

# The Cult of Saint Anthony in Medieval and Early Modern Estonia

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**Abstract:** The aim of the article is to give an overview of the veneration of Anthony the Great in medieval and early modern Estonia, identify its typical characteristics and find out how the veneration of the saint differed for urban and rural populations. Therefore, the topic will be approached from a wider transcultural perspective, rather than along the lines of ethnic and/or social divisions. Different sources indicate the rich heritage associated with the cult of Saint Anthony as well as its long-lasting effects on local culture.

**Keywords:** medieval Livonia; Anthony the Great; the cult of saints; ergotism; Antonites; brotherhood of Saint Anthony; pig; Anthony's cross

## INTRODUCTION

The Christian tradition of saints' cults was introduced to medieval Livonia, which roughly encompassed the areas of today's Estonia and Latvia, during the conquests and Christianisation of the thirteenth century. Saints were the primary objects of medieval piety; originating from regional traditions, they became subject to papal canonisation in the thirteenth century. The notion that the patronage and prayers of saints and martyrs carried special weight in the eyes of God bolstered people's faith in them. In folk belief, saints became the true helpers – someone who people turned to and who people hoped would answer their prayers.

This helped shape the folk version of saints' cults in medieval Europe. For common folk, saints were first and foremost miracle workers who were expected to do wonders; people looked to them when they had all kinds of affliction and misfortune. A great number of saints were venerated in medieval times, and their cults reflected regional particularities. Saints' cults in medieval Livonia<sup>1</sup> were influenced by the preferences of immigrants and colonists, especially during the time immediately after the conquest, but also later. For example, traces of the Westphalian tradition appeared: the legend of the Holy Cross was transferred from Freckenhorst Monastery to Livonia through its advocatus Bernhard zur Lippe, while the cult of Saint Ludger was adopted in Riga. Westphalian influence is also seen in the presence of Saint Lambert and the veneration of the Two Ewalds in Tallinn (Ger. Reval), Uus-Pärnu (Ger. Neu-Pernau) and Suur-Pakri (Ger. Groß-Rogö).<sup>2</sup> Many places of worship on the coast of the Baltic Sea were consecrated to Saint Nicholas, the patron saint of merchants and sailors. A parish church to Saint Nicholas could also be found in the important sea- and Hanseatic towns of medieval Estonia, as well as in some rural parishes. The Virgin Mary was declared the patron of Prussia and Livonia once these regions had become part of Christian Europe,<sup>3</sup> paving the way for a powerful cult of Mary, the mother of God, leading to a great number of churches, chapels and altars in these lands being consecrated to her. In fact, the Virgin Mary was very popular all across Europe.<sup>4</sup> At first, during the post-conquest period, the indigenous population of medieval Livonia was not in a position to contribute significantly to the veneration of Christian saints. However, over time the situation changed and holy images and idols, and remains and relics of saints occupied an important place in the folk cults of these areas. Moreover, saints' days shaped the folk calendar and dictated their pattern of life; at the same time, folk cults greatly affected the local sacral landscape

- 1 See Mänd, A. Saints' Cults in Medieval Livonia. – The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier. Ed. by Alan V. Murray. Ashgate, Farnham, 2009, 191–223. See also Bruiningk, H. v. Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet nach dem Brauche der Rigaschen Kirche im späteren Mittelalter. Nicolai Kymmels Buchhandlung, Riga, 1904.
- 2 Johansen, P. Westfälische Wesenszüge in der Geschichte und Kultur Alt-Livlands. – Der Raum Westfalen. Bd. IV. Wesenszüge seiner Kultur. Erster Teil. Hrsg. von H. Aubin, F. Petri, H. Schlenger. R. Hobbing. Aschendorff, Münster, 1958, 269–293, hier 275–276.
- 3 Arbusow, L. Liturgie und Geschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter. In ihren Beziehungen erläutert an den Schriften Ottos von Freising (†1158), Heinrichs Livlandchronik (1227) und den anderen Missionsgeschichten des Bremischen Erzbischofs: Rimberts, Adams von Bremen, Helmolds. Röhrscheid, Bonn, 1951, 64–69. Cf. Bartlett, R. The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350. Allen Lane, London, 1993, 279.
- 4 Rosenfeld, H.-F., Rosenfeld, H. Deutsche Kultur im Spätmittelalter 1250–1500. (Handbuch der Kulturgeschichte. Hrsg. von E. Thurner. Erste Abteilung Zeitalter Deutscher Kultur.) Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, Wiesbaden, 1978, 281.

as well, especially with people, on their own initiative, erecting chapels consecrated to the most popular saints. For example in the second half of the sixteenth century, the papal legate Antonio Possevino mentions small wooden chapels built by Estonians where many people gathered during the holidays,<sup>5</sup> and according to the 1627 Räpina (Ger. Rappin) land revision, each peasant had a little chapel to honour their saint.<sup>6</sup>

Apparently, a change in the veneration of saints in Christian Europe occurred during the tenth to thirteenth centuries, when the Apostles, Mary and God himself, whether in the form of the Holy Trinity, Christ the Redeemer or *corpus Christi*, grew greatly in importance and pushed aside earlier medieval saints and their cults.<sup>7</sup> As Livonia became part of the Latin Church only in the thirteenth century, in these lands the abovementioned universal tradition of veneration became prevalent. The data available shows that in medieval times, no tradition of veneration of local saints developed in Livonia, even though potential candidates did exist – the first Bishops of Livonia, Meinhard, Berthold, and Albert of Riga, to name a few.<sup>8</sup> It is thought possible, though, that the conservative church of Riga suppressed the veneration of the aforementioned individuals as saints in the late medieval period,<sup>9</sup> which meant that the potential locally rooted cults could have had went unused in consolidating society.<sup>10</sup> Newer research sees Livonian society's insufficient political and cultural integration as the reason for the absence of local saints, as well as the transcultural, i.e. transregional, identity of the local elite; this would have prevented local saints from gaining importance and their cults from being fostered.<sup>11</sup> However, the veneration of saints must not be thought of as something that was only part of the religious life of the elite, it is also important to look more closely at the folk traditions of saints' cults in medieval Livonia. The preferences of local German and Danish commoners probably differed from those of the indigenous

5 Possevino, A. Kiri Mantova hertsoginnale / Lettera alla Duchessa di Mantova. Johannes Esto Ühing, Rome, 1973, 16; cf. Valk, H. Investigations in Helme: Medieval Chapel Ruins, earlier Timber Shrine and Churchyard. – Archaeological Fieldwork in Estonia, 2019, 109–124.

6 Köpp, J. Kirik ja rahvas: sugemeid eesti rahva vaimse palge kujunemise teel. Skånska Centraltryckeriet, Lund, 1959, 86.

7 Bartlett, R. The Making of Europe, 274.

8 Cf. Mänd, A. Saints' Cults in Medieval Livonia, 220–221.

9 Arbusow, L. Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland. Verlag M. Heinsius Nachf., Leipzig, 1921, 94.

10 Cf. Selart, A., Mänd, A. Livonia – a Region without Local Saints? – Symbolic Identity and the Cultural Memory of Saints. Ed. by N. H. Petersen, A. Mänd, S. Salvadó, T. R. Sands. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2018, 91–122; Kala, T. Regional und Trans-regional Traditions in Saints' Cults: A Dominican Calendar from Late Medieval Tallinn. – Symbolic Identity and the Cultural Memory of Saints, 123–144.

11 Selart, A., Mänd, A. Livonia – a Region without Local Saints?, 119–120.

people of Livonia, and in all probability a similar distinction existed between rural and urban populations. Presumably, cultural contacts and communication with other regions played an important role in the development of folk veneration typical to Livonia; however, one must also take into account the influence of local pre-Christian cults, even if its analysis is challenging and problematic.

The dominance of universal saints did not necessarily mean the absence of local characteristics of any kind in medieval Livonian saints' cults, especially in their folk versions. True, the information on the latter is scarce and fragmentary, which means that in order to establish a credible idea of it one needs to make use of written, archaeological, and also visual sources. Information of interest comes from the seventeenth century chronicle of Christian Kelch, according to which Estonians honoured saints of whom nothing is known.<sup>12</sup> This is an unusual and exciting piece of information, but its validity needs to be verified on the basis of other sources. Naturally, the common folk of Estonia developed their own favourites among Christian saints, though the motivation behind these preferences is not always entirely clear. According to the sixteenth century chronicler Balthasar Russow, one of the more popular saints among Estonians was John the Baptist<sup>13</sup>; alongside the Virgin Mary, Saint Anne<sup>14</sup> was also venerated. Regional differences were visible in saints' cults. Chapels consecrated to Saint Olaf could be found in western Estonia, a region with strong Scandinavian ties.<sup>15</sup>

One of the most venerated saints among Estonian peasants and the local urban population was Saint Anthony the Great, to whom altars and chapels were consecrated and brotherhoods established. The veneration of Anthony was still strong during the early modern period, a notion supported by church visitation materials and contemporary travelogues. The aim of this article is to survey the veneration of Saint Anthony in

- 12 Kelch, C. *Liefländische Historia, oder Kurze Beschreibung der Denckwürdigsten Kriegs- und Friedens-Geschichte*. J. Mehner, Reval, 1695, 194: *Da musten sie viel und macherley Heiligen, auch zu Zeiten solche, die niemahlen in rerum natura gewesen, balde auf diese, balde auf jene Weise verehren.*
- 13 Russow, B. *Chronica der Prouintz Lyfflandt. – Scriptores rerum Livonicarum. Sammlung der wichtigsten Chronisten und Geschichtsdenkmale von Liv-, Ehst- und Kurland*. Bd. II. Eduard Frantzen's Verlags-Comptoir, Riga, Leipzig, 1848, 87.
- 14 See Kurisoo, M. *Sancta Anna ora pro nobis. Images and Veneration of St Anne in Medieval Livonia. – Acta Historiae Artium Balticae*, 2007, 2, 18–34.
- 15 Mänd, A. *The Cult and Visual Representation of Scandinavian Saints in Medieval Livonia. – Saints and Sainthood around the Baltic Sea. Identity, Literacy, and Communication in the Middle Ages*. Ed. by C. S. Jensen, T. R. Sands, N. H. Petersen, K. V. Jensen, T. M. S. Lehtonen. (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 54.) Western Michigan University, Medieval Institute Publications, Kalamazoo, 2018, 102–119; cf. Markus, K. *From Rus' Trade to Crusade. St. Olaf's Churches in the Eastern Baltic Sea Region. – Acta Historica Tallinnensia*, 2017, 23, 3–25.

medieval and early modern Estonia, identify its typical characteristics, and explore if and how the veneration of this saint differed for urban and rural village populations. The central question this contribution addresses is the following: why was it specifically Saint Anthony who became so popular among the people of this region, and what was the essence of his veneration's resilience? For a more constructive exploration of the topic, it seems useful to not only approach it along the lines of ethnic and/or social divisions but also from a wider transcultural perspective.

## THE CULT OF SAINT ANTHONY IN TOWNS

A number of historians have studied the veneration of Anthony the Great in Estonia, the saint known as the desert saint and hermit, founder of monasticism, with, among other things, his particular position in local cults drawing attention to him.<sup>16</sup> It is true that in medieval Estonian towns there were no parish churches consecrated specifically to Saint Anthony, however, there were a number of altars and chantries devoted to him. In Tallinn, before the Protestant Reformation, there was an altar for Saint Anthony in Saint Olaf's Church, in Saint Matthew's Chapel of Saint Nicholas' Church, in the Church of the Holy Spirit and in Saint Mary's Cathedral. The altar in Saint Olaf's Church, the right of patronage of which belonged to town council members (for example, Gerd van der Beke, Johan Duseborg) had already been mentioned in 1393; the altar in Saint Nicholas' Church was probably erected around a century later, in 1491.<sup>17</sup> The latter was commissioned by the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony. The name of the saint carried over to the chapel itself as well: in the mid-1520s, sources mention a bell in Saint Anthony's Chapel of Saint Nicholas' Church.<sup>18</sup> There was an altar for Saint Anthony in

16 See Vahtre, L. Keskaegsete maakirikute ja -kabelite nimipühakute kajastumine Eesti rahvakultuuris. – *Kleio*, 1989, 1, 38–45; Alttoa, K. Kahest Antoniuse kabelist ja ühest sealooist. – *Kleio*, 1989, 2, 22–28.

17 Kala, T. Keskaegse Tallinna väikekorporatsioonid ja nende usuelu normatiivsed vormid. – Tuna, 2010, 2, 19; cf. Mänd, A. Oleviste kiriku keskaegsest sisustusest ja annetajate ringist. – *Acta Historica Tallinnensia*, 2014, 20, 16–17; Mänd, A. Keskaegsed altairid ja retaablid. Muinsuskaitseamet, Tallinn, 2019, 302.

18 Tallinn City Archives (hereafter TLA). 230.1.Ba1, fol 437: [...] *vnd heft vns gepeterth cyne klokke de steidt to sunte Nicolawes in S. Anthonius capellen*. Anu Mänd assumes that the reason for replacing Saint Matthew with Saint Anthony was a stained-glass window with a depiction of Saint Anthony, see Mänd, A. Emotions and Pragmatism. The Handling of Catholic Material Heritage in Livonian Cities after the Reformation. – *Indifferent Things? Objects and Images in Post-Reformation Churches in the Baltic Sea Region*. Ed. K. Kodres, M. Kurisoo, U. Nürnberger. (Edition Mare Balticum, 3). Michael Imhof Verlag, Petersberg, 2020, 65.

Saint Catherine's Church of the Dominicans in Tallinn as well, and his feast day in the liturgical calendar (17 January) was celebrated by the Dominicans from 1423 as *totum duplex*, i.e. a feast of the highest rank.<sup>19</sup> Due to the lack of sources, almost nothing is known of possible altars and chantries devoted to Saint Anthony in parish churches in smaller Estonian towns. However, in 1521 there were an altar and a chantry for Saint Anthony in John the Evangelist's and John the Baptist's Cathedral of Haapsalu (Ger. Hapsal).<sup>20</sup>

In medieval Estonia, there were chapels consecrated to Saint Anthony both in towns and in the countryside. Towns and hamlets where such chapels are known to have existed include Tallinn, Tartu (Ger. Dorpat), Narva, Viljandi (Ger. Fellin), Lihula (Ger. Leal) and Haapsalu.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, several Saint Anthony chapels that we know of were located in towns, which led some earlier research to suggest that the saint was perhaps more venerated in towns than he was in the countryside.<sup>22</sup> However, this assessment is probably the result of the fact that more written sources on medieval town life have survived. In fact, detailed information on the veneration of Saint Anthony in the countryside comes only from seventeenth century church visitation reports. Interestingly, during the medieval period, the neighbouring towns of New and Old Pärnu did not have a single chapel, altar or chantry consecrated to Saint Anthony that we know of, suggesting that the veneration of Saint Anthony had regional differences. It is likely that the character and intensity of this veneration also changed over time.

None of the free-standing Saint Anthony chapels of medieval Estonia have survived; most of our knowledge of these chapels comes from written sources. One of the earliest reports of a Saint Anthony chapel comes from Tartu, from when Bishop Dietrich (Theoderic) III Ressler (1413–1440) sought remission of temporal punishment for those who visited the chapel he had built outside the city walls. The Pope authorised this indulgence in 1432,<sup>23</sup> which means that the construction of said chapel falls between the years 1413 and 1432. The first known

19 Kala, T. Jutulustajad ja hingede päästjad: Dominiiklaste ordu ja Tallinna Püha Katariina konvent. (Acta Universitas Tallinnensis; Tallinna Linnaarhiivi toimetised, 13). Tallinna Ülikooli Kirjastus, Tallinn, 2013, 101, 104, 177.

20 Mänd, A. Keskaegsed altarid ja retaablid, 297.

21 In Latvia, Saint Anthony's chapels are known to have existed in Riga, Valmiera (Ger. Wolmar) and Kuldīga (Ger. Goldingen).

22 Altoa, K. Kahest Antoniuse kabelist ja ühest sealooost, 22.

23 Altoa, K. Kahest Antoniuse kabelist ja ühest sealooost, 23. The chapel in Tartu is said to have still existed in 1613, see Protocoll der Catholischen Kirchenvisitation in Livland vom Jahre 1613. Hrsg. von F. G. v. Bunge. – Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Ehst- und Curlands. Bd. 1. Hrsg. von F. G. v. Bunge. J. C. Schünmanns Witwe, Dorpat, 1842, 34: *extra civitatem erant 3 templa, S Georgii, S Antonii*.

mention of a Saint Anthony chapel in Tallinn comes from 1442.<sup>24</sup> The chapel was located in Tõnismägi (Ger. Antoniusberg), on the outskirts of the city, an area belonging to the jurisdiction of Toompea (Ger. Domberg). The chapels in Tallinn and Tartu left their mark on local toponymy: in both towns the location of the chapel became known as the hill of Saint Anthony, i.e. Tõnismägi. The earliest report of a Saint Anthony's chapel in Haapsalu dates from 1521, when the local canon Ludolph Messersmidt donated 500 marks to Saint Anthony's chapel for the erection of a chantry devoted to the same saint.<sup>25</sup> Another canon, Master Reimarus Barthman of the Bishopric of Ösel-Wiek and Tartu, had a hand in the erection of a chantry to an altar of Saint Anthony in a chapel of the same saint (*ad altare s(an)cti Antonii in capella eiusdem ex muro civitatis nostre Hapsellen(sis)*) located outside the town, by donating 400 marks.<sup>26</sup> Apparently, the chapel of Saint Anthony in Haapsalu was no longer used as a house of worship by 1535.<sup>27</sup>

Saint Anthony's chapel in Viljandi was first mentioned in a 1533 *bursprake* donated to the town by Master Wolter von Plettenberg.<sup>28</sup> While the exact location of the chapel is unclear, it, too, was undoubtedly situated outside the city walls. The Saint Anthony chapel of Lihula stood at a distance from the town itself; the earliest reports of this chapel come from the seventeenth century, but it must have already been built during medieval times. What is interesting in the case of Lihula is the fact that in the seventeenth century, the local Saint Anthony chapel was associated with an earlier cathedral, or its ruins to be exact.<sup>29</sup> Yet there never was a cathedral in Lihula, at least there are no written sources to support such a claim, and neither is there any archaeological evidence.<sup>30</sup> At the same

24 See Kämmereibuch der Stadt Reval. Hrsg. von R. Vogelsang. In vier Halbbänden. Böhlau, Köln, Wien, 1976–1983, no 1423.

25 Rigsarkivet Danmark (The Danish National Archives, hereafter DRA). Fremmed proviniens, Lifland, Øsel Stifts, Registrant 2b (1520–1538), fol 77r; cf. Mänd, A. Täiendusi hiliskeskaegse Haapsalu ja Kuressaare kirikuloole. – Vana Tallinn, 2015, 26 (30), 55–57.

26 DRA, 2b, fol 83v. The chantry was devoted to Saint Sophia and her daughters (Faith, Hope, Charity). Cf. Mänd, A. Täiendusi hiliskeskaegse Haapsalu ja Kuressaare kirikuloole, 57.

27 Mänd, A. Täiendusi hiliskeskaegse Haapsalu ja Kuressaare kirikuloole, 56–57.

28 Bunge, F. G. v. Materialien zur Geschichte der Stadt Fellin. – Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Ehst- und Curlands. Bd. 1. Hrsg. von F. G. v. Bunge. J. C. Schünmanns Witwe, Dorpat, 1842, 140.

29 See Eesti Rahvusarhiiv (National Archives of Estonia, hereafter RA), EAA, 1187.2.5166, fol 70: [...] *ruderibus der alten domkirchen auf dem berge* [...]. The chapel of Saint Anthony appears on the 1683 plan of Lihula, see Mandel, M. Hat Leal im Mittelalter wirklich fünf Kirchen gehabt? – Saare-Lääne piiskopkond / Bistum Ösel-Wiek. Hrsg. von Ü. Paras. Läänemaa Muuseum, Haapsalu, 2004, 259, 269–270.

30 Mandel, M. Hat Leal im Mittelalter wirklich fünf Kirchen gehabt?, 270. However, the ruins of dome church in Lihula were mentioned by chronicler Johann Renner (†1583), see Johann Renner's Livländische Historien. Hrsg. von R. Hausmann, K. Höhlbaum. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht's Verlag, Göttingen, 1876, 304: [...] *so steit ock noch wat oldes muirwerk vam olden dome*.

time it is true that in 1228 Lihula was designated the first administrative centre of the Ösel-Wiek Bishopric, and in 1238 Bishop Heinrich I allocated 300 ploughlands for the construction of a cathedral, although on the condition that the income received from this donation was used, first and foremost, for the construction of a castle in Lihula. The castle was finished in 1242, and while it is not entirely impossible, there is simply no information to suggest that the building of a cathedral was then started. Furthermore, by 1251, the administrative centre of the bishopric was transferred to Vana-Pärnu (Ger. Alt-Pernau), where a cathedral was, indeed, built. Naturally, sixteenth and seventeenth century information, which was probably based on local folklore, about the ruins of a cathedral is not entirely reliable, nevertheless, it is most certainly of interest. It is possible that the construction of a cathedral was started but never finished, and that later the available building material was used for the construction of a chapel instead. Therefore, archaeological excavations could possibly unearth traces of a cathedral and of a Saint Anthony chapel, and evidence of any worship activities carried out nearby. It is, however, rather unlikely that the eventual cathedral would have been consecrated to Saint Anthony, as the chapel located there later was.

Saint Anthony's chapel in front of Narva castle was the place of worship for the local merchants' guild of the same name.<sup>31</sup> The chapel was probably older than the church in town;<sup>32</sup> it was mentioned as early as in 1392 in relation to funds donated by Arnd van Altena the Commander of Tallinn.<sup>33</sup> These funds were consigned to Tallinn's town council and produced interest for the benefit of the chapel.<sup>34</sup> From merchants, Narva's Saint Anthony chapel received all kinds of donations. At the end of the fifteenth century the chapel was neglected, services were no longer held regularly, while by the beginning of the sixteenth century the chapel had fallen into ruin, and the interest received on funds donated by Tallinn merchant Bernd Paell was no longer used for commemoration prayers but for sprinkling holy water on graves at the cemetery located by the chapel.<sup>35</sup>

The above-described chapels were predominantly located on the outskirts of towns or outside city walls, which seems to suggest they were mainly meant not only for strangers and travellers from elsewhere, including pilgrims, but also for the local peasantry. What is interesting

31 Süvalep, A. *Narva ajalugu*. I kd. Taani ja orduaeg, Postimees, Narva, Tartu, 1936, 301.

32 See Süvalep, A. *Narva ajalugu*, 248.

33 Kala, T. *Jutlustajad ja hingede päästjad*, 335-336.

34 Süvalep, A. *Narva ajalugu*, 248.

35 Süvalep, A. *Narva ajalugu*, 248.

about the Saint Anthony chapels in cities, is that the one in Tartu was commissioned by the bishop; Tallinn's chapel did not belong to the jurisdiction of the city but to that of Toompea, therefore it is possible that the initiative to construct this chapel, too, came from the local bishop. In Haapsalu, local canons made donations and established rent incomes for the benefit of the local Saint Anthony's chapel. Thus, there seems to be a clear link between Saint Anthony chapels in towns and cities and local clerical elites. At the same time, it is noteworthy that in several instances reports of Saint Anthony chapels are associated with the proximity of dumping grounds or something else foul. For example, the 1533 *bursprake* of Viljandi instructs that any waste and manure should be laid down either by the Veskimäe hill (*Mellenberch*) or between the two roads behind Saint Anthony's chapel.<sup>36</sup> At least by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the city slaughterhouse in Tallinn was located near Saint Anthony's chapel.<sup>37</sup> The medieval Saint Anthony's hill in Tartu is the same as the eighteenth century Sõnnikumägi, that is, a manure hill.<sup>38</sup> Whether this is merely a coincidence or something more is hard to assess because of the scarcity and differing opinion of sources. Due to the Reformation, many smaller churches and chapels were abandoned and the buildings fell into ruin or were used for secular purposes. This was also the case for the chapels in towns, therefore it might be that the association with uncleanness, at least in some instances, developed later, at a time when the chapels were no longer used for worship. Meanwhile, it is also possible that this link to filthiness was deliberately devised by local evangelical authorities to try and stop cult activities in Saint Anthony chapels, which they considered heretic. The situation is further complicated by the fact that in many instances people were also buried next to these chapels.

36 Bunge, F. G. v. Materialien zur Geschichte der Stadt Fellin, 140: *Ock sall cynn islich sinenn mess edder gruss, vdrinn bie denn Mellenberch, edder tegenn Sunte Anntbontus, tusschen beyde wege, bie einem ferdinge broke.*

37 Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch (hereafter LUB). Bd. 4, 1394–1413. Hrsg. von F. G. v. Bunge. Kluge & Ströhm, Reval 1859, no MCCLXV § 9; cf. Johansen, P., zur Mühlen, H. v. Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval. (Ostmitteleuropa im Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, 15.) Böhlau, Köln, Wien, 1973, 205.

38 Alttoa, K. Kahest Antoniuse kabelist ja ühest sealooost, 23.

## SAINT ANTHONY CHAPELS AND ALTARS IN RURAL AREAS

Little information has survived from the medieval period about the cult of Saint Anthony in the Estonian countryside, although there is no doubt that the saint was venerated by both the nobility and the common folk. Written sources on Saint Anthony chapels in fortresses, whether belonging to a local vassal, the Livonian Order, or a bishop, and on any altars and/or chantries in these chapels, are especially scarce. It is likely that there was a chapel or an altar consecrated to Saint Anthony in Kiviloo fortress (Ger. Fegefeuer) belonging to the Bishop of Tallinn. This is evidenced by a communion chalice, under the foot of which the following phrase is engraved: *desse kelck hort sunte Anthonius den stalbrodere[n] to dem Fegefur*, dated 1496.<sup>39</sup> The stable brothers in question were servants and squires serving in the fortress and this chalice, which belonged to them, was presumably donated to the local Saint Anthony chapel or altar. Kiviloo's German name *Fegefeuer* means 'purgatorial fire', which in turn points to a possible connection between the toponym and Saint Anthony as a helper of souls tortured by purgatory flames. This precious chalice was probably donated either for the commemoration of a special event or as a gesture of gratitude to the saint himself.

There were no parish churches consecrated specifically to Saint Anthony in the countryside; this does not mean, however, that in parish churches there are no traces whatsoever of the special veneration of this saint. Sixteenth century church visitation reports of the Ösel-Wiek Bishopric give a brief overview, among other things, of important church assets, including bye-altars and chantries. For instance, in 1519 there was a Saint Anthony alms box in the church in Kärla (Ger. Kergel) on the island of Saaremaa (Ger. Ösel), which had in it two marks.<sup>40</sup> The alms box could have been connected to an altar or a chantry of the same saint; at least for the Virgin Mary there was both an alms box and an altar in Kärla. In the church of Pühalepa (Ger. Pühhalep) on the island of Hiiumaa (Ger. Dagö), in 1522 there was an altar for Saint Anthony to which a number of valuables belong, such as vestments, a golden chalice with a paten, a corporal, two tin candlesticks and one iron, and a small old missal.<sup>41</sup> In the church in Käina (Ger. Keinis) there were two leaden

39 Mänd, A. Kirikute hõbevara. Altaririistad keskaegsel Liivimaal. Muinsuskaitseamet, Tallinn, 2008, 85.

40 Mänd, A. Kirikute hõbevara, 185.

41 Mänd, A. Kirikute hõbevara, 189.

candlesticks on the altar of Anthony, the *divi patris*, in 1522.<sup>42</sup> The list of the property of Kihelkonna's church (Ger. Kielkond) from the same year bears witness to the special veneration of Saint Anthony within the local congregation.<sup>43</sup> While an altar as such is not mentioned, it is clear that the statue of the saint, the candleholders, the altar cushion and other listed effects belonged to an altar of Saint Anthony. In Kihelkonna church only the altar of Mary, the Mother of God had a comparable volume of valuables, whereas the altar of Saint Nicholas had only two tin candlesticks and a brass pipe-shaped chandelier.<sup>44</sup> The abundance of church valuables suggests that Saint Anthony was not only highly venerated by Kihelkonna's peasantry, but also by local vassals. In 1520, there was an altar for Saint Anthony in the church of Karja (Ger. Karris).<sup>45</sup> In 1482, there was a statue of Saint Anthony (*sunte Toneus belde*) in Keila church (Ger. Kegel), which almost certainly belonged to an altar of the same saint.<sup>46</sup> In the church of Lääne-Nigula (Ger. Pönal), we know of a Saint Anthony's chantry from 1516.<sup>47</sup>

At the end of the seventeenth century, Gabriel Herlin, the pastor of Harju-Madise (Ger. St. Matthias), wrote to the consistory that in the first half of the same century there were still three medieval altars in Risti church (Ger. Kreuz), among them one consecrated to Saint Anthony.<sup>48</sup> Additionally, Herlin reports an indigenous Estonian church of Saint Anthony that used to exist in Padise (Ger. Padis), the foundation of which was still visible.<sup>49</sup> During archaeological excavation in 2009, remnants of a 20 x 10 metre stone building with thick walls were indeed uncovered near Padise Monastery.<sup>50</sup> This is a rare find, for today no traces remain of Saint Anthony chapels as free-standing buildings either in the countryside or in the towns. To be precise, no such traces have been found, which is in itself not surprising as they were often simple wooden

42 Mänd, A. Kirikute hõbevara, 190.

43 Mänd, A. Kirikute hõbevara, 191: "[...] the chest of Saint Anthony contained one golden chalice and one golden paten, two silver pitcher-like vessels used at mass, a silver Agnus Dei pendant on a silver chain, green damask vestments along with its accessories, and a small green damask altar cushion. By the statue of Saint Anthony there were two Agnus Dei pendants with a silver chain, three silver Anthony's crosses with two sizeable rosary stones and eight small corals, three brass candlesticks and one tin candlestick."

44 Mänd, A. Kirikute hõbevara, 191.

45 Mänd, A. Keskaegsed altarid ja retaablid, 308; cf. DRA, 1a (1499–1523), fol 178r.

46 Keila kirikuvöörmündrite arveraamat (1472–1553). Das Rechnungsbuch der Kegelschen Kirchenvormünder (1472–1553). Hrsg. von P. Johansen. Wassermann, Tallinn, 1926, 8.

47 Mänd, A. Keskaegsed altarid ja retaablid, 309.

48 Pöldvee, A. Pakri rootslaste kaebused Karl XI-le 1684. aastal. Muutuste aeg Harju-Madise ja Risti kihelkonnas. Harjumaa Muuseum, Keila, 2001, 97.

49 Pöldvee, A. Pakri rootslaste kaebused Karl XI-le, 97.

50 See Kadakas, V. Archaeological Studies in Padise Monastery. – Archaeological Fieldwork in Estonia, 2011, 58.

buildings.<sup>51</sup> It is impossible to say how many such small chapels might have existed in the rural areas of Estonia during the medieval period, concrete information about them is only available from seventeenth century onward. At times, written sources can be interpreted in various ways, yet one can assume that if a chapel is mentioned to which local peasants went on Saint Anthony's Day to venerate the saint, then this chapel was dedicated to Saint Anthony. These, however, could have been established without the permission of clerical authorities and, therefore, without official blessing. On the other hand, according to seventeenth century information, the folk cult of Saint Anthony did not necessarily need an official house of worship, sacrificial rites for the saint were carried out at crossroads, near boulders, etc. Lauri Vahtre thinks it likely that the cult of Saint Anthony took place also near T-shaped crosses, which in seventeenth century sources were mistakenly designated Thomas' crosses.<sup>52</sup> There are no odd-shaped crosses associated with Thomas the Apostle, therefore it is likely that the sources described Anthony's crosses. At the time, confusing the two saints was also made more likely by the similarity of their names and/or the possible misreading of the names, i.e. Tomes versus Tonnieis.

Based on the written sources available, it would be premature to come to any definitive conclusions on the regionality of the cult of Saint Anthony during medieval times. It is true that we seem to know more about chapels and chantries devoted to Saint Anthony in western Estonia, but this is probably due to written sources preserved from this area: materials comparable to the church visitation reports of the Ösel-Wiek Bishopric are simply not there for other regions of Estonia. Even so, reports from the seventeenth century suggest that the cult of Saint Anthony was widespread in central and southern Estonia (for example in Pilistvere (Ger. Pillistfer), Räpina, Vaabina (Ger. Ülzen), Võnnu (Ger. Wendau)) and it is unlikely that it would have evolved only during the Lutheran period, by which time saints' cults had become frowned upon. The prevalence of the cult of Saint Anthony is also evidenced by a 1428 decision of the provincial church council in Riga which applied to all of Livonia and forbid the construction of chapels in honour of Saint Anthony or other saints without the permission of the bishop.<sup>53</sup>

51 Cf. above ref. no 5.

52 Vahtre, L. Keskaegsete maakirikute ja -kabelite nimipühakute kajastumine Eesti rahvakultuuris, 39, 43.

53 LUB, Bd. 7: 1423 May–1449 May. Hrsg. von H. Hildebrand. Deubner, Riga, Moskau 1881, no 690 § 28. Cf. Bruiningk, H. v. Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet, 363.

## ANTONITES IN LIVONIA AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF SAINT ANTHONY IN TALLINN

While Saint Anthony was popular in Livonia, both in the towns and in the countryside, the first Saint Anthony monastery was established quite late, only in the sixteenth century; therefore throughout the medieval period there was also no institution of authority that would have advocated for the veneration of this saint in these areas. The Order of Saint Anthony originated from hospitals for people suffering ergotism. The first hospital of Saint Anthony was founded in 1089, in the province of Dauphine in the Rhone valley. Once Pope Innocent IV had given the brothers of Saint Anthony permission to establish a convent and live by Augustinian rules, a centralised order developed with an abbot at its head from 1297. By the end of the fifteenth century, the order had more than 370 hospitals across Europe.<sup>54</sup> These hospitals generally treated patients with ergotism, i.e. ergot poisoning. This disease was caused by the consumption of bread that had a large quantity of ergots, or purple club-headed fungus<sup>55</sup> in it. Ergotism outbreaks mainly occurred in the years when a harsh winter was followed by a rainy summer, bringing with it crop failure and even famine. The first symptom of ergotism was the so-called Saint Anthony's fire: the person's skin became itchy and red. Allegedly, the pain and the uredo became so unbearable, that the patient felt as if they were burning. The next stage of the disease brought spasms, mania and psychosis, hallucinations, blindness and a numbness in the extremities, which resulted in their deformation. If a person did not die of the disease, they were crippled for life. The Antonites made progress in the field of medicine. Because of the specificities of ergotism they often had to deal with patients with gangrene, therefore, amputation became one of their main skills, which they consistently perfected and improved.

54 Clementz, E. *Die Isenheimer Antoniter: Kontinuität vom Spätmittelalter bis in die Frühneuzeit? – Funktions- und Strukturwandel spätmittelalterlicher Hospitäler im europäischen Vergleich*. Hrsg. von M. Matheus. (Geschichtliche Landeskunde. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Geschichtliche Landeskunde an der Universität Mainz, 56.) Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2005, 164; cf. Halbekann, J. J. *Zur Geschichte einer bislang unerforschten Ballei des Antoniterordens: Esslingen am Neckar. – Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*. Hrsg. von E. Büinz, S. Tebruck, M. Werner, H. G. Walter. (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Thüringen. Kleine Reihe, 24; Schriftenreihe der Friedrich-Christian-Lesser-Stiftung, 19.) Böhlau, Köln [etc.], 2007, 281–282.

55 Ergot, or the purple club-headed fungus is a type of fungus that infects different cereals, mainly rye. Ergots can be distinguished from seeds by their dark colour and larger size. Storing and drying the grain substantially lessens the effects of the fungus, and the effects are almost completely absent in a year. In Estonia, ergots have been used in folk medicine, mainly for women's issues.

Due to the large number of patients with pathological tissue problems, contemporaries often complained about the foul smell that stemmed from Antonite establishments. The brothers of Saint Anthony were also experts in caring for and treating patients with ergotism-caused hallucinations and other psychological issues. The pig played an important role in the treatment of ergotism patients: in order to prevent the disease from spreading in the body, patients were given pork to eat instead of bread. Antonites had special privileges for pig-keeping. For example, in fifteenth century Lübeck, the Tempzin Antonite hospital had permission to have up to 20 so-called Anthony's (*Thonnys*) pigs roam free in the streets; the pigs had to be identifiable by a bell in their ear and a T-shaped burn mark on their foot.<sup>56</sup> The latter is the symbol of the Antonites, which originated from the shape of Saint Anthony's staff and was known as Anthony's cross. During the medieval period, Saint Anthony was honoured as the patron saint of pigs, although the roots of this tradition go deeper than the pig-keeping of the Antonites. Academic writing has pointed to a deeper association between the cult of Saint Anthony and the pig which has its roots in pre-Christian beliefs and traditions.<sup>57</sup>

There is no information on the extent and frequency of ergotism outbreaks in medieval Livonia, but as rye was the main cereal cultivated in these lands, then the preconditions for the disease to break out definitely existed.<sup>58</sup> Considering what was happening elsewhere in Europe, it would be extraordinary, but also highly unlikely, that medieval Livonia would have been left untouched by this disease. However, documented proof of this is extremely difficult to find. One might speculate that the erection of the Saint Anthony chapels in Tartu and Tallinn (Tõnismägi) was prompted by the severe crop failures and famines of the 1420s and 1430s,<sup>59</sup> with an ensuing ergotism outbreak, although given the current state of research, this cannot be stated with any certainty. There is no knowledge whatsoever on how the treatment and care of ergotism patients was organised in Estonia but it is likely that a small number of them received some care in almshouses. In the case of wider outbreaks, temporary shelters might have been built for the sick, perhaps near Saint Anthony chapels on the outskirts of towns, for it is likely that people

56 Engel, E., Jacob, F.-D. *Städtisches Leben im Mittelalter. Schriftquellen und Bildzeugnisse.* Böhlau, Cologne [etc.], 2006, 84.

57 Abt-Baechli, R. *Der Heilige und das Schwein. Zur Versöhnung von Geist und Natur.* Daimon Verlag, Zürich 1983, 70–73.

58 The risk of ergot poisoning has persisted in Estonia over time, for example, the newspaper *Sakala* warned in 1943 of the abundance of ergots in the year's harvest, saying that even a gram of ergots can lead to a person's death, see *Sakala* no 134, 1 September 1943.

59 See more in Tarand, A., Jaagus, J., Kallis, A. *Eesti kliima minevikus ja tänapäeval.* Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, Tartu, 2013, 54–56.

whose bodies were tortured by Saint Anthony's fire gathered to seek help from and pray to the saint in chapels devoted to him. In 1494, Tallinn burgher Hinrick Balm donated his ring to Saint Anthony, and left, "in honour of God", around two tons of rye for the baking of bread and some fabric to clothe the poor. The brief contents of the will can be interpreted differently: according to one approach these back-to-back donations were connected to each other and went to the Saint Anthony's chapel in Tallinn,<sup>60</sup> in which case there must have been a kind of a shelter for the poor or for people in need nearby or in the Tõnismägi chapel. Even if such a place did exist, there is no reason to associate it with Antonites. Another, and perhaps more likely, possibility is that Balm intended the donation to go to the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony in Tallinn, who would have had to ensure that the food and the clothing reached the poor. Surviving medieval testaments reveal that the amount of donations to Saint Anthony's chapel and Brotherhood in Tallinn increased during crop failures and/or epidemics (for example in 1482, 1493, etc.),<sup>61</sup> but this alone does not prove the spread of ergotism. In 1536, Tallinn town councillor Heyße Patiner left in his will 1,000 Riga marks as rent capital to the poor, especially those who were either bedridden, blind or crippled.<sup>62</sup> The afflictions listed point strongly to ergotism patients, yet it is impossible to say whether they were indeed the people Patiner had meant.<sup>63</sup> One must simply accept the fact that neither written, archaeological or visual sources provide any concrete and unequivocal proof that in medieval Estonia Saint Anthony was venerated as the guardian and the helper of ergotism patients.

Saint Anthony's cult has been documented in Livonia in relation to another disease – the plague. Anthony was one of the saints who people in medieval times thought could help against the disease. There was a plague outbreak in Riga in 1514 and as a symbol of gratitude for ending the epidemic, the Archbishop of Riga Jasper Linde (1509–1524) founded in the same year an Antonite monastery in Lielvārde (Ger.

60 TLA.230.1-IIIB.46: *Item Sunte Anthonio mynen ründen boch. Item noch gheue ick eyne last roggen to backende in de ere Gades. Item noch cyn wit laken liggende yn mynem stenhuuße de armen mede tho dedende yn de ere Gades. Item noch gheue ick myn beste par kleder yn de hande der armen. Item noch gheue ick des hilgen lichnames misse cynen gulden.* Cf. Revaler Regesten. Hrsg. von R. Seeberg-Elverfeldt. Bd. III. Göttingen, 1975, no 62.

61 See Revaler Regesten III, no 33, 35, 39, 40, 60, 61, 65, etc.

62 Revaler Regesten III, no 159.

63 In relation to ergotism, a passage from Balthasar Russow's chronicle is worth mentioning, according to which, "In August of 1561, more than 2,000 Swedish soldiers died in Tallinn of a peculiar disease, which caused no harm to other people, young or old [...]", see Russow, B. *Chronica der Prouintz Lyfflandt*, 67. It is highly likely that this was an epidemic caused by the consumption of bread made of freshly harvested cereal that contained a large quantity of ergots. Possibly this cereal was not local, but exported to Estonia from elsewhere.

Lennewarden) to where he invited monks from the Tempzin Monastery in Mecklenburg.<sup>64</sup> In fact, Mecklenburg Antonites were already in Livonia in around 1510 to raise funds for a new monastery in Prussia. For this they travelled the land, carrying with them a relic of Saint Anthony and telling people of its wonders. It was from Tempzin that the Antonite order eventually expanded to the Baltic Sea area, including Frombork (Ger. Frauenburg) in Ermland. Little is known of the activities of the monastery in Lielvārde, it was short-lived because of the Protestant Reformation, which reached Livonia in 1522. The founding of this monastery meant that there was a place to which, at least ideally, ergotism patients, i.e. people whose body was burning with holy fire (*ignis sacer*), could turn for help. It is impossible to know how many people suffered from ergotism in these areas, there was one crop failure during the short period of time the monastery was active – in 1517 – but there is no data to suggest an ergotism outbreak followed. How well, if at all, Lielvārde's Antonites were known among the local population is impossible to say. In the testaments of citizens of Tallinn they are mentioned only once, in the last will of Hennigk Simer from 1518.<sup>65</sup> The find of a Tempzin's pilgrim badge in Tallinn indicates contacts with Antonites outside of Livonia as well (see Figure 1).<sup>66</sup> Faith and hope that Saint Anthony can help against the plague is also revealed in a 1521 decree by the Archbishop of Riga, which stipulated that because of yet another plague outbreak (1519–1521), special prayers were to be directed toward the Virgin Mary and Saints Sebastian, Martin, Anthony and Roch at masses and services in all parish churches.<sup>67</sup> The same epidemic can probably be associated with the erection of a Saint Anthony chantry in Haapsalu in 1521 (see above).

The cult of Saint Anthony in Estonia was not only mainly manifested through chapels, altars and chantries devoted to him, but also through brotherhoods of laymen. During the late medieval period, a Saint Anthony's religious guild or brotherhood was active in Tallinn (the members were mainly citizens of Tallinn). The limited data preserved

64 Arbusow, L. Einführung der Reformation, 90; Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage. Hrsg. von L. Arbusow. Bd. III. Deubner, Riga, 1910, no 115 § 14, 116 §14.

65 TLA, 230.1-III B.74; cf. Hahn, K.-R. Revaler Testamente im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. (Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission, 19.) LIT-Verlag, Berlin, 2015, 259.

66 Russow, E., Randoja, K., Bernotas, R. et al. A Late Medieval Treasure Trove of Tallinn. Salvage Excavations of the 15th-Century Landfill between the Jahu and Väike-Patarei Streets. – Archaeological Fieldwork in Estonia, 2018, 204–206; cf. Pilgerspuren. Wege in den Himmel. Von Lüneburg an das Ende der Welt. Orte – Wege – Zeichen. Hrsg. von H. Kühne. Michael Imhof Verlag, Petersberg, 2020, 484–487.

67 Sild, O. Kirikuvisitatsioonid eestlaste maal vanemast ajast kuni olevikuni. K. Mattiesen, Tartu, 1937, 48.



Figure 1. Pilgrim badge from Tempzin, ca 1450–1500. Tallinn University, Archaeological Research Collection AI7909\_3047. Photo: Jaana Ratas

in the Tallinn City Archives suggest that this was an elite and wealthy organisation. The exact time of its foundation is unknown, but in 1488 Tallinn burgher Laurentz Bildener willed the Guild of Saint Anthony (*to sunte Anthonius gilde*) one mark.<sup>68</sup> In 1490, an agreement was made between the wardens of Saint Nicholas' Church and the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony, according to which the latter paid two marks each year on Saint Anthony's Day for communion bread and wine.<sup>69</sup> In 1491, the church received sixty marks from the brotherhood for the altar in Saint Matthew's chapel.<sup>70</sup> At the end of the fifteenth century, the guild also had an altar in Saint Olaf's Church. While sources do not reveal a direct connection between the brotherhood and the chapel of Saint Anthony in Tõnismägi, such a possibility should not be ruled out entirely, for if nothing else, members could have made private contributions and donations to the chapel. The brotherhood received its income from rent and interest on loans, another source of revenue was fees for different celebratory gatherings. Not much is known of the members. Even though the brotherhood's records mention a number of individuals, it is not always clear whether they were a member of the guild or simply someone who was tied to the brotherhood financially. Allegedly, members included merchants, artisans of a higher status, and perhaps even nobles.<sup>71</sup> It is worth mentioning that from 1436, the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony operated officially as an elitist union in Lübeck, with which the Hanseatic towns of Livonia, especially Tallinn, had strong

68 TLA, 230.1-III B.29; cf. Revaer Regesten III, no 39.

69 Kala, T. Keskaegse Tallinna väikekorporatsioonid, 19.

70 Kala, T. Keskaegse Tallinna väikekorporatsioonid, 19.

71 Cf. Mänd, A. Juhtimine, ametid ja gildisene karjäär. – Tallinna Suurgild ja gildimaja. Toim I. Leimus, R. Loodus, A. Mänd et al. Eesti Ajaloomuuseum, Tallinn 2011, 50–51.

ties.<sup>72</sup> Therefore, it is more than likely that the brotherhood in Tallinn followed the example of Lübeck in their activities and that personal contact between members also existed.<sup>73</sup>

According to a property overview drawn up for the Tallinn city council during the Reformation, the brotherhood owned different assets, their treasury including account books, loan bonds, contracts, pawned items, and cash, as well as candlewax, etc. Additionally, they owned various valuables and church objects, for example, in 1531, the brotherhood gave Tallinn's treasury three golden chalices and three patens, a silver statue of Saint Anthony, two silver pax, two vessels used at mass, six brass altar chandeliers, a brass platter, a silver cross and altar decorations, etc. In 1530, liturgical robes and books were sent to be kept in the sacristy of Saint Nicholas' Church.<sup>74</sup> The brotherhood owned special lockers (*sunte Anthonius schappe*) in both Saint Olaf's and Saint Nicholas' Churches. According to information from 1494, a niche was built between the altars of Saints Anthony and Matthew in Saint Nicholas' Church for a locker, which was then mainly used by the Brotherhood of Saint Anthony and the Potgeter family, who owned the chantry on Saint Matthew's altar.<sup>75</sup> Documents from the sixteenth century mention a guild room where the brotherhood held different get-togethers, including beer drinking events with priests.<sup>76</sup> The most remarkable object among the property of the brotherhood is the so-called Saint Anthony's tree (*sunthe Anthonius boeme*),<sup>77</sup> which was a bed for candles (a so-called candle tree).<sup>78</sup> There had to have been several Saint Anthony trees, since the brotherhood had paid for the 'trees', furnished with Saint Anthony's cramps (or hooks) and iron straps, to be repaired both in Saint Olaf's and in Saint Nicholas' Churches.<sup>79</sup> From Tallinn, we know of 'trees' owned by the Brotherhood of the Black Heads and the Great Guild; the Black Heads brought theirs out during Shrovetide and Christmas, the Great Guild's trees were carried

72 See more in Link, H. Die geistlichen Bruderschaften des deutschen Mittelalters, insbesondere die Lübecker Antoniusbruderschaft. – Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 1920, 20, 223.

73 In 1457, a member of the Lübeck Saint Anthony brotherhood, Friedrich Roele, died in Tallinn. Lübeck merchants Berndt Segeberg and Berthold von der Heide, who were working on developing business ties with Tallinn, were members of the brotherhood, see Link, H. Die geistlichen Bruderschaften des deutschen Mittelalters, 231, 250.

74 TLA, 230.1.Ba 1, fol 442r–443r.

75 Mänd, A. Keskaegsed altarid ja retaablid, 301.

76 TLA, 230.1.Ba 1, fol 441v.

77 TLA, 230.1.Ba 1, fol 441.

78 Allegedly, the candle tree was a tall candle holder that was carried during church holiday processions; otherwise it stood near the altar. At the top of the normally lantern-shaped, two-meter-tall scape, in addition to the candle socket itself there was either a statuette of a saint or an angel, see Mänd, A. Keskaegsed altarid ja retaablid, 314.

79 TLA, 230.1.Ba1, fol 441v: *Item tho sunte Oleff vnde sunte Niclaus tho betherende de krampen vnde yscren, dar sunthe Anthonius bombe anbe stunden ys.*

at the holy procession of Corpus Christi.<sup>80</sup> The Brotherhood of Saint Anthony also participated in the latter and had their ‘trees’ carried by journeymen, who were compensated for their effort.<sup>81</sup> The brotherhood’s candles, including those for the ‘tree’, were made by Beguines; according to transaction statements from that time, around 4–8 kg of wax was allocated for candle tree candles.<sup>82</sup> In addition to the afore-listed, the guild’s property list included a reredos (*taffel vann dembe altar*), although it is unclear from which of the two churches it came.

Today the early sixteenth century so-called *Passionaltar* is visible in Saint Nicholas’ Church. This reredos is attributed to the workshop of either master Adriaen Isenbrandt or master Albert Cornelius in Bruges;<sup>83</sup> during later repaints, Saint Anthony the Great with his most important attribute, the pig, was added to one of its outer wings. This is the only surviving medieval image of its kind of Saint Anthony in Estonia. The coats of arms of Tallinn citizens Euert van der Lippe and Johann van Grest seen on the outer wings of the reredos give cause to assume it belonged to their family altar, which was located in the cloister of the Dominican Monastery.<sup>84</sup>

The Brotherhood of Saint Anthony helped the poor and the sick,<sup>85</sup> for example in 1526, an ox was donated for the sick who were being cared for in a former Dominican monastery.<sup>86</sup> As in Lübeck, helping those in need was probably an integral part of the identity of the Tallinn brotherhood.<sup>87</sup> However, welfare activities were not the only thing the brotherhood worked on. In light of information from surviving written sources, an important task of the brotherhood as a religious association was to commemorate and care for the souls of deceased members. The brotherhood held grandiose masses: three to six priests served at the altars of both parish churches, they were paid for vigils and memorial masses (*Sunte Anthonius belesynghe*).<sup>88</sup> The services at Saint Olaf’s Church were

80 Mänd, A. Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550. (Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 8.) Brepols, Turnhout, 2005, 83–84, 165. For instance, in 1484 the Great Guild in Tallinn ordered 13 candles for 13 ‘trees’, see *ibid.*, 165.

81 TLA, 230.1.Ba1, fol 441r: [...] *vor de gesellen, de de boembe droghenn* [...].

82 TLA, 230.1.Ba1, fol 442v: *1 lisslb wasses tho lichtenn vp sunte Anthonius boeme, dat stoeth 6 ½ mr 6 s; cf. 441v.*

83 See more in Mänd, A. Keskaegsed altarid ja retaablid, 221–239.

84 Mänd, A. Keskaegsed altarid ja retaablid, 228–229.

85 TLA, 230.1.Ba1, fol 442r: *Item gegbeuen her Johann Zelhorst be tho der armen beboeff enthfencck 50 mr.*

86 TLA, 230.1.Ba1, fol 440r.

87 The Saint Anthony brotherhood in Lübeck engaged extensively in charity work: in 1523, a total of 72 so-called prebends were given to the poor – this meant weekly handouts (bread, butter or herring, meat on holidays). Link, H. Die geistlichen Brüderschaften des deutschen Mittelalters, 230–234.

88 TLA, 230.1.Ba1, fol 443r.

accompanied by organ playing. At memorial services, the brotherhood used so-called soul candles (*ßelelichte*) made specifically for these occasions by the Beguines. Two of these candles were usually lit at the altar at the *quatertemper* before Michaelmas and before Christmas, as well as at Easter, during the Feast of Corpus Christi and on Saint Anthony's Day. At the beginning of the Reformation, along with Catholic priests, the brotherhood also paid evangelical pastors for memorial services.<sup>89</sup>

With the spread of teachings concerning Purgatory in medieval Europe, caring for poor souls and praying to ease their torment in the purgatorial fire became very important. Among other things, Saint Anthony the Great was the patron of souls suffering in purgatorial flames,<sup>90</sup> which might have encouraged the brotherhood in Tallinn to be especially committed to the commemoration of deceased companions and the well-being of their souls.

## THE FOLK CULT OF SAINT ANTHONY

Materials from the 1428 provincial church council in Riga shed some light on the folk version of saints' cults. It appears that chapels devoted to saints were not only erected by the clergy but also by laymen, who often did this without the consent of a clerical authority, for example the bishop. Chapels were built near towns and villages, by main roads and elsewhere. In these chapels, there was usually a statue of the saint and an alms container for donations.<sup>91</sup> As the decision of the provincial church council in Riga mentions Saint Anthony specifically, one can assume that a great number of unconsecrated chapels in these lands were devoted to him.

As mentioned, Saint Anthony's intervention helped against ergotism and the plague, but he was also the patron saint of pigs. In medieval Livonia, his cult among the people took a form that the official church disapproved of, as becomes evident from the 1428 Riga provincial church

89 TLA, 230.1.Ba1, fol 441r: *Item denn pastores yn beydenn kercken unde cynem cappellane tho sunthe Oleff vor de dodenn aff tho lesen, ylkem 1 frd is 3 frd.* Cf. Kala, T. Keskaegse Tallinna väikekorporatsioonid, 19.

90 Lusiardi, R. Fegefeuer und Weltengericht. Stiftungsverhalten und Jenseitsvorstellungen im spätmittelalterlichen Stralsund. – Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Hrsg. von M. Borgolte. (Stiftungsgeschichten, 1.) Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 2000, 107.

91 LUB 7, no. 690 § 28: [...] *ne deinceps ecclesias vel capellas, in illis erigendo sancti Anthonii et aliorum sanctorum ymagines necnon carbonas vel truncos, in quibus oblationes fieri solite reponuntur, presertim ante civitates, opida, in viis publicis vel in locis ruralibus absque auctoritate et speciali licencia petita et obtenta dyocesani loci construere audeant quoquomodo.*

council materials. The prelates' disapproval was mainly caused by the fact that donations made to these simple chapels were consequently not made to parish churches and the clergy there. Despite the church's efforts, the folk version of the saint's cult could not be controlled. In 1428, all unauthorised chapels were ordered to be pulled down on pain of excommunication, although many such chapels still existed in Estonia even 100 or 150 years later. The popularity of Saint Anthony probably stemmed from the fact that he was well suited to the ancient belief system of the Estonian common folk. Saint Anthony's main attribute – the pig – certainly had an important role in this. It would have been easy for the people to embrace the patron saint of pigs, taking into account the importance of the animal in their ancient beliefs and in their diet. Animal farming was an essential source of livelihood for local peasants, therefore, it is understandable that special reverence was shown to the saint who protected the animals from evil and farmers from misfortune. In folk belief, Saint Anthony was, first and foremost, the patron or even the (false) god of pigs, something that was also manifested through the rituals held on Saint Anthony's Day. For the common people of Estonia, 17 January, which is embedded in the local folk calendar as *tõnisepäev*, that is Tõnis' day, evolved into the holiday of the pig.

There is little concrete information on the folk cult of Saint Anthony from the medieval period. Seventeenth century church visitation reports and travelogues, however, are a lot more informative in this regard. Materials from the church visitation to Urvaste (Ger. Urbs) in 1647 reveal that there was a chapel in Vaabina that local peasants would attend on Saint Anthony's Day to sacrifice dried pigs' heads. According to Dirich, the servant of one Dietrich Ringeman, a local man called Meddi Kalle, had taken the offered heads home, for which the visitation team made him pay a fine to the church.<sup>92</sup> The head of the pig as a sacrificial element, whether merely a ritual one or to be consumed as food, is an ancient tradition familiar to many countries and peoples in Europe.<sup>93</sup> German lawyer and teacher Johann Arnold von Brand (1647–1691) writes in his 1673 travelogue that in the region of Tartu, local people had many customs he considered un-Christian, with the celebration of Saint Anthony's Day being a prime example. According to Brand, people would gather in the forest, bringing with them beer and food, a pig would be sacrificed to Saint Anthony at a

92 RA, EAA 1187.1.53, fol 114r.

93 See Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, Bd. VII. Hrsg. von H. Bächtold-Stäubli, E. Hoffmann-Krayer. E. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 1933, 1469–1506.

crossroads, followed by heavy eating and drinking, after which people went back home. Brand says that Estonians even called their pigs by the name *Tönnies*.<sup>94</sup> Christianus Pankovius, the pastor of Pilistvere, stated during a church visitation in 1680 that peasants held feasts in animal barns on Saint Anthony's Day, "where one, who has to jump, is tied up; [peasants] call for the herd to dance along, additionally, a funnel is needed by which to pour [beverage] down the animal's throat."<sup>95</sup> A visitation to Räpina in the same year revealed that there were many places where common folk tended to gather and, on certain days, namely on Saint Anthony's Day and Saint Catherine's Day, engage in un-Christian sacrificial rituals.<sup>96</sup> In 1681, the pastor of Võnnu wrote that in *Kessekulla*, Saint Anthony is venerated as the (false) god of pigs (*Schweingötze*).<sup>97</sup> Heinrich Göseken, the pastor of Mihkli (Ger. Sankt Michaelis), described in 1694, that in Koonga (Ger. Kokenkau), on Saint Anthony's Day local people would go to some large rocks on top of a hill near the village of Pikavere to make offerings to the saint.<sup>98</sup> These reports demonstrate how the cult of Saint Anthony helped shape the local folk tradition of pilgrimage.

Folklore experts say that even though there are traces of medieval saints' cults in Estonian folklore, the images of saints themselves have fused with ancient beliefs about guardian spirits. For example, in the folklore of Western Estonia, the spirit who cared for households and fertility was known as Tõnn. Statuettes of him, usually made of old rags or wax, were held in special grain bins, where people would leave gifts for the spirit, mainly food items. Folklorists say that during the early modern period, people no longer knew of Saint Anthony, nor did they associate him with Tõnn.<sup>99</sup> Nineteenth century folklore tradition suggests that in terms of the cult of Tõnn, Vädra parish (Ger. Fennern) was the most important region. Here each household had a Tõnn bin that was kept in the granary, with inside it a wax statuette, and gifts. Tõnn was venerated as a deity.<sup>100</sup> The similarities between seventeenth century accounts of the cult of Saint Anthony and later descriptions of the cult of Tõnn

94 Brand, J. A. v. *Reysen durch die Marck Brandenburg, Preussen, Churland, Liefland, Peßcovien, Groß-Naugardien, Tweerien und Moskovien*. Verlag Jacob von Wesel, Wesel, 1702, 157.

95 Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu (University of Tartu Library, hereafter TÜR), Käsikirjakogu, Kirchensitationen, durchgeführt in den Gemeinden von Liefland in den Jahren 1680, 1683, 1692, 1694, 1713: Protokolle, fol 247.

96 TÜR, Protokolle, fol 422.

97 TÜR, Protokolle, fol 379.

98 RA, EAA 1187.2.5166, fol 79v.

99 Eesti rahvakultuur. Toim A. Viires, E. Vunder. *Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus*, Tallinn, 1998, 443.

100 Eesti rahvakultuur, 498.

leave no room for doubt that there was a direct historical link between the two. Folklore stories collected in the Puhja area in the nineteenth century tell of the eighteenth century custom of offering half a pig's head to Tõnn on Saint Anthony's Day, to help secure good pig farming fortune. Tõnn lived deep in the forest in a bush. Local women gathered at this bush and threw pigs' heads there as offerings. Tähendedu Tõnn, a farmhand, took advantage of this: he hid himself near the holy place and, after the women had left, collected the pigs' heads, took them home and had food for the entire year. Apparently, during his lifetime, no one found out about this mischief.<sup>101</sup> This tale from Puhja (Ger. Kawelecht) is surprisingly similar to a 1647 church visitation report description of how Saint Anthony was venerated in Vaabina. A sense of ridicule and criticism of old beliefs is implicit in the manner of the nineteenth century folklore tale from Puhja of how in the eighteenth century, on Saint Anthony's Day, pigs' heads were offered to Tõnn. The process of the cult of Saint Anthony, a very popular saint among the Estonian common folk in the medieval and early modern periods, morphing into the cult of Tõnn, a spirit hidden in a grain bin for offerings in the late modern period, illustrates vividly not only the fading, but also the redefinition of saints' cults over time, as religious and church life changed. The folk version of saints' cults in Estonia might also have been affected by the nineteenth century religious conversion movement, i.e. converting to the Eastern Orthodox Church, which did not disapprove saints' cults like the Lutheran Church; this theory, however, needs further exploration.

## ORNAMENTS AND OTHER TOKENS WITH ANTHONY'S CROSS

The cult of Saint Anthony had a strong effect on the local culture in Estonia, among other things, it left a mark on the name-giving tradition. The folk version of the saint's name – Tõnis (*Tonnies* in Low German) – became a common male name.<sup>102</sup> But the cult of Saint Anthony was demonstrated through the local material culture as well. Medieval chapels, statuettes, etc., have generally perished, therefore, the only tangible

<sup>101</sup> Eesti rahvakultuur, 449–450.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Eesti rahvakultuur, 498; Feyerabend, L. Die Rigaer und Revaler Familiennamen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Herkunft der Bürger. (Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, 7.) Böhlau, Cologne, Vienna, 1985, 34, 38; cf. Põltsam-Jürjo, I. Liivimaa väikelinn Uus-Pärnu 16. sajandi esimesel poolel. Argo, Tallinn, 2009, 380.

evidence of Saint Anthony's cult surviving today is in the shape of amulets and other ornaments. In museum collections, archaeological finds of this nature are usually religious objects and ornaments carrying the cross of Saint Anthony, which during the medieval period were common for all social groups, including the Estonian common folk. Anthony's cross was a popular amulet across Europe, for example, in England, Spain, Denmark, etc. In Sweden, T-shaped crosses were also common ornaments for common folk, these were still worn in the nineteenth century and in specialised literature they are in fact called peasants' cross-shaped pendants.<sup>103</sup>

In Estonia, Anthony's cross has also been called the pater cross, with the T-shaped cross either in the centre of the pater – a flat circular band – or without it entirely. In some instances, a call for our Lord's help was engraved on the circular band itself: *Help unss Christus* (see Figure 2). Smaller pater crosses (with a diameter of around 2 cm) were worn as pendants on chains made of hollow silver beads. Property lists of medieval town citizens mention prayer beads with a Saint Anthony cross.<sup>104</sup> Written sources confirm that such prayer beads were also owned by churches, for example, in Keila in 1553, there was a rosary with two Anthony crosses.<sup>105</sup> The size and style of the surviving pendants carrying the cross of Saint Anthony in Estonia vary. One of the more striking pendants, which used to be embellished with (semi)precious stones, is from Tõnismägi in Tallinn and can be associated with the Anthony chapel there (see Figure 3).<sup>106</sup> Well crafted, but very different from the one found in Tallinn, is the silver pater pendant found in the Kumna Manor treasure trove.<sup>107</sup>

The sixteenth century cross-shaped pendant discovered in Aa Manor (Ger. Haakhof) in Lügänuuse (Ger. Luggenhusen) is especially unique because, in addition to a flower ornament, a phallus is also depicted on it.<sup>108</sup> The presence of this motif at the centre of an Anthony cross is surprising and intriguing, for at first glance there seems to be no connection between Saint Anthony and fertility cults or phallic worship. However, there is at least one link between them – the pig. Through the pig, the popular medieval saint is tied to ancient pre-Christian beliefs in which swine had an import role. For instance, in Nordic mythology,

103 See Reidla, J. Eesti ehtekunst muinasajast uusajani, 76.

104 TL.A. 230.1.Bt1, 56, 270v.

105 Keila kirikuvõõrmündrite arveraamat, 45.

106 Eesti Ajaloomuuseum (Estonian History Museum), AM \_ 13355 E 553.

107 Eesti Ajaloomuuseum, AM \_ 8238 E 462:23.

108 Jonuks, T., Johanson, K. 101 Eesti arheoloogilist leidu. Varrak, Tallinn, 2017, 166.



Figure 2. Pater cross, ca 1500–1700.  
Estonian National Museum ERM A 509:694



Figure 3. Pater cross from Tallinn, ca 1500–1600.  
Estonian History Museum AM \_ 13355 E 553

Gullinburst, the boar belonging to the god of fertility and prosperity, Freyr was considered the epitome of procreation, and so boars were sacrificed to Freyr for a good harvest. Celtic and Germanic peoples associated wild boar with the sun and sun god.<sup>109</sup> This brings us to another element that unites the pig and Saint Anthony – fire. The pre-Christian association between the pig, the sun, and fire was still present in Estonian folklore in the early modern period;<sup>110</sup> in southeastern Estonia, on Saint Anthony’s Day, pigs were taken into the sunlight and people ate pigs’ heads. It was also thought that the sunlight of that day brought good health to people (especially men), and to birds and animals.<sup>111</sup> The pig had an important role in the celebrations of the winter solstice, the so-called death and rebirth of the sun, and Estonians also associated the animal with fertility and agriculture. Taking all this into consideration, it is easy to understand how and why Saint Anthony became intertwined with rites of fertility and prosperity in Estonia and elsewhere in Europe. An object such as the Aa pendant probably had a specific purpose, in specialised literature it has been associated with ancient wedding rituals,<sup>112</sup> which seems likely. A silver cross-shaped pendant found at Väike-Rõude (Ger. Klein-Ruhde)<sup>113</sup> (see Figure 4) is similar to the one

109 Eilenstein. H. Die Entwicklung der indogermanischen Religionen. Books on Demand GmbH, Norderstedt, 2009, 189–191; cf. Abt-Baechli, R. Der Heilige und das Schwein, 70.

110 Meri, L. Hõbevalge. Reisikiri suurest paugust, tuulest ja muinasluulest. Lennart Meri Euroopa Sihtasutus, Tallinn, Tartu 2008, 96; Wiedemann, F. J. Ehnstisch-deutsches Wörterbuch. Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, St. Peterburg, 1869, 1145–1146.

111 Eesti etnograafiasõnaraamat. Toim A. Ränk. Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, Tallinn, 1996, 222.

112 Jonuks, T., Johanson, K. 101 Eesti arheoloogilist leidu, 166.

113 Eesti Ajaloomuuseum, AM \_ 8177 E 485:19.

found in Aa Manor, although it has a decorative flower ornament and an  $\Omega$ -shaped clasp, and is without a phallic image. Silver pater crosses found in museums attest to the fact that the T-shaped cross was still very much present in the ornaments of the Estonian common folk during the early modern period.<sup>114</sup> Several silver T-shaped crosses have been found in Puduküla in Jõgeva County, which had been made if not by the same master then at least following a similar model (see Figure 5).<sup>115</sup> It is worth mentioning that the site of these findings is located ca 25 km from Pilistvere, where, according to written sources, the cult of Saint Anthony was still very much alive at the end of the seventeenth century.



Figure 4. Saint Anthony cross from Väike-Rõude, ca 1500–1600. Estonian History Museum AM \_ 8177 E 485:19



Figure 5. Pendant from Puduküla, ca 1500–1700. Estonian National Museum ERM A 372:4

Tin tokens with an image of the crucified Jesus on a T-shaped cross surrounded by a circle found at Palu Manor (Ger. Pallo) in Järvamaa County and Aseri (Ger. Asserin) in Lääne-Virumaa deserve special attention (see Figure 6).<sup>116</sup> Considering the inexpensive material and clumsy design of the pendant from Aseri, it must have been a widely produced item for a less affluent clientele. Analogous objects to the Aseri pendant, clearly produced in the same fashion, have been found at Ojaveski (Ger.

<sup>114</sup> See Eesti Rahva Muuseum (Estonian National Museum), ERM A 509:695; ERM A 509:128; ERM A 509:693; ERM A 509:694. A number of superstitions have been associated with the cross of Saint Anthony in Estonia, for instance, some thought that if the cross was anointed with asafetida it was protection against witchcraft and the evil eye, see Reidla, J. Eesti ehtekunst muinasajast uusajani. Schenkenberg, Tallinn, 2012, 76.

<sup>115</sup> Eesti Rahva Muuseum, ERM A 372:4; ERM A 372:7; ERM A 372:2 etc.

<sup>116</sup> Eesti Rahva Muuseum, ERM A 949:87; RM \_ 121 A 5:190.

Ojaveski) in Virumaa.<sup>117</sup> As many as seven tin Anthony crosses were found hidden in a field at Palu Manor (see Figure 7); these are different from the Aseri pendant in that they are somewhat bigger and better crafted. True, this is not the case for all pendants found at Palu, and not all of them have the image of the corpus.<sup>118</sup> Similar pendants to those from Palu have been found in the village of Piilsi (Ger. Pils) and Tallinn.<sup>119</sup> In specialised literature, such pendants have been associated with folk pilgrimages, for example, findings from Aseri and Ojaveski are thought to be linked to the chapel of Saint Mary in Viru-Nigula (Ger. Maholm) as a pilgrimage destination.<sup>120</sup> At the same time, the Aseri pendant was discovered at a burial site that was last used during the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.<sup>121</sup> In this period, old pagan burial sites were often used for people who died of the plague.<sup>122</sup> The tin token of Piilsi was found at a medieval cemetery. T-shaped crosses carrying the image of the corpus used as pilgrimage souvenirs and grave goods add another layer of substance to the folk cult of Saint Anthony, which otherwise seems to be related mainly to the protection of domestic animals. Small tin pendants produced on a large scale allude to the tale of the passion of Christ and relate to the torment of ergotism, the plague and Purgatory, and to repentance. Even though the interpretation of the above-described physical findings is difficult and, for the time being, largely hypothetical, they provide important additional information on the folk cult of Saint Anthony.



Figure 6. Pendant from Aseri, ca 1550–1650. Museums of Virumaa RM \_ 121 A 5:190. Photo: Tõnno Jonuks



Figure 7. Pendant from Palu manor, ca 1500–1700. Estonian National Museum ERM A 949:87

117 Jonuks, T., Johanson, K. 101 Eesti arheoloogilist leidu, 14–16.

118 Eesti Rahva Muuseum, ERM A 949:88.

119 Jonuks, T., Joosu, L. Pendants of St. Anthony Cross with the Crucifixion from Estonia – Possible Paddes of a Folk Pilgrimage. – *Estonian Journal of Archaeology*, 2013, 17, 129–130.

120 See Jonuks, T., Joosu, L. Pendants of St. Anthony Cross with the Crucifixion from Estonia, 123–138.

121 Jonuks, T., Johanson, K. 101 Eesti arheoloogilist leidu, 14.

122 See Põltsam-Jürjo, I. Eesti keel ja kirikuvisitatsioonid 17. sajandi. – *Tuna*, 2019, 4, 15–16.

## CONCLUSIONS

In medieval Estonia and Livonia, no cults of local saints developed; however, the veneration of saints still had an important place in local folk belief. By the late medieval period, Saint Anthony the Great had become one of the most popular saints among the people. Chapels, altars, and chantries were built and brotherhoods founded in his honour. The importance of the cult of Saint Anthony left its mark on written sources, material and visual culture, and on folklore. The cult itself was multifaceted and had many layers, depending on a person's social and ethnic background: the manner of veneration differed based on whether one was a peasant or an urban citizen, German or non-German. For Estonian common folk, Saint Anthony was primarily the patron of pigs and other domestic animals; for the citizens of towns and cities and the mainly German-origin elite, both secular and clerical, Saint Anthony was a helper against disease. A common thread between the different aspects of the cult of Saint Anthony in Estonia were the pilgrimages carried out to chapels and other places associated with the saint.

Little is known of the beliefs of people living in Estonia in ancient times. The Christianisation of these lands in the thirteenth century did not necessarily mean that old deities were discarded entirely: elements of their cults probably carried over into medieval traditions, including into saints' cults. Saint Anthony became popular in Estonia among the common folk, as in many other areas in Europe, thanks to associations with ancient pre-Christian traditions and beliefs. These pre-Christian beliefs reached the cult of Saint Anthony through his most important attribute, the pig. A number of traditions and beliefs were tied to the pig (fertility, connection to the sun and fire, etc.), which during the pre-Christian period were common to many European peoples. In Estonia, the pig constituted something very meaningful for the collective conscience and memory of the local people, it fed into the cult of Saint Anthony and its longevity. Even if folklore from modern Estonia no longer remembered the saint himself, customs and traditions linked to his cult remain. This demonstrates the resilience of such religious rites over time: the objects of veneration had changed, but the rituals endured.

The cult of Saint Anthony in Estonia combined pre-Christian and Christian, local and regional customs and traditions. Looking at it from a cross-cultural perspective, one can clearly see the rich heritage associated with the cult and the strong and long-lasting effects it has

had on local culture. And through the cult of Saint Anthony, people's imagination and creativity in shaping religious customs became explicit.

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## PÜHA ANTONIUSE AUSTAMISEST EESTIS KESK- JA VARAUUSAJAL

*Inna Põltsam-Jürjo*

Keskaja Liivimaal ei kujunenud kohalike pühakute kultust, samas haarasid pühakujud, -pildid, pühakute säilmed ja reliikviad endale nii sisserännanute kui ka põlismaise rahva usuelus tähtsa koha. Hiliskeskajaks oli Püha Antonius Suurest kujunenud Eestis *resp.* Liivimaal üks populaarsemaid pühakuid, kellele pühitseti altareid, kabeleid, rajati vikaariaid, asutati vennaskondi; tänutäheks katkuepideemia lõppemise eest rajas Riia peapiiskop keskaja lõpul Lielvärdesse ka antoniitide kloostri. Püha Antoniusse austamine kestis jõudsalt isegi veel varauusajal, sellest annavad muuhulgas tunnistust kirikuvisitatsioonide materjalid, samuti reisikirjad. Püha Antoniusse austamise tähtsusest tulenevalt on jäänud sellest jälgi nii kirjalikesse allikatesse, materiaalsesse ja visuaalkultuuri kui ka rahvapärimusse. Samas esines tema austamises erinevaid kihistusi ja tahke, mis tulenesid eelkõige isikute sotsiaalsest staatusest ja etnilisest päritolust, nii oli vahe, kas pühakut austas talupoeg või linnakodanik, sakslane või mittesakslane. Eesti talupoja jaoks oli Püha Antonius tähtis eelkõige kui sigade ja muude pudulohuste kaitsja, seevastu linnakodaniku, aga ka maa ilmaliku ja vaimuliku, valdavalt saksa päritolu eliidi silmis oli ta avitaja taudide puhul. Püha Antoniusse austamise eri kihistusi ja tahke ühendavaks jooneks Eestis olid palverännakud pühakuga seotud pühakodadesse või -paikadesse.

Eesti elanike uskumustest ja kultusest muinasajal on teada vähe, 13. sajandi võõrvallutusega kaasnenud maa kristianiseerimine ei tähendanud veel vanade jumaluste täielikku hülgamist, vaid elemente nende austamisest kandus üle keskaja usukommetesse, sh pühakukultusesse.

Lihtrahva hulgas sai Püha Antonius Eestis nagu mitmel pool mujalgi Euroopas populaarseks tänu seostele eelkristlike tavade ja uskumustega. Viimased jõudsid Püha Antoniusse kultusesse tema tähtsaima atribuudi – sea – kaudu. Seaga oli seotud rikkalik kombestik ja uskumused (nt viljakusmaagia, seos päikese ja tulega jms), mis olid eelkristlikul ajal tuntud üle Euroopa paljude rahvaste juures. Siga oli Eestiski rahva teadvuses, kollektiivses mälus kui midagi väga tähenduslikku, see toitmis Püha Antoniusse kultust ning kindlustas pikaajalise püsimise. Isegi kui uusaja eesti rahvapärinus ei mäletanud enam pühakut ennast, olid selles säilinud tema kultusega seotud kombed ja tavad. See näitab usurituaalide vastupidavust ajas, need jäid püsima, kuigi austamisobjektid ise muutusid.

Püha Antoniusse austamine võttis keskaja Liivimaa lihtrahva hulgas kirikule mittemeelepärase ilme, püüdlustest hoolimata ei õnnestunud kirikul pühaku rahvapärast kultust oma kontrolli alla saada. Üle maa kerkis tema auks sageli pühitsemata jäänud kabeleid, ent Püha Antoniusse rahvalik austamine ei vajanudki ilmtingimata pühakoda, nii on pühakule ohverdatud teeristil, suurte kivide juures jm. Püha Antoniusse kultuses Eestis põimusid eelkristlikud ja kristlikud, kohalikud ja regioonideülesed tavad ja kombed. Just eri kultuuride ja identiteetide üleses perspektiivis vaadelduna avaneb kultusega seotud rikkalik ainestik, selle tugevad ja püsivad kultuurimõjud. Võib väita, et Püha Antoniusse austamises on iseäranis hästi hoomatav rahva loomingulisus, loov jõud usukommete kujundamisel.