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THE ROGGE FAMILY OF STOCKHOLM  
PIOUS FOUNDATIONS,  
SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT AND MARIAN DEVOTION  
IN LATE MEDIEVAL SWEDEN


**Abstract**

The article examines the lives of two members of the Rogge family of Stockholm, a father and son, in the fifteenth century. It investigates how the trade activities conducted by the father, Stockholm merchant Kort Rogge the Elder, in Danzig (Pol. Gdańsk) and his involvement in the foundation of the chapel of St Eric therein facilitated his son's ecclesiastical walk of life. Kort Rogge the Younger, the Stockholm burgher's son, pursued an ecclesiastical career and achieved social advancement. Eventually, he ascended to the position of the bishop of Strängnäs. Subsequently, Bishop Kort Rogge made pious gifts of his own, some designed to ensure personal and familial commemoration in Stockholm and to promote Marian piety there demonstrating his enduring connection with his hometown. Both father-burgher and son-bishop viewed pious gifts not only as a source of liturgical commemoration, but also as a means by which to achieve both worldly and personal-spiritual goals: the acquisition of prestige, social advancement and the promotion of a particular devotion.

**Keywords:** pious gift-giving, liturgical commemoration, urban community, medieval church history, Stockholm, Baltic region, late Middle Ages

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The article aims to analyse the history of two members of the Rogge family of Stockholm – a father and son – through the lens of the gifts they donated for pious causes. On the one hand, it delves into how a religious foundation co-established by the father affected his son's ecclesiastical career. On the other, it explores how the son's foundations reflected his piety and connection to his hometown. Since both the father and son bore the same given name, they are referred to as Kort Rogge the Elder and Kort Rogge the Younger. Kort Rogge the Elder originated from Westphalia and was a Stockholm burgher. During the late medieval period, Hanseatic merchants frequently traded in Stockholm. The town also attracted numerous settlers from German-speaking regions who joined the local urban community and were legally allowed to enter the municipal governing body, the town council<sup>1</sup>. Kort Rogge the Elder first appeared in the preserved sources in 1423<sup>2</sup>. He accumulated considerable wealth, considering that he was not a member of the town council, and was only appointed to some minor municipal offices, such as the master builder, a keyholder for one of the town watchtowers and the head of brickworks, during the 1430s<sup>3</sup>. Rogge partially owed his wealth to his marriage with Dorothea, daughter of Hans Horn, another Stockholm burgher of German descent, and the inheritance that the married couple received after his death. The couple had at least one child – Kort Rogge the Younger – born in the 1420s<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion on the migration of Germans, including those from Westphalia, to Stockholm during the late medieval period, see Adolf SCHÜCK, *Die deutsche Einwanderung in das mittelalterliche Schweden und ihre kommerziellen und sozialen Folgen*, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Jg. 55: 1930, pp. 67–89; Ingvar SVANBERG, Mattias TYDÉN, *Tusen år av invandring. En svensk kulturhistoria*, Stockholm 1992, pp. 28–53; Göran DAHLBÄCK, *Invandring – särskilt tysk – till Sverige under medeltiden*, [in:] *Invandrarna & lokalsamhället. Historiska aspekter på integrationen av invandrare i nordiska lokalsamhällen*, red. Lars NILSSON, Sven LILJA (Studier i stads- och kommunhistoria, vol. 16), Stockholm 1998, pp. 11–30; Justyna WUBS-MROZEWICZ, *Interplay of Identities: German Settlers in Late Medieval Stockholm*, *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 29: 2004, no. 1, pp. 53–67. Although the book by Eberhard Weinauge is undoubtedly controversial and strongly influenced by the author's nationalist ideology, its findings on the main directions of medieval German immigration to Stockholm are still relevant, see Eberhard WEINAUGE, *Die deutsche Bevölkerung im mittelalterlichen Stockholm* (Schriften zur politischen Geschichte und Rassenkunde Schleswig-Holsteins, Bd. 5), Leipzig 1942. For an insightful review of previous scholarship on the German cultural influence and settlement in late medieval Stockholm, and some new interpretations, see Sofia GUSTAFSSON, *German Influence in Swedish Medieval Towns: Reflections upon the Time-bound Historiography of the Twentieth Century*, [in:] *Guilds, Towns, and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300–1500*, ed. Lars BISGAARD, Lars B. MORTENSEN, Tom PETTIT, Odense 2013, pp. 109–129.

<sup>2</sup> *Stockholms stads jordebok 1420–1474*, utg. Hans HILDEBRAND (Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, ser. 1:1), Stockholm 1876, no. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Stockholms stads ämbetsbok 1419–1544*, utg. Johan A. ALMQUIST (Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, ser. 4:1), Stockholm 1927, pp. 20, 22, 28, 31–33.

<sup>4</sup> Herman SCHÜCK, *Kort Rogge*, [in:] *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/6812> [accessed online 7 February 2024]; Bengt I. KILSTRÖM, *Kort Rogge – renäs-*

Merchant Kort Rogge the Elder conducted trade in Danzig (Pol. Gdańsk), and while his connection with this Baltic city is renowned, it is not primarily due to financial transactions but to his notable involvement in a religious foundation there<sup>5</sup>. On 18 May 1438, the prior and the Carmelite convent in Uppsala, along with merchants from Stockholm, the whole of Sweden and Prussia to establish a chapel in their convent church located in the Young Town (Ger. *Jungstadt*) of Danzig. The chapel was devoted to St Eric, the holy king of Sweden, and served Swedish merchants trading in Danzig and the fraternity of St Eric active in this city<sup>6</sup>.

The document notes that the first donation to the chapel of St Eric was made by Johannes Andersson, a canon of Uppsala, and Kort Rogge, a burgher of Stockholm. They jointly established an altarpiece depicting the holy king. Moreover, Kort Rogge the Elder contributed to the introduction of the cult of St Eric in Danzig by delivering the legend and miracle tales of the saint gifted to the chapel by the archbishop of Uppsala<sup>7</sup>. Rogge remained the only merchant named in the 1438 document, which emphasises his significance to the foundation. Maja Gąssowska, who analysed the origins and history of the chapel of St Eric in Danzig, even suggested that Rogge likely was the one who negotiated the establishment of the chapel with the Carmelites and secured the support for the initiative from the archbishop and the chapter of Uppsala<sup>8</sup>.

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*sansbiskop och humanist*, [in:] *Öppna gränser. Ekumeniskt och europeiskt i Strängnäs stift genom tiderna*, red. Samuel RUBENSON (Skrifter utgivna av Samfundet Pro Fide et Christianismo, vol. 14), Stockholm 1992, p. 65; Jan ÖBERG, *Vom Humanismus zum Traditionalismus. Die Einwirkung der politischen, gesellschaftlichen und kirchlichen Verhältnisse auf das Kulturleben in Schweden am Beispiel von Kort Rogge (um 1420–1501)*, [in:] *Ut granum sinapis: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Jozef Ijsewijn*, ed. Gilbert TOURNOY, Dirk SACRÉ (Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, vol. 12), Leuven 1997, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> For an illustration of his mercantile activities in Danzig, see Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, Akta Miasta Gdańska, archival ref. no. 300,27/4, fol. 40r; Georg J. V. ERICSSON, *Handlingar och brev i Danzigs arkiv till Sveriges medeltidshistoria*, Göteborg 1923, no. 58. It remains uncertain whether Stockholmer Kort Rogge the Elder was related to the Rogges residing in Danzig, who are mentioned in extant primary sources, see Charlotte BRÄMER, *Die Entwicklung der Danziger Reederei im Mittelalter*, Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins, H. 63: 1922, p. 49; Dorothea WEICHBRODT, *Patrizier, Bürger, Einwohner der Freien und Hansestadt Danzig in Stamm- und Namenstafeln vom 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 4, <https://www.vffow.de/datenbanken/danziger-genealogische-tafeln> [accessed online 7 February 2024], p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> Gustav A. DONNER, *St. Erich in Danzig*, Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins, Jg. 29: 1930, Nr. 3, pp. 43–45.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> Maja GĄSSOWSKA, *Der Kult des heiligen Erich im Danzig des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae, vol. 5: 2000, p. 293. The chapel of St Eric founded at the Carmelite monastery in Danzig frequently appeared in Gąssowska's broader research on the Scandinavian holy kings, see eadem, *Kult świętych skandynawskich w krajach nadbaltyckich*, [in:] *Podróznicy – fundato-*

The vital role played by Kort Rogge the Elder in the cult of St Eric in Danzig and the chapel was confirmed a year later in 1439. In another document issued by the Carmelites of Danzig, Rogge is listed first among aldermen of the fraternity of St Eric. Later in the text, it is mentioned that he was responsible for delivering another gift to Danzig, this time a relic of the Swedish saint, sent by the archbishop of Uppsala and his cathedral chapter<sup>9</sup>. Being chosen twice to transport such precious cargo indicates that Kort Rogge the Elder had earned the trust of the archbishop and canons of Uppsala.

This affiliation with the cathedral chapter of Uppsala proved highly beneficial for Kort Rogge's son. But even more importantly, Kort Rogge the Elder was wealthy enough to afford a university education abroad for his son. Kort Rogge the Younger enrolled at the University of Leipzig, where he obtained a baccalaureate in philosophy in 1449. Upon returning to Sweden the same year, he obtained a canonry in Uppsala<sup>10</sup>. In 1454, following his father's demise, he mortgaged his homestead in Bälinge, likely to fund his travels across Europe<sup>11</sup>. He briefly visited Germany and France, while in Italy he extended his stay enrolling at the University of Perugia in 1455. Rogge graduated in 1460 obtaining a doctorate in canon law. During his stay in Italy, he acquired additional ecclesiastical offices, becoming a canon at the cathedral of Åbo (Fin. Turku) and the parson of Kyrkslätt (Fin. Kirkkonummi) in the diocese of Åbo<sup>12</sup>. During his studies in Italy, the Swedish cleric was exposed to Renaissance culture and became familiar with classical and contemporary Latin literature and scholarship. He also witnessed the visit of the renowned humanistic erudite Pope Pius II to the University of Perugia in 1459. Pius II, also known under his lay name as Enea Silvio Piccolomini, was among the authors whose writings Kort Rogge the Younger brought back to Sweden<sup>13</sup>.

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rzy – święci, red. Tomasz RATAJCZAK (Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki. Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, t. 35), Poznań 2008, pp. 188–189; eadem, *Święci królowie skandynawscy w fundacjach ołtarzowych w Gdańsku w XV wieku*, *Studia Zamkowe*, t. 4: 2012, pp. 59–61.

<sup>9</sup> G. A. DONNER, op.cit., pp. 45–47.

<sup>10</sup> H. SCHÜCK, op.cit., <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/6812> [accessed online 7 February 2024]; Bengt I. KILSTRÖM, *Kort Rogge* (Strängnäs gilles skriftserie, nr 17), Strängnäs 1979, p. 1; idem, *Kort Rogge – renässansbiskop*, p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> Kort Rogge the Elder most likely died in late 1452 or early 1453, as he joined the Corpus Christi Guild of Stockholm *in extremis* between mid-1452 and mid-1453, see *Handlingar rörande Helga Lekamens gille i Stockholm*, vol. 1: *Gillesboken 1393–1487 jämte bilagor*, utg. Isak COLLIJN (Kungliga bibliotekets handlingar. Bilagor. Ny följd, vol. 2:1), Stockholm 1921, pp. 58–59.

<sup>12</sup> H. SCHÜCK, op.cit., <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/6812> [accessed online 7 February 2024]; B. I. KILSTRÖM, *Kort Rogge*, p. 1; idem, *Kort Rogge – renässansbiskop*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>13</sup> Jan ÖBERG, *Kort Rogge – humanist i Roggeborgen*, [in:] *Från biskop Rogge till Roggebiblioteket. Studier utgivna till Strängnäs gymnasiums 350-årsjubileum*, red. Ruth LUNDSTRÖM (Acta Bibliothecae Regiae Stockholmiensis, vol. 25), Stockholm 1976, pp. 13, 17; idem, *Vom Humanismus zum Traditionalismus*, p. 27; B. I. KILSTRÖM, *Kort Rogge*, p. 2.

After returning to his homeland, Rogge continued his ecclesiastical career. In 1464, he was appointed archdeacon in Uppsala and during the 1470s he sought to acquire the office of bishop coadjutor in the diocese of Strängnäs. Finally, in 1479, he was elected the bishop of Strängnäs, a position that also bestowed upon him the title of the chancellor of the realm<sup>14</sup>. He turned out to be an efficient leader of the local Church, deeply committed to the welfare of his diocese. His ambitions to reclaim estates and incomes previously lost to the territorial ruler and to regain jurisdiction over some monastic convents led to a conflict with Regent (Swe. *riksföreståndare*) Sten Sture the Elder<sup>15</sup>. Furthermore, Bishop Kort oversaw the renovation of the cathedral in Strängnäs which had sustained extensive damage during a fire in 1473<sup>16</sup>. He also re-established an infirmary for elderly, ill and poor priests in Strängnäs which had been destroyed during the same fire<sup>17</sup>.

In terms of pious gifts and religious foundations, Bishop Kort was equally diligent. In 1487, he founded a chapel and prebend devoted to St Eric in the cathedral of Strängnäs. For the chapel and its altar, the bishop commissioned a wooden sculpture of the Swedish holy king, commonly attributed to the famous master sculptor Bernt Notke<sup>18</sup>. In this case, it would be risky to assume that Bishop Kort was guided in his choice of the chapel's patron by the

<sup>14</sup> H. SCHÜCK, op.cit., <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/6812> [accessed online 7 February 2024]; J. ÖBERG, *Kort Rogge – humanist*, p. 12; B. I. KILSTRÖM, *Kort Rogge – renässansbiskop*, pp. 66–67.

<sup>15</sup> Gottfrid CARLSSON, *Biskopssäte, domkyrka och kloster. Från äldsta tid till 1563*, [in:] *Strängnäs stads historia*, red. Hans JÄGERSTAD, Strängnäs 1959, pp. 518–522; B. I. KILSTRÖM, *Kort Rogge*, pp. 4–6; idem, *Kort Rogge – renässansbiskop*, p. 68.

<sup>16</sup> Erik BOHRN, Sigurd CURMAN, Armin TUULSE, *Strängnäs domkyrka*, Bd. 1, H. 1: *Medeltidens byggnadshistoria* (Sveriges kyrkor. Konsthistoriskt inventarium, vol. 100), Stockholm 1964, pp. 282, 287–288, 290.

<sup>17</sup> The infirmary in Strängnäs was originally established by Archdeacon Erik van Lipen in the 1460s. It suffered significant damage in the fire of 1473, and its reconstruction begun in 1489 under the leadership of Bishop Kort Rogge. Subsequently, the bishop issued two donation documents for the infirmary in 1496. The longer of the two donation documents was also an ordinance for the infirmary outlining regulations for its administration. Later, in 1501, the charitable institution had its privileges, indulgences and possessions confirmed by Pope Alexander VI. Riksarkivet, Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbrev, <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/SDHK> [accessed online 7 February 2024] (hereinafter cited as SDHK), no. 33396, 33397, 34434; Isak FEHR, *Biskop Rogges infirmaria i Strängnäs*, Strängnäs 1923, pp. 3–10; J. ÖBERG, *Vom Humanismus zum Traditionalismus*, pp. 37–38; G. CARLSSON, *Biskopssäte, domkyrka och kloster*, pp. 516–517; Sven-Erik PERNLER, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 2: *Hög- och senmedeltid*, Stockholm 1999, pp. 147–148; Christian LOVÉN, *Det medeltida Sverige*, Bd. 2: *Södermanland*, H. 7: *Åkers härad, Strängnäs stad*, Stockholm 2020, p. 181.

<sup>18</sup> SDHK, no. 31971, 32079; E. BOHRN, S. CURMAN, A. TUULSE, op.cit., pp. 313–314; Aron ANDERSSON, R. Axel UNNERBÄCK, *Strängnäs domkyrka*, Bd. 2, H. 2: *Inredning* (Sveriges kyrkor. Konsthistoriskt inventarium, vol. 176), Stockholm 1978, pp. 99–101.



devotion his father demonstrated towards St Eric almost 50 years earlier by actively participating in the founding of the chapel in Danzig and belonging to the fraternity of St Eric there. The cult of St Eric gained traction among inhabitants of the Kingdom of Sweden amid the tensions surrounding the reign of the Kalmar Union monarchs, at least since the uprising led by Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson in 1434–1436<sup>19</sup>. As Gąssowska noted, it is likely that the chapel in Danzig, being dedicated to this piacular saint, was a result of the growing popularity of his cult in Sweden and might have been inspired more by the archbishop of Uppsala and his chapter than the Swedish merchants trading in Danzig<sup>20</sup>. The cult of St Eric was no less popular during the regency of Sten Sture the Elder, who intentionally propagated his reception as the *rex perpetuus* of the Swedish realm to undermine the legitimacy of the union monarchs<sup>21</sup>. Thus, Bishop Kort probably simply followed current religious trends in his country by founding the aforementioned chapel and prebend. Moreover, Bishop Rogge must have been familiar with the worship of the Swedish holy king at least since he became a canon at the diocese of Uppsala – the centre of St Eric's cult – as aptly pointed out by Gottfrid Carlsson<sup>22</sup>.

Regarding this particular cult, a letter dated 5 November 1495 addressed to Archbishop Jakob Ulfsson of Uppsala is also noteworthy. Its senders, including Regent Sten Sture the Elder and Bishop Kort Rogge, asked the archbishop to lend the regent the banner of St Eric to boost the Swedish troops' morale for a military campaign against the Orthodox Russians invading Finland<sup>23</sup>. The letter may be interpreted as evidence of Bishop Kort's engagement in the propagation of the Swedish holy king's veneration, or at least of his recognition of its significance. Alternatively, being a member of the Council of the Realm (Swe. *riksrådet*), the bishop may have simply wanted to offer support to the regent during his visit to Strängnäs in the face of an external threat<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> Maja J. GĄSSOWSKA, *Rozwój kultu św. Eryka w średniowiecznej Szwecji*, Kwartalnik Historyczny, R. 100: 1993, nr 1, pp. 22–23; Christian OERTEL, *The Cult of St Erik in Medieval Sweden: Veneration of a Royal Saint, Twelfth–Sixteenth Centuries* (Acta Scandinavica: Aberdeen Studies in the Scandinavian World, vol. 5), Turnhout 2016, pp. 196–199.

<sup>20</sup> M. GĄSSOWSKA, *Der Kult des heiligen Erich*, pp. 293–294.

<sup>21</sup> M. J. GĄSSOWSKA, *Rozwój kultu św. Eryka*, pp. 24–25; Ch. OERTEL, op.cit., pp. 204–217.

<sup>22</sup> G. CARLSSON, *Biskopssäte, domkyrka och kloster*, p. 514.

<sup>23</sup> SDHK, no. 33304; *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, Bd. 5, utg. Reinhold HAUSEN, Helsingfors 1928, no. 4631.

<sup>24</sup> For more on this campaign against the Russians and the banner of St Eric, see Ch. OERTEL, op.cit., pp. 188, 201–202, 214–216; Thomas LINDKVIST, *Med Sankt Erik konung mot hedningar och schismatiker. Korståg och korstågsideologi i svensk medeltida östpolitik*, [in:] *Väst möter öst. Norden och Ryssland genom historien*, red. Max ENGMAN, Stockholm 1996, pp. 22–26. For more on the Orthodox (Muscovite) threat to the Kingdom of Sweden in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, see Martin N. SKOOG, *Fateful Mésalliance: The Danish-Muscovite Treaties of 1493–1523 in Political and Religious Discourse*, *Zapiski Historyczne*, t. 88: 2023, z. 2, pp. 65–96.

Aside from the foundation of the chapel of St Eric, Bishop Rogge took meticulous care of the furnishings in his cathedral. The inclusion of his coat of arms on two altarpieces, crafted in Brussels at the end of the fifteenth century, suggests that he either commissioned or funded at least two such altarpieces made in Flanders for his cathedral<sup>25</sup>. In 1496, he donated landed property to the infirmary he had previously re-established. Although neither of the two donation documents of 1496 explicitly mentions it, Rogge likely expected the inmates of the infirmary to pray and hold requiem masses for his soul. Especially, as the longer document, which was used as a charter for the infirmary, allowed its priestly administrator, chaplain and priest-inmates to attend anniversary masses and funerals at the cathedral. Moreover, the charitable institution was associated with the nearby chapel of St Eskil and its prebend<sup>26</sup>. In September 1496, Bishop Kort announced that he intended to support the impoverished prebend of the Five Holy Wounds located in his cathedral<sup>27</sup>. Most likely due to a decision made earlier that year by Elin Larsdotter, who transferred her endowment of landed estate from the aforementioned prebend to the recently re-established infirmary for diocesan priests<sup>28</sup>. Furthermore, Bishop Kort founded a new prebend at the chapel of St Botvid and, separately, initiated a celebration of anniversary masses for his soul and the souls of his parents, ancestors and all the faithful departed, both in the cathedral of Uppsala<sup>29</sup>. Admittedly, the prebend of St Martin, founded by Rogge in 1499,

<sup>25</sup> A. ANDERSSON, R. A. UNNERBÄCK, op.cit., pp. 10–12, 40, 48, 72, 94, 96; Hannah DE MOOR, *Moving Altarpieces: Tracing the Provenance of Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces in Sweden*, *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, vol. 88: 2019, no. 4, p. 185.

<sup>26</sup> SDHK, no. 33396, 33397. For a brief history of the infirmary, see footnote 17.

<sup>27</sup> SDHK, no. 33412.

<sup>28</sup> SDHK, no. 33365. It is uncertain whether Bishop Rogge actually endowed the prebend of the Five Holy Wounds to compensate for the loss of property, as the donation document issued on 10 September 1496 (see SDHK, no. 33414) may refer to the prebend and chapel of St Eric, like the other donation document issued on the same day (see SDHK, no. 33413). See also Ch. LOVÉN, op.cit., pp. 146, 180, 209. Otto Norberg claimed that the prebend of the Five Holy Wounds in the cathedral of Strängnäs was founded by Bishop Rogge in 1496 but the available primary sources mentioned above indicate that the prebend was founded a few years prior to 1496 and its founder is not stated, see Otto NORBERG, *Strängnäs domkyrka. Stifts- och biskopskyrka, församlingskyrka*, Stockholm 1935, p. 39.

<sup>29</sup> SDHK, no. 29256, 31100, 31101, 31102, 31103, 33434; Göran DAHLBÄCK, *Uppsala domkyrkas godsinnahav med särskild hänsyn till perioden 1344–1527* (Studier till det Medeltida Sverige, vol. 2), Stockholm 1977, pp. 119, 128, 137–138, 300–301; idem, Olle FERM, Sigurd RAHMQVIST, *Det medeltida Sverige*, Bd. 1: *Uppland*, H. 2: *Tiundaland. Ulleråker, Vaksala, Uppsala stad*, Stockholm 1984, pp. 79, 85, 186, 314; Olle FERM, Sigurd RAHMQVIST, Gunnar T. WESTIN, *Det medeltida Sverige*, Bd. 1: *Uppland*, H. 3: *Tiundaland. Bälunge, Norunda, Rasbo*, Stockholm 1982, pp. 70–71, 93, 172, 195, 200–201, 203; Rune JANSON, Sigurd RAHMQVIST, Lars-Olof SKOGLUND, *Det medeltida Sverige*, Bd. 1: *Uppland*, H. 4: *Tiundaland. Tierp, Väla, Vendel, Oland, Närdinghundra*,

may hardly serve as an example of his piety or personal devotion. The bishop was forced to establish the prebend associated with three weekly masses as an atonement for the killing of Erik Karlsson Vasa, a member of the Council of the Realm killed in 1491 during a violent conflict with Sigfrid, parish priest of Överselö, which involved some of the bishop's troops<sup>30</sup>. Overall, there is no doubt that Bishop Kort sought to adorn his cathedral and secure commemoration for himself and his relatives in Strängnäs and other episcopal sees of Sweden. Nonetheless, arguably the most interesting pious gifts he donated were connected with the aforementioned chapel of St Eskil and the Parish Church of St Nicholas in Stockholm. These gifts demonstrate his involvement in the propagation of a particular form of religiosity and offer insight into the feelings he harboured for his hometown, even as a bishop<sup>31</sup>.

During the last decade of the fifteenth century, Bishop Kort acquired annual rent from several properties in Stockholm with the intention of establishing a celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in the local parish church<sup>32</sup>. The selection of a particular worship place within the sacred space of the parish church was deliberate. Kort Rogge the Younger founded the celebration of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the chapel of St Peter and St Paul<sup>33</sup>. This chapel was established in 1408 by Hans Horn who, as previously

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Stockholm 1974, pp. 293, 314. Bengt Ingmar Kilström suggested that Bishop Rogge also established an anniversary mass in the cathedral of Västerås, see B. I. KILSTRÖM, *Kort Rogge*, p. 10.

<sup>30</sup> SDHK, no. 33747; G. CARLSSON, *Biskopssäte, domkyrka och kloster*, pp. 520–521; Eric SEGELBERG, *Sankt Martins prebende i Strängnäs domkyrka*, Sörmlandsbygden, årg. 30: 1961, pp. 55–60.

<sup>31</sup> Another sign of Kort Rogge the Younger's attachment to his hometown was his admission to the Corpus Christi Guild of Stockholm in 1450, already after he had left the town for university studies and become a canon in Uppsala, see *Handlingar rörande Helga Lekamens gille i Stockholm*, vol. 1, p. 55. Moreover, he had relatives living in Stockholm, brothers Herman and Henrik Gellink, who started using the surname Rogge after settling in the town, see E. WEINAUGE, op.cit., p. 112; Carl C. SJÖDÉN, *Stockholms borgerskap under Sturetiden med särskild hänsyn till dess politiska ställning. En studie i Stockholms stads historia* (Monografier utgivna av Stockholms kommunalförvaltning, vol. 8), Stockholm 1950, pp. 260–261.

<sup>32</sup> SDHK, no. 32850, 33134, 34253, 37383, and possibly SDHK, no. 33416; Frans DE BRUN, *Storkyrkans egendomar, stiftelser och personal under medeltiden*, [in:] S. Nikolai eller Storkyrkan i Stockholm, vol. 1: *Församlingshistoria*, red. Johnny ROOSVAL (Sveriges kyrkor. Konsthistoriskt inventarium, vol. 17), Stockholm 1924, pp. 32–33. This was not the only pious gift made by Bishop Rogge in Stockholm. He also endowed the Choir of the Soul in the parish church, and, together with his mother, donated to the Funds of the Sunday and Friday Alms, see SDHK, no. 31533; *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1483–1492*, utg. Gottfrid CARLSSON (Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, ser. 2:2), Stockholm 1944, pp. 75–76; *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1492–1500*, utg. Johan A. ALMQUIST (Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid, ser. 2:3), Stockholm 1930, p. 376.

<sup>33</sup> Additionally, Bishop Kort intended to establish the celebration of an unspecified office, perhaps also the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the Choir of the Soul in the parish church of Stockholm, see *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1492–1500*, pp. 388, 401–402.



mentioned, was the father-in-law of Kort Rogge the Elder and grandfather of Kort Rogge the Younger<sup>34</sup>. The decision to establish the celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in the parish church may have been aimed at disseminating this form of devotion among the townspeople. However, the selection of this particular chapel must have been influenced by familial connections. During the division of the inheritance left by Hans Horn in 1423, Kort Rogge and his wife Dorothea constituted one party, the other being Horn's widow Helleka and her new husband Lubbert Kortenhorst<sup>35</sup>. The town council's ruling on the inheritance implies that Rogge the Elder and Kortenhorst should jointly oversee the chapel of St Peter and St Paul<sup>36</sup>. Indeed, two years later both of them represented the chapel during the proceedings of the town council, which confirms that they both inherited the patronage rights through their respective marriages<sup>37</sup>. The rights of Kort Rogge the Elder were subsequently inherited by his son, who not only likely felt a connection to the foundation established by his grandfather but, as a result of this legal process, was permitted to shape the worship there<sup>38</sup>.

By establishing the celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in Stockholm, Bishop Rogge decided to participate in a wider propagation of Marian devotion that took place in late medieval Sweden. In 1493, when Sten Sture the Elder declared his intention to establish a charterhouse in Sweden, this initiative quickly gained the support of Archbishop Jakob Ulfsson of Uppsala and Bishop Kort Rogge of Strängnäs. Both church officials made donations to the Carthusian monks the following year. Bishop Rogge donated his house in Stockholm<sup>39</sup>. Moreover, in a document issued in 1498, Sten Sture the Elder and his wife Ingeborg Åkesdotter Tott confirmed their donation of the estate of Gripsholm to the newly established charterhouse, acknowledging the archbishop of Uppsala and the bishop of Strängnäs as the originators of the idea to bring Carthusians to Sweden. According to the confirmation document, the two ecclesiastical officials approached the regent for assistance in this endeavour<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> SDHK, no. 17027; F. DE BRUN, op.cit., pp. 31–32.

<sup>35</sup> For the turbulent marriage between Helleka and Lubbert Kortenhorst, see Marko LAMBERG, *Dannemännen i stadens råd. Rådmanskretsen i nordiska köpstäder under senmedeltiden* (Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, vol. 155), Stockholm 2001, pp. 125–128.

<sup>36</sup> *Stockholms stads jordebok 1420–1474*, no. 16.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 33.

<sup>38</sup> In addition to the Hours of the Virgin which Kort Rogge introduced in the chapel of St Peter and St Paul, he also supported this chantry and the priest serving there with annual incomes from immovable properties in Stockholm, see SDHK, no. 30811, 37861; F. DE BRUN, op.cit., pp. 32–33.

<sup>39</sup> SDHK, no. 33129.

<sup>40</sup> Isak COLLIJN, *Kartusianerklostret Mariefred vid Gripsholm och dess bibliotek*, Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen, årg. 22: 1935, pp. 150–153; Carl-Johan CLEMEDSON, *Kartusianerklostret Mariefred vid Gripsholm. Monasterium Pacis Mariae in Grippsholm jämte uppgifter om*

Carthusians, including those introduced to Sweden, were known for their veneration of the Holy Virgin and their efforts to promote the Marian cult<sup>41</sup>. The charterhouse founded in the diocese of Strängnäs under the name *Pax Mariae* – better known as Mariefred – possessed a printing press which in 1498 was used for publishing the book *De dignitate et utilitate psalterii beate Marie virginis*, that is a collection of works written, at least purportedly, by the Dominican friar Alanus de Rupe. The Swedish edition gained popularity across Europe but was undoubtedly intended for local use as well<sup>42</sup>. The Rosarian and Marian piety flourished in Sweden at the turn of the sixteenth century, as evidenced by the emergence of Rosarian confraternities, notably in the towns of Vadstena and Strängnäs, with the latter situated in close proximity to the charterhouse Mariefred<sup>43</sup>. The publication of *De dignitate et utilitate* must have aroused interest in these confraternities, as its translation into Swedish was made shortly after its publication<sup>44</sup>. Interestingly, the printing of this book at Mariefred Monastery was financed by Ingeborg, the regent's consort. This once again demonstrates that the Carthusians' mission of spreading Rosarian and Marian devotion in Sweden had the support of the kingdom's highest ecclesiastical and secular elites<sup>45</sup>.

Bishop Kort Rogge personally engaged in the propagation of Marian piety not only through his support of the Carthusian monastery and establishing the celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in the parish church of Stockholm but also by making a second such foundation in his cathedral town. On 25 March 1501, that is the Feast of the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary, Kort Rogge the Younger issued his last foundation document. He once again founded the celebration of the Hours of the Virgin, this time in the previously mentioned chapel of St Eskil in Strängnäs. Six priest-inmates from the nearby infirmary, which he had renovated, were tasked with singing the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary and celebrating a daily mass, except for Saturdays

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*andra svenska klostres och klosterträdgårdars öden* (Sörmländska handlingar, nr 48), Nyköping 1989, pp. 26–29.

<sup>41</sup> Alf HÄRDELIN, *In the Sign of the Rosary: Swedish Birgittines and Carthusians in Co-operation*, [in:] *Medieval Spirituality in Scandinavia and Europe: A Collection of Essays in Honour of Tore Nyberg*, ed. Lars BISGAARD, Carsten S. JENSEN, Kurt V. JENSEN, John LIND (Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, vol. 234), Odense 2001, pp. 285–293.

<sup>42</sup> Rafał WITKOWSKI, *The Carthusians and the Print Revolution*, [in:] *Die Kartäuser und die Künste ihrer Zeit*, Bd. 3 (Analecta Cartusiana, vol. 157), Salzburg 2001, pp. 46–47.

<sup>43</sup> Gottfrid CARLSSON, *Jungfru Marie psaltares brödraskap i Sverige. En studie i senmedeltida fromhetsliv och gilleväsen*, Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift, årg. 47: 1947, pp. 1–31.

<sup>44</sup> A. HÄRDELIN, op.cit., pp. 292–293.

<sup>45</sup> C.-J. CLEMEDSON, op.cit., p. 41; Isak COLLIJN, *Svensk boktryckerihistoria under 14- och 1500-talen* (Grafiska institutets skriftserie, nr 2), Stockholm 1947, pp. 42–44.

when a mass in honour of the Holy Virgin had already been celebrated in the cathedral<sup>46</sup>. Shortly after making the foundation, Bishop Rogge passed away.

This brief study aims to highlight, on the one hand, how the long-distance trade between Stockholm and Danzig, which Kort Rogge the Elder engaged in, and his personal connections with the cathedral chapter of Uppsala, facilitated his son's ecclesiastical career. On the other, it sheds light on how Kort Rogge the Younger utilised religious foundations and donations to promote a specific form of devotion. His selection of the chapel of St Peter and St Paul in the Parish Church of St Nicholas in Stockholm also reveals his attachment to his hometown. He conveniently used the chapel founded by his grandfather, for which he inherited patronage rights, to disseminate the Marian cult in his town of origin by ensuring the celebration of the Hours of the Virgin in its parish church. The establishment of a similar foundation in the chapel of St Eskil in the cathedral town of Strängnäs, as well as his financial support for the charterhouse of Mariefred, demonstrate that these were intentional acts of promoting Marian piety, rather than random, disconnected pious gifts. On the other hand, the foundation of the prebend of St Eric in the cathedral of Strängnäs could hardly be attributed to the personal devotion to the Swedish holy king that Bishop Kort could have inherited from his father. It appears to have been a consequence of the growing popularity of St Eric's cult in the Kingdom of Sweden during the reign of Regent Sten Sture the Elder. Nonetheless, Kort Rogge the Younger owed a substantial part of his successful career in the church hierarchy to St Eric and his chapel in Danzig, which his father helped to establish.

Lastly, both father and son must have viewed pious foundations as a means to achieve goals other than personal and familial liturgical commemoration. This observation is hardly surprising, as scholars dealing with medieval *memoria* for quite some time have described it as a 'total social phenomenon' that extended beyond the Church and liturgy, permeated various aspects of life and different social groups<sup>47</sup>. Merchants and burghers in other late medieval towns and cities of the Baltic region employed their pious gifts and deeds not only to ensure salvation but also to integrate into new communities and acquire

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<sup>46</sup> SDHK, no. 34369; G. CARLSSON, *Jungfru Marie psaltares brödraskap*, pp. 5–6; B. I. KILSTRÖM, *Kort Rogge*, p. 12; idem, *Kort Rogge – renässansbiskop*, p. 70.

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, Otto G. OEXLE, *Memoria als Kultur*, [in:] *Memoria als Kultur*, hrsg. v. idem (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Bd. 121), Göttingen 1995, pp. 39–40; and among more recent publications Gustavs STRENGA, *Remembering the Dead: Collective Memory and Commemoration in Late Medieval Livonia* (Memoria and Remembrance Practices, vol. 5), Turnhout 2023, pp. 199, 265.

social prestige<sup>48</sup>. In late medieval Sweden, both Rogges illustrated a similar mindset. While they certainly expected to be commemorated, their foundations furthered their worldly and personal-spiritual goals. That is, respectively, ensuring the descendant's social advancement and promoting Marian devotion. Referring to Stefanie Rütter's study of the town council of Lübeck, the Rogges, like the councillors of Lübeck, exchanged their economic capital not only for religious capital but also for symbolic capital, that is, prestige and social recognition<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> Gustavs STRENGA, *Distance, Presence, Absence and Memoria: Commemoration of Deceased Livonian Merchants outside Their Native Cities during the Late Middle Ages*, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Jg. 136: 2018, pp. 71–83; Halina MANIKOWSKA, Piotr OKNIŃSKI, *Przeszłość osobista i tożsamość wspólnotowa. Formy i treści memorii w późnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Przeszłość w kulturze średniowiecznej Polski*, t. 2, red. Halina MANIKOWSKA, Warszawa 2018, pp. 279–281; Carsten JAHNKE, *Hansische Kaufleute und deren Religiosität außerhalb ihrer Heimat*, *Zapiski Historyczne*, t. 84: 2019, z. 1, pp. 7–41.

<sup>49</sup> Stefanie RÜTHER, *Prestige und Herrschaft. Zur Repräsentation der Lübecker Ratsherren in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Norm und Struktur. Studien zum sozialen Wandel in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, Bd. 16), Köln 2003, p. 72.

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