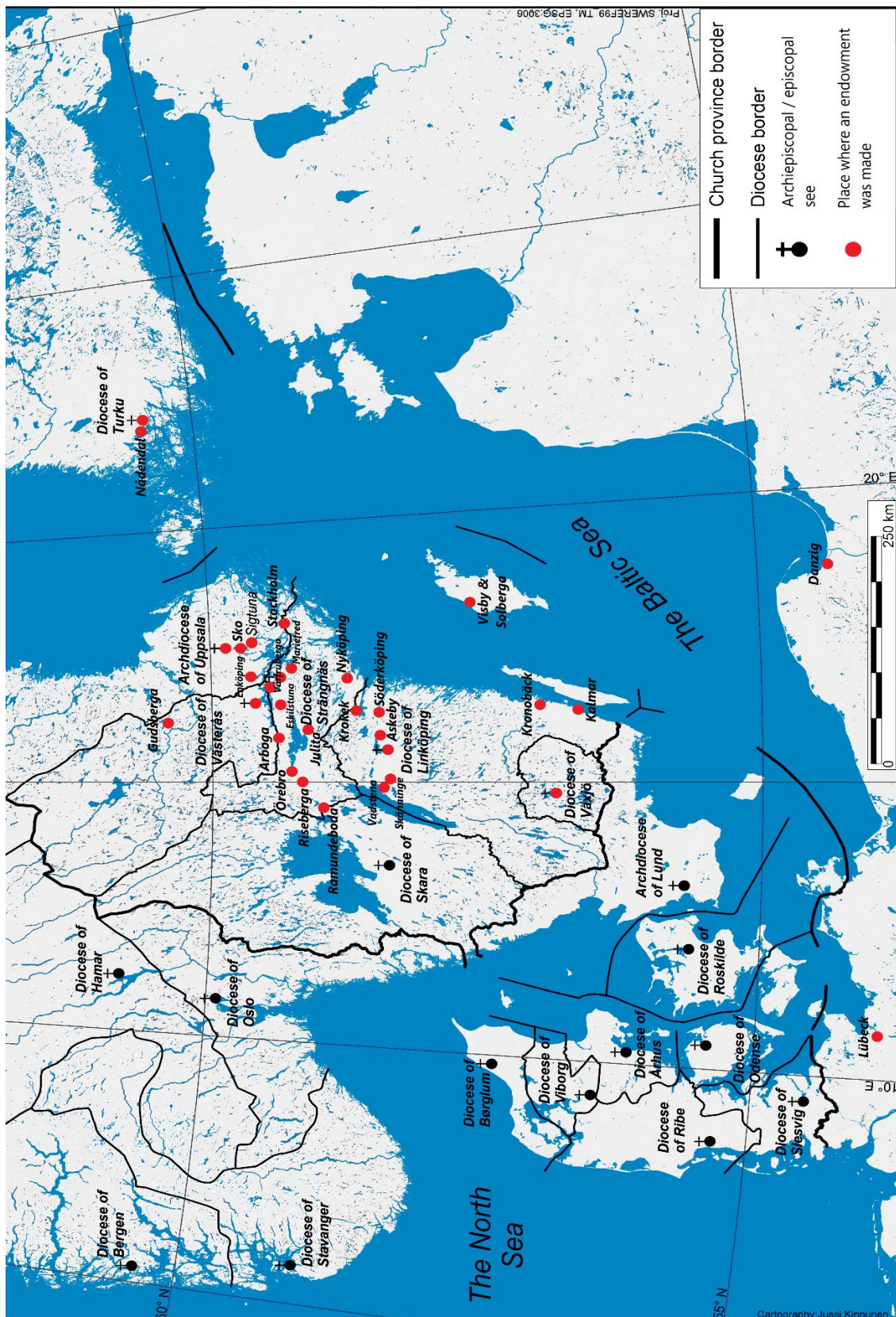
**Table 4.** Ecclesiastical institutions located beyond the town of Stockholm and its vicinity that were endowed by the inhabitants of Stockholm \*

<b>Cathedrals and cathedral chapters</b>		<b>17</b>
Uppsala	10	
Åbo	3	
Västerås	2	
Strängnäs	1	
Växjö	1	
<b>Monastic, mendicant and military orders</b>		<b>53</b>
<b>Cistercians</b>		<b>13</b>
Gudsberga	3	
Sko	3	
Julita	2	
Vårfruberga	2	
Askeby	1	
Riseberga	1	
Solberga	1	
<b>Franciscans</b>		
Arboga	3	
Krokek	3	
Linköping	2	
Uppsala	2	
Enköping	1	
Nyköping	1	
Söderköping	1	

<b>Dominicans</b>		12	
Kalmar	2		
Örebro	2		
Sigtuna	2		
Skänninge	2		
Västerås	2		
Åbo	1		
Strängnäs	1		
<b>Bridgettines</b>		5	
Vadstena	4		
Nådendal	1		
<b>Knights Hospitallers</b>		4	
Eskilstuna	3		
Kronobäck	1		
<b>Carthusians in Mariefred</b>		5	
<b>Antonites in Ramundeboda</b>		1	
<b>Charitable institutions</b>		<b>5</b>	
Hospital of St George in Söderköping	2		
Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Skänninge	1		
Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Vadstena	1		
Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Västerås	1		

\* Bequests for pious purposes included in the wills of Johan Castel (1367), Klaus Vorneholt (1376), Councillor Sven Hellsing (1491) and Herman Lytting (1510 and 1523), which in the case of religious institutions located outside Stockholm and its vicinity were not individually registered in Appendix 1, were taken into account here and contributed to the numbers provided in the table above.

Fig. 3. Map of places where the inhabitants of Stockholm made pious endowments



Source: Based on the map 'Church provinces in Scandinavia' by J. Kinnunen published in: K. Salonen and K.V. Jensen, *Scandinavia in the Middle Ages, 900–1550: Between Two Oceans* (London, Routledge, 2023), p. 60.



The relatively considerable number of gifts received by the cathedral of Uppsala, which was an archepiscopal see for the diocese where Stockholm was located, and the charterhouse of Mariefred should probably be explained not only by their geographical proximity to Stockholm but also by their important role in the sacred landscape of Sweden reflected by a large number of endowments they acquired in general from all kinds of benefactors.<sup>128</sup> It would also explain the relative popularity of Vadstena abbey among the donors from Stockholm. Despite its much more remote location, it was a vital spiritual centre for the Kingdom of Sweden, which again was confirmed by the number of received donations.<sup>129</sup>

Regarding recipients located outside the Kingdom of Sweden, seven wills issued by current or former Stockholm burghers in Lübeck included bequests for various places of worship in that city.<sup>130</sup> Additionally, Johan Castel bequeathed several religious institutions located in and around Visby through his will issued in 1367 (in two versions).<sup>131</sup> Moreover, in 1438, merchants from Stockholm and the whole of Sweden, represented by Stockholmer Kort Rogge, founded a chapel and altar dedicated to St Eric in the Carmelitic monastery in Danzig.<sup>132</sup> Overall, endowments for religious institutions located further outside Stockholm were included in 22.4 per cent of all 192 surveyed gifts. The survey focused on individual parchment documents issued by Stockholm burghers and the official town records produced by the municipal authorities of Stockholm. Thus, some preserved written sources regarding different locations were likely omitted. The list presented above should, thereby, be treated as a testament to the supra- and trans-regional scope of the pious donations made by the inhabitants of Stockholm rather than a complete register of such donations. Stockholm dwellers endowed also religious institutions located far beyond their parish and even outside their archdiocese and

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<sup>128</sup> I. Collijn, 'Kartusianerklostret Mariefred vid Gripsholm och dess bibliotek', *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 22 (1935), pp. 153–156; G. Dahlbäck, *Uppsala domkyrkas godsinnnehav med särskild hänsyn till perioden 1344–1527* (Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977), pp. 287–301.

<sup>129</sup> L.-A. Norborg, *Storföretaget Vadstena kloster. Studier i senmedeltida godspolitik och ekonomiförvaltning* (Lund, C.W.K. Gleerup, 1958), pp. 32–44, 64–75; B. Fritz, 'The History and Spiritual Life of Vadstena Abbey', in M.H. Oen (ed.), *A Companion to Birgitta of Sweden and Her Legacy in the Later Middle Ages* (Leiden, Brill, 2019), pp. 135–136, 143.

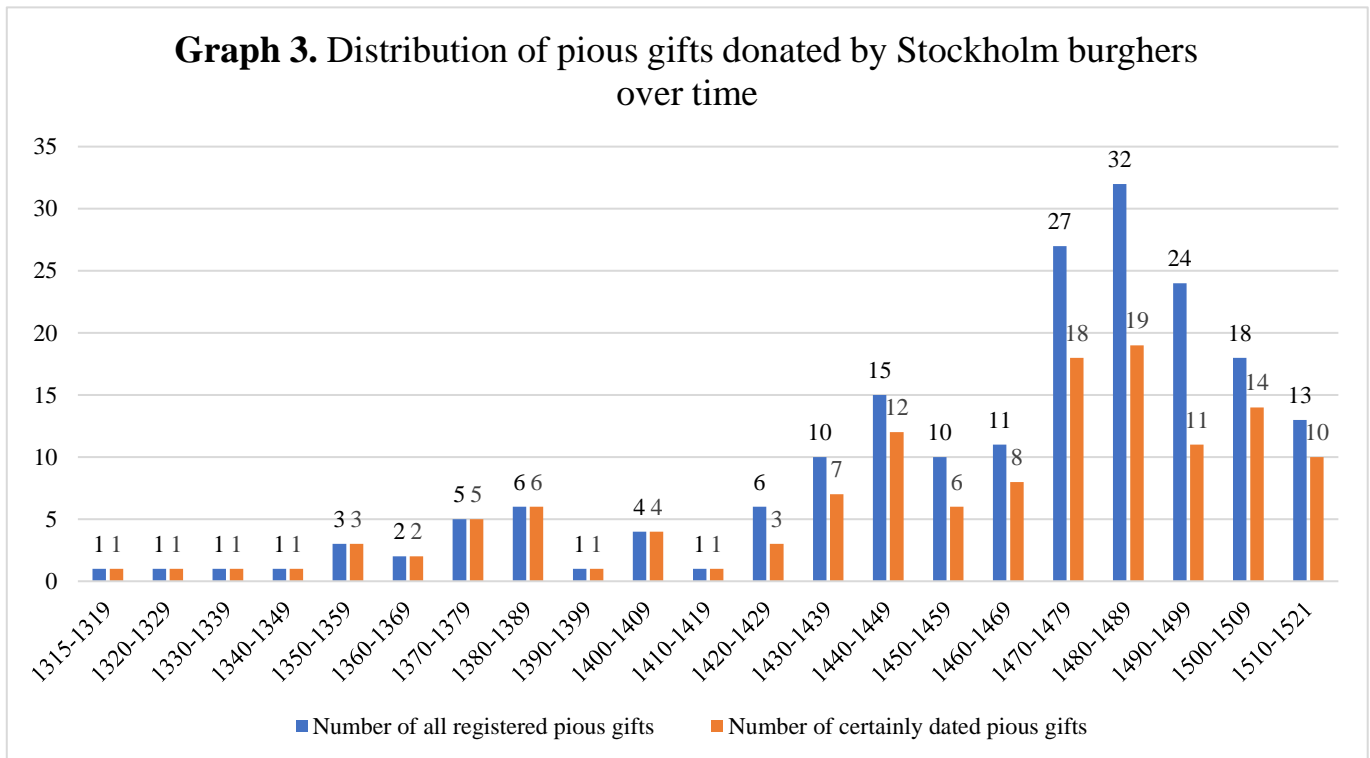
<sup>130</sup> SDHK 9111 / DS 7557, SDHK 9144 / DS 7587; SDHK 39694 / DS 8667; SDHK 40693 / DS 9235; SDHK 10882 / DS 9332; SDHK 44950 / DS 10472, SDHK 13357; Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Wilhelm Stenking (7.11.1392); Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Dethard Krake (22.04.1472). Interestingly, Albert van Unna, who issued his will in Lübeck in 1350, left bequests to four religious institutions located in and around Stockholm and a gift of 20 marks to be donated for the sake of his soul to an unspecified recipient should it happen that his daughter Abele, the original beneficiary of that testamentary gift, died before reaching the age of majority. However, the testator left no pious endowments meant for Lübeck. See SDHK 5896 / A. von Brandt (ed.), *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente*, no. 293.

<sup>131</sup> SDHK 9111 / DS 7557; SDHK 9144 / DS 7587.

<sup>132</sup> SDHK 22981, 22977, 23206, 23261; G. Donner, 'St. Erich in Danzig', *Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins*, 29/3 (1930), pp. 43–47.

kingdom, although they definitively focused on places of worship located in central Sweden, as illustrated by the map above.

### 1.2.2 Distribution of pious gifts over time



Analysing the temporal distribution of donations for pious purposes made by the burghers of Stockholm presents a major challenge. Many of them appeared in the primary sources when the donated property was confirmed, redeemed, sold, disputed or subjected to other legal proceedings, and not when it was actually endowed. The graph above definitively reflects how the availability of preserved official town records affected the number of known pious gifts, which has already been noticed by Lamberg.<sup>133</sup> For the period from 1315 to 1419, the only accessible primary sources were individual parchment documents. The first visible increase took place in the 1420s and 1430s due to the availability of the property registers of Stockholm since 1420. The next rapid increase occurred in the 1470s, again due to the availability of the registers of the town council’s minutes since 1474. This finding is quite obvious but at the same time, it is the only certain one regarding the temporal distribution of all

<sup>133</sup> M. Lamberg, ‘Religiosity and Readiness for the Reformation’, p. 186.

the registered gifts because it requires the date when an endowment was recorded and not when it was made. Should cases the dates of which are uncertain or only refer to the moment of registration be discarded, 134 pious gifts of the 192 initially identified remain for further analysis.

It is worth looking into potential correlations and even causations between the number of registered donations and local events in Stockholm, such as pestilences and indulgences. Ole J. Benedictow used donations to track the spread of the Black Death in Sweden in late 1349–1350. He noted a huge increase in donations in the plague year 1350 when 28 pious gifts were registered compared to an average of seven donations annually during the pre-plague years (1341–1349) and eight in 1351.<sup>134</sup> Was the spread of diseases similarly reflected in the increased number of endowments for pious purposes in the town of Stockholm? Janken Myrdal identified and studied several plagues that were registered in Swedish sources of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>135</sup> Some of them were recorded in sources from Stockholm during the period covered by the preserved official town registers and guild books. These plagues occurred in 1439/1440, 1451, 1455, 1464/1465, 1472–1474, and 1484. The graph above shows that there was no increase in the number of pious gifts in Stockholm during the 1450s and 1460s, but the two following decades and the plague of 1439/1440 need a closer look.

On average, 1.8 and 1.9 donations were made annually during the 1470s and 1480s, respectively. During the plague years, the number of registered and certainly dated endowments was as follows: 1472 – 2, 1473 – 3, 1474 – 1, and 1484 – 2. Thus, the source material from Stockholm does not indicate a correlation between pestilent outbreaks and a significant increase in pious gifts in the 1470s and 1480s. However, there was a correlation in 1440. There were no certainly dated donations in 1439 but in 1440 there were 6 pious gifts registered in Stockholm while the average for the 1440s was 1.2. The hypothesis that it was caused by a pestilence is reaffirmed by the accounts of the town council which mention that 19 marks were due to the abbess of the Clarissan nunnery in 1440 for masses celebrated for a year and a half when the town was plagued by a disease.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, at least one of the plagues ravaging medieval Stockholm resulted in the intensification of lay piety expressed through gifts for pious purposes.

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<sup>134</sup> O.J. Benedictow, *The Complete History of the Black Death* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2021), pp. 481–485.

<sup>135</sup> J. Myrdal, *Digerdöden, pestvågor och ödeläggelse. Ett perspektiv på senmedeltidens Sverige*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Uppsala, Avdelningen för agrarhistoria, 2004), p. 85 (Table 11). Analysing various kinds of sources to track the spread and impact of plagues in medieval Sweden, Myrdal included in his research also donation documents and wills, however, he focused on neither the town of Stockholm nor burghers as a social stratum, see pp. 116–143.

<sup>136</sup> R. Murray, *Stockholms kyrkostyrelse*, p. 19.

It is possible that some of the other late medieval pestilences also brought upon an increase in donations but it is difficult to track it in preserved sources of which many cannot be precisely dated.

The other factor that could contribute to the increased popularity of certain church institutions among medieval donors was indulgences granted by ecclesiastical officials.<sup>137</sup> The table below presents indulgences granted to various religious institutions in and around Stockholm in the 15<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Those indulgences have been identified during the same source survey that was used to collect data on pious gifts, thus it is likely that some indulgences registered in other kinds of primary sources were left out. However, the data presented below should be sufficient to discuss the impact of indulgences on the number of recorded endowments.

**Table 5.** Late medieval indulgences that were granted to ecclesiastical institutions in and around Stockholm

No.	Year	Recipient	Sources
1.	1400	Franciscan convent	SDHK 44510 / APD 951
2.	1401	Chapel of St Olof and St Nicholas in the Town Church	SDHK 15594 / SD 2858
3.	1401	Dominican convent	SDHK 15745 / SD 2895 SDHK 15746 / SD 2896
4.	1419	Homestead of the Holy Spirit	SDHK 19212 / SD 2575
5.	1419	Franciscan convent	SDHK 19219 / SD 2582
6.	1421	Hospital of St George	SJB, no. 47, p. 446
7.	1439	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SDHK 23214

<sup>137</sup> For more on medieval indulgences, see R.W. Shaffern, 'The Medieval Theology of Indulgences', in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe* (Leiden, Brill, 2006), pp. 11–36.

8.	1441	Hospital of St George	SJB, no. 87, p. 451
9.	1472	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SDHK 29343
10.	1474	Town Church	SDHK 29708 / C.Ch. Lilljenwalldh, <i>De templo urbis Stockholmensis primario, S. Nicolai dicto</i> (Uppsala, Johan Edman, 1788), pp. 20–21
11.	1476	Altar of Corpus Christi in the Town Church	SDHK 30033 / I. Collijn (ed.), <i>Handlingar rörande Helga Lekamens gille i Stockholm</i> , vol. 1: <i>Gillesboken 1393–1487</i> (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1921), no. 26, pp. 120–122
12.	1483	Chapel of the Holy Cross	SJB, no. 118, p. 454
13.	1485 (confirmed in 1487)	Altar (prebend?) of St Eligius in the Town Church	SDHK 31659 and 31850 / G.E. Klemming (ed.), <i>Skrå-ordningar</i> (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1856), pp. 164–167
14.	1489	Crusade indulgences	SDHK 40408 / APS Cam. 1520
15.	1516	Clarissan nunnery	SDHK 37950 / J.A. Nordberg, <i>S. Clarae minne</i> , pp. 109–110

On the one hand, the Choir of the Soul received three donations in 1440–1443 and six more donations in 1473–1476, that is, it received the majority of its 13 certainly dated endowments during the four following years after the two indulgence documents were issued for the choir in, respectively, 1439 and 1472. On the other hand, the chapel of the Holy Cross which was granted an indulgence in 1483 received none of the analysed pious gifts regardless of their dating. Furthermore, the chapel of St Olof and St Nicholas located, according to the indulgence document it was granted in 1401, in the Town Church is even hard to identify,

unless it was identical to the prebend of St Olof or the prebend of St Nicholas, both founded in the parish church of Stockholm.<sup>138</sup>

The role of indulgences in the potential increase of pious donations remains inconclusive. It is possible that most smaller gifts in the form of money and movable material goods that the indulgenced institutions received remained unregistered in the preserved sources, similar to the alms given to the mendicant convents and the Poor Clares. The indulgence documents, as usual, included only general incentives for generosity towards their recipients. For example, the indulgence document issued in 1401 by Pope Bonifacius IX for the chapel of the Holy Cross was addressed to ‘christifideles eo libentius causa deuotionis confluent ad eandem et ad eius conseruationem manus promptius porrigant adiutrices.’<sup>139</sup> Also, the indulgence granted to the altar (or rather the prebend) of St Eligius in the Town Church by Hieronymus Landus, Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, in 1485 and confirmed by Archbishop Jakob Ulfsson of Uppsala two years later, referred to those who ‘eiusdem altaris ornatum et manutencionem piis ipsius elemosinis instaurari repararique.’<sup>140</sup>

Therefore, to acquire the remission of sins no foundation of a new worship place or a large donation of annual rent and landed property was needed, and these were the kinds of endowments that were recorded in the preserved sources most often. Numerous small gifts connected with the indulgences listed above likely went unnoticed as they were only recorded in property registers and account books of the receiving ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>141</sup> In any case, it seems that the total number of indulgences received by religious institutions in Stockholm and its vicinity was not large, especially when compared to other medieval towns and cities that required special books to keep track of all the indulgences granted to the local places of worship, such as Breslau (Pol. Wrocław) in Silesia.<sup>142</sup> Thus, their role in attracting pious gifts in Stockholm should have not been decisive.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> F. de Brun, ‘Storkyrkans egendommar, stiftelser och personal’, pp. 27, 42.

<sup>139</sup> SDHK 15594 / SD 2858.

<sup>140</sup> G.E. Klemming (ed.), *Skrå-ordningar*, p. 165.

<sup>141</sup> See the notices in the registers of the town council’s minutes referring to the unpreserved account books and property registers kept by religious institutions in and around Stockholm listed in footnote 100.

<sup>142</sup> H. Manikowska (ed.), *Księga odpustów wrocławskich* (Warszawa, Instytut Historii PAN, 2016), pp. XII–XVI.

<sup>143</sup> The number of indulgence days granted by particular indulgences may have contributed to the varying number of attracted pious gifts, as the indulgences covered a different number of days. For example, the indulgence document issued by Pope Boniface IX for the chapel of St Olof and St Nicholas in the Town Church in 1401 covered 100 days and the one issued by the archbishop of Uppsala and four other Swedish bishops for the Town Church in 1474 – 40 days. In the case of some indulgence documents, e.g. those known only from post-medieval notices, the number of granted indulgence days is unknown. However, as the impact of indulgences on the number of donations, in general, remains uncertain, it is even harder to consider the difference that the number of indulgence days could have made.

It is also plausible that some inhabitants of Stockholm to aid their souls, instead of donating to the local churches, convents and chapels or using the indulgences granted to those places of worship, purchased indulgences from papal collectors who operated in Scandinavia.<sup>144</sup> One such case probably involved the Apostolic Nuncio and papal collector Antonius Mast who came to Stockholm in 1489 to call for a crusade against the Turks and ‘ferens secum ingentissimas ymo inauditas indulgentias plenissimasque a pena et a culpa cum anno iubileo.’<sup>145</sup>

An interesting development in the temporal distribution of pious gifts was their decrease towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century after the peak in the 1470s and 1480s. It occurred despite the availability of various sources for that period: individual parchment and paper documents, the property registers and the registers of the town council’s minutes. The downward trend must have accelerated rapidly in the following decades, as Lamberg recorded only 28 donations made during and after the Reformation, that is between 1520 and 1570.<sup>146</sup> This leads us to the question of whether the decline in the number of endowments made by the Stockholm burghers visible already in the last decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century was due to ‘the readiness for the Reformation.’

Some contextualisation may be provided by studies on testamentary bequests in other Baltic towns and cities. Carsten Selch Jensen observed a similar decrease in the number of burghers’ wills issued in Lübeck between 1485 and 1513. It was unexpected, as the number of wills increased in both Stralsund<sup>147</sup> and Reval<sup>148</sup> between 1490 and 1520. Whereas the number of wills issued in Elbing remained stable between 1490 and 1515,<sup>149</sup> and in the case of wills registered in Danzig after 1483, the source material is too scattered to make any assessment.<sup>150</sup> Jensen supposed that the decrease in the number of wills in Lübeck, untypical for the Baltic region, resulted from a social shift among the testators. The late 15<sup>th</sup>- and early 16<sup>th</sup>-century

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<sup>144</sup> Ch. Schuchard, *Die päpstlichen Kollektoren im späten Mittelalter* (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 2000), pp. 136–138, 140.

<sup>145</sup> SDHK 40408 / APS Cam. 1520. About the papal collector Antonius Mast, see Ch. Schuchard, *Die päpstlichen Kollektoren*, pp. 75, 147.

<sup>146</sup> M. Lamberg, ‘Religiosity and Readiness for the Reformation’, p. 186.

<sup>147</sup> J. Schildhauer, *Hansestädtischer Alltag. Untersuchungen auf der Grundlage der Stralsunder Bürgertestamente vom Anfang des 14. bis zum Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1992), p. 13.

<sup>148</sup> K.-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente*, p. 23.

<sup>149</sup> R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie*, p. 137; R. Kubicki, ‘Testamenty elbląskie z XIV – początków XVI w. – charakterystyka wraz z listą testatorów w układzie chronologicznym’, *Rocznik Elbląski*, 20 (2006), pp. 203–208.

<sup>150</sup> After 1483, the only considerable number of wills registered in Danzig comes from the period between 1499 and 1503, with just two more wills registered in 1518 and 1521, respectively. See B. Możejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem doczesnym. Gdańskie testamenty mieszczańskie z XV i początku XVI wieku* (Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2010), pp. 45–47.

wills from Lübeck were dominated by burghers from higher social strata, which could indicate their increasing exclusiveness and explain the decrease in their number.<sup>151</sup>

Obviously, the number of wills (including those not containing pious bequests), discussed by Jensen and the others, cannot be compared one-to-one to the number of pious gifts (including those not conveyed via wills) investigated here. However, it may serve as a reminder to look for underlying causes for the decrease in endowments for religious purposes in Stockholm other than a change in religiosity heralding the Reformation. Of the 55 ‘certain’ (i.e. made by burghers) pious gifts recorded between 1490 and 1521, 12 were made by current councillors and burgomasters (sometimes together with their spouses), five by former and future members of the town council, further three by wives, widows and daughters of the council members, and one by the town council acting as a whole. Furthermore, three endowments were made by goldsmiths and *pärlstickare*<sup>152</sup> or their spouses, and two by Simon Persson known by the byname ‘rike’ (the Rich). All in all, 26 of those 55 pious gifts (i.e. 47.3 per cent) were donated by members of the municipal elite and burghers who rather safely can be assumed to have been wealthy. Perhaps the same increasing exclusiveness of drawing up wills and making pious bequests observed by Jensen in Lübeck made its way into Stockholm at the end of the Middle Ages.

### 1.3 Were the foundations established by Stockholmers ‘everlasting’?

Writing in 1939 Jan Eric Almquist argued that urban properties, such as plots of land and houses, donated to religious institutions in Stockholm could be redeemed or purchased by burghers as part of an intentional policy introduced by municipal privileges to limit the ecclesiastical ownership in the town. However, he claimed that a suitable solution to this issue was donating the so-called ‘everlasting rent’, which was to be collected annually from a given urban property, rather than endowing the property itself. As opposed to the ownership of land and buildings in the town, those rents that the urban properties were encumbered with were, according to Almquist, not redeemable or purchasable without the beneficiary’s will and approval.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> C.S. Jensen, ‘Fromme gaver’, pp. 60–61.

<sup>152</sup> Those were craftsmen who embroidered fabric with pearls, gold, silver, gemstones, etc. See *Svenska Akademiens ordbok*, [https://svenska.se/saob/?id=P\\_2837-0186.oqIx&pz=7](https://svenska.se/saob/?id=P_2837-0186.oqIx&pz=7), accessed online 6 November 2022.

<sup>153</sup> J.E. Almquist, ‘Om s.k. eviga räntor i det medeltida Stockholm’, *Historisk tidskrift*, 59/2 (1939), pp. 260–261.



Furthermore, Bjarne Larsson argued that at least during the 15<sup>th</sup> century and later, it was possible to transfer to an ecclesiastical institution only the right to collect annual rent from urban properties and not the legal ownership of the property itself. The everlasting rents based on plots of land, houses and other immovables located in the town of Stockholm were thus separated from the actual ownership of these urban estates. The donors retained the ownership rights to the endowed property and continued to pay taxes associated with it, and their heirs were granted the right to redeem certain parts of the immovable property that had been donated to the Church. This practice was meant to secure that the real estate owned by the donor was inherited by his or her heirs and, in their absence, by other townspeople to serve ‘burgher professions’, i.e., as a housing or workplace for merchants and craftsmen.<sup>154</sup>

The interpretation proposed by Bjarne Larsson has been well-argued and is convincing. It is further reinforced by the late medieval laws known from other Baltic towns and cities. Many of them introduced legal regulations to, at least theoretically, limit donating, selling and mortgaging urban properties to non-burghers, i.e. knights, clergymen and ecclesiastical entities. For example, the Lübeck Law prohibited, on pain of a financial fine and confiscation of property, the sale and mortgage of plots of land subjected to the town law to non-burghers. Nevertheless, exceptions of various kinds were made in particular towns and in favour of various religious institutions and clergymen. After all, town authorities could only try to limit the spread of ecclesiastical properties, exempted from taxation and municipal jurisdiction, in the urban space through various restrictions on donations, purchases and exchanges of estates, as was the case in late medieval Lübeck itself.<sup>155</sup>

As a further example, the privileges granted to Prussian towns by the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Order in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries contained provisions prohibiting the foundation of new monasteries within a town’s borders without the consent of the Teutonic authorities and the local burghers. They also forbade burghers to sell and donate immovable properties located within a town to already existing monasteries without the Teutonic Knights’ approval. Even with the consent of the officials of the Teutonic Order, urban properties sold and endowed to monastic convents had to be made available for sale again within a year and the Teutonic Order had the right of first refusal to those sales.<sup>156</sup> Such stipulations introduced, among other

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<sup>154</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*, pp. 201–203; G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Stockholmsborgarnas donationer och den tidiga reformationens indragningar’, in K. Brilkman, M. Fink-Jensen, and H. Sanders (eds), *Reformation i två riken. Reformationens historia och historiografi i Sverige och Danmark* (Göteborg, Makadam förlag, 2019), p. 192.

<sup>155</sup> W. Ebel, *Lübisches Recht*, vol. 1 (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 1971), pp. 273–274.

<sup>156</sup> W. Roth, *Die Dominikaner und Franziskaner im Deutsch-Ordensland Preußen bis zum Jahre 1466* (Königsberg, Drewes Buchdruckerei, 1918), pp. 14–16.

places, in the towns and cities using the Lübeck Law and in Prussian towns resulted in the increased significance of monetary gifts and annual rents among the donations made for a pious purpose.<sup>157</sup> Against this background, the regulations regarding annual rents from urban properties, and not the properties themselves, that were endowed to religious institutions in Stockholm cannot be surprising. Although, in the light of Geir Atle Ersland's research, it seems that ecclesiastical institutions genuinely owned a significant share of urban land in some Scandinavian towns.<sup>158</sup>

What certainly comes as a surprise is the strictly temporal character of the 'everlasting' rents donated for pious purposes in Stockholm. Contrary to Almquist's claim, they were usually easily redeemable and purchasable after a certain time had passed, most often after one year after the donor's death. Cezary Kardasz, who studied the credit and rent market in southern Baltic towns and cities in the late medieval period, divided various kinds of rents that he analysed into different types, depending on whether they were irredeemable or redeemable and how quickly the latter could be redeemed or purchased. In those towns and cities, religious institutions typically received both 'everlasting' (i.e. irredeemable) and 'new' (i.e. redeemable) rents. Even the 'new' rents were donated and sold for an indefinite period and could be inherited by the creditor's heirs until they were finally redeemed or sold to someone else.<sup>159</sup>

In Stockholm, however, the Town Law limited the amount of one's property that was freely disposable in terms of testamentary bequests to a tenth, a third or a half, depending on the presence or absence of heirs, as it was mentioned above. The testator's heirs had the right to redeem the excessive property, including 'everlasting' rents bequeathed for pious purposes, within one year and one night of the testator's death. Otherwise, the heirs could approve a surplus endowment to the benefit of their own souls.<sup>160</sup> The relevant chapter of the Swedish Town Law in a rather lax translation into English reads:

XIX. How a man or woman shall draw up a will and hand it down; and other issues regarding the expenses at one's departure and the inheritance after the deceased and other such things.

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<sup>157</sup> See, for example, the incomes of prebends, altars and chapels in the parish churches in large Prussian towns: P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Królewiec, Braniewo)* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2008), pp. 337–433.

<sup>158</sup> He assessed that ecclesiastical institutions owned 22 per cent of urban land in medieval Copenhagen, 44 per cent in Bergen, and as much as 77 per cent in Stavanger, see G.A. Ersland, 'Urban Land Ownership and Rural Estates: The Case of Three Scandinavian Medieval Towns', in A. Wilkin, J. Naylor, D. Keene, and A.-J. Bijsterveld (eds), *Town and Country in Medieval North Western Europe: Dynamic Interactions* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2015), p. 279.

<sup>159</sup> C. Kardasz, *Rynek kredytu pieniężnego w miastach południowego побереża Bałtyku w późnym średniowieczu (Greifswald, Gdańsk, Elbląg, Toruń, Rewel)* (Toruń, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2013), pp. 33–34.

<sup>160</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*, pp. 119–120, 230–231.

If any man or woman, either healthy or ill, issues a will and has children, they have the right to give the tenth part of all their property, both movable and immovable. No man or woman who has children shall give more than their children or the closest relatives agreed to. If he or she has no children but has other heirs in the kingdom, then they have the right to give the third part of all that they own, as previously stated. §1. If they have neither children nor heirs living in the kingdom but have heirs living abroad, they have the right to give half of what they own, as previously stated. However, no one has the right to give away a house, homestead or land to the detriment of their heirs, children or foreign heirs, if the latter want to move into the kingdom and live and build there, unless the heirs can redeem the property within one night and one year, should they want to.<sup>161</sup>

Moreover, the right to redeem excessively endowed property given to heirs under the Swedish Town Law was extended to all ‘good burghers’ by the legal praxis in Stockholm. For example, in 1483, the testament executors implementing the will of Botilda *köttmånglares* transferred to the Franciscan convent an income from a plot of land located in Stockholm on the condition that after one year and one night, it should be sold to the ‘good burghers.’<sup>162</sup> In 1505, the executors of Councillor Olof Andersson’s will transferred to the administrator of the Homestead of the Soul an income from a house that Olof bequeathed to the homestead ‘fore sig, sina hustrv och alla goda siela til ewigh amynnelse.’ Later in the text of the register of the town council’s minutes, the donation was referred to as ‘ewyghe gaffuer.’ Despite this, the text mentions that the rent from the house could be redeemed by the testator’s heirs or ‘gode borgere.’<sup>163</sup>

The same temporal limitation applied in late medieval Stockholm to pious donations transferred during the donor’s lifetime. As long as the benefactor was alive, the beneficiary could collect income from and manage the endowed property. After the donor’s death, the recipient retained the right to collect income for one year. After this time, the gifted rent had to be offered for redemption first to the donor’s heirs and then to all burghers. Within one year after the benefactor’s death, it was sufficient to declare a wish to redeem the rent; the payment itself could be made later. According to the findings made by Bjarne Larsson, to redeem

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<sup>161</sup> Å. Holmbäck and E. Wessén (eds), *Magnus Erikssons stadslag*, pp. 62–63: ‘XIX. Huru man eller kvinna skall göra testamente och lämna ut det; och annat som rör kostnader vid den dödes utfärd och arvöl och annat dylikt. Vill någon man eller kvinna, frisk eller sjuk, göra testamente och har barn efter sig, då har han rätt att giva var tionde penning av all sin egendom, lös och fast. Icke heller skall någon, som har barn efter sig, giva större själågåva än de säga ja till, eller ock deras närmaste fränder. Har han ej barn, men har dock andra arvingar inom landet, då har han rätt att giva var tredje penning av allt som han äger, såsom förut är sagt. § 1. Har han eller hon varken barn eller arvingar inomlands, men har dock arvingar, som bo utomlands, då har han rätt att giva hälften av det som han äger, såsom förut är sagt. Dock har ingen rätt att giva bort hus, gård eller jord till förfång för sina arvingar eller sina barn eller för utländska arvingar, om de vilja flytta till landet för att där bo och bygga, utom på sådant sätt att arvingarna kunna återlösa det till sig inom natt och år, om de vilja.’

<sup>162</sup> STB II, p. 8.

<sup>163</sup> STB IV, p. 86.

the gifted rent the heirs were entitled to a reduced payment equal to the annual rental income, while unrelated burghers had to pay the ‘market value’ of the property determined by the municipal officials.<sup>164</sup>

Instead of redeeming the donated property, the heirs of the original donor could decide to leave it at the disposal of the endowed ecclesiastical institution thus becoming its subsequent benefactors. As a primary example, Elseby, widow of Sven Jonsson Moise, approved in 1516 a donation made by her husband in 1501 to the Dominican convent which, in turn, was not an ‘original’ donation either but a confirmation of even earlier endowment made by Birgitta, mother of aforementioned Sven Jonsson and widow of Burgomaster Joan Svensson.<sup>165</sup> Thus, the family kept supporting this particular convent on at least three occasions and for at least two generations by approving and repeating the same gift which could have been otherwise redeemed at the departure of subsequent family members.

The aforementioned restrictions on the donation of urban property for religious purposes must have been in place since at least 1400, as two donation documents issued that year mention the issuers’ concerns over a potential breach of municipal law on this issue.<sup>166</sup> Given these temporal limitations, concerning both donations transferred during one’s lifetime and posthumously, Bjarne Larsson concluded that:

During the investigated period of 1479–1530, ecclesiastical institutions, including guilds, were therefore deprived of the ownership rights to the properties they received as donations, which they could hold only temporarily. [...] If one compares the gifts made by nobles with the gifts made by burghers, it becomes clear that the gifts made by burghers were only temporary, while the gifts made by nobles usually were ‘everlasting’ and irredeemable. The nobility donated the ownership rights to the property and the income that it provided, while burghers donated only the right to collect and manage the income that the property provided. [...] most commonly relatives reclaimed the [donated] rental income by redeeming the property. When relatives were absent, the town made it easy for other burghers or even for the town council itself to purchase the property.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*, pp. 232–234; G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Stockholmsborgarnas donationer’, pp. 192–194.

<sup>165</sup> STB V, pp. 131–132; cf. G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*, p. 231.

<sup>166</sup> SDHK 15464 / FMU 1099 / REA 290; SDHK 15465 / FMU 1100.

<sup>167</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*, pp. 236–237: ‘Under denna studies undersökningsperiod 1479–1530 var sålunda kyrkliga institutioner, inklusive gillen, frångagna rätten att äga de fastigheter de fått i donation, mer än temporärt. [...] Jämförs gåvor från frälset med borgarnas gåvor blir det uppenbart att borgarnas gåvor endast var temporära medan frälsets gåvor i det vanliga fallet var ‘eviga’ och inte återkrävbara. Frälset donerade rätten att äga fastigheten och dess avkastning, medan borgarna enbart donerade rätten att uppbära och förvalta de inkomster som egendomen kunde inbringa. [...] vanligast var att släktingar återtog ränteinkomsterna i och med att de återlöste fastigheten. När släktingar saknades gjorde staden det lätt för andra borgare att köpa fastigheten eller till och med att rådet självt köpte den.’

In another scholarly publication, Bjarne Larsson stated that the practice of redeeming ‘everlasting’ rents by heirs or other Stockholm burghers one year after the donor’s death was in line with the customs of pious gift-giving elsewhere. The benefactors ensured for themselves and others intercessory prayers for their lifetime and one year after their passing until the anniversary mass.<sup>168</sup> However, it had little to do with the practice of establishing ‘everlasting’ foundations widely known in medieval Europe. As it was summarised by Gustavs Strenga in the introduction to his doctoral thesis, ‘[m]emoria had no temporal boundaries, medieval people wanted to be commemorated in perpetuity, but *memoria* could fade if it was not properly maintained, as could any other form of collective memory.’<sup>169</sup> One way of achieving such perpetual commemoration and preventing it from fading away was to establish a foundation or, as some prefer to name it, a chantry.

It was not always necessary to go as far as to establish a proper foundation to ensure individual commemoration. It could be enough to make a simple one-time gift of money or movables to be included in some kind of a list or book of the dead and receive intercessory prayers.<sup>170</sup> Nevertheless, Michael Borgolte strongly emphasised the difference between non-recurring gifts (donations) and recurring gifts (foundations):

One must carefully differentiate foundations from donations; in contrast to the latter, the former did not merely consist of one-time, but rather repeated, gift-giving, since only the income from a piece of property, not however the property itself, was consumed. The beneficiaries of foundations were usually churches or monasteries [...] Foundations were thus such a highly sought-after means for one’s own salvation because they were to last permanently; as long as the fate of the soul in the afterlife was undecided, as most believed. Until the Last Judgment the prayers of the survivors and the further good works of the deceased that they performed would be of assistance to the soul.<sup>171</sup>

According to this distinction made by Borgolte, Stockholm burghers, at least from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, had significantly limited opportunities to establish proper foundations. Those willing to use for this purpose the properties they owned in the town could only donate the rental income from them, the collection of which was, importantly, limited in time. The money obtained from the redemption could not replace the fixed income that was

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<sup>168</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Stockholmsborgarnas donationer’, pp. 195–196.

<sup>169</sup> G. Strenga, ‘Remembering the Dead: Collective Memoria in Late Medieval Livonia’, PhD thesis (London, 2013), p. 10.

<sup>170</sup> H. Manikowska and P. Okniński, ‘Przeszłość osobista i tożsamość wspólnotowa’, pp. 301–310.

<sup>171</sup> M. Borgolte, ‘Foundations “for the Salvation of the Soul” – an Exception in World History?’, *Medieval Worlds*, 1 (2015), pp. 89–90.

the annual rent. How, then, could Stockholmers wish to facilitate their salvation through unceasing prayers and good deeds?

First of all, it needs to be emphasised that this kind of thinking about ‘everlasting’ and ‘perpetual’ spiritual services, including various chantries, received in return for sustainable material assets described by Borgolte existed in late medieval Stockholm among the burghers and suburban dwellers.<sup>172</sup> Already in 1323 Richard, a priest from the Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Stockholm committed himself and his successors to celebrate two masses a month for the salvation of the souls of Stockholm burgher Alexander and his wife Gertrud as they endowed the homestead with two forges located next to the northern bridge and a cabbage farm (*kålgård*) in *Norrmalm*. The two masses, according to the wording of the document, were to be celebrated ‘ad extremitatem huius mundi.’<sup>173</sup> In the will issued by Everhard Kansten in 1376, the testator bequeathed parts of his property to found one perpetual prebend (referred to as a vicariate) in the church of Our Lady in Lübeck and another similar one in the Town Church in Stockholm. Both prebends were to be administered by the testament executors appointed by Everhard. When one of them dies, the remaining executors should choose a new suitable person to replace him so that ‘hec vicaria semper manebit in manibus amicorum perpetuis temporibus, ne pereat.’<sup>174</sup> Admittedly, both those foundations were able to function without fear of breaching the regulations on pious gifts. Both were established before 1400, that is before these restrictive regulations were introduced. The endowment made by Alexander and his wife probably took place even before the implementation of the Town Law in the Kingdom of Sweden. Furthermore, this particular endowment concerned properties located in the northern suburb, an area not subject to the Town Law even later.

Also at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries and later, that is when the aforementioned limitations on the transfer of real estate and annual rents to religious institutions were already in force, the inhabitants of Stockholm sought to ensure the longevity or even eternity of their pious foundations and the inviolability of their gifts. The two documents of 1400 that first mentioned some kind of restrictions on pious gifts being in force, in fact, did that to ensure that

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<sup>172</sup> Michael Borgolte has devoted much of his fruitful academic career to the study of foundations through the ages, not only pious and medieval ones. Among his more recent publications, see M. Borgolte (ed.), *Enzyklopädie des Stiftungswesens in mittelalterlichen Gesellschaften*, vol. 1–3 (Berlin, De Gruyter, 2014–2017); M. Borgolte, ‘Five Thousand Years of Foundations: A Typology from Mesopotamia to the USA’, *Endowment Studies*, 1 (2017), pp. 60–95; M. Borgolte, *World History as the History of Foundations, 3000 BCE to 1500 CE*, transl. Z. Chitwood (Leiden, Brill, 2020).

<sup>173</sup> SDHK 3223 / DS 2413 / SJB, no. XIII, p. 414.

<sup>174</sup> SDHK 40693 / DS 9235.

the donations described therein were implemented. The aforementioned Councillor Peter Ålänning and his wife Kristina Petersdotter made in 1400 additional donations for the two prebends they earlier founded in, respectively, the cathedrals of Åbo and Uppsala. In addition to various rural properties they used to found the prebend in the cathedral of Åbo, they enriched it with an annual rent from a plot of land and a shed located south of the Corn Market in Stockholm. In case that the king and the Council of the Realm ‘vildhe thet ey stadiae kirkiom eller klaerkom nokro rentho haffua j Stokholme, vtan swa som stadzins retther wthuisaer, tha skall thenne for:de gatubodhen [...] wardhae saldh oc landz godz wardha ther meth køpt, ath prebendenne rentha ther jnnan ey minskas.’<sup>175</sup> The same stipulation regarding annual rents from urban properties was included in the donation document for the cathedral of Uppsala. If necessary, they were also to be replaced with rural estates to sustain the prebend with revenues.<sup>176</sup>

Despite the provision made by the donors, the annual rent from the shed in Stockholm that was endowed to the prebend in the cathedral of Åbo became the subject of a dispute between Bishop Magnus Tavast of Åbo and the town council of Stockholm, as it has been noticed by Anna-Stina Hägglund.<sup>177</sup> In a verdict handed down in 1441 by the lawman of Uppland and members of the Council of the Realm, it was ordered that the town council of Stockholm was to return to the cathedral of Åbo five marks of annual rent from the plot of land and the shed, which it had unlawfully dedicated to almsgiving (‘almosane’) for several years.<sup>178</sup> Interestingly, in this case, the town authorities decided to use the rent for a different pious (and perhaps more charitable) purpose instead of claiming it for themselves or making it available for the local burghers. Other examples suggest that the town council of Stockholm was not always eager to reclaim rents and urban properties endowed to religious institutions by burghers.

In 1514, the burgomasters and councillors of Stockholm allowed Bertil Hitman and his wife to purchase a house encumbered with rent due to the Fund of the Sunday Alms only on the condition that they would purchase a rent of the same value from another equally

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<sup>175</sup> SDHK 15464 / FMU 1099 / REA 290.

<sup>176</sup> SDHK 15465 / FMU 1100.

<sup>177</sup> A.-S. Hägglund, ‘Böner, jord och pengar. En studie av gåvor till kyrkor och kloster i Åbo stift under senmedeltiden’, MA thesis (Åbo, 2015), p. 51.

<sup>178</sup> REA 502. In another document issued in 1448 Stockholm burgher Olof Tröbo, who occupied the plot and shed donated to the cathedral of Åbo by Peter Ålänning and his wife, confirmed that he and his heirs were obliged to pay five marks of annual rent to the cathedral for the maintenance of the prebend founded there. See SDHK 25369 / FMU 6667; SDHK 28940 / FMU 3376.

conveniently located property.<sup>179</sup> In 1518 the town council launched an investigation into the ownership of a house that had been donated to the prebend of St Mary Magdalene in the Town Church by the late Burgomaster Nils Persson. Peasant Matts Björnsson of the Tuna parish claimed that the house belonged to the parents of his wife Elin before it (or its rental income) was unlawfully endowed to the prebend by Nils. The municipal authorities showed hesitancy at seizing this convenient opportunity to free the house from financial obligations to the church and gain a new burgher family. The town council inquired elderly townspeople and Margit, wife of Simon *skräddare*, who was supposed to be familiar with Nils Persson's household, and neither of them could disprove the burgomaster's rightful ownership of the house. Thus, the claim made by the peasant couple was rejected and the right to the house (or the revenue from it) was ultimately left to the prebend.<sup>180</sup> Such cases demonstrate that, despite the convenient legal framework to reclaim incomes and immovable properties donated for pious purposes, the municipal authorities of Stockholm did not ruthlessly pursue every opportunity to deprive ecclesiastical institutions and the clergy of them and make them available to burghers.

Other indicators are suggesting that some urban properties in late medieval Stockholm were encumbered with an annual rent (or several different rents) due to ecclesiastical institutions for a longer period. For example, when Henning Pinnow, a former burgomaster of Stockholm who moved to Lübeck, was selling his stone house standing upon three plots of land located to the east of the town walls on the Fishing Shore ('Fiskestrandh') to the Corpus Christi Guild for 700 marks in 1473, he emphasised that those properties were encumbered with annual rents. Four marks annually were due to the choir of St Barbara in the Town Church, four marks to the Corpus Christi Guild itself, and four pounds of herring to the Dominican convent in Västerås. Henning added the following regarding the rent: 'hwilkin forskriffwen rentha fore mic langhligha ther jnne waridh haffwer.'<sup>181</sup>

Some Stockholm burghers explicitly expressed the wish for their foundation to be long-lasting or perhaps even everlasting. The prebend founded and later enriched with the additional rent by Peter Ålänning and his wife Kristina in the choir of St Henry and St Eric in the cathedral of Åbo was responsible for celebrating two masses at an unspecified frequency (likely weekly

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<sup>179</sup> STB V, p. 13.

<sup>180</sup> STB V, p. 184.

<sup>181</sup> I. Collijn (ed.), *Handlingar rörande Helga Lekamens gille*, vol. 1, no. 14, pp. 112–114.



or monthly) ‘swa laenghe domkirkian staar.’<sup>182</sup> Likewise, Councillor Ingevald Torstensson and his wife wanted the weekly mass that they founded in the choir of St Erasmus in the Franciscan convent to be celebrated ‘swa lenge Claastrith staandher.’<sup>183</sup> How could benefactors from Stockholm hope to achieve such longevity or eternity of their foundations against the background of the time limitations imposed by the Town Law and local customs on incomes donated for pious purposes?

Firstly, they could bypass those restrictions by endowing land located outside the boundaries of the town, that is land not subjected to the Town Law. The Country Law, which was also introduced in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, and the earlier provincial laws made a distinction between the immovable property acquired during one’s lifetime and inherited rather than referring to the total of one’s property like the Town Law. The acquired property was freely disposable, also to be donated to the Church, while the alienation of inherited property outside of one’s kin was restricted.<sup>184</sup> Thus, burghers of Stockholm were free to endow the property they owned outside of the town to ecclesiastical institutions as long as they acquired said property and not inherited it. In 1467, Margaret, widow of Magnus Björnsson, donated to the Town Church a plot of land that she owned in *Norrmalm* for the soul of her late husband, her own soul and the souls of all Christians. The town property register mentions that the endowed plot should ‘stadogh oc fast bliwande wider bykirkio til ewerdalige tiidh.’<sup>185</sup> There is no reason to doubt that in this case the property was donated to the parish church in perpetuity and as real estate and not just an income that it provided, as it was located in the suburban area.

Secondly, one could use exclusively the legally prescribed one-tenth (or more if one had no lineal heirs) of their property to bequeath to the Church. According to the Town Law, only the excessive part of the bequeathed property was claimable by heirs after one year and one night of the donor’s death.<sup>186</sup> Alternatively, a larger share of one’s wealth could be bequeathed via a will for pious purposes if one’s heirs agreed to that. When the inheritance and will left by

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<sup>182</sup> REA 290.

<sup>183</sup> O. Celsius, *Fata templi Riddarholmensis*, no. X, p. 39.

<sup>184</sup> M. Korpiola, ‘Testamentary Freedom in Law and Practice in Medieval Sweden: Conflicts and Coexistence’, in M.G. di Renzo Villata (ed.), *Succession Law, Practice and Society in Europe across the Centuries* (Cham, Springer, 2018), pp. 155–156, 161–162; M. Korpiola and E. Trolle Önnerfors, ‘Inheritance Law, Wills, and Strategies of Heirship in Medieval Sweden’, in M. Korpiola and A. Lahtinen (eds), *Planning for Death: Wills and Death-Related Property Arrangements in Europe, 1200–1600* (Leiden, Brill, 2018), pp. 31–33, 40–44. For legal systems in medieval Scandinavia, see M. Korpiola, ‘High and Late Medieval Scandinavia: Codified Vernacular Law and Learned Legal Influences’, in H. Pihlajamäki, M.D. Dubber, and M. Godfrey (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of European Legal History* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 379–404.

<sup>185</sup> SJB, no. 681.

<sup>186</sup> See above pp. 66–68.

late Burgomaster Nils Persson was discussed before the town council in 1492, a prebend founded by him ‘gudi til loff och äre fore sich alla sina föräldra och venne siela medh alla cristna sielar’ in the Town Church (i.e. the prebend of St Mary Magdalene) was mentioned.<sup>187</sup> One of the testament executors – Councillor Pelle Persson – announced to the gathered heirs of Nils Persson ‘the nagat hinder göre wille pa then prebenda och tess renta [...] tha swarade the i samma stundh fore rettin atthe aldrich wele then prebenda [...] schal staducht och fast bliffue til ewijgh tijdh fore alla fødde och ofödde athalara.’<sup>188</sup>

Thirdly, various provisions meant to secure a pious gift could be added to a donation document or a will. Burgher Erik Jonsson included such provisions in his will of 1465 the fragment of which was transcribed into the property register of Stockholm. He donated the annual rent from his stone house and the plot it was built upon to the ‘cloister’ (‘koregonk’) of the Town Church, the everlasting light burning in the Corpus Christi choir in the same church, and the Funds of the Sunday and Friday Alms. Erik attempted to safeguard his donation by inserting several regulations into his will. Firstly, whoever bought the annual rent donated by him to the said ecclesiastical institutions was obliged to purchase another annual rent for them from a different immovable property. In order to ‘gudz thieniste wardher for then skuld icke niderlacht vthan aewardelica bliffuande ffore myna føreldre siaele och allom cristnom siaelom och myno fatugo siaele till lysa roo och nadher.’ Secondly, the money from the purchase of the rent was to be placed at the disposal of the town council, which was to use it for divine service (‘i gudz thieneste’). Thirdly, the town council was permitted to use part of the rent endowed to the ‘cloister’ of the Town Church for another pious purpose in the event that ‘thenne korgangen afflades som nw vptagen aer ath then bliffwa icke saa fulkomelige.’ Ironically, despite all that great effort put by Erik into securing his donations, they ultimately were not implemented, as it was noted by the town registrar under the transcribed text, because Erik’s wife Barbara gave birth to his posthumous child, which interfered with the testamentary bequests.<sup>189</sup>

Finally, some religious institutions committed themselves to continue providing the benefactor with spiritual support despite the endowed property or income being redeemed or sold. In 1474, the churchwarden of the Town Church Olof Ingevaldsson sold half of a donated stone house (or the income thereof) to Burgomaster Magnus Eriksson for 100 marks.

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<sup>187</sup> F. de Brun, ‘Storkyrkans egendommar, stiftelser och personal’, p. 44.

<sup>188</sup> SJB, no. 1211. See also an entry regarding the same matter in STB III, pp. 2–3.

<sup>189</sup> SJB, no. 650.

At the same time he undertook, on behalf of the church, to continue to hold an annual mass for the souls of the late donor Anna, widow of Lasse Moor, and her husband ‘til ewig tidh som forscrinat staar.’<sup>190</sup>

The evidence presented above and provided by the primary sources does not undermine the local practice and legal framework of late medieval Stockholm that preferred the donated urban properties, including annual rents from those properties, to be redeemable and purchasable for heirs and unrelated burghers. It does, however, confirm that the inhabitants of late medieval Stockholm thought of religious foundations in terms of their everlasting or, at least, long-lasting existence and had the tools to ensure, to some extent, this desired eternity or longevity. Stockholm was therefore no exception when it came to the medieval Christian ‘foundations for the salvation of the soul’ studied by Borgolte and his predecessors.

## 1.4 Typology of pious gifts

### 1.4.1 Chapels (choirs) and altars

The greatest effort made by a founder was the founding of a chapel or, as it was often named in medieval Sweden, a choir. In addition to establishing the worship by providing liturgical equipment and an income to secure the chaplain’s livelihood, the founder had to erect the chapel building, furnish it and prepare an altar inside. As the foundation of an entire church or monastery was far beyond the means of an individual town dweller,<sup>191</sup> the foundation of a chapel can be considered the most complex and resource-intensive endeavour for a pious purpose that could be undertaken by a particular burgher or a burgher family. Thus, individual burghers were capable of creating ‘Kirchen in der Kirche’, as Hartmut Boockmann referred to altars and chapels in late medieval urban churches.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> SJB, no. 810.

<sup>191</sup> In contrast to the collective efforts made by urban communes and merchants travelling abroad who sought to erect their own churches or, at least, separate (i.e. freestanding) chapels. See P. Johansen, ‘Die Kaufmannskirche im Ostseegebiet’, in *Studien zu den Anfängen des europäischen Städtewesens* (Lindau, Thorbecke, 1958), pp. 504–505; P. Johansen, ‘Die Kaufmannskirche’, in M. Stenberger (ed.), *Die Zeit der Stadtgründung im Ostseeraum* (Visby, Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri, 1965), pp. 122–125; O.G. Oexle, “Einung” und “Gemeinde” in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters’, in J. Tandecki (ed.), *Die Rolle der Stadtgemeinden und bürgerlichen Genossenschaften im Hanseraum in der Entwicklung und Vermittlung des gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Gedankengutes im Spätmittelalter* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo UMK, 2000), pp. 9–10.

<sup>192</sup> H. Boockmann, *Bürgerkirchen im späteren Mittelalter* (Berlin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 1994), p. 15.

There is no evidence that any of the separate chapels (i.e. not attached to a church) located in the Stockholm suburbs, mentioned in subchapter 1.1, were founded by a burgher. What is certain, however, is that most of the chapels adjacent to the Town Church and altars placed inside that church were founded by Stockholm burghers.<sup>193</sup> The founding of a new place of worship required permission from the local ecclesiastical authorities and meeting certain financial requirements. Johannes Geismar, a former burgher of Stockholm who moved to Lübeck,<sup>194</sup> received permission to establish a new altar and an associated prebend in the Town Church of Stockholm from Archbishop Peter Filipsson of Uppsala in 1337. He was requested by the church official to finance the construction of the altar and a chapel to house it and to provide the chaplain who was to serve there with eight *lödiga* marks<sup>195</sup> of silver annually.<sup>196</sup> In addition to construction costs and the remuneration for the prebend priest, a newly founded chapel or altar required furnishing and equipment. From two early modern notes by Swedish antiquarians Johan Peringskiöld (1654–1720) and Gustaf Rosendalius (d. 1732),<sup>197</sup> we know that Hans van Horn, a German merchant and burgher of Stockholm, founded the choir of St Peter and St Paul the Apostles in the Town Church in 1408 and endowed it with liturgical vestments, a chalice, books and other liturgical cloths. For the maintenance of a prebend established in the choir, he allocated the annual rent of two *lödiga* marks of silver and one *lispund* of wax.<sup>198</sup>

It was certainly less expensive to have one's altar placed in an already-built chapel or the main body of the church. In 1381 Archbishop Birger Gregersson and the cathedral chapter of Uppsala designated 'chorum, qui est tercius in ordine a domo siue custodia noui muri lateris aquilonaris versus occidentem a magno choro elegerit' in the cathedral of Uppsala to house the altar and prebend dedicated to St Andreas the Apostle which had been founded the previous

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<sup>193</sup> The outline of history and properties accumulated by chapels (choirs) and altars in the Town Church of Stockholm during the medieval period has been provided by Frans de Brun, see F. de Brun, 'Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal', pp. 24–49.

<sup>194</sup> It is uncertain whether Geismar was a councillor or burgomaster of Stockholm before he left for Lübeck, see F. de Brun, 'Stockholms borgmästare och rådmän i äldre tid, tillägg och rättelser till festskriften Stockholms rådhus och råd, 2', *Personhistorisk tidskrift*, 21/2–3 (1920), p. 141.

<sup>195</sup> A *lödiga mark* was a unit used in the Kingdom of Sweden to measure the weight of silver and silver coins; during the medieval period, it corresponded to approximately 208 grams. See S.O. Jansson, *Måttordboken*, ed. D. Waldetoft, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Stockholm, Nordiska Museets förlag, 1995), pp. 169–170.

<sup>196</sup> SDHK 4312 / DS 3274. Earlier, in 1334, Geismar founded a prebend (vicariate) in the church of Our Lady in Lübeck, see W. Prange (ed.), *Schleswig-Holsteinische Regesten und Urkunden*, vol. 13: *Urkundenbuch des Bistums Lübeck*, vol. 2: 1220–1439 (Neumünster, Wachholtz Verlag, 1994), no. 760, 781.

<sup>197</sup> On those two antiquarians and their archival work, see B. Fritz, 'De svenska medeltidsbrevens trädning till 1800-talets början. En arkivhistorisk översikt', [https://riksarkivet.se/media/pdf-filer/fritz\\_medeltidsbrevstradering.pdf](https://riksarkivet.se/media/pdf-filer/fritz_medeltidsbrevstradering.pdf), accessed online 2 November 2022.

<sup>198</sup> SDHK 17027; F. de Brun, 'Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal', pp. 31–32.

year by Gertrud Kansten, widow of Stockholm Burgomaster Folkvin Brakel. The choir was not built at the expense of Gertrud and was only designated as the place for her prebend, as she had requested.<sup>199</sup> The town council of Stockholm permitted Jöns Andersson in 1490 to have his altar and prebend inside the Town Church. The altar was to be placed above the vault of the Town Church ('pa hwalffuit j Bykirkian') so no choir was needed to house it.<sup>200</sup>

That it must have been significantly cheaper and more convenient to use an already existing altar and choir for worship is attested to by the fact that even the craft guild of Stockholm goldsmiths, i.e. practitioners of a very profitable profession, decided to use a previously funded altar. In 1485, prebend priests Tiedeman Privalk and Olof Hiesse, and burgher Hans Privalk who possessed the patronage rights to the altar in the choir of St Blaise in the Town Church allowed the goldsmiths of Stockholm to use this altar and employ their chaplain there on the condition he would not interrupt the other priest serving at the altar. The goldsmiths were also obliged to participate in the upkeep of the choir and the altar by covering half of the expenses connected with the maintenance of the building, its furnishing, liturgical equipment and the stained glasses in the choir.<sup>201</sup> It is mentioned in a document issued between 1501 and 1506 by Councillor Knut Nilsson, who used to be a goldsmith before his admission to the town council, that said Knut together with the goldsmiths' craft guild 'fundera oss två messor, af samma Compagni hållandes i hvaerije vijku Gudi till låff, Jungfru Maria och Sancto Lojjo Biskope till aebra [...] i Sancti Blasj Choor, i Stockholms bykyrckio [...] hvilckett Altareroom koeptes af Sancti Blasij Choor och Prebende Foereståndare och loeste med Compagnis penningar.'<sup>202</sup> In all likelihood, it was the same altar placed in the choir of St Blaise, which was under the patronage of Tiedeman and Hans Privalk and Olof Hiesse. The goldsmiths probably 'purchased' only the right to share it with the original founders and their heirs, and founded the prebend dedicated to St Loye (better known as St Eligius), the patron saint of their craft, at that altar.

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<sup>199</sup> SDHK 11782 / DS 10285; SDHK 11964 / DS 10470. See also G. Dahlbäck et al., *Uppsala domkyrka*, vol. 1: *Skriftliga källor. Arkivbildning* (Uppsala, Upplandsmuseet, 2010), p. 72.

<sup>200</sup> STB II, p. 486. See also STB II, p. 526.

<sup>201</sup> G.E. Klemming (ed.), *Skrå-ordningar*, pp. 163–164.

<sup>202</sup> E.M. Fant, *Observationes selectae historiam Svecanum illustrantes*, vol. 4 (Uppsala, Johan Edman, 1786), no. VIII, pp. 27–31. The quotation comes from p. 28. The document is preserved only as a post-medieval copy, the dating is lacking. The approximate dating is based on Knut Nilsson being named as a Stockholm councillor in the document, he assumed this office in 1501 and likely died in 1506. See C.C. Sjödén, *Stockholms borgerskap under Sturetiden*, p. 255.

#### 1.4.2 Prebends, masses and other religious services

As Piotr Oliński noticed, what today may be considered a single foundation by historians, in fact, often consisted of several stages of implementation, that is, several subsequent foundation acts.<sup>203</sup> After founding a choir and/or an altar which served as places of worship, the next stage was to establish a permanent post for a priest to celebrate religious services in a specific order, that is a prebend. Bjarne Larsson emphasised that few actual donation and foundation documents issued by the inhabitants of medieval Stockholm have been preserved and the notices in the official town records typically do not include details about the acquired religious services.<sup>204</sup> Nonetheless, in some cases, the founders left behind rather detailed instructions on how services were to be celebrated. The aforementioned widow Gertrud Kansten founded also the altar and prebend of St Andreas in the Town Church of Stockholm. According to the foundation document of 8 October 1370, the priest serving at this prebend was obliged to say three masses a week. The first on any day of the week in honour of the Holy Trinity, the second on Monday for the souls of the dead ('pro defunctis'), and the third on Saturday in honour of the Holy Virgin together with a vigil for the souls of the dead ('vigiliis defunctorum').<sup>205</sup>

Just as it was cheaper to fund an altar in an already constructed choir, it was also cheaper to fund a prebend at an already constructed altar. After all, several altars could share the same choir and several prebends could share the same altar. In addition, the number of sacred objects, such as chapels and altars, that could be erected adjacent to and within a church was limited by its physical space. In contrast, the number of prebends, masses and other religious services was limited only by time. Archbishop Peter Torkelsson of Uppsala confirmed in 1358 a donation made through a will by late Councillor Engelbert, called 'Tasky' (the German) to an already existing prebend, which had been founded at the altar of St Olof by late burgher Konrad Arxö, to augment its income ('augmentationem praebendae'). The archbishop ordered the chaplain Johannes Ludolphi, called 'Scriwer', and his successors to celebrate every Monday a mass for Engelbert and his relatives in addition to the two masses founded by Konrad. Moreover, the archbishop announced that: 'finitisque praesentationibus ad praebendam eandem ad

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<sup>203</sup> P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich*, p. 59.

<sup>204</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret*, p. 232.

<sup>205</sup> SDHK 9803 / DS 8213 / SJB, no. XXV, p. 416. See also SDHK 9808 / DS 8217.

haeredes Conradi praenominati spectantibus’, thus the patronage rights were transferred to Engelbert’s heirs.<sup>206</sup>

In 1420, Herman Rembeke and Councillor Werner Gest bought from Lasse *guldsmed* annual rent in the form of 1 *lispund* and 4 *markpund*<sup>207</sup> of wax for 50 marks of money. They allocated the rent for the needs of the choir of St Barbara that they had founded together with an altar in the Town Church.<sup>208</sup> Eight years later, in 1428, they both founded their respective prebends at the altar in the choir of St Barbara.<sup>209</sup> In 1486, the town council allowed Councillor Peder Mikelsson to have his chaplain saying masses at the altar of St Nicholas, St Gertrud and St Knut in the Town Church. Peder was requested to provide his chaplain with a chalice, mass equipment (‘messorede’), wine and hosts (communion bread), but the priest could use the liturgical vestments that belonged to the altar.<sup>210</sup>

The patronage rights to an altar could be also bought to establish a new prebend and save on expenses needed to erect a new altar. In 1498, Staffan Västgöte was permitted by the town authorities to keep his chaplain at the altar of the Apostles in the Town Church. Earlier Staffan had bought the patronage rights to the altar from Councillor Joan Styng. The town council ordered that Staffan and his heirs could keep their chaplain at the altar in addition to the other priest celebrating masses founded by Joan. Staffan was obliged to ensure that his altar priest received liturgical equipment, a chalice, wax, wine, hosts and altar clothes. Moreover, the council decreed that ‘jngen fødh eller ofødh makt haffue for:de Staffan Vestgöte eller hans arffua och prebende patroner fordriffue fran samma altara.’<sup>211</sup>

It was also possible, at least according to the available sources, to found a mass celebration without establishing a proper prebend. For example, Hans *svärdslipare* founded in

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<sup>206</sup> SDHK 7398 / DS 5945. See also SDHK 7349 / DS 5895. For the posthumous foundation of the prebend by Konrad Arxö’s will in 1350, see SDHK 6058 / DS 4631; SDHK 6057 / DS 4632.

<sup>207</sup> Those were the units of weight used in medieval Sweden and divided according to the following pattern: 1 *skeppund* = 20 *lispund* = 400 *marker/markpund*. See S.O. Jansson, *Måttordboken*, pp. 17, 161–162, 174, 226–227.

<sup>208</sup> SJB, no. 4.

<sup>209</sup> For the prebend founded by Rembeke and his wife Elseby, see SDHK 21055; a recent edition with an introduction and a commentary in: P. Kołodziejczak and P. Oliński, ‘For the Sake of a Soul: The Private Religious Foundation of a Stockholm Councilor from the First Half of the Fifteenth Century’, in J. Sarnowsky et al. (eds), *Studies on the Military Orders, Prussia, and Urban History: Essays in Honour of Roman Czaja on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Debrecen, University of Debrecen, 2020), pp. 517–530. The foundation document issued by Werner Gest and his wife and catalogued as SDHK 21030 is preserved only in a fragment that was transcribed into another document catalogued as SDHK 30654. Both SDHK 21055 and SDHK 30654 have been translated into modern Swedish and published by Frans de Brun, see F. de Brun and M. Voss, ‘Fundationsbrevet för S:ta Barbaras kor i Stockholms Storkyrka’, *Sankt Eriks årsbok* (1917), pp. 80–92.

<sup>210</sup> STB II, p. 184.

<sup>211</sup> STB III, pp. 359, 366.

1443 a weekly mass in honour of the Holy Trinity in the Choir of the Soul in the Town Church.<sup>212</sup> Masses, as well as prebends, altars and chapels, were founded not only in the parish church but also in other places of worship in the town. Staffan Gest and his wife Karin wanted to establish posthumously a mass celebration at the altar of the Deposition of Christ, Our Lady and St Anna in the Dominican convent. They decided that half of the stone house and the plot of land (or rather the income thereof) should be transferred after their death to the Dominicans to ensure an everlasting mass to be said and wax for candles burning at the altar. They indicated the possibility of their heirs or other burghers redeeming the immovable property after a year.<sup>213</sup>

The frequency and solemnity of masses founded by Stockholm burghers varied.<sup>214</sup> A summary of an un preserved will of 1508 issued by Jöns Mattsson informs that he founded a celebration of an everlasting sung solemn mass ('en ewig sungen mässa högtideligen') in honour of the Holy Virgin in the Clarissan nunnery.<sup>215</sup> As it is only a summary, it remains uncertain what exactly made this mass solemn. Was it only because it was a sung mass instead of a read one or some additional liturgical measures were taken? Some other sources make requirements regarding celebration more precise. A donation document transcribed into the register of the town council's minutes under 20 March 1518 informs about an endowment made by Birgitta Ingevaldsdotter,<sup>216</sup> widow of both Anders Hellsing and Gerd Brüning, which was transferred to Klaus Boye, the alderman of the Guild of St Nicholas for a mass to be held, most likely at the altar of the Guild of St Nicholas in the Town Church. A weekly mass was to be said for the souls of Birgitta's parents, her late husbands and all Christians. The mass should be read in honour of St Nicholas every Wednesday and include two collects, respectively, in honour of the Nine Orders of Angels and for the souls of all good Christians.<sup>217</sup> Joan Lindorm founded two weekly masses in the choir of St Henry in the Town Church in 1485. He decided that the mass celebrated on Fridays should be sung in honour of the Five Holy Wounds of Christ with an unspecified collect. The other one celebrated on Saturdays should be read in honour of

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<sup>212</sup> SJB, no. 214.

<sup>213</sup> SJB, no. 596.

<sup>214</sup> On the celebration of low (read) and high (sung) masses in medieval Sweden, see S. Helander, 'The Liturgical Profile of the Parish Church in Medieval Sweden', in T.J. Heffernan and E.A. Matter (eds), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Kalamazoo, Western Michigan University, 2005), pp. 129–166.

<sup>215</sup> SJB, no. 132, p. 456. It is uncertain whether Jöns Mattsson was a burgher of Stockholm or a burgher at all.

<sup>216</sup> About Birgitta Ingevaldsdotter, see G. Bjarne Larsson, 'Birgitta Ingevaldsdotter', in *Svenskt kvinnobiografiskt lexikon*, <https://www.skbl.se/sv/artikel/BirgittaIngevaldsdotter>, accessed online 5 November 2022.

<sup>217</sup> STB V, pp. 187–188.



the sorrow of the Holy Virgin and to relieve the pain of the souls of all Christians ('allom cristnom siälom til pyna mynskelse').<sup>218</sup>

The widespread high and late medieval custom of founding anniversary masses also marked its presence in Stockholm.<sup>219</sup> Burgomaster Hans Myntare and Councillor Peder Tröbo, who likely acted as the testament executors of the will left behind by the late parson of Stockholm Bengt Torstensson, confirmed in 1420 that the parson bequeathed some of his properties to the cathedral of Strängnäs. He did that to have an anniversary mass said in the cathedral 'fore hans siael oc hans foraeldra, aar fran aar.'<sup>220</sup> Also, the foundations of the so-called morrow masses can be found in late medieval Stockholm. Those masses were said at dawn and attracted mainly servants and labourers who began their work early in the morning. Thus, they were considered a service that benefited not only the benefactor but also the local community.<sup>221</sup> Squire Johan Jönsson of Gladö<sup>222</sup> and his wife Anna Olofsdotter established the celebration of morrow masses in the newly erected church of St John in Stockholm in 1513. They founded an altar in the church and requested that the first mass of each weekday should be celebrated there at 5 a.m. The order was to be as follows: a sung mass in honour of the Holy Trinity on Sunday, a read mass in honour of the Ten Thousand Knights on Monday, a read mass in honour of John the Baptist on Tuesday, a read mass for the souls of all Christians on Wednesday, a read mass in honour of the Corpus Christi on Thursday, a read mass in honour of the Five Holy Wounds on Friday, and a sung mass in honour of the sorrow of the Holy Virgin with a collect to St Anna on Saturday.<sup>223</sup>

It was not only the masses that were funded. Stockholm burghers contributed also to other types of religious services. In 1472, Dethard Krake, a former burgomaster of Stockholm who moved to Lübeck, sold to Archbishop Jakob Ulfsson and the cathedral chapter of Uppsala a house located at the Corn Market and associated immovable properties for a staggering 1600

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<sup>218</sup> STB II, p. 118.

<sup>219</sup> P.-J. Schuler, 'Das Anniversar. Zu Mentalität und Familienbewußtsein im Spätmittelalter', in P.-J. Schuler (ed.), *Die Familie als sozialer und historischer Verband. Untersuchungen zum Spätmittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit* (Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1987), pp. 86–89.

<sup>220</sup> SDHK 19494 / SD 2780.

<sup>221</sup> E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 99, 139–140.

<sup>222</sup> Despite being a squire and nobleman, Johan Jönsson of Gladö was also a burgher of Stockholm and held various municipal offices in the 1480s and 1490s, including being a councillor in 1483. In 1503–1509 he was the castle bailiff (*slottsfogde*) of Stockholm. In 1509–1517, i.e. when the foundation document was issued, he was a member of the Council of the Realm. See F. de Brun, G. Elgenstierna, I. Simonsson, and N. Östman, *Stockholms rådhus och råd*, vol. 2: *Matrikel öfver borgmästare och rådmän samt stads- och magistrats- sekreterare i Stockholms stad och norra förstaden* (Stockholm, [s.n.], 1915–1918), pp. 110–111.

<sup>223</sup> STB V, pp. 303–306. The foundation document was used as a cover for one of the official town registers.

marks.<sup>224</sup> Of this sum, 950 marks were paid to Dethard's proxies and the remaining 650 marks were used to establish a Corpus Christi celebration in the cathedral of Uppsala. In the founding document, it was stipulated that each Thursday during the celebration, a large bell should be rung, an organ should be played, two large candlesticks should be carried in front of the host, and six deacons should carry 12 smaller candles and sing.<sup>225</sup> As another example, during the 1490s Bishop Kort Rogge of Strängnäs, who was of burgher origin as his father was a Stockholm merchant,<sup>226</sup> purchased annual rents from several properties in that town to establish a celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in the Town Church.<sup>227</sup>

### 1.4.3 Prayers and 'good deeds'

Some benefactors expected less specified spiritual aid from their beneficiaries, usually asking for prayers of undetermined number, frequency and kind. Everhard Kansten's will of 1376 bequeathed not only the two mendicant convents and the nunnery of Stockholm as a whole but also each friar and nun individually. It was stressed that those individual recipients should 'vt Deum orent pro me.'<sup>228</sup> Similarly, almost one hundred years later, Dethard Krake who used his will of 1472 to bequeath alms to the poor and sick in Stockholm wanted them to 'unsen leven heren got vor myne sele bidden.'<sup>229</sup> In 1467, Margit Grotte of Skänninge with the consent of her sons Laurentius and Herman, canons of Linköping, and Göran Grotte, Councillor of Stockholm, endowed the Dominican convent in Skänninge with a plot of land located in that town and a rural field. Margit requested that she, her late husband Magnus Grotte, her son Thomas who died in England, and her other children 'skule in skriffuas i theres kalendarium oc bona breff oc halda ath aewerdelikit aaminnela [...] saa lenge closteret staar.'<sup>230</sup> Thus, Margit provided her son, one of the councillors of Stockholm, with the intercessory prayers of the Dominicans of Skänninge.

In late medieval Stockholm, the need to be included in the prayers of monks and friars also took the shape of requests to participate in all the good deeds 'produced' by a particular

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<sup>224</sup> SDHK 29511.

<sup>225</sup> SDHK 29510.

<sup>226</sup> H. Schüick, 'Kort Rogge', in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/6812>, accessed online 7 November 2022.

<sup>227</sup> SDHK 32850, 33134; SDHK 33416; STB III, pp. 388, 401–402; SDHK 34253; SDHK 37383.

<sup>228</sup> SDHK 40693 / DS 9235.

<sup>229</sup> Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Dethard Krake (22.04.1472).

<sup>230</sup> SDHK 28713.

monastery or convent. This participation was usually achieved by forming or entering a confraternity and by concluding a ‘prayer agreement.’ Both these practices were intertwined and well-known across medieval Europe.<sup>231</sup> A document issued in 1485 by the local Franciscans for the brothers and sisters of the Guild of St Erik and St Peter in Stockholm can be used as an example of the emergence of a prayer community of this type in Stockholm. The guildmembers were granted a share ‘i allom god gierningom, godom boenom oh dygdom, ther wij Gudi, Jomfrv Maria, theres helgen och warum helga Fader Sancto Francisco Skylloge och till plichtoge aerom’ that the Franciscan convent near Stockholm carried out.<sup>232</sup>

#### 1.4.4 Everlasting light

As it was mentioned above, sometimes providing wax and candles was part of the process of establishing a new choir, altar, prebend, etc. to ensure lighting required for the liturgy. Derived from the same symbolism and practical use of light in the Christian tradition but at the same time established as its own separate pious practice were donations to maintain (and foundations to create new) everlasting lights. Those lights were lamps for altars and other objects of worship which should have constantly remained lit.<sup>233</sup>

In medieval Stockholm, in most cases, donations to the everlasting light were meant to provide income from annual rents for the upkeep of an everlasting lamp in the Corpus Christi choir in the Town Church to shine bright in front of the host.<sup>234</sup> This was probably due to the great importance placed on lighting by the Corpus Christi cult.<sup>235</sup> However, it was certainly not the only point in this church where the everlasting light burned. In 1425, as a result of an exchange of annual rents between the holders of the patronage rights to the choir of

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<sup>231</sup> A.-J.A. Bijsterveld, ‘Looking for Common Ground: From Monastic Fraternitas to Lay Confraternity in the Southern Low Countries in the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries’, in E. Jamrozak and J. Burton (eds), *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2006), pp. 296–297, 309; D.L. d’Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 31–36; for a study of Benedictine-Cistercian nunneries in Teutonic Prussia and their ‘prayer agreements’, see P. Oliński, ‘Umowy modlitewne mniszek z klasztorów benedyktynek-cysterek w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego’, in G. Rutkowska and A. Gąsiorowski (eds), *Memoria viva. Studia historyczne poświęcone pamięci Izabeli Skierskiej (1967–2014)* (Poznań, Instytut Historii PAN, 2015), pp. 221–231.

<sup>232</sup> O. Celsius, *Fata templi Riddarholmensis*, no. III, pp. 28–31.

<sup>233</sup> E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 134; D. Postles, ‘Lamps, Lights and Layfolk: “Popular” Devotion before the Black Death’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 25/2 (1999), pp. 97–114.

<sup>234</sup> SJB, no. 650; SJB, no. 60, p. 448; SJB, no. 109, p. 453.

<sup>235</sup> On the importance of proper lighting for the Corpus Christi worship, the use of candles and light during the Eucharist, e.g. during the elevation, and the role of the Corpus Christi fraternities in providing this proper lighting, see M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991).

St Barbara and the choir of St Peter and St Paul the Apostles, the latter received an annual rent of one mark of *lödig* silver and  $\frac{1}{2}$  *lispund* of wax for the everlasting light burning there.<sup>236</sup>

It cannot be ruled out that the maintenance of some everlasting lights was a joint effort of the entire urban commune. As was already mentioned in the first subchapter, the four administrators of the two alms funds were, at least temporarily, accompanied by a separate administrator *ad lumen* who appeared in the officials register in the 1430s.<sup>237</sup> It remains uncertain whether he was responsible for the everlasting light at the altar(s) belonging to the funds, the lightning for the high altar, or the Corpus Christi choir. A very brief notice of 1516 mentions that Peder Eriksson received from the town authorities ‘nyklane och rekenskaps bókerne tiil tet ewige lywss etc.’<sup>238</sup> Again, it is hard to tell whether it was the same office as the aforementioned administrator *ad lumen* or with which place of worship this light was associated.

#### 1.4.5 Material gifts

Items required to celebrate the liturgy, like wax and candles, accompanied the altars and prebends founded by Stockholm burghers as supplementary gifts. Otherwise, they were only seldom donated as individual gifts. In 1491, Councillor Sven Hellsing bequeathed liturgical equipment (‘messarede’) for the first morrow mass said at the high altar in the Town Church and a chalice and a paten to the altar of the Five Holy Wounds therein.<sup>239</sup> Earlier in 1440, according to a summary of an unpreserved document, Tala, widow of Gerd Sorbeck, endowed the Choir of the Soul with an altarpiece depicting five Apostles and a gilded chalice.<sup>240</sup> Donations of sacral objects and other movables in Stockholm were certainly much less popular than donations of immovable property and annual rents thereof. However, an annual rent could be allocated by the donor(s) for the purchase of specific supplies. For example, Klaus Nilsson and his wife Ingeborg endowed the Choir of the Soul with 12 *öre* to be collected annually from their cellar to buy wax, wine and hosts in 1434.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> SJB, no. 32–33.

<sup>237</sup> J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok*, pp. 25–26, 28–29.

<sup>238</sup> STB V, p. 109.

<sup>239</sup> STB III, pp. 136–138.

<sup>240</sup> SJB, no. 81, p. 450.

<sup>241</sup> SJB, no. 71, p. 449.

Some non-liturgical items were also donated but they rarely appear in the available source material. For example, in 1475, the town council of Stockholm received a silver belt weighing more than two *lödiga* marks of silver that Hans Laurensen donated to the Town Church of Stockholm and the Franciscan convent in Uppsala. The belt was sold and used to pay the masons working for the parish church. To compensate the convent for its due half of the belt, the town council gifted an ‘old painting’ that had stood in the Town Church to the Franciscans of Uppsala, as their convent had been badly damaged in a fire.<sup>242</sup> Even more ‘worldly’ goods were sometimes used to invoke ‘otherworldly’ reciprocity. Religious institutions and members of the clergy received gifts of food and clothing, although seldom. The best example is the will of Councillor Sven Hellsing of 1491, which has already been mentioned many times. It includes the following ‘material’ bequests: half a last of malt to the Stockholm Dominicans, half a last of malt and a barrel of herrings to the Franciscans therein, a barrel of herrings and ‘en kloffwa flatfisk’ to the hospital of St George near Stockholm, a barrel of salt to the Bridgettine abbey of Nådendal, one *skeppund* of salt to the Cistercian abbey of Vårfruberga. He also bequeathed his cloak to his confessor Hans Dobbin and a barrel of flour to priest Anders, currently staying with the parson of Stockholm.<sup>243</sup>

One should keep in mind that the scarcity of such ‘material’ gifts of both liturgical and ‘worldly’ nature resulted from the sources’ accidents of survival rather than from the actual patterns of gift-giving in late medieval Stockholm. They were rarely registered outside sources directly concerning new foundations which had to be equipped with liturgical items and provided with supplies for their chaplains. Those sources consisted of wills, individual foundation documents and particularly elaborated entries in the official town records. However, more often than not the official town records of Stockholm, due to their administrative nature, focused on urban and suburban properties and the annual rents collected therefrom. Thus, for the most part, they omitted smaller pious gifts of money and movables. Similarly, individual parchment and paper documents were typically not issued for those small gifts, unless they were part of a larger founding effort or a fragmented will.

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<sup>242</sup> STB I, p. 42.

<sup>243</sup> STB III, pp. 136–138.

#### 1.4.6 Founding pilgrimages

Another type of pious endeavour was the foundation of a vicarious pilgrimage. Only one such foundation could be found in the source material from medieval Stockholm.<sup>244</sup> On 12 March 1417, a group of witnesses consisting of the parson of Färentuna, three squires, and Stockholm burgher Olof Djäken confirmed that Nils Olofsson *blymästare* donated half of his stone house located in Stockholm to his brother Peter Olofsson. Nils made this donation because ‘han ei siaelwer formatthe fulkomna sina reso thil Iherusalem, som han lowad haffde.’ It was decided that ‘skulle fornemdhe Paedher Olaffson, hans brodher, the resona fulkomna vthan alth hindher ok forsylimse’ in his stead. To compensate his brother for this substitute pilgrimage Nils used half of the house he owned.<sup>245</sup>

In another document issued on 14 October 1417, Anders and Erik, the two sons of Nils Olofsson, together with their mother Elin Johansdotter, Nils’ surviving spouse, sold the part of the aforementioned stone house in Stockholm that they inherited from their father to their uncle Peter Olofsson.<sup>246</sup> In this way, Peter came into possession of the entire house, which he later mortgaged to the knight Bo Djure.<sup>247</sup> It can be inferred from this that Nils decided to found a vicarious pilgrimage just before his death when he knew that he would no longer be able to make it in person but he still wanted to keep his pilgrimage vow.<sup>248</sup>

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Charity-related donations have been deliberately omitted from this chapter. Because of their considerable impact, not only on the benefactor and the beneficiary institution but also on the urban community as a whole, their forms and significance are discussed in chapter 3 dedicated to ‘the community.’

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<sup>244</sup> In addition to the aforementioned vicarious pilgrimage and some in-person pilgrimages voluntarily undertaken by burghers, there was at least one case of a penitential pilgrimage used as a punishment for manslaughter by the town council of Stockholm, see D. Lindström, ‘Crime and Control in the Capital: Stockholm 1475–1625’, in E. Österberg and D. Lindström, *Crime and Social Control in Medieval and Early Modern Swedish Towns* (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1988), pp. 131–132.

<sup>245</sup> SDHK 18896 / SD 2338; see also SDHK 18981 / SD 2403.

<sup>246</sup> SDHK 19005 / SD 2418.

<sup>247</sup> SDHK 19006 / SD 2419.

<sup>248</sup> The custom of founding vicarious pilgrimages was widespread in the late Middle Ages, not only among the dying and bedridden, see D. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, I.B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 68, 133–147; K. Houston, ‘Vicarious Pilgrimage’, in L.J. Taylor et al. (eds), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage* (Leiden, Brill, 2010), pp. 795–796.

## 1.5 Conclusions

Although late medieval Stockholm could not boast as many churches and convents as Lübeck or Lund and, due to its relatively late founding, had only one parish church, its sacred landscape was comparable to towns such as Reval, Thorn and Elbing. The inhabitants of Stockholm were thus able to choose the recipients of their gifts from among several ecclesiastical institutions serving different purposes. The actors of the gift-giving on the receiving side were not only the parish clergy but also local friars, nuns and priests serving in charitable institutions and, in some cases, members of monastic, mendicant and cathedral communities located quite far from Stockholm.

The pious gift-giving, although obscured by the lack of relevant primary sources, was certainly well-known and practised in pre-Reformation Stockholm. Comparing the total number of identified pious gifts donated by Stockholm burghers with such numbers from other Baltic towns and cities makes very little sense. This number resulted not only from the population size of a given town and its social structure but also from the preservation and availability of primary sources. Based on the collected data that may serve as a representative sample, I would argue that there is no reason to assume that pious gift-giving was less popular in Stockholm than in other places around the Baltic Sea. However, it should be emphasised that the legal framework, created by the Swedish Town Law and local administrative praxis in Stockholm, was less favourable for donors than legal conditions in, for example, German-speaking towns and cities located along the southern Baltic coast. Nevertheless, the benefactors from Stockholm sometimes tried and succeeded in making their foundations and donations irredeemable and thus long-lasting.

The scholarly publications on pious endowments, testamentary bequests and religious foundations in medieval Baltic towns and cities often provide a typology of gifts given to ecclesiastical institutions and charity by local burghers. By comparing those surveys with the typology presented above for Stockholm, it may be concluded that the pious gifts made by the inhabitants of pre-Reformation Stockholm did not differ much in their form from those known from other Baltic towns and cities.<sup>249</sup> The greatest difference concerned almsgiving, which is discussed in chapter 3. Therefore, the burghers of Stockholm shared a common

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<sup>249</sup> B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie*, pp. 167–243; R. Lusiardi, *Stiftung und städtische Gesellschaft*, pp. 167–188; P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich*, pp. 59–101; K.-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente*, pp. 221–332; R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie*, pp. 117–159.

understanding of what a gift for a pious purpose was in the late medieval Baltic region and, more widely, in medieval Christian Europe.



## 2 The Donor

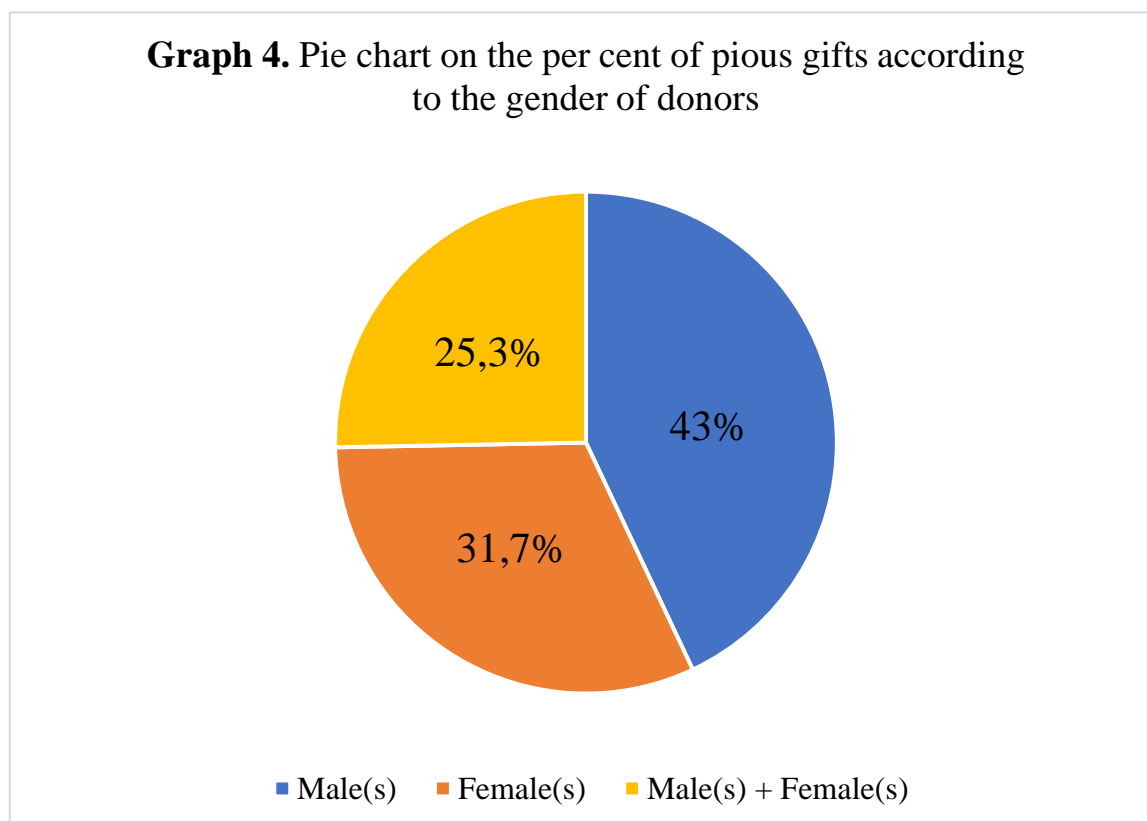
The previous chapter focused on the subject of pious gift-giving, i.e., the gifts themselves, their forms, spatial and temporal distribution, legal conditions, and, more indirectly, their recipients, i.e. endowed institutions and individuals. This chapter deals with another aspect of pious gift-giving in late medieval Stockholm, namely the donors who provided the donations analysed in the previous chapter. The following subchapters examine several facets of these benefactors who were burghers and suburban dwellers of pre-Reformation Stockholm. Firstly, their background by occupation, gender and affiliation to the ruling elite. Secondly, some of the more ‘tangible’ aims behind making pious gifts, such as ensuring the material well-being of kinsmen who were prebend priests and gaining prestige among the local community to achieve social promotion (i.e. to be admitted to the town council), are analysed in the second and third subchapters. Finally, the fourth subchapter investigates the scattered traces of mentality and religiousness expressed by the inhabitants of late medieval Stockholm through their pious endeavours. Thus, this chapter aims to establish not only the background of the medieval Stockholm donors, but also the goals they wished to achieve through their gifts for pious purposes, beyond the most obvious one which was salvation, and the ideas which drove them to choose a particular form of the endowment over the other.

### 2.1 Who were the donors in late medieval Stockholm?

This subchapter analyses the composition of burghers in late medieval Stockholm who made donations and foundations for pious purposes according to their gender, occupation and membership in the urban elite (i.e. the town council). In order to make this analysis, the 192 ‘certain’ pious gifts investigated in the previous chapter were reduced by six donations made by collective entities, such as the town council and craft guilds. This left 186 cases suitable for analysis.

### 2.1.1 Gender

Of the 186 cases investigated here, 80 pious gifts (i.e. 43 per cent) were made by male benefactors (one or multiple), 59 (i.e. 31.7 per cent) by female benefactors (again, one or multiple), and the remaining 47 (i.e. 25.3 per cent) by male-female pairs (or groups).



Although most of the pious gifts were donated by males, the number of endowments made by both female donors exclusively and male-female pairs and groups is certainly significant. All in all, female benefactors participated in the majority of analysed donations and foundations, namely in 106 out of 186, which equals 57 per cent. This considerable share of female donors and co-donors among burghers in late medieval Stockholm comes as no surprise in light of previous research on female benefactors and testators in medieval Sweden. For example, Catharina Andersson's thesis on the relationship between monasteries and the aristocracy covers also gifts treated as 'entrance fees' and donated by women at their admission to a monastery.<sup>1</sup> Pious bequests made by Swedish women of different social backgrounds through wills, both drawn up individually and made jointly with their husbands,

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<sup>1</sup> C. Andersson, *Kloster och aristokrati. Nunnor, munkar och gåvor i det svenska samhället till 1300-talets mitt* (Göteborg, Göteborgs universitet, 2006), pp. 270–305.

also received scholarly literature dedicated to them.<sup>2</sup> Thus, female members of burgher families in pre-Reformation Stockholm and women living in the town's suburbs participated in the same custom of pious gift-giving as women in the whole Kingdom of Sweden during the Middle Ages.

Also in the context of other Baltic towns and cities, it was typical that Stockholm townswomen could make pious bequests. Scholars discussing the gender of medieval benefactors usually focused on wills. The percentage of wills issued by women in various towns and cities in the Baltic region was as follows: 21 per cent in Reval,<sup>3</sup> 20 per cent in Danzig,<sup>4</sup> 18.1 per cent in Lübeck,<sup>5</sup> 12 per cent in Stralsund,<sup>6</sup> and only 2.7 per cent in Elbing.<sup>7</sup> When comparing the percentages cited above with the data from Stockholm, there are two things to bear in mind. Firstly, the share of female testators from different towns and cities relates to different periods, for example, 1278–1400 in the case of Lübeck, and 1341–1560 in the case of Reval. Secondly, the 31.7 per cent of pious gifts made by women in late medieval Stockholm may seem strikingly high in comparison to the other Baltic towns, but this percentage includes donations and foundations of all kinds, not just wills, as in the other cited studies. Nevertheless, the data collected from Stockholm confirm that townswomen were very active actors of the pious gift-giving in that town.

Among the female benefactors, many were widows. In the case of 32 endowments the female donors or co-donors were explicitly named as widows. It is possible that the significance of widows for the gift-giving in pre-Reformation Stockholm was even larger,

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<sup>2</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, 'Omsorg om själen – vård av kroppen', *Historisk tidskrift*, 131/3 (2011), pp. 444, 446–447; K. Stenson, *...hatt till huya ifrån...? Medeltida kvinnors testamenten* (Stockholm, Books on Demand, 2014), pp. 53–61, 71; M. Lamberg, 'Mutual Testaments in Late Medieval Stockholm, c. 1420–1520', in M. Korpiola and A. Lahtinen (eds), *Planning for Death: Wills and Death-Related Property Arrangements in Europe, 1200–1600* (Leiden, Brill, 2018), pp. 192–193. Bequests for religious and charitable purposes drawn up jointly by spouses were often combined with mutual donations that they made for each other. It should be added that Gabriela Bjarne Larsson made a distinction between pious bequests transferred through wills and single-purpose donations, arguing that spouses acting together could use only the latter, as wills were strictly individual and personal. For a discussion of wills and other posthumous property transfers in late medieval Stockholm, see subchapter 1.2.1.

<sup>3</sup> K.-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2015), p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> B. Możejko, *Rozrachunek z życiem doczesnym. Gdańskie testamenty mieszczańskie z XV i początku XVI wieku* (Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2010), pp. 42–47 (Table 1). The percentage quoted above for Danzig was calculated by Rafał Kubicki based on the data in Table 1, see footnote 7.

<sup>5</sup> B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie in der Hansestadt Lübeck anhand der Bürgertestamente des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 2000), p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> J. Schildhauer, "'Ad pias causas". Vermächtnisse and die Kirche und an die Armen – auf der Grundlage der Stralsunder Bürgertestamente (Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts bis zur Reformation)', in A. Wyrabisz and M. Tymowski (eds), *Czas, przestrzeń, praca w dawnych miastach. Studia ofiarowane Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1991), p. 292.

<sup>7</sup> R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta i jego mieszkańców w późnym średniowieczu* (Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2020), p. 95.

as Marko Lamberg cautioned us that some of the women referred to in the source texts as ‘wives’ or not specified at all might have been, in fact, widows.<sup>8</sup> It aligns with the findings made by Gabriela Bjarne Larsson. She established that widows and widowers had a strong position in late medieval Stockholm when it came to inheritance. Not only were they due half of the property shared with their spouse, but they could also receive a third of the half due to their spouse in a mutual donation if the couple had no lineal heirs. Surviving spouses also had precedence over other heirs to redeem urban property inherited by others.<sup>9</sup> This facilitated the continuous engagement of widows and widowers in burgher activities and the accumulation of wealth, as townspeople often remarried. Thus, surviving spouses, which is more evident in the case of widows because men were rarely referred to as widowers in the analysed sources, typically had more ‘worldly’ assets to devote for ‘otherworldly’ purposes. Some women donated to pious purposes more than once and sometimes it is even possible to track the change in their marital status in the sources. In 1434, Gerd Sorbeck and his wife Tala founded the celebration of an everlasting mass in the Choir of the Soul in the Town Church and distribution of alms associated with it.<sup>10</sup> Tala, later referred to as the widow of Gerd Sorbeck, appeared in the analysed primary sources three more times, twice in 1440 and once in 1455, in regard to the other pious gifts that she made as a widow.<sup>11</sup>

As it was argued in subchapter 1.2, the primary sources regarding pious gifts donated in pre-Reformation Stockholm available to us nowadays are only a fraction of the total number of endowments made by burghers and suburban dwellers. It is due to both incidents of survival of individual parchment documents and the nature of the official town records which paid attention first and foremost to the transfers of urban real estate and the income thereof. Thus, it would be risky to put forward any conclusions regarding the expression of female piety, as opposed to male piety, based on the preserved source material, even though the share of pious gifts made by both genders is rather comparable (31.7 per cent to 43 per cent in favour of males).

To demonstrate how access to primary sources affects this kind of analysis, I will use one representative example. In light of the previous research on female monasticism, female religious convents were popular among founders and benefactors of the same sex

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<sup>8</sup> M. Lamberg, ‘Religiosity and Readiness for the Reformation among Late Medieval Burghers in Stockholm, c. 1420–1570’, in R.M. Toivo and S. Katajala-Peltomaa (eds), *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe, c. 1300–1700* (Leiden, Brill, 2016), p. 187.

<sup>9</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret. Arv och egendom i bostadsbristens Stockholm 1479–1530* (Stockholm, Institutet för Rättshistorisk Forskning, 2019), pp. 262, 264–266.

<sup>10</sup> SJB, no. 72, p. 449.

<sup>11</sup> SJB, no. 81, p. 450; SDHK 23494; SJB, no. 496, 583a.

in medieval Europe.<sup>12</sup> According to the sources available for late medieval Stockholm, the Clarissan nunnery, the only female convent in the vicinity of the town, received 11 donations in total (excluding ‘entrance fees’). As many as ten of these were endowed by men and only one by a woman.<sup>13</sup> If one were to interpret this result without reference to the state of preservation of the sources, one could surmise that it was mainly men who were interested in supporting the local Poor Clares and being commemorated by their convent. However, on closer inspection, it becomes apparent that eight of these ten donations made by the men were made through fragmented wills, and that the Clarissan convent was only one of the numerous beneficiaries. Moreover, as many as six of these wills were issued in Lübeck by male merchants who had acquired Stockholm burghership at some point in their lives. It is, therefore, more a question of the availability of sources than the preference of female and male donors and testators.<sup>14</sup>

The donations and foundations made jointly by male-female pairs were typically made by spouses and transferred either posthumously or during their lifetime. There were, however, other cases as well. For instance, Margit Grotte of Skänninge, widow of Magnus Grotte, together with her sons, among others, Councillor Göran Grotte of Stockholm donated a plot of land and a barn located in Skänninge to the local Homestead of the Holy Spirit in 1466.<sup>15</sup> As another example, the altar and prebend of the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the Town Church were founded in 1485 by Kristin Jakobsdotter, widow of Staffan Storbeck, her sister Valborg, and the husband of the latter and Kristin’s brother-in-law Olof Svarte, who was also a former burgomaster of Stockholm.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See various examples and comments included in the recent multi-authored volume: J.F. Hamburger and S. Marti (eds), *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, transl. D. Hamburger (New York, Columbia University Press, 2008).

<sup>13</sup> The male donors: SJB, no. 5, p. 441; SDHK 9111 / DS 7557, SDHK 9144 / DS 7587; SDHK 39694 / DS 8667; SDHK 40693 / DS 9235; SDHK 10882 / DS 9332; SDHK 44950 / DS 10472, SDHK 13357; SDHK 21957; Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Dethard Krake (22.04.1472); STB III, pp. 136–138; SDHK 36703, SDHK 38528. The female donor: STB V, p. 23 / SJB, no. 136, p. 457, see also STB V, pp. 20–21.

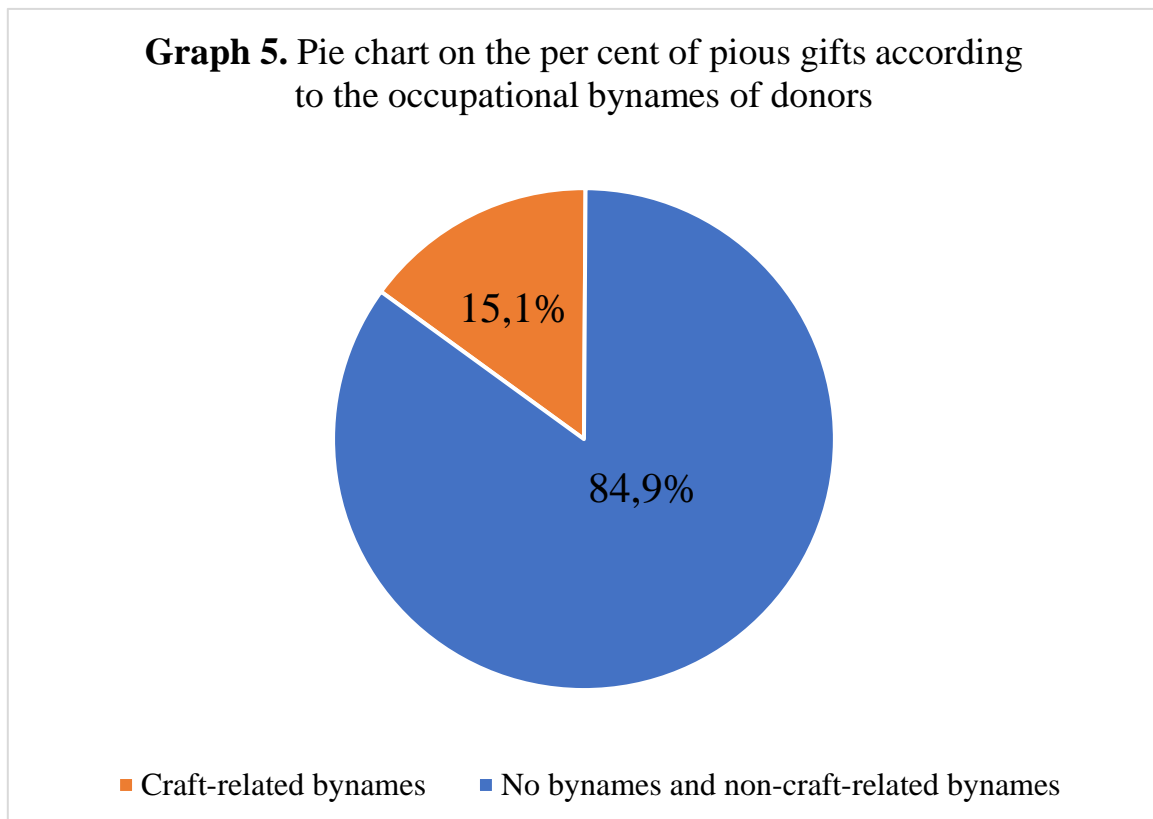
<sup>14</sup> See the discussion on the preservation and availability of medieval wills issued in Lübeck and Stockholm in subchapter 1.2.

<sup>15</sup> SDHK 28551.

<sup>16</sup> SDHK 31656, 31660.

### 2.1.2 Occupation

Of the 186 pious gifts analysed here, 17 were made by donors who had occupational bynames, indicating that they may have been craftsmen. Further, 11 donations were endowed by female relatives, usually wives and widows, of such possible craftsmen identified by their bynames. Thus, 28 endowments in total, i.e. 15.1 per cent, originated from households possibly headed by craftsmen.



This percentage is only a rough estimate based solely on craft-related bynames. In his study of councils in late medieval Scandinavian towns, Lamberg emphasised that the merchants comprising them, and more broadly merchants in general, rarely bore trade-related bynames.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, not all persons who bore craft-related bynames genuinely practised the given craft. Sometimes such bynames were simply hereditary and reflected only the occupation of

<sup>17</sup> Examples from the sources analysed here include Gertrud *köpmans* (SDHK 29510), and Werner and Staffan Gest (SJB, no. 4, 596; SDHK 21030, 30654).

one's ancestors and not of the person bearing one of them.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, it is often difficult to determine one's occupation and differentiate craftsmen from merchants using the source material from late medieval Stockholm.

It can be assumed that merchants in late medieval Stockholm, as in other Baltic towns and cities, were generally more prosperous than craftsmen, especially in the case of wholesalers who engaged in long-distance maritime trade. Merchants' better financial standing was one of the factors that contributed to craftsmen being typically not represented on the town council of Stockholm during the medieval period.<sup>19</sup> By analysing the registers of the town council minutes of 1474–1492, Göran Dahlbäck estimated that the members of the Stockholm council had to spend on average 80 days a year on duties associated with their office.<sup>20</sup> Devoting so much time to running the town meant that council members had to sacrifice a considerable part of the income from their professional activities. Merchants were better able to cope with this loss, and many craftsmen may have been reluctant to join the council out of fear for their own finances.

The same may apply to pious gifts. Typically wealthier merchants could afford to donate more to the Church and charity than craftsmen. This would explain the significantly lower proportion of craftsmen and their female relatives among the benefactors. However, as it has been stressed multiple times, many gifts of money and movables remained unregistered in the preserved official town records of Stockholm, which focused on immovable properties and the rental income they provided. Assuming that craftsmen were usually less wealthy and could donate less, this preference evident in the sources would affect primarily their gifts.

Among the inhabitants of pre-Reformation Stockholm who potentially were craftsmen, endowed religious institutions and gave alms to the needy, one can find representatives of both more and less profitable crafts. Some of the smaller donations were made by poorer craftsmen,

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<sup>18</sup> M. Lamberg, *Dannemännen i stadens råd. Rådmanškretsen i nordiska köpstäder under senmedeltiden* (Stockholm, Stockholms förlag, 2001), pp. 54–55.

<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, craftsmen in late medieval Stockholm had some limited access to the municipal governance. At least one craftsman was admitted to the town council, and craftsmen were commonly appointed to minor municipal offices and the so-called large council representing the wider urban populace. See the discussion and previous research in: A. Girsztowt and P. Kołodziejczak, 'The Participation of Craftsmen in Municipal Governance in Late Medieval Marienburg and Stockholm', in M.F. Stevens and R. Czaja (eds), *Towns on the Edge in Medieval Europe: The Social and Political Order of Peripheral Urban Communities from the Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 120–141.

<sup>20</sup> G. Dahlbäck, 'Aldrig på en söndag. Om helgdagar och sammanträdesdagar i det medeltida Stockholm', in P. Thullberg, J. Torbacke, and K. Åmark (eds), *Historier från Frescati. En vänbok till Kerstin Israelsson* (Stockholm, Stockholms universitet, 1995), pp. 21–42.

as would be expected. Around 1483 Hans *kolare* (charcoal burner) was obliged to pay the 12 marks that his mother-in-law bequeathed to the Stockholm Dominicans.<sup>21</sup> There are registered two gifts made by a baker and a wife of a baker, respectively. A plot of land (or the income it provided) that Lars *bagare* bequeathed in his will was handed over by the testament executors to the administrator of the Clarissan nunnery near Stockholm in 1433.<sup>22</sup> In 1483, the register of town council minutes mentioned a cellar (or the income thereof) that Margit *bagares* endowed to the Dominican convent.<sup>23</sup>

Some of the endowments that came from craftsmen, even those who could be considered less prosperous, and their female relatives, can be considered ‘average’ and did not differ much from those made by burghers engaging in trade. For example, in 1494, the town council delivered its verdict on a homestead<sup>24</sup> which Elin, widow of Laurens *tunnbindare* (cooper), donated against the law in its entirety to the choir of Our Lady in the Town Church. The council ruled that half of the homestead should be returned to Elin’s heirs, also granting them the right of first refusal to the other half when it could be redeemed.<sup>25</sup> Apparently, a widow of a supposed craftsman was wealthy enough to endow half of the homestead for a pious purpose and religious enough to attempt to bypass the rules of inheritance proscribed by the law and try to donate the entire homestead.

Furthermore, as expected, some practitioners of the more profitable crafts made more expensive and sumptuous donations and foundations. Among those artisans were Hans *svärdslipare* (swordsmith) and Katarina, widow of Jöns *svärdslipare*. Both of them established a celebration of an everlasting mass in, respectively, 1443 and 1486.<sup>26</sup> At some point, Gödert *pärlstickare*, that is an artisan who embroidered fabric with pearls, gold, silver, gemstones and other precious materials, endowed the Homestead of the Soul and the prebend of the Five Holy Wounds in the Town Church with immovable property (or the income thereof), likely making two separate donations, which was mentioned in the official town records in 1491.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> STB II, p. 43.

<sup>22</sup> SDHK 21957.

<sup>23</sup> STB II, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> Wooden structures are usually named ambiguously in medieval Swedish sources. The Swedish word *trägård*, or simply *gård*, was typically used to refer to a wooden house (Swe. *trähus*) or another wooden building. However, it could also be used for a garden (Swe. *trädgård*) or a farm with an agricultural field. All those properties could be located in an urban, suburban or rural area. See B. Franzén and J. Söderberg, ‘Hus, gårdar och gatubodar. Fastighetspriser i Stockholm och Arboga 1300–1600’, *Historisk tidskrift*, 138/2 (2018), p. 235.

<sup>25</sup> SJB, no. 1335; STB III, pp. 195–196, 201–202, 231.

<sup>26</sup> SJB, no. 214; SJB, no. 968a; STB II, p. 183.

<sup>27</sup> STB II, p. 509; SJB, no. 1190; STB II, p. 573.



Finally, Margit, wife of Karl *guldsmed* (goldsmith), drew up one of the few fragmented wills known from pre-Reformation Stockholm. She bequeathed at least four different religious and charitable institutions in Stockholm and beyond and, most probably, designated her husband to act as an executor for the execution of her will in 1513.<sup>28</sup>

On the other hand, in some cases, craftsmen from whom one would hardly expect to be wealthy endowed not less considerable pious gifts than those listed above made by well-off artisans. One of the fragmented wills, which were rather exceptional in the context of late medieval Stockholm, was issued by Botilda *köttmånglars* (butcher's wife/widow). Due to its execution carried out in 1483, which resulted in three separate entries in the register of the town council minutes, it is clear that she bequeathed at least three different religious institutions in Stockholm.<sup>29</sup> One may wonder whether the extensive, for a Stockholm burgher, testamentary bequests were due to the fact that, despite being the wife or widow of a butcher, Botilda managed to accumulate sufficient wealth, or whether the craft-related byname had nothing to do with her husband's actual profession and their family belonged to a wealthier social stratum.

**Table 6.** Pious gifts made by craftsmen and their female relatives in pre-Reformation Stockholm according to their occupational bynames

No.	Name of the craft in English	Name of the craft in Swedish	Number of registered pious gifts
1.	mason	<i>murmästare</i>	5
2.	butcher	<i>köttmånglare</i>	4
3.	tailor	<i>skräddare</i>	3
4.	baker	<i>bagare</i>	2
5.	garment-maker embroidering fabrics with pearls, gemstones, etc.	<i>pärlstickare</i>	2

<sup>28</sup> STB IV, pp. 314–315.

<sup>29</sup> STB II, pp. 8–9.

6.	swordsmith	<i>svärdslipare</i>	2
7.	beltmaker	<i>bältare</i>	1
8.	blacksmith	<i>grovsmed</i>	1
9.	brewer	<i>bryggare</i>	1
10.	carpenter	<i>snickare</i>	1
11.	charcoal burner	<i>kolare</i>	1
12.	cooper	<i>tunnbindare</i>	1
13.	goldsmith	<i>guldsmed</i>	1
14.	metalworker working in lead	<i>blymästare</i>	1
15.	shoemaker	<i>skomakare</i>	1
16.	skinner	<i>skinnare</i>	1

The craftsmen of medieval Stockholm engaged in pious gift-giving also collectively through religious foundations established and maintained by their craft guilds. Although, only two foundations made by craft guilds specifically, as opposed to guilds and fraternities in general, are known from pre-Reformation Stockholm. Around 1501, the shoemakers' guild of Stockholm issued a foundation document for the altar of St Mark the Evangelist, St Crispin and St Crispinian located in the Town Church. An everlasting mass founded by the guild members was to be celebrated at the altar.<sup>30</sup> Oddly enough, the goldsmiths' guild, which should have had more financial assets at its disposal than the shoemakers, did not found its own altar in the parish church or elsewhere. In 1485, the holders of the patronage rights to the altar in the choir of St Blaise in the Town Church allowed the goldsmiths of Stockholm to employ their own chaplain to carry out religious services at that altar. In return, the goldsmiths were obliged

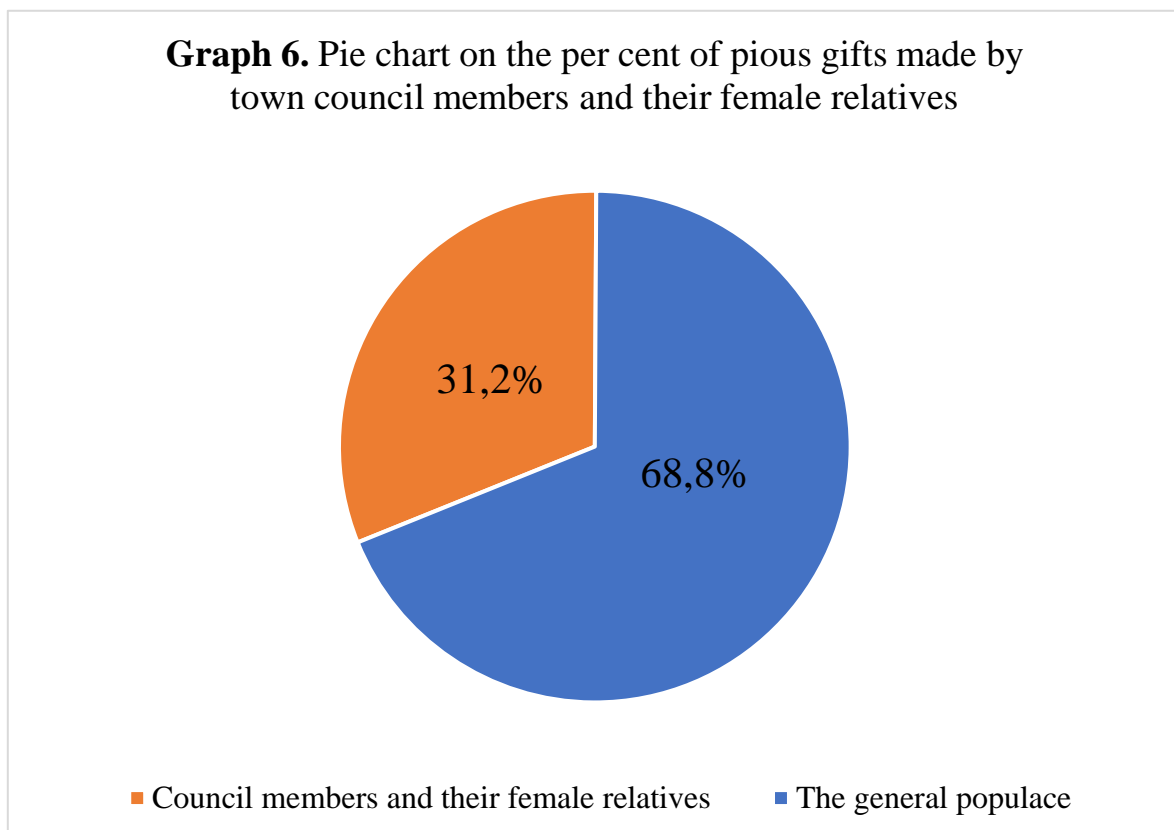
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<sup>30</sup> G.E. Klemming (ed.), *Skrå-ordningar* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1856), pp. 33–34.

to cover half the cost of maintaining the choir and altar, their furnishings, liturgical equipment, etc.<sup>31</sup> Around the time the agreement was reached, the goldsmiths' guild established its prebend at the altar and devoted it to St Loye (St Eligius), the patron saint of their profession.<sup>32</sup>

### 2.1.3 Council members

As might be expected, many of the pious gifts in pre-Reformation Stockholm were donated by members of the town council and their female relatives. To be precise, 24 endowments were made by councillors, 5 by burgomasters, and 15 by female relatives of council members, 14 of the latter were gifted by widows and one by a wife. Those councillors and burgomasters held their respective municipal offices at the time when the foundations and donations were made. Additionally, 14 pious gifts came from persons who were former or future members of the town council of Stockholm and did not hold office at that time. All in all, 58 of the analysed 186 pious endowments can be tracked back to town council members and their spouses, not counting gifts for pious purposes made jointly by the entire council.



<sup>31</sup> G.E. Klemming (ed.), *Skrå-ordningar*, pp. 163–164.

<sup>32</sup> E.M. Fant, *Observationes selectae historiam Svecanam illustrantes*, vol. 4 (Uppsala, Johan Edman, 1786), no. VIII, pp. 27–31.

According to an analysis of taxes paid by council members in Stockholm in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century conducted by Dahlbäck, members of the town council definitely belonged to the wealthier and higher taxed strata in that town, although not to the richest one. They were also recruited from merchants, however, it remains unclear whether only from wholesalers engaging in long-distance maritime trade or also from retailers making less profit.<sup>33</sup> This wealth reflected by taxes paid by councillors and burgomasters allowed them to engage more in pious gift-giving. Ultimately, they and their female relatives (typically spouses) were responsible for almost one-third of all registered pious endowments.

It is among the members of the town council and their widows that we find the benefactors who provided the most impressive and costly pious gifts. The donations and foundations made by Councillor Peter Ålänning and his wife Kristin Petersdotter, mentioned in the previous chapter, may be recalled here. Over a period of more than ten years, at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, they established two prebends, which they then enriched with income from additional immovable properties, and endowed Vadstena abbey through their joint will.<sup>34</sup> In the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, Gertrud Kansten, widow of Burgomaster Folkvin Brakel, made endowments which were as sumptuous as those made by Ålänning and his wife. She also founded two prebends, one in Town Church and the other in the cathedral of Uppsala, as well as established an additional celebration of an everlasting mass in the chancel of that cathedral.<sup>35</sup> As another example, Dethard Krake, former burgomaster of Stockholm, in addition to issuing a fragmented will and bequeathing several religious and charitable institutions in Stockholm and beyond, used as many as 650 marks to establish a weekly Corpus Christi celebration in the cathedral of Uppsala. Moreover, this sum arose from selling his house and other immovable properties in Stockholm for 1600 marks, which was another testimony of his wealth.<sup>36</sup>

Another reason for the large number of known pious gifts made by members of the town council of Stockholm may lay in their commercial, familial and personal contacts with residents of other Baltic and German-speaking towns and cities, and the resulting need to issue wills. Those wills were required to bequeath beneficiaries living in different places and distribute

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<sup>33</sup> G. Dahlbäck, 'Rådsmannen i senmedeltidens Stockholm', *Sankt Eriks årsbok* (1993), pp. 191–193.

<sup>34</sup> SDHK 13175 / FMU 950 / REA 264; SDHK 13294 / FMU 958; SDHK 15464 / FMU 1099 / REA 290; SDHK 25369, 28940 / FMU 6667, 3376 / REA 502; SDHK 15465 / FMU 1100; SDHK 15706 / SD 108; SDHK 15683 / SD 92; SDHK 16289 / SD 454.

<sup>35</sup> SDHK 9803 / DS 8213 / SJB, no. XXV, p. 416; SDHK 9808 / DS 8217; SDHK 11782 / DS 10285; SDHK 11847, 11964; SDHK 12104.

<sup>36</sup> Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Dethard Krake (22.04.1472); SDHK 29510, 29511, 29516, 29811.

the inheritance among the testator's extended family, friends, trade partners and various religious institutions. Thus, testators issuing those wills, such as the aforementioned Krake, had to pay more attention to their preservation, as the bequests they made often exceeded the basic rules of inheritance laws followed in different towns and cities. In addition to the will issued by Krake, four fragmented wills drawn up by current or former council members were issued in Lübeck.<sup>37</sup> Most probably due to their personal connections with that city and its inhabitants but possibly also due to the practice of safeguarding wills issued there at the city archives of Lübeck.<sup>38</sup> Although Councillor Sven Hellsing issued the original document of his will in Stockholm, he certainly made an effort to preserve its content by requesting it to be transcribed into the register of the town council minutes in 1493.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, Councillor Herman Lytting probably had the preservation of his will in mind, when he issued a second version written in Swedish in 1523 while the first one issued in 1510, before he was admitted to the council, was drawn up in German.<sup>40</sup>

## 2.2 Pious gifts as a means of social promotion

It is certain that for members of the town council of Stockholm, as for representatives of the urban elite in other towns and cities in pre-Reformation Europe, pious foundations and donations were not only a matter of the financial resources they had at hand but also of the social prestige and reputation that members of the urban ruling group should enjoy. Stefanie Rütter in her study of the medieval and early modern town council of Lübeck observed that: '[...] the individual members of the council increased their religious capital by using their economic capital, which gave them recognition and prestige, i.e. symbolic capital.'<sup>41</sup> This means that burgomasters and councillors engaged in pious gift-giving to exchange their financial assets not only for intercessory prayers and other religious services but also for social prestige. Gustavs Strenge stressed multiple times the importance of prestige gained through

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<sup>37</sup> SDHK 39694 / DS 8667; SDHK 40693 / DS 9235; SDHK 44950 / DS 10472; SDHK 13357 / Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Herman Hundebeke (10.11.1387); Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Wilhelm Stenking (7.11.1392).

<sup>38</sup> See subchapter 1.2 for more on wills issued in Stockholm and other Baltic towns and cities in the late Middle Ages, their role in the distribution of pious gifts, and the means employed to safe keep and preserve them.

<sup>39</sup> STB III, pp. 136–138.

<sup>40</sup> SDHK 36703, 38528.

<sup>41</sup> S. Rütter, *Prestige und Herrschaft. Zur Repräsentation der Lübecker Ratsherren in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Köln, Böhlau Verlag, 2003), p. 72: '[...] die einzelnen Ratsherren durch den Einsatz ihres ökonomischen Kapitals ihr religiöses Kapital vermehrten, welches ihnen Anerkennung und Prestige – symbolisches Kapital – verlieh.'

pious gifts by socially exclusive guilds, urban elites and burgher families represented on the councils in late medieval Livonian towns.<sup>42</sup> As both Rüter and Strenka noted, supporting the Church and the needy expressed individual council members' piety and provided them with spiritual benefits. It also emphasised their concern for the common good and their suitability for the highest municipal offices.<sup>43</sup>

Moreover, burghers used the prestige and good reputation acquired through donations and foundations for pious purposes to both establish themselves as good governors within the town councils and enter those councils in the first place. The latter may be well illustrated through the story of the Ferber family in Danzig. Eberhard Ferber acquired the burghership of Danzig in 1427 after he came there from the German town of Kalkar located near the Rhine River. In Danzig, he ran a prosperous trading business and entered into several profitable marriages, becoming one of the richest burghers in the city. In 1448, Eberhard received the patronage right to the altar of St Balthasar and the Holy Trinity in the parish church of Our Lady in Danzig. A year later, he undertook a reconstruction of the church space to place the altar in a separate chapel. Eberhard's descendants achieved significant social advancement in Danzig. His son, Hans, became consecutively a member of the town court, councillor and burgomaster during the 1460s and 1470s. Remarkably, Hans also contributed to furnishing and enriching the chapel. On this basis, Piotr Oliński voiced the view that the acquisition and further development of this pious foundation was one of the reasons for the social promotion of the Ferber family.<sup>44</sup>

The use of pious gifts for advancement in the urban hierarchy, and thus admission to the town council, can be observed also in the case of pre-Reformation Stockholm. As in Danzig, the primary sources do not explicitly mention the direct link between pious gift-giving and social advancement, but in a few cases from late medieval Stockholm a correlation, and perhaps even causation, can be noticed. The first two cases are less clear as they concern testamentary bequests, that is endowments implemented only posthumously, which could hardly affect the testators' standing in the town unless their contents were intentionally made public.

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<sup>42</sup> G. Strenka, 'Remembering the Dead: Collective Memoria in Late Medieval Livonia', PhD thesis (London, 2013), pp. 31, 47, 49–51, 74.

<sup>43</sup> S. Rüter, *Prestige und Herrschaft*, pp. 72–73; G. Strenka, 'Remembering the Dead', p. 72.

<sup>44</sup> P. Oliński, 'Zmiany własności fundacji w kościołach parafialnych na przykładach z kościoła parafialnego Najświętszej Marii Panny w Głównym Mieście Gdańsku', in M. Nodl (ed.), *Sociální svět středověkého města* (Praha, Filosofia, 2006), pp. 252–254; P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Królewiec, Braniewo)* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2008), pp. 276–277.

In 1376, Everhard Kansten issued his will in Lübeck. He was named a burgher of Stockholm for the first time in 1371. He later went on to have a rapid career in the municipal administration of Stockholm. In 1377, only one year after issuing his will, he became a councillor and at the latest in 1379, he was made a burgomaster.<sup>45</sup> Kansten's will included several pious bequests. He not only made various endowments in Stockholm and Lübeck but also planned the foundation of two prebends (vicariates) located in the church of Our Lady in Lübeck and the Town Church of Stockholm, respectively.<sup>46</sup> It is difficult to say whether these testamentary bequests contributed to Kansten's prestige in the urban community of Stockholm and facilitated his admission to the town council, as they were not to be implemented until after his death. In any case, even before becoming a councillor, he decided to make Stockholm one of the two centres of commemoration for himself and his family, as the chaplain serving in the Town Church was obligated to pray for his soul and the souls of his father and wife.

Another example of a burgher who made testamentary bequests for pious purposes before being granted a seat on the council was Herman Lytting. He drew up two versions of his will, the first one was written in German and dated 1510.<sup>47</sup> The second version drawn up in Swedish was issued more than a decade later, in 1523, when he was already a councillor.<sup>48</sup> Both versions belong to the rare category of preserved fragmented wills issued by Stockholmers and provide a long list of bequeathed religious and charitable institutions located in Stockholm and beyond. However, the implications of these pious bequests for the social status of the testator in the town are again uncertain. Those endowments were, once again, to be made after the testator's death. Moreover, Lytting's admission to the town council of Stockholm occurred in unusual circumstances. Through his marriage with Bela, widow of Reinhold Lhusen, he married into one of the burgher families opposing the Swedish regents and supporting the monarchs of the Kalmar Union. Lytting's stepdaughter was married to Gorius Holst,<sup>49</sup> who was an important supporter of King Christian II of Denmark and rose to the rank

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<sup>45</sup> F. de Brun, 'Stockholms borgmästare och rådmän i äldre tid, tillägg och rättelser till festskriften Stockholms rådhus och råd, 2', *Personhistorisk tidskrift*, 21/2–3 (1920), pp. 135–136. Frans de Brun disputes the opinion on the period during which Kansten held the office of burgomaster and his family background expressed earlier in: F. de Brun, G. Elgenstierna, I. Simonsson, and N. Östman, *Stockholms rådhus och råd*, vol. 2: *Matrikel öfver borgmästare och rådmän samt stads- och magistrats- sekreterare i Stockholms stad och norra förstaden* (Stockholm, [s.n.], 1915–1918), p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> SDHK 40693 / DS 9235.

<sup>47</sup> SDHK 36703.

<sup>48</sup> SDHK 38528.

<sup>49</sup> More about Gorius Holst and the role that he played during Christian II's reign over Stockholm and the infamous Stockholm Bloodbath of November 1520, see S. Svensson, *Stockholms blodbad i ekonomisk och handelspolitisk belysning* (Lund, C.W.K. Gleerup, 1964).

of burgomaster in November 1520, after Stockholm surrendered to the Danish king and a new town council was established.<sup>50</sup> At the same time, Lytting was appointed as a councillor. More likely because of his association with Holst and his political allegiance, rather than his religiosity expressed through the pious bequests that he made.

The link between a pious foundation and social promotion is much more plausible in the case of Herman Rembeke and Werner Gest. On 29 July 1420, they purchased an annual rent of 1 *lispund* and 4 *markpund* of wax from Lasse *guldsmed* for 50 marks, which they allocated for the choir of St Barbara in the Town Church and the altar placed therein. The same notice in the official property register of Stockholm informs us that they were the founders of the choir, as the rent was ‘til thaen koren the vpbyggt hafus her i sancti nicolauese kirkio hulkin ther wigdher aer jomfru sancte barbare.’<sup>51</sup> Subsequently, in 1428, both of them established their respective prebends in that choir.<sup>52</sup> The dates of those foundations seemingly correlate with the social and administrative advancements they both achieved. Although Gest had been a councillor at least from 1417, he did not become a burgomaster until 1430, i.e., two years after founding the prebend. This correlation is less clear in the case of Rembeke. He first appeared in the preserved sources as a councillor in November 1420, i.e., the same year that the choir of St Barbara was mentioned for the first time.<sup>53</sup> When exactly the choir was founded (certainly before 29 July 1420) and whether Rembeke was appointed councillor earlier than 1420 remains unknown. One can only hypothesise that the founding of the choir could have made him a well-known benefactor of the Church and strengthened his position in the town to facilitate his admission to the town council. Regardless of the exact sequence of events, both Gest and Rembeke likely aimed to improve their social standing among the town dwellers by making those foundations.

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<sup>50</sup> F. de Brun, G. Elgenstierna, I. Simonsson, and N. Östman, *Stockholms rådhus och råd*, vol. 2, p. 124; C.C. Sjödén, *Stockholms borgerskap under Sturetiden med särskild hänsyn till dess politiska ställning. En studie i Stockholms stads historia* (Stockholm, Ivar Haeggströms boktryckeri, 1950), p. 300.

<sup>51</sup> SJB, no. 4.

<sup>52</sup> SDHK 21030 (preserved only as a fragment transcribed into another document: SDHK 30654); SDHK 21055. See the edition of the latter foundation document published in: P. Kołodziejczak and P. Oliński, ‘For the Sake of a Soul: The Private Religious Foundation of a Stockholm Councilor from the First Half of the Fifteenth Century’, in J. Sarnowsky, K. Kwiatkowski, H. Houben, L. Pósan, and A. Bárány (eds), *Studies on the Military Orders, Prussia, and Urban History: Essays in Honour of Roman Czaja on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Debrecen, University of Debrecen, 2020), pp. 517–530. See also both documents (the former transcribed as a part of another document) translated into modern Swedish and published in: F. de Brun and M. Voss, ‘Fundationsbrevet för S:ta Barbaras kor i Stockholms Storkyrka’, *Sankt Eriks årsbok* (1917), pp. 80–92.

<sup>53</sup> F. de Brun, G. Elgenstierna, I. Simonsson, and N. Östman, *Stockholms rådhus och råd*, vol. 2, pp. 5, 90. There are two documents transcribed into the official property register of Stockholm which are dated 18 and 28 November 1420, respectively. Both of them refer to Rembeke as a councillor of Stockholm. See SJB, no. 24, 25.



It is worth noting that all the church benefactors who achieved social promotion discussed here, i.e. Kansten, Lytting, Gest and Rembeke, were of German descent. Apparently, the pattern of making pious donations and foundations in order to advance in the social hierarchy of the Stockholm urban community is more noticeable in the case of German councillors and burgomasters. This observation corresponds well with the findings made by Dahlbäck regarding the high mobility within the town council of Stockholm in the late Middle Ages. He attributed this high mobility to a regular influx of newcomers wanting to join the German part of the town council from German-speaking regions. The need for new German council members resulted from the gradual integration of originally German families in Stockholm which after several generations had passed were officially considered Swedish.<sup>54</sup> It is possible that, in terms of lay piety, this situation resulted in the increased number of pious gifts offered by German candidates to the council who wanted to improve their standing in the town before joining the municipal governance. As for Swedish council members, they typically made endowments when they already held their respective municipal offices.<sup>55</sup> Thus, the need for social promotion is less evident in their case. Nonetheless, in all likelihood, they too wanted to gain prestige and renown in the urban community and emphasise that they were fit for their offices by taking care of the local congregation's needs.

Obviously, improving one's standing in the town and achieving social advancement were not the only reasons why Stockholmers engaged in pious gift-giving, as other motivations are discussed elsewhere in this thesis.<sup>56</sup> Some donations and foundations made by former council members and persons who left Stockholm for other towns and cities, usually for Lübeck, make this apparent.<sup>57</sup> Such endowments may be interpreted as efforts to ensure one's commemoration in a community where one held a high municipal office and where one lived for some years. Therefore, they are connected with social prestige and remembrance, but no longer with the promotion within the community that one left. As it was established by previous researchers, Hanseatic merchants often ensured their commemoration not only in their

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<sup>54</sup> G. Dahlbäck, 'Rådsmannen i senmedeltidens Stockholm', *Sankt Eriks årsbok* (1993), pp. 193–195.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, the endowments made by Burgomaster Magnus Eriksson (SJB, no. 808, STB IV, pp. 349–350), Councillor Magnus Utter (SDHK 30539), Councillor Sven Hellsing (STB III, pp. 136–138), Councillor Olof Andersson (STB IV, pp. 86–87), and Burgomaster Bengt Smålänning (STB IV, p. 165).

<sup>56</sup> See subchapters 1.4, 2.4 and 3.1.

<sup>57</sup> See the pious gifts made by former burgher Johannes Geismar (SDHK 4312 / DS 3274), former Burgomaster Peter Hjälmborgsson (SDHK 39694 / DS 8667), former Councillor Herman Hundebeke (SDHK 44950 / DS 10472; Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Herman Hundebeke (10.11.1387)), former Burgomaster Wilhelm Stenking (Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Wilhelm Stenking (7.11.1392)), former Burgomaster Dethard Krake (Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Dethard Krake (22.04.1472); SDHK 29510, 29511), and former Councillor Folmar van Lunden (SDHK 30654; SJB, no. 1279; SDHK 34724).

hometowns and places where they expected to die but also in towns and cities where they frequently traded and spent a considerable amount of time.<sup>58</sup> The same holds for former burghers of Stockholm, including former council members, who moved elsewhere, e.g. to Lübeck which was the usual destination.

### 2.3 Religious foundations as a means of supporting one's family

While studying kinship and familial relations in late medieval town councils in Scandinavia, Lamberg rightly considered providing one's relatives and household members with religious intercession as a sign of care and concern.<sup>59</sup> Another way, this time in the material aspect, to contribute to the well-being of one's heirs, including those who pursued priestly and monastic careers, was to leave them an inheritance, which could have been done via general inheritance laws or individual testamentary bequests.<sup>60</sup> Sometimes supporting one's relatives, friends and acquaintances was combined with acquiring their intercession through the mutual exchange of gifts, especially if those bequeathed by the testator were members of the clergy. For example, in the case of Stockholm burghers, Everhard Kansten bequeathed, among other beneficiaries, his maternal aunt Gerdeke who was a Cistercian nun at the nunnery in Sko with a lifetime rent of  $\frac{1}{2}$  lödig mark.<sup>61</sup> Kansten's will of 1376 does not feature an explicit prayer request addressed to his aunt but one can assume that the testator expected an intercessory prayer from her. In the same 1376, Klaus Vorneholt bequeathed 25 marks to Beata, daughter of his kinsman Hartwig Vorneholt and a nun at the Clarissan nunnery near Stockholm. He endowed additional five marks to the remaining Clarissan nuns of that convent 'vt Deum orent pro me.'<sup>62</sup> Perhaps this supplication was addressed to his kinswoman Beata as well.

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<sup>58</sup> G. Meyer, 'Die Klosterlandschaft des Hanseraums im Spiegel Lübecker Testamente', in J. Mähner and S. Selzer (eds), *Vertraute Ferne. Kommunikation und Mobilität im Hanseraum* (Husum, Husum Druck- und Verlagsgesellschaft, 2012), pp. 87–89; H. Dormeier, 'Neue Ordensniederlassungen im Hanseraum. Lübecker Stiftungen zugunsten des Birgittenklosters Marienwohlde bei Mölln (1413–1534)', in O. Auge and K. Hillebrand (eds), *Klöster, Stifte und Konvente nördlich der Elbe. Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Klosterforschung in Schleswig-Holstein, Nordschleswig sowie den Hansestädten Lübeck und Hamburg* (Neumünster, Wachholtz Verlag, 2013), p. 279; G. Strenge, 'Distance, Presence, Absence and Memoria: Commemoration of Deceased Livonian Merchants outside Their Native Cities during the Late Middle Ages', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 136 (2018), pp. 71–83.

<sup>59</sup> M. Lamberg, *Dannemänner i stadens råd*, pp. 107–108.

<sup>60</sup> For late medieval Stockholm see Gabriela Bjarne Larsson's observations regarding the inheritance received by Franciscan and Dominican friars: G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret. Arv och egendom i bostadsbristens Stockholm 1479–1530* (Stockholm, Institutet för Rättshistorisk Forskning, 2019), pp. 208–218.

<sup>61</sup> SDHK 40693 / DS 9235.

<sup>62</sup> SDHK 10882 / DS 9332.

The above-mentioned exchange of material and spiritual benefits between the donor and his relatives could also take a more formalised form when a priest related to the founder was appointed as the chaplain to serve at the founded prebend. The Stockholm burgher Everhard Kansten, who has already been mentioned on several occasions, founded two prebends via his will of 1376: one in the church of Our Lady in Lübeck and the other in the Town Church of Stockholm. In his will, he made dispositions as to who was to become the prebend priest, identical for both prebends. Namely, each of the ecclesiastical offices was to be offered first to one of Johan van Loo's sons who became a priest. It was also mentioned that Johan van Loo was a relative of the founder. If none of Johan's sons decided to pursue a priestly career, the offices were to be granted to priest Werner Svarte or one of the founder's kinsmen.<sup>63</sup>

In 1370, Gertrud Kansten, widow of Burgomaster Folkvin Brakel, issued a foundation document for the altar and prebend of St Andreas in the Town Church. She also stipulated that her nephew Werner Henriksson Svarte should be appointed as the first prebend priest.<sup>64</sup> As the two foundations were made only six years apart, Werner Henriksson Svarte must have been identical to the priest Werner Svarte who was chosen by Everhard Kansten to be the chaplain at one of his prebends. The kinship between Everhard and Gertrud is not entirely clear. The authors of the festschrift dedicated to the Stockholm town council published at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century suggested that Everhard was Gertrud's son from her previous marriage.<sup>65</sup> However, Frans de Brun later claimed that this Everhard Kansten could not be identical to Gertrud's son Everhard mentioned in her foundation document of 1382 as deceased,<sup>66</sup> as Burgomaster Everhard Kansten appeared as a living person in 1386. De Brun deemed it most likely that Burgomaster Everhard Kansten, the founder of the two prebends, was instead Gertrud's subsequent husband, after Folkvin Brakel, who became a surviving spouse and remarried after Gertrud's death.<sup>67</sup> Either way, Everhard and Gertrud belonged to the same burgher family of Stockholm and were both related to Werner Svarte, a member of another Stockholm family represented on the town council. Thus, they both made certain that the prebends they founded were, at least initially, staffed by their relatives.

Stockholm benefactors not only founded new prebends to provide their kinsmen with ecclesiastical benefices but also supported the already established ones if their relatives were

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<sup>63</sup> SDHK 40693 / DS 9235.

<sup>64</sup> SDHK 9803 / DS 8213 / SJB, no. XXV, p. 416. See also SDHK 9808 / DS 8217.

<sup>65</sup> F. de Brun, G. Elgenstierna, I. Simonsson, and N. Östman, *Stockholms rådhus och råd*, vol. 2, p. 2.

<sup>66</sup> See the foundation document: SDHK 12104.

<sup>67</sup> F. de Brun, 'Stockholms borgmästare och rådmän', pp. 135–136.

the prebend priests. In 1493, a prebend priest Cyriacus testified that a plot of land located west of the parish churchyard had been donated to the guild of St Nicholas and its prebend by his parents.<sup>68</sup> In the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, Elin of Stockholm, widow of Henrik *tullskrivare*, went to great lengths to secure income and housing for her son Göran Henriksson. A document of 1452 informs us that Elin received a plot of land in Uppsala from the archbishop and the cathedral chapter of Uppsala. The plot was to be used by her son, Göran Henriksson, who was serving at the altar and prebend of St Eskil and the Ten Thousand Knights in the cathedral. Ultimately, the plot was to become a property of the prebend.<sup>69</sup> It was likely this piece of land that was used by Olof Mathei, a canon and cathedral steward to construct a stone house on behalf of Elin and her son, for which Elin paid 350 marks in 1454.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, on two occasions, in 1452 and 1453, Elin purchased land in rural areas and endowed it to her son's prebend.<sup>71</sup> Thus, Elin provided her son with convenient housing in Uppsala, where he served as a prebend priest, and revenues from the land that was donated to his prebend.

The Gere family's pious gifts are an example of particular care for a relative, both material and spiritual. Firstly, in 1453 the burgomasters of Stockholm testified that the late Anders Gere donated a shed with a cellar (or rather the income thereof) to his kinsman Laurens Gere, a Dominican friar in Stockholm. In return, friar Laurens was obliged to say 12 masses twice a year for the souls of Anders' parents. It was also noted that Laurens should benefit from those immovables during his lifetime but after his death, they should be returned to Anders' heirs: 'the gaffwor skulle fernempde brodher Laurenz gere behaldha och bruca frij och vmbewarath i sin lijffs tima och ther epter hans dødth skulle førscrifna gaffwor komma i gen til naesta arwingia som tilbør.'<sup>72</sup> More than 30 years later, in 1486, Katarina, widow of Jöns *svärdslipare*, decided to posthumously endow the altar of St Anna in the Dominican convent with a shed and a cellar located in the St Nicholas Port to aid Laurens Gere's soul as well as the souls of his and her parents.<sup>73</sup> A note loosely inserted into one of the official town registers by the town registrar indicates that Katarina was Anders Gere's niece and a cousin of friar Laurens.<sup>74</sup> This way representatives of two generations of the Gere family supported their kinsman living in the local Dominican convent, both during his lifetime and beyond.

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<sup>68</sup> SJB, no. 1305; STB III, p. 144.

<sup>69</sup> SDHK 26132.

<sup>70</sup> SDHK 26573, 26588.

<sup>71</sup> SDHK 26152, 26311.

<sup>72</sup> SJB, no. 469.

<sup>73</sup> STB II, p. 183. See also SJB, no. 968a.

<sup>74</sup> STB II, p. 183 (footnote 1).

Finally, it needs to be added that this practice of using pious gifts for the benefit of one's relatives was by no means constrained to Stockholm and many such examples can be found in, among other places, Lübeck and Prussian towns and cities before the Reformation.<sup>75</sup>

#### 2.4 Traces of donors' mentality preserved in available sources

Arguably wills, foundation and donation documents, and notices in official town registers analysed here convey limited knowledge regarding their issuers' personal convictions, motivations and religious beliefs, as they were composed and written down by others – i.e., learned men, either ecclesiastical or secular – and according to well-established patterns. Analysing pious gifts in late medieval Stockholm, Lamberg noticed an elaborated reference to the Last Judgment in the donation document issued by Folmar van Lunden, a former councillor, for the charterhouse of Mariefred in 1504.<sup>76</sup> However, Lamberg assessed that it was more the work of the scribe who wrote down the document, probably a clergyman, rather than the issuer himself.<sup>77</sup> Dahlbäck stated that it is impossible to accurately assess the religiosity of the medieval inhabitants of Stockholm, as they did not leave behind any sources revealing their intimate religious experiences. They lived in a world where the influence of the Church was pervasive, yet their participation in religious practices and their pious gifts may have been driven by social pressure and a desire for prestige and recognition.<sup>78</sup> On the other hand, Henrik Schück went as far as to accuse medieval church benefactors of selfishness (i.e. being concerned primarily with their own salvation), making good deeds only out of the fear of Purgatory, and lacking genuine humanitarianism (whatever it was supposed to mean in medieval terms).<sup>79</sup> Schück's interpretation fits into the more traditional research approach to late medieval religiosity that focused on secularisation and ritualisation.<sup>80</sup> It also seems superficial and overly harsh, as the contents of preserved primary sources can hardly support such an assessment.

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<sup>75</sup> P. Oliński, 'Fundacje i legaty religijne kobiet świeckich w wielkich miastach pruskich', in Z.H. Nowak and A. Radziwiński (eds), *Kobieta i rodzina w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo UMK, 1998), pp. 145, 147–148; B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie in der Hansestadt Lübeck anhand der Bürgertestamente des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 2000), pp. 364–368; M. Sumowski, 'Duchowni w testamentach mieszczańskich – mieszczanie w testamentach duchownych. Zapisy ostatniej woli jako źródła do badania powiązań (Prusy, XV – początek XVI wieku)', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 68/3 (2020), pp. 316–317, 323–325.

<sup>76</sup> SDHK 34724.

<sup>77</sup> M. Lamberg, 'Religiosity and Readiness for the Reformation', p. 190.

<sup>78</sup> G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Stockholm, Stockholmia förlag, 1995), p. 133.

<sup>79</sup> H. Schück, *Stockholm vid 1400-talets slut* (Stockholm, Wahlström & Widstrand, 1940), p. 188.

<sup>80</sup> On the paradigm shift in the study of late medieval religiosity at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, see H. Manikowska, 'Religijność miejska', in H. Manikowska and H. Zaremska (eds), *Ecclesia et civitas. Kościół i życie religijne*

In spite of the observations made above, one can tell some features of donors' mentality using the sources analysed here. In the case of primary sources that deal with pious gift-giving, it seems only natural to look first for traces of different types of religiosity and personal devotion. As the majority of donors made only one gift and many gifts are poorly described, it is difficult to find a pattern. The aforementioned Gertrud Kansten founded two altars and associated prebends: in the Town Church in 1370, and in the cathedral of Uppsala in 1380.<sup>81</sup> Admittedly, both of them were dedicated to St Andreas the Apostle. Can we assume that Gertrud held this Apostle in special reverence since she decided to have her foundations venerate specifically him on two separate occasions over the course of ten years? This cannot be ruled out but further evidence to support such a claim is lacking.

#### 2.4.1 Marian and Rosarian piety

Apparently, we can find more evident examples of following or promoting a particular cult through pious gifts only in the case of Marian piety which grew in popularity – or rather in intensity, as the Marian cult was widely known in the Kingdom of Sweden much earlier – at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. One of the religious centres which significantly contributed to the spread of this type of religiosity in the Swedish realm, along with the Bridgettine abbey of Vadstena, was the charterhouse Mariefred (Lat. *Pax Mariae*).<sup>82</sup> The Carthusians came to Sweden in the 1490s to establish their first and only monastery within the Swedish realm. The first monks to settle in Sweden came from the charterhouse Marienehe (Lat. *Lex Mariae*) near Rostock. In 1493 the Council of the Realm confirmed the donation of the Gripsholm estate to the Carthusian monks made by Swedish Regent Sten Sture the Elder and his wife Ingeborg Åkesdotter Tott. The donation was approved again by Sten Sture and Ingeborg in 1498 when they issued a confirmation document and suggested that the idea to bring the Carthusians to Sweden originated from Archbishop Jakob Ulfsson of Uppsala and

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w mieście średniowiecznym (Warszawa, Instytut Historii PAN, 2002), pp. 15–17; H. Manikowska (ed.), *Księga odpustów wrocławskich* (Warszawa, Instytut Historii PAN, 2016), pp. XVI–XVIII.

<sup>81</sup> SDHK 9803 / DS 8213 / SJB, no. XXV, p. 416; SDHK 11782 / DS 10285.

<sup>82</sup> A. Hårdelin, 'In the Sign of the Rosary: Swedish Birgittines and Carthusians in Co-operation', in L. Bisgaard, C.S. Jensen, K.V. Jensen, and J. Lind (eds), *Medieval Spirituality in Scandinavia and Europe: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Tore Nyberg* (Odense, Odense University Press, 2001), pp. 285–293.

Bishop Kort Rogge of Strängnäs. The Carthusians of Mariefred received considerable endowments from those two church officials.<sup>83</sup>

The founding of the Carthusian monastery in Sweden was supported not only by secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries but also by people from lower social strata. Some of them were inhabitants of Stockholm. There are at least four known donations to the charterhouse Mariefred made by Stockholmers.<sup>84</sup> This is not a small number considering the late founding of the monastery and the fact that all these gifts were recorded over a period of fewer than ten years between 1504 and 1513. As it was mentioned, the Carthusians of Mariefred were involved in the propagation of Marian piety in Sweden. One of their endeavours was to publish the most popular edition of works supposedly written by the famous Dominican friar Alanus de Rupe in 1498, using a printing press owned by the charterhouse. This collection of writings, chiefly dedicated to the cult of the Holy Virgin, was known under the title *De dignitate et utilitate psalterii beatae Mariae virginis*.<sup>85</sup> However, to assume that everyone who donated to the Carthusians intended to help spread this reverence for the Holy Mary would be a farfetched claim. Nevertheless, the new religious order, previously absent in Sweden, was welcomed with material gifts coming from, among other groups, the burghers of Stockholm.

A more plausible display of genuine Marian piety involved Mårten Nilsson *skinnare*. He was born in the town of Vadstena and likely started as a skinner and fur trader, which explains his byname but went on to become one of the richest merchants in Stockholm, judging by the amount of taxes he paid in the town. He acquired the burghership of Stockholm in 1516 at the latest and stayed in the town until around 1521 when he returned to his hometown. Mårten Nilsson intended to found a chapel at the Vadstena abbey, which is evident from two documents granting him permission to do so issued by abbess Anna Germundi and general confessor Nils Amundi in 1519.<sup>86</sup> From a letter of protection issued for the chapel in 1521 by Bishop Hans Brask of Linköping, it is known that it was eventually erected in the churchyard between the abbey church and the local parish church of St Peter.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, a similar letter of protection issued the same year by the town council of Vadstena reveals that the altar placed

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<sup>83</sup> I. Collijn, 'Kartusianerklostret Mariefred vid Gripsholm och dess bibliotek', *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 22 (1935), pp. 150–153.

<sup>84</sup> SDHK 34724; SDHK 36758; STB IV, pp. 241, 243–244; STB IV, pp. 314–315.

<sup>85</sup> R. Witkowski, 'The Carthusians and the Print Revolution', *Analecta Cartusiana*, 157/3 (2001), pp. 46–47.

<sup>86</sup> SDHK 38275 / E.M. Fant, *Handlingar til uplysning af svenska historien*, vol. 1 (Uppsala, Johan Edman, 1789), no. 1, pp. 1–6 / P. Kylander, 'Foerteckning på Pergaments-Bref, som finnas foervarade dels i Linkoepings Gymn. Bibliothek, dels i Wadstena Hospitals Archivum', *Linkoepings Bibliotheks Handlingar*, 1 (1793), no. 101, pp. 249–250; SDHK 38240 / P. Kylander, 'Foerteckning på Pergaments-Bref', no. 46, pp. 228–229.

<sup>87</sup> E.M. Fant, *Handlingar til uplysning af svenska historien*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 6–8.

in the chapel was dedicated to ‘Jomfru Maria Rosenkranz.’<sup>88</sup> That alone is enough to confirm that Mårten Nilsson made an effort to propagate Rosarian piety by choosing the Virgin Mary of the Rosary as the object of particular devotion at the chapel and altar that he founded.

However, Mårten did not stop at founding the chapel. With the assistance of another burgher of Vadstena, Laurens Persson, he established an almshouse in that town which housed the chaplains saying masses and prayers in the chapel and served as a shelter for the poor and sick who could not be admitted elsewhere, and for pilgrims coming to visit the grave of St Birgitta. This almshouse was referred to as ‘Jomfru Maria Broederskaptz gardh’ in the aforementioned document of 1521 issued by the municipal authorities of Vadstena.<sup>89</sup> Gottfrid Carlsson suggested that Mårten Nilsson in all likelihood followed the teachings of Alanus de Rupe which focused on worshipping the Holy Virgin and became widely known among Rosarian confraternities in Europe. They were transmitted to Sweden through the printing of the aforementioned collection of writings *De dignitate et utilitate* at the Carthusian monastery of Mariefred, and its translation into Swedish.<sup>90</sup> In any case, the chapel and the almshouse founded by Mårten in his hometown were associated with the local Rosarian confraternity of Vadstena. The number of members belonging to that confraternity, according to a preserved member list of 1522, was about 2,350, which testifies to the enormous popularity of that particular confraternity and Rosarian devotion in late medieval Sweden in general.<sup>91</sup>

Another example of the propagation of Marian piety in an urban environment comes from a church benefactor who was not a burgher himself but originated from a burgher family of Stockholm. It concerns Kort Rogge, the bishop of Strängnäs between 1479 and 1501, who was the son of a Stockholm merchant bearing the same given name.<sup>92</sup> During the 1490s, Bishop Kort acquired annual rents from several properties belonging to the burghers of Stockholm and endowed the income to found the celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in

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<sup>88</sup> E.M. Fant, *Handlingar til uplysning af svenska historien*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 8–10.

<sup>89</sup> E.M. Fant, *Handlingar til uplysning af svenska historien*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 8–10. On the almshouse see also: SDHK 38717 / P. Kylander, ‘Foerteckning på Pergaments-Bref’, no. 98, p. 249; SDHK 38821 / P. Kylander, ‘Foerteckning på Pergaments-Bref’, no. 99, p. 249.

<sup>90</sup> G. Carlsson, ‘Jungfru Marie psaltares brödraskap i Sverige. En studie i senmedeltida fromhetsliv och gilleväsen’, *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift*, 47 (1947), pp. 8–12.

<sup>91</sup> S.-E. Pernler, ‘Rosenkransfromhet i senmedeltidens Sverige’, in S.-E. Brodd and A. Härdelin (eds), *Maria i Sverige under tusen år. Föredrag vid symposiet i Vadstena 6–10 oktober 1994* (Skellefteå, Artos, 1996), pp. 560–562.

<sup>92</sup> H. Schück, ‘Kort Rogge’, in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/6812>, accessed online 25 January 2023.



the choir of St Peter and St Paul in the Town Church in Stockholm.<sup>93</sup> Thus, he introduced the presumably public celebration of the Marian Office, which by the late Middle Ages became widely known and observed by laypeople across Christian Europe,<sup>94</sup> to the sacred space of the parish church of Stockholm.

All the aforementioned pious gifts, also those donated by Stockholm burghers and their descendants, interlocked into a multifaceted effort to promote Marian and Rosarian piety in the Kingdom of Sweden at the end of the medieval period. From founding the first and only charterhouse in Sweden and printing *De dignitate et utilitate* there, to creating the Rosarian confraternities in Vadstena and other Swedish towns, to establishing the chapel and the almshouse to serve the confraternity of Vadstena, and to introducing the celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in the parish church of Stockholm. Whereas it is not certain in the case of the inhabitants of Stockholm who simply donated to the Carthusians, the rest of the benefactors mentioned above intentionally associated their gifts with the cult of the Holy Mary, and thus contributed to its popularity in late medieval Sweden. Moreover, as it was mentioned, such efforts and the increasing interest in Marian piety were rather characteristic of Latin Christian religiosity of the late Middle Ages in general, and it seems that the population of the Kingdom of Sweden (including Stockholm) followed suit.

#### 2.4.2 Other religious mental patterns

One can find traces of less ‘systematic’ and more scattered religious thoughts in the analysed source material. The prayer agreement between the Guild of St Eric and St Peter functioning in Stockholm and the local Franciscan convent concluded in 1485 mentions that the guildmembers should have a share in the spiritual benefits resulting from ‘all the good deeds, good prayers and virtues’ (‘allom god gierningom, godom boenom oh dygdom’) of the Franciscans.<sup>95</sup> This corresponds to the widespread belief in medieval Christianity that prayers and good deeds were ‘quantitative goods’ produced by a given community that could be shared with others.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> SDHK 32850, 33134; SDHK 33416; STB III, pp. 388, 401–402; SDHK 34253; SDHK 37383 (a confirmation issued after Bishop Kort’s death); possibly also STB IV, pp. 35–36, STB V, p. 58.

<sup>94</sup> R. Fulton Brown, *Mary and the Art of Prayer: The Hours of the Virgin in Medieval Christian Life and Thought* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2018), pp. 23–26.

<sup>95</sup> O. Celsius, *Fata templi Riddarholmensis* (Uppsala, [s.n.], 1748), no. III, pp. 28–31.

<sup>96</sup> A.-J.A. Bijsterveld, ‘Looking for Common Ground: From Monastic Fraternitas to Lay Confraternity in the Southern Low Countries in the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries’, in E. Jamroziak and J. Burton (eds), *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2006), pp. 296–

In the same 1485, Joan Lindorm donated an annual rent from his house to found two weekly masses in the choir of St Henry in the Town Church. The prebend priest and his successors were obliged to celebrate ‘til ewig tidh’: one sung mass on Friday in honour of the Five Holy Wounds with a collect, and another read one on Saturdays in honour of the sorrow of the Holy Virgin. The masses were aimed at reducing the pain of all the Christian souls (‘allom cristnom siälom til pyna mynskelse’).<sup>97</sup> The use of such an expression indicates the internalisation of the theological idea of Purgatory among the laity in Stockholm, which is hardly surprising for the late Middle Ages.<sup>98</sup>

### 2.4.3 Substitute oath keeping

There are at least two examples of fulfilling taken oaths through substitutes. The case of Nils Olofsson *blymästare* who in 1417 donated half of his stone house to his brother Peter Olofsson to go on a vicarious pilgrimage to Jerusalem, has been already mentioned in the previous chapter.<sup>99</sup> It is known that Nils pledged to travel to the Holy Land himself and decided to ask his brother to go in his stead shortly before his death when he realised that he could no longer make it there in person. This practice of founding vicarious pilgrimages, of which only one instance can be found in Stockholm, was quite common in the late Middle Ages.<sup>100</sup> The other example concerns the will issued in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century by Herman Lytting, a councillor of Stockholm. Among the many bequests he made for pious purposes, he wished for a poor girl, presumably unrelated to him, to be admitted to a monastery at his expense to pray for his soul. It was also a way for him to honour his own vow to become a monastic, which he had taken during an illness and failed to fulfil during his lifetime.<sup>101</sup>

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297, 309; D.L. d’Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 31–36. See also subchapter 1.4.3.

<sup>97</sup> STB II, p. 118.

<sup>98</sup> For the emergence and development of the theological ideas of Purgatory, see J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, transl. A. Goldhammer (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1991).

<sup>99</sup> SDHK 18896 / SD 2338; see also SDHK 18981 / SD 2403. See subchapter 1.4.6.

<sup>100</sup> Such vicarious pilgrimages were not always founded out of necessity by the dying and bedridden, but also for convenience by wealthy and influential persons willing to pay someone else to go in their stead, see D. Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, I.B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 68, 133–147; K. Houston, ‘Vicarious Pilgrimage’, in L.J. Taylor et al. (eds), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage* (Leiden, Brill, 2010), pp. 795–796.

<sup>101</sup> He issued two versions of his will dated, respectively, 21 March 1510 and 16 March 1523, see SDHK 36703 and 38528.

#### 2.4.4 Morrow masses and the common good

A specific form of religious foundation, which was also a sign of concern for other members of the local community, was the foundation of a morrow mass, i.e. the first mass of the day. Describing one such morrow mass founded in 1449 in the church of Our Lady in Danzig, Oliński noted that: ‘The wider population should participate in it (“coram populi multitudine”). It was primarily aimed at merchants and travellers arriving in the city early in the morning. The morrow masses were founded for a commemorative purpose to aid the souls of the founders and their relatives, yet they were celebrated by numerous groups of townsfolk. They became part of the liturgical order observed by the whole urban community, and thus their function was more than a simple intercessory prayer.’<sup>102</sup> The morrow masses were also established in pre-Reformation Stockholm. In 1481, the town council decided that the prebend priest Olof serving at the altar of the Holy Cross, to which the council had patronage rights, should say two masses a week on Friday and Saturday, respectively. Both masses were supposed to be celebrated as the first masses of the day.<sup>103</sup> Councillor Sven Hellsing bequeathed liturgical equipment (‘messarede’) specifically for the first mass of the day at the high altar of the Town Church.<sup>104</sup> Last but definitively not least, former Councillor Johan Jönsson of Gladö and his wife Anna Olofsdotter founded in 1513 the celebration of masses on every day of the week at 5 a.m. at an altar which they had established, furnished and equipped in the church of St John in Stockholm.<sup>105</sup> Noticeably, all those morrow masses were founded or supported by either the town council acting collectively or its current and former members. Perhaps concern for the common good of the urban community, which was expected from the town authorities, played a considerable role in choosing this form of pious gift-giving.

#### 2.4.5 Meeting the needs of prebends and prebend priests

Perhaps the most elaborate list of liturgical items gifted by a Stockholm dweller has been found in the donation document of 1516 issued by Barbara Bengtsdotter, daughter of Burgomaster

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<sup>102</sup> P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich*, p. 72: ‘Powinny w niej uczestniczyć szersze kręgi ludności (“coram populi multitudine”). Była ona kierowana w pierwszym rzędzie do kupców i przybyszów wjeżdżających do miasta wczesnym rankiem. Poranne msze św. były fundowane w intencji wspominkowej za zbawienie duszy fundatorów i ich krewnych, a jednocześnie miały się odbywać w obecności liczniejszych grup mieszczaństwa. Wpisywały się one w porządek liturgiczny służący całej gminie miejskiej, a tym samym wykaczały poza funkcję modlitewną w intencji zbawienia.’

<sup>103</sup> STB I, p. 307.

<sup>104</sup> STB III, pp. 136–138.

<sup>105</sup> STB V, pp. 303–306.

Bengt Smålänning, for the prebend founded by her father at the altar of St Birgitta and St Catherine in the Town Church. In addition to designating immovable properties which were to supply the prebend and its chaplain with income, Barbara listed all the movables used for the liturgy, endowed to the prebend first by her late father and then by herself:

Item aenn lått min kaere framledne Fader goera een Messebackell af gyllene stycke med Messe Reditt, Item ett Altarklaede af samma stycke, Item aen Messe redhe af gullt Silke med all tilbehoerelse, Item aen ett Altarklaede af samma gula Silcke, Item lister af groent Flogell, Item fasta Altarklaede af hvitt Sårduck med hvite lister utkastat, Item ett gullskins taecken sengdt med silcke, Item try bandklaeden med try taeckenn, Ett Gullskins taecken och tu flammaske Item trij Skåaep tu i Altaret och ett i baencken. Item een foerylltt Kalck, med Patenen som vaeger Tjugu fem Lood, Item ett Helgedoma Kabr, som vaeger try Lodh, mindre aen Fyrloedige marcker, Item ett agnus Dei till Pacem. Item Een vigd Altarsteen, Item ett paar Arniske vingar, Item ett par Messings Liusstakar, een Jaernskaeaeall med pipor. [...] Item aen foerbaettradt till Altaret Ett Antependium af roett Flogell och ena saengta Altarlista, Item ett Messekackell aff svart Camloth med messeredit, Item ett par nya Silckes vingar, Item en Sancta Hofvud lyna till baesta Messabackelen med Sancta Birgita nampn, Item ett Språngat Handklaede med Silckes lister, Item Silckis Oerngaet, Item aen ett par silckes vingar, Item ett par hvijta vingar om fastetijd.<sup>106</sup>

One finds such extensive donations of liturgical equipment only in conjunction with large-scale foundation efforts involving the establishment of a new choir, altar or prebend. Vestments, altar clothes, liturgical books, chalices and other vessels were often accompanied by the supply of candles, wax, wine, hosts and other consumables needed for Christian worship. Small gifts of money and movables seldom appear in the available sources as separate gifts, i.e., not connected with a new foundation. One may also find them as particular bequests listed in the few preserved fragmented (i.e. listing multiple bequests) wills.<sup>107</sup> It is rather obvious that new religious foundations were more in need of liturgical equipment and supplies than the long-established ones, and it was the founder who was supposed to provide those or, at least, the money to buy them. However, given the rather high prevalence of gifts of liturgical items and books, which were donated also to long-established foundations, in other medieval towns and cities of the Baltic region,<sup>108</sup> one may presume that the availability of primary sources from Stockholm again played a major role. As the previous chapter discussed, smaller gifts for pious purposes were often omitted from the preserved official town records and individual

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<sup>106</sup> E.M. Fant, *Observationes selectae historiam Svecanam illustrantes*, vol. 4, no. IX, pp. 32–34.

<sup>107</sup> See subchapters 1.4.1–1.4.5.

<sup>108</sup> P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich*, pp. 80–87. For a more general discussion of material gifts donated for pious purposes in the late Middle Ages, see G. Jaritz, ‘Seelenheil und Sachkultur. Gedanken zur Beziehung Mensch-Objekt im späten Mittelalter’, in *Europäische Sachkultur des Mittelalters. Gedenkschrift aus Anlaß des zehnjährigen Bestehens des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs* (Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), pp. 57–82.

documents, which were used to register more considerable property transfers involving annual rents and real estate. Nonetheless, the gifts of movables needed for worship known from late medieval Stockholm, although not that numerous, are a testimony to what could be called the ‘liturgical awareness’ of their donors. Benefactors realised what was required to conduct the commemorative and intercessory religious services they asked for or, at the very least, they were willing to follow the instructions which they received from clergymen and people more learned in the matters of the liturgy.

The church benefactors from late medieval Stockholm were also aware of the more ‘worldly’ needs of the priests who were in charge of their commemoration. In particular, housing and food. The official town records of Stockholm contain numerous references to prebend houses and homesteads.<sup>109</sup> However, in most cases, it is difficult to determine whether these were houses that only belonged to a particular prebend and/or provided it with an annual rent, or whether they were houses in which prebend priests were actually accommodated. These two options were, obviously, not mutually exclusive. Only in two cases, it was possible to establish that the houses in question were inhabited by priests. In 1498, when an inheritance case was brought before the town council, the location of immovable properties was described as follows: ‘beleget nest nordan Waraffrw gillestue och sunnen nesth prebenda husit, som prestin besitter [...] ena kaalgardhtompt, som Helga blodz prebenda tilhører [...] nest vestan Sancte Oleffs prebenda hussin [...]’.<sup>110</sup> The first house mentioned was clearly occupied by a priest. Almost a decade later, in 1507, a house belonging to the prebend of St Nicholas, where chaplain Nils Lenck lived, was mentioned.<sup>111</sup>

Regarding the provision of food, Mikel Svarte and his wife Elin Pedersdotter founded the prebend of the Three Kings in the choir of St Eric and St Henry in the Town Church in 1486. The prebend priest Erik Andree and his successors were obliged to say four masses weekly. Erik received 60 marks of money and some valuable items as remuneration for his duties. Moreover, as long as the spouses were alive, he had the right to dine at their table, as Mikel Svarte phrased it: ‘klärken skal gangha til mit bordh.’ After their deaths, the prebend priest was to live on an annual rent collected from designated immovable properties, and one of those properties was to provide a pound of wax annually for the prebend.<sup>112</sup> One of the entries in

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<sup>109</sup> SJB, no. 1101; SJB, no. 1159–1160, STB II, pp. 521–522; STB IV, pp. 205–208; STB IV, p. 218; STB IV, pp. 349–350; STB V, p. 39.

<sup>110</sup> STB III, p. 405. About the same case, see also STB III, p. 407.

<sup>111</sup> STB IV, p. 144.

<sup>112</sup> SDHK 31709. On the same foundation, see also SJB, no. 1304, STB III, pp. 139–140.

the official property register of Stockholm refers to a house belonging to the prebend of Mikel Svarte which was used as a landmark.<sup>113</sup> It is, however, one of the aforementioned notices which do not explain whether the prebend priest was living there or it was simply a property used to collect annual rent for his remuneration and the needs of the prebend. If the former, it would mean that Svarte provided his chaplain not only with food but also with housing. Again, the practice of providing a priest serving at one's prebend with accommodation in a designated house was not unique to Stockholm and we can find examples of this practice elsewhere during the late medieval period, for example in Prussia.<sup>114</sup>

#### 2.4.6 Strategies of survival and guarantors for religious foundations

The next feature of the church benefactors' mentality concerns the strategies they employed to ensure the survival of their foundations. The previous chapter discussed how the legal framework in Stockholm, created by the Swedish Town Law and the local administrative practices, was unfavourable for donating the immovable property to the Church. The donors had to stay within the legally proscribed limits on how much of their property could be allocated for pious purposes, or secure the approval of their heirs and the town authorities if they wanted to surpass those limitations.<sup>115</sup> Another element of those survival strategies was finding a suitable guarantor who could guard and tend to the foundation after the founder's death.

Dietrich W. Poeck highlighted the role that town councils played in this regard in Hanseatic towns and cities, such as Wismar and Lübeck. Hanseatic burghers often put their private pious foundations under the supervision of the town councils. The given council was supposed to dispose of the property that provided the income for the foundation's upkeep, ensure that the funds allocated for this purpose did not run out and that religious worship in the intentions of the founder did not cease. The council was either granted the patronage rights by the founder immediately, or they were transferred to it from the founder's heirs after a certain number of generations passed. In this way, a private founder placed his prebend, altar or chapel under the protection of the town council and benefited from its authority to ensure the continuity of the worship that he or she founded. In return, as the holder of patronage rights, the town

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<sup>113</sup> SJB, no. 1110, STB II, p. 407.

<sup>114</sup> M. Sumowski, *Duchowni i mieszczanie. Kler niższy w społeczeństwie późnośredniowiecznych miast pruskich* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2022), pp. 464–467.

<sup>115</sup> See subchapters 1.2.1 and 1.3.

council could appoint the prebend priest, usually recruited from council members' relatives and lesser municipal officials, to provide for their livelihood.<sup>116</sup> Alternatively, burghers could turn to the ecclesiastical or territorial authorities to whom their town or city was subordinated. Analysing religious foundations in Prussian towns and cities, Oliński pointed out that: 'The functioning of the Teutonic Order was [also] connected with perpetual guarantees for the foundations. The Order was to ensure "ex nunc in perpetuum" that a priest was appointed for this purpose, in addition to guaranteeing the sustainability of the funds allocated to the mass foundation.'<sup>117</sup> Notably, in medieval Prussia, the Teutonic Order acted as both an ecclesiastical institution and a territorial ruler.

We find such arrangements in pre-Reformation Stockholm as well. Probably the most obvious guarantor for the continuity of pious foundations established in Stockholm was the archbishop of Uppsala who was the head of both the archdiocese to which the town belonged and the whole Swedish church province. When Archbishop Peter Filipsson allowed former Stockholm burgher currently living in Lübeck, Johannes Geismar, to found the altar of St Martin in the Town Church in 1337, it was agreed upon that his heirs down to the fourth generation could appoint a prebend priest to serve there, 'dum tamen alias dignus et idoneus inueniatur.' The archbishop stressed that later 'nobis vel successoribus nostris poterint presentare, post gradum vero eundem, nullo eiusdem gismari posterum.'<sup>118</sup> A similar agreement was reached when Gertrud Kansten established the altar and prebend of St Andreas in the Town Church in 1370 with the approval of Archbishop Birger Gregersson. The first chaplain serving at the altar was chosen by Gertrud. It was stipulated that, subsequently, 'cum ipsa prebenda vacauerit tres ad eam dumtaxat successiue et continue personas idoneas presentandj videlicet postmodum ad dominum archiepiscopum Vpsalensem qui pro tempore fuerit omnimoda et libera sit translata facultas.'<sup>119</sup>

It remains uncertain whether the patronage rights to the altar of St Martin founded by Johannes Geismar in the Town Church eventually ended up with the archbishop. In 1401, Margit, wife of Hans Stäkemäs and grandniece of Geismar, requested that 'allan sin raet ther hon hafde til the prebendone' established by her granduncle should be transferred to Hemming

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<sup>116</sup> D.W. Poeck, 'Rat und Memoria', in D. Geuenich and O.G. Oexle (eds), *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), pp. 292–299.

<sup>117</sup> P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczkańskie w miastach pruskich*, p. 52: 'Funkcje zakonu krzyżackiego były związane z wieczystymi gwarancjami dla fundacji. Zakon miał "ex nunc in perpetuum" dbać o to, aby wyznaczano do tego celu kapłana, poza tym miał gwarantować trwałość przeznaczonego na fundację mszalną majątku.'

<sup>118</sup> SDHK 4312 / DS 3274.

<sup>119</sup> SDHK 9803 / DS 8213.

Holmstensson, a priest serving at the Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Stockholm. It was to be done once her kinsmen are dead, as Hemming and his brother were the next rights holders in line.<sup>120</sup> Frans de Brun claimed that Margit ‘transferred her rights to the prebend to Archbishop Hemming’ (‘upplät sin rätt till prebendan på ärkebiskop Hemming’),<sup>121</sup> which, however, appears impossible. Firstly, the office of the archbishop of Uppsala in 1401 was held by Henrik Karlsson. Secondly, the said Hemming was referred to in the document only as ‘hedhirlikom manne herra Haeminge’, and not as a bishop or archbishop. Moreover, the patronage rights were rather quickly handed over to the Stockholm priest Hemming Holmstensson and his mother Können Hansdotter. Already in 1409, they ceded their rights to the altar of St Martin to Queen Margaret Valdemarsdotter of the Kalmar Union.<sup>122</sup> The right transfer from Margit to priest Hemming in all likelihood stemmed from their shared kinship or acquaintanceship. However, the subsequent change of patronage and the involvement of the royal authority of Queen Margaret must have been an attempt to secure the longevity of the worship at the altar from which Hemming and his mother benefited spiritually as temporal patrons.

In the same 1409, Queen Margaret Valdemarsdotter received the patronage rights to the prebend of St Gertrud in the Town Church, which later became associated with a guild dedicated to the same female saint.<sup>123</sup> The prebend had been founded in 1394 by a group of Victual Brothers in the service of Swedish King Albrecht of Mecklenburg. This was probably an act of expiation performed by those privateers in the face of papal intervention after they had imprisoned Bishop Tord Gunnarsson of Strängnäs.<sup>124</sup> Taking into account that the persons who transferred their rights to the prebend to Queen Margaret were the same as some of the original founders and that they fought on the side of the previous monarch, in the changed political circumstances, after Margaret won and effectively assumed power in Sweden, it might have been an attempt to gain her favour or, at least, escape her wrath. At the same time, there is no evidence that Queen Margaret erased the commemoration of the original founders, who used to side with her adversary King Albrecht, so perhaps they continued to be included in the memorial

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<sup>120</sup> SDHK 15601 / SD 43.

<sup>121</sup> F. de Brun, ‘Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal under medeltiden’, in J. Roosval (ed.), *S. Nikolai eller Storkyrkan i Stockholm*, vol. 1: *Församlingshistoria* (Stockholm, Victor Pettersons bokindustriaktiebolag, 1924), pp. 24–25.

<sup>122</sup> SDHK 17159.

<sup>123</sup> SDHK 17380 / SD 1219.

<sup>124</sup> F. de Brun, ‘Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal’, p. 34; M. Puhle, *Die Vitalienbrüder. Klaus Störtebeker und die Seeräuber der Hansezeit*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Frankfurt/Main, Campus Verlag, 1994), p. 82. See also documents concerning this issue: *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 22: 1391–1395 (Schwerin, Baerensprung, 1907), no. 12669; *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 23: 1396–1399 (Schwerin, Baerensprung, 1911), no. 13092, 13539.



services. On the other hand, little is known about the later history of the prebend of St Gertrud in general.<sup>125</sup>

At an unspecified point in the late 15<sup>th</sup> or early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the town registrar Helmick van Nörden handed his patronage rights to the prebend established in the choir of St Barbara in the Town Church, which he inherited from the founders, Councillor Herman Rembeke and his wife Elseby, to the archbishop and the cathedral chapter of Uppsala on behalf of himself, his wife and children. However, he retained for his family the right to be consulted on the appointment of the prebend priest.<sup>126</sup> Similarly, in July 1485, Hans Skimmelpenning transferred to the same archbishop and cathedral chapter the patronage rights to the prebend of St Christopher in the Town Church, which he had inherited from his father-in-law. He asked Archbishop Jakob Ulfsson and his chapter to take the prebend under their protection but he also wished for his heirs to continue to supervise the prebend and appoint the chaplain with the consent and approval of the archbishop.<sup>127</sup> Both Helmick and Hans likely wanted to safeguard their prebends while retaining some limited control over their staff and affairs.

Oddly enough, despite the document issued by Hans Skimmelpenning, which granted the patronage rights to the prebend of St Christopher to the archbishop and the cathedral chapter of Uppsala, the town council claimed in August 1485 that it possessed a written confirmation of its rights to the prebend.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, it is more likely that the rights were indeed passed to the council, and not to the archbishop. It is evidenced by an answer given to the chaplain serving at the prebend of St Christopher by the council regarding the number of masses he ought to celebrate weekly,<sup>129</sup> as well as by listing lay administrators supervising this prebend in the register of municipal officials subordinated to the council.<sup>130</sup> Whether Hans changed his mind and decided to ask the town council for protection instead of the archbishop, or whether the council was granted the patronage rights by someone else, e.g. a previous right holder, and a possible dispute over the prebend was resolved in its favour remains unknown.

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<sup>125</sup> F. de Brun, 'Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal', p. 34.

<sup>126</sup> SDHK 31749. The document is badly damaged and the part with the dating is missing.

<sup>127</sup> SDHK 31607. See also SDHK 31608. F. de Brun, 'Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal', p. 38.

<sup>128</sup> STB II, p. 103.

<sup>129</sup> STB II, p. 346.

<sup>130</sup> The administrators of St Christopher's prebend appear in the register in 1493, 1499 and 1504–1522, see J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok 1419–1544* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1927), pp. 126, 142, 155 ff. Cf. F. de Brun, 'Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal', p. 38.

It appears that also in Stockholm the town council was a viable guarantor for the continued existence of religious foundations and implementation of pious bequests. Even though the bequests for pious purposes listed in the will of Erik Jonsson of 1465 were ultimately not fulfilled due to his posthumous child and legal heir being born, Erik chose the town council as the guardian of his pious endeavours. He wanted the money acquired from the purchase or redemption of the annual rent, which he donated to ecclesiastical institutions, to be put at the disposal of the council and used ‘i gudz thieneste’ according to the council’s suggestions. Furthermore, should ‘thenne korgangen [of the Town Church] afflades som nw vptagen aer ath then bliffwa icke saa fulkomelige’, he authorised the burgomasters and councillors to allocate the annual rent he intended for this ‘korgangen’ for a different pious purpose.<sup>131</sup> Thereby, in pre-Reformation Stockholm, not only the territorial (royal) and ecclesiastical powers but also the local municipal authorities were trusted with care for foundations and donations made by urban dwellers.

#### 2.4.7 Attachment to one’s place of origin and residence

Finally, the foundation of the chapel and almshouse in Vadstena by Mårten Nilsson mentioned already in the context of Marian piety demonstrates an attachment to one’s place of birth. Mårten established those two institutions in his hometown before he moved back there around 1521 while he was still a burgher of Stockholm. Whereas his return to the much more remotely located town of Vadstena was likely motivated by the violence brought to Stockholm by King Christian II of Denmark and the growing rebellion led by Gustav Vasa,<sup>132</sup> his earlier foundations may have very well been a sign of his affection towards the place of his origin. Such connections with one’s place of birth or former place of residence evidenced by pious gifts were not unheard of in the medieval Baltic region. For example, Adelaide, a widow of a Königsberg (modern-day Kaliningrad, Russian Federation) burgher Ullmann, issued her will in 1311 and bequeathed, among ecclesiastical institutions located in other Prussian and Polish towns, numerous religious recipients in Kulm. Despite being a widow of a Königsberger, she wished to be buried at the Franciscan church in either Kulm or Thorn. Oliński supposes that Adelaide originated from

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<sup>131</sup> SJB, no. 650.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. G. Carlsson, ‘Jungfru Marie psaltares brödraskap i Sverige’, pp. 10–11.

Kulm, which would explain her generosity towards the places of worship there.<sup>133</sup> Perhaps in the case of both Mårten and Adelaide, the pious gifts made in the towns they left were also expressions of their gratitude for the time they had spent there.

As Halina Manikowska argued, the liturgical commemoration was used by burghers not only to maintain a link with their place of origin and the community that they or their ancestors left behind, but also ‘to take root in a new environment, to assert themselves, and to ensure their commemoration’ in their new home.<sup>134</sup> Such cases are noticeable in the source material from late medieval Stockholm. Primary examples are Councillor Peter Ålänning and Burgomaster Bengt Smålänning. They bore toponymic surnames that were derived from place names, that is, the Åland Islands situated at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia and Småland in southern Sweden, respectively.<sup>135</sup> Both of them established prebends in Stockholm or elsewhere, made a career in municipal administration and climbed the social hierarchy ladder in Stockholm, as is evidenced by their admission to the town council.<sup>136</sup>

Ålänning and his wife Kristin are not known to have any children.<sup>137</sup> But the history of Smålänning’s family is an example of how descendants supported and patronised the foundation established by their ancestor in his new hometown, and thus an example of continuous familial commemoration. As it was mentioned above, Bengt Smålänning’s daughter, Barbara, endowed in 1516 the prebend founded by her father at the altar of St Birgitta and St Catherine in the parish church of Stockholm.<sup>138</sup> The patronage rights to the prebend were inherited by Hans Laurensen, Barbara’s son from her second marriage, and his wife Karin. Hans, being a grandson of Burgomaster Bengt Smålänning, likely profited from his prestigious

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<sup>133</sup> P. Oliński, ‘Mieszczanin w trosce o zbawienie. Uwagi o memoratywnych funkcjach fundacji mieszczańskich w wielkich miastach pruskich’, in H. Manikowska and H. Zaremska (eds), *Ecclesia et civitas. Kościół i życie religijne w mieście średniowiecznym* (Warszawa, Instytut Historii PAN, 2002), p. 351.

<sup>134</sup> H. Manikowska and P. Okniński, ‘Przeszłość osobista i tożsamość wspólnotowa. Formy i treści memorii w późnym średniowieczu’, in H. Manikowska (ed.), *Przeszłość w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski*, vol. 2 (Warszawa, Instytut Historii PAN, 2018), pp. 279–281. The quote comes from p. 280: ‘[...] zakorzenienia w nowym środowisku, ugruntowania swojej pozycji, zachowania pamięci o sobie.’ Manikowska used as an example a donation to the Teutonic Order made by Kunigunde, wife of a Thorn burgher Konrad of Poznań, in 1257, shortly after the town’s founding. Kunigunde belonged to the first generation of settlers who helped to establish the town. This donation had been earlier discussed by Oliński, see P. Oliński, ‘Mieszczanin w trosce o zbawienie’, pp. 349–350.

<sup>135</sup> For more on the geographical provenance of the Stockholm council members, see M. Lamberg, *Dannemännen i stadens råd*, pp. 68–69.

<sup>136</sup> Peter Ålänning founded with his wife two prebends in the cathedrals of Åbo and Uppsala: SDHK 13175 / FMU 950 / REA 264; SDHK 13294 / FMU 958. Bengt Smålänning founded a prebend at the altar of St Birgitta and St Catherine in the Town Church of Stockholm: STB IV, p. 165.

<sup>137</sup> H. Gilllingstam, ‘Peter Ålänning’, in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/7132>, accessed online 29 March 2023.

<sup>138</sup> E.M. Fant, *Observationes selectae historiam Svecanam illustrantes*, vol. 4, no. IX, pp. 31–35.

lineage and his family's commemoration at the local parish church. He was admitted to the town council of Stockholm as a councillor in 1516 and later became a burgomaster.<sup>139</sup>

## 2.5 Conclusions

I have attempted a more systematic identification of the background of church benefactors in late medieval Stockholm, but have been only semi-successful. The provided percentages are rather rough estimates because it is often difficult to distinguish wives from widows and craftsmen from merchants using the available source material. Nonetheless, it can be ascertained that both craftsmen and merchants, men and women, members of the urban elite and the general populace participated in pious gift-giving. What is noteworthy is the large share of women who took part in the making of more than half of the registered donations and foundations, either individually or jointly with men, typically with their husbands. More pious gifts came from donors who certainly or likely were merchants than from those who possibly were craftsmen. This is easily explained by the fact that merchants, especially wholesalers engaging in long-distance maritime trade, were usually wealthier than craftsmen. Nevertheless, one can find also gifts made by practitioners of less profitable crafts, such as bakers, coopers, shoemakers, charcoal burners, and their female relatives. Almost one-third of the registered pious endowments came from members of the town council and their female relatives, usually widows. None of those findings seems surprising. They remain in line with the results of earlier studies and even educated guesses which did not require such a quantitative analysis.

The group which is lacking from the available sources, and thus from the analysis, are the poorer members of the urban populace, that is, simple labourers and servants. The explanation for this phenomenon again lies in their financial and material assets. As this and the previous chapters discuss, apart from a few exceptions, the preserved primary sources regarding pre-Reformation Stockholm registered only transactions of annual rents and real estate. This applies both to entries in the official town records and individual documents. Smaller gifts of money and movables were registered in wills but these are few in number and were issued only by the wealthier burghers, who disposed of property that required distribution exceeding the usual norms of the inheritance law. The less wealthy urban and suburban dwellers who could not afford to donate considerable sums of money or valuable items, not to mention

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<sup>139</sup> C.C. Sjöden, *Stockholms borgerskap under Sturetiden*, pp. 255–256.

making foundations (i.e. creating new chantries), have not produced written sources that have survived to the present day or have not produced them at all. Thus, they only appear in the analysed texts as the recipients of gifts and bequests made by well-off donors.

New insights have been gained through a comparative analysis of Stockholm against other towns and cities around the Baltic Sea. It has been stressed several times throughout this chapter that the church benefactors in Stockholm had the same goals as their counterparts in other Baltic towns. They also shared some mental features and thinking patterns that were characteristic of the Hanseatic sphere of influence or the whole of Christian Europe. Stockholmers, just like their relatives, acquaintances and trade partners from Lübeck and Prussian towns, used impressive religious foundations as a source of prestige and a means to achieve social promotion. At times, they tried to secure the well-being of their kinsmen by appointing them as chaplains serving at the places of worship which they founded. Most, if not all, of the religious thoughts reflected in donation and foundation documents, such as the focus on Marian and Rosarian piety, treating prayers and good deeds as ‘quantitative goods’ and attempting to relieve the souls suffering in Purgatory, were not local inventions either, but a proof of the shared Christian religiosity. The same goes, although in more practical terms, for the strategies of survival employed by the inhabitants of Stockholm that involved ecclesiastical, territorial and municipal authorities. That was a practice known well from other late medieval towns and cities.

All in all, Stockholm dwellers originating from a wide scope of social strata, from rather modest craftsmen to the wealthiest merchants and the most influential burgomasters, engaged in the same culture of pious gift-giving as their counterparts in the Baltic region and elsewhere within Latin Christendom. Unlike in the case of the form and size of their pious gifts, the aims, motivations and convictions behind their endowments were not limited by the local law, practices and customs. As it was discussed in subchapters 1.2 and 1.3, the Swedish Town Law of the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century and the local administrative praxis of Stockholm municipal authorities restricted the ecclesiastical ownership of land within the town proper of Stockholm and limited the amount of real estate (or, more often than not, the annual income thereof) that could be donated to the Church. Moreover, due to heavily regulated inheritance law and the lack of safekeeping of burgher wills at the town archives, testamentary bequests for pious purposes, and wills in general, seem significantly less popular in late medieval Stockholm than in many other Baltic towns at that time. On the contrary, various manifestations of thinking about pious gifts and using them for purposes other than ‘just’ salvation, which were listed above, were not

faced with such legal and administrative constraints in Stockholm. This made this aspect of pious gift-giving less unique to Stockholm and more typical of the townspeople of the Baltic region and, more broadly, of the entire late medieval Latin Christendom.

It should be added that the available source material has been deemed too scarce and scattered to attempt to outline possible differences between various groups of townspeople in late medieval Stockholm. The aforementioned difficulty in distinguishing the social conditions of donors contributed to this drawback.

### 3 The Community

This chapter deals with ‘public’ aspects of pious gift-giving in late medieval Stockholm, i.e. types of and means to transfer gifts for pious purposes that concerned and involved the whole urban community of Stockholm. Firstly, donations for charity which have been deliberately omitted from the typology of pious gifts presented in the first chapter are discussed here. In addition to the benefactor’s concern for their own salvation and the salvation of their relatives, such gifts were inherently connected with poor relief, and thus with the wider community. Next, the collective and individual forms of commemoration which were not mutually exclusive and sometimes were combined and intertwined by the same donors are analysed. The former often involved religious confraternities and various guilds functioning in and around Stockholm. Lastly, the chapter investigates the role played by the town council of Stockholm – i.e. the governing body of the urban commune – for pious gifts made by Stockholm burghers and suburban dwellers, and the council’s pursuit of its own commemoration among the council members and the urban community. Therefore, the chapter highlights the impact of charity-related gifts on the local community on the one hand, and the impact of various communal organisations, associations and municipal authorities on gift-giving in pre-Reformation Stockholm on the other.

#### 3.1 Gifts for charitable purposes

In the late Middle Ages, the involuntary poor, that is those who were genuinely unable to work and provide for themselves, were considered deserving of poor relief, and helping them was viewed as the realisation of the Christian idea of charity. That distinguished those needy worthy of aid from, on the one hand, the voluntary poor, who pursued the vows of poverty, and on the other hand, people who lived in the dregs of the society of their own volition and, therefore, should be rather stigmatised than helped.<sup>1</sup> Almsgiving was given special theological importance due to the notion of Christ’s presence in the poor. As noted by Sally Angharad Dixon-Smith:

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<sup>1</sup> O.G. Oexle, ‘Armut, Armutsbegriff und Armenfürsorge im Mittelalter’, in Ch. Sachße and F. Tennstedt (eds), *Soziale Sicherheit und soziale Disziplinierung. Beiträge zu einer historischen Theorie der Sozialpolitik* (Frankfurt a.M., Suhrkamp, 1986), pp. 91–95; F. Rexroth, *Deviance and Power in Late Medieval London*, transl. P.E. Selwyn (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 223–227; O.G. Oexle, ‘Armut im Mittelalter. Die pauperes in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft’, in H.-D. Heimann, A. Hildebrand, B. Schmies, and Ch. Stiegemann (eds), *Gelobte Armut. Armutskonzepte der franziskanischen Ordensfamilie vom Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart* (Paderborn, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2012), pp. 13–14.

‘Although the corporal works can only bring bodily relief to the recipient, they could bring spiritual benefits to the giver, in the form of prayers for his soul. [...] almsgiving was also an exchange of material goods for more ephemeral returns, in this case, to thank Christ for his help, and in hopes of his continued blessing.’<sup>2</sup> Moreover, paupers were not just passive recipients of alms, in the Middle Ages they were expected to reciprocate them with intercessory prayers.<sup>3</sup>

Joachim Wollasch wondered whether, in the later Middle Ages, towns and cities replaced abbeys of monastic orders as centres of ‘social services’ provided to the needy by burghers’ pious donations and foundations, and local guilds and fraternities.<sup>4</sup> Regardless of the assessment of the charitable activities of monastic and mendicant orders in the late medieval period, town dwellers certainly engaged in almsgiving and participated in poor relief across Christian Europe. This was also the case for late medieval Baltic towns and cities, such as Lübeck, Reval and Prussian towns. Local burghers endowed money, food, shoes, clothing and bedding to the poor in hospitals and almshouses, beggars living on the streets, and their relatives and acquaintances in need, as well as provided related and unrelated poor girls with a dowry. It was a widespread custom to give money and meals to the poor, as well as provide them with access to a bath, at the time of one’s funeral, on the monthly and annual anniversary of their death or for a certain time thereafter. Moreover, in some cases, wealthy burghers were even able to found new almshouses and Beguine convents.<sup>5</sup>

What may seem surprising, at least at a first glance, is the small number of testamentary bequests aimed directly at the poor in pre-Reformation Stockholm, especially against the background of pious donations of this type having greater significance in other Baltic towns. Only five testators associated with Stockholm offered money, clothes and shoes to the poor

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<sup>2</sup> S.A. Dixon-Smith, ‘Feeding the Poor to Commemorate the Dead: The Pro Anima Almsgiving of Henry III of England, 1227–72’, PhD thesis (London, 2002), pp. 72, 75.

<sup>3</sup> D. Poeck, ‘Totengedenken in Hansestädten’, in F. Neiske, D. Poeck, and M. Sandmann (eds), *Vinculum Societatis. Joachim Wollasch zum 60. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringendorf, Verlag Glock und Lutz, 1991), p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> J. Wollasch, ‘Gemeinschaftsbewußtsein und soziale Leistung im Mittelalter’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 9 (1975), pp. 284–286.

<sup>5</sup> B. Noodt, *Religion und Familie in der Hansestadt Lübeck anhand der Bürgertestamente des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 2000), pp. 230–235; P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Królewiec, Braniewo)* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2008), pp. 61–62; K.-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2015), pp. 305–312, 329–332; R. Kubicki, *Testamenty elbląskie. Studium z dziejów miasta i jego mieszkańców w późnym średniowieczu* (Gdańsk, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2020), pp. 154–156. For more on the Beguine lay religious movement, see W. Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200–1565* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).



in Stockholm.<sup>6</sup> Of those, Dethard Krake bequeathed in 1472 not only Stockholm paupers but also local poor priests and students. The reason behind this becomes apparent if one recalls the total number of preserved wills of Stockholm inhabitants, of which only 13 have been identified. That includes 12 ‘fragmented’ wills (i.e. containing multiple pious bequests) and one ‘non-fragmented’ will with bequests for only two pious purposes. Here we return to the question raised in the first chapter: was such a small number of Stockholm burghers’ wills preserved for the pre-Reformation period a result of accidents of survival or a conscious choice to transfer gifts to pious causes, including charity, in a different way?<sup>7</sup> It seems that both those factors contributed to the small number of available wills. Some were most likely lost over time as the practice of safeguarding burghers’ will in the town archives was not present in medieval Stockholm. Other posthumous property transfers were carried out without the involvement of wills and testament executors at all, thanks to the precise inheritance regulations of the Swedish Town Law. Thus, the impact of testamentary bequests used to directly distribute money and material goods among the poor in Stockholm by testamentary executors on the poor relief in that town must have been moderate at best.

There were other ways for town dwellers to care for the needy in their community. One case of a charitable endeavour classified by Ralf Lusiardi as an almsgiving foundation (Ger. *Almosenstiftung*), i.e. a foundation connected with the periodical distribution of alms, was identified in late medieval Stockholm.<sup>8</sup> In 1434, Gerd Sorbeck and his wife Tala allocated a house located in Stockholm (presumably to be sold) or 250 marks in Stockholm coins to purchase an annual rent for the Choir of the Soul in the Town Church. This rent was to sustain an everlasting mass celebration in honour of the Holy Spirit with a collect for the souls of the founders, their acquaintances and all Christians, and an associated almsgiving every Sunday, likely by the administrators of the Choir of the Soul and/or in the choir.<sup>9</sup>

As only one such example of an individual almsgiving foundation was found, it can be concluded that the inhabitants of late medieval Stockholm preferred collective forms of care for the needy. Before the Reformation, Stockholm boasted a variety of charitable institutions.

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<sup>6</sup> SDHK 40693 / DS 9235; SDHK 10882 / DS 9332; Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Wilhelm Stenking (7.11.1392); Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Dethard Krake (22.04.1472); SDHK 36703 (another version: SDHK 38528).

<sup>7</sup> For a more elaborate discussion on this issue, see subchapter 1.2.1.

<sup>8</sup> R. Lusiardi, *Stiftung und städtische Gesellschaft. Religiöse und soziale Aspekte des Stiftungsverhaltens im spätmittelalterlichen Stralsund* (Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2000), pp. 168–169.

<sup>9</sup> SJB, no. 72, p. 449. The details of the mass and almsgiving are unknown as only a summary of the foundation document is available.

The Homestead of the Holy Spirit served as a rest home for wealthy elderly people who paid an entrance fee and as an almshouse for the poor, sick and orphans. The Homestead of St George, also referred to as a hospital, was primarily a leproseum but hosted different kinds of inmates as well. Moreover, at least two other, nowadays less-known, infirmaries operated in Stockholm and its vicinity in the late Middle Ages. Another charity-oriented institution, the Homestead of the Soul not only provided housing for chaplains serving in the associated Choir of the Soul but also one of its administrators was responsible for distributing alms to 60 paupers every Sunday, providing them with a bath once a month and a free meal once a year. Finally, the Funds of the Sunday and Friday Alms were used to distribute alms among the poor on the designated day of the week.<sup>10</sup> Despite the obvious ecclesiastical nature of those institutions, they were all under the supervision of the town council through the appointed administrators.<sup>11</sup> Thus, Stockholm urban and suburban dwellers could choose one or more of those as the recipient of their pious gifts intended to relieve the poor.

Among all the 192 analysed pious gifts made by burghers and suburban dwellers of pre-Reformation Stockholm (regardless of the number of donors and recipients), 40 gifts include at least one endowment for a charitable institution, which equates to 20.8 per cent of the total number. In total 53 individual endowments to charitable institutions located in Stockholm and beyond were registered, as a single gift could endow more than one institution.

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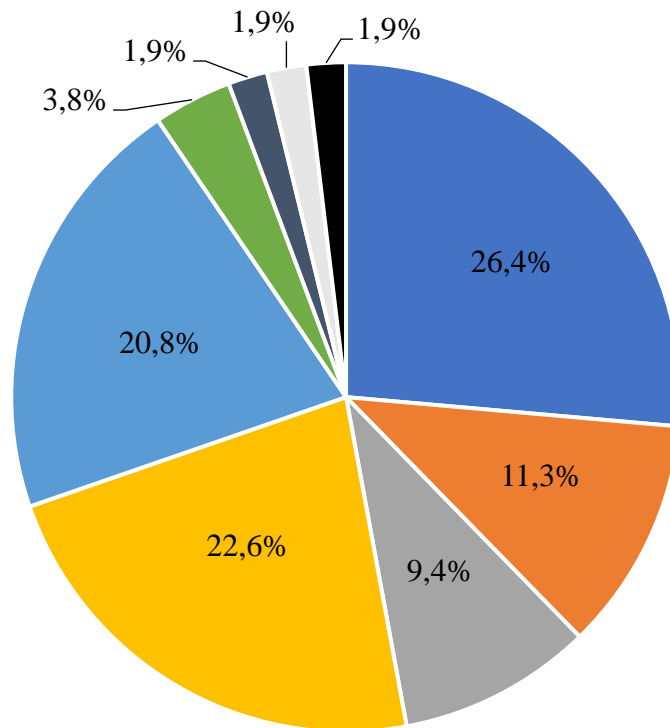
<sup>10</sup> F. de Brun, 'Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal under medeltiden', in J. Roosval (ed.), *S. Nikolai eller Storkyrkan i Stockholm*, vol. 1: *Församlingshistoria* (Stockholm, Victor Pettersons bokindustriaktiebolag, 1924), pp. 8–9; H. Schück, *Stockholm vid 1400-talets slut* (Stockholm, Wahlström & Widstrand, 1940), pp. 180–183, 188–201; N. Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1953), pp. 496–497; S. Högberg, *Stockholms historia*, vol. 1: *Den medeltida köpstaden. Hans Nådes stad. Stormaktens huvudstad. Borgarnas stad* (Stockholm, Bonnier fakta bokförlag, 1981), pp. 80–81; G. Dahlbäck (ed.), *Helgeandsholmen. 1000 år i Stockholms ström* (Stockholm, Liber Förlag, 1982), pp. 62–72; G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Stockholm, Stockholmia förlag, 1995), pp. 150–155; C. Blom, 'Att inte förgås i "vanrykt"'. Sytning, själägagn, vård och omsorg under senmedeltid och 1500-tal', *Scandia. Tidskrift för historisk forskning*, 66/1 (2000), pp. 5–54. For an overview of charitable institutions in medieval Stockholm, see subchapter 1.1.

<sup>11</sup> Those administrators appear in the lists of municipal officials subordinated to the town council of Stockholm, see J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok 1419–1544* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1927).

**Table 7.** Number of pious gifts received by each charitable institution in Stockholm and beyond

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name of the charitable institution</b>	<b>Number of gifts received</b>
1.	Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Stockholm	14
2.	Hospital of St George in Stockholm	6
3.	Homestead of the Soul	5
4.	Fund of the Friday Alms	12
5.	Fund of the Sunday Alms	11
6.	Hospital of St George in Söderköping	2
7.	Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Skänninge	1
8.	Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Vadstena	1
9.	Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Västerås	1
<b>Total:</b>		<b>53</b>

**Graph 7.** Pie chart on the percentage of gifts received by each institution among the gifts for charitable institutions (n = 53)



- Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Stockholm
- Hospital of St George in Stockholm
- Homestead of the Soul
- Fund of the Friday Alms
- Fund of the Sunday Alms
- Hospital of St George in Söderköping
- Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Skänninge
- Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Vadstena
- Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Västerås

Analysing late medieval and sixteenth-century wills from Reval, Kadri-Rutt Hahn established that testamentary bequests aimed to relieve the needy constituted only one-quarter of all pious bequests, the majority of which endowed purely religious institutions, and were frequently conditioned by the rejection of the inheritance by an heir or by excessive property remaining after all bequests listed in the will were fulfilled. Thus, she concluded, pious bequests for the poor were of secondary importance to the inhabitants of late medieval Reval.<sup>12</sup> Similar observations have been made for late medieval Stockholm, where only 20.8 per cent of all registered pious gifts were meant for charitable institutions. Moreover, at least two of those

<sup>12</sup> K.-R. Hahn, *Revaler Testamente*, pp. 309–310.

gifts treated aforementioned institutions more as regular places of worship than centres of caregiving, as they were used to found, respectively, a weekly mass in the chapel of the hospital of St George and an everlasting mass at the altar of the Holy Cross in the chapel of the Homestead of the Holy Spirit.<sup>13</sup> The quantitative analysis offered here indicates that poor relief was of secondary importance also for urban and suburban dwellers in Stockholm.

However, investigating both gifts for collective caregiving (i.e. charitable institutions) and individual testamentary bequests for poor relief, one can find endowments made by Stockholmers that heavily focused on charity. For example, former Burgomaster Wilhelm Stenking used his will issued in 1392 in Lübeck to bequeath only two pious purposes. He endowed the Dominican convent in Lübeck, where he wanted to be buried, and allocated money for alms to be distributed among the poor in Lübeck and Stockholm.<sup>14</sup> Earlier in 1373, when he was still a councillor of Stockholm, Stenking donated two marks of annual rent collected from a designated plot of land to the Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Stockholm to purchase linen bedding for the inmates.<sup>15</sup> Mårten Nilsson *skinnare*, an extremely wealthy burger of Stockholm born in the town of Vadstena, managed to establish in his hometown a completely new almshouse associated with the local Rosarian confraternity.<sup>16</sup> All in all, one should not underestimate the contributions made by Stockholm burghers and suburban dwellers to the local poor relief. As Conny Blom emphasised, the general condition of caregiving and almsgiving in the Kingdom of Sweden deteriorated during the Reformation due to the dissolution, merger and reorganisation of ecclesiastical charitable institutions, also those previously supported by burghers.<sup>17</sup>

Some of the charitable institutions in and around Stockholm resembled the well-known and widespread medieval European hospitals. They sheltered pilgrims and travellers, the elderly, the chronically sick, such as lepers, and orphans, rather than provided medical care in the modern sense.<sup>18</sup> The less typical, at least for the Baltic region, forms of charity in

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<sup>13</sup> STB II, pp. 383, 430–431, 437–438; SJB, no. 130, p. 456.

<sup>14</sup> Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, the will of Wilhelm Stenking (7.11.1392). For a discussion of Stenking's will, see W. Koppe, *Lübeck-Stockholmer Handelsgeschichte im 14. Jahrhundert* (Neumünster, Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1933), p. 239; W. Koppe, 'Stockholm under Hansans inflytande. Några notiser ur Lübecks statsarkiv', in H. Ahnlund (ed.), *Historia kring Stockholm*, vol. 1: *Före 1520*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Stockholm, Wahlström & Widstrand, 1985), p. 124.

<sup>15</sup> SJB, no. 26, p. 444. See also G. Dahlbäck (ed.), *Helgeandsholmen*, p. 456.

<sup>16</sup> See subchapter 2.4.1.

<sup>17</sup> C. Blom, 'Att inte förgås i "vanrykt"', pp. 48–49.

<sup>18</sup> For the origins and development of hospitals in Christian Europe in the Middle Ages, see J.W. Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe* (Washington, D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), pp. 45–88.

Stockholm were the Homestead of the Soul and the two alms funds. Such charities were created during the medieval period by municipalities, parishes, confraternities and other entities in Western Europe, for example, in France and Iberia.<sup>19</sup> However, they were not present in medieval Baltic towns and cities. One can find such ‘public’ alms funds neither in Lübeck nor in Prussian towns. The caritative needs of those urban communities were likely taken care of by other charitable institutions, such as hospitals and leproseries, ‘private’ almsgiving foundations and testamentary bequests for charitable purposes. In late medieval Livonian towns functioned Table Guilds which served a similar purpose by handing out food and clothing to selected paupers of the local community.<sup>20</sup>

The functions fulfilled by the Homestead of Soul in pre-Reformation Stockholm, i.e. providing local paupers with alms, meals and access to a bathhouse, resembled some charitable initiatives known from other Baltic towns. The custom of distributing alms and funding recurrent meals for the poor through wills has already been mentioned above. Providing the poor with access to baths was also considered a charitable deed, instances of which can be found in medieval Prussia and other German-speaking regions.<sup>21</sup> For the housing, which the Homestead of the Soul offered to the chaplains serving in the Choir of the Soul in the Town Church of Stockholm, such communal houses for local prebend priests appeared also in other Baltic towns and cities, for example, in Prussia. However, they were typically founded by individuals and priestly fraternities.<sup>22</sup> It appears that the Homestead of the Soul in Stockholm, despite all these similarities to other charities in the medieval Baltic region and Europe, was more of a communal effort supported by the whole urban community and subordinated to the municipal authorities. The Chapel of the Soul associated with the homestead was officially approved by Archbishop Jöns Håkansson of Uppsala only in 1430 and the town council of Stockholm was granted patronage rights to it.<sup>23</sup> However, the choir had been established earlier and likely from the beginning was connected with the urban community, as its administrators

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<sup>19</sup> J.W. Brodman, *Charity and Religion*, pp. 191–194, 214, 217–219.

<sup>20</sup> A. Mänd, ‘Hospitals and Tables for the Poor in Medieval Livonia’, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 115/3–4 (2007), pp. 257–265; G. Strega, ‘Remembering the Dead: Collective Memoria in Late Medieval Livonia’, PhD thesis (London, 2013), pp. 33–44. For a brief description of a similar charitable institution of the Tables of the Poor in Western Europe, see J.W. Brodman, *Charity and Religion*, pp. 212–213.

<sup>21</sup> R. Kubicki, ‘Seelbad (balnea animarum) – uwagi na temat praktyki stosowania pobożnej fundacji w Prusach Krzyżackich i Prusach Królewskich do początku XVI wieku’, *Zapiski Historyczne*, 80/1 (2015), pp. 7–20.

<sup>22</sup> M. Sumowski, *Duchowni i mieszczanie. Kler niższy w społeczeństwie późnośredniowiecznych miast pruskich* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2022), pp. 269–274.

<sup>23</sup> SDHK 21351, 21352, 30826; F. de Brun, ‘Storkyrkans egendom, stiftelser och personal’, pp. 8–9; G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, pp. 154–155.

were listed in the register of municipal officials already in 1421.<sup>24</sup> In all likelihood, the same applied to the homestead.<sup>25</sup> The significance of both the choir and the homestead to the inhabitants of Stockholm and its suburbs is evidenced by the considerable number of endowments received by both these institutions.<sup>26</sup>

Admittedly, a guild referred to as the Alms Guild functioned in Stockholm in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. It was identical to *Karlagillet*<sup>27</sup> and had the patronage rights to the Alms Altar in the Town Church.<sup>28</sup> The guild's name clearly indicates its connection with almsgiving and charity. However, its exact role in local poor relief remains uncertain. Frans de Brun surmised that *Karlagillet* and the Alms Guild were identical to the 'Guild of the Sunday Alms.' Furthermore, he also supposed that the Fund of the Friday Alms was managed by some kind of an alms guild.<sup>29</sup> However, in a much more recent comparative study of medieval guilds in Scandinavian towns, Håkon Haugland rightly pointed out that there is no evidence to support these claims.<sup>30</sup> Probably, de Brun worked under the assumption that a medieval charity fund must have been run by a guild. In light of the research into charity funds in late medieval Western Europe mentioned above such an assumption is unfounded, as those charities were created and administered not only by guilds but also by urban authorities, ecclesiastical institutions and other entities. As there is no proof of the existence of either the 'Guild of the Sunday Alms' or the 'Guild of the Friday Alms', it is far more likely that those funds were

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<sup>24</sup> J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok*, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup> The aforementioned register of municipal officials cannot be used to track the appearance of the Homestead of the Soul. Its name was first mentioned there only in 1478, as the homestead shared the administrators with the choir. The same two administrators – Hans Holmgersson and Ingvar Dieckn – were referred to as administrators 'till sielakoren' in 1476 and 'till siälagardin' in 1478, see J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok*, pp. 97, 100. However, the Homestead of the Soul certainly existed earlier, as evidenced by, among other things, its use as a landmark ('gardh belaeghin [...] naest nordhan siaelgardhin') in 1447, see SJB, no. 96b.

<sup>26</sup> Although it should be noted that the Choir of the Soul received significantly more recorded donations than the Homestead of the Soul, namely 17 to five. This may indicate that the donors were more interested in its purely religious (liturgical) character without regard to charity.

<sup>27</sup> *Karlagillen* are known from several late medieval Swedish towns. Nils Ahnlund supposed that this type of guild had only male members, as the name was derived from the Swedish noun *en karl* which translates to a man or a husband, see N. Ahnlund, 'Medeltida gillen i Uppland', *RIG. Kulturhistorisk tidskrift*, 6/1–2 (1923), p. 9. Later, in his monograph on the history of Stockholm before the reign of Gustav Vasa, Ahnlund mentioned only that the local *Karlagille* was '[k]lart nog ett småfolksgille.' See N. Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa*, p. 500.

<sup>28</sup> See the minutes of the town council: STB I, pp. 81, 140: 'almosa altaret, som tilhörer Karllagillet', 'bade then kellaren, som skipper Symon haffuer, och swa then, som almosa karllane haffua, och lagdo them swa i millom, ath skipper Symon skal giffua Karllabrödramo viij marek och behalla then kellaren.'

<sup>29</sup> F. de Brun, 'Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal', pp. 18, 40.

<sup>30</sup> H. Haugland, 'Fellesskap og brorskap. En komparativ undersøkelse av gildenes sosiale, religiøse og rettslige rolle i et utvalg nordiske byer fra midten av 1200-tallet til reformasjonen', PhD thesis (Bergen, 2012), pp. 214, 217–218.

managed by the town council of Stockholm via the designated municipal administrators and supported by the general population of Stockholm, and not exclusively by a single guild.<sup>31</sup>

This communal approach to charity and almsgiving was demonstrated in pre-Reformation Stockholm by the Homestead of the Soul and the two ‘public’ alms funds. They differentiated Stockholm from North German, Prussian and Livonian towns and cities where poor relief was mainly carried out through individually drawn-up testamentary bequests, ‘private’ almsgiving foundations and Table Guilds. There were at least two factors that contributed to this development in Stockholm.

Firstly, guilds (including craft guilds) held little political power in late medieval Stockholm and arguably had less influence on the organisation of the urban commune than in German-speaking towns around the Baltic Sea.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, in the late Middle Ages, the urban community of Stockholm seems less prone to acute internal conflicts between different townfolk groups, and more peaceful and well-integrated than the populations of large Baltic cities, such as Lübeck and Danzig, known for their civic revolts.<sup>33</sup> Sofia Gustafsson has suggested that this could be explained by the relatively small (compared to the large cities of the Baltic region) population size of late medieval Stockholm on the one hand, and by a small social divide between the ruling merchant elite and the general populace (including craftsmen) on the other.<sup>34</sup> The weakness of the local guilds combined with the trust in the municipal authorities may have contributed to the establishment of ‘public’ forms of charity in pre-Reformation Stockholm, which was a joint effort of its residents. That would also explain the unspecified role of the Alms Guild/*Karlagillet*, as it was overshadowed, at least in the contents of the official town registers, by the charities supervised by the town council.<sup>35</sup>

Secondly, the practice of drawing up individual wills appears to have been poorly developed in late medieval Stockholm. Likely due to inheritance law being precisely regulated

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<sup>31</sup> For more on those two alms funds in Stockholm, see subchapter 1.1.

<sup>32</sup> D. Lindström, ‘Stadt und Handwerk in Schweden’, in K.H. Kaufhold and W. Reininghaus (eds), *Stadt und Handwerk in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Köln, Böhlau Verlag, 2000), p. 178.

<sup>33</sup> A. Girsztowt and P. Kołodziejczak, ‘The Participation of Craftsmen in Municipal Governance in Late Medieval Marienburg and Stockholm’, in M.F. Stevens and R. Czaja (eds), *Towns on the Edge in Medieval Europe: The Social and Political Order of Peripheral Urban Communities from the Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2022), pp. 137–138.

<sup>34</sup> S. Gustafsson, *Svenska städer i medeltidens Europa. En komparativ studie av stadsorganisation och politisk kultur* (Stockholm, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2006), pp. 182–183.

<sup>35</sup> Another problem is the lack of the account book of this guild, which has not survived to the present day. For the significance of account books and their absence for the study of pious gifts in medieval Stockholm, see subchapter 1.2.



by the Town Law introduced in the Kingdom of Sweden in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century and the lack of safekeeping wills in the town archives. This distinguished Stockholm from, for example, towns and cities using the Lübeck Law, and must have prompted Stockholmers to make pious gifts transferred directly to a chosen religious or charitable institution.<sup>36</sup> Since the distribution of alms by testament executors was limited due to the small number of wills, the presence of ‘public’ charities in the town, to which anyone could contribute by making a donation during their lifetime or upon their death, must have been convenient. Thus, it can be concluded that charity and almsgiving were more communal and ‘public’ activities in pre-Reformation Stockholm than in the other Baltic towns and cities, against the background of which Stockholm has been compared.

### 3.2 Collective and individual commemoration

The distinction made here between collective and individual forms of commemoration in the Middle Ages may seem superficial or even misleading. As Otto Gerhard Oexle stressed, ‘[...] the culture of *memoria* is a culture of individuality, even if the *memoria* is group-related and maintained by groups. The *memoria* of groups also always refers to individuals.’<sup>37</sup> Even in the case of commemoration forms that may be considered ‘collective’, such as necrologies and other writings including obituary notes kept by various monasteries and fraternities, the concern to preserve and perpetuate the individual names of benefactors is apparent.<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, the progressive development of towns and cities in the late Middle Ages prompted wealthy burghers to seek individualised commemoration by establishing private chapels, altars and prebends. Apparently, the parochial, communal and fraternal *memoria* offered by numerous ecclesiastical and secular institutions turned out to be insufficient for some.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, the distinction applied here lies in the difference between an effort made by an individual or

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<sup>36</sup> For a broader discussion of this issue, see subchapter 1.2.1.

<sup>37</sup> O.G. Oexle, ‘*Memoria als Kultur*’, in O.G. Oexle (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), p. 50: ‘[...] die Kultur der *Memoria* eine Kultur der Individualität ist, auch dann, wenn die *Memoria* eine auf Gruppen bezogene und von Gruppen getragene *Memoria* ist. Auch die *Memoria* von Gruppen bezieht sich immer auf Individuen.’

<sup>38</sup> P.-J. Schuler, ‘Das Anniversar. Zu Mentalität und Familienbewußtsein im Spätmittelalter’, in P.-J. Schuler (ed.), *Die Familie als sozialer und historischer Verband. Untersuchungen zum Spätmittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit* (Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1987), pp. 81–82.

<sup>39</sup> P. Kołodziejczak and P. Oliński, ‘For the Sake of a Soul: The Private Religious Foundation of a Stockholm Councilor from the First Half of the Fifteenth Century’, in J. Sarnowsky et al. (eds), *Studies on the Military Orders, Prussia, and Urban History: Essays in Honour of Roman Czaja on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Debrecen, University of Debrecen, 2020), p. 518.

a single family (e.g. founding a private chantry) and a joint effort undertaken by a wider community (e.g. supporting an existing parochial or communal institution), rather than in a difference in the perception of individual and collective commemoration.

It was possible to acquire liturgical commemoration the ‘collective’ way through membership in a guild. Medieval guilds performed a variety of functions. They organised the social life of their members through communal feasts and funerals, and provided them with ‘social security’ against impoverishment, widowhood, etc. They were also of military importance, contributing to urban defence, and of political significance, as they participated in decision-making in some towns and cities. In the case of craft guilds, they were also responsible for the organisation and control of members’ professional activities. Moreover, they took care of the group commemoration by organising religious services and establishing or acquiring their own places of worship.<sup>40</sup> Thus, guilds actively integrated their members and shaped their identity, for example, by making them work for a common goal, such as erecting, furnishing and adorning a guild’s altar or chapel.<sup>41</sup>

Various associations, such as craft and merchant guilds and religious fraternities, emerged in the towns and cities around the Baltic Sea during the Middle Ages.<sup>42</sup> One can find them in the urban centres in Northern Germany,<sup>43</sup> Prussia,<sup>44</sup> Livonia,<sup>45</sup> Denmark<sup>46</sup> and, obviously, Stockholm which is discussed here. A well-developed network of guilds emerged in Stockholm during the late medieval period. Dag Lindström has counted 15 craft guilds alone,

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<sup>40</sup> For the development of medieval guilds in general, see O.G. Oexle, ‘Gilde und Kommune. Über die Entstehung von “Einung” und “Gemeinde” als Grundformen des Zusammenlebens in Europa’, in P. Blickle and E. Müller-Luckner (eds), *Theorien kommunaler Ordnung in Europa* (München, Oldenbourg, 1996), pp. 75–97; O.G. Oexle, ‘Soziale Gruppen in der Ständegesellschaft. Lebensformen des Mittelalters und ihre historischen Wirkungen’, in O.G. Oexle and A. von Hülsen-Esch (eds), *Die Repräsentation der Gruppen. Texte – Bilder – Objekte* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), pp. 9–44; O.G. Oexle, “‘Einung” und “Gemeinde” in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters’, in J. Tandecki (ed.), *Die Rolle der Stadtgemeinden und bürgerlichen Genossenschaften im Hanseraum in der Entwicklungen und Vermittlung des gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Gedankengutes im Spätmittelalter* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo UMK, 2000), pp. 9–23.

<sup>41</sup> G. Strega, ‘Donations, Discipline and Commemoration: Creating Group Identity in the Transport Workers Guilds of Mid Fifteenth-Century Riga’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 48/1 (2022), pp. 103–128.

<sup>42</sup> Although Maija Ojala cautioned us not to confuse various types of urban organisations (i.e. craft, merchant and devotional guilds), they all are considered here together as ‘collective’ forms of commemoration. See M. Ojala, *Protection, Continuity and Gender: Craft Trade Culture in the Baltic Sea Region (14<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> Centuries)* (Tampere, Tampere University Press, 2014), p. 118.

<sup>43</sup> For Lübeck, see C. Jahnke, ‘Lübeck’s Confraternities’, in C. Jahnke (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Lübeck* (Leiden, Brill, 2019), pp. 372–397.

<sup>44</sup> J. Tandecki, *Struktury administracyjne i społeczne oraz formy życia w wielkich miastach Prus Krzyżackich i Królewskich w średniowieczu i na progu czasów nowożytnych* (Toruń, Wydawnictwo UMK, 2001), pp. 105–116.

<sup>45</sup> For the commemoration of merchant guilds in late medieval Livonian towns, see G. Strega, ‘Remembering the Dead’, pp. 27–33, 45–64.

<sup>46</sup> For the religious activities of guilds in late medieval Danish towns, see L. Bisgaard, *De glemte altre. Gildernes religiøse rolle i senmiddelalderens Danmark* (Odense, Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2001).

not including different guilds and fraternities, functioning in Stockholm by 1517.<sup>47</sup> Haugland cautiously noted that as many as 19 of the 41 chantries in the Town Church of Stockholm that he analysed *could* have been either founded or acquired at some point by local guilds. In doing so, he was fully aware that those links between guilds and places of worship in the parish church were not always certain.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, after a closer inspection, some of them should be omitted from the list that he made. For example, one of the entries in the register of town council minutes refers to the theological concept of the Nine Angelic Choirs used to describe angelic ranks and the celestial hierarchy,<sup>49</sup> and not to a physical choir dedicated to some nine angels.<sup>50</sup> The choir of St Barbara in the Town Church was a private foundation unrelated to the Guild of St Barbara which had its chantry located elsewhere.<sup>51</sup> Both Haugland and de Brun, whose work the former used, were aware of this, yet Haugland decided to place the choir of St Barbara located in the Town Church in his list, although with a question mark.<sup>52</sup> After removing the uncertain cases, the list of chantries located in the Town Church of Stockholm to which guilds held patronage rights looks as follows.

**Table 8.** Chantries in the Town Church of Stockholm founded and acquired by local guilds

No.	Name of the chantry	First mentioned	Founded	Founder(s)	Patronage rights holder(s)
1.	Prebend of St Olof		1350	Konrad Arxö	Guild of St Olof
2.	Altar of St Andreas		1370	Gertrud Kansten	Corpus Christi Guild from 1475
3.	Prebend of St Gertrud		1394	A group of Victual Brothers	Guild of St Gertrud
4.	Corpus Christi Choir	1420			Corpus Christi Guild

<sup>47</sup> D. Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat. Stockholm, Malmö och Bergen ca. 1350–1622* (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1991), pp. 72–73, 242–243.

<sup>48</sup> H. Haugland, 'Felleskap og brorskap', p. 219.

<sup>49</sup> R. Sowerby, *Angels in Early Medieval England* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 30–32.

<sup>50</sup> STB V, pp. 187–188.

<sup>51</sup> P. Kołodziejczak and P. Oliński, 'For the Sake of a Soul', p. 522. In 1488, Olof Mikelsson Kusen donated a homestead to the alderman of the Guild of St Barbara 'til gillit til en wige messa pa Sutor gatan', which may indicate where the guild's chantry was located, see STB II, p. 276.

<sup>52</sup> H. Haugland, 'Felleskap og brorskap', pp. 214, 218; F. de Brun, 'Anteckningar rörande medeltida gillen i Stockholm', *Sankt Eriks årsbok* (1917), pp. 76–77.

5.	Alms Altar	1476			Alms Guild/ <i>Karlagillet</i>
6.	Prebend in the choir of St Catherine	1479		Sigrid, widow of Burgomaster Mårten Lindorm	Guild of St Catherine
7.	Altar of God's angels	1479		Councillor Magnus Utter	Corpus Christi Guild from 1481
8.	Prebend of St Loye (St Eligius) in the choir of St Blaise		1485	Goldsmiths' Craft Guild	Goldsmiths' Craft Guild
9.	Altar of St Nicholas, St Gertrud and St Knut	1486			Guild of St Nicholas and the Guild of St Knut
10.	Altar of St Eric	1494			Guild of St Eric
11.	Altar of St Mark the Evangelist, St Crispin and St Crispinian		c. 1501	Shoemakers' Craft Guild	Shoemakers' Craft Guild

**Source:** Based on Table 6.3: 'Kor, prebender og alterstiftelser i St. Nikolaikirken i Stockholm' published in H. Haugland, 'Fellesskap og brorskap', pp. 214–216.

Gifts donated by the inhabitants of Stockholm directly to guilds were typically omitted and only the endowments used to support places of worship created and maintained by guilds were registered in Appendix 1 and investigated in the first chapter.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, no comprehensive quantitative analysis can be offered here. Nevertheless, a few examples indicate that the upkeep for chantries under the patronage of Stockholm guilds was provided not only jointly by those associations, but also by individual donors, who likely were guild

<sup>53</sup> Financial and material assets donated to guilds were used not only for the religious cult but also for communal meals and other social activities. Thus, despite the clearly commemorative function of guild membership, gifts received directly by guilds were excluded from the analysis of pious gifts offered by this thesis, see the Introduction. It is, however, a divide introduced for additional cohesion of the investigated data set rather than a distinction drawn by the contemporaries. Some gifts made directly for guilds were explicitly intended as an aid to the soul, see STB II, p. 60: 'Hanis bekkare gaff j siälarychth efftir Hanis Ysagrim til Worffrw gille iij fath järn.'

members.<sup>54</sup> In 1491, Björn *stallsven* transferred to the alderman of the Guild of St Barbara a house (or rather the income thereof) which his mother ‘gaff och vnte sancta Barbara gildes prebende’ (not identical to the choir of St Barbara in the Town Church).<sup>55</sup> The testament executors fulfilling bequests made by Councillor Olof Andersson in 1505 donated a stone house with a cellar, a plot of land and other buildings to the alderman of the Guild of St Catherine. The incomes thereof were to benefit the guild and its prebend in the Town Church and to serve God’s worship.<sup>56</sup>

Of course, Stockholm burghers, their guilds and associations placed their places of worship not only in the Town Church. Herman Lytting bequeathed through his will of 1510, among other beneficiaries, an altar of the merchant aides (Swe. *köpsvennerna*) in the Dominican convent church in Stockholm.<sup>57</sup> The Merchant Choir (‘Köpmanna Choren’) in the Franciscan convent church was mentioned in the summary of an unpreserved donation document issued by a Stockholm burgher Knut Trulle in 1451.<sup>58</sup> Gabriela Bjarne Larsson noticed that some guilds owned the patronage rights to multiple chantries located in different churches. For instance, the aforementioned Guild of St Catherine had its altars in the parish church of Stockholm and the convent churches of the local Franciscans and Dominicans.<sup>59</sup>

Another way to participate in collective commemoration was by joining a confraternity associated with a monastery. Such confraternities affiliated with monasteries, whole religious orders and other ecclesiastical institutions were, in late medieval Europe, opened for laypeople and often attracted a great many members from different, sometimes distant, regions. At times, membership in fraternities of this kind was very noncommittal and reduced to paying entrance and annual fees in return for participation in indulgences and ‘spiritual goods’ offered by a given confraternity.<sup>60</sup> Although we cannot attest whether those were Stockholm burghers, Nils

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<sup>54</sup> Determining guild membership in late medieval Stockholm is often difficult. Aldermen and members of various guilds occasionally appear in the official town registers, but member lists produced by the guilds themselves are available only for the Corpus Christi Guild and the Guild of St Gertrud. For the Corpus Christi Guild see the source materials collected and published by Isak Collijn: I. Collijn (ed.), *Handlingar rörande Helga Lekamens gille i Stockholm*, vol. 1–8 (Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1921–1930). For the guild book of the Guild of St Gertrud, see G.E. Klemming (ed.), *Småstycken på forn svenska* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1868–1881), pp. 297–318.

<sup>55</sup> STB II, pp. 443, 566, 576; SJB, no. 1184.

<sup>56</sup> STB IV, pp. 86–87.

<sup>57</sup> SDHK 36703. See also another version of his will of 1523: SDHK 38528.

<sup>58</sup> SJB, no. 93, p. 451.

<sup>59</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, ‘Stockholmsborgarnas donationer och den tidiga reformationens indragningar’, in K. Brilkman, M. Fink-Jensen, and H. Sanders (eds), *Reformation i två riken. Reformationens historia och historiografi i Sverige och Danmark* (Göteborg, Makadam förlag, 2019), pp. 186–187.

<sup>60</sup> Halina Manikowska used as an example a fraternity associated with the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome, which in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century attracted almost 10,000

Ingesson and his wife Ragnhild were admitted to the confraternity of the Knights Hospitaller in Eskilstuna in 1472 and should have benefited from associated indulgences.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, Heinrich Swigh was admitted to the confraternity of the Stockholm Franciscans in 1441.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, a burgher of Enköping Mikel Danske and his wife Hilika asked to join the confraternity of the Clarissan nunnery near Stockholm and receive its ‘protection’ (‘dedimus nos in confraternitatem protectionem et munimen sororum ordinis sancte clare apud stokholm’) as early as in 1327.<sup>63</sup> They immediately donated 60 marks, a homestead located in Enköping and four waterfront sheds (‘quatuor tabernis dictis strandabodhir’) to the Poor Clares. Upon their death, the nunnery was to receive all their property except for the shares stipulated by their will for other recipients.<sup>64</sup>

The names of two Stockholm councillors – Rasmus Persson and Hans Eriksson – were registered in the so-called daybook (effectively, a calendar book) kept by the Franciscan convent of Stockholm. However, according to those two notices, they both died in 1550.<sup>65</sup> After the dissolution of the Franciscan convent, the daybook was acquired in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century by Olaus Petri who added those contemporary entries.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, Bjarne Larsson aptly pointed out that Stockholm burghers were not listed among the deserving benefactors of the convent in the daybook, as opposed to Swedish nobles.<sup>67</sup> Neither does the daybook provide any information on burgher members of the Franciscan confraternity of Stockholm.

One can find in pre-Reformation Stockholm instances of burghers combining individual and collective forms of commemoration. In 1428, Burgomaster Werner Gest and Councillor Herman Rembeke together with their wives founded their respective prebends in the choir of

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members by offering indulgences for several thousand years and 32,000 masses annually through a vast network of hospitals and monasteries of the Hospitallers of the Holy Spirit. See H. Manikowska and P. Okniński, ‘Przeszłość osobista i tożsamość wspólnotowa. Formy i treści memorii w późnym średniowieczu’, in H. Manikowska (ed.), *Przeszłość w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski*, vol. 2 (Warszawa, Instytut Historii PAN, 2018), pp. 274–275.

<sup>61</sup> SJB, no. 110, p. 453.

<sup>62</sup> SJB, no. 88, p. 451.

<sup>63</sup> The document is rather succinct and does not clarify whether it was supposed to be ‘spiritual’ or ‘worldly’ protection. Swedish early modern historian Jöran Andersson Nordberg, who published this document in a collection of primary sources regarding the history of the Clarissan nunnery, also interpreted it as joining a confraternity (‘gifwit sig i S. Clarae Closters Bröderskap’), see J.A. Nordberg (ed.), *S. Clarae minne, eller Berättelse om det gamla S. Clarae kloster, så wäl som den nu warande kyrkan med alla des tilhörigheter. Jämväl om S. Olofs capell som derunder lyder* (Stockholm, Johan Henrich Werner, 1727), no. 112, pp. 70–71.

<sup>64</sup> SDHK 3477 / DS 2617.

<sup>65</sup> E. Andersson (ed.), *Gråbrödernas diarium. Ett vittnesbörd från senmedeltidens Stockholm. Utgåva, översättning och faksimil av handskriften A 21 i Kungliga biblioteket* (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, 2017), pp. 31, 39.

<sup>66</sup> E. Andersson (ed.), *Gråbrödernas diarium*, p. 11.

<sup>67</sup> G. Bjarne Larsson, *Det öppna fönstret. Arv och egendom i bostadsbristens Stockholm 1479–1530* (Stockholm, Institutet för Rättshistorisk Forskning, 2019), p. 234.

St Barbara, which they had established in the Town Church.<sup>68</sup> Regardless of those private foundations, Rembeke and his wife Elseby joined the Corpus Christi Guild in, respectively, 1430 and 1431, and Gest followed suit in 1434 while on his deathbed ('in extremis').<sup>69</sup> Apparently, an individually created place of worship which was directly linked to the founder's *memoria* proved insufficient for the aforementioned members of the municipal elite. They sought additional commemoration offered by one of the urban guilds. This particular guild originated as a priestly fraternity and, over time, attracted more and more laypeople. The guild, as its name suggests, was known for its special reverence for Corpus Christi and for organising an annual solemn mass to commemorate departed members and a communal meal on Sunday after the Feast of Corpus Christi.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps that made it particularly attractive for those seeking intercessory prayers and remembrance, even if they joined just before their departure like Gest.

The reverse – i.e., a shift from collective to individual commemoration – is also noticeable in the source material from late medieval Stockholm. Between 1501 and 1506, Councillor Knut Nilsson, a former goldsmith,<sup>71</sup> founded additional masses to be celebrated at the altar in the choir of St Blaise in the Town Church, where the goldsmiths' craft guild had established its prebend dedicated to St Eligius. Nilsson emphasised that it was a distinct foundation but should be based on the same altar that his (former) craft guild used and celebrated by the same prebend priest: '[...] fundere andre två Messor [...] hvilche två Messor vij strax tilladom och tilskickadom vidh samma Altar, och medh samma klaerck [...].' In addition to these two weekly masses, the same cleric was to say 'eena Messan om Tossdagenn af vårss Herre vaerdiga likame, Och andra om Loegerdagen af Jungfru Maria bedroefvelse, medh eena collecta, i hvarie Messa att alla Christna sjaelar.'<sup>72</sup>

Many of the 'private', or rather privately founded, masses and religious services in pre-Reformation Stockholm were likely meant to be attended by the 'public', i.e. the general population. The morrow masses, usually established with people forced to wake up early in

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<sup>68</sup> SJB, no. 4; SDHK 21030; SDHK 21055.

<sup>69</sup> I. Collijn (ed.), *Handlingar rörande Helga Lekamens gille i Stockholm*, vol. 1, pp. 28–29, 31.

<sup>70</sup> S. Högberg, *Stockholms historia*, vol. 1, p. 88; G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, p. 169. For the counterparts of the Stockholm Corpus Christi Guild in other Northern European towns and cities, see H. Haugland, 'Piety and Power on Display: The Corpus Christi Guilds of Late Medieval Bergen and Oslo', in L. Bisgaard, L.B. Mortensen, and T. Pettitt (eds), *Guilds, Towns, and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300–1500* (Odense, University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), pp. 181–202; C. Jahnke, 'The Corpus Christi Guild in Lübeck', in L. Bisgaard, L.B. Mortensen, and T. Pettitt (eds), *Guilds, Towns, and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300–1500* (Odense, University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), pp. 203–228.

<sup>71</sup> C.C. Sjöden, *Stockholms borgerskap under Sturetiden med särskild hänsyn till dess politiska ställning. En studie i Stockholms stads historia* (Stockholm, Ivar Haeggströms boktryckeri, 1950), p. 255.

<sup>72</sup> E.M. Fant, *Observationes selectae historiam Svecanam illustrantes*, vol. 4 (Uppsala, Johan Edman, 1786), no. VIII, pp. 27–31.

the morning and occupied during the day in mind, may serve as an example.<sup>73</sup> At least one instance when the communal (parochial) nature of the celebration was expressed explicitly has been identified. In 1516, Barbara Bengtsdotter, daughter of Burgomaster Bengt Smålänning and widow of the aforementioned Knut Nilsson endowed the prebend at the altar of St Birgitta and St Catherine in the Town Church, which had been established by her father. In the donation document, she stipulated that: '[...] skal samma Klerck sielf besoergie två Sochne messor em året, Hoegtijdeliga vid samma Altar, Ena om Sanct Britha dag och eena om Sancta Katharina dag, som aer hennes Helga Dotters dag och Hoegtijd med små årgor och två Munstranter.'<sup>74</sup> The two annual 'Sochne messor' most likely referred to masses aimed at the whole local congregation and parish (Swe. *en socken*) and their solemn character was emphasised by playing the church organ and displaying two monstrances.

Arguably, even the founders who did not envision the participation of the wider community in worship at their chantries could hope for some kind of remembrance, if not for proper religious commemoration, as they shaped and altered the very sacred space of the local churches. In 1438, plots of land owned by (or, at least, providing income for) the 'Rembekx koor' were used as landmarks in the official property register of Stockholm.<sup>75</sup> It was a reference to the choir of St Barbara in the Town Church co-founded by Herman Rembeke around 20 years earlier, but the name of the founder was used instead of the saint revered by the foundation. Similarly, the choir of St Peter and St Paul the Apostles, the patronage rights to which were held by the Rogge family, was called the choir 'Sancte Peders Rogges' in 1493, as it was used to indicate the location of another chantry within the Town Church.<sup>76</sup> Thus, privately founded chantries were at times identified in late medieval Stockholm by 'unofficial' names related to their founders, which perpetuated those names among the local community.

Returning to the quantitative analysis presented in the first chapter, the Town Church received as many as 81 gifts from Stockholm burghers and suburban dwellers, which equates to being endowed by 42.2 per cent of all investigated pious gifts. Thus, it towered over all other recipients in this regard.<sup>77</sup> The attention given to the parish church by the local congregation is not only natural but also proves that the sacred space of the Town Church, maintained and enriched by the locals, could be an integrating factor. In this context, Nils Ahnlund rightly

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<sup>73</sup> For more on morrow masses in Stockholm and beyond, see subchapter 2.4.4.

<sup>74</sup> E.M. Fant, *Observationes selectae historiam Svecanam illustrantes*, vol. 4, no. IX, pp. 31–35.

<sup>75</sup> SJB, no. 133.

<sup>76</sup> STB III, pp. 139–140.

<sup>77</sup> See subchapter 1.2.1.



claimed that the parish church of St Nicholas during the medieval period ‘hade en utpräglat borgerlig karaktär.’<sup>78</sup> The same could be argued for foreign burghers who visited late medieval Stockholm and maintained personal and commercial contacts with the local urban community. Namely, 32 donations to places of worship in and around Stockholm made by foreigners have been identified (see Appendix 2). As many as 29 of those who donated were German-speaking merchants who came to Stockholm to trade from or via Lübeck. They did not cluster around a single place of worship or church, set up their own chapel or altar, or establish a guild exclusive to themselves in Stockholm. Instead, those German-speaking merchants endowed various churches, convents, chapels and chantries in Stockholm, including the parish church of St Nicholas.<sup>79</sup>

According to Lamberg, the same two mercantile guilds dedicated to, respectively, St Gertrud and Our Lady integrated, at least during the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, local Swedish- and German-speaking merchants, and the Guild of St Gertrud accepted some wealthy and respectable craftsmen.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, four foreign German-speaking merchants bequeathed those guilds through their wills issued in Lübeck, which may indicate their membership or at least association with them (see Appendix 2). That made the aforementioned guilds, despite their prestigious and socially exclusive character, an integrating factor for the local Swedish- and German-speaking burghers and foreign merchants coming to the town.

All in all, those observations regarding seeking both collective and individualised forms of commemoration, the focus given to the local parish church in pious gift-giving, and the intermingling of local Swedish- and German-speaking burghers and foreign merchants reinforce the impression of Stockholm being a well-integrated urban community in the late Middle Ages, also with regard to pious gifts.

### 3.3 The commemoration of the town council and its role in pious gift-giving

In late medieval Baltic towns and cities, merchants belonging to and aspiring to the ruling elites often established or joined socially exclusive guilds, however, the exclusivity of those guilds varied from town to town and period to period. The Zirkel Guild of Lübeck

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<sup>78</sup> N. Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa*, p. 496.

<sup>79</sup> P. Kołodziejczak, ‘The Pious Gifts of Germans in Late Medieval Stockholm: Commemoration, Integration, and the Town Law’ [forthcoming].

<sup>80</sup> M. Lamberg, *Dannemännen i stadens råd. Rådmanškretsen i nordiska köpstäder under senmedeltiden* (Stockholm, Stockholms förlag, 2001), pp. 170–172.

(Ger. *Zirkelgesellschaft*) gained its elite character over time during the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century and kept it only temporarily. In Prussia, only the Guild of St George in Thorn certainly accepted exclusively members of the ruling town council, whereas in Danzig other high municipal officials – i.e. members of the town court – were also admitted to the corresponding elite guild. In Livonian towns, prestigious mercantile guilds emerged in the Middle Ages but until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, none of them became an exclusive association for the ruling elite.<sup>81</sup>

In Stockholm, there was no guild exclusive to the members of the town council. Council members occasionally appeared among members of the guilds dedicated to St Barbara and St Catherine, along with persons bearing craft-related occupational bynames (i.e. likely craftsmen). Even the two prestigious and mercantile guilds of St Gertrud and Our Lady, mentioned in the previous subchapter, which organised the annual Popinjay Tournament (Swe. *papegojskjutning*) for merchants, were not reserved for burgomasters and councillors. Moreover, the Guild of St Gertrud, at least in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, allowed some selected craftsmen, mainly goldsmiths, to join its ranks.<sup>82</sup>

Therefore, in late medieval Stockholm, no guild could serve the commemoration of the town council specifically. However, the council itself could act as a religious fraternity to provide its living and deceased members and their families with intercessory prayers by founding or acquiring its own place(s) of worship. Such practices are known from other Baltic towns and cities where the local town councils sought to have their own prebends, altars and chapels.<sup>83</sup>

Gustafsson analysed the official account books of Stockholm of the 1460s. She established that during this period the town council paid Agnes, the wife of a municipal official Hans Femerling, to take care of a choir owned by the council in the Town Church, and provided her with various consumables for the choir. In the late 1460s, Agnes was paid also to look after two other places of worship in the parish church: the choir of Corpus Christi and the burgomaster's choir. Moreover, the town council annually provided money for the celebration of the so-called Apostolic Masses, presumably somewhere in the Town Church,

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<sup>81</sup> R. Czaja, 'Patrician Guilds in Medieval Towns on the Baltic Coast', *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 92 (2005), pp. 31–51; R. Czaja, *Grupy rządzące w miastach nadbałtyckich w średniowieczu* (Toruń, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2008), pp. 69–88.

<sup>82</sup> M. Lamberg, *Dannemännen i stadens råd*, pp. 170–173.

<sup>83</sup> D.W. Poock, 'Rat und Memoria', in D. Geuenich and O.G. Oexle (eds), *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), pp. 316–320, 327–328; R. Czaja, *Grupy rządzące*, pp. 100–105.

and in 1466 also in the choir of Corpus Christi therein. Gustafsson also found in the town accounts of 1466 that one mark was paid for wax for candles ‘som bryner i radzstolen.’ She was, however, uncertain whether it was a reference to pews reserved for council members in the parish church or benches in the town hall.<sup>84</sup>

The choir of the town council and the burgomaster’s choir and altar are also mentioned several times by other official town records of Stockholm over the 1480s and 1490s, but not with regard to their founding or endowments that they received.<sup>85</sup> It is highly unlikely that the existence of the choir and altar of the burgomaster(s) was an expression of increasing social exclusivism and sovereign ambitions of Stockholm burgomasters who would have wanted to distinguish themselves from ‘ordinary’ councillors by setting up a separate place of commemoration. In all likelihood, the altar in the choir of the burgomaster(s) was identical to the altar of St Birgitta and St Catherine at which Burgomaster Bengt Smålänning founded his prebend,<sup>86</sup> as Schück and Ahnlund claimed.<sup>87</sup> Thus, its name was probably derived from Smålänning’s office. In 1507, burgomasters and councillors allocated 10 marks annually for the prebend priest serving at Smålänning’s prebend to say two additional masses weekly on behalf of the council at the same altar dedicated to St Birgitta and St Catherine.<sup>88</sup>

In addition to the choir of the town council, the choir of the burgomaster(s) and the involvement in worship at the choir of Corpus Christi, the town council of Stockholm held the patronage rights to the altar of the Holy Cross in the Town Church. In 1478, the council entrusted the prebend at the altar to priest Jenis Griis who was obliged to say two masses weekly: one on Fridays in honour of the Holy Cross with a collect for the departed, and the other on Saturdays in honour of the Holy Virgin, also with a collect for the departed. For which he was to be rewarded with eight marks annually.<sup>89</sup> Frans de Brun suspected that the aforementioned Griis did not comply with his obligations too well, as the town council appointed a new altar priest – chaplain Olof – already in 1481 and stressed that if he failed to celebrate the two prescribed masses weekly, he would be replaced after one year.<sup>90</sup> The second entry in the register of the town council minutes emphasised that the two weekly masses – to be said on Friday and Saturday – were to be held at the usual time for the first mass of

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<sup>84</sup> S. Gustafsson, *Svenska städer i medeltidens Europa*, p. 141.

<sup>85</sup> STB I, pp. 323–324; STB II, pp. 117, 127, 186, 511.

<sup>86</sup> STB IV, p. 165.

<sup>87</sup> H. Schück, *Stockholm vid 1400-talets slut*, p. 180; N. Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa*, p. 497.

<sup>88</sup> STB IV, p. 165.

<sup>89</sup> STB I, p. 150.

<sup>90</sup> F. de Brun, ‘Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal’, p. 40.

the day,<sup>91</sup> which suggests that the council was concerned with the participation of the wider community, the members of which were too occupied during the day to attend an everyday mass.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, at the latest in August 1485, the town council acquired the patronage rights to the prebend of St Christopher in the parish church of Stockholm,<sup>93</sup> possibly after a dispute with the archbishop and the cathedral chapter of Uppsala who had been asked to take the prebend under their protection in July 1485.<sup>94</sup> Overall, it was not exceptional for municipal authorities to take over private pious foundations, as it occurred, for example, in Danzig and Elbing during the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>95</sup>

A preserved list of deceased council members is also a testimony to the pursuit of a group commemoration by the town council of Stockholm. It was written in Latin at the beginning of the register of municipal officials of Stockholm between the years 1419 and 1420:

Anno Domini m<sup>o</sup>cd<sup>o</sup>xvii<sup>o</sup> obiit Juwan Magnusson sabbato ante Oculi consul.

Anno eodem crastino ascensionis Domini obiit dominus Johannes Petri proconsul.

Anno eodem sabbato post Trinitatis obiit Hinricus Grote consul.

Anno Domini etc. xix<sup>o</sup> feria tertia ante corporis Christi obiit Michel biergsman consul.

Anno eodem crastino corporis Christi in graui incendio ciuitatis Stocholmensis obiit dominus

Ewerardus Greuerode proconsul.<sup>96</sup>

A similar but significantly longer list of deceased council members was prepared in Lübeck and transcribed into one of the official town registers at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The list was certainly used to maintain the *memoria* of the Lübeck council.<sup>97</sup> The short and unfinished list from Stockholm quoted above was likely an attempt to create a more comprehensive register of obituary notes for commemorative and liturgical use, like the one from Lübeck.

In addition to the efforts aimed at ensuring the remembrance of council members and providing them and their families with intercessory prayers, the town council of Stockholm, as the local governing body, had to interact with private foundations and donations made by Stockholmers for pious purposes. Some of the competencies and obligations of the council with

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<sup>91</sup> STB I, p. 307.

<sup>92</sup> For morning masses which were typically aimed at providing members of the local community who had to wake up and start working early in the morning with access to an everyday mass, see subchapter 2.4.4.

<sup>93</sup> STB II, pp. 103, 346.

<sup>94</sup> See subchapter 2.4.6.

<sup>95</sup> R. Czaja, *Grupy rzędzące*, pp. 102, 104.

<sup>96</sup> J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok*, p. 4.

<sup>97</sup> D.W. Poeck, 'Rat und Memoria', pp. 310–320.

regard to pious gifts have been already discussed in the previous chapters. Some benefactors, like Erik Jonsson, asked the town council to protect the foundations they established and manage the funds they allocated for their sake.<sup>98</sup> In 1514, the council allowed one of Stockholm burghers and his wife to purchase a house encumbered with rent due to one of the charity funds only on the condition that they will repurchase the rent from a different immovable property.<sup>99</sup> A dispute between the town council of Stockholm and the bishop of Åbo settled in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century indicates that the council had unlawfully allocated an annual rent due to the cathedral of Åbo for a different religious and charitable purpose.<sup>100</sup> Such interferences by town councils, which managed pious foundations and donations offered by local burghers and safeguarded them, was rather typical of the medieval Baltic region.<sup>101</sup>

At times the town council of Stockholm took a more direct approach to organise religious worship for both council members only and the general population of the town. In 1421, the burgomasters and councillors of Stockholm supplicated the pope for a movable altar at which a designated priest could celebrate masses and other religious services for them if they were to leave the town and follow King Eric of Pomerania on a military campaign against the Russians.<sup>102</sup> Following that or a later supplication, Pope Callixtus III allowed the town council of Stockholm to use such a portable altar in 1455.<sup>103</sup> With regard to ‘public’ worship, or in this case, worship aimed at ‘public’ relief, the official town accounts of 1440 inform us about 19 marks that were due to the abbess of the Poor Clares of Stockholm for celebrating votive masses at their nunnery during a plague.<sup>104</sup> Another expression of religious concern for the well-being of the town and its inhabitants was the decision taken by the bailiff and town council in 1494 to transfer the patronage rights to the altar of St Eric located in the Town Church to the Guild of St Eric. The bailiff and the council members emphasised that they did that ‘Gudj til loff, jomffrw Maria, Sancte Per apostel och then helge herren Sancte Erick kong til ere och verdigheet och thenne fatiga staden til nytto och gagn fore hans helga mylla bon schul.’<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> SJB, no. 650. See subchapter 2.4.6.

<sup>99</sup> STB V, p. 13. See subchapter 1.3.

<sup>100</sup> REA 502. See subchapter 1.3.

<sup>101</sup> For the role of town councils in pious gift-giving in medieval Prussia, see P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich*, pp. 102–111.

<sup>102</sup> SDHK 19709 / FMU 1680.

<sup>103</sup> SDHK 26731.

<sup>104</sup> R. Murray, *Stockholms kyrkostyrelse intill 1630-talets mitt* (Stockholm, Svenska Kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1949), p. 19.

<sup>105</sup> STB III, p. 160. See also SJB, no. 1317.

The municipal authorities of Stockholm also regulated, to an extent, the sacred space of the parish church of St Nicholas. They authorised various actions, such as the construction of new choirs and altars, modifying their surroundings and furnishing, changing ownership of existing chantries, and managed other aspects of the *fabrica ecclesiae* concerning the Town Church.<sup>106</sup> The initiative to erect a free-standing chapel dedicated to St Birgitta is a well-documented example of the council's commitment to the organisation of worship in the town that does not involve the parish church. In 1518, the town council appointed two burghers to collect money for the construction of the chapel. Two years later, additional persons were designated to choose a suitable site for the chapel and two burghers from each of the town's quarters were made responsible for collecting funds, likely to speed up the process. Later in the same 1520, the council demanded that the appointed collectors report back to it.<sup>107</sup> The chapel of St Birgitta was never finished because its planning or construction was interrupted by the Reformation.<sup>108</sup> Finally, the numerous entries regarding pious gifts in the official town registers of Stockholm that are discussed throughout this thesis prove that inhabitants of late medieval Stockholm and its suburbs turned to the local town council to record, confirm and authorise the various legal actions connected with gifts for pious purposes they took.

All things considered, the town council of Stockholm played a vital role in local pious gift-giving. It actively pursued the commemoration of its own members by establishing, taking over and maintaining chantries. The municipal authorities also engaged with pious gifts made by the burghers of Stockholm by ensuring compliance with the inheritance law and local practices,<sup>109</sup> administering the sacred space of the Town Church, and providing an organisational framework for joint pious endeavours undertaken by the community, such as the construction of the chapel of St Birgitta.

### 3.4 Conclusions

The investigation of charity-related gifts in pre-Reformation Stockholm demonstrated an untypical for the towns and cities of the Baltic region communal approach. Due to, among

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<sup>106</sup> See, for example, STB I, pp. 79, 81, 83; STB II, pp. 486, 511, 526; STB III, pp. 195, 359, 388, 401–402; STB V, p. 299. See also subchapter 1.1.

<sup>107</sup> STB V, pp. 189, 265, 290.

<sup>108</sup> F. de Brun, 'Storkyrkans egendommar, stiftelser och personal', p. 49.

<sup>109</sup> See subchapter 1.3.

other factors, the scarcity of individually drawn-up wills and the relative political weakness of local guilds, which had little influence on decision-making in the town and the organisation of the urban commune, poor relief in late medieval Stockholm was delivered mainly through ‘public’ charitable institutions supervised and managed by the municipal authorities. Those were, in addition to the Homestead of the Holy Spirit and the hospital of St George which resembled the many hospitals and leproseries of medieval Europe, the Homestead of the Soul and the two alms funds. These communal efforts undertaken by various townspeople and coordinated by municipal officials were the biggest difference, in terms of pious gift-giving, between Stockholm and the other Baltic towns and cities covered by the study. This finding reaffirms, in terms of lay piety, the opinions expressed by previous researchers that late medieval Stockholm was a politically and socially well-integrated town not disturbed by acute internal conflicts and violent revolts known from larger cities, such as Lübeck and Danzig.

Although only selected gifts donated to Stockholm guilds were included in the analysis, it is certain that various urban associations, such as merchant guilds, craft guilds and religious fraternities, were involved in the pious gift-giving in the town. Guilds both acted as collective entities to establish and maintain commemorative worship for all their living and deceased members and provided individuals who joined them with group *memoria* tended to by other guild members. That guild *memoria* was sometimes combined with more individualised forms of commemoration, such as founding ‘private’ chantries. The latter were more often than not aimed at the participation of a wider community (e.g. the whole local congregation), despite being ‘privately’ founded by individual burghers. A parochial (i.e. ‘public’) nature of ‘privately’ founded celebration was explicitly mentioned only once. Nevertheless, some chantries, such as morrow masses, were clearly meant to be attended by more people than just heirs, relatives and acquaintances of the founder.

Lastly, the town council of Stockholm engaged in pious gift-giving in more than one way, like in other towns and cities under the influence of the Hansa around the Baltic Sea. The council, acting as a whole, actively pursued the commemoration of its living and deceased members and their families in the urban community. In order to acquire this commemoration it both founded new chantries and took over already existing ones. It is evident in the case of the Town Church, that is, the local parish church financially supervised and administered by the council through the two lay churchwardens. Simultaneously, the municipal governing body participated in making ‘private’ pious gifts by local burghers and suburban dwellers by registering, confirming and authorising them.

## Conclusions

All the considerations conducted above can be boiled down to a few key points, which are based on the analysis of available primary sources and built upon previous scholarship. These conclusions concern both the religious and social history of late medieval Stockholm and the spread of practices and ideas connected with pious gift-giving in the Baltic region before the Reformation.

Firstly, the specific legal conditions in which the urban community of Stockholm functioned in the late Middle Ages necessitated an adaptation of the practices associated with pious gifts. The Swedish Town Law used in Stockholm from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century precisely defined the distribution of inheritance and the order of heirs. Arguably more precisely than the Lübeck Law and the Kulm Law observed in other Baltic towns and cities. It was equally precise in regulating what part of one's total property could be alienated to unrelated individuals and entities, e.g. to the Church, depending on the presence and circumstances of one's heirs. The Town Law granted the heirs the right to redeem the 'excessively' alienated portion of the property within one year and one day after the donor's death. Moreover, the town authorities of Stockholm, at least from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, sought to extend this right to the 'good burghers' of the town unrelated to the donor who were enabled to purchase immovable properties donated for pious purposes if there were no heirs or they were not interested in redeeming the property. Gabriela Bjarne Larsson discussed in detail those limitations imposed on pious donations by the legal framework and administrative praxis of late medieval Stockholm. She also argued that it was not the ownership of immovable properties that was typically transferred to ecclesiastical institutions but the right to collect annual income (rent) thereof. The latter comes as no surprise, as inhabitants of the other Baltic towns and cities covered by the study also typically donated annual rents and not property ownership. The crucial difference was that annual rents allocated to pious purposes in Stockholm were, at least in theory, strictly temporally limited, usually to the aforementioned one year and one day.

The observations made by Bjarne Larsson are certainly confirmed by the primary sources. Several references to the right of heirs and 'good burghers' to redeem or purchase donated property, and church benefactors assuring that they comply with the privileges and laws of the town have been found in the source material. However, it would be a mistake to assume that all the inhabitants of Stockholm complied with such temporal limitations of



religious (liturgical) commemoration, which, in accordance with its medieval perception and the findings of numerous historians, should last in perpetuity, i.e. until the Judgment Day, to continuously aid the benefactor's soul in the afterlife. Multiple cases of Stockholm burghers and suburban dwellers planning for the everlasting or, at least, long-lasting existence of the chantries they founded have been identified. In practical terms, they could maintain founded religious services after their departure by, among other things, securing the approval of their heirs and the town authorities, transferring the patronage rights to suitable and powerful patrons, such as the ecclesiastical and royal authorities, donating immovable properties located outside the town proper which were not subjected to the Town Law, and simply staying within the legally prescribed limits on endowments. Thus, although Stockholmers could find it more challenging to secure their pious gifts, they were similar to the inhabitants of other Baltic towns and cities in their way of thinking about 'everlasting' foundations and 'perpetual' commemoration. Therefore, medieval Stockholm did not constitute a breach in the approach to religious foundations, treated as indefinitely recurring gifts for the salvation of the soul, as Michael Borgolte described them.

On the other hand, this also demonstrates how important were the local legal framework and administrative practices for pious gift-giving in an urban environment. The inhabitants of pre-Reformation Stockholm had to adapt their pursuit of spiritual care and 'otherworldly' benefits to the local legal conditions which turned out to be one of the decisive factors for the form of pious gifts and the means to transfer them in late medieval Stockholm. Moreover, the lack of fragmented (i.e. bequeathing multiple beneficiaries) wills and all individually drawn-up wills in general, with only a few being available, has been stressed in the thesis. It partially resulted from the lack of safekeeping of wills at the town archives, as opposed to, for example, Lübeck, and the incidents of survival. However, the other important factor was a conscious preference of the town dwellers to transfer property for pious purposes during their lifetime, in all likelihood, due to the restrictions introduced by the Town Law. The endowed institution or chantry could benefit from such an endowment already when the donor was still alive and not only for one year after their death.

Furthermore, the vast majority of identified pious gifts, both transferred during one's lifetime and posthumously, were aimed at one specific religious recipient. It again was the result of the limits set by the Town Law and the small number of fragmented wills which allowed for multiple beneficiaries to be bequeathed by one and the same legal act. Instead, Stockholmers preferred donation and foundation documents individually endowing (or establishing) a single

ecclesiastical institution or chantry. Those findings both reinforce Bjarne Larsson's observations regarding property transfers for pious purposes in Stockholm and elsewhere in the Swedish realm in the late medieval period and prove that Stockholm burghers could not simply copy existing patterns of gift-giving from Lübeck, Danzig, Reval and other Baltic towns and cities where fragmented wills were popular. They had to adjust their pious gifts to fit into the legal system and customs of their own town.

Investigating various traces of donors' mentality and thinking patterns reflected by their pious gifts made apparent that they shared several views and ideas not only with other burghers of the Baltic region but all church benefactors within the medieval Latin Christendom. For example, Stockholm donors, as elsewhere in Latin Christian Europe, perceived prayers and good deeds as a 'quantitative commodity' that could be produced and shared with others and internalised the theological idea of Purgatory trying to relieve Christian souls suffering therein. They also exhibited the intensification of the Marian and Rosarian piety at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and combined various collective and individualised forms of commemoration for their maximal 'efficiency'. Although many inhabitants of Stockholm were rather quick to abandon and change their customs regarding pious gift-giving during the Reformation, as demonstrated by Marko Lamberg, some of the aforementioned patterns of thinking about pious gifts and commemoration reappeared throughout almost the entire investigated period between the late 14<sup>th</sup> century and the early 16<sup>th</sup> century indicating their long-lasting effects.

Furthermore, wealthy and ambitious Stockholmers shared with their counterparts in other Baltic towns and cities the same goals which prompted them to establish sumptuous religious foundations, e.g. private chapels, altars and prebends. These were often aimed at gaining social prestige and recognition, and consequently social promotion by the admission to the town council, and providing related priests with material assets by appointing them as prebend priests or enriching their existing ecclesiastical posts with additional incomes. Although the identified pious gifts are not that many (compared with, e.g. Lübeck, Stralsund or Danzig) and are rather scattered by the lack of some essential sources (e.g. the account books kept by the churchwardens of the parish church), all things considered, no delay or limitation in the thinking about pious gifts has been noticed in late medieval Stockholm. Rather the lay piety shared with other urban centres of the Baltic region and the whole of Latin Christian Europe should be emphasised. In expressing their religiosity and achieving 'worldly' goals through material gifts for pious purposes Stockholmers were not constrained by the legal

conditions and customs of their town. Therefore, their way of thinking about and using pious gifts is much more typical than how they donated property, as discussed above.

Finally, the urban community of late medieval Stockholm was able to develop a characteristic approach to charity-related gifts and almsgiving. It distinguished it from other Baltic towns covered by the comparative analysis. Whereas North German and Prussian towns and cities focused their poor relief efforts on alms bequeathed by individually drawn-up wills and almsgiving foundations recurrently distributing money, food, clothing, etc. to the poor, and Livonian towns had Table Guilds dedicated to almsgiving, pre-Reformation Stockholm took a more communal approach. In addition to ‘typical’ medieval hospitals and infirmaries, the town authorities supervised three more untypical charitable institutions. These were the Homestead of the Soul and two alms funds associated with the parish church of St Nicholas. They were tasked with delivering poor relief in the form of alms. In addition, the Homestead was to periodically provide the local poor with access to baths and free meals. Although the Alms Guild appeared in late medieval Stockholm and even had its altar in the Town Church, its role and importance remain uncertain, and it is highly unlikely that the two aforementioned alms funds were run by guilds. As was mentioned, those institutions, along with the Homestead of the Soul, were supervised by the municipal governing body – the town council – via two designated lay administrators, who were treated as municipal officials, for each of them. The alms funds and the Homestead were supported by gifts from a variety of townspeople, which made them a communal effort to relieve the local poor and needy.

Two factors contributed to the development of those communal (i.e. ‘public’) institutions in late medieval Stockholm, as opposed to the ‘private’ and guild-based almsgiving in other Baltic municipalities. They were discussed by, respectively, Sofia Gustafsson and Dag Lindström. Firstly, Stockholm in the late Middle Ages was a rather small and well-integrated urban community without a significant social divide between various groups of townsfolk. Secondly, the local guilds were rather insignificant politically and had limited impact on the town’s decision-making and the urban commune’s organisation. Thus, the guilds could have appeared unsuitable for taking care of poor relief which was entrusted to the town authorities instead. This allowed the whole urban community to contribute.

Those three charitable institutions were not unique to Stockholm, as Homesteads of the Soul existed in other Swedish towns and alms funds were often operated by municipalities and parishes in parts of Western Europe. Nonetheless, they differentiated Stockholm from other

urban centres of the Baltic region and indicate good integration of its community in the late Middle Ages. Thus, Stockholmers were capable of creating more original (although not unique) charitable institutions based on gift-giving and, again, were not purely dependent on patterns and solutions provided by Lübeck, Danzig and other 'core' Baltic cities.

All in all, applying the 'core' – 'periphery' dynamic to pious gift-giving in late medieval Stockholm makes little sense, as Gustafsson noticed with regard to urban culture and municipal politics. The urban community of Stockholm before the Reformation evidently accepted many ideas and mental patterns regarding pious gifts and integrated well with the whole of Latin Christendom. Nevertheless, its members could modify and adapt their pious gifts to the local laws and customs. Even more importantly, Stockholmers were able to come up with solutions concerning gift-related issues that were untypical for the Baltic region and resulted from the local circumstances and needs, such as the communal approach to poor relief.

## Appendix 1

### List of pious gifts donated by the inhabitants of Stockholm, 1305–1521

#### List of abbreviations

- Brandt (1964) A. von Brandt (ed.), *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 1964)
- Brun & Voss (1917) F. de Brun and M. Voss, ‘Fundationsbrevet för S:ta Barbaras kor i Stockholms Storkyrka’, *Sankt Eriks årsbok* (1917), pp. 80–92
- Celsius (1748) O. Celsius, *Fata templi Riddarholmensis* (Uppsala, [s.n.], 1748)
- Donner (1930) G. Donner, ‘St. Erich in Danzig’, *Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins*, 29/3 (1930), pp. 39–47
- DS *Diplomatarium Suecanum*; available online at *Svenskt diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbrevet*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SDHK>, accessed online 14 April 2023
- Fant (1786) E.M. Fant, *Observationes selectae historiam Svecanam illustrantes*, vol. 4 (Uppsala, Johan Edman, 1786)
- Fant (1789) E.M. Fant, *Handlingar til uplysning af svenska historien*, vol. 1 (Uppsala, Johan Edman, 1789)
- FMU *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*; available online at *Diplomatarium Fennicum*, <http://df.narc.fi>, accessed online 14 April 2023
- Klemming (1856) G.E. Klemming (ed.), *Skrå-ordningar* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1856)
- Kołodziejczak & Oliński (2020) P. Kołodziejczak and P. Oliński, ‘For the Sake of a Soul: The Private Religious Foundation of a Stockholm Councilor from the First Half of the Fifteenth Century’, in

- J. Sarnowsky, K. Kwiatkowski, H. Houben, L. Pósan, and A. Bárány (eds), *Studies on the Military Orders, Prussia, and Urban History: Essays in Honour of Roman Czaja on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Debrecen, University of Debrecen, 2020), pp. 517–530
- LBH I P. Kylander, 'Foerteckning på Pergaments-Bref, som finnas foervarade dels i Linkoepings Gymn. Bibliothek, dels i Wadstena Hospitals Archivum', *Linkoepings Bibliotheks Handlingar*, 1 (1793), pp. 208–252
- REA R. Hausen (ed.), *Registrum ecclesiae Aboensis eller Åbo domkyrkas svartbok* (Helsingfors, Finlands statsarkiv, 1890)
- SDHK *Svenskt diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbreven*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SDHK>, accessed online 14 April 2023
- SJB H. Hildebrand (ed.), *Stockholms stads jordebok 1420–1498*, vol. 1–2 (Stockholm, Ivar Hæggströms boktryckeri, 1876)
- STB I E. Hildebrand (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1474–1483 samt burspråk* (Stockholm, Ivar Hæggströms boktryckeri, 1917)
- STB II G. Carlsson (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1483–1492* (Stockholm, Ivar Hæggströms boktryckeri, 1944)
- STB III J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1492–1500* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1930)
- STB IV J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1504–1514* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1931)
- STB V J.A. Almquist (ed.), *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1514–1520. Jämte utdrag ur de förlorade årgångarne 1520–1524 samt stadens kopiebok 1520–1522* (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1933)

### **The methodology of the survey and selection criteria**

A pious gift is defined here as material goods, such as money, movable and immovable properties, and incomes from these immovable properties, that were transferred to an ecclesiastic institution, a member of the clergy or for a charitable purpose. The gifts analysed here were made primarily in exchange for various spiritual services, usually *pro anima*, that is, they were aimed to aid in the salvation of the benefactor's soul, the souls of their relatives and friends, and the souls of all faithful Christians. These spiritual services included but were not limited to intercessory prayers and commemorative masses. Also, unspecified gifts *pro anima*, which did not require a specific religious service, and donations to ecclesiastical and charitable institutions that were not returned with any material goods or 'worldly' services were taken into account. In the case of the latter, it is assumed that they were inexplicitly expected to be reciprocated with some kind of 'spiritual care.' Endowments to religious institutions and members of the clergy (priests, friars, monks and nuns) that primarily served a 'worldly' purpose were typically excluded from the list below and the analysis. These were, among other things, entrance fees paid to charitable institutions serving as rest homes to provide for the living of the elderly and sick admitted to these institutions, donations connected with the admission of novices into monastic and mendicant convents, gifts and fees collected by guilds, and testamentary bequests and other forms of inheritance transferred to members of the clergy who were the testator's relatives and associates. Although those donations were sometimes rewarded with reciprocal prayers, they mainly served 'earthly' purposes and were not encompassed by the survey, unless a specified spiritual service was explicitly expected in return (for more, see the Introduction).

The survey aimed to identify donors who were burghers of Stockholm and inhabitants of its suburbs, which not always could have been done with sufficient certainty. The source material used for the survey quite often does not provide the social background of described donors and sometimes even with an extra context offered by other primary sources, it remains difficult to define one's social standing. The most straightforward case was benefactors who were named as burghers, councillors, burgomasters and other municipal officials of Stockholm. Former burghers of Stockholm who by the time of donating had moved elsewhere were also included in the list. Their new place of residence, which almost always was Lübeck, was provided in the comments. In the case of persons who were not explicitly referred to as burghers or municipal officials of Stockholm but who owned immovable properties located in the town proper (i.e. on the Town Island) or the suburbs, it has been assumed that they were

Stockholm burghers or suburban dwellers. The official town registers of Stockholm include also notes regarding people coming from outside the town, such as nobles, clergymen and peasants, but most often their place of origin or residence, or their social status was mentioned. These cases were easily identified and excluded.

If no indicators of a donor being a burgher (or a dweller of Stockholm’s suburbs) or, on the contrary, not being a burgher were found in the analysed primary sources, such cases were referred to as ‘uncertain’ in the comments. The same guidelines used to identify burghers of Stockholm were applied to female benefactors, that is, women belonging to burgher families or living in the town’s suburbs. Some of them were also categorised as ‘uncertain’ if their affiliation with the Stockholm urban community could not have been proven. As mentioned above, donors who were clergymen or nobles were typically ruled out. Two exceptions were made for Kort Rogge, Bishop of Strängnäs (1479–1501), who was of burgher origin, and Squire Johan Jönsson of Gladö, who despite being a nobleman was also a burgher of Stockholm. The list presented below includes also a category of clergymen who were characterised as ‘urban priests.’ Those were priests and mendicant friars who served at churches and convents in and around Stockholm and in the nearby parish of Solna. They often had burgher or suburban relatives and were of urban descent themselves. They functioned within the urban community, and although their gifts were only occasionally investigated in the thesis, they were included in the list below. They are referred to as ‘urban priests’ in the comments to be easily recognisable. Nevertheless, as a clergyman could not be a burgher, such donors were not taken into account in the analysis offered in the main part of the thesis.

If a location was not indicated for a given religious institution, it means that it was located in or around Stockholm.

<b>No.</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Donor(s)</b>	<b>Recipient(s) and/or foundation(s)</b>	<b>Primary source(s)</b>	<b>Comments</b>
1.	6.03.1305	Tomas <i>smed</i>	Clarissan nunnery	SDHK 2092 DS 1457	Uncertain whether he was a burgher
2.	30.01.1315	Nils Kazabuk	Clarissan nunnery	SJB, no. 5, p. 441	Only a summary
3.	27.10.1315	Håkan Galle	Clarissan nunnery	SJB, no. 6, p. 441	Uncertain whether he was a burgher; only a summary



4.	14.02.1319	Håkan Galle	Clarissan nunnery	SJB, no. 8, p. 442	Uncertain whether he was a burgher; only a summary
5.	29.07.1323	Alexander and his wife Gertrud	Homestead of the Holy Spirit	SDHK 3223 DS 2413 SJB, no. XIII, p. 414	
6.	11.01.1337	Johannes Geismar	Altar of St Martin in the Town Church	SDHK 4312 DS 3274	Former burgher of Stockholm, currently burgher of Lübeck
7.	1340	Magnus Galle	Franciscan convent	SDHK 4550 DS 3464	Uncertain whether he was a burgher
8.	28.07.1341	Bernhard Münster and his wife Lucia	Homestead of the Holy Spirit	SJB, no. 14, p. 442	Only a summary
9.	23.02.1345	Elisabet	Clarissan nunnery	SDHK 5127 DS 3903	Uncertain whether she belonged to a burgher family
10.	5.01.1350	Albert van Unna	Town Church Dominican convent Franciscan convent Homestead of the Holy Spirit If his daughter, Abele, died before coming of age, the executors of the will were to use the 20 marks originally bequeathed to her to aid the testator's soul	SDHK 5896 Brandt (1964), no. 293	Albert van Unna was named as a burgher of Stockholm in 1361; he issued his will in Lübeck, likely before moving to Stockholm
11.	26.10.1350	Konrad Arxö	Prebend of St Olof in the Town Church	SDHK 6058 DS 4631	

				See also: SDHK 6057 DS 4632	
12.	7.05.1358	Councillor Engelbert, called 'Tasky' (the German)	Prebend of St Olof in the Town Church	SDHK 7349 DS 5895 See also: SDHK 7398 DS 5945	
13.	13.08.1361	Herman <i>skräddare</i>	A chapel in a church in Stockholm (the Town Church?)	SDHK 8004 DS 6517	
14.	15.07.1367	Johan Castel	Town Church Chapel of St James Dominican convent Franciscan convent Clarissan nunnery Various in and around Lübeck, Visby, Sigtuna and Åbo	SDHK 9111 DS 7557 See also another version of his will: SDHK 9144 DS 7587 (14.09.1367)	Johan Castel owned a house in Stockholm according to an even earlier version of his will issued in 1350; all the versions of his will were issued in Lübeck, likely after he moved there
15.	8.10.1370	Gertrud Kansten, widow of Burgomaster Folkvin Brakel	Altar and prebend of St Andreas in the Town Church	SDHK 9803 DS 8213 SJB, no. XXV, p. 416 See also: SDHK 9808 DS 8217	
16.	11.09.1373	Councillor Wilhelm Stenking	Homestead of the Holy Spirit	SJB, no. 26, p. 444	The donor later became a burgomaster of Stockholm; only a summary
17.	18.10.1374	Peter Hjälmborgsson	Town Church Dominican convent	SDHK 39694 DS 8667	The former burgomaster of

			<p>Franciscan convent  Clarissan nunnery  Homestead of the  Holy Spirit  Chapel of St James  Chapel of St Mary  Magdalene  Various in and around  Lübeck</p>		<p>Stockholm, currently  burgher of Lübeck</p>
18.	12.04.1376	Everhard Kansten	<p>A prebend in the  Town Church  Building of the Town  Church  Alms to be distributed  at the Town Church  Dominican convent  Franciscan convent  Chapel of St James  Chapel of St Mary  Magdalene  Clarissan nunnery  Various in and around  Lübeck</p>	<p>SDHK 40693  DS 9235</p>	<p>Currently, a burgher  of Stockholm, later  became a councillor  and subsequently  a burgomaster there</p>
19.	1.10.1376	Klaus Vorneholt	<p>Town Church  Dominican convent  Franciscan convent  Homestead of the  Holy Spirit  Alms for the poor in  Stockholm  Chapel of St James  Chapel of St Mary  Magdalene</p>	<p>SDHK 10882  DS 9332</p>	<p>Klaus Vorneholt was  named as a burgher of  Stockholm in 1361;  he later moved to  Wismar and issued his  will in Lübeck</p>

			Clarissan nunnery Various in and around Lübeck and Västerås		
20.	22.11.1380	Gertrud Kansten, widow of Burgomaster Folkvin Brakel	Altar and prebend of St Andreas the Apostle in the cathedral of Uppsala	SDHK 11782 DS 10285 See also: SDHK 11847, 11964	
21.	19.08.1381	Herman Hundebeke	Altar of St Catherine in the cathedral of Åbo Franciscan convent Dominican convent Clarissan nunnery Homestead of the Holy Spirit Various in and around Lübeck	SDHK 44950 DS 10472 See also another version of his will: SDHK 13357 Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck (10.11.1387)	Former councillor of Stockholm, currently burgher of Lübeck
22.	6.02.1382	Gertrud Kansten, widow of Burgomaster Folkvin Brakel	Annual mass in the chancel ( <i>högkor</i> ) of the cathedral of Uppsala	SDHK 12104	
23.	3.07.1385	Kristina Envastadotter, widow of Hans 'Skyrbytta' of Stockholm	Prebend of the Virgin Mary and St Andreas the Apostle in the cathedral of Uppsala	SDHK 12911	
24.	29.09.1386	Councillor Peter Ålänning and his wife Kristin Petersdotter	Altar and prebend of St Eric and St Henry in the cathedral of Åbo	SDHK 13175 FMU 950 REA 264	

25.	19.05.1387	Councillor Peter Ålänning and his wife Kristina Petersdotter	Prebend of St Olof and St Henry in the cathedral of Uppsala	SDHK 13294 FMU 958	
26.	7.11.1392	Wilhelm Stenking	Dominican convent in Lübeck Alms for the poor in Lübeck and Stockholm	Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck	The former burgomaster of Stockholm, currently burgher of Lübeck
27.	5.09.1400	Councillor Peter Ålänning and his wife Kristina Petersdotter	Altar and prebend of St Eric and St Henry in the cathedral of Åbo	SDHK 15464 FMU 1099 REA 290 See also: SDHK 25369, 28940 FMU 6667, 3376 REA 502	Additional donation for the foundation created in no. 24
28.	5.09.1400	Councillor Peter Ålänning and his wife Kristina Petersdotter	Prebend of St Olof and St Henry in the cathedral of Uppsala	SDHK 15465 FMU 1100 See also: SDHK 15706 SD 108	Additional donation for the foundation created in no. 25
29.	1.09.1401	Councillor Peter Ålänning and his wife Kristina Petersdotter	Vadstena abbey	SDHK 15683 SD 92 See also: SDHK 16289 SD 454	
30.	17.03.1408	Hans van Horn	Choir of St Peter and St Paul the Apostles in the Town Church	SDHK 17027	Information preserved only in a post-medieval note
31.	20.12.1409	Bothild Sonesdotter, sister	Vadstena abbey	SDHK 17389 SD 1226 See also:	Uncertain whether she belonged to a burgher family; see her sister's

		of Kristina Petersdotter		SDHK 23032	donation to the same abbey in no. 29
32.	12.03.1417	Nils Olofsson <i>blymästare</i>	Donation to his brother Peter Olofsson to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in his stead	SDHK 18896 SD 2338 See also: SDHK 18981, 19005, 19006 SD 2403, 2418, 2419	
33.	1419–1431	Jakob Constanten	Vadstena abbey	SDHK 19391	The document dated 13 December without a year; he might have been a burgher or a priest serving in Stockholm
34.	26.05.1420	Katarina Erengisladotter	Weekly mass in the choir of St Anna in the Franciscan convent	SDHK 19490 SD 2778	Uncertain whether she belonged to a burgher family
35.	31.05.1420	Parson of Stockholm Bengt Torstensson	Anniversary mass in the cathedral of Strängnäs	SDHK 19494 SD 2780	Not a burgher but an 'urban priest' of Stockholm
36.	29.07.1420	Herman Rembeke and Councillor Werner Gest	Choir of St Barbara in the Town Church	SJB, no. 4	
37.	17.12.1422	Margit Larsdotter, widow of Lars Björnsson and her children	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SDHK 19969	Uncertain whether her husband was a burgher
38.	9.07.1425	Alf Greuerode	Choir of St Peter and St Paul the Apostles in the Town Church	SJB, no. 32 See also: SJB, no. 33	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made

39.	10.05.1427	Karl <i>murmästare</i>	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SJB, no. 58, p. 447	The date concerns the moment when the document was issued and not the moment when the donation was made; only a summary
40.	1428	Burgomaster Werner Gest and his wife	Prebend in the choir of St Barbara in the Town Church	SDHK 21030	Preserved only in: SDHK 30654
41.	26.09.1428	Councillor Herman Rembeke and his wife Elseby	Prebend in the choir of St Barbara in the Town Church	SDHK 21055 See the recent edition in: Kołodziejczak & Oliński (2020) See the translation into Swedish in: Brun & Voss (1917)	
42.	26.11.1428	Hans Bocholtz	Found of the Sunday Alms The choir of Corpus Christi in the Town Church	SJB, no. 60, p. 448	It is uncertain whether the date refers to the moment of making the donation or issuing the document; only a summary
43.	20.12.1430	Peter Ragwalsson and his wife Lucia	Hospital of St George	SJB, no. 62, p. 448	Uncertain whether they were burghers; only a summary
44.	4.09.1431	Magnus Gram and his wife Kristina Olofsdotter	The Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SJB, no. 66, p. 448	Uncertain whether they were burghers; only a summary

45.	c. 25.05.1432	Bela, widow of Burgomaster Klaus Lörenberg	A prebend in the Town Church	SJB, no. 71 See also: SDHK 27224	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the foundation was made; SDHK 27224 suggests that it was one of two prebends founded by Bela in the Town Church, i.e. it was not identical to no. 58
46.	13.09.1432	Bengta Eriksdotter, widow of Councillor Erik Than	Homestead of the Holy Spirit	SJB, no. 70, p. 449	Only a summary
47.	18.10.1432	Bengta Eriksdotter, widow of Councillor Erik Than	Cathedral of Uppsala	SDHK 21846	
48.	11.11.1432	Councillor Anders Nilsson	Altar of the Holy Blood (probably) in the Franciscan convent	SJB, no. 50b	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the gift was made
49.	3.06.1433	Lars <i>bagare</i>	Clarissan nunnery	SDHK 21957	
50.	2.04.1434	Klaus Nilsson and his wife Ingeborg	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SJB, no. 71, p. 449	Only a summary
51.	25.04.1434	Gerd Sorbeck and his wife Tala	Mass in the Choir of the Soul in the Town Church Alms to be distributed (by the administrators of the Choir of the	SJB, no. 72, p. 449	Only a summary



			Soul and/or in the choir?)		
52.	20.09.1435	The Town Council of Stockholm	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SJB, no. 73, p. 449	Only a summary
53.	18.05.1438	Swedish merchants, including Kort Rogge, burgher of Stockholm	Chapel and altar of St Eric in the Carmelitic monastery in Danzig	SDHK 22981 Donner (1930), pp. 43–45 See also: SDHK 22977, 23206, 23261 Donner (1930), pp. 45–47	Stockholm burgher Kort Rogge was the father of Bishop Kort of Strängnäs
54.	1.03.1439	Ragwald Laurensen	Prebend of St Olof in the Town Church	SJB, no. 78, p. 450	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made; only a summary
55.	1440	Tala, widow of Gerd Sorbeck	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SJB, no. 81, p. 450	Only a summary
56.	1.02.1440	Dorothea Skewing	Fund of the Sunday Alms	SJB, no. 167	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift
57.	14.03.1440	Magnus <i>murmästare</i> and his wife Kristina	Town Church	SDHK 23480	
58.	26.03.1440	Bela, widow of Burgomaster Klaus Lörenberg	Choir and altar of St Christopher in the Town Church	SDHK 23488 Stockholms stadsarkiv See also: SDHK 27224	SDHK 27224 suggests that it was one of two prebends founded by Bela in the Town Church, i.e. it was not identical to no. 45
59.	3.04.1440	Tala, widow of Gerd Sorbeck	Cistercian Julita abbey	SDHK 23494	

60.	11.12.1440	Hans Kruse and his wife Margit	Fund of the Sunday Alms	SJB, no. 84, p. 450	Only a summary
61.	11.12.1440	Hans Kruse and his wife Margit	Fund of the Friday Alms	SJB, no. 83, p. 450	Only a summary
62.	25.05.1443	Nils 'Wibbamagher' and his wife Margit	Town Church	SDHK 24323	
63.	15.06.1443	Hans <i>svärdslipare</i>	Weekly mass in the Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SJB, no. 214	
64.	17.06.1443	Margit, wife of Burgomaster Johan Hoppener	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church Fund of the Sunday Alms Fund of the Friday Alms	SJB, no. 215 See also: SJB, no. 222	
65.	20.01.1444	Nils 'Wibbenragh' (the same as Nils 'Wibbamagher', see no. 62)	Franciscan convent	SJB, no. 225	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
66.	8.12.1446	Anders van Ralen	Fund of the Friday Alms	SJB, no. 284 See also: SJB, no. 90, p. 451	
67.	8.12.1446	Hans van der Asche and his wife Bela	Fund of the Friday Alms	SJB, no. 284	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the gift was made; the donation was mentioned in an entry

					regarding a different issue, see no. 66
68.	8.05.1447	Olof <i>bältare</i> and his wife	Order of St John's monastery in Eskilstuna	SJB, no. 301	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the gift was made
69.	16.07.1448	Bela, widow of Burgomaster Klaus Lörenberg	Franciscan convent	SDHK 25367 Celsius (1748), no. VII, pp. 34–35	
70.	17.03.1449	Elin, widow of skipper Jösse Svin	Hospital of St George	SJB, no. 348	Earlier skipper Jösse Svin himself donated to the hospital
71.	18.04.1450	Katrin Munk	Fund of the Sunday Alms	SJB, no. 372	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the gift was made
72.	4.09.1450	Olof Andersson and his wife Ingrid	Weekly mass in the Town Church	SJB, no. 393	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the gift was made
73.	2.11.1451	Knut Trulle	Choir and altar in the Franciscan convent	SJB, no. 93, p. 451	Only a summary
74.	30.09.1452	Elin of Stockholm, widow of Henrik <i>tullskrivare</i>	Altar and prebend of St Eskil and the Ten Thousand Knights in the cathedral of Uppsala	SDHK 26152	She was the mother of the prebend's chaplain Göran Henriksson
75.	14.08.1453	Elin of Stockholm, widow of Henrik <i>tullskrivare</i>	Altar and prebend of St Eskil and the Ten Thousand Knights in the cathedral of Uppsala	SDHK 26311	She was the mother of the prebend's chaplain Göran Henriksson

76.	17.12.1453	Anders Gere	Dominican convent	SJB, no. 469	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made; the donor had already been dead when the entry was made; the donation was made specifically for Dominican friar Laurens Gere, a kinsman of Anders Gere; the donated property was to return to Anders' heirs after Laurens' death
77.	27.02.1454	Klaus, the late husband of Ingefrid	Town Church	SJB, no. 470	
78.	19.03.1455	Tala, widow of Gerd Sorbeck	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SJB, no. 496 See also: SJB, no. 583a	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made; the donation resulted in a conflict with Tala Sorbeck's heirs
79.	31.10.1457	Greta Raffwenhorst, widow of Peder Raffwenhorst	Town Church Fund of the Sunday Alms Other unspecified churches and monasteries	SJB, no. 520	

80.	23.06.1459	Anders Laurensson and his wife Ragnhild	Two weekly masses in the Franciscan convent	SJB, no. 544	
81.	16.12.1461	Staffan Gest and his wife Karin	Altar of the Deposition of Christ, Our Lady and St Anna in the Dominican convent	SJB, no. 596	
82.	10.02.1464	Torsten Joansson	Altar of Our Lady and St Anna in the Dominican convent	SJB, no. 102, p. 452	Uncertain whether he was a burgher; only a summary
83.	8.03.1465	Burgomaster Nils Persson	Prebend of St Mary Magdalene in the Town Church	SJB, no. 646, 1211 STB III, pp. 2–3 See also: STB III, p. 436 STB IV, p. 128 STB V, p. 184	The date concerns the moment when the document was issued, and later entered into the book, and not the moment when the foundation was made
84.	11.05.1465	Erik Jonsson	‘Cloister’ of the Town Church Choir of Corpus Christi in the Town Church Fund of the Sunday Alms Fund of the Friday Alms	SJB, no. 650	The donation was not finalised because Erik’s wife gave birth to his posthumous child
85.	29.06.1465	Margit Palinsdotter, widow of Councillor Magnus Birgersson	Annual celebration in the Franciscan convent	SDHK 28434	The date is uncertain, possibly 22.02.1465 or 1.08.1465

86.	19.08.1465	Herbricht Hansson	Franciscan convent	SJB, no. 104, p. 453	Only a summary
87.	26.02.1466	Margit Grotte of Skänninge, widow of Magnus Grotte and her children, among others, Göran Grotte, councillor of Stockholm	Homestead of the Holy Spirit in Skänninge	SDHK 28551	
88.	1467	Margaret, widow of Magnus Björnsson	Town Church	SJB, no. 681	
89.	10.04.1467	Margit Grotte of Skänninge, widow of Magnus Grotte	Dominican convent in Skänninge	SDHK 28713	Margit Grotte lived in Skänninge, and not in Stockholm, however, she provided her children with intercessory prayers, including Göran Grotte, councillor of Stockholm
90.	14.12.1467	Bertil <i>smed</i>	Homestead of the Holy Spirit	SJB, no. 680	It is uncertain whether it was a donation or a financial transaction
91.	17.04.1469	Jöns of Horn and his wife Birgitta	Town Church	SJB, no. 705	
92.	13.05.1469	Margit Palinsdotter, widow of Councillor Magnus Birgersson	Cathedral of Uppsala	SDHK 28951 See also: SDHK 28960	

93.	3.07.1469	Peder <i>sniddeker</i> ( <i>snickare?</i> )	Town Church	SJB, no. 712	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made; the donor had already been dead when the entry was made
94.	13.11.1469	Peder Alendinge	Fund of the Sunday Alms	SJB, no. 724	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the gift was made; the donor had already been dead when the entry was made
95.	1.06.1471	Councillor Peter Johansson	Hospital of St George	SJB, no. 108, p. 453	Only a summary
96.	28.09.1471	Andrea Pauli, altar priest in Stockholm	Fund of the Sunday Alms Choir of Corpus Christi in the Town Church	SJB, no. 109, p. 453	Not a burgher but an 'urban priest'; only a summary
97.	22.04.1472	Dethard Krake	Town Church Choir of the Soul in the Town Church Choir of Corpus Christi in the Town Church Fund of the Sunday Alms Fund of the Friday Alms Homestead of the Holy Spirit	Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck	The former burgomaster of Stockholm, currently burgher of Lübeck

			Hospital of St George Clarissan nunnery Franciscan convent Dominican convent Alms (clothes and shoes) for the poor in Stockholm and Lübeck Alms for poor priests and students in Stockholm Two convents in Sweden outside Stockholm Church of Our Lady in Lübeck		
98.	3.12.1472	Dethard Krake	Weekly Corpus Christi celebration in the cathedral of Uppsala	SDHK 29510 See also: SDHK 29511, 29516, 29811	The former burgomaster of Stockholm, currently burgher of Lübeck
99.	3.12.1472	Gertrud <i>köpmans</i>	Cistercian Sko abbey	Only mentioned in: SDHK 29510	The date concerns the moment when a document mentioning the gift was issued and not when the gift itself was made, see no. 98
100.	16.08.1473	Ingvar Nilsson, administrator of the Choir of the Soul and his wife Margaret	Weekly mass in the Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SJB, no. 111, pp. 453–454	Only a summary



101.	13.09.1473	Ingvar Nilsson, administrator of the Choir of the Soul and his wife Margaret	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SJB, no. 793	
102.	8.11.1473	Katarina Crusan	Town Church	SJB, no. 797	
103.	8.06.1474	Anna, widow of Lasse Moor	Town Church	SJB, no. 805 See also: SJB, no. 810	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the gift was made; the donor had already been dead when the entry was made
104.	1.08.1474	Burgomaster Magnus Eriksson and his wife Elseby	A prebend in the Town Church	SJB, no. 808 See also: STB IV, pp. 349– 350	It was the first prebend in the founding of which Elseby was involved; for the other one, see no. 186
105.	5.07.1475	Ingegärd	Unspecified gift 'henne till siälarycht'	STB I, p. 19	
106.	2.08.1475	Laurens Persson	Franciscan convent	STB I, p. 21	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made; the donor had already been dead when the entry was made
107.	16.09.1475	Jenis Eriksson	Bridgettine Nådendal abbey	STB I, p. 26	Uncertain whether he was a burgher
108.	19.12.1475	Hans Laurensen	Town Church Franciscan convent in Uppsala	STB I, p. 42	The date concerns the book entry and not the

					moment when the donation was made
109.	22.01.1476	Mikel Svarte	Town Church Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SJB, no. 830 STB I, p. 43 See also: SJB, no. 863	
110.	22.01.1476	Mikel Svarte	Franciscan convent	SJB, no. 831 STB I, p. 43	
111.	23.03.1476	Margit, wife of Torsten Andersson	Town Church	STB I, p. 47	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made; the donor had already been dead when the entry was made
112.	29.04.1476	Peder Svin	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	STB I, p. 51	
113.	16.09.1476	Joan Håkansson <i>grovsmed</i> and his wife Elin	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church (and possibly other recipients)	STB I, p. 69	
114.	11.12.1476	Ramfrid, wife of Eskil Hoppener	Altar of the Apostles in the Town Church	STB I, p. 83 See also: STB II, p. 300	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the foundation was made
115.	30.04.1477	Wife of Clemit Finne	Franciscan convent	STB I, p. 95	
116.	16.06.1477	Clemit Finne and his wife	Franciscan convent	SJB, no. 780a See also: STB I, p. 109	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the gift was made
117.	14.02.1478	Unknown donor(s)	Franciscan convent	SJB, no. 871	The date concerns the book entry and not the

					moment when the gift was made
118.	2.03.1478	Elin Koks	Town Church	STB I, p. 146	
119.	3.04.1478	The Town Council of Stockholm	Two weekly masses at the altar of the Holy Cross in the Town Church	STB I, p. 150 See also: STB I, p. 307	
120.	5.04.1478	Erik <i>skräddare</i>	Fund of the Friday Alms	SJB, no. 115, p. 454	Only a summary
121.	20.04.1478	Joan Skalme and his wife Ingeborg	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church Fund of the Sunday Alms Fund of the Friday Alms	SJB, no. 874 STB I, pp. 154–155	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
122.	17.06.1478	Katarina, widow of skipper Bengt	Altar and prebend of St Henry in the Town Church	STB I, p. 176	
123.	21.05.1479	Councillor Magnus Utter	Altar of God's angels in the Town Church	SDHK 30539	
124.	7.08.1479	Sigrid, widow of Burgomaster Mårten Lindorm	Prebend in the choir of St Catherine in the Town Church	STB I, p. 204	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the foundation was made
125.	1480–1485	Folmar van Lunden, former councillor	Prebend in the choir of St Barbara in the Town Church	SDHK 30654 See the translation into Swedish: Brun & Voss (1917)	The dating is based on persons appearing in the document
126.	26.02.1481	Ingeborg, wife of Andres Staffansson	Dominican convent in Örebro	STB I, p. 281	

127.	19.05.1481	Mattias Petri, prebend chaplain in Stockholm	Altar of God's angels in the Town Church	SDHK 30918	Not a burgher but an 'urban priest'; the altar was founded by his relatives Chancellor Magnus Utter and his wife Ingegärd, see no. 123
128.	9.10.1481	Elseby, widow of Karl <i>murmästare</i>	Cistercian Sko abbey	STB I, p. 315	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
129.	22.10.1481	Elin, wife of Hans Otte	An altar (in the Town Church?)	STB I, p. 318	A very brief book entry
130.	2.03.1482	Olof Waldemarsson	Altar of Our Lady in the Franciscan convent	SJB, no. 963 STB I, p. 332 (dated 9.03.1482)	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made; the donor had already been dead when the entry was made
131.	22.04.1482	Torsten	Town Church	STB I, p. 341	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift or a financial transaction
132.	30.10.1482	Ingevald Torstensson and Jenis Olsson	Franciscan convent	STB I, p. 383	
133.	1483–1484?	Mother of Hans <i>kolare's</i> wife	Dominican convent	STB II, p. 43	The entry is undated and was transcribed in the book after the office year 1483/1484
134.	14.04.1483	Mattis Bredholt	Town Church	STB I, p. 414	
135.	9.06.1483	Botilda <i>köttmånglares</i>	Town Church	STB II, p. 8	

136.	9.06.1483	Botilda <i>köttmånglares</i>	Franciscan convent	STB II, p. 8	
137.	9.06.1483	Botilda <i>köttmånglares</i>	Homestead of the Holy Spirit	STB II, pp. 8–9	
138.	1.12.1483	Margit <i>bagares</i>	Dominican convent	STB II, p. 23	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
139.	23.02.1484	Katerina, wife of Erik <i>murmästare</i>	Homestead of the Soul	STB II, p. 34	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
140.	28.04.1484	Peder Olsson <i>fiskare</i>	Altar of the Holy Trinity in the Franciscan convent	STB II, p. 42	Perhaps he was a member or even an alderman of the Guild of the Holy Trinity; uncertain whether it was his private initiative or he acted on behalf of the guild
141.	17.05.1484	Margit Pickan	Town Church	STB II, p. 47	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
142.	23.08.1484	Gotskalk <i>skomakare</i> , burgher of Stockholm and Elin, widow of Erik of Hässelby	Choir and prebend of St Anna in the cathedral of Strängnäs	SDHK 31498 SD 482 (wrongly dated as 1404)	Elin and her deceased husband were not burghers
143.	1485	Goldsmiths' Craft Guild of Stockholm	Prebend of St Loye (St Eligius) at the altar in the choir of	Klemming (1856), pp. 164–167	The precise date remains unknown; the dating is based on

			St Blaise in the Town Church	See also: Klemming (1856), pp. 163–164 Fant (1786), no. VIII, pp. 27–31	documents not directly referring to the founding; see also no. 149
144.	4.01.1485	Kort, Bishop of Strängnäs	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	SDHK 31533 STB II, pp. 75–76	Bishop Kort Rogge was of burgher origin; the document was transcribed into the book under the date 22.01.1485
145.	17.01.1485	Certain wife of a brewer and her husband	Homestead of the Holy Spirit	STB II, p. 75	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
146.	4.07.1485	Laurens Jönsson <i>murmästare</i>	Franciscan convent	STB II, p. 97	The entry ends abruptly
147.	4.10.1485	Kristin Jakobsdotter, widow of Staffan Storbeck, her brother-in-law and former Burgomaster Olof Svarte, and his wife Valborg, Kristin's sister	Altar and prebend of the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the Town Church	SDHK 31656 See also: SDHK 31660	Perhaps Olof Svarte was away from Stockholm at the time the documents were issued, as he was no longer a burgomaster there, thus they were issued by and for Kristin Jakobsdotter
148.	12.11.1485	Joan Lindorm	Two weekly masses in the choir of St Henry in the Town Church	STB II, p. 118	

149.	29.11.1485	Tiedeman Privalk and Olof Hiese, prebend priests, and Hans Privalk, burgher of Stockholm	Altar in the choir of St Blaise in the Town Church	Klemming (1856), pp. 163–164	The date does not refer to the moment when the foundation was made but to the moment when a different document regarding the altar was issued
150.	1.02.1486	Mikel Svarte and his wife Elin Pedersdotter	Prebend of the Three Kings in the choir of St Eric and St Henry in the Town Church	SDHK 31709 See also: SJB, no. 1304 STB III, pp. 139–140	
151.	27.02.1486	Hans Privalk and his wife Margaret	Weekly mass at the altar of St Henry and the Five Holy Wounds in the Town Church	STB II, p. 128	
152.	26.04.1486	Folmar van Lunden, former councillor	Choir of St Barbara in the Town Church	STB II, p. 140	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift or some kind of obligation to maintain the choir
153.	18.12.1486	Katarina, widow of Jöns <i>svärdslipare</i>	Altar of St Anna in the Dominican convent	SJB, no. 968a See also: STB II, p. 183	
154.	18.12.1486	Councillor Peder Mikelsson	Mass(es) at the altar of St Nicholas, St Gertrud and St Knut in the Town Church	STB II, p. 184	
155.	19.05.1487	Olof Nilsson <i>fiskare</i> and his	Homestead of the Soul	STB II, pp. 194–195 See also:	

		wife Cristina Andersdotter		SJB, no. 1440 STB III, p. 300	
156.	19.05.1487	Gunnel, wife of Henrik Mulle	Town Church	STB II, p. 195	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
157.	1489–1490?	Clemet, Dominican friar in Stockholm	Dominican convent	STB II, pp. 434– 435	Not a burgher, but an ‘urban priest’; his will was loosely inserted into the book
158.	1.04.1489	Mikel <i>köttmåglare</i> and his wife Margit	Town Church	SJB, no. 1071 STB II, p. 334 See also: STB II, p. 341	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
159.	9.07.1489	Erik Andree, prebend chaplain in Stockholm and the parson of Solna	Prebend of the Five Holy Wounds in the Town Church	SDHK 32254	Not a burgher but an ‘urban priest’; preserved only as a post-medieval copy
160.	11.08.1489	Magnus Person and his wife Anna Jonsdotter	Order of St John’s monastery in Eskilstuna	SDHK 32283	The date is uncertain
161.	19.8.1489	Nils Kock	Franciscan convent in Krokek	STB II, pp. 371– 372	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made; the donor had already been dead when the entry was made
162.	10.10.1489	Anders Hiort	Weekly mass in the chapel of the hospital of St George	STB II, p. 383 See also: STB II, pp. 430– 431, 437–438	



163.	15.05.1490	Hans <i>smed</i> , councillor of Enköping	Hospital of St George OR Homestead of the Holy Spirit OR Homestead of the Soul	STB II, pp. 437– 438	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift; uncertain whether the supposed gift was donated; Hans <i>smed</i> declared that he was willing to move to Stockholm and after his and his wife's death wanted their homestead NOT to be donated to any church, monastery, priest or prebend but instead wanted to give it to one of the charitable institutions in Stockholm, possibly to compensate for their living should they need to enter one of them during their lifetime
164.	21.06.1490	Wife of Anders Kettilbjörnsson	Dominican convent	SJB, no. 1134 STB II, pp. 446– 447	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the gift was made
165.	29.06.1490	Ragnila Ravidsdotter	Franciscan convent in Arboga	SDHK 32445 Landsarkivet i Uppsala	
166.	11.10.1490	Councillor Ingevald	Fund of the Sunday Alms	SJB, no. 1147 STB II, p. 489	The date concerns the book entry and not the

		Torstensson and his wife	Fund of the Friday Alms		moment when the gift was made
167.	11.10.1490	Jöns Andersson	An altar in the Town Church	STB II, p. 486 See also: STB II, p. 526	
168.	31.01.1491	Gödert <i>pärlstickare</i>	Homestead of the Soul	STB II, p. 509	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
169.	12.03.1491	Councillor Sven Hellsing	Town Church High altar in the Town Church Altar of the Five Holy Wounds in the Town Church Fund of the Sunday Alms Fund of the Friday Alms Dominican convent Franciscan convent Clarissan nunnery Hospital of St George Various in Sweden outside Stockholm	STB III, pp. 136–138	The will was transcribed in the book under the date 2.12.1493
170.	13.06.1491	Olof Jönsson	Franciscan convent	SJB, no. 1178	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
171.	20.08.1491	Mother of Björn <i>stallsvan</i>	Prebend of the Guild of St Barbara	STB II, p. 566 See also: STB II, pp. 443, 576	The prebend that belonged to the Guild of St Barbara was most likely not

				SJB, no. 1184	identical to the choir of St Barbara in the Town Church
172.	31.08.1491	Gödert <i>pärlstickare</i>	Prebend of the Five Holy Wounds in the Town Church	SJB, no. 1190 See also: STB II, p. 573	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
173.	5.12.1491	Elseby, wife of Hans van Nasken	Town Church	STB II, p. 595	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
174.	3.12.1492	Tord	Town Church Homestead of the Soul	STB III, p. 55	Uncertain whether he was a burgher; the date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
175.	1493	Kort, Bishop of Strängnäs	Celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in the choir of St Peter and St Paul in the Town Church	SDHK 32850 See also: SDHK 33134	Bishop Kort Rogge was of burgher origin
176.	11.03.1493	Folmar van Lunden, former councillor	Prebend in the choir of St Barbara in the Town Church	SJB, no. 1279	The date probably does not refer to the moment when the donation was made but to a later entry in the book
177.	10.07.1493	Erik Andree, parson of Solna	Prebend in the Town Church	SDHK 32975	Erik Andree was also a prebend chaplain in Stockholm and an 'urban priest';

					preserved only as a post-medieval copy
178.	19.08.1493	Ragnila, wife (or widow?) of Olof Henningsson	Clarissan nunnery	SJB, no. 1294 See also: STB III, p. 113	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift or a financial transaction
179.	31.08.1493	An unidentified woman who died in the Homestead of the Holy Spirit	Unspecified gift(s) for pious purposes	STB III, p. 115	Uncertain whether she belonged to a burgher family
180.	9.11.1493	Councillor Ingevald Torstensson	Fund of the Friday Alms	SJB, no. 1301 See also: SJB, no. 1309 STB III, pp. 135–136, 145–146, 150	It is uncertain whether the donation was finalised as the listed entries include only a proposal
181.	18.12.1493	The parents of Cyriacus, prebend priest in Stockholm	Prebend of St Nicholas in the Town Church	SJB, no. 1305 See also: STB III, p. 144	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
182.	17.03.1494	Jöns Andersson	A choir and prebend in the Town Church	STB III, p. 153	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the foundation was made
183.	20.10.1494	Elin, widow of Laurens <i>tunnbindare</i>	Choir of Our Lady in the Town Church	SJB, no. 1335 See also: STB III, pp. 195–196, 201–202, 231	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made; the donation was made against the law and was at least partially withdrawn
184.	20.10.1494	Rikmod, widow of Sander Lekson	Altar of the Guild of St Nicholas in the	STB III, p. 195	

			choir of St Gertrud in the Town Church		
185.	13.03.1495	Lasse Perman and his wife	Franciscan convent	SJB, no. 1352 See also: STB III, pp. 217–218	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
186.	4.05.1495	Elseby, widow of Burgomaster Magnus Eriksson and current wife of Burgomaster Bengt Småläanning	A prebend in the Town Church	STB III, pp. 226–227	The second prebend that Elseby intended to found, separate from the first one founded together with her first husband Magnus Eriksson, see no. 104; ultimately, the second founding most likely did not happen, as it was opposed by Elseby's relatives
187.	6.06.1495	Anders Petersson, called 'Törbo', prebend chaplain in Stockholm	Cathedral of Uppsala	SDHK 33243	Not a burgher but an 'urban priest'
188.	21.03.1496	Councillor Martin Ulfsson and his wife	Homestead of the Soul	SJB, no. 1410 See also: SJB, no. 1409 STB III, p. 276	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift; two of these entries end abruptly
189.	20.07.1496	Nils Håkansson	Dominican convent	STB III, p. 299	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift; the date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made

190.	29.08.1496	Helmick van Nörden, town registrar and Alf, prebend priest	Prebend in the choir of St Barbara in the Town Church	SJB, no. 1447 See also: STB III, p. 307	The date does not refer to the moment when the donation was made but to the entry in the book
191.	14.09.1496	Kort, Bishop of Strängnäs	Celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in the choir of St Peter and St Paul in the Town Church (?)	SDHK 33416	Bishop Kort Rogge was of burgher origin; the exact pious purpose is not specified but it is likely the same as the other ones, see no. 175, 200 and 230
192.	10.05.1497	Jöns Persson and his wife	Homestead of the Soul	SJB, no. 1472 See also: STB III, p. 331	
193.	28.03.1498	Staffan Västgöte	Altar of the Apostles in the Town Church	STB III, p. 359 See also: STB III, p. 366	
194.	11.06.1498	Kort, Bishop of Strängnäs and his mother	Fund of the Sunday Alms Fund of the Friday Alms	STB III, p. 376	Bishop Kort Rogge was of burgher origin and his mother belonged to a burgher family; the date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
195.	18.06.1498	Birgitta Muggel, mother of Otto Muggel	Weekly mass in the choir of St Henry in the Town Church	STB III, p. 378	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the foundation was made

196.	16.07.1498	Kort, Bishop of Strängnäs	Celebration of the Hours (of the Virgin?) in the Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	STB III, p. 388 See also: STB III, pp. 401–402	Bishop Kort Rogge was of burgher origin
197.	4.03.1499	Burgomaster Bengt Smälänning and Ragnhild, widow of Ulfard Gerdsson	Dominican convent	STB III, p. 416	
198.	2.12.1499	Councillor Olof Mikelsson	Prebend of St Mary Magdalene in the Town Church	STB III, p. 461 See also: STB III, p. 465	
199.	1500	Per Björsson and his wife Gertrud	Homestead of the Holy Spirit	SJB, no. 123, p. 455	Only a summary
200.	14.09.1500	Kort, Bishop of Strängnäs	Celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in the choir of St Peter and St Paul in the Town Church	SDHK 34253	Bishop Kort Rogge was of burgher origin
201.	1501–1506	Councillor Knut Nilsson	Prebend of St Loye (St Eligius) at the altar in the choir of St Blaise in the Town Church	Fant (1786), no. VIII, pp. 27–31	Preserved only as a post-medieval copy; the document dating is lacking; the approximate dating is based on Knut Nilsson being appointed as a councillor in 1501 and referred to as deceased on 15.06.1506

202.	c. 1501	Shoemakers' Craft Guild of Stockholm	Altar of St Mark the Evangelist, St Crispin and St Crispinian in the Town Church	Klemming (1856), pp. 33–34	
203.	25.11.1501	Sven Jonsson Moise (originally the gift was made by his mother Birgitta, widow of Burgomaster Joan Svensson)	Dominican convent	STB V, pp. 131–132	The donation document was transcribed in the book under the date 24.11.1516 at the request of Elseby, widow of Sven Jonsson Moise
204.	19.01.1504	Folmar van Lunden, former councillor	Mariefred charterhouse	SDHK 34724	
205.	8.07.1504	Olof Bengtsson <i>smed</i>	Dominican convent	STB IV, p. 11	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift
206.	28.08.1504	Councillor Olof Andersson	Prebend of St Hallvard in the Town Church	STB IV, p. 18	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift; the date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
207.	18.11.1504	Evert Dyring (?)	Celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in the choir of St Peter and St Paul in the Town Church	STB IV, pp. 35–36 See also: STB V, p. 58	Uncertain whether Evert Dyring was the donor or was only providing annual rent from his property; the date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made



208.	9.03.1505	Councillor Ingevald Torstensson and his wife	Weekly mass in the choir of St Erasmus in the Franciscan convent	SDHK 35085 Celsius (1748), no. X, pp. 38–40	Preserved only as a post-medieval copy
209.	18.08.1505	Lasse Nilsson	Prebend of All the Apostles in the Town Church	STB IV, pp. 80–81	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift; the date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
210.	22.09.1505	Councillor Olof Andersson	Homestead of the Soul	STB IV, p. 86	
211.	22.09.1505	Councillor Olof Andersson	Prebend of the Guild of St Catherine in the Town Church	STB IV, pp. 86–87	
212.	22.09.1505	Councillor Olof Andersson	Prebend of St Hallvard in the Town Church	STB IV, p. 87	
213.	17.11.1505	Reinhold Leuhusen, churchwarden of the Town Church	Town Church	STB IV, pp. 95–96	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made; the donor had already been dead when the entry was made
214.	25.03.1506	Elin, widow of Peter Djäken	Prebend of the Three Kings in the cathedral of Västerås	SDHK 35370	
215.	20.04.1506	Jöns <i>skräddare</i>	Homestead of the Soul	STB IV, p. 108	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift
216.	27.04.1506	Unidentified man	Town Church	STB IV, p. 109	Uncertain whether he was a burgher; the date concerns the

					book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
217.	11.02.1507	Simon Persson, called 'rike' (the Rich)	Cistercian Gudsberga abbey	SDHK 35715	
218.	8.03.1507	Councillor Olof Mikelsson	Town Church	STB IV, p. 147	
219.	19.07.1507	Burgomaster Bengt Småläanning	Prebend at the altar of St Birgitta and St Catherine in the Town Church	STB IV, p. 165 See also: Fant (1786), no. IX, pp. 31–35	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the foundation was made
220.	19.07.1507	The Town Council of Stockholm	Two weekly masses at the altar of St Birgitta and St Catherine in the Town Church	STB IV, p. 165	
221.	7.12.1507	Hans Laurensen	Everlasting mass at the altar of the Holy Cross in the chapel of the Homestead of the Holy Spirit	SJB, no. 130, p. 456	Only a summary
222.	1508	Jöns Mattsson	Clarissan nunnery	SJB, no. 132, p. 456	Uncertain whether he was a burgher; only a summary
223.	13.01.1508	Squire Johan Jönsson of Gladö	Cistercian Gudsberga abbey	SDHK 36062	Johan Jönsson of Gladö despite being a nobleman was a burgher of Stockholm and held various municipal offices in the 1480s and 1490s, including the office of

					a councillor in 1483; when this document was issued, he was the castle bailiff ( <i>slottsfogde</i> ) of Stockholm
224.	21.03.1510	Herman Lytting	Town Church Choir of the Soul in the Town Church Choir of St Andreas in the Town Church Choir of St Barbara in the Town Church Dominican convent Altar of the merchant aides ( <i>köpsvennerna</i> ) in the Dominican convent Franciscan convent Church of St John Homestead of the Holy Spirit Hospital of St George Church of St James Clarissan nunnery Chapel of St Mary Magdalene Priests and friars in Stockholm Alms for the poor and infirmaries in Stockholm	SDHK 36703 See also another version of his will: SDHK 38528 (16.03.1523)	The testator later became a councillor of Stockholm

			Admission of an unrelated poor girl to a nunnery to pray for the benefactor Various in Sweden outside Stockholm		
225.	19.06.1510	Elin Nilsson of Stockholm, widow of Hartevik	Mariefred charterhouse	SDHK 36758	
226.	18.02.1512	Gertrud, wife of Erland <i>skräddare</i>	Prebend of (the Guild of?) St Catherine in the Town Church	STB IV, pp. 236–237	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made; the donor had already been dead when the entry was made
227.	22.03.1512	Simon Persson, called 'rike' (the Rich) and his wife	Mariefred charterhouse	STB IV, p. 241 See also: STB IV, pp. 243–244	
228.	22.09.1512	Olof Håkonsson	Town Church	STB IV, p. 271	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift
229.	1.12.1512	The heirs of late Lars, parson of Skellefteå	Homestead of the Soul	STB IV, pp. 283–284	Uncertain whether those heirs were burghers in Stockholm or elsewhere
230.	21.03.1513	Kort, Bishop of Strängnäs	Celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in the choir of St Peter and St Paul in the Town Church	SDHK 37383	Bishop Kort Rogge was of burgher origin; the document was issued after the donor's death as a confirmation

231.	4.04.1513	Squire Johan Jönsson of Gladö and his wife Anna Olofsdotter	Daily morrow mass in the church of St John	STB V, pp. 303–306	Johan Jönsson of Gladö despite being a nobleman was a burgher of Stockholm and held various municipal offices in the 1480s and 1490s, including the office of a councillor in 1483; the foundation document was used as a cover for one of the town books
232.	6.06.1513	Margit, wife of Karl <i>guldsmed</i>	Dominican convent Town Church Mariefred charterhouse Hospital of St George in Söderköping	STB IV, pp. 314–315	
233.	10.10.1513	Ambjörn <i>skomakare</i>	Mariefred charterhouse	STB IV, p. 333	Uncertain whether it was a pious gift; the date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
234.	30.10.1514	Karin <i>sysslomans</i> , wife of Martin Andersson	Town Church	STB V, p. 23 SJB, no. 135, pp. 456–457	
235.	30.10.1514	Karin <i>sysslomans</i> , wife of Martin Andersson	Clarissan nunnery	STB V, p. 23 SJB, no. 136, p. 457 See also:	

				STB V, pp. 20–21	
236.	21.04.1516	Staffan Kortsson	Found of the Friday Alms	STB V, p. 99	
237.	18.06.1516	Kristina, wife of Per Pryss, and Jakob Olsson of Rydby	Altar of St Mark the Evangelist, St Crispin and St Crispinian in the Town Church	STB V, pp. 110–111	Uncertain whether Kristina and her husband were burghers; the date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made
238.	18.08.1516	Barbara Bengtsdotter, widow of both Councillor Knut Nilsson and Nils Jakobsson, daughter of Burgomaster Bengt Småläanning	Prebend at the altar of St Birgitta and St Catherine in the Town Church	Fant (1786), no. IX, pp. 31–35	Preserved only as a post-medieval copy; the prebend was founded by Barbara's father, Burgomaster Bengt Småläanning, see no. 219
239.	20.03.1518	Birgitta Ingevaldsdotter, widow of both Anders Hellsing and Gerd Brüning	Weekly mass (at the altar of the Guild of St Nicholas in the Town Church?)	STB V, pp. 187–188	The donation document was transcribed in the book under this date
240.	20.06.1519	Margit, wife of Jöns Laurensen	Mariefred charterhouse Town Church Church of St John	STB V, p. 233	Uncertain whether her husband was a burgher; the date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made

241.	23.06.1519	Mårten Nilsson <i>skinnare</i>	Chapel and altar of the Virgin Mary of the Rosary at Vadstena abbey and an associated almshouse in Vadstena	SDHK 38275 Fant (1789), no. 1, pp. 1–6 LBH I, no. 101, pp. 249–250 See also: SDHK 38240, 38717, 38821 Fant (1789), no. 2–4, 6, pp. 6–15 LBH I, no. 46, 98–100, pp. 228– 229, 249	Mårten Nilsson originated from the town of Vadstena, he became a burgher of Stockholm in 1516 at the latest, and moved back to Vadstena around 1521; all the documents listed here are preserved only as post-medieval copies and summaries
242.	1521	Lasse Olsson and his wife called 'Unskyle'	Church of St John	STB V, p. 298	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made

## Appendix 2

### Selected endowments made for religious and charitable institutions in and around Stockholm by foreign merchants and burghers

#### List of abbreviations

Meyer (2010)	G. Meyer, <i>‘Besitzende Bürger’ und ‘elende Sieche’. Lübecks Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer Testamente 1400–1449</i> (Lübeck, Schmidt-Römhild, 2010); a source edition available on an attached CD: G. Meyer (ed.), <i>Lübecker Testamente 1400–1449. Edition</i> , vol. 1–2
SDHK	<i>Svenskt diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbrev</i> , <a href="https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SDHK">https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SDHK</a> , accessed online 14 April 2023
STB I	E. Hildebrand (ed.), <i>Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1474–1483 samt burspråk</i> (Stockholm, Ivar Hæggströms boktryckeri, 1917)
STB V	J.A. Almquist (ed.), <i>Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1514–1520. Jämte utdrag ur de förlorade årgångarne 1520–1524 samt stadens kopiebok 1520–1522</i> (Stockholm, P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1933)
Stockhusen (2019)	S. Stockhusen, <i>Hinrik Dunkelgud und sein Rechnungsbuch (1479 bis 1517). Lebensformen eines Lübecker Krämers an der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert</i> (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019)

The list of pious endowments presented here is most certainly incomplete and many more such pious gifts could be identified by an extensive survey of archival materials produced in towns and cities around the Baltic Sea during the medieval period. Only selected sources published in print and online have been used to collect the data presented here. Thus, the list is meant to be merely a sample indicating that places of worship in late medieval Stockholm attracted gifts from foreigners, and not only from the local burghers and suburban dwellers.



<b>No.</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Donor(s)</b>	<b>Recipient(s)</b>	<b>Primary source(s)</b>	<b>Comments</b>
1.	21.10.1314	Nicolaus van Werdene	Town Church Franciscan convent Clarissan nunnery	SDHK 2629	A will issued in Lübeck
2.	1340	Tideke Luhof	Franciscan convent Homestead of the Holy Spirit Town Church Clarissan nunnery Chapel of St James	SDHK 4552 Archiv der Hansestadt Lüneburg	A will issued in Stockholm when the testator became seriously ill
3.	1350	Johan Vysbeke	Homestead of the Holy Spirit	SDHK 5888	A will issued in Lübeck
4.	10.11.1358	Johannes van Unna	Dominican convent	SDHK 7474	A will issued in Lübeck
5.	21.05.1365	Johannes van der Wese	Clarissan nunnery (for two related nuns only)	SDHK 8702	A will issued in Lübeck
6.	28.05.1367	Godekin Gamme	Alms for the poor in Stockholm Graveyard for the poor associated with the chapel of St Mary Magdalene (?) Homestead of the Holy Spirit	SDHK 9084	A will issued in Lübeck
7.	6.01.1370	Johan Stot	Dominican convent	SDHK 9608	A will issued in Lübeck
8.	18.01.1372	Cesar van Rode	Alms for the poor in Stockholm	SDHK 10137	A will issued in Lübeck
9.	8.09.1376	Arnold van Lenepe	Dominican convent Homestead of the Holy Spirit Clarissan nunnery	SDHK 10864 See also another version of his will:	A will issued in Lübeck

			Franciscan convent Town Church Chapel of St James Chapel of St Mary Magdalene	SDHK 11739 (17.09.1380)	
10.	8.12.1376	Johan van dem Brinke	Clarissan nunnery (for one related nun only)	SDHK 40742	A will issued in Lübeck
11.	24.08.1380	Johan van Borken	Chapel of St James Town Church Alms for the poor in Stockholm Dominican convent Homestead of the Holy Spirit Clarissan nunnery	SDHK 11577	A will issued in Lübeck
12.	9.11.1401	Arnd Spärenberch	Town Church Dominican convent Franciscan convent Clarissan nunnery	Meyer (2010), no. 1401/12 See also a previous version of his will: SDHK 44939 (21.01.1381)	A will issued in Lübeck
13.	16.11.1401	Reyner Ratelband	Guild of St Gertrud	Meyer (2010), no. 1401/13	A will issued in Lübeck
14.	1406	Clawes Stenrot	Dominican convent	Meyer (2010), no. 1406/58	A will issued in Lübeck
15.	31.07.1413	Wolter Heyse the Elder	Dominican convent Homestead of the Holy Spirit Franciscan convent Town Church Clarissan nunnery	Meyer (2010), no. 1413/28	A will issued in Lübeck

16.	1.08.1413	Bernd van der Beke	Town Church Dominican convent	Meyer (2010), no. 1413/29	A will issued in Lübeck
17.	11.08.1413	Bertold van der Vorde	Dominican convent Franciscan convent	Meyer (2010), no. 1413/38	A will issued in Lübeck
18.	4.09.1413	Arnd Lenardes	Dominican convent Alms to be distributed at the Town Church Clarissan nunnery	Meyer (2010), no. 1413/57	A will issued in Lübeck
19.	7.09.1413	Hinrik van der Beke	Town Church Dominican convent	Meyer (2010), no. 1413/60	A will issued in Lübeck
20.	29.09.1413	Johans Wormeskerken	Dominican convent Clarissan nunnery	Meyer (2010), no. 1413/70	A will issued in Lübeck
21.	28.03.1414	Reyner van den Finsten	Guild of St Gertrud	Meyer (2010), no. 1414/12 See also a later version of his will: Meyer (2010), no. 1415/14 (17.04.1415)	A will issued in Lübeck
22.	24.03.1415	Herman Storm	Town Church Dominican convent Franciscan convent Clarissan nunnery Homestead of the Holy Spirit Chapel of St Mary Magdalene Alms for the poor in Stockholm	Meyer (2010), no. 1415/8	A will issued in Lübeck
23.	1.08.1416	Syverd van Pattensen	Clarissan nunnery (for one related or associated nun only)	Meyer (2010), no. 1416/14	A will issued in Lübeck

24.	22.01.1434	Clawes Hoep	Dominican convent Guild of Our Lady	Meyer (2010), no. 1434/3	A will issued in Lübeck
25.	29.11.1435	Hans van dem Broke	Dominican convent Franciscan convent Town Church Homestead of the Holy Spirit Clarissan nunnery Guild of Our Lady Chapel of St James	Meyer (2010), no. 1435/30	A will issued in Lübeck
26.	4.08.1436	Clawes Spesman	Choir of the Soul in the Town Church	Meyer (2010), no. 1436/36	A will issued in Lübeck
27.	5.03.1445	Hennyng Koldeveld	Clarissan nunnery	Meyer (2010), no. 1445/6	A will issued in Lübeck
28.	30.04.1448	Johan Bismarke	Town Church Dominican convent Chapel of All Christian Souls at the Franciscan convent ('aller cristenen zele capellen to den grawen broderen') Hospital of St George Homestead of the Holy Spirit Clarissan nunnery	Meyer (2010), no. 1448/13	A will issued in Lübeck
29.	2.08.1448	Dyderick Viick	Alms to be distributed at the Town Church	Meyer (2010), no. 1448/26	A will issued in Lübeck
30.	19.12.1475	Anders Nilsson	Town Church	STB I, p. 42	The donor was a councillor of Bergen; the date concerns the book entry and not the

					moment when the donation was made
31.	2.09.1479– 11.11.1509	Hinrik Dunkelgud	Choir of St Anne in the Town Church Dominican convent	Stockhusen (2019), pp. 424– 427	A series of draft wills transcribed into an account book; the testator was a burgher of Lübeck
32.	18.09.1514	An unspecified burgher of Königsberg	Hospital of St George	STB V, p. 11	The date concerns the book entry and not the moment when the donation was made

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