Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North

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Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North

Edited by
Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi

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- 1530 Officially reformed

0   200   400 km

NORWAY
1536

SWEDEN
1527

Torneå

Kemijoki

Gulf of Bothnia

Turku

Vyborg

Ladoga

Stockholm

Tallinn
1523

Gulf of Finland

Tartu

Novgorod

RUSSIA

Dalälven

Gotland

BALTIC SEA

Gulf of Riga

Riga
1522

Kalmar

1559

Daugava

DENMARK
1536

Copenhagen

Rostock

Greifswald

MECKLENBURG

Lübeck

POMERANIA

Gdańsk

Oder

PRUSSIA

Königsberg

1525

Niemen

Vilnius

LITHUANIA

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Elbe

Wistula

Warsaw

POLAND

N

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0   200   400 km

N

NORWAY

SWEDEN

Gulf of Bothnia

Torneå

Kemijoki

Dalälven

VÄRMLAND

Turku

Vyborg

Ladoga

Stockholm

Gulf of Finland

Tallinn

1581   ESTONIA

Novgorod

Gotland

Tartu

RUSSIA

HALLAND

DENMARK

Kalmar

Gulf of Riga

1582

Riga

BLEKINGE

Copenhagen   SKÅNE

BALTIC SEA

Daugava

Rostock

Niemen

Vilnius

Lübeck   Greifswald

Königsberg

Oder

Gdańsk

PRUSSIA

POLAND-LITHUANIA

Wittenberg

Wistula

Warsaw

Elbe

Map 4   Baltic Sea region, 1630

Polish regions

Swedish regions

1530   annexed by Sweden or Poland

0   200   400 km

N

NORWAY

SWEDEN

DENMARK

Torneå

Kemijoki

Gulf of Bothnia

Dalälven

KARELIA (KÄKISALMI)   1617

Ladoga

Turku   Vyborg

Stockholm   Tallinn   Gulf of Finland   INGRIA   1617

ESTONIA   Novgorod

Gotland   Tartu   RUSSIA

Kalmar   Gulf of Riga   1629

Copenhagen   Riga

BALTIC SEA   Daugava

Rostock   Niemen   Vilnius   1618

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Gdańsk   POLAND-

Oder   PRUSSIA   LITHUANIA

Wittenberg   Wistula

Elbe   Warsaw

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A Note on Terms and Names

This volume covers a period from the late fifteenth century to the seventeenth century and, in some cases, even later. This so-called 'Reformation era' was definitively a transition period in the Baltic Sea region. Not only religious life and institutions and political entities were reformed, but both the 'high' and 'low' cultures went through profound changes. In part these changes are visible in the terms and names used in different historical and present-day sources and literature. In the religious sphere, Lutheran reformers were using terms such as 'Holy Mass' or 'Mass', referring to the full divine service, including Holy Communion. In this book we have decided to follow the sixteenth-century practice even though it may sound unfamiliar to present-day English ears. We also call Nordic freeman farmers 'peasants', as it was the common term for them in early modern times and later, although their social position differed from that in most of the rest of Europe. The term is used even when we meet these 'peasants' participating in active trade across the Baltic Sea. We specify neither the differences within the upper strata of the society nor the status of priesthood according to confession: the 'nobility' is used in this book as a general term for the high aristocracy, landed gentry and *frälse* (Swe.), i.e. the horsemen in the king's service freed from taxation; clergymen are called 'priests' whether Catholic or Lutheran, as was the practice in the region in this period (and even later). Personal names are mostly in the literary (often Latin, sometimes Swedish or German) form found in the written sources (e.g. Michael Agricola, Jacobus Finno, Pavel Scheel, Olaus Petri, etc.). Hence, there are sometimes inconsistencies between the forms used in the text and those found in the literature and references. Nevertheless, we have chosen modern place-names to help readers identify them on the modern maps of the Baltic Sea region (e.g. Turku, Tallinn, Tartu, etc.). Historically, many of the region's towns and provinces appeared in the written sources first with their Swedish or German names, and not with Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, or Lithuanian ones. The only exceptions are the city of Königsberg, which is today replaced by Kaliningrad, and Vyborg in today's Russia, but historically part of the Finnish province of the Swedish realm and known as Viborg (Swe.) or Viipuri (Fin.).

Acknowledgments

This book would not have been possible without the authors of the following chapters, who have kindly joined our appeal to revise the established views on the early modern North and provided us with an array of stimulating new interpretations. In addition, we would like to thank all the peer reviewers for their comments and added clarity, as well as Dr. Clive Tolley from Turku University for language editing. We are also grateful for the support of our editor, Dr. Simon Forde, at Amsterdam University Press and the editor of the series *Crossing Boundaries: Turku Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Associate Professor Kirsi Salonen. The current volume has grown out of the Finnish Academy project no. 137906 'Oral and Literary Cultures in Medieval and Early Modern Baltic Sea Region: Cultural Transfer, Linguistic Registers and Communicative Networks' at the Finnish Literature Society. The project has provided funding, as well as a stimulating research environment, for the preparation of the volume. We are obliged to our co-researchers Dr. Irma-Riitta Järvinen, Dr. Kati Kallio, and Ilkka Leskelä for their contribution to the editing of this book, as well as to the valuable comments of Dr. Senni Timonen, who was also a member of the research team. We are very grateful to the scholars who have helped us to design the project at its different phases, most notably the late Professor John Miles Foley, and professors Ruth Finnegan, Marco Mostert, Kaisa Häkkinen, Nils Holger Petersen, and Jason Lavery. At an early phase, the support of the Nordic Centre for Medieval Studies, led by Professor Sverre Bagge from the University of Bergen, was of great value for the preparation of our project and for envisioning the questions addressed in this volume.

In the writing of this book, we have benefited from several conferences, colloquia, and workshops, and discussion with scholars both at home and abroad. First and foremost this concerns the sessions series 'Space, Music, Text and Praxis: Popular Belief and the Long Middle Ages in the North (Fifteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)' organized at the Leeds Medieval Congress in 2012, where many of the chapters included here were first sketched. In addition, we would like to express our gratitude to our numerous colleagues for both their intangible and material help in the shaping of the ideas central to this volume. Without such a lively scholarly community, we would not have been able to finish this book. Needless to say, the responsibility for its flaws and shortcomings falls solely upon us.

Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi, January 2016

Introduction

Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi

For the Baltic Sea region, the period from the late fifteenth to the seventeenth century, or the so-called 'Reformation era', was a time of major transitions. Not only were political entities and religious institutions reformed but also the religious, learned, and popular cultures went through profound changes. The process was as complicated as it was in most parts of Europe. The long Reformation[1] was as long and winding as elsewhere and all the variations of princely reformation from above to urban revolt against ecclesiastical and feudal structures, from various forms of popular resistance to the new interpretation of Christianity were present. Yet the local peculiarities both in politics and culture and the intense political, commercial, and cultural contacts across the Baltic Sea lent a special tone to the developments.

The present volume sets out from the belief that a closer analysis of the cultural transmission in the early modern Baltic Sea region promises still further, unexplored perspectives, which are stimulating in both the regional and the broader, pan-European context. However, rather than placing itself clearly in the context of Reformation studies, the book addresses the broader issues of cultural transfer. It focuses on the cultural change and continuity between the Catholic Middle Ages and the Protestant early modern period in Sweden and the northeast Baltic Sea region, while at the same time also disentangling the relations between the oral popular and learned literary culture. Even though most of the chapters address the broader Baltic Sea context, the book's main focus is on Sweden, which at that time included Finland, and from the late sixteenth century onwards also Livonia, comprising the territories of today's Latvia and Estonia.

The Reformation in Sweden and the rest of the Baltic Sea region was a long, slow, and winding process. In Sweden, King Gustav Vasa (r. 1523-1560) introduced the Lutheran Reformation, but his son Eric XIV (r. 1560-1568) leaned towards a sort of Reformed Calvinism. The next son on the throne, John III (r. 1568-1592), was inspired by ecumenical ideas and moved close to Catholicism through his marriage to the Polish Catherine Jagiello. The youngest of Gustav Vasa's sons, Carl IX (r. 1604-1611), rebelled against the reign of John III's Catholic son Sigismund Vasa (Swedish king 1593-1599). During the strife between Sigismund and Carl, the Swedish Church officially

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1   See Wallace, *The Long European*.

joined the Augsburg confession in 1593 as the local clergy and aristocrats looked to strengthen their faith and position under the Polish king. Carl himself had some Calvinist sympathies.

In Livonia, where no central power had emerged in the Middle Ages, the towns became the propagators of the Reformation, while the Livonian branch of the Teutonic order and the nobility at first remained supporters of Catholicism. Owing much to the close communication with the Hanseatic towns in northern Germany, Lutheran preachers started to spread reformed ideas and to establish reformed congregations in the Livonian towns by the early 1520s. During the 1520s, the religious life of towns was reorganized in terms favouring the Lutherans, and in the 1530s most of the nobility took the side of the Reformation. This, however, did not lead to immediate radical changes in the divine service, and for some time Lutheran and Catholic services were held in parallel. While Lutheranism mainly affected the townspeople, the reorganization of religious culture and clerical institutions did not reach the countryside. The Catholic bishops and dome chapters, as well as many of the convents and the Livonian order,[2] were well preserved until the outbreak of the Livonian war (1558-1583).

In the Nordic and Baltic region, the framework of politics and religion went through dramatic changes while the kingdoms and polities took new shape, and new dynasties and power structures emerged as old ones vanished. The struggle between the rising early modern states affected much of the realm, leading to the emergence of new constellations of political, military, economic, and ideological powers.[3] The Nordic Union broke down, and Denmark and Sweden took separate paths. Livonia became a battleground in wars between Russia, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark. Eventually Poland and Sweden managed to secure their rule in Livonia.[4] This also

2   When the Teutonic order ceased to exist as a religious military order in 1525, the Livonian branch of the order continued its existence as an independent institution, the Livonian Order. See Kreem 2006.

3   For a general history of the whole region see Kirby, *Northern Europe* (originally published in 1990); on the Counter-Reformation see Helk, *Die Jesuiten*.

4   The peace treaties Poland and Sweden made with Muscovy (in 1582 and 1583, respectively) ended the Russian pretensions in Livonia for a while, until the Great Northern War (1700-1721). In 1600, 29 wars were fought between Poland and Sweden, as a result of which all the Livonian territories north of the Daugava (Ger. Düna) River were given to Sweden. Later, Sweden also gained Saaremaa (Ger. Ösel), which had previously belonged to Denmark, according to the Brömsebrö peace treaty that ended the war between Denmark and Sweden in 1643-1645.

meant that the southern part of Livonia ruled by the Poles witnessed the Counter-Reformation.[5]

Territorially, all of these regions were in large part included in the Swedish realm, which covered the central parts of present-day Sweden, most of Finland, and, in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a great proportion of Livonia, as well as parts of Russian Karelia and Ingria. At the same time, these lands witnessed major political and religious conflicts, as well as profound cultural and social transformations. The struggle between the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and the rise of new territorial powers and the intensification of their grip on the local cultures, are, in different variations, common to all early modern societies in Europe. The Reformation arranged the religious landscape anew while many of the older medieval forms and traditions survived under the Lutheran veil. The struggle between 'right' (Lutheran) and 'wrong' (superstitious, pagan, papist) rituals made the tensions of great and small traditions apparent.[6] The Lutheran clergy felt it necessary to describe both ancient pre-Christian and contemporary folk traditions to help to facilitate the distinction between acceptable and non-acceptable religious practices. Nevertheless, the use of the vernacular in Protestant teaching and practice brought the official religion into new local and private domains. With a little delay, the legal praxis, taxation, and conscription influenced even the most remote forest villages.[7]

Despite these similarities, traditionally the early modern histories of different regions surrounding the Baltic Sea have been scrutinized separately as independent from each other. Not surprisingly, there is an especially rich research tradition about the Reformation. Concerning the Baltic provinces, for example, the Reformation became a favoured research topic owing to the vast importance of the Lutheran-German enterprise for the Baltic German

5   The Counter-Reformation in Livonia was led by the Jesuits, whose active mission was also targeted at the Latvian and Estonian peasantry, owing to which they also published religious literature in those languages. See Helk, *Die Jesuiten*.

6   On rituals in the Reformation period in general, see Muir, *Ritual*. On superstition, see Cameron, *Enchanted Europe*.

7   See e.g. Ylikangas, *Valta ja väkivalta*; Aalto, *Kirkko ja kruunu*; Malmstedt, *Helgdagsreduktionen*; Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*.

community in the late nineteenth century.[8] Nevertheless, current studies have pointed to the advantages of abandoning the nationalist perspectives.[9]

Until recently, the Nordic and Baltic Reformation period has mostly been studied with the more or less clearly distinguished viewpoints offered by separate fields.[10] To give the most obvious example, Church historians have traditionally focused on ecclesiastical doctrines and institutions, and the implementation of the new religious order. Political and social historians have been mostly interested in the major changes in political history – the rise of new territorial powers – or the conflicts between the nobility and peasants.[11] Economic historians have usually traced production, trade, and taxation, while they have not pondered the impact of the Reformation on the economy, or, for example, the cultural role of trade networks during the Reformation. In their separate fields, folklorists, literary scholars, and linguists have scrutinized sources and knowledge of folk beliefs, the choices of poetic paradigms, and international influences, as well as the appearance of written vernaculars and literature.[12] The interest in the emergence of vernacular writing has been particularly strong among scholars belonging to the 'young nations', such as Finns, Estonians, and Latvians. However, there is a growing interest in the interdisciplinary approach, which has been especially visible in the area of church architecture and objects.[13] The multi-disciplinary studies on the confessionalization period in the eastern Baltic provide another good example of this.[14]

In this volume the geographical gap will be bridged with studies concentrating on the Baltic countries, Finland, and Sweden, with an investigation of parallel developments in each region and an emphasis on the communication, networks, and influences across the sea. We also aim to

8   Most thorough of the studies produced by Baltic German scholars, and the classic reference book for the Livonian Reformation, is Arbusow, *Die Einführung*. A good overview of the Baltic German scholarship and a discussion of the new, still unexplored, perspectives concerning particularly the cultural history of the Reformation period in Livonia is Kivimäe, 'Luterliku reformatsiooni'. For the Estonian historians' approach to the Livonian Reformation, see also Kreem, 'Die livländische Reformation'.

9   To mention a recent example, the comparative study on the Reformation in Prussia and Livonia (Mentzel-Reuters and Neitmann, *Preussen und Livland*) is a good example of this.

10   For a general outline on the study of the Reformation period see Lavery, 'The Reformation'.

11   Kirby, *Northern Europe*; Grell, 'Scandinavia'.

12   See Mortensen and Lehtonen, *The Performance of Christian*.

13   For new approach on Church art particularly in the eastern Baltic see Kodres, 'Church and Art'; Kodres and Kurisoo, *Art and the Church*.

14   For transnational and multi-disciplinary approaches to confessionalization in the Baltics see Asche, Buchholz, and Schindling, *Die baltischen Lande*.

cross traditional scholarly boundaries to get a grip, on the one hand, on the interaction between the regions across the Baltic Sea and, on the other, to scrutinize the interaction of learned and popular cultures. We approach the cultural change which took place during the so-called long Reformation, especially the commercial and cultural networks, the changes in folk and religious singing culture, the learned understanding of the popular culture, peasantry, and indigenous people, and Church art and the remnants of the cult of the saints in Sweden, Finland, Estonia, and Latvia.

Cultural Transfer

Even though initially the concept of cultural transfer was used to discuss the transmission of ideas in modernity, it has been successfully applied to earlier periods, including early modern times.[15] Apart from ideas, this approach takes into account, for example, the transmission of religious beliefs and customs, as well as material culture. As well as looking at the objects and vehicles of cultural transfer, these studies have also highlighted the role of the agents of cultural transfer, the people and their networks.

In the Scandinavian and Baltic realms, cultural transfer is already a topical issue in the medieval period. This region entered the sphere of Latin European culture and society in hand with its Christianization – a long and complicated process, which lasted from the ninth until the thirteenth century.[16] Its conversion also meant its integration into the key social structures and institutions of medieval Western Christendom: the Latin Church organization, feudal and royal administration, networks of commerce, particularly the German Hansa.[17] Especially over the last decades, the growing number of studies about the 'making of Europe' has given rise to the question of whether these frontier lands were merely the passive recipients of the dominant Western Christian culture, or rather were active participants in the adaptation process.[18] This focus on the agency of

15   For a successful attempt at using the concept of cultural transfer for studying the early modern period, see Schmale, *Kulturtransfer*; cf. the discussion on the application of this term to the early modern Baltic region in Kaufmann, 'Art and the Church'.

16   See e.g. Lehtonen, 'Préliminaires'.

17   See Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*. For an overview of the recent research on conversion, conquest, and colonization around the medieval Baltic Sea area, see Murray, *Crusade and Conversion* and *The Clash of Cultures*, as well as Ekdahl, 'Crusades and Colonization'.

18   A good reflection of that approach is seen in the various articles in Mortensen, *The Making of Christian Myths*.

the periphery also reflects the growing emphasis on the role of cultural and religious factors in the expansion process.[19]

As far as the spread of Christendom is concerned, there is also significant variation within the Nordic and Baltic region. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were Christianized and adapted to the new European structures of power by the local elites from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, which led to the establishment of the Scandinavian kingdoms. The Finnish and eastern Baltic territories were not, however, Christianized by their own elites, but were converted and colonized by Scandinavians and Germans.

In the mid-twelfth century, the Swedish Crown and Latin Church started their expansion eastwards and began to seize control of the Finnish territories. Archaeological and linguistic evidence, however, indicates that Finland seems to have received Christian influences from both the Eastern and Western Churches well before that time. In medieval Finland, coastal regions were partly colonized by Swedish-speakers, but the socio-linguistic stratification did not result in any sharp separation of language groups into different social spheres since language did not become a social marker as it did in Livonia.

Livonian lands were converted and subjugated by German and Danish crusaders and missionaries in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, although even there archaeological and linguistic evidence hints at the earlier appropriation of Christian tokens and beliefs. In Livonia, populated by the Finnic (Estonian, Livonian) and Baltic (Lettgallian, Semgallian) peoples, this led to a gradual accumulation of land and privileges in the hands of the German-speaking elites, as well as to the growing linguistic separation of different social spheres. Particularly towards the later Middle Ages, this appears to have led to a situation where linguistic and ethnic stratification started to match social stratification, even though at present scholars still debate the degree to which Livonian society was divided into Germans (*deutsch*) and non-Germans (*undeutsch*), as well as the definitions of those terms.[20]

The eastern Baltic and Finnish coasts of the Baltic Sea region were hence multilingual, but different languages were used in different social spheres.

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19   With regard to the Christianization of the Scandinavian and Baltic region, the emphasis on cultural factors has been particularly prominent in the publications of the research project 'Culture Clash or Compromise' led by Gotland University (1996-2005).

20   For a classic study on the topic, see Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*. For the recent discussion and suggestions for revising the traditional definitions of the *Deutsch* and *Undeutsch* in the Baltic context, see Lenz, 'Undeutsch'; Kala, 'Gab es'; Selart, 'Non-German Literacy'.

The governing elites of medieval and early modern Sweden used Swedish as their primary language. From the early fourteenth century, Low German became the urban and commercial *lingua franca* of the Baltic Sea region, and remained so well into the seventeenth century, whereas High German was used by the Teutonic Order in Livonia and Prussia. With Latin as the language of the Church and high diplomacy, three written languages emerged in this region. These languages mixed according to the situation, the whims of the writers, and formulae applied in formal communication. Words and languages can be seen as transferable 'goods' or techniques similar to and linked to the world they described and ordered: trade goods, gifts, customs, connections, and power. Learning the right languages and language formulae was an investment in immaterial capital which occasionally opened a route to social advance.

In the whole medieval Nordic and eastern Baltic Sea region religious life was dominated by Latin, secular administration turned gradually to the vernacular (Low and High German, Danish, Swedish), and commerce took place mostly in Low German, while the Finnic (Finnish, Estonian, Karelian, Izhorian, Livonian, Sámi, Votic) and Baltic (Latvian, Lithuanian, Prussian) languages remained, apart from some exceptions, only in oral usage. According to the traditional view, it was only the Reformation that profoundly changed the relations between the different languages and their use in the literate and oral spheres by turning local Finnic and Baltic spoken vernaculars into written forms.[21]

The study of vernaculars not written in the medieval period poses a challenge. The languages discussed in the present volume, Finnish, Estonian, and Latvian, were spoken by the majority of the population in Finland and Livonia, although also Swedish, Sámi, Karelian, Izhorian, and Livonian were used. On the other hand, Finns, Estonians, and Latvians visited and lived in communities whose literary media were dominated by German and Swedish. While traces in the German and Swedish language records enable us to study these contacts, modern scholars do not have direct access to any materials that would enable study of people's interactions with the Finnish, Latvian, or Estonian oral cultures. These need to be traced from folklore materials recorded mostly in the nineteenth century, or from various features in the written documents and literary products either referring directly to orality or implying a link to oral culture indirectly in their forms of expression. A number of chapters in this volume suggest new ways of approaching and analysing the traces of early modern oral culture.

21   See e.g. Burke, *Languages and Communities*; Lehtonen, 'Préliminaires'.

Continuities and Changes

In the Baltic Sea region, the early modern period bore witness to a particularly vivid interface of learned and folk cultures. Belligerent secular powers and varied creeds created strong tensions and divisions in the region, but these conflicts also meant that the area was a meeting point for various Christian creeds (Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches) and popular beliefs. While the aristocratic, bourgeois, and clerical elites were interrelated over the sea and across linguistic borders, even wealthy peasants took part in the economic, social, and cultural mobility. This resulted in active cultural transfer. On the other hand, apart from the increasingly entangled learned culture, lands around the Baltic Sea encompassed vital folk cultures, both urban and rural.

Undoubtedly, the intensification of cultural contacts started earlier. In the Baltic Sea region, Christian and secular influences from the West and East had already merged in local cultures by the Middle Ages. However, a large-scale change of belief systems, poetic forms, song culture, and mythical references seems to appear, in different ways, in the Baltic Sea region throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, owing to the intensification of the communication and spread of knowledge coming from the growth of education, literacy, and printing. Despite the decline of contacts between the Reformed Nordic countries and the traditional European learned centres, it is evident that the Reformation meant an intensification of pan-European Christian impact on local folk cultures and systems of beliefs. In the Middle Ages, Swedish and Finnish students frequented universities such as those of Paris, Prague, and Bologna. After the Reformation Nordic students turned almost exclusively to Wittenberg and other north German Lutheran universities, which had attracted them since the 1470s.[22]

The expansion of print culture had a huge impact on the Reformation, as is well recognized. Printing on paper made book production cheaper, and the emerging book market distributed books more widely and faster than before. Printing created uniformity, but also new variation, as independent printing workshops became publishers and sought out texts they could sell. Thus version control was even more pronounced than it had been previously, and unauthorized or erroneous versions were typically condemned in prefaces.

Along with the imperative to translate the Scriptures into vernacular languages, the rapidly growing number of prints and books also changed the relations of oral and literate cultures even on the northern peripheries

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22   Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria*; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen.*

of Western Christianity. Martin Luther's German translations of the New Testament (1522) and the complete Bible (1534) became examples for Danish (the New Testament 1524, the Bible 1550), Swedish (the New Testament 1526, the Bible 1541), Finnish (the New Testament 1548, the Bible 1642), Latvian (the New Testament 1685, the Bible 1689/1694), South-Estonian (the New Testament 1686) and North-Estonian (the New Testament 1715, the Bible 1739) translations.

Oral and literary cultures merged and created new forms through the new Lutheran song movement. Prints of hymns in broadsheets and books spread all over the region. The Lutheran Reformation introduced congregational singing as a part of religious life both inside and outside church walls. Along with catechisms and prayer books, hymnals were by far the most popular Lutheran books printed in vernacular languages. In the Baltic Sea region Martin Luther's publication of his first hymn book in Wittenberg in 1524 was followed by a High German hymnal in Königsberg and a Low German one in Riga (1525) and then by hymnals in Swedish (1526), Danish (1529), Low German in Rostock (1531), Polish (1547), Lithuanian (1566-1570), Finnish (1583), and Latvian (1587), including both translations from Luther and other reformers and new local compositions. During the sixteenth century, in Sweden (except Livonia), there were printed at least twenty-one different or completely new hymnals, choral books, and collections of pious songs in Swedish (19), Finnish (1), and Latin (1). Together with the Catechism, the hymnal was the most important book in teaching the laity the new Lutheran Christianity.

In traditional historical and folkloristic scholarship the development of literacy has usually been presented as a more or less linear story describing the introduction of the written word by the spiritual and secular authorities. In the eastern parts of the Baltic Sea region, the Reformation has been seen as a central step, which established local oral vernaculars as the written religious and literary languages. Earlier research has also emphasized the cultural, social, and political clash and the hierarchy of languages. In consequence, the great narrative of the Reformation has been regarded as finalizing this process with a new attitude to vernacular literacy: as every Christian should have immediate access to the divine revelation, the Bible had to be translated into local tongues and the ordinary people needed to be taught at least to read. Thus, the oral culture had to give way to new literacy, a process which, however, penetrated all the layers of society only slowly over the succeeding centuries.[23]

23   See Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*; Laurila, *Suomen rahvaan*; Hanska and Vainio-Korhonen, *Huoneentaulun maailma*; af Forselles and Laine, *The Emergence of Finnish*; Kuismin and Driscoll, *White Field*.

The pioneers of the study of the emergence of literacy all claim with some variations that the appearance of writing, and especially the Greek alphabet, led to a great divide between oral and literate societies.[24] This argument has been criticized for being reductionist and technologically deterministic. It has been argued that literacy is a necessary but not a sufficient cause for all these developments, and hence calls for a more contextual and particularized study of the various cases of the interaction and development of orality and literacy.[25] Nevertheless, literacy and manifold linguistic, cultural, social, and political changes are deeply interrelated. The social change from face-to-face interaction to more distant communication and more context-free accumulation of knowledge was made possible by the written medium. In the Baltic Sea region literacy had been present since the early and High Middle Ages but the call of the Reformation for open access to sacred texts meant the start of literacy in Finnic and Baltic languages. Curiously, the sphere of religion was vernacularized while administrative and commercial literacy remained largely German and Swedish. Vernacular literacy proceeded hand in hand with the spread of printed books, among which the Catechism and hymn books had the widest spread.

Estonia, Finland, Ingria, Karelia, and Latvia have had a strong indigenous oral poetic tradition, which survived in some cases up to the twentieth century. Since the romantic period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the basic assumption has been that oral and literary cultures existed in separate enclaves and that the former disappeared with the spread of literacy. Furthermore, the old vernacular poetic idiom seems to have been interpreted as a carrier of pagan folk-beliefs, at least by some of the early (and indeed later) reformers.[26]

The interest in popular culture, as well as the tendency to link it with paganism or superstition, spread rapidly during the religious rivalry characteristic of the early modern period.[27] Among the learned there arose a new need to define folk customs, religion, and the image of peasants and pagans both in the religious literature of the reformers and their opponents and in the more secular historical genres. The Lutheran reformers in Sweden and Finland as well as in Livonia referred to Catholicism as a failed Christianity

24   See e.g. Havelock, *Preface to Plato*; Havelock, *The Muse learns*; Ong, *Orality and Literacy*; Goody, *The Logic of Writing*; Goody, *The Interface Between*.

25   Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality*; see also Street, *Literacy in Theory*; Olson, *Orality and Literacy*; Mostert, *New Approaches*.

26   Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*; Laurila, *Suomen rahvaan*; on Latin literacy in medieval Finland, see Heikkilä, *Kirjallinen kulttuuri*; Heikkilä, 'The Arrival'.

27   Cameron, *Enchanted Europe*, pp. 421-35; cf. Burke, *Popular Culture*.

which was never able to accomplish its real mission because of its laxity towards folk customs, its elitism and use of Latin, and most of all, because of its corrupt hierarchy and papacy.[28]

The Livonian materials in particular illustrate well the keen concern for the popular culture of the peasantry in polemical discourses. While the Lutherans capitalized on the spread of quasi-Catholic superstition among the peasantry, the Jesuits who were leading the Counter-Reformation treated the peasants as Catholics who had been led away from the right path. In contrast to this eagerness to represent the peasantry, from Livonia there survive no traces of the spread of reformed ideas among the peasantry in the sixteenth century. This makes these lands quite different from Germany, which bore witness to peasant wars. Moreover, in the countryside, no major reorganization of religious life took place before the Livonian War.

In this book, the interfaces of great and small traditions, features of oral and literary cultures and continuities of religious expressions and practices are studied in the wider context of the Reformation, commercial and cultural networks, popular resistance against the changes of liturgy, and developments of vernacular poetics and song, both religious and secular, choral and congregational. The spread of religious literature and the emergence of local literary languages did not lead immediately to widespread literacy, but this definitively opened a path to new literate culture all over the region. The spread of reformed ideas followed the patterns of commercial networks as much as cultural ones – if they can, or should, be treated separately.

On the northern and northeastern fringes of Western Christendom the introduction of congregational religious singing slowly changed the liturgy and communal religious life and led to new linguistic, poetic, and musical forms, although the old liturgical modes and Gregorian chant proved to be tenacious. In many regions like Lithuania, Livonia, Estonia, and Finland the Reformation meant the beginnings of a written vernacular. These changes did not proceed without open or hidden learned and popular resistance. In this book, the changes in the primary locus of religious performance, the church interiors in Sweden, Finland, and Estonia, are also scrutinized, together with folk rituals and beliefs which took place in the everyday domestic environment. The church interiors were re-organized but much of the medieval decoration remained in place. Finally, we turn to literary reworkings of the images of the Baltic peoples, pagans, peasants, and pantheons.

28   Grell, 'Scandinavia'; Heininen, 'The Reformation'; Lavery, 'A frontier'.

Contributions

This volume brings together scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds, and aims to cross established disciplinary boundaries. It focuses on examining the ways in which texts, artefacts, and music enable us to study the complex constellations in which beliefs, expressions, and the 'great' and 'little' traditions met.[29] The authors not only explore the transmission and transformation of medieval legacies in cultural media (space, music, text, and performances), but also focus on their interaction, as well as the relationship between elite and popular expressions, genres, and registers in this adaptation process – including the relations between written and oral traditions. Through the analysis of folklore and learned texts, material artefacts, ecclesiastical space, socio-cultural networks, and music, the book seeks to gain new insight into, or possibly even challenge, the prevailing understanding of the transformation, continuity, and change of the earlier, medieval Catholic and folk traditions into the new, early modern Lutheran culture.

The volume is divided into four parts. The first part, 'Contextualizations and Thematizations', sheds light on the broader contexts and the major transformative factors of the period: the Lutheran renewal of religious beliefs and practices and the changes in communication systems.

The opening chapter, by Martin Berntson, tackles the question of change vs. continuity between the medieval and the early modern period from one of the most crucial perspectives, that of religious practices. Berntson argues that even though many transformations in Church life were indeed a continuity from late medieval liturgical praxis and theology, the reformers did try to make decisive changes in the ecclesiastical structure and especially during the early reign of Gustav Vasa (1525-1543). Many people also reacted violently against these changes, which they perceived as a threat to traditional piety. As these rebellions often resulted in agreements with the king, this opens up a prospect of describing the process of the Reformation as partly a matter of negotiation.

The second chapter, by Ilkka Leskelä, offers an alternative perspective for the study of cultural exchange and communication in the early modern period, arguing that next to the widely known and studied communication channels of the learned elite, one should also study the international trade networks between the northern Baltic Sea region and the German Hanseatic towns. Trade networks connected people and communities from

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29   See Redfield, *Peasant Society*; Burke, *Popular Culture*, pp. 49-101.

different locales and social positions, helping to create shared experiences, and facilitating the exchange of ideas. Based on an analysis of trade correspondence and harbour tax registers, this chapter shows that broad segments of Finnish society – rural as well as urban, clergymen as well as laymen – participated in overseas trade to Stockholm and the Hanseatic ports, here notably Tallinn and Gdansk, gaining first-hand experience of the cities and their religious milieu.

The third chapter by Marco Mostert discusses the impact of writing on learned and vernacular languages, thereby setting developments in the Baltic Sea region into a wider Central and Northern European context. It firstly explores the specifics of medieval 'diglossia', in which written Latin (the language of the Word of God) was considered the 'high' form, whereas spoken as well as written Latin, Romance, or other vernaculars were viewed as the 'low' form. Thereafter the chapter looks at the perspectives of the social history of language for investigating situations where both oral and written languages collide in their use, exemplifying it with late medieval and early modern cases such as the western Ukraine, England, and Ireland, the use of German in the Baltic Sea region, and the role of Latin in daily life.

The second part of the book, 'Music and Religious Performances', focuses on changes and continuities in music, religious, and secular poetics and performances, and in attitudes toward folk beliefs and singing, as reflected in the records of liturgical texts, psalters, hymn books, and prefaces to religious literature. In particular, this section examines the relationship between folk traditions and the new translations of religious texts and hymns into Finnish and the Baltic vernaculars, and some articulations of the function and significance of music, especially singing and its relation to Christian doctrine and false beliefs.

Kati Kallio looks at the changes in the poetics of Finnish song during the Reformation period. The old oral idiom, using the *Kalevala* metre, did not suit the new Lutheran hymn genres and hence a new poetic language was needed. The new stanzaic and rhymed metres were developed on the basis of German and Swedish models. Nevertheless, the strategies of creating new poetic language and the attitude to the old oral poetics varied according to person and historical context. It seems the clergymen were well aware of the relationships of metre, melody, and conventional poetic genres in different oral and literary traditions. Even though researchers used to condemn the earliest poems in Finnish as clumsy, it seems probable that for the contemporary audiences they were not.

In addition to oral poetics the Finnish reformers had to face the deeply rooted tradition of the Gregorian chant, which was not abolished but adapted

to the vernacular liturgy. The chapter by Jorma Hannikainen and Erkki Tuppurainen discusses the fortunes of vernacular Gregorian chant and hymns in Reformation-period Finland. The surviving manuscripts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contain, besides chants in Swedish, the oldest known music in the Finnish language. These sources reveal that medieval chanting traditions moved fairly unchanged into the new era, until the first decades of the seventeenth century. Most manuscripts include texts in Latin, Swedish, and Finnish, mostly in separate notations. While success in adapting translated Latin texts into traditional Gregorian melodies varied, the *Officia Missæ* (1605) of Michael Bartholdi Gunnærus provides us with an exceptionally late and successful attempt in this area.

All around the Baltic Sea region, the combination of Catholic legacy and vital folk culture called for the warding off of undesirable traditions, beliefs, and practices. Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen analyses how the leading Finnish reformers Michael Agricola (*c.* 1507-1557) and Jacobus Finno (*c.* 1540-1588) dealt with pagan deities and folk song. In the foreword to *Dauidin psaltari* (David's Psalter, 1551) Agricola emphasized its function as a 'small Bible' written to enhance the first commandment against idolatry and 'foreign' deities. In contrast, the main target of Finno's foreword to the first Finnish hymn book (1583) was not 'paganism', but simply all kinds of ungodly and impudent songs competing with spiritual songs. He was more concerned with lewd living than some rival folk religion, and if anything, he wanted to replace 'impudent songs' with new powerful Lutheran hymns.

The question of balancing popular folk culture with Christian singing and hymn traditions was equally topical in the Baltic provinces. In her chapter, Māra Grudule studies the emergence of Latvian-language hymns and new vernacular literary idiom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By following the path of the first Christian songs into the Latvian language, as well as the reflections of Latvian folk culture in the Christian songs, this chapter is an attempt to explore and understand the birth of the Latvian art of poetry in the framework of cultural transfer. It examines in detail the first Protestant, as well as Catholic, hymnals containing translations of Christian songs into Latvian. The author argues that the history of Latvian spiritual songs is undeniably strongly influenced by German hymns, but without the inclusion of the elements of Latvian folk culture, these texts would have been received by their audiences at a much slower pace and at a later time.

The third part of this book, 'Church Art and Architecture', discusses the transmission and transformation of medieval legacies in post-Reformation sacral buildings, which are also among the best examples of the durability of the heritage of medieval Christianity.

The first chapter, by Anna Nilsén, sets out to understand how Sweden was able to avoid an iconoclasm of the type that befell Church art in other Lutheran and Reformed countries of the time. Although the Swedish Reformation was promoted by the king, who saw in Church reform an instrument to strengthen his power, the politics of the king and the leading reformers of Sweden were characterized by a pragmatic attitude. Against this background it is not astonishing that paintings and sculptures from Catholic times continued to adorn church interiors and little new ecclesiastical art was produced. The late-medieval churches suited the Lutheran service and only small adaptations of the interior were necessary.

The second chapter on this topic, by Hanna Pirinen, looks at how the interior of the Finnish Lutheran parish church took shape through a process that extended over a considerable period of time. The features which can be regarded as typically Lutheran reached the Finnish parish churches only during the seventeenth century. At the same time, materially furnishing the church gave persons of rank the opportunity to display not only their social status but also their intellectual authority. Noble families and clergy thus used their theological knowledge on politically and socially motivated occasions. Early donations reveal that the donors' intentions were connected with the political core of the Swedish state as it became more unitary in its attempt to strengthen the Lutheran identity of the Church of Sweden.

The pragmatic reorganization of sacred space also characterized developments in Tallinn taking place under the Swedish Crown in the late sixteenth century. The chapter by Merike Kurisoo seeks to answer questions about the extent of the visual changes in the ecclesiastical space and the attitudes towards Catholic Church art in sixteenth-century Tallinn. Rearrangement of ecclesiastical space and the use of church furnishings have been examined by concentrating on the changes that took place in St. Nicholas's church in Tallinn during the first post-Reformation century. The chapter focuses on the analysis of possibilities and practices of the continuous use of the church furnishings and income against the background of theological, political, and economic changes, as well as developments in commissioning Lutheran Church art.

The fourth part of the volume, 'The "Other" and the Afterlife', addresses a popular literary genre of the early modern period, historiographical and ethnographic writings, and folklore, which can be found to various extents around the Baltic Sea region. This part aims to trace the transformation of 'otherness' and approaches the changing descriptions of Estonians and their religion as historical (re)imagination and creation of (national) pseudo-mythologies. Furthermore, it turns to the afterlife of medieval religious

traditions as represented in later Finnish folklore on abolished saints and popular conceptions of sanctity. The four chapters show how local elites writing and inventing local history and mythology and tenacious oral traditions operated with earlier Finnish, Baltic, and European texts and images of local 'others', in order to anchor their self-understanding in the past in response to new policies and European trends.

Departing from the prominence of 'peasant wars' in Estonia, particularly the St. George's Night Uprising (1343-1345), Linda Kaljundi explores the historiographical tradition of the uprising that stretches from the medieval to the early modern period. She argues that the attractiveness of the peasants' revolt for Estonian national history has resulted in omission of the major changes to the image of the native Estonians between the medieval and early modern eras. Examining the accounts of the uprising, the chapter traces the transformation of the antagonists from relapsing 'pagans' into revolting Estonian 'peasants'. From a local angle, the accounts relate to the matching of social and ethnic stratification in Livonia. From a broader perspective, this transformation appears to bear witness to the changes in the overall concept of 'otherness' in the early modern period.

The broader changes in the imagery of the 'other' and the 'alien' are also the subject of the chapter by Stefan Donecker, which maps the re-imagining of the Baltic in the Age of Discovery. Arguing that the accounts of trans-oceanic exploration provided the Baltic elites with topoi that could be applied to their own surroundings, the author explores the ways in which Livonia was perceived in analogy to the New World. Focusing on the writings of the erudite humanist and physician Basilius Plinius (d. 1605) and the amateur chronicler Franz Nyenstede (1540-1622), Donecker argues that colonial fantasies were particularly prevalent among the urban elites of Riga in the years around 1600. In this discourse, medieval German merchants and crusaders were extolled as 'discoverers' of Livonia whose achievements rivalled the Spanish and Portuguese voyages. Estonians and Latvians, on the other hand, fulfilled the role of the pagans and savages, the necessary counterpart in any colonial narrative.

The third chapter in this section, by Irma-Riitta Järvinen, highlights the resilience of oral traditions and folklore on saints' cults and popular religious spaces. She sets out to investigate mythic spaces and rituals through the transformations of saints, especially the survival of St. Catherine in Finnish oral poetry. Her hagiographical legend provided motifs for folk imagination; in Finland and Estonia she became the protector of sheep and cattle, and her cult was particularly supported by women. The chapter discusses folk traditions connected with St. Catherine of Alexandria (folk

poetry, vernacular prayers, and rituals) which are based on archived folklore documents written down no earlier than the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. Folk traditions of saints had in many cases a long endurance, though the cult of saints was banned in the Reformation.

The final chapter of this part and of the book as a whole is dedicated to the legacies of early modern ethnographical constructions. Aivar Põldvee examines the making of the Estonian pantheon on the basis of the Finnish reformer Michael Agricola's list of local pagan deities in the foreword to *Dauidin psaltari* (David's Psalter, 1551) and its afterlife in learned writings. The list of Tavastian and Karelian deities is deemed the cornerstone of Finnish mythology and folklore studies, but its significance for the evolution of the Estonian pantheon is less well known. The making of Estonian mythology has been treated as a nineteenth-century phenomenon. However, the chapter traces the implantation of Agricola's Finnish deities back to seventeenth-century chronicle writing, and shows how these figures originally described by Agricola were thereafter transmitted into the works of Baltic Enlightenment authors, and later affected the entire nineteenth-century vision of Estonian mythology.

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Part I
Contextualizations and Thematizations

1 Popular Belief and the Disruption of Religious Practices in Reformation Sweden

Martin Berntson

In the evening, at Midsummer in the year 1540, the chaplain Andreas Olavi entered the pulpit in the parish church in Skellefteå, in Northern Sweden. According to the chaplain the time was due to abolish the traditional vespers and replace this fully liturgical act with an evangelical evening sermon (Sw. *aftonpredikan*). However, a slight problem occurred. After Olavi entered the pulpit, he had to stand there for about half an hour until the congregation finally let him talk. His attempt to change the vespers into an evening sermon caused turmoil among the congregation. A 'racket' (Sw. *buller*) arose as the parishioners claimed that he was 'crazy' when he wanted to preach in the evening. After this surely traumatic event, no evening sermons were held in Skellefteå for five years. The chaplain himself left the parish for Uppsala two months later, and returned as a vicar to Skellefteå in 1544.[1]

The source of this event is Andreas Olavi's own report, but what he tells us about the resistance to his liturgical innovation is not unlikely to have happened. During the period *c.* 1525 to 1550, there are numerous reports concerning popular resistance in Sweden to all kinds of innovations in liturgy and traditional piety. And, as in the case of Andreas Olavi in Skellefteå, many of these reactions postponed planned ecclesiastical reforms.

In research on the Reformation in Scandinavia there is a tendency to describe the process as a smooth transition phase during which the reformers hesitated to make any radical changes in Church life.[2] This continuity has been considered typical for the 'eastern' Scandinavian tradition, which has been described as characterized by the reformers' ambition to preserve continuity with late medieval liturgical practice.[3] This slow and smooth

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1   *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*, 17, p. 17.

2   Jason Lavery talks about a strong consensus among both Finnish and Swedish scholars 'that emphasizes continuity over discontinuity with the medieval Catholic era, slow change, and a lack of conflict', Lavery, 'The Reformation', p. 127; see also Lavery, 'A Frontier of Reform', p. 60, and Pahlmblad, *Mässa på svenska*, *passim*.

3   See for example Eckerdal, p. 82; Lavery, 'The Reformation', p. 137; Lavery, 'A Frontier of Reform', p. 67; Lavery, 'The Swedish Kingdom', p. 11.

process has been explained as partly due to the lack of popular pressure for reform.[4] Consequently, much of the Catholic medieval ritual tradition in the kingdom of Sweden has been described as 'untouched' until the beginning of the seventeenth century.[5] The question is whether it is possible to combine this perspective with the many reports of violent reactions against the ecclesiastical transformations in the Kingdom of Sweden during the first twenty years of Gustav Vasa's reign. I aim in this chapter to acknowledge both continuity and discontinuity, but also to recognize confessional differences, and to describe the process of change as one, at least in part, of negotiation.

The Reformation – Just an Interlude?

International research on the Reformation underwent a period of renewal from the latter half of the 1960s. An important though not decisive starting point for a new methodology is to be found in Bernd Moeller's article 'Probleme der Reformationsgeschichtforschung' from 1965. Moeller notes the problem of the one-sided (systematic) theological orientation in Reformation research. He argues it is important to emphasize the historical perspectives in the Reformation process in a new way, and furthermore that medieval Catholic piety was vibrant even in the early days of the Reformation.[6] He also notes that during the early sixteenth century, holy objects were held in higher esteem than during earlier periods.[7] Reformation studies have, to a certain extent, since then been characterized by a broad methodological scope, and have, for example, incorporated social and gender issues. From the time of this methodological renewal, the traditional way of viewing the early Reformation as a time of innovation or revolution, where the efforts of Martin Luther opened the doors to a completely new way of doing theology, has basically been challenged by two perspectives.

First, the importance of placing the Reformation in its medieval context has been emphasized, especially in the field of theological doctrine in, for

4   Lavery, 'The Reformation', p. 138; Lavery, 'A Frontier of Reform', p. 71; Lavery, 'The Swedish Kingdom', p. 11.

5   Lavery, 'The Reformation', p. 138. Lavery has himself challenged the continuity perspective through the suggestion of approaching the regional differences and using the theoretical concept of the 'frontier' by which Finland could be described as a 'frontier zone' or 'contested space': see Lavery, 'The Reformation', p. 142; Lavery, 'A Frontier of Reform', p. 62.

6   Moeller, 'Probleme', pp. 246-57.

7   Moeller, 'Probleme', p. 254.

example, the school of Heiko A. Oberman.[8] What happened in the sixteenth century was in many ways, according to this perspective, a continuation of established theological trends. In Swedish theological research, this perspective has been used in various ways. Matters that seemed Lutheran, for example the Reformed Mass, have been studied in relation to their late medieval predecessors. It has been argued that even though the texts of the Mass received a partly new content, 'the outward forms display continuity with late medieval usage'.[9] Furthermore, persons and occurrences that have seemed Catholic have been seen as more in line with Luther and of late medieval theology than was the case in earlier research.[10]

Second, it has been claimed that the full dynamism of the early modern period did not happen with the Reformation *per se*, but rather occurred at the end of the sixteenth century with the so-called confessionalization. The proponents of the confessionalization thesis argue that one key factor in understanding the modernization process is the collaboration between Church and state in Europe during the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries, with the intention of creating disciplined and confessionally well-educated citizens. According to this thesis, this social and ecclesiastical control over the common man's religious and moral behaviour created political stability and an increased state influence over opponents of the state.[11] One of the foremost proponents of this thesis, the German historian Heinz Schilling, has described the Middle Ages as the boarding, the Reformation as the runway, and confessionalization as the take-off of European modernization.[12] Even though things were moving, the real 'turmoil' did not, according to this picture, take place during the Reformation phase.

If we combine these two perspectives, it may be possible to conclude that nothing important really happened during the so-called Reformation. Like the German-American Reformation historian Hans J. Hillerbrand, we are likely to ask the question, 'Was there a Reformation in the sixteenth century?' However, considering the turmoil that the liturgical innovations caused among parishioners in Sweden, it is impossible to escape the

8   See for example Oberman, *The Dawn*; Oberman, *Luther*; Posset, *Pater Bernhardus*.

9   Pahlmblad, *Mässa på svenska*, p. 247.

10   See for example the analysis of the book collection of the Skara-bishop Sveno Jacobi, in Czaika, *Sveno Jacobi*, pp. 15-22, 195-200.

11   For the confessionalization thesis, see Reinhardt, 'Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung', pp. 270-6; Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', p. 643; Reinhardt, 'Power elites', pp. 14-15; Reinhardt, 'Reformation', p. 127.

12   Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', p. 35. The words are also cited in Hillerbrand, 'Was There a Reformation', p. 549.

observation that something actually *did* happen, at least on the pastoral level. Perhaps it is time to regain the discontinuity perspective, albeit in a renewed way. I would suggest that the thorough studies of continuities have actually paved the way for new understandings of the discontinuities. Hillerbrand has, in the 2003 article already mentioned, suggested a new perspective with a focus not so much on whether or not the theological ideas were old or new, but rather on asking 'if certain ideas were *perceived* as new, indeed totally new, by a generation'.[13] What is at issue, according to Hillerbrand, is not the traces of continuity but rather 'the self-consciousness of a time and generation'.[14] This, he argues, is the case with the Reformation, where a generation of reformers in Europe convinced people that they had rediscovered something anew, or rather, as they themselves would put it, the hidden truths of Christianity. Hillerbrand's conclusion is that dramatic changes in religion and theology did take place in the early sixteenth century, 'because they were perceived as such at the time'.[15] A similar perspective has been articulated by the Swedish historian Kajsa Brilkman. On the basis of a discourse analysis of reformation texts from the early Reformation in Sweden, she proposes that in the repeated statements, especially in the way of talking about understanding the heart and the soul, it is possible to talk about the Reformation as a discontinuous phenomenon.[16]

If we turn to Scandinavia and Sweden and the transformation of religious spaces and performances, it should be uncontroversial to claim that the Swedish reformers, as well as their German, English, and other Scandinavian colleagues, *claimed* that they had a package of new or rather newly rediscovered theological ideas that *they wanted to put into practice*. And perhaps it is also rather uncontroversial to claim that the reformers, in collaboration with the king, did carry out innovations in the Church structure, in the official Church orders, and in liturgy and popular piety.

In any case, people reacted to what they perceived as real transformations. The people who reacted against the reformers' actions probably did not consider their time as a dull or intermediate period. On the contrary, many regarded the Reformation events from an apocalyptic perspective, as a foreboding of the last days.[17] In accordance with Hillerbrand's perspective, whether or not the practical changes in the Church during the early

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13   Hillerbrand, 'Was There a Reformation', p. 551.
14   Hillerbrand, 'Was There a Reformation', p. 551.
15   Hillerbrand, 'Was There a Reformation', p. 552.
16   Brilkman, *Undersåten som förstod*, pp. 49-50 and *passim*.
17   On Sweden, Sandblad, *De eskatologiska* still remains the classical study in this field.

sixteenth century were really innovations, they were *understood*, both by proponents and opponents, as something new, either as a rediscovery of hidden truths, or as a heresy legitimized by the king and government.[18]

Culture or Confession?

It is obvious that reforms and changes did not occur only in Protestant areas. In the field of cultural history, Catholic and Protestant reforms during the early modern period are seen as variations on the same theme. Peter Burke has described 'the reform of popular culture' as a process during the period 1500-1650 characterized by attempts to change attitudes and values among common people, and it was conducted by both Protestant and Catholic clergy.[19] Likewise, in his acculturation thesis, Robert Muchembled relates the separation between elements in popular culture, which was associated with 'superstition' and orthodoxy, with the emergence of a well-educated clergy that alienated itself from the culture of common folk. In practice this process included the need for a clear distinction between 'holy' and 'secular'. 'The holy' was no longer allowed to be defiled by secular elements. And this acculturation transcended the confessions.[20] Altogether, since both Catholic and Protestant clergy shared the ideal of reforming the Church and society, they were all part of a basic cultural structure. Consequently, the basic divergence did not stand between Catholic and Protestant but rather between what has been called 'traditional' and 'modern' (including both Catholic and Protestant) religiosity.[21] However this observation is not wholly unique to cultural history. One of the most important features

18   See Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 274-302.

19   Burke, *Popular Culture*, pp. 289-90.

20   Muchembled, *Popular Culture*, pp. 171-2. This way of describing a separation between holy and secular as a feature of European modernization has been discussed, for example, by Berntson, 'Reformationsmotstånd', pp. 62-3. It should be noticed that there are some differences between Burke's and Muchembled's approaches, especially when it comes to understanding the relationship between the cultures. Burke has questioned the concept of acculturation as it was understood by Muchembled and Jean Delumeau. Since the term 'acculturation' implies a one-direction movement in which the ideas of the learned culture were imposed on the popular culture, Burke prefers to talk about a 'negotiation' between (sub)cultures: see Burke, 'A Question'.

21   See Malmstedt, *Bondetro och kyrkoro*, pp. 172-7; on the concept of 'traditional religion', see also Duffy, *The Stripping*, p. 3.

of the confessionalization thesis is that confessionalization was a multi-confessional phenomenon.[22]

My point here is not to argue against this description, which in my view captures an important transition phase in European cultural and political history. However, in order to understand this cultural and ecclesiastical transformation as a whole, it is important to make distinctions between different theological associations. What may be forgotten if the transition is limited only to cultural or pan-confessional categories is that the practical changes in the ecclesiastical structure differed between what were to be Catholic, Reformed, and Lutheran areas.[23] However, these associations do not necessarily imply different confessions. What were soon to become Lutheran, Catholic, and Reformed confessions were not fully delimitated until the mid-sixteenth century.[24]

A way of combining the cultural historical paradigms with an awareness of the differences between the various reform groups could actually be found in a matrix made by Robert W. Scribner in his article 'Ritual and Popular Religion in Catholic Germany at the Time of the Reformation'.[25] In this study Scribner seeks to avoid talking about 'popular religion' as something polarized against 'official religion' and rather to point towards how they intersect. Scribner distinguishes between three ritual components in Catholic Germany on the eve of the Reformation. First, we have the formal structure of the liturgy, which consists of the officially correct form of worship. Second, around this formal structure, various para-liturgical practices existed, for example, dramatizations related to events during the Church year as well as different forms of benedictions and exorcisms. Third, both the formalized liturgy and the para-liturgical practices were interpenetrated by folklorized or magical ritual, which could involve the use of sacramentals such as blessed candles or blessed palms in an instrumental (or magical) way in homes: as protective talismans, for example. Therefore, the folklorized and magical rituals inhabited a twilight zone between what

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22   Reinhard, 'Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung', p. 267; Reinhard, 'Reformation', p. 108; Schilling, 'Confessional Europe', pp. 642-3; Schilling, 'The Reformation', pp. 21-2.

23   It should be emphasized that Burke acknowledges the reform movement was not monolithic, but took different forms in different regions, and that 'Catholics and Protestants did not always oppose the same traditional practices or oppose those practices for the same reasons'. However, these variations did not prevent Burke from viewing the reform movement as a 'whole'; see Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 290.

24   For example Czaika, *Sveno Jacobi*, pp. 302-5.

25   This article was first published 1984 and was later included in Scribner, *Popular Culture*, pp. 17-47.

was ecclesiastically sanctioned and what could be described as popular magic.[26] Through the late Middle Ages, reformers made various attempts to purify the rituals and to make clear distinctions between the official and non-official rituals. Since the Protestant reformers insisted on the idea of 'faith alone', they also wanted to reduce the idea of efficacy in ritual actions, 'to the point where it appeared to have no inner-worldly efficacy at all'.[27] This perspective resembles Max Weber's idea of the Protestant Reformation as a 'disenchantment of the world'. If this description is used not to signify the actual transformation of religious culture, but rather to describe a Reformation ideal, it could also be connected to Peter Burke's view of the Reformation as a secularization process, 'a religion purged of what they liked to call "superstition", in which the faithful were no longer encouraged to spend their money on candles or Masses or indulgences'.[28] Thus, the reformers were highly critical of all non-official ritual elements such as the blessing of the sacramentals, processions, and magical rituals. Through their reform of the celebration of Mass and the reduction of other sacramental celebrations, they limited 'the range' of official religion.[29] Even though the changes may not always have been very striking (many popular Catholic celebrations lived on even in Protestant areas),[30] it cannot be ignored that there *were* differences between Catholics and Protestants concerning the official attitude towards traditional religion. In order to explain these differences we can hardly ignore the theological attitudes towards tradition, justification, and the Church promulgated by Reformation theologians.

Transformation of the Mass

The early Reformation in both Germany and in Scandinavia was primarily devoted to a reform of preaching, canon law, and university teaching. The need to transform the liturgy and popular piety came more or less as a consequence of this initial reforming ambition. In Sweden we do not have any real knowledge of exactly how and when the first Reformed Mass was celebrated. It is likely, however, that it happened in Stockholm during the

26   Scribner, *Popular Culture*, pp. 23-4, 29-33.
27   Scribner, *Popular Culture*, p. 45.
28   Burke, 'Religion and Secularisation', p. 298; see also Thomas, *Religion and the Decline*, pp. 52-3, 77.
29   Scribner, *Popular Culture*, pp. 45-6.
30   Scribner, *Popular Culture*, pp. 46-7.

latter half of the 1520s. According to the city council report, it was decided in 1529 that the city should continue to celebrate the 'Mass in Swedish', a decision that was related to yet another decision: that the Gospel should be preached in a 'pure and clear' manner.[31] In 1530, it was decided by the same city council that the 'Latin Mass' should be abolished altogether, and the clergy were forbidden to celebrate Mass in any other language than Swedish.[32] Then, in 1531, Olaus Petri (1493-1552), one of the key figures of the Reformation in Sweden, who was the chancellor of the city council, published a book explaining the reasons the Mass should be celebrated in the vernacular. This book was accompanied by a form of liturgy, which was said to represent how the Mass in Swedish was celebrated in Stockholm and in some other towns at that time.[33] The first formal decision concerning the celebration of the Mass in Swedish over the whole kingdom was made at a meeting in Uppsala in 1536, where all cathedrals and parish churches 'where it was possible' were exhorted to celebrate the Mass in Swedish.[34]. Apart from the intensified use of the Swedish language, the canon prayers were abolished and the *Sanctus* was placed after and not before the Words of Institution. Both bread and wine were to be administered to the people at every Mass. Most probably, the inspiration came from Andreas Döber's Nuremberger Mass of 1525, which was an adaptation and translation of Martin Luther's *Formula missae* of 1523.[35] In 1541 the Mass in Swedish was published in an edition with an unnamed author. It is likely that this edition was thought of as an official Mass order for the Church of Sweden.[36] During the previous year, a general visitation had been performed in some dioceses. It is probable that the Mass in Swedish was introduced in at least some parishes during this visitation.[37] Even though we scarcely know what kind of Mass was imposed, we do know that the rebels in the so-called Dacke rebellion of 1542-1543 demanded a return to the old Mass in their negotiations with the king.[38]

In later Swedish research the continuities with the so-called Mass in Swedish and the various Mass forms of the late Middle Ages have been

31 *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524-1529*, pp. 272-3.

32 *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524-1529*, p. 349.

33 Olavus Petri, *Samlade skrifter* 2, p. 404.

34 See Kjöllerström, 'De kyrkliga förhandlingarna', pp. 50-1, 144-6.

35 See Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, p. 78.

36 Kjöllerström, *Missa Lincopensis*, p. 52; Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, p. 104.

37 Härdelin, *Kult, kultur*, p. 135; Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, p. 101; Borgehammar, '[Rec. av] Vadstenadiariet', p. 196.

38 Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 243-6.

emphasized, especially by Christer Pahlmblad, who argues that the title 'Mass in Swedish' during this period need not necessarily imply a transformation of language. The most dramatic changes in the liturgies were, he argues, rather the abolition of the canon prayers.[39] The consequence of this argument is that the transition from late medieval liturgy to a Reformed Mass was a smooth process without radical change. The Swedish reformers found it important to let the new Mass stand in structural continuity with late medieval liturgical practices.[40]

If we relate this argument to our knowledge of popular resistance against the Reformation in Sweden, some problems arise. Why did people react against the transformation of the traditional Mass if nothing or very few things actually changed? Did people perhaps only react against the abolition of the canon prayers? Of course, some of the resistance did not necessarily rest upon an actual experience of the Mass in Swedish since this Mass was primarily celebrated in Stockholm up to *c.* 1530. It was rather the rumour about the liturgical experiments in Stockholm that worried people. In the so-called 'rebellion of the nobility in Västergötland' of 1529 ('Västgötaherrarnas uppror'), which also involved peasants in the province of Småland as well as townspeople in the city of Jönköping, inhabitants in Småland accused the king of translating the language of the Mass into Swedish.[41] Furthermore, during the third rebellion in Dalarna in 1531, people from this province claimed that they wanted neither to support nor to hear the Mass in Swedish.[42] It is not likely that the rebels in Småland or in Dalarna had participated in the Stockholm liturgy. Rather, the fact that people in Stockholm acknowledged a heretical disruption of the Mass was a problem in itself, since this performance was considered a poison to the commonwealth, which could lead to a show of God's wrath.[43]

However, in later reports of resistance against the Mass in Swedish the reactions seem to be based on actual experience of this Mass. In 1536 the Mass in Swedish was introduced in the parish of Skellefteå. Just like the evening sermon four years later, it was 'not much welcome'.[44] When the vicar Nils in Asby in the province of Östergötland introduced the Mass in Swedish, it is reported that the peasants were on the verge of killing him

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39 Pahlmblad, *Mässa på svenska*, pp. 37-42.
40 Pahlmblad, *Mässa på svenska*, pp. 86, 91.
41 *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 6, pp. 358-9.
42 *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 7, p. 294.
43 See Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 296-301.
44 *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia* 17, p. 56.

inside the church.[45] As mentioned above, during the Dacke rebellion, the rebels demanded a return to the Latin Mass.[46]

Even though I partly agree with Pahlmblad's conclusion that 'the worshipping congregation saw, heard, and acted largely the same things in the Reformed Mass as they had in the Latin Mass',[47] I would suggest that this should be regarded less as a rule and rather as an option and as a concession to conservative clergy and peasants outside Stockholm.

To begin with, we cannot fully neglect the language factor. In the argument for and in the defence of the Mass in Swedish, the discussions often revolved around the use of the vernacular, especially during the year 1531, when Olaus Petri published his apology for the Mass in Swedish. One of his most important arguments was that the Mass could be considered as the 'sum' of the Gospel. And since the Gospel should be understood by all, so should the Mass, even though – as he acknowledged – such a transformation might seem strange to many people.[48] Indeed, it did, as mentioned previously. During the third rebellion in Dalarna, the city council in Stockholm defended their use of the vernacular with the argument that people had more 'godliness' (Sw. *gudlighet*) by hearing something good in their own native language, and they found it narrowminded that the Swedes, unlike the Danes, Germans, and Livonians,[49] should despise their vernacular.[50] During the same year, the bishops in Strängnäs and Västerås signed their secret protest against the infringements of Lutheran teaching in the kingdom. One of the abuses mentioned in this protest was the celebration of the Mass in the vernacular.[51] That the use of the vernacular in the Holy Mass seemed controversial and maybe a little primitive is perhaps reflected in the oft-cited words from the rebels during the Dacke rebellion of 1542, according to which the

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45   Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans*, p. 257.

46   Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 243-51.

47   Pahlmblad, *Mässa på svenska*, p. 247.

48   Olavus Petri, *Samlade skrifter* 1, pp. 438-9, 441.

49   The mention of the vernacular liturgy in Livonia is somewhat surprising and may be due to a misunderstanding. Johann Briesmann's *Kurtz Ordnung*, also known as the Riga liturgy, was introduced in Livonia in 1530. In this Church order, it was indeed emphasized that the liturgy should be conducted in the vernacular, but for Briesmann, vernacular meant German. Briesmann's *Ordnung* was translated into Latvian only in 1615: see Kodres, '"Das 'Geistliche'"', p. 367; Petkūnas, 'The Road', p. 96.

50   *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 7 p. 529; see also Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 237-8.

51   *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 7, p. 544; Lundström, *Undersökningar och aktstycken*, p. 43.

Mass ought to be restored since otherwise 'soon might a child behind a dung wagon whistle the Mass'.[52]

Even though the people of Stockholm and some other places did experience a Mass where the use of vernacular was found controversial, this was not always necessarily the case. The so-called 'Mass in Swedish' could invite a variety of usages. In the third edition of the 'Mass in Swedish' of 1537, the celebrant was given the choice of singing the Introit and Gradual in Latin,[53] a change that may be due both to the decisions at the Uppsala council the previous year and the probably well-known reactions against the new Mass in various parts of the country. However, this was only an option. Just as in earlier editions of the Mass, the suggested main language for both Introit and the Gradual was Swedish. It was only in later editions of the Mass that the Latin and Swedish alternatives were presented as equal alternatives. Furthermore, in the parishes, the liturgy could be supplemented by additions to the Mass made by hand by the celebrant, who sometimes introduced traditional – and formally abolished – rituals.[54] The opposite situation also existed. In 1550 the vicar Nils Jonae in Vadstena was accused by the king of having abolished the elevation of the Host, an act that was prescribed in the Reformed Mass.[55] Thus, Yngve Brilioth still surely has a point with his impression that the Swedish Reformed Mass at the end of Gustav Vasa's reign had a rather 'motley' appearance.[56]

In practice, then, the liturgy could seem more radical in some places than in others. The initially rather radical Stockholm liturgy was moderated both because of decisions to make an official liturgy for the kingdom as a whole, and also because of conservative popular reactions.

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52   Tegel, *Then stoormechtige, högborne furstes ... her Gustaffs ... historia*, p. 159. A variant of this utterance exists in the chronicle of Per Brahe the elder, where the rebels are said to claim that the clergy lacked proper education since they could 'stand by a dung wagon and whistle the Mass' (Per Brahe den äldre, *Fortsättning af Peder Svarts krönika*, p. 44). For a discussion of these sources, see Berntson, 'Reformationsmotstånd', pp. 60-2.

53   Olavus Petri, *Samlade skrifter* 2, p. 443. Here Pahlmblad offers another perspective, arguing that this Latin singing was a prevailing practice in Stockholm: see Pahlmblad, *Mässa på svenska*, p. 55. In my opinion, it is difficult to ignore the feeling of concession in this formula.

54   See Andrén, 'Den liturgiska', p. 332.

55   *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 21, p. 309.

56   Brilioth, *Nattvarden*, p. 356.

The Transformation of Holy Spaces and the Attitude Towards Sacred Objects

In order to understand the reformers' need to make alterations in the churches, as well as to explain the sometimes violent popular responses to these transformations, we need to pay attention to the materiality of late medieval piety, and not least the impact of small objects. Caroline Walker Bynum has claimed that late medieval piety was characterized by an 'intense awareness of the power of the material'.[57] Physical objects such as relic shrines, holy unction, holy water, candles, the Host, and so on were a form of *hierophany*, a manifestation of the holy, of the real, of the transcendent, in material form – a channel or link to eternity. This phenomenon had its basic theological foundation in the Christian view of the Incarnation, that salvation was connected with the manifestation in a material human body of the transcendent and invisible God. Christ himself – and also later pictures and manifestations of him – was a material object that was also a locus of holiness.[58]

The reformers might describe this material piety as more or less pagan. It was considered idolatrous to think that material objects, invented by men, replaced the living Word of God. What mattered in Reformation thought was not the closeness to material objects that possessed holiness, but rather the Word of God and the way this word changed the hearts of men.[59]

Many Swedish reformers were proponents of a threefold scheme encompassing the attitude towards orders and rituals in the Church.[60] First, there existed ceremonies that were instituted by Christ himself and therefore necessary, for example the use of bread and wine during communion. Second, there were ceremonies, often called *adiaphora* ('things that make no difference'), that could be preserved even if they were not necessary. Third, there were practices that had been invented during the history of the Church and which violated the Word of God, and these practices should at all costs be forbidden, especially all sacrificial motifs in the Mass. Bishop Erik Falck of Skara, in his influential book *Een kort underwijsning* ('A short instruction', 1558), distinguishes between two forms of *adiaphora*. First, there were orders and regulations that had to be kept in order to maintain stability, for example that the main service would be conducted on Sundays,

57   Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, p. 18.
58   Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, pp. 34-5; see also Berntson, 'Reformationsmotstånd', pp. 38-9.
59   Berntson, 'Reformationsmotstånd', pp. 43-4.
60   Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, p. 63.

that women should not preach and should keep their heads covered during prayer, that children should be baptized, and so on. These regulations were not God's biddings, and could in certain circumstances be changed in the future. Second, there were the 'real' *adiaphora*: elevation of the Host, wearing Mass robes, and so on. It was insignificant if these practices were kept or not. If they were preserved, it was important that the people learned about the true significance, for example, of holy water. The people should be taught that this water did not contain any special 'power', but was rather a symbol of the forgiveness of sins.[61]

Sacramentals such as holy water, anointment oil, and palms were more or less tolerated by Swedish reformers during the 1520s and the 1530s. If they were interpreted in a symbolic way and not considered as objects with a special 'power', they could be endured. This attitude, however, hardened around 1540. The impact of the liturgical transformation during the year 1540 is also highlighted in the chronicle of Paulus Juusten (*c.* 1516-1575), the bishop of Vyborg (Swe. Viborg, Fin. Viipuri) and later of Turku (Swe. Åbo), who mentions that the 'papal oil' and chrism were abolished at that time.[62] In the first book written and published by the Lutheran archbishop Laurentius Petri of Uppsala (1499-1573), *Een forclaring om wijgdawatn* ('An explanation of holy water', 1538), he argued for the abolition of the use of this sacramental. Likewise, his elder brother Olaus Petri retained the possibility of using oil during baptism and visitation of the sick in the first three editions of his handbook. However, this possibility was not included in the edition promulgated in 1541. In *Articuli Ordinantiae*, a Church order issued by Georg Norman during the visitation of 1540, the anointment oil was explicitly questioned.[63] During the visitation that was carried out in the winter and spring of 1540 a number of chrismatories were confiscated.[64] Altogether, this meant that after 1540 it was difficult to use ointment during baptism, confirmation, and last unction. During the Dacke rebellion peasants demanded that sacramentals such as holy water, salt, and palms should be brought back into use.[65] This was also demanded by other peasant groups, such as those in Vadsbo in Västergötland, who did not join the Dacke rebellion but still demanded a reintroduction of chrism, holy water, and

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61   See Falck, *Een kort underwijsning*, pp. 202-10.

62   See Nyman, 'Gudstjänstreformen', p. 179.

63   Andrén, 'Den liturgiska', p. 332; Sundmark, *Sjukbesök och dödsberedelse*, pp. 223-5; Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 256-9.

64   Andrén, 'Den liturgiska', p. 328.

65   For a discussion of this, see Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 260-1.

anointment oil.[66] After this rebellion, the king blamed the whole upheaval on common people's naive faith in the power of holy water, blessed salt, blessed palms, Masses in Latin, relic shrines, saints, and pilgrimages.[67]

Another important change in the holy spaces was the abolition of the monstrances. These liturgical objects had enjoyed an increasing importance in the late medieval Church, especially during the celebration of Corpus Christi, a feast that included a procession through fields and villages with the Host carried in a monstrance.[68] This feast was one of the prime targets of the reformers, and it was officially abolished in the *Articuli Ordinantiae* of 1540.[69]

A first wave of confiscations of church silver, officially labelled 'loans', was performed in 1523. Unfortunately, there exist no records on the amount of silver that was confiscated. We only know that the king, with the sanction of the council, demanded chalices, monstrances, and other treasures that could be dispensed with from monasteries, town churches, and churches close to the towns.[70] During the following year, the king requested all the silver that had been collected for Katarina Ulfsdotter's reliquary shrine at Vadstena abbey.[71] These confiscations of silver, however, created dissatisfaction among various groups in society. At Vadstena abbey, the brethren called the confiscations a sacrilege.[72] During the first rebellion in Dalarna in 1525, the king was accused by the inhabitants of some parishes in the province of Dalarna of acting in an unchristian manner when he confiscated treasures, including chalices, monstrances, and relic shrines, that had been donated and dedicated to the service of God. The confiscations were also criticized during the second rebellion in Dalarna in 1527 as well as during the rebellion of the nobility in Västergötland in 1529.[73] In his attempts to pacify this rebellion, the king promised never to claim silver or funds from monasteries or churches without first consulting the council and common man.[74] This did not prevent the king and the council from issuing the so-called 'bell-tax' in 1531, which meant that one church bell from every church in the nation should be paid in tax. Even though it was possible to replace this tax with

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66   K 3, Uppsala University Library.
67   *Svenska riksdagsakter* 1:1 pp. 342-4; see also Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 260-1.
68   Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 290-3.
69   See Svalenius, *Georg Norman*, p. 64.
70   Källström, *Medeltida kyrksilver*, pp. 22-4.
71   Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, p. 70.
72   Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, pp. 70-1.
73   Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, p. 73.
74   Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, p. 73.

one in copper or coins, these confiscations were one factor behind the third rebellion in Dalarna in 1531, which is also known as the bell rebellion.[75]

A second wave of confiscations was performed during the early 1540s, and this time the official reason was so-called superstition and false services. By this time, when King Gustav Vasa had arrived at a safe position in government, the Church policy in the kingdom was officially directed in an Evangelical way. This confiscation was quite thorough. In the province of Östergötland alone the collected silver weighed about 1.5 tonnes. During the visitations that year, a large number of monstrances were confiscated, which was a hard blow to traditional sacramental piety.[76] In the local parish churches it was of course still possible to celebrate communion. However, the confiscation of the many monstrances may have been a disruption to the piety shown towards the Host. It also meant that the traditional processions with the Host had to be abandoned. The vicar Ambjörn Svenonis in the diocese of Skara reported in around 1550 to have continued singing the hymns to the sacrament which used to be sung when the monstrance was carried in the church.[77]

Furthermore, the abolition of the semi-liturgical use of roods could evoke severe reactions. At a royal inquisition in Uppsala in 1541, the whole peasant community of Alunda in Uppland was convicted for the crime of taking the rood from the church to the churchyard at Easter. Their intention was to continue the old tradition of crawling to the cross on Easter morning.[78] During the same trial, a young farm-worker from the parish was accused of having exhorted the parishioners to capture the vicar (who denied any knowledge of the cross-crawling) and dismember his body since he wanted to abolish their old ceremonies.[79] A source from the late-seventeenth-century reports that some parishioners in Ovansjö in the province of Gästrikland threatened to throw their vicar, who had removed a rood from the churchyard, over the wall.[80]

Another form of disruption of the holy spaces was the dissolution of the monasteries. At the beginning of the Reformation, about fifty monasteries and mendicant houses existed in Sweden.[81] Over a period of twenty years

75   Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 161-82.
76   Andrén, 'Den liturgiska', pp. 101-3.
77   K 3, Uppsala University Library; see also Berntson, 'Striden om herr'.
78   *Uppländska konungsdomar*, p. 118.
79   *Uppländska konungsdomar*, pp. 117-18.
80   Ahnlund, *Oljoberget och Ladugårdsgärde*, p. 187; Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans*, p. 257, 310-11.
81   The state of the monasteries and friaries at the end of the Middle Ages is discussed in Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, pp. 28-61.

most of these were dissolved, the majority during the first ten years after the Diet of Västerås in 1527, where it was decided that all estates given to churches and monasteries after the 1450s could be reclaimed by their 'rightful' owners. The king was to grant all monasteries to representatives of the nobility, who should provide the monks and nuns – who were supposed to stay in the monastic buildings – with food and other supplies.[82] At the diet it was also decided that the mendicant friars should only be allowed to leave their houses for ten weeks during the year. This decision was a major factor in the depopulation of the mendicant houses that occurred during the ten years after the diet.[83]

The infringements upon and the dissolution of the monasteries were criticized during the three rebellions in Dalarna (1525, 1527, 1531) as well as during the 'rebellion of the nobility' in Västergötland in 1529. Already during the first rebellion in Dalarna (1525) some inhabitants there claimed that through his taxation of churches and monasteries, the king had broken his royal oath by which he had sworn to protect the liberty of the Church.[84] During the following year, we can observe a harsher attitude from the king towards the monasteries. He officially criticized monks and mendicants for being too lazy and he also helped monks to leave their monasteries. During this year he also expropriated the Carthusian abbey of Pax Mariae (*Mariefred*), claiming that the house and its estates were his own heritage.[85] During the second rebellion in Dalarna (1527) the king was accused by representatives from the peasants of aiming for a complete dissolution of all monastic houses in the kingdom.[86] At the time of the 'rebellion of the nobility' in Västergötland in 1529, approximately eight mendicant houses and three monastic houses were dissolved. Furthermore, the rebellion was officially initiated when some peasants from western Småland murdered a royal bailiff whom they accused of stealing treasures from Nydala abbey. In open letters from the peasants in western Småland and burghers in the city of Jönköping the 'Lutheran heresy' was said to be evident, for example, in the dissolution and plundering of the monasteries.[87] In reply, the clergy and nobles of the province of Västergötland acknowledged that monasteries had been dissolved, that their treasures had been stolen, that monks had been driven away and some nuns were even apparently working in brothels

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82   Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, pp. 125-60.

83   Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, pp. 90-112.

84   See Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, p. 268.

85   Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, pp. 75-7; Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, p. 268.

86   Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, p. 269.

87   *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 6, pp. 356-8.

(Sw. *horkrog*).[88] This rebellion was solved through negotiations between representatives from the king and from the rebels. After a first meeting, the king's representatives concluded that the peasants in Småland were mostly complaining about the royal chancellor, Laurentius Andreae, and his harsh attitude towards the monasteries.[89] Consequently, the king acknowledged the right of the people to keep as many monasteries, monks, and nuns as they wanted.[90] However, even during the third rebellion in Dalarna (1531), the inhabitants in some parishes in the province of Dalarna claimed that the disagreement on faith matters was evident in the contempt shown towards the churches and monasteries in which the hours used to be upheld but were now abandoned.[91] During these upheavals the rebels agitated against the confiscations of silver and other property from the monastic houses, and against the king's supposed ambition to abolish all monasteries in the kingdom. They also expressed resistance against monks and nuns being forced to leave their houses, whereby the 'service of God' was neglected.[92]

The Disruption of the Service of God

These transformations of sacred space, the critical attitude towards holy objects and the assaults on the rituals were, as has been noted, heavily criticized by the clergy, nobility, and peasants. During the first twenty years of King Gustav Vasa's reign, five risings or rebellions took place. These reflected discontent, with, for example, the ecclesiastical changes. However, ultimately they could also be regarded as a reaction against the government's increasing interference in taxes and other old customs and observances.[93] Since this interference not only included taxes but also the transformation of the Church, it is not a contradiction to characterize the rebellions as reactions against a centralization and concentration of power, expressed in both the ecclesiastical transformations and in the tax policy. Those provinces that did form alliances to confront the regime – especially Dalarna, Småland, Västergötland, and to a certain extent also Hälsingland

88 *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 6, p. 361.

89 *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 6, p. 367; see also Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, p. 271.

90 *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 6, p. 88.

91 *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 7, pp. 534-5.

92 Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 268-73.

93 On the Dacke rebellion, see for example the analysis in Larsson, *Det medeltida Värend*, p. 348.

and Östergötland – carried on traditions of resistance against the government's infringements. During the fifteenth century, most of the rebellions took place in 'Middle Sweden' and to a much lesser extent in Finland and the northern and southern parts of modern-day Sweden.[94] During the first two decades of the sixteenth century, there were also some smaller upheavals in Värend and other parts of Småland.[95] These provinces, then, had memories and institutional bases for forming alliances in order to put pressure on the government. This may also be a reason behind the scarce accounts of violent reactions against the Reformation in Finland; another reason for this is simply that the Reformation was not as radical in the diocese of Turku as in other dioceses in Sweden. The most important reformer of the Church in Turku was Michael Agricola (*c*. 1510-1557), who is known for his relatively moderate attitude towards Lutheran reform. Since Agricola did not make any radical changes in the late medieval Mass or in other sacramental rituals, the transformation of the Church in Finland was a much slower process than elsewhere in Sweden.[96] Jason Lavery argues that this may be due to Finland's geographical position as a 'frontier' where new ideas could be easily 'resisted, rejected or altered to meet local conditions'.[97]

In the agitation, the rebels of course criticized the Lutheran teaching *per se*, calling it a 'poisonous' and heretical doctrine, but they also criticized the threat against the sacraments, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the insults made towards the saints, as well as the abolition of the sacramentals: holy water, holy salt, and blessed palms.[98] We can also discern a less violent resistance in some parishes, where people without turning to violence reacted against clergy who wanted to impose the 'Mass in Swedish', as in the report from Skellefteå where the new Mass 'was not much welcome'.[99] Unfortunately, we are not always that well informed on the opponents' arguments. However, in some of the sources from the rebels and from other opponents of the new orders, this disruption is described as severe because it meant that the 'service of God' (Sw. *Guds tjänst*) was limited or even abolished. I have suggested that this recurrent term should be viewed as part of a covenant idea, based on the suggestion that the people of God

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94   Harrison, *Uppror och allianser*, p. 95.
95   Larsson, *Det medeltida Värend*, p. 348.
96   Lavery, 'The Reformation', pp. 132-3; Lavery, 'A Frontier of Reform', p. 64, 67.
97   Lavery, 'A Frontier of Reform', pp. 66-7.
98   Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 211-302.
99   *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia* 17, p. 56.

received gifts and grace but were also supposed to give something back.[100] This reciprocity can still be observed in the liturgy, when the congregation offers something to Christ (hymn-singing, praise, and offerings) and Christ offers something to the congregation (words of forgiveness, blessings, and the holy communion) in a continuous interplay. However, this service to God not only included attending the Mass but also pilgrimage, and the singing of the Hours in the monasteries.[101] If the preservation of the service was neglected or disrupted, the consequences were thought to be severe. It meant that the covenant was broken, which could lead to eternal damnation as well as punishment in this world through famine and other disasters.[102]

Against this view the king and the reformers insisted on an alternative way of describing what the service of God was really about: not to 'roar in the monasteries' (i.e. singing the Mass and/or the Hours), but rather to love and help one's neighbour. Consequently the king, who confiscated the chalices and monstrances in order to protect his people, was in fact the most prominent cultivator of the service of God, whereas the lazy monks and bishops were only thinking about themselves.[103]

Reformation and Negotiation

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the Reformation in Sweden is often described as a slow and smooth process. If this indeed was the case, it could at least partly be explained by popular resistance to the changes. In many ways the Reformation, and also later developments in the Church structure, gives the impression that it was the result of a negotiation, where people fought – peacefully or violently – to preserve the traditional forms of piety against what they considered to be a disruption. And this struggle neither stopped nor started with the Reformation. Rather, the pastoral

100 Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, pp. 292-311; Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 282-6; Berntson, 'Reformationsmotstånd', pp. 52-9.

101   It should be noticed that the appeal to 'the service of God' as the core of the disruption was not wholly unique to Sweden. In the Lincoln Articles, issued on 9 October 1536 during the English upheaval known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, the first article highlighted the suppression of the religious houses, 'whereby the service of our God is not well [maintained] but also the commons of your realm unrelieved, the which as we think is a great hurt to the commonwealth', quoted in Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage*, p. 455.

102   On the impact of God's vengeance, see Malmstedt, *Helgdagsreduktionen*, pp. 211-3; see also the discussions in Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, pp. 299-303; Stobaeus, *Hans Brask*, pp. 118-22; Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 296-301.

103   Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, pp. 333-43.

practice has more or less always been a field of compromise and negotiation. This perspective provides the means to regard the Reformation as a process of both continuity and disruption at the same time.

Among the elite, there seems to have been an awareness of the people's conservative opinion concerning rapid transformation in the Church. The Swedish reformers in many of their regulations clearly expect that their reform attempts will be resisted. Olaus Petri commences his apology for the Mass in Swedish by stating that in parts of the kingdom it was regarded as something 'unchristian' and that people thought that Mass should not be celebrated in Swedish since Latin had been used for many hundreds of years.[104] The reformers also explicitly adapted strategies to handle this opinion. After the Church meeting in Örebro 1529, where it was decided to preserve some old Church ceremonies if they could be interpreted in an Evangelical way, some German townspeople in Stockholm criticized the town council for its conservatism. Olaus Petri, who was chancellor of the council, responded that the outcome of the meeting in Örebro was due to the condition of the people: 'You have to treat the people in this country in a gentle way' ('man moste fara sachta medh thetta folket her j landet').[105]

Even though Olaus Petri claimed to treat the people in a gentle way, there were still upheavals in the kingdom. Soon after the Church meeting in Örebro, the rebellion of the nobility in Västergötland broke out. This was partly pacified through the king's promises to support the old traditional observances. For example, he promised to maintain as many monasteries as possible, even though it was appropriate for the remaining monasteries to work with charity and nursing. In practice, this was exactly what happened. A few monastic houses were maintained (and many of these received economic support from the government) and many were obliged to function as institutions for the sick and poor.[106]

At the end of 1533, King Gustav Vasa wrote a letter to Archbishop Laurentius Petri, commanding him not to make any reforms in the Church without his consent. According to the king, rapid reforms always lead to annoyances. If any reforms should be made, they should be performed in a gentle manner.[107] A similar rebuke was sent to the archbishop six years later, when the king told Laurentius Petri that he ought to know how 'rough' (*grofft*) the people of the kingdom were, and that they had limited comprehension

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104 Olavus Petri, *Samlade skrifter* 2, p. 391.
105 Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524-1529, p. 268.
106 Berntson, *Klostren och reformationen*, p. 211; Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*, p. 329.
107 *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 8, p. 352.

when it came to preaching and reforms, and therefore annoyances always followed.[108] The king therefore exhorted the archbishop to teach the people properly before any liturgical transformations were made; otherwise annoyances and rebellions would ensue.[109] The archbishop was told to assign good preachers who could teach the 'simple peasants' about faith and its 'fruits'. After the people had learned about faith, he could reform the Mass and other things.[110] Likewise, in *Articuli Ordinantiae* (1540), it is stipulated that the clergy should explain to the parishioners the reasons behind the abolition of the use of anointment oil; otherwise the people were likely to get annoyed.[111] As mentioned above, as late as August 1550, the king had to reproach the vicar Nils Jonae in Vadstena because of his reluctance to perform the elevation of the sacrament during Mass. According to the king, his way of eschewing the elevation made the peasantry furious. The elevation should be preserved not because of its theological importance but rather as a concession to the community.[112]

It is obvious that the king explicitly encouraged a slow reformation because of the people's conservative opinions. The reformers also took note of this problem. As mentioned, the 1537 edition of the Mass included the choice of singing certain parts of the liturgy in Latin. This tendency to make the 'Mass in Swedish' more traditional is also discernible in the 1541 edition of the Mass in Swedish, which is more in line with the traditional sung Latin Mass than the earlier editions; for example, the celebrant could choose to read the *Confiteor* on his own in Latin as an alternative to the Swedish text.[113]

This negotiation perspective provides a middle way between what I call a 'failure-paradigm', where the Reformation is described as a didactic endeavour which eventually failed,[114] and the confessionalization thesis, which usually describes the Reformation as a more or less successful attempt to discipline the people of Western Europe. The so-called negotiation paradigm, which has been developed on the basis of micro-historical studies, does not describe the process as either 'successful' or 'unsuccessful'; instead it talks about an ambition to reach a confessional ideal among the educated elite, elements of which could be appreciated by the gentry, even

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108 *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 12, pp. 184-8.
109 *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 12, p. 185.
110 *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 12, p. 185.
111 Ahnfelt, *Bidrag till Svenska*, pp. 14, 16.
112 *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* 21, p. 309.
113 See Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans*, pp. 292-4; Brilioth, *Nattvarden*, pp. 351-2.
114 See for example Strauss, *Luther's House*.

though other elements might be resisted.[115] From this perspective, moral and spiritual life in the parish originated from negotiations between local authorities and representatives of the elite.

During the Swedish rebellions during the early Reformation and also in the interaction taking place in other arenas, people reacted against the infringements and the disruption of traditional piety and claimed the importance of old customs, traditional rituals, and established actions, which were considered important for the welfare of the soul as well as for creating order in nature. I argue that the so-called rebellions in Sweden in 1525-1543 could be characterized as both illegitimate events as well as a kind of mobilized petition or negotiation, depending on the aims of the rebels. Usually these upheavals were so-called 'alliance-rebellions', where different social classes, with different goals for their struggles, were united under a similar disappointment with the government (albeit with different ideas on how to ultimately solve the problem). During these rebellions, for example (and later on in parliamentary discussions), peasants, burghers, clergy, and noblemen were able to put pressure on the government and demand, for the sake of the nation's well-being and of every Christian soul, a halt to the support for the Lutherans and a reversal of the confiscations of church property, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the transformation of the Mass and other sacraments, etc. Given that these rebellions often resulted in agreements with the king, it is possible to characterize them as negotiations over traditional religion.

Even though their ideas were not always new, the reformers did try to make decisive changes in the ecclesiastical structure, and people considered this to be something that threatened traditional piety. Several preconditions existed for these transformations. The Lutheran theologians presented ecclesiological ideas that differed from their Catholic counterparts. This included a new evaluation of holiness, of tradition, and man's activity in the justification process.[116] As a consequence, ritual actions were, as Robert W. Scribner has observed, deprived of all inner-worldly efficacy and the 'range' of official religion was limited. Another precondition for these transformations was the collaboration with temporal power and – in Sweden – the rise of the absolute state in the early modern period. However, the path towards modernity and the 'smooth' Reformation in Sweden was never straightforward.

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115 See Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion*, pp. 351-71; Holzem, 'De Konfessionsgesellschaft', pp. 80-1; Roodenburg, 'Social Control', pp. 147-8, 155; Wallace, *The Long European*, pp. 192-4; Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, pp. xxii-xxvi; Lotz-Heumann, 'Imposing Church', p. 248; Luria, 'Rural and village', pp. 51-60.
116 See Berntson, 'Reformationsmotstånd', pp. 36-8, 40-52.

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2   Trade and the Known World

Finnish Priests' and Laymen's Networks in the Late Medieval Baltic Sea Region

Ilkka Leskelä

In the summer of 1508, Magnus Buck, the vicar of the Nykyrko (Fin. Uusikirkko) parish in coastal Karelia, sailed to Tallinn (Ger. Reval) on his small ship of six lasts. In the Gulf of Tallinn, Danish privateers captured the ship with the crew and the goods, but the vicar escaped to the shore. There, he met with people from his parish, Finns and Karelians. He explained his despair to them, and, against a promise of one last of beer, enlisted their help in a venture to take his ship and goods back from the enemy. They found the ship in anchor at the beach of Pirita (at the cloister of St. Birgitta, now part of Tallinn), unguarded and with the vicar's crew bound in ropes, and were able to seize it back without harm to either themselves or the Danes.[1]

The reason for the bishop and two city magistrates of Tallinn to document and to testify in detail to this incident mirrored the precarious situation among the Baltic Sea powers: Denmark, Sweden, and the Hansa (here: Lübeck and Tallinn). In the summer of 1508, the tripartite conflict between Denmark, Sweden, and Lübeck had come to a momentary standstill, and Tallinn was very careful not to incite the warring parties. Both the spiritual and secular rulers of Tallinn wanted to make it clear to anybody inquiring about the incident that it was firmly between the vicar of Nykyrko and the Danish privateers, and did not involve the bishop or the city of Tallinn. In this they succeeded, because four days later the Danish privateer captains promised not to press charges in the case.[2]

The present chapter is not primarily focused on politics among the great Baltic Sea powers. Rather, the case of the Nykyrko vicar is interesting for three reasons. First, it shows a Finnish priest trading and becoming indebted in the Hanseatic port of Tallinn, with a very modest ship and small

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1   From a testimony of Nicolaus, Bishop of Tallinn, dated 4 August 1508; *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, document number 5336 (hereafter *FMU* followed by the document number).

2   For a survey of the political situation on the Baltic Sea in the year 1508, see e.g. Enemark, *Fra Kalmarbrev*, pp. 120-1. The promise of the Danish privateer captains, 8 August 1508; *FMU* 5337.

cargo.[3] Second, it shows that many 'Finns and Karelians' – i.e. people from Finland and Karelia, probably from the provinces of Finland Proper (Fin. Varsinais-Suomi), Uusimaa (Swe. Nyland), and Vyborg (Swe. Viborg, Fin. Viipuri) – were present in Tallinn, some of them living and working there, others visiting, probably also because of trade. Third, it shows a priest and members of his congregation joining together in a potentially hazardous venture in a foreign port about 200 kilometres from home. Such capacity for cooperation speaks of mutual agendas and trust, and suggests that a similar ethos could also be found in the home parish.

These pieces of information show in what circumstances a vicar and laymen from a parish could meet and act together, and how defending the priest could benefit his parishioners, and vice versa. They also illustrate a phenomenon I term translocality: the actions and agreements in Tallinn between the vicar and the parishioners naturally became a relevant part of the relations of these people back in the Nykyrko parish as well, and the memory of what had happened was probably passed on in the local communities. Journeys, meetings, trade, and other activity abroad widened people's horizons. This is important when considering the local relations, for example, of priests and their congregations on the one hand, and the local understanding of the wider world on the other – especially when we reach the sixteenth-century Lutheran Reformation.

In this chapter I argue that broad segments of Finnish (Swedish) society participated in overseas trade to the main Hanseatic ports, and furthermore that this is relevant for our understanding, for example, of the spread of Reformation thought and practices in the sixteenth century. In order to assess the role of the priests and laymen in this process, I first trace Finnish priests' participation in the trade and communication networks spanning the Baltic Sea. Second, I focus on the extensive lay trading contacts between the north Baltic Sea region (central and northern parts of modern Sweden, central and southern parts of modern Finland) and the main Hanseatic ports (Tallinn, Gdansk, Lübeck) as they are presented in the surviving harbour tax registers. The frequency and nature of the priests' and the lay-men's trade networks are compared, and discussed in relation to a scheme proposed for the early diffusion of the Reformation to Finland. Finally, a

3   One last equals a little below two metric tonnes. The vicar's ship was of six lasts, and thus could load about eleven tonnes, which in the general sixteenth-century Baltic Sea world is 'nothing more than a large open boat' (Kaukiainen, *A History*, p. 15). The ship may have been perhaps 10 metres long, probably had one sail, and could be operated by a crew of perhaps just three. See Kerkkonen, *Bondesegel*, pp. 177-210, here especially pp. 203-4.

hypothesis of a shared translocal experience in the Finnish Reformation context is developed, and its implications discussed.

Traffic in Goods, People, and Ideas Across the Baltic Sea

In the Baltic Sea region, the only land corridor connecting Fennoscandia with mainland Europe is the Karelian Isthmus at the northeastern end of the Gulf of Finland. In an east-west direction, land routes are found in the German-Polish region to the south, and in Lapland to the north. Thus, whether north-south or east-west, communication and trade in the Baltic Sea region tends to require the sea. On the other hand, the Baltic Sea is characterized by a continuum of narrow waterways and passages between islands: the Danish Sound, the Åland (Fin. Ahvenanmaa) and Turku (Swe. Åbo) Archipelago Seas, the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland, and the islands of Rügen, Usedom, Bornholm, Öland, Gotland, Åland, Hiiumaa, and Saaremaa (Ger. Dagö and Ösel), and hundreds of smaller isles on the western and northern coasts.

While many Baltic Sea coastal waterways are treacherous because of shoals and reefs, they are also sheltered from storms and offer good harbours, especially for smaller and shallower vessels. As direct traffic and moving bulk cargoes are much easier over the sea than over land, the Baltic Sea region has been a highway of maritime trade at least since the Viking era – and even more so during the high and late Middle Ages and during the Hanseatic domination, with traffic and urbanization increasing as the region was ever more tightly tied to the north European and emerging Atlantic markets. In general, trade within the Baltic Sea region was marked by the exchange of northern and eastern raw and agricultural products (furs, skins, metals, fish, butter, wax, hemp) for southern and western refined products of manufacture (textiles, tools, beverages). Notable exceptions to this pattern are the import of salt from the west to the salt-poor Baltic Sea region, and the export of Baltic and Polish grain to heavily urbanized Dutch and Flanders – and because of the harsh northern ecology, even to Sweden and Finland.[4]

As will be shown in this chapter, the movement of goods involved constant traffic of people – notably skippers and ship crews – over established routes between regions and port towns. Furthermore, trade involved a still larger number of sedentary merchants who communicated with their

4   Dollinger, *Die Hanse*, pp. 17-22, 49-56, 278-80, 401-2.

colleagues through written or oral messages carried by the skippers. Such trade and communication even involved priests, some of whom were skippers themselves. In addition, and especially over narrow waterways, migration of merchants, artisans, and even servants took place, not to mention the enlistment of mercenaries and Teutonic knights.

Such traffic and communication fostered a diffusion of ideas in the Baltic Sea region. This is apparent from the spread of Christianity, the towns governed by councils of burghers, architectural styles, clothing, kitchenware, and Middle Low German as the *lingua franca*, which left a permanent mark on Swedish, Estonian, and even Finnish. It is self-evident that during the Reformation, the physical movement of reformers, their writings, and their newly won adherents followed this existing pattern of traffic and communication, which must have had an important impact on the process that saw the Nordic and German-dominated regions of the Baltic Sea world become Protestant and in particular Lutheran.[5]

This strain of thought has been present in Finnish ecclesiastical history for about a century. Yet interestingly, starting with Olav Schalin (1946), it has been mainly used to argue why eastern Finland (Vyborg) was influenced by the Reformation before western Finland (notably the diocesan centre, Turku): according to this still prevalent argument, the early Reformation in the German east Baltic towns, especially Tallinn, and their proximity to and dominating role in trade for eastern Finland, brought Reformation thought first to eastern Finland. The hypothetical nature of this argument has been challenged mainly by scholars who have stressed the centrally led nature of the Swedish Reformation, weighing their interpretation towards Stockholm- and Turku-centric and thus western influence. This chaper tests the picture of proximity and distance with an analysis of actual traffic between northern and southern Baltic Sea regions and towns.[6]

Another aspect of Finnish ecclesiastical history has been the focus on the students' and especially the early Reformers' careers in the diocese of Turku, backed by studies in the universities of Paris and Prague, and in Germany, in Greifswald, Rostock, and Wittenberg. This strain of thought has focused on the influence of the teaching authorities of the age on young Finnish

5   For example, Dollinger, *Die Hanse*, pp. 340-63, 413-17; Gaimster, 'A Parallel History', *passim*; Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki*, pp. 32-8; Kallioinen, *Bonds of Trade*, p. 48; Kaukiainen, *A History*, pp. 8-9; Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon*, pp. 32-4.
6   Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*, pp. 132, 134, 152-3, 174-5; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 32; Heininen, *Agricolan perintö*, p. 11 (but contested on p. 17, where Turku is given as the 'bridgehead' of the Reformation since 1523); Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon*, p. 279. For a more cautious interpretation, see Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli uskonpuhdistuksen*, pp. 82-3.

students, and the learning experiences of the Finns while in the university towns.[7] Indeed, this aspect of the travels of the Finnish clergy must have been paramount for the understanding of Reformation theology and the implementation of ways to propagate it among the laity. In the present chapter, I trace the priests' role as traders. This activity falls outside the priests' clerical education, but nevertheless ties them to the communication networks of the Baltic Sea region, and, perhaps still more importantly, to their local lay communities.

Investigating the numbers and routes of actual people, both priests and laymen, who travelled the Baltic Sea is important for the discussion of the routes and the nature of the Lutheran Reformation's diffusion to Finland. Furthermore, it should be beneficial to our understanding of the local actions of priests and their congregations, and the role and limits of the clergy in controlling the diffusion of Reformation thought.[8]

The main problem with such an approach is the documentation. Trade and communication of priests can be approached through some extant fragmented source corpuses. Such anecdotal documents have been published in national or thematic source collections, and for the position of Finland in the Baltic Sea trade and communication networks we mainly refer to the *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*.[9] Additional information can be found in some surviving town legal records, here notably from Stockholm.[10] For the purposes of this chapter, an extremely interesting case is the letter collection of the Turku canon and provost Pavel Scheel (*c*. 1465-1516), surviving from the years 1509-1516.[11] The trading activity of the rural priests of southern Finland, seen as part of a broad lay trade network, can be studied through

7   Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 51-77 compared to pp. 83-5; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen*, pp. 187-90. Czaika largely follows this, but gives a refreshing view of the everyday experiences of the students, see Czaika, *David Cythraeus*, pp. 126-77.

8   This approach has been promoted recently by e.g. Fudge, Lavery, Rublack, and Poulsen.

9   The documents published in the *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* (*FMU*) have been digitized in the Diplomatarium Fennicum database, but without standardization or search tools that would allow any kind of statistically complete searches. Thus, reference is made to the original publication in print. For the usefulness of such documents for surveys covering long periods, see Kallioinen, *Bonds of Trade*, pp. 11-2, 125.

10   *Stockholms stadsböcker från äldre tid: Tänkeböcker 1492-1500, 1504-1514, 1514-1520* (hereafter *SSTB* followed by year and page number).

11   Helsinki National Library: Scheel letter collection (Paul Scheelin kokoelma). The Scheel letters are published in the *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* (*FMU*), and I will refer to them with the *FMU* document numbers.

the account books of Helmich Ficke (active from 1507 to his death in 1542), an early-sixteenth-century merchant in Tallinn.[12]

Late medieval sources for close study of the trade and communication networks of laymen, peasants, and even burghers with functional literacy tend to be rare. Apart from anecdotal chance survivals published in the source collections mentioned above, the activity of such entrepreneurs can be mainly found in customs registers, sporadically preserved in the Baltic Sea region in Tallinn, Gdansk (Ger. Danzig), and Lübeck.[13] Using such documents to study cultural communication must have different goals from the study of the argumentative and self-conscious correspondence of the elites. Still, for the purposes of comparison, they can reveal the main directions of communication, the numbers of people participating in the communication, the proportions of regular and periodical visits, and the intensity of communication, as in visits per year and per person.[14]

Priests in the Networks of Trade

The opening paragraph of this chapter described an early-sixteenth-century Finnish parish priest trading in Tallinn. How typical is this case, how widespread was the priests' trade, what ends did it serve, and how did it correspond to the trade of burghers and peasants? To my knowledge, no studies centred on these questions regarding the North Baltic have been conducted, although the trade contacts and travels of the priests should be of prime interest for anybody studying the Reformation era, because the trade networks could function as direct channels of Reformation knowledge, parallel to the official channels that went through the Church and the Crown, and because the networks also involved influential people, skippers, and merchants in the priests' congregations and hometowns.[15] The space here allows for only a condensed survey.

12   Reference to the account books of Helmich Ficke is through secondary literature by Kauki-ainen, *A History*, Kerkkonen, *Bondesegel*, and Salminen, *Vantaan ja Helsingin*.

13   Gdansk: Archivum Państwowe Gdańsk, Kamera palowa – Pfahlkammer (hereafter APG) 300/19, 1, 3, 5; Lübeck: *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbucher*. Reference to the Tallinn and early modern customs registers is made through secondary literature, mainly Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki* and Kaukiainen, *A History*.

14   Burkhardt, *passim*, argues that because of the various interests and standards for collection, such documents cannot be credibly mined for straightforward cliometric data. They can still give us a good picture of the main developments, and offer an appraisal of the *minimum* of trade and communication that took place (italics added).

15   Fudge, *Commerce and Print*, pp. 34-5, 94, 98, 113, 116.

Parish Priests

Magnus Buck (only known from 1508) from Nykyrko was far from the only Finnish parish priest who spent his time and energy in mercantile activity and overseas trips. That such activity was not primarily personal, but connected to the lifestyle and economy of coastal rural vicars in general, is attested in recurrent entries from vicars of several parishes in the account books of the Tallinn merchant Helmich Ficke.

One such example is Jacob Sigfredsson, vicar of the rural Helsinki parish (Swe. Helsinga, comprising modern Helsinki and Vantaa cities) from the 1510s to 1523/1524. Jacob exported butter, skins, and tar, and imported cloth, salt, beer, and iron. The quantities of his trade seem to be of similar magnitude to Magnus Buck's. In the beginning, Jacob did not sail himself, but sent and received his goods via a Turku burgher, Hans Krank, and via a local skipper in the Helsinki parish, Bengt Bagge. But from around 1520 Jacob made trading trips to Tallinn with his own ship, until his untimely death in 1523/1524 at the hands of a local parishioner. It is speculated that he was murdered because of disagreements in the collection of tithes for the Church – an activity connected with economics rather than religion.[16]

Jacob Sigfredsson was followed by Petrus Ragvaldi (only known from 1533), who continued to trade with Helmich Ficke in Tallinn and owned a ship together with the local reeve (Swe. *nämndeman*, Fin. *nimismies*). Petrus was an early supporter of the Lutheran Reformation, possibly in part a reflection of his proximity to and trading contacts with Tallinn. The next known Helsinga parish priest, Sigfrid Michaelis (only known from the 1570s), is also mentioned as a skipper and trader.[17]

The account books of Helmich Ficke show similar trade with vicars from five parishes in Nyland and Karelia.[18] Ficke's connections with vicars of southern Finland reached as far west as Kumlinge in the Åland Islands: in 1523, the Kumlinge vicar Nils Olafsson sent some goods to Tallinn via a local skipper, and requested that rye be sent back. This Ficke did, but because of a failed harvest in the North Baltic Sea region, he was able to sell the rye for an extremely high price. This resulted in Nils taking on debt, which he continued to pay back in the spring of 1524.[19]

16   Kerkkonen, *Bondesegel*, pp. 124; Salminen, *Vantaan ja Helsingin*, pp. 538-9.

17   Kerkkonen, *Bondesegel*, pp. 124; Salminen, *Vantaan ja Helsingin*, pp. 531, 539-42.

18   Parishes listed by Kerkkonen include Espoo (Swe. Esbo), Helsinki (Swe. Helsinga, modern Helsinki and Vantaa), Porvoo (Swe. Borgå), Vehkalahti (Swe. Veckelax), and Vesilahti (Swe. Vederlax); Kerkkonen, *Bondesegel*, pp. 124-5.

19   Kerkkonen, 'En åländsk prästman', pp. 21-8.

It is noteworthy that such a number of vicars had trading contacts with a single merchant in Tallinn. The vicars may also have traded with other Tallinn merchants, and other vicars may have had entirely different kinds of trade networks over the Gulf of Finland. Nevertheless, through his nodal position in trade for so many vicars, several of whom visited him personally, Helmich Ficke probably influenced the vicars' experiences and world views in general.

The Turku Cathedral Chapter

When we move from the parish priests to the Cathedral Chapter in Turku, we encounter trade of a different order of magnitude. The letter collection of the canon, archdeacon, and provost of Turku, Pavel Scheel, from the years 1509-1516 contains 121 letters, 71 of which he received from his trading partners, predominantly from major Baltic Sea ports: Tallinn, Gdansk, Stralsund, Lübeck, and Stockholm. Scheel's trade with the partners in these major Hanseatic ports went on for years, until his death in 1516. In this trade, Scheel's Stockholm partners played a major role both as independent merchants and as agents in the Lübeck trade.[20]

Scheel's trade can be roughly divided into four different but overlapping spheres depending on the role of Scheel himself. He traded in his own name for cloth, wine, hops, and manufactured goods; also the payments sent to Rome via Herman Bremer in Lübeck were Scheel's semi-private affair, a requisite of his official promotion to the office of provost in 1515. He traded in the Chapter's name and funding for a new copper roof for Turku Cathedral, and he sent the Chapter's butter for Finnish students studying in the universities of Rostock and Greifswald.

Scheel's correspondence with the Gdansk merchant Hans Chonnert shows how a clergyman's trade merged into that of the Turku burghers. Chonnert's letters to Scheel regularly mention Peter Wije, a merchant and a skipper, who transported part of the traded goods. He apparently worked closely with Scheel, and is mentioned a couple of times as a secondary recipient for goods which Chonnert sent to Scheel. Another merchant associate and skipper, who apparently had a very warm meeting with Chonnert in 1514, was Peter van Aken, who later became a mayor of Turku.[21]

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20   Leskelä, 'Kauppa, verkosto', pp. 13-24; Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, pp. 237, 241, 247, 451-7. Included in the Scheel collection are also a couple of letters from Riga and Vyborg, but Scheel's contacts with these towns were of short duration and little value.

21   Leskelä, 'Kauppa, verkosto', pp. 52-3, 78-82, 98-9.

An important part of Scheel's relationship with Chonnert were Chonnert's young merchant apprentices, who were residing in Turku to learn practical skills and languages, and to network with their future trading partners. Chonnert sent both his merchant apprentice, Pavel, and his own son, Hans Chonnert Jr., to reside in Turku. Pavel stayed with the aforementioned Peter Wije for several years, and Chonnert Jr. stayed with Scheel from autumn 1513 to summer 1514.[22] This kind of close cooperation between Scheel and the Turku burghers suggests that there was less direct competition between the burghers and the clergy than is often suggested. At least the situation had changed from the 1470s, when a Turku skipper was fined because he transported goods belonging to churchmen.[23]

The value of Scheel's trade was several hundred marks[24] per year, roughly ten times as much as the trade of the aforementioned parish priests, and comparable to rich Turku burghers. It has been suggested that running such a business ate up considerable amounts of time and may have overshadowed Scheel's priestly and administrative responsibilities. On the other hand, it has been speculated that Scheel's office as the archdeacon probably involved trade representation of the whole chapter, although larger transactions still seem to have been the domain of the whole chapter under the surveillance of the provost: it was the provost Henrik Wenne (d. 1513) who had originally organized the copper roof trade with Herman Bremer in Lübeck and the financiers and go-betweens in Stockholm, and Scheel does not seem to have been involved in this business before Wenne died.[25]

In the letters received by Scheel, there are hints of yet further trading priests, canons, and bishops in Turku, who had contacts at least in Tallinn

22   Pavel and Hans Chonnert Jr.; Leskelä, 'Kauppa, verkosto', pp. 83-5.

23   *FMU* 3748; Leskelä, 'Kauppa, verkosto', p. 31. On the competition between the burghers and the Church, see Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki*, pp. 222-5. On the late-fifteenth-century conflicts between the burghers and the Church, see Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, p. 441. It is noteworthy that these anecdotes are the only ones where the burghers' and the Church's trade in Turku is seen as separate and competing with each other.

24   Trade with Herman Bremer in Lübeck was accounted in Lübeck marks, whereas trade with Hans Chonnert in Gdansk and the family of Hans Suurpää in Tallinn was accounted in Prussian marks.

25   Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, pp. 218, 453; Leskelä, 'Kauppa, verkosto', pp. 25-6; *FMU* 5688. The project of rebuilding and renovating the cathedral had started about a decade earlier, and it is said to have eaten up the liquid capital of the Cathedral Chapter for several years. See *FMU* 5161 (Turku Cathedral Chapter to Svante Nilsson 28.12.1505): the chapter was unable to give Svante Nilsson the loan he asked for, because an earlier loan was still unpaid, and the last years' monetary income of the chapter had been used up in buying new bells and building the high choir.

and Gdansk. In the early years of the sixteenth century, several priests, canons, and bishops of Turku were involved in overseas trade.[26]

The Cathedral-builders' Network

The rebuilding of the Turku Cathedral and the copper roof trade were obviously a special case compared to ordinary Chapter economics. The copper roof plates had a value of 560 Lübeck marks – several times Scheel's annual trade balance. The Turku Chapter lacked assets to pay for such a large investment. Financial support was needed, and it was found in Stockholm: two Stockholm burghers, Claus Boye and Herman Lutting, sent Swedish raw copper as a payment to Herman Bremer in Lübeck, who organized and supervised the production of the plates. However, the value of the Swedish raw copper sent to Bremer covered only half of the expenses, and Bremer was promised money from donations given to churches in Stockholm and the archdiocese of Uppsala. Essentially, all of the copper was paid with loans, half of them backed by Herman Lutting in Stockholm, the other half by the archdiocese of Uppsala, the mother see of the Turku Chapter.[27]

Not only did Claus Boye in Stockholm organize the payment, he also acted as the middle man in the whole trade over many years and the ensuing correspondence.[28] His role in the trade must have been arranged and agreed upon earlier than 1513. We have no documents telling when and where the arrangement was made, but the city books (*Tänkeböcker*) of Stockholm contain many entries which shed light on the careers and connections between Claus Boye, Herman Lutting, Herman Bremer, and Pavel Scheel.

Herman Bremer was a member of the Holmevarer, a guild of Lübeck merchants specializing in trade between Stockholm and Lübeck. In the years 1493-1505 he had visited or resided in Stockholm, where he traded, for example, in Swedish metals. A detailed survey of Bremer's activity in Stockholm and Lübeck is not appropriate here, but his prominence in the Lübeck-Stockholm trade is emphasized through three aspects: he worked as a representative of the Fuggers in Lübeck, which allowed him to coordinate

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26   Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, p. 454.
27   *FMU* 5760 and 5762 (1514); *FMU* 5788, 5797, 5805, 5815, 5825, 5827, 5834, 5837, and 5838 (1515). Leskelä, 'Kauppa, verkosto', p. 39. The copper roof plates weighed about 2.5 tonnes. It is possible that the roof plates were manufactured in Lübeck from Swedish copper, apparently because the technique to produce standard-sized copper roof plates was not available in Sweden in the early sixteenth century. The loans were still unpaid in 1515, two years after the first batches of copper were sent to Turku; see *FMU* 5797, 5805.
28   *FMU* 5688, 5788, 5797, 5805, 5815, 5827.

bills of exchange between Lübeck, Amsterdam, and Rome; in the 1520s he was chosen as mayor in Lübeck; and he later had contacts even with King Gustav Vasa (r. 1523-1560). Bremer's connections were also used when Scheel tried to find skilled builders and roof makers to renovate Turku Cathedral and actually put the copper plates on the roof. He even calculated the number of copper plates needed to cover the roof, when Scheel apparently did not know how to do the calculations himself.[29]

Claus Boye's and Herman Lutting's careers in Stockholm ran in many ways parallel to Bremer's. Both Boye and Lutting traded in Swedish iron and copper, and had a very prominent position in the trade. Boye, for example, had some 200 tonnes of copper in storage in 1520, whereas Lutting had been collecting Stockholm's iron taxes in Ångermanland in 1505. Both Boye and Lutting had several positions in the city government, and Boye ended up as the city mayor in 1520, after the Danish king Christian II (r. 1513-1523) executed many of the Swedish ruling elite in the Stockholm Bloodbath. Boye was able to keep this position even after Gustav Vasa conquered Stockholm in 1523, a sign of both power and shrewd political flexibility.[30]

In addition, Claus Boye and Pavel Scheel were connected via a mortgage and a fatherless boy: Boye had a stepson, George (Ørian), whose father had been of Finnish origin. In 1511 Scheel travelled to Stockholm to be present when George reached adulthood and became the owner of an estate which was until then supervised by Boye. Possibly Scheel was the guardian of a minor, or the godfather of George, or the Turku Cathedral Chapter was involved in the family affair. A couple of years later George spent some time under Scheel's supervision in Finland, and later still, studied at the university of Rostock with many other students who had been under Scheel's supervision in Turku, and he partially depended on funds sent by Scheel on behalf of the Chapter. Thus the mutual upbringing and support of a university student connected Boye and Scheel at the same time as they traded with each other.[31]

Lastly, Herman Bremer in Lübeck was the host to Johannes Petri, a young Finnish priest who represented the diocese and the Cathedral Chapter of

29 *SSTB* 1492-1500, pp. 80, 82, 144, 146, 207, 270, 401, 402, 413; *SSTB* 1504-14, pp. 13, 18, 20, 25, 45; *Hanserecesse* 5, p. 338; *Hanserecesse* 7, p. 277; *Hanserecesse* 8, p. 510; Rossi, 'Die Natie', p. 188; *FMU* 5815, 5825, 5827, 5834; Dollinger, *Die Hanse*, p. 213.

30 *SSTB Ämbetsbok* 1419-1544, pp. 241, 244, 252, 257, 258, 263, 265, 280, 321, 328; *SSTB* 1504-14, pp. 31-2, 64, 136, 185-8; *SSTB* 1514-20, pp. 188, 274; Boye's career, see Sjöden, *Stockholms borgerskap*, pp. 291-4.

31 *SSTB* 4: p. 219. Magister Henrik Krusselmann's letter to Claus Boye, 10 August 1514; *FMU* 6702 (the complete letter is found in *Nya källor*, document 346).

Turku as a member of the Swedish delegation to Rome, and who travelled at least twice through Lübeck. In 1515, he returned from Rome with Gustav Trolle, the newly consecrated archbishop of Uppsala (r. 1515-1521), who, according to Bremer, hoped Petri could join his administration in Uppsala. Petri was also representing Scheel in the papal curia, and Bremer was acting as a middleman in directing Scheel's money transfers to Johannes Petri and the curial documents to Scheel. If Bremer and Scheel had perhaps never physically met, they were personally connected through Johannes Petri, whom Bremer thought was a very promising priest.[32]

Priestly Members of Turku Burgher Families

As far as is known, all of the priests, prelates, and bishops mentioned so far stemmed from the nobility or landed gentry (Swe. *frälse*). In no way did this prevent them from participating in trade. However, it is interesting to note that about 40 per cent of priests in the diocese of Turku with a known family background originated from among the burghers of the towns.[33] The most notable of them was the Turku Bishop Laurentius Michaelis Suurpää (r. 1500-1506). He belonged to a rich burgher family of Turku, with many members in the town council in the fifteenth century. His father, Michael Suurpää, was mayor of Turku, 1455-1456. In the fifteenth century, a member of the family, Rawald Suurpää, moved his business from Turku to Stockholm, where he became a burgher. An early-sixteenth-century member of the family, Hans Suurpää, moved to Tallinn, where he, and later his widow, traded with the aforementioned Pavel Scheel in Turku, among others.[34]

Another central figure of Finnish Reformation history who also belonged to a merchant bourgeois family is the famous writer-translator of two Finnish songbooks, Hemmingius of Masku (vicar of Masku parish 1586-1619). Hemmingius's uncle, father, and brother were burghers of Turku in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the family's participation in trade was probably older and continued longer. At least Hemmingius's father was among the Turku burghers who traded with Gdansk. It is likely that Hemmingius was as dependent on exchange of local products for foreign goods as were his rural colleagues in Nykyrko and Helsinki parishes. But

32   *FMU* 5688, 5760, 5762, 5788. Johannes Petri's or the Turku Cathedral Chapter's debt to Herman Bremer: *FMU* 5981 (14 August 1519) and 5982 (August 1519); Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen*, pp. 143-4; Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, pp. 243-4.

33   Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen*, pp. 139-40.

34   On the Suurpää family, see Leskelä, 'Suurpää'.

he probably did not need to trade in his own name, because so many of his family members were burghers of Turku, affording him access to the world of trading networks through them.[35]

North Baltic Shipping and Local Orientations

In order to compare the experience of Finnish vicars and canons to that of the laymen, we need a general picture of late medieval and early modern Finnish trade in the North Baltic. In what follows, I present a survey of the overseas trade of the Finnish coastal parishes and towns, starting from Vyborg in the eastern Gulf of Finland, and moving westwards to Finland Proper and the western coast of Finland. Because of the nature of the source material, which is mostly harbour tax registers, the approach is weighted towards the quantitative. My goal is to sketch a picture of Finnish trading activity within the North Baltic world on the one hand, and between the North Baltic and the southern Baltic on the other hand. This serves as a comparative background for the discussion of the translocal presence and experiences of both the priests and the laymen.[36]

The Gulf of Finland, a Tallinn Hinterland

The main trade routes from Vyborg went by sea to Tallinn and overland to Russia. The quantity and nature of the Russian trade is hard to tackle, because no registers of the trade have been preserved, and the anecdotal evidence is heavily conflict-oriented, i.e. documenting the problems of the trade rather than the normal conduct. For the purposes of this chapter, it suffices to say that even during the endemic conflict from the late fifteenth century onwards, Karelian contacts with the region of Novgorod must have been continuous, with considerable impact on local culture and self-understanding.

Regarding the trade to Tallinn, the situation is much clearer. Tallinn had a dominant position as the central nexus of the Hanseatic trade with Russia, and it commanded the route from Vyborg, Porvoo (Swe. Borgå), and the provinces of Uusimaa and Viipuri (Karelia) to the Hanseatic Baltic Sea ports. It should be no surprise that ships sailing directly from the Finnish

35   Oja, 'Maskun kirkkoherra', p. 58.
36   For a general discussion of the various harbour tax resisters, see Lauffer, Stark, Burkhardt, and Hans-Jürgen Vogtherr's introduction in *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbucher*, vol. 1.

harbours of the Gulf of Finland to Gdansk or Lübeck are extremely rare in
the late medieval and early modern sources. For example, out of the *c*. 150
ship arrivals from the diocese of Turku in Gdansk between the years 1468
and 1476, only two were recorded as coming directly from Vyborg, and
no ships directly from Porvoo were recorded. Both arrivals from Vyborg
recorded the same skipper, a certain Peter Nigelsson, who is also recorded
arriving three times from Turku, and once from 'Finland' (likely Finland
Proper).[37]

In 1560, seven ships from Vyborg are recorded as having sailed to Han-
seatic ports on the southern Baltic Sea coasts, whereas 22 ships sailed to
Estonia. No ships are recorded from Porvoo, but the newly founded town of
Helsinki (1550, Swe. Helsingfors) sent seven ships to the Hanseatic ports on
the southern Baltic Sea coasts and thirteen to Estonia. Probably most ships
sailing from Vyborg and Helsinki to Estonia had Tallinn as their destination.
Sixteenth-century sources for peasant trade across the Gulf of Finland show
that Tallinn was indeed the nexus of local trade: the province of Viipuri
(Karelia) is recorded as having had 69 peasant skippers in 1545, and 50
peasant vessels from the province paid customs in Tallinn in 1574. For the
province of Nyland, directly opposite to Tallinn, the numbers are 85 peasant
skippers in 1545, and 77 peasant vessels paying customs in Tallinn in 1574.
The Nyland contacts with Tallinn also included immigration to Tallinn and
family ties over the Gulf of Finland.[38]

Because the numbers of local peasant skippers and skippers paying
customs in Tallinn are from different years, this data cannot be used to
calculate exact percentages for the shipping to Tallinn. Instead, it may be
that the categorically smaller numbers for 1574 indicate that there were
fewer overall peasant skippers in the provinces of Vyborg and Nyland than
30 years earlier, or that Tallinn had lost some of its trade potential because of
the Livonian war (1558-1583). Although some peasant skippers from Nyland
also sailed to Stockholm and probably also to Finland Proper and Turku,
the proximity, size, and importance of Tallinn for the whole Baltic Sea trade
and the Hanseatic trading system meant that this town had no rivals on
the Gulf of Finland.

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37   Vyborg: 300/19,3, p. 180ᵛ, APG; 300/19,5, p. 128, APG; Finland: 300/19,5, p. 98, APG.
38   Kaukiainen, *A History of Finnish Shipping*, p. 13; Kerkkonen, *Bondesegel*, p. 56; Salminen,
'Uusmaalaisten Tallinnanperinnöt'; Salminen, *Vantaan ja Helsingin*, pp. 351-70.

Finland Proper

Further westwards along the coast is Finland Proper with the Turku and
Åland archipelagos and the city of Turku, at the time the second-largest
town in the Swedish realm. The peasant skippers of this region had lively
contacts with Stockholm and its hinterland, the Lake Mälaren region. In
1556, 170 peasant ships from Finland Proper and Satakunta (Swe. Satakunda),
and 93 ships from the Åland Islands paid customs in Stockholm. For the
year 1560, the numbers are 113 and 48, respectively.[39]

   Interestingly, altogether fifteen ship arrivals from Finland and the
Turku archipelago (*Finnischen Scheeren*) by twelve different skippers are
recorded in the Gdansk harbour tax registers in 1460 and 1474-1476.[40] These
records suggest that peasant traders from Finland Proper sailed all the
way to Gdansk. However, when we take a closer look at the names of the
skippers, we find that five out of the twelve are also recorded as arriving
from Turku at other times. For example, Bend Crade is recorded as arriving
nine times from Turku between the years 1470 and 1476, twice from the
Turku archipelago in 1475 and 1476, and once from Stockholm in 1476. He
is recorded as a burgher of Turku in 1486.[41] It seems that shipping from the
rural parts of Finland Proper to Gdansk was not independent of the shipping
from Turku. This echoes the trade agreements of the vicar of the Helsinga
parish, Jacob Sigfredsson, whose trade to Tallinn first passed through the
hands of a Turku burgher (see above).

   Seen from a broader perspective, the presence of Finland Proper and
the Turku archipelago in the Gdansk harbour tax registers is an anomaly,
because the region already had a bustling merchant town, Turku, which
was closely connected with Gdansk (see below). No other North Baltic
coastal region in the Swedish realm is recorded in the late-fifteenth-century
Gdansk registers, save the island of Gotland (which at this time was in fact
controlled by Denmark). Apparently, in Östergötaland, Uppland, and the
region around Stockholm, international trade was channelled through the
towns and was in the hands of the burghers – just as Swedish law ordered.
The islands in the Turku archipelago perhaps compare to Gotland, but
Finland Proper seems to be an anomaly in this regard, even if the number

39   Kaukiainen, 'Suomen asuttaminen', p. 111.
40   300/19, 1 and 5 (*norderbodd*, or North Bothnia), APG; The year 1460 recorded only a single
'Finnish' ship, and no ships from 'Finland' or the 'Archipelago' can be found in the books for the
years 1468-1472, nor in the sixteenth-century documents.
41   300/19, 3 and 5, APG; *FMU* 4263.

of skippers arriving from Turku completely dwarfs the number of skippers arriving from Finland Proper.[42]

Turku and the Dominant Role of the Gdansk Trade

For the burghers and skippers of Turku, Stockholm was an important destination, with around twelve voyages recorded each year between 1544 and 1570, although there are major fluctuations and the trend seems to have been downwards. Towards the east, the recorded number of annual voyages from Turku to Tallinn in the mid-sixteenth century was around six, again with major fluctuations. Direct shipping took place to other Baltic and German ports, but Gdansk was of minor significance. For example, direct shipping from Turku to Lübeck was around two ships per year according to the Lübeck harbour tax registers of the years 1492-1494, and rose to around three ships per year in the mid-sixteenth century.[43]

The prominent role of Gdansk for the long-distance trade of Turku has been researched and discussed.[44] In the years 1460, 1468-1472, and 1474-1476, altogether 163 ships from Turku arrived in Gdansk, around eighteen per year. The number for the year 1521 is thirty, and the yearly average for 1548-1560 is approximately fourteen. As noted above, shipping from the rural parts of Finland Proper to Gdansk in the years 1460 and 1474-1476 seems to have been connected with Turku shipping, and the fifteen ships from Finland Proper and the Turku archipelago could be added to the Turku ships, increasing the number of yearly visits in the fifteenth century to around twenty. Even without this adjustment, skippers sailed directly from Turku to Gdansk more frequently than to any other Baltic Sea port, and apart from the voyages to Stockholm and perhaps to Tallinn, those to Gdansk completely overshadowed all other direct shipping lines from Turku.[45]

The 163 Turku ships arriving in Gdansk in the later fifteenth century were helmed by around 75 different skippers.[46] Hence each of the skippers

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42   One mainland region might compare to Finland Proper in this regard: Curonia. Even if shipping from Riga, Tallinn, and Narva to Gdansk bypassed the Curonian coast, the locals still figure in the Gdansk harbour tax registers; 300/19, 1, 3, 5, APG: Kurland.

43   Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki*, p. 195; *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbucher*, pp. 1861-1937. The Lübeck Pound toll registers reach to the year 1496, but no ships from Turku are recorded in 1495 and 1496.

44   Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki*, pp. 169-71; Lauffer 1894, pp. 1, 6, 10.

45   300/19,1, 3, 5, APG: Turku; Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki*, p. 195.

46   The number cannot be accurate because it is based on the skippers' names as recorded in the registers. Based on a comparison of individual names, arrival times, and the tax value, there were probably some skippers with identical names. In addition, we cannot leave aside the

sailing from Turku to Gdansk visited Gdansk around 2.2 times during the recorded nine years. The number of arrivals from Turku in Gdansk is close to the total of arrivals from Stockholm, around 180. As the Stockholm arrivals are recorded from some 115 different skippers altogether, each of the Stockholm skippers visited Gdansk around 1.6 times over the recorded years. A comparison with 133 arrivals from Tallinn in the ships of around 90 different skippers puts the general frequency of Tallinn skippers' visits to Gdansk at around 1.5 per skipper over the recorded years.[47]

In the late medieval period, the populations of Stockholm and Tallinn were twice or three times that of Turku. Hence, the proportion of skippers sailing from Turku to Gdansk is comparatively higher than the proportion of skippers sailing from Stockholm and Tallinn. Thus it becomes evident that while they were more numerous, the skippers of Stockholm and Tallinn did not have such intensive and enduring contacts with Gdansk as did the skippers of Turku. It was roughly three times as usual for a skipper from Turku to visit Gdansk as it was for a Stockholm or Tallinn skipper.

On the other hand, a comparison of North Baltic shipping to Lübeck in the 1490s shows the complete dominance of ships from Stockholm and Tallinn in comparison with ships from Turku. The value of the shipping from Stockholm was 50 times and from Tallinn 125 times that of the value of shipping from Turku. While Turku ships were probably smaller than those from Stockholm and Tallinn, and the comparison of the values of shipping is thus not directly comparable to the numbers of ships discussed under Gdansk, the difference in the value of shipping undoubtedly tells of a drastic difference in the number of ships and the frequency of contacts.[48]

These comparisons serve to give us an insight into the local prominence of trade contacts with different towns from Turku, which in turn gives us a hint of how the locals might have placed the other towns on their mental map of

possibility that some skippers were recorded at times with their patronym, and at other times with their family name or byname.

47   300/19,1, 3, 5, APG: Stockholm. Skippers Laurens Schalm, Olaf Magnusson, Lasse Moll(er), Jacob Andersson, Claus Swarte, Hinrik Karl, Benedicte Crade, and Olaf Andrisson are listed in Gdansk at least five times over the recorded nine years. Sailing from Turku to Gdansk took from two to three weeks. This time does not include time for making deals and loading and unloading cargoes at the starting and end points; the whole trip from Turku to Gdansk to Turku may have taken six or seven weeks; cf. Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki*, p. 238. For example, in 1514 the skipper-merchant Peter van Aken stayed in Gdansk at least two weeks, *FMU* 5732, 5737. It is likely that skippers who sailed from Turku to Gdansk two or three times per year did not have the time to visit other southern Baltic Sea coast towns, unless perhaps from Gdansk. Trips within the Turku-Stockholm-Tallinn triangle might still be a possibility.

48   Vogtherr's introduction in *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbucher*, vol. 1, p. 37.

the Baltic Sea. It also serves as a good comparison with the aforementioned trade contacts of the Turku provost Pavel Scheel. Thanks to the regular shipping, for the people living in Turku or trading from there, Gdansk was easier to reach than even Stockholm, and Gdansk and Stockholm were much more 'present' than Tallinn, not to speak of the other Hanseatic ports. Although Finland Proper and Turku belonged to the Swedish realm, their special connection with Gdansk probably influenced the local world-view. This is interesting when we remember that Gdansk, which had sought the protection of the Polish king from the Teutonic Knights in the mid-fifteenth century, belonged (and still belongs) in the Catholic world, whereas the rest of the Baltic Sea Hanseatic ports stayed Lutheran after embracing the Lutheran Reformation in the 1520s.[49]

Orientation of Rauma, Ulvila, and Ostrobothnia

As we follow the Finnish coast northwards from Turku and Finland Proper, we come to Kalanti (Swe. Kaland) and Satakunta, with the towns of Rauma (Swe. Raumo) and Ulvila (Swe. Ulfsby), and then Ostrobothnia. The peasant trade of Satakunta, with the Stockholm and the Lake Mälaren region as its destination, is already included in the number of peasant traders from Finland Proper discussed above. But the towns of Rauma and Ulvila show an independent pattern of long-distance trade. These towns and Ostrobothnia had the right to trade over the Baltic Sea, and skippers from these locations are mentioned in several Hanseatic ports.[50]

Because of the comparatively small population of Rauma, Ulvila, and Ostrobothnia, and their distance from the Baltic Sea trade nexus, it is understandable that the activity of their traders is mostly lost in the margins of error of the fragmentary and partial medieval source material left to us. Furthermore, Ulvila was waning in the sixteenth century, and only a few of the people of Ostrobothnia seem to have used their right to trade beyond Stockholm. Ships both from Ulvila and Bothnia are mentioned in the late-fifteenth-century Gdansk harbour tax registers only once.[51]

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49   For the history of Gdansk, see e.g. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*.

50   Kallioinen, *Bonds of Trade*, p. 48; Kaukiainen, 'Suomen asuttaminen', p. 100.

51   Norderbodd: 300/19, 3 (1471), p. 154ᵛ APG; Ulvila: 300/19, 5 (1476), p. 256, APG; The burghers of Ulvila were first ordered to move to found the town of Helsingfors on the Nyland coast, and in 1558 the town of Björneborg was founded near Ulvila, but closer to the sea. After this date, the burghers of Ulvila are no longer mentioned as international merchants. Kaukiainen, 'Suomen asuttaminen', 103-5.

Burghers from Rauma sailed regularly to Tallinn and ports on the southern Baltic Sea coast. Between 1471 and 1476, on average two small ships per year from Rauma arrived in Gdansk. In view of the small size of the town, two ships per year and nine known skippers suggest that shipping to Gdansk was locally important and that there were long-term trade contacts between Rauma and Gdansk. Burghers of Rauma are also mentioned as sailing to Stockholm, Tallinn, Stralsund, and Rostock. According to the account books of Helmich Ficke, trade with Tallinn seems to have been especially important.[52]

Laymen's Experience: Stockholm, Tallinn, and Gdansk

This survey has only recorded the numbers of voyages and the individually known skippers. They were far from the only people who crossed the seas. Each ship required a crew, and while smaller ships on shorter routes could be sailed with very small crews indeed, the crews alone multiply the number of people travelling when compared to the skippers only. Many ships probably had passengers too, especially those travelling to Stockholm and Tallinn, which are known to have had a considerable proportion of inhabitants and burghers of Finnish origin. Most of these immigrants, especially women, were not skippers or sailors who had decided to stay in the city, but people who more or less planned their move – because of marriages, more lucrative trade or job opportunities, or perhaps because they were social misfits and did not get along with people in their local community.[53]

This means that Finnish visits to Tallinn and Stockholm were numerous. Even if the yearly numbers of visits are recorded in the dozens rather than hundreds, because of the small population of Finland, many if not most people of the southern Finland coastal parishes knew someone who regularly visited or lived in the nearby 'metropolis'. Contacts with these cities were strong, and the cities had a permanent place in people's experience. It is most likely that they were aware of political, social, and religious developments in their nearby 'metropolis'. The rather sharp difference in the contact orientation of eastern and western Finland meant that Karelia and Nyland shared a Tallinn-centric experience of the wider world, whereas for the people of Finland Proper, Satakunta, and Ostrobothnia, Stockholm was the central place.

52   300/19, 3 (1469-1472), pp. 72, 137, 155, 186ᵛ APG; 300/19, 5 (1474-1476), pp. 59-60, 102, 255, 257, APG; Kerkkonen, *Borgare och bondeseglare*, pp. 237-75.
53   Lamberg, 'Kestien ja ruokaruotsien', pp. 59-67.

What about Turku with its dense connections to Gdansk: how widespread was the Turku experience of Gdansk? The late-fifteenth-century harbour tax registers of Gdansk offer one possible way to find out how many people might have been on the move between Turku and Gdansk. In addition to the origin, name, and tax assessment of the skipper, the registers also record the individual traders' lots transported in each ship, listed according to the name of the trader. Almost 600 cargo lots are listed under the skippers arriving from Turku, belonging to around 290 individual traders.[54] Thus, in nine years out of a period of 17, some 300 people residing in Turku traded with partners in Gdansk, and/or transported others' goods to Gdansk.

Probably not all of the 300 were burghers of Turku. Firstly, this figure includes an unknown number of German guests residing in Turku for a shorter period, possibly just one sailing season, and then returning home.[55] Secondly, this number also includes people from the countryside around Turku. This is evident from mid-sixteenth-century evidence, when trade between Turku and Gdansk had roughly the same proportions as in the later fifteenth century. At the time, about a quarter of the people trading from Turku had to pay full tax for their goods, implying that they did not own real estate in the town, possibly did not reside there, and thus – if the Swedish town law was followed – were not burghers.[56] Thirdly, some of the skippers arriving from Turku may have been burghers of Gdansk or other towns, although the prevalence of Swedish-type names and patronymics as well as anecdotal evidence strongly suggests that late medieval and early modern Turku trade was mostly carried in Finnish ships.[57]

Does 300 people in nine years amount to much for Turku? Based on sixteenth-century tax lists, it is thought that early modern Turku had something over 200 burghers and no more than 2500 inhabitants.[58] The number of burghers might not give us the total population of potential traders, because it does not include those traders who were not burghers of the town: visiting

54   300/19, 1, 3, 5, APG. The number of traders also includes all but ten skippers, who are not shown to have transported any cargoes of their own.

55   Examples of Gdansk guests in Turku: see Pavel and Hans Jr. in this chapter under priests in the networks of trade: the Turku Cathedral Chapter.

56   Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki*, pp. 211 (table 14), 215. Kallioinen treats the people who had to pay full tax as burghers of Turku. However, they were more likely residents in one of the nearby parishes. Cf. Henric Hollo – father to Hemmingius of Masku, the writer-translator of a famous Lutheran songbook in Finnish – who resided in the countryside but sent cargoes to Gdansk via Turku, paid full tax until he bought a house in Turku and gained burgher rights there: Oja, 'Maskun kirkkoherra', pp. 58-9.

57   Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki*, p. 209.

58   Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki*, pp. 49-51, 57; Kaukiainen, 'Suomen asuttaminen', p. 105.

rural traders and foreign guests – about a quarter of all traders, based on the mid-sixteenth-century data. We may thus estimate that within a generation, close to 300 men may have used Turku as their base for trading. The roughly 300 listed traders who sent goods to Gdansk closely matches this population. The listed 75 or so skippers alone make up a quarter of the estimated trader population, but as with the traders, this number may include skippers who were not burghers and who lived in the countryside or in the archipelago.

As the number of Turku traders sending their goods to Gdansk is based on data from nine non-consecutive years only, the actual number of traders and skippers may have been even higher. This may eventually require a reappraisal of the number of men trading in Turku. The point, however, is that most if not all of the Turku traders sooner or later sent cargoes to Gdansk. Naturally, having sent goods once or twice to Gdansk does not make a trader specifically Gdansk-oriented. As we have seen in the example of Pavel Scheel, a merchant of Turku could have wide-ranging and long-duration contacts with several Baltic Sea ports. But Turku trade to Gdansk as a whole was clearly intensive, and as a result, Gdansk was a central part of the traders' experience.

While hypothetical and elusive, these calculations help to elucidate a human scale for the Turku-Gdansk connection: it was probably as important as the Turku connection with Stockholm, and is likely to have been more important than the Turku connection with Tallinn. From the North Baltic Sea perspective, the orientation towards Gdansk was a special characteristic of Turku.[59]

Baltic Sea Trade Networks: A Shared Reformation Era Experience

Together, the three previous sections amount to an interesting, layered picture of Finnish priests' trading activity in the early sixteenth century, and as a background to it, the general lay trading activity in the later fifteenth and early to mid-sixteenth century. It is apparent that Finnish priests, both urban canons and rural vicars, were intensively involved in overseas trade, although rural vicars seem to have mostly traded with the nearby Tallinn (and possibly Stockholm), whereas the Turku canons in addition dealt with merchants in Gdansk, Stralsund, and Lübeck. Contacts with Lübeck may not have been direct, but involved intermediaries in Stockholm. As the

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59   The Swedes and Finns visiting in Gdansk even had a local semi-religious community, that of the Guild of St. Eric, since 1438. It probably provided some sort of organized religious activity for the visiting skippers, seamen, and merchants. Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki*, p. 169.

opening example of Magnus Buck shows, at least one rural vicar was willing and able to take considerable risks for his trade.

Based on the examples of Pavel Scheel and the Suurpää family in Turku, Hemmingius of Masku, Magnus Buck from Nykyrko, and Jacob Sigfidsson from Helsinki, it seems to have been common for trading priests to become involved in the local burghers' and peasant traders' networks. For many, this might have been part of their family business. The analysis here does not allow us to draw conclusions about the centrality of the priests in such networks, but it seems likely that at least the priests in the town of Turku and its surroundings benefited from burgher networks, rather than the other way around, if only because the priests were members of established merchant families.[60]

A purely numerical comparison of trading priests and trading burghers and peasants brings us to a rather obvious conclusion: the priests were a minority in an international business controlled by laymen. On the other hand, the burghers must have welcomed the increased trade opportunities brought by the surpluses from clerical income and finances with Church backing. Eventually, all continuous trade is based on mutual benefits and respect, and in this sense the priests merged into the merchant networks.

Trade and Early Reformation Finland

Olav Schalin (1946) read Vyborg and eastern coastal Finland as a tentative case of the early spread of the Reformation into Finland through trade and communication networks centred on Tallinn. This view is still prevalent in Finnish ecclesiastical history,[61] and with good reason: this chapter has again shown that the case is well grounded in theory, although we lack empirical evidence on how exactly the Reformation ideas diffused to eastern Finland and especially who was influenced and when. But to continue the chain of tentative assumptions, we may be fairly certain that those Finns and Karelians who visited and lived in Tallinn also attended religious services there. Tallinn was reformed in 1524, and the church of St. Olaf and the local convents were targets of iconoclastic processions.[62] In this way, Tallinn was

60   Among the Scheel letter collection, one letter from Hans Chonnert to Scheel, 11 September 1509, shows the benefits of trading with a high-status clergyman. Chonnert was sending goods from Gdansk to Scheel in Turku, but found all ships fully laden. However, when he explained that the goods were addressed to Scheel, an archdeacon, the skipper accepted them on board. *FMU* 5407.

61   Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*, pp. 134, 152-3; cf. note 6 above. Also see Hannikainen and Tuppurainen in this volume.

62   Arbusow, *Die Einführung*, pp. 292, 295-7, 300.

a living part of the religious translocal experience of Finns around the Gulf of Finland, and the Reformation practices and especially the visible ideas of Reformed religious space were incorporated into the experience of the visiting and resident Finns, whether or not they embraced the new ideology.

However, if we were to claim that such a process spread Reformation ideas to eastern Finland *earlier* than to western Finland, we should be able to prove that western Finland was not part of similar intensive trade and communication networks that could have spread the Reformation there before the centrally led initiative of Gustav Vasa and Stockholm. Yet, as the documentation of the trade and communication channels of western Finland and especially the town of Turku in this chapter has shown, western Finland was not devoid of trade and communication networks independent of Stockholm and the Crown: in addition to direct connections with Tallinn, trade with Gdansk was very intensive. Turku shipping to Gdansk was comparatively more frequent than the shipping from Stockholm or Tallinn, and seems to have directly involved every generation of Turku burghers and visiting traders.

The city of Gdansk was in the early 1520s a scene of a wave of Reformation preaching and iconoclastic revolts similar to Tallinn, and for a couple of years Gdansk was proclaimed Reformed by its new government. However, the Polish king subdued the Gdansk Reformation in 1525, and it seems that open preaching of the Lutheran sort was not allowed again before 1529.[63] There is no reason to think that trade and communication between Turku and Gdansk would have ceased as a result either of the Reformation or its subduing. Even the Danish-Swedish war in 1520-1523 did not cut the Turku-Gdansk trade. Indeed, as shown by the high number (30) of Turku ship arrivals in Gdansk in 1521, Turku shipping and contacts with Gdansk thrived.

Thus, the circumstances that have been tentatively suggested as leading to an early diffusion of the Reformation to eastern Finland find a parallel in Turku, the diocesan centre. The intensive trade and communication contacts between Turku and Gdansk probably introduced Reformation thought to Turku and western Finland around the same time, and through similar channels, as to Vyborg and eastern Finland.

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63   Fudge, *Commerce and Print*, p. 52; Dollinger, *Die Hanse*, pp. 414-5; Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt*, pp. 50-1.

Trade Networks as Indicators of Acceptance of and Adaptation to Reformation

Culture does not travel by itself: human communication is a prerequisite. Fundamentally, overseas trade and travel formed the main channel for everyday cultural influences in the Baltic Sea region. Because of the maritime aspect and traditional trade connections, proximity was not primarily dictated by geography: thus Turku may have been 'closer' to Gdansk than to Tallinn. Direct personal meetings facilitate the communication of complex ideas and opinions, and in this respect, the trading voyages of Finnish peasants, burghers, and priests should be central to our understanding of the diffusion of Reformation thought to the sixteenth-century northern Baltic.

While priests in the Finnish parishes and the Turku Cathedral Chapter were naturally spiritual authorities and formed the learned elite, they were also business partners or competitors with burghers and peasant skippers, subject to the same risks and opportunities as the lay traders. Such shared experiences facilitated communication between the learned and the laity, both abroad and especially in the local communities. Shared experiences of the community should be of special importance at times when communities face cultural and religious choices.

Trade contacts involved the coastal laypeople and townsfolk in vast numbers when compared to the priests. Reformers and priests in the North Baltic Sea region must have regularly interacted with laymen with sound cultural (and religious) experiences, opinions, and insights, especially in coastal parts and the trade towns. Many of the regular travellers were members of the socially and economically prominent group in their local community: reeves, well-off burghers, ship owners, members of town councils, even mayors. Many priests were also members of families with intensive cross-generational traditions of trade with the Hanseatic ports. Regarding wealth, status, and access to information, these people were peers to the canons and vicars.

This chapter does not incorporate the priests' learned networks into its analysis, but shows that learned networks should not be studied outside the context of secular communication, or trade. Continuous, intensive, and frequent trade connected the North Baltic Sea coasts to local and overseas trade hubs on a monthly or even weekly basis: Tallinn, Stockholm, and Gdansk. It should be taken for granted that news about the contents and progress of the Reformation from the main hubs of the Baltic Sea trade reached even the smaller towns and rural parishes sooner rather than later. The early Reformation in Tallinn and Gdansk, and its subduing in

the latter in the 1520s, were part of the translocal experience of the North Baltic Sea region. They influenced decision-making in the North Baltic Sea towns and parishes.

We suggest that the Reformation process in the Swedish realm took place in continuous, unofficial, and grass-roots level communication with the main Hanseatic Baltic Sea ports, and outside the direct juridical and doctrinal reach of the Swedish Crown and Church reformers. The role of trade networks, and the participation of local priests in such networks, suggests a new community perspective for Swedish and Finnish Reformation studies.

Tracing the Baltic Sea trade networks – or the lack of them – for the Swedish regions and towns should help us in understanding the Reformation era experience of these communities. This suggests a new way of explaining why responses to the early Reformation varied between inland Sweden and the Swedish and Finnish coasts. The Swedish Reformation era uprisings (discussed by Berntson in this volume) took place inland. We do not find similar violent opposition to the Reformation in coastal towns and districts, in Sweden or Finland. This is probably because the locals were directly incorporated into the overseas trade networks, personally visited the main trade hubs, and thus actively experienced and probably even participated in the Reformation from the beginning, instead of being required to accept the doctrinal and practical changes.

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3   Diglossia, Authority and Tradition

The Influence of Writing on Learned and Vernacular Languages

Marco Mostert

The aim of this contribution is to put the other chapters of this book into a more general perspective. The other chapters show both the extent and accomplishments and also the limitations of research on the late medieval and early modern Baltic region. As is still commonly the case in most peripheries of the so-called 'heartlands' of European civilization, in studies of orality and literacy, Latin and the vernacular, or 'traditional' versus 'literary' or 'learned', the differences and peculiarities tend to be stressed to the detriment of continuities and similarities. Often this is due to a perceived lack of sources, which tends to reinforce the impression of the 'otherness' of a periphery. Almost always the realization that other European regions started their development towards literate societies earlier, and that they have so many more sources from a relatively early age at their disposal, leads scholars from the peripheries to look up to their colleagues at the centre – and sometimes even to a disparagement of their own regions' cultural development. One might, however, also look at a 'periphery' such as the Baltic area under the (slightly adapted) motto which served as the title for David Lowenthal's book: 'The Baltic's past is a foreign country: they do things differently there.'[1] Differently, but no less successfully. And the respective weights of orality, tradition, and literacy may have been different in the Baltic, but for centuries, until the Reformation and maybe, as far as some registers of written culture were concerned, until the end of the *ancien régime*, Baltic societies developed in ways not dissimilar to other peripheries – or, indeed, to societies developing in the centre of Europe.

Research on the region has also stressed the importance of changes brought about by the printed word, and has devoted considerably less attention to changes resulting from the introduction of writing as such. This is understandable, in that the number of medieval manuscripts extant from, for example, Finland, is considerably less than the number of early modern

1   Lowenthal, *The Past*, quoting the opening line of L.P. Hartley's novel *The Go-Between* (1953).

printed books that once must have been kept and used in the country.[2] As these books have been imported because of the changes brought about by the Reformation, and as the *lingua franca* of the Lutheran Reformation was German, the attention of scholarship has been on the linguistic and literary changes brought about by the introduction of German – and the beginning of the writing of the local vernaculars also seems to have come about primarily through the intermediary of the model of German. However, research has shown the persistence in Germany itself of earlier modes of knowledge transmission, which may have been even more important for the dissemination of Reformation ideas than the printing press.[3] These matters cannot be gone into in detail here; the reading of the other chapters in this volume may suggest whether the printing press had a more appreciable influence in the Baltic, and on the social history of language, or whether the state of the sources is responsible for the attention paid to the Reformation period. In view of what is known about the role of Low German in the sixteenth-century Baltic, and how foreign languages may have been learnt even without recourse to (handwritten or printed) books, a re-evaluation of the importance of the printing press outside the realm of religious literacy and translation might also be helpful.[4]

The reader of this book will sometimes be surprised by associations and oppositions clearly still current in Baltic scholarship, e.g. when 'tradition' is associated more often than not with orality (in the sense of 'spoken language'), and the indigenous people with the vernacular (i.e. the language of the people), oral, vernacular or local cultures, and oral societies – as opposed to learned literary culture (or 'literacy', although the term itself is hardly used at all), literate societies using Latin or non-indigenous written vernaculars. To some readers these associations may have a ring of Romanticism, but as they seem to work well enough, Baltic scholars have not discontinued their use. Sometimes, however, 'tradition' is also associated with the 'traditional' Catholic, Latin, traditions of liturgy, singing, or poetics, when these are opposed to the way things were done by German-inspired reformers. Other readers will be surprised to find that so little seems to be known of indigenous Baltic literate culture predating the advent of

2   For an impression of the medieval manuscripts from Finland, see http://labs.europeana.eu/data/medieval-manuscripts-and-parchment-fragments-from-finland/. The manuscript fragments, used mainly as binding fragments for later (printed) books, show the same kind of books to have been in use as elsewhere in Europe. For Estonia, see Kala, 'Medieval Books'.

3   Scribner, 'Heterodoxy, Literacy'.

4   This is suggested by the references to Germans learning Finnish, Latin, and Swedish in Turku, assembled by Ilkka Leskelä, who will publish them in due course.

the printing press. This is understandable if one wants to find out about the nexus of liturgy, vernacular texts, and the publication of hymnals and other religious texts, bound up as all of this was with the Reformation and the spread of printing. Hardly any differently from elsewhere in Europe, the preceding manuscript culture (which is only now being painstakingly reconstructed using even minute fragments of manuscripts rendered useless by the Reformation, but which could still serve as binding materials for books) showed a preference for Latin. In the Middle Ages, and indeed long afterwards, Latin was everywhere the language of education, scholarship, religion, the law, and diplomacy. The Reformation may have insisted on a larger role for the vernacular in religious instruction, but even then Latin remained the language of choice for theologians, as was true everywhere in Europe.

In this chapter, however, I will concentrate on matters of language. Language is central to many of the issues raised in this book. In the first part I will try to show the profound influence exercised by the Latin of the earliest witnesses of medieval written culture on everything that came later. In the second part I will suggest some relatively new ways of looking at language use from the point of view of a historian. Rather than using the oppositions Latin vs. the vernacular and 'written' vs. 'spoken' language, I propose looking at the question of which languages were available in individual societies, and for which purposes were they used by which members of those societies? I would like to invite the reader to consider whether the medieval and early modern Baltic experiences with language were not, to a considerable extent at least, similar to language use elsewhere in Europe. In large areas north of the Alps Latin was a written language accompanied by German as a second written language, and quite often by other written vernaculars as well. This means that the Baltic situation with its written Latin next to written German, sometimes accompanied by another written vernacular that was not necessarily indigenous (e.g. Swedish or Polish), is not very different from the linguistic situation in other parts of Europe. Nor were the registers in which Latin and German were used. So we have to ask ourselves, without letting value judgements colour the issue: which languages, in their written or oral forms, were used for which purposes? To enable comparisons, I have quoted (rather more extensively than is usual these days) from recent publications that may not as yet have become available in all research libraries. This will allow readers to use their own judgement in engaging directly with the views voiced in these publications rather than through the intermediary of the present author. Hopefully this contribution, although written by a non-specialist,

will go some way towards bringing about a reassessment of language use in the late medieval and early modern Baltic by pointing out some issues which seem to be far more general than the specialist consideration of 'Baltic' examples elsewhere in this book might lead one to believe.

Language and its Written Expression

Wherever writing is used, there exists a contrast between the spoken and the written word. Dante spoke of the distinction between a *lingua naturalis* and a *lingua artificialis*, and he was not the first to remark on their differences.[5] As early as the seventh century, Isidore of Seville (*c.* 560-636) remarked that Latin words such as *hodie* were pronounced in Italy as *ozie*.[6] The pronunciation of words diverged more and more from their visible expression in writing. He remarked that different words could be pronounced in the same way, such as *vivit* and *bibit*.[7] These developments inside the Romance-speaking part of Europe meant that written language gradually became a medium that was distinct from spoken language. Writing was no longer seen as simply a derivative of speech, or as a simple aid to memory. According to Isidore, the symbols of writing are capable of communicating what men said in the past. They refer directly, without the intermediary of speech, to reality. And that is why silent reading was so important: that what is read can go immediately from the written page through the eyes to the brain and mind of the reader.[8] Isidore is the first author within Latin Christendom who described the symbols of written language in some detail, not only the letters, which represent the sounds of speech, but also diacriticals, punctuation, and the graphical organization of the text.[9] As early as the seventh century, therefore, one understood the existence of two distinct systems of verbal communication, as well as their separate developments. Long before the transformation of vernacular language into writing, one was conscious of the fact that written texts and spoken texts are fundamentally different things, and that by studying

5   Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, I.1. Cf. Mazzocco, *Linguistic Theory*, pp. 30, 39-40, and esp. 122.
6   Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 20.9.4, ed. Lindsay 1911, vol. 2 (without pagination).
7   Isidore of Seville, *Libri differentiarum*, I, 442, 602.
8   Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 1.3.1-2, ed. Lindsay 1911, vol. 1 (without pagination): 'Litterae autem sunt indices rerum, signa verborum, quibus tanta vis est, ut nobis dicta absentium sine voce loquantur. [Verba enim per oculos non per aures introducunt.] Vsus litterarum repertus propter memoriam rerum. Nam ne oblivione fugiant, litteris alligantur'.
9   See Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 21-3, and 122-3 (notes).

written texts one could perceive the traces of speech merely as if through a (sometimes dense) fog.

This leads to a first observation. Because we know the various vernacular languages of the Middle Ages only through written texts, as medievalists, and in particular philologists, we cannot dispense with reflecting on the nature of writing and the culture of writing in the Middle Ages. The written nature of the evidence for speech has consequences for our understanding of the phenomenon of rendering into writing the medieval vernacular languages. They have to do with the notions of 'diglossia', 'authority', and 'tradition'.

The language of literature and of written texts, the 'standard language', has to be distinguished from speech and the informalities of everyday verbal communication. As early as 1902 Krumbacher, who was interested in the example of the Greek language, called the relationship between written language and speech 'diglossia';[10] and in 1930 Marçais talked about diglossia in Arabic.[11] I will not insist on the development of the term in modern linguistics: it mainly denotes the difference perceived by users of a language of 'high' and 'low' variants of that language; and there can exist a veritable hierarchy of variants used within one and the same linguistic community. In medieval societies this valorization may extend to different natural languages as well as to the variants within each language used by a given society. One might think of the situation in Anglo-Norman England, where one finds texts in English, French, and Latin,[12] or of the situation in East Central Europe, where, from the thirteenth century onwards, one finds Slavic texts (and some words of written Hungarian) side by side with German and Latin texts.[13]

When a linguistic community acquires a written code, when its vernacular language is written down, it may happen that a divergence develops between written language and speech, a divergence that may be termed diglossia.[14] The importance attached to the first forms of a written language, due to a strong, even 'purist' consciousness of linguistic norms, may further enlarge the distance between the written variants of a language, valorized as 'high' forms, and speech, considered the 'low' variant. In this way reading may exercise a conservative influence on the development of a natural

10   Krumbacher, *Das Problem*.

11   Marçais, 'La diglossie'.

12   See, for example, Wogan-Browne, *Language and Culture*. A bibliography on the topic of the languages used in England can be found in Mostert, *A Bibliography*, pp. 218-22.

13   See Adamska, 'Latin and Three Vernaculars', pp. 325-64; Mostert, *A Bibliography*, pp. 224-7. For the use of German, see also notes 43–52 below.

14   The classical article is Ferguson, 'Diglossia'.

language. In speech, a difference may develop between the 'low' variant of ordinary speech and mannered varieties of speech, inspired by the written variant which is considered the 'highest'. Charlemagne (r. 768-814) seems to have inspired the development of a diglossia within spoken Latin by insisting on the pronunciation of Latin *ad litteras*, that is according to the norms of written Latin – which had as a consequence that this variant of spoken Latin became ever more different from the ordinary spoken variants.[15] It has been suggested that for those who spoke Germanic languages in the Carolingian Empire, written Latin and the vernacular spoken languages stood in a similar relationship to diglossia, and that the Romance and Germanic spoken languages that were developing at the time were both considered as 'low' variants in this linguistic model, in comparison with written Latin, which was always considered as the 'highest' variant.[16] For many centuries afterwards the weight of the Latin tradition in the production of texts was overwhelming (it is sufficient to compare the number of manuscripts of Latin texts with that of manuscripts comprising vernacular texts, even in the late Middle Ages), and the models of written Latin were held up to anyone wishing to write down texts in the vernacular. These models did not only include rules on how manuscripts and single-sheet documents were to be made, for systems of writing and alphabets, comprising linguistic norms, but also included a whole imagery of the book, of the text, and of the authority of texts. The Latin culture of writing weighed heavily on the vernacular culture of writing, and when one studies vernacular texts one ought not to forget what the external forms of tradition, based in large part on those of the Latin culture of writing, meant for authors, and scribes, as well as readers of, and listeners to, written texts. These forms have to be taken into account if one wishes to avoid making errors of interpretation.

It was during the Middle Ages that Latin became a classical language, a highly valued standardized written language, separate from the spoken languages. Latin has played this role at the latest from the eleventh century

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15   Charlemagne was influenced in this by Alcuin (*c.* 735-804), who must have experienced difficulties in understanding the spoken Latin of continental native speakers. (See Wright, 'How Latin', and Alcuin's *De Orthographia*. Half a century earlier, Boniface had experienced the same problem. (See Wright 'Foreigners'.) Alcuin insisted on pronouncing every syllable. The books that Alcuin recommended for a situation in which native speakers of Latin were incomprehensible to Anglo-Saxon speakers of Latin as a second language, were not the classics but the grammars of late Antiquity, such as Donatus and Priscian, who tried to describe 'what actually happened in the language of the Latin texts they admired and respected' (Wright, 'How Latin', p. 13).

16   McKitterick, 'Latin and Romance'.

onwards.[17] From then on, it is no longer a natural language – without, because of that, having become a dead language, because important social groups continued to use it. It continued to be considered the highest variant in the hierarchic system of medieval diglossia in the West (and in all places where the ideals of the heartlands of medieval civilization are embraced – medieval Europe was truly a moveable feast).[18] This was so even if within the vernacular languages 'high' and 'low' variants came to be developed as well, as they became literally visible once they were written down. A trend towards standardization within the individual vernacular languages is noticeable, which causes subsystems to emerge with their own written 'high' variants and spoken 'low' variants.[19] But despite all this vernacular development, written Latin, which had become a classical language,[20] remained more highly esteemed even than the 'high' variant of the vernacular subsystem, and the model of Latin culture continued to command. It will only be after the Middle Ages, with the gradual narrowing of the roles of Latin, that written variants of the vernacular can come to be considered the 'highest' variants in the linguistic system, in which Latin will henceforth only play a secondary role. Latin was a long time dying, and in fact it is still not quite dead, but it no longer plays the decisive role in written culture it once did.

17   Mostert, 'Language Learning', pp. 32-3 (drawing heavily on Saenger, *Space Between*) and Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 33-4. Linguists do not agree on the question of when exactly the process was finished in which spoken Latin transformed into a Romance language in Gaul. All scholars seem to agree, however, that this process had come to a conclusion by the year 1000 at the latest, exactly the time when what Saenger has called 'canonical word separation' can be observed in the manuscripts produced there. This means that the inhabitants of Gaul by then faced the same problem non-native speakers of Latin had been facing for centuries, i.e. not only having to decode a written text presented without the visual aid of word separation as a help to its interpretation, but also of having to do so in a foreign language.
18   The literature is immense. See Mostert, *A Bibliography*, pp. 186-96. Ludwig Bieler felicitously contrasted Latin as a mother tongue with Latin as a father tongue. His 'Das Mittellatein als Sprachproblem' remains one of the best short introductions to the problem of Latin in the Middle Ages.
19   Cf. for England Schaefer, *The Beginnings*.
20   As there seems to be no consensus on what the term 'classical language' means, let me at least make clear what I understand by Latin as a 'classical language'. I take it to mean 'the language of the Latin classics'. According to surveys of these classics, they can be shown to be 1) written in Latin (though some translations from the Greek may be included); 2) they have literary value; 3) they date from Antiquity; and 4) they are non-Christian. There is of course debate as to the correct meaning of the terms used in these characterizations (cf. Mostert, 'The Tradition', pp. 23-5). The texts that the generation of Alcuin had chosen as a basis for the Latin of the Carolingian 'Renaissance' would not have made the grade.

How did this authority of Latin culture in the Middle Ages came about? The answer to this question is quite simple: it was in Latin that the Christian God spoke to his flock; it was the language of the incarnated Word, transmitted in precious volumes. Latin was the language of almighty God, and the powers on earth caught some of His prestige by using Latin in the exercise of power. For the power of writing was in the writings of the powerful. Those powers emanated from God, whose Word was preserved in books. The ultimate model for any writing was, in the Middle Ages, the Bible. That is why the comparison between the volumes containing books of the Bible and the volumes containing vernacular texts allows us to check the status of the vernacular texts. The authority of the manuscript Bible is visible on all levels.

First, on the textual level.[21] Classical philology has until now preferred the text of an author to the copies of that text. The work of the editor aims at reconstituting the original of a text, by eliminating mistakes which have crept in during its transmission in manuscript form. That is why variant readings are printed at the bottom of the page in scholarly editions. They are meant to allow the reader to follow the reasoning which has led to the most faithful text the editor could reconstitute. A *stemma codicum* is used to eliminate all copies judged inferior because they are deemed to have been copied from other copies, which give an older version of the text, and which are therefore more faithful to the author's original. But it may happen that variants represent something other than mistakes. Even in the case of the Latin classics, which we moderns tend to consider as sheltered from deterioration, variant readings may be attempts at the amelioration of texts without the scribes' taking heed of the status of authors we consider almost as sacred. The medieval monks who copied these classics had an educational agenda which led them to freely change the order of verses in Ovid, for example, to make them compatible with current dogmas of versification.[22] For this reason the text of Ovid has not been transmitted intact. Let us not dwell on the rewriting of hagiographical texts[23] or accounts of visions in Latin, and even of certain works by the Fathers of the Church (another category of texts which was highly valued), which were edited, abbreviated, and excerpted in accordance with the interest of the cultivated public. The study of variant readings allows us to deduce the authority of

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21   For the following, see Mostert, 'Das Studium', pp. 309-10.
22   Frank T. Coulson and Bruno Roy (*Incipitarium Ovidianum*) list (almost?) all manuscripts of works by Ovid. Cf. Tarrant, 'Ovid', listing the main errors in the transmission of Ovid's works.
23   See the chapter on 'Rewriting' in Snijders, *Manuscript*, pp. 177-239.

a text. And it seems that only in the case of the Bible do variant readings represent almost without exception mistakes. Only the Latin Bible seems to have been exempt from thorough, new editions. Only the authority of the Bible allows the use of the classical stemmatic method of edition.

And how about the vernacular texts? Are there cases of the existence of large enough numbers of copies to evaluate variant readings, and can those variant readings be shown to be simply the consequence of mistakes on the parts of the scribes? It seems to me that, for instance in the case of epic poetry, where any copy may be considered as yet another version, or even a performance of the text, every manuscript offers a new text.[24] In Latin literature one also finds traces of the fluidity of manuscript traditions, which, in the final analysis, is not all that different from the fluidity of oral tradition. Only the text of the Bible was stable, and was considered by many to be unchangeable. Only Scripture corresponds to our modern notion of fixed written texts. The authority of Scripture led to the model of written texts being that of the Biblical text.

On the level of palaeography and codicology, too, the manuscripts of the Bible were models for written culture. We need to distinguish here between three types of Bible. First, there were the deluxe copies, destined to be kept in the treasuries of kings, important churches, and monasteries. They were precious gifts given by kings, emperors, and popes among themselves. These are the manuscripts which we find reproduced in all books on medieval written culture, and for which organizers of exhibitions have a marked preference. This is the least numerous type, but that which has been best preserved. Next, there is the type of Bible meant for the personal use of the great of the realm, and, later, for the burghers who had need of them for their personal devotions. Finally, there is the type of Bible used by the clergy in daily liturgical work. This is the least preserved type among the collections of our libraries, because they wore out relatively quickly and needed to be replaced.

The Bibles of the first type, that of the deluxe copies, are of interest to us today.[25] The most beautiful letters were used to write them, and their size was sometimes equal to that of the letters used for liturgical books. The care with which these letters were executed witnesses to the reverence experienced before the Word, which needed to be copied very carefully to avoid

24   See Mostert, *A Bibliography*, pp. 421-4 on oral epic; pp. 424-5 on the composition of (mainly) oral literature; and pp. 416-21 on 'oral' literature generally.

25   There are many lavishly illustrated books on manuscripts of the Bible. As an example among many, one might mention Fingernagel and Gastgeber (*Le bibbie*).

making mistakes which could be pregnant with unwanted consequences.[26] Sometimes even gold was used, or whole leaves were dyed with purple, the imperial colour until the thirteenth century. Sometimes, even in the days of Saint Jerome (*c.* 347-420) himself, voices were raised against a use of resources deemed excessive, because they might distract from the message of the text. 'The parchment is covered in purple colour, gold shines in the letters, the codices are clad in jewels – and Christ remains naked outside their covers,' as Jerome put it himself.[27] In the late Middle Ages, when the written vernacular was no longer a rare phenomenon, the same sentiment is expressed, for instance, in the fourteenth century by one of the inspirers of the *devotio moderna* in the Low Countries, Geert Groote (*c.* 1340-1384). 'It is important to me', he said, 'that I keep my book and not, on the contrary, that my book keeps me. A book ought to be useful to the reader, and not to the vanity of the one who looks at it.'[28]

Saint Jerome and Gerard Groote, both of them intellectuals, were interested in the textual content of the manuscript. Nevertheless, they also bore witness to the interest which the manuscript as a material object had for their contemporaries, an object capable of inspiring devotion. Benedictine spirituality, which attached importance to precious stones mounted on the covers of deluxe liturgical manuscripts and Bibles, may have been more widespread than the spirituality of a Saint Jerome or Geert Groote.

This poses questions for the palaeography and codicology of manuscripts containing vernacular texts. It is interesting to study the differences between deluxe copies of the Bible, the model for making books in any society and at any period in the Middle Ages, and the copies of vernacular texts. When were literary texts given to patrons in the form of deluxe manuscripts?[29] The answer to this question seems important to evaluate the status of the vernacular texts, and, as a consequence, the status of the vernacular languages themselves. Another question is that of knowing how the forms of writing chosen for vernacular texts compare with those chosen for contemporary Bibles. Are they comparable to the letters of deluxe copies of the Bible? Or to the letters of Bibles which supposedly were made

26   This could also be expressed through illumination; see Kendrick, *Animating the Letter*, pp. 110-46.

27   Jerome, 'Ad Laetam, de institutione filiae', ed. Hilberg 1996, p. 294; trans. by Wright 1954, pp. 364-5.

28   Thomas à Kempis, pp. 65-6.

29   Sergi, 'Le corti' deals with Latin texts and manuscripts. I have not come across a synthesis of the patronage of vernacular texts and manuscripts. There seem to be ample opportunities for the systematic study of dedication images in manuscripts of both Latin and vernacular texts.

for the personal devotion of individuals? Or, as is the case of the Bibles of the *devotio moderna*, are copies of texts in the vernacular generally lacking in embellishment? These questions go somewhat further, I think, than the questions philologists usually ask of palaeographers.

But why stop at a consideration of literary texts? Charters and other documents, too, may teach us much on the status of the vernaculars. It is possible to use different alphabets to render the words of a single vernacular language. One may think of the Scandinavian realms, in which runes and the Latin alphabet coexisted peacefully during much of the Middle Ages.[30] This is a typical case of what is termed 'digraphia', a phenomenon which occurs elsewhere too.[31] From medieval Sicily, we have relatively large numbers of documents written in the Arabic alphabet.[32] But digraphia and diglossia are not identical, and the choice for one or another alphabet is governed by other than purely functional considerations. Sometimes religious or political reasons govern the choice of a particular alphabet, as, for instance, in the case of Serbo-Croat, which is written by the Catholic Croats in the Glagolitic or Latin alphabets, whereas the Orthodox Serbs write in the Cyrillic alphabet.[33] In the Middle Ages, however, digraphia, whether within the linguistic subsystem of the vernacular or in the general linguistic system, occurs mainly to highlight the 'high' variants of the language.

The phenomenon of digraphia resembles that of the choice of two scripts used to write a single alphabet within a written text in two languages. In those Anglo-Saxon charters, for instance, which deal with the transfer of landed property, the boundaries of an estate are sometimes described in the vernacular, that is, in Old English, whereas the rest of the document is written in Latin. In originals dating from the tenth century, when Caroline minuscule had already been introduced for Latin texts, the boundary clause is written in the old insular script.[34] A change of language within the text is accompanied by a change of script. Was this done to help the reading aloud of the charter's text, similar to the use of italics in our modern texts? Or was it done to help the recording of the clause as precisely as possible? That is probable, as the Anglo-Saxons added several signs to the Latin alphabet to represent sounds unknown in Latin, such as the *wynn* for the sound 'w' and the signs *thorn* and *ash*, borrowed from the runic alphabet, for the

30   Lindell, *Medeltida skrift- och språkkultur*.
31   See e.g. Radiciotti, 'Il problema'.
32   Bresc and Nef, 'Les actes'.
33   Miklas, 'Griechisches Schriftdenken'; Miklas, *Glagolitica*.
34   Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, e.g. nos. 1385, 1393, 1405. Cf. also the 'Electronic Sawyer' at http://www.esawyer.org.uk/about/index.html.

sound 'th'. It is important to note that in a single society it was possible to choose different graphic forms to render texts written in Latin and in the vernacular.

The Bible was also the model for that which is called by some the 'grammar of legibility' of any other manuscript.[35] This concerns the layout of the text, e.g. the division of a phrase into fragments which could be read by the eye in a series of 'saccades', movements back and forth along a line of writing to pick out those significant fragments to which could be attributed sense (the original sense of Latin *legere*, 'to read', being to 'pick', as in 'picking flowers').[36] These fragments could be words, separated from one another, or any other graphic distinctions that might aid the reading of a text, other than the letters of the alphabet which transcribed the sounds of speech. The 'grammar of legibility' constituted by graphical signs and spaces between words was subject to change, but the current 'grammar of legibility' could always be learnt from contemporary copies of the Bible.

It is rare to find palaeographers who are not deaf to the sounds that have been transcribed in the texts they study. But far more important may be the observation that it is just as rare to find philologists who are not blind to the external, visible forms of the writing in which the texts they study have been transmitted.[37] The philologist, whether he is studying a learned text written in Latin or a vernacular text, pays attention to the forms of the letters, the diacritical signs, the layout of the manuscript which, for him, is nothing but the material support of a text which is interesting to him exclusively for its internal features. A work of edition is indeed at the same time a work of interpretation, a work indispensable to all readings of all texts, as it aims to provide a correct text for the reader. But the editor's work aims to reconstitute the author's text as if the author had at his disposal all the means of modern printing.[38] The editor runs into the problem that, in the Middle Ages, graphical signs gave to readers – and even to listeners – signals for the interpretation of the text. Neither Latin nor vernacular texts ought to be dissociated from their material supports, the equipment of their scribes, and the embellishment expressed in the choice of script or the addition of illuminations.

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35   Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 20-9.

36   Saenger, *Space between*, pp. 7-8.

37   The dictum 'palaeographers are deaf and philologists are blind' stems from the palaeographer David Ganz, who never published it.

38   Cf. Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, pp. 263-275: Plates 57-63, 'Punctuation in copies of the same texts from different periods: Cicero, *In Verrem* II, ii, 2'.

The Social History of Language

So far I have concentrated on the forms in which language has been ex-pressed in the manuscripts. Obviously, this way of looking at language is only one way of paying attention to a subject which is too important to leave to the linguists. And yet that is what historians usually do: berated as they tend to be for possessing insufficient skills in the linguistic disciplines, they tend to leave the matter of language to the specialists. In so doing they run the risk of underestimating the eloquence of the written texts (which they, as historians, call 'sources'), with regard to information about spoken language. The ways the linguists (including the historical linguists) and the social historians of communication (including the scholars of verbal communication, i.e. the study of the *uses* of spoken and written language) look at language are different; these differences stem from the different methods and approaches of linguistics and history.

My recent bibliography of works on medieval communication in book form, with its 6796 items, also refers to 'language'.[39] The fifth chapter, entitled 'Language', numbers 719 items. There are many other relevant items scattered around the bibliography (for instance, in Chapter 14, 'Literature', but by no means only there), which one can find by using the subject index and its many cross-references. My earlier attempt at compiling such a bibliography, numbering a mere 1580 items in all, was published as part of *New Approaches to Medieval Communication* back in 1999.[40] A comparison of the organization of the sections on 'language' in both bibliographies reveals striking differences. These differences are not only due to the far greater number of items included in the more recent bibliography, but also by advances in understanding of the uses of forms of communication in the Middle Ages. (Similar differences, by the way, can be found in the sections on 'literature'.) In 1999, the material was organized according to the natural languages concerned. Thus, there were subsections on the problem of Latin, and on the problem of the vernaculars, each of which was followed by other subsections dealing, for instance, with the vernaculars in the early and late Middle Ages. Had I found as many items as I had for the section on 'literature', I would most certainly have dealt with this abundance by making subsections on, for instance, Italian, French, German, Dutch, Old English, Middle English, etc. – just as there were sections on Italian, French, Dutch, Old English, and Middle English literature next to Latin literature.

39   Mostert, *A Bibliography*.
40   Mostert, 'A Bibliography of Works', p. 193.

The material was organized, in other words, according to the languages as they are taught in the various departments of language and literature we are familiar with in our modern universities. It was an organization familiar to philologists and linguists.

In the recent bibliography, however, you will find these same items grouped under headings such as 'language in the Italian peninsula', etc. Similarly, in the chapter on 'literature' you will find 'literature in the Italian peninsula', etc. The reason for this change in organization is simple, yet fundamental. It is inspired by the social history of language. Let us take Ireland as an example. We know that Latin was used there (both in spoken and written forms) at least from the days of Saint Patrick (fifth century) as well as Old (*c.* 600-900) and Middle Irish (*c.* 900-1200); that the rulers of Dublin, coming as they did from Scandinavia, spoke Old Norse (ninth century to 1169); that English (from the late twelfth century at least) and Welsh (presumably from the sixth century) were spoken by traders from beyond the Irish Sea; and that Norman French (from 1169 onwards) was spoken by the new rulers who came from England. Restricting our attention when dealing with the use of language in medieval Ireland to the study of Old or Middle Irish, therefore, does violence to a much more complex linguistic situation, in which several languages were available for use in their spoken and written forms. There are but few scholars who are able to deal with all these languages spoken and written, heard or read in Ireland in a way that is acceptable to the practitioners of Celtic philology, the historical linguistics of the Scandinavian languages, Old English and Middle English scholarship, or the philology of medieval Latin (in the form known as Hiberno-Latin). Anyone interested in the history of language use in Ireland therefore has to be a generalist rather than a specialist – but a generalist willing to take into account the results of a few centuries' worth of scholarship on the individual languages used. Such generalists may be found among medieval historians, and sometimes also among philologists who have widened their outlook to include some or all of the other philologies relevant to the study of the social history of language. Whether they started out as historians or philologists, such scholars can be termed 'transdiciplinarians', in that they went beyond the boundaries of their original disciplines to become acquainted with other disciplines important for the study of the problems they set out to investigate.[41]

Let me give you a few examples of the new questions that arise from looking at language in this way. First, let us consider the languages that

41   Oexle, 'Mittelalterforschung', pp. 242-4.

could be encountered in the western parts of the present-day Ukraine. In late medieval and early modern times, here could be found many small towns, numbering a few hundred inhabitants only. In 2014 a volume was published entitled *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns*, to which Andrzej Janeczek contributed a text on urban communes, ethnic communities, and language use in late medieval Red Ruthenian towns.[42] In these small towns many languages were spoken:

As a result of late medieval social and economic modernisation and colonising migrations, a new society in Red Ruthenia appeared, which was composed of various ethnic groups, cultures, and religions. It consisted of the autochthonic substrate of the east Slavic Ruthenian Orthodox population speaking Old-Ukrainian, belonging to the Greek-Byzantine cultural circle, and alien groups which came from various cultural zones. Genetically these were West Slavic people (the Poles), Germanic people (the Germans), Jewish people, Romanians (the Walachians), Armenians, and Turkish people (the Tatars, the Karaims). An enigmatic community of Saracens existed in Lviv (Lemberg, Lwów) and nowhere else in Ruthenia; probably they were Arabs. Religiously all of these people comprised either the Christian confession (the Catholics, the Orthodox, the Gregorians); Judaism (the Rabbinic and non-Talmudic faction); or Islam. Linguistically, they spoke Polish; German, and its dialectical version, Yiddish; Old-Romanian (belonging to the group of Romance languages); the Kipchak language and other Turkish dialects. In the liturgy they also used a variety of languages: Latin, Church Slavonic, Armenian, Hebrew, and Arabic. Different scripts were used by these groups according to their religions; faith and alphabet were inseparably linked. The migrants moving to the towns did not create a uniform community. The ethnic groups settling there retained their separate characters. Ethnic features and the sense of group identity were even strengthened and solidified due to the different social and legal status of the non-Catholic groups, which were not fully included in the organisation and jurisdiction according to the Magdeburg law introduced by the German settlers.[43]

The questions raised here are many; to me, the overriding one is how did all these groups manage to live together in these very small towns? For the language mix was quite complex: five different vernaculars were used;

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42   Janeczek, 'Urban Communes'.
43   Janeczek, 'Urban Communes', pp. 23-4.

four languages of prestige, each relating to a different cultural circle, were written, and in four separate alphabets.[44]

> To some extent communication must have been facilitated by the similarities of two pairs of languages: Polish and Ruthenian, and German and Yiddish. However, whereas Polish and Ruthenian were easily understandable to users of either language (in speech, of course – not in writing), this is rather uncertain for German and Yiddish. To a limited degree Latin may have played the part of an intermediary between the Polish and German groups, not only as the language of religion but also of law and learning. The Armenians had no linguistic links with the other groups, except for the few Karaims and Tatars. This is probably the reason why the Armenians developed the skill of communicating in many languages. They played the role of translators and were used in diplomatic missions, and they served as city interpreters in Lviv. In the Slavic languages the word 'interpreter' itself (*tłumacz*, *tolmač*) – the origin of the German *Dolmetsch*, *Dolmetscher* – derived from the Turkish language repository; perhaps it was taken from the Kipchak language. The office of city interpreter functioned in Lviv from the fourteenth through the eighteenth century.[45]

I am not aware of any other situation that was as complex as the Red Ruthenian one. Nevertheless, the use of more than one or two languages seems to have been general in the Middle Ages. Usually, when confronting the relationship between Latin and the vernaculars, the problem is reduced to a binary opposition: Latin versus Old English, for instance, or Latin versus Old Norse. (This type of opposition has led, of course, to the implied opposition between the 'high' and 'low' variants of language that have been observed in situations of diglossia, an idea which also uses a binary opposition.) But, as the examples of Ireland and Red Ruthenia show, the linguistic situation could be far more complex.

The case of England is also interesting from this perspective. As is well known, after the Norman Conquest of 1066 the elites spoke French rather than English, a situation that lasted for centuries. So there were two vernaculars versus Latin. Presumably neighbours visiting the heartlands of England's power availed themselves of French or English, or maybe Latin. But another language was also spoken on the shores of Albion: German. Just

44   Janeczek, 'Urban Communes', p. 31.
45   Janeczek, 'Urban Communes', p. 31.

as on the other shores of the North Sea, German (or more particularly Low German) was in use as a *lingua franca* among merchants and sailors.[46] In the English North Sea ports, German was used. But on the western shores of England, German was displaced by French, and along the shores of the Irish Sea, merchants and sailors spoke French.[47] French and German allowed access to large areas beyond the regions in which they were spoken as the dominant natural language. And they were both languages that were written relatively early on as well. Knowing French or German therefore brought the kinds of advantages that nowadays are the preserve of English.

Let us consider what can be gained by studying those medieval languages used by large groups of non-native speakers – making those speakers effectively bilingual, in that they continued to speak their mother tongues as well. We'll concentrate on the example of the use of German as a *lingua franca*, outside the area where it was spoken as a mother tongue by the majority of its inhabitants.

German was used as a *lingua franca* from the western shores of the North Sea to the lands of the Ukraine and Romania in the southeast and to Scandinavia and Finland in the north. In the late medieval Baltic region, German was a language of trade, politics, religion, and culture. The aforementioned collection, *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns,* offers several contributions on the use of German, both in its spoken and written forms. The differences between these cases are quite pronounced, however. Anti Selart, in his contribution on 'Non-German Literacy in Medieval Livonia', highlights the fact that the population was split into Germans (*deutsch*) and non-Germans (*undeutsch*).

The Germans were of a higher status and numerically a minority. The term 'non-Germans', as a rule, was used to denote people speaking local indigenous languages (Finnic Estonians and Livs, Baltic Latvians), the prevailing majority of whom comprised the peasants. Other ethnic groups, except for the more numerous Swedes who settled on the shores and in the coastal towns of Estonia, did not play a significant role in Livonia. The non-Germans, however, also lived in the towns.[48]

The use of German was so overwhelming that other languages are subsumed under the heading *undeutsch*. Selart concludes that the division between 'German' and 'non-German' in medieval Livonia was a social

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46   See Nedkvitne, 'Linguistic Tensions', pp. 89-90.

47   Kowalewski, 'The French of England'.

48   Selart, 'Non-German Literacy', pp. 37-8.

division, and that non-German languages were used in situations within the realm of oral communication.

> Estonian, Latvian, and Livic played an important role in everyday life, and these languages were also understood and spoken by many 'Germans' in local society. But they were not languages of literacy, neither in chanceries nor elsewhere. The preserved early written texts in these languages often do not indicate, paradoxically, the knowledge of local languages by 'Germans', but on the contrary, their ignorance. The prescribed texts like prayers and oaths, or bilingual catechisms, served either as aids for reading out loud by persons who were unable otherwise to reproduce the wording, or merely as a support for memory. They do not reflect the real medieval situation of language knowledge and language usage, and were not directed to a non-German audience in their written form. Becoming literate also meant a social career, and it resulted simultaneously in becoming 'German'. In this context, the urban milieu was the crucial backdrop for the complicated and changing social contacts between people of different geographic, ethnic, and social backgrounds.[49]

Two things need to be noted. First, the use of German as a spoken language was not much of a political issue. It was, however, a social issue. Secondly, and more importantly, German was not just another spoken language: it was a written language as well, and as such it came to compete, at least in certain registers, with Latin. Wherever German came to be used (especially in the field of law and the government of the towns, which in Europe north of the Alps and east of the Rhine were developed mainly with the aid of German settlers, meaning that the so-called Magdeburg law was used as far away from its city of origin as Romania), it came into competition with Latin. The development of written culture in East Central Europe, for instance, had to cope with the two written languages of Latin and German.

In East Central Europe, however, the use of German sometimes could become a political issue. As Anna Adamska puts it in her contribution to the volume *Uses of Writing*,[50] in Cracow, on 18 November 1312, the records of a session of the aldermen of Cracow abruptly changed from German to Latin, without any announcement or reasons given. The records had until then been kept in German. In this respect, Cracow was not different from great numbers of other towns in East Central and Northern Europe,

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49   Selart, 'Non-German Literacy', pp. 62-3.
50   Adamska, '"Away with the Germans"', which is summarized below.

where German spread as the language of choice for municipal records. The position of German as the dominant language of civic literacy in Cracow was reinforced by a permanent need to use reference texts of German law. Until 1356, the town council would ask the aldermen of Magdeburg for legal advice in difficult cases. Their judgements (*Urteile*) were formulated in German. Afterwards they were arranged in collections, which came to be treated as supplementary sources of legal literacy. But why did they change, then, from German to Latin halfway through a session of the town council? The answer to this question is clear, when one knows that there had been an urban 'revolt' as the sources called it, started by the Cracow mayor Albert against Duke Vladislas the Short's dominion over the city. The *Annals* of the Cracow cathedral chapter describe the events of 1311-1312 as an episode in the historic struggle between the Polish *domini naturales* from the Piast dynasty and the treacherous and always hostile Germans. These tensions seemed to focus on language used in public space, seen as a crucial sign of identity. In the Polish political vocabulary of the first half of the fourteenth century the terms *lingua* and *natio* were used as synonyms. Be this as it may, when Duke Vladislas took Cracow, he appointed a new body of councillors and city officials, and forbade the use of German as the language of record for the council meetings. In November, almost half a year after the 'Polonization' of the council, the minutes are still being recorded in German, while from one moment to the next changes were being made. Henceforth another language was to be used, not Polish, which had not yet developed the terminology needed for this type of written text, but Latin, the other writeable and written language available in Cracow.

From a long-term perspective, the withdrawal of the German language from the oldest town book of Cracow on 18 November 1312 seems a spontaneous and ostentatious rather than a premeditated act. From the late 1320s onwards, German reappeared in the municipal records of the Cracow agglomeration, especially in the collections of legal decisions of the city council. The statutes of several guilds were also drafted in German. A special monument to the multilingual character of urban literacy in Cracow is the *necrologium* of the fraternity of the church of St. Mary, which started in the 1330s and was kept far into the sixteenth century. German remained its main language, even if it became ever more fossilized, with time changing rather into German *farci* with Polish and Latin. In the fifteenth century, despite several revivals of linguistic conflict, the German language also returned to the public arena. When in 1425 the city of Cracow gave the ceremonial oath of loyalty to the newborn son of King Ladislaus II Jagiello (*c*. 1362-1434), its text was pronounced by the city councillors and repeated

by all present members of the urban community in German. This took place in the personal presence of a monarch whose express linguistic policy was to contest the use of the German language in political communication!

As a third example of the possibilities of writing the social history of language in the Middle Ages, let us consider the role of Latin in daily life.[51] We have seen how in Cracow preference was given, at least by the non-German rulers of the city, to Latin over German. A similar sentiment was expressed by a Polish *capitaneus* who complained that a functionary of the Order of the Teutonic Knights wrote to him in German. The Polish gentleman was perfectly capable of understanding German, but using that language in times of tension between the Polish kingdom and the realm of the Teutonic Knights would have given the latter an unfair advantage. As the *capitaneus* puts it: 'You wrote me a letter very recently, but I could not understand it in any way, for this reason, that it was not written in the idiom common to the whole world, that is in Latin.'[52] As Anna Adamska puts it:

> Clearly, the position of Latin remained very strong as a language of contact between different ethnic groups in East Central Europe, especially in the multi-ethnic kingdoms of Hungary and Poland. The Latin language was perceived as emotionally neutral, as in communication it did not favour one or another of the ethnic or political groups present. But the respect for Latin went much further. Its use in writing was presented as a national Polish and Hungarian custom, testifying to an awareness of good manners and worldly behaviour. And, as we have seen, especially in Poland the reverence for Latin could have a strong anti-German character.
>
> Latin was also an instrument of self-awareness from a religious perspective, that is in contacts with Orthodox Christianity. Hungary and Poland were located on the eastern border of the Roman Church. After the division of Red Ruthenia between Hungary and Poland (1340), and especially after the union of Poland and Lithuania (1385), in both kingdoms Catholics had to live together with Orthodox Christians, who were different because of the language of their liturgy and religious culture. In the vast areas of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, tolerance in daily life went together with strategic favouritism of Catholicism, and of the 'Latin' culture that went with it. This happened, among other things, through giving legal privileges

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51   After Adamska 'Latin'.

52   'sicuti mihi scripsistis litteram nuperrime, illam nullomodo intelligere potui, pro eo, quod non est scripta idiomate communi tocius mundi, puta in latino'. *Codex diplomaticus Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae*, no. 508, p. 247.

to Poles and Germans. Here Latin was the language of acculturation, and this role became reinforced by emerging models of education and mental formation of the social elites. In modern times, it resulted in the model of a Catholic nobleman who was educated rather superficially, who could quote some Latin authors and could speak according to the prescriptions of the *ars oratoria*. On the eastern border of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Latin remained *the* language of noble culture for a very long time. Only in the late eighteenth century would it be replaced in this function by French. In Hungary, a similar evolution made room for German, the *lingua franca* of the Habsburg empire.

All this means that the emancipation of the main Central European vernaculars as languages of literacy did not entail a complete devaluation of the status of Latin. The Latin language and what we call Latin culture formed the foundation of the cultural heritage of Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. On the other hand, the influence of the indigenous vernaculars created a regional, particular shape of medieval Latin. It seems, then, that the popular black-and-white picture of the 'struggle' between Latin and the vernacular national languages does not apply to this region. And maybe this observation applies more generally as well.[53]

Conclusion

The linguistic situation in the medieval West has sometimes been characterized as one of diglossia: one learned language was used for religion, law, and documents – Latin, the father tongue – while the various vernaculars would have been the mother tongue. For Romance-speaking areas, however, the relevance of the term diglossia has been contested, and the date of the divergence between written or spoken Latin and Romance is the subject of debate. In other parts of Europe, too, the linguistic situation was far more complex than the notion of diglossia suggests. How can one characterize the interactions between Latin and the many European vernaculars? And the interactions between these various vernaculars? To what extent could speakers from separate linguistic worlds communicate? These questions are fundamental for anyone concerned with almost any aspect of communication, the transmission of learning, literary history, and cultural interaction in the Middle Ages.

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53   Adamska, 'Latin', pp. 363-4.

To approach the question in its broadest context, one must consider many categories of evidence, and the methods developed by many disciplines to make sense of this evidence. The background to the relationship between Latin and the vernaculars in the early medieval West – and also in later historical periods – is the choice of Latin as the language of the Western Roman Empire and the Roman Church. This choice entailed the possibility of a shared literary culture and heritage across Europe, but it also had consequences for the access to that heritage.

On these matters a conference was organized at Utrecht in June 1999. Since then, much has been published on the relationships between Latin and the vernaculars, also by the participants in that conference. Had that conference been organized today, the notion of 'multilingualism', rather than diglossia, might have suggested itself as its organizing principle. More diffuse than diglossia, 'multilingualism' seems in retrospect more appropriate to the complex linguistic relationships which could be observed in medieval Europe. For in many cases, as we have seen, individuals or groups could make a choice from various languages or variants of languages when they wished to communicate, using the spoken or written word.

The questions of the historian with regard to the use of language can be summarized in one (admittedly rather long) sentence. Who communicated what to whom in which circumstances, using which (varieties of) language(s), in oral or written form, and when and for which (linguistic or extra-linguistic) reasons do the forms of communication change over time? In this chapter I have furthermore distinguished between Latin and the vernacular; between spoken vernaculars and written vernaculars; between written Latin and written vernaculars; between different written vernaculars – and it would have been possible to say a few more words about the distinctions between registers of speech and registers of writing; between writeable languages and written languages; and between acceptable languages and unacceptable languages.[54] But that was impossible in the space of a chapter.

54   See the subject index of Mostert, *A Bibliography*.

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Part II
Music and Religious Performances

4 Changes in the Poetics of Song during the Finnish Reformation

Kati Kallio

In sixteenth-century Finland, the Reformation marked not only the beginning of the Finnish written language, but also a slow, fundamental, and long-lasting change in poetics and music. Stanzaic and rhymed poetics first appeared in new Lutheran hymns and went on to take over the whole sphere of folk singing in Western Finland over a couple of centuries. The poetic features of vernacular Lutheran hymns varied by time, poet, and genre of singing, and these changes may be connected with the changes in historical and ideological contexts. The focus of this chapter is on the first three important translators and creators of Finnish liturgical songs, Michael Agricola (*c*. 1510-1554), Jacobus Finno (*c*. 1540-1588), and Hemmingius of Masku (*c*. 1550-1619). They were all clergymen in the diocese of Turku (Swe. Åbo), consisting of the western and southern parts of modern Finland. At the time, the area was the most eastern diocese of the Kingdom of Sweden. The language of Church was Latin, while the languages of trade and secular administration were mostly German and Swedish. From the period prior to the Reformation there are no sources of literate Finnish language or rhymed poetics. The old oral idiom, the *Kalevala* metre, was built on alliterative trochaic verses with no rhymes or stanzas, and sung with narrow melodies of one or two lines.

The sources and contents of the early Finnish hymn melodies and texts, the role of the translators, and the relationships of the first hymnals to ecclesiastical history have been analysed, but the poetics have not been given much attention. From the nineteenth century on, these early hymns have been regarded as too formless to warrant more detailed poetic scrutiny. It has been asked, why did the early reformers even choose to use these new rhymed poetics, which were laborious to apply to Finnish, when they could

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1   See eg. Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*; Häkkinen, 'Maskun Hemmingin'; Häkkinen and Vaittinen, *Agricolan aika*; Knuutila, 'Virsikirjat'; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*; Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*; Laine, *Luther, reformaatio*; Laitinen, 'Barokki tunteen'; Lavery, 'The Reformation'; Leino, *Language and Metre*; Lempiäinen and Haapalainen, *Virsiavain*; Pajamo and Tuppurainen, *Suomen musiikin*; Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon*; Väinölä, *Vanha virsikirja*; Voipio, *Virsiemme synty*.

have used the old Finnic oral poetic idiom, the so-called *Kalevala* metre?[2] The question partly derives from the poetic and national ideals of the early twentieth century, projecting modern ideas of identity, Lutheranism, and good poetry on the past. The ethnomusicologist Heikki Laitinen has opposed this view by noting that, supposedly, for their authors and original audiences, these poems were not clumsy texts but enjoyable songs.[3] Here, it seems essential to try to understand what these translators and song makers were doing in relation to the poetic and musical cultures, meanings, and aesthetics they were familiar with.

In this chapter, I examine the changes in Finnish poetics at the time of the Reformation in an attempt to understand their temporal variation, relations to other oral and written poetics, and the complex relationships of poetics, music, and identities. This involves reading the early hymnals, musical manuscripts, and earlier research on relevant fields and a more detailed analysis of some representative examples. Finnish hymn poetics are contextualized within medieval liturgical genres, German and Scandinavian hymn traditions, and what we may deduce about the oral vernacular poetics of the time. The chapter thus draws together earlier research on the subject in various scholarly fields, re-reads and develops it, and, with some examples, investigates directions for future analyses.

Three theoretical strands inform my approach. In ethnopoetics, the aim has been to recognize poetic forms and aesthetics, which do not follow any classical or modern Western poetics.[4] In linguistic anthropology, the linguistic repertoires (here applied to poetics) are seen as local, temporal, and context-bound registers, tied to particular speech communities. Linguistic forms, genres, and styles are, by the members of a speech community, associated with typical contents, users, and contexts of use. The forms gain their meanings through these shared associations.[5] In ethnomusicology and folkloristics, it has been noted that when studying poetics and meanings of songs, the relationships between the musical and textual forms need to be taken into account.[6] Thus, the focus of this chapter is on the aesthetics of

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2   Krohn, *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden*; Rapola, 'Vanhan runon'; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, pp. 16-17; Tarkiainen, *Piirteitä suomalaisesta*.

3   Laitinen, 'Barokki tunteen', p. 153-156; Laitinen, *Matkoja musiikkiin*, pp. 183, 211.

4   Hymes, *'In vain I tried'*; Tedlock, *The Spoken Word*.

5   Agha, *Language and Social*; Duranti, *Linguistic Anthropology*.

6   Harvilahti, *The Holy Mountain*, pp. 78-81; Kallio, *Laulamisen tapoja*, pp. 128-30; Laitinen, *Matkoja musiikkiin*, pp. 205-300; Lippus, *Linear Musical Thinking*, pp. 39-42; Niemi, *The Nenets Songs*, pp. 24-45.

particular historical speech communities, the development of song genres, and the relationships between poetic styles and musical structures.

The Reformation and Lutheran Hymns in Sweden

Scholars have noted that the process of the Swedish Reformation was a slow one, and that there was a constant alternation between more Lutheran and more Catholic views.[7] In addition, Finland has been characterized as a conservative district: not all the Reformation changes adopted in Germany or even in the Swedish-speaking areas of the same country were immediately put into practice.[8]

The leading reformer in Stockholm, Olaus Petri (1493-1552), published his first translations of Lutheran hymns in Swedish in 1526. The Swedish New Testament was published in 1526, the first preserved larger hymnal of 45 songs in 1536, and the whole Bible in 1541. The Diet of Västerås in 1527 announced that the Word of God should be preached 'purely', the king had the right to take over the possessions of the Church, vernacular could be used in the Mass, and priests were allowed to marry. The Swedish Church Order in 1571 suggested the Mass should be held in vernacular languages, that is to say in Swedish or Finnish, but it was only slowly that these became the main languages of the Mass.[9]

In Finland, the first Lutheran bishop of Turku was Martin Skytte (c. 1480-1550), a former Dominican theologian and prior, who sent several students to Wittenberg. One of these, Michael Agricola, published in Finnish the most central liturgical texts such as the New Testament, Handbook, Prayer Book and Order of the Mass in 1543-1552. He created the Finnish literary language, although it is evident he had some collaborators and predecessors (see the chapter by Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen). Nevertheless, the first Finnish hymnal was not published until 1583, and the first choral book with musical notation until 1702. Hitherto, the hymn texts and melodies circulated orally and via manuscripts.[10] The hymns were not the first priority, as the Reformers did

7   See Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*; Pahlmblad, *Mässa på svenska*; Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon*; see also the chapter by Berntson in this volume.

8   Laine, *Vanhimman suomalaisen*; Lavery, 'The Reformation'; Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon*; Schalin 1946-1947.

9   Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*; Liedgren, *Den svenska psalmboken*; Pahlmblad, *Mässa på svenska*; Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*; see also the chapter by Berntson in this volume.

10   Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*; Knuutila, 'Virsikirjat'; Pajamo and Tuppurainen, *Suomen musiikin*.

not have that many resources for translations and printing. In addition, it seems there were no models for stanzaic, rhymed, and iambic songs in the Finnish language.[11]

We know some vernacular hymns from the medieval period in Swedish, and Germany is known for medieval vernacular Christian song traditions, but these did not constitute any significant part of the liturgy. Thus, the Lutheran vernacular congregational singing at Mass was something new, and not shared by all the Reformed movements. Jean Calvin (1509-1564), for example, regarded only the biblical Psalms as apt for liturgical use.

For Luther, the hymn became a practical way to convey the biblical contents in understandable, appealing vernacular form. He called for poets in the early phase of the Reformation, and wrote 37 hymns himself. Luther and his friends composed the very first Lutheran hymns in 1523-1524, with several booklets of 8-32 hymns appearing in 1524. The total sum of different German hymn editions during the sixteenth century was almost 2000.[12] The first hymns were mainly catechetical, consisting of the basic themes of Christian faith. Luther used and moulded the traditional melodies of Catholic hymns and spiritual folk songs, and composed some melodies himself. He did not use the melodies of secular songs in congregational hymns, although this was sometimes done later on. The role of the hymns and congregational singing in the German Reformation has been disputed. Nevertheless, it is evident that the hymns became very popular.[13] When, in his preface to the first Finnish hymnal, Jacobus Finno describes how he saw people singing hymns everywhere in Germany, he might not have been exaggerating too much.[14]

While the hymns are often emphasized when describing Lutheran traditions, it is important to note that Luther in fact also retained many of the earlier singing traditions. He based his Latin and German Masses on unmeasured chant, and also kept late medieval polyphonic choral songs in use. Even though the use of the vernacular in the liturgy is often seen as one of the characteristics of the Reformation, Luther did not ban the use of Latin as such. It was fine to have the Masses in Latin, when the congregation knew the language. It was also appropriate to use several languages, and to make various adaptations according to local needs. In fact, most of the

11   Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, pp. 10-11; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 58-67.

12   Brown, 'Devotional Life', p. 233.

13   Anttila, *Luther's Theology*; Brown, *Singing the Gospel*; Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical*, particularly pp. 17-18.

14   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 15; see the chapter by Lehtonen in this volume.

liturgical songs in Luther's German Mass (1526) were unmeasured ones for the clergy and the choir, and it was only slowly that the metrical hymns for the congregation began to replace unmeasured ones.[15]

Poetic Metres in Finnish

The metrics of the first Finnish hymns are not easy to interpret. Yet the poetic features of these songs – incomplete rhymes, shortened words, varying numbers of syllables in metrical positions, and varying ways to actualize the patterns of stress – were typical of vernacular poetics in northern Europe at the time, although some Finnish poets made use of these features to an exceptional degree.[16] To understand these songs calls for a familiarity with the basics of both the traditional oral metre and the new rhymed poetics.

The dating of Finnish oral poetics is problematic. The very first sources of both the traditional *Kalevala* metre and rhymed metres date from the sixteenth century, but while the *Kalevala* metre is supposed to date back several thousand years, the rhymed metres are thought to have been adapted to the Finnish language only around the sixteenth century. The age of the *Kalevala* metre is deduced from its use within a wide range of Finnic languages (Finnish, Estonian, Karelian, Izhorian, Vote) and genres (epic, lyric, ritual and occasional poetry, proverbs, charms and lullabies), but also because the metre suits the archaic forms of Finnic words with ease.[17] In the first scholarly descriptions of Finnish poetry from the seventeenth century on, the *Kalevala* metre is described as the old and original form of the Finnish language.[18] Thus, it is reasonable to suppose that, in the context of early modern Finland, *Kalevala* metre was understood as the traditional oral metre of the Finnish language.

The age of Finnish rhymed poetry is even more ambiguous. The rhymed folk poetry did not interest the scholars of later centuries enough to be recorded or described to any significant degree, which means the evidence is fragmentary. The first few Finnish mocking songs in the court records of

15   Bonn, 'Plainsong'; Helmer, 'Catholic Luther', pp. 164-5; Herl, *Worship Wars*; Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical*, pp. 18, 144, 180-191.

16   See Gasparov, *A History*, pp. 194-7; Gillespie, *German Baroque*; Göransson, 'Musiken', p. 262; Laitinen *Matkoja musiikkiin*; Laitinen, 'Barokki tunteen', p. 156; Leino, *Language and Metre*; Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, pp. 22-4.

17   Korhonen, 'The Early History'; Kuusi, 'Questions'; Leino, 'The Kalevala Metre'; see Tarkka, *Songs of the Border* on the genres of poetry.

18   See Laitinen, 'Runolaulu'; Kallio, 'Kalevalamitta'.

the seventeenth century represent both *Kalevala* metre and rhymed and hybrid forms.[19] Some short rhymed Christian stanzas similar to German and Scandinavian vernacular traditions could have been used already in late-medieval Finland, although the evidence for this is indirect.[20] The first ample source of rhymed songs in the Finnish language is the Lutheran hymnal (1583, 1605). On the basis of this kind of evidence, it has been concluded that the development of Finnish rhymed folk metrics could have begun around the time of the Reformation.[21] Yet on the basis of coastal trade contacts as described by Ilkka Leskelä in Chapter 2, it seems possible that the first versions of rhymed, stanzaic, or word-stress-based songs could have been created at any time from the twelfth century onwards, when these forms became common in German and in Scandinavian languages and were probably heard in coastal areas, while the rhymed Latin songs were used in ecclesiastical contexts.[22] Still, it seems probable that the *Kalevala* metre remained the dominant Finnish folk metre up to the eighteenth century even in coastal areas.[23]

Kalevala metre is a trochaic tetrametre with specific 'broken verses' consisting of more or less half of the verses. In a broken verse, a short stressed syllable is situated at the fall of a poetic foot, giving a characteristic syncopation to the metre. Thus the metre is based both on the stress of the syllables and on their length: a long stressed syllable should be at a rising, a short one at a falling position. A verse typically has from eight to ten syllables, two to four syllables in the first foot. The most recognizable feature of the verse is the ample alliteration. Rhyme is not used, and the poems have no stanzaic structure, but parallelism is frequent.[24]

The Finnish stanzaic, rhymed poems and songs are usually based on the stress of the words only. Typically, the rhymed songs are not based on alliteration or parallelism, although these may occur. Rhymed songs contain both iambic and trochaic metres with different verse length and stanza forms. Owing to the characteristics of the Finnish language – the main stress is always on the first syllable of a word and there are few one-syllable words – strictly iambic metres have posed some problems to poets. In iambic

19   See Asplund, 'Runolaulusta rekilauluun', pp. 109-12.

20   Gummerus, 'Onko katolisella'; Maliniemi, 'Kansankieli'; see also the chapter by Grudule in this volume.

21   Asplund, 'Runolaulusta rekilauluun'; Leino, 'The Kalevala Metre', pp. 56-7.

22   On the history of rhymed songs in other languages, see Gasparov, *A History*; Page, *The Christian West.*

23   Kallio, 'Kalevalamitta'.

24   Kuusi, 'Questions'; Leino, *Language and Metre*; Tarkka, *Songs of the Border*.

metres, iambic inversion (/ \ \) is common. Typically, in early hymns and later folk songs alike, each metric position may be filled variably with one or two syllables, although there are also strictly syllabic metres. Similarly, the actualized patterns of stress vary.[25]

In metric contexts, the syllable boundaries between vowels may sometimes be interpreted in several ways ('koet-taa' or 'ko-et-taa'). In rhymed metres, some two-syllable words (terue, sine) may be counted as stressed or unstressed.[26] Varying dialectical forms and the unstable character of literary language pose some problems in the metrical analysis of the early hymns. Shortened words were typical of the western dialects used in the early hymns, but Kaisa Häkkinen points out that it was possible for each reader to pronounce literate texts according to his or her own dialect.[27] In the following examples, the syllables with main stress and those with both secondary and poetic stress are in bold, and ° marks an ambiguous verse.

Michael Agricola: Translating Medieval Traditions

The headmaster of the cathedral school of Turku, Michael Agricola, took on the task of translating and publishing the central texts of the Finnish Reformation: the Catechetical Primer, the Prayer Book, the New Testament, the Mass, the Handbook, the Passion, and the Psalter. His main achievement, the creation of the Finnish literary language, is regarded as a success. His biblical prose translations were used as a base for new versions up to the nineteenth century.[28]

The majority of Agricola's Finnish verses are found in prefaces to his translations.[29] Apparently, he did not compose the prefaces to be sung. Apart from these poems, Agricola published 39 translations of medieval liturgical songs and hymns in his Prayer Book and Mass, mostly short and unmeasured ones. Only five of his hymns are strictly measured, and he

25   Asplund *et al.*, *Suomen musiikin*; Laitinen, *Matkoja musiikkiin*; Laurila, *Suomen rahvaan*; Leino, *Language and Metre*.
26   Laitinen, *Matkoja musiikkiin*; Leino, *Language and Metre*, pp. 71-5.
27   Häkkinen, 'Maskun Hemmingin', p. 28.
28   Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*; Häkkinen and Vaittinen, *Agricolan aika*.
29   These are written in rhymed knittel (doggerel) verse with four accents and varying numbers of syllables in each metric position: see *Mikael Agricolan runokirja*.

did not translate new Lutheran hymns.[30] This has all been interpreted to indicate his limited interest in singing.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to equate songs with metrical texts. In Catholic tradition, the singing and chanting in Mass and in the Divine Office (Liturgy of Hours) was mostly unmeasured, and here, the most central texts were biblical. Thus, the Prayer Book, New Testament, Mass, and Psalter by Agricola could all be regarded as kinds of songbooks, although unmeasured ones. Indeed, the unmeasured Psalter was traditionally regarded as the most important songbook, comprising the central corpus for the Divine Office.[31] This changes the perspective on Agricola's attitude towards songs: he did in fact translate texts to be sung, although these were not measured songs for the laity.

Liturgical unmeasured chant was maintained during the first century of the Finnish Reformation, as can be seen in the chapter by Erkki Tuppurainen and Jorma Hannikainen in this volume. While preparing his German Mass, Luther emphasized the need to make appropriate musical adaptations when creating vernacular liturgical chant.[32] The texts of the Bible and other central liturgical texts had to be translated accurately, and music was the part to be adapted to the changes in linguistic structures. Typically, as Tuppurainen and Hannikainen note, the Finnish musical applications of unmeasured liturgical texts were not very elaborate, but they apparently served the needs of the vernacular service well enough.[33] Agricola meant his translations of the biblical and liturgical prose texts to be used also as songs or recitations, but when translating these, he did not need to create poetic structures or to try to adapt the texts to musical patterns. Those using the unmeasured texts as recitations or songs could make the necessary musical adaptations.

Metrical hymns were not an invention of the Reformation, but deeply rooted in Catholic tradition at least from the third century on. Most of these were not used in Mass proper, but in the Divine Office and in non-liturgical contexts. In the publications by Agricola, Erkki Tuppurainen has recognized 39 song texts, of which – depending on the interpreter – five or eighteen are seen as more or less measured. At least three of the five most measured songs seem to derive from earlier translators, as they are also found in the

30 Häkkinen, 'The Rise', p. 15; Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, pp. 10-4; Tuppurainen, 'Westhin koodeksi'.

31 Boynton, 'Plainsong'; Boynton, 'Prayer'; Hornby, *Medieval Liturgical*; Voipio, *Virsiemme synty*, pp. 16-9.

32 See Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical*, pp. 63-4, 180-91.

33 See also Hannikainen 2006; Tuppurainen, 'Westhin koodeksi'.

manuscript Codex Westh (dated 1545-1549) in slightly different forms.[34] All of the songs published by Agricola relate to Latin medieval tradition: traditional hymns, antiphons, sequences, and introits. He did not publish new German hymns except for the *Agnus Dei* (*O Lamm Gottes unschuldig*) deriving from a medieval trope. Some metrical Latin songs he translated as plain prose.[35] Although the prose texts by Agricola are appreciated, he is acknowledged as being a lousy poet, concentrating on accurate content, not on poetics.[36]

In the five most metrical songs Agricola published, the number of syllables and the stress pattern in a verse is quite regular. None of his songs follows a regular pattern of rhyme, although some occasional rhymes appear. His most regular poem is one of the most central Catholic sequences, 'the Golden Sequence', *Veni sancte Spiritus, et emitte coelitus* ('Come, Holy Spirit, and from heaven direct'), found in both Agricola's Prayer Book and in Codex Westh. It was popular in sixteenth-century Finland both in Latin and in Finnish.[37]

TUle| **Py**he| **hen**gi| **ten**	Come, Holy Spirit, here,
alas|**las**ke| **Tai**jua|**hast**	send down from the heaven
sinun| **paij**stes| **wal**ke|**us**	the brightness of your light.
Tule| **kie**uhet|**ten I**|se	Come, father of the poor,
tule| **lah**ian| **an**dai|**ja**	come, gift-giver
tule| **sije**lun| **kir**ca|**us**.[38]	come, light of the soul.

Here, the trochaic pattern ($/ \setminus / \setminus / \setminus /$) is very clear. The poem is based on the stress of syllables and on regular verse length. The character of this regularity appears exceptional when compared to other measured poems in the Prayer Book.

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34 P.I. Kurvinen (*Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 221-39) analysed thirty songs in the publications by Agricola, twelve defined as pure prose. For him, a stanzaic form or rhythmic language seems to be enough to recognize the song as non-prose. Viljo Tarkiainen (*Mikael Agricolan*, p. 9) identified thirty songs, and claimed only five of these are measured. He had strict demands for the rhymes and the regularity of verses. Finally, Erkki Tuppurainen ('Westhin koodeksi', pp. 32-3) has identified 39 liturgical songs (mostly unmeasured, not including the 85 biblical psalms), and notes that most of these are prose and some were probably not meant to be used as songs.

35 Häkkinen, 'The Rise', p. 15; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 221-39; Tuppurainen, 'Westhin koodeksi', pp. 35-6.

36 Harjunpaa, 'A Historical Outline,' p. 157; Häkkinen, 'The Rise', p. 15; Kurvinen 1941, p. 12; Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricolan*, pp. 12-3; Tuppurainen, 'Westhin koodeksi', p. 36.

37 Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 230-1; *Codex Westh*, 2012, pp. 17, 36-8.

38 Agricola I, p. 409.

The second example is the first stanza of another classic Catholic hymn *Christe, qui lux es et dies* ('O Christ who art the light and day'), found also in the Codex Westh:[39]

CHristus| se **paijs**|te ia **peij**|ue **on**	Christ is the light and the day
quin **öön**| **pi**mey|dhet **hai**|jo**tat**	you dissolve the darkness of the night
sine **wal**|ke**ud**|hen **wal**|ke**us**	you, the light of light
sarna|tat **py**|hen **paijs**|teen.[40]	you preach the sacred shining.

Here, the metre follows an iambic tetrameter (\ / \ / \ / \ /), but the number of syllables in a metrical position varies, and in the first poetic foot in particular the stresses may vary. In the first stanza, alliteration appears in three verses out of four, although only in six of the next 24 verses. No rhyme is used.

In the third example, the metrical scheme is similar, but the realization ever broader. This example is the first stanza of an old Latin hymn of the Divine Office, *O crux aue spes unica redemptorum que gloria* ('Hail, O Cross, our only hope').[41]

TErue **Chris**|te **aij**|noa **toij**|uo°	Hail Christ, the single hope,
sine **Lu**|nast**et**|tudhen **cun**|nia°	the glory of the redeemed
lise **Ju**|ma**lal**|listen **hurs**|caut°	increase the devoutness of the godly
ia **an**|na **syn**|neisten **an**|de**xi**°.[42]	and grant forgiveness to sinners

Here, the poem follows an iambic tetrameter (\ / \ / \ / \ /), but yet more loosely than in the previous example, raising possibilities of various metric interpretations. There may be one or two syllables in a non-stressed position, but the ends of the lines are more regular. No rhyme appears, but alliteration is used in three verses of the eight in the short poem.

The three examples are built on different metrical principles. Evidently, rhyme was not an important feature in these translations: in the examples, only the third and sixth lines of the first example are rhymed. In the Latin hymn tradition, rhyme was used sometimes regularly and sometimes,

39 Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 235-7; *Codex Westh*, pp. 92-4.
40 Agricola I, p. 681.
41 Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 227-8.
42 Agricola I, p. 361.

especially in the older hymns, only occasionally.[43] Of all the songs published by Agricola, the two trochaic poems of the *Prayer Book* ('TUle Pyhe hengi ten'; 'TUle pyhe lodhuttaia') are most regular.[44] In the most regular iambic poems, the numbers of syllables and the stress patterns vary more. This is in line with the common estimation that the iambic patterns were more difficult to apply to Finnish than the trochaic, owing to the prevailing oral trochaic tradition and the structure of the language. All of these poems are far from the oral *Kalevala* metric idiom, but in the iambic poems, alliteration is allowed.

The avoidance of *Kalevala* metre used to be interpreted as avoidance of either pagan or Catholic connotations of the metre, since it is evident that pre-Christian mythological poetry was in *Kalevala* metre and that this oral poetry had, by the time of the Reformation, adopted many Catholic themes.[45] Yet, as suggested by the occasional uses of alliteration in iambic hymns, the degree of avoidance of features connected with *Kalevala* metre depended on the context. This is clearly illustrated in the case of the traditional proverbs. Agricola used one Kalevala-metric proverb in the preface of an unpublished manuscript and included one proverb and one rote in the calendar of the Prayer Book. Thus, it was clearly not about the total avoidance of the form itself, but about the suitability of particular forms to different genres and contexts. There was a long tradition in collecting and using Christian, classical, and vernacular proverbs: the genre was conceived as neutral.[46] In contrast, the hymns evidently needed to be separated from the old oral folk idiom.

The scant number of measured hymns in the publications of Agricola may derive not only from difficulties in creating new iambic metres, the poor poetic talents of the translator, lack of resources, or the rush to translate the most important liturgical prose texts first. Another factor may be the inclination to follow locally esteemed traditions of the Church. In the preface of the Psalter Agricola describes the traditional practice of singing or reciting the Psalter in the Divine Office: 'so let the priests read their verses two by two in turn, as has been, and should be, the custom in choir'.[47] In the preface of the Prayer Book he urged the priests to read prayers in Finnish to their people both before and after the sermon, but not to forget to practise Latin in order to be learned

43   About Latin hymns, see Voipio, *Virsiemme synty*, p. 26.

44   Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, p. 73.

45   Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricolan*, pp. 8-9; Viinamäki, *Hemminki Maskulainen*; Voipio, *Virsiemme synty*, p. 107; see also Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written', p. 114; and the chapter by Järvinen in this volume.

46   Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, pp. 5-9; see also Kallio, 'Kalevalamitta'.

47   'Nin caxi ia caxi Wersuns woroin / lukecan Papit / quin on Chorin // Tapa ollut / ia oleman pite //' (Agricola III, p. 211).

enough to be able to teach the people well.[48] Agricola notes in his Handbook and Mass that it was also possible to use Latin and Swedish hymns, and these hymns were often interchangeable with passages or psalms from the Bible.[49]

It seems Agricola wanted to maintain the traditional song genres of the medieval Church, partly translated into the vernacular, partly still in Latin. In addition, he may have been a realist. Introducing new Lutheran congregational singing on a large scale could have been laborious and caused resistance both among the clergy and the laity. In some other Swedish dioceses, there were local revolts connected with the changes in the cult; in the diocese of Turku there were none (see the chapter by Martin Berntson in this volume).[50] A certain caution and patience in introducing new practices could have been a deliberate choice, as noted by Jason Lavery.[51]

All in all, the texts published by Agricola were enough to hold the Lutheran vernacular services of the time with all the singing that was needed. The linguist Kaisa Häkkinen has noted that his publications 'included all the basic literature that a Finnish clergyman of the Early Reformation needed in his work'.[52] He translated into the vernacular the most important liturgical prose texts and some medieval hymns. It was not yet the time for large-scale congregational singing, although some traditional hymns of his Prayer Book might have been used for this purpose.

Jacobus Finno: Creating Lutheran Hymns

The first Finnish Lutheran hymnal appeared around 1583. The writer of the hymns, the headmaster of the cathedral school of Turku, Jacobus Finno (*c.* 1540-1588), had already lived all his life in a Lutheran kingdom. King John III appointed Finno to 'compile some useful books' in 1578. Apparently, those 'useful books' included *Piae Cantiones* (1582), the Catechism (*c.* 1583), the Prayer Book (1583), and the Hymnal (*c.* 1583). Except for the *Piae Cantiones* of Latin pious songs,[53] these all belong to central Lutheran literature. The king's new liturgy in 1576 meant a shift back to some Catholic characteristics,

48   'Hyue Pappi luetta teste / wisust Canssas ilman este.// Saarnan Alghus / ia Lopus mös // nijn sine teutet sinun töös // Joca tas Latinan wnochtta / heijust se Canssans opetta' (Agricola I, p. 92).
49   Pajamo and Tuppurainen, *Suomen musiikin*, p. 46.
50   Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*.
51   Lavery, 'The Reformation'.
52   Häkkinen, 'Mikael Agricolan, p. 19; see also Harjunpaa, 'A Historical Outline', pp. 157-8.
53   Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written'.

although not a complete retreat from the Reformation. Both the Prayer Book and Hymnal by Finno draw from the medieval Catholic tradition, reforming it according to Lutheran ideals. Finno's attitude to Lutheranism and Catholicism has been debated: it seems he was a moderate Lutheran, taking into account the changing political situations.[54]

The work of Finno redefined the relationship between books, genres, and performance practices in the field of Finnish liturgical and spiritual texts. The division between the books was explicit. His hymnal consisted of metrical songs, the prayer book of unmeasured prayers. In Finnish, this kind of division was a new one.[55] The Prayer Book by Agricola was a thick octavo-sized book of 877 pages with a heterogeneous content of unmeasured and measured texts, explanations, songs, and non-songs. The extensive liturgical material was clearly intended for the clergy, even though Agricola estimated it was 'light and small' enough to carry along when travelling, and even though his successor Paulus Juusten (1520-1575) claimed all the Finns used it daily.[56] In contrast, Jacobus Finno's prayer book was, indeed, suitable for the laity, including lots of prayers for private use. The Church historian Jyrki Knuutila notes that this was close to Luther's view of the character of the prayer book.[57]

Both the prayer book and, most of all, the new Finnish hymnal marked a change in the Church's perspective on the laity. After the Catechetical Primer (Agricola 1543) and Catechism (Juusten 1574, Finno, c. 1583), these were the first books explicitly intended for congregational use.[58] In his preface for the hymnal, Finno expressed his hope, analysed in the chapter by Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen, that these pious songs would even replace the impudent and shameless ones in secular use.[59] Yet it is assumed that in the course of the sixteenth century, the amount of congregational singing in the service was still modest.[60] Nevertheless, when a commoner of the seventeenth century had books, these were most likely the hymnal and some short version of the Catechism.[61]

Although Lutheran hymns were partly derived from pre-existing models, congregational collective singing was a new liturgical genre. It slowly

54   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*; Lempiäinen, 'Finno, Jacobus'.

55   Juva, 'Jaakko Finno'; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 231, 256-312. The *Hymnal* includes only four unmeasured songs (the most popular biblical *cantica* at the beginning of the book), while Finno's Prayerbook contains only one metrical text, *Veni sancte Spiritus* from the *Prayer Book* of Agricola.

56   Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 189.

57   Juva, 'Jaakko Finno'; Knuutila, 'Hartauskirjallisuus', pp. 147-9.

58   Juva, 'Jaakko Finno'; Knuutila, 'Hartauskirjallisuus'.

59   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 15; see also the chapter by Lehtonen in this volume.

60   Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, pp. 244-55; see also Herl, *Worship Wars*.

61   Laine, *Vanhimman suomalaisen*, p. 99.

replaced some permanent unmeasured liturgical texts sung by the priest
or choir in the Mass. Nils Holger Petersen points out that this transformed
the structure of the Mass: in the medieval Ordinary of the Mass, only the
melodies of the permanent texts changed according to the liturgical year.
In contrast, in the Lutheran service, the changeable hymns replaced the
parts of the permanent Ordinary, although some hymns were paraphrases
of the previous parts of the Ordinary. Thus, what became stable was the
basic structure of the Mass, rather than the permanent liturgical text.[62]

The Hymnal by Finno consists mostly of congregational hymns for the
liturgy. The central themes relate to the Bible, the Catechism, and the ecclesi-
astic year. At the end there are also some songs for private devotion. Following
the model of the *Swedish Hymnal* (1572), Finno included 101 hymns, grouped
into a similar order. Nevertheless, the book is far from being a translation
of the *Swedish Hymnal*. The translations are made from Latin, Swedish, and
German. Finno created seven hymns from scratch, seventeen hymns he
remodelled strongly, 65 he translated fairly directly, and seventeen were based
on earlier translations by Agricola and others. Of Finno's hymns, sixteen are
fairly direct translations and six are adaptations of hymns by Luther.[63]

Metrically, Finno's hymns do vary. In some rare cases, he follows quite
strictly the numbers of syllables of his metrical model, for example in
the Sapphic-like hymn 32.[64] The most fixed features of this poem are the
number of syllables (11+11+11+5; *laupiudhes* is read as three syllables here)
and the use of rhyme, but in its nine stanzas, there is also a weak tendency
towards a pattern of stress (/ \ \ / \ \ / \ \ / \ / \ / \), which does not exactly
follow the classical Sapphic stanza.

O **Her**ra **Ju**mal **ar**mo**li**nen **I**sä	O Lord, God, merciful Father,
Taiuan maan **luo**ia ia **mit** ombi **nij**sä	Creator of heaven and earth and of what they contain:
Köyhiä **lap**sias **lau**piudhes **caut**ta	Your poor children through your compassion,
Cuule ia **aut**ta.[65]	hear and help.

62   Petersen, 'Lutheran Tradition', pp. 43-4.
63   Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 16, 86-90, 132, 256-312.
64   Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, p. 272; *Yxi Tarpelinen Nuotti-Kirja*, pp. 38, 379.
65   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 241.

For the most part, Finno's models used iambic tetrameter.[66] In these cases, he had several poetic strategies. The second example is a translation of the Latin hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus, mentes tuorum visita* ('Come, Creator Spirit') previously published in a non-rhymed version of iambic character by Agricola.[67]

TVle| **py**hä| **hen**gi| **luo**ia	Come, Holy Spirit Creator,
Ja **kijl**|mäin **sy**|dhän**den**| **suo**ia	the shelter of cold hearts,
Täytä| ne **rin**|nat **ar**|mol**las**	fill those chests with your mercy,
Quin si|nä **lo**|it **woi**|mal**las**.[68]	that you created by your power.

The first verse of trochaic character comes straight from Agricola, but other verses Finno has remodelled to make iambic patterns of stresses (\ / \ / \ / \ /) and rhymes (AABB) more regular. Nevertheless, the sixth stanza of the same hymn illustrates how, indeed, without knowing the original model and melodic structures of Finno's songs, it would sometimes be difficult to say whether a pattern should be interpreted as iambic or trochaic:

Isä| **meid**hän| **tu**ta| **an**na	Let us know our Father
Ja **po**|ian **pääl**| **tu**ruan| **pan**na	and put our trust in the Son,
Sinu|**sa** mös| **kij**ni| **rip**pu	and hold on to You,
Joca| **heist**ä| **vluos**| **lijc**kut.[69]	who proceed from them.

In this stanza, only the beginning of the second verse is made of two iambic feet, while all the others are clearly trochaic. The trochaic verses are calmly fitted into the iambic pattern in a way very typical of the early hymns. The number of syllables in a verse is stable, but the actual stress pattern is irregular.

On the other hand, in some other hymns it is the number of syllables in a line that varies. The third example of Finno's poems is a beginning of Luther's *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* ('A mighty fortress is our God'), a paraphrase of Psalm 46 (*Deus noster refugium*). The hymn by Luther is

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66 Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 76-7.
67 Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, pp. 17-18; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, p. 293; *Old Hymn Tunes*, No. 129.
68 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 293.
69 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 294.

based on the number of syllables in the lines (8+7+8+7+5+5+5+6+7), but is not that strict with the actual stresses of the syllables. His long verses are of iambic character (\ / \ / \ / \ (/)), the short verses alternately trochaic and iambic. Finno applies this metrical pattern, and the melodies in later Finnish manuscripts and the choral books follow the melody by Luther.[70]

Meidhän **lin**|nam on| **Ju**mal| **tai**uast°	Our fortress is God from heaven,
Meidhän| **kil**pem| ja **o**|tam	our shield and spear.
Hän **au**tta| meitä **häd**|häst ia| **wai**uast°	He helps us from distress and trouble
Quin u|sein **pääl**|läm **coo**|tan	that often are gathered upon us.
Meidhän **wi**|**ho**li|sem	Our foe
on **hir**|muli|nen	is terrifying:
Neuu|os° **mo**|nis	In many crafts
ia **pa**|hois **iuo**|nis	and wicked guiles
Eij **löy**|tä **hä**|nen **wer**|tans.[71]	on earth is not found his equal.

In his version, Finno uses from seven to nine syllables in long lines, where the original German poem uses an exact pattern of eight-seven-eight-seven. The shorter verses (originally 5-5-5-6) are from four to six syllables each. Additional syllables are, apparently, to be placed in non-stressed metrical and musical positions. In this way, it is possible to fit the translation to the melody. However, with some of the verses, it is difficult to say how the syllables should be placed into the rhythmic schemes of the metre and music, as the irregular stress pattern and verse length make several interpretations possible. Yet in this hymn, Finno ends all of the long verses with a two-syllable word or a second part of a compound (/ \), which may be a way to add some regularity to an otherwise alternating realization of poetic patterns. In many other iambic tetrametric hymns, he tends to use three-syllable words at the ends of the lines.

In most of his hymns, Finno does not seem to care about the exact number or prominence of syllables. In one poetic position one or two syllables would do, and although there is a clear tendency towards iambic structures, occasional trochaic or mixed verses are also allowed. Nevertheless, in some cases, Finno preferred a stricter metre, either in regard to the number of

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70   See Hallio, *Suomalaisen virsikirjan*, pp. 243-4; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 260-1; *Yxi Tarpelinen Nuotti-Kirja*, pp. 63, 380.

71   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 196.

syllables or to the pattern of stresses.[72] The first examples above show he was fully capable of doing this.

All in all, Jacobus Finno appreciated rhyme above all other poetic features. This is how he explicitly describes the hymns in his preface to the Hymnal: they are composed with rhymes, following the practice in other Christian regions.[73] Yet for him, the criterion of rhyme was looser than it tends to be nowadays. Words such as *rippu/lijckut*, *otam/cootan* and *wiholisem/ hirmulinen* would make a fine rhyme, although, when pronounced, they do not fulfil the modern demands for a proper rhyme. The main features of this poetic model are close to folk singing recorded in the following centuries, and in fact were also common in Swedish and German at the time.[74]

For Finno, as for Agricola, the old oral *Kalevala* metre was not an option. As Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen shows in his chapter, Finno strictly avoided alliteration, typical of oral idiom, in his work. Although his iambic verses may occasionally take trochaic forms, these do not get close to particular trochaic structures typical of the *Kalevala* metre, and he did not write trochaic hymns proper.[75]

Hemmingius of Masku: Vernacularizing Poetics

The next hymnal was a substantially extended edition of Finno's Hymnal, published by Hemmingius Henrici of Masku in 1605. The extended hymnal came out in six editions through the seventeenth century, and when the subsequent extended edition was made in 1701, it still included nearly all the hymns by both Finno and Hemmingius with only some orthographical changes.[76]

Hemmingius continued the work of Finno. Besides editing and expanding the Hymnal, he translated into Finnish the collection of pious Latin songs, *Piae Cantiones* (*Wanhain Suomen maan Piispain ja Kirkon Esimiesten laulud*, 1616), and in his preface credited Finno with being the editor of the original anonymous Latin collection (1582). Hemmingius had studied at the cathedral school of Turku when Finno was the headmaster. He served as a vicar

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72   See also Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, p. 79.

73   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 15.

74   See Göransson, 'Musiken', p. 262; Laitinen, 'Barokki tunteen', p. 156; Kurvinen 1941, pp. 22-4.

75   Onni Kurvinen (*Vanha virsikirja*, p. 207) has analysed 76 of Finno's hymns as iambic, four as iambic with a strong trochaic character, fifteen as iambic with strong anapaestic character, two as Sapphic and four as unmeasured.

76   Knuutila, 'Virsikirjat, pp. 138-40; Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, p. 27; Lempiäinen 2000.

of Masku parish (1586-1619). At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the reign of Charles IX marked a slow beginning of Lutheran Orthodoxy in Sweden. The Catholic aspirations had gone with the reign of John III and his son Sigismund.[77] Unlike Finno, Hemmingius has three hymns about the papal Antichrist, and opposition to the Catholic Church is visible.[78]

The second edition of the *Finnish Hymnal* includes 242 hymns, which was more than in any of the Swedish hymnals of the time. Hemmingius kept all the hymns of the previous edition and added 151 new ones, mostly translated or compiled from German, Swedish, Latin, and Danish originals or created by himself. Despite the additions, the basic order of the hymns is kept nearly the same. He made some orthographic changes to the preceding hymns, but otherwise very few editorial modifications.[79] Yet for some of Finno's songs Hemmingius made his own parallel versions. At least six hymns are made by other translators. The central themes of the Hymnal relate to the Bible, the Catechism, and the ecclesiastic year, but Hemmingius added also some laments and wedding hymns. The book contains more hymns for private devotion than the previous edition: songs of praise, advice, prayer, and repentance.[80]

As a translator, Hemmingius was liberal. He chose the elements he most preferred from the versions in different languages, and added new elements quite freely. In a similar manner, he seems to have made his poetic choices according to the situation, sometimes preferring exact translation, sometimes his own version, using structural rhyme or abundant alliteration here and leaving it out there, and making occasional long verses that scholars from the nineteenth century on have tended to declare impossible to sing.[81] Nevertheless, the hymnologist P.I. Kurvinen notes that the unstable character of poetic stresses surely did not prevent singing; the ethnomusicologist Heikki Laitinen points out the slow tempo of singing has made it easier to sing songs where the musical and poetic stresses did not always coincide,

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77   Lempiäinen 2000; Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, pp. 14-25.

78   Väinölä 1995, p. 47.

79   Of the language of Hemmingius, see Häkkinen, 'Maskun Hemmingin'.

80   Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 64, 166-70; Väinölä, *Vanha virsikirja*, p. 43; see also Laitinen, 'Barokki tunteen', p. 147.

81   On the critic of the early Finnish metrics see Krohn, *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden*, pp. 44-50; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 78-80; Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricolan*, pp. 8-9; Viinamäki, *Hemminki Maskulainen*; of the translating strategies of Hemmingius, see also Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written'.

and that, actually, for a folk singer it was not a problem to sing an occasional trochaic verse with an iambic tune.[82]

Hemmingius is often praised for his strong, expressive, and colourful language, but criticized for the structure of his verses.[83] His versions of the first stanza of *Veni Creator Spiritus* and Psalm 46 (*Deus noster refugium*) show some of his poetic characteristics.

TUle| **luoj**a| **loh**dhut|**ta**ja	Come, Creator, comforter,
Pyhä| **Hen**gi| **py**hit|**tä**jä	Holy Spirit, sanctifier,
Ope|tus **i**|sä **oi**|ki**a**	The righteous teaching Father,
Opill| **oik**jall| meit **o**|pe**ta**	Teach us with the right learning,
Ja **hy**|vyd**hel**|läs **pu**|eta.[84]	and dress us with your goodness.

Here, Hemmingius uses a different stanza structure (five verses) from Agricola and Finno (four verses).[85] In the Hymnal, the version by Hemmingius is placed after the version by Finno, and marked 'The same, a little differently' ('Se sama vähä toisin'). The basic pattern of Hemmingius's hymn is iambic, but there are plenty of trochaic verses, as the two first verses of the song. The stress pattern often consolidates towards the end of the lines. The pattern of rhyme varies from stanza to stanza (AAABB/AABBB/AAAAA/AABCC). What is striking here, compared to Agricola and Finno, is the amount of alliteration: very typically for Hemmingius, four out of the five verses of the first stanza in *Veni Creator Spiritus* include alliteration. Yet the amount of alliteration is not similar in all of his hymns. In the first stanza of *Deus noster refugium* by Hemmingius, there is alliteration in four verses out of seven:

82   Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, p. 78; Laitinen, 'Vaan vahva'; Laitinen, 'Barokki tunteen', p. 156; Laitinen, *Matkoja musiikkiin*, pp. 183, 211.

83   See Laitinen, 'Barokki tunteen'; Lempiäinen and Haapalainen, *Virsiavain*, p. 58; Viinamäki, *Hemminki Maskulainen*.

84   Hemmingius, *Yxi wähä suomenkielinen*, p. N11a.

85   In the first Finnish choral book (1702), the same melody of five verses is given for both Finno's and Hemmingius's hymns. Finno's version is adapted to the melody by repeating the last but one verse, but in the manuscripts of the seventeenth century, there appears also a separate four-line melody for Finno's text (Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, p. 319; *Yxi Tarpelinen Nuotti-Kirja*, p. 167; *Old Hymn Tunes*, nos. 129, 130).

JUmal on **meid**|hän **vä**|ke**vä** |apum°	God is our mighty aid,
Turva **to**|sin **tus**|kis **suu**|ris.°	Our most true shelter in great agonies.
Emme| siis **pel**|kä **et**|tä **hu**cum°	Thus, we are not afraid of drowning,
Ehk **mail**|ma **cu**|kistuis **juu**|ri°	even if the world would fall,
Vaick **me**|ri paohais, **aal**|lod **cuo**|hui**sid**°	the sea would roar, the waves foam,
Vuored **me**|ren **sy**|vyten **va**|jois**id**°	the mountains would sink into the deeps of the ocean,
Mäed mu|listuisid **y**|lis **a**|lais.°[86]	the hills would turn up and down.

Instead of Luther's *Ein Feste Burg*, the content and form of this poem follows the paraphrase of Psalm 46 by Sebald Heyden and the Swedish translation with a similar metrical scheme. As a melodic clue, Hemmingius gives Finno's *Nyt caiki Christityt ilotcat* ('Now rejoice, all Christians', composed on the basis of Luther's *Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmeyn*) of similar metric structure ($\backslash / \backslash / \backslash / \backslash / (/)$).[87] The pattern of rhyme in Hemmingius's poem is not as strict as in his models (ABABCCB), but varies along the poem. The poem contains notably less alliteration than the first example (25 verses of 42, mostly weak alliteration). Compared to the iambic verse patterns in Luther's version with strict numbers of syllables and Heyden's poem with somewhat more varying patterns of eight and seven syllables in a verse, the poem by Finno is loose and the above example by Hemmingius even looser, containing from seven to ten syllables in a verse.[88]

A long verse like *JUmal on meidhän väkevä apum* may be divided into eight metrical positions (or musical structures) in several ways.[89] Yet incomplete rhymes and irregular numbers of syllables were not uncommon in contemporary Swedish and German songs either. The biggest change in poetics is ascribed to Martin Opitz in the first decades of the seventeenth century. He insisted a good poem should follow either pure iambic or trochaic structure, should not include additional syllables or shortened words, and should be built with complete rhymes.[90] These are all features that were evidently not yet that important for the first Finnish hymn composers. Yet by the end of the seventeenth century they were felt problematic. In the first

86   Hemmingius, *Yxi wähä suomenkielinen*, p. C4a.
87   Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 298-9.
88   See also Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical*, pp. 161-2.
89   The number of syllables in a verse was even larger for the singers in other dialects, who might complete the shortened words, ending up with twelve possible syllables in the first line: 'Jumala on meidän väkevä apumme.'
90   See Gasparov, *A History*, pp. 194-7; Gillespie, *German Baroque*.

printed version (1702) of the melody of Finno's 'Now rejoice, all Christians', one additional note is inserted in several verses, in order to provide one suitable place for additional syllables.

Hemmingius also published a third version of Psalm 46. This poem, by provost of Turku Petrus Melartopaeus (d. 1610), is a translation of Luther's *Ein feste Burg*, and thus a parallel to Finno's version.[91]

LInna| **lu**ja| on **Ju**|ma**la**	God is a mighty fortress
Meidhän| myös **vah**|va **vuo**|ri	Our strong mountain also,
Sota| **Her**ra| kyll **ca**|mala	A war-lord really terrible,
Tuki|**tur**va| ja **muu**|ri.	supporting shelter and wall.
Vastan **vai**|noli|sii	Against the enemies
ja **mur**|ha **mie**|hii	and murder-men
Qvin **surk**|jan **sur**|maan	who to miserable death
ja **juu**|ri **jul**|maan	and very cruel
Meit **ve**|täväd **van**|hoi ja **nuo**|rii.[92]	are drawing us, the old and the young.

Here, Melartopaeus uses meticulous numbers of syllables in a line. The first four long verses follow exactly the scheme of the German original (8-7-8-7), while the short lines with 5-6-5-6 positions are filled variably with 5-6 syllables. The last long verse of seven poetic positions is filled with nine syllables. The pattern of rhyme is similar to Luther's version (ABABCCDDB), although some rhymes are incomplete (vuo*ri*-muu*ri*, vainolis*ii*-mieh*ii*-nuor*ii*).

From the point of view of poetic registers, the most interesting feature in these poems of the extended hymnal is the way the translators make use not only of abundant alliteration, characteristic of the old oral metre, but also of *Kalevala*-metric verse structures. First, some of the trochaic verses, although not all, comply with the rules of stress and length of syllables that is characteristic of *Kalevala* metre, such as *TUle\| luoja\| lohdhut\|taja* – this is natural for trochaic poems. Secondly, some of the iambic verses containing an iambic inversion could, with equal ease, be read as typical so-called broken verses of *Kalevala* metre, where the short stressed syllables are placed at the unstressed positions of the trochaic verse ('**O**pill\| **oik**jall\| meit *o*\|peta'; '**Vuo**red **me**ren\| **sy**vy\|ten *va*\|joisid'; '**LIn**na\| **lu**ja\| on *Ju*\|mala'). Thirdly, some of the iambic verses could be read as *Kalevala*-metric verses (where it is acceptable to have two to four syllables at the first foot), if the

91   Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 318-19.
92   Hemmingius, *Yxi wähä suomenkielinen*, p. C3a.

last shortened word is completed ('**Sii**hen siis| **lin**nan| **tur**vad|cam(me)'; '**Ett o**len| **Her**ra| ja **Ju**|mal(a)'). Yet Hemmingius did not use features of oral folk poetry in similar amounts in all of his songs. In the second example above (*JUmal on meidhän väkevä apum*) the use of alliteration is more infrequent, and only very few verses connect with *Kalevala*-metric verse structures at all. In contrast, the five poems by Melartopaeus all strongly use various features of *Kalevala*-meter, although not representing the oral meter proper.

Indeed, the use of some Kalevala-metric features does not make these hymns *Kalevala*-metric. Yet it proves that Hemmingius and Melartopaeus did not make any attempts to avoid structures referring to the oral metre, if these structures were compatible enough with the basic iambic structures of their songs. In this tendency, they differed clearly from Finno and most poems published by Agricola. Nevertheless, they had one anonymous predecessor. Around the 1580s, someone wrote Finnish adaptations of the medieval iambic hymns *Surrexit Christus hodie* and *Ascendit Christus hodie* in the Finnish parish in Stockholm. In these hymns, the basic structure of most of the verses appears *Kalevala*-metric, but by adding an occasional one-syllable word at the beginning of the verse and by contracting the last word the structure is reshaped into iambic tetrameter. Hemmingius used some verses of these songs in his own translations, but reworked the poems into more regular and iambic form.[93]

Thus, Hemmingius and Melartopaeus combined features of different poetic song traditions in an innovative way. They used alliteration and various verse structures of old oral poetic idiom, but adapted these to new, stanzaic, and mostly iambic patterns. This may be interpreted as aesthetic vernacularization of the Lutheran hymn genre. They adopted features that were familiar and effective for the local congregations.

Creating New Poetics and Practices

The new Lutheran congregational singing was revolutionary in several ways. It gave the congregation a new voice and mode of presence in the service. It gave the rhymed, measured, stanzaic, vernacular poetry a new status and sphere of use in the Mass proper. It slowly transformed the most fixed textual parts of the Mass into varying hymns. The Divine Office (Liturgy of Hours) began to lose its importance, but some of its songs were translated into the vernacular and used in the Mass. The Reformation transformed a

93   Kallio, 'Kalevalamitta'; Rapola, 'Vanhan runon'.

wide number of melodies, texts, and poetics for liturgical use, while also adapting many traditional medieval poems and melodies for Lutheran hymns.[94]

During the Reformation, three major song genres were essential: unmeasured liturgical chant, Catholic measured songs, and Lutheran hymns. Medieval liturgical singing was mostly unmeasured, non-metrical chant, based on the Bible. Some metrical, stanzaic, even rhymed hymns were used, mainly in the Divine Office. There were also more complicated, polyphonic choral songs, some measured, some unmeasured. These all were kept in use. Yet, the central Lutheran invention was to slowly mould most of the liturgical singing into rhymed, stanzaic hymns that the congregation too would be able to sing. Lutheran hymns adapted texts and melodies from many directions: from medieval Catholic traditions, folk piety, earlier revivalist movements, and even from secular sources. The use of Lutheran hymns became widespread, and it has been regarded as one of the important factors in the popularity of the movement. Nevertheless, the process of making and adopting hymns and hymnals was not that quick even in Germany, despite the fact that Luther was not the first to promote vernacular religious singing. In Sweden both the clerical inclination towards non-measured chant and folk resistance delayed the process.[95]

Luther and his followers used the most popular song language of the time, the rhymed song. The genre was already prevalent in German and Scandinavian vernacular culture and in Christian hymns, although the poetic forms in Swedish were not identical to those in German. Yet in Finland, the situation was different. There are no proofs of established rhymed folk song or hymn traditions in Finnish prior to the Reformation. The poetics and music of Finnish Lutheran hymns were new in very different ways from what they were in German and Swedish.

The new rhymed Finnish poetics was needed in order to connect to new Lutheran singing cultures. In Finnish, prior to the Reformation, there existed an alliterative, trochaic oral *Kalevala* metre with no stanzas or rhymes. Economical resources, individual poetic capabilities, changing political and religious atmospheres, international models, local traditions, vernacular song genres in various languages, and medieval Christian heritage affected

94   See Brown, *Singing the Gospel*; Burke, *Popular Culture*; Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*; Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical*; Petersen, 'Lutheran Tradition'; Pettegree, *Reformation*; Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*.
95   See Brown, *Singing the Gospel*; Göransson, 'Kyrkans musik'; Herl, *Worship Wars*; Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical*.

the composition of new songs. Consequently, the three earliest known poets of the Finnish Reformation made different poetic choices.

For Michael Agricola, singing in church was still based on traditional chant by priests and learned choirs, in the medieval manner. Agricola concentrated on the most important biblical and liturgical prose texts and their literal, explicit meanings, not on poetic forms – he even transformed some of the Latin metrical songs into vernacular prose. His song translations are traditional Catholic liturgical songs of various kinds, and the most metrical of these relate to the song traditions of the Divine Office. Agricola did not publish new Lutheran, measured hymns. Apparently, the most regular songs in his Prayer Book were translated by others and only published by him. In these songs the translator(s) mostly avoided alliteration that was typical to the old oral idiom. In trochaic poems, which is a form closer to the oral idiom, the avoidance was stricter than in the iambic ones, where the rhythmic structure in itself seems to have made the boundary between different poetic registers clear enough. The songs do not rely on rhyme, but in the most metric poems, the numbers of the syllables and the stress patterns tend to be quite regular.

Some thirty years after Agricola, the work of Jacobus Finno redefined the Finnish genres of Christian song and prayer. His books were intended for the laity as well as for the clergy. In particular, Finno created the Finnish Lutheran hymn. He emphasized rhyme as the distinctive feature of the genre, and made congregational singing both in the liturgy and in everyday practice a central goal of his Hymnal. For Finno, the use of regular rhyme, overall iambic style and fitting the words into particular melodies seems to have been more important than regular patterns of stress or exact numbers of syllables. He clearly avoided the alliteration and syllabic structures of *Kalevala* metre.

Around 1605, Hemmingius of Masku published a significantly extended edition of Finno's Hymnal. In his own translations and compositions, he used various poetic means in a flexible manner, varying the exact translation and free thematic improvization as well as the use of rhyme patterns and the amount of alliteration from poem to poem. Hemmingius and Petrus Melartopaeus were the first named Finnish poets to make abundant use of alliteration and structural features of *Kalevala* metre in hymns, although they did not compose any *Kalevala* metre poems proper. Like the vernacular poetics of the epoch in other languages, the stress patterns and numbers of syllables in the verse varied.

It seems the poems were, for Hemmingius as for Finno, primarily songs, meaning that the poetic structures had to fit into particular melodic

structures, which typically meant that the maximum number of syllables in a foot (or two poetic positions) was four. In this chapter, the early hymns are looked upon as songs referring to and drawing upon various Catholic, secular, and Lutheran song registers, meant for mostly oral uses and taught to the congregations mainly orally. This alters some traditional attitudes relating to Finnish poetic metres and history of hymns.

Apparently, the unstable character of the poetic patterns was not a significant problem to the makers and users of the early hymns. For sure, when combined with irregular patterns of stress, placing several syllables in one poetic position leads to a range of interpretive possibilities. Technically, it is possible to place the syllables in a metric scheme or a melodic pattern in several different ways. This irritated modern critics, who claimed the earliest hymns impossible to sing. Certainly, it is impossible to analyse the poetic metre or to sing this kind of verse in an unambiguous way – but only if one is not familiar with the tradition and wants to proceed on the basis of the written text and a short musical notation only. In the practice of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most of the learning of congregational songs took place orally. Consequently, the words and the rhythm of the melody were one inseparable unity. Learning the words meant also learning the proper ways to place them into the melodic structure.

To the classic questions relating to the early Finnish hymns – why were the songs so clumsy and why did they make use of pure *Kalevala* metre – some additional observations can clearly be made. We cannot be sure that these poems that look clumsy to the modern reader really were that clumsy for their original audiences with rather different aesthetic ideals. In German, it was only Martin Opitz who, in 1624, formulated the need to get rid of features such as additional syllables, irregular patterns of stress, shortened words, and incomplete rhymes.

Evidently, both Finno and Hemmingius wanted to bring a new Lutheran singing culture to the diocese of Turku and the Finnish language. The Lutheran congregational singing style was as much of sounds, melodies, rhythms, contexts of use, and styles of performance as it was of poetic metre. The structure of *Kalevala* metre would not have suited all of the hymn melodies. Indeed, Heikki Laitinen argues it is probable the early Finnish hymn-makers created their poems for particular melodies, not particularly following any abstract or strict metrical patterns.[96] This would mean they attempted to create patterns that would *sound* enough like the Lutheran

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96   Laitinen, 'Barokki tunteen', p. 153; Laitinen, *Matkoja musiikkiin*, p. 210.

hymns in other languages. The oral *Kalevala* metre did not, indeed, sound similar to the iambic, rhymed songs in German and Swedish.

It was not possible to connect the new Lutheran song register with old poetics and musical styles. In this regard, the surprising thing is not the avoidance of the oral idiom by Agricola and Finno, but the way Hemmingius, Melartopaeus, and their anonymous predecessor actually did use some *Kalevala*-metric structures in the making of iambic poems. The choice of Hemmingius and Melartopaeus was to use both rhyme and alliteration, and combine *Kalevala*-metric and iambic tendencies, which resulted in intricate patterns still fitting into the overall rhymed, iambic structures and the new hymn melodies. It is possible that they felt Agricola and Finno had already made the division between vernacular hymns and oral folk poetry clear enough, enabling the genre boundaries to be stretched. Likewise, it is possible no-one before the 1580s had thought it possible to connect *Kalevala*-metric features with rhyme and stanzaic structures, or apply those to an iambic scheme. Equally, Hemmingius and Melartopaeus may have searched for all the means at hand to make their songs as appealing as possible. In this quest, combining familiar structures of the *Kalevala* metre with fascinating new melodies, rhyme, and iambic and stanzaic structures was a successful strategy, as may be inferred on the basis of the popularity of these songs in folk use up to the nineteenth century. When dealing with the inclination of these clergymen to use features of vernacular poetics, it is also worth noting that it is supposed they spoke Finnish as their mother tongue or, in the case of Agricola, as a very strong second tongue.[97] Thus, when they considered it proper, it was easier for them to use all the resources of language and oral tradition, than for most of their Baltic, German-speaking counterparts.[98]

The slowness in creating the first Finnish hymnal may have been the result of the lack of resources and the laborious character of the task, as the German and Scandinavian metrical models really did not fit into Finnish as such. In addition, looking at Agricola's works and his attitude to many medieval traditions and the use of Latin, it seems evident that he did not view a new hymn culture as indispensable. The tendency was similar in Swedish, although the hymns were created earlier there.[99] Latin song traditions were held in high esteem in Finland, as shown by Hannikainen and Tuppurainen in this volume. The pious songs used in the Divine Office

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97   Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*; Häkkinen, 'Maskun Hemmingin'; Lempiäinen, 'Finno, Jacobus'.
98   See Ross, 'Riimi sunnil', and the chapter by Grudule in this volume.
99   Göransson, 'Kyrkans musik'; Liedgren, *Den svenska*.

and in cathedral schools, *Piae cantiones*, were published alongside the first hymnal and also translated into Finnish. The Church Order allowed the use of Latin songs in the Mass up to the early seventeenth century. Yet it is difficult to say how much this favouring of Latin and unmeasured songs was felt to be personally important by the clergy and how much it was intended to keep the laity content by minimizing quick changes in cult. In some Swedish parishes, several revolts arose to confront various changes brought about by the Reformation (see the chapter by Martin Berntson). In the conservative diocese of Turku, no revolts were seen.

When creating new Finnish poetics, the reformers had two practical constraints. They had their own ideals relating to various Latin, Scandinavian, German, and Finnish secular and sacred song genres. On the other hand, they must have been conscious, to some degree at least, of the constraints posed by their audience. They had to create songs the congregations would be able and eager to listen to, learn, and sing, but, in this quest, they made different poetic choices. Finno tended to use lucid, explicit, even somewhat laconic language, regular rhyme, and verse length. Hemmingius preferred vivid and strong language, alliteration with rhyme, and more varying verse lengths. It is impossible to say which would have made more catchy, contagious songs for they primary audiences: modern critics have preferred Finno for verse length and rhymes, but Hemmingius for alliteration and vivid language. Both wrote poems that were sung by the congregations and used as models for new hymns and folksongs alike up to the nineteenth century.

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5 Vernacular Gregorian Chant and Lutheran Hymn-singing in Reformation-era Finland

Jorma Hannikainen and Erkki Tuppurainen

In the late Middle Ages and the Reformation era the diocese of Turku (Swe. Åbo) was the eastern part of the Kingdom of Sweden. Besides present-day Finland it encompassed some further areas outside. In the present chapter the earliest manuscripts including chants as well as medieval and Lutheran hymns in Swedish and Finnish preserved in Finland will be examined. The Gregorian tradition has been seen as continuing in the Swedish kingdom long after the Reformation while the metrical hymns written by Martin Luther and his entourage have been viewed as reaching Finland rather late.[1] Several researchers mention the 'hymns' of Michael Agricola as the first attempts at 'Lutheran hymn singing'.[2] Our investigation of some chants and hymns with their melodies will tend to prove these suppositions. We try to define the relationship of the different manuscripts to each other, with a special focus on how Swedish and Finnish translations have been adapted to fit traditional melodies.

The Gregorian Tradition in Medieval Finland

At the beginning of the sixteenth century liturgical books printed in Germany were in use in the diocese of Turku. Several missals, psalters, and breviaries from the 1480s and subsequent decades have been found in Finnish Church archives,[3] and the *Missale Aboense* (1488) as well as the *Manuale Aboense* (1522) were printed especially for Finland.[4] The liturgy of the Turku diocese was strongly influenced by the Dominicans.[5] Before these printed books, only manuscripts were used for liturgical chants,

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1   Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier, passim*; Tuppurainen, 'Mikael Agricola', *passim*.

2   Heininen, *Agricolan perintö*, p. 157.

3   Undorf, *From Gutenberg*, pp. 181-92.

4   Heikkilä, 'Painoa sanalle', pp. 350-3.

5   Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*, p. 133; Keskiaho, 'Liturginen järjestäytyminen', pp. 92-104; Undorf, *From Gutenberg*, pp. 181, 183.

based on the style and settings of the Middle Ages. This material has been researched thoroughly since the 1920s.[6] The National Library of Finland has recently launched a research database, Fragmenta Membranea, of medieval parchment fragments.[7] This internationally important collection includes more than 9300 parchment leaves dating from the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries to the sixteenth century. After the Reformation the book leaves were used as covers for bailiffs' account books. Through the study of these parchment fragments it is possible to gain a broad overview of early Finnish literary culture, as well as the northern dimension of the Latin cultural sphere and the transnationality of medieval literary culture. Among the fragments are remains of the first books written in the area of present-day Finland, and a large number of leaves from books produced elsewhere in the Swedish realm. On the whole, however, the collection is markedly international: remains of manuscripts of English, German, and French origin abound.[8] It also offers an exceptionally comprehensive picture of literature in one diocese.

The influence of Martin Luther spread around the Baltic Sea in the 1520s. New German liturgies and hymnals were published in Rostock (1525, 1531) and Riga (1530), among other cities.[9] In the Kingdom of Sweden the Reformation very soon reached Stockholm as well as the most important centres in the eastern part of the kingdom, Turku and, perhaps first, Vyborg (Swe. Viborg, Fin. Viipuri).[10] King Gustav Vasa (r. 1523-1560), in common with the German princes, also rose to be head of the Church. The decision of the Diet of Västerås in 1527 was essential for the Reformation in Sweden: 'The pure Word of God shall be preached'.[11] The vernacular sermon became central to worship. Other changes in the Mass chiefly concerned the Consecration. The number of ecclesiastical feasts, including the Hours and festivals of

6   Haapanen, *Die Neumenfragmente*; Taitto, *Documenta gregoriana*; Äikää, *Hymnus angelicus*.

7   See http://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/. The project was carried out by Tuomas Heikkilä and his co-workers.

8   This is particularly striking for the oldest fragments, which date from between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries. As only parchment leaves were accepted as the covers of account books, the collection includes no remains of paper manuscripts. Although works written on paper are known to have circulated in Finland during the last centuries of the medieval period, most of them have since been destroyed.

9   Rupprich, *Vom späten Mittelalter*, p. 259; Bohlin, 'Die reformatorische Singbewegung', pp. 49-52.

10   Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*, pp. 156-63; Heininen, *Agricolan perintö*, p. 11.

11   Last words at the end of 'Västerås ordinantia' (1527): 'The Word of God shall in all places in the Kingdom be purely preached.' ('Guds ord måtte allestädes i riket renliga predikat varda.') Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, p. 46; Kjöllerström, 'Västerås ordinantia', passim.

the saints, was reduced. Vernacular singing was not considered important to begin with. Following Luther the Latin language kept its position, at least in the schools, in the Hours, and especially in Morning Prayer. Thus the medieval manuscripts continued to be used, and their melodies were copied. In churches outside the towns it was the task of the clergyman to sing, possibly helped by a deacon or a precentor. The Swedish reformer Olaus Petri (1493-1552) published a Manual (*Een Handbock påå Swensko*) in 1529, and a Mass (*Then Swenska Messan*) in 1531, both in Swedish. According to the Church assembly in Uppsala (1536) the Mass should, at least in the cathedrals, be conducted in the vernacular language.[12]

Vernacular Lutheran Manuscripts

The Gregorian settings were originally conceived to fit closely with the Latin texts. Martin Luther did not approve of the use of Gregorian chant with the German language. In his opinion, the combining of the German language and Gregorian chant was not at all sensible, and the 'true German way' demanded melodies formed around the German language, and not simply changing the Latin-based settings.[13] Luther seems to have opposed the strict way of the German Thomas Müntzer in adapting the German texts into unchanged former Latin melodies.[14]

Vernacular Gregorian chant seems to have become more and more common in the 1540s in Sweden. At first the music of the order of service hardly changed at all and only necessary grammatical and doctrinal changes were made to the settings.[15] Musical changes happened slowly and at different times in different areas. Many of the manuscripts exhibit unique features. There are many differences in details, for example in the orthography of the text, particular features of the melodies, and the selection of settings and melodies. Differences in the settings may result from errors in

12   Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, pp. 64, 85.

13   'Ich wolt heute gerne eyne deutsche Messe haben, Ich gehe auch damit umbe, Aber ich wolt ja gerne, das sie eyne rechte deutsche art hette, Denn das man den latinischen text verdolmetscht und latinischen don odder noten behellt, las ich geschehen, Aber es laut nicht ertig noch rechtschaffen. Es mus beyde text und notten, accent, weyse und geperde aus rechter mutter sprach und stymme komen, sonst ists alles eyn nachomen, wie die affen thun' (Luther, 'Wider die himmlischen', p. 123).

14   Danzeglocke, 'Deutsche Gregorianik'.

15   Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*, pp. 324-9.

copying, particular exceptions in different areas, or the influence of melodic variations.[16]

The musical problems were solved by continuing to sing traditional chants in Latin, or by setting vernacular texts to known melodies, particularly in the Mass ordinaries (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1　**A fragment from Graduale F.m. II 44 in the National Library of Finland, with Finnish translation added for the Gloria**

At first the Latin melodies were used in the simple way of Thomas Müntzer: without consideration as to how well the text and melody suited each other. Two manuscripts from churches in Hög and Bjuråker (diocese of Uppsala, Sweden, *c.* 1541),[17] are early examples of this type, still including thirteen traditional Mass ordinaries. In the printed collection *Een liten songbook*

16　See the following studies: Kroon, *Ordinarium missae*; Jacobson, *Mässans budskap*; Tuppurainen and Hannikainen, *Suomenkielisiä kirkkolauluja*.

17　*Musikhandskrift från Högs och Bjuråkers kyrkor.*

(1553),[18] with blank staves, there are only four of the ordinaries left. The new simple kind of Ordinary, similar to that of Luther, is not known in the Kingdom of Sweden. In the Proper, as well as in the Hours, chanting in the vernacular was, of course, more difficult than in the Ordinary parts of the Mass. That is why the number of these chants remained restricted and the Latin language maintained its position. Important models for chanting in churches of the North were the *Psalmodia* of Lucas Lossius (Wittenberg, 1561) and the *Cantica Sacra* of Franz Eler (Hamburg, 1588).[19]

Finnish came into being as a written language at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The earliest-known Lutheran manuscripts from the diocese of Turku are from the 1540s.[20] While they contain in part new material, there exist a few dozen manuscripts from the middle of the seventeenth century that still contain Latin settings of the Mass and daily offices from the Middle Ages. These manuscripts, often called Lutheran Graduals, contain in total about 4000 leaves for the Ordinary of the Mass, hymns, antiphons, sequences, and occasional music according to the model of *Een Liten songbook*. They are almost entirely written in a mixture of Swedish, Finnish, and Latin. The later collections also include translations of newer Lutheran hymns.[21]

The following is an example of the first phrase of the *Kyrie* from the Easter setting *Lux et origo* from some Finnish and Swedish sources. Because the number of syllables in the *Kyrie* is almost the same in all three of these languages, there were no great problems. As can be seen, the melody remains the same irrespective of the language of the text (Example 5.1).[22]

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18   *Een liten songbook til at bruka j kyrkionne*; *Een liten Songbook til at bruka j Kyrkionne*.

19   *Psalmodia, hoc est, Cantica Sacra Veteris Ecclesiæ Selecta*; *Cantica sacra*.

20   Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*, pp. 9-25. After Schalin, only two, less remarkable sources of this kind have been found.

21   Tuppurainen and Hannikainen, *Suomenkielisiä kirkkolauluja*, pp. 6-8.

22   Abbreviations of the sources: GT = Graduale Tammelense (early sixteenth century, Åbo Akademi Library, Turku); FC1 = Manuscript 1 of the Finnish Church in Stockholm (*c.* 1570s, archive of the church); MJW = Codex Westh (*c.* 1546, C III 19, National Library of Finland, Helsinki); Urj = Urjala manuscript (*c.* 1608, C⁰ IV 12, National Library of Finland, Helsinki); NJG = Niels Jesperssøns Graduale 1573 – Danish, facsimileudgave med efterskrift af Erik Abrahamsen (1935), Erik Dal og Henrik Glahn (Dansk Organist- og Kantorsamfund og Samfundet Dansk Kirkesang, Copenhagen 1986); Hög = Musikhandskrift från Högs och Bjuråkers kyrkor (1541?); FC2 = Manuscript 2 of the Finnish Church in Stockholm (*c.* early seventeeth century, archive of the church); AC = Antonius Canuti manuscript (1616, A⁰ II 33, National Library of Finland, Helsinki).

Example 5.1　Comparison of melodies: Kyrie *Lux et origo*, set in Roman and Germanic forms

Roman variations:

GT 124r, FC1 26r

Ky- ri- e - ley - son.

MJW 7r, FC1 21br, Urj 93r

Herre förbarma tigh öffuer oss.

MJW 96r, Urj 99r. GT 11r

Herra armadha meidhän päälläm.

Germanic variations:

NJG p. 191

Ky-ri-e e - ley - son.

Hög s. 6

Herre förbarma tigh öffuer oss.

FC2, 218r, AC 10v

Herra armada meiden pällen.

Variations in the melodies depend on whether the area in question was influenced by the Roman or Germanic variations of the original melodies. For example, the Germanic influence noticeable in the Danish and Swedish sources also influenced the settings used in the Finnish Church in Sweden at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The influence of both variations was felt throughout the Scandinavian region, but in the present area of Finland the influence of the Dominicans brought with it Roman variations in melody. Typically the Germanic variation favoured the interval of a third in place of the second of the Roman variation. In print these variations may not seem important, but the continuous and consistent application of the principle has a very deep influence on the character of the melody. In the *Lux et origo* setting this difference can be seen in the first three notes of the melody: in the Germanic versions this is GAC, whereas in the Roman versions it is GAB. This can also be seen in the intervallic difference between the last two notes of the phrase. Comparisons of the manuscripts mentioned above, from the point of view of melodic variations, still remains to be done, but the presence of the variations is clearly visible.

Michael Agricola and the Codex Westh

The translation of liturgical material into Finnish also started in the 1530s. In the early stage the contents of the *Missale Aboense* were gradually modified in accordance with these new opinions. Staves without music were added to the eucharistic part of the Mass. In this work the cathedral and the

Cathedral School in Turku had a central position. Most of the headmasters of the school studied in Wittenberg. So too did Michael Agricola (*c.* 1507-1557), later the bishop of Turku (1554-1557), whose work became the basis for the development of liturgical music in Finland. His *Rucouskiria* ('Prayer Book', 1544) contains numerous translations of traditional liturgical chants. This book was the most extensive prayer book published in Nordic countries in the Reformation era. Besides the *Missale Aboense*, it is based on several Latin and German models.[23]

Some of the numerous translated medieval chant texts in the *Rucouskiria* (for example, *Patris sapientiae* and *Jesus nostra refectio*) have not been found in Finnish sources with included melodies. The same is true of the sequence *Consolator veni alme*. The text of the antiphon *Veni sancte spiritus*, *reple* in the book, however, differs from the versions in the manuscripts.[24] In his *Messu* ('Mass', 1549) Agricola still mentions two trope-like chants in Latin: *Diuinum mysterium* and *Discubuit Jesus*.[25]

The Codex Westh is the oldest of the preserved Finnish-language manuscripts from the diocese of Turku.[26] The manuscript contains 144 leaves and originally belonged to Mathias Johannis Westh (d. 1549), a school teacher and chaplain in Rauma. The first Finnish-language services were held in the 1530s and it is possible that the codex is not the first of its type: it would appear that the Finnish and Swedish texts are copied from earlier manuscripts. It is also possible that some texts, which are identical in the codex and in the printed works of Agricola, have common earlier roots.

The Codex Westh includes four Chant ordinaries (*Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, *Benedicamus*), for Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the remaining part of the ecclesiastical year. Features of the Dominican tradition are typical, for example, in the introits and in a funeral responsory. The order of the chants follows the Swedish collections mentioned above (Table 5.1).

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23 Gummerus, *Mikael Agricolan*; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*; Holma, *Sangen ialo*.

24 Tuppurainen, 'Mikael Agricola'.

25 Agricola, *Messu eli Herran Echtolinen*, p. D ij.

26 Codex Westh (*c.* 1546, C III 19, National Library of Finland, Helsinki); *Codex Westh. Westhin koodeksin kirkkolaulut*.

Table 5.1   Liturgical chants in three Swedish/Finnish sources

Hög manuscript (1541?, Swedish)	*Een liten songbook* (1540s/1553, Swedish)	Codex Westh (1540s) (mostly Finnish)
Luther's Creed-hymn		
13 chant ordinaries (Swedish)	4 chant ordinaries (Swedish)	4 chant ordinaries (Swedish)
6 Sequences	2 sequences	6 sequences (Finnish)
Genealogia Christi	(Genealogia Christi)	
		3 chant ordinaries (Finnish)
		Order of the Mass (including the fourth chant ordinary)
Office chants	Office chants	Office chants
	Collects	
Chants for the Mass		Additional chants for the Mass (Latin, Swedish, Finnish)

The Relationship between Text and Melody

The following examples, both the Latin and the Finnish, are found in Finnish sources. Adapting the melodies, originally set to Latin words, to the vernacular texts was often carried out in a fairly natural way.

Discubuit Jesus occurs with music in some manuscripts in Latin, in Finnish in the Codex Westh, and in Swedish only in a manuscript recently found in Sweden.[27] Both versions show quite well the different stressing of the syllables in these two languages (Example 5.2).

Example 5.2   The beginning of the trope *Discubuit Jesus* in the Codex Westh (1546?, Finnish) and in the Henricus Thomæ manuscript (Swedish)

27   Handwritten appendix to *Piae Cantiones* (1582), YCE/LC CD 2205, Skara stifts- och landsbibliotek, Sweden.

In one manuscript the antiphon *O sacrum convivium* has a Finnish translation *O site pyhe weraspito*, to which has been found no Swedish equivalent (Example 5.3).

Example 5.3   The antiphon *O sacrum convivium* in a manuscript from Marttila (1596, Latin) and in a handwritten appendix to Michael Agricola's *Passio* (1616)[28] from the same time (Finnish)
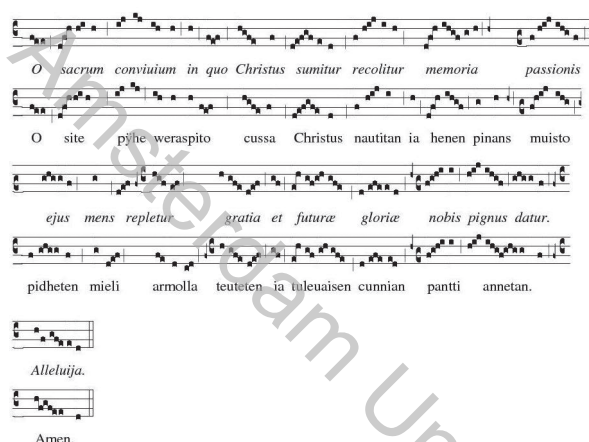
Sometimes the realization, however, is less successful. For example, the extra syllables of the word *Kuningas* ('King') at the end of the antiphon *O Rex gloriose* (Figure 5.2 and Example 5.4) have been realized simply by repeating the final note.

Figure 5.2   The end of the antiphon *O Kunnian Kuningas* (*O Rex gloriose*) in the Codex Westh
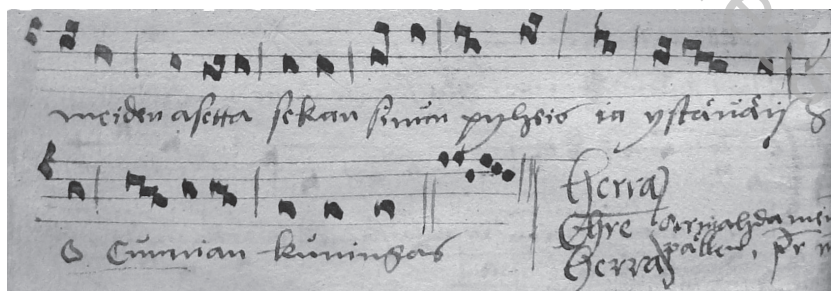
28   Handwritten appendix to Michael Agricola's *Se meiden Herran Jesusen Christusen Pina* … (Passio), 2nd edition, 1616, RV 13/1, National Library of Finland, Helsinki.

**Example 5.4   The antiphon *O Rex gloriose* in the Marttila manuscript (1596, Latin)
and in the Codex Westh (1546, Finnish)**

O Rex   gloriose   inter sanctos tuos qui semper es   laudabilis et tamen ineffabilis   tu in

O Kunnian Kuningas sinun pyheis seas   ioca aina   olet kitettäpä ia quitengin sanomatoin, sine

nobis es Domine et nomen Sanctum tuum   invocatum   est super nos ne derelinguas nos Deus

herra meiße asut ia sinun   pyhe nimes on meiden pällen mainittu, älä meite herra ylön-

noster vt in die   judicij   nos   collocare   digneris inter sanctos et electos   tuos   Rex

anna, ettes domio päiuelle raskitzisit meiden asetta sekan sinun pyheis ia ystäuäiß O Cun-

benedicte.   Nunc dimittis

nian kuningas.

The Latin version of the introit *Nos autem* (Figure 5.3, Example 5.5) is taken from the *Graduale Uskelense* from the beginning of the sixteenth century, a typical Dominican gradual of the diocese of Turku.[29] The Codex Westh version has been preserved as near as possible to its Latin counterpart. Where there are differences in the number of syllables, these have either been resolved by: *a.* increasing, or *b.* decreasing the number of repeated notes, or *c.* dividing the melodic form on one syllable into smaller parts. The melody remains otherwise the same. The relationship between the text and the melody in the Codex Westh is typical of its time.

29   Manuscript A^6 II 41, National Library of Finland, Helsinki.

Figure 5.3   The introit *Nos autem* in the Codex Westh

Example 5.5   Latin and Finnish forms of the introit *Nos autem* in the *Graduale Uskelense* (A) and in the Codex Westh (B)

A: Nos autem gloriari oportet in cruce Domini nostri ihesu Christi in quo

B: Mwtta meidhen tuleu cunnioitta meiden Herran Jesusen Christusen pijna joka on meidhen

est salus vita et resurrectio nostra per que[m] saluati et liberati sumus.

terueyten elämän ja ylösnousemisen, jonga cautta me teruexi tehden ja wapahdhetud olemma.

A unique example is the *Benedicamus* trope in a manuscript from Hä-
meenkyrö, probably from the end of the fifteenth century.[30] The text for
Benedicamus parvulo nato / Deo dicamus æterno regi, a trope for Christmas-
time known in northern Germany, is written in three languages: Latin,
Swedish, and Finnish (Figure 5.4).

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30   Hämeenkyrö manuscript, III 2:1, Hämeenkyrö church archive, Finland.

Figure 5.4   The trope *Benedicamus parvulo nato* in a manuscript from Hämeenkyrö
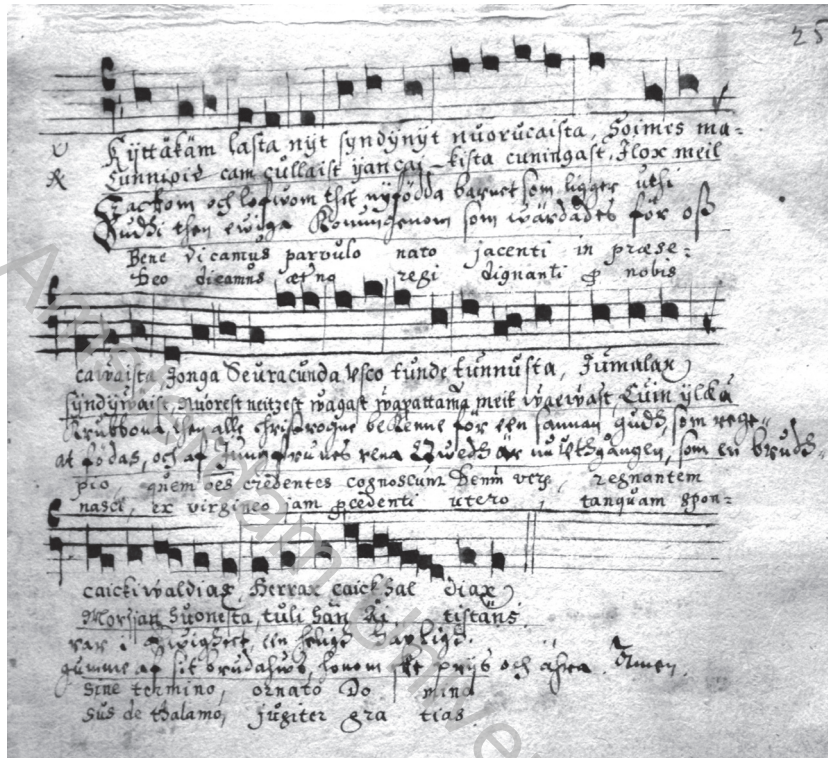
Michael Bartholdi Gunnærus: *Officia Missæ*

Manuscripts from the time of the Reformation have mostly been found in southern and western Finland. Of the manuscripts from the eastern part of Finland (since 1554, the diocese of Vyborg) only one remains, a collection of introits named the *Officia Missæ*.[31] Michael Bartholdi Gunnærus wrote the *Officia Missæ* while working as a school teacher in Helsinki, at that time a small trading town of about 500 inhabitants. The manuscript is dated 13 August 1605. This collection of introits can be considered both one of the most important and individualistic manuscripts from the time of the Reformation, and the culmination of an unbroken tradition of at least 500 years of Gregorian chant in Finland. The collection contains 95 introits in

31   *Officia Missæ* of Michael Bartholdi Gunnærus (1605), Library of Borgå Gymnasium, Porvoo, Finland. See Hannikainen, *Suomeksi suomalaisten*.

Finnish, which are based on the Latin texts for the entire ecclesiastical year. Gunnærus's settings of the melodies of the introits also follow the Latin introits used during the Middle Ages in Finland. The melodies adapted by Gunnærus have features and traits which were common during the Middle Ages solely in the area encompassed by modern Finland. Most of the texts are according to the translations of the Psalter of Michael Agricola.[32] Gunnærus himself did not use the name 'introit', but preferred the name *Officia Missæ*, according to the Dominican tradition of the Middle Ages.

The 95 introits of the collection are organized according to the principles of the Middle Ages into two sections: the *temporale* and the *sanctorale*. The contents follow the principles of the *Missale Aboense*. However, the *temporale* section is somewhat larger than the corresponding section in the *Missale Aboense*, and the *sanctorale* section slightly shorter. To the *temporale* section Gunnærus has added introits from the period of Epiphany, and also from the Sundays at the end of Trinity. For 61 of the chants Gunnærus preserved the introit texts associated with each chant from the Gregorian tradition. For the others, he introduced new texts: these are foreign to the earlier Latin tradition, and they do not appear in the Agricola translation. Most of the new texts are aforementioned additions to the *temporale* section.

The creation of Gunnærus's collection points to the especially strong position of the introit in liturgical life at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Among the surviving manuscripts from the time of the Reformation, the *Officia Missæ* is exceptional. Similar collections in the vernacular from the time of the Reformation can be found in Germany and surrounding areas – for instance, Hungary[33] – but this is possibly the only collection based on pre-existing Gregorian chants that sets the whole ecclesiastical year in the vernacular.

One of the interesting features of Gunnærus's arrangements of these introits is the way in which he has reworked the original antiphonal melodies to fit the new texts. Gunnærus has succeeded in retaining the features and characteristics of the original Gregorian chants, even though the melodies have been changed quite considerably. The original natures of the chants and their essential musical figuration have been retained. The antiphons have been modified according to the needs of the language, meaning the addition or removal of individual notes. It has also meant that, in a similar

32 Agricola, *Dauidin Psalttari*.
33 E.g. *Officia Missæ*, Hof 1605; Graduale Ecclesiae Hungarica Epperiensis (MS), Eperjes 1635. Hannikainen, *Suomeksi suomalaisten*, pp. 44-9.

way, sometimes quite long figurations have been added or removed. The basic structure of each antiphon is quite clearly modelled on the preceding Latin version. With these changes the introits have a different character to a greater or lesser extent. In some cases, a completely new character emerges. Some, however, are almost unchanged.

The antiphon *Halatca sen selkiän iärghielisen Rieskan iälkin* provides an interesting perspective on Gunnærus's method of integrating the Finnish text into the original chant. The first verse of the corresponding Latin introit *Quasi modo geniti* (A) contains ten syllables and thirteen notes in total. Thus this verse has only one ligature of two notes, and one of three. The corresponding Finnish translation contains fifteen syllables. The arrangement could have been done in such a way that the ligatures were removed, and two extra notes included at suitable places. In this way the melody of the first verse could have been retained, almost in its original condition (B). However, Gunnærus has used the first seven notes for the word *Halatca* ('want', 'wish', 'desire') and introduced his own motifs into the melody according to the demands of the remaining text (C). The reason for these changes is the difference in emphasis in the texts. The words *geniti* and *infantes* are brought out in the Latin text, whereas Gunnærus perhaps wishes to stress the word *Halatca*. In this endeavour he has done exceedingly well, with the long rising form of the melisma on the word *Halatca* (Example 5.6).

Example 5.6   Fragments from the introits *Quasi modo geniti* in the manuscript of Henricus Thomæ (A, Latin) and in the *Officia Missæ* of M.B. Gunnærus (C, Finnish)

Gunnærus has been very careful to retain the natural synthesis of the words and music. In this respect, his work appears to be a great exception, both

among similar Finnish translations of Gregorian chant, and those from abroad. From a liturgical point of view, Gunnærus's work sheds light on an aspect of the Mass, the use of which was to be completely discarded by the end of the seventeenth century.

Michael Agricola and the New German Hymnals

In Sweden, the printed collection published by Olaus Petri in 1536, *Swenske songer eller Wisor*, already contained 25 'modern', metrical songs to be sung instead of the traditional Graduale. These seem to follow the Low German hymnal published by Joachim Slüter in Rostock in 1531.[34] One of the first Swedish songs of this type was *Then som wil en Christen heta* ('Whoever wishes to be called a Christian'), connected with the Ten Commandments. It is possible that Olaus Petri refers to this hymn in *Then swenska messan* (Swedish Mass, 1531). In later editions of his Mass, as well as in the *Messu* (Mass) of Agricola (1549), two hymns of Luther were also mentioned.[35] Olaus Petri's collection formed the basis for a long series of Swedish hymnals by the name *Then Swenska Psalmboken*.

Michael Agricola seems not to have been interested in translating the new German and Swedish metrical hymns or in producing new ones. He undoubtedly regarded the translation of the Bible as his primary task. Because of his early death only the New Testament, the Psalms, and some other parts of the Old Testament were completed. The medieval hymns of Agricola's *Rucouskiria*, probably translated by him, seem to be rather difficult to fit to the pre-existing melodies. Agricola did not even translate the Creed hymn of Luther, *Wir glauben all en einen Gott* ('We all believe in one God') or *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist* ('We now implore the Holy Spirit'), whose texts are in Finnish in the Codex Westh. A single exception is the text of the trope *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig* ('O innocent Lamb of God') by Joachim Slüter and Nikolaus Decius as a continuation of the *Agnus Dei* in Agricola's *Messu.* In the following example his translation is combined with the melody from the Swedish Hög manuscript.[36]

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34   Smaller prints seem to have been published for Sweden at least by 1530, maybe even by 1526: Ingebrand, *Swenske songer*, pp. 7-8.

35   Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*, pp. 176, 210-1.

36   Agricola, *Messu*, p. D; Hög manuscript, p. 5.

Example 5.7   Michael Agricola's translation of *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig* (Agricola,
**   *Messu*, 1549) combined with the melody in the Swedish Hög**
**   manuscript (1541?)**

O Puh-das Ju-ma-lan Ca-ri-tza / quin om-bi Ris-tis pi-nat-tu / ia meil-le ar-mos ta-ri-tzet /

eh-ckes o-litt co-uan cru-nat-tu / Mei-den syn-nit si-ne nin can-noit / ia meil-le e-le-men

an-noit / Ar-ma-dha mei-den pä-len O Je - su .

Of the sacramental hymns mentioned in Agricola's *Messu* two are hymns
by Luther but only given in Swedish: *Jesus Christ was är helsa* (*Jesus Chris-*
tus, unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand, 'Jesus Christ, our saviour, who
overthrew death') and *Gudh wari loffuat* (*Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*,
'God be praised and blessed').[37]

All this can lead us to the idea that he had no interest in music, or maybe
possessed just a little musical talent. The lack of translation of newer hymns,
however, does not limit the importance Agricola has for the Reformation
in Finland and the development of the Finnish language.

After the time of Agricola (d. 1557) and King Gustav Vasa (d. 1560), the
development of the liturgy had to follow the different proclivities of the
three sons and successors to the king. The attitudes of Eric XIV (r. 1560-1568)
and the later Charles IX (r. 1595-1611) approached those of the Calvinists,
whereas John III (r. 1568-1592) tried to restore the Catholic tradition, includ-
ing the traditional chants. He probably ordered the headmaster of Turku
school, Jacobus Finno, to revise the texts in a collection of Latin school songs,
published in Germany by the Finn Theodoricus Petri Rwtha.[38] The *Piae*
Cantiones (1582) became widely used in schools all around Sweden,[39] and
included among others the trope *Diuinum mysterium* mentioned above. On
the other hand, King John III probably also ordered Finno to publish some
Finnish books, one of them the first Finnish hymnal in the Lutheran style.[40]

Jacobus Finno collected and translated hymns mostly from Swedish and
German hymnals. He probably also wrote seven of them, apologizing for his

37 Agricola, *Messu*, p. D ij.

38 Lehtonen, 'Piae Cantiones', pp. 40-50.

39 Much later this collection became well known in Great Britain, thanks to a selection of the
songs published in 1910 by George Ratcliffe Woodward, *Piae Cantiones*.

40 Knuutila, 'Yxi wähä', pp. 138-40.

minor skills as a poet.[41] His hymnal (1583) contains 101 hymns. The publisher of the second Finnish hymnal (1605, 242 hymns), Hemmingius Henrici of Masku, was already an individual poet. His hymnal was the most extensive in the Swedish kingdom of his time. It includes several hymns taken directly from Germany, and from the French Huguenot Psalter. In the hymns he wrote himself, Hemmingius uses the technique of alliteration extensively, which is typical of Finnish folk poetry (as seen in the *Kalevala*).[42]

One of the earliest preserved collections of hymn melodies is that of the Swede Olaus Erici (*c.* 1600).[43] Probably from the same time or a little earlier is the earliest part of the manuscript Liber Templi Ilmolensis from Loimijoki.[44] The manuscript from Loimijoki (*c.* 1600) was probably written as a copy of an earlier source, maybe from the 1580s; it includes 77 mostly German melodies, most with the words of the first stanza in Swedish (Figure 5.5).[45]

Figure 5.5   **The hymn *O fadher wår wij bidhie tigh* in the Loimijoki manuscript (*c.* 1600)**
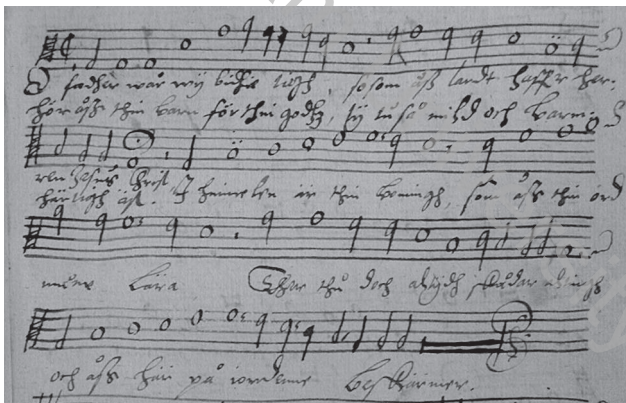
After the publication of ritual books in 1614, both in Swedish and in Finnish, the traditional chants gradually began to be displaced. These ritual books began to establish the position of the new forms of Lutheran hymns as 'the hymn of the day' in services. The traditional chants thus gradually began to be replaced in churches, and in the eighteenth century in schools as

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41   See the chapters by Kallio and Lehtonen in this volume.

42   Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 91-5; Knuutila, 'Yxi wähä', pp. 136-8.

43   *Olaus Ericis Sångbok*.

44   National Library of Finland, Helsinki C III 36; *Liber Templi Ilmolensis*.

45   Loimijoki Church Archive III d 1, Provincial Archive in Turku; *Suomen vanhat virsisävelmät*.

well. However, the national Swedish hymnal of 1697 (with music) and its Finnish equivalents, the hymnal of 1701 and the melody collection of 1702, still included several hymns from the medieval tradition, as well as some antiphons and sequences.[46] After a period of oblivion they have had a renaissance over the past century.

Conclusion

The surviving manuscripts preserved from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Finland contain, besides a number of chants in Swedish, the oldest known music with Finnish underlay. They reveal that the chanting traditions of the Middle Ages moved fairly unchanged into a new era, until the first decades of the seventeenth century. Most manuscripts include texts in Latin, Swedish, and Finnish, mostly in separate notations. An interesting exception is the manuscript from Hämeenkyrö with all the three texts under one common notation.

Our investigation of some chants and hymns with their melodies as well as of the relationship of the different manuscripts to each other supports the argument that the Gregorian tradition continued in Finnish for a long time after the Reformation. Comparing traditional Gregorian chants combined with Swedish and Finnish translations of the texts shows that the success in adapting translated texts to traditional Gregorian melodies varies. The *Officia Missæ* (1605) of Michael Bartholdi Gunnærus is an exceptional late, large, and successful attempt.

The Finnish reformer Michael Agricola seems not to have been interested in the new metrical Lutheran hymns spreading around the Baltic. It was not until 1583 that the first Finnish hymnal was published by Jacobus Finno, and four hand-written collections of hymn melodies have their origin no earlier than about 1600 and subsequent decades. After the publication of ritual books in 1614, both in Swedish and in Finnish, the traditional chants gradually began to be displaced, and, as in Sweden, hymn melodies were written up almost exclusively in manuscript form until the publication of printed collections in 1697 (Swedish) and 1702 (Finnish).

How the various sources differ from each other has not yet been fully researched, nor the reasons for these differences. It should be mentioned that none of the Reformation-era Finnish manuscripts investigated has

46   *Then Swenska Psalm-Boken*; *Uusi Suomenkielinen Wirsi-Kirja*; *Yxi Tarpelinen Nuotti-Kirja*.

yet been published in a facsimile. However, the project 'Codices Fennici[47] was inaugurated in 2013 with the aim of listing all hand-written codices originating in Finland and publishing them online.

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6   Pious Hymns and Devil's Music

Michael Agricola (*c*. 1507-1557) and Jacobus Finno (*c*. 1540-1588) on Church Song and Folk Beliefs

Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen

The forewords to *Dauidin psaltari* (David's Psalter, 1551) by Michael Agricola[1] and the first Finnish hymnal (the Finnish title is unknown, 1583) by Jacobus Finno[2] illuminate the views of the educated elite on folk beliefs and practices labelled as either 'idolatry' or 'ungodly'. Both have been read as the very first descriptions of folk beliefs, ethnic religion, and traditional song in Finland. All this evidence has been taken as a major proof of the vitality of pagan culture and an aggressive Lutheran attack on superstition and pagan idolatry.[3] However, my intention here is to analyse Agricola's and Finno's

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[1]   Michael Olai Agricola was born in Pernaja parish in Uusimaa (Swe. Nyland) in southern Finland and was schooled in Vyborg. He studied in Wittenberg from 1536 to 1539. In 1539 he became headmaster of Turku Cathedral School and in 1554 bishop for the Turku diocese. Agricola was the main promoter and creator of the literary Finnish idiom. He published in rapid succession the Finnish catechetical primer *Abckiria* (1543), *Rucouskiria Bibliasta* (the Prayer Book, 1544), translation of the New Testament *Se Wsi Testamenti* (1548), the liturgical handbook *Käsikiria Castesta ia muista Christikunnan Menoista* (1549), *Messu eli Herran Echtolinen* (the Finnish Mass, 1549), *Se meiden Herran Jesusen Christuxen Pina* (the Passion 1549), *Dauidin Psaltari* (David's Psalter, 1551), and some other books of the Old Testament (*Weisut ia Ennustoxet Mosesen laista ia Prophetista Wloshaetut, Ne Prophetat. Haggai. Sacharja. Maleachi*, 1551-1552). He died in 1557 while returning from peace negotiations in Moscow: Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 128-247; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 164-335.

[2]   Jacobus Petri Finno was born in southwestern Finland and was schooled in Turku. He studied in Wittenberg 1563-1567 and in 1567-1568 in Rostock. In 1568 he became the headmaster of Turku Cathedral School. He participated in the Latin collection of pious songs *Piae Cantiones* (1582) together with Theodoricus Petri Rwtha (*c*. 1560-*c*. 1617) and published the Finnish *Catechismus* (Catechism), *Yxi wähä rucous kiria* (the Prayer Book) and the Hymn Book (the Finnish title is unknown) all in 1583; Kurvinen, *Suomen*, pp. 256-312; Juva, 'Jaakko Finno', pp. 72-109; Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen', pp. 361-6; Knuutila, 'Hartauskirjallisuus', pp. 81-3, 134-8, 147-9; Lehtonen, 'Spoken, written', pp. 112-14.

[3]   Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, pp. 1-21; Hautala, *Suomalainen*, pp. 30-2; Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, p. 241; Siikala, *Itämerensuomalaisten*, pp. 27-30, 97-8; on attacks against 'paganism': Laurila, *Suomen*, pp. 130-57; Sarajas, *Suomen*, pp. 10-12, 16-7; Suomi, 'Suomenkielinen', p. 247, 251-2; Siikala, 'The Singer', pp. 26-43; Viinamäki, 'Hemminki Maskulainen'; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 310-11; an overview on the research on Agricola's list of pagan deities: Anttonen, 'Literary representation'.

forewords as a learned and Christian discourse about folk beliefs and songs in their own right rather than as direct evidence of the pre-Christian beliefs.

Obviously, these texts should be read in their primary context and compared with the relevant works of Lutheran reformers around the Baltic Sea. In these cases, 'pagan', 'superstitious', or 'ungodly' practices were identified through textual tradition. In the distant eastern Finnish province of Savo, the rituals of fertility were named with reference to more familiar Swedish equivalents, the Finnish *Ukko* becoming Swedish thunder (*thorden*), and the world of magic, superstition, and paganism was interpreted in vocabulary picked from the Old Testament.[4] As Ulinka Rublack has noted, even the reformers in the centres of the sixteenth-century learned world shared the belief in active evil forces and spirits in this world.[5] Similarly, royal officials and clergymen in the dioceses of Turku (Swe. Åbo) and Vyborg (established 1554; Swe. Viborg, Fin. Viipuri) were searching for words to define the religious practices and supernatural forces around them. These habits were to be overcome by preaching and printing books, and by teaching Christian hymns to illiterate peasants. Songs were considered especially powerful in fighting the ever-present evil forces.[6]

What did Agricola and Finno mean by their descriptions? Are they proofs of a vivid pagan cult or merely the reflections of the writers' learned mindset and vocabulary? Why were the pagan beliefs often treated in the context of psalms, hymns, and other Christian songs? Why, on the other hand, are sources of pagan practices in sixteenth-century Finland so scarce?[7] Either the clergy and the lay officials did not find paganism menacing, or various

4   Arwidsson, *Handlingar*, pp. 277-8, 309; Juusten, 'Capita rerum synodicarum', pp. 23-4; see also Heininen, *Agricolan*, pp. 75-87; Harvilahti, 'Ethnocultural knowledge, pp. 209-13. I am indebted to Dr Henrik Janson for the interpretation of Swedish word 'thorden'.

5   Rublack, *Reformation Europe*, pp. 8-11, 155-7; see also Scribner, *Popular Culture*, pp. 257-300.

6   *Kyrkoordning* 1571, *Den svenska kyrkoordningen 1571*, pp. 106-7; Bohlin, '"Någrahanda sång"', pp. 294-301; Olavus Petri, *Samlade Skrifter*, p. 523; Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 168-9, 173-4, 175-6. The facsimile edition of the original text of Finno's *Hymn Book* from 1583 was published in 1988 (*Jaakko Finnon*, foreword pp. 7-18; hymns pp. 21-163). I refer to the transcription by Lempiäinen in the same edition (pp. 167-357).

7   There is less than a handful of sources of 'pagan' or pre-Christian beliefs from sixteenth-century Finland: see e.g. Arwidsson, *Handlingar*, p. 309; Suolahti, *Suomen pappilat*, pp. 25-7; Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, pp. 103-5; Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*, pp. 25-62; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, pp. 3-28 and *passim*; Kaivola-Bregenhøj, 'Ruton sanat', pp. 199-213. In addition to Agricola's and Finno's forewords there is only one ecclesiastical attack on sorcery and magic quoted from the original fifteenth-century source and relying strongly on the Old Testament passages from Deuteronomy and Levititicus: Juusten, 'Capita rerum synodicarum', pp. 23-4; see Heininen, *Agricolan perintö*, pp. 84-5. We have more information on pre-Christian folk beliefs from the seventeenth-century ecclesiastical and judicial sources:

folk beliefs and practices were simply not understood as paganism – or they existed only on the distant peripheries as seen from the centres of religious and secular power. At least for the archbishop of Uppsala, Laurentius Petri (1531-1573), and other clergymen behind the *Svenska kyrkoordning* (Swedish Church Ordinance) of 1571, the folk tradition did not carry in its poetic or musical forms pagan connotations to be rooted out, in contrast to what modern scholars have argued about the clerical attitudes towards *Kalevala* metre poetry in Finland.[8] Only the contents were problematic.

Both the foreword to *Dauidin psaltari* by Agricola and to the *Hymn Book* by Finno deal with music and singing – and with the role and meaning the song has in Christian life. To proceed to use them as sources for sixteenth-century (and earlier) folk beliefs and traditional folk song they should first be analysed in terms of their primary purpose, i.e. as forewords to Lutheran books and as such examples of a contemporaneous genre and religious argumentation. Their purpose was not to describe pagan customs or folk song as such, but to spread the Christian message.

Here I propose to undertake a careful and close reading of Agricola's and Finno's forewords, comparing them with other forewords and with some other relevant texts in the North Baltic Sea region. First, I shall analyse Agricola's foreword to *Dauidin psaltari* (David's Psalter), which consists of two parts: a prose section presenting King David's life, the content and value of psalms as a 'small Bible', followed by the second part, a rhymed poem presenting first Agricola's own work, then the ancient pagan idols of the Finnish tribes of Tavastians and Karelians, and some forms of Roman Catholic *idolatria*. My main argument is that Agricola understood the Psalter as a religious prayer and song book composed for the praise of God and enforcement of the first commandment of the Law of Moses. This is why he presents pagan beliefs and equates them with medieval worship of saints and relics and other idolatrous malpractices.

Secondly, I shall delve into Finno's foreword to the Finnish hymnal, where he relates a general history of Christian song from its biblical beginnings by David and other prophets to the appearance of Luther. Meanwhile, he also explains why the dominance of Latin religious song led lay people to lapse into composing and singing 'ungodly, impudent, lewd, and ridiculous' songs. His purpose is to offer rhymed spiritual songs for common people 'as in the other Christian lands'. Finno's short text has been taken as the very

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Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, pp. 103-7; Harvilahti, 'Ethnocultural knowledge', pp. 209-13; Heikkinen, *Paholaisen liittolaiset*; Nenonen, *Noituus ja noitavainot*; Järvinen in this volume.
8   See notes 3 and 6.

first description of the performance of traditional Finnish folk poetry, and his preference for rhymed poetics as a religiously laden statement against the 'pagan' *Kalevala* metre poetry.[9] However, Finno does not explicitly refer to either poetic forms of traditional Finnish folk song, or to pagans or idolatry. A careful reading of Finno's foreword and its place in the context of a complex religious and poetic web of meanings shows that his main target was necessarily neither 'paganism' nor traditional forms of Finnish oral poetry, but simply all kinds of ungodly and impudent songs competing with spiritual songs. His main intention was to introduce the powerful 'singing Reformation' movement to his Finnish congregation. He was more concerned about lewd living than some rival folk religion, and if anything, he wanted to replace 'impudent songs' with new Lutheran hymns.

In recent scholarship, the Lutheran Reformation movement has sometimes been described as a 'singing revolution' for which congregational singing was a prime mover, a pedagogical vehicle, and a creator of identity and a sense of belonging.[10] Luther saw the singing of versified psalms and other spiritual songs as a way to achieve 'heart's desire', to teach the basics of Christian religion and to turn the young people away from 'carnal love songs'.[11] The introduction of congregational singing changed the liturgy and gave the lay congregation a new active role in the religious services.[12] Furthermore, in many regions new hymns formed part of the spread of literacy and represented a mediatory form between oral-aural and literary communication. Hymns, in contrast to traditional oral poetry and song, were fixed in content and form, they introduced stanzaic poetic form, and in Finnic languages completely new poetic and metric structures.[13]

The singing Reformation did not happen on the northeastern European periphery as it did in the urbanized regions of Europe or even on the

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9   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 175. Unless otherwise mentioned all translations are my own. For example, Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, pp. 14-17; Suomi, 'Suomenkielinen lyriikka', pp. 247, 250-3; Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon*, p. 332.

10   Pettegree, *Reformation*, pp. 40-73, 192-3, 211-17; Rublack, *Reformation Europe*, pp. 171-2; Joseph Herl has criticized the simplified picture of the change. Even before Luther, congregational singing was practised, although in the late medieval Catholic liturgy the emphasis was on choral singing. Neither did Luther or his followers abandon altogether the earlier tradition of Gregorian plainsong and choral singing. According to Herl, the adaptation of congregational singing of hymns was a slow process (Herl, *Worship Wars*, pp. v-vi, 3-35 and *passim*).

11   Luther, *Luthers geistliche* (WA 35), pp. 474-5.

12   Jenny, 'Kirchenlied', pp. 602-25; Leaver, 'Hymns and hymnals', pp. 908-20; Pettegree, *Reformation*, pp. 40-75.

13   See Grudule and Kallio in this volume; also Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written'.

southern and western shores of the Baltic Sea.[14] The socio-cultural linguistic constellations must have complicated the process. New literary languages were followed with new poetics adapted from Germanic languages and Latin, along with, at least to some degree, a new musical culture as well (see Grudule, Kallio, and Hannikainen and Tuppurainen in this volume).

Luther and his followers had made a strong attack on the Catholic saints' cult and worship of relics. They were repeatedly interpreted as *idolatria*, the worship of statues and other false gods. The concept of idolatry itself was a vague one. It could mean almost anything from avarice to worship of carnal pleasures, superstitious beliefs, or actual practice of non-Christian religion. In the catechetical literature already in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the explanations of the first commandment of the Law of Moses listed the wide variety of worship of 'foreign gods' (in Agricola's Primer: *weraat Jumalat*).[15] Here and there Luther and his colleagues in Wittenberg paid some attention to folk beliefs they considered either superstitious or idolatrous, but it seems to have been a rather marginal concern for them. Famously, Luther and Melanchthon commented on the lack of basic Christian learning after their visitation to the countryside of Saxony in 1528, which sparked off Luther's Small German and Large Latin Catechisms.[16]

In catechetical literature and hymnals, idolatry other than the Catholic cult of saints and relics or superstitious beliefs and practices is usually mentioned only in passing if at all. Both Luther and his followers were usually more concerned about papist practices and carnal love songs, and about evoking real 'heart's desire' for genuine Christianity.[17] The Lithuanian Martinus Mosvidius and Finnish Michael Agricola stand almost alone in their interest in listing 'pagan deities' or false gods. Otherwise, ancient paganism or current folk beliefs were described in historical works like Olaus Petri's *Swensk Cröneka* (Swedish Chronicle, various manuscripts from the 1530s to 1550s), Olaus Magnus's *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*

14   Kirby, *Northern Europe*, pp. 77-96; Grell, 'Scandinavia', pp. 94-119; Czaika, 'Die Ausbereitung', pp. 76-100; Lavery, 'The Reformation', pp. 127-43; Lavery, 'A Frontier of Reform', pp. 60-75; Lavery, 'The Swedish Kingdom', pp. 9-14; Heininen, 'The Reformation', pp. 25-30.

15   Luther, *De Psalter*, pp. ij^r-iiij^v; Bugenhagen, *Ioannis Pomerani*, p. 4^r and *passim*; Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan*, p. 6; on the concept of idolatry see Eire, 'Iconoclasm', pp. 924-5; Meagher, 'Idolatry', p. 348; Miquel, 'Cult des images', pp. 1503-1519; Pickar, 'Idolatry', p. 348; on the catechetical tradition see Voigt, 'Min käre son'.

16   Beutel, 'Luther's Life', pp. 16-17; Lull, Luther's writings', p. 46.

17   Luther, *Luthers geistliche* (WA 35), pp. 474-5; see also Luther, *Geistliche lieder*; Luther, *Geistliche leder*; *Malmø-salmebog*, pp. 19-24; *En ny Psalmebog*, pp. 1^r-2^r; Slüter, *Joachim Slüter's*, pp. i^r-iij^r.

(1555) or Balthasar Russow's *Chronica der prouintz Lyfflandt* (1578, author's rev. ed. 1584). The superstitions, magic, or idolatrous folk beliefs were most often mentioned in the context of singing either in reporting the stories of ancient heroes, fabulous monsters, and deities, or in giving instructions about the new religious songs as in the *Swensk Cröneka* and the Church Ordinance.[18] The psalms, hymns, and other religious songs seem to have been considered as the most effective tool in rooting out 'pagan' and 'papist' idolatry and false beliefs. It is not an accident that both Agricola and Finno dealt with pagan deities and folk song while introducing respectively *David's Psalter* (1551) and the very first hymnal (1583) in Finnish.

Agricola's Foreword to *Dauidin psaltari* (David's Psalter)

In 1551 Michael Agricola's Finnish translation of *Dauidin psaltari* was printed in one volume in Stockholm. The Psalter was the most important book of prayer and spiritual song in Christian tradition and it was published in several vernacular translations both in prose and verse.[19] In both Roman Catholic and Lutheran liturgy the psalms in prose were sung during the Holy Mass and especially during the Hours. In Lutheran tradition, psalms were sung both by clergy and choir and by the congregation.[20] Luther published some versified psalms in German in 1523-1524. The Psalter was commented on by Johannes Bugenhagen in Latin in 1524. In 1537, Eobanus Hessus published his versified Latin Psalter.[21] According to the Church historian Simo Heininen, Agricola anchored his Psalter translation and psalm summaries deeply in this Wittenberg tradition.[22]

Even though Agricola's *Dauidin psaltari* and its foreword have been studied extensively, I argue that the foreword itself has not been interpreted from the point of view considered to be the most important function of the Psalter by Agricola. Earlier scholars have been more interested in Agricola's relation to his language, theological sources, his immediate knowledge of

18   Olavus Petri, *En Swensk Cröneka*, pp. 4-6; *Kyrkoordning 1571, Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, pp. 106-7.

19   For example, Luther, *De Psalter*; Olavus Petri, *Samlade Skrifter*; see Tarkianen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 218-19; Fredriksson, *Studier i Mikael*, p. 50; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 297-300.

20   Herl, *Worship Wars*, pp. 23-35.

21   Bautz, 'Hessus', pp. 791-2.

22   Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 62-93, 209-306, and *passim*.

Finnish pagan beliefs, or finally his literary or poetic preferences.[23] His statements about the pagan deities of the Finnish tribes of Tavastians and Karelians cannot be understood if his own purpose in listing them is not analysed carefully, first by taking his foreword as an integral whole, and secondly dealing with the most important and obvious contemporary texts concerned with similar issues.

Agricola translated the psalms into prose but he wrote a two-part foreword to the Psalter in prose and in rhymed couplets or so-called Knittel or doggerel verse. The foreword covers sixteen pages of the quarto-sized book of 238 pages. In the first ten pages, he summarizes the life of David, and the contents of the psalms and their place in Christian theology. In the six-page poem, he lists his own books and the pagan idols and superstitions of Tavastians and Karelians (ancient Finnish tribes), and ends with the reprobation of Catholic idolatrous practices. The list was soon repeatedly referred to, translated, and varied by the learned readership of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[24] Since then it has been taken as a more or less reliable source for the old pagan deities of the Finnish tribes.[25]

In the frontispiece, Agricola quotes Jesus's words from Luke 24: 44: 'All things must be fulfilled, which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the prophets and in the psalms, concerning me.'[26] David's Psalter together with the Law of Moses and the prophets anticipates the coming of Christ. Readers are urged to take this book with the words of the Apostle Peter (1: 2). On the next page are pictured the arms of King Gustav Vasa (1523-1560), signalling the official authorization of the translation.[27] The foreword begins on the third page without any further dedications.[28]

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23   Häkkinen, 'Suomen kieli', pp. 62-92; Häkkinen, 'Johdatus Mikael', pp. 7-15; Heininen, *Mikael Agricolan psalmisummaariot*; Heininen, *Mikael Agricolan Psalttarin*; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 297-335 and *passim*; Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 218-37; Fredriksson, *Studier i Mikael*, pp. 50-3, 96-102; Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, pp. 1-21; Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*, pp. 25-34; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, pp. 5-17; Haavio, *Karjalan jumalat*; Voigt, 'Min käre son'; Anttonen, 'Literary representation'; Tarkiainen, *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden*, pp. 68-74; Suomi, 'Suomenkielinen lyriikka', pp. 69-138.

24   Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, pp. 1-41; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, pp. 5-17; see Põldvee in this volume.

25   For example, Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*, pp. 25-34; Haavio, *Karjalan jumalat*; Siikala, *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*, pp. 27-30 and *passim*; Anttonen, 'Literary representation'.

26   Agricola III, p. 197.

27   Agricola III, p. 198; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 301.

28   Agricola III, p. 199.

According to Agricola, David praised God and charmed many people with his playing of the harp and singing, and by composing psalms, which relate the adversity, anxiety, and pain he himself experienced, but also the victories, success, and worship of God. After presenting eight types of psalms, Agricola gives the very reason the Psalter has been composed: 'Because for this the whole Psalter has been composed that God will be worshipped and served according to the first commandment.'[29] This motivates the focus of the foreword as well. The Psalter, according to Agricola and his teachers Luther and Bugenhagen, is in itself a 'Small Bible' (*Wehe Biblia*; Luther: *kleine Biblia*) that presents in short the contents of the whole Bible.[30]

The psalms have morally reinforcing effects: they clean the mouth, brighten the people, dress them in armour, and prevent them from commiting sins. The psalms predict the future (the first and the second coming of Christ, the Last Judgement), tell about past deeds, and show the correct mores. Psalms comfort and soothe in times of adversity. The prose section lists all the teachings included in the psalms, and exhorts the reader: 'Would not you at least learn from them all the good things you may think?' The section ends with praise to the Trinity and the sole God, and the word 'Amen'.[31]

Agricola's List of Pagan Deities

The versified part consists of 91 couplets in 182 lines, covering six pages.[32] The text begins with a personal address to the reader and with a list of the works of Agricola and exhorts the reader to accept the translation of David's Psalter as well. The core message of the Psalter is repeated. Reading holy books and singing psalms relieves the anxiety of the soul. Moreover, they give support in beating famine, illness, hatred, bad weather, and loss of the crops, which is echoed later in the list of the pagan deities.[33] Agricola

29   Agricola III, pp. 202-3; Fredriksson, *Studier i Mikael*, p. 51. Even if Agricola attributes the Psalter to King David, he is well aware that not all of them were written by him: Agricola III, p. 202. Cf. Hobbs, '*Hebraica veritas*', pp. 87-90; Heininen, *Mikael Agricolan Psalttarin*, p. 194; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 299.

30   Agricola III, p. 204; Luther, *De Psalter*; Fredriksson, *Studier i Mikael*, p. 51; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 306-8.

31   Agricola III, pp. 201-4.

32   Agricola III, pp. 209-14; see Fredriksson, *Studier i Mikael*, pp. 96-102; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 308-19; Häkkinen, 'Johdatus Mikael, pp. 7-15.

33   Agricola III, pp. 209-10: see Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, p. 187; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 310.

refers to the use of psalms in Catholic times, when they formed the core of the Hours: '[They were] always read and sung, prayed, and preached as well.' David's Psalter should be read like 'a bear dam that licks its newly born cub'.[34] Agricola urges the reader to read his prose foreword for more information. This seems to underline the difference between the two sections of the foreword. The difference is not only formal (prose/verse), but the time and place are located differently and the author himself is present differently. The first section was finished with 'Amen' and the second starts by addressing the reader, identifying the author, and listing his earlier work.

In the last three pages, after instructing priests in reading and singing the psalms,[35] Agricola turns to his famous and often quoted list of pagan idols.[36] The list cannot be taken as an awkward and detached addition, but is fully consistent with the idea of fulfilling the first commandment of the Law of Moses, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me' (in Agricola's translation in his Primer: 'Ele cumardha weraita Jumaloita', 'Do not bow before foreign gods').[37] Agricola presents a consistent framework from universal sacred biblical history to its fulfilment in his own time and place. He is not just a simple *Listwissenschaftler*, but has a clear aim and reason for what he has included in his foreword.[38] By summarizing the Psalter, thus emphasizing its function, moving into his own context and work in Turku diocese, and listing various popular and papist idolatries, he is pointing to the very function of the Psalter and its use in prayer and song.

First he gives a list of twelve deities worshipped by Tavastians, which is followed by twelve Karelian deities (see Põldvee in this volume). Agricola vividly describes the pagan practices of spring sowing when the toast of Ukko was drunk and both young and old women were inebriated. According to Agricola, 'lots of shameful things were done, heard, and seen'.[39] Agricola's couplets are rather obscure and difficult to interpret. Hence they have caused a lot of discussion and different interpretations. However, there is a wide scholarly consensus that the verses describe the fertility

34 Agricola III, pp. 210-11
35 Agricola III, pp. 211-12.
36 'EPeiumalat monet tesse / muinen palueltin caucan ia lesse' (Agricola III, p. 212).
37 Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan*, p. 6.
38 Cf. Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 124; Anttonen, 'Literary Representation', pp. 192-5.
39 'Ja quin Keuekyluö kyluettin / silloin vkon Malia jootijn. // Sihen haetin vkon wacka / nin ioopui Pica ette Acka. // Sijtte palio Häpie sielle techtin / quin seke cwltin ette nechtin. // Quin Rauni Ukon Naini härsky / ialosti Wkoi Pohiasti pärsky. // Se sis annoi Ilman ia Wdhen Tulon / käkri / se liseis Carian caszuon' (Agricola III, p. 213).

ritual which culminates in an open sexual act or *hieros gamos*.[40] Agricola
exclaims: 'Are not these people frenzied since they put their faith in these
and do not pray?'[41] He describes further how food is given to the dead,
who were mourned by public ceremonial weeping and lamentations. On
rather vague grounds this has been interpreted as Agricola's critique of the
Karelian Greek Orthodox tradition of laments for the dead.[42] Offers were
given even to demons and stones and stocks of trees, and stars and moon
were worshipped.[43]

Agricola's list of idolatrous false beliefs and rituals culminates with
an attack against the popish worship of saints and relics: 'Recently under
the pope's rule people were revering publicly and in secrecy all kinds of
creatures and saints instead of God, regarding them as holy, [and they
worshipped] things like fire, water and earth, branches and trees, and the
bones of dead.' Agricola shifts the past tense into the present. Nowadays no
one should worship anything else but the Holy Trinity of Father, Son, and
Holy Spirit, as the Bible testifies. This is also the point of David's Psalter:
'Hence take this and read, love, and keep in mind'.[44]

The motivation for David's Psalter given in the prose section is hereby
affirmed. The psalms are composed for the praise of God and fulfilment
of the first commandment: 'Hence while praying you should remember
those who translated these into Finnish. That was done in the city of Turku,
in the house of St. Lawrence where my son Christian was born while the
Lord worked these through me. Amen should say everyone.' The versified
foreword switches from a universal context to the present of the local
community, i.e. to the work of Agricola himself and his own local flock in
contrast to the more universal setting of the first part. Agricola emphasizes
his poem's historical, local, and personal setting even further by listing his
own previous books and by localizing himself at the end of the poem.[45]

40   See e.g. Haavio, *Karjalan jumalat*, pp. 84-91; Veikko Anttonen summarizes the discussion
in Anttonen, 'Literary Representation', pp. 210-13.
41   'Eikö se Cansa wimmattu ole / ioca neite usco ia rucole' (Agricola III, p. 213).
42   Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*, pp. 29-30; Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*,
p. 241; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 311.
43   Agricola III, p. 213.
44   'Nin mös esken Pauin Opin ala / cumartin iulkisest ia sala . Epelughuiset Loondocappalet /
Jumalan Sias / quin Pyhydhet . Quin oli Tulda / wette ia mulda / Oxi ia Puita / ia Coolutten Luita ...
WAan elken nyt cumarco kenge / quin Ise / Poica ia Pyhe / henge Se Colminaisus Christuses
on / teunens ia coconans / quin me wskom . Quin coco Ramattu todhista / nin mös Dauid tesse
Psaltarista . Joskos sis Temen ottais ia lukeis / racastais ia mieleses pidheis.' Agricola III, p. 214.
45   'Muistas sis Rucollesas heite / iotca Tulkitzit Somexi Neite .Turun Caupungis tapactui se /
Pyhen Lauritzan Honese . Sielles poican Christiane ilmei / quin HERRA neite meiden cauttan

The Soul's Comfort, Lithuanian Deities, and the Classical Pantheon

While most other Lutheran commentators on the Psalter and authors or translators of catechisms and hymnals dealt with idolatry or the worship of false gods and images, they focused on the Catholic cults of saints and relics. Folk beliefs and superstitions were sometimes mentioned, but detailed descriptions of 'paganism' or 'pagan gods' were exceptional.[46] In the end, Agricola equates the pagan cult with Roman Catholic practices. For him, as for most of the other reformers, *Abgötterey* or *idolatria* was pagan, Catholic, or simply impudent behaviour to be abolished.

Veikko Anttonen names, on the basis of earlier scholarship,[47] as a possible model for Agricola a fifteenth-century Swedish adaptation of the widely copied and translated German *Der Selen Trost* or the *Soul's Comfort* (*Siælinna thrøst* or *Consolatio animi*).[48] The text belongs to medieval catechetical tradition explaining the Ten Commandments of the Law of Moses. The manuscript originates possibly from the Brigittine monastery at Vadstena, Sweden. It has been argued on linguistic grounds that the manuscript was composed or circulated in the Naantali (Sw. Nådendal; Lat. *Vallis gratiae*) Brigittine monastery in Finland.[49] However, the links connecting Agricola's list and *Siælinna thrøst* remain more or less speculative. Nothing really proves that Agricola knew the manuscript, or even that it had actually ever circulated in Finland. He might have been aware of this kind of pre-Reformation catechetical tradition since he justifies his translation of David's Psalter with the obligation of the first commandment.[50]

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tei. Jolla kijtos loppumat olcon / Amen iocainen Hengi sanocon .' Agricola III, p. 214. Inger Fredriksson compares Agricola's opening of the poem with conventional openings of Swedish rhymed chronicles where the authors identified themselves in similar fashion: Fredriksson, *Studier i Mikael*, p. 98.

46   For example, Luther, *De Psalter*; Luther, *Enchridion*; Luther, *Catechismvs maior*; Luther, *Luthers geistliche* (WA 35), p. 474; Bugenhagen, *Ioannis Pomerani*, pp. ij-vi; Olavus Petri, *Samla de Skrifter*, pp. 521-4; Olavus Petri, *En Swensk Cröneka*, pp. 541-5; *Malmø-salmebogen*; Slüter, *Joachim Slüter's*, pp. iᵛ-iijʳ; *Undeutsche Psalmen*, pp. IX-XX; see Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, pp. 170, 186-8; Fredriksson, *Studier i Mikael*, pp. 96-102; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 212, 309-14, 364-5. An exception to this trend is the Latin and Lithuanian foreword in the *Catechism* translated by Martinus Mosvidius in 1546 (see below; Mosvidius, *Catechismus*).

47   Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, pp. 1-21; Voigt, 'Min käre son', pp. 59-76.

48   Anttonen, 'Literary representation', pp. 190-2; see *Siaelinna Thrøst*; Henning, *Skrivarformer*.

49   Henning, *Skrivarformer*, pp. 158-64.

50   Anttonen refers to the Finnish liturgical manuscript Codex Westh (1545-1549; 2012) which includes an *ars moriendi* 'Sieluin vahvistos', a translation of *Seelenn ärtzney für gesund und krancken* by Urbanus Rhegius quite common in the sixteenth century in Sweden, which,

Another possible source or at least parallel text is the foreword by Martinus Mosvidius (1510-1568) to his Lithuanian translation from the Polish version (1543) by Jan Seklucjan (1498/1510-1578) of Luther's *Enchiridion* (Small Catechism, 1529). The translation was published in 1547 in Königsberg. It had a Latin foreword in prose dedicated to the clergy and a Lithuanian poem addressed to 'brothers and sisters', both listing Lithuanian pagan deities and exhorting people to give up their idolatry:

> What indeed is yet more horrid to hear is that many both practise and make a show of open idolatry: some worship trees, some rivers, some snakes, and others some other thing, affording them divine honour. There are some who make offerings to Percunus, and by some Laucosargus is worshipped in the matter of crops, and for cattle Semepates. Those who apply their mind to the evil arts show off Eithuari and Cauci as their gods.[51]

In his Lithuanian verse Mosvidius beseeches people to be good Christians and not 'to throw themselves away to old darkness' and to old heathen gods 'Kaukas, Szemepatis and Laugasargas or to devilish goddesses'. Serving them and *Aithawars* leads only to hell's oven.[52] Mosvidius's list is shorter and less formalized in comparison to Agricola's.

Recently, it has been argued that Mosvidius wrote only the Lithuanian poem addressing the common people. The Latin prose foreword addressing the clergy would have been written by someone else, possibly by the professor of theology at the Königsberg University, Friedrich Staphylus

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however, does not include references to superstition or idolatry. Rhegius's work was translated by Olaus Petri with the title *Sielenes tröst* or 'Soul's Comfort' although the attribution to Olaus Petri remains uncertain (Codex Westh, pp. 44, 145-88; Olavus Petri, *En Swensk Cröneka*, pp. 347-72; see Murray, *Olavus Petri*, pp. 96-7; I am indebted to Professor Kaisa Häkkinen for the information on the uncertainty of the attribution). Neither of them were adaptations nor translations of the *Siælinna thrøst,* but independent works. The title *Själonnas tröst* denoted the genre of *ars moriendi*-literature.

51   'Imo quod auditu horribilius est, multi etiamnum manifestam idolatriam et exercent et profitentur palam: alij arbores, alij flumina, alij serpentes, alij aliud colunt, honorem exhibentes diuinum. Sunt qui Percuno uota faciant, quibusdam ob rem frumentarium, Laucosargus, et propter pecuariam Semepates colitur. Qui ad malas artes adijiciunt animum, Eithuaros et Caucos Deos profitentur suos.' Mosvidius, *Catechismus*, p. 65.

52   Mosvidius, *Catechismus*, pp. 68-72; I am indebted for the translation of Lithuanian original to Lauri Harvilahti; see also Mannhart, *Letto-Preussische*, pp. 279-80; Žukas, *The First Lithuanian*, pp. 22-3.

(1512-1564).[53] Staphylus was Agricola's fellow student in Wittenberg (1536-1539), and taught his Finnish colleague and successor Paulus Juusten, who fled the war from Wittenberg in 1545, following Melanchthon to Zerbst and then to Magdeburg. Finally Juusten went to Königsberg in 1547 to study with Staphylus.[54] There is no evidence that Agricola or Juusten had access to Mosvidius's work. However, the similarities in literary form (use of prose and verse) and in content (list of pagan deities) are striking.

In contrast, we know for sure that Agricola had access to the *Swensk Cröneka* by Olaus Petri. In the foreword of the chronicle, Olaus equates fables and rhymed songs of the ancient Swedes with the songs by Greeks and Romans. He discusses their value as sources for his historiography and later enumerates ancient pagan gods like Thor, Odin, Frigga, and others, giving for each of them their Graeco-Roman equivalent (Jupiter, Mercurius, Venus etc.).[55] Agricola used the chronicle as a source while telling of the conquest and conversion of Finland in the 1150s in his foreword to the Finnish New Testament. Furthermore, Agricola donated Olaus Petri's chronicle in 1552 to Anna Clementzdotter Bielke (d. 1590), an aristocratic lady whose son Hogenskild Bielke (d. 1600) had been Agricola's student. Agricola wrote a rhymed dedicatory poem in Swedish for the manuscript and possibly copied the whole work himself.[56]

Some scholars have taken Agricola's list as a token of his humanistic interest in folk beliefs, but in the context of the *Dauidin psaltari* this seems to be an exaggeration.[57] First and foremost Agricola is polemical against two kinds of idolatry. First, he addressed the worship of false pagan gods by Tavastians and Karelians set in the vague past. He might well have learned about them via his own experience or, as many scholars suppose, from information he received from his brother-in-law Clemeth Henriksson

53   Michelini, Introduction', p. 35. Staphylus had been in Kaunas, Lithuania, already in an earlier phase of his life. He had studied in Cracow and Padua before going to Wittenberg in 1535, where he attained his master's degree in 1541: Mennecke-Haustein, 'Staphylus, Friedrich', pp. 113-15; Mennecke-Haustein, *Conversio ad Ecclesiam*, pp. 47-64.

54   Juusten, *Catalogus et ordinaria*, pp. 82-3; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 62-93; Heininen, *Agricolan perintö*, pp. 26-43.

55   Olavus Petri, *En Swensk Cröneka*, pp. 4-6, 10-12.

56   *Codex Holmiensis* D. 409; Parvio, 'Mikael Agricola, pp. 25-7, 29-32; Fredriksson, *Studier i Mikael*, pp. 96-7; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 119-22, 257; Lahtinen, 'Mikael Agricola', pp. 24-35.

57   Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, p. 2; Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*, p. 26; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 310-11; Häkkinen, 'Johdatus Mikael', pp. 27-9; Anttonen is cautiously critical ('Literary Representation', pp. 189-90).

Krook, the royal bailiff of Savo.[58] Most of the pagan deities listed by Agricola are well known in later folklore collected in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But for Agricola, twelve Tavastian and twelve Karelian deities are clearly a depiction of a paradigmatic pagan religion. He does not mention Graeco-Roman deities as Olaus Petri does, but as Juha Pentikäinen has noted their number refers to the classical pantheon.[59] There is also a contemporary list (1530) of twelve pagan Prussian deities based on the model of the Graeco-Roman pantheon (see Põldvee in this volume).

Agricola turns from pagan deities to the Catholic cult of saints and relics and other practices 'which have been cultivated recently'.[60] All these are, for him, competing and false beliefs and practices. As Simo Heininen has pointed out, Agricola by contrast lists the good effects of singing, reading psalms, and begging for help from the Christian God as a source for real help: 'If heat or cold burns your harvest and you cannot hope for bread or beer you should ask [from the Lord] rain and good weather and you will get the yield and living.'[61]

Heininen has also pointed out the fact that Agricola does not list any pagan deities of the southwestern province of Finland Proper but only of Tavastians and Karelians,[62] thus not only stressing the temporal distance but the geographical as well. The pagan deities were worshipped in the past on the fringes of the diocese of Turku, which were Christianized later than the Swedish-speaking archipelago and coastal regions and Finnish-speaking southwestern Finland Proper.[63]

The list of pagan practices is the *locus classicus* of all study of Finnish pre-Christian beliefs. Since its publication it has been translated, quoted, referred to, and interpreted more or less continuously. Rather surprisingly, no modern scholar has paid attention to the function of the list in the foreword and its relation to the Psalter itself. Researchers have mainly identified Agricola's sources, compared the deities with the mythical agents

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58   Agricola had also himself visited in Savo in 1549; Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, pp. 103-4; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, p. 13; Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 34, 234; Anttonen, 'Literary Representation', pp. 188-9.

59   Pentikäinen, 'Suomalaisen uskontotieteen', pp. 144-5; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 310; Anttonen, 'Literary Representation', p. 196, also note 27.

60   See quotation in note 44; Agricola III, p. 214.

61   'Jos Pouta ia Halla Pellos polta / ettei toiuota Leipe eli Olta. Nins Sadhet ia hyue Ilma anot / sijttes saat Tulot ia Elot.'Agricola III, pp. 210; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 310.

62   Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 310.

63   According to Agricola's own account in the foreword to the translation of the New Testament: Agricola II, pp. 17-18; see also Juusten, *Catalogus et ordinaria*, pp. 49.

known from later Finnish oral traditions, and estimated how well Agricola himself was aware of the folk beliefs of his own time.[64]

Agricola's biographer Simo Heininen leaves the list of pagan deities to folklorists and scholars of comparative religion, and oddly interprets it as a superfluous list with no connection to David's Psalter or with the rest of the foreword.[65] However, Agricola himself is quite explicit in stating that the Psalter is to be read as the elaboration of the first commandment. Hence the list of pagan idols is not an odd addition, but an integral part of the entirety of the foreword. It illuminates the need for the Psalter to persuade people to serve the one and only Christian God.

Agricola surely had some information about the folk beliefs and practices in the diocese of Turku; he used the conceptual tools available to him to confirm his argument and rhetorical strategy. He was definitively aware of the Lutheran criticism of Roman Catholic idolatry and of the descriptions of ancient heathen pantheons, both Graeco-Roman and Scandinavian. He may have had some information on the Lithuanian or Prussian traditions. At least, he was formed by the more or less same scholarly tradition as his colleagues on the southern shores of the Baltic Sea. His point was not to give an ethnographic or an antiquarian description in the vein of the contemporary humanistic tradition. On the contrary, he wanted to root out whatever idolatrous or ungodly practice might exist in the diocese of Turku.

Finno's Foreword: Pious Hymns *versus* Ungodly Songs

Michael Agricola had published some versified hymns in his *Rucouskiria* (Prayer Book, 1544) and liturgical *Käsikiria* (Handbook, 1549). In addition his prose translations of psalms in the *Rucouskiria* and in *Dauidin psaltari* may have been meant to be sung in the Mass and Hours.[66] Nevertheless, the first congregational hymn book proper in Finnish was Jacobus Finno's book.

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64   Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*; Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*; Haavio, *Karjalan jumalat*; Haavio, *Suomalainen mytologia*; Voigt, 'Min käre son'; Siikala, *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*. See Anttonen, 'Literary Representation' for an overview of the modern scholarship.

65   Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 124.

66   Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*, pp. 222, 230, 284-310; Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, pp. 79-117, 187-8; see also *Kyrkoordning 1571, Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, pp. 14, 17-19, 90-2, 100-7; Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*; Bohlin, '"Någrahanda sång"', pp. 294-301; Göransson, 'Musiken under', pp. 260-70.

The King of Sweden, John III (1568-1592), promoted the production of Lutheran books, although he favoured Catholic ceremonies and was inspired by the Dutch theologian Georg Cassander (d. 1568) to unify the Christian churches. In 1571 the archbishop of Uppsala, Laurentius Petri, published the *Church Ordinance* in Swedish. The new Swedish hymn book *Then Swenska Psalmboken* was published in 1572 and contained 101 songs, but had no foreword. In 1578, the king gave Jacobus Finno leave from his other duties and financial support to publish 'some useful books'. It seems that these books were a Latin collection, *Piae Cantiones*, printed in Greifswald in 1582 and the *Yxi Wähä Rucous Kiria* (Small Prayer Book), the *Catechismus*, and the *Hymn Book*, all probably printed in Stockholm in 1583.[67]

Conventionally, Scandinavian and German hymn books were introduced with quotations from St. Paul's letters to the Colossians (3) and to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 14) and with reference to King David as the father of religious song and poetry.[68] Finno's foreword has only twelve octavo-sized pages, about half of Agricola's equivalent, yet he manages to cover the history of Christian song from its biblical beginnings to Luther. For him, song is the prime vehicle in renewing the Christian congregation. Finno's foreword has not attracted as much scholarship as Agricola's. Ecclesiastical historians have mainly been interested in it as a document of Finno's own work, literary scholars because of his poetic statements and ideals, and folklorists as the oldest source of the performance of traditional folk poetry. Neither its sources nor his argumentation have been thoroughly studied.[69]

The foreword begins with a greeting: 'To all godly and faithful Finns ... I, Jacobus Finno, wish the grace of God'.[70] He follows a Lutheran convention and quotes St. Paul's letter to the Colossians (3:16): 'Let the word of Christ

67   Finno, *Yxi wähä Rukous*; Finno, *Catechismus*; Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 14-17, 256-312; Juva, 'Jaakko Finno', pp. 72-109; Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen, pp. 358-87; Knuutila, 'Aapiset ja katekismukset', pp. 81-3; Knuutila, 'Virsikirjat', pp. 136-8; Knuutila, 'Hartauskirjallisuus', pp. 147-9.

68   For example, Luther, *Luthers geistliche* (WA 35), pp. 474-5; Luther, *Geistliche lieder*, pp. ij[r]; Luther, *Geistliche leder*, pp. iij[r-v]; *Malmø-salmebogen 1533*, pp. 19-24; *En ny Psalmbog 1553*, pp. 1[r]-2[r]; Slüter, *Joachim Slüter's*, pp. i[v]-iij[r]; Herl, *Worship Wars*, pp. 87-106.

69   See Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 14-17, 256-312; Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen', pp. 358-87; Knuutila, 'Virsikirjat', pp. 136-8; Tarkiainen, *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden*, pp. 74-6; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, pp. 16-17; Suomi, 'Suomenkielinen lyriikka', pp. 250-3; Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*, pp. 31-2; Siikala, *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*, pp. 28, 54-5, 97-8, 437.

70   'Caickille Jumalisille ia vskolisille Suomalaisille / ia lijatengin nijlle / iotca sydhämest Jumalata racastauat / ia häntä mieleläns paluella tactouat toiuotan minä Jacobus Finno Jumalan armon' (Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 167).

dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord.'[71] Actually, Finno's opening greeting to his readers is modified from St. Paul's letter to the Colossians, stressing the universality of grace (Col. 3:5, 11, 16-17). The singing of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs is motivated in the same passage as that where Christianity is declared as a universal faith crossing all the boundaries of old ethnic or national religions. The same universalism was battling idolatry, impiety, and impudence.

Finno urges both good teachers (priests) and listeners (congregation) to read, listen to, and think about the Word of God 'sprightly, carefully, and frequently, always and everywhere and especially in godly meetings'. He seeks to amplify his message through parallelism, repetitive catalogues, and alliteration, which he systematically avoids in his versified and rhyming hymns.[72]

Originally, singing was willed by God. Finno's argument follows Luther's foreword printed in various editions, but he does not repeat or follow Luther's text as such.[73] Instead, Finno enumerates different genres of secular songs, 'that young folk and other people will be awakened little by little with joy through hymns and other Christian songs to the knowledge, fear, faith, and love of God, and with prayer to deeds worthy of God. Thus they would become customized and twisted away from vain, ridiculous, impudent and ungodly songs.'[74] Again Finno's prose turns into a repetitive and parallelistic list with some alliteration.

Finno argues that we internalize divine teachings through singing. From the very beginning God willed that the Christian congregation should have 'a sweet and joyful ability to sing together about Christian teachings, especially human redemption in beautiful song and suitable words'.[75] He underlines the Lutheran idea of singing as God's gift. Hence the 'versifiers of hymns gifted with great wisdom and high skills' have composed songs about

71   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 167. It is noteworthy that Finno does not quote the Finnish transla-
tion of the New Testament by Michael Agricola.
72   '**wir**iäst / **wi**sust / **ah**kerast / **ai**na **ia io**capaicas ia lijatengin Jumalisis cocouxis' (Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 167).
73   Luther, *Luthers geistliche* (WA 35), pp. 474-5; Luther, *Geistliche lieder*; Luther, *Geistliche leder*.
74   'että nuori cansa ia muutkin Inhimiset weisun ia Christillisen **wir**tein cauta / **wä**hin **wä**hin / ilon cansa / Jumalan tundon / pelcon / vskon / **rac**kauten / **ru**couxin ia Jumalal kelpauaisin töihin sydhämest ylösherätettäisin: ia nijn turhist / naorolisist / häpiälisist / ia Jumalattomist lauloist pois totutetaisiin ia wäätäisiin' (Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 167-8).
75   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 168.

Christian learning and the deeds of God.[76] The idea of internalized faith, heart's religion, is a Lutheran commonplace often repeated in sixteenth-century hymn books.[77]

Nevertheless, it seems that Finno's list of 'ungodly, impudent, and ridiculous' genres of secular songs are his own, which he has built up by modifying different sources. 'Impudent' and 'lewd' songs ('häpiäliset ia hauroliset') definitely refer to Luther's 'bul lieder und fleysliche gesenge' ('whore songs and carnal chants').[78] To these songs, Finno adds 'ungodly' ('jumalattomat') and 'ridiculous' ('nauroliset').

'Ungodly songs' has been interpreted as a reference to the pre-Christian tradition, although Finno does not mention pagan beliefs in his foreword. Neither does he speak about idols, or false or heathen Gods. His Finnish word *jumalaton* can be translated either as 'ungodly' or 'without god' (*Jumala* = God, the suffix -*ton* expressing the lack of something). It seems to be a translation of German *Abgötterey* and Swedish *Affguderij*, which are found for example in the foreword to David's Psalter by Luther and its Swedish translation by Olaus Petri.[79] In both cases, the term is used to criticize the Catholic cult and especially the worship of saints. The term appears also in

76   'wirdhen sepät ja runot suurella wijsaudhel ia corkeal taidholl laiotetut' (Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 169).

77   For example, Luther, *Luthers geistliche* (WA 35), pp. 474-5; Luther, *Geistliche lieder*; Luther, *Geistliche leder*; *Malmø-salmebogen 1533*, pp. 19-24; *En ny Psalmebog 1553*, pp. 1ʳ-2ʳ; Slüter 1858, pp. iᵛ-iijʳ.

78   'Und sind dazu auch ynn vier stymme bracht, nicht aus anderer ursach, den das ich gerne wollte, die iugent, die doch sonst soll und mus ynn der Musica und andern rechten künsten erzogen werden, ettwas hette, **damit sie der bul lieder und fleyslichen gesenge los werden** und an derselben stat ettwas heylsames lernete, und also das guete mit lust, die den iungen gewust eyngienge' (Luther, *Luthers geistliche* (WA 35), pp. 474-5). Similar wordings are found e.g. in the Danish *Malmø Hymn Book* and in later hymnals like Rhezelius, 'Företalet'; see also Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*, p. 31.

79   In old Finnish the term *jumalaton* meant 'unbeliever', 'sinful', or 'unchristian'. Ganander in 1787 gave as the closest equivalents: Latin *impius* and Swedish *ogudachtigh* (*Vanhan kirjasuomen*, p. 82; Ganander, *Nytt finskt lexicon*, p. 229); see Luther, *De Psalter*, pp. ijʳ-iijʳ; Olavus Petri, *Dauidz Psaltare*, pp. ijʳ-vʳ; see also Olavus Petri, *En Swensk Cröneka*, pp. 543-5; Fredriksson, *Studier i Mikael*, pp. 97-8. The *Church Ordinance* (*Kyrkoordningen 1571, Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*) associated *Affguderij* or 'ungodliness' most often with 'popish' practices ('påvesk wilfarelsen, bedägerij ch affguderij', pp. 5-7, 17; 'vppenbara Hedendomen och Affguderij', pp. 113-15; see also terms on paganism (*Hedendom* and its variations), heresy (*Ketteriet* and its variations), false religion (*falsk lärdom*; *falsk religion*), pp. 3, 7, 13, 15, 19, 24, 27, 30, 38, 44, 80-3, 135-6, 162; the word 'unchristian' appears only twice, i.e. in the passage quoted here and in the foreword describing the Roman Catholic Eucharist as an 'ungodly priestly offer' (pp. 6-7).

Olaus Petri's *Swensk Cröneka* when he describes the ancient pagan beliefs of the Swedes.[80]

Agricola used the terms *jumalaton* and *jumalattomuus* most often with the same meaning as the Vulgate's use of *impius* and *impietas* and the King James Bible's words for 'ungodly' and 'ungodliness'.[81] Finno himself uses the term twice in the foreword (both times to define secular songs). The word is used four times in Finno's translation of the psalm *Beatus vir* (Ps. 1) concerning the opposition of the ungodly (Sw. *orättvis, ogudaktig*; Lat. *impii*) and the righteous (Fin. *hurskas*, Sw. *from*; Lat. *justus*). Finno translated the psalm from Laurentius Petri's Swedish translation of 1567.[82] The last two occasions are from the translations of the psalm *Domine quis habibabit* (Ps. 15, in the Vulgate Ps. 14) and *Exudiat te Dominus* (Ps. 20, in the Vulgate Ps.19) based on Laurentius Petri's Swedish hymns (1567), which themselves were translated through German versifications.[83] Agricola uses the same term in translating the verse Ps. 15:4: 'Joca ne Jumalattomat ylencadzo / Waan cunnioitze ne Jumalan pelkeueiset / Joca Lehimeisillens wannopi / ia sen pite' ('Ad nihilum deductus est in conspectu ejus malignus; timentes autem Dominum glorificat. Qui jurat proximo suo, et non decipit', 'In whose eyes a vile person is contemned; but he honoureth them that fear the Lord. He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not'). The term Agricola has translated with *jumalaton* denotes a *malignus* or a 'vile person', again in opposition to the righteous. In the original Psalm 20 the opponents of the Lord's anointed are only referred to as 'some' and the word 'impious' is not used (19:8:'Hi in curribus, et hi in equis; nos autem in nomine Domini Dei nostril invocabimus', 20:7: 'Some trust in chariots and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God').

Together with St. Paul's words, the psalm *Beatus vir* functions as a key text in understanding Finno's thought on carnal and spiritual song: 'Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful' (Ps. 1: 1). Michael Agricola explains in his summaries the word *pilkaiat* (the scornful or mockers; in Swedish *bespottaren*):[84] 'Pilkaiat Jotca caiki Jumalan puhet ia Tödh sulaxi tyhmeyexi lulevat' ('The scornful [or mockers] who believe

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80   Olavus Petri, *En Swensk Cröneka*, p. 10; Fredriksson, *Studier i Mikael*, pp. 97-8.

81   On other occasions it meant simply 'sinful' or 'sinner'; note the words *jumalaton, jumalat-tomasti, jumalattomuus* in Agricola I, pp. 94, 126, 144, 217, 727, 836; Agricola II, pp. 419, 429, 668; Agricola III, pp. 31, 43, 117, 215, 544, 624; *Vanhan kirjasuomen sanakirja*, p. 82

82   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 187-9; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 267-8.

83   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 191-5; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*, pp. 259-60.

84   *Then Swenske Psalmbok* (1572), p. XIIII[v].

that all words and deeds of God are mere stupidity').[85] The passage about the opposition of spiritual and secular songs can be read as a paraphrase of the first psalm. The scornful are ungodly mockers: '[The blessed] shall prosper. The ungodly are not so: but they are like the chaff which the wind driveth away. Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgement, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous. For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous: but the way of the ungodly shall perish' (Ps. 1: 3-6). Finno's 'ridiculous' songs do not seem to refer to trivial or harmless mocking songs, but to scornful contempt of God's words and deeds.

Finno is consistent in his choice of words. For him, *jumalattomat* ('ungodly') and *pacanat* ('pagans') are different categories, unlike for Agricola, who sometimes equates them. Finno uses the Finnish word *pacanat* only as a translation for 'gentiles', as in the psalm *Quare fremuerunt gentes*. Furthermore, in his hymn book he does not use the term *epeiumala* ('idol', 'heathen god') as Agricola did.[86] The Swedish Church Ordinance of 1571 quoted in a rather similar vein St. Paul (Col. 3:1; 1 Cor. 14) and ordered that the congregations should 'read and sing psalms, hymns, and other songs of praise'. The ordinance briefly deals with the history of Christian song and its gradual corruption because of the dominance of the Latin language. It urges the publication of Christian hymn books and exhorts country vicars to adapt even new spiritual songs to replace unchristian songs which the peasants are singing at their own feasts.[87]

Hence, it is surprising that some earlier scholars like Annamari Sarajas have claimed that Finno's secular genres and description of traditional singing can be interpreted as explicit attacks on 'paganism'. The claim has been repeated uncritically by later scholars.[88] Finno certainly refers

85   Agricola III, p. 215. According to Simo Heininen, Agricola's summary is based on both Luther's German Bible (1531-1545) and the Swedish Gustav Vasa's Bible (1541): 'Spötter, Die es fur eitel narrheit halten, was Gott redet vnd thut' ('Scornful, that is who think that the speech and deeds of God are foolishness'), Heininen, *Mikael Agricolan Psalttarin*, p. 14.

86   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 188-91. In Finno's main Swedish source, *Swenske Psalmboken* from 1572, there is more variety in wording. Finno's *jumalaton* is *otrogen*, 'unfaithful', *orettwis*, 'unjust', or *oguddachtig*, 'ungodly' (Ps. 1; *Then Swenska Psalmboken* (1572), pp. XV-XVI), or *odygd*, 'mischievious' (Ps. 15; *Then Swenska Psalmboken* (1572), pp. XVI-XVII).

87   'Sammalades skola och Landzpresterna beflita the om, at the mågha affskaffa the ochriste-ligha Minne, som bönderna mykit pläga bruka j theras gestebod, och komma them til at bruka j samma stadhen, någhra aff thessa Swenska Psalmer, Eller förwandla samma mine, så at the dragha öffuer eens medh Scrifftenne' (*Kyrkoordningen 1571, Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, pp. 102-3, 106-7, cit. 107); cf. Bohlin, '"Någrahanda sång"', pp. 294-301.

88   Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, pp. 14-17; Suomi, 'Suomenkielinen lyriikka', p. 251; Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon*, p. 332; Viinamäki, 'Hemminki Maskulainen'; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 213, n. 68.

to the worship of false gods, but for him there was no distinction between supposedly 'pagan' folk beliefs, the worship of saints, or the worship of Mammon (cf. Col. 3:5: 'Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry').[89] He was fighting human sinfulness and preparing his congregation for righteousness.

Spiritual Song, the Latin Language and the Devil's Plot

Finno relates the history of spiritual song from the prophets of the Old Testament up to his own times. In order to help the people to become righteous, God has inspired his chosen ones to compose songs about Christian teachings and his miraculous deeds. Finno calls the spiritual composers and poets *wirdhen sepät ia runot*, i.e. 'the smiths of song and poets'. Modern scholars have pointed out that these words are the same as those used by the singers of traditional Finnish oral poetry.[90] *Wirsi* denotes, in traditional parlance, 'oral poetry' although since the days of Agricola and Finno its meaning has shifted to spiritual song and hymns (e.g. hymn book in Finnish is called *virsikirja,* while in Swedish it is *psalmbok*). Even more poignant is the word *seppä* (pl. *sepät*) meaning a 'smith', a commonplace metaphor for a traditional singer and poet. Agricola told about the mythical hero or god of song and poetry, Väinämöinen: *Äinemöinen / wirdhet tacoi*, i.e. 'Väinämöinen forged songs'.[91] Composing and performing songs was equated with the work of the smith. *Runot* has been interpreted to mean traditional singers or shamanistic seers, best translated with the Latin word *vates*, and as such to denote equally well performers of traditional oral poetry.[92] However, Finno's 'smiths of song and poets [or seers]' do not denote singers or performers of traditional poetry, nor do they have any connotation of magic or paganism. Quite the contrary, these 'smiths of song and poets' were Old Testament prophets, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, the

89 'Nin colettacat senteden teiden Jäsenen / iotca Maan päle ouat / Hoorws / Saastasus / Häpielinen Himo / Rieta halaus ia se Ahneus (ioca ombi Epeiumalden Paluelus)' (Agricola II, p. 559).
90 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 169; Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*, p. 32; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, p. 17; Siikala, *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*, pp. 54-5, 437.
91 Agricola III p. 212.
92 Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*, p. 32; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, p. 17; Siikala, *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*, pp. 54-5, 437.

Church Fathers, and Luther. Finno himself wanted to join this prestigious lineage to 'forge' spiritual songs in Finnish.[93]

King David was the founding father of the tradition of spiritual song, pictured with his harp in Finno's hymn book as was common in hymn books everywhere.[94] Finno states that 'David, king and prophet, an active man following God's will, made a beautiful hymn book in Hebrew which we call David's Psalter and into which book he briefly collected the best and the highest things that had happened from close to the beginning of the world up to his own times'.[95] Finno follows Luther, Olaus Petri, and Agricola by calling the Psalter the 'small Bible' (*wähä Biblia*).[96]

Finno enumerates Moses, David, Solomon, Isaiah, Daniel and Habakkuk, the Virgin Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon as the biblical poets and composers of spiritual songs. Their example was followed by 'many other godly and learned men'. The hymns were composed in Latin 'in the lands that belong to Europe' and in Greek in 'the eastern part of the world'. Songs were composed especially in big cities equipped with schools and men learned in Latin. Nevertheless, originally their intention was to encourage people to sing not only in Latin but also in the vernacular.[97] Ecclesiastical historians have interpreted Finno's account as 'Philippist', i.e. following the moderate interpretation of ecclesiastical history by Philipp Melanchthon, who valued the heritage of the 'old Church'. A moderate and pan-Christian view was of course also in concord with the wider Church policy and ambitions of King John III.[98]

The 'Philippist' inclination of Finno is even more apparent when he describes the times of the supremacy of the Latin language in most parts of the Christian world 'in the times when the right, true, clear, clean, and unspoiled doctrine still prevailed and was cared for in Rome'.[99] According to Finno, Latin was still in his own time an important common language

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93   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 169-70, 174, 175.

94   Finno's *Hymn Book* includes the common woodcut representing King David with his harp (Finno 1998, p. 29). The same plate is used in contemporary religious books; see Michael Agricola, *Rucouskiria* /the Prayer Book 1544) in Agricola I, p. 185; *Davidz Psaltare* 1560, p. iᵛ; *Några nyttiga andhliga visor* 1576, p. iᵛ.

95   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 169-70.

96   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 170.

97   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 170-1.

98   Juva, 'Jaakko Finno', pp. 73,108-9; Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen', pp. 362-4, 379-80; Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon*, pp. 330-3.

99   Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 171-2.

among learned Christians, but in their own environment they should teach the Gospel in language comprehensible to the ordinary people.[100]

Finno was convinced of the power of singing hymns. Indeed, it was the devil's plot that Latin reached such an overwhelming dominance, forcing vernacular spiritual hymns to disappear. According to Finno, the devil's deception led to a ban on vernacular composers. Finally, it was impossible to find anyone able to sing or compose hymns in their 'mother tongue' ('äitins kielel').[101] The defence of the vernacular fit into the mainstream of the Reformation. Not only did Luther, Olaus Petri, Agricola, and many others stress the importance of using understandable language and the mother tongue of the congregation; it has also been interpreted as the main theme of the Swedish and Finnish reformers who attacked Catholicism less vehemently, preserving many of its liturgical features without delving into the depths of theological argument, or cultic or organizational renewal in ways common to the rest of Europe.[102]

Singing, according to Luther and his followers, held a special position in turning people's hearts to Christianity, or indeed, to anything else.[103] Finno agreed with this and pointed out that 'humans by nature want to sing ... and are as well eager to listen to singing'.[104] Olaus Petri argues the very same in the foreword to his 1536 edition of his hymn book, saying 'man has a natural inclination to sing and play'.[105]

Finno develops this idea further. Because laymen had no understandable spiritual songs available, 'they started to practise ungodly, impudent, and ridiculous songs and sang them to pass their time and for their own pleasure. They competed by singing and spoiled young people with evil and lecherous thoughts and disgraceful words, and enticed them to mean habits and lewd living.'[106] The passage has usually been taken out of context and interpreted

100 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 172.

101 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 172-3.

102 Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon*, *passim*; Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, *passim*; Grell, 'Scandinavia'; Lavery, 'The Reformation'; Heininen, 'The Reformation'.

103 Luther, *Luthers geistliche* (WA 35), pp. 474-5.

104 'Inhimiset quitengin luonnostans laula pytäuät [...] nijtä mös mieleläns cuuleuat' (Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 173).

105 'Som han gjort oc bade menniskior oc annor creatur beuisat haffuer, huilkit (utan twiffuel) aff gudz besunneliga rådh oc ingifft skeedt är, at mennieskian som en naturligh lust och begier haffuer til siungande, och spelande, skulle tå haffua thet til at siunga oc spela som gudi kunde wara til prijs oc henne sielffuo til nytto oc gagn, huilkit och wisseliga så skeer ther thet rett tillgår' (Olavus Petri, *Samlade Skrifter*, p. 523).

106 'Rupeisit he harioiteleman heitäns Jumalattomihin / häpiälisin / haurollisin ia nauret-tauaisin wirsin / ia nijtä heidän pidhoisans ia matcoisans aian culux ia ilox lauleskelit / nijllä

separately as an attack on Finnish traditional poetry and pagan beliefs.[107] It has been seen as the earliest authentic description of the performance of folk poetry and of the 'Kalevalaic' song contest.[108] However, if read in conjunction with the rest of the foreword and the hymn book Finno's main concern does not appear to be 'pagan beliefs', but 'impudent songs' and 'lewd living', as he repeats a couple of pages later.[109]

Furthermore, Finno seems to follow the Swedish Church Ordinance of 1571 in mentioning the feasts of the peasants (see note 87). These models, however, do not make any mention of singing on travels or of song contests, which might be Finno's local flavour. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Finno does not set his description in Finland, but as a part of a general storyline of what has happened in the whole of Western Christianity in the regions where the people's own language was detached from Christian use. He argues that the lack of Christian hymns has led to composing and singing of 'ungodly, impudent, lewd, and ridiculous songs', which have spoiled the young people everywhere. His argument consistently follows his reference to the letter to the Colossians (3: 5) and the first psalm.

Finno continues by relating that not only God but the devil as well is able to inspire poets and singers: 'The devil, the nest of all lewdness, woke up his poets and singers as well into whose minds he put and in whose mouth he forged just the right words that they could learn fast and clearly put together and make songs which others learned and memorized even faster as now godly and Christian songs are learned and memorized'.[110] The passage has been interpreted as a description of the traditional singers'

toinen toisens cansa campalit / nijllä mös nuoren cansan turmelit / pahenit/ ia rietain aiatuxin / häpiälisin puhein / ilkiän tapoin ia saastaisen haurolisen elemän haucutelit / yllytit ia saatit' (Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 173).

107 For example, Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, pp. 14-17; Suomi, 'Suomenkielinen lyriikka', p. 247.

108 Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*, pp. 31-2; Siikala, *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*, pp. 28, 97-8. The classic description of 'Kalevalaic' performance was given by Henrik Gabriel Porthan in his *De poësi fennica* in 176-8 (chapter XI; Porthan, *Suomalaisesta runoudesta*, pp. 79-83). According to Porthan, singers sang long epic poems in pairs. The lead singer was backed by the younger companion. The song is both memorized and improvised. However, Porthan does not mention the idea of a contest, which derives from Finno. Nevertheless, in oral tradition there are plenty of examples of the idea of two competing singers performing in turns, trying to show off their abilities as singers and in improvisation.

109 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 176.

110 'Ja sentädhen piru caicken riettaudhen pesä ylösherätti mös hänen runojans ja laulaians / ioidhen mielen hän lyckäis / ia suusa tacoi iuuri soueliaita sanoja / nijn että he kyllä äkist ia selpäst wirsiä cocon saidh ia teidh / iotca sittä muilda nopiamin mös opettin / quin nyt Jumaliset ia Christiliset wirdhet opetan ia muistetan' (Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 173-174).

ability to improvise. Finno's choice of words has been used to ground the argument that he targets pagan singers since he speaks of poets or seers (*runojat*) and singers (*laulaiat*) forging songs ('in whose mouth he forged', 'ia suusa tacoi').[111] However, as I pointed out above, here neither the word 'poets' ('singers' or 'seers', *runot*, *runojat*) nor 'forging the songs' (*tacoa lauluia*) carry any specific connotation of traditional folk poetry or performance. Finno used the same terms to describe biblical and Christian versifiers and composers of hymns without any reference to pagan shamans, wise men, or seers.

Instead, it is apparent that Finno was deeply impressed by the impact of singing and the force of inspiration, whether divine or diabolic. Moreover, he was convinced that people had special ability to memorize songs they liked. These human abilities were misused by the devil. Secular songs flourished because of the lack of catchy vernacular spiritual songs. Finno is careful in choosing past or present tense. The ungodly, impudent, lewd, and ridiculous songs were practised in the past because 'in the end it happened that in no country was there anybody who willed or dared to make songs in their mother tongue'. They were memorized by 'the poor common people as now godly and Christian songs are learned and memorized'.[112]

Songs in Rhyme as in Other Christian Lands

Finno then turns to the changes that have happened in Germany, because 'God had mercy on humans and wanted somehow to end those old ways of hymns and songs and woke up that godly man, gifted with great mercy, Luther in Germany'.[113] For Finno, Luther's main task was to revive Christian singing, although this was 'so that learned and God-fearing men in other districts began to follow it, who all, in their own places, adapted the best main chapters of Christian teaching and the Catechism … into very noble, beautiful, and sweet songs in understandable vernacular … against the will of the devil and the pope's prohibition'.[114] Luther and his followers

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111 Hautala, *Suomalainen kansanrunoudentutkimus*, p. 32; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, p. 17; Siikala, *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*, pp. 54-5, 437.
112 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 173.
113 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 174.
114 'Iota sittä muut oppenet ia Jumalan pelkäuäiset miehet muisa maacunnis seuraman rupeaisit: iotca caicki idze cukin paicansans parhat Christilisen opin ia Cathecismuxen pääcappalet … sangen ialoin / caunisin ia suloisin ymmärtäuäisin maankielisin wirsin souitit / … wastan perkelen mieldä ia Pauin kieldö edhes panit' (Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, pp. 174-5).

from different regions attacked the devil's plan to make Christian singing disappear by versifying and composing hymns not only on Christian teachings and the Catechism but the life and deeds, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus as well.

Finno gives an inspired description of how old and young, men and women, boys and girls were singing hymns with joy and pleasure in churches, schools, and houses, on feasts and travels, and at other respectable meetings, as those 'who have visited those lands' know. His recollection seems to be very similar to the impression received by the Spanish Carmelite Thomas à Jesu while travelling in the Lutheran regions of Germany.[115] Finno and his fellow clergymen, educated in Wittenberg, Rostock, Greifswald, Königsberg, and other Lutheran centres of learning, had evidently experienced the Reformation as a great song movement. Perhaps this had also touched aristocrats, burghers, and wealthy peasants who regularly sailed to the German ports of the Baltic Sea (see Leskelä in this volume). The passage is contrasted with the description of popish decadence and the common people's impudence, which, in the end, was caused by the irresponsible clergymen through their overwhelming use of Latin. The wording resonates with the words used to describe ungodly and impudent songs: as they sang 'in their feasts and travels' the new vernacular Christian hymns were heard not only in churches but practically everywhere at 'respectable meetings'. Singing while travelling was not, at least according to Finno, any special feature of Finnish folk, as some scholars have argued.[116]

Finally, Finno turns to his own work and to his Finnish congregation. He follows the Christian convention of the *sermo humilis* cultivated by Agricola as well.[117] He presents himself as an 'unsuitable' (*epäkeluoton*) person who nevertheless wanted to follow 'the work and example of godly and learned men': 'I started to make spiritual songs in Finnish in rhyme as is the habit in other Christian lands with the talent I have got from God. So I could with my good Finns praise, respect, and serve God with them in our gatherings and feasts.'[118] Finno again follows St. Paul's advice and the Swedish Church

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115 Pettegree, *Reformation*, p. 52; Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 175

116 See note 111.

117 For example, Agricola I, pp. 97-8; Agricola III, p. 719; Heininen 2007, pp. 258-9.

118 'Rupeisin hengelisiä wirsiä Suomenkielel / sen lahian peräst quin Jumala minulle andanut on / rimitäin muidhen Christilisten maacundain tauan iälken tekemän / että minä hyuän

Ordinance. At the same time, he once more contrasts the spiritual songs with the secular ones. He also states his poetic ideals, i.e. rhyming song is for him the most suitable form for congregational hymns. Literary scholars have taken Finno's statement as a programmatic one against the traditional Finnish *Kalevala* metre, a non-rhymed trochaic tetrameter using extensive alliteration (on the *Kalevala* metre and new metres applied in hymns, see Kallio in this volume).[119]

It is true that Finno in his own hymns and translations used rhyme and avoided the *Kalevala* metre and other poetic features associated with it. Most strikingly, he systematically avoids alliteration which is characteristic of traditional Finnish oral poetry in general because of the first-syllable stress typical of the language. Only roughly fourteen per cent of the overall 4000 verses of Finno's hymn book are alliterated. Scholars have estimated that Finnish epic Kalevalaic poetry contains more than sixty per cent of alliterated verses. Fifty per cent of the new hymns published by Hemmingius Henrici of Masku (*c.* 1560-1619) in 1605 contained alliterated verses, and in the official Finnish hymn book of 1701 forty percent of new verses had alliteration of some sort. It is remarkable that in his prose Jacobus Finno was less consistent in avoiding alliteration.[120]

However, the use of rhymes also differed from the psalms and hymns sung in the prose form, of which some were included in Finno's hymnal. The classical Latin metres again fashionable among the sixteenth-century learned were not rhymed either.[121] Hence, it is not at all evident that Finno's choice of poetic form was targeted against the traditional Finnish poetical idiom. He might also have been driven by his experience of new poetic and musical forms performed in such an impressive way in Germany, as he himself reports. Finno is explicit in contrasting the Christian songs with secular ones in their content. On the other hand, his choice of language (vernacular instead of Latin) and formal features (rhymes) is set against the prevailing tradition of Church song as well. The Gregorian chant was

Suomalaisteni cansa niijllä meidhän seuracunnisam / cocouxisam ia pidhoisam Jumalata kijttäisin / cunnioittaisin ia paluelisin' (Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 175).

119 Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, p. 17; Suomi, 'Suomenkielinen lyriikka', pp. 251-2.

120 I have estimated the amount of alliteration in Jacobus Finno's and Hemmingius of Masku's hymns. I am indebted to Senni Timonen on her estimation of the *New Finnish Hymn Book* from 1701. The use of alliteration in Kalevalaic epic has been estimated by Pentti Sadeniemi (Leino, *Mittoja, muotoja*, p. 217). On alliteration as a linguistic feature in Finnish, see Leino, *Strukturaalinen alkusointu*, pp. 317-22; in traditional Finnish and Karelian oral poetry, see Leino, *Language and Metre*, pp. 29, 134-5; Frog and Stepanova, 'Alliteration', pp. 195-218.

121 Pekkanen, 'Latinsk litteratur', pp. 35-56; Pekkanen, 'Suomen uuslatinalainen', pp. 99-120; Kajanto, *Latina, kreikka*, pp. 64-74.

still very much in use in Swedish and Finnish dioceses and the language of education remained Latin.[122] Moreover, it is not likely that Finno would have wanted to transform all Latin singing into the vernacular, since he himself participated in the edition of Latin Church songs, *Piae Cantiones* (1582),[123] and the place of Latin in education was emphasized in the Swedish Church Ordinance.[124] For him, Christian singing was to be done both in Latin and in the vernacular, as he thought initially the early Christians did and as his participation in editing the *Piae Cantiones* attests.

For him, language and poetic form are in the service of mediating the Christian message. Songs should be in the people's language, lucid and understandable. People should be able to memorize them and sing them outside the church walls as well. It is reasonable to assume that this was one of his goals for the performance and the music. He wrote that 'it is better to make these in an understandable and instructive language than in a strange language which is neither understandable nor instructive'.[125]

He wished that the hymns would 'wean off and turn away many people from impudent and lewd songs'.[126] Here Finno is using the present tense, referring to the future as well. He no more repeats the epithets 'ungodly' or 'ridiculous', but only 'impudent' and 'lewd', turning closer to the original expression of Luther. At the very end, Finno urges all godly and respectable Finns to accept his hymn book. He challenges his critics and enviers to make better hymns and quotes a proverb: 'The work will stand as the praise of the maker.'[127] Finno finishes his foreword with a prayer-like request addressed to Father God and the teachers of Christianity, and he urges his listeners to be steady in their faith.

In summary, Finno's foreword to his Finnish hymnal proposes a brief history of singing, a theory of the sources of inspiration and the power of song affecting the human mind and action. He presents a dichotomy of Christian and devilish song with respective sources of inspiration and effects. He does not claim that his description of singing is bound to any specific local context other than Western Christianity. He does not use

122 Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*, pp. 229-30, 296-8 and *passim*; Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier*, pp. 47-55 and *passim*; Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, pp. 187, 244-56; Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon*; Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*; Göransson, 'Musiken'; see Hannikainen and Tuppurainen in this volume.

123 Lehtonen, 'Piae Cantiones', p. 42; Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written', pp. 112-113.

124 *Kyrkoordning 1571*, *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning* pp. 14-15, 90-2, 102-7, 182.

125 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 175. He refers again to St. Paul (1 Cor. 14, esp. 6-11).

126 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 176.

127 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 177.

different words for Christian or devilish poets: they both forge songs and are called *runot*, singers of poetry. Nor does he name any specific Finnish form of oral or pagan poetry when he presents his own poetical ideal as based on rhyme.

Of course Finno's text does say something about common people's singing. It is hard to avoid an impression that his description of the ability to improvise and memorize and to have contests of singing reflects the local folk singing in his native Finland. But for him, the local practice was not relevant. He set his own work into the general Christian framework, where the battleground between good and evil existed everywhere. On the other hand, in Germany he had had a sensational experience of rhymed and moving singing and communal belonging that he wished to introduce to his own congregation and pupils in southwestern Finland.

Finno constructs a historical narrative with a pendulum movement from good beginning to lapse and from there to good development again. He describes the ungodly and impudent songs and behaviour three times: first generalized in contrast to Christian hymns and spiritual songs, then as a prevailing situation because of the dominance of Latin song, and finally telling how they were replaced by Luther's hymns. This is a narrative of the triumph of Christianity and its Reformation, which has happened in the past 'in Europe'.[128] Only at the end of his foreword does Finno turn to his own local surroundings in Finland, which in its turn should be conquered by the new rhyming spiritual song.

Conclusion

Neither Agricola nor Finno made any clear distinction between various forms of idolatries, superstitions, and ungodly practices. For them, there was no sharp difference between the cult of Catholic saints, the worship of relics, and non-Christian rites. Nor do the common people really seem to have made this distinction. Both the learned clerical elite and the common people used the conceptual tools available to them. They framed folk beliefs conceptually by using the learned models to hand. Their opinions reflect the interaction of 'great' and 'little' traditions in the sense defined by Robert Redfield and further elaborated by Peter Burke.[129] Neither Agricola nor Finno was an ethnographer nor even an antiquarian historian interested

128 Finno, *Jaakko Finnon*, p. 163.
129 See notes 2, 3 and Järvinen in this volume; Redfield, *Peasant Society*; Burke, *Popular Culture*.

in folk beliefs as such; they were clergymen trying to fulfil their task of preaching the Gospel and guiding people into the true Christian faith. They shared with their congregations the belief in active evil forces and magic. Flirting with false gods and evil spirits was always a dangerous affair: it could evoke the devil, who delighted in leading people astray.

Agricola's number of deities hints at the Graeco-Roman pantheon as his model. There are similarities also with Martinus Mosvidius's description of Lithuanian folk beliefs. Agricola and Mosvidius can be linked with each other through Paulus Juusten and through Agricola's fellow student at Wittenberg and later professor and Juusten's teacher at Königsberg, Friedrich Staphylus. Nevertheless, we can't know with certainty if any views on folk beliefs in Finland and Lithuania passed between them. Finno's representation of Christian song and its relation to folk traditions seems to be unique – at least, in the hymnals and catechisms produced in the Baltic Sea region in the fifteenth similar descriptions cannot be found. Hence, even if it is clear that both Agricola and Finno depicted folk practices for their own purposes, they both seem to have drawn facts from their surrounding 'small traditions' of folk rituals, songs, and stories.

Luther's followers on the shores of the Baltic Sea were also aware that people were seeking pleasure and consolation from singing. If they were not singing the Lord's praises, they slipped easily into impious, disgraceful, lewd, and ridiculous songs. The forewords were an integral part of a larger religious programme to change and reform the Christian cult, liturgy, teaching, and even everyday practices of lay people. Agricola and Finno were themselves members of a learned network of Lutheran northern Europe, and as such, carriers of the learned 'great tradition'. They had been educated in Wittenberg, Königsberg, and Rostock, and were familiar with the work of Erasmus of Rotterdam, Luther, and his colleagues and followers in Wittenberg and in the universities on the southern shores of the Baltic, as well as with ancient authors and Fathers of the Church. Even when they were working in their distant northeastern diocese they were in contact with their colleagues in Sweden and further around the Baltic Sea region.

The forewords not only described biblical (Agricola) or ecclesiastical (Finno) history, but proposed also something that might be called the very first theory of music and singing in the Finnish language, which, furthermore, adapted traditional vernacular terms (*virsi*, *takoa*, *seppä*, 'hymn, song', 'to forge', 'smith'). They were both aware of the general human tendency to seek pleasure from singing. Jacobus Finno in particular developed this idea further. Together their work introduced people to the Finnish liturgy and a new kind of rhymed hymns while creating literary Finnish, and

simultaneously commented on the Christian tradition of psalms and spiritual song, its function in teaching Christian truths and distancing people from either carnal or impious deeds and thoughts.

In one way or another Olaus Petri, Michael Agricola, and Jacobus Finno all set stories and fables, songs, and heathen gods in the past and on peripheries. For Olaus Petri, fables were told and heathen gods were worshiped by distant ancestors. For Agricola, pagan deities were worshipped on the fringes of his diocese in more recent times, but they were equated with the cult of Roman Catholic saints. For Finno, the problem was ungodly and impudent songs tempting young people into lewd living in the vague past and in an unspecified region. Especially for Agricola and Finno, the Reformation meant a renewal and purification of cult from these features. Their work echoes the comments on folk religion in Prussia, Lithuania, and Livonia. Agricola was certainly informed of the beliefs of the Tavastians and Karelians, but in his poem they are described as a past phenomenon similar to the decadent features of Catholicism. Finno is much more vague: 'ungodliness' surely cannot be interpreted simply as 'paganism', but as an opposite to righteous and godly behaviour. For him, the problems were the impudent songs, as Luther stated. In the early seventeenth century, they were still around when the preacher of the church of the Gråmunka (Greyfriars) in Stockholm, Haquinus Laurentii Rhezelius, saw spiritual songs as moral tools. For him, the problem was no longer the common people's oral culture, but *printed* 'impudent love and whore songs'.[130]

In urban centres such as Stockholm the battleground had become literary, while on the Finnish peripheries the literary culture was monopolized by clergymen. The drinking of the toast to Ukko, even in the company of country vicars, was still practised long into the seventeenth century (see notes 2 and 3 and Järvinen in this volume). Alliteration and even some *Kalevala* metre appeared in the hymns and religious songs (see Kallio in this volume) while rhymes and other 'foreign' features were applied in folklore and song. Multilingual and international literary culture interacted with the vernacular oral culture, although the latter was viewed with a suspicious gaze by the leading seventeenth-century clergymen, increasingly occupied with rooting out what they considered as paganism.

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130 'At Menniskiorna therigenom mage blifwa affholdne ifrå okyske Elskogs oc Horewijsor / sö af okyske Menniskior äro updichtade / oc nu vtan något inseende få fried af trycket vtsprijdas' (Rhezelius, 'Företalet', p. ij^r).

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7 The Emergence of Hymns at the Crossroads of Folk and Christian Culture

An Episode in Early Modern Latvian Cultural History

Māra Grudule

> Their [the Latvians'] priest, indeed, paying little attention to the attack of the Esthonians, mounted the ramparts and, while the others fought, sang prayers to God on a musical instrument. When the barbarians [the Esthonians] heard the song and the sharp sound of the instrument, they stood still, for in their country they had nothing similar to it.[1]

This excerpt from the *Chronicle* of Henry of Livonia, written in the 1220s, is the oldest record of the collision of the two different worlds of Christian music and Baltic folk culture. According to Henry, it is not just the song, but the sounds of Christian music that brought to a halt the fight between the pagans and the Christians. However – and here I differ from the interpretation of this scene in the traditional national narrative – I would not focus on silence as a symbolic divide between the pagans and the Christians, but treat song and music as a means for pagans and Christians to meet. From this starting point, the following chapter explores the path by which the first Christian hymns entered the Latvian language as well as the reflections of folk culture in those texts.

This study is thus a deliberate attempt to explore and understand the genesis of the first Latvian Christian hymns of early modern times and thus the beginnings of written poetry in Latvian. Though there is no extant documentary evidence, I hypothesize that Latvians sang Christian hymns in their own language even before the Reformation. The historico-genetic and hermeneutical approaches, as well as a study of the first Latvian hymnals, exploring the contexts of the period and the earliest information about the Latvian singing tradition as it is found in historical sources, help to establish the methodology of the research and validate the hypothesis.

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1   *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, XII.6, p. 63. English translation: *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, p. 85.

The first Latvian Catholic and Lutheran hymnals are also considered in the framework of cultural transfer. In this process, the representatives of one ethnic group, the Germans, laid the foundation for the written culture and literature of another ethnic group, the Latvians, by taking account not only of the characteristics of their language, but also of folk culture and thinking patterns. This chapter aims to recognize the interests of the creators of Latvian hymns and the power of their genius beyond the body of texts while focusing on the context, spiritual tendencies, and social relations of the Baltic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The chronological framework of this research covers the period from the fourteenth century, marked by the onset of Latvian-speaking brotherhoods of craftsmen in Riga, to the end of the seventeenth century, the time deservedly called the first golden age of Latvian literature.

The Historical Context

The territories of present-day Latvia were integrated into Latin Christendom as a result of the Livonian crusades in the early thirteenth century. These crusades, vividly described by Henry of Livonia, initiated the gradual Christianization of the indigenous inhabitants, yet also laid the basis for the social and cultural domination of a German-speaking elite in the eastern Baltic. Regardless of the changes in the political powers (Polish, Swedish, or Russian), the German-speaking upper class maintained its position and continued to dominate cultural, political, and economic life up to the First World War, followed by the proclamation of the Latvian nation state in 1918.

Written Latvian, and thus the beginnings of literature in Latvian, dates back to the sixteenth century. For the next couple of centuries, Latvian texts were still almost exclusively written by German speakers. It is worth noting in passing, however, that the onset of Latvian national culture (literature, art, music, etc.), ascribed to the nineteenth century, is also largely the result of cultural transfer, as the first generations of Latvian intellectuals were raised, directly and figuratively, within the traditions of the German school.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, German-speaking priests and pastors laid the foundation for standard written Latvian. It was the dialect spoken in and around Riga (the so-called middle dialect) that became the basis of the written language. Various indigenous groups (Lettgallians, Curonians, Semigallians, etc.) formed the Latvian ethnic group, but it was not homogeneous. While most of it was made up of peasants and craftsmen, servants and farmhands who worked at the German-owned estates in the

countryside, an important role was also assigned to the Latvian craftsmen and workers in the cities. Ever since the fourteenth century the Latvians living in Riga had their own guilds and brotherhoods and thus also their own altars in churches as well as their own priests. Therefore, the Latvian city-dwellers became the nucleus of the first Latvian-speaking Protestant churches in the Reformation period.

Early References to the Latvians and Music

The sixteenth-century accounts offer fairly detailed descriptions of the living conditions, wedding rituals, clothing, and appearance of the Latvians. The references to the singing tradition date back to the early thirteenth century, as mentioned above.[2] The same period is also the approximate time of origin for the tile stove fragment found at Tērvete (Ger. Hofzumberg) castle mound, which bears an image of a Semigallian piper. The fifteenth century documents of the brotherhood of porters and stevedores of Riga mention Latvians whose surnames stem from *kokle* ('psaltery', a Latvian national musical instrument).[3] This implies that in the Middle Ages, the Latvians knew of stringed instruments, as well as how to play and make them. The first published picture showing Latvians playing musical instruments (the hurdy-gurdy, bagpipes, and a flute-like instrument) can be found in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmography* from 1578.[4]

The references to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries prove that the singing tradition was an integral part of work and of celebrations. In 1632 Friedrich Menius (d. 1659), a history professor at the recently founded university of Tartu (Ger. Dorpat), published the first records of folk song melodies and offered a quite detailed description of Latvian polyphony, or so-called drone singing. Menius's records bear witness to the use of the lead singer, the ornator, and the drone singers when singing vowels [e:] and [u:].[5] Similar information is found in the late-seventeenth-century sources:

They practise singing songs they have composed themselves while do-ing simple work, riding, or walking somewhere together, harrowing,

2   *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, XXVIII.5, pp. 202-4.

3   For example *Kokelnyk*, *Kokelneke* (male and female 'kokle player/maker'), and *Kokelne Sewe* ('the wife of kokle player/maker').

4   Münster, *Cosmographey*, illustrations included in chapter no. 497 (ccccxcvii): Von seltzamen Bräuchen die in Lyfflandt sindt (no page number given); cf. Brauns, 'Instrumentālās'.

5   Menius, *Syntagma*, pp. 44-6.

pasturing, etc., and their songs tend to conclude with their most popular repetition of *aauu*, *aauu*, *aauu*, expressing joy or sorrow; they might not always be aware of the emotion themselves.[6]

Riga, in the year 1697, saw the publication of the first poetics for literary writings in Latvian, *Der Unteutsche Opitz oder Kurze Anleitung zur Lettischen Dicht-Kunst* ('Non-German [i.e. Latvian] Opitz or Brief Guide to the Latvian Art of Poetry'), an edition prepared by German pastor Johann Wischmann (d. 1705). In the chapter devoted to the form and rhythm of Latvian poetry, Wischmann offers a characterization of Latvian folk songs:

The trochee to Latvians rightfully ranks above all others as the oldest, the noblest, and most natural sort, because, although their songs are not rhythmically assembled, by their very nature they are metrically composed; and in a trochaic metre the first line is of eight syllables and the second line, basically repeating the first, is in catalectic trochaic tetrameter of 7 syllables as is immediately apparent in their folk songs; and if they miss a syllable, they would opt to change only the 'padding' or so-called rhythmic vowel 'i', used exclusively in lyrics for a blank space or a pause [...]. However, now and again, they are in the habit of throwing in a dactyl instead of a trochee, yet it is only rarely possible to create a pure dactyl with no caesura; the esteemed reader would do better to listen to them and take note rather than try to understand me.[7]

6   'Sie pflegen auch hiemit ihre selbst-getichtete Liedlein / bey Verrichtung leichter Arbeit / (gemeiniglich im Gehen oder Fahren / wenn sie eggen / das Vieh hüten und dergleichen/) mit offterer Wiederholung / zubeschliessen / āū / āū/ āū / ob aber dieses ein Freuden- oder Jammer-Gesang seyn solle/ mögen Sie am besten / oder auch wol selbst nicht wissen.' Cited from 'Christophor Füreckers Nachricht über das Singen der lettischen Volkslieder', in Draviņš, *Altlettische*, p. 68.

7   'Mit allem Rechte verdienet das GENUS TROCHAICUM, bey denen Letten/ die Ober- und Erste Stelle/ als das älteste/ Edelste und ihnen natürliche GENUS: Den/ ob zwar ihre Lieder nicht RYTHMICÈ verfasset/ so sind sie doch von Natur METRICÈ eingerichtet/ und zwar TROCHAISche VERsche/ derer erste Zeile von 8/ die andere/ die sie insgemein REPETIREN, von 7. SYLLABEN bestehet/ wie man aus ihren gewöhnlichen Bauer-Oden siehet; Und ehe sie solten an SYLLABEN zu kurz kommen/ so müste eher der bey ihnen nur in den Liedern gebräuchliche Flick-Buchstabe i. den Mangel ersetzen (...) Doch pflegen sie bißweilen auch wohl hin und wieder einen DACTY-LUM, an stat des TROCHÆI, einzustreuen/ ja wohl lauter DACTYLische daraus zu machen / aber ohne CÆSUREN, oder doch gar selten/ welches ein Liebhaber besser von ihnen selbst hören und anmercken/ als von mir verstehen kan.' Wischmann, *Der Unteutsche*, pp. 36-37.

Hence, as a whole, musical expression, namely singing and playing, is the most represented aspect of the culture of the Latvian-speaking population in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The First Christian Songs in Latvian

European culture of the year 1517 is often associated with the beginning of the Reformation. The first Protestant pastors came to Riga in the early 1520s and owing to disagreement between the secular and spiritual powers quickly obtained supporters among the town councillors. Thus, relatively undisturbed, they established the first Protestant congregations and took over several churches. The reformers of Riga had good connections with Wittenberg; moreover, the spread of the Reformation was promoted by two letters written by Martin Luther to his fellow believers in Riga in 1523 and 1524.

Special mention must be made of the year 1529, when Andreas Knopken (*c.* 1468-1539), a pastor at St. Peter's church in Riga, is presumed to have initiated the publication and contributed some hymns to a hymnal, which contained the first Lutheran liturgy for Riga and hymns in Low German. A year later, a hymnal was printed in Rostock for the German speakers of Riga, complemented by the *Kurtz Ordnung des Kirchendiensts, Sampt eyner Vorrede von Ceremonien, An den Erbarn Rath der löblichenn Stadt Riga ynn Liefflandt Mit etlichen Psalmen vnd Götlichen lobgesengen die yn Christlicher versammlung zu Riga ghesungen werden* ('Short order of worship together with an introduction to ceremonies, To the honourable council of the praiseworthy town of Riga in Livonia, with numerous psalms and divine hymns of Praise, which are sung in Christian gatherings in Riga', 1530).

At about the same time, the first Protestant churches for Latvian speakers were founded in Riga, too, and the first Latvian-language liturgical texts as well as hymns necessary for holding divine services were prepared. Presumably, a Lutheran hymnal was published in Latvian already in the 1530s, but the only known song from that time takes the Ten Commandments for its theme. The first Lutheran hymnals in Latvian derive from the years 1587[8] and 1615,[9] while the Catholic hymnals in Latvian date to the years 1621 and 1673.[10]

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8   *Undeudsche PSalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge.*
9   *Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge.*
10   *CANTIONES Spirituales ex Latinis, Germanicis & Polonicis translatae in idioma Lothavicum.*

However, hypothetically, we may presume that the publication from 1621 of the Latvian Catholic hymnal prepared by the priest Georgius Elger, *Geistliche Catholische Gesänge / von guthertzigen Christen / auß dē Lateinischen/ Teutschen / vnd Polnischen Psalmen / vnd Kirchengesängen in Unteutsche sprach gebracht. Jetzt aber mit vielen schönen Liedern vermehret vnd in Druck verfertiget. Durch Societet IESV* ('Catholic Spiritual Songs translated from Latin, German and Polish psalms by kind-hearted Christians as well as Church hymns in non-German language. But now complemented by a number of nice songs and prepared for the issue by the Jesuits', 1621), may also contain hymns already sung by the Latvian speakers of Riga before the Reformation. The hymnal is relatively understudied[11] – the only known copy was found in the library of Vilnius University in the 1970s. In the year 1673 Elger's hymnal, this time well-edited and supplemented, underwent a second edition.

Jesuit Georgius Elger as the Earliest Compiler of a Catholic Hymnal in Latvian

Georgius Elger (*c.* 1585-1672), probably of Latvian origin,[12] was born to a Protestant family in Valmiera (Ger. Wolmar). By this time Livonia had come under Polish rule and Elger chose Catholicism. He studied at Braunsberg, and later at Polock and Nesvizh. In 1607 he was accepted into the Jesuit Order. Elger worked as a grammar teacher in Braunsberg and in September 1615 returned to Riga. In 1620 he moved to the Jesuit college in Cēsis (Ger. Wenden), where, apparently, a serious effort was invested in the preparation of a Catholic hymnal.

Its relatively good idiomatic language, expressive texts, sound, and rhythm (including rhyme) can thus reasonably be attributed first to Elger's Latvian origin; second to his experience of at least five years standing in serving at a Latvian speakers' church, as well as becoming acquainted with its Catholic past; and third, to his knowledge of poetics which he studied while preparing for a grammar teacher's position in Braunsberg. At the end of 1621 when the Swedish army had occupied Cēsis, Elger returned to Braunsberg, where the Latvian Catholic hymnal had been published. In 1638 Elger was back in the Baltics, to Infflantia (Latv. Latgale), which at that time was ruled by the Polish-Lithuanian superpower. Elger was a superior at Daugavpils (Ger. Dünaburg) Jesuit college as well as a teacher of

11   Jēgers, 'Einige Bemerkungen'; Karulis, 'Vai pirmais', p. 6.
12   Elger, 'Natione Livo', p. 470; see also Kučinskis, 'J. Elgera'.

syntax and poetry at the Jesuit school. He later died in Daugavpils. Apart from hymnals, other works by Elger have been preserved: some excerpts from the Catechism and the Gospel in Latvian,[13] as well as the first Polish-Latin-Latvian trilingual dictionary[14] and a manuscript of a translation of the Gospels and Epistles.[15]

The Latvians of Riga and the Christian Church before the Reformation

In medieval Europe, Christian ideas spread among the people mainly by word of mouth. The songs, including so-called Catechism songs and metrical New and Old Testament legends, played an important role in helping to learn the basic elements of Christianity. The first accounts of Christian hymns in the vernacular (for instance, in German) date back to the thirteenth century.[16] The people sang in their own language during pilgrimages and on religious holidays like Easter and Christmas.[17] It may be assumed that the Latvians already sang hymns before the Reformation although there is no extant textual evidence or manuscripts dating back to earlier than the sixteenth century.

However, we should not ignore the guilds and brotherhoods of the craftsmen of Riga that united transportation workers, most of whom were native inhabitants, the so-called *Undeutsche* ('non-Germans'): beer, wine, and other liquid porters, draymen, dockers, etc.[18] These guilds and brotherhoods were registered in Riga comparatively late compared to their German equivalents, from the fourteenth century on into the fifteenth. By the early sixteenth century they had around 500 to 600 members, which made them the largest non-German guilds in Riga.[19] They had their altars in the churches: at St. Jacob's church from 1386,[20] at St. Peter's church from 1458.[21] They employed an organ player and a schoolmaster to participate

13   *Catechismus seu Brevis Institutio doctrinae Christianae*; *Evangelia Toto anno Singulis Dominicis et festis diebus.*
14   *DICTIONARIUM Polono-Latino-Lottauicum.*
15   *Evangelien und Episteln.*
16   Herl, *Worship Wars*, p. 27.
17   Hess, 'Poetry in Germany'.
18   Arbusow, 'Studien', pp. 76-100; Arbusow, 'Kirchliches Leben'; Blese, *Latviešu personu*; Strenga, 'Remembering'.
19   For the situation of the Latvians or non-Germans in medieval Riga see Strenga, 'Remembering', pp. 82-8.
20   Arbusow, 'Studien', p. 83.
21   Strenga, 'Remembering', p. 93.

along with singing schoolboys at the Mass.[22] The priests who served at the altar and were proficient in Latvian usually also performed the duties of clerks or secretaries for the guilds. Thus, since the late Middle Ages at least, the Latvians living in Riga participated in the celebration of worship; they attended Church services in Latin, and, presumably, like the Germans they also sang hymns outside the divine services in their own, i.e. Latvian, language. Some of these texts may appear in the 1621 edition of the hymnal prepared by the aforementioned Georgius Elger.

As far as the countryside goes, the accounts of pre-Reformation relations between the Latvians and the Catholic cult are not numerous. However, it is worth mentioning the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century observations by Catholic priests and Lutheran pastors, as these refer to the spiritual world of the Latvians and the mix of pagan and Catholic influences there. The research by the theologian and cultural historian Haralds Biezais in the history of comparative religion points to the traces of Catholic worship in Lutheran regions; he suggested this on the basis of the folk songs that were recorded in Curonia (Latv. Kurzeme, Ger. Courland) and Vidzeme (today northeastern Latvia),[23] as well as linking the Latvian deity Mara to the Christian Virgin Mary.[24]

The Earliest Catholic Literature in Latvian

The oldest extant Catholic book in Latvian dates back to the year 1585. It is the Latvian translation of the Catholic Catechism of Petrus Canisius (1521-1597), prepared by the Jesuits and published in Vilnius under the title *CATECHISMVS Catholicorum: Iscige pammacischen / no thems Papreksche Galwe gabblems Christites macibes. Prexskan thems nemacigems vnd iounems bernems* ('Brief introduction to the Christian teachings for uninstructed and young children', 1585). All the texts, including the title page and introduction, in contrast to the first Latvian Protestant books from the same time, are only in Latvian. Not without reason, this edition is known as the first popular book in Latvian, which is well demonstrated by its wide circulation of 1002 copies. The students of the Jesuit college in Riga and children who were trained by missionaries in the countryside were involved in the distribution of it.[25]

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22   Strenga, 'Remembering', p. 94.
23   Biezais, *Dieva tēls* (first edition 1961).
24   Biezais, *Seno latviešu* (first edition 1955).
25   Trufanovs, 'Jēzus', p. 30.

If the publishers of the Catholic Catechism did not have in mind the Latvian reader, then, obviously, they were thinking of the Catholic priests, most of whom were Germans proficient in Latvian. The ties of these priests and missionaries with Latvians in the late Middle Ages and the Reformation era may have been closer than the ties between Protestant pastors and Latvian congregations at around the same time and even later; or else, since the second half of the seventeenth century, also between Catholic priests and Latvians. As is known, the title page, introduction, and table of contents in the first editions of Protestant spiritual literature are in German, and a gradual transition to the use of the Latvian language happens only at the end of the seventeenth century thanks to the state centralization policy implemented by the Swedish king under the rule of the Lutheran Church.

One of the possible translators of Canisius's Catechism was a Prussian-born missionary priest, Ertmann Tolgsdorf (1550-1620). He is associated with the renewal of the old medieval Christian singing tradition in Protestant Riga during the time of the Counter-Reformation in the late sixteenth century. Tolgsdorf's obituary relates that he was a composer of hymns and antiphons, which he disseminated among the Latvian people and taught to Latvian boys. The Church historian Staņislavs Kučinskis indicates that Tolgsdorf may have used Christian hymns that were known to Latvians from pre-Reformation times.[26]

Georgius Elger's Catholic Hymnal (1621) – A Possible Witness to Counter- and pre-Reformation Spiritual Songs in Latvian

As mentioned above, the oldest Catholic hymnal in Latvian was published in Braunsberg in 1621. Unfortunately, the only surviving copy is not complete; the book breaks off at page 206 and the last, ninety-sixth hymn is missing its final part. The title page is in German and the book has no introduction. Of the 96 hymns 80 are published with tunes; many of them are rhythmic, in a near tonic verse system, and are consistent not only with the sixteenth century, but also with the pre-Reformation German spiritual song context; 29 also contain rhyme. The title of the book points to it being a joint project by several authors and translators: *Geistliche Catholische Gesänge / von guthertzigen Christen* ('Catholic Spiritual Songs translated from Latin, German, and Polish psalms by good-natured Christians').

It is not impossible that Georgius Elger published the texts of Catholic hymns that existed only in manuscript or even in oral form. He may well

26   Kučinskis, 'Sirmais kungs', p. 64.

also have published the texts produced by his colleague, the priest Ertmann Tolgsdorf, with whom he had been working in Riga since 1615. It is indirectly proved by linguistic research; the songs are not recorded uniformly: some of them show traces of the Finnic language of the so-called Gauja Livs, living on the banks of the Gauja river, others the characteristics of the middle dialect, spoken around Riga.[27]

In terms of structural composition the book is reminiscent of an anthology. Even though there is a tendency to publish hymns in thematic cycles, there are no separate chapters. In this edition, the top of the page traditionally bearing the name of the chapter reads 'Garrige dzesme' ('spiritual song'). As regards the contents of the collection, its second edition from the year 1673 no longer includes the eighteen presumably oldest songs, namely the old Latin songs and a couple of translations from German, as well as four texts for which only a Latvian title is indicated. Some of the texts excluded from the second edition tell the story of Christ's sufferings and death on the cross, and the Resurrection, as well as the Ascension. Hence, these are related to Church festivals when Christians tended to sing in the vernacular. Some of the hymns are catechetical songs – they explain the essence of the Holy Trinity, the Creed, and the Commandments, such as for instance, the translation of the Nicene Creed. Five hymns are accompanied by a longer comment in Latvian with an indication of when a particular hymn is to be sung.

Elger's hymnal offers elements representative of the Latvian language and folk culture. Firstly, as the literary scholar Benjamiņš Jēgers has already noted, there are frequently used diminutives such as *bärninx* ('dear baby'), *järinie* ('tiny lambs'), *sillyt* ('little manger'), *putninie* ('little birds'), which one can also find in several German originals, as well as others such as *lioutinie* ('dear folks'), *pratinx* ('dear mind'), *engeliße* ('dear angels') typical only of Latvian texts.[28]

Secondly, it is the reduplication or the repetition of words based on the same stem next to each other in one song, written in a form of 49 Sapphic stanzas,[29] as for instance, *krimten krims* ('flogging flog'), *dräbben dräbbes* ('quavering quaver'), *dädzin däg* ('burning burn'). Thirdly, a couple of songs unexpectedly introduce daily occurrences, such as: 'Ar labbems drougems pe lab als malk /Tur grib es precix vnd lustix but /Grib dzedat / springät / vnd

27   Karulis, 'Vēl par Elgera', p. 22.
28   Jēgers, 'Einige Bemerkungen', pp. 81-2.
29   'Wene dzesme no tems czettrems päedigems letems' ('A song about the four last things'; although there exists such a theme in Catholic hymnals, an adequate German or Latin original has not been found), in Elger, *Geistliche Catholische Gesänge*, pp. 180-9.

dancot /Ley notek kas bus notykt' ('With good friends by a good beer there I want to be happy and merry, come what may')[30] or 'nä pallydzäs zält nedz syddrab./ Syddrabe sakte / grädzen wyrsu pirstems /Zältänne mate/ sarkans wayx no nawes /Teuw nä atpestys' ('else silver brooches, rings on the fingers, golden hair, and red face will not save you from death').[31] Finally, a number of songs use the refrains *eia, eya*, which are also found in German Catholic songs, and typical refrains of Latvian folk songs, like 'źuźu / źuźu źuźu'[32] and 'ligo ligo'.

The musicologist Ilze Šarkovska-Liepiņa characterizes these Elger songs as follows:

> A particularly long-standing tradition of two Christmas chants, named children's songs, which contain elements typical of folklore, including refrain *žū-žu* and *līgo* [...] the two songs could not get into Elger's collection other than by having an old, rooted, singing tradition; they must have been played often and been quite popular.[33]

Both of these children's songs mentioned by Liepiņa could be of older origin. One of these has a reference to the Latvian *Citte bärne dʒesme* ('Another children's song') with the title in Latin *Pueri natiuitas* ('The birth of the boy'), but neither in terms of tunes or text has a direct counterpart among Latin or German Catholic hymns been found.

Mums ir wéns bärnins dzimdenats	We have one child born
Maria ir ta skysta mate	Mary is the virgin mother
Wene Jumprouw ir Déwe däle dzimdenaius	One maiden has given birth to the Son of God
Précatês iûs bärninie ar lyxme dzédaßen	Rejoice you dear children with joyful singing
Ligo/ ligo bärnins ligo ligo bärnins ar lyxme dzedaßen.[34]	Ligo, Ligo baby
	Ligo, Ligo baby with joyful singing.

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30   'Wene dzesme no to garrige karie starpan mese und dwäsel' ('A song about a spiritual war between flesh and soul'), in Elger, *Geistliche Catholische Gesänge*, p. 176.

31   note – error in endnote numbers, no. 31 missing

32   Medieval German lullabies have 'susa ninne, suse liebe Ninne, suse ninne suse', later on converted to 'su-su, ni-na', in Gerstner-Hirzel, 'Das Kinderlied', p. 925.

33   Liepiņa, *Mūzikas kultūra*, pp. 46-7.

34   Elger, *Geistliche Catholische Gesänge*, pp. 23-5.

This song could be sung with children rocking a doll at the altar – a token of Infant Jesus, which is supported by the refrain *ligo,* meaning 'to rock', 'to swing', 'to sway', as well as a rocking motion imitation that accompanies singing. As Haralds Biezais maintains, this tradition is mentioned in several sixteenth-century European sources; and, moreover, Biezais traces it to some Latvian folk songs as well:

Sit, eņģeli, kokles, / Lai iet Māra diet.	Play angel a psaltery, / May Mara dance.
Māra diet nevarēja, /Mārai Kristus klēpī utt.	Mara could not dance/ Mara had Christ in her lap,
Liec to Kristu šūpulī, Lai šūpo eņģelīši.	Put Christ in the cradle, may angels rock him.
Zuzu, Kristiņ, zuzu, / Zuzu, Māŗas dēliņ.[35]	Zuzu, Christ, zuzu, / Zuzu Mara's son.

Another song called *Wena bärne dzesme / En Trinitatis speculum* ('Children's song / Mirror of Holy Trinity') could be translated directly from an old Latin song (Elger's hymnal gives only the Latvian and Latin title) or it could be a free translation of the German Catholic song *Der Spiegel der Dreyfältigkeit* ('The mirror of the Holy Trinity'). At least in the mid-sixteenth century it was performed in German. In comparison to the German text, the Latvian song was subjected to content changes, but the same rhythm and rhyme scheme were maintained. Elger's song was published with the same German tune.[36] Instead of the Holy Trinity, the Latvian translation mentions the birth of Jesus. Elger's choice might have been well-motivated. Katheleen Palti, in her study of Middle English lullabies, points to lullabies relating Mary's conversation with the Christ Child, which is supplemented by cradling English words, such as 'Lollai, lollai, litel child, whi wepistou so sore' (Lullay, lullay, little child, why weepest thou so sore?').[37] She characterizes lullabies as a genre of medieval poetry which bears witness to the mix of Christian doctrine and folk culture: 'Examination of the lullabies reveals the ways in which literary and musical culture, Latin and vernacular texts, and the scholarly and popular overlap in medieval lyrics'.[38]

35 Biezais, *Seno latviešu*, p. 89.
36 Bäumker, *Das katholische*, vol. I, p. 337.
37 Palti, 'Singing Women', pp. 361-2.
38 Palti, 'Singing Women', p. 361.

It is striking that in both Latvian children's songs, which can also be sung like lullabies, the reference to the episode with Mary and her child is preserved, and both are complemented by the cradling words typical of Latvian folk songs, *eia* and *žužu*. To wit, *Wena bärne dzesme* and the presumable German original, *Der Spiegel der Dreyfältigkeit*:

Jesu pedzimßen yt ka soul	Jesus's birth is like the sun
Abgaysmo ßo tumse passoul	It enlightens this dark world
Eia mylie bärninie	Eia, dear children,
dzēdam lydz ar	let's sing along with
Engelems ar lyxmybe /	Angels with joy
ar lyxmybe tam bärniniam	With joy for a child in his
kas sillyte gulle /	Manger who sleeps
žužu žužu bärnis /	žužu baby
žužu žužu bärnins.[39]	žužu baby.
Der Spiegel der Dreifaltigkeit,	The mirror of the Trinity
Erleuchtet der Welt Finsterkeit,	Lights up the darkness of the world,
Eia lieben Christenheit,	Eia, dear Christian world,
Mit lobgesang bistu bereit,	With songs of praise you are ready
Mit innigkeit,	With ardour,
Mit fröligkeit,	With affection
Dem Kindlein in der ewigkeit,	For the Child to eternity,
Sussa liebe Nenna,	Sussa, dear dearest,
Sussa liebe Nenna.[40]	Sussa, dear dearest.

As one can see, Latvian *žužu* is much like German *sussa*, also Dutch *sus, sus*, Low German *tus, tus*, and Danish *tys*, common to many nations when rocking a baby to sleep. German *Nenna* ('dearest') appears in Latvian simply as *bärnins* or *bērniņš* ('baby').[41] Later, in the lullabies published in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century hymnals, one may explicitly see the ties with the folk culture. Two examples: the first Latvian Lutheran lullaby that appeared before 1685 and is known under the title *Behrniņ mihļais, Deewa stahdihts* ('Dear Child, God-given'), could be of Latvian origin, written by

39   Elger, *Geistliche Catholische Gesänge*, pp. 21-3.
40   Kehrein, *Katholische Kirchenlieder*, vol. I, p. 256.
41   Kehrein, *Katholische Kirchenlieder*, vol. I, p. 256.

a German, Christopher Fürecker (*c.* 1615-1685) from Curonia.[42] It not only displays the diminutives, but also the metric form typical of Latvian folk songs. It is already referred to by Johann Wischmann in his Latvian poetics: 'Fürecker's lullaby is decent, rhymed / but is based on the natural metre the Latvians find most comfortable.'[43]

The second example: a little more than a hundred years later, in 1789, the pastor Gotthard Friedrich Stender (1714-1796) from Curonia published his Latvian song *Žūžū, bērniņ, pūpo!* ('Zuzu, baby, pupo'). It is close to the metrical Latvian folk songs and makes use of the familiar refrains *eijā* and *žūžo,* as well as *paleijā* and *pūpo*:

Schuschu, Behrniņ, puhpo! / Meega-Mahmiņ, schuhpo	Žūžū, child, pūpo! / Mum is rocking you,
Mannu masu eņģeli, / Aztiņas eemidsini.	My little angel, close your eyes!
Eija palleija:,:	Eijā, paleijā …
Dascha mahte skraida, Zeema puischus gaida,	Some mothers are running around, Waiting for village lads;
Grohsahs, aismirst behrniņus – / Bet pee tewim mahte duss.	They swivel and forget little children, But at your side mother is lying.
Eija palleija:,:	Eija paleijā …[44]

Stender's song has become a part of folklore and can be found on the Internet without any reference to its author.[45]

In the second half of the seventeenth century, Protestantism was winning over northern Latvia and Curonia, while Catholicism was strengthening its position in the Polish-Lithuanian empire, and the Jesuits moved to Infflantia. A new generation of Jesuits, however, most of whom were Poles, showed little interest in the indigenous population, and thus the distance between Catholic priests and the common people grew. As the priest Andris Priede aptly indicated, the second edition of Georgius Elger's hymnal (1673),[46] published posthumously, 'confirms the Council of Trent's

42 *Latwiska Dseesmu Grahmata*, no. 457.

43 Wischmann, *Der Unteutsche*, p. 37: 'Herrn Füreckers Wiegen-Lied ist artig/ doch in Reimen/ auff dieses natürliche METRUM gegründet/welches den Letten am beqvemsten ist.'

44 [Stender], 'Schuhpuļa dseesma', pp. 55-6.

45 http://www.pasakas.net/muzika/supuldziesmas/e/ee-apa/?viewVideo=1; it is a part of the repertoire of a modern Latvian folk group *Saucējas* ('The Voices') as well.

46 *CANTIONES Spirituales ex Latinis*.

Latin rite unification tendencies in the Church, while the first collection that reflected the spiritual life of pre-Reformation Livonia's indigenous inhabitants was more "Catholic", in that it was more open to sustaining a wide range of country-specific characteristics of religious heritage'.[47]

Firstly, the Latvian Catholic hymnal of 1673 no longer kept any explanatory texts in Latvian to accompany hymn titles; secondly, German, Polish, and Latin titles prove all the hymns to be translations; thirdly, the collection is divided into sections, no notation being provided; fourthly, the number of diminutives is lower and the mention of daily elements is adjusted (no mention of beer drinking, or feminine bracelets and rings); fifthly, the use of Latvian refrain is minimized and refrains such as *žu žu* disappear altogether. Apparently, at the time, the users of this book needed the Latvian language only during the Mass, so it was important to have basic competence in Polish, German, or Latin – something Catholic priests were mostly comfortable with, but a practice which was alien to the spiritual world of the Latvians.

The Ostensible Catholic Origin of the Earliest Known Latvian Lutheran Hymn (1530)

The introduction to the earliest Latvian Catholic songs might be concluded by yet another indirect piece of evidence – the aforementioned hymn about the Ten Commandments of the Protestant priest Nicolaus Ramm (d. 1532), *No ßirdes dubben buus töw titczet* ('You must believe from the bottom of your heart'). It has the German title *Die Heiligen Zehn Gebot Gottes* ('The Ten Commandments') and the year of publication, 1530. The hymn is published in the Lutheran hymnal for the Latvians of Riga from 1615. The hymn's content suits the expectations of both an old Catholic and new Protestant catechetical hymn. The linguist Pēteris Vanags maintains that this hymn might be either written by Ramm or recorded by him for the first time.[48] In comparison with the early Latvian version of the similar hymn by Martin Luther,[49] Ramm's text is rhythmic and has simple rhyme, occasionally also alliteration. To illustrate the argument, the first stanza is given below: stressed syllables have accents, rhyming syllables are underlined, and alliteration is in bold:

47 Priede, 'Daugavpils', p. 294.
48 Vanags, *Luterāņu*, p. 184.
49 'D.Mart.Luth. Dis sind die heiligen zehen Gebot. Sche gir te sweete desmitte Boußle', in *Undeudsche PSalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 35.

No ßírdes dúbben búus töw títcz<u>et</u>	You will have to believe with your whole heart
Únde Déwam wénam kálp<u>öth</u>	And serve only one God,
Ta Góde búus töw pírmack méckl<u>eth vnd</u>	You will have to search for honour and
ta **w**árde **w**élt népemínn<u>et</u>	not use his word in vain.
Swéetäs **d**énäs **D**éwe **w**árde **w**álk<u>öth</u>	On holy days have on (to use?) the name of God,
ta búus töw töúwam Déwam kálp<u>oth</u>.[50]	Thus will you have to serve your God.

The unexpected rhythmic structure of the hymn, which distinguishes it from the rest of the texts in this collection, prompted the literary critic Kārlis Kārkliņš, while studying the origins of tonic versification in Latvian poetry, to start his analysis precisely with this text, referring to the similarity of its formal characteristics to German medieval poetry.[51] The latter is characterized by alliteration falling on accented syllables. In Ramm's hymn the deliberate use of alliteration is relative, and the sound pattern is formed by the repetition of the initial letters in common words, yet the end rhymes resulting from the metric structure with four accents and occasionally used identical word forms at the end of a line make it similar to Elger's Catholic songs, described above. A Riga-born Protestant, Nicolaus Ramm started his activities at the end of the fifteenth century as a Catholic, working in St. Augustine's nunnery in Limbaži (Ger. Lemsal). From 1524 he served in Riga and became a minister of the first Latvian Protestant congregation at St. Jacob's church, which, as already mentioned, was created by the Latvians, former Catholics, using their religious experience and heritage. Moreover, this catechetical hymn might have been known to the Latvians before the Reformation. This hymn about the Ten Commandments, as the earliest hymn sung by the new Protestant congregation, is included in the Lutheran hymnal under the aegis of the first minister, Nicolaus Ramm. After the second half of the seventeenth century, it was no longer found in the Latvian Protestant hymnal.

50 *Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 64.
51 Kārkliņš, *Tīri toniskais*.

The Genesis of Latvian Lutheran Songs in the Sixteenth Century

Content-wise, the Latvian Lutheran hymnal grew from the German hymnal of Riga.[52] Not only were the texts of Latvian hymns translated, but the layout of the book was copied as well. While gradually supplemented by hymns from other sources, the Latvian hymnal did not sever its ties with the German hymnal of Riga in the seventeenth century.[53]

In the mid-sixteenth century Protestantism strengthened its position in the duchy of Curonia, a vassal of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The earliest extant Lutheran hymnal (1587)[54] was issued for the needs of the Latvian congregations of Curonia on the initiative of the duke of Curonia, Gotthard Kettler (r. 1561-1587). It contains 58 songs. The Church of the duchy of Curonia did not have its own German hymnal until the late seventeenth century[55] and the first edition of the hymnal (1587), mentioned above, was meant for the Latvians of the duchy of Curonia and was based on the German and Latvian hymnals of Riga. It is younger than the oldest extant Latvian hymnal of Riga from the year 1615, which in turn was the continuation of the work that had been initiated by the ministers of Riga in the early Reformation era.

The Latvian hymnal published in Riga in 1615[56] was the first printed book in the Latvian language in the territory of present-day Latvia.[57] It was not a hymnal in the traditional sense because it also included the agenda or the order of service with the necessary songs, the real hymnal only starting on page 40; hence it was rather a small hymn anthology. The book contains 150 hymns, and while most of these are translations from German, it also includes some from Latin. The 1615 hymnal reflects the history of the first Riga Latvian Protestant congregation of St. Jacob's church. There, according to the author, were placed nine translations prepared by a key figure of the Reformation in Riga, Andreas Knöpken (*c.* 1468-1539). In 1517, he was involved in the Latvian Porters' Guild as a member, and the guild may have contributed to the support of the Latvians of Riga for the Reformation. The other hymns bear witness to almost all the first ministers who served the

52   Published as a part of the Lutheran Agenda *Kurtz Ordnung des Kichendiensts.*
53   Vanags, *Luterāņu*, p. 44.
54   *Undeudsche Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge.*
55   The first German hymnal for Curonia, according to Carl Ehrig-Eggerts found in the University Library in Marburg, was published in Mitau (Latv. Jelgava) in 1695 (*Cuhrländisches vollständiges Gesang-Buch*).
56   *Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge.*
57   It was published in a printing-house founded in Riga in 1588 and owned by Nicolaus Mollyn.

Latvian congregation in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Thus the hymnal reflects both local German traditions and the traditions of German-speaking Europe of the Reformation era. It includes three hymns generally considered the nucleus of Protestantism: *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* ('A mighty fortress is our God', 'WEna stippra Pils gir muso Dews'[58] in Latvian), *Aus tieffer Noth schrei ich zu dir* ('From deep affliction I cry out to You', 'No lele czillum bedams bredcz es py töw'[59]) and *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort* ('Maintain us, Lord, within thy Word', 'PAttur mums Kunx py touwe wårde'[60]). It also includes the so-called Lutheran catechetical songs, texts including the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the two major sacraments (baptism and holy communion).

The Latvian hymnal from 1615 allows us to keep track of German Protestant hymn history, starting with the earliest, clear, and simple hymns that were created during the Reformation to the later, more subjective, expressive, varied texts, which, especially in the new morning and evening hymn sections, ascribed a relatively large role to nature allegories. In this sense, the Latvian hymnal from Riga may also be regarded as one of the first clear examples of German-Latvian cultural transfer. The Latin titles accompanying the texts as well as the translations of Latin hymns and medieval spiritual songs in the earliest Latvian Lutheran hymnal show the age-inherent closeness to the Catholic cult. Protestant public worship develops from Catholic Masses, as the songs of Martin Luther develop from the Psalms and the old Catholic hymns. Therefore, the first Protestant books are not free of the effects of Catholic worship, just as Catholic texts are influenced by Protestant ideas. These mutual influences can be well-observed when comparing the Catholic hymnal for the Latvians prepared by Georgius Elger and the first two Latvian-language Lutheran hymnals from 1615 and 1587.

The Earliest Catholic and Lutheran Hymns in Latvian: A Comparison

All three books share a little more than twenty common reference texts in Latin and German (in the 1615 edition and Elger's collection these are 26;

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58   *Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 74a.
59   *Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 80a.
60   *Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 69a.

in the 1587 Latvian collection from Curonia six of these are not included).[61] The local unity of all three collections is well-represented by the so-called Riga version of *Te Deum laudamus*, the German translation from Riga, which appears to be of old, German, Christian origin (it is ascribed to the eighth century).[62]

Twenty-five of the shared hymns are, by and large, closely related to medieval hymns, antiphons, and sequences, which is no surprise as these were a major source for Protestant spiritual songs. Only one hymn is of a relatively later origin, *Da Jesus an dem Kreutze stund* ('When on the cross the Saviour hung', in Latvian 'Kad Jesus pe to krust stawäie',[63] or 'Kad JEsus py tho Kruste stawey'[64]), created by a German songwriter, mathematician, and Judaicist, the Protestant Johann Böschenstein (1472-1540) during the first half of the sixteenth century.

About half of those songs had been reworked, supplemented, paraphrased, or translated from Latin to German by Martin Luther. Textual similarities of the Catholic hymns in Latvian to some of these songs and to Elger's collection, published later, led literary historians to assume that the Catholics borrowed from the Lutherans. However, the comparison does not prove textual correspondence. Parts of the hymns or individual stanzas are similar, but we should consider also their common source (German or Latin) and common tools (the Latvian language of the time).

61   German or Latin titles are followed by the year of issue of each hymnal and the page number: 1. *A Solis ortu cardine* (1587, p. 27; 1615, p. 33; 1621, p. 36); 2. *Ad coenam agni* (1587, p. 28; 1615, p. 36; 1621, p. 105); 3. *Agnus Dei* (1587, p. 15; 1615, p. 18; 1621, p. 142); 4. *Christ ist erstanden* (1615, p. 52; 1621, p. 90); 5. *Christe qui lux es et dies* (1587, p. 29; 1615, p. 94: 1621, p. 170); 6. *Da Jesus an dem Creutze stund* (1615, p. 50; 1621, p. 68); 7. *Da pacem Domine* (1587, p. 40; 1615, p. 83; 1621, p. 169); 8. *Das Magnificat* (1587, p. 29; 1615, p. 40; 1621, p. 197); 9. *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* (1587, p. 31; 1615, p. 40; 1621, p. 18); 10. *Gelobet seystu Jesu Christ* (1587, p. 31; 1615, p. 41; 1621, p. 38); 11. *Gott der Vatter wohn vns bey* (1587, p. 40; 1615, p. 68; 1621, p. 118); 12. *Gott sey gelobet vnd* (1587, p. 16a; 1615, p. 20a; 1621, p. 140); 13. *Grates nunc omnes* (1587, p. 11; 1615, p. 46b; 1621, p. 38); 14. *In dulci iubilo* (1615, p. 42; 1621, p. 35); 15. *Jesus Christus unser Heyland* (1587, p. 33; 1615, p. 19; 1621, p. 142); 16. *Kom H. Geist* (1587, p. 1; 1615, p. 1; 1621, p. 111); 17. *Kyrie eleyson* (1587, pp. 19-20; 1615, pp. 24-5; 1621, pp. 189-94); 18. *Mitten wir im leben sein* (1587, p. 45; 1615, p. 98; 1621, p. 178); 19. *Nun bitten wir der H. Geist* (1587, p. 24; 1615, p. 29; 1621, p. 110); 20. *O lux beata Trinitas* (1587, pp. 28-9; 1615, p. 38; 1621, p. 123); 21. *Puer natus est in Bethlehem* (1615, p. 42; 1621, p. 32); 22. *Te Deum laudamus* (1587, pp. 3-5; 1615, pp. 5-6; 1621, p. 198); 23. *Veni Creator Spiritus* (1587, p. 50; 1615, p. 38; 1621, p. 113); 24. *Veni redemptor gentium* (1587, pp. 26-7; 1615, p. 33; 1621, p. 1); 25. *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (1615, p. 65; 1621, p. 109); 26. *Victimae Paschali* (1615, p. 51; 1621, p. 86).

62   Kehrein, *Katholische Kirchenlieder*, vol. 1, p. 572-3.

63   Elger, *Geistliche Catholische Gesänge*, pp. 68-70.

64   *Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 50b.

Several Catholic hymns also explicitly distanced themselves from Lu-ther's text, for example translating only the oldest part of the text with no supplements from Luther,[65] or ignoring the Protestant ideological change: at least two hymns kept prayers to Virgin Mary,[66] which had not been present in Lutheran hymns. Thirdly, secular elements were not included, such as the litany *Kyrie eleyson* where Lutherans pray for the kings and rulers of the earth – there is no such episode in the Latvian Catholic text.

The comparison of hymnals in terms of forms of expression leads to the conclusion mentioned above: the hymns included in Elger's hymnal were generally more expressive and closer to the regular Latvian language; also visually, many texts were published in stanzas. Protestant hymns share a direct translation into prose. Only one of the 26 shared hymns in the 1615 Lutheran collection from Riga was published in stanzas.[67]

A close tracking of reference texts in Lutheran hymns is proved by the use of diminutives, which are always precisely aligned with the German original as, for example, in the Lutheran and Catholic Christmas hymn *Puer natus est in Bethlehem* ('A Child is born in Bethlehem'), which mentions manger, bull, and donkey in the diminutive forms because all three are also found in the German source text.[68] Latvian Catholic hymns have a higher rate of diminutives and they do not seem to be so closely tied to the source; for instance, the translation of the litany *Kyrie eleyson* included in Elger's collection mentions *iärinx* ('dear lamb') three times, whereas the German text has no diminutives and neither are these found in any of the Latvian translations of Lutheran hymns.[69]

The texts produced by Lutheran pastors display a much more pronounced so-called Latvian hybrid language: the Latvian written language created by German priests on the basis of the German language; the claim is supported by German-like syntax and translation of articles preceding and modifying

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65   For example, in *Kom H. Geist,* Catholics have one stanza and Lutherans three stanzas; in *Mitten wir in Leben sein,* Catholics have one stanza and Lutherans three stanzas, etc.

66   The hymns *Gott der Vater wohn vns bey* (*Geistliche Catholische Gesänge*, p. 118; *Undeudsche Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 40; *Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 69); and Gelobet seystu Jesu Christ (*Geistliche Catholische Gesänge*, p. 38; *Undeudsche Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 31; *Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 41).

67   This is the hymn *Nun bitten wir der H.Geist / NU ludßam meeß tho sweete Garre* (*Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 29).

68   Compare both Latvian translations of Lutheran hymns and their German original in Vanags, *Luterāņu*, p. 290 and *Geistliche Catholische Gesänge*, p. 32.

69   Compare both Latvian translations of Lutheran hymns and their German original in Vanags, *Luterāņu*, p. 151 and *Geistliche Catholische Gesänge*, pp. 189-94.

nouns as demonstrative pronouns. The latter feature is not altogether absent in Catholic texts either.

And finally, twelve of those 26 hymns in Catholic hymnals are published in stanzas[70] and these hymns are clearly rhythmic. Six of them have rhymes;[71] occasionally also the endings of some words were omitted in order to accommodate the rhythmic structure of the formal strains or rhyme. Those aspects make one think of Elger's Latvian roots, and his expertise and studies of poetics, or of the initial stabilization stage of those songs in oral tradition. For the present it remains only a hypothesis.

Alternation of References to Christian and Folk Culture in Seventeenth-century Lutheran Hymns in Latvian

Mutual exposure and accommodation between Catholic clergy and the Latvians ended with the Protestant consolidation of the duchy of Curonia and Swedish-ruled parts of Livonia (today's northern Latvia). Jesuits, moving away to the remote Polish-Lithuanian province of Infflantia, faced other linguistic traditions, and because of the Upper Latvian dialect spoken there, the old Latvian Catholic texts proved to be of no use.

However, the new German Protestant Church did not maintain intimacy with Latvians. A new hymn tradition that first and foremost respected the German sources was evolving. The Baroque translation tradition recognized a free, target-oriented translation.[72] The new spirit presupposes a process of domestication, in which the foreign text is imprinted with values specific to the target-language culture. The textual depiction of elements of Latvian popular culture in the seventeenth century is associated with the research in Latvian linguistics and poetical games typical of the Baroque period. German interest in the Latvian language grows out of daily necessity; with the consolidation of Protestantism the Church services were to be administered in Latvian, but a new generation of Lutheran pastors were

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70   *A Solis ortu cardine* (*Geistliche Catholische Gesänge*, p. 36); *Ad coenam agni* (ibid., p. 105); *Christ ist erstanden* (ibid., p. 90); *Christe qui lux es et dies* (ibid., p. 170); *Da Jesus an dem Creutze stund* (ibid., p. 68); *Das Magnificat* (ibid., p. 197); *Gelobet seystu Jesu Christ* (ibid., p. 38); *Jesus Christus unser Heyland* (ibid., p. 142); *Nun bitten wir den H. Geist* (ibid., p. 110); *O lux beata Trinitas* (ibid., p. 123); *Veni creator Spiritus* (ibid., p. 113); *Veni redemptor gentium* (ibid., p. 1).

71   *Ad coenam agni* (*Geistliche Catholische Gesänge*, p. 105); *Christe qui lux et dies* (ibid., p. 170); *Jesus Christus unser Heyland* (ibid., p. 142); *O lux beata Trinitas* (ibid., p. 123); *Veni creator Spiritus* (ibid., p. 113); *Veni redemptor gentium* (ibid., p. 1).

72   Venuti, *The Translator's*, p. 50.

often newcomers or educated in Germany and thus, with some exceptions, strangers to the Latvian environment.

The first German-Latvian dictionary was published in 1638.[73] The publication of a Latvian grammar and a collection of lexical material attested to the study of the Latvian language during the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century.[74] It is no coincidence that the German pastors who had been working with these linguistic materials were also the most outstanding creators of Latvian-language texts.

The changes in Latvian hymn translations compared to German source texts reveal the ubiquitous presence of Latvian popular culture, firstly in terms of idioms and synonymy, as well as cultural realia (nature, landscape, and domestic elements), and secondly in terms of sound effects, the presence of which is stimulated by a common European Baroque tradition, as well as the locally important study of Latvian folklore.

Idioms and Cultural Realia

In the seventeenth century significant changes took place in German poetry; its rhythm was adjusted to the natural word accent, while the expression obtained a magnificent Baroque-like diversity. During the last decades the Germans brought these features into the Latvian translations, while the number of translated hymns exceeded 400 by the year 1696.[75] It appears that for some pastors the Latvian language had become an exciting pastime. Striking examples can be found among the hymns translated by Liborius Depkin (1652-1708), a pastor and a brilliant lexicographer in one.[76] From 1681 he worked as a pastor in Limbaži, 'in such a place in the countryside, where the Latvian language so to speak belongs to the home, where it is promoted to serve the Church'.[77] In 1690 he moved to Riga. He translated only eighteen hymns into Latvian. While in terms of style they

73   Mancelius, *Lettus*.
74   Depkin, *Vortrab*; Adolphi, 'Dem Durchläuchtigsten'; Christopher Fürecker's dictionary was not printed until the publication of *Fürecker's Dictionary: First and Second Manuscripts* in 1997-1998.
75   *Lettisches Geistliches Gesang* included all 404 then-existing Lutheran hymns in Latvian.
76   Depkin, *Vortrab*; the entire work was published in Riga in the early 2000s (Depkin, *Lettisches Wörterbuch*).
77   'An einem solchen Ort im Lande, da die Lettische Sprache so zu reden zu Hause gehöret, zum Pfarr-Dienste befordert.' Depkin, *Lettisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1, p. 4.

are simple and at times even awkward, they show Depkin to have been an exceptional linguist. In terms of vocabulary his translations go far beyond the boundaries it sets, as he uses typical Latvian idioms and pays special attention to nature. The eighteen hymns mention seven types of birds by name, as well as 'a bird' in general. In translating Paul Gerhard's Christmas hymn *Ich steh an deiner Krippen hier* ('Beside the cradle here I stand'), his fantasies go beyond Gerhard's reflections on how to adorn Jesus's manger.

Zur seiten wil ich hier und dar	I wish to have besides
Viel weisser **liljen** stekken /	Many a white lily here and there
Die sollen seiner äuglein paar	To gently cover
Im schlafe sanft bedecken;	his two eyes in his sleep,
Doch liebt vielmehr das **dürre gras**	but this child loves far more
Dis kindelein / als alles das /	the dry grass, more than anything
Was ich hie nenn und denkke.[78]	I mention or think of.
Es **Besdeligas-Aztiņas,**	I'll take bird's-eye primroses,
Es ņemschohs **Seemas-Zeeschus** /	I'll take perennials,
Wehschohkļus/ Gaila-paslawas /	Lily of the valley, primroses,
Silgalwas / **Saules-Weeschus** /	Knapweed, mullein.
Ir zittas Puķķes lassischu:	There are other flowers to pick,
Ko sin ar Tevim patihktu	What I know is that you'd love
Ar tahdahm Tewi godaht.[79]	Me to honour you so.

A contemporary of Depkin, Christopher Fürecker, offers one of the lexically most interesting examples of skill and mastery with his aphoristic, twenty-four-stanza-long translation of an anonymous hymn *Güldene ABZ oder Allein auf Gott setz dein Vertraun* ('Golden ABC, or In God alone put your trust'),[80] where he uses a number of Latvian idioms, but also at least fourteen different connotative synonyms and antonyms of the verb *to speak*. And these are only some examples from Latvian Lutheran hymnals of the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries.

78 *Neu Vermehrtes Rigisches Gesang und Gebätbuch*, pp. 22-3
79 *Latwiska Dseesmu Grahmata*, p. 37.
80 *Lettische Geistliche Lieder und Collecten*, pp. 134-6.

Sound Effects: Baroque Poetry and Latvian Folklore

The Latvian language and its spiritual world are characterized by sound effects, or alliteration and related duplication or repetition of the same word stems standing next to each other. In this respect, the Lutheran hymns followed the Catholic tradition of Georgius Elger's hymnal. But sound effects were fairly common in European Baroque poetry as well. German pastors as translators used alliterations to link concepts, and thus sound complemented musicality and even content. The texts seem to follow the guidelines offered in German poetics of the time. On the other hand, sound effects are widely used not only in the everyday Latvian language but also in Latvian folklore. Studies of such sonic effects as initial alliteration, internal alliteration, and final alliteration in Latvian folk songs are unfortunately under-represented in Latvian folklore research.[81] Latvian folk songs, though of a much older origin, were systematically collected and written down only in the nineteenth century. Supposedly, the influence of Lutheran hymns from the seventeenth century onwards and the impact of translated German popular songs from the eighteenth century onwards (both sung by Latvians) caused Latvian folk songs to undergo a transformation and gradually take on a syllabic accentual versification system. These changes may also have influenced the sonic quality of folk songs, as they do not show the use of alliteration as a means to metrical composition any more. According to Janīna Kursīte,[82] there are only a few Latvian folk songs with initial alliteration. The alliteration lacks regularity; moreover, it is often associated with assonance and repetition of syllables, as well as reduplication:

Grieze **grież rudz**īšos, / **Paipaliņa papar**dēs; **Grie**ze **grie**ž tī**rus rudz**us,/ **Paipaliņa papar**dītes	Corncrake rasps kerrx-kerrx in the rye/ Quail in ferns Corncrake cuts true rye/ Quail ferns[83]

Kursīte has discussed the anagrammatic function of alliteration in Latvian folk songs. Contrary to poems including anagrams, the explanation of which

81 Bērziņš, *Ievads latviešu*.
82 Kursīte, 'Aliterācija', pp. 33-46.
83 On-line database of Latvian folksongs: http://dainuskapis.lv/meklet/Grieze-grie%C5%BE%20rudz%C4%AB%C5%A1os, no.24820.

rests in the title of the poem but the key word itself is to be found in the syllables or particular letter arrangements, the key word in Latvian folk songs is usually named and located in the first line, its sounds scattered throughout the whole stanza:

Dievs man **d**eva **l**abus **l**inus, / **L**inim **l**abas pakuliņas;	God gave me good flax / Flax has good tow,
Dievs man **d**eva gu**d**ru vīru, / **V**īram gu**d**ru pa**d**omiņu.	God gave me a good husband, / And a clever mind to the husband.[84]

These texts are scarce and quite frequently (though perhaps not regularly) play on the name of God and mythological deities, such as the principal Latvian female deity, Laima. This may refer to the magic function of songs and reinforce it.

Sound Effects and Diminutives: The Hymns of Christopher Fürecker and his Followers

The major figure of seventeenth-century Latvian poetry, Christopher Fürecker, was born about 250 km from Riga into the family of a German-speaking Lutheran priest in the countryside. After his study of theology at Tartu University and supposedly also at Leiden [85] he returned to Curonia and apparently worked as a tutor while researching the Latvian language and versification. There he married a free widow of a rich Latvian peasant 'not with any underhand motive, but with the devout intention to master Latvian among Latvians, and thus to turn his skill to the benefit of the Latvian Church', as is noted in an eighteenth-century Baltic German history.[86] Thanks to Fürecker's texts, the foreword to the new hymnal published in 1685 introduced this book as 'a glorious hymnal metre, of which the like was never before seen in Latvian'.[87] Fürecker translated not only the

84   On-line database of Latvian folksongs http://dainuskapis.lv/meklet/deva-labus%20linus, no.28331-2.

85   Tering, *Lexikon*, no. 1896.

86   'Er heyratete in Doblehnschen eine bemittelte und freye Bauerwittwe, nicht aus Niederträchtigkeit, sondern in den frommen Absicht, unter den Letten selbst ihre Sprache vollkommen, zu erleren und sodannseine Geschichlichkeit zum Besten der Lettischen Kirche anzuwenden' (Tetsch, *Curländischer Kirchen-Geschichte*, p. 173).

87   'Ein herrliches Gesang-Buch Reim-weise verfertiget / deßgleichen noch nie in Lettischer Sprache gesehen worden' (Adolphi, 'Dem Durchläuchtigsten', without pagination).

hymns of his fellow seventeenth-century German poets, such as Johann Rist (1607-1667), Paul Gerhardt (1707-1776), Simon Dach (1605-1659), and others, but also turned his attention to the sixteenth-century hymns of Martin Luther and his contemporaries. His translations often surpass the source texts in terms of artistic value. They make use of widespread alliteration, which stems from the qualities of the Latvian language and Latvian folk songs and which is not always found either in sixteenth-century texts or in the first, source-oriented Latvian translations of the Reformation period.

Füreckers's interest in Latvian folklore[88] is confirmed by the extant manuscripts, supposedly written in his own hand, which include, for example, reduplications as part of folksongs or idioms in handwriting: 'Gan es malu maļamā / Vel pieberu beramā' ('I mill and mill / Pour more and pour more') and 'Nelaime nelaimes galā' ('One misfortune is usually followed by another').[89] He also described the character of Latvian singing traditions, as noted above (see note 7). Fürecker's texts show that the repetition of consonants also has semantic connotations. For example, the alliteration of the letter 'M' is used in songs that speak about *mums* and *mēs* ('us', 'we'), i.e. a man in his sinful everyday life. The consonant 'S' is associated with the words *saule* ('sun'), *spīd* ('shines'), *spožs* ('bright'), as well as *savas sāpes* ('their pain'), *savas slāpes* ('their thirst'); similarly the consonant 'K' represents the spiritual sphere: *Kristus* ('Christ'), *koks* ('piece of wood'), *krusts* ('cross'). By way of comparison, we may look at the example of Martin Luther's chorale *Christ lag in Todes Banden* ('Christ lay in death's bonds') in the original and Fürecker's translation:

Christ lag in todes banden / Für unser sund gegeben [...] Er ist selber die sone / Der durch seiner gnaden glantz /[90] Erleuchtet unser hertzen gantz.	Kungs Kristus nokauts tappa / Par mums pee Krusta-stabba [...] Jesus pats ta Saule spihd / Us mhsahm tumschahm Sirdim kriht.[91]	The Lord Christ died / For us on the cross [...] Jesus is the shining sun / His light shines on us.

88   Bērziņš, *Greznas dziesmas*, pp. 51-5.
89   Georgius Mancelius's dictionary *Lettus, das ist Wortbuch* (1638) with notes in Fürecker's handwriting is to be found at the Department of Handwritings and Rare Books of the Academic Library of the University of Latvia (inv. no. 16807, p. 75).
90   *Neu Vermehrtes Rigisches Gesang und Gebätbuch*, pp. 66-7.
91   *Lettische Geistliche Lieder und Collecten*, p. 52.

Fürecker also uses reduplication. An interesting example in this sense is the translation of the hymn about war, *In unser Krieges-Noht* ('During the misery of war'). There are seven verses, and Fürecker introduces euphonic effects into the four middle ones. Word plays consisting of words with the same root are placed now at the beginning, now at the end of lines:

Tee **Pulku Pulkeem** skreen; Tu tohs warr waldiht ween;	They run in rowdy crowds, / Only you can prevail over them;
Tee plehsch pa **Gallu Gallam** / Gribb tapt pa wissahm Mallahm [..]	They tear up and tear down, / Want to get high and low:
Tu / Kungs / muhs warri taupiht / Tohs **Laupitajus laupiht** [..].	You, Lord, can save us / To rob the robbers.
Tu / Deews / tohs warri baidiht / Tohs **Spaiditajus spaidiht** [..].	You, God, can frighten them, / To oppress the oppressors
Tohs **Mozihtajus mohziht** / Tohs **Plohsitajus plohsiht**.[92]	To torment the tormentors, / To lacerate the lacerators.

Being the first of such quality, Fürecker's hymns created a host of followers. For instance, another Lutheran pastor from Curonia, Bernhard Wilhelm Bienemann (d. 1732) translated verses using internal rhyme, alliteration, and assonance: e.g. the last line of the fifth verse of Gottfried Wilhelm Sacer's hymn *Ach! stirbt dann so mein Leben* ('Ah! My life will pass away') provides a good example of internal rhyme not to be found in the German original:

Ihr gräber brecht, ihr harten felsen, **splittert**. Du sonn, erblaß, ihr erden-klüffte **schüttert,** Du lufft, du meer, Du sternen heer, Klagt euren Herrn, ihr elementen **zittert**.[93]	Juhs Kappi **plihstat** / Akmini sa**schķihstat** / Behds Saule / Semme satrihz / Wiļļņi **rihstat;** sauc Gais, ak Grehks! Drebb Swaigsnu Spehks/ Kas sawu Kungu **bihstat** un **pasihstat**.[94]	You graves, break, hard rock splinter. Sun, run, earth quake, waves shake. You air, cry out, oh sin! You stars tremble, You who fear and know your Lord.

92 *Lettische Geistliche Lieder und Collecten*, p. 174.

93 *Neu-Vielvermehrtes Rigisches Gesang-Buch*, p. 90.

94 *Mesch – Muischas un Kukkuru Draudsu Dseesmu Grahmatiņņa kuŗŗâ Simts*, p. 21.

The Latvian Protestant hymns translated by Fürecker and his contemporaries (like the first Catholic hymns) use many diminutives. Sometimes with the help of diminutives or so-called caressing words Fürecker comes surprisingly close to the Latvian spiritual world. His use of *Dieviņš* ('Dear God') in Latvian hymns is a good case in point; the claim is also supported by Ludis Bērziņš: 'In German sacred poetry which in terms of content served as a model for Fürecker, no author uses the word in the diminutive form "Göttchen", nor do we find in Latin hymns, which Fürecker was not a stranger to, such examples'.[95]

In one of Fürecker's hymns appears *viņa saulīte* ('that sun') in the meaning of the afterlife or the world beyond the grave, typical of the Latvian mythological perception of the world:

Deews Kungs / dohd tawu Garru / Ka es / zeek mannidams /	The Lord our God / Give your Spirit / That I as I may
Pareisi dseedaht warru / No Debbes-Leetiņņahms /	Can sing properly / From heaven
Eeksch wiņņas Saulites / Kur man buhs dsihwoht Preekâ,	**In that Sun** / Where I shall live in joy
Kur man ne ruhps neneeka / Kur Deews man atspihdehs.[96]	Where I shall not worry / Where God shall shine on me.

The German source text *Herr Christ / thu mir verleyhen* ('The Lord our God, give your Spirit'), of course, has no mention of that. Hence, it should be acknowledged that the early modern Latvian Lutheran hymns (like the first Catholic hymns) are not imaginable without an element of popular culture, which is proven by choice of lexis, sound effects, and diminutives, as well as other rhythmic and structural characteristics.

Early Modern Reception of Protestant Hymns in the Latvian-speaking Lutheran Congregations

The question of the reception of the first Lutheran hymns in Latvian-speaking congregations (like the reception of the Catholic hymns in the pre-Reformation period) is resolvable only hypothetically. Joseph Herl has

95   Bērziņš, 'Kristofors Fürekers', pp. 44-5.
96   *Lettische Geistliche Lieder und Collecten*, p. 202.

indicated that in the German-speaking realm, hymnals reached members of the Church only in the second half of the seventeenth century owing to a low general education level.[97] However, the verse published in the second edition of the 1537 German Agenda from Riga already refers to the use of the German hymnal in German-speaking congregations, as well as congregational singing:

Geistlich sanckbuechlein man mich nent, /Zu Riga jn Lyfflandt wol kent, Da selb byn ich Christlicher gemein, / Zu dienst wan sy singen jn eynn Vnd sunderlich der lieben Jugent, / Sye sich vleyst Christlicher tugent.[98]	I am called the spiritual songbook, well known in Riga in Livonia, where I am in service to the Christian congregation when they sing in unity, and especially to the dear youth, / as they practise Christian virtue.

The idea that the residents of Riga were greater singers than those in other parts of the Protestant world, though potentially very exciting, remains purely hypothetical. At this time, pastors traditionally trained congregations in singing, and in towns schoolboys also used to help. As Herl maintains, during the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, German congregations sang on average six to eight songs; in very rare cases the number reached twelve.[99] The situation in Latvian rural parishes would have been even worse, or at best similar, as the pastors and congregations were separated by a language barrier. The position of a lead singer, according to the music historian Ieva Pavloviča,[100] was introduced in Livonian churches only in the second half of the seventeenth century. Yet one of the copies of the Latvian Lutheran hymnal from Riga (1615) indicates that the book had been used for singing, as the texts are accompanied by handwritten notes.[101] Unfortunately, this entry is not dated. Aleksejs Apīnis, a scholar of Latvian book history, argues that the 1615 hymnal was used in churches in the 1670s, and it was also in greater demand than the relatively newer editions.[102] This could be explained by the change in singing traditions at that time, as the old Catholic and even sixteenth-century Protestant hymns were sung by

97   Herl, *Worship Wars*.
98   Quoted after: Herl, *Worship Wars*, p. 103.
99   Herl, *Worship Wars*, pp. 104-6.
100 Pauloviča, 'Garīgā mūzika.
101 Today, the copy is preserved in the New York Public Library. For the notes, see *Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder oder Gesenge*, p. 59. Mikalauska [Mikalauskaite], 'Ieraksti'.
102 Apīnis, 'Pirmā latviski'.

the Gregorian method, which allowed for singing of prose texts too; and in most cases, the first Latvian translations of Lutheran hymns were of that particular quality – melodic rhythm was free, close to prose and with the rhythm of good Latin recitations, with no tactus arrangement. A single syllable could frequently be set against a separate music note or a note group.[103] This is also reflected in the notation found in the first two Lutheran hymnals.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the consolidated syllabotonic versification system brought changes to the singing tradition, as it introduced melodic, rhythmic forms close to the Latvian-language hymns that were created by Christopher Fürecker and his contemporaries. The new songs were performed to specially composed melodies, and were easier to learn and to remember. The first hymnal containing Fürecker's hymns was published in 1671[104] and it is symptomatic that none of the copies have survived to this day. The consolidation of a new tradition in Livland was advanced by the Swedish Church reforms; a Latvian-language school network was being gradually formed: hymnals bore their title page and table of contents in Latvian. The Latvian Lutheran hymnal had twelve reprints in Riga from 1686 to 1732. In Curonia this process was slower, determined more by the initiative of individual pastors and Latvians themselves. Hence, in 1714 a hymnal *Mesch-Muischas un Kukkuru Draudsu Dseesmu Grahmatiņņa* ('The Mežmuižas or Kukuru congregational hymnal') was published for the first time on the initiative and with money donated exclusively by the Latvian congregation itself – or as the title says *Tizzigu Sirschu Preeka pehz* ('For the joy of the hearts of the believers'). In its foreword, the editor, Pastor Samuel Rhanäus, justly highlighted the superiority of new hymns as the main rationale for the enterprise: 'and these are new […] their words are clearer […] they start with the melody, nicely flow along and stop when the melody stops; they are as the glory of the sun against the twilight or the daylight against the candles of the night.' The included texts directly mirror and reflect Fürecker's artistic mastery. A little over a decade later, in 1727, the head of the Curonian and Semigallian Church, Aleksander Gräven, also recognizes the successful transition to new hymnals: all the old hymns have been abandoned and 'hymns with metric rhythm have now been introduced everywhere. People have mastered singing to such a degree that there is no difference between a Latvian and a German congregation in this respect'.[105]

103 Vītoliņš, *Mūzikas vēsture*, pp. 29-30.

104 *Lettische Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*.

105 'Durchgehends die Reim-Lieder eingeführet worden / die Leute dergestalt im Singen zugenommen / daß fast kein Unterscheid unter einer Teutschen und Lettischen Gemeinde in

Conclusion

The earliest written account of Latvian poetry refers to the Reformation, the sixteenth century, and the first Latvian Lutheran hymnals. However, the analysis of the oldest known Roman Catholic hymnal of 1621 suggests that several of its hymns may be of an even older origin. Latvian historical documents show that in the late Middle Ages Rigan Latvians took part in Christian Mass, which means that they sang Christian songs outside the church walls following the Christian tradition in Europe at that time. These oldest Catholic hymns containing various elements typical of the Latvian language and folk culture point to a close link between the priests and the Christian Latvians in the pre-Reformation period. In contrast, the first elements of the Latvian language and folk culture in Protestant hymns seem to appear only in the second half of the seventeenth century, i.e. the Baroque age, when, in fact, Protestant hymns were spreading rapidly in Latvian Lutheran parishes. The history of Latvian spiritual songs is undeniably strongly influenced by German hymns, but without the elements of the Latvian spiritual world these texts would have been accepted at a much slower pace and at a later time.

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Part III
Church Art and Architecture

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8   Reform and Pragmatism

On Church Art and Architecture during the Swedish
Reformation Era

Anna Nilsén

The Lutheran Reformation movement reached Sweden in the 1520s and
can be viewed as having reached fruition by the middle of the seventeenth
century.[1] It was not, generally speaking, the first reform movement in the
Catholic Church, but there are few signs of any reforming tendencies in
Sweden before Luther. Admittedly, in her *Revelations* St. Birgitta (*c.* 1303-
1373) expressed fierce criticism of the loose adherence of the contemporary
mendicant orders to their original rules, but not apparently with any impact
that could bear comparison with the Observant movements that developed
on the Continent in the Dominican and Franciscan orders. It seems Fran-
ciscan observance reached Denmark at least, but in Sweden there are only
a few indications of any comparable development.[2]

The late medieval Catholic Church was characterized by the doctrine
of Purgatory with its purifying flames and sermons on the even worse
horrors of hell, leading to an accelerating growth of indulgence commerce
and a growing emphasis on the cult of the merciful and compassionate
Virgin and on Christ's Passion, particularly his bodily suffering. One of the
most debated questions was whether Mary, mother of Christ and queen
of heaven, was born free from all stain of sin and what, in that case, this
meant. Inscriptions on church walls like 'Help Maria' were common and
witness to people's trust in her power. This confidence in the Virgin's power
to help and the cult of Corpus Christi resulted in a multitude of guilds and
altar foundations. In Church art images such as the Lady of the Rosary, the
Apocalyptic Virgin, and the Man of Sorrows became common, all three

1   Church historians have dated the end of the Reformation period to the middle of the 1590s.
Persisting Catholic practices were abolished at a synod in Uppsala in 1595. For Sweden as a whole,
however, some time was to elapse before these practices had disappeared completely; I have
therefore chosen to extend the period covered in this chapter to the middle of the seventeenth
century.

2   Images of the Franciscan Observants' (the Spirituals') leading saint, Bernardinus of Siena,
were appearing from the mid-fifteenth century and into the sixteenth century in some limited
regions in Sweden and may perhaps be seen as hints of attempts to effect a reform of the Fran-
ciscan Order in Sweden; cf. Nilsén, 'Bernardinus', pp. 73-87.

connected with indulgence.[3] Although images like these were closely linked to the Catholic cult, it seems that they were not removed by the reformers. It even happened, though rarely, that motifs of this kind were painted anew (e.g. Säby; see below). However, as we shall see, the cult of saints, Mary included, was something that the reformers were to clamp down on everywhere – including Sweden.

In Sweden, the fifteenth century and the period leading up to the Reformation was marked by struggles for power and unrest, in both the secular and ecclesiastic spheres.[4] Not until the reign of Gustav I (1523-1560), which began in 1521, was some degree of stability to be attained. This was when Gustav Eriksson, a mere 25-year-old member of the Vasa family leading a troop consisting mainly of hastily assembled peasants, managed to expel the Danish king Christian II (r. 1513-1523), who was then occupying Stockholm, and seize control of the city to begin his long reign, first as regent and from 1523 as Sweden's. At the time the country lacked an archbishop, as the incumbent, Gustav Trolle (1488-1535), had fled to Denmark in connection with the expulsion of the Danish king, but continued to retain the office of archbishop of Sweden.

Gustav was elected king at the meeting of the Estates in Strängnäs in 1523. The ceremony to endow Gustav with the powers and duties of a king was conducted by the archdeacon of Strängnäs, Master Laurentius Andreae (1470s-1552),[5] who at an early stage of the Reformation was to become one of its leading representatives. Like most well-educated priests of the day he had studied in Germany, more specifically at Rostock and Leipzig. The ceremony required the newly elected king to swear to defend the ancient Church and its servants – a vow he was soon to break. In 1528 Gustav was crowned in Uppsala Cathedral according to the medieval ritual by the bishop of Skara, Magnus Haraldsson (c. 1480-1550?), later one of the king's opponents, who was to die in exile. The vow referred to had now been deleted from the ritual.[6]

Although Gustav Trolle was not yet dead, in 1523 Johannes Magnus (1488-1544) was elected archbishop. He was a learned man and had studied in Louvain, Cologne, and Perugia, where he acquired his doctorate in theology. Despite the king's attempts to gain the pope's approval of his election,

3   See Ringbom, 'Bild och avlat', *passim*.

4   It is not possible to go into more detail here. Instead let me refer readers to Åke Andrén's presentation of the process that led to the Reformation (*Reformationstid*), pp. 42-65.

5   Andrén, *Reformationstid*, pp. 21-2.

6   Andrén, *Reformationstid*, pp. 66-7.

Johannes had to remain *electus*, but was permitted to act as archbishop. However, Johannes too was fairly soon to fall foul of the king. In 1526 he was sent to Danzig on the king's behalf and was from then on used by the king only as his emissary abroad. A total breach occurred between the two in 1530. Although Sweden had a Lutheran archbishop from 1531, Johannes was consecrated in Rome and received the pallium from the pope as archbishop of Sweden in 1533, but was never to act as such or return to Sweden.[7]

The Reformation Begins

When the Lutheran Reformation reached Sweden, its implementation was to have royal support. Support is probably an understatement in this context. It is obvious that the king was soon playing an active role. The main advocates of the Reformation were to be the king and Olaus Petri (1493-1552), and initially also the previously mentioned Laurentius Andreae. In 1540 both he and Olaus were sentenced to decapitation by the king on suspicion of high treason, but then reprieved.

Olaus Petri and, later on, his younger brother Laurentius Petri (1499-1573), who was to be Sweden's first post-Reformation archbishop, had studied in Wittenberg. It has been suggested that Laurentius's studies there were funded by Gustav Vasa.[8] In Wittenberg the brothers had come into contact with Martin Luther (1483-1546) and his view of the Church. Olaus was probably still in Wittenberg in 1517 when Luther presented his theses and also in the following year when another future reformer 21-year-old Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560), arrived in the city to become a teacher there. Philipp was to be the principal author of the Augsburg Confession (1530). Both Olaus and Laurentius had therefore been present at important events in the genesis of the Lutheran Reformation. This enabled Gustav Vasa to gain information about the movement directly from its source.

While Gustav was at the helm, the Reformation made rapid progress (figure 8.1). The king realized that reducing the power of the Catholic Church could result in financial benefits for the Crown and that reform would provide access to the wealth it had assembled through donations.[9] The Crown was in debt to the city of Lübeck for loans made to Gustav to aid his expulsion of the Danes, and in 1523 he was already confiscating valuable

7   Lindroth, 'Johannes Magnus', p. 220; Andrén, *Reformationstid*, p. 24.

8   Andrén, *Reformationstid*, pp. 28, 72.

9   See Andrén, *Reformationstid*, pp. 44-8, 49-52.

objects of precious metals from the churches, while in 1526 he impounded two-thirds of the Church's tithes.[10] In 1527 the king succeeded in persuading the assembly of the Estates in Västerås to adopt an ordinance greatly reducing the power of the Church, among other things by presenting Lutheran doctrine as a return to the original purity of the truth proclaimed by Christ that had been distorted by the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages.

Figure 8.1   Gustav Vasa as the Bysta Master saw him in about 1550

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So far there had been no complete breach with the Catholic Church. In 1531 Laurentius Petri was consecrated as Sweden's first Lutheran archbishop by, it is to be noted, one of Sweden's still Catholic bishops.[11] The shift towards

10   Källström, *Medeltida kyrksilver*, pp. 5, 26; Andrén, *Reformationstid*, p. 45.
11   The laying of hands included in the Catholic rite of ordination of a bishop this way entitled the Lutheran Church of Sweden to claim 'apostolic succession', i.e. an unbroken link with Christ's

a Church that was Evangelical through and through was to take almost a century, if we consider its practices, as for instance the elevation of the Host in the Mass. Early attempts to abolish this practice were met with fierce opposition. Innovations of that kind did not appeal to the peasantry.[12] In fact, the elevation is reported to have continued in some country churches until the beginning of the seventeenth century, as did other Catholic customs. In the autumn of 1602 Duke Charles (1550-1611, king from 1604), the youngest of Gustav Vasa's sons, complained about 'papism' and peasant 'superstition' in religious ceremonies in country parishes, and in the same year frustrated parishioners at Simtuna in Uppland assailed their vicar for not wanting to celebrate the feast of St. Lawrence.[13]

The reformers also found it difficult to overcome the attraction exerted by holy relics. In 1641, when strict Lutheran Orthodoxy prevailed and Law was proclaimed rather than the Gospel,[14] and when Catholic customs and usages were more or less assumed to have been put aside, Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus Gothus (1565-1646) undertook a visitation of Karlskyrka in eastern Uppland. He found there, next to the altar, a statue of the Virgin with the inscription 'Help Maria', but not only that. Standing on a bier to the right of the altar and visible from outside through a pair of round squints (hagioscopes) in the church wall was an oak chest shaped like a church containing a similar silver casket, to his horror housing the relics of the local saint, Karlung. The shocked bishop ordered that the 'idol' should be burnt and its cult terminated. In the 1670s an oak chest was still said to stand on a bier in Karlskyrka. It was reported, though, that nobody present seemed to know what it once contained.[15]

More than 150 years had elapsed since the work of reformation had started before the prelates of the Church could agree on an ecclesiastical law to supersede Laurentius Petri's Church Ordinance of 1571. This took place in 1686 under Charles XI (1655-1697). This absolute monarch, the driving force behind the agreement, ratified the law before the meeting of the Estates had had time to reach a decision.[16] The translation of the Bible had started in 1526 with the New Testament and was published in its entirety in 1541 (figure 8.2). Directives on the preaching of the unadulterated

Apostles.

12   Nilsén, *Focal Point*, pp. 108-111.

13   Holmquist, *Svenska kyrkans*, pp. 252-3.

14   Montgomery, *Enhetskyrkans tid*, p. 61.

15   Rhezelius, *Monumenta Uplandica*, pp. 38, 143; *Rannsakningar om antikviteter*, p. 86; Norberg and Wilcke-Lindqvist, *Karls kyrkoruin*, pp. 868, 878, 896.

16   Inger, 'Kyrkolagstiftningen', pp. 204-13.

Gospel and collections of suitable sermons had also been published early on, and the same year a much-needed manual for the celebration of a Swedish Evangelical 'Mass' became available. More prominence was now given to preaching.

Figure 8.2   Gustav Vasa's Bible, 1541; title page
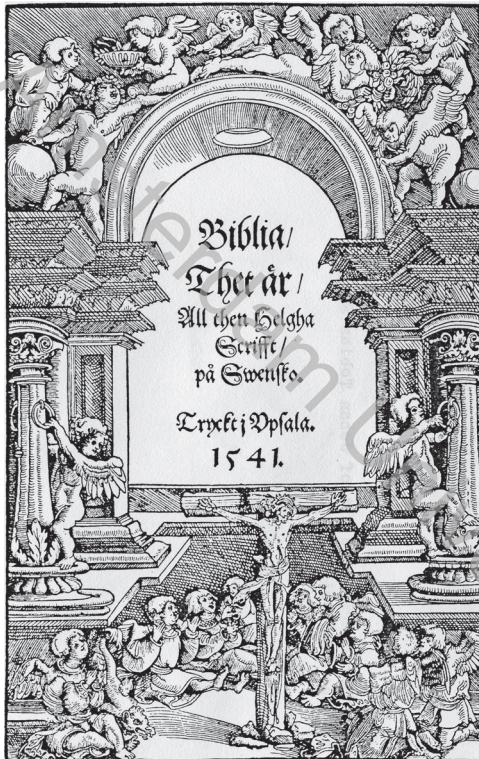
It should be briefly pointed out that impulses to reform also came from Calvinist and other Reformed quarters, and that there were also forces working for a counter-reformation. The religious sympathies of Gustav Vasa's three sons did not coincide with their father's. Eric and Charles had Calvinist leanings, while John made attempts to renew links with the Catholic Church.[17] Moreover, during the later Reformation period workers from countries undergoing Calvinist and other types of reformation requested to be allowed to profess their faith according to the customs of their own

17   Later King Eric XIV (1533-1577), King John III (1537-1592), and King Charles IX (1550-1611). For John III's relationship with Catholicism see Neville, *Klara Church*, *passim*.

churches. At the same time scholarly and cultural links were largely with Reformed countries, especially Holland. Sweden's iron trade led in the sixteenth century to an immigration of experts from Germany, and later, in the seventeenth century, from the Netherlands, not least from the region of Liège in what is now Belgium, of whom the majority were presumably Calvinists. Most of the German immigrants were probably familiar with a version of Lutheran reform that was much stricter than in Sweden.

The progress of Swedish Lutheran reform was to keep a steady course towards an Evangelical Lutheran Church throughout the century. At a meeting of the Estates in Örebro in 1540 Gustav Vasa, the founder of the modern Swedish state, took the decisive step. He obliged the delegates to decide that Sweden, which up to then had been an elective monarchy, was to be a hereditary one and also that the Lutheran Reformation was to be imposed throughout the country. Ever since he had seized the orb, his aim was a strong state, power over his subjects – including the nobility – and to crush the power of the Church. Purposeful, more or less unscrupulous, and politically adept, Gustav defeated any opposition that arose to the course he pursued.[18]

Laurentius Petri's Church Ordinance

Gustav Vasa's consolidation of the Swedish state in the sixteenth century can be described in moral terms as flexible, ruthless, and rather Machiavellian in character. Admittedly the first Lutheran Church Ordinance[19] also appeared to be pragmatic but by no means ruthless. This document could rather be described as cautious and tactical without the comparatively abrupt breaches with Catholic customs and practices that occurred in other countries undergoing Lutheran or other types of reformation. This was of course to play a significant role for both church interiors and the emerging Lutheran Church's attitude to images.

In his preamble to the Church Ordinance, Laurentius Petri condemns the procedures of the Catholic Church in strong terms[20], and he points out that although chasubles and other vestments as well as a number of listed ceremonies can be tolerated, they should be viewed as indifferent – *res*

18   Andrén, *Reformationstid*, pp. 96-9. Under the heading 'Arvföreningen och den av Gud givna makten', Andrén offers a vivid description of the processes involved. Larsson 2002, *passim*.
19   *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning.*
20   *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, p. 7.

indifferentes[21]. The preamble also contains interesting information about his view of paintings and sculptures in churches, and he does not share the view of the Calvinists that paintings are harmful, i.e. not as long as they depict stories told in the Bible. Otherwise the Bible itself would be full of idols, he exclaims. Therefore sculptures and paintings should be allowed, provided that they were not made the object of worship[22]. On this last point, however, his prayers were not to be answered. Pilgrimages continued to be made to reputedly miraculous images and relics. This was the case with his own cathedral's St. Erik, which in the end led to the removal of the statue that, all the evidence suggests, was aesthetically a particularly valuable work of art (figure 8.3).[23] At Svinnegarn in Uppland at an early stage of the Reformation (1544), Laurentius had already had a large crucifix removed from its place at the Trinity well close to the church. The same thing happened to numerous other crucifixes.[24]

Figure 8.3   St. Erik. Uppsala Cathedral Chapter's counter-seal from 1275, believed to represent his statue

Recorded by Johan Peringskiöld in his *Monumenta Uplandica* (1719), p. 292

Laurentius begins the Church Ordinance by stressing the importance of preaching and ceaseless teaching, something that in his opinion had

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21   *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, p. 12.
22   *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, p. 13.
23   See Dahlberg and Lovén, 'Västportalen', p. 69, and Nilsén, *The Gothic Sculpture*, p. 94.
24   Nilsén, *Focal Point*, p. 219.

previously been neglected: 'for either has there been no preaching at all or if so, of the kind that had been best left unsaid'.[25] This is followed by a critical account of erratic Catholic cults and phenomena such as worshipping false gods by praying to saints, communities of monks and nuns, pilgrimages, rosaries, Masses for the dead, peddling indulgences … Laurentius does not mince his words. And he threatens to fine churches that fail to acquire proper pulpits.[26]

With more restraint, the writer takes the reader through the following chapters, among them those on baptism and confession. When he reaches the chapter on communion there is again more fire in his writing, although when he first mentions the word communion, he adds 'that for the sake of custom we call Mass'.[27] This is where we meet what appears to be the first manifestly tactical concession to hitherto prevailing tradition, i.e. avoidance of angering the laity with a new designation despite the changes in content and form both enjoined and planned for the future. Mass, Laurentius prescribes,[28] must not be said if nobody is present to receive the sacrament. He goes on to attack Masses that are only heard and witnessed, in other words when the laity merely hear the words of institution and adore the elevated Host which, according to the doctrine of transubstantiation (dogma in 1215), is transformed at Mass into the true body of Christ (figure 8.4).[29] He urges the priests to induce the laity to act as 'true' Christians, which according to him means taking communion by consuming both the bread and the wine as often as possible. In his opinion the Catholics have transformed the Mass into a 'priestly sacrifice' that concerns only the clergy.[30] This Catholic practice was to be a genuine obstacle that the reformers had to overcome, and there will be reason to return to it.

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25 *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, p. 24.
26 *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, p. 36.
27 *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, p. 85.
28 *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, p. 86.
29 Nilsén, *Focal Point*, p. 94: the custom of elevating the Host after the words of institution had been read, i.e. the 'elevation', is recorded from the eleventh century. It was later prescribed by Odo, bishop of Paris 1196-1208, in his statutes and was to set the pattern for the whole of Western Christianity: *ut possit ab omnibus videri* ('so that it can be seen by everyone'). On the elevation, see Jungmann, *Missarum*, p. 158. By the end of the thirteenth century the elevation had been adopted everywhere, including Sweden.
30 *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, pp. 6-7.

Figure 8.4   *The Seven Sacraments*. **Altarpiece painted by Rogier van der Weyden,
1440-1445. Detail of the central panel, showing the Eucharist**

Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp
Photo Anna Nilsén

A Catholic Mass is taking place and has reached its climax, i.e. the transubstantiation. In the fore-ground, Christ's sacrifice at Golgotha is depicted to illustrate the real presence of Christ in the elevated Host, in this case Rogier's alternative to depicting the Man of Sorrows appearing on the altar showing his bleeding wounds, a much more common way for artists to show the essence of the Miracle of the Mass. The Mass here takes place at the lay altar of a cathedral. A man is kneeling on its steps. Hat and staff identify him as a pilgrim. Behind the choir screen, on the left, a deacon is seen reading the Gospel at a lectern facing north. On the left wing of this altarpiece – not shown here – another screen in line with that on the central panel is seen. It is of simpler material than the choir screen, seen in the middle, and has a door in it, opening into the ambulatory. A small part of the upper beam of its counterpart on the other side may be discerned to the right in this picture, where a visitor has entered the ambulatory from the south side of the church.

In his chapter on the Order of the Mass, Laurentius describes the lavishly appointed rituals with elevation, costly chasubles, and ceremonies that survived in Sweden after the Reformation even though they had been abolished in other countries, and considers that they may be retained for the time being. Even here traces can be found of tactical avoidance of introducing radical changes in ingrained traditions of worship too rapidly. In the preamble, as we have seen, it is clear that he views these ceremonies as indifferent and that they might just as well be abolished.

Laurentius's view of churches is important here. He devotes a special chapter to the interior of churches, their vestments, and their images. Churches are needed, Laurentius says, although they are not God's dwellings, just mere localities, like schools, where God's word can be proclaimed, where the laity can pray, and where sacramental acts may be performed, but they have to be maintained and respected. Unnecessary churches may be used for other purposes,[31] and in the churches that are needed surplus altars can be removed[32]. The consecration of churches, churchyards, statues, and the like is, according to Laurentius, a mere human invention and must be abolished.[33] Laurentius's view was not, however, to find fertile soil among the newly fledged Lutherans and consecration of churches was to be reintroduced in the ecclesiastical Law of 1686.

Laurentius deals with the question of vestments and images in church interiors by pointing out that everything can be tolerated as long as there is no excess and nothing is wrongly used, and also as well as nothing further is added. Where statues are concerned, the ones to be removed are those that 'simple and incredulous people' 'flock to'. Processions with relics, crucifixes, monstrances, and the like had to end, as did all ceremonies involving the cross, such as raising and lowering it as well as crawling towards it.[34] Thus far Laurentius Petri in the 1571 Church Ordinance.

Attempts were made at the synod in Uppsala in 1593 to abolish elevation together with other Catholic practices. However, not until 1595, also in Uppsala, could agreement be reached on abolition of all remaining Catholic practices – at least on paper. The priests found it difficult to interest the laity in the new forms of worship with their emphasis on preaching, and some complained that the congregation stood around outside the church until

31 In 1527 Gustav had already had a number of churches in Stockholm demolished and in Uppsala 'redundant' churches were used, for example, to provide building materials for the castle begun there by the king in 1549.

32 *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, p. 110.

33 *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, pp. 113-14.

34 *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning*, p. 113.

the sermon was over and it was time for the elevation, when they 'stormed in'. In 1595 Uppsala Cathedral Chapter heard a case involving a parish that had locked the church against its priest five Sundays in a row because he would not practise elevation.[35]

Church-building in Reformation-era Sweden

No rural churches were built in Sweden during the Reformation period. One important purpose of this chapter is to explain why.

Changes to church buildings always seem to have been highly dependent on two factors in particular, often combined: status and function. However, functional needs have more frequently led to new churches being built or alternatively existing ones remodelled. Flagrant examples of an effect due in great part to temporal functional needs are the large churches built during the nineteenth-century religious revival, which in today's secularized world are largely viewed as unfit for their original purpose, while the church-building campaign around 1300 is a good example of responses to new liturgical demands. The latter needs a few words of explanation.

From *c.* 1275 to *c.* 1325, one can discern a wave of renewal in which the Romanesque parish churches with their small chancels were either given new and larger ones or were rebuilt as one-celled hall churches. New churches were, with few exceptions, built as hall churches.[36] Where there were already large chancels, the openings between them and the naves were extended. This change was most probably due to the liturgical development of the Mass from being only heard to being both heard and seen.

In Sweden, the introduction of the custom of elevating the Host for the congregation's worship, referred to above, occurred in the second half of the thirteenth century, thus coinciding with the building campaign mentioned above. The magnificence around the altar that developed as a consequence of this cult played an important role in the changes described.[37] The chancel now can be compared to a theatre with room for new decorative elements and more participants, the priest, and at least one acolyte and, at larger churches, perhaps also a choir, where the altar provided a raised stage for

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35   Nilsén, *Focal Point*, p. 111.

36   Sw. *salkyrka*. No specific English term seems to exist for this one-celled church without a separate choir.

37   On Mass in the Gothic era and the necessity for the congregation to see the Host at the elevation, see Jungmann, *Missarum*, pp. 158-60, where he describes the elevation as the new summit of the Mass.

the climax of the drama, the transformation of the consecrated wafer into the true body of Christ, the 'miracle of the Mass' (figure 8.4).

Most Romanesque chancels were too small to permit this kind of development and the opening between chancel and nave too narrow to enable the entire congregation to see what was taking place in the chancel or to participate in the rite. In the past, when the Mass just needed to be heard, and the priest alone stood in for the congregation in its communication with God, these small chancels had not been a problem. But now that, once the bell signalled that the transubstantiation had taken place, the laity were expected to take an active part in events themselves by kneeling, raising their arms, beholding, and worshipping the elevated Host. Now the old church interiors were far from good enough. Elements that obscured the view of the altar had to be removed and the chancel area enlarged.[38] That the hall church under these circumstances was to be the preferred type of church building was neither a fashionable whim, nor an influence from the churches of the mendicant friars, as has often been proposed, but with the greatest probability the outcome of the liturgical changes described.[39]

Given the examples above, would not Reformation-era churches also show some external sign of the recent change of worship, and would the already existing churches not need to be remodelled?

Compared to his brothers, John III was a great builder and was to have an impressive number of building projects under way simultaneously, some of them churches.[40] In Stockholm, Klara church was erected 1577-1590,[41] and after extended planning that stretched from 1580, work started on Jacob church in 1588 although it was not to be completed until 1643. In 1593 building began on the church in Mariestad on Duke Charles's initiative, and was completed in 1625. However, all three churches were traditional long churches, and when finished none of them displayed any new features that could be ascribed to new liturgical requirements (figure 8.5).[42]

38   In cathedrals, major city churches, and other churches with lay altars there was not the same problem. In such cases nothing hid the celebration of Mass from the congregation. There was then no need for the same extensive measures to adapt the interior to the new liturgical elements. Village churches with their simple spatial needs offer a clearer example of the way in which functional demands result in remodelling.

39   This development is described in detail in Nilsén, *Focal Point*, pp. 11-108.

40   Neville, *Klara Church*, *passim*.

41   Building did not start in 1572 as is sometimes stated. For the correct building dates see Hamberg, *Temples*, p. 183.

42   All three churches are described and discussed in Neville, *Klara Church*, pp. 33-54.

Figure 8.5   Klara church plan
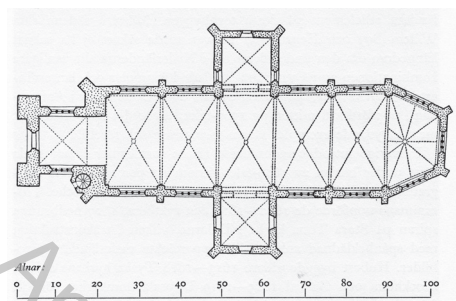
After Hamberg, 1955; courtesy of Erik Hamberg

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter,[43] no rural churches were built in Sweden during the whole of the Reformation era. One very possible explanation is that most parishes already had substantial stone churches, built or rebuilt during the period mentioned around 1300 and onwards, and – most important of all – it turned out that the open space of their interiors was highly suitable in a Lutheran context as well, only needing some refurnishing to fit in with the new forms of worship (figure 8.6). As we have seen, the Swedish reformers had a rather dispassionate and pragmatic attitude towards Catholic customs. This also applied to the churches where, for example, purely Catholic paintings were allowed to remain without being covered with lime-wash as in many other reformed countries. In Sweden, no white-washing of church interiors occurred until well into the seventeenth century and then never systematically, mostly taking place only because the paintings were darkened with grime.

43   Up to 1809, Finland was part of Sweden. (In this book, the development in Finland is treated by Hanna Pirinen.) The provinces of Skåne, Blekinge, Halland, Bohuslän, Jämtland, and Härjedalen, which are today Swedish, did not become part of the realm until the middle of the seventeenth century after having belonged to Denmark/Norway. Ecclesiastically, however, the last two belonged to the Swedish archbishopric since the Middle Ages.

Figure 8.6   Läby church, Uppland. Drawing from the seventeenth century. A
typical Swedish one-celled church, well-suited to the Lutheran service
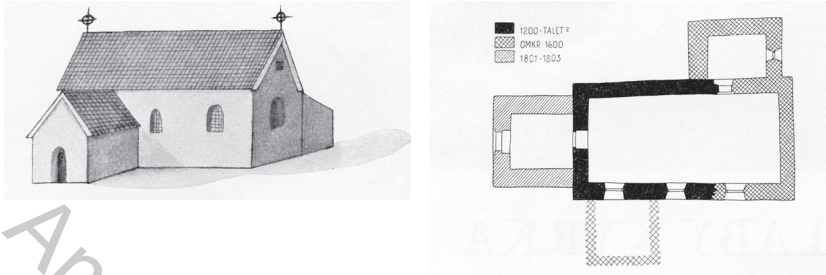
After 'Läby kyrka', *Upplands kyrkor* (1959)

Church-building after the Reformation

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century the long church began
to encounter competition from central-plan churches.[44] However, the
functional aspects were not to be disregarded. The art historian Per Gustaf
Hamberg, in his work *Tempelbygge för protestanter* of 1955,[45] points to an
eloquent example of an attempt to allow form to take precedence over
function. Katarina church was built in Stockholm from 1656 to 1664, the first
central-plan church in Sweden (figure 8.7). It was designed by the French
architect Jean de la Vallée (1624-1696). The ground plan of the church was
to have the form of a Greek cross. The problem lay not, however, in the plan
but in the intended furnishing. The architect envisaged a central position
for the vital functions, i.e. altar and pulpit, while all four arms of the cross
were to be filled with pews. The altar was to stand in the northeast corner
of the square central area abutting the eastern arm of the cross, placed to
face southwest, and the pulpit in the southeast corner facing northwest. This
meant that the interior had no clear focus and, according to Hamberg, its
calm and undramatic appearance made it more Calvinist than Lutheran in
character. The architect's proposal found favour with neither the congrega-
tion nor the builders, the latter declaring that east-west was the 'correct'
orientation for a church and that the altar should be placed in the eastern
arm of the cross. After much argument, with the architect maintaining his

44   For the development of church plans from the Reformation period until the eighteenth
century, see Lindahl, 'Kyrkorna', pp. 220-3.

45   English translation 2002, *Temples for Protestants*, referred to here.

vision and finally with royal intervention, a compromise was reached that the altar should be sited in the eastern arm of the cross, but so far west that the celebrant could be seen from its other arms. However, the altar was soon to be moved to the eastern part of the cross arm.[46]

Figure 8.7   Katarina church in Stockholm. Original plan and elevation
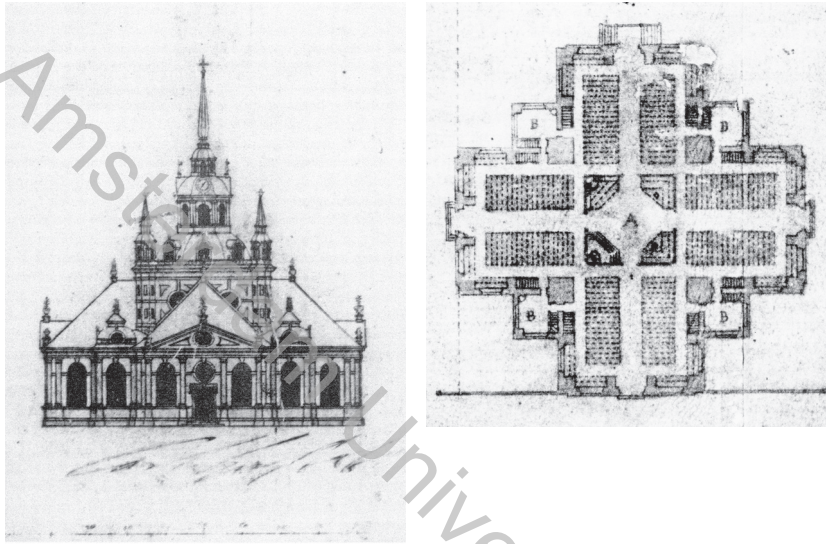
After Hamberg, 1955; courtesy of Erik Hamberg

In a Calvinist context the building would have had no altar at all, but this continued to be a requirement for Lutheran worship. The focus in the interior of a Calvinist church was the pulpit, often with a strikingly large sounding-board, but pulpits occupied a prominent place in Lutheran churches as well.

Lutheran parishes continued to build central-plan churches until well into the nineteenth century, but retained the east-west orientation of their interiors.[47]

46   Hamberg, *Temples*, pp. 201-2.
47   For central-plan churches in Sweden in addition to Hamberg, *Tempelbygge*, pp. 181-238, see Malmström, *Centralkyrkor*, pp. 27-43.

Post-Reformation Church Interiors

From the late sixteenth century until the middle of the seventeenth century, Swedish church interiors became increasingly barren, especially during the reign of Charles IX, maybe to some extent due to the king's leanings towards Calvinist simplicity. A German Lutheran congregation[48] had been founded in Stockholm in 1571, and its clergy not infrequently preached in the Royal Chapel as well. Circumstances in the rest of Sweden were not as ascetic as in the king's chapel, however, though still poor compared to that of the Middle Ages. However, the medieval vestments wore out and nothing as magnificent took their place. Towards the end of the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth, production of new vestments seems to have been modest.[49]

Similar restraint seems to have prevailed during the same period for retables and other fittings: very little of the kind was produced. Attempts to stage a counter-reformation under John III and his son Sigismund[50] did not succeed in bringing about any noticeable changes, even though some art was imported during this period. Domestic production was of course even more modest under Charles IX. It was not until well into the seventeenth century that a taste for more elaborate and costly fittings was discernible.

Pulpits and Lectoria

Communion should be taken as often as possible according to Laurentius Petri's Church Ordinance. But the emphasis was to be on preaching. Laurentius points out that churches must acquire proper pulpits, an injunction repeated time and again during the Reformation era; it was obviously still considered necessary to repeat in some of the early proposals for the ecclesiastical law in the seventeenth century. The fact that the pulpits in many of today's parish churches can be dated to the mid-seventeenth century, however, makes it likely that by then most parishes had obeyed.

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48 Only a congregation so far. It was founded by German merchants and housed in their guild-house. The present German church was built later (1638-1642).

49 Estham, *Figurbroderade mässhakar*, p. 14.

50 Nilsén, *Focal Point*, p. 109. Sigismund (1566-1632) had become king of Poland in 1587. In 1592 he succeeded his father to the Swedish throne. In 1599 he was deposed and returned to Poland. Attempts to reintroduce Catholicism into Sweden had not been successful. Sigismund was opposed by his uncle, Duke Charles, who governed the country from 1599, first as regent and from 1604 until his death as Charles IX (note 17).

There were obviously no pulpits worth mentioning in medieval country churches, and one may wonder why. Scholars who have specialized in medieval sermons maintain that up to *c.* 1450 sermons at ordinary Sunday services in rural churches were mainly limited to a simple explanation of the reading of the day, and that more extensive sermons possibly were given on major feast days only.[51] Also, Laurentius Petri's opinion of the sermons of Catholic priests quoted earlier and his reference to the lack of pulpits in his Church Ordinance (p. 36), suggest that sermons had not been a major feature of worship in parish churches.

The earliest post-Reformation pulpits probably consisted of a screen placed on one of the side altars rendered superfluous by the Reformation on the eastern side of the nave, usually the south altar. The one in the north, which had been dedicated to Mary,[52] was used at this time for gifts to the church given at 'churchings', ceremonies when women who had given birth were welcomed back to the church after the period of rest, considered to be required after their labour.[53] A screen-like pulpit, probably placed originally on a side altar and with a carved inscription dating it to 1550 in Hattula Church in Finland is, to the best of our knowledge, the oldest but not the only example preserved within what was then Sweden (figure 8.8).[54] If no altar was available pulpits were placed on pillars or fixed on the wall to attain the height prescribed in the 1571 Church Ordinance and provided with sounding-boards so that the priest could easily be both seen and heard. Laurentius Petri said in his Church Ordinance that pulpits could be placed where it was most appropriate. When the custom of churching came to an end, pulpits were mostly moved to the northern side. This normally happened during the eighteenth century, sometimes earlier. Sacristies were as a rule sited on the northern side of the chancel and it was considered beneficial to place the pulpit close by. An opening was often hewn in the church wall with steps leading directly from the sacristy up to the pulpit.

51   Brilioth, *Predikans historia*, p. 78; Pernler, 'Predikan ad populum', *passim*; Andersson, *Postillor*, pp. 192-3.

52   Nilsén, *Focal Point*, pp. 250-1.

53   The 1686 Canon Law prescribed a six-week period after childbirth before churching. The ceremony harked back to a purification period considered necessary by the medieval Catholic Church after giving birth. The idea that women were impure after childbirth does not seem to have existed after the Reformation. See the entry by Johan (John) Personne, bishop of Linköping, on 'Kyrktagning' in *Nordisk familjebok*.

54   Nilsén, *Kyrkorummets brännpunkt*, pp. 194-200 and *Focal Point*, pp. 242-47. See also Pirinen in this volume.

Figure 8.8   Two sixteenth-century pulpits

Photos by Anna Nilsén (left) and Arne Telhammer (right)

The pulpit in Hattula Church, Finland (left) is dated by inscription to 1550. The pulpit in Götene church, Västergötland (right), must originally have been of the same type as that in Hattula. The year 1618 given on the cartouche under the bookstand certainly refers to a renovation. Stylistically, its uppermost part and the cartouche do not agree with the strict linenfold pattern of the panels, typical of the sixteenth-century Renaissance. Considering that the linenfold pattern also adorns two panels of the Hattula pulpit, they may be contemporary.

The pulpit was sometimes placed in the central axis of the church, as was the case with the Trinity church in Kristianstad in Skåne, then a Danish city, founded in 1614, where the pulpit was placed in the middle of a choir screen, giving the chancel the character of a separate room.[55] This was also a way of stressing the importance of preaching over the altar functions. It seems that this arrangement got no foothold in Sweden. In Germany, already in the seventeenth century, there were pulpit altars (*Kanzelaltar*) with the pulpit sited above the altar, which could be seen as a symbolic elevation of preaching over altar ministry. At this early date pulpits of this

55   Hamberg, *Temples*, p. 158.

type were not common in Sweden, but were to appear in the second half of the eighteenth century.[56]

The importance of preaching in post-Reformation Sweden is shown by how often the pulpit was the most magnificent item in a church's interior once they had become common in the seventeenth century. Items that are more or less conspicuous through their absence in Reformation-era Sweden are the often magnificent combined lectoria and pulpits that were so frequent in contemporary Denmark, and therefore in Skåne. In a few cases there are indications that lectoria existed in Sweden during the Middle Ages, but no later.[57]

Choir Screens

At the end of the sixteenth century, Swedish parishes began to erect screens between chancel and nave, possibly influenced by screen-building in Holland, where Calvinism had arrived in the 1570s. These new screens were not altar screens, protecting the north and south sides of the altar, occurring occasionally during the Middle Ages instead of the considerably more common arrangements with white linen cloths or sometimes tapestries hanging from rails. Protective arrangements of this kind had existed everywhere for centuries.[58] Nor were they screens of the type surrounding the sanctuary and stalls for clergy or monks in cathedrals and abbey churches with an ambulatory. The screens referred to here were high and intended to screen the whole chancel area from the nave. They extended from wall to wall and had double doors in the middle, facing the altar (figure 8.9).

56   Pulpit altars were found in eighteenth-century Sweden, well suited to the sober, instructive sermons characteristic of the Age of Enlightenment. The arrangement was still popular in the nineteenth century and finally had to be forbidden. Cleve, *Predikstolar*, p. 204; Grandien, *Drömmen*, p. 181; Nilsén, *Focal Point*, pp. 252-6.

57   For example, at Kungs-Husby in Uppland. Nilsén, *Focal Point*, pp. 55-6 (note 310), 257 and 261. Traces of yet another example of the same type have recently been discovered under the chancel floor at Bälinge Church in Uppland. See Bengtsson, Kjellberg, and Qviström, 'Senmedeltida korskrank', pp. 99-103.

58   At least one of the medieval provincial laws prohibited placing gloves on the altar which implies that the laity were sometimes allowed to move freely in the chancels and there were grounds for protecting the altar. For altar screens see Nilsén, *Focal Point*, pp. 102-8.

Figure 8.9   Choir screen from Kongsted, Denmark

Photo Anna Nilsén

This post-Reformation screen with beautifully carved ornaments of the northern type in Renaissance style was erected in 1619. Its construction with panels and turned pillars was the most common type of choir screen built in Sweden from the 1590s up to *c.* 1650. The crown over the double-doors is also typical and, as is the case here, it often showed the arms of the donors.

The first screen of this kind in Sweden was possibly the one in the royal chapel, erected in 1588.[59] The earliest known references to choir screens in country churches date from the 1590s, one in Tillinge in 1590 and one in

59   The screen was commissioned by John III; see Hamberg, *Norrländska kyrkoinredningar*, p. 63. The reference to a crowning ornament in a letter to the intended architect, Willem Boy, makes it likely that the screen the king had in mind was of the Dutch type and rather high.

Vallentuna in 1594, both in Uppland. Construction of these screens reached its heyday in the 1620s and 1630s. Neither Per Gustaf Hamberg, nor Hjalmar Holmquist, who have both taken an interest in these screens, have been able to identify any predecessors, nor has the present author, who, unlike Hamberg and Holmquist, has come to the conclusion that they quite simply did not exist. Hamberg views these screens as purely Evangelical phenomena with no links to the Middle Ages: 'Later writers dealing with liturgy or art history have often wanted to imagine that choir screens are medieval relics and foreign to Evangelical Christianity. Nothing could be further from the truth where both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are concerned'.[60] It should also be noted that Laurentius Petri says nothing about choir screens.

That choir screens were a new idea at the time is also indicated by Laurentius's younger colleague, Johannes Rudbeckius (1581-1646, bishop of Västerås 1619-1646), who encouraged the construction of choir screens in a missive circulated to the clergy in the parishes of his diocese, in which he wants to make sure that their churches are provided with pulpits, pews, and choir screens. The immediate result was that a large number of screens were erected in his diocese during the 1620s and 1630s.[61] As far as Sweden is concerned, existing remains of screens and those reconstructed are, to judge from their stylistic features, without exception post-Reformation. What is particularly significant is an entry in the accounts of Knivsta church, Uppland, about the acquisition of a choir screen in 1634, saying explicitly that the church had never before had a screen.[62]

One may then ask why Lutherans needed to screen the chancel from the lay section of the church. Unlike the Calvinist churches, the Lutheran ones needed an altar. In Calvinist churches the old chancels from the Catholic era had been concealed behind screens that often formed a decorative eastern wall, probably to prevent the laity from making associations with worship in Catholic times. To some extent the same reasons may have lain behind the Lutheran screens. As pointed out, the first screens in parish churches are mentioned in the early 1590s, the time when Lutheran priests were beginning to tire of the problems around the elevation of the Host. At the synod in Uppsala in 1593, a serious attempt was made to forbid this practice but, as we have seen, it was not until 1595 that it was in fact prohibited. The erection of the screens could well have been a good way of making it easier

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60   Hamberg, *Norrländska kyrkoinredningar*, p. 138.
61   Nilsén, *Focal Point*, pp. 114-15.
62   Nilsén, *Focal Point*, pp. 64, 114.

to abolish the practice of elevation. Its successive disappearance parallels the continual increase in the number of screens erected in the first half of the seventeenth century. The building of screens began to decline in the middle of the century and had ceased altogether by its end. By then a considerable number of screens had already been demolished.

In Calvinist churches communion took place only four times a year in the form of a communal meal in memory of Christ's last supper with his disciples.[63] It could be eaten anywhere in the church and no altar was needed, while the Lutheran version of communion took place at the altar and involved the distribution of consecrated bread and wine to believers.

Once elevation had been abolished, the chancel was relegated to mainly the setting for communion. There are records of the gates to the chancel being closed after communion had been celebrated.[64] As we have seen, Laurentius Petri had urged frequent observance of communion. According to the liturgical historian David Lindqvist, however, communion gradually became less frequent and towards the middle of the seventeenth century had become, in an almost Calvinist manner, a 'general inspection' a few times a year, while at the same time preaching became more important.[65] This may have been a reason why the screens could be removed. But there was a more weighty one. The screens obstructed the view of the chancel area, and it is well documented that for this very reason the laity wanted them removed.[66] However, it was no longer the vision of the Host that was coveted. The Lutheran laity, aesthetically starved, wanted to behold what to their unfamiliar eyes seemed an almost heavenly beauty, now suddenly visible in the chancels of their parish churches, dispelling the ascetic gloom of the Reformation era (figure 8.10). Half a millennium earlier a French Benedictine abbot had preached the power of beauty to open human minds to the divine. Seventeenth-century parishioners were hardly thinking along these lines. Nevertheless, it was certainly the longing for beauty that inspired their wishes for free sight into the chancel. What had happened?

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63 Hamberg, *Temples*, p. 80.

64 Hamberg (*Norrländska kyrkoinredningar*, p. 66) cites, for example, information contained in the *Glysisvallur*, written by the rural dean of Hälsingland Olof Broman (1676-1750), that the gates to the chancel were only opened to allow communicants to enter and were closed immediately after their exit. On the chancel as the setting for communion, see Nilsén, *Focal Point*, pp. 111-13; Lindahl, 'Kyrkorna', pp. 184-6.

65 Lindquist, *Nattvarden*, pp. 93-4.

66 Nilsén, *Focal Point*, p. 116.

Figure 8.10   Marby old church, Jämtland
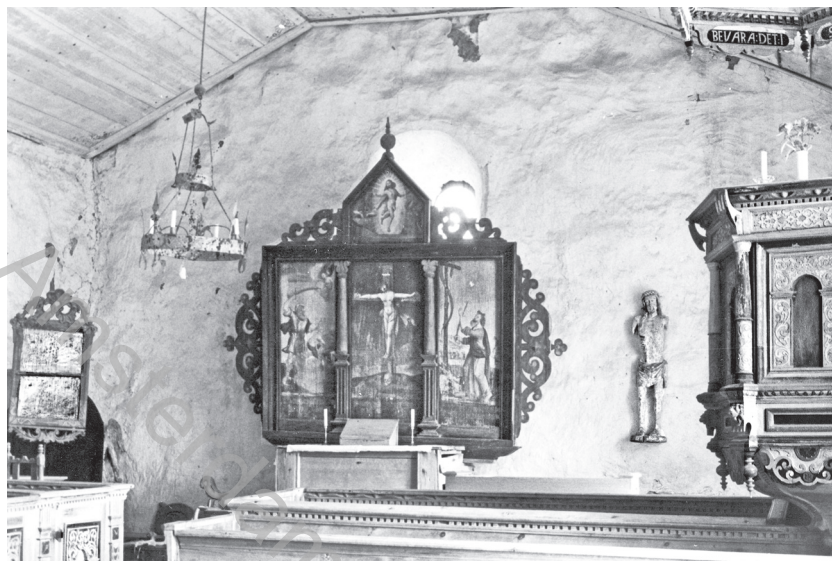
Photo Anna Nilsén

This small rural church was earlier believed to have been built in the Middle Ages. However, den-drochronological dating places it *c.* 1520, though the presence of the late-fifteenth-century Man of Sorrows, here seen on the chancel wall, speaks for a somewhat earlier dating. The altarpiece and the board for hymn numbers both date from *c.* 1650. However, on the back of the altarpiece wings, there are remains of painted texts showing that they were earlier parts of a catechism board probably previously placed on this altar. Catechism boards tend to appear in the western districts of Sweden, probably an influence from Norway, which had a stricter Reformation than Sweden. The pulpit dates from 1672. It has Bible quotations painted on its sounding-board. There are also Bible texts at the base of the motifs of the altarpiece. It is easy to imagine the barren character of the church's almost Reformed type of interior before 1650. The church is no longer in use.

From around 1650 a manifest change transformed church interiors. New magnificent retables, costly altarpieces, sometimes copies of paintings by Rubens or Rembrandt, adorned the altar area.[67] Colourful new chasubles and altar cloths were purchased, church interiors now regained some of their medieval glory, screens that obscured the view began to disappear, and soon the churches would again become sanctified buildings through the reintroduction of the rite of consecration in 1686. The period of parsimony in Swedish Church art and vestments was over.

67   Ångström, *Altartavlor*, *passim*, mentions several examples of Rubens copies from the middle of the seventeenth century.

One contributory factor that should not be forgotten in this context is that the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) had now ended. The negotiations after the peace of 1648 had not left Sweden empty-handed. It had gained both territory and wealth and the victorious generals returned to Sweden with their rich gains. Some of these, chalices, liturgical vestments etc., were acquired by churches around the country as donations. Sweden had become a great power and this had to be demonstrated. The country now provided a market for skilled architects and artists of all kinds. Even new churches were being built. The Reformation era was over. It had been a meagre period in Sweden, both for Church art and church-building.[68]

A number of castles, some with lavishly fitted chapels, had admittedly been built in the reigns of Gustav Vasa's sons. But castle chapels and fittings tell us little about the Reformation or its implementation. The same can be said about the funeral art of the court and the nobility, which says all the more about the ambitions of these patrons and how they viewed their status in the temporal domain. Pictures and fittings were in this context primarily status markers, with their use of high-quality materials and execution and their nods to current fashions on the Continent.[69] Studying the development of the parish churches therefore gives us considerably more knowledge of how the Reformation was received by the general population. For this reason the chapter will conclude with a characterization of mural painting in parish churches during the Reformation era.

Reformation-era Church Painting in Sweden

What mainly distinguished the Lutheran Reformation in Sweden from Church reforms in other countries was that it not only allowed Catholic series of images to remain, but also permitted new ones to be painted, though with some modification in the choice of motifs. In Reformation Sweden what mattered most of all was instruction. Laurentius Petri criticizes the iconoclasm of some contemporary religious movements and stresses that painting can be beneficial if it can serve instruction in the Christian faith. He concludes with a quotation from Paul the Apostle: 'Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.'[70] Usefulness and instruction were the keywords

68   Where secular art was concerned, at least that of the court, the situation was considerably better. In portraiture and funeral art, where a great many commissions came from the court, high-class works were either imported or produced by foreign artists visiting Sweden.

69   For stylistic aspects of sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century royal castle chapels see Fulton 1992, *passim* (summary in English).

70   1 Thessalonians 5:21; Laurentius Petri's Church Ordinance, pp. 13-4.

of the Swedish Reformation. If the ambition was to achieve a change of faith, a great deal of instruction was indeed required. Characteristically, one of Olaus Petri's early publications was entitled *En nyttig undervisning* ('A useful lesson', 1526).[71]

As to the intended function of images in churches, the reformers differed quite fundamentally from the late Middle Ages, when the corresponding keywords were 'compassion' (*compassio*) and 'imitation' (*imitatio Christi*). If late medieval images mainly appealed to people's emotions by depicting Christ's Passion, the sufferings of Mary and the saints, and, not least, God as a father sacrificing his only son to redeem mankind, holding him out, crucified and bleeding, then Reformation-era painting in equal degree appealed to the viewer's reason. There was now a totally different focus on the Law and the Old Testament and the choice of images from the New Testament was to some extent also new.

What is probably one of the last series of paintings with a medieval iconographic programme, although only partly preserved, can be found at Hökhuvud, Uppland, painted in 1534. The paintings at Hökhuvud display an indisputably Catholic feature in the large depiction in the porch of the Mass of St. Gregory, one of the most popular late medieval indulgence images.[72]

In her doctoral thesis (1983), the art historian Mereth Lindgren offers a detailed treatment of painting in Swedish churches from 1530 to 1630 from an iconographic and stylistic standpoint, but also devotes considerable space to trying to prove which prints or other sources the painters used as models for certain paintings. Lindgren presents a few series believed to be painted between 1550 and 1592. Among them are the paintings at Morkarla in Uppland that can be dated with certainty and will be examined in more detail below. But first a few words about the choice of motifs in general.

Choice of Motifs

It is claimed above that there is a distinct difference in the choice of motifs in post-Reformation and medieval painting. A comparison of the lists of motifs in Lindgren 1983 and Nilsén 1986 would probably be fruitful in showing the difference in the choice of motifs after the impact of the Reformation

71   Olaus Petri 1526, *passim*.
72   Hökhuvud is characterized in Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 41-3, as the first post-Reformation series of paintings. She assumes that the much-truncated series may have included pictures with post-Reformation content. The indulgence motif mentioned seems to contradict this supposition.

from the images used at the end of the Middle Ages. This would, however, take us well beyond our subject here.

What can be seen without any more detailed study is that there are more Old Testament stories than before and that they are told in more detail. This obviously fits in with the sermons of the day and applies in particular to paintings after 1600, created during the era of orthodoxy. As we shall see, there were no major iconographic changes during the sixteenth century.

The Church historian Ingun Montgomery points out that Old Testament narratives permeated the daily life and thinking of people of the time and therefore also came to characterize contemporary sermons.[73] New motifs are the Tower of Babel, Lot fleeing Sodom, Joseph and Potiphar's wife, Pharaoh's daughter rescuing Moses, Balaam's ass, and many others. Some of these motifs undoubtedly suited the moralistic sermons of the day very well. For instance, Johannes Rudbeckius, referred to above, had, according to Montgomery, no ambition to console and strengthen the feeble-spirited, but focused on the 'bottomless depravity' of the age, wanting to terrify sinners into repentance.[74]

When it comes to the New Testament, the choice of motifs from the Nativity and the Passion stories is more or less the same as in the Middle Ages, but the representations now lack the emphasis on suffering. There is a manifest interest in the life of Jesus, above all in motifs that show him teaching and preaching. Numerous motifs offer his parables and also his miracles, which were both less frequent in medieval paintings. Finally, the most important image during the Middle Ages and later, the Trinity, was, if compared to the version of the motif described above of the Father with the sacrificed and bleeding Son, depicted rather dispassionately.[75] The images of the Trinity in Lindgren's work depict two seated figures, the one on the right with a crown – in other words God – and on his right, heraldically, Christ, identified by a cross halo. Above them hovers the dove of the Holy Spirit. Together they constitute a triangle, resting on a broad base. The entire composition is an embodiment of reason and not at all concerned with feeling – strict, calm, collected. The Trinity image of Hägerstad, depicted here, followed the described pattern but seems to have been a little more diversified. Between the Father and the Son the text 'Sancta trinitas pater Filius et S …' was inscribed, probably ending with a Latin abbreviation for the Holy Spirit (figure 8.11).

73   Montgomery, *Enhetskyrkans tid*, p. 61.
74   Montgomery, *Enhetskyrkans tid*, p. 60.
75   The one example in Lindgren's material (*Att lära*, pp. 65-71) of a medieval type of Trinity image is in Vadstena convent, and was painted in 1581-1582, when Catholic nuns still lived there.

**Figure 8.11   The Trinity in Vendel church Uppland, painted by Johannes Ivan in
1452. Below the Trinity in Hägerstad church, Östergötland, painted by
Mats the Painter from Linköping in 1608**

Photo Anna Nilsén

Photo Mandelgrenska samlingen in Lund

Detail of the ceiling in Hägerstad Church, depicted by Nils Månsson Mandelgren in 1850, before the
paintings went beyond repair and had to be removed.

Other means of instruction are exemplified by the almost Calvinist paintings of Bettna church in Södermanland (*c.* 1600), in the duchy of the future Charles IX (cf. note 17). This type of painting consists exclusively of framed biblical texts on the walls and, to a limited extent, vegetative ornamentation. Even in strictly Lutheran settings, inscriptions of biblical texts were often, painted or carved on pulpits, choir screens, and other church fittings. The difference lies in the lack of depicted stories or figures in churches like Bettna.

It is interesting to note that the grotesques, funny or bizarre figures so frequent in medieval paintings are – at least to judge by Lindgren's material – almost totally absent. There are only a couple of examples from 1584, at Morkarla in Uppland. It seems that humour was not at all welcome in Reformation-era church painting. One can speculate on whether the desire to correct Catholic errors that imbues the 1571 Church Ordinance prohibited frivolity in the 'instructional material' painted on the walls of the churches. That the sole examples of humour appear in the suite at Morkarla, painted at a time when series of medieval paintings could still be seen in Sweden's churches, speaks for itself.

It seems that the aim to move minds, characteristic of late medieval Catholic painting, and the will to instruct, typical of Evangelical Lutheran painting, constitute the most fundamental and most obvious difference between the two churches at the brink of the early modern era.

Reformation-era Paintings: Some Examples

The paintings in Morkarla Church, Uppland, were the work of Erik Nilsson from Gävle in 1584.[76] They have here been judged as the earliest to reveal any features that distinguish them from those of the Middle Ages at all. These are admittedly few. In the chancel we find the Old Testament scenes, Athalia killing the royal children, and Saul killing 85 priests, both rarely used in the Middle Ages, but in complete accordance with the medieval *Biblia pauperum* as prefigurations of the Slaughter of the Innocents. Their occurrence here may reflect Laurentius Petri's preference for the narratives of the Old Testament.

The image of a woman with a cross earlier interpreted as St. Helena certainly represents the Hellespontine sibyl, believed to have predicted

76   These faded paintings are dealt with in Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 72-81. The following presentation is based on Lindgren's identification of the motifs.

the Crucifixion and rendered here together with scenes from the Passion.[77] Sibyls may, indeed, be found in medieval art, too, but only rarely, and Hellespontina's presence here must be regarded as a new feature.

The most striking feature, however, is the almost total absence of saints. There are only three in all. An image of St. Peter's crucifixion is seen on the eastern part of the south wall, the place where the legend of a church's patron saint would be expected in medieval churches. Its presence here as late as 1584 could perhaps be viewed as a gesture of reverence to a possible medieval patron saint, maybe still revered among the parishioners. The two others are represented in the porch. One is St. Veronica displaying her famous 'towel' with what was believed to be a true image of Christ's face, imprinted when she pressed it against his face to wipe away the sweat as he bore the cross on his way to Calvary. The towel was an indulgence image, both with or without Veronica, often found in medieval porches to be more accessible to passers-by. The other saint is Michael. The Veronica is difficult to defend as a possible ingredient in a post-Reformation context; Michael, maybe, by being one of the four archangels mentioned in the Bible, though the image here alludes to a non-biblical legend giving him the role of 'soul weigher' at the Last Judgement. All three images, however, were out of place in a strictly Lutheran context.

While these last few motifs appear to be an extension of medieval traditions, the appearance of the sibyl can be viewed as an example of the Renaissance recovery of classical motifs. There are no programmatically Lutheran motifs here. But features like the diminutive number of saints and the extended stories from the Old Testament as well as the – from a medieval point of view – in some cases unorthodox positions of motifs, as for instance the Wheel of Life rendered in the chancel vault, suggest that the rather fixed medieval patterns were beginning to decay.

The iconography of the paintings by Mats the Painter from Linköping in Vårdsberg church, Östergötland, in 1615, seems considerably more in line with post-Reformation ideas.[78] The basic medieval content with the Nativity, Passion, and Crucifixion alongside their Old Testament prefigurations survives, but the narrative is expanded with many more stories that seldom or never occur in the Middle Ages, and also with more incidents from those depicted. The Lutheran interest in the Old Testament is reflected in the iconographic programme at Vårdsberg, too. A new feature here, however, is the increased number of inscriptions and the fact that these are now in

77   Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 75, 76, 80, 297.
78   Lindgren, 'Från vaggan', pp. 275-92.

Swedish and thus accessible for members of the congregation to read and understand.

St. George was one of the few medieval saints who managed to survive in the paintings of churches, long after the Reformation, here depicted astride a dapple grey, and no longer a beardless youth, but a grown man with both beard and moustache, wearing Roman armour in combination with a large, hardly Roman, hat (figure 8.12).

Figure 8.12   Vårdsbergs church, Östergötland. St. George, painted by Mats the Painter in 1615

Photo courtesy of Barbro Thörn

There are also new motifs in Vårdsberg. While there is a typically medieval Wheel of Life to illustrate the ages of man in Morkarla, at Vårdsberg a sequence of ten images traces this process decade by decade. Later on it

was more common to depict what was called Life's Staircase, first rising to the peak of life and then descending.

Catholic motifs were slow to disappear from the walls of Swedish churches. In 1636-1637 a Mariological Tree of Jesse was painted in Säby, Västmanland. It shows the cup-like flowers supporting Christ's forefathers, but they are no longer surrounded by the foliage of a tree as in the Middle Ages; now they are featured amid loops of artistically painted ironwork in a Renaissance style, forming a rectangular space in the centre of the composition where is shown a full-figure image of the Virgin with the infant Jesus in her arms.[79]

Analysis of the iconographic programmes in sixteenth-century church painting that we know of reveals a predominant medieval character, though gradually the depictions of Mary and the saints disappear and finally the repertoires of the painters begin to differ more tangibly from their medieval counterparts. When this happens, rather more than just a century has elapsed since Gustav Vasa proclaimed Sweden a Lutheran country.

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Abbreviation

KVHAA = Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien (The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters History and Antiquities)

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79   Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 216-7.

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9   Early Lutheran Networks and Changes in the Furnishings of the Finnish Lutheran Parish Church

Hanna Pirinen

In the Kingdom of Sweden, the Lutheran Reformation was set in motion by the decision of the 1527 Diet of Västerås to induce the churches to start preaching the pure Gospel. This required vernacular texts, a necessity for the Evangelical service, in both Swedish and Finnish, and obtaining them became the priority. Finland was a territory of the Kingdom of Sweden and formed the unitary diocese of Turku (Swe. Åbo) from the Middle Ages until 1554, when King Gustav Vasa (r. 1523-1560) founded the diocese of Vyborg (Swe. Viborg; Fin. Viipuri) to cover the eastern part of Sweden.[1]

The first couple of decades after the Diet of Västerås, the Reformation brought about only scant external changes in the interiors of Finnish churches. The church furnishings that had taken their form in the late Middle Ages started to acquire new, recognizably Lutheran characteristics only in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Forming a precise overall picture of the church design culture in Reformation-era Finland is impossible, since no information on the paintings or the decors of destroyed wooden churches has survived. The phases of the furnishings in medieval stone churches are slightly easier to track. Obtaining new interiors was hindered by the poor financial situation of the parishes, caused in turn by the confiscation of Church property by the Crown during the reign of Gustav Vasa. A significant part of the property of the earlier Catholic era was transferred to the state, and the state economy was also patched by imposing heavy taxes and payments. The confiscation of precious metals, such as liturgical silver, was a clear sign of the end of the medieval universalist Church culture in Sweden and of the king taking control of the Church. The systematic development of Lutheran church interiors was therefore only started when the financial situation of the parishes improved. Models for

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1   Jutikkala and Pirinen, *A History*, pp. 108-11.

the Finnish church furnishings that were standardized during the period of Lutheran Orthodoxy were found in the mother country.[2]

Judging by international standards, the Nordic churches that adopted the Lutheran form of the Reformation have conserved the medieval material tradition in exceptionally diverse ways. This does not, however, mean that progress within any of the churches was harmonious. In Sweden, for example, radical Calvinism posed a real threat to moderate Lutheranism at the end of the sixteenth century. Swedish Church politics reveal the variety of sixteenth-century theological movements.[3]

In the late 1990s, the Swedish revisionist Reformation researcher Magnus Nyman stirred up discussion on the early stages of Lutheranism in Sweden by pointing out the difficulty of defining people's religion in the sixteenth century. Even in the case of many key personalities of the period, the public and the political side of religion was very different from religion as a private and inner matter. Even within the court of Gustav Vasa, the religious views of many people had foundations that could hardly be called Lutheran.[4]

The learned Protestant instructors from the Continent who taught the young Vasa princes in the Swedish court influenced the theological orientation of their pupils. Unlike their father Gustav Vasa, the sons showed great interest in theology, but the results of their studies can in no way be described as Lutheran. The Melanchthonian views of Eric XIV (r. 1560-1568) tended towards Calvinism; the theological interests of John III (r. 1569-1592) came close to Catholicism; and his son Sigismund's upbringing was entirely Catholic. The Biblism of Duke Charles of Södermanland (1550-1611) had strong Calvinistic influences.[5]

In 1561 at the meeting of Arboga, a year after the death of his father, King Eric XIV decreed that churches should have no works of pictorial art other than a crucifix and an altarpiece at the main altar. Despite these instructions and the pressure exerted, which included threats of penal action, the implementation of the reforms hardly progressed and the churches remained as they were. The interpretation of the theological group that tended towards a Philippist view with some Calvinistic emphasis was

2   Jutikkala and Pirinen, *A History*, p. 109; Pirinen, *Luterilaisen*; Pirinen, 'Reformaation', pp. 65-6; Pirinen, 'Changes', pp. 137-8; Hiekkanen, *Suomen kivikirkot*, pp. 167-82; Hiekkanen, *Suomen keskiajan*, pp. 49-50; Laitinen, 'Church Furnishings', pp. 315-7.

3   Kjöllerström, *Striden*, pp. 78-81; Cnattingius, *Uppsala möte*, pp. 44-51; Montgomery, *Värjostånd*, pp. 312-32, 336- 390; Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 21-6; Czaika, *David Cythraeus*, pp. 57-69.

4   Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia*, pp. 153-4.

5   Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 23-6; Grell, 'Scandinavia', pp. 125-7; Andrén, *Reformationstid*, p. 144; Pirinen, 'Reformaation', p. 67; Ericson, *Johan III*, pp. 41-6; Larsson, *Arvet*, pp. 31-2.

defeated by the stand that favoured a Gnesio-Lutheran position represented by Archbishop Laurentius Petri of Uppsala.[6]

No Swedish ruler can therefore be shown to have created a Lutheran identity through his personal views. The practices of the Evangelical Church, especially the doctrine and the liturgy, must be analysed as a fairly long period of development, that is, as a reformation process. This kind of examination presents the national Church as a concentration of political power led by strong bishops and a generally well-educated clergy. The Church created a literature in the vernacular to meet the liturgical needs of the worshippers and formulated a theological argumentation tried and proven in the earlier controversies. These became the normative canon.

In this chapter the presentation of political and religious ideas relating to the confessional controversies highlights the personal intentions of donors. What do these donations – paintings and pulpits – tell us of their donors and of the motifs behind the donations? How did their donors use their theological knowledge on such politically and socially motivated occasions?

Building on Tradition

The Swedish Church Ordinance of 1571 included a separate chapter on churches and their interiors. In it the writer of the document, Archbishop Laurentius Petri (r. 1531-1573), formulated his standpoint on paraments and vestments, pictorial representations, and lighting, including for example the use of candles in services. In his opinion, the furniture of the church was, in accordance with Luther's adiaphorist views, in itself a neutral, external issue. As with Luther, Laurentius Petri's criticism of the use of images was an aspect of his criticism of the forms of piety that had prevailed in popular religion.[7]

The acceptance of Laurentius Petri's Church Ordinance in 1572 did not end the discussion on religious norms. John III's interest in canon law resulted in the production of a draft for a new Church ordinance in 1575. It is worth noting that work on this manuscript, known as the Nova Ordinantia, was done by a Melanchthonian group of theologians. Discussing pictures,

6   *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattningens historia under tidehvarfvet 1521-1718*, 1561-1592, vol. 2:1, p. 6; Laurentius Petri, *Hypotiposes* (1566) published in von Troil, *Skrifter*, p. 257; Kjöllerström, *Striden*, pp. 81, 83; Pirinen, *Luterilaisen kirkkointeriöörin*, p. 137, note 122; Andrén, *Reformationstid*, pp. 142, 144, 148-9.

7   *Den svenska kyrkoordningen* 1571 (1971), p. 113.

the group put on record arguments grounded in orthodox Lutheran views. The bishop of Västerås, Erasmus Nicolai, was revered as an expert on the Church Fathers. He quoted St. Gregory the Great (d. 604), who considered pictures as books for the illiterate. The bishop of Strängnäs, Nicolaus Olai Helsingius, who had received a Melanchthonian education in Wittenberg just like his colleague from Västerås, invoked the general principles of Luther's interpretation of pictures: he noted their usefulness as graphic depictions of biblical texts while condemning malpractice.[8]

The Nova Ordinantia sums up the discussion of the theologians and presents a general guide for pictorial use with a choice of some available motifs.[9] It recommends subjects from the Old and New Testaments, the Patriarchs, prophets, pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and Christian martyrs. As in Luther's texts, St. George and St. Christopher are mentioned in the Nova Ordinantia. The named saints get a special theological interpretation: St. George is presented as a symbol of Christian authority and St. Christopher is mentioned as the bearer of the Christian message. Both saints are also motifs that are good for mankind and reminders of the Christian way of life.[10]

The question of the stone altar in a Christian church was one of the central points of contention in the debates between Calvinists and Lutherans on the Continent. From this perspective, it is interesting to note a mention made during the preparation of the Nova Ordinantia about a table that would replace the altar: 'Altare non habemus, sed mensam' ('We do not have an altar, but a table'). It signifies knowledge of different denominational interpretations: the records reference the Calvinist custom of using a table instead of an altar. The structure or the theological interpretation of the altar is not discussed in the final document, while the removal of the side altars is still considered as a topical issue. The recommendation in the Nova Ordinantia is that in large parishes with several priests, the Eucharist can be served simultaneously at several altars.[11]

8   Ohlsson, 'Till frågan', p. 44.

9   Falck, Een kort underwijsning', Cap. Om Beläter: Hwj kallar tå Gregorius Beläten the olärdas book, p. 233; Based on Johannes Spangenberg, *Margarita Theologica. Continens Praecipvos Locos doctrinae Christianae, per quaestiones breuiter & ordine explicatos* (Lipsae, 1542), p. 156, 'Atqvi Gregorius vocat imagines Laicorum Libros?'

10   Nova Ordinantia 1575, in *Kyrko-ordningar och förslag dertill före 1686*, vol. 1, p. 335; Lindgren, 'De ståndaktiga helgonen', p. 67; for problems of iconography see Michalski, *The Reformation*, pp. 31-6.

11   Ohlsson, 'Till frågan', p. 43; Persson, *Johan III*, pp. 49-50.

For John III, the alteration of service was a personally important project. It resulted in the 1576 *Liturgia Svecanæ ecclesiae catholicæ & orthodoxæ conformis*, better known as the *Red Book*. Scholars have interpreted the book in various ways, but nowadays John's theological view is most commonly defined as an attempt to bridge the gaps between Catholic reform movements, the confrontational Protestant groups, and the early Church tradition.[12]

After the death of John III, the Church of Sweden strived to return to the Lutheran tradition. In the Synod of Uppsala in March 1593, John's *Liturgia* was condemned and some traditional Catholic liturgical ceremonies were removed. In practice, the kingdom returned to the Church manuals written before 1576. The Augsburg Confession, together with the early Church statements of faith and the Church Ordinance of Laurentius Petri, were accepted as the normative texts.[13]

In the document signed in Uppsala, the religion practised in Sweden at the end of King Gustav Vasa's reign and during the time of Archbishop Laurentius Petri, from 1544 to 1573, was ratified. Of the normative texts, the Swedish Church Ordinance of 1571, to which formal changes had been made regarding baptism and Holy Communion, was later raised to the status of a canon.[14]

Finland – A Special Part of the Kingdom

Changes in parish church furnishings started to show in the mid-sixteenth century. The side altars were taken down to make room for the pulpit and the pews. The consecrated elements were received in the choir, the dignity of which was emphasized by fencing it with the choir screen. The altar rail, surrounding the altar on three sides, was a post-Reformation innovation in Finnish parish churches. After the Reformation, the font was moved from its position in the porch or by the church door. Initially, during the seventeenth century, for example, it was placed close to the door of the choir screen.[15]

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12   Friedrich, 'Johan III', pp. 115-18; Andrén, *Reformationstid*, pp. 195, 202-3; Ericson, *Johan III*, pp. 177-81, 186, 196-202; Larsson, *Arvet*, pp. 239-41; Czaika, *David Cythraeus*, p. 22.

13   Cnattingius, *Uppsala möte*, pp. 93-102; Montgomery, 'Uppsala möte', pp. 13-4, 16-7; Ericson, *Johan III*, pp. 194, 210-11; Czaika, *Elisabet Vasa*, pp. 26, 314-5.

14   *Svenska riksdagsakter jämte andra handlingar som höra till statsförfattingens historia under tidehvarfvet 1521-1718*, 1593-4, vol. 1:1, pp. 94-8; Hellström, 'Elevationsstriden', pp. 66-8; Cnattingius, *Uppsala möte*, pp. 138-41; Andrén, *Reformationstid*, pp. 212-22.

15   Pirinen, *Luterilaisen kirkkointeriöörin*, pp. 37-41, 43-9, 58-9, 90-2.

The oldest surviving material examples from the interiors of Finnish churches have to do with the much wider post-Reformation social changes. They can be interpreted as a token of the changed role of the clergy and the old Finnish noble families (*frälse*) in the formation of a new kind of representative state. The development of class ideology meant that the newly formed classes – the nobility and the Lutheran clergy – were saddled with an increasing responsibility for social development. Many noblemen ended up working in the court or as public servants or officers. This required suitable education, thereby connecting the development of the school system and the increased popularity of university education to the formation of the pre-modern state. The Swedish Crown awarded grants for young men who studied in German Lutheran universities and became loyal servants of the state and the Church. The attraction of the German universities as intellectual centres has been used to explain the success of the Reformation.[16]

The role of universities and field trips for the Evangelical movement has been emphasized in many histories of the Reformation. Otfried Czaika states in his doctoral thesis that 'there would be no Swedish Reformation without German universities', varying Thomas Kaufmann's thesis, according to which 'there would be no universities without the Reformation'.[17]

In order to advance the feeling of togetherness between the different regions of the kingdom and the integration of the state, the parochial clergy was granted the role of regional representation. The clergy had been invited to participate in the 1544 Diet of Västerås, which entrenched the status of the clergy as a class. As a representative political group, it now took part in parliamentary decision-making.[18]

As an administrative territory belonging to the Kingdom of Sweden, Finland is an interesting object of inquiry. It has been considered to be more traditional and to have less variable ecclesiastical customs than its motherland. The Finnish reformer Michael Agricola, who acted as the bishop of Turku between 1554 and 1557, was a clergyman with a peasant background whose studies at the University of Wittenberg were funded by the Crown.[19] His actions in the reformation of the diocese of Turku were purposely cautious. The process, that advanced by small steps and utilized Evangelical teaching, was meant to prevent social unrest. Finland was an

16   Svalenius, *Rikskansliet*, p. 15; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten*, pp. 177-8; Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia*, p. 137; Czaika, *David Cythraeus*, pp. 32-5; Lappalainen, 'Aateli ja suku', pp. 220-1.

17   Kaufmann, *Universität*, pp. 11-2; Czaika, *David Cythraeus*, pp. 32-5.

18   Czaika, *David Cythraeus*, p. 46.

19   Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, p. 57; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 62-77. For Agricola, see also the chapters by Lehtonen and Põldvee in the present volume.

agrarian territory where the two largest cities, Turku and Vyborg, saw no radical reformation movement, unlike those Hanseatic Baltic cities where even the iconophobic preacher Melchior Hoffman (*c.* 1495-1543) managed to find supporters among the German craftsmen.[20]

The Finnish texts Agricola wrote for Evangelical service use were official in nature and translated from Swedish handbooks. His literary output also contains texts that bring together different sources, reflecting a logical attempt to amalgamate the Latin tradition with Reformation thought. From the 1540s onwards, parishes were slow to replace handbooks with new Evangelical books, but in the following decades the pace increased. The change of pace was brought about by the generational shift by which the old priests with Catholic backgrounds were replaced by young men with Lutheran training.[21]

In 1556, Gustav Vasa granted his son John the duchy of Finland. During the seven-year duchy, John strengthened his ties with Finland. Afterwards, as King John III, he showed his fondness for Finns by readily recruiting loyal men from his former duchy to work in his chancellery in Stockholm.[22]

The relations of the Vasa family have features reminiscent of a Shakespearean family drama. Eric XIV, who inherited the throne from Gustav Vasa, did not accept the political and religious stances of his younger brother John. The relationship deteriorated ostensibly when Duke John married the Catholic Polish princess Catherine Jagiellon (1526-1583) in the autumn of 1562. The duke and duchess set up home in Turku Castle, which became an up-to-date Renaissance court. Princess Catherine brought with her an abundant collection of fashionable ornaments and the furnishings of a Catholic chapel. Her entourage even included two Catholic priests. The couple's life at court ended quickly when in the summer of 1563 King Eric's troops besieged Turku Castle. Nine months after the wedding, the duke and duchess were arrested and transported to Sweden to be imprisoned.[23]

No evidence exists of the Finnish ecclesiastical tradition having reverted back to Catholicism during the reign of Duke John. The formation of Lutheran ecclesiastical culture progressed slowly during the 1560s.

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20   Swart, *Konung Gustaf I:s krönika*, pp. 88-9; Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman*, pp. 79-81; Andrén, *Reformationstid*, pp. 35-6; Czaika, *David Cythraeus*, pp. 35-6.

21   Pirinen, *Turun tuomiokapituli*, pp. 82, 85-6, 106-8, 117, 156, 168-9; Knuutila, 'Liturgisen', pp. 34-8.

22   Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, pp. 227-31, 259-60, 279-81; Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia*, p. 137.

23   Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen historia*, pp. 232, 268-9, 271, 283-6; Grell, 'Scandinavia', pp. 126-7; Ericson, *Johan III*, p. 188; Larsson, *Arvet efter*, pp. 72-6, 191-3.

Towards the New

The church interior was the most important public space for local communities. The items donated to the church are examples of not just local circumstances, but also of larger public and confessional networks. The few surviving material exemplars offer views of their donors' religious and confessional motives.

The first post-Reformation church decoration project in Finland is the extensive frescoes of the Isokyrö (Swe. Storkyro) stone church. The paintings contain a reference to the year 1560. These paintings are the only remaining Finnish equivalent to the Lutheran church-painting phenomenon that flourished in Sweden. In addition to the Isokyrö frescoes, information exists on two other painting schemes. The church of Vöyri (Swe. Vörå), built in the seventeenth century, contains painted timber from an earlier church in use in the sixteenth century. The church of the Holy Cross in Rauma is known to have had paintings with Evangelical motifs in the mid-sixteenth century. In addition, two pulpits have survived, one in its entirety in the Holy Cross church in Hattula. Of the Vehmaa (Swe. Wemo) pulpit, only the bookstand remains.[24]

The pulpit of the Hattula church in Häme (Figure 9.1) is the oldest Lutheran pulpit in Finland, and the only one from the Reformation period that has survived as a whole without any severe damage. The coats of arms of Björn Classon (Lejon, d. 1550 or 1551), a member of the Swedish Council of the Realm, and his wife Karin Göransdotter Stiernsköld (d. 1584), a member of a family belonging to the Swedish high nobility, are carved on the Hattula pulpit. This indicates that it was donated to the church by the noble owners of the Lepaa (Swe. Lepas) and Harviala manors in 1550.[25]

Björn Classon (Lejon), the owner of the Lepaa and Harviala manors, was the last Finn to receive a master's degree in Paris in the Middle Ages. He was a key member of the Finnish elite and had a distinguished career in the service of the king of Sweden. As soon as he ascended the throne, Gustav Vasa appointed Björn Classon to the Swedish Council of the Realm. The manner in which Björn Classon was able to further his career indicates that he was a strong supporter of the Evangelical movement. The fact that

24   Riska, 'Isonkyrön', p. 310; Pirinen, 'Kaksi suomalaista', pp. 87-91.
25   The donation is probably connected with honouring the memory of Björn Classon, if he died in 1550. Ramsay, *Frälsesläkter*, pp. 258-9; Suvanto and Mäkelä-Alitalo, 'Lepaan suku'; Knapas, 'Pyhän Ristin', pp. 105-6; Hyvönen and Knapas, 'Hattulan kirkot', p. 136; Pirinen, 'Kaksi suomalaista', pp. 89-90.

Figure 9.1   The Hattula pulpit

Photo Heikki Hanka

his son Hans (d. 1572) studied at the universities of Rostock and Wittenberg in 1549-1550 also shows that he was favourably disposed towards the new religion.[26]

26   Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten*, pp. 84-5, 330-1; Syrjö, 'Lejon, Hans Björninpoika'; Pirinen, 'Kaksi suomalaista', p. 91.

In the early 1550s, at the time of Björn Classon's death, the Reformation had made so much progress that the manner in which religious services were carried out was already substantially different from the way in which the medieval Roman Catholic Mass was conducted. The vernacular sermon was the most important feature of the new Evangelical religious service, and with the new type of pulpit, the preaching of the Word of God assumed a central role in the physical environment of the event.

To supply the needs of Finnish services the New Testament (1548), a manual of Church ceremonies (*Manuale*), and a manual of divine service (*Missale*) were published in 1549. Reformed handbooks in the vernacular slowly replaced medieval liturgical books, a progress largely accomplished by the end of the sixteenth century.

Thus it was understandable that the Reformation-minded noble family owning the Lepaa and Harviala manors decided to donate a pulpit to the church. Hans Björnsson was studying in Wittenberg at the time of his father's death, and it can therefore be assumed that church interiors of Lutheran Wittenberg with their novelties (Figure 9.2) served as the model for the pulpit in Hattula, one of the oldest in the Nordic area. The pulpit is similar to the type of hexagonal or octagonal pulpit common in continental late medieval churches.[27]

The pulpit became common in the late Middle Ages and developed into an independent element of church furnishings. Earlier the pulpit was more closely linked to the rood loft and the other furnishings of the choir. Nordic academics studying church interiors largely agree that at least in cathedrals and large parish churches there was a rood screen or rood loft construction between the choir and the nave in the late Middle Ages. Many of the early pulpits were linked to the structures of rood lofts. Nordic galleries incorporating a pulpit-like projection illustrate this transformation of form and structure. For example, this type of gallery pulpit was popular in Denmark and Norway. However, in Hattula a detailed structural examination revealed that the pulpit was never a part of the gallery.[28]

Proper pews were constructed in the church hall during the first half of the seventeenth century, enabling the congregation to be seated during the sermons, the length of which increased over time. The church building

27   Kroesen and Steensma, *The Interior*, pp. 241, 254; Pirinen, 'Kaksi suomalaista', pp. 90-2.
28   The structure of the pulpit in Hattula has been examined by the leading Nordic expert of gallery pulpits, Marie Louise Jørgensen: Jørgensen, 'Lektoriepreadikestole', p. 89, 102; Nyborg, 'Lektoriepreadikestole'; Jørgensen and Hiekkanen, 'A Record' (manuscript); Pirinen, *Luterilaisen*, p. 57; Pirinen, 'Changes', pp. 144-5; Hiekkanen, *Suomen kivikirkot*, pp. 107-9, 111-12; Hiekkanen, *Suomen keskiajan*, pp. 41-2.

Figure 9.2   Lucas Cranach the Elder. The Holy Service. A motif from a prayer book, 1527

was no longer understood as a holy, consecrated space, but more as a public room and a space for a Christian congregation to gather together to hear sermons and celebrate the Holy Communion. The value of a church building was founded on services, which took place in a Lutheran church building. The most important point was its role as a place for eucharistic devotion. The Holy Communion and baptism were recognized as sacraments in the Lutheran doctrine.

Donors Loyal to the Crown

The frescoes of the Isokyrö church were funded by Jacobus Sigfridi Geet (d. 1586), the influential vicar of the Kyröjoensuu (Swe. Kyro) parish. The son of a Naantali (Swe. Nådendal) burgher, Geet had chosen an ecclesiastical career after the establishment of the Evangelical movement. He had shown notable rhetorical talent, having as a young priest worked as a preacher in the court of Gustav Vasa. This launched his later successful career. Noted as loyal, Geet was named the vicar of Kyröjoensuu in 1550, and by 1554 the county dean of the vast South Ostrobothnia. The area was known for its stubborn inhabitants, who were repeatedly at odds with the local priests. The economic growth of the area was swift. By nominating Geet, the Crown most probably wanted to stabilize the chosen order and regain control over the area with its rapidly growing population. It is noteworthy that Ostrobothnia, the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia, was not included in the duchy of Duke John in the 1550s.

Vicar Geet turned out to be a worthy opponent for the congregation. The records note that for a man of the cloth, he was exceptionally belligerent and astonishingly violent when fighting for his rights and claims in the area. Despite the disputes and numerous cases against him, he managed to maintain his position. The protection offered by the royal family had a long-lasting effect on the fate of Geet even after he moved to Finland to attend to his parish and vast deanery.[29]

The motive for donating the large frescoes has to do with the former court preacher's intention to cherish the memory of Gustav Vasa. A sign of this is the text ANNO.D. 1560 DIE BTOV. 3 ANGE ('anno domini 1560 die beatorum 3 angelorum', 'the year 1560, on the day of the three blessed angels') inscribed above the door to the sacristy. The given date is the day of Gustav Vasa's death, Michaelmas, which in the Catholic tradition honoured the archangels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. It has been commonly thought that the work on the frescoes started on that date, but it is more likely that Vicar Geet launched the project to honour the late Gustav Vasa and the Vasa familiy. The inscription refers to the date of king's death. It is possible that the work was done as late as the early 1580s, when Lutheran confessionalism was noted in Sweden during the fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession. Gustav Vasa's daughter Elizabeth (1549-1597) had the Augsburg Confession

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29 Leinberg, *Åbo*, pp. 200-2; Pylkkänen, *Isonkyrön*, pp. 44-75; Mäntylä and Luukko, 'Geet, Jacobus'; Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 58-64, 311; Riska, 'Isonkyrön', p. 310.

translated into Swedish in the spring of 1581 before celebrating her marriage to Duke Christopher of Mecklenburg (d. 1592) in May 1581.[30]

The lime-washed walls of the medieval stone church were painted with a festive pictorial motif reminiscent of the Gobelin-adorned halls of Renaissance castles. Planning the whole, Geet returned in his thoughts to the Stockholm of his youth and its finest interiors. The result was a northern interpretation of a Renaissance monumental painting. The painter only had a limited number of colours in use; black and reddish brown dominate the work. The models chosen from graphic sources have been crudely simplified. The backgrounds of the scenes show architectural and landscape motifs.[31]

The models for the frescoes that cover four walls of the church and are divided into three levels have their origins in devotional books. The topmost biblical cycle consists of themes from the Old Testament, from Genesis and Exodus (Figure 9.3). The story begins with the creation, followed by the expulsion from paradise. The story of Cain and Abel, fratricide, is juxtaposed with the sacrificial death of Christ. Episodes from the lives of the Patriarchs, such as Noah, led by the story of Joseph, are depicted in eight stories on the church walls. The life of Moses, who liberated his people and received the laws, gets an even more detailed depiction: the pictures amount to sixteen. The topmost pictorial cycle distils the concept of law. Its pendant is the evangelical theme depicted in the middle pictorial zone, which begins with the Visitation. Only those parts of the story of the Virgin Mary are appropriated that are in accord with the Lutheran teachings. All the Catholic legends are ignored. The evangelical history consists of the childhood of Jesus, his public appearance, and the Passion. The story continues with the Entombment and the Resurrection. The fate of the repentant Judas, who ends up hanging himself, is embedded in the story. The western end of the church shows the incidents between the Resurrection and the Ascension.

The bottom pictorial sequence clarifies the pedagogical function of the whole. In it the court preacher Geet offers the priest a selection of illustrative references to the Bible connected with the different evangelical texts of the ecclesiastical year. Without referential notes, the content of the pictures would be difficult to understand. The narrative content requests piety and prayer.

Planning the fresco with an unknown painter, Vicar Geet had a number of illustrated books in his use. The topmost illustrations originate in a pictorial Bible printed in Lübeck in 1494, which can be considered as the

30   Czaika, *Elisabet Vasa*, pp. 21-5.
31   Riska, 'Isonkyrön', pp. 310, 313.

Figure 9.3   Paintings from the Isokyrö church. The northern wall
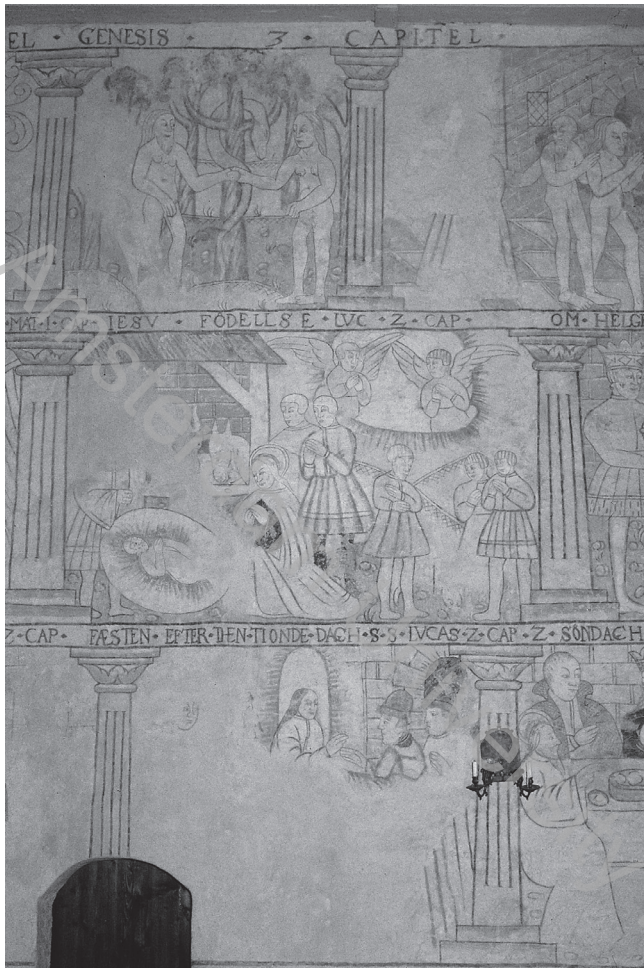
Photo Heikki Hanka

most important German pictorial Bible preceding the illustrated Bibles
of Martin Luther. The middle pictorial zone is modelled after the 1552
Prayerbook, which was printed in Amund Laurentsson's printing house
and most likely illustrated by Hans Brosamer. The bottom sequence has
to do with the evangelical texts connected with holy days. It echoes some
sixteenth-century illustrated collections of Lutheran texts.[32]

32   Pylkkänen, *Isonkyrön*, pp. 55-7; Riska, 'Isonkyrön', pp. 312-13; Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 61-4.

Figure 9.4   The bookstand of Vehmaa church
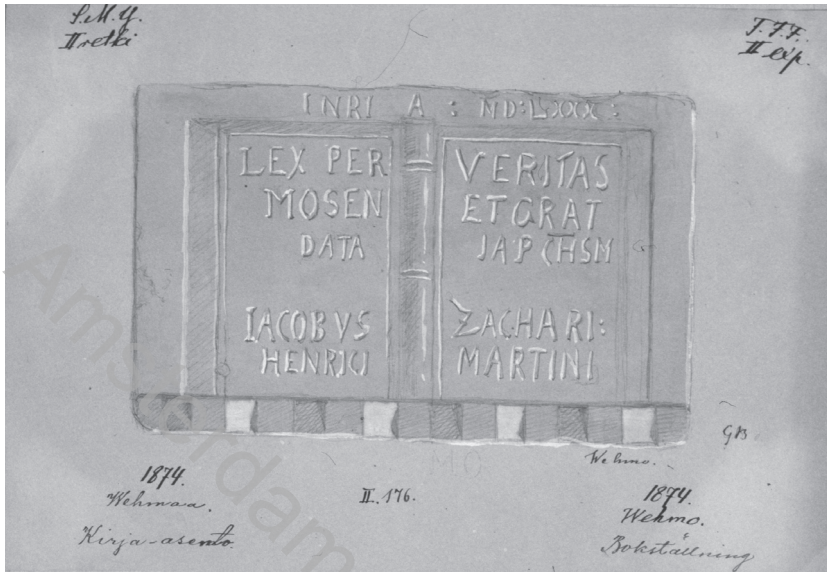
A water colour drawing by Gunnar Berndtson from 1874
Photo National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki

This documentary drawing was made during the second art-history field trip organized by the Finnish Antiquarian Society. The bookstand belongs to the collections of the Finnish National Museum (KM 58147:2).

Of the items surviving from the Finnish Reformation-era parish churches, the Vehmaa bookstand (Figure 9.4) has the strongest confessional connection. The rectangular wooden plate with carved inscriptions is the only part left of the Renaissance pulpit, made in 1580. The text INRI and the year 1580 (indicating the year in which the item was made) are inscribed at the top edge of the bookstand. There are also other texts with the Latin words 'lex per Mosen data, veritas et gratia p(er) CHSM (Christum)' summing up the Lutheran doctrine of justification: 'For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ'. In his theology, Luther emphasized how the grace of God and the belief in the crucified Christ set the sinful man free from the law (Figure 9.5). The theme was depicted in numerous works of Lutheran visual art, appearing in them as the 'Law and the Gospel' motif. The motif 'Law and Grace' (*Gesetz und Gnade*) became

Figure 9.5   Lucas Cranach the Elder, The Old and the New Testament (*c.* 1529)

a means of illustrating the Word of God and the Protestant equivalent to the *Biblia pauperum*.[33]

Little is known of Jacobus Henrici and Zachari Martini, the two priests whose names appear on the bookstand. We know that Jacobus Henrici (d. 1610), the vicar of Vehmaa, was a priest in southwestern Finland and a faithful servant of the Lutheran state Church. Loyal to the system of government, he followed the request to sign the decision made at the Uppsala Synod in 1593.[34] Attending the Diet of Linköping in 1600 as the representative of the priests of the Turku diocese marked the high point of his public career. The other priest, Zachari Martini, is later known to have served as a preacher of the Finnish congregation of Stockholm in 1586-1587.[35]

The year 1580 was revolutionary in many respects. For German Lutheranism it included making policy definitions and celebrating its nascent tradition. After the deaths of Martin Luther in 1546 and Philip Melanchthon in 1560, Lutheranism in continental Europe entered a period of crisis. The

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33   Schuster, 'Abstraktion', pp. 210-11; Harasimowicz, *Kunst*, pp. 19-20, 136.

34   Strandberg, *Åbo*, p. 164; Leinberg, *Åbo*, pp. 225-6; Perälä, *Vehmaan*, p. 47; Riska, *Vehmaan*, p. 26.

35   Perälä, *Vehmaan*, p. 47.

situation led to the parties breaking up into different camps, forcing the Church to seek its Lutheran identity. The most moderate and conservative view in the adiaphoristic controversy was represented by the Gnesio-Lutherans, or 'genuine Lutherans' as they were known, for whom the images and various Church ceremonies comprised a part of their identity.

After years of dialogue, a group of new-generation scholars completed the Formula of Concord in 1577. It was written so clearly that even simple lay people were able to understand it. The formula was published along with a set of other Lutheran confessional documents and ancient creeds in the Book of Concord (1580).

In Sweden, the year 1580 meant also a turning point in the Church policy practised by King John III. His brother, Duke Charles of Södermanland, came back to Sweden after a long visit to Germany. The Biblism represented by Duke Charles had strong Calvinistic influences. In the German area, the adoption of the Heidelberg Catechism, written by Count Palatine Friedrich III and published in 1563, resulted in the course of time in a radical Calvinistic change in the external practices of the Church. Out of this strict biblistic tradition grew the forms of the divine service in the German Lutheran *Landeskirchen*. The Palatinate was restored to the Lutheran confession during the reign of Count Ludwig, 1576-1583. This was influential on personal connections between the Swedish and Palatine royal houses. Duke Charles was married to the house of the Palatinate. His wife, Duchess Mary of Palatine, had her confessional background in Lutheranism.[36]

At the Diet of Linköping in 1580, Duke Charles aimed at purging the Lutheran liturgy of the last remaining Catholic elements. He saw papist elements in the customs of the Swedish Church, which could not be based on the Bible. He considered that the customs still remaining in use from Catholic times were proof that Church reform was only halfway on the road to completion.[37]

King John III's theological interests have often been considered as having bordered on Catholicism. Later research has emphasized his thinking was based on mediation theology (*Vermittlungstheologie*). Scholars have pondered whether he aimed to form an ecclesiastic union with Rome. John considered the early Church tradition as important, and it has been suggested that he planned to found a new Church that would have given a

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36   Holmdahl, 'Karl IX:s', pp. 246-51; Montgomery, *Värjostånd*, pp. 58-69, 74, 321; Arvidsson, *Bildstrid*, pp. 48-50; Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 162-3; Laasonen, *Luterilaisuus*, pp. 16-19, 22-4, 68-78; Persson, *Servants*, p. 14.

37   Petrén, *Kyrka*, p. 92; Andrén, *Reformationstid*, p. 196.

bigger emphasis than Lutheranism to the early Church tradition. Whether John converted to Catholicism remains unclear. Nonetheless, his motivation for pursuing direct collaboration and irenic development with the Church of Rome reached the end of the road by 1580. The Catholic party drew the same conclusions regarding the hopelessness of the negotiations. This change in the religious climate made the Catholic presence much more complicated and threatened in Sweden. Even the general secretary of the Jesuit Order, Antonio Possevino (1533-1611), who had been sent to Sweden on a diplomatic mission on behalf of Rome in the hope of winning the country to the Catholic faith, returned to Italy.[38]

The Swedish Church was positioned in the Gnesio-Lutheran tradition around the year 1580. The reasons had to do with foreign policy. Duke Charles and his wife, Duchess Mary of Palatine, were committed in their marriage contract to the principles of the Augsburg Confession in 1580. Gustav Vasa's daughter Elizabeth was about to marry into the house of Mecklenburg in 1581, and the celebrations included publishing a Swedish translation of the Augsburg Confession. This meant confessional profiling. John III himself never accepted the Augsburg Confession as part of the confessional foundation of the Church of Sweden. It was only added to the official canon in the Uppsala Synod in 1593 as a part of the security measures made in preparation against the Catholic Sigismund, who was in line to the throne.[39]

Donation as a Political and Religious Act

The artefacts in sixteenth-century Finnish Lutheran churches show signs that connect the acquisitions with tangible cultural heritage. Even so, the particular acquisitions can be approached as the adoption of a historically specific artefactual innovation and as a confessional act. Each particular donation can be assessed as a manifestation of state loyalty and doctrinal orthodoxy.

Materially furnishing the church gave persons of rank the opportunity to display not only their social status, but also their intellectual authority: an academic education enabled its possessors to elaborate the theological substance of religion in a personal manner. Noble families and clergy did

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38   Friedrich, 'Johan III', pp. 115-17; Czaika, *Elisabet Vasa*, p. 22.
39   Holmdahl, 'Karl IX:s', pp. 249-50; Montgomery, *Värjostånd*, p. 15; Czaika, *David Cythraeus*, pp. 241-2, 319-30; Czaika, *Elisabet Vasa*, pp. 22, 24.

indeed use their theological knowledge on politically and socially motivated occasions. By donating artefacts, the donor assumed the role of a public benefactor, who acquired religious merit out of the objects given to beautify the church and to spiritually edify the congregation.

The Hattula pulpit was donated to honour the memory of Björn Classon, a member of the Swedish Council of the Realm and a close acquaintance of Gustav Vasa. The pulpit, essential to a Lutheran church, can also be connected with the studies of Hans Björnsson, the son of a late Finnish nobleman, in the intellectual centres of Lutheranism, Wittenberg and Rostock. The innovation indicated the donating family's loyalty to the state and its new religion.

Studying these remaining early donations reveals that the donors' intentions were connected with the political core of the modernizing state and its attempt to strengthen the Lutheran identity of the Church of Sweden. The integration of the different areas of the kingdom had begun during the reign of Gustav Vasa. An increasingly more unitary and centrally planned pre-modern state was in the making. In parliament, the parochial clergy represented areas covering the whole kingdom, thereby making the clergy, led by powerful bishops, a self-assertive social class with a say in questions related to Church politics, especially when allying with the nobility.

The influence of the court and its networks was felt everywhere in the kingdom. In Finland, Ostrobothnia represents one of these network-controlled areas. The vicar of the large Kyröjoensuu parish had connections to the court of Gustav Vasa, and the fresco project can be described as an attempt of a loyal subject to cherish the memory of the late king and to identify with Lutheranism. However, the motives behind the fresco project are not known. The Vöyri church paintings can also be loosely connected with the court of Gustav Vasa, for Ericus Canuti, the vicar of the parish, was appointed to the post in 1558 by the king.[40]

Of the surviving Reformation-era artefacts in Finland, the most openly confessional is the Vehmaa bookstand, made in 1580. The Lutheran doctrines opened up by the text of the bookstand are connected with the important turning point in the confessional development of the Church of Sweden. The Augsburg Confession, the fiftieth anniversary of which was celebrated in Lutheran areas in 1580, had become an important document and a central builder of identity in the areas under Lutheran rule. It had huge political value in early modern European confessional politics. In Sweden this document radiated its influence in the situation of political

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40   Leinberg, *Åbo*, p. 234.

conflict in 1580, when John III's dabbling in mediation theology ended and the return of the Church of Sweden to the Wittenberg tradition and the Augsburg Confession, made topical by the return of Duke Charles, was a clear definition of policy. Commitment to the Lutheran confession was shown in the donations of the clergy loyal to the state.

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10   Continuity and Change

Reorganizing Sacred Space in Post-Reformation Tallinn

Merike Kurisoo

Adaptation of Catholic ecclesiastical space and art was one of the challenges in the regions that underwent a transition from Catholic to Lutheran faith in the sixteenth century. The question of images and continued use of Catholic church furnishings were treated in the writings of Martin Luther and other Lutheran theologians. The attitudes expressed in the early sixteenth century were also reflected in local Church regulations and Church laws. The issue of the use of images was not just a theological problem, but intertwined with legal, economic, and political considerations.

In the regions that embraced the Evangelical faith, places were needed to conduct the Lutheran liturgy, and for that purpose the existing churches were used. The adaptation of Catholic churches was a complicated task in all Lutheran regions: no changes took place overnight. For the new confession, the sixteenth century was a time of self-assertion, and a Lutheran 'image theology' was not formulated until the early seventeenth century. Three major Livonian cities that adopted the Lutheran faith in the 1520s – Riga, Tallinn (Ger. Reval), and Tartu (Ger. Dorpat) – were facing the same changes. Adaptations were made to existing churches to meet the requirements of the new faith, and the question of the continued use of Catholic church furnishings arose.[1]

This chapter seeks to shed light on changes in the use of ecclesiastical art in sixteenth-century Tallinn, as well as their implications. Above all, the chapter focuses on what became of the Catholic church furnishings and whether and how they were put to further use. On the other hand, it is relevant to observe when and why the first objects of Lutheran ecclesiastical art were commissioned. These issues are studied in parallel with the topic of the adaptation of the sacred space as such. The goal is to establish how issues related to the continued use of Catholic ecclesiastical art were solved in other Lutheran regions in the century of the Reformation, and whether those solutions were different from the ones applied in Tallinn. The second

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1   For more on this, see Kurisoo, 'Mis Jumalale'. The Polish-Lithuanian union from 1561 to 1621 ruled southern Estonia and Livonia, including Riga and Tartu, where the Counter-Reformation cut off the spread of Lutheranism for almost half a century.

part of the study focuses on the changes in St. Nicholas's church in Tallinn. This house of worship has been selected for closer scrutiny because unlike other Tallinn churches, it figures in a number of written records; there are also several comprehensive studies and considerable information about the ecclesiastical art that was to be found in or was commissioned for this church.[2] These records also allow insights into the reasons for different practices of adaptation and use of ecclesiastical art.

Changes in the use of ecclesiastical art in the sixteenth century can be viewed against a wider background presented in recent studies focusing on the early modern period in Estonia and Livonia. In recent decades, several authoritative studies have been published about the local ecclesiastical art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, focusing above all on Lutheran church art mostly from a theological point of view or on questions of patronage and commission of the artworks.[3] Nonetheless, these studies address the theme of the adaptation and continued use of Catholic ecclesiastical art only briefly. Significant studies – in addition to those written in the early twentieth century – have lately also been published on the early modern period of Livonian history, as well as developments during the Reformation and the ensuing changes in the organization of the Church.[4]

On the Continued Use of Medieval Ecclesiastical Art in the Sixteenth Century

In the Lutheran regions of northern Europe, mostly conservative and tolerant attitudes towards Catholic ecclesiastical art were predominant in the sixteenth century.[5] This depended on the tolerance towards the Catholic heritage shown by Martin Luther and Lutheran theologians, and sprang also from the populations' conservative frame of mind. Aesthetic judgement and pride taken in beautiful and expensive objects donated to the churches also had their implications. In the late Middle Ages, donating and sponsoring

2   Hausmann, 'Der Silberschatz'; Lumiste and Kangropool, *Niguliste kirik*; Mänd, *Kirikute hõbevara*.

3   *Eesti kunsti ajalugu 2*; Kodres, 'Church and Art'; Kodres 'Lunastus usu'; Kodres, 'Rootsiaegne kogudusekirik'; Ehasalu, *Rootsiaegne maalikunst*; Kodres, 'Crossing the Church's', Kodres, 'Das "Geistliche Gebäwde"'.

4   Arbusow, *Die Einführung*; Ritscher, *Reval*; Kala, 'Tallinna raad'; Kala, 'Kirikuelu'; Asche, Buchholz, and Schindling, *Die baltischen Lande*; Küng, *Eesti ajalugu*.

5   Heal, 'Sacred image', pp. 39-41.

ecclesiastical art was a way for wealthy citizens to show their social status and give prominence to their families. This also raised the question of whether – and how – objects bound up with such time-honoured ties could be destroyed or banished from the churches.[6]

To what extent did the sixteenth-century Evangelical ecclesiastical space visually differ from the sacred space of a Catholic church, and how were the changes reflected in the local churches? At first sight, the changes seem insignificant. A great deal of church art remained *in situ*, or at its original site. Although not conspicuous or significant at first glance, changes in the uses of the space and the objects did indeed occur. Some Catholic ecclesiastical art stayed at its original site, remained in use, or was adapted to the new requirements. Also the church furnishings were often retained, even if they were no longer in use. In most cases, this altered the functions of the objects – from earlier active use to passive. In front of certain images or statues people no longer prayed, or placed candles, nor were these used in liturgy or processions. Often, these objects were no longer kept in the church itself, but preserved in the church treasuries for aesthetic, economic, or other reasons. Besides the above, there also existed the practice of 'misplacement', which meant melting down of church silver that had become unnecessary.[7]

Instead of banning or banishing Catholic ecclesiastical art, Lutheran theologians preferred to reconstruct it, giving new content to the objects and the images depicted on the objects.[8] Figuratively speaking, they preferred reconstruction to demolition. Also, the principle of perpetuity and preservation of the Christian tradition was considered important. One purpose of the images was to help people in visualizing and recollecting the sermons. This meant understanding the Word, comprehending and keeping it in mind. A considerable amount of Catholic ecclesiastical art remained in the churches, while new content deprived it of its former role. In his treatise *Wider die himmlischen Propheten, von den Bildern und Sakrament* ('Against the heavenly prophets in the matter of images and sacraments') from 1525, Martin Luther formulated his 'image theology'. He spoke there of the images of the crucifixes and saints as a witness, as a memorial, and as a sign. Thus the viewers of the images were to learn by means of looking, not through veneration or worship. The faulty images were to be torn out of the people's hearts; it was the established Catholic interpretation of the images that was to be abolished. When the images were no longer

6   Christensen, 'Iconoclasm', pp. 213-4.
7   Schmidt, 'Die Fülle', p. 71.
8   Wartenberg, 'Bilder in den Kirchen', pp. 19-33.

associated with such interpretations, there would be no need to remove them. According to Luther, the commandment in Exodus prohibited images of God the Father, but not the crucifix, or images of saints or biblical scenes, and primarily forbade the worshipping of images.[9] For Luther, images were extraneous to religion: services could be held in existing churches, and the old images could remain in place. The images in themselves were neither good nor evil. They were permitted as long as they were not worshipped. The Augsburg Confession of 1530 and the *Formula Concordiae* of 1577 once more emphasized the ban on the worshipping of images. Martin Chemnitz, one of the composers of the Formula of Concord, stressed that images in churches were there to adorn, to instruct, and to remind.[10] The issue of the use of images had its roots in the question of correct service rituals, which rose acutely in the mid-sixteenth century. The positions of the followers of Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther differed with respect to the use of Church ceremonies. According to the Formula of Concord proceeding from the ideas of Martin Luther, Lutherans were free to choose the ceremonies with the accessories they thought appropriate. The latter were mostly considered as intermediary (*Mitteldinge*) or indifferent things (*adiaphora*).[11]

Martin Luther's tolerant attitude towards images was seconded by the local religious leaders of northern Europe both in theory and in practice. This was especially evident in Church regulations and laws of the sixteenth century. However, it must be admitted that in a majority of those texts the issue of the use of images was not specifically addressed, as it was thought to remain outside the bounds of religion or seen as a matter of evangelical choice. Of the north German Church laws and regulations in the early sixteenth century, the Church Ordinance for Hamburg drawn up by Johannes Bugenhagen in 1529 was the most thorough in the treatment of this matter.[12] The text emphasizes that there is nothing unchristian in images as long as they are not worshipped, and that it is the correct use of images that is of greatest significance. The ordinance especially denounces iconoclasm.[13]

It is evident from the Church regulations and agendas of the sixteenth century that it was above all the images related to idolatry and used as cult objects that had to be destroyed. The Schwarzburg Church regulations from

9   Müller, 'Repräsentationen des Luthertums', pp. 216-8; WA 37, pp. 63-4

10   Kaufmann, 'Die Bilderfrage', p. 419.

11   Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation*, pp. 116-9; Kaufmann, 'Die Bilderfrage', pp. 410-17.

12   Frederiksen, 'Reformationens betydning', p. 104.

13   *Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 513.

1547 stated that the priests' attire, copes, the altar, the lighting, the paintings, the biblical statues, and altar retables may be retained as extraneous ornaments as long as they are not put to incorrect uses.[14]

The Swedish Church Ordinance of 1571, drawn up by Laurentius Petri, was very tolerant in the question of images. The Ordinance, completed already in 1561 during the reign of Eric XIV, was first approved ten years later. According to the subchapter 'Om Kyrkior och Kyrkio skrudh' ('On churches and church furnishings'), the old Catholic church furnishings could be kept in use as long as idolatry was prevented. A special warning was given about the improper use of religious statues: they were no longer to be adorned with gold or silver ornaments or clothes, and it was forbidden to light candles in front of them or pray to them. While such practices were avoided, the statues could remain in the churches.[15]

The Lutheran 'image theology' evolved over a relatively long period. This was partly due to the long transition period from Catholicism to Lutheranism, as well as the political situation. For the whole of Europe, the sixteenth century can be seen as a transition period, characterized mostly by adaptation of the ecclesiastical space according to the new liturgy. In the question of ecclesiastical art, a major change – called a radical change in attitudes towards art – took place first in the early seventeenth century.[16] From what position the changes are considered is also important. Writings by Martin Luther and other Lutheran theologians, as well as Church regulations of the sixteenth century, give some idea about the Lutheran religious leaders' and pastors' attitudes towards images. It is much more difficult to analyse the changes from the viewpoint of ordinary members of the congregation. The crucial question here is whether practice coincided with theory. It should also be kept in mind that the first generation of Lutherans had been brought up as Catholics.[17]

Changes in Religious Life in Sixteenth-century Tallinn

In the Middle Ages, Tallinn was the focal point of the Estonian part of Livonia. The city was divided into two separate parts, the Lower Town and the Upper Town (figure 10.1). Historically, it was the Lower Town part that

14   Seebass, 'Mittelalterliche Kunstwerke', p. 44.
15   Kilström, 'Synen på kyrkoprydnader', pp. 194-5.
16   Schilling, 'Nochmals "Zweite Reformation"', p. 517.
17   Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin*, p. 45.

constituted Tallinn. The Upper Town, high up on the limestone hill, was called Toompea (Cathedral Hill) and developed into a centre of power over a period of centuries. This is where the diocesan cathedral of Tallinn and the bishop's residence were situated. It was also the site of the stronghold of the ruler of northern Estonia, the Toompea fortress. The region was under the rule of the Danish Crown until 1346, when the Teutonic Order took over. Toompea was also the residence of the local noblemen and vassals of the Teutonic Order. Legally, it was governed by provincial feudal law (as opposed to the Lübeck law valid in Tallinn from 1248) and the chivalric law.[18]

In the Middle Ages, the Lower Town of Tallinn evolved into a trading city under the Lübeck law, a member of the Hanseatic League, governed by the town council consisting of the citizens of Tallinn. Various guilds of merchants and craftsmen played a major part in regulating the life of the town. Three major guilds were the Great Guild, St. Canute's Guild, and St. Olaf's Guild. The most significant association was the Great Guild; the majority of its members were merchants of German origin with major or middle-sized enterprises, involved in long-distance trade. The town councillors were elected exclusively from among the members of the Great Guild. St. Canute's guild and St. Olaf's Guild were traditional associations of craftsmen, linking representatives from diverse crafts. St. Canute's Guild represented the higher-ranking craftsmen of the town: goldsmiths, coppersmiths, painters, bakers, retail traders, etc. St. Olaf's Guild brought together lower-ranking specialists such as butchers, carpenters, stonecutters, masons, etc. The Brotherhood of the Black Heads was an association of unmarried and journeyman merchants, as well as seafarers.[19]

Ecclesiastically, the town was divided into two parishes, St. Nicholas's and St. Olaf's. There were two monasteries in town – the Dominican Friary and the Cistercian Nunnery. At the heart of the city, adjacent to the Town Hall Square, was the Hospital of the Holy Spirit with the hospital church. The latter also served as the town council chapel. There were other smaller chapels in the Lower Town and the suburbs. Outside the town there was also St. John's Hospital. About ten kilometres west of Tallinn there was the convent of the Birgittine sisters, founded in the early fifteenth century.[20]

18   Legally, the Upper and Lower Town of Tallinn remained separated until 1879.

19   Mänd, *Urban Carnival,* pp. 29-39. The Black Heads and the Great Guild had close connections: according to custom, when a Black Head married, he became a member of the Great Guild and a citizen.

20   Markus, 'The Pirita Convent', pp. 95-110.

Figure 10.1   Matthäus Merian the Elder, View of Tallinn from the northwest
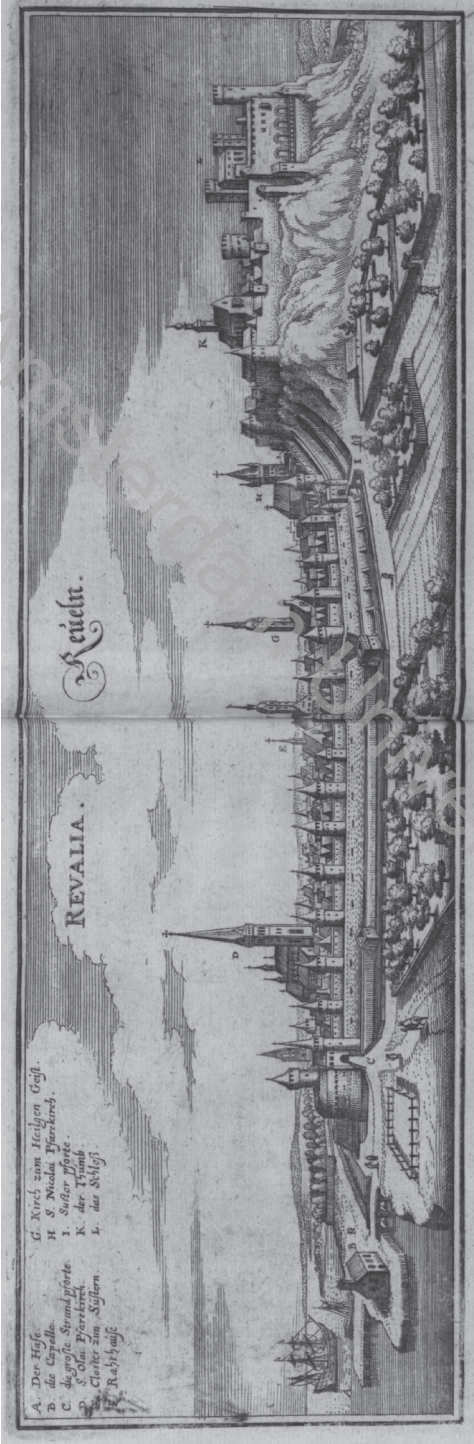
Copperplate engraving. First published 1641 in Johann Angelius von Werdenhagen's *De rebus publicis Hanseaticis*

From Martin Zeiller (Author), Matthäus Merian (Cartographer), *Topographia Livoniae, Das ist Beschreibung der vornehmsten Städte und Oerther in Liffland*. Frankfurt am Main: Merian, 1652

The ecclesiastical fate of the Lower Town and the Upper Town of Tallinn proved to be different in the sixteenth century. The Upper Town remained officially Catholic until 1561, when the northern Estonian lands were annexed to the Kingdom of Sweden and the cathedral of Tallinn became the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran cathedral. The Lower Town, on the other hand, stood on the threshold of changes from the mid-1520s onwards.

The Reformation in Tallinn can be said to have started in 1524. Evangelical preachers had been arriving in Riga, Tallinn, and Tartu for some years, and the ideas of the new faith were spreading fast. In the three major cities of Livonia – Riga, Tallinn, and Tartu – iconoclastic outbursts occurred in 1524-1525: in Riga there were three waves in March and April 1524, in Tallinn in September the same year, and in Tartu in 1525.[21]

In 1603, nearly eighty years after the outburst of iconoclasm in Tallinn, Jobst Dunte, the churchwarden of St. Nicholas's, recorded the events of September 1524 in the church's account book. According to local lore, which by that time had become deeply rooted, looting had taken place in the churches – first in the Dominican St. Catherine's church, then in the churches of St. Olaf and the Holy Spirit – on the Feast of the Cross. Church chests and offertory boxes were broken open and plundered, sacred statues and altarpieces destroyed. Two days later, an attempt was made to enter St. Nicholas's church, too, but owing to the cunning of the churchwarden, who had poured lead into the locks, the attempt failed.[22]

The outburst of iconoclasm in Tallinn was certainly not an unexpected attack against the churches. The lootings in Riga in spring 1524 portended that Tallinn stood next in line.[23] This is also proved by the fact that the Brotherhood of Black Heads was prepared in good time to protect their property. Already at the end of July in 1524, the Black Heads sent their wardens to the Dominican Friary, where all their donations to the church were recorded and delivered to the House of the Black Heads.[24] Also part of the property of the Confraternity of St. Anthony was saved from the iconoclasts.[25]

The municipal powers were quick to react to the devastation. On 15 September, the town council issued a decree requiring that the chalices,

21   Arbusow, *Die Einführung*, pp. 292, 295-7, 300; Michalski, '"Hölzer wurden"', pp. 147-62.

22   'Und alles weg geraubt, schappe, tafeln, bilder etc., die geldblocke entzwei geslagen' (f 31, n 1, s 142, fol. 24ʳ, Tallinn City Archives). See also Kala, 'Kirikuelu'.

23   Arbusow, *Die Einführung*, pp. 292, 295-7, 300.

24   Mänd, *Kirikute hõbevara*, pp. 47-8, 221.

25   Kala, 'Kirikuelu', p. 25. During the iconoclastic outburst, the Brotherhood paid for taking their altar properties out of the church.

patens, church silver, candelabras, candlesticks, church textiles, and other church property pillaged from the churches in the course of destruction of idolatrous statues and altars be returned.[26] Special reference was made to the property of St. Nicholas's church, which had been spared, and it was required that everyone who possessed carved or painted sacred images or statues in that church must remove them within the period of two days.[27] Anyone attempting to loot the Sisters' Church (the church of the Cistercian St. Michael's nunnery), the cathedral, St. Nicholas's church, or the chapel of St. Anthony was threatened with severe penalty. It is evident from the decree that church property was considered as belonging both to the churches and the donors. The stolen objects were either to be returned to the churches or to be removed from the churches by the owners. The decree does not address the inappropriateness of the Catholic church furnishings and sacred statues.

As in Germany, in Lutheran Livonia it was the magistrates that assumed the ecclesiastical power.[28] Under the supervision of the town council, changes were gradually introduced in the Church regulations of Tallinn. In September 1524, the Evangelical pastors Johann Lange, Zacharias Hasse, and Hermann Marsow submitted to the town council their proposals, consisting of thirteen clauses, on the reorganization of ecclesiastical life in Tallinn, including the proposal to create a common fund (*gemeine Kasten*) at the two parish churches.[29]

On 19 September 1524 the town council and representatives of three guilds gathered in the town hall. Johann Lange was elected the Evangelical superintendent of Tallinn, and Evangelical clerics were appointed to the churches of St. Nicholas and St. Olaf. It was also decided to establish a common fund at the two parish churches and wardens were elected for both funds.[30] The changes reorganizing ecclesiastical life continued in the following year. The Dominican Friary in Tallinn was dissolved on 12 January 1525.[31] There is also a town council decree from 22 January 1525 announcing that everyone in possession of any property belonging to the Dominican

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26 'Yn de vorstoring der afgodisschen bilde und altar tom hilligen Geiste, sunt Olof und to den Moncken' (f 230, n 1, s Ac 5, fol. 82ᵛ, Tallinn City Archives).

27 'Gesnedene und gemalde tafelen und bilde'.

28 Yet, also in the Middle Ages, the town council of Tallinn played a major role in the regulation of ecclesiastical life.

29 Kala, 'Kirikuelu', p. 17.

30 Mänd, 'Suhted kirikuga', p. 98.

31 Kala, *Jutlustajad*, pp. 353-5.

Friary must hand it over to the town council.[32] The text reveals a difference in the treatment of church property. The document issued in September 1524 stresses the need to return the ecclesiastical property to the churches, and the owners of images and sacred statues are ordered to remove them. The decree on the Dominican property, on the other hand, orders the property to be handed over to the town council. By that time, the Friary had been dissolved and its property transferred to the town's ownership. According to Johann Lange's proposal, the Dominican St. Catherine's church was to become a church for Estonians. The church, which had burnt down in 1531, remained in ruins, and instead it was the church of the Holy Spirit that became the Estonians' church.

At the beginning of April 1525, the town council prohibited the attendance of Catholic services in Tallinn cathedral in Upper Town, as well as in St. Michael's church of the Cistercian nunnery.[33] In spring 1525, Johann Lange submitted to the town council his proposals on the regulation of ecclesiastical life. The last of those proposals addressed the issue of church furnishings, pointing out that Scripture did not state that the Host or blessed sacrament should be kept in the monstrance.[34] In the same year, the town council approved Lange's proposals, making an exception for the issue of the monstrance.

The corporate elite of the town took a very clear stand in favour of the Evangelical movement and the reorganization of the Church. A joint statement was made by the three guilds (the Great Guild, St. Canute's Guild, and St. Olaf's Guild) that gathered for a general assembly during Carnival in 1526. A similar statement was made also by the Brotherhood of Black Heads. The statements forbade attendance at the Mass and services, as well as receiving communion and baptism in the remaining Catholic churches of Tallinn – St. Michael's church of the Cistercian nunnery in the Lower Town, the cathedral on Toompea, and the church of the Birgittine nunnery at Pirita.[35]

After 1525, the only Catholic establishment remaining in the Lower Town was St. Michael's Cistercian nunnery, which mainly continued to function as a charity. It was only in 1543 that the nunnery was reformed, and a Lutheran preacher appointed. The reformed nunnery carried on until 1630, when it was dissolved, and the premises handed over to the Swedish congregation.[36]

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32   Kala, 'Tallinna rae', p. 99.
33   Kala, 'Kirikuelu', p. 20.
34   *Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 1970, p. 41.
35   Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, pp. 126-7.
36   Kala, 'Lühike kristlik', pp. 15-17.

The anti-ritualistic attitude characteristic of the Reformation mainly consisted of forsaking the Catholic rituals.[37] Changes in the ecclesiastical life were also reflected in the diminished number of ecclesiastical holidays and processions: for instance, the procession of Corpus Christi no longer took place in Tallinn after 1524.[38] It has also been omitted from the 1528 statutes of the Great Guild.[39] In spring 1525 the town council approved a resolution ordering all holidays of the Apostles, the Virgin Mary, and other saints to be transferred to Sundays. Although this resolution has been associated with the need to reduce the number of idle working days,[40] the intention and opportunity to abolish a whole series of Catholic holidays was certainly relevant as well.

In Riga, Tallinn, and Tartu, the issue of the need for Lutheran Church regulations was raised in good time. From 1526 onwards, the matter was discussed at several consecutive diets. As a result of those discussions, the task of compiling uniform Church regulations was given to Johann Briesmann, the Evangelical superintendent of Riga.[41] *Kurze Ordnung des Kirchendiensts, samt einer Vorrede von Ceremonien, an den Erbarn Rath der löblichen Stadt Riga in Liefland* was printed in 1530. It was based on the Königsberg *Artikel der Ceremonien* from 1525 as well as the Church regulations of Wittenberg and Prussia.[42] Riga, Tallinn, and Tartu adopted Briesmann's new Church regulations in accordance with a resolution of the Diet of Valmiera (Ger. Wolmar) from 1533 onwards.[43]

37   Roeck, 'Macht und Ohnmacht', p. 54.
38   Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, pp. 168-9. According to the account book of the Great Guild, this holiday was celebrated for the last time in 1524.
39   Mänd, 'Suhted kirikuga', p. 97.
40   Kala, 'Kirikuelu', p. 21.
41   *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage*, no. 231, p. 578; no. 248, p. 643; no. 256, p. 666. Kreem, 'Die Religionsfrage'. The issue of imposing uniform Church regulations was discussed on the Diet of Rūjiena (Ger. Rujen) on 10 March 1526. The same question was raised again in December 1527 during the Diet of Uus-Pärnu (Ger. Embeck). It was decided to give Johann Briesmann the task of compiling uniform Church regulations for Riga, Tallinn, and Tartu in cooperation with the pastors of those towns. In 1527, Köningsberg-born Briesmann became the Evangelical superintendent pastor of Riga and a preacher at the town's cathedral. The importance of Church regulations was once again emphasized during the Diet of Valga (Ger. Walk), which took place in February 1529.
42   *Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 11.
43   *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage*, no. 321, pp. 825-8; *Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 6-8. Briesmann's Church regulations were relatively liberal and also briefly touched upon the issues of ecclesiastical art, such as the use of eucharistic vessels and pastoral vestment.

In 1531, the Tallinn town council asked Heinrich Bock, a Hameln-born cleric, to become the first Lutheran superintendent of the town. The town council also wrote a corresponding letter to Martin Luther, who in reply informed the town council that Bock did not yet wish to accept the office. Bock, who had studied at the universities of Wittenberg and Rostock, consented to accept the office of superintendent in 1540. On Martin Luther's recommendation, Nikolaus Glossenius from Wittenberg became the first Evangelical superintendent of Tallinn in 1533.[44] He became the Evangelical pastor of St. Olaf's church, the main church of the town. He remained in office until 1536.

In 1555, thirty years after the three largest towns of Livonia had begun their conversion to Lutheranism, the local nobility accepted the Augsburg Confession.[45] Proceeding from the principle of religious freedom – *cuius regio, eius religio* – the Augsburg peace treaty confirmed that the religion of the ruler dictated the religion of the ruled. This meant that from then on the choice of faith depended on the landed nobility. Equality between the Lutheran and Catholic churches and the rulers' right to choose the faith of the state was confirmed by the resolutions of the Pärnu and Valmiera Diets in 1552 and 1554 respectively.[46]

Still, instead of a peaceful period of transition and consolidation of Lutheranism, Livonia was destined for difficult times. In the Livonian War that broke out in 1558, four great powers – Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden – were involved in a struggle for dominant position in the region. The truce of Plyussa in 1583 meant a temporary cessation of large-scale confrontations in the area, with northern and western Estonia becoming part of the Kingdom of Sweden, while southern Estonia and northern Latvia remained Polish, and Saaremaa belonged to Denmark until 1648. During the war, Tallinn was several times besieged by Russian troops, and the state of war had an impact even on the fate of church property. At the same time, rearrangements were made in religious life owing to political changes in Tallinn. In Tallinn and the part of Estonia that in 1561 were ruled by the Swedish Crown, Lutheranism became the only legal religion. In the same year, Johann Robert von Geldern became the superintendent of Tallinn and the visitor of country churches, and was appointed the bishop of Estonia in 1569. No records remain of the Church regulations compiled by von Geldern,

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44   Arbusow, *Die Einführung*, pp. 699-700.
45   Kodres, 'Kirikuarhitektuur Eestis', p. 296; Arbusow, Die Einführung.
46   Loit, 'Reformation', p. 72.

presumably in 1561.[47] In 1583, Christian Agricola was ordained the bishop of Estonia. After his demise, the post remained vacant for nearly half a century. In the early seventeenth century, repercussions of new outbreaks of war between Sweden and Poland over the southern part of Livonia, as well as several epidemics of plague, were felt also in religious life, which otherwise had started to settle down. Those difficult times were to last for two or three decades.[48]

No records are available about the application of the Swedish Church Ordinance of 1571 in Tallinn in the sixteenth century. It is possible that no specific Church ordinance was drawn up for Tallinn at the time, and that the texts on Church regulations from 1524-1525 were used together with Briesmann's regulations. Of the latter, seven reprints with minor amendments were made in the sixteenth century, the last of those in Riga in 1592.[49] Tallinn's first Church Order is from the year 1608 and also address, in several clauses, the issue of church furnishings.[50]

The Issue of Church Property

In the early post-Reformation years, the future of church property was an issue of great importance. This is evident already in the statements of the Tallinn town council from 1524-1525. In the days following the outbursts of iconoclasm, orders were issued that all looted property be returned to the churches. At the same time, the owners were told to remove sacred images and statues from St. Nicholas's church on pain of confiscation. The Brotherhood of the Black Heads and the Confraternity of St. Anthony had already collected their donations from the churches. This shows that objects donated to churches were treated as property of the donors. Nevertheless the property of the Dominican Friary was handled differently. After the dissolution of the friary, its property was taken to the town council.[51]

Already in autumn 1524, it was decided to create a common fund at both the church of St. Nicholas and the church of St. Olaf. The decree on the distribution of the income of the ecclesiastical counties issued by the town council on 9 September 1525 prescribed that all gains obtained by the latter

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47 *Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 35.
48 Küng, *Eesti ajalugu*, pp. 68-91, 210-13.
49 *Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 9.
50 f 230, n 1, s Aa 115, Christliche Ordnung der Revaler Kirche 1608, Tallinn City Archives.
51 Kala, 'Tallinna rae', pp. 99-101.

should by means of the common fund be allotted for the sustenance of the Evangelical pastors and the charities.[52] This meant that all church property was thus transferred to the Reformed Church. There is a register of church revenues and side altars from 1525-1527, providing a comprehensive account of the revenues from regular chantries (*vicaria*) held in the churches and chapels of Tallinn. The register was drawn up to survey the church income transferred to the ownership of the common funds.[53] The churches' earlier revenues in the form of money were now redirected into the common fund.

The matter of church property was raised several times on the diets of Livonia and also diets of the towns of Livonia. This clearly underlined the differences and the discord between the towns and the Livonian nobility. The latter, unlike the towns, were not embracing the Evangelical faith. On 9 July 1525 at the Diet of Valmiera, it was decided that the cathedral churches, as well as convents for virgins and widows and monasteries for monks, were to maintain their previous regulations and traditions of service, as well as to retain their property. The church property transferred to secular safekeeping, on the other hand, in accordance with the decision of all Estates, had to remain intact and not be removed.[54] The latter clause meant that church property would have to remain untouched until further legal specifications had been made. According to the resolutions of the diet, no changes in ecclesiastical life were to be carried out before the synod had been convened.[55] In March 1526 the town council of Riga addressed a letter to the Livonian master of the Teutonic order, Wolter von Plettenberg, informing him that they would embrace the new faith, and concerning the church property, had decided that what had been given unto God must stay with God and that the cash and other property designated for chantries (*vicaria*) would be transferred to the common fund.[56] At the diet of Livonian towns in Uus-Pärnu in December 1527, another common statement was issued to emphasize that the funds and property donated to churches for the purpose of chantries must remain in the common fund to be used exclusively for charity, not for any secular purposes.[57]

The church furnishings, on the other hand, were treated in a different manner. In the late medieval or post-Reformation inventory lists, mostly church silver and textiles were registered. For example, the Confraternity

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52   Kala, 'Kirikuelu', p. 22.
53   Kala, 'Tallinna raad', pp. 147-55.
54   Bienemann, 'Die Anfänge', p. 458.
55   Loit, 'Reformation', p. 72.
56   Hausmann, 'Der Silberschatz', pp. 314-15.
57   *Akten und Rezesse der livländischen Ständetage*, no. 248, pp. 643-50.

of St. Anthony removed its church silver during the wave of iconoclasm, sold it in 1530, and paid the gains into the common fund. The Great Guild did the same with its church silver.[58] The issue of altar retables and sacred statues was more complicated. The images from the side altars were probably treated as private property and their future depended on the judgement of the owners. The high altar retables, considered as parish property, were an exception here and were mostly retained at their original sites.

As for church silver, the pattern in Tallinn was similar to that of other cities that adopted the Evangelical faith. In Nuremberg, church property remained in churches according to the principle that what has been given unto the church, must remain with the church. Yet the attitude towards the property of friaries and convents was different: when a monastery was dissolved, its property was transferred to the town council. Images adorning the altars in churches, as a rule, were left in place. Only in very rare cases were private individuals allowed to remove the statues and altarpieces they had donated.[59] Although almost all church silver was confiscated from the churches of Lübeck in the 1530s, the fate of the images was different. Altarpieces, paintings, and sculptures were treated as the property of donors, who were also to decide their further use.[60]

On the Adaptation of Medieval Ecclesiastical Space and Ecclesiastical Art in St. Nicholas's Church

Making use of Catholic churches was a common practice in the Lutheran regions of northern Europe. In this respect, the concept of continuity played an important role. Churches were above all treated as holy places. The Courland Church Order *Kirchenreformation des Fürstenthums Churland und Semigallien, in Liefland* from 1570 stipulated the continued use of churches. According to that law, churches and churchyards were not to be used for secular purposes, as unfortunately had occurred, but had to be repaired and put to proper use with God's help. The church was a temple of God and had to remain a house of worship.[61] This also applied to the furnishings of the church. Consecrated places or objects could not lose their power. The

58   Mänd, 'Suhted kirikuga', p. 100.
59   Seebass, 'Mittelalterliche Kunstwerke', pp. 45-7.
60   Hasse, *Die Marienkirche*, pp. 174-6.
61   'Denn es scheind gotts tempel und sollen bleiben gebedeheuser' (*Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 53).

remaining sacraments, the churches themselves, as well as baptismal fonts and altars, still retained their aura of sanctity.[62]

Yet the Lutheran liturgy imposed new demands on ecclesiastical space and the objects used there. The spatial division of the church was based on the new tasks of the service: the sermon, offering of the communion, common prayer, and song. Of the seven sacraments, only two – communion and baptism – remained. The spatial division of the church was determined by three principal things (*Prinzipalstücke*) – the altar, the pulpit, and the baptismal font – as well as the pews.[63] As a result of the rearrangements of space and adaptation to the requirements of the new liturgy, which took place during the whole of the sixteenth century, the focal point of the church moved to the east part, where the high altar and the baptismal font usually stood. The pulpit, the pews, as well as the epitaphs that came to replace the side altars and the images of saints, were situated in the nave.

Besides the adaptation of Catholic ecclesiastical space and furnishings, it is also important to know when and why the commissioning of Lutheran ecclesiastical art started. In the first place, obtaining new church furnishings had to do with practical needs: it was the necessary items that were commissioned. The changed function of ecclesiastical space was also relevant. The latter especially concerned the commissioning of pews for the whole congregation.

Today, we are used to white paint on church walls and therefore the idea that in the post-Reformation centuries most of the medieval wall paintings in churches were whitewashed is quite widespread. Yet field studies made in Estonia in recent years show that churches in Estonia were also adorned with images in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Today, the greater part of our information is about rural churches.[64] Of the medieval wall paintings in St. Nicholas's church, the information is fragmentary and it is not known whether or to what extent the church walls were adorned.[65] Yet the first record of the whitewashing of the walls of the church dates from the early seventeenth century. In a fire that started from Toompea in 1553, the interior of the church suffered damage. The fire that spread to the roof of the nave damaged the northern buttressing and blackened the church walls.[66] Only in 1624, on the initiative of the churchwarden, were the arches

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62   Coster and Spicer, 'Introduction', p. 6.

63   Wex, *Ordnung und Unfriede*, p. 129. The term *Prinzipalstücke* was first published in Joseph Furttenbach d. J., *Kirchen Gebäw* (Augsburg: Johann Schultes, 1649).

64   Tooming, 'Late Medieval', p. 44.

65   Lumiste and Kangropool, *Niguliste kirik*, p. 19.

66   Lumiste and Kangropool, *Niguliste kirik*, p. 42.

and the pillars painted white.[67] The main purpose of the work was to hide the traces of the fire.

The Altar, the Pews, and the Pulpit

One of the major issues in the adaptation of Catholic ecclesiastical space and art was that of the altar. The Lutherans only kept the high altar as the place of the Eucharist, and the side altars were no longer needed. Therefore, the issue of their removal arose. From the viewpoint of ecclesiastical art this meant that the images adorning side altars lost their original function. Yet the altarpiece adorning the high altar, as well as the triumphal crucifix, were left in place.[68]

Several Church regulations emphasized that the high altar was to be the only altar remaining in the church. This requirement was underlined also in the Courland Church Order from 1570, allowing only a single altar in the church. Side altars had to be demolished and cleared of idolatrous images.[69] The importance of offering the Eucharist at a single altar is also stressed in the Tallinn Church Order dating from 1608. It points out that images and objects neither associated with idolatry nor put to wrong kinds of use may remain in place as intermediate objects (*Mitteldinge*).[70]

The best account of altars and their consecration in the churches of Tallinn in the Late Middle Ages can be obtained from a list of the revenues gained from the altars and services in the local churches drawn up on the assignment of the town council in 1525-1527. In the larger churches of the Lower Town, there were nearly a hundred side altars altogether in the early sixteenth century.[71] In addition, there were the altars in the cathedral and in the church of St. John's Hospital and the chapels.

The removal of side altars was a prolonged process, continuing well into the mid- to late sixteenth century in several Lutheran regions of Europe. This was necessary not solely because of the requirement that only the high

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67 f T-76, n 1, s 842, p. 45, Estonian State Archives.

68 Cieślak, 'Die Kunst', p. 73.

69 *Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 98.

70 Kodres, 'Crossing the Church's', p. 163; 'Bilder und gemäldtnisse, welche niehe abbgöttisch sind für sich, und zur abgötterei missbraucht werden, solange halten wir sie für freie mitteldinge, … sollen nirgend anders dienen nur dass die einfeltigen eine historien oder geschichte darinnen sehen mügen, und dass die kirche ausserlich damitt gezieret werde' (f 230, n 1, s Aa 115, fol. 43ʳ, Tallinn City Archives).

71 For side altars, see Kala, 'Tallinna raad', pp. 147-60.

altar might remain in the church space, but also because the side altars
consumed considerable space in the nave, obstructing the congregation's
view of the pulpit.[72] It is relevant here to point out that the images adorning
side altars were treated differently from the construction itself. Yet Catholic
ecclesiastical art remained in the churches. In the Church regulations of
Mecklenburg from 1552, an order was given to dismantle all side altars in
churches and to use the remaining stones for reparations to the church,
whereas it was recommended to hang the images from the side altars on
church walls.[73] The same method had been used in Denmark ten years
previously. In the church visitations carried out by Peter Palladius, the
bishop of Sjælland, in 1543-1544, an order was given to dismantle the side
altars in churches and use the altar retables and images on the walls of the
church.[74] In the churches of Pomerania, the removal of side altars started
in the 1560s.[75] The Swedish Church Ordinance from 1571 also stipulated
the removal of side altars, but it tolerated them in greater town churches.[76]
In St. Mary's church in Lübeck, the side altars disappeared gradually. The
first of them were removed in the 1570s to 1590s, while others remained
there until the nineteenth century.[77] It was a common practice to leave
the altarpieces of the high altar in their original sites, at least initially. The
commissioning of new, Lutheran altarpieces started in the seventeenth
century.[78]

    Although the information about side altars in the churches of Tallinn
is scarce, we may assume, proceeding from practices in other regions,
that the process was not different. One reason for the disappearance of
side altars was the need to make space for the pews. The first pews of
the Lutheran period in Tallinn were ordered on the initiative of Jasper
Reiger, the churchwarden of St. Nicholas's church in the mid-sixteenth
century.[79] In the years 1556-1557, ornate pews adorned with Lutheran im-
ages, especially for the town council members, and simpler constructions
for men and women were provided (figure 10.2).[80] The latter were not
single seats, but pews that filled a greater part of the church nave. The

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72   Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin*, p. 72.
73   *Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 513.
74   Frederiksen, 'Reformationens betydning', p. 112.
75   Wisłocki, 'Ort und Rolle', p. 347.
76   Ångström, *Altartavlor i Sverige*, pp. 42-5.
77   Hasse, *Die Marienkirche*, pp. 187-90.
78   Cieślak, 'Die Rolle der Ikonographie', p. 59.
79   f 31, n 1, s 142, fol. 32ᵛ, Tallinn City Archives.
80   Karling, *Holzschnitzerei*, pp. 27-38; Kodres, 'Lunastus usu läbi', pp. 59-61.

Figure 10.2   Ornate pews for the Town Council members in St. Nicholas's Church, 1556-1557; destroyed during the Second World War

University of Tartu Library. Historical photo collection. Art and Architecture

characters pictured on the pews for town council members echoed the doctrine of the Law and Gospel of the Lutheran 'image theology', thus becoming the town council's manifesto of the new faith.[81] A couple of years later, the Brotherhood of Black Heads also commissioned its pews for St. Nicholas.[82] It is probable that by that time, a greater part of the side altars in the nave of the church had been demolished. Presumably this is what happened also in the other churches of Tallinn, although lack of records precludes any definite statements on this matter. In the early seventeenth century, more pews were ordered for St. Nicholas's church.[83] The fact that the question of pews had been solved in the churches of Tallinn is also obvious from the Tallinn Church Order of 1608, stating

81   Kodres, 'Lunastus usu läbi', p. 60.
82   Karling, *Holzschnitzerei*, pp. 36-7. Sten Karling dated the pews of the Brotherhood of Black Heads to the 1560s.
83   In 1603, pews were provided for the nobility and for men, which were placed in the Small Chapel. There is also information about new pews from the 1620s: Lumiste and Kangropool, *Niguliste kirik*, p. 44.

Figure 10.3   Ground plan of St. Nicholas's Church; Heinrich Julius Woltemate, 1691

The National Archives of Sweden

that the pews in churches must remain in their present arrangement.[84]
There is no information about the exact placing of pews in St. Nicholas's
church in the sixteenth century. The first visual source is the ground plan

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84   'Die Kirchenstuele sollen in ihrer alten ordnung bleiben' (f 230, n 1, s Aa 115, fol. 43ʳ, Tallinn
City Archives).

drawn by Heinrich Julius Woltemate in 1691,[85] on which it is visible that the seats in the church space were distributed in accordance with estate and gender hierarchies (figure 10.3). There had probably not been any major changes in the seating. The seating in the pews reflected the secular estate and power hierarchy.[86] Those of dominant standing also had pews in a better position and with finer ornaments. In the church of St. Nicholas, the churchwarden's pew was at the altar, while the pews of the pastors, the professors, and the governor-general were between the pulpit and the altar. The pews of the town council members and the Brotherhood of Black Heads were in the western part of the church. The pews of the congregation stood in the middle of the nave and were separate for men and women. The configuration of pews in St. Olaf's church was almost identical.

The town council members and the Brotherhood of Black Heads belonged to the town's elite, and the western position of their pews might therefore seem perplexing. In St. Nicholas's church, the northern portal was used as the main entrance, so the pews were also inconveniently positioned for the easiest access. In St. Olaf's, the main portal is indeed facing west. It is probable that the seats of those associations had stood in the same position in the Middle Ages and that they preferred to adhere to the traditional seating for the town elite in chancel and nave. A similar layout is discernible also in the position of burial places.

The pews were commissioned for the churches so that the congregation would have a place from which to hear the sermon. The oldest known pulpit in Tallinn, which has also been preserved to this day, is the pulpit of the church of the Holy Spirit, donated by the Burgomaster Heinrich von Lohn in 1597.[87] St. Nicholas's church received a new pulpit in 1624 as a gift from the vice-regent of the Swedish provinces of Kaporje and Ingermanland, Bogislaus von Rosen (figure 10.4).[88] In the late Middle Ages, almost all churches in Tallinn had pulpits (at that time, called sermon chairs), and there were at least two of them in St. Nicholas's.[89] Whether the abovementioned new pulpit, completed in 1624, already had a Lutheran predecessor, or whether one of the medieval pulpits had still been in use, is difficult to tell. One of the earliest records of the existence of a pulpit in St. Nicholas's church dates from the early seventeenth

85   Livonica: Gen. guv. i Estland A.J. De la Gardie t. K. M:t 1692 2/1, bl 5, Swedish National Archives.

86   Wex, *Ordnung und Unfriede*, pp. 130, 134.

87   Kodres, 'Lunastus usu läbi', p. 65. The oldest known pulpit in Estonia is that of the church of Rannu, probably dating from the mid-sixteenth century.

88   Lumiste and Kangropool, *Niguliste kirik*, pp. 44-5. From the 1640s, there is information about new pulpits in St. Olaf's church and Tallinn Cathedral.

89   Kala, 'Tallinna raad', p. 158.

Figure 10.4   **Interior view to the west of St. Nicholas's Church with seven-armed candelabrum (1519), the pews of the Brotherhood of Black Heads (1560s), and the pulpit (1624). Pulpit and benches destroyed during the Second World War**

University of Tartu Library. Historical photo collection. Art and Architecture

century. According to the entry of 1603 in the account book of St. Nicholas's church, the pews for men and for the nobility ordered for the Small Chapel had been placed facing the pulpit.[90] This entry enables us to assume that the Catholic pulpit had stood either at the same site as the pulpit from 1624, which was on the third pillar counting from the chancel on the southern side of the nave, or on the northern pillar facing it.[91] It is not known whether the pulpit mentioned in 1603 is a post-Reformation pulpit or a medieval one.

90   f T-76, n 1, s 842, p. 4, Estonian State Archives; f 31, n 1, s 219, fol. 1ʳ, Tallinn City Archives.
91   For example, in the sixteenth century the late medieval pulpit of St. Mary's church in Lübeck was placed on the northern side of the nave: Hasse, *Die Marienkirche*, p. 243.

Figure 10.5   Interior view to the east of St. Nicholas's Church with the late medieval altarpiece (workshop of the Lübeck master Hermen Rode, 1478-1481) and the Calvary Group (early fifteenth century)

University of Tartu Library. Historical photo collection. Art and Architecture

Of the Catholic church furnishings, it was the altarpiece built in 1478-1481 in the workshop of the Lübeck master Hermen Rode and the Calvary Group that stayed firmly in its original location in St. Nicholas's church (figure 10.5). Preserving the Catholic altar retables on the high altar was the prevailing custom in the sixteenth century, to which other Tallinn churches also probably resorted. Besides St. Nicholas's church, it can with certainty only be stated about the church of the Holy Spirit, where the altarpiece made in Bernt Notke's workshop in 1483 is still in its place in the chancel. The altarpieces adorning the high altars of the churches of the Holy Spirit and

St. Nicholas have (with brief interruptions) remained in their original sites to this day.[92] The question of why they were not replaced in the seventeenth century by Lutheran altar walls, which is what happened in the majority of Estonian churches, must so far remain unanswered.

Another unanswered question is how the Catholic altarpieces were used in the Lutheran liturgy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The altarpiece that adorned the high altar of St. Nicholas's church has survived in original form.[93] The altarpiece has two pairs of wings, which meant that its images could be varied by opening and closing the respective wings. The position of the wings depended on the specific Church holiday or day of the week. Although we could presume that after the Reformation, winged altarpieces were only used in a single position, records of church practices tell a different tale. The wings of the retables were opened and closed in many places still in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in accordance with the liturgical calendar.[94] At this juncture it is important to point out that also the first Lutheran retables were in fact winged altarpieces, with images both on the internal and the external sides of the wings. This in turn indicates that the wings must have been opened and closed.[95] Yet whether the altarpiece of the high altar of St. Nicholas's church was used in the fully open position is difficult to guess. The first account of altarpiece iconography dates from the eighteenth century, and gives a brief description of the retable's second view, depicting the legends of St. Victor and St. Nicholas. The saints on the external wings were also mentioned.[96] Yet this does not unambiguously indicate that in the eighteenth century the altarpiece was only set up in its second, half-open position.

How would the images of the open position of the Catholic altarpiece of St. Nicholas's church have been construed in the Lutheran context of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (figure 10.6)? Usually, topics related to

92   Until 1863, the medieval altarpiece of St. Nicholas's church was placed in the chancel, after which date it was removed into the chapel of St. Anthony located on the southern side of the church. In 1939, the altarpiece was moved back to its original position, where it stood until the evacuation of art treasures in 1943. Since 1984, when the Niguliste Museum was opened as one of the branches of the Art Museum of Estonia, the altarpiece has been located in the chancel of the church.

93   The predella of the altarpiece is partly redesigned, as from among the eight members of the Holy Kinship originally placed in its corpus, two were probably replaced with new figures in the eighteenth century. For more on this, see Mänd, 'Kes on kes', pp. 32-3.

94   Seebass, 'Mittelalterliche Kunstwerke', p. 44; Cieślak, 'Die "Zweite Reformation"', p. 167.

95   Dillenberger, *Images and Relics*, pp. 98-102. For example, the Schneeberg and Wittenberg altar retables produced in the workshop of Lucas Cranach the elder in 1539 and 1547 respectively were winged altarpieces. Also the earliest Lutheran altar retables set up in Estonian churches (in Kihelkonna, Kärla, and Harju-Madise) were winged altarpieces.

96   f 236, n 1, s 119, fol. 80, Tallinn City Archives.

Figure 10.6   Open view of the altarpiece of the high altar of St. Nicholas's Church

Workshop of the Lübeck master Hermen Rode, 1478-81
Art Museum of Estonia, Niguliste Museum

the life of Jesus Christ were preferred, and the interpretations of Catholic altar retables proceeded from a Christological explanation. Yet on several altarpieces from the late Middle Ages the central themes were related to the Virgin Mary. In the open position of the altarpiece of St. Nicholas's church, the central group of the higher level consists of Christ blessing the crowned Virgin Mary, framed by the twelve Apostles. The Apostles could have been interpreted here as a pictorial reference to the Apostles' Creed – *Symbolum Apostolorum*. If the Apostles do belong to the biblical figures most frequently depicted even in Lutheran ecclesiastical art, the Coronation of the Virgin may have been construed in the light of the concept of absolution. Accepting the Crown of Life, the Virgin Mary receives divine grace. The lower part of the altarpiece depicts male and female saints standing around the Virgin and Child with St. Anne in the middle. The interpretations of the figures of the saints usually proceeded from Article 21 of the Augsburg Confession; the saints were interpreted as the witnesses of Christ.[97]

In accordance with the town council decree following the wave of iconoclasm in Tallinn in 1524, the owners were supposed to remove images

97   Wisłocki, 'Ort und Rolle', pp. 351-2.

and sacred statues from the church of St. Nicholas. Whether this indeed was done, it is difficult to tell with any certainty. From the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries there are some notices about medieval paintings or parts of altar retables.[98] Before the Second World War, an altar wing depicting a bishop bestowing a blessing and the Virgin of Mercy was preserved in St. Nicholas's rectory.[99] Of the medieval works of art associated with St. Nicholas's church, the initial part of Bernt Notke's painting *Dance Macabre* is certainly the most eminent, although the original site of this work, first mentioned in St. Nicholas's church in 1603, still remains unknown. Also the post-Reformation significance of this painting deserves a more extensive discussion.

The future of the images and sacred statues that adorned the church and its side altars depended on their ownership. What became of them depended on who had been the donor and who subsequently was considered to be the owner. The altar images and figures in St. Nicholas's church belonged to various associations (guilds of merchants and craftsmen, brotherhoods) or individuals. In several centres around the Baltic Sea, it was mostly the works of art belonging to associations that were left in the churches. For instance, in the churches of Lübeck, altarpieces belonging to various fraternities remained in the churches until the nineteenth century.[100] Also in St. Mary's church in Gdansk (Ger. Danzig) works of art adorning the altars of merchant and craftsmen's guilds were retained.[101] Whether and to what extent medieval church property is documented in the inventory lists of the citizens of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Tallinn deserves a separate study.

Another matter related to the high altar in post-Reformation churches was the chancel screen. In most cases, chancel screens in Lutheran churches were left intact; some were also erected when that proved necessary.[102] In late medieval times, the high altar in the chancel of St. Nicholas's church was separated from the nave by means of a wooden screen carved by Jacob Snitker in 1484.[103] The chancel screen of St. Nicholas's was mentioned after the Reformation in connection with the visit paid to Tallinn by Queen Maria Eleonora (r. 1620-1655), the spouse of the Swedish King Gustav II Adolf (r. 1611-1632). The Queen received communion at the high altar, and after that,

98   Von Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler*, p. 74.
99   Kurisoo, 'Mis Jumalale', p. 57.
100 Hasse, *Die Marienkirche*, p. 175.
101 Cieślak, 'Die Kunst', p. 73.
102 Nilsén, *Kyrkorummets brännpunkt*, pp. 84-94; Kodres, 'Rootsiaegne kogudusekirik', p. 71.
103 'dat schrank vmme id koere' (Kangropool and Lumiste, 'Tallinna maalijad', p. 165).

the chancel gates were opened for the congregation.[104] On the ground plan of St. Nicholas's church from 1691 the chancel screen is no longer present. The altar was only surrounded by screens between the chancel pillars on both sides, whereas the front and the back were left open.

In St. Nicholas's church, the magnificent Calvary group enthroned on the transverse beam, probably dating from the third decade of the fifteenth century, also remained at its original site until 1944.[105] The images of the crucified Christ in the ecclesiastical space were as a rule left intact by the Lutherans. What is remarkable about the Calvary group of St. Nicholas's church is that it was one of the few works to which text had been added at a later stage. In the course of the renovation of 1634, a text referring to the elevation of the cross and the veneration of the brazen serpent was painted on the transverse beam.[106] The small altar and/or procession crucifix of St. Nicholas's church, dating from the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, has survived till the present day. In photographs from the nineteenth century, depicting the retable of the high altar of the church of St. Nicholas in the chapel of St. Anthony, we can see the crucifix fixed to the upper part of the altarpiece. The crucifix may have been mounted there in the post-Reformation period, thus rendering a Christological significance to the images on the retable.

The Epitaphs

The new pews commissioned in the 1550s for St. Nicholas's church were not to remain the only new Lutheran furnishings. At about the same time, the first epitaphs were set up. Although only a few examples have survived of the once abundant collection of epitaphs in St. Nicholas's church, the archives tell us that in the eighteenth century, there were about twenty epitaphs from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the church.[107] The church's registers and inventory lists indicate that at least seven of the epitaphs originated from the sixteenth century. Setting up epitaphs meant

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104 f 31, n 1, s 142, fol. 86ᵛ, Tallinn City Archives.

105 Karling, *Medeltida träskulptur*, pp. 43-50. The group of sculptures was destroyed during the burning of the church in 1944.

106 On the eastern side, it reads in Latin: 'CHRISTI CRVX NOSTRA VICTORIA, ILLIVS PATIBVLVM NOSTER TRIVMPHS. ORIGEN. MDCXXXIV'; on the western side: 'SICVT MOYSES IN DESERTO EXALTAVIT SERPENTEM, ITA EXALTRI OPORTET FILIVM HOMINIS, VT OMNIS, QUI CREDIT IN EUM & IOH. III' (von Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler*, p. 89).

107 Ehasalu, *Rootsiaegne maalikunst*, pp. 58-60.

**Figure 10.7   Open view of the Passion Altarpiece. The middle panel shows
                      the praying figures of the mint master Urban Dene and the
                      superintendent Heinrich Bock, added in the mid-sixteenth century.**

Workshop of the Bruges master Adriaen Isenbrandt, c. 1510-1515
Art Museum of Estonia, Niguliste Museum

also that there had to be a specific place and space for them in the house of
worship. This in turn meant that the epitaphs took over the space earlier
reserved for the side altars and the images that adorned them. The most
distinct example of adaptation of Catholic ecclesiastical art was an epitaph
redesigned from an altar retable depicting the Passion of Christ (figure 10.7).
The Passion altarpiece dating back to the beginning of the sixteenth century
and originating from the painter Adriaen Isenbrandt's workshop in Bruges
came from the private chapel of the wealthy Lippe family, which had been
situated in the Dominican St. Catherine's church.[108] Even originally, the
altarpiece had functioned as an epitaph: on the external sides of the wings,
there was a painting of the coats of arms of two town council members,
Euert van der Lippe and Johan van Grest. After the Reformation, the altar-
piece ended up in the hands of the mint master (*Münzmeister*) Urban Dene.
In the middle of the sixteenth century the retable was redesigned into an
epitaph for Urban Dene and Heinrich Bock, the superintendent of Tallinn.

108 Mänd and Nurkse, 'Family Ties'.

Figure 10.8   Epitaph of the pastor of St. Nicholas's church, Johann Hobing, 1558
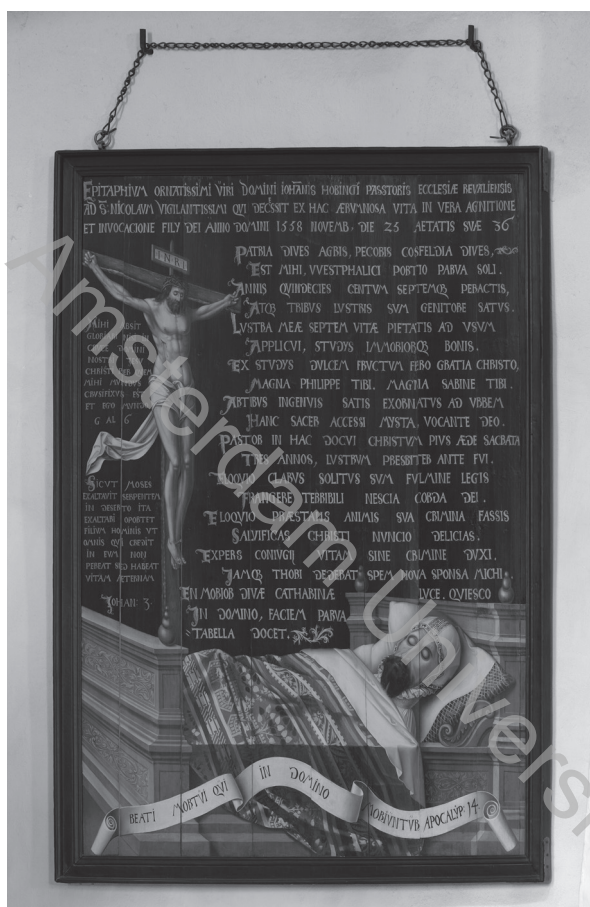
Art Museum of Estonia, Niguliste Museum

Portraits of Bock, deceased in 1549, and the mint master, who passed away in 1560, were painted on the central panel of the retable, under the image of Christ on the cross.[109] Also a text board with Latin text was attached to the epitaph. In the early seventeenth century, a top panel depicting the

109 Risthein, 'Märkmeid Niguliste', pp. 58-9; Mänd and Nurkse, 'Family ties', pp. 144-5. On the left wing is depicted Dene's grandson and the elder of the Great Guild Urban Dehn III. His portrait and coat of arms was painted in 1654 over an earlier kneeling donor from the middle of the sixteenth century. This third donor was probably merchant Dirick Dorneman, who had connections to Dene and Bock.

Resurrection of Christ was added. According to the records, the epitaph was situated in the chancel of St. Nicholas's church in the seventeenth century.[110]

Of the new, Lutheran epitaphs commissioned in the sixteenth century, only the epitaph for Johann Hobing, the pastor of St. Nicholas's church, deceased in 1558, has survived (figure 10.8). Three early epitaphs were dedicated to the churchwardens of St. Nicholas's church: Werner Duding, deceased in 1548, Johann Hauwer, deceased in 1565, and Jasper Reiger, departed in 1585. In the middle of the sixteenth century, two of the town's elite associations – the Great Guild and the Brotherhood of Black Heads – also had their epitaphs set up in the church. The Black Heads acquired burial places in the churches of the Lower Town in 1559-1560, and donated the epitaphs.[111] The Great Guild of Tallinn, on the other hand, had an epitaph with a painting depicting *Ecce homo* set up in the church in 1562.[112]

The epitaphs erected in St. Nicholas's church in the sixteenth century were mostly dedicated to the churchwardens and the clerics, as well as to various fraternities. Surviving records indicate that the first epitaphs were set up in the middle of the sixteenth century. Still relatively few are known from the second half of the century. This was a direct consequence of the complicated circumstances of the Livonian War, when funds were scarce for commissioning new ecclesiastical art. The new wave of epitaphs started at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when memorial plaques of wealthy citizens and noblemen and their families began to appear on church walls. From that time, two epitaphs – to Antonius von der Busch, deceased in 1608, and Dietrich Möller, deceased in 1614 – have survived to this day.

From the period between 1525 and 1603, nine tomb slabs identifiable by the name of an individual or an association have survived from St. Nicholas's church.[113] In the years 1601-1603, Tallinn was ravaged by a great famine and plague. During that period, more than 11,000 people were buried in St. Barbara's graveyard alone.[114] In 1603, the ownership register of the burial places in St. Nicholas's church was established on the initiative of the

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110   Ehasalu, *Rootsiaegne maalikunst*, pp. 60.

111   Ehasalu, *Rootsiaegne maalikunst*, pp. 63-4.

112   Mänd and Leimus, 'Sisustus ja vallasvara', p. 337.

113   Before the Second World War, St. Nicholas's church contained around 200 tomb slabs dating from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Today, only a little over 100 of them have been preserved and the majority of these are in fragments: Loit, 'Niguliste kiriku'; Kurisoo, 'Patching Together', pp. 156-8.

114   See f 230, n 1, s Bl 14, l 69-74, Tallinn City Archives. The information derives from the sermon manuscript by the pastor of the church of the Holy Spirit in Tallinn, Georg Müller (*c.* 1570-1608) from 17 July 1603. These figures are likely to be overestimated.

churchwarden, Jobst Dunte.[115] As most of the owners and their heirs were dead, the church sold the burial places to new applicants. The register also contains records of grave owners from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but most of the funeral records originate from the early seventeenth century.

The Font and the Place of Baptism

Baptism remained the first sacrament in the Lutheran Church, and there were no major changes in the ritual at first. Martin Luther's book on baptism (*Deutsches Taufbüchlein*) from 1523, of which a new version was published in 1526, was mostly based on the formula of baptism used in Wittenberg. In 1529, the *Deutsches Taufbüchlein* was appended to the Small Catechism and until the eighteenth century, this remained the standard of baptism in the Lutheran Church.[116] The Tallinn Church Order from 1608 stated that baptism was to be conducted in accordance with Luther's Formula of Concord and the *Deutsches Taufbüchlein*.[117] The Courland Church Order from 1570 also mentions the importance of a baptismal font or basin, and the need for cloths and linen necessary for the ritual.[118]

Continued use of medieval baptismal fonts was a common practice throughout Europe. The only difference was that the Lutherans resorted to affusion and aspersion baptism instead of total submersion or immersion. Therefore, metal bowls were soon in common use, usually placed on top of the medieval fonts. The greatest changes were those concerning the location of the font. There is a widespread understanding that it was the eastern part of the church or the chancel that became the new location of the baptismal font. This emphasized the connection between the two sacraments – communion and baptism. But it was also important for the baptism to take place in a location visible to everyone, so that the whole congregation could be part of the ritual. Nevertheless, there was no consistency in the relocation of fonts.[119] The differences are evident also in the churches of Tallinn. On the late-seventeenth-century ground plans of the churches of Tallinn, we can see that it was only in the church of the Holy Spirit and Swedish St.

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115   f 31, n 1, s 318, Tallinn City Archives.

116   Kurisoo, *Ristimise läte*, p. 35.

117   f 230, n 1, s Aa 115, fol. 18ᵛ, Tallinn City Archives.

118   'Der heilige taufe zu ehren, sol auch ein sonderlich, herlich taufstein oder tauffas mit notturftigen zwelen und tüchern vermacht und aufgerichter sein' (*Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 99).

119   In Denmark, for example, baptismal fonts remained in the western part of churches.

**Figure 10.9   Ground plan of the church of the Holy Spirit; Heinrich Julius
                   Woltemate, 1691**

Swedish National Archives

Michael's church (the former Cistercian St Michael's church was granted to
the Swedish parish in 1631) that the font was located in the eastern part of the
church (figure 10.9). On the ground plan of St. Nicholas's church from 1691, the
baptismal font is situated in the western part of the church and at the central
axis (figure 10.3). In St. Olaf's church, too, it was situated in the western

part.[120] The difference may be due to the fact that both St. Nicholas's and St. Olaf's had already in medieval times been parish churches, and therefore the fonts retained their original locations. The church of the Holy Spirit and the Swedish St. Michael's church, on the other hand, became parish churches only after the Reformation, and therefore the Lutheran rules for the location of the font were followed. In St. Nicholas's church, the medieval baptismal font remained in its original location until the early seventeenth century, but was nevertheless adapted to the new requirements. In 1535, a metal fretwork fencing for the font was ordered from Lübeck,[121] probably the octangular fence that can be seen on the ground plan from 1691. The medieval baptismal font was used until the first decades of the seventeenth century.[122] In 1624, a new baptismal bowl was commissioned from Lübeck for the price of 230 *thaler*.[123] The bowl was probably placed on top of the font when used for baptism. In 1634, the medieval baptismal font had allegedly been broken.[124] It was only in 1680 that the churchwarden had the remnants removed from the church.[125]

Church Silver and Textiles

The Lutheran liturgy abandoned most of the Catholic liturgical vessels. The chalices and patens were the only objects absolutely necessary for the Lutheran ritual. Besides those, pyxes and altar cruets could also be kept in use, while thuribles, aquamaniles, etc. forfeited their previous functions. The Riga Church regulations from 1530 stated that three chalices were necessary for the church service.[126] The Courland Church Order from 1570 prescribed two chalices: one intended for the healthy and another for the diseased members of the congregation.[127] Although the question

120 Livonica: Gen. guv. i Estland A.J. De la Gardie t. K. M:t 1692 2/1, bl 2, 3, 5, Swedish National Archives.
121 Karling, *Holzschnitzerei*, p. 33.
122 The sources mention the baptismal font, for example, in connection with its cleaning in 1616. 'Den Tauffstein zu waschen vnd zu scheuern' (f T-76, n 1, s 842, p. 37, Estonian State Archives).
123 *Andmeid Niguliste kiriku arveraamatutest*, p. 43.
124 Karling, *Holzschnitzerei*, p. 33.
125 *Andmeid Niguliste kiriku arveraamatutest*, p. 108.
126 'Bedarf man an iglichen orte drei kelche, einen für gemeine siechen und krancken, den andern von wegen etlicher unreinen krancken, so anhangende schedliche seuche haben, den dritten kelch am sontag und sonst die woche durch, vor die communicanten in den kirchen und zum altar' (*Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 17).
127 'Des sol man billich zwen kelche in einer jedern pfar, einen für die gesunden, den andern für die kranken haben' (*Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 99).

of monstrance is also mentioned in the proposals for rearrangements in the ecclesiastical order submitted to the town council of Tallinn by the Evangelical superintendent Pastor Lange in 1525, monstrances were probably retained at first, mainly because of their high material value, although no longer in their original function. Thus, only the vessels necessary for the Eucharist remained in use.

Of all medieval church furnishings in Tallinn, it is the fate of the church silver and textiles of St. Nicholas's church of which we have the most detailed records from the post-Reformation period. These are mostly available from account books and inventory lists. Although most of the church silver was no longer in use, it was still itemized in the seventeenth-century lists. It is evident from the early-sixteenth-century sources that in other churches, too, a great deal of church silver and textiles were retained.[128] At the same time, part of the church silver was sold in the first half of the sixteenth century, and the gains were mostly paid into the common funds.[129] In 1527, an inventory list of church silver of St. Olaf's church was compiled. Silver statues of the Virgin Mary and St. Olaf are mentioned, and one monstrance and eight chalices, among other things. The list includes only church property; the vessels belonging to guilds and private altars were handled as private property and not mentioned. Church silver that had become unnecessary was melted down or sold during this time, profits being donated to the common fund.[130]

The best account of liturgical vessels of St. Nicholas's church in the late medieval period can be obtained from the inventory of 1488, which gives a detailed description of both the church silver and textiles. According to this inventory list, the church had, among other things, eight chalices and patens, two silver crosses, and two monstrances.[131] One of the latter, the work of the Tallinn goldsmith Hans Rysserberch the Elder from 1474, a large monstrance 112 cm high, is at present in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg.[132] Besides those two, a new monstrance was commissioned in the early sixteenth century, and the figures of the Virgin Mary and St.

128 Mänd, *Kirikute hõbevara*, pp. 206-8. Inventory list of the church of the Holy Spirit from the year 1532.

129 In 1632, the Great Guild still retained part of the silver, which was probably donated to the common fund. That part of the silver of the Confraternity of St. Anthony which had remained untouched by the iconoclastic outbreak was sold by a representative of the Confraternity in the late 1520s. The rest of the silver, however, was handed over to the representatives of the common fund: Mänd, 'Suhted kirikuga', p. 100; Kala, 'Kirikuelu', p. 25.

130 Mänd, 'Oleviste kiriku', pp. 33-4.

131 Mänd, *Kirikute hõbevara*, pp. 203-6.

132 Mänd, *Kirikute hõbevara*, p. 100.

Nicholas in silver.[133] In April 1526, Heinrich Busch, the church warden of St. Nicholas's church, compiled at the request of the town council an inventory list of church property. The list was intended to include all the church silver, the ecclesiastical textiles, the candelabras and chandeliers, and all the money in the church. At the time, the total weight of the church silver at St. Nicholas was 4786 lots, which adds up to about 61-62 kg.[134]

In 1551, there are two monstrances, eight chalices and patens, one silver cross, and the figures of the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas listed among the silver of St. Nicholas's church. This means that in 25 years, three chalices with patens, one silver cross, and one of the three monstrances had disappeared. Nevertheless, a major part of St. Nicholas's valuable collection of silver was still intact, and several objects no longer used for Lutheran liturgy, such as monstrances, had been preserved. Also the two big sacred statues of silver were extant, as well as the chalices and the patens. Yet the inventory list no longer mentioned items such as ampullae, thuribles, brooches, or buttons.[135] There might have been material as well as social and aesthetic considerations affecting the preservation of the church silver. The church treasures no longer in everyday use may have been considered to be common property and the stock of the congregation; their historical and artistic value must also have had some significance. The congregation of St. Nicholas's church managed to hold on to the Ryssenberch monstrance until the Russian conquest in the Northern War, when the town council gave it as a gift to Duke Alexander Menshikov during the negotiations concerning the privileges of Tallinn in 1711.[136]

During the Livonian War, some crucial decisions about the church silver of St. Nicholas's church had to be made. Tallinn was short of funds for the mercenaries' pay. On 28 September 1560, two monstrances, the silver figures of the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas, and one silver cross were taken from the church to the town hall. Both sacred statues and the cross, with total weight amounting to 15 kg, were handed over to the town's mint master, Paul Gulden.[137] The two monstrances were, for the time being, left at the disposal of the town council. One year later, in 1561, they were returned to the church.[138]

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133 f 31, n 1, s 142, fols. 20ᵛ-21ʳ, Tallinn City Archives.

134 f 31, n 1, s 142, fol. 21ʳ, Tallinn City Archives.

135 Hausmann, 'Der Silberschatz', p. 323.

136 Mänd, *Kirikute hõbevara*, p. 100; von Nottbeck, 'Die Ryssenberchsche'.

137 f 31, n 1, s 142, fols. 20ᵛ-21ʳ, Tallinn City Archives.

138 In 1576, the smaller monstrance, which had been broken meanwhile, was sold and the gain was donated to the common fund. Hausmann, 'Der Silberschatz', p. 348.

The saints' statues and the silver cross mentioned above were obviously not the only items of the silver of St. Nicholas's church that were to disappear or be melted down during the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1565, nine chalices and patens remained in the church, but in 1587 there were only seven of them left.[139] The confiscation and melting down of church silver was a common practice at difficult times. During the Livonian War, silver was also appropriated from the treasuries of other churches in Livonia. A large share of the church silver in Riga was used for war expenses.[140] In the towns of northern Germany, church silver shared the same fate.[141]

Changes in the use of the ecclesiastical space and the Lutheran liturgy meant changes too in the lighting of houses of worship. The medieval church space was lit solely by candles placed on the high altar and the side altars.[142] In addition to these, there might be a few large chandeliers in the church. There are very few records about medieval lighting devices in St. Nicholas's church. One significant exception is the almost four-metre tall seven-branched candelabrum donated to St. Nicholas's by the wealthy merchant Hans Bouwer in 1519, and surviving to this day.[143] The candelabrum was intended for lighting the high altar, and probably stood in its immediate vicinity.

The Lutheran liturgy, focusing on the Word, presumed that people sitting in the church should be able to read their hymnals, as well as to see the pastor in the pulpit. Instead of candles lighting the side altars, large ceiling chandeliers and candelabra were set up in the churches. Metal light fittings were expensive and mostly donated to commemorate a certain individual or association. The chandeliers and sconces were often placed near pews or graves, or to cast light on the donor's epitaph.[144] From the middle of the sixteenth century, there are records about new chandeliers in St. Nicholas's church. In 1547, a large chandelier commissioned

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139 Hausmann, 'Der Silberschatz', p. 339.

140 Hausmann, 'Der Silberschatz', pp. 327-9, 334. The silver of the cathedral of Riga was confiscated in October 1558 and the silver of St. Peter's church of Riga a year later. The same happened in Wenden and Pärnu.

141 In 1533, the silver collected from the sanctuaries of Lübeck was melted down to finance the war against Denmark. The church silver from Lübeck was melted down into 9600 kg of silver. It also provided gold and precious stones. Hasse, *Die Marienkirche*, p. 174. The silver of the churches of Rostock and Wismar was appropriated for the same aims in 1535. Wolgast, 'Die Reformation', pp. 61-2.

142 Hasse, *Die Marienkirche*, p. 180.

143 Mänd, 'Hans Bouwer', pp. 86-8.

144 Beyer, 'The ritual context', p. 277.

from Lübeck was installed in the church,[145] and in 1557, a chandelier from Nuremberg was received as a donation to the church.[146] In 1557 and in 1558, two sconces of brass were donated to the church.[147] Following the Reformation, chandeliers and sconces, in addition to epitaphs, were among the first objects commissioned and installed in the church by members of the congregation.

In the Lutheran Church regulations and Church laws of the sixteenth century, we can sense an extremely tolerant attitude towards the continued use of old church textiles. According to the Riga Church regulations of 1530, the pastor's vestments were a matter of evangelical choice and he was free to wear a surplice on Sundays, with even a cope or a chasuble on more important Church holidays such as Easter and Pentecost.[148] Yet it is probable that a considerable number of church textiles were sold during the sixteenth century. That was permitted by the resolution of the diet of Livonian towns from 1527.[149]

The inventory list of textiles of St. Olaf's Church from 1528 includes little other than liturgical vestments. Altar textiles are not included, which may mean that they were still in use.[150] Besides using existing textiles new ones were also purchased. A magnificent altar antependium from the Brussels workshop was donated to the church in the 1550s by Lutke van Oyten, a member of the church council, an alderman of the Great Guild, and a town councillor.[151] The antependium depicts the birth, crucifixion, and resurrection of Christ and is woven from wool and gold brocade (figure 10.10).

145 f 31, n 1, s 142, fol. 27ʳ, Tallinn City Archives.
146 Lumiste and Kangropool, *Niguliste kirik*, p. 42; f 31, n 1, s 142, fol. 22ʳ, Tallinn City Archives.
147 Von Nottbeck and Neumann, *Geschichte und Kunstdenkmäler*, p. 95. The wall chandeliers bearing the initials of the donors and the years were preserved until the Second World War. The collections of the Art Museum of Estonia contain fragments from three wall chandeliers of St. Nicholas's church dated to the second half of the sixteenth century, but unfortunately they lack documentation about the exact time of donation and donors.
148 *Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 17.
149 Hausmann, 'Der Silberschatz', p. 323.
150 Mänd, 'Oleviste kiriku', pp. 35-6.
151 *Eesti kunsti ajalugu 2*, p. 341. Antependium of St. Olaf's church belonging to the collection of Tallinn City Museum.

Figure 10.10   Antependium of St. Olaf's Church

Brussels' workshop, 1550s
Tallinn City Museum

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some of the old vestments were still kept in St. Nicholas's church. From 1565, there is a record of the church having three chasubles, one alb, and altar cloths and linens no longer in use.[152] At the same time, old altar cloths were still used, while new ones had been commissioned.[153] In 1551, St. Nicholas's church still retained one of the two magnificent antependia. The textiles that had fallen out of use were kept in the sacristy of St. Nicholas's church. Property belonging to other owners was also preserved there.[154]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the uses of Catholic and Lutheran ecclesiastical art in sixteenth-century Tallinn in a wider context, proceeding mostly from the religious and political changes and the new requirements of Lutheran theology. The changes in the use of ecclesiastical space and church furnishings in sixteenth-century Tallinn reflected the rearrangements made in local ecclesiastical life. The evangelization process of ecclesiastical art proceeded from theological as well as political, economic, and legal premises.

152 'In dem scappe liggen 3 kaszels, noch etlike alven unde altar laken, dwilen unde borden, wirt nich gebruket' (Hausmann, 'Der Silberschatz', p. 323).
153 f 31, n 1, s 142, fols. 34ᵛ, 40ᵛ, Tallinn City Archives.
154 Kala, 'Kirikuelu', p. 25.

Even though the chapter has focused on a single town church, it nonetheless evokes a picture of the rearrangements and changes brought about by the adoption of Lutheran liturgy in the churches of Tallinn. The practices used in St. Nicholas's church indicated both the Lutherans' conservative and tolerant attitude towards the Catholic heritage, as well as the necessity to adapt the ecclesiastical space to the new liturgical requirements.

St. Nicholas's church maintained its status and function as one of the parish churches of the town. Major changes in the church space took place in the mid-sixteenth century, when the house of worship received new benches – pews for town councillors with a Lutheran pictorial programme manifesting the new, evangelical faith, simple pews for the congregation, and richly decorated pews for the Brotherhood of the Black Heads. Side altars had to be removed at this time to make space for the pews. At about the same period, the first epitaphs, chandeliers, and sconces were donated and set up. St. Nicholas's church received a Lutheran pulpit in 1624. Whether an earlier Lutheran pulpit existed is difficult to ascertain; there were two medieval pulpits in the church and it is possible that one of them was in use. The Catholic altarpiece of the high altar, as well as the triumphal crucifix and baptismal font, were left in place. The fate of the church silver was connected with the political and social situation. The major part of the silver of St. Nicholas's church was preserved up to the Livonian War, but part of it had already been sold earlier to provide income for the common fund.

The practice of using Catholic ecclesiastical art in many respects depended on the issue of ownership. The records in Tallinn give some idea of the various adaptation possibilities for different church furnishings, and to what extent the future of the objects depended on the judgement of their owners. The treasures donated and given to the churches over many centuries now became the property of the town and its inhabitants; and for the most part it was the owners' judgement that determined the future of the property.

Comparing Livonia and Tallinn to other regions that adopted the Evangelical faith about the same time, it can be said that the issues of adapting sacral space to the requirements of Lutheran liturgy were mostly solved in similar ways. The changes that began in the 1520s were approved by the town council, and the transition period was brief. Already in the 1530s and 1540s, the first donations of Lutheran ecclesiastical art were made to the churches. The Lutheran pews installed in St. Nicholas's church in the 1550s can be considered very early in the context of the whole of northern Europe. This fast and relatively peaceful transition was interrupted by the Livonian War, from which Tallinn started to recover only in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

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Part IV
The 'Other' and the Afterlife

11   Pagans into Peasants

Ethnic and Social Boundaries in Early Modern Livonia

Linda Kaljundi

In 1943, an exhibition opened in Moscow dedicated to the St. George's Night Uprising, which had taken place in the Estonian duchy of the Danish kingdom in 1343-1345. Throughout the Second World War, the uprising remained a central element in the propaganda directed at the Estonians fighting in the Red Army, as its remembrance was recalled in various media from leaflets and visual images to fiction and popular history writing.

The sources covering the uprising itself are no less problematic, affording only a very general insight into the course of events that took place in present-day northern Estonia and Saaremaa (Ger. Ösel), while leaving the socio-political background and reasons behind the rebellion largely unexplained. The uprising started on the night of 23 April 1343 in Harjumaa (Ger. Harrien), where the rebels burned down the estates of the nobility, as well as churches and the Padise (Ger. Padis) monastery. Thereafter, their army gathered near Tallinn (Ger. Reval). The unrest also spread into Läänemaa (Ger. Wiek), where the rebels attacked the nobility and then gathered to besiege Haapsalu (Ger. Hapsal). However, it was not the Danish authorities, but the neighbouring Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, led by its master, Burchard von Dreileben (r. 1340-1345), that reacted quickly to the revolt. The Order moved its army northwards and organized negotiations between the leading figures of the uprising and the Order on 4 May in the castle of Paide (Ger. Weissenstein). The peace talks failed and the envoys of the rebels were killed, although this escalation of violence does not lend itself to easy explanation. Military encounters between the rebels and the Order followed shortly after, leading to the defeat of the rebels on 14 May near Tallinn. Thereafter, the Order also suppressed the revolt in Läänemaa. Thereby the uprising was put to an end before the arrival of the Swedish and the Russian forces, with whom the rebels had sought allegiance, although the details of these alliances are not known. The Swedish troops, led by the bailiffs of Turku (Swe. Åbo) and Vyborg, arrived in Tallinn on 18-19 May, just a few days after the defeat of the rebels. In late May, too, the Russian troops from Pskov attacked southern Estonia, but did not achieve any definitive success and turned back in early June. Yet on 24 July an uprising started on Saaremaa (Ger. Ösel) as well, quickly leading to the surrender of the

Order's main stronghold on the island, the Pöide (Ger. Peude) castle. As the Livonian master, however, gained support from the Teutonic Order, the knights managed to annihilate the remains of the uprising in Harjumaa and thereafter to put an end to the revolt on Saaremaa as a result of two winter campaigns in 1344 and 1345.

The uprising led to a major restructuring of power in medieval Livonia, as the Danish king thereafter sold its territories to the Teutonic Order. Yet the selling of Estonia had been topical since the 1320s, when the Danish monarchy was driven into serious political and financial problems.[1] By the late 1330s Estonia had a number of contenders, the most significant of whom was Magnus Eriksson, the king of Sweden (r. 1319-1364). As this would have resulted in Swedish domination on the Baltic Sea, it was not in the interests of other neighbouring powers, including the German emperor, who appears to have supported the Teutonic Order.[2] In 1341, the Danish king indeed drafted a contract for selling Estonia to the Order, but the deal was not reached, even though the same year the king sold Skåne to Sweden. Eventually, Estonia was sold to the Order in 1346, after the Order had suppressed the uprising and already gained *de facto* dominance in Estonia.

While many details about the uprising remain debatable, the lack of sources has facilitated more flexible mythmaking. Recently, the making of the uprising into a national realm of memory has been examined in some detail.[3] Since the nineteenth century, the Estonian interpretation of the uprising has treated the revolt as a continuation of the national fight for freedom against the German colonizers, which had started with the crusades in the early decades of the thirteenth century.[4] At the same time, the interpretation of the upheaval as a peasant revolt – which stems from the earlier, Baltic German historiography[5] – also facilitated the creation of a feeling of continuity between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century, as the key supporters of the Estonian national activists were the socially

1   This context is well analysed by Ivar Leimus ('Kes võitis'), on whose research the following overview is based.

2   As suggested by Leimus, 'Kes võitis', pp. 45-52.

3   The majority of research stems from the rise of cultural memory studies; see Tamm, 'History', and cf. Kaljundi, 'Hingejõu ilmed'.

4   For extensive study of the uprising from the perspective of Estonian history, see Vahtre, *Jüriöö*.

5   For example, such Baltic German historians as Konstantin Höhlbaum, Axel von Gernet, and Hermann von Engelhardt, who compared the uprising with the German Peasants' War (1524-1525); while Astaf von Transehe-Roseneck, relying on August Ludwig von Schlözer, compared it to the other popular movements that spread over Europe in the fourteenth century: see Vahtre, *Jüriöö*, pp. 19-20.

upwardly mobile peasants.[6] The strongly anti-German and militant ethos also made the remembrance of the St. George's Night Uprising suitable for Soviet war-time propaganda, which expanded upon the imagery of revenge against the German occupiers.[7] For the Soviet schemata, the uprising was appropriate also thanks to its being understood as a peasant revolt, as this resonated well with the Marxist understanding of the centrality of class struggle in history.[8]

While much of the research on the afterlife of the St. George's Night Uprising has thus focused on the construction of historical continuities, the current chapter is interested in the discontinuities that reveal themselves in the historiographical tradition of the uprising. Discussing the accounts of the uprising, which stretch from the medieval to the early modern period, the following analysis points to significant changes in the representation of the rebelling antagonists, who gradually transform from 'pagans' into 'peasants'. Analysing these alternations relates to more general changes in the imagery of peasantry and 'otherness' in the early modern period.[9] At the same time, Livonian materials offer a potentially stimulating viewpoint on these discussions, as social and ethnic stratification started to coincide more and more closely in these territories. Since the thirteenth-century crusades, most of the land and privileges were gradually gathered into the hands of the new elite, the majority of the upper class consisting of settlers from German territories, but also including some Germanicized local families.[10] Yet, unlike in much of the rest of eastern Central Europe, migration of the peasantry from the West never reached Livonia. Thus the agrarian community remained overwhelmingly native, but gradually became separated from the upper classes by ethnicity and language, as did the urban lower classes.

However, to this day scholars appear not to have reached an agreement concerning the question of when the linguistic and ethnic segregation started to match the social segregation in Livonia. There is an extensive

6   Cf. Kaljundi, 'Hingejõu ilmed', pp. 25-6.

7   For an overview of the massive remembrance of the uprising in cultural media, ranging from books and paintings to propaganda leaflets and performances, see Tamm, 'Jüriöö tekst', pp. 74-7.

8   For the Soviet Estonian appropriations of the interwar national historiography and this trend in Soviet Estonian historiography in general, see Kivimäe, 'Re-writing', Raun, 'The Image'.

9   In a Baltic context, these changes have recently been discussed most thoroughly by Stefan Donecker (*Origines Livonorum*). See also the chapter by Donecker in this volume.

10   The first to draw attention to the Estonian origin of the Danish vassals was Paul Johansen (*Siedlung*); cf. Vahtre, *Jüriöö*, pp. 33-7.

historiographical tradition on the Livonian uses of the concept of the non-German (*undeutsch*), as well as an ongoing debate on the definitions of this term, including the issue of the extent to which it should be associated with the peasantry.[11] Also the question of the different connotations of these terms in medieval and early-modern sources, and in the studies of various twentieth-century scholars, has been pointed out. St. George's Uprising, however, has not been much discussed from these perspectives, even though, in view of the availability of chronologically varied sources, it provides a fine case study for exploring the dynamics of the terms used for designating social groups.

After briefly looking at the making of the Livonian and Estonian 'pagans' in medieval Christian discourse, the chapter offers close readings of the four accounts of the St. George's Night Uprising, which stretch from the fourteenth century to the early modern period. While examining the transformations of the image of the rebels in these representations case by case, the chapter as a whole finally also seeks to contextualize these changes against the backdrop of the great transformations that the early modern period brought to Livonia.

The Formation of Livonian Paganism

Livonia, which in medieval terms included the territories of today's Estonia and Latvia, was gradually integrated into the learned Christian discourse as a result of the spread of Christianity into the Nordic and Baltic Sea territories. Particularly during recent years, scholars have emphasized the importance of the textual integration of these territories with the authoritative Christian historical and geographical texts.[12] A number of studies have also addressed the impact of the already existing imagery of paganism and barbarianism on representations of the eastern Baltic peoples.[13] While the earliest notices about the pagan Baltic tribes date back to the eleventh century, as with many other frontiers of Europe, it was the crusades that ultimately made the question of native paganism topical in Livonia.

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11   See Lenz, 'Undeutsch'. For a classic study on the topic, see Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*. For the most recent discussion, see Kala, 'Gab es', and also Selart, 'Non-German Literacy' for a comparative analysis of these terms from a wider Eastern European perspective.

12   As well-conceptualized in Mortensen, 'The Language', as well as developed further by a number of authors in Mortensen, *The Making of Christian Myths*.

13   See Tamm '"A New World' and 'Inventing Livonia'; cf. Kaljundi, 'Waiting for the Barbarians'.

In the Estonian territories, the intensive period of crusading lasted from around the 1190s until the late 1220s. Only one contemporary historical narrative of local origin is preserved from these crusades, the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia.[14] Compared to the earlier missionary historiography from the Baltic Sea region, Henry's imagery of the Livonian pagans is not particularly rich in detail.[15] However, in connection with the later representations of the St. George's Night Uprising, one element should be stressed: Henry capitalizes on the apostasy of the native peoples rather than their paganism.[16] This is closely connected with the justification of the crusades. As canon law forbade forced conversion of pagans, it legitimized the use of force by arguing that the campaigns were organized to make the native apostates return to the Church. In the newly conquered and converted regions, the acceptance of Christianity undoubtedly served as a sign of accepting a new power.[17] Yet the close combination of religion and hegemony also allowed all kinds of resistance against the new lords to be discredited as a lapse from the faith and the Church.

A limited number of documents suggest the continued use of the images of paganism in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Even though the acceptance of the Christian faith, norms, and practices, especially among the rural population, must have been a slow process, as it was on the other frontiers of Christendom, claims of paganism and religious backsliding should not be taken at face value.[18] Similarly to the crusade period, they appear to bear witness to the aim of delegitimizing the political claims of the native population in Livonia. Among them, the late-thirteenth-century crusade proclamations are the most emblematic examples of the ways images of paganism and apostasy were also used after the end of the intensive crusade period in the Estonian territories in 1227.[19] These images should

14   See Tamm, Kaljundi, and Jensen, *Crusading and Chronicle*.

15   For a comparative analysis of the representations of the pagan barbarian 'other' in Henry's Chronicle, and the earlier missionary chronicles from the Baltic Sea region, see Kaljundi, 'Waiting for the Barbarians'.

16   Tamm, 'How to Justify'; cf. Kaljundi, '(Re)performing', pp. 314-17, 322-7.

17   Kala, 'Rural Society', pp. 176-80.

18   Recently, Tiina Kala has synthesized the sources for the study of the religious practices of the native peoples, as well as their representations in the Christian sources; next to the scarce historiographical materials, the other most significant group of sources is the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century statutes of Church synods and visitation protocols (see Kala, 'Rural Society, p. 171).

19   In 1240, Pope Gregory IX authorized the archbishop of Lund to proclaim a crusade to Estonia (*Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches*, no. 167); and papal calls for a crusade to Livonia and Curonia were also launched in the 1250s-1260s (*Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches*, nos. 323, 325-6, 381, 384-6). The

be contextualized against the backdrop of Livonia remaining a crusade frontier, as the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order[20] was occupied with campaigns against the Russian, Ingrian, and Karelian territories, as well as with the 'permanent crusades' against the Lithuanians. Also the conquest and conversion of the northeastern territories of Livonia, Kurzeme (Curonia), and Zemgale (Semgallia) lasted until the late thirteenth century. The fact that no centralized power developed in medieval Livonia – the area remained divided between the Order, the bishoprics, and the Danish king (until 1346) – also contributed to the instability of these lands.

Historiography, however, appears not to have played a major role in the perseverance of the crusade-period imagery of the Livonian pagans, or apostates. This also relates to the scarceness of local history-writing in the Middle Ages, as there is a considerable gap in historiographical sources from Livonia between the late thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.[21] It was only the tumultuous times of the Livonian War (1558-1583), bearing witness to military, political, and religious conflicts, that brought along a blossoming of local historiography. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have been called the golden age of Livonian history-writing, as at that time a number of chronicles, or histories, as the authors now preferred to call their works, were produced.[22] Owing to the major religious, political, and social changes characteristic of the period, however, it seems that medieval images of 'paganism' were not put to use in early modern representations of the native 'other'. Rather, the Protestant authors focused on popular superstitions, using these representations as a way of criticizing the legacies

claims of the apostasy of the native peoples and their hostility against Christendom are also reflected in the contract made between the Teutonic Order and the Saaremaa people (1241) (*Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches*, no. 169), which ended an uprising that started in Saaremaa in 1236; as well as in the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*'s depiction of an uprising that took place in Saaremaa in 1260. See Kala, 'The Incorporation', pp. 14-15.

20   The Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order was formed on the basis of the military order of the Sword Brethren, which was founded in connection with the Livonian crusades. After a devastating defeat of the Lithuanians in 1236, the remains of the Sword Brethren were joined with the Order in 1237.

21   Save for the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (*Livländische Reimchronik*; also known as the *Older Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*), which represented the history of Christian Livonia from the crusades until the 1290s from the perspective of the Teutonic Order, no other major historiographical work has survived from medieval Livonia. In his study of the meagre use of Henry's chronicle in later medieval sources from Livonia, Anti Selart ('The Use') has pointed to the continuous rivalry between the Teutonic Order and the bishoprics, which led to the omission of Henry's narrative strongly supporting the primacy of the Church of Riga.

22   For the recent, most in-depth studies on the early modern Livonian historiography, see Raik, *Eesti- ja Liivimaa* and Hormuth, *Livonia*.

of Catholicism. Moreover, it appears that the early modern schemata also started to affect the depictions of the earlier conflicts between Christian colonizers and the natives. In the following discussion, I address these issues by focusing on the records of the St. George's Night Uprising. Originating from both the medieval and early modern period, they provide particularly good material for exploring the transformation in the imageries of the native peoples.

The St. George's Night Uprising in Medieval Sources: The Chronicle of Hermann of Wartberge

In Baltic historiography, it has been common to complain about the lack and quality of the sources on the St. George's Night Uprising. None of the preserved sources is contemporary; some give a very short and others a strongly partial description of the events, as the medieval accounts clearly favour the viewpoint of the Teutonic Order. In sum, the sources give a varying picture of the uprising. These differences, nevertheless, should not necessarily be seen as a fault, as the sources thereby provide good material for studying the changes in the status of the natives and the shifting attitudes towards them.

As for medieval historiography, the main contemporary source for the uprising was the *Rhymed Chronicle* of Bartholomäus Hoeneke.[23] Produced in the mid-fourteenth century, it covers the years 1315-1348 from the perspective of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order. However, Hoeneke's manuscript has not been preserved.[24] Since the nineteenth century, a strong belief in the possibility of reconstructing Hoeneke's chronicle has spread.[25] This approach has recently been contested, showing it is impossible to recreate Hoeneke's text on the basis of its possible adaptations by other

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23 Traditionally also known as the *Younger Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*. While it has been widely held that Barholomäus came from Osnabrück and in Livonia he acted as the chaplain of the masters of the Order (Höhlbaum, *Johann Renner's*), Arno Mentzel-Reuters ('Bartholomaeus Hoeneke') has recently questioned this biographical knowledge.

24 Save for a few, incomplete passages, probably deriving from this text, that were recently found in Berlin. For their publication, see Mentzel-Reuters, 'Bartholomaeus Hoeneke', pp. 54-6, and Olivier, 'Zwei Exzerpte', pp. 302-7.

25 Konstantin Höhlbaum and Sulev Vahtre, the authors of the two editions of Johann Renner's representation of the uprising, which draws on Hoeneke, have never explicitly claimed to have reconstructed his Rhymed Chronicle. However, their editions have often been used as such. See Höhlbaum, *Johann Renner's*; Vahtre, *Liivimaa*. See below on Renner.

authors.[26] On the other hand, this new viewpoint affords more agency to the later chroniclers and enables us to study the later accounts of the uprising in their own right, as sources about the mentality and attitudes characteristic of their own age.

Firstly, I look at the two medieval records of the uprising, the chronicles of Hermann of Wartberge and Wigand of Marburg. Many scholars have already drawn attention to the feature that most significantly distinguishes these medieval accounts from the early modern versions, which is that they still represent the revolt as an attack against Christianity.[27] Nevertheless, both descriptions deserve closer attention.

The author of the earlier of the two accounts, Hermann of Wartberge (d. c. 1380), was the chaplain of the Livonian master of the Teutonic Order.[28] The *Chronicon Livoniae* ('Chronicle of Livonia'), which he produced in the 1370s, covers the period from the start of the Livonian mission and crusades (c. 1196)[29] up to the year 1378.[30] In later historiography, Hermann's chronicle has never been valued very highly, as this linguistically and stylistically rather poor text contains many mistakes and not much new information (save for the last twenty years it covers). While institutional commitment is hardly unusual for medieval history-writing,[31] Hermann's chronicle is still particularly clearly biased, representing the viewpoint of the Order. Nevertheless, as has recently been shown, while the text may have little to say about the twelfth- and thirteenth-century history of Livonia, it offers a valuable insight into contemporary mentalities and the fourteenth-century struggles for hegemony.[32]

The primary goal of this chronicle is the legitimization of the Teutonic Order's privileges in Livonia. The almost permanent rivalry between the Teutonic Order and the bishoprics of Livonia became particularly critical

26   See Mentzel-Reuters, 'Bartholomaeus Hoeneke'. Here, the concrete arguments of this deconstructive study are discussed in more detail in connection with Renner's chronicle.

27   Kala, 'Rural Society', and cf. Vahtre, *Jüriöö*, p. 23.

28   Hermann is named a chaplain of the Livonian master of the Order in a document dating to the year 1366. He did not originate from Livonia, but was probably born in Westphalia in northern Germany.

29   Like Henry of Livonia, Hermann starts his narrative with the arrival of the first German missionary, Meinhard. Yet he dates this to the year 1143, while according to Henry this happened in the early 1180s.

30   Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*. For Hermann and his chronicle, see Selart, 'Die livländische'.

31   As argued by a number of scholars, institutional involvement shaped much medieval history writing (e.g. Goetz, *Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 336-339; Spiegel, *The Past*, pp. 83-98).

32   Selart, 'Die livländische'.

in the fourteenth century.[33] Hermann's account of the St. George's Night Uprising, written down about thirty years after the event, seems to have been based on documents and letters that were produced to justify the occupation of the Estonian duchy by the Teutonic Order during the suppression of the uprising. Three early-sixteenth-century regests from the archives of the general procurator of the Teutonic Order are still preserved in Rome, which contain a summary of letters recounting the uprising, allowing insight into the Order's diplomatic strategies.[34] It seems probable that the Order had been accused of acting against the Church by the archbishop of Riga, who thus asked his subordinates to write letters that lauded the Order for suppressing the revolt and justified its invasion of the domain of the Danish king and the bishop of Saaremaa.[35] In many ways, Hermann's chronicle offers a description of the Order's main arguments in a nutshell, and it was probably also intended for foreign audiences. Although it was probably never used for this aim, the text spread widely, and was known among Prussian and Livonian chroniclers.

Hermann's chronicle gives a rather long description of the main phases of the conflict in Harjumaa, around Tallinn, as well as in Läänemaa and Saaremaa. Unlike the later historiographical accounts, Hermann's chronicle represents the uprising as primarily a religious conflict. However, he does not depict it as a clash between paganism and Christianity, but argues that the Estonians have apostatized, using an argument very similar to that used for the earlier crusade period.[36] Hence Hermann's descriptions of the beginning of the uprising first in Harjumaa and then in Läänemaa and Saaremaa start not with a phrase such as 'rose against' or similar, but with 'relapsed from the faith'. First, we learn that the 'neophytes' of the

33   The conflict escalated as the archbishops of Riga demanded an oath from the Teutonic Order for their Livonian territories and the Order declined. Thereafter, the Order was repeatedly put under excommunication, while the archbishops of Riga dared to stay in Livonia only for a short period of time. In connection with this fight for hegemony, both parties produced texts to justify their own actions and to blame the deeds of their opponents; often their arguments also referred to the distant past.

34   A detailed analysis of the regests (i.e. summaries of archive documents) is provided by Vahtre, 'Die Briefe'. The letters were produced by the bishops of Tallinn and Saaremaa, the abbot of the Padise convent, and the northern Estonian nobility, and all of them appear to have been aimed at justifying the Order's initiative during the suppression of the uprising.

35   Vahtre, 'Die Briefe', pp. 51-2. In 1373, the Order organized the writing of similar letters, which also recalled the Order's merits in suppressing St. George's Uprising; see Vahtre, 'Die Briefe', pp. 52-4.

36   For the use of these arguments in crusade period sources, see Tamm, 'How to Justify'; and cf. Kaljundi, '(Re)performing', pp. 314-7; 322-7.

bishopric of Tallinn 'relapsed from the faith', and as the story proceeds, the 'neophytes' of Läänemaa and Saaremaa are also said to have done the same.[37] To judge the rebels, Hermann's chronicle also uses another term that was widely appropriated during the crusade period and had strong religious associations: 'perfidy'.[38] In the Middle Ages, the concept of perfidy was highly negatively charged, both in feudal and religious contexts. During the Livonian crusades it was likewise strongly associated with the neophytes' tendency to break loyalty to both secular and ecclesiastical authorities.[39]

As we can see, Hermann has also markedly labelled the participants of the uprising as 'neophytes'.[40] While during the crusade period, and in Henry's chronicle in particular, 'neophyte' also had positive connotations,[41] during the strengthening of the rule of the new colonial elite, the concept became more and more pejorative. It was used up to the sixteenth century to determine not so much the religious, but rather the social characteristics of individuals.[42] Writing in the late fourteenth century, Hermann stands in between these two traditions, but nevertheless his use of the term seems closer to the negative conceptualizations.

Tellingly also Hermann's representation of the restoration of peace and order in Livonia is framed with religious and ecclesiastical vocabulary that capitalizes on the neophytes accepting the faith anew and rejoining the Church. Thus, at the end, according to him, the Saaremaa men 'sent messengers asking for peace, promising that they wished to accept the faith again. They were received back into the bosom of the Church'.[43] This also recalls the vocabulary that the crusade-period sources used for describing

37   Respectively, 'neophiti [...] abnegata fide relabuntur', Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 62; and 'neophiti [...] abnegata fide', ibid., p. 63. Once, Wartberge also calls the participants of the uprising 'infidels' ('infidelium').

38   Thus the chronicler calls the rebels 'perfidious' ('perfidis'), as well as blaming the Öselians simultaneously both for 'perfidy' and 'apostasy' ('Osilianis in perifidia et apostasia remanentibus'): Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 64.

39   The treachery of the local peoples plays an important role in the justification of the crusades in Henry's Chronicle of Livonia; see Kaljundi, '(Re)performing', pp. 314-6.

40   At least three times in total.

41   This reflected the contemporary concern for pastoral care (Schmidt, *The Popes*), but also the ideological and strategic importance of the inclusion of the newly converted native groups among the crusade army, which particularly concerned the involvement of the Livish and Lettgallian neophytes in the crusades against the Estonians. For this and for Henry's positive conceptualization of the figure of the good neophyte, see Kaljundi, 'Expanding Communities'.

42   Kala, 'Rural society', p. 189.

43   'Miserunt nuncios pacem petentes, spondentes fidem recipere velle. Recepti sunt ... ad gremium ecclesie', Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 64.

peace negotiations, as these texts also represent accepting the faith and joining the Church as the main condition for establishing peace.[44]

The religious connotations of Hermann's chronicle do not end here, as in addition our author also gives a detailed description of the killing and torturing of the Christians by the rebels. The emphasis on anti-Christian violence is visible already from his account of the beginning of the uprising:

> Behold, a day before the festival of St. George the neophytes of the bishopric of Reval relapsed from the faith; they killed their lords and all the Germans together with their little children; they struck infants against the rocks; they threw them into the fire or water, doing things that are shameful to tell; they cut up women with swords and transfixed the children that fell out of their wombs with lances; they burned down their houses and other edifices; they set fire to the churches, as well as the monastery of Pades; they slaughtered 28 monks, turning aside their pleas, while the abbot escaped together with a few. And those the men had left alive the enraged women killed even more cruelly. The number of those killed from both sexes was 1700. Not satisfied with these doings, they besieged those of the vassals and the faithful who had escaped in the castle and city of Reval, together with the bishop and the clergy; on top of this, as the story goes, they seized an image of the cross from a hospital in front of the city and hung it at the gallows next to the hanged bodies, and, so it is said, they also crucified a Christian boy in the same manner as the Lord was crucified.[45]

The detailed descriptions of the atrocities arguably performed by the participants of the uprising against the Christians have strong religious connotations, of which the reader is most clearly reminded in connection with the Christo-mimetic sufferings of the Christian boy. The torturing of the monks further adds to this. As such, Hermann's account also echoes the tradition of emphasizing anti-Christian violence that spread in the early Christian writings and hagiography, but also flourished during the crusades.[46] During the crusades, next to the killing of Christians, sources

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44 Again, Henry's chronicle of Livonia offers a large number of such examples.

45 Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, pp. 62-3.

46 In connection with the crusades, such representations not only highlighted the cruelty of the enemy's deeds, thereby providing further legitimization for the campaigns, (e.g. Riley-Smith, 'Christian Violence', esp. pp. 16-7; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, esp. pp. 17-18), but also stressed the Christo-mimetic nature of the sufferings of the crusaders and Christians at the crusade frontiers, thereby reflecting the penitential nature of crusading (e.g. Riley-Smith, *The First*

often highlighted the enemies' attack against Christian sacred places,[47] which likewise is the case with Hermann's account: it points to the burning of the churches and the monastery.

Hermann also presents another invariant feature of anti-Christian violence, which appears in connection with his account of the spread of the uprising to Saaremaa. Even though it contains fewer violent details, the story still culminates in a representation of the perfidious Saaremaa people not keeping their promise to spare the life of the Christians, as they killed the clerics and members of the Order either by stoning them to death or drowning them, and also slew many Christians from both sexes.[48]

At present, scholars appear to agree on rejecting Hermann's arguments about the uprising being specifically targeted against the Christian faith. Tiina Kala, for example, has poignantly claimed that references to backsliding should not always be understood as rejecting the Christian faith; they could also designate disloyalty or rebelliousness towards the administrative and ruling systems introduced to Livonia as a result of the crusades and conversion.[49] That apostasy was a strong argument is also suggested by the use of similar claims in the letters written in support of the Order, mentioned above. These also tell of the relapse of the neophytes, and their killing of Christians, and they praise the Order for bringing the neophytes back into the Catholic faith. Stressing the religious aspects enabled the Order to present itself in favourable terms to the papacy as a defender of

Crusade, pp. 84-5, 128), as well as the prominence of the *imitatio* Christi (see Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 59-85).

47   This also characterizes the historiography concerned with the conquest and conversion around the Baltic Sea. Kaljundi, 'Waiting for the Barbarians', pp. 121-2. Many scholars have underlined the interest Henry of Livonia shows towards the representation of the de-sacralization of sacred places, e.g. Jensen, 'How to Convert'. Henry's overall emphasis on space is discussed in Kaljundi, '(Re)performing', pp. 318-31; for the destruction of Christian places, especially cemeteries, see ibid., pp. 322-7.

48   'In the same year, the neophytes ('neophiti') of the diocese of Saaremaa, having relapsed from faith ('abnegata fide) on the day before the festival of St. Jacob, besieged the bishop together with the clerics and other faithful in the castle of Hapsalu. They also besieged the castle of Pöide in Saaremaa, which was handed over to them after an agreement according to which the people and their belongings were supposed to stay intact, but the aforesaid neophytes stoned their bailiff, that is Brother Arnold, and Brother John the priest together with some other brothers and the servants of the Order to death, and they even drowned some of the clerics of the parish and some lay clerics in the sea, and they slew very many vassals and Christians from both sexes.' Hermanni de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 63.

49   Kala, 'Rural Society', p. 179, note 64.

the Church and Christians.[50] Hermann, who was probably writing with a diplomatic agenda in mind, also appears to have used the arguments that the Teutonic Order knew and deemed suitable for representing itself in favourable terms, especially for a papal audience.

Nevertheless, Hermann's text is interesting as an example of the continuity of the schemata that were introduced for depicting the conflicts with the native peoples during the crusades. A number of elements used by Hermann remind us very much of the earlier crusade chronicle by Henry of Livonia, who likewise stresses the apostasy and perfidy of the natives, as well as their violence against Christians. Yet one can scarcely speak of a textual transmission between these two texts.[51] Thus, one should speak about another kind of continuity, that in the first place relates to the tradition of the Teutonic Order, which had also been closely involved in the Livonian crusades. In a broader context, this relates to the formation of the medieval opposition between *Christianitas* and its enemies, which was significantly developed by institutions, such as the military orders, who were engaged in the expansion of Christendom to its frontiers and took advantage of this discourse in their fight for hegemony.[52]

50   Vahtre, 'Die Briefe', p. 51. The first of the letters (produced by the bishop of Saaremaa, the bishop of Tallinn, and the nobility of northern Estonia) tells how the neophytes relapsed into paganism and killed all the Christians ('quomodo neophite in Livonia redeuntes ad paganismum trucidarunt omnes Cristianos'). The second (by the nobility of northern Estonia) narrates how neophytes killed Catholics and committed other atrocities, having relapsed into the error of paganism ('quomodo neophiti in terra Osiliensi insurgentes occiderunt catholicos et alia enormia commiserunt in errores gentilitatis relabentes'). The third (by the bishop of Tallinn and the abbot of the Padise convent) focuses on how the Teutonic Order fought against the Estonians from Saaremaa and north Estonia and brought them back to the Catholic faith ('quomodo magister et fratres in Livonia deficientes Ezilienses et Revalienses dimicaverunt et eos ad catholicam fidem reduxerunt'). Vahtre, 'Die Briefe', pp. 46-9.
51   Even though traditionally Wartberge was believed to have used Henry's work, as recently argued by Anti Selart, this appears not to have been the case; it is more likely he used texts that represented the Order's view on Livonian history. As Selart has shown, the similarities between the two chronicles concern only the first chapters of Henry's chronicle that describe the early phase of mission and religious warfare in Estonia, and even here many of the details, the chronology, and political sympathies introduced by Wartberge are so different from Henry's account that it seems more plausible to suggest that Wartberge used some alternative source. See Selart, 'The Use', pp. 350-1; cf. Selart, 'Die livländische'.
52   For a discussion on the formation of this discourse at the medieval frontiers see Berend, 'Défense'.

Wigand of Marburg's *Chronica nova Prutenica*

The second fourteenth-century account of the St. George's Night Uprising also comes from the circles of the Teutonic Order, but from Prussia. This is the rhymed chronicle of the Order written by Wigand of Marburg in the mid-1390s. Wigand acted as a herald in the service of the Order. The chronicle he wrote, covering the period between 1294/1295 and 1394, is one of the most important sources about the Order's history in Prussia. Yet this text, written in Middle Low German verse, has not been preserved: out of an estimated length of around 17,000 lines, only about 500 have survived. There exists, however, a fifteenth-century translation of Wigand's work into Latin.[53] As it is relatively loose and abridged, as well as contains many errors, using this text for any detailed study about the transmission of imageries is problematic. On the other hand, it is still possible to speculate on the main traits of the general imagery of the uprising and the rebels, as represented by Wigand in the late fourteenth century.

Most importantly, in this text, the idea of a religious confrontation is still present.[54] However, unlike Wartberge's narrative, where this interpretation frames the representation of the uprising as a whole, here it occurs only in connection with the labeling of the native antagonists as 'pagans' and 'persecutors' or 'enemies of the faith'. The narrative's context for these terms also points to their possible origin, suggesting that Wigand probably used the Order's correspondence as source material. In Wigand's text, the rebels are called 'persecutors of the faith' in connection with a message that the Livonian master sent to the general master of the Teutonic Order concerning the uprising: 'The same master [Burchard von Dreileben] informed Master Luter [Ludolf] in Prussia how the aforesaid Estonians, Harriensians, Öselians, the persecutors of the faith, wished to devastate the whole of Livonia; how they had killed knights, etc. and everybody they had got hold of; and how too they wanted to come upon all Christians on a day set by them; but the grace of God averted this.'[55] In response to this, the master of the Order sends an army to fight 'the enemies of the faith'.[56] The term 'pagans' occurs only once and is also directly connected with the vision of

53   For a publication of the fragments and the Latin translation of Wigand's chronicle, see 'Die Chronik Wigands'.
54   Cf. Vahtre, 'Jüriöö ülestõus', 'Die Darstellung'.
55   'Die Chronik Wigands', p. 503.
56   'Upon hearing such talk, the master sent an army to the Livonian master … to deprive the Estonians, the Harriensians, the Öselians, all the enemies of faith ('fidei inimicos') of life on one day'. 'Die Chronik Wigands', p. 503.

the Order's role as the force fighting the pagans. Hence, before the battle near Reval we hear that, 'When the master Burchard learned of this [the raids of the rebels], he crossed over with his men in a great force close to Reval in order to restrain and convert the aforesaid pagans'.[57] On the one hand, this offers a good example of the functionality and longevity of these negative signifiers of the enemy in the Order's strategies of communication. It is good to bear in mind that Wigand was writing his chronicle at around the *Abendlicht* of the fight against paganism, as in 1394 the great pagan enemy of the Order, the Lithuanians, accepted Christianity. On the other hand, while these broad signifiers – 'pagans' and 'persecutors of the faith' – have survived, a much more detailed imagery of religious confrontation has ebbed away. As discussed above, in-depth representations of religious violence and persecution, characteristic of the discourse of the crusades and military orders, were still visible in Wartberge's chronicle discussed above.

Tellingly, Wigand's representation of the event as a whole does not emphasize religious conflict, but the exploitation of the Estonians by the vassals of the Danish king. Thus the introduction to the uprising starts with a complaint by the Estonians:

> In the year 1343, at the time of Master Luter [Ludolf], when the Danish king was still ruling in the land of Reval, etc., the knights and vassals of the king repressed the people with such burdens and torments that they in pain and sorrow complained to the master and the brothers, especially those who are commonly called Estonians, Öselians, as well as other common people. Their violence was so great that they dishonoured their wives, deflowered virgins, took away their possessions, and used them as slaves. Because of this the Estonians, the Harriensians and the Öselians rose up against them and sent [envoys] to the king to ask whether he was willing to protect them against such oppression, as they preferred to die rather than to live under such a yoke, and if a stop were not put to this, they would complain to God and his saints. Everybody, young and old complained, publicly at such violent acts.[58]

While there are no sources suggesting the worsening of the legal status of the Estonians prior to the uprising, the chronicler's vision rather seems to stem from the wish to delegitimize Danish rule in Estonia and to present the Order as a more suitable lord. This, however, brings significant ambiguity

57   'Die Chronik Wigands', p. 502.
58   'Die Chronik Wigands', p. 501.

to the moral message of the whole representation and creates a number of controversies. Albeit the chronicle has labeled the participants of the uprising as enemies of the faith, they are also represented as suffering from unjust oppression and as eager to entrust their complaints to God – features that would usually be attributed to Christian protagonists. The image of the Order also does not remain untouched. According to the traditional scheme, it is represented as the defender of the Christians against native paganism and apostasy, but then in this text the participants of the uprising also ask the Order to defend them. This occurs in connection with the events taking place before the battle near Tallinn:

> The aforesaid Estonians, Harriensians, etc. shamelessly besieged Reval with a large army and devastated the land with hostile cruelty by killing etc. When master Burchard learned of this, he crossed over with his men in a great force close to Reval in order to restrain and convert the aforesaid pagans. But they remained obstinate and wished to lay the city waste. And the master asked through an interpreter why had they done such evil by killing, etc.; and they said, aiming to gain the grace of the master, etc.: 'Master, we complained to you about our hardships and the misery and injustices that we have suffered from knights and nobility and we all truly wish rather to die than to be annihilated in this way, and we are all rising up for vengeance, which would in no way have happened, if you had given us at least a little justice.' But the interpreter betrayed the aforesaid Harriensians, and gave their words wrongly to the master and said that they had answered: even if they had not done such things so far, they would in the future; because of this the master in one mind with his people attacked them as well as [other] Estonians, and more than 12,000 of them were killed, until they sought mercy from the master.[59]

As a whole, the passage also offers a good example of the ways the chronicle simultaneously condemns the rebels, and gives them an opportunity to justify themselves when it suits the aims of delegitimizing Danish rule. Characteristically of this controversial approach, the reasons behind the escalation of conflict remain ambiguous: even though the text expresses some doubt concerning the honesty of the rebels' speech, the acceleration of negotiations into fighting is still attributed to the betrayal of the interpreter. Tellingly, his decision to alter the words of the rebels remains unmotivated,

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59   'Die Chronik Wigands', pp. 502-3.

as this somewhat awkward dark spot in the otherwise smooth plot reminds us that the different elements of the story do not fit together.

Another crucial feature is the representation of violence. While Hermann of Wartberge offered detailed descriptions of anti-Christian violence, the adaptation of Wigand's text remains vague. An illuminating example of this is the phrase 'killing, etc.', which is used often in the text. The beginning of the story offers another good illustration to the approach, as it briefly states that 'the people were deceived; much wrong became of this, think: the killing of knights, servants, free men, and everybody'.[60] While the brevity of these descriptions no doubt also results from the fact that we are dealing with an abridged translation, it is still notewor-thy that the text is not that short-worded when it comes to the violence that the Danish vassals are argued to have executed against their native subordinates. The exploitation motif is not entirely a novelty in Livonian medieval historiography, as it has been used for discrediting rivals before.[61] What is new in this text, however, is its much greater attention towards the details of the oppression. As discussed below, the detailed depictions of the exploitation of the natives became a central element in early modern histories. Concerning Wigand's chronicle, or at least as much as we know of it on the basis of the later adaptation, we could also interpret this text as one of the first indications of a motif that some hundred years later was to blossom into one of the most widely appropriated themes in the writings about the Baltic.

Against the backdrop of the available narratives of the uprising, then, Wigand's chronicle appears as a transitional work. On the one hand, it bears witness to the resistance of a number of well-established ways of representing the antagonists. On the other hand, the watershed between the Christians and their enemies gets curiously blurred. On the whole, this creates a noticeable tension between the different elements of the story and its moral economy, which one could also read as the first careful signs that the old, crusade-period schemata are about to change. Most noteworthy of these is the transformation of the main arguments used to justify the intervention of the Order in matters of the Danish duchy. Hermann still emphasized religious confrontation and the opposition between the na-tive, arguably relapsed, Estonians and the settler Christians. Wigand, on

60   'Die Chronik Wigands', p. 501.
61   For example, the *Chronicle* of Henry of Livonia, written to support the cause and claims of the bishopric of Riga, blames the Sword Brethren (who later became the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order) for oppressing their native subjects.

the other hand, builds his arguments on another kind of opposition that juxtaposes good and bad governance, and thereby diminishes the agency of the natives.

The Transformations of the Uprising in the Early Modern Period: Johann Renner

By far the longest and most detailed source for the St. George's Night Uprising is from the sixteenth century. This is the *Liflandische historia* ('Livonian history'), written in the 1570s by Johann (Johannes) Renner (*c.* 1525-1583). Born in Westphalia in northern Germany, Renner arrived in Livonia in 1556 and worked as a secretary to the bailiff of Järva (Ger. Jerwen), residing in Paide, and as a scribe for the *Komtur*[62] of Uus-Pärnu (Ger. Pernau). In 1561, Renner returned to Germany and settled in Bremen, where he also wrote his history of Livonia. Renner's work, however, remained unpublished,[63] unlike the widely popular Livonian chronicle written by his contemporary Balthasar Russow (on which more below), even though they both covered much the same topics, including the Livonian War (1558-1583), that were of considerable interest to the German reading public.

In the first three books of his chronicle Renner depicts the earlier history of Christian Livonia, including the St. George's Night Uprising. Previously it was often thought that the second book was not only based on Hoeneke's Rhymed Chronicle (as it certainly was), but also mediated that work. Yet recent studies have challenged this view.[64] As stated, nevertheless, abandon-

62   In the territories of the Teutonic Order, *Komtur* was the commander responsible for the running of an administrative division, such as, for example, the Pärnu division.
63   This first publication of Renner's chronicle as a whole from 1876 was based on a manuscript found in 1870. Later, it turned out that this was the second version of the *Liflandische historia*, reworked by Renner himself under the influence of Balthasar Russow's chronicle. In 1934, an earlier version of that part of the chronicle which covered the years 1556-1561 was found and published as *Livländische Historien: 1556-1561* in 1953. This finding, however, did not concern Renner's representation of the St. George's Night Uprising, which was published separately in 1872 by Konstantin Höhlbaum, who had also composed a study on the topic the same year (Höhlbaum, *Johann Renner's*).
64   The study by Arno Mentzel-Reuters ('Bartholomaeus Hoeneke'), mentioned above, points to a number of factors that make it highly problematic to reconstruct a chronicle written by a fourteenth-century cleric belonging to the Teutonic Order (i.e. Hoeneke) on the basis of a history produced by an early modern Lutheran layman and notary (i.e. Renner): Renner's text was written in prose and Low German, while Hoeneke's text was written in verse and probably in Mid-German; the comparison of the preserved fragments of Hoeneke's chronicle and Renner's history also points to striking differences. Hence, on the basis of Renner's chronicle, it is difficult

ing the notion that Renner largely reflects Hoeneke enables us to study his account of the uprising against the backdrop of his own time.

Indeed, even a brief comparison of Renner's history and the fourteenth-century chronicles show remarkable differences, particularly concerning the representation of the event as a religious conflict. Unlike the earlier authors, Hermann and Wigand, Renner makes only a few minor references to apostasy. His most explicit example concerns some Estonians who are at first shown begging for mercy from the master of the Order, promising 'never to revolt against the Christianity' and are then said to have 'relapsed again'.[65] While this no doubt reflects the already familiar scheme according to which any revolt against the existing rule was delegitimized as a relapse from the Christian faith, as well as recalls the emphasis on the perfidy of the native neophytes, the argument is not central to Renner's representation. According to him, it is not religious, but social conflict between the subjects and their rulers that stands at the centre of things. It is worth examining in more detail what kind of social conflict he depicts.

It has often been argued that Renner depicts the event as a peasant uprising, as he sees the medieval revolt from the perspective of the sixteenth century, a time of great peasant upheavals.[66] Renner indeed represents the peasants as accusing the nobility, i.e. the vassals of the Danish king, of exploitation and mistreatment. For example, during the negotiations between the rebels and the Order in Paide, one of the Estonian leaders also claims that 'they have been tortured and afflicted for so long that they could not tolerate or bear this any longer'.[67] Like Wigand, Renner also points out the master's willingness to take their complaints seriously and to act as an intermediary, thereby representing the Order as the highest paternal authority in Livonia: in his chronicle, the master of the Order invited the

to conclude anything about the mentality of Hoeneke's chronicle, and even more challenging to reconstruct its original form.

65 'There [a village called Nectis likely located in Läänemaa] arrived envoys sent by other Estonians, who fell in front of the feet of the master and asked for mercy; they promised never to revolt against the Christian faith ('nimmermer jegen de christenheit to ahndelende'), but to be obedient from now on. Hence they were pardoned. But they did not keep their promise for long, but relapsed again, as we shall hear below'. *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 93.

66 Hence even the scholars who considered his work as a more or less reliable source for studying Hoekeke have admitted that the term 'peasant' may have been interpolated in the representation of the uprising only by Renner. For example, Vahtre, *Jüriöö*, pp. 11-12.

67 *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 88. Already prior to this, the envoys of the Estonians were sent to seek help from Turku with 'a message that they have killed all the Germans in Harjumaa, because they [the Germans] have tortured them, scourged them, and afflicted them and they are not given even dry bread for their great amount of hard work', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 87.

envoys to Paide as he 'wished to know what reason they had for relapsing and if the Germans were the ones to be blamed; he wished to carefully strive for the bettering of all things'.[68] Yet, as we know, no agreement was reached in Paide, and all the Estonian envoys were killed. According to Renner, it was an attempt by one of the Estonians to kill the bailiff that led to the killing of all the envoys. Thus the Estonians, who during the negotiations are heavily blamed for the killing of the Germans, are also to blame for this bloodshed.

However, in Renner's representation, the conflict is not merely a social one, but also an ethnic one. He indeed calls the rebels 'peasants' (*buren*), but equally often also 'the Estonians' (*Eesten*), which echoes the closer linking of those two concepts in the sixteenth century.[69] The term occurs especially frequently in connection with the escalation of conflict,[70] with military confrontations (e.g. listing the parties involved, or the ones killed in action),[71] and with negotiations between different groups.[72] Hence the uprising is depicted as not only a social, but also an ethnic conflict. According to this chronicle, the main reason behind the whole uprising was the hatred of 'the

68   *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 87.

69   In connection with the closer linking of the term non-German to the peasantry around the same time, see Kala, 'Gab es'.

70   Hence, the uprising is said to have started, because 'the Estonians of Harjumaa wished to have their own kings' ('dann de Eesten in Harrien wolden eigen koninge hebben') and they elected 'four Estonian peasants as their kings' ('koeren se 4 Eestische buren to konignen'); the latter are later called 'four kings of the Estonians' ('der Eesten ver koninge'): *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 86-8.

71   In connection with military encounters, we learn that 'once 500 Estonians rode into the village of Ravila (Ger. Rawenick)', after which the brethren of the Order 'fell upon the Estonians in the village'. Before the fighting near Kämbla (Ger. Kimmele), there arrived '200 Estonians' and slightly later '100 Estonians more'. Whereas prior to the battle of Kanavere (Ger. Kannever) there had gathered 'many Estonians', after the encounter 'not many Estonians were saved', as only '15 Estonians' survived. Before the battle near Tallinn, the bailiff of Cēsis (Ger. Wenden) 'spoke to the Estonians', upon which 'the Estonians agreed' and 'the Estonians wished to surrender', but the army resisted, saying that 'the Estonians have slain their friends and relatives' and sending the bailiff 'again to the Estonians' ('wedder to den Eesten'). As the fighting begins, 'the Estonians' began to take flight. After the victory of the Order near Tallinn, there were put to death 'the principals of the Estonians and the initiators of the murder', whereas the representatives of the Danish king thanked the master of the Order 'for saving them and for getting rid of the Estonians'. A brother of the Teutonic Order, Goswin von Herike, is said to have claimed that 'this land has suffered great troubles from the Estonians', as well as wishing 'to know how many Estonians have been killed ever since this murder began', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 86-95.

72   As the invitation for negotiations in Paide arrives, 'the Estonians liked [it] very much'. In connection with the peace talks, the chronicle speaks simply of Estonians ('Eesten'), and at the end says that the brothers of the Order 'hacked all those Estonians, kings and servants of war to death'. During the negotiations in Nectis, there arrived 'envoys sent by other Estonians', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 87-8, 93.

Estonians' towards 'the Germans'. An emblematic example of this occurs in connection with the beginning of the uprising, when the Estonians

> wanted to attack suddenly and kill all the Germans together with their women and children. So this then also happened, because they started to beat to death virgins, women, servants, maidens, nobles, and non-nobles, young and old; everybody who was of German blood was doomed to die there. In the Padis convent they slew 28 monks and burned the convent. They burned down all the estates of the noblemen, they crossed the country and killed all the Germans they came across.[73]

Renner presents a number of similar accounts, proclaiming that the Estonians indeed killed or at least attempted to kill everybody – men and women, young and old – belonging to the socially dominant German-speaking group.[74] In addition, Renner's history also presents some dramatic examples of the Estonians' hatred towards the Germans. During the negotiations in Paide, Renner argues, 'The master asked from the four [Estonian] kings why they had so mercilessly killed the Germans, both young and old, and slain them'. The Estonians famously replied, 'Should there be a forearm-long German, he would have to die as well'.[75] And then, after the defeat of the Estonians near Reval, we learn: 'When the fighting had ended, many people from the city of Reval came to look at the dead: among them there was one citizen who was also watching the dead; there one Estonian jumped up and would have almost killed the burgher (so hostile are they to the Germans that this half-dead fellow wanted to kill the burgher), one horseman noticed this, hurried to the spot on horse and killed the Estonian outright'.[76] The same passage also offers an indication of a certain anxiety towards transgressing ethnic borders, as it tells of a German who had joined the Estonian troops and was hanged by the Order.[77]

73   *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 86.
74   After the beginning of the uprising, the Estonians are said to have sent a message to the bailiff of Turku (Swe. Åbo), claiming that they 'have killed all the Germans in Harrien ... for this [the exploitation of the Estonians] the Germans have had to pay'. Thereafter, the same thing allegedly happened in Läänemaa, as 'a few days after this [i.e. the start of the uprising in Harjumaa and the gathering of the rebels' army near Tallinn] all the Läänemaa men also slew all the Germans they could find there, just like it had been seen in Harjumaa, they went and besieged Haapsalu and killed 1800 people in Läänemaa, both young and old'. *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 87.
75   *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 88.
76   *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 90.
77   *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 90.

The prominence of ethnic conflict could be interpreted as an indication of the growing importance of ethnicity that had been on the rise since the late Middle Ages.[78] Indeed, Renner also uses the names of other neighbouring major ethnic groups.[79] Admittedly, his text suggests that the ethnonyms were still far from all-encompassing at that time. Renner often signifies various groups according to their localities and speech, most significantly the 'Saaremaa men', while describing the spread of the uprising to the island.[80] At the same time, the chronicle still represents the uprising in Saaremaa as a variant of the first outbreak of the revolt in Harjumaa, motivated by an equally strong anti-German sentiment.[81]

There is, however, another feature that differentiates the Estonians from all other groups, and this is the use of 'peasant' as an alternative term to designate them. Particularly in connection with fighting between the Order and the rebels, Renner has simultaneously used both terms, naming the adversaries both 'Estonians' and 'peasants'.[82] This probably

78   See Kala, 'Gab es'.

79   However, the Russians and Swedes are often mentioned in connection with the alliances the Estonians seek to make with them. For example, after the battle near Tallinn, Renner mentions 'the Estonians' attempt to ally with 'the Russians' ('Russen'). 'Now two Estonians from Harjumaa have gone to Pskov and told the Russians how they have killed all the Germans in Harjumaa together with the master and the brothers of the Order and how the Estonians have elected a king ('koning'); [...] so the Russians gathered 5000 men, invaded the bishopric of Tartu (Ger. Dorpat)', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 91.

80   The ending of the uprising after the Order's campaign to Saaremaa in 1345 is also a good indicator of the use of such divisions, saying that Burchard von Dreileben, the master 'moved to Saaremaa together with the Latvians, Livs, Estonians, Semigallians, Curonians, the ones from the bishoprics of Riga and Tartu. [...] Then the Saaremaa men asked for peace. [...] Even though these [peace conditions] were disagreeable to the Saaremaa men', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 93.

81   'On the eve of St. Jacob's day during the same year, 1343, the Saaremaa men slew all the Germans, young and old, just like it had been seen in Harjumaa, they drowned the priests in the sea and went under the castle of Pöide the same day [...] That the bailiff could not hold the house, he consulted his people in order to make peace and to give away the castle. Everybody liked this, so they sent [envoys] to the peasants and told them that they wish to surrender peacefully. The peasants rejoiced over this [...] When now the gates were opened, they went away sadly, the peasants however did not keep their promise, but stoned them all to death.' *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 92.

82   One good example relates to the battle of Kanavere: 'There was killed the brother Herman von Nesen and two more brothers of the Order, four noblemen and fourteen peasants ('buren'). But then not many Estonians escaped from there. The master came out of the marsh, he was wet and filthy; but when he learned that the peasants are gathering again, he commanded his people and stepped to the marsh again against the peasants and they killed everybody they could get hold of'. *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 89. Also in connection with the fighting in Saaremaa the chronicler has used both terms synonymously. In connection with the besieging

reflects the growing ethnic and social segregation in Livonia, where the Estonian-speakers were becoming more clearly associated with the lower classes. This development, however, was more characteristic of Renner's own time rather than the fourteenth century. Next to this, this interpretation was feasible owing to the major peasant wars of the sixteenth century.

Renner's account also reflects the increasingly negative conceptualization of the peasantry. Linking the rebels with the 'peasantry' serves to delegitimize their enterprise – and even more so any claims for rule, showing that they are mere 'peasants' who are not fit or meant to rule. Characteristic of Renner's representation of the conflict is an emphasis on an inversion of social order, which can be found in the lines introducing the uprising: 'In the year 1343, on the night of St. George there took place a great slaughter in Harrien, because the Estonians of Harrien wished to have their own kings and hence set this in train'.[83] The depiction of the following events also contains a number of elements that delegitimize the Estonians' right to elect rulers, or to rule, showing that all their attempts to imitate their lords remained futile: peasants remain peasants. Hence we learn that after the beginning of the uprising and the killing of the Germans,

> they elected four Estonian peasants as kings; these adorned themselves with golden spurs and many-coloured coats, on their heads they put virgin crowns (that were in fashion in those days and golden), which they had stolen, they bound golden belts around their bodies; this was their royal insignia. Those women and children who had escaped from men were killed by the non-German women; they burned down the churches and the huts [of the monks]. When this had happened, the kings proceeded together with the Estonians and they besieged Reval with ten thousand men. There they accolated the knights.[84]

Even though the rebels aimed to organize their forces and elect from among themselves 'knights' and 'kings', the following adorning of the kings with 'royal insignia' turned into a parody that capitalizes on their

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of an unknown fort in Saaremaa, we learn that 'many peasants ('buren') had gathered there. [...] Three brothers of the Order and 9000 male Saaremaa men were killed', *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 92-3.

83   *Johann Renner's Livländische*, p. 86.

84   *Johann Renner's Livländische*, pp. 86-7.

incompetence. Tellingly the parody is also gendered, as the kings are adorned with virgin crowns, and next to this, the involvement of Estonian women in fighting contributes to discrediting the military qualities of the rebels and their cause as a whole. All in all, Renner's description corresponds rather well with the late medieval and early modern patterns for representing peasant warfare that emphasize their irrationality as warriors and incompetence as rulers.[85] Peasants were often depicted as cowardly, treacherous, and cruel warriors, who are fundamentally unsuccessful in their attempts to imitate their lords and to replace them as the leaders of war and society. According to Renner, ultimately the rebels are defeated because of their lack of military and diplomatic skills, i.e. being unfit to fight and to rule. Unlike their lords, who fight for God, Christians, and their honour, the peasantry's fighting is not purposeful, as it is borne up by an irrational rage. However, the spread of such patterns also provided a new tool for delegitimizing one's enemies, as labeling them 'peasants' enabled them to be rejected as legitimate political agents, just as, in many ways, designating one's foes as 'pagans' or 'apostates' had functioned before.

Renner's chronicle also enables us to compare his version of the St. George's Night Uprising to a depiction of a contemporary uprising of the Estonians in 1560, which was the second greatest conflict between the Germans and non-Germans described in this text. Renner's representation of this uprising, which occurred during the times of the Livonian War, contains many similar elements to the depiction of the St. George's Night Uprising: it also calmly names the participants of the uprising 'peasants',[86] as well as highlighting the irrationality and violence of 'peasant warfare'. Also present is the idea of an attempt to invert the social order, as Renner explains the cause of the uprising in the following way: 'The peasants wanted to be free and no longer subject to the noblemen and so they tried to eradicate them.'[87] In addition, this account includes a description of the peasants electing a king and performing a carnivalesque ceremony in his honour:

> When the Livonian peasants saw that the Germans and those in authority were unable to protect them, those from Harrien and Wiek banded

85   Freedman, 'Peasant Anger' and *Images*.
86   The chronicle names them 'the peasants' (three times) and 'the rebellious peasants' (twice): *Johannes Renner's Livonian*, pp. 186-7.
87   *Johannes Renner's Livonian*, p. 186.

together and elected a native blacksmith their king. They drove him around in a wagon, with an escort of twelve running alongside and one out in front playing a bagpipe. The king stuck two hats, one inside the other, on his head and stuck twigs in them. That was his crown.[88]

Very much recalling Renner's descriptions of the Estonian peasant warriors and their carnivalesque kings during the St. George's Night Uprising, this suggests that the early modern representational patterns offered new ways of describing a medieval uprising. As a whole, Renner's depictions of both revolts offer proof that at around this time the watershed between 'us' and 'them' was not constructed on religious grounds ('Christians' vs. 'pagans' or 'apostates'), nor does religion any more provide the most important tools for delegitimizing the enemy. In other words, arguments over the legitimacy of the rival parties are based not on their religious, but their social adherence.

However, it is also important to stress that the fighting 'peasant' appears in Renner's chronicle not only as a caricature, and that the image of 'peasant rage' was something that one could take all too easily. There is also significant anxiety related to this carnivalesque inversion of the social order, particularly in connection with the depictions of the violence executed by the peasants against their lords. Indeed, Renner's depiction lacks the detailed descriptions of the torturing of the Christians, which had been particularly characteristic of Hermann of Wartberge's account of the uprising. Yet, Renner very much stresses the scale of the ethnic or class-determined violence caused by the uprising, as well as the Estonian peasants' aim of killing all the Germans, or everybody belonging to the nobility. As the best example of this, throughout the chronicle, the St. George's Night Uprising is synonymously called 'the great murder' or 'killing'.[89] Quite similarly, his representation of the 1560 rebellion also contains disturbing images of radical violence. Even though a quick end

88   *Johannes Renner's Livonian*, p. 186.
89   Already the introduction to the uprising promises to tell 'How the Estonians started a mass murder ('einen groten morth') in Harrien, Wiek and Ösel', and continues by stating that in 1343 there took place 'a mass murder ('ein groth mordt') in Harrien'. Thereafter the refugees report the bailiff of Paide 'about this mass murder' ('dussen jamerlichen morth'), and thus the master of the Order also sends an envoy to the Estonians to let them know that he has been informed about 'this great murder ('de grote mordt') that they have executed'. Thereafter, the notion of the 'mass murder' is used throughout the text as a synonym of the uprising.

was put to the uprising,[90] the account stresses the killing of the noblemen and the burning of their manors.[91]

Another Early Modern Variant: Balthasar Russow

In order to explore the ways in which Renner's violent and carnivalesque imagery of revolting peasantry reflects the changes in social status of the lower classes, as well as the new learned discourses about the peasantry, we can compare his account of both uprisings with versions of his contemporary, Balthasar Russow (*c.* 1536-1600). Russow was the most popular and widely read among the early modern Livonian historians, as his *Chronika der Provintz Lyffland*, first published in Rostock in 1578, became a bestseller in Germany and enjoyed two reprints.[92] Concerning the rise of peasant imagery, it is also interesting to mention in passing that Russow's own life bears witness to the ways in which calling someone a 'peasant' (*Bauer*) was frequently used to discredit rivals in early modern Livonia. Because of its criticism of the Livonian nobility, his chronicle was subject to fierce reactions and its author was called a 'peasant ox' – while originally it was meant as a severe insult that served to delegitimize the author, later this claim was used to support the argument that Russow was indeed an Estonian.[93]

Russow's chronicle also reflects the changed conceptualization of 'peasant', and it is in his account of the St. George's Night Uprising that the term 'peasantry' becomes omnipresent. Throughout his description of the event, Russow prefers to call its participants 'peasants' instead of 'Estonians', and he also pronouncedly speaks about 'rebellious peasants'.[94]

90   According to Renner, the ending of the rebellion was equally violent as seventy of the peasants were slain, the king was drawn and quartered, and the other captives were tortured and executed: *Johannes Renner's Livonian*, p. 187.

91   Thus Renner also provides a list of the killed noblemen. 'They [the peasants] burned a number of noblemen's manors, slaying all the nobles they found there, among them Jacob Üxküll of Limmat (Lummat), Otto Üxküll of Kirkota (Kircheta), Jurgen Risebiter and Dirck Live'. *Johannes Renner's Livonian*, p. 186.

92   The reprints were published in 1578 and 1584, the latter being considerably revised. See Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow*.

93   Johansen, 'Kronist Balthasar', cf. Urban, 'The Nationality'; Kirss, 'Balthasar Russow'.

94   For Russow's frequent use of the term 'peasants' see his account of the uprising as a whole, *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, pp. 29 -31. For example: in Harjumaa, 'the peasants assembled an army of close to ten thousand', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29; at Pöide on the Saaremaa Island, 'the peasants murdered them all [the Germans and brothers residing at the Order's castle]', *The*

In a similar manner the chronicler speaks of the alliance made with the representatives of the Swedish Crown in Turku as a treaty made with the 'peasants'.[95] The identification of the rebels with their social class also stands out in comparison to the ways the chronicle has used ethnic terms for designating all other groups, such as the Germans, the Swedes, or the Russians.[96] Moreover, it is in Russow's chronicle that we find the social or class conflict truly placed at the centre of the uprising. While Renner still capitalized on the hatred of the Estonians for the Germans, Russow's emphasis is on the peasantry's anger towards the Germans. A good example of this occurs in his description of the beginning of the uprising:

> During this master's [Burchard von Dreileben's] reign, on the eve of the festival of St. George, the peasants in the Livonian district of Harrien committed terrible murders and atrocities. They slew in dreadful fashion almost all the Germans: noblemen, young and old, women and maidens, junkers and servants – everyone who was German. The rebellious peasants severely threatened the Germans in Harrien and Wierland, in Wiek, in Oesel and in all of Estonia.[97]

Another example of the peasant-theme is Russow's often-adapted account of the rebels invading the Order's castle in Viljandi (Ger. Fellin) while hidden in sacks of corn. While the story has become a locally well-known variant of the Troy legend and is probably based on local variants of a pan-European

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Chronicle of Balthasar, p. 30; the master of the Order, while advancing to Reval, comes 'to punish the rebellious peasants' and then 'immediately began to slay many peasants in the battle', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 30.

95 These are the legates of the peasants who negotiate the treaty: 'The peasants sent their legates to the bishops of Turku and Vyborg [Swe. Viborg, Fin. Viipuri], asking for assistance and promising to turn the city of Reval over to the Swedes', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29. When the ships arrive from Finland, the chronicle again underlines that they had allied with the peasants: 'The Finns arrived from Vyborg with several ships which had been commissioned by the peasants' legates. When they learned that the peasants had been defeated and Reval rescued, they entered the city, acting as if they knew nothing at all of the peasants' cause [...]', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 30.

96 A particularly good example of the different ways of signifying the various groups occurs in connection with the negotiations between the rebels and the Russians. 'Now when the other peasants in the country learned what had happened to their comrades at Reval, several of them urged the Russians to attack the Germans again. If he did, all the peasants in the country would perhaps come under his control', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 30.

97 *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29.

story,[98] the peasants and their military strategy are still clearly and strongly connected with the elements of their own social environment. According to Russow, the rebels hide themselves in sacks full of corn that they are supposed to bring as part of their taxes and tribute to the Order. The rebellious peasants are killed within these sacks by professional warriors defending the castle.[99]

Quite unlike Renner, who stresses the inversion of the social order, Russow mentions the peasants' attempts to imitate their lords only in passing and does not include any carnivalesque elements.[100] Rather, the text emphasizes the scale of the violence executed by the peasants, especially against the nobility, as can also be seen from the passage cited above with its highlighting of the terrible murders and atrocities committed by the peasants. That the text is above all concerned with the killing of upper-class members by the peasantry and not that much with religious conflict is also suggested by the way the murder of the monks in Padise is mentioned only briefly.[101] Especially in medieval accounts this had been one of the most significant arguments for delegitimizing the revolt. In Russow's representation, the large-scale killing of members of the upper or socially dominant German-speaking class by the rebellious peasants appears not only fundamentally disturbing, but also humiliating. This is hinted at by a description of refugees from the nobility after the outbreak of the revolt in Harrien: 'During that same night when the killing took place, several noble men, women, and maidens, naked and without shoes or leggings, fled through thicket and marsh to Weissenstein [Paide] or to Reval [Tallinn]'.[102]

No doubt the descriptions of violence help to justify the intervention by the Teutonic Order.[103] Even though Russow (whose loyalty above all was to the city of Tallinn) had no obligations to the Order, which had indeed ceased to exist in Livonia in 1562, his text seems to have still transmitted a

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98 The story occurs also in Renner's version. For the early modern variants of this story, and its later appropriations, see Kreem and Lukas, '"Romeo ja Julia"'.

99 *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 31.

100 Thus, as the uprising had started, Russow merely mentions in passing that 'the peasants assembled an army of close to ten thousand, choosing kings and princes from among themselves, and besieged the city of Reval [Tallinn] and its castle', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29.

101 'Nor were the monasteries spared. Twenty-eight monks were murdered at the monastery of Padis', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29.

102 *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 29.

103 So we see the master of the Order recalls the murder of the nobility as he turns down the rebels' peace offer. 'But the commander in the Order and other noblemen, whose kinsmen had been murdered by the peasants, strongly urged the master to show the murderers no mercy and to not let such dreadful murder go unpunished', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 30.

number of earlier, Order-oriented elements. Thus, for example, we see that the 'oppressed noblemen' markedly call for help from the Order.

On the other hand, representing the uprising as a conflict between the peasants and the nobility, Russow also gives voice to the complaints of the peasants. These are well enunciated in a scene where the peasants try to negotiate a peace treaty with the master of the Order and 'offered to surrender to him on the condition that they would be tributaries of the master and the Order alone. They would rather all die than again acknowledge any nobleman as their lord. Long enough had the nobility manifested all manner of arrogance and tyranny'.[104] While the critique of the Danish vassals suggests the transmission of the earlier arguments promoted by the Teutonic Order, the representation at the same time harmonizes well with Russow's generally stronger emphasis on the exploitation of the peasantry. In turn, this is closely connected with his critique of contemporary Baltic nobility, whom he blames for not supporting the Swedish cause during the Livonian war. Hence it is not surprising that the social conflict between the peasants and the nobility is even more strongly emphasized during Russow's account of the uprising of 1560.

> These peasants rose in rebellion against the nobility, claiming that although they paid the nobility heavy taxes and tribute, and were required to render extensive services, they received in return no protection from the noblemen in times of danger. [...] Consequently, they intended to be obedient to the nobility no longer, nor to render any services. If they were not released from these obligations, they intended to wipe out and destroy the nobility.[105]

The following representation of the rebellion, however, also includes an emphasis on the killing of noblemen.[106] Telling of the peasants failed attempts to negotiate with the city of Tallinn, the chronicler thereafter narrates how the noblemen 'took up arms and attacked the rebellious peasants at Lode. [...] Thus did the rebellion come to an end'.[107]

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104 *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, p. 30.
105 *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, pp. 89-90.
106 Russow also provides a list of the killed noblemen, saying that the rebels 'overran several estates and also killed a number of the noblemen whom they found on these estates, e.g, Jacob Uexkuell of Lummat, Otto Uexkull of Kircketa, Juergen Ryssbyter and Dietrich Lieven (Lyve)', *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, pp. 89-90.
107 *The Chronicle of Balthasar*, pp. 89-90.

Russow's chronicle as a whole seems to be one of the first witnesses of a new kind of otherness-discourse, which focuses on the radical mistreatment and exploitation of the native peasantry – and hence defines the 'other' not so much in terms of religion, but of class and ethnic and linguistic adherence. Among early modern authors, such extreme descriptions, and ones even more extreme, of the misuse of the Livonian native lower classes became widely popular. As shown by Paul Johansen, these representations stem from a humanist critique of serfdom. On the other hand they also bear witness to the emergence of a kind of fantasy discourse on anti-peasant violence, which created its own textual universe containing various and often very radical tropes, and for which there was considerable demand among the reading audience.[108]

Considering not only the imagery, but also the agency of the natives, however, this transformation, well indicated by Russow, brings in its train an equally radical change. Along with this move that shifts their image from pagans into peasants, they become more passive subjects of the power discourse. In other words, the early modern authors are not so much concerned with the agency of the natives, which in earlier writings was manifested through the depictions of them revolting against the new rule and relapsing from faith. Instead, they are interested in the possibilities of criticizing the contending lords by appealing to the physical and spiritual mistreatment of the native lower classes, mainly peasantry. These representations indeed provide the native rebels with the merely passive role of subject to bad (or good) governance, excluding the possibility that they might have had any other agendas.

Conclusion

My argument is that the accounts of the St. George's Night Uprising point to a number of significant transformations. On the one hand, these changes concern the social status of the non-German lower classes, and on the other hand, representation in historical and polemical discourse.

Even though the idea was also attractive later for the Estonian nationalists, it is not likely that the St. George's Night Uprising was targeted specifically against the Christian faith. Rather, it reflects the common practice of calling the foes of the Teutonic Order pagans or apostates, as well as the value of such arguments in political communication of the time. It is

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108 Johansen, 'Nationale Vorurteile'; cf. Kreem, 'Sebastian Münster', pp. 164-5.

equally difficult to consider it a peasant rebellion, as the event appears too well organized for this (including the alliances made with the Swedish and Russian rulers, as well as the contacts with the Danish king). However, the gradual replacement of the paganism and apostasy imagery with the vision of the uprising as a peasant revolt, motivated by exploitation and mistreatment, suggests that even the depictions of a medieval uprising were influenced by growing social and ethnic segregation in Livonia.

Next to these no doubt great changes in the social environment, one also has to take into account changes in the conceptualization of the ethnic and social 'other', including the spread of the increasingly negative, grotesque, and vulgar representations of the peasantry in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[109] On top of this, one should also consider the broad changes in the overall imagery of 'otherness' in the early modern period, which stemmed from the discovery of the new world, the growing circulation of texts and knowledge, numerous religious conflicts, and the reorganization of the state and administration.

These changes did not leave the Baltic provinces untouched.[110] However, as with other regions, the eastern Baltic had its own specifics concerning the reshaping of the imageries of the 'other', which most notably concerned various visions of the external Russian threat.[111] Another feature particularly characteristic of Livonia, however, was the growing prominence of negative views of the native, non-German peasantry, which can be observed in the chronicles discussed above. In connection with the early modern writings about Livonia, Stefan Donecker has even spoken about the emergence of the non-German peasantry as the 'internal antagonist', or the 'internal other', arguing that the authors of those tumultuous days, especially those with a Baltic background, appear highly suspicious of their own, non-German-speaking peasantry.[112]

109 Next to written sources, visual culture also powerfully bears witness to the spread of the negative stereotypes of the peasantry around this time, as is well synthesized in Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, pp. 136-9.

110 See Donecker, *Origines Livonorum*. For the impact of the transatlantic voyages in particular, see also the chapter by Donecker in this volume.

111 Thumser, 'Antirussische Propaganda'.

112 Donecker, 'The Medieval', pp. 46-50. Of course, the peasantry is called the 'internal antago-nist' vis-à-vis the 'external antagonist' that first and foremost associates with Russia. Donecker also refers to the idea put forward by Almut Bues, who has characterized the mindset of the Livonian elites in the early modern period as a 'triple frontier mentality', directed against the Russian Orthodoxy, against the partly heathen population at home and, more weakly, against Catholic Poland. See Bues, '"Die letst Gegent"'.

This growing importance of social and ethnic segregation, as well as of social hierarchies and anxieties, is well-illustrated by the transformation of the antagonists of the St. George's Night Uprising, who are turned from pagans into peasants. However, it should be stressed once more that while for early modern authors, associating the rebels with the peasantry resonated with largely negative connotations and possible anxieties concerning the control of the non-German lower class, at later periods the peasant label also secured the popularity of the uprising in the histories of the Baltic as promoted by very different regimes.

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12 *Est vera India septemtrio*

Re-imagining the Baltic in the Age of Discovery

Stefan Donecker

During the late 1550s, the attention of many educated Europeans, particularly in the Holy Roman Empire, was drawn towards the East, towards the Russian frontier. In the opening stages of the Livonian War (1558-1583), the once-proud Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order disintegrated under the determined advance of the armies of Ivan IV of Russia (r. 1533/1547-1584). Muscovy, a realm on the margins of Western geographical knowledge, had entered the centre stage of European politics.[1] Sensational accounts, circulating in broadsheets and pamphlets, sketched an alarming image of the Muscovite barbarians, their wanton cruelty, and their unbridled expansionism. Soon, agitated commentators predicted, Poland, the Scandinavian kingdoms, and even the Empire itself might fall to the relentless Muscovite onslaught. To emphasize the scope of the threat, contemporaries even equated the grand prince of Muscovy with the quintessential enemy of European Christianity, the Ottoman sultan. Both Turk and Muscovite alike were perceived as harbingers of the impending apocalypse.[2]

A particularly well-known pamphlet, entitled *Sehr grewliche/ erschræckliche/ vor vnerhœrte/ warhafftige Newe zeyttung/ was für grausame Tyranney der Moscouiter/ an den Gefangenen/ hinweggefuerten Christen auß Lyfland … begehet …* ('Very gruesome, terrifying, and outrageous new tidings on the cruel tyranny committed by the Muscovite against the Christian prisoners and deportees from Livonia') and printed at Nuremberg in 1561, provided a dramatic description of the Russians' alleged atrocities: 'Women and virgins are dishonoured and violated in such a way that it is impossible to write down or say. All the little children in Livonia that are seized by [the Muscovite] are dismembered, their tender hearts are nailed to the trees all over the country, and he orders [his soldiers] to shoot at them'.[3] On the title

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1   Recent research has demonstrated that European elites, particularly in the Holy Roman Empire, were familiar with Muscovy long before the events of 1558. Cf. Bessudnova, 'Die Schließung', pp. 78-95, who discusses the diplomatic relations between Muscovy and the Empire in the late fifteenth century. Already around that time, Russia was perceived as a potential threat. However, the Livonian War increased the Muscovites' notoriety even further.

2   Cf. Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyj*; Kappeler, 'Die deutschen'; Auerbach, 'Hessen'.

3   *Sehr grewliche … Newe zeyttung*, fol. A2ʳ.

page,[4] an anonymous woodcut visualizes the horrid spectacle (figure 12.1): three naked women are hung from a tree, and a group of Muscovite archers pierces them with arrows. The mutilated bodies of children are heaped below the tree, and their hearts – which the perpetrators apparently cut from their bodies – are hung from the branches, displayed among the dying women. Both perpetrators and victims are depicted in a very static way, both motionless and emotionless, conveying a peculiar notion of formality, even serenity, which increases the unsettling effect of the gruesome scene even further.

Figure 12.1   Muscovite atrocities in the Livonian War
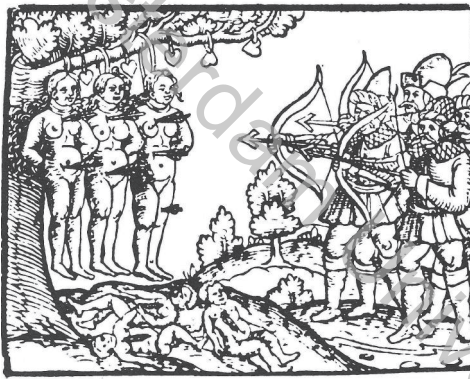
Sehr grewliche/ erschrœckliche/ vor vnerhœrte/ warhafftige Newe zeyttung/ was für grausame Tyranney der Moscouiter/ an den Gefangenen/ hinweggefuerten Christen auß Lyfland …
begehet …
Nuremberg: Kreydlein, 1561, fol. A1ʳ; woodcut

Yet Livonia was not the only land where such atrocities were believed to take place: any European man of letters who consulted *Les singularitez de la France antarctique* ('Singularities of Antarctic France', 1557), an account of Brazil written by the French priest, explorer, and geographer André Thevet (1516-1590),[5] was confronted with a visualization of a very similar scene:[6] hapless prisoners are suspended – in this case, upside down – from a tree and mercilessly shot by archers (figure 12.2). Interestingly, the gender roles are reversed: here, the perpetrators are female Amazon warriors and their victims are men. Below the futilely struggling victims, an Amazon is stirring

4   *Sehr grewliche … Newe zeyttung*, fol. A1ʳ.
5   Cf. Funke, 'Zur Reflexion'.
6   Thevet, *Les singularitez*, fol. 126ᵛ.

a fire, undoubtedly in preparation for a cannibalistic feast. Yet despite these differing nuances, the overall similarity between the 1561 pamphlet and the illustration in Thevet's book is indeed striking.[7]

Figure 12.2   How the Amazons Treat their Prisoners of War

André Thevet, Les singularitez de la France antarctique …
Paris: de la Porte, 1558, fol. 126ᵛ; woodcut

It is not impossible that the anonymous artist who provided the woodcut for the 1561 pamphlet was familiar with Thevet's *Les singularitez* and used the depiction of the Amazons as an inspiration for his own work. Thevet's book was published in Paris in 1557, with a second edition in the following year, so it could have been available as a reference for the Nuremberg artist in around 1560-1561. Likewise, it is conceivable that both illustrators based their images on an unknown common source of inspiration. But, ultimately, such speculations miss the point. Suffice it to say that two artists chose very similar imagery to visualize the barbarism and cruelty of savage foes, and that their audiences were apparently able to relate to these images, both in the Livonian and in the Brazilian context. In one case, the alleged atrocities occurred in the distant, transatlantic New World, while in the other they were perpetrated on the fringes of Europe, uncomfortably close to home. Yet, in both cases, the imagery of violence and atrocity remained fundamentally the same.[8]

7   Cf. Donecker, 'The Medieval', p. 55.
8   It would undoubtedly be interesting to explore the visualization of violence in the early modern period and the appeal of such images to the public. However, such an excursus would

This surprising resemblance between Thevet's exotic Amazons and the invading Muscovites in the Baltic region illustrates the key question which I intend to address in this chapter: how did the Age of Discovery influence the imagination of men of letters in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Livonia?[9] Did the trans-oceanic voyages and the rapid expansion of European horizons leave an impact on Livonia's German elites, and on the way they perceived themselves, their homeland, and the indigenous peasants?[10] Essentially, this approach is based on a crucial research question posed by the American historian Anthony Grafton in his 1992 monograph *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*.[11] On the occasion of the Columbus quincentenary, Grafton examined the interrelationship between the transatlantic discoveries and the established paradigms and patterns of European thought. Grafton's thought-provoking impulse has, over the last two decades, inspired historians to address the impact of the discoveries (or, depending on the discursive context, the lack of such an impact) on the mindset of the European elites. Although Livonia was far away from the centres of transatlantic exploration and trade, Grafton's question is also valid in a Baltic context: did the Age of Discovery prompt the local Baltic elites to rethink significant aspects of their world-view?

Heresy and Superstition: Images of Distant India

In July 1573, Piotr Skarga (1536-1612), a Polish Jesuit and a leading figure of the Counter-Reformation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,[12]

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be beyond the scope of this chapter. On the visual aspects of violence cf., most recently, Terry-Fritsch and Labbie, *Beholding Violence*.

9   This topic has been touched upon before: Spekke, *Alt-Riga*, pp. 118-20; Arbusow, 'Zur Würdigung', p. 34; Johansen, 'Die Legende', p. 56; Raik, *Eesti- ja Liivimaa*, pp. 177-8; Donecker, 'Verweise', p. 167; Donecker, 'The Medieval', pp. 54-5.

10   In early modern Livonia, social segregation largely corresponded to ethnic and linguistic segregation. The elites, both the aristocracy and the burghers, were almost exclusively German-speaking (with the exception of Swedish officials during the seventeenth century). The indigenous population – i.e. Estonians, Latvians, Livs and Curonians – formed the lower stratum of society, both rural peasants and urban lower classes.

11   Grafton, *New Worlds*. Cf. also Ryan, 'Assimilating'; Moffitt and Sebastian, *O Brave*.

12   The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth gained control over large parts of medieval Livonia in the course of the Livonian War (1558-83) and ruled these territories – the duchy of Livonia – until 1629, when most of the Duchy was lost to Sweden. In the decades around 1600, the Polish kings backed the Jesuit Counter-Reformation in Livonia which led to conflicts with the local Lutheran elites.

alerted his provincial superior, Laurentius Magius, to the dire situation of
the Catholic flock among the heretics in the Baltic lands:

> The calamities of this province shake me, as a witness, to the very core
> with commiseration. So many thousands of abandoned Catholics are
> without shepherds, without the bread, for which the little ones beg, so that
> some of them, as I was told in Vilna, are even forced to walk for twenty
> miles. So great is the wickedness among those priests that have remained
> in the parishes that they – how horrible to say – have become followers of
> heresy and even dare to introduce Ebionism.[13] So many doubters, who
> only after our arrival turned somewhat towards the Catholic Church.
> What more is there to say? We do not need the East and West Indies, the
> true India is Lithuania and the North![14]

A Jesuit did not need to travel to distant continents to find lost souls in
dire need of conversion. According to contemporary accounts, barbarism
and religious deviance abounded even on the European periphery, in the
Baltic area, and the northern lands. *Est vera India Septemtrio*, as Skraga said:
'The true Indies are the North'. His exasperation was echoed by two of his
Catholic brethren, Doctor Johannes Tecnon and Pater Erdmann Tolgsdorff
(1550-1620), who inspected the pastoral care in the parishes of Livonia in
1613. Like Skarga, they compared the dismal situation of the local Catholic
communities with the missions in India:

> In this way, pagan superstitions are being observed in the aforementioned
> areas up to the present day. This shows how great the need for priests
> is in Livonia, no less than even in India itself. In addition to all that has
> been said, they put a piece of bread under the heads of their deceased
> when they are about to be buried, as if it were a remedy against future
> hunger after death. Another piece they lay into the hand, that they may
> offer it to Cerberus, who is chained in front of paradise, and they add
> two coins to pay the one who ferries the dead over the river. In winter,
> they also put a cart with wood on top of the grave, so that the soul can
> light a fire and keep herself warm. All over Livonia similar superstitions
> are to be found.[15]

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13   An early Jewish-Christian movement that was considered heretical by the Church Fathers.
Allegedly, the Ebionites accepted Jesus as the Messiah but rejected his divinity.
14   Skarga, *Listy*, p. 55. Cf. Spekke, 'Quelques', p. 198.
15   Tecnon and Tolgsdorff , 'Protocoll', p. 72.

Admittedly, Livonia and Lithuania were not the only areas in Europe that were associated with the distant Indies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The inhabitants of other peripheral, socially marginalized areas, including Ireland, Wales, Sicily, Corsica, the French Cévennes, and the Italian Abruzzo, were likewise branded 'metaphorical Indians'. As in the Baltic case, a similarity with India was usually asserted in the context of religious aberrance, to denounce superstitions and heresies found in these remote, rural areas.[16] The encounter with the New Word and its 'pagan' inhabitants provided clergymen with an expressive and intense vocabulary which they could apply to religious deviance within Europe as well. But although the analogy between Livonia and Lithuania and the Indies was far from unique, it is nevertheless worth noting that missionaries like Skarga, Tecnon, and Tolgsdorff were inclined to compare the eastern Baltic littoral with distant colonial frontiers[17] to emphasize their concern as pointedly as possible.

Shared Heritage: The Curonian Hypothesis of Enrico Martínez

Interestingly enough, we know of one case where a similar observation was noted in the New World itself: in 1606, a *Reportorio de los tiempos e historia natural de esta Nueva España* ('Report on the history and natural history of New Spain') was published in Mexico City.[18] Its author, Enrico Martínez, was a native of Hamburg who emigrated to New Spain in 1589 and had a remarkable, though ultimately disastrous, career as a scholar, engineer, and translator.[19] In 1629, the drainage system that Martínez had designed failed catastrophically, resulting in a great flood that killed thousands and kept Mexico City under water for several years. Martínez died in 1632, bankrupt and broken.

But before his tragic failure, Martínez enjoyed a good reputation as a scholar. He was an unusually widely travelled man, and had apparently also visited the duchy of Courland, a semi-independent vassal state of the Polish Crown in what is nowadays southwestern Latvia. In his *Reportorio*, he included a peculiar description of the local Curonian peasants:[20] 'This

16   Clark, 'Magic', pp. 123-4.
17   Cf. Donecker, 'The medieval', pp. 54-5.
18   Martínez, *Reportorio*.
19   Cf. de la Maza, *Enrico Martínez*.
20   Early modern sources offer somewhat contradictory opinions on the indigenous inhabitants of Courland. Some authors identify the Curonians (Ger. *Kuren*, Lat. *Curoni*, *Curetes*, *Curi*) as

province is inhabited by men who resemble the Indians of New Spain in appearance, complexion, constitution, and vigour, but they tend to be rather fat and stout, like the Chichimeca'. While the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, Martínez notes, are fair-skinned, blond, and warlike, the Curonians have brownish skin, are small in stature, and submissive in character. Their language also differs from that of their neighbours. These observations lead Martínez to a surprising conclusion: 'Therefore I believe that the former [the Curonians] and the latter [the Chichimeca] are one and the same people. And this assumption is reinforced by the fact that the distance between this continent [America] and Asia and Europe is very short at the pole'.[21]

Unfortunately, Martínez does not elaborate on this interesting hypothesis. He provides no explanation how two branches of one and the same people happened to end up in Central America and the Baltic area – apart from the comment that migration between Eurasia and the Americas is possible, in view of the small distance at the pole. Speculations on the *origines gentium Americanarum*, the ancestry of the indigenous Amerindians, were a popular topic during the early modern period.[22] Some of the most notable scholars of the seventeenth century, including Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) and the notorious heterodox theologian Isaac La Peyrère (1596-1676), contributed to the discussion, and numerous Eurasian and African civilizations, including the Carthaginians, Ethiopians, Chinese, and Norwegians, were nominated as possible ancestors of the American 'Indians'. In this extensive debate, Martínez' comment on the Curonians and the Chichimeca was little more than a side note – albeit one that was still referenced by scholars in New Spain up to the eighteenth century, as one among many hypotheses on Native American origins.[23]

It seems plausible that Martínez based his far-fetched, but rather intriguing, theory on more than just a vague similarity in physiognomy and habits.

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a separate ethnic and/or linguistic entity distinct from Estonians, Livs, and Latvians, while others regard them as kinsmen of the Latvians. As a result of this uncertain terminology, the relationship between the historical Curonians and the country's present-day Latvian-speaking population is difficult to ascertain. In particular, modern researchers have debated whether the Curonians of the Middle Ages and the early modern period spoke a Finno-Ugric or a Baltic language. Alternatively, it has been suggested that 'Curonian' was primarily a geographic rather than a linguistic category, an umbrella term that encompassed both Finno-Ugric and Baltic groups living in the area of Courland. Cf. Kiparski, *Die Kurenfrage* and, for a more recent perspective, Bojtár, *Foreword*, pp. 15, 116-18, 217.

21   Martínez, *Reportorio*, p. 204. Cf. Brambats, 'Enrico Martínez'; Donecker, *Origines*.
22   Cf. van Gelderen, 'Hugo Grotius'; Pagden, *The Fall*; Huddleston, *Origins*.
23   Brambats, 'Enrico Martínez', p. 112; Donecker, *Origines*.

The Spanish colonizers perceived the Chichimeca as the most primitive, fierce, and savage among all the indigenous Amerindians of Central America. In the colonial literature of New Spain, the term 'Chichimeca' soon developed into a generic term for barbarians.[24] It is hardly a coincidence that the Latvian and Curonian peasants had a similarly dismal reputation.[25] Seventeenth-century sources described them as 'harsh, unruly, and evil people',[26] 'corrupt and deceitful from tip to toe'.[27] In his *Historia Lettica*, Paul Einhorn (d. 1655), superintendent of Courland, skilfully toyed with alliterations when he denounced the Curonians as one of the most depraved nations in the world, together with the Cilicians, Cappadocians, and Cretans.[28] By postulating a common heritage of Baltic Curonians and Mexican Chichimeca, Martínez juxtaposed two ethnic entities which, in the eyes of contemporary scholars, epitomized barbarism, insubordination, and a wide range of other despicable vices.[29] His verdict of a shared Curonian-Chichimec ancestry is based on the same basic assumption as the exasperated comments of Piotr Skarga, Johann Tecnon, and Erdmann Tolgsdorff: the 'savages' of the Baltic area are not that different from the 'savages' of the New World.

Trans-oceanic Fantasies in Late-Sixteenth-century Riga

The sources mentioned above suggest that stereotypical images of the New World and the allegedly barbarous 'Indians' did, to a certain degree, shape sixteenth- and seventeenth-century perceptions of Livonia and its inhabitants. Strikingly similar visualizations of savage atrocities,[30] the rhetorical comparisons between the Baltic lands and the Indies, and Martínez' peculiar idea of shared ancestries – all these examples imply that contemporaries

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24   Gradie, 'Discovering'.

25   Johansen, 'Nationale'; Donecker, 'The Medieval', pp. 46-50; Donecker, *Origines*.

26   Einhorn, *Historia Lettica*, p. 47.

27   Becker and Beator, *Livonia*, fol. B1ᵛ.

28   Einhorn, *Historia Lettica*, pp. 47-8. Erasmus of Rotterdam had branded the Cilicians, Cappadocians, and Cretans as 'tria pessima kappa', 'the three horrible Ks', in his *Adagia*, a well-known annotated collection of classical proverbs. By adding the Curonians as a fourth evil nation with a K as the initial letter, Einhorn embedded his criticism of Courland's indigenous peasantry in a humanist context. Cf. Donecker, *Origines*.

29   Donecker, *Origines*.

30   Admittedly, the atrocities depicted in the 1561 woodcut were committed by the Muscovite invaders and not by the indigenous Livonians. Nevertheless, the image confirms the notion of Livonia as a savage periphery where such misdeeds might happen.

perceived the Baltic area in analogy to colonial frontiers. However, one should not be tempted to overestimate the significance of these cases: if we consider the large number of historiographical, ethnographical, and theological texts that were produced in early modern Livonia, the sparse references to the New World are merely a footnote. A few brief comparisons with India – little more than rhetorical platitudes –, a vaguely 'colonial' depiction of Muscovite atrocities, and an obscure genealogy published in far-away Mexico are hardly sufficient to substantiate a notable impact of the Age of Discovery on Livonian scholars.

Yet if we broaden the perspective and search the corpus of early modern Livonian texts for more references to exploration and transatlantic discoveries, it seems that a true 'colonial discourse' did exist in the early modern Baltic, among the burghers of Riga in the decades around 1600. From this period, two texts have been preserved that develop a much stronger colonial narrative than the cursory remarks mentioned above: the *Encomium inclitae civitatis Rigae metropolis Livoniae* ('Encomium to the famous city of Riga, the metropolis of Livonia') by Basilius Plinius,[31] published in 1595, and the *Denckwürdige Sachen und Geschichte von der ersten Erfindunge der edeln Provintzen Liefflandes* ('Noteworthy events and history since the first discovery of the noble province of Livonia') by Franz Nyenstede,[32] written during the 1600s. In the following discussion, I would like to examine these sources and their colonial subtext in detail.

Basilius Plinius, *Encomium inclitae civitatis Rigae*

Basilius Plinius (d. 1605), known as one of the most important representatives of humanism in Livonia, was the son of Gregorius Plinius (d. 1596), a Lutheran preacher and alumnus of Wittenberg University who settled in Riga in the mid-sixteenth century. The name 'Plinius' was a Latinization of a German surname (most likely 'Plen', 'Plöhn', or 'Pleene') chosen, in humanist fashion, as a tribute to the great Roman scholars, Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger. In 1593, Basilius Plinius received a scholarship from Nicolaus Ecke, the mayor of Riga, that enabled him to study abroad. Ecke – as a follower of the Polish king – and Georgius Plinius had belonged to opposing factions during the Calendar Riots of 1584-1589.[33] By offering a scholarship

31   Plinius, 'Encomium'.
32   Nyenstädt, 'Denckwürdige'.
33   During the 1580s, the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar resulted in conflict and violent unrest between the Catholic and the Protestant factions in Riga. The Protestants perceived

to the son of his former adversary, Ecke probably hoped to contribute to the reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants in Riga. Basilius Plinius was enrolled at Wittenberg in November 1595, where he acquired a doctorate in medicine. After returning to Riga, the promising and well-educated physician was appointed by the city as *Vize-Physicus* in 1604, but he died *in flore aetatis* ('in the prime of his life'), the following year.[34]

Plinius lived up to the humanist ideal of his time by combining his medical profession with a penchant for formal poetry. Several of his Latin poems were published during his lifetime,[35] covering various medical, physical, and moral topics that ranged from magnetism to syphilis and other venereal diseases. The *Encomium Rigae*, which he dedicated to the city and its mayor in gratitude for their financial support, is undoubtedly his most significant work. Printed in Leipzig in 1595, before Plinius's return from Germany, the *Encomium* is a sizeable text of almost 1800 lines in the form of elegiac couplets with alternating hexameters and pentameters, a poetic form that was popular among humanist writers. Although an encomium, a poem of praise, was a very common and rather formalized literary genre, Plinius was eager to convey his gratitude through a particularly enthusiastic depiction of his native city. In his patriotic excitement, he extolled Riga in every possible way: its prosperity based on thriving mercantile commerce and the citizens' exemplary devotion to learning and erudition, but also the loveliness of the local girls (whose beauty surpasses even Venus herself), the delicious beer (which other contemporary sources describe as particularly disgusting), and many other details.

For the topic at hand, however, the retrospective view on Riga's foundation is the most interesting part: Plinius devotes the first part of his poem to the arrival of the first German merchants at the Daugava (Ger. Düna) estuary, where the city was to be founded. The Latvian Romanist Arnolds Spekke, who published a comprehensive study of the *Encomium Rigae* in 1927, had already noted that Plinius's account of the first meeting between German pioneers and Livonian natives is modelled on a colonial encounter.[36] In what follows, I would like to discuss this key scene in detail.

the reform – which had been decreed by the pope – as a violation of their religious liberties. As such, the issue gained a symbolic importance that surpassed the factual consequences of the calendar reform by far.

34 Spekke, *Alt-Riga*, pp. 24-30; Straube, 'Basilius Plinius', pp. 232-4.

35 Cf. Spekke, *Alt-Riga*, pp. 20-1; Straube, 'Basilius Plinius', pp. 233-4.

36 Spekke, *Alt-Riga*, pp. 118-20.

Plinius introduces Livonia as a rich and fertile land,[37] and immediately places it in a precarious position between savagery and civilization. He expresses this marginality in a skilful way, by juxtaposing the four cardinal directions and their implications:

> Where the sun in his fiery chariot is borne up by fierce steeds,
> bellicose, savage Sarmatians ceaselessly threaten the borders.
> To the south, whence blow ill winds heavy with rain,
> their neighbors, the Lithuanians, plow their fields with oxen.
> Where the weary sun bears his light downward onto earth,
> orderly Prussian fields form a common border,
> but where ravening Boreas howls down from his frozen home,
> the Finnish sea beats against the ragged coast.[38]

Plinius establishes a political and civilizational dichotomy along the east-west axis (the 'Sarmatians', i.e. Muscovy, as an embodiment of the threatening East, opposed to orderly Prussia in the West), supplemented by an environmental opposition along the north-south axis (the cultivated, fertile South opposed to the inhospitable North). Together, these two contrastive pairs emphasize the liminal position of Livonia torn between opposing extremes.

Plinius then sets the stage for a historical encounter by describing the magnificence of the Daugava river. Ships from Bremen, 'by fate or fierce storm driven within sight of this coast',[39] enter the estuary, and *Duna pater*, the personification of the river, raises his head above the waters, prophesying that the newcomers will become the new masters of the land, bringing with them both slavery and sorrow, but also true faith and enlightenment. The indigenous Livonians, *turba barbara* ('a barbarian crowd'), gather on the shores, marvelling at the strange, unknown ships. As the sailors make landfall and begin to explore the land, the natives flee to the woods, but after a native elder takes the initiative and dares to approach the strangers, amicable relations are soon established. The explorers realise how beautiful and fertile the country is, and upon their return to Bremen, the city's rulers decide to conquer the new-found land. The barbarians' desperate resistance

37 The advantageous natural conditions of Livonia were a common motif dating back to medieval descriptions of the eastern Baltic region. Employing biblical topoi, medieval authors presented Livonia as a 'new promised land' that resembled Canaan or even the Garden of Eden. Cf. Tamm, '"A New World"', pp. 20-5.

38 Plinius, 'Encomium', p. 16. Translation by Pēteris Cedriņš.

39 Plinius, 'Encomium', p. 16.

is overcome and the foundations of the city of Riga are laid. 'Thus the men of Bremen establish their rule in Livonia, unquestioned masters of the rich and lovely land'.[40]

Arnolds Spekke pointed out that key elements of Plinius's account are borrowed from the well-known descriptions of Columbus's and Vespucci's transatlantic voyages.[41] Such tales or colonial encounters were easily available to the *res publica litterarum* of the sixteenth century. The *Cosmographia* (1544) of Sebastian Münster (1488-1552), for example, a copious and widely read description of the entire world, included a summary of Columbus's encounter with the natives of the Indies:[42]

> [The Spaniards] turned towards the other island, and saw how the people on that very island fled before them to the woods. When they disembarked and approached closer, they seized a woman and brought her aboard the ship. They gave her wine to drink, and they also allowed her all the good food they had with them. Then they dressed her in beautiful clothes and sent her back to her kinsmen. The natives saw that the woman was dressed – they themselves went around naked –, and she told them that she had been treated with good food and drink. So they ran to the sea in a great crowd, and offered the Spaniards gold in exchange for jars and glass. Truly, they gave gold for everything the Spaniards had on their ships, no matter how childish it was. And after both sides had begun to trust each other, and had traded with each other, our people began to inquire how [the natives] live and learned about their character and their customs.[43]

The similarities to Plinius's *Encomium* are impossible to overlook: the natives' initial flight, an individual indigene (the captive woman in Münster's account, the elder in Plinius's poem) as a mediator between explorers and natives, the quick establishment of trade and barter, and the natives' childlike enthusiasm for trinkets and trivial gifts. Other details, however, are depicted differently, and the similarities hardly suffice to prove that Plinius deliberately modelled his account on Münster. It seems that both authors

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40   Plinius, 'Encomium', p. 24.

41   Spekke, *Alt-Riga*, p. 118.

42   On Münster's importance for the dissemination of Columbus's discoveries, cf. Wagner, 'Von "neüwen inseln"'.

43   Munsterus, *Cosmographei*, p. 1185.

drew upon a repertoire of colonial topoi that were very common during the sixteenth century.

Plinius develops the image of a colonial discovery further, repeatedly emphasizing that the two groups, the German sailors and the Livonian 'barbarians', were utterly unfamiliar with each other. *Duna pater* has, apparently, never seen a ship before[44] and describes the sailors as *ab externis gens peregrina locis* ('pilgrims from distant lands').[45] To the German merchants, the shores of the Daugava appear as *novus orbis* ('a new world'),[46] which they eagerly explore. After their initial flight, the natives slowly approach the explorers, but neither group understands the other's language and they have to rely on gestures to convey their peaceful intentions. In the end, the encounter leads to the ultimate cliché of colonial fiction: the explorers present some gifts – a modern reader inevitably comes to think of glass pearls – and the childlike natives are overjoyed:

> Then the foreign sailors offer the natives presents
> by Saxon master craftsmen skillfully wrought,
> and the rustic tribe breaks into silly smiles
> at the sight of the gifts, grabbing them by the handful, happily
> opening their doors and showing sudden hospitality.
> Behold, how gifts unlock both hearts and doors![47]

Yet, despite all the stereotypical elements he uses, Plinius is surprisingly reluctant to judge the encounter and its consequences. His general enthusiasm for his native Riga notwithstanding, he evaluates the city's foundation story with surprising nuances. Throughout the narrative, he repeatedly switches between negative and positive assessments. Initially, *Duna pater* proclaims that the strangers will bring nothing but *servitium* and *tristicia*, slavery and sorrow, to the native Livonians. But after a few lines, he changes his mind and prophesies that the newcomers will banish all savagery from the land and teach the natives true faith, piety, and righteousness.[48] At first, the newcomers instil fear among the indigenous Livonians, but the tension soon gives way to amicable relations and trust between natives and explorers. As soon as the reader gets used to an almost Arcadian harmony in

44 Plinius, 'Encomium', p. 17: 'Quid non visa mihi prius haec vult machina' ('What does this machine, that I have not seen before, want?').
45 Plinius, 'Encomium', p. 17.
46 Plinius, 'Encomium', p. 18.
47 Plinius, 'Encomium', p. 20.
48 Plinius, 'Encomium', p. 17.

the lush countryside, Plinius changes the atmosphere once more: 'Bremensis iuvenum de forti gente senatus / Robora conscribit, tristia bella parans' ('The elders of Bremen prepare for merciless war, gathering brave young men to enlist as soldiers').[49] The burgeoning friendship between Livonian natives and German merchants comes to a grim end as bitter warfare erupts between the invaders and the indigenous defenders.[50] Yet after devoting numerous verses to the desperate but futile resistance of the brave natives, Plinius switches the mood again and praises the beneficial results of the German invasion:

> Meinhard,[51] sent from the city of Bremen to lead the clergy,
> gave just laws to the people of the country.
> He drove the false gods from the land and taught
> the worship of the true Lord to the heathen indigene.
> By their clouded minds from the true faith hidden,
> they had honoured stars, snakes and groves in heathen rites.
> Meinhard distributed lands, caused great castles to be built,
> striking awe into the heart of man and wooded hill alike.[52]

This civilizing mission ultimately culminates in the foundation of Riga – to a patriotic citizen like Plinius, the epitome of Livonian civilization.

Thus, the *Encomium*'s account of the 'discovery' of Livonia defies a simple interpretation. Plinius was most certainly aware that his humanist colleagues in Wittenberg and the Holy Roman Empire and his fellow citizens in Riga had different opinions on the issue of serfdom: in general, sixteenth-century humanists were very critical of the German nobility in Livonia and their harsh treatment of the peasants.[53] Back home in Riga, his sponsors would have seen the institution of serfdom in a more positive

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49   Plinius, 'Encomium', p. 22.

50   The conversion of Livonia and the foundation of German cities and trade posts were accompanied by decades of warfare between German and Danish forces and the indigenous defenders, commonly known as the Baltic Crusades. The first crusader campaign was launched in 1198. By 1224, most of Livonia had been subjugated, although resistance continued in peripheral areas such as the island of Saaremaa (Ger. Ösel), Courland, and Semgallia into the second half of the thirteenth century.

51   Meinhard (d. 1196) was a German missionary who initiated the conversion of Livonia to Christianity. He erected a church at Ikšķile (Ger. Üxküll) in the vicinity of present-day Riga and was consecrated as the first bishop of Livonia in 1186.

52   Plinius, 'Encomium', p. 24.

53   Johansen 'Nationale', pp. 104-12. Cf. Seppel, 'Die Entwicklung'.

light.[54] Plinius's account might be interpreted as a deliberate effort to rec-
oncile the expectations of his possible audiences in Riga and among the
humanist community in the Empire. The resulting image is nuanced and
ambivalent: with his – stylistically well-executed – technique of constant
switches between positive and negative images, Plinius keeps the reader
challenged, forcing him to rethink his opinion on the conquest of Livonia
repeatedly.

Franz Nyenstede, *Denckwürdige Sachen und Geschichte*

Like Basilius Plinius, Franz Nyenstede (1540-1622) belonged to the urban
elite of Riga in the years around 1600. Yet the two men had a very differ-
ent intellectual background. Plinius, as mentioned above, was an erudite
humanist and physician educated at one of the foremost universities of his
time. Nyenstede, on the other hand, was no man of letters, but primarily a
successful merchant and municipal politician.

Born in Germany, most likely in Hoya in Westphalia, Nyenstede came
to Livonia as a fourteen-year-old youth in 1554. He settled in Tartu (Ger.
Dorpat) and began to work for the mayor and merchant Detmar Meyer, who
later became his father-in-law. In the turbulent events of the Livonian War,
Nyenstede proved a successful merchant in his own right and established
a profitable trade network. In around 1570-1571, he moved to Riga, where
he continued his business and became engaged in local politics. During
the aforementioned Calendar Riots of the 1580s, Nyenstede attempted to
mediate between the Catholic and Protestant factions in town; in recogni-
tion of his efforts, he was appointed mayor of Riga for the first time in 1585.
After a successful career, Nyenstede was drawn into a conflict between one
of his relatives, the well-known humanist and city syndic David Hilchen
(1561-1610), and a rival faction in the city council. Nyenstede tried to defend
Hilchen, who had been accused of treason, and was himself forced to leave
the city in 1600. Five years later, Nyenstede was rehabilitated and returned
to Riga. Despite his advanced age, he was reinstated as mayor and remained
in office up to his death in 1622.[55]

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54   The urban elites of Livonia often took a critical stance towards the rural aristocrats and
the way they treated their peasants. Yet their criticism never amounted to the same outright
damnation of Livonian serfdom that was common among German humanists who commented
on the issue.

55   Raik, *Eesti- ja Liivimaa*, pp. 151-4; Hormuth, *Livonia*, pp. 101-2.

Nyenstede's *Denckwürdige Sachen* could probably be best described as a text situated somewhere between scholarly historiography and personal memoirs. He began his work during the years of his exile, which he spent at his country estate at Suntaži (Ger. Sunzel) east of Riga, between 1600 and 1605. After his return to Riga, Nyenstede continued writing at least for several years, but it seems that his numerous obligations prevented him from completing the chronicle. The manuscript's abrupt ending implies that it remained unfinished, and it was only printed for the first time in 1839.[56]

Among the chroniclers of early modern Livonia, Nyenstede has often been regarded as one of the worst. Later scholars denounced him as an incompetent dilettante,[57] ignoring the fact that the elderly merchant had never intended to write a historical treatise comparable to those of his famous contemporaries like Balthasar Russow (*c.* 1536-1600)[58] and Salomon Henning (1528-1589).[59] As Nyenstede himself wrote in his preface, he never saw himself as 'a capable historiographer, who wanted to prove his skill and ingenuity', but as a casual writer who just happened to have 'some spare time in my old age'.[60] Accordingly, the chronicle consists mainly of contemporary events that Nyenstede himself had witnessed during his lifetime, in particular the political developments in Riga. But despite the personal, memoir-like nature of the text, Nyenstede nevertheless chose to provide a retrospective view on the early history of Livonia.

Chapter 5 of the chronicle[61] deals with the same event that Plinius described in his *Encomium*: German merchants arrive at the mouth of the Daugava and establish first contact with the indigenous Livonians. Nyenstede uses the German word *Aufsegelung*, a rather untranslatable term which implies that the arrival of these adventurous merchants opened Livonia to German influence.[62] Many familiar motifs from Plinius's poem return in Nyenstede's account: the natives' initial fear of the strangers and their awe-inspiring ships, the establishing of mutual trust by non-verbal

56   Raik, *Eesti- ja Liivimaa*, pp. 158-62; Hormuth, *Livonia*, pp. 103-16.

57   Cf. Johansen, 'Die Legende', p. 62. For an overview of scholarly criticism against Nyenstede, see Hormuth, *Livonia*, p. 103.

58   Russow, 'Chronica'.

59   Henning, 'Lifflendische'.

60   Nyenstädt, 'Denckwürdige', p. 4: 'Nicht als ein tüchtiger Historienschreiber, der seine Kunst und Geschicklichkeit an den Tag geben wolle, sondern weilen ich nun in meinem hohen Alter etwas müssige Zeit habe'.

61   Nyenstädt, 'Denckwürdige, pp. 14-5, cf. Raik, *Eesti- ja Liivimaa*, pp. 175-83.

62   Cf. Johansen, 'Die Legende', who also sketches the vast impact on the *Aufsegelung* narrative on later historiography.

communication and the exchange of gifts, and the fertility of the new-found land that promises opportunities for further trade and settlement. Nyenstede sketches a similar 'first contact' situation to that of Plinius: neither the German merchants nor the indigenous Livonians have ever heard of each other, they do not have the slightest idea whom they are facing, and no one knows the other's language. It is a completely implausible scenario, bearing in mind that the Baltic is just a rather small inland sea with well-established trading connections reaching back at least to the Viking Age.[63] However, this notion of mutual otherness is an essential requirement for the quasi-colonial atmosphere both Plinius and Nyenstede try to convey.

The ambivalence of Plinius's account is completely lacking in Nyenstede's version. Plinius acknowledged that the *Aufsegelung* had had both beneficial and detrimental consequences for the indigenous Livonians, and his carefully constructed alternation of positive and negative statements stressed the ambiguity of that event. In contrast, Nyenstede presents a straightforward tale of intrepid pioneers who brave the unknown and lay the foundation of rightful German dominion over Livonia.

The differences do not end there: Plinius had compiled well-known topoi of exploration and discovery – taken from classical accounts like Columbus's and Vespucci's, which were readily available in the late sixteenth century – to customize his own, distinct foundation narrative for the city of Riga. The introduction of Graeco-Roman reminiscences like *Duna pater*, the god or personification of the river, provides his tale with an antique flair typical of humanist literature. Nyenstede's version of the story, on the other hand, shows a stronger indebtedness to existing texts, with comparatively limited authorial input by Nyenstede himself.

A possible template for his *Aufsegelung* story[64] seems to be an account of the voyage of Richard Chancellor (d. 1556) to the White Sea in 1553-1554. Chancellor had been second-in-command of an English expedition led by Hugh Willoughby (d. 1554), dispatched by the Company of Merchant Adventurers to search for a northeastern passage to China beyond the North Cape. Separated from the rest of the expedition, Chancellor and his crew aboard the *Edward Bonaventure* reached a Russian outpost at the mouth of the Northern Dvina river, near present-day Arkhangelsk. Chancellor travelled overland to Moscow and was received by Ivan IV, before returning to London in 1554. His voyage enabled England and

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63   Donecker, 'The Medieval', p. 53.
64   Cf. Donecker, 'The Medieval', p. 54; Donecker, *Origines*.

Muscovy to establish trade relations, and was lauded as an important feat of discovery among contemporaries. Upon his return, Chancellor collaborated with a learned schoolmaster, Clement Adams (c. 1519-1587), who composed an account of the voyage based on the explorer's own notes and testimony.[65]

Even at a cursory glance, certain similarities between Nyenstede's tale of the *Aufsegelung* of Livonia and Adams's description of Chancellor's journey become apparent:

Franz Nyenstede, *Denckwürdige Sachen und Geschichte*, chapter 5:	Clement Adams, *The New Navigation and Discovery of the Kingdom of Moscovia*:
In the year 1148 – others believe that it was rather the year 1158 – a ship with merchants and their goods sailed from Bremen, planning to reach the city of Visby on Gotland.	Master Chancellor held on his course towards that unknown part of the world and sailed so far that he came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sun shining clearly upon the huge and mighty sea.
Through God's weather and winds, they were forced off their course in a great tempest, and could not reach Gotland. Driven by the northern and northwestern storm, they came to the shores of Courland. Because they were unfamiliar with the land, they did not dare to make landfall. But God made them encounter and spot a barge sailing in front of them, heading for the Daugava. They believed that it would eventually arrive at a port and, trusting the grace of God, they dared to follow the barge and thus came into the Daugava estuary.	And having the benefit of this perpetual light for certain days, at length in pleased God to bring them into a certain bay, which was of one hundred miles or thereabouts over. Whereinto they entered and somewhat far within it cast anchor; and looking every way about them, it happened that they espied afar off a certain fisher boat which Master Chancellor, accompanied with a few of his men, went towards to common with the fishermen that were in it and to know of them what country it was, and what people, and of what manner of living they were.

65   Mund, 'The Discovery', p. 353.

When the wild, heathen people there saw such a big ship arrive there, like they had never seen in their lives, all the pagans ran together in a big crowd and watched the arrival, which seemed, from the distance, very unfamiliar to them. They wondered how they should behave and treat the newly arrived people, since they had never met them nor heard of them and their big ships before.

The Christians, however, spent the first night on the river aboard their ship and discussed how they should act. But in the morning, some of them disembarked, took some empty barrels, placed them on the shore and presented bread, beer, victuals and other goods which they thought might be interesting to the pagans. Then they waved and convinced the pagans to approach closer. They shook the pagans' hands, offered them sugar, figs, raisins, and white bread as presents and caressed them. But they were unable to speak with them, and after they had treated them well, they let them go home and tell their family and friends how kindly the Christians had treated them. On the third day, the pagans returned repeatedly and brought gifts and presents for the Christians, such as honey, milk, chickens, eggs, birds, and rabbits.[66]

But they, being amazed with the strange greatness of his ship (for in those parts before that time they have never seen the like), began presently to avoid and flee; but he still following them overtook them, and being come to them they, being in great fear as men half dead, prostrated themselves before him, offering to kiss his feet.

But he, according to his great and singular courtesy, looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signs and gestures, refusing those duties and reverences of theirs, and taking them up in all loving sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider how much favour afterwards in that place this humanity of his did purchase to himself; for they, being dismissed, spread by and by a report abroad of the arrival of a strange nation of a singular gentleness and courtesy. Whereupon the common people came together, offering to these new-come guests victuals freely and not refusing to traffic with them, except that they had been bound by a certain religious use and custom not to buy any foreign commodities without the knowledge and consent of the king.[67]

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66 Nyenstädt, 'Denckwürdige', p. 14.
67 *Principall Navigations*, p. 283. Modernized spelling based on *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom*, pp. 17-18.

Both narratives depict a similar sequence of events. Almost all the key
motifs in Adam's account reappear in Nyenstede's chronicle:

–   The role of divine providence, guiding the explorers to an unfamiliar
    coast.
–   The encounter with a small boat that leads them to the natives'
    settlement.
–   The natives' initial timidity, their awe of the unknown ship that they
    had never seen before.
–   The explorers take the initiative and try to establish peaceful contact
    with the natives.
–   Communication is only possible through signs, gestures, and caresses.
–   The explorers' kindness wins the natives' trust, and gifts are exchanged.

The two references framing the Chancellor report – the perpetual light of
the polar day and the concluding comment on the 'king', i.e. the tsar – have
no equivalent in Nyenstede's narrative, since these motifs are too closely
linked to the Arkhangelsk setting. For his part, Nyenstede added several
new details: the storm that brought the merchants to Livonia[68] and a list
of the trade goods that had been bartered. A more significant difference is
the lack of a central protagonist in Nyenstede's tale: the German merchants
appear and act as a collective; there is no individual leader and explorer
who matches the role of Richard Chancellor.

     Clement Adams's account was first published,[69] in the Latin original with
an English translation, as part of Richard Hakluyt's famous 1589 collection of
travel reports, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the Eng-
lish Nation*.[70] It seems unlikely that a book printed in London and addressed
primarily to an English audience was available to Nyenstede. A far more
probable source[71] is a collection entitled *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores
varii* ('Various writers on Moscovite matters'), published in Frankfurt in

68   A storm is a common topos of exploration reports, and it is possible that Nyenstede simply
used this generic motif to embellish his retelling of Adams's narrative. However, a storm is
explicitly mentioned in the very brief account of the *Aufsegelung* in David Chytraeus's chronicle
of Saxony. Cf. Cythraeus, *Newe Sachssen Chronica*, p. 20. Nyenstede's own notes mention that
he used Chytraeus as a source for the earliest history of Livonia, so it is likely that the motif of
the storm originated there. Cf. Napiersky, 'Zur livländischen', p. 420.
69   There may have been a Latin edition published already in 1554, but no surviving copy is
known. If this edition truly existed, it was probably published in very limited numbers. Cf. Poe,
Foreign, p. 52; Mund, 'The Discovery', p. 355.
70   *Principall Navigations*, pp. 270-92.
71   For an overview of the early modern editions of Adams's report, see Poe, *Foreign*, p. 52.

1600, which contains the Latin text of Adams's report.[72] As a wealthy man with contacts in the major cities of the Empire, Nyenstede had easy access to books printed in Germany.[73] The language barrier certainly posed a problem, since Nyenstede himself did not read any Latin.[74] However, it would have been hardly difficult for him to ask for a translation, since he had excellent connections to the leading Latinists of Livonia. David Hilchen, for example, Riga's foremost humanist in the years around 1600, was the son-in-law of Nyenstede's second wife. In any case, a recently published report on a new trade route to Russia had to arouse the interest of Livonia's merchant elites, and it is quite plausible that a synopsis of Adams's report circulated among Nyenstede's acquaintances and fellow guildsmen.

Nyenstede did not merely translate and copy the account of Chancellor's voyage: there are several differences in the phrasing and the details that prevent us from dismissing his *Aufsegelung* tale as a mere re-narration. But the similarities between Chapter 5 of Nyenstede's chronicle and Adams's account of the Chancellor expedition seem to be too strong for coincidence.[75] Nyenstede relied on an authoritative account that provided a model of a colonial encounter, a model that he could adapt to suit the needs of his chronicle. Whether he obtained this narrative template directly from Adams's account, or whether both texts should be regarded as independent, yet strikingly similar examples of colonial discourse, remains an open question.

Conclusion

In the writings of both Basilius Plinius and Franz Nyenstede, the pivotal meeting between the first German merchants arriving in Livonia and the country's natives is described in a way that closely resembles a transatlantic colonial encounter. Scholars such as Urs Bitterli or Stephen Greenblatt have identified several recurring elements in early modern depictions of the first encounter between Europeans and non-Europeans: these topoi include an awareness of European technological superiority, often with an emphasis on the explorers' ships, the initial distrust between explorers and natives,

72 *Rerum Moscoviticarvm Avctores Varii*, pp. 142-53.

73 Raik, *Eesti- ja Liivimaa*, p. 162.

74 Raik, *Eesti- ja Liivimaa*, p. 163.

75 The similarities do not, of course, necessitate that the 1600 edition of Adams's text was Nyenstede's direct and immediate source. An intermediary text, inspired by Adams and available to Nyenstede, would be a possibility as well. It would also be conceivable, though far less likely, that both Adams and Nyenstede drew upon a common source.

which often leads to the natives' flight, and the eventual initiation of barter trade, made possible through sign language and gestures.[76] All of these stereotypical elements of a colonial encounter are featured in Plinius's and Nyenstede's accounts. Essentially, one could have used the title page of the famous 1494 print of Columbus's letter on the first voyage ('De insulis nuper in mari Indico repertis') (figure 12.3), the first visualization of Columbus's discovery, to illustrate Plinius's or Nyenstede's tale of the *Aufsegelung*. The Mediterranean-style galley would be even less out of place in the Baltic Sea than off the shore of Hispaniola.

Figure 12.3   About the Islands recently discovered in the Indian Sea

Carlo Verardi and others, In laudem Serenissimi Ferdinandi, Hispaniarum Regis, Bethicae & regni Granatae obsidio victoria & triumphus. Et De insulis in Mari Indico nuper inuentis
Basle: Bergmann, 1494, fol. D5ᵛ; woodcut

The authorial techniques employed by Nyenstede and Plinius were admittedly quite dissimilar. While Plinius wrote his own humanist tale of discovery, Nyenstede adapted existing motifs and narrative patterns. The result, however, was the same: both authors envisioned the founding moment of their homeland through the vocabulary of trans-oceanic discoveries. They re-imagined the indigenous Livonians as 'colonial savages' and elevated their own putative ancestors, the merchants from Bremen, to the status of true explorers and discoverers. A mysterious, unknown shore, pagan inhabitants who have never seen a proper ship in their lives, and a careful communication through diplomatic gestures and the exchange of presents

76   Bitterli, *Die 'Wilden'*, pp. 81-95; Greenblatt, *Marvelous*, pp. 68, 91-3, 100.

– it all sounds very much like the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The erudite humanist and physician Basilius Plinius and the merchant, politician, and pastime chronicler Franz Nyenstede certainly had very different personal backgrounds, but they nevertheless belonged to the same social field: the urban elites of Riga in the last decades of the sixteenth century. We can safely assume that the two men knew each other, and it seems very likely that a prominent city official like Nyenstede was familiar with Plinius's *Encomium Rigae*, which was, after all, dedicated to the municipal authorities. The same imagery of a colonial discovery in Livonia's distant past is featured in two sources written in the very same setting, probably one inspiring the other. It seems that we are finally able to identify a particular socio-cultural milieu within early modern Livonia where the Age of Discovery truly left an impact: among the educated and prosperous elites of Riga, in the years around 1600. Unlike clergymen like Skarga or Tolgsdorff with their vague associations and allusions to distant India, the literati of Riga expanded the analogy between Livonia and the New World into a fully fledged colonial narrative, complete with bold explorers, ignorant savages, tense first encounters, and all the other common stereotypes. 'A purely exotic motif', as the Baltic German historian Albert Bauer pointed out, rooted 'in the era of the great discoveries and the nascent science of geography'.[77]

Nyenstede and Plinius were the two authors who expressed these colonial aspirations most clearly. Yet it seems unlikely that they were the only two representatives of Riga's citizenry who had such ideas. In all probability, their fellow burghers could relate to such fantasies of colonial discovery and settlement. In the troubled years after the Livonian War, these images certainly appealed to the elites of Riga: Plinius and Nyenstede imply that the discovery of Livonia by intrepid German merchants was a feat of enormous historical significance, comparable to the Spanish discoveries in the New World. Their imitation of a colonial discovery justified and confirmed German rulership over Livonia. In the introduction to his chronicle, Nyenstede emphasized that it had been the Germans who were the first to arrive in Livonia, 'consolidated themselves there, overcame the pagans there, brought them to the observance of the Christian religion and introduced secular law and order. They fought many hard struggles with the pagan tribes there and shed their blood, and they have owned and held the land for

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77   Bauer, Review, p. 310.

almost four hundred years'.[78] And, as Nyenstede and Plinius reminded their readers, it had been neither knights nor clergymen, but brave merchants who began this feat of civilization and conquest. Again, it is apparent why the mercantile upper class of Riga appreciated this version of their country's origins.

Thus, the Age of Discovery and the accounts of trans-oceanic exploration and expansion provided the citizens of Riga with a vocabulary, with patterns of narration, and historiographical topoi to create their own colonial epic. The image of the *Aufsegelung* as an imitation of an overseas discovery, propagated by writers like Nyenstede and Plinius, was well suited to confirm and justify the position of the Baltic Germans, both vis-à-vis foreign pretensions and vis-à-vis their Estonian and Latvian peasants, the descendants of the 'pagan savages' they had once civilized.[79]

However, it was possible to use the very same analogy to discredit the German nobility and question the legitimacy of their rule over Livonia: roughly a hundred years after Plinius and Nyenstede indulged in their colonial fantasies, the conflict between royal Swedish centralism and the nobility's particularism dominated domestic politics in Livonia.[80] In a meeting of the Swedish privy council in 1694, the former Swedish governor general of Livonia, Bengt Oxenstierna (1623-1702), argued that the Germans had mistreated their Estonian and Latvian serfs for centuries, quipping that they had behaved just as 'the Spaniards had dealt with the pathetic and simple-minded Americans'.[81] By the late seventeenth century, the *leyenda negra*, the 'black legend' of the cruel Spanish conquistadores, was widely known, and the Swedish councilmen certainly understood what Oxenstierna was implying. Allusions to the New World could, apparently, be employed to support a great variety of conflicting political agendas.[82]

78   Nyenstädt, 'Denckwürdige', p. 4. Cf. Raik, *Eesti- ja Liivimaa*, p. 173.
79   Cf. Johansen, 'Die Legende'; p. 56; Raik, *Eesti- ja Liivimaa*, pp. 177-8; Donecker, 'The Medieval', pp. 54-7.
80   Cf. Seppel, 'Die Entwicklung', pp. 185-92.
81   Isberg, *Karl XI*, p. 223.
82   Such analogies were a common feature in scholarly literature during later centuries as well. In the years around 1800, enlightenment writers such as Garlieb Merkel and his contemporaries often compared the situation of the Estonian and Latvian peasants to 'Indians' and 'Negroes' and used these allusions to argue for the abolishment of serfdom. Cf. Plath, 'Nichts Neues', pp. 62-3.

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Sehr grewliche/ erschræckliche/ vor vnerhœrte/ warhafftige Newe zeyttung/ was für grausame Tyranney der Moscouiter/ an den Gefangenen/ hinweggefuerten Christen auß Lyfland … begehet … (Nuremberg: Kreydlein, 1561).

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13   Transformations of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in Finnish Vernacular Poetry and Rituals

Irma-Riitta Järvinen

Studying the medieval-based vernacular traditions and folklore about Christian saints – saints' lore or saint-lore – is complex for several reasons. First, the actual sources, folklore notes, tend to be fairly recent, roughly 300 years old. Second, saints' traditions involve a variety of folklore genres in oral transmission, each one having developed its particular forms and uses: sacred legends, religious folk tales, origin legends, folk prayers or charms, proverbs, calendar customs, rituals, dream narratives, memorates (narratives about encounters with supranormal beings, in this case with a Christian saint, the Virgin Mary, or Jesus), even humorous anecdotes. These genres have been moulded ever since saints appeared to the world of the laity during a process lasting nearly a thousand years in Scandinavia and northeastern Europe, in the interaction between literate and oral traditions.

Folklorists as scholars of oral traditions may ask how saint-lore expresses lay piety, thinking, and world view, and how medieval saints' traditions, as taught by the Church, were received and interpreted in vernacular religion. In Finland no folklore texts were written down in medieval times. The earliest folklore collections come from the seventeenth century, and do not become substantial until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The earliest records are quite sporadic, and generalizing from scarce sources is a danger. We cannot base our studies on medieval written documents and say anything about what so-called ordinary people thought in medieval times, yet it is clear that we can follow how some ideas were carried on in tradition. They have certainly been transformed, but still connect to medieval times in some recognizable way, and prove that folk tradition has a long-lasting, although whimsical, memory.

The aim in this chapter is to study the vernacular traditions about St. Catherine of Alexandria in Finland after medieval times. What happened to hagiographical traditions in Finland when they were adopted by people through the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages and were transformed into a vernacular tradition, which was practised in Protestant surroundings up to the early twentieth century? How did the

vernacular and Church traditions meet? Which elements of the Church traditions did the vernacular tradition make use of, and how and why did they survive? Where and how did the vernacular rituals take place?

St. Catherine of Alexandria Introduced into the Local Culture

The legend and cult of St. Catherine of Alexandria were influential and widespread in medieval Europe, including Scandinavia, the Baltic Region, and Finland; she was the most celebrated figure among the virgin martyrs of the Roman Catholic Church. St. Catherine was one of the 'Four Capital Virgins'[1] and one of the 'Fourteen Helpers' at the moment of death.[2]

Memory of her *vita* gradually started to fade away after the Reformation. For example, in Sweden, the ballad bearing Catherine's name was later connected with another Catherine, Karin Månsdotter, the late-sixteenth-century Swedish queen and wife of King Eric XIV (r. 1560-1568).[3] In Estonian folk memory, her name was later mixed with Katharina von Bora, Martin Luther's wife, and Catherine the Great, the Russian empress (1729-1796).[4] In folk memory, historical characters and events are frequently blurred.

In the context of medieval European traditions, Finland was on the periphery of the Roman Catholic Church, forming the 'Eastern Land' (Osterlandia) of the Kingdom of Sweden. The Finns were gradually converted to Christianity from the twelfth century onwards, and in Karelia, the eastern form of Christianity was spread.[5] The saints became, little by little, part of the religious practice of the laity. People learnt about the life stories and miracles of the saints from the retellings of preachers and friars of the mendicant orders, who were able to use the vernacular, and from the paintings and sculptures of saints in the churches. Visual images of the saints had a strong impact in shaping people's conceptions and the ritual practices that were important for them in their daily lives. There were no other saints' images like the wooden carved sculptures of saints that people could see or even touch.[6]

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1   The others were St. Margaret, St. Barbara, and St. Dorothy.
2   Kilström, 'Nödhjälparna', pp. 459, 465.
3   Sands, *The Company*, p. 193.
4   Hiiemäe, *Eesti rahvakalender*, p. 175.
5   On early Christian culture in Finland, see Hiekkanen, *Suomen keskiajan*, pp. 14-6, Tahkokallio, 'Kristinuskon', pp. 67-71.
6   Räsänen, *Ruumiillinen esine*, p. 20.

In the diocese of Turku (Swe. Åbo), Dominican influence was strong in the fourteenth century, thus differing from other parts of the province of Uppsala; this is evident in the liturgy and calendar used.[7] A Dominican House was established in the area of the present-day Turku as early as in 1249.[8] The cult of St. Catherine was supported particularly by the Dominican Order, probably because of the emphasis on the value of learning in the hagiographic legend of St. Catherine. The Dominican Order promoted studies in theology and philosophy, and every house had to have a lecturer, whose teaching the monks had to follow. The Order also established its own schools for higher education, usually in connection with a university.[9] During the time of Bishop Johannes of Westphalia (r. 1370-1385), a chancel for St. Catherine was built in the cathedral of Turku, and a *prebenda* was established.[10] For St. Birgitta of Sweden (1303-1373) St. Catherine was an exemplary saint, and she named her daughter, known as Katharine of Vadstena (*c.* 1331-81), after the saint.

St. Catherine's importance in medieval Finland is proved by the great number of her representations in Finnish medieval church art, outnumbering all other virgin martyrs. Only the Virgin Mary was a more popular figure than Catherine among female saints in Finland.[11] Saints' names were the source of first names in medieval Finland, and the name of the patron saint of the local church was often given to children living in the area. In the Finnish calendar of 1790, more than two hundred years after the Reformation, three quarters of the names were still those of saints.[12] The name Catherine had many Finnish variants like Katariina, Katrina, Kaarina, Kaisa, Kaija, Katri, Kati, Kaio.

Paintings or sculptures of St. Catherine are found in 23 medieval churches in Finland, mainly located in southwestern Finland, not far from the coast. She had her own chapel in the cathedral of Turku, and altars in a few smaller churches (Mynämäki, Lohja); moreover, at least three (Kaarina, Huittinen, Hammarland), maybe six (e.g. Lammi, Karleby, Virolahti) churches were dedicated to her.[13] Her memorial day on 25 November was celebrated in

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7   Parvio, 'Postscript', p. 544.
8   Gallén, 'Dominikanorden', pp. 174-85.
9   Gallén, 'Dominikanorden', p. 180.
10   Juusten, *Suomen piispain kronikka*, p. 30.
11   Nygren, *Helgonen i Finlands*, pp. 79-80.
12   Kiviniemi, *Suomalaisten etunimet*, pp. 246, 252.
13   Data collected from Hiekkanen, *Suomen keskiajan*.

the category of *totum duplex*,[14] as mentioned in *Missale Aboense* in 1488, which includes the liturgical material of the medieval diocese of Turku. The Virgin Mary and St. Anne were two other females honoured by such a high position, whereas other female saints were in the category of *duplex*.[15]

From the viewpoint of vernacular religion, churches were not the only spaces in which people looked for contact with the saints. The pre-Christian spirits were approached everywhere people needed their help: in the household, in the forest, at sea. The saints, who entered the spaces of ethnic spirits, were also encountered in everyday life situations.

The *Vita* of St. Catherine

The writers of hagiographic legends were agents of a 'mythmaking mechanism that served a variety of publics', using oral tradition, earlier manuscripts, and creative writing of their own. Their goal was to affect and grasp the feelings of the listener or reader, and 'the end product is as much myth as history'.[16] This applies to Jacobus de Voragine (Jacobus of Varazze), who, at the end of the thirteenth century, wrote his influential collection of hagiographies, *Legenda aurea* ('The Golden Legend').[17] There are many versions of the *vita*, but the following synopsis is based on the *Legenda aurea*:[18]

> Catherine was the beautiful and talented daughter of King Costus. She was educated in liberal arts, converted to Christianity, and had a dispute about her faith with Emperor Maxentius. She was contested by fifty orators sent by the emperor. As a result, they all converted to Christianity, and then were burnt by the emperor. The emperor wanted to have her as his lover, but Catherine declared that she was the bride of Christ. She was stripped naked, beaten with scorpions, and imprisoned. A white dove brought her celestial food. She converted the emperor's wife and the captain of the soldiers, who were then tortured and executed. The emperor had a torture machine built for Catherine, with knives and four wheels, but it was broken by God's angel before it was used, killing four

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14   She was raised to this high category during the fourteenth century, when she also got an altar of her own in the cathedral of Turku. See Malin, *Der Heiligenkalender Finnlands*, p. 251.

15   Parvio, 'Postscript', Kiviniemi, *Suomalaisten etunimet*, pp. 247-8.

16   Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, p. 13.

17   de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*.

18   de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, pp. 708-16.

thousand pagans. Catherine did not give up her Christian faith. She was finally beheaded with a sword, and milk flowed from her wounds instead of blood. Angels carried her body to Mount Sinai, where her bones started to exude healing oil.

The numerous stories about St. Catherine date her life to the late third century. According to various texts, she was martyred between 300 and 320, around the reign of the emperors Diocletian and Maximian; although, as Jacobus mentions, Maximian is a 'scribe's error' and suggests Maxentius (Maximian's son) instead.[19] However, dating the years of her life does not make much sense because she is a legendary figure. The stories bear a close resemblance to a number of other martyr narratives of both Christian and non-Christian women. One of them is a historical figure, Hypatia of Alexandria, who was a mathematician and follower of Neo-Platonic philosophy. She was murdered by a Christian mob in 415. The story of St. Catherine first appeared in eastern sources in the late eighth to early ninth century: a monk from the Sinai monastery had a vision of St. Catherine. At the end of the tenth century, St. Simeon (Symeon) Metaphrastes writes about her in his chronicle of martyrs. Her cult spread with the crusaders to Western Europe, and the main site of her cult was situated in Rouen. Mount Sinai is the site of the Monastery of St. Catherine and of her cult still today. St. Catherine of Alexandria was denounced as ahistorical by the Roman Catholic Church in 1969.[20]

St. Catherine in European Vernacular Traditions

The vernacular cult of St. Catherine developed in a variety of directions in different parts of Europe. For example, in France and England she was appealed to as the special helper of young maidens and unmarried women looking for good husbands. Katherine J. Lewis has analysed the late medieval cult of St. Catherine practised by women on hilltop chapels in England, imitating the church of the monastery on Mount Sinai.[21] Young women prayed to St. Catherine for a husband: 'A husband, St. Catherine, a handsome

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19   Nevanlinna and Taavitsainen, *St Catherine of Alexandria*, p. 4; de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, p. 716.
20   Frösén, 'The Monastery', pp. 16-7.
21   Lewis, 'Pilgrimage', pp. 37-52.

one, St. Catherine, a rich one, St. Catherine, a nice one, St. Catherine, and soon, St. Catherine.'[22]

Anne Monjaret has written about the traditions of the present-day 'cathrinettes' (women over 25 years old who work in the fashion business) celebrating St. Catherine's day; these festivities are also connected with finding a husband with the help of the saint.[23] In Germany, she has been the patroness of a variety of professions that involve wheels and cutting, e.g. spinners, millers, knife sharpeners, and barbers, and it was forbidden on her day to practise these actions, which reminded people of her martyrdom. Her day also marked the end of harvest, and the beginning of work inside the house.[24]

In southern Russia and Ukraine, girls and boys used to fast on that day in order to find a good spouse; in Poland cherry twigs were placed out in water and girls would watch whose twig blossomed first, thus predicting marriage. No marriages were celebrated each year after St. Catherine's day, and the day also marked the end of the hunting season. In Russia and Ukraine, Catherine was also the protector of pregnant women, while in Russia and Poland her name was invoked in the case of a difficult birth. In Croatia, St. Catherine's day coincides with collecting olives and the making of olive oil; Catherine's legend mentions that her dead body in the tomb produced healing oil. Croatian shepherds lit candles to her on her day and prayed for protection for their sheep. Spinning was not allowed on her day. The Czechs celebrated St. Catherine's day as a women's day by reversing the roles of men and women.[25]

In medieval Estonia, on the southern side of the Gulf of Finland, St. Catherine was venerated by the Catholic Church, and later remembered and celebrated by the laity in a variety of ways. She was a promoter of cattle-breeding and rearing, together with the Virgin Mary.[26] She was revered as the protector of cattle and sheep, and the care of which mainly belonged to the sphere of women. Unlike in Finland, mumming traditions on St. Catherine's day were practised, and are still practised today by children.[27] On St. Catherine's day masked groups of singers used to visit houses, asking for gifts and singing *kadrilaulud* ('*kadri*-songs'). The songs, which were in the old Estonian metre (Est. *regivärsiline*), described how Kadri had come

22   Lewis, 'Pilgrimage', p. 50.
23   Monjaret, 'La Sainte-Catherine', pp. 361-77.
24   Erich and Beitl, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 399-400.
25   Kabakova, 'Catherine', 181-2.
26   Paulson, *The Old Estonian*, p. 157.
27   Hiiemäe, *Eesti rahvakalender*, pp. 160-74; Hiiemäe, *Der estnische Volkskalender*, pp. 224-37.

from afar and had had a dangerous journey. There were no clear references to the hagiographic legend, but the spinning Catherine (Est. *Kadriema*) did sometimes appear with her spindle (in southern Estonia and Saaremaa).[28]

If the mummers received gifts – wool, linen, food, etc. – they gave blessings and wished good health to the household, but if refused, they cursed the house. The same kind of mumming tradition applied to St. Martin's day in November, two weeks earlier.[29] The mumming of the Catherine-beggars (Est. *kadrisandid*)[30] was predominantly a women's tradition all over Estonia, and it has been emphasized that the Catherine-beggars must be clean and pretty, dressed in white clothes, and decorated with ribbons and beads. Males dressed up like women were also included in the group. They formed a contrast to the male tradition of Martin beggars (Est. *mardisandid*), the dark and scary beggars of St. Martin's day. It was said that the white colour of the Catherine-beggars represented the coming snow[31] – but could it echo the medieval legend of St. Catherine, representing her virginity? In some places the Catherine beggars carried fir twigs with them[32] – could this be explained by Catherine's emblem in church art, the palm twig? In southern Estonia and on Saaremaa, the Catherine-beggars were masked women with a spindle, probably in order to magically promote the growth of wool and linen.[33] This time of the year marked the end of growth and of agricultural work outside, and a starting point for women's work inside: spinning and weaving. There are also a few references to a custom of the Catherine-beggars that suggests fertility magic: they would urinate on a broom, and and thus promote the growth of cabbage.[34] The idea of the urinating Catherine is common in Finnish, and Estonian, calendar proverbs connected with the rainy weather conditions at that time of the year.

Another contrast between the days of St. Martin and St. Catherine was that St. Martin was venerated as the protector of fields, whereas St. Catherine was expected to give luck with cattle and sheep. This was demonstrated in many ways; in some places in Estonia the Catherine-beggars or other visitors on St. Catherine's day made bleating sounds like sheep. It was forbidden to sheer the sheep between St. Catherine's day and St. Martin's day (Est. *kahe*

28 Hiiemäe, *Der estnische Volkskalender*, p. 227.

29 Hiiemäe, *Der estnische Volkskalender*, pp. 225-6.

30 In Estonian, the word 'sant' (Lat. *sanctus*) has received the meaning 'beggar', which could connect to the begging friars in medieval times.

31 Hiiemäe, *Der estnische Volkskalender*, p. 227.

32 Hiiemäe, *Eesti rahvakalender*, pp. 181, 188, 204.

33 Hiiemäe, *Der estnische Volkskalender*, p. 228.

34 Hiiemäe, *Der estnische Volkskalender*, pp. 228-9.

sandi vahel); otherwise 'the saint/beggar will take the wool away' (Est. '*sant viib villa ära*').[35]

St. Catherine in Finnish Folklore Sources

The earliest folklore sources in Finland were written down from oral tradition in the seventeenth century, but mainly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus we have no evidence of the content of rituals of the Finnish laity concerning St. Catherine in the late Middle Ages, when her cult in the Church was at its highest. Thus, the interesting question here is: what are the ideas and ritual practices that penetrated down to the local level from the teaching of the Church, and continued, in a transformed mode, through the centuries in the tradition process – through the Reformation and denial of Roman Catholic saints, through Protestant teaching?

The tradition process encompasses the chain of interpretation and endless variation typical of oral folklore. The special quality of tradition is the long endurance of concepts preserved in folklore. What are the most persistent elements in the legend of St. Catherine, and why? How has her legend been interpreted in oral tradition, and how have people used it according to their own interests, for their own purposes?

Finnish folklore on St. Catherine can be divided into six types of texts:

1   A *Kalevala* metre poem (song) on the death of Catherine, 'The Burning of Katrina' (*Katrinan poltto*) (six more or less extensive texts with a similar storyline, some used as a charm for fire burns; short references and individual motifs scattered elsewhere in epic poetry).

2   The rhyming ballad song 'Little Katri' (*Pieni Katri*), translation of the Swedish song *Liten Karin* (52 text variants from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, first printed in 1887).

3   Calendar folklore connected with St. Catherine's day on November 25: proverbs commenting on the weather.

4   Descriptions of women's ritual traditions for the welfare of sheep and cattle on St. Catherine's day.

5   Anecdotes ridiculing the ritual traditions.

6   Vernacular prayers to St. Catherine, mostly in *Kalevala* metre.

35   Hiiemäe, *Eesti rahvakalender,* p. 168.

The *Kalevala* Metre Song about the Death of St. Catherine

There are five text variants in Finnish folklore telling about the death of St. Catherine. She is called Katrina, Katro, Katti, Kapo, Kauvo, Kaisa, and Kaia in the texts. The two earliest texts were recorded in 1819 in Kiuruvesi, northern Savo, one text in Kuhmoniemi in 1839, one by Elias Lönnrot in 1837 in North Karelia, and one – probably his compilation – is undated. All of these text variants are in fluent Kalevala metre, using motifs and formulas from other *Kalevala* metre epic poems.[36] It is noteworthy that the opening motif of the poem, telling about the girl Kaisa who is a skilful weaver, appears elsewhere in epic poetry.

The following text variant was written down by Matthias Aleksanteri Castrén in 1839 in Kuhmoniemi, northeastern Finland. There is no information about the singer.[37]

Kaia kangasta kutovi	Kitty was weaving[38]
pahalla pajupurolla	by a little willow-brook
tihiällä tuomikolla:	by a dense birdcherry-wood:
sukkulainen käessä käänty	the shuttle turned in her hand
kun on portimo pinossa	like a weasel in a stack
rahakarva rauniossa	a precious-fur in a cairn
hongan oksalla orava.	on a pine-branch a squirrel.
Ruotus kunnotar kuningas	Herod the dishonest king
tuli Katrinan tulille.	came to Catherine's fireside
Sano kohta saatuahan:	said as soon as he arrived:
'Tuleppas Kaio minulle	'Come, Kitty, to me
eli minun pojalleni!'	or else to my son!'
Kaisa taiten vastoavi:	Katie knowingly answered:
'En tule minä sinulle	'I won't come to you
enkä sinun pojallesi:	nor yet to your son:
paha on poikaki pahalla	the bad one has a bad son
paha on paha itekki.	the bad one is himself bad.
Nurkasta tulit tupahan	By the corner you came in
sait sisähän salvoksesta	got in at the timber-joint:

36 *Kalevala*-metre was used in old Finnish folk poetry. It is the old metre of the Baltic-Finnic area, trochaic tetrameter, which is non-strophic and uses alliteration: Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch 1977, pp. 62-8.

37 Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch, *Finnish Folk Poetry*, p. 312.

38 Translation by Keith Bosley: Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch, *Finnish Folk Poetry*, p. 312.

oven kuurnan kuulumata.'	the door's creaking was unheard.'
Ruotus kunnotar kuningas	Herod the dishonest king
lähti puita etsimähän	went in search of trees
koivuja ja kovia puita	birches and hardwoods
honkia hakasatoja	firs that had shed their branches
pihlajia pitäviä:	rowans that held firm:
Ruotus kunnotar kuningas	Herod the dishonest king
pani Katrinan tulille.	put Catherine on the fire.
Neitsyt Maaria emonen	The Virgin lady Mary
rakas äiti armollinen	the dear merciful mother
oli kirjoa lukeva.	was reading a book.

The text makes a compact and well-structured story. The protagonists are Catherine (in Finnish Katrina, Kaia, Kaio, Kaisa), and King Ruotus; the latter stands for Herod, the king who persecuted the newborn Jesus in the New Testament. In the intertextual network of folk poetry, Ruotus/Herod appears as the villain. Here he has replaced the emperor Maxentius as St. Catherine's opponent. The third actor in the text is the Virgin Mary.

Catherine is praised for being an excellent and quick weaver, but nothing is mentioned of her other, intellectual skills: in the hagiographic legend she disputes with fifty philosophers and defeats them. The weaving motif can be traced to the torture wheel made for her in the legend. Catherine was regularly presented with a wheel in medieval church art in Finland as elsewhere in Europe, which associated her with spinning, weaving, wheelers, and rope makers.

She is weaving deep in the woods, in a place described as a thicket, as if she was hiding. This formula, 'by a bad willow brook, by a dense birdcherry wood', has a negative connotation: the place it describes is not a pleasant one.

The evil King Ruotus comes to meet the girl and proposes to her in a very clumsy, straightforward way, asking her to marry him or else his son. Catherine's refusal, and reprobation of him for coming into her house in an unpleasant way, uses the formula known from another *Kalevala* metre epic song, a ballad called 'The Intruder Killer' (Fin. *Miehentappajaneito*). The song tells about a girl who kills a man who tries to rape her.[39]

The action of collecting firewood for a stake is described in a detailed way just like the skilful weaving of the girl at the beginning of the poem.

39   Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch, *Finnish Folk Poetry*, pp. 376-7.

Unlike in the legend of St. Catherine, the girl is about to be killed by fire, not by a sword. In two other manuscripts from the 1830s, the burning episode includes Catherine's cries for help, but she is saved from the fire and healed by the Virgin Mary,[40] or by a mythical figure, a 'boy from the Northern Farm', whose hair is frozen and whose horse's mane is covered by frost.[41] In this context the poem of St. Catherine is part of a charm that was used for healing fire burns. The connection of Katrina with the fire is also expressed in the charm on the origin of fire, in which Katrina is the 'heavenly fire girl' who is 'rocking the fire'.[42] In the earliest text variant of the Katrina song, from 1819, the story of Katrina and Ruotus combines with Väinämöinen, the old hero of Finnish-Karelian epic poetry, who is forging a woman of gold. Katrina is transformed into the golden woman, who comes out of the fire after three days.

Martyr legends present multiple ways of how saints-to-be are freed from their physical bodies to achieve spiritual salvation. Female martyr saints – according to the common structural pattern – are beautiful and wise virgins, threatened and persecuted by a lustful male in a power position. They are stripped, tortured, mutilated, and killed in a variety of ways: thrown to wild beasts (Euphemia), tortured to death (Agatha, Barbara), battered to death (Febronia), roasted to death (Pelagia of Tarsus), burnt (Apollonia, Anastasia, Eulalia of Spain), and executed by a sword after tortures (Dorothea, Lucia, Margaret, and Catherine of Alexandria), to mention a few.[43] The detailed descriptions of the sufferings of the saints are particularly conspicuous in the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine. Martha Easton has analysed an illustrated fourteenth-century manuscript of the *Legenda* and has concluded that the atrocities of the text and their pictorial representation follow the standard scale of punishments used for criminals in the Middle Ages.[44]

The image of St. Catherine's decapitation had its consequences during the centuries to come in the shaping of the vernacular cult of St. Catherine in Finland and Ingria;[45] I shall return to this connection later. In the Finnish version of the legend of St. Catherine, she met her death on the stake. My

40   *SKVR* XV, no. 382.
41   *SKVR* XV, no. 650.
42   Kuusi, 'Keskiajan kalevalainen', p. 308.
43   Data collected from Attwater, *A Dictionary*.
44   Easton, 'Pain, Torture', p. 62.
45   Ingria was populated by Lutheran Finns, Russian Orthodox Izhors, and Votyans. It was situated around St. Petersburg and on the southeastern coast of the Gulf of Finland: Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch, *Finnish Folk Poetry*, pp. 35-6.

main interest is focused first on the diffusion of the legend with elements of folk poetry, and second on the use of the poem and how it links with the Finnish vernacular cult of St. Catherine.

The epilogue in which the Virgin Mary is mentioned is particularly interesting. It clearly connects this text variant to the context of holy protagonists – without it, we could read or listen to this song as just any ballad story of an unsuccessful proposal and the revenge of the suitor. The Virgin Mary is reading a book; this is how Mary was shown in church art, too,[46] including representations from the late Middle Ages showing St. Anne, Mary's legendary mother, teaching her daughter and grandson Jesus how to read.[47]

In a similar way, St. Catherine is often depicted holding a book in her hand, one of her emblems alongside a sword, a wheel, a palm twig, and, rarely, a dove. The book emblem of St. Catherine connects to her legend and to the argument with fifty philosophers; thus, St. Catherine was venerated as the patroness of scholars.

It is unknown whether a more detailed or extensive text of this poem ever existed. It seems clear that the legend of St. Catherine lies behind this text, but here, and in the two other texts, we only have the essential kernel of the legend: how the evil king wants to marry or have sex with the girl, and how he is turned down, which leads to the revenge, and the killing of the girl. In any case, the *Kalevala* metre poem captures the essence of the legend of a virgin martyr: preserving virginity and dying for it. The religious clue of the legend of St. Catherine – to preserve virginity as the bride of Christ – is missing in the *Kalevala* metre poem, as well as the saintliness of the girl.

How and when this poem was used is unknown. In Finland, there is no documentation of singing traditions of young girls on St. Catherine's day. Was there ever such a tradition in existence? Or was this song performed when girls and women were working together, spinning and weaving? Was it sung on St. Catherine's feast day?

What might have kept the song 'The Burning of Katrina' alive through centuries without any specific connection to the Catholic saints' legends? My answer is that besides being a dramatic story, the poem, because of its burning episode, had the function of a charm: it was used for healing burns. The Virgin Mary was more commonly described in charms as the holy person who comes to heal, but Catherine, who was a highly venerated

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46   Holding a book is a fairly common feature among martyr saints in medieval art, representing their connection with God's word.

47   Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy', pp. 189-90.

saint in Finland in the Middle Ages, could also be associated with that kind of healing power. Another reason for keeping the poem alive was probably that the storyline – that of an innocent girl and her opponent, whom she rejects – was exciting, and that there were other similar songs in the tradition. For example, in the poem called 'The Intruder Killer' the girl, here called Katri or Kaisa, is not a helpless victim, but destroys her opponent. The basic pattern of the poem 'The Burning of Katrina' is that of conflict between a girl and a powerful male, even though it lacks the details that would bind it more tightly to the Catholic legend. Finnish folklore scholar Matti Kuusi has pointed out that 'it is often the basic structure of a folk poem that seems to be its oldest element'.[48]

The Song 'Little Katri' and its Swedish Origin

The ballad song *Pieni Katri* ('Little Katri'), in the form it was known in Finnish, represents a newer tradition than the *Kalevala*-metre song. This rhyming song came from Sweden to the Swedish-speaking areas, the Åland Islands (Fin. Ahvenanmaa) and coastal areas, and it was performed in Swedish. In western Finland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the new rhyming metre was starting to replace the *Kalevala*-metre tradition, but we do not have evidence of a Finnish rhyming translation of this song in those days: most probably it didn't exist.[49] In any case, the song quickly spread orally in the nineteenth century, and 52 text variants have been archived. They seem to stem from the printed version of 1877.[50]

The ballad 'Little Katri' has captured some essential features of the hagiographic legend, just as the *Kalevala*-metre song did: a young, beautiful girl is harassed by the king, who in vain tries to seduce her. The girl meets her death in a spiky barrel, and her body is taken to paradise by two pigeons. The king dies of plague and is sent to hell, carried by ravens. There is, however, neither mention of the intellectual capacities of the girl, nor of her devotion to Christ.

Tracey R. Sands has studied the song *Liten Karin*, a folksong interpretation of the legend of St. Catherine in Swedish folk tradition, and points out several features in the song that connect it to the medieval hagiographical

48   Kuusi, 'Keskiajan kalevalainen', p. 24.
49   See Kallio's chapter in this volume; *Balladeja ja arkkiveisuja*, p. 35.
50   *Balladeja ja arkkiveisuja*, p. 65.

tradition of the saint.[51] In a similar way, the Swedish song only relates the basic opposition of the girl and her evil persecutor, which leads to the victory of the girl opposing authority. Her body is, after her death in a spiked barrel, carried to heaven by two white doves. The song *Liten Karin* pays attention neither to the great learning of Catherine, nor to the important religious meaning of remaining a virgin. Perhaps the clearly religious features were expunged from the song in Protestant Sweden. However, Sands points out several features in the song connecting it with the medieval hagiographical tradition of St. Catherine. She considers it most likely, however, that the ballad was composed by non-clerics, laypersons who extracted what they wanted from the legends told orally by the mendicant friars and parish priests; thus, it was missing the motifs that had no meaning to 'a farmer in rural Uppland' – for example, Catherine's great learning and her conversion of fifty pagan philosophers by means of their own pagan Greek texts. Sands points out that the song also tells of rebellion against authority, and that the real triumph is Catherine's.[52]

St. Catherine's Day: A Vernacular Women's Cult, and its Derision

In Finland, all known ritual activity on St. Catherine's day was connected with cattle and sheep, in order to promote their welfare. As this work used to be the concern of women, St. Catherine's day was mainly a women's festival day. In his *Mythologia Fennica* (1789), Christfrid Ganander explains the name Katrinatar in the following way: 'Sanct Catharina. One of the saints who is prayed to, the good lady of the cow house in the company of the Virgin Mary … who should take care of the cattle. A prayer to her is the following, to keep the bears away from the cattle'.[53] He then cites a lengthy charm in *Kalevala* metre for protection of the cattle.

Ganander describes the memorial day of St. Catherine in the following way:[54]

> This is one of the papal festival days among the Finns. On that day the mistress of the house collected flour from women in the neighbourhood, and a porridge called *mämmi* was made. They also cooked a cow's head,

51   Sands, *The Company*, pp. 157-97.
52   Sands, *The Company*, p. 188.
53   Ganander, *Mythologia Fennica*, p. 32.
54   Ganander, *Mythologia Fennica*, p. 28.

especially kept for this occasion, and the tongue of the cow and the *mämmi* were eaten in the cowshed. The sheep were shorn three times a year, as is done even today.

This scholar of the Enlightenment period points out that these customs are 'papal', connected with a Roman Catholic saint, but the procedure he describes is typically a ritual meal to promote the welfare of the cattle.

There are many later documents about the rituals of St. Catherine's day. A description from Tuuteri, Ingria, from about 1810 recounts:[55]

Beer had to be prepared for St. Catherine's day. Then, in the morning before the day, porridge was made and the beer and they went to the cowshed. Porridge and beer were taken there, and porridge was given to the cows, and a sip of beer. Then this was prayed: 'Good Catherine, beautiful Catherine, give me a white calf, a black one would be good, too, or a many-coloured one would be fitting as well.' And after that porridge was eaten and beer was drunk.

The Finnish folklore scholar Martti Haavio connects the beer-drinking on St. Catherine's day, and on many other ritual occasions, to the 'myth of the holy beer': 'Beer was a drink that connected people, its drinkers, to a socio-religious group; and which elevated people's minds from the everyday to the sphere of the holy'.[56]

Similar appeals to St. Catherine have been documented in other places in eastern Finland, especially in the province of Savo. Ritual foods on that day were a cooked head of a sheep, or a soup made of sheep's trotters.[57] An interesting report, which clearly emphasizes the ritualistic nature of the foods eaten on St. Catherine's day, mentions, 'On Katri's day sheep's heads must be cooked for everybody, because Katri's day is the day of the evil eye, *katteen päivä*. Nothing bad will happen to the sheep flock, if Katri may eat the sheep's heads'.[58] Catherine was also appealed to in a prayer to prevent the evil eye. Her name variant in Finnish, Kati or Katti, was interpreted as having a connection with the evil eye, in Finnish (pl.) *kateet*; the connection was solely based on the similarity of the words. Katti was asked to give

55   SKS KRA. Sjögren III: 52. A copy from the Library of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg: Man. Sjoegr. Ingrica. Cat. Lerchi p. 173. 1810s.
56   Haavio, *Suomalainen mytologia*, p. 279.
57   *Vanhat merkkipäivät*, p. 361.
58   SKS KRA. KRK 233: A. Alopaeus 528. Suomussalmi 1935.

her help against 'the arrows of the witch'.[59] Sheep and cattle, as well as everything in the farm house, were considered vulnerable to the evil eye.

Both cattle and sheep have a link to the legend of St. Catherine. Cows, as producers of milk, connect to a miracle: when Catherine was beheaded, 'milk gushed forth from her body instead of blood', as Jacobus de Voragine recounts in the *Legenda aurea*.[60] Sheep connect to St. Catherine as producers of wool, which requires a spinning wheel. Equally, the place of St. Catherine's day in the calendar in late November has affected the mode of its celebration to promote the well-being of cattle and sheep. In Finland, by early November all agricultural work outside would be finished, and the sheep had to be shorn. This work was done three or four times a year; around Catherine's day the wool collected was called 'Kaija's wool',[61] and there was a proverbial saying, 'Catherine shears the sheep'.[62] In Estonia, too, it was common to shear the sheep by that day; M. J. Eisen states that some of that wool was taken to the altar of St. Catherine.[63] In Estonia, as well as in other countries in Western Europe, it was forbidden to spin on St. Catherine's day. Documents on these restrictions are found only in Ingria; according to an informant in 1845, St. Catherine's day was called 'the most important festival of the Ingrians'.[64]

All of these traditions that concentrate on the welfare of the cattle and sheep have been documented from eastern and southeastern Finland, and from Ingria.[65] The Finnish ethnologist Kustaa Vilkuna has suggested that the cult of St. Catherine, her veneration as the protector of cattle and sheep, spread from Estonia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to the eastern and central parts of the Finnish-speaking area, first to Ingria and the Karelian Isthmus, then to Ladoga Karelia, central and northern Finland, even all the way to Archangel (Viena) Karelia.[66] He builds his hypothesis on the strength of St. Catherine's cult in Estonia in the Middle Ages, when nunneries were dedicated to her in Tallinn and in Tartu, and the parish of Kadrina and a church bore her name in Virumaa. Other churches and chapels dedicated to her in different parts of the country prove that she

59   *SKVR* II, no. 1067a.

60   de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, p. 714.

61   SKS KRA. Samuli Paulaharju 6904. 1916. Puolanka.

62   SKS KRA. Anna Suominen 45. 1937. Iisalmi.

63   Eisen 1920, p. 88.

64   SKS KRA. Reinholm 70:151, Kansallismuseo. B.T. Uspenskij 1845.

65   A late documentation (1887) of the ritual was made as far west as Tammela, southwestern Häme, SKS KRA. A. Lindqvist 202. 1887.

66   Vilkuna, 'Eesti Kadrina', p. 851.

was a popular local saint. Later documents from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries tell of sacrifices to St. Catherine on her memorial day; she was called 'sheep goddess' (Est. *lambajumal*).[67]

Data on this cult reaches back to the seventeenth century, one hundred years prior to Ganander's *Mythologia Fennica*. Because of nation-building interests, the Swedish Collegium of Antiquities asked learned men of the kingdom to report on ancient folk memories and traditions. One of those who responded in 1674 was the parson of Paltamo in northern Finland, Johan Cajanus. He also informed Count Per Brahe concerning his inspection of the religious conditions in the Kuopio area (Savo) in 1670: 'In this area, they [the peasants] do not consider it much of a sin that they stick to the old superstitious customs of their forefathers, which are: Olaf's sheep, Kekri sheep, Catherine's gifts,[68] Stephen's drinks, Ukko's feast, etc'.[69] Here is mentioned a collection of feasts for Christian saints (St. Olaf, St. Catherine, St. Stephen) and for two entities from ethnic, pre-Christian religion (Ukko, the chief god, and Kekri, the pre-Christian festival for the turn of the year in early November). It is particularly interesting that Cajanus further relates: 'I forbade them [to celebrate these festivals] but they answered that their priests have not forbidden them, but their earlier priests have joined them'. In the Reformation, all Roman Catholic saints and their cults, in addition to the old ethnic religion, were denounced as superstition, as the text by Cajanus reflects – without great success, but even accepted by local priests. Those priests who adapted to the customs of their parish were able to avoid conflicts, but they were not successful in Protestant teaching.[70]

Cajanus does not describe how St. Catherine's day was celebrated, but fifteen years later in 1685, the first description of the ritual was written down in legal proceedings: a man was accused of celebrating old festivals. This report includes all essential features of the ritual which are later mentioned in dozens of documents: 'A porridge is cooked early in the morning and it is taken to the cow house, in which women kneel down and say some godly prayers, and some other useless things about Catherine's actions in the cow house, and they also sacrificed some porridge. Then the menfolk ate the rest of the porridge in the house, and they drink all day long'.[71] This

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67   Eisen, *Eesti uuem*, p. 87.

68   Probably there is a spelling mistake in *lahjat* ('gifts') here. *Kahjat* would mean 'beer', which was used on St. Catherine's day, and the day was called *Katrinan/Kaisan kahjakset*. Haavio, *Suomalainen*, 276-9.

69   Published in the newspaper *Åbo Tidning*, 26 April 1791, nr. 17, pp. 3-4.

70   Suolahti, *Suomen papisto*, p. 67.

71   Herzberg, *Bidrag till Finlands*, p. 39.

rough description already contains most of the elements of the ritual for St. Catherine. In later documents, over fifty altogether, mainly from eastern Finland, Savo, Kymenlaakso, the Karelian Isthmus, and Ingria, the pattern is quite similar. In Wierland, Estonia, it was customary to eat porridge in the sheephouse, and in Pilistvere in 1680 it was documented that beer was drunk and sprinkled on the sheep in the sheephouse.[72]

Christfrid Ganander writes in his *Mythologia Fennica* about the ritual on St. Catherine's day in Finland, and cites a prayer to St. Catherine, the Virgin Mary, Jesus, and God to protect the cows from predators in the forest. In a prayer text recorded from the Finns in Dalecarlia (Dalarna, Sweden), St. Catherine is mentioned together with St. George: both are asked to keep the wolves away from the cattle.[73] The Finnish population moved to this area in Sweden from Savo in the sixteenth century, which points to the fact that the tradition of St. Catherine as a protector of cattle was established in Savo before that time. It is interesting that in Swedish folklore there are no traces of that role for St. Catherine, or traces of a vernacular (women's) cult for her.

St. Catherine's day was one in a chain of festivities in Finland and Ingria in late autumn, celebrated at the end of the agricultural year. They also marked the turn of the year – ending the old one and preparing for the new growth. For women who tended the cattle and sheep, St. Catherine was venerated as a patroness of domestic animals in Finland and Ingria. Descriptions of this women's ritual – the latest from the 1930s – could refer to the actual practice at the end of the nineteenth century. All texts emphasize the ritual meal in the cow house: porridge, the cow's head and tongue, the sheep's head, and beer. The ritual food and drink was given to the cows as well, and prayers were said to St. Catherine: 'Kaarina, good mistress of the house, good lady carrying leaf fodder, Kaarina, quick with your legs – give me a black calf, I'd take a white one, too, or a spotted one, or even half red ...'[74] And what would be the useless things about the deeds of St. Catherine referred to by our informant from 1685? Maybe an answer comes from a nineteenth-century text, in which St. Catherine is asked to groom the domestic animals at night.[75] The cow house becomes a holy space during the ritual, where women venerate St. Catherine in the presence of the cattle.

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72   Eisen, *Eesti uuem*, p. 88.
73   *SKVR* VII, 5 metsäsuomalaiset no. 381. The text was written down at the end of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century.
74   SKS KRA. Rytkönen, Antti 1925. Sippola 1895.
75   *SKVR* VI, 2 no. 5670.

St. Catherine was also the protector of sheep. In a nineteenth-century charm text from Kainuu, northeastern Finland, she is respected as the 'origin of the ram'.[76] Her martyr legend tells of the torture wheel that Emperor Maxentius had prepared for her, but it was broken before it could be used. The wheel is her most specific attribute in church art, and interpreted as a spinning wheel it connects to sheep as well.

It becomes clear that this was mainly a women's ritual: their main concern was to take care of the cattle and sheep, and they celebrated together and prayed for success in their work: protection and fertility for their animals. Some records add that beer and porridge were given to the cows as well, and some say that meat too was eaten on that day: cow's tongue, and cooked sheep. Women gathered in the cow house, which actually became their church, a sacred space for their ritual.[77] It was a place where women prayed with their own traditional words to St. Catherine, kneeling down. There have been other important women's festivals in connection with cattle; for example, in Ingria, a women's spring festival took place on St. George's day, when it was time to let the cattle out to pasture and hire the shepherds for the summer.[78]

In the same period, when narratives about the ritual feast on St. Catherine's day were still told, ridiculing anecdotes about the ritual were written down from oral tradition, contesting the performance of the ritual. Typically, in these anecdotes the mistress (and master) of the farm are made fun of by other people, when they pray to St. Catherine and ask for her help with the cattle. The jester is usually a young, male farmhand,[79] but also a student, a minister, and a parish clerk are mentioned in this role.

In the village of Purhola, on the old farm of Purhola, the cows were chained for the first time in the evening of *mikonpäivä* (the day of the archangel Michael). Then, the mistress of the farm went to venerate the female spirit of the farm, *Santa Katriina*. She kneeled down under the head of a cow and began to eat porridge from a cup. They had a reckless and evil farmhand in the house, who went outside the cowshed. He managed to grab the end of the cow's chain through a hole in the wall, and pulled it so that the cow fell on the farm mistress. The woman thought

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76   *SKVR* XII, 2 no. 7424; Krohn, *Suomalaisten runojen*, p. 196.

77   Eliade, *Das Heilige*, pp. 23-5.

78   Timonen, *Minä, tila*, pp. 126-48.

79   This is usually his role in anecdotes: opposing the master and the mistress of the house, questioning old beliefs, representing modern times.

that the spirit had done it, and said: 'Why do you get angry, St. Catherine, why do you get angry, St. Catherine'.[80]

Another anecdote relates how on St. Catherine's day the mistress of the farm cooked porridge in the morning, put butter into it to make an eye, and one spoon to the side. They took it to the cowshed for the Lady Catherine to eat. And the farm mistress shouted: 'Come, good Lady Catherine, go secretly on the lanes, walk with a stoop in the cowshed!' The farmhand was listening to this in the back of the cowshed by the dung drain. He then cast an old goat's skull at the butter 'eye' of the porridge. The farm mistress started to scream and ran into the house, saying that 'next year we'll have lots of damage with the cattle, because the Lady Catherine threw a goat skull at the porridge bowl'.[81]

What is the message of these kinds of stories? They were told around the same time (the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century) and in the same areas as the descriptions of the vernacular cult, but they are not as numerous. They seem to ridicule old beliefs and people who practise these beliefs, but not very strongly; the farmhand, who is generally the trickster in jokes and anecdotes, is in the first example described as 'reckless and evil', showing some moral indignation at his behaviour. They rather present these ways of behaviour side by side, without a strong ridiculing tone. The narratives are in a dialogue, posing questions.

These narratives are similar to the types of belief legends which present the farmhand spoiling the porridge, set for the household spirit to eat, with his excrement.[82] In belief legends, the deed of the farmhand is often followed by the revenge of the household spirit: the farm is destroyed by fire, or the house falls into poverty, when the luck-bringing spirit leaves it. The narratives about the trick played on the farm mistress have no consequences, which rather points to the use of the stories as humorous anecdotes, making fun of people who have all kinds of beliefs. Interpreted in this way, they would contest the traditional ways of paying respect to saints as providers of success.

80   SKS KRA. T. Pasanen 317. 1899. Juva.
81   SKS KRA. A. Kinnunen 342. 1886. Joroinen.
82   Belief legend types H 61-2, G 1306. Simonsuuri, *Typen- und Motivverzeichnis*.

Prayers to St. Catherine

Kalevala-metre vernacular prayers to St. Catherine were used in the ritual in the cow house, or when eating a meal of cooked sheep's heads in the house, or in the springtime when letting the cattle out; these are mainly guesses because the context is not always specified in the documentation.

Examples:

St. Catrina is your origin. Go with light shoes, trot in black socks, run wearing red laces.[83] Year: 1831. Context: when letting the sheep out?

Katrina, *kipo kaponen*,[84] good lady who carries leaf fodder, give me a black cow, or a white calf, or a spotted one would be fitting, too, give me good luck with oxen …[85] Year: 1878. Context indicated: ritual meal in the cow house.

Katrina, *kipo kaponen*, good lady, carrying leaf fodder, plant of the yard, flower of the field, pretty lady of the manor, cast me a sack of oxen, a bag full of cows, black ones would be fine, and spotted ones would suit. Go around at night with your brush, in the day with a bunch of hay under your arm, go secretly in the lanes, check secretly the cowshed, go and brush the animals, straighten the hair.[86] Year: between 1870 and 1880. Context: 'In the evening of St. Catherine's day, the lady of the house says these magic words'.

Saltta Kaarama! Oh you sweet ram's head (*jeäräpää*, with the double meaning of stubborn) giving your meat and carrying your sausage! Let us take food now!' (This was said by the master of the house when people came to the table to eat the sacrificed lamb). 'Tihentisti rokkaristi tipusta, tapusta kauhavartta. Amen'. (This was said at the end of the meal. Translation: *rokkaristi* = 'soup cross', *kauhavartta* = 'handle of a wooden scoop').[87] Context: eating a ritual meal in the *kekri* festival in early November.

83   *SKVR* XII, 2 no. 7424.
84   This addressing formula is often used for St. Catherine. Its meaning is unclear, but it can refer to *kipo,* meaning a 'lamb', *kipoinen* meaning 'quick', 'swift'. A cow was referred to as 'Kipo kapo Kaunikki' in a *Kalevala*-metre rhyme. *Suomen murteiden sanakirja* 7, 2003, s.v. *kipo*. In Karelia, the meaning of *kapo* is 'girl' or 'woman'; it can also mean a shoe of a child. *Suomen murteiden sanakirja* 6, 1999, s.v. *kapo*.
85   *SKVR* VI, 2 no. 5677.
86   *SKVR* VI, 2 no. 5670.
87   Waronen, *Vainajainpalvelus*, p. 160. Documentation of the text by E.N. Setälä, Keuruu, 1883. Also in *SKVR* X, 2, no. 4536.

The last example is not in *Kalevala* metre. It may be an imitation of a Latin prayer, as Matti Waronen, who published the text, suggests; even though it is verbal nonsense, it has a rhythm and ends with 'Amen'.

The image of St. Catherine in these nineteenth-century prayers differs from the medieval learned prayers to the saint. A Swedish example, translated and published by Tracey Sands,[88] follows the main episodes of her *vita*. The vernacular prayers are far from the *vita* of the saint: the virgin martyr of noble birth, well-educated and beautiful, harassed by Emperor Maxentius, the bride of Christ, determined in defending her Christian faith, beating fifty pagan philosophers in argumentation, suffering torture, and finally killed by a sword and carried as a corpse by angels to Mount Sinai. This is probably how her life was presented to listeners in medieval Finland.

From Virgin Martyr to Local Protector

In recent years, much new information about the Finnish medieval book culture, teaching of the Church, etc. has been gained, thanks to the study of medieval manuscript fragments by Tuomas Heikkilä and his research group. For example, there are traces of at least three copies of the *Legenda aurea* that may have been used in the diocese of Turku.[89] We know that there was preaching and teaching in the Finnish language, but no medieval sermons in Finnish exist.[90] Preachers of the mendicant orders, Dominicans and Franciscans, travelled to villages to teach and tell stories about the saints. The names of the saints became familiar to people and their life stories were presented in paintings on church walls. However, we do not know about the vernacular tradition of the saints in medieval Finland – the earliest data about the popular cult of St. Catherine, for example, comes from the end of the seventeenth century.

Judging from the available data, vernacular religion is based on imitation and selection. Vernacular rituals, as in the case of St. Catherine, take advantage, in a selective way, of the elements of the official religion: creating a sacred space (the cow house), and a holy meal, sharing the foodstuffs with the animals (sharing the body of Christ in Holy Communion). The prayers include praises of the saint (she is good and sweet, she moves quickly, she

88   Sands, *The Company*, p. 55.
89   Heikkilä *et al.*, *Keskiajan kirjallinen*, p. 174.
90   Pirinen, *Suomen kirkon*, p. 164.

takes care of the animals) and direct appeals to her: give me more cattle, look after my animals.

Choosing St. Catherine to act as a protector of cattle and sheep joins with her hagiographic legend through some motifs and details in her story, as has been pointed out by Vilkuna.[91] Her torture wheel reminded people of a spinning wheel. And when she was martyred, milk flowed from her neck instead of blood, making her eligible to protect cows and wet nurses.

It is hard to identify the *vita* of St. Catherine of Alexandria behind these transformations. Much of what was told of her was irrelevant from the point of view of the believers. Clearly, the most important thing about her was her power to do good things, and her greatness in being steadfast in her Christian faith, which made her exemplary. Vernacular tradition in Finland, or in Sweden, was not so interested in her great learning and intelligence in the argument with 50 philosophers, as Sands[92] has pointed out. In England, however, hagiographies of virgin martyrs, especially of St. Catherine, were used as education for young girls – Catherine was presented as an educated woman and a household manager in the absence of her husband, Christ – as Katherine J. Lewis suggests.[93]

Hagiographic legends have added immensely to the popular imagination, as we can see from the developments of the Catherine legend in various parts of Europe. She is truly a multifunctional saint, as Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis emphasize: good for almost anything.[94] In vernacular religion, only those parts of the hagiographic legends that people could make use of in their own lives were selected.

In Finnish oral singing tradition, a transformation of St. Catherine's legend existed: a story of a skilful girl, Catherine, who fought for herself and turned down a bad suitor, but paid for it with her life. The song is connected with other Finnish-Karelian *Kalevala*-metre epic themes, telling the story of a young woman who wants to keep her own mind.[95] The religious message has not survived in the poetic text, but the religious context is present in the form of the biblical evil king, and in the image of the Virgin Mary. The Finnish poem on St. Catherine is rooted in the *Kalevala*-metre genre of medieval legends, relating to poems like those of St. Mary Magdalena, of

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91   Vilkuna, *Vuotuinen ajantieto*, pp. 310-11.
92   Sands, *The Company*, p. 188.
93   Lewis, 'Pilgrimage', p. 35.
94   Jenkins and Lewis, *St. Catherine*, pp. 3-4.
95   For example, in the following poems: *The Intruder Killer*, *The Hanged Maiden*, *The Faithful Bride*, *The Husband-Killer*. See Kuusi, Bosley, and Branch, *Finnish Folk Poetry*.

the Virgin Mary, and of St. Henry. The use of the poem as a charm to heal burns added to its importance.

The ritual meaning of St. Catherine in Finland remained stronger than the actual legend about her. She was part of the everyday world of the agrarian community and held a special, venerated position for centuries as the protector of sheep and cattle. However, it is uncertain if the same people who prayed to her as the patroness of sheep and cattle actually knew the story of the virgin martyr St. Catherine. In any case, she was considered a helper of women whose concern in agrarian society was to take good care of their animals for nourishment and clothing. Prayers to St. Catherine, and rituals to venerate her, were able to persist for many centuries, even though an understanding of the context of her powerful symbols, the torture wheel and the miraculous milk flowing from her wounds, had been forgotten.

The presence of the sacred in the home circle, outside the official holy spaces, is an essential aspect of vernacular religion. The data we have about the vernacular cult of St. Catherine in Finland is a good example of it.

The remembrance of Catholic saints existed after the Reformation in ritual connections, which were important in praying for success for liveli-hoods. As these rituals were not allowed in public, they moved to the private sphere.[96] Old ethnic spirits of nature and of the household were fitting models for saints to be used for similar purposes. St. Anne was included in eastern Finland and Karelia among the spirits of the forest who were prayed to when men went hunting, and when women let the cattle out to graze in the forest.[97] The role of St. Catherine was to protect the cattle and sheep mainly in the home sphere. The saints entered the mythic spaces of forest spirits in the woods, and of ethnic household spirits, and occupied their roles in those places. However, as in the case of St. Catherine, vernacular imagination made use of some features of her *vita*.

96   Siikala, *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*, p. 419.
97   Järvinen, 'Provider of prosperity', pp. 273-93.

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Abbreviations

SKS KRA = Manuscript Collections of the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society. Card Catalogue of Calendar Customs.

SKVR = Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot ('The Old Poems of the Finnish People'), vols. 1-14 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 1908-48, 1994). Online: http://skvr.fi/. (Accessed 1.06.2015.)

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14   Agricola's List (1551) and the Formation of the Estonian Pantheon

Aivar Põldvee

The geographical proximity and the linguistic affinity between Estonia and Finland, as well as their close cultural and scholarly contacts, can easily lead to the assumption that the shared roots of the two nations' identities and their historical bonds are a subject for ceremonial speeches rather than a contemporary research topic. In a nutshell, one finds a humorous reflection on this approach from Estonia's biggest weekly newspaper, which topped its list of Finns who have made a significant mark in the history and consciousness of Estonians with Elias Lönnrot (1802-1884), the author of the Finnish epic *Kalevala*, followed by Vanemuine, the Estonian clone of the Finnish Väinämöinen, the protagonist of Lönnrot's epic.[1]

Both Lönnrot and Vanemuine play an important role in the shaping of Estonian national identity: Lönnrot not only provided an examplar for the Estonian epic, but made a walking tour in Estonia in 1844, studied the Estonian language under the guidance of Friedrich Robert Faehlmann (1798-1850) in Tartu (Ger. Dorpat), and paid a visit to Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803-1882) in Võru (Ger. Werro).[2] At the time, Faehlmann was working on the literary folktales that were to become the foundation of Estonian mythology as it became widely accepted in the nineteenth century. He also started to compile an Estonian national epic, proceeding from the example of the *Kalevala*, a project later concluded by Kreutzwald.

The Estonian epic *Kalevipoeg* starts by addressing Vanemuine, the god of song and music. The pantheon evoked in the literary folktales and the epic was later employed in the cultural and, later, even political, popular movements of the so-called period of national awakening of the Estonian people. The Vanemuine Society, founded in Tartu in 1865, established the tradition of Estonian song festivals (1869), which flourishes even today, and the amateur theatre (1870) that later became the first professional theatre Vanemuine (1906). The Estonian athletic association *Kalev* (1901) was named after the mythical hero Kalev, and his son Kalevipoeg became the symbol of political (re)nascence and armed struggle for freedom. Toompea fortress

1   Keskküla *et al.*, 'Eesti esisoomlaste'.
2   Niit, 'Lisaandmeid Elias Lönnroti'.

in Tallinn (Ger. Reval), the stronghold of rulers throughout the ages, in this pseudo-mythology became Kalev's grave, and ceremonies to commemorate the victims of Soviet mass deportations are conducted at the bronze statue of Kalev's widow, Linda.[3]

The Estonian canon of cultural history describes the development of Estonian mythology, or rather pseudo-mythology,[4] as a process consisting of three stages. First, Kristian Jaak Peterson (1801-1822), a young student of Estonian descent, in 1821 translated into German the *Mythologia Fennica* (1789), the work of Christfrid Ganander (1742-1790), a scholar of Finnish folklore.[5] In Peterson's translation, Ganander's alphabetical lexicon was given a hierarchical structure, and some Estonian material was added.[6] Peterson's intention was to take the first steps towards the study and restoration of Estonian mythology in the spirit of Herder, in the manner it was envisaged and thought possible at the time. Second, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Faehlmann's mythical folktales that later were to be used for shaping the Estonian pantheon came out in print.[7] And third, Kreutzwald's national epic, the *Kalevipoeg*, was published in an academic Baltic-German edition in 1857-1861,[8] and in a popular edition in Kuopio, Finland, in 1862.[9]

This outline, focusing on the nineteenth century, has seemed so convincing and exhaustive,[10] that so far no great attention has been given to earlier attempts to describe Estonian mythology. Also the periodization based on the so far most extensive historical review of Estonian folkloristics, but still used in the present day, distinguishes broadly between the pre-folkloristic

3   The author of the statute (1920) was August Weizenberg (1837-1921), one of the founding figures of Estonian art. For the role of pseudo-mythology in Estonian nation-building, see Jansen, 'Muinaseesti Panteon'; Viires, 'Muistsed jumalad'.

4   It is appropriate to use the term pseudo-mythology here, as older information about the ancient gods and beliefs of the Estonians is very scarce and ambiguous, while the nineteenth-century records are in most cases uncritical and also too late. A large proportion of the materials representing Estonian mythology is at best characterized with the term fakelore. For more on this, see Dorson, *Folklore and Fakelore*, pp. 1-29; Dundes, 'The Fabrication'.

5   Ganander, *Mythologia fennica*.

6   [Peterson], *Christfrid Ganander*. See also Järv, 'Kristfrid Gananderi'.

7   Fählmann, 'Estnische Sagen'; Fählmann, 'Die Sage'.

8   Kreutzwald, *Kalewipoeg*.

9   Kreutzwald, *Kalewi poeg*.

10   The Finnish authors discussing the development of Estonian culture in the nineteenth century have departed from the same scheme; see, for example, Zetterberg, *Viron historia*, pp. 412-17. Anna-Leena Siikala's study on Baltic-Finnic mythology does not mention in connection with Estonia any authors earlier than Kreutzwald; cf. Siikala, *Itämerensuomalaisten mytologia*.

period, characterized by sporadic written records of folklore, which lasted up to the eighteenth century, and a later period of purposeful scholarly studies starting with the nineteenth century.[11] Thus Estonia still lacks a more comprehensive scholarly approach, comparable, for example, to Annamari Sarajas's monograph on Finnish folk songs in the sixteenth- to eighteenth-century literature.[12] The fact that early written records about Estonian folklore are much scarcer than those in Finland is not the sole reason for this lack. Taking a look at the first embryonic and compilative descriptions of the Estonian pantheon, based on the so-called Agricola's list, this chapter delineates some opportunities to broaden the present approach. Its main purpose is to uncover the ties that connect the development of Estonian pseudo-mythology with the Finnish original sources through seventeenth-century records from the early modern period on the one hand, and with the Baltic German ideas of Romanticism and the Enlightenment on the other.

Agricola's List

Michael Agricola (*c.* 1510-1557) is known as a Finnish Protestant reformer (cf. the contributions by Kallio, Hannikainen and Tuppurainen, and Lehtonen in this volume).[13] He studied in the Vyborg (Swe. Viborg; Fin. Viipuri) Latin School and at the University of Wittenberg (1536-9), bringing with him the impact of Luther, Melanchthon, and Erasmus of Rotterdam upon his return. Agricola became the rector of the Turku (Swe. Åbo) Cathedral School, and in 1554 he was consecrated as bishop of Turku. He published the first Finnish-language primer (*Abckiria*, 1543), and translated the New Testament into Finnish (*Se Wsi Testamenti*, 1548), which makes him also the founder of Finnish as a literary language. The year 1551 saw the publication of his translation of David's Psalms (*Dauidin psalttari*), the foreword of which (*Alcupuhe*) included a list of Finnish 'gods', containing twelve deities (or mythological agents) from Tavastia and twelve from Karelia.[14] On the

11   Laugaste, *Eesti rahvaluuleteaduse*. The review also includes several glossed texts from chronicles, travelogues, etc. Recent overviews of the development of folkloristics and history of religion in Estonia do not pay much attention to the time prior to the nineteenth century. Cf. Leete *et al.*, 'Uurimislugu'; Valk, 'Eesti folkloristika'; Kulmar, 'Religiooniteadused'.

12   Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*.

13   Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*; Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*.

14   Agricola, *Teokset III*, pp. 209-14; Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan Psalttari*. For the list, see: Anttonen, 'Literary Representation'; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, pp. 5-14; cf. Lehtonen in this

grounds of this versed list, Agricola is also considered the founder of Finnish folkloristics. In German, the discipline based on drawing up this kind of lists was called *Listenwissenschaft*.

It has been suggested that Agricola's list was inspired by the fifteenth-century Swedish text *Siælinna Thrøst* (Ger. (*Der grosse*) *Seelentrost* ('Consolation of the Soul')), and in the Lutheran tradition, Luther's Small Catechism in Lithuanian by Martinus Mosvidius (Mažvydas) printed in Königsberg (1547), with Latin and Lithuanian introduction admonishing parish members to abstain from acts of superstition and all false deities headed by Perkūnas.[15] The comparison to Mosvidius (cf. the contribution by Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen in this volume) as a parallel seems all the more justified by the fact that the Catechism also included a primer, compiled according to the same principles as Agricola's.[16] The Lutheran Reformation's struggle against the remnants of paganism and Catholicism among various peoples followed similar patterns. In the struggle against idolatry, the first step was to determine – or in some cases 'invent' – the adversary, proceeding from the principle that a new faith required new kinds of paganism. In Prussia, for example, twelve Prussian gods were listed in 1530, and their character was explained with reference to their Roman counterparts.[17] In studies of folklore, this kind of interpretation is called *interpretatio Romana* or *antiqua*. Even though Finnish scholars are not quite unanimous on this point,[18] the Prussian analogy allows us to assume that Agricola too proceeded from the same idea, mentioning twelve gods from Tavastia and twelve from Karelia. It must be admitted that the names denoting idolatry and gods in Agricola's list do not allow for an unambiguous interpretation: some of them allegedly reflect the Catholic cult of the saints.[19]

volume.

15   Harva, *Suomalaisten muinaisusko*, pp. 1-2.

16   Mažvydas, *Katekizmas*, pp. 51, 59-62. Both Agricola's and Mosvidius's primer drew on the example of the Latin edition of Luther's Small Catechism by Johannes Sauromannus (*Parvvs catechismvs pro pveris in Schola*, 1530/1531), which was reprinted a number of times in the sixteenth century and hence circulated widely.

17   Brauer, *Die Entdeckung*, pp. 39, 235-64.

18   For the debate, see Anttonen, 'Literary Representation', pp. 196-200, notes 26-8.

19   See Haavio, *Karjalan jumalat*; Tarkiainen and Tarkiainen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 235-7.

Thomas Hiärne: The Early Modern Stratum

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Agricola's list found its way over the Gulf of Finland to Estonia, where Thomas Hiärne copied it into his chronicle *Esth-, Liv- und Lettländische Geschichte* ('The History of Estonia, Livonia, and Latvia'), adding a concise translation into German. The manuscript was completed in the 1670s,[20] but because of the author's death in 1678, it did not appear in print; in fact, it had to wait for publication for more than a hundred years.[21] The depictions of the Estonian and Latvian superstition and old divinities found in Hiärne's chronicle belong to the same seventeenth-century discourse as the works of Johannes Gutslaff (d. 1657)[22] and, in particular, Paul Einhorn (d. 1655)[23] – whose work Hiärne also used as a source – as well as the tract by Johann Wolfgang Boecler (d. 1717).[24] The historical context of Hiärne's chronicle was the Kingdom of Sweden, a nascent European great power in need of a dignified image and history to be created in the seventeenth century, making use of the Icelandic sagas, their supposed Gothic ancestors, and the antique world transplanted to Scandinavia, all along with Hercules and Homer. At the same time, attempts were made to describe the country's dominions and peoples, among whom Estonians too were to be counted from 1561.[25] Andreas Bureus (Bure) was assigned the task of compiling a map of Sweden, which was printed in 1626 along with a voluminous description of the Nordic countries, including Sweden's Baltic provinces.[26] In 1667, the Swedish College of Antiquities was founded, and the task of presiding over it fell to Georg Stiernhielm, a man who for many years had served as an assessor in the Tartu Court of Appeal. Stiernhielm applied himself to several disciplines, and believed Estonians and Finns to be descendants of an ancient mixed people who had lived on the coast of the Black Sea. Moreover, he was one of the first to suggest linguistic affinity between Finnish and Hungarian.[27] Johannes Schefferus,

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20   Three original manuscripts have been preserved and at least sixteen transcripts of the chronicle. See Laidla, 'Thomas Hiärn', pp. 84-7.

21   [Hiärne], *Thomas Hiärns*, pp. 37-9.

22   Gutslaff, *Kurtzer Bericht*; cf. Kõiv, 'Johannes Gutslaffs'.

23   Einhorn, *Wiederlegunge*; Einhorn, *Historia Lettica*.

24   Boecler [1685], *Der Einfältigen Ehsten*. Previously, the Estonian histories of literature and folklore studies have erraneously attributed Boecler's work to Johannes Forselius; cf. Põldvee, '"Lihtsate eestlaste"', pp. 141-5, 183-6, 205-6.

25   See Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria*, pp. 235-305, 481-92.

26   Bure, *Pohjoismaiden kuvaus*.

27   Setälä, *Lisiä suomalais-ugrilaisen*, pp. 41, 46-7; Ohlsson, 'Stiernhielms språkvetenskapliga', pp. 200-2.

an Uppsala University professor of German descent, was a member of the College of Antiquities and worked on *Lapponia*, an account on Lapland and the Lapps, commissioned by the Lord High Chancellor Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, printed in Latin in 1673 and soon translated into German (1674), English (1674), French (1678), and Dutch (1682)[28]. *Lapponia* was an inspiration for Hiärne, who was himself keen on antiquities and corresponded with Schefferus.

Hiärne was born in 1638 in Skworitz (Fin. Skuoritsa; Russ. Skvoritsy) in Ingria, where his father was a pastor. Hiärne's brother Urban became a doctor, polymath, and writer, a significant man in the cultural history of Sweden.[29] Thomas Hiärne's career culminated in his post as secretary to Estland's governor Bengt Horn; by the time he started working on his chronicle, he was inspector of the Virtsu (Ger. Werder) manor in western Estonia, owned by the Swedish customs chief (*generaltullmästare*) Wilhelm Böös Drakenhielm. Owing to his origins and various duties, Hiärne knew the languages spoken in Ingria and Estonia, and had travelled not just in the Baltic provinces, but also around the Gulf of Bothnia (1667). This enabled him to notice the kinship between the languages of Finno-Ugrian peoples and the Lapps.[30] In his letter to Johannes Schefferus from 1673, he argued that 'the difference between Finnish and Estonian' was 'smaller than the difference between Upper and Lower German'.[31] In his *Chronicle*, he gave a more detailed description of the Baltic-Finnic peoples:

> The Finns are one large people, who [inhabit the area] from the Norwegian mountains through Lapland and around the Gulf of Bothnia up to the White Sea, and thence, in a half-circle of more than three hundred [Swedish] miles, through Karelia to the land of Ingrians, Estonians, and Livs. They all speak the same language, with only slightly different dialects, and the difference between those is seldom as great as it is in the Germans' own language. They are divided into the forest Finns, West, North, and East Bothnians, Lapps, Tavastians, Savonians, Karelians, Ingrians, Votes, Estonians, and Livs.[32]

28   [Schefferus], *Joannis Schefferi*, p. 66.

29   Ohlsson and Tomingas-Joandi, *Den otidsenlige*.

30   Lotman and Lotman, 'Fennougristika eellugu'; Laidla, 'Thomas Hiärn'; Lotman, 'Thomas Hiärne'; Leppik, 'Thomas Hiärne'.

31   T. Hiärne to J. Schefferus, 21 October 1673 (Library of the University of Uppsala (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek), G 260 c).

32   'Die Finnen aber sind ein großes Volck, welches von den Norwegischen Gebürgen umb den Botnischen Haff durch Lapland bis an die Weiß-See, und von da, durch Carelen, Ingermanland,

On the basis of those linguistic observations, Hiärne drew some even more far-reaching conclusions: 'As they [Estonians] were the same as Finns, a people with the same language and the same traditions, I assume that their forms of worship must also have been one and the same, as I can prove by means of several surviving remnants of paganism'.[33] Still, Hiärne did admit that the customs of worship were not the same for all the Finns, but like all other Sarmatians, they had a special god 'for each and every thing', as we can see 'from the ancient Finnish rhymes of Sigfridus Aronus, in the first Psalms of King David that were published in the Finnish language'.[34] The Sigfrid Aronus named here was Sigfrid Aronus Forsius (d. 1624),[35] a clergyman and scholar well known in the cultural history of Finland, who had probably made a Latin transcript of Agricola's list.[36] Nevertheless, the verses presented by Hiärne are not Forsius's 'rhymes', or a translation, but must originate from some revised version of Agricola's list, as also indicated by the reference to King David's Psalms. Hiärne's direct source remains unknown. The possibility of there having existed, in the seventeenth century, a Finnish transcript of Agricola's list made by Forsius, which may have reached Hiärne, cannot definitely be ruled out.[37] (Figure 14.1.)

Of Agricola's 64 verses,[38] Hiärne presented 52 – the last twelve, where no deities are mentioned, were omitted. Compared to Agricola's original text, there are a few inaccuracies and transcriptional differences in Hiärne's

Ehsten- und Lyven-Land, gleichsam einen halben Circel von mehr denn dreyhundert Meilen machet. Sie haben alle eine Sprache, welche nur im Dialecto einigermaßen unterschieden: solcher Unterschied aber ist bey ihnen selten so groß, als bey den Teutschen in ihrer Sprache. Sie sind vertheilet in March-Finnen, West- Nord- und Ost-Botinier, Lappen, Tawasten, Sawolaxen, Carelen, Ingren, Watien, Ehsten und Lyven', [Hiärne], *Thomas Hiärns*, p. 16.

33   'Sonsten, weil sie ein Volk mit den Finnen gewesen, eine Sprache und gleiche Sitten mit ihnen gehabt, halte ich davor, sie müssen auch einerley Gottesdienst gehabt haben, wie man aus vielen, so noch von dem Heydenthum bey ihnen im Gebrauch geblieben, beweisen kan', [Hiärne] 1794, p. 36.

34   'Des Sigfridi Aronis alten finnischen Reimen, so er den ersten in diesen Sprache ausgegangenen Psalmen Davids vorgesetzt', [Hiärne], *Thomas Hiärns*, pp. 36-7.

35   Pursiainen, *Sigfridus Aronus Forsius*.

36   The text that is considered to have been the transcript of Agricola's list by Sigfrid Aronus Forsius was published for the first time in the newspaper *Tidningar utgifne af et Sällskap i Åbo* on 16 August 1778; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*, p. 13.

37   Estonian folklorists have not studied Hiärne's transcript in more detail, nor has the fact that these verses originate from Agricola been more widely acknowledged. In the so far most extensive historical review of Estonian folkloristics, seven lines of this verse have been published, but the text does not mention Agricola as the original author. See Laugaste, *Eesti rahvaluuleteaduse*, pp. 71-5, 304.

38   The original version of Agricola's verses, along with their translation into modern Finnish and English are published in Anttonen, 'Literary Representation', pp. 186-7.

Figure 14.1   Transcript of Agricola's list from Thomas Hiärne's chronicle

Library of the University of Tartu (Tartu Ülikooli Raamatukogu), Mscr 140, p. 64ᵛ
Photo Aivar Põldvee

transcript, which have occurred in the course of repeated transcribing of the text. The German summary of the verses' content was probably drawn up by Hiärne himself. The translation is not rhymed, but speaks of the translator's mastery of Finnish; each deity's domain has been specified, and if necessary, a brief explanation has been added. Below may be seen Hiärne's transcript juxtaposed with his translation as they appeared in the 1794 publication of the *Chronicle*,[39]. It was in this version that Agricola's list became more widely known in the Baltic countries and in the German cultural space; an English translation of the German follows:

Epe jumalat mennt tesse muinen palwetin caucan ja lesse	Der Tawasten Götter, die sie angebetet haben, waren:	The gods of the Tavastians, whom they worshipped, were as follows:
Neite cumarsit Henne laiset seke Miehet ette Naiset	Tapio, ein Gott der Jagt, Achti, der Fischerey,	Tapio, a god of hunting, Achti, of fishing,
Tapio Metzest Pydhyxit soi ja Achti wedhest Calvia toj	Ainemoinen, der Lieder und Poesie,	Ainemoinen, of songs and poetry,
Ainemoinen wirdet ta coj	Rachkoj, vertheilte des Mondes Licht in alt und neu,	Rachkoj, who split the light of the moon into old and new,
Rachkoj Cuun mustaxi jacoj	Licki, hätte zu gebieten über das Gras und die Bäume.	And Licki, who ruled over the grass and the trees.
Lieckio Rohet, Juret ja Pund Hallitzi ja sen Kalteiset muud	Ilmarinen, war ein Gott des Friedens, gab gut Wetter und begleitete die reisende Leute.	Ilmarinen, who was a god of peace, who gave good weather and accompanied travellers.
Illmarinen Rauhan ja Illmaen tej	Turisas, ein Gott des Krieges, und	Turisas, a god of war, and Cratte, a god of goods and wealth,
ja Mat ca miehet edes wej	Cratte, der Gütter und Reichtum,	Tontu, of housekeeping,
Turisas annoj woiton Sodast	Tontu, der Haushaltung,	The Capees, who ate the moon for them when a time of darkness was imminent.
Cratti murhen piti Tawarost	Die Capeen, frafsen ihnen den Mond, da eine Finsternifs vorhanden war.	The sons of Cavela, who helped them mow the meadows.
Tontu Honen menen Hallitzi quin Piru monda willitzi	Des Cavela Söhne, haben ihnen geholfen die Wiesen zu mehen.	
Capeet mös heilde Cuun söit Calewan pojat Uytut ja muut löit		

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39   [Hiärne], *Thomas Hiärns*, pp. 28-30.

Wan Carjalaisten nämat olit
Epa jumalat quin he rucolit
Rongoteus Ruist annoj
Pellopecko Ohran cafwon soj
Wiran cannos Cauran caitzi
mutoin oltin Caurafs paitzj
Egres, Hernet, Pawut Naurit loj
Calit Linnat ja Hamput edes toj
Köndös huchtat ja Pellot tekj

Quin heiden Epe ujkans näkj
Ja quin Kelwe Kylwo Kylwätin
sillon Uckon Mallia jotin
Siehen Hantin Uckon wacka
nin jopuj Pica ette acka
Syte palio Häpie siele techtin
quin seke cuultin ette nechtin
quin Raunj Uckon Neini härsky
jalosti Ukoj pohiasti pärsky
Se sis annoj Ilman ja udhen
Tuulen
Käkrj se liseis Carian casfwon
Hysi Metzelniss soi woiton
Weden Ema wei Calat Werion
Nyrckeo Orawat annoj Metzafs
Hittawania toi Jenexet persafs
Eickö se kan sa wimatu ole
joca neite usko ja rucole
Sichen Piru ja Syndi weti heita
Etta he cumarsit ja uskoit neita

Cooluden Hautyn Rooka wietin
joissa walitin, parghutin ja
idketin
Meeningejset mös heiden
ufrins sait
Coscka Lesckit hoolit ja nait
Palweltin mös palio muta
Kiwet Kannot, Tähdet ja Cuta,
etc.

Der Carelen Götter waren diese:
Rongotheus, bescherete
Roggen,
Pellonpecko, Gersten,
Wierankannos, Haber,
Egres, Erbsen, Bohnen, Rüben,
Kohl und Hanff
Köndus, gab Glück zu den
Rödungen.

Ucko, und sein Weib Rauni
hatten über das Wetter zu
gebieten, und als
die Frühlings-Saat sollte
geseet werden, haben sie uhm
zu Ehren getrunken, da sich
dann Weiber und Mägde mit
voll gesoffen und unterdessen
viel schändliche Dinge
verübet.
Käkri, mehrete den Zuwachs
des Viehes.
Hysi, gab Gedeyen die wilden
Thiere zu fangen.
Weden Ema (das ist Mutter des
Wassers) bescherete Fische,
Nyrko, Eichhörnen und
Hittawanen, Hasen.

Zu der Todten Gräbern, haben
sie Speise gebracht, und
daselbst geweinet
und geschrien. Was sie alda
opfferten das genossen die
Männingen.
Im übrigen haben sie auch
Steine, Bäume, den Mond und
Sterne etc.
angebetet.

The gods of Karelia were the
following:
Rongotheus, who provided rye,
Pellonpecko, barley
Wierankannos, oats,
Egres, peas, beans, turnips,
cabbage and hemp.
Köndus, who blessed the
farmlands.

Ucko, and his wife Rauni, held
sway over the weather, and
when it was time to sow the
spring seed, they drank to his
honour, and in the process
were joined by their drunken
wives and maidens and they
committed many shameful
things.
Käkri, who increased the
growth of cattle.
Hysi, who ensured success in
the capture of wild beasts.
Weden Ema (that is to say, the
mother of water) provided fish,
Nyrko, squirrels and
Hittawanen, rabbits.

They brought food to the
graves of the dead, and also
shed tears and cried out loud.
That which they brought in
sacrifice was eaten by the
Männingese.
They also worshipped stones,
trees, the moon, and stars, etc.

Hiärne was sufficiently familiar with the superstitious practices of the local peasants to refrain from attempting an exact correlation with Estonian deities, but repeated that some features indicate both Estonians and Latvians had a specific god for every area of activities. He supposed that Käkre on Agricola's list had an Estonian counterpart in Metziko (in modern Estonian Metsik ('Fierce'), whose cult was widespread in Western Estonia,[40] while the Finnish Tontus was allegedly no other than Estonian Pertmes or Kouken,[41] who kept the granary well stocked by stealing grain from the neighbours. The Karelian Ucko, according to Hiärne, was the 'Old Father' (Ger. 'Alt Vater'), whose counterparts were the Tavastian Turisas and the Swedish Auku, Thor. Hiärne believed that Estonians omitted the first letter of the name Ucko, and said 'Kou', as the Finnish expression 'Ucko jürisep' corresponded to the Estonians' 'Kou mürisep' (Ger. 'Alt Vater donnert', 'Old Father thunders').[42] Moreover, Hiärne adds an explanation to the account of Saaremaa (Ger. Ösel): men calling out 'Thorapita!' to their gods in old Livonian chronicles (i.e. the *Chronicle* of Henry of Livonia) from the early thirteenth century.[43] Hiärne believed this was a call for Thor's help, which in Estonian or Finnish would sound 'Thor avita' or 'auta' ('Thor, help!').[44]

All nineteenth-century speculations about Estonian celestial deities, such as Vanaisa ('Old Father'), or Taara and Uku, proceed from this comment made by Hiärne on Agricola's list.[45] Kristian Jaak Peterson was helpful in shaping them into suitable raw material for pseudo-mythology. In his translation of Christfrid Ganander's *Mythologia Fennica* from Swedish into

40   Västrik, 'Kombest valmistada'.

41   The meaning of 'Pertmes' remains unclear; Kouken derives from the word *kõuk*, i.e. distant forefather, which is probably a Baltic loanword (Lithuanian *kaukas*, Latvian *kauks*, Estonian *majavaim*). Estonian folklore also knows another stealer of neighbours wealth, *kratt* (also known as, for example, *puuk*, *pisuhänd*, *tulihänd*, *vedaja*).

42   [Hiärne], *Thomas Hiärns*, pp. 39-40. Heinrich Göseken (1612-1681), a pastor and early modern scholar of Estonian language and folk customs, suggested using *isa* (*Issa*) and *taat* (*Taat*, Ger. *Vater*, Latin *pater*, 'father') as the equivalents of *kõu* (*Kouw*, the 'Thunder'); and *isaisa* (*Issa-Issa*, Ger. *Gros-Vatter* [*Grossvater*], 'grandfather') as the equivalent of *vana kõu* (*wanna kouw*, the 'old thunder'). See Göseken, *Manuductio ad Linguam*, p. 420; cf. Kingisepp *et al.*, *Heinrich Gösekeni*, p. 449.

43   In the *Chronicle* of Henry of Livonia, this god of the Saaremaa men (*Tharapita*, *Tarapitha*, *Tharaphita*) is mentioned on five occasions. *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, p. 175 (XXIV.5), p. 218 (XXX.4), p. 220 (XXX.5), p. 221 (XXX.5), p. 222 (XXX.6).

44   [Hiärne], *Thomas Hiärns*, pp. 40-1. Hiärne's interpretation was in turn adopted by Christian Kelch, thanks to whose chronicle the idea gained a wider circulation. See Kelch, *Liefländische Historia*, p. 26.

45   Viires, 'Taara avita!'; Masing, *Eesti usund*, pp. 42-9; Kulmar, 'Taevasest üliolendist'.

German, he did virtually the same thing as Hiärne had accomplished almost one and a half centuries earlier: he transferred the list of Finnish gods into an Estonian context, considering the possibility of analogy. Peterson added local information to the article on the god Ukko in Ganander's lexicon. He makes no reference to Hiärne, but reiterates the recognizable fact that *Kouk* or *Kouke* means thunder, and is the name for the Estonians' ancient thunder god. Peterson added that, when hearing the thunder roll, Estonians say 'Wanna issa wäljas, wanna issa hüab' ('Old Father out there, Old Father calling').[46] Via Hiärne and Peterson, the theonym Vanaisa (Ger. 'Altvater, der Alte') as well as Taraphita and Thor, transformed to Tara or Taara, found their way into Faehlmann's treatises and literary folktales, the latter he claimed to have heard directly from the people in Virumaa and Järvamaa (Ger. Wierland and Jerwen).[47] Here, it is important to stress the link between Agricola's list and Peterson by way of Hiärne's comments, as the nineteenth-century authors took Peterson's insertions, sprung from the same source, as authentic records.

Garlieb Helwig Merkel: A Romantic Compilation

One of the first to make use of Thomas Hiärne's chronicle, published in 1794, was the Livonian literary scholar Garlieb Helwig Merkel (1769-1850), known for his Enlightenment ideas and radical social criticism.[48] Merkel's best-known work is *Die Letten* ('The Latvians') (1796),[49] which denounces slavery and the injustice of the social Estates. He can also be seen as an innovator in the discourse of historical writing in the Baltic countries, since, influenced by the ideas of Romanticism and above all by Herder, he spoke of the cyclical course of history. The idea of the inevitable alternation of prosperity and decline did not merely reverse the respective pasts of the indigenous Baltic peoples and the German colonizers, but gave Latvians and Estonians hope that their golden age might recur some time in the future.[50] The influence of Herder's ideas is undeniable in Merkel's general understanding about peoples and folklore,

46   [Peterson], *Christfrid Ganander*, pp. 16-17.
47   For an edition with commentary on Faehlmann's literary folktales, as well as his treatises on Estonian language and ancient religion, see Faehlmann, *Teosed 1*.
48   Heeg, *Garlieb Merkel*; Drews, *'Ich werde'*.
49   Merkel, *Die Letten*.
50   For Merkel's interpretation of history, see: Undusk, '"Wechsel und Wiederkehr"'; von Wilpert, *Deutschbaltische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 120-3.

further inspired by James Macpherson's poems of Ossian, a work greatly admired all over Europe, which later turned out to be a falsification.[51]

Merkel's work *Die Vorzeit Lieflands* ('The prehistory of Livonia', published in 1798-1799 in Jelgava (Ger. Mitau) was far from a pedantic or factual account of historical events. His descriptions of ancient religion, characteristic traits, and customs, all standard components in eighteenth-century historical writing, were also painted with the broad strokes of an unrestrained hand. Merkel did not just borrow the names of deities from Hiärne's chronicle, but used a similar method of analogy when describing the ancient religion of the Estonians: 'The Estonians, whose ancient history is the actual subject of these pages, differ so little from other peoples of the same [Finnish] descent in their customs and religion that the description of the latter in most respects is also a description of the former. It should thus not be considered an overstatement if I continue referring to the Finns in general'.[52]

Merkel's understanding of Estonians was also shaped by the eighteenth century's augmented knowledge about the Nordic and Finno-Ugrian peoples, especially the respective works of Schlözer and Herder. August Ludwig von Schlözer (1735-1809), professor at Göttingen University, described the Finns as a large interrelated people, including the Lapps, the Finns (in a narrower sense), the Estonians, the Livs, the Zyrians (Komis), the Permians, the Voguls (Mansis), the Votyaks (Udmurts), the Cheremis (Mari), the Mordvins, the Konda Ostyaks (Khanty), and the Hungarians. To elucidate the history of the Nordic peoples, Schlözer introduced the term 'indigenous people' (*Stammvolk*), which he illustrated with the case of the Estonians: the most ancient people known to have lived in the Estonian territory. Germans and Russians are not the indigenous inhabitants of Estonia, nor are Germanic peoples indigenous to Scandinavia, which was earlier populated by Finns all the way down to Småland.[53] Proceeding from Schlözer, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) wrote about the Finnish peoples: 'They were not warriors like the Germans, as even today, after long centuries of oppression, all the Lapp, Finnish, and Estonian folktales

51   For the Romanticist treatment of folklore, see: Feldman and Richardson, *The Rise*; Greineder, *From the Past*; Gaskill, *The Reception*.

52   'Die Esthen, deren Vorzeit diese Blätter eigentlich gewidet sind, unterscheiden sich so wenig in Sitten und Religion von den übrigen Völckerschaften ihres Stammes, daß ein Gemälde derselben, den Hauptzügen nach, auch das ihrige ist. Man wird es also nicht für überflüßig halten, wenn ich fortfahre, von den Finnen im Allgemein zu sprechen', Merkel, *Die Vorzeit Lieflands*, pp. 216-7.

53   Schlözer, *Allgemeine Nordische*, pp. 263-4, 301-6. See also Stipa, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachforschung*, pp. 197-8.

and songs show them to be a "gentle" (*sanftes*) people'. This is why the Lapps have been forced up to the vicinity of the North Pole, while the Finns, the Ingrians, the Estonians, etc. have been enslaved, and the Livs are almost extinct. The fate of those peoples on the coasts of the Baltic Sea, Herder wrote, 'is a sad (*trauriges*) page in the history of mankind'.[54]

Merkel had closer contacts with Herder in 1797 in Germany, where he continued his studies and prepared the work *Die Vorzeit Lieflands*. Following Herder's example, he presented Estonians and Livs as a great, ancient, peace-loving Finnish nation that once ruled the region stretching from the Norwegian mountains to the Urals, and from the North Sea to the Caspian Sea, but which was then driven apart by foreign conquests and turns of history.[55] Merkel was not familiar with Ganander's *Mythologia Fennica*, and as he failed to obtain any other direct records about the Finns, he compiled the mythology of that ancient nation mainly on the basis of chronicles, Scandinavian sagas, Nordic authors (Olaus Magnus, Olaus Rudbeck, and others) and literature published about the Lapps.

Combining the Lapp mythology with Estonian, i.e. the general Finnish mythology, Merkel principally used the same method as Ganander when the latter integrated accounts of the Lapp gods into his lexicon of Finnish mythology. Probably owing to the use of the same original sources, the hierarchical structure[56] of Merkel's pantheon had similarities to the classification Ganander introduced in the preface to his own work.[57] Merkel's treatment of the subject is certainly fanciful, but rather superficial and eclectic, and his theography therefore rather removed from actual mythology. Nevertheless, in his attempts to apply the methods of contemporary scholarship and to proceed from linguistic affinity, Merkel made the first attempt to provide a more comprehensive picture of Estonian mythology. As one of the pioneers, he has earned a place in the prehistory of Estonian folkloristics.[58]

In his compilation, Merkel also included the Tavastian and Karelian gods he discovered in Hiärne's chronicle, i.e. deities from Agricola's list. According to Merkel, Jummala or Thor, the chief god of the Finnish

54   Herder, *Ideen zur Geschichte*, pp. 20-4.

55   Merkel, *Die Vorzeit Lieflands*, pp. 209-16.

56   Merkel's main source for the Lapp mythology was [Leem *et al.*], *Knud Leems Beskrivelse*. The hierarchy of Lapp gods and the names of their most important deities are based on Jessen-Schardeböll's dissertation that is included in Leem's work, pp. 8-14.

57   Ganander, *Mythologia fennica*, p. [XIV]. Ganander's main source for the Lapp mythology was a manuscript by the Danish missionary Lennart Sidenius (1702-1763).

58   Merkel's stirring impact on the romanticizing of the ancient Estonians is briefly mentioned in Annist, 'Muinsusromantika', pp. 84-6.

peoples, had four kinds of subjects. Among them, he included Rahkis, Rachku or Kuu, living on the Moon, whose counterpart in Agricola's list is Rachkoi. Among minor guardian spirits in the retinue of the Lappish Maderatja and Maderakka, deities in charge of the growth and prospering of all living matter, he included Tapio, the god of hunting from Agricola's list, and the fishing god Achti; Licki, the guardian of plants and trees, as well as Käkre, the tutelary spirit of borders, who among Estonians bore the name of Metziko. To the guardian spirits, Merkel added the hostile ones, or Capeen (Agricola's Capeet), who devoured the moon and brought darkness, and also 'Söhne Cavela's' (the German for Cavela's [*sic*] sons, Agricola's Caleuanpoiat), who kindly helped people to make hay in the fields.[59] Although Merkel never refers to Hiärne, there remains little doubt that he had discovered all the above deities in Hiärne's chronicle. Merkel did not know Finnish, and therefore has obviously used Hiärne's German summary of Agricola's list, duplicating also the mistake in Hiärne's translation: 'des Cavela Söhne'. In Hiärne's Finnish transcript, the giants who later lent their name to the Estonian national epic are listed as 'Calewan pojat'.[60]

The most intriguing god in Merkel's compilation is Wainamöinen, 'the Finnish Orpheus'. Merkel treated Wainamöinen separately from other gods, associating him with the Estonians' great love of song, for which he found proof in the account of Estonian warriors spellbound by music during the siege of Beverin, provided by the *Chronicle* of Henry of Livonia.[61] Merkel also utilized a note by Saxo Grammaticus on the Scandinavian hero Störkoder (Starkader), a great singer who himself versified his heroic deeds for the benefit of future generations, having been born in Estonia.[62] Väinämöinen, the central character of Finnish mythology, was first mentioned in Agricola's list, but in a slightly different form: 'Äinemöinen'.[63] In Hiärne's transcript and translation, we can see the name set down as 'Ainemoinen'. Therefore Merkel had access to some additional source that allowed him to write about Wainamöinen's zither having such a

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59   Merkel, *Die Vorzeit Lieflands*, pp. 240-2.

60   [Hiärne], *Thomas Hiärns*, p. 59. The mistake occurs in the original manuscripts of the chronicle.

61   Cf. the representation of the besieging of the fort of Beverin in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, pp. 63-4 (XII.6). Kreutzwald has used the same motif, probably borrowed from Merkel, in his ballad, where he compares the zither player with both a god of peace and Orpheus. K. Friedhold [F.R. Kreutzwald], 'Die Belagerung', column 529. For the significance of this motif for the interpretations of Latvian popular culture, see the chapter by Māra Grudule.

62   Merkel, *Die Vorzeit Lieflands*, I, pp. 226-7.

63   For more details, see Haavio, *Väinämöinen*.

captivating sound that even bears came out of the forest and listened to it, leaning on a nearby fence.[64] The exact source of this information is unknown. Bears enjoying the sound of Väinämöinen's zither were first mentioned in 1766 by Gabriel Haberfelt, a student in Turku, also the first to compare the Finnish god of song to Orpheus. The folk song whose content Haberfelt renders in Latin was published by Christian Erici Lencqvist in 1782 in a thesis, *De Superstitione veterum Fennorum theoretica et practica*. In a *runo* poem about Väinämöinen playing the zither there is a verse: 'Karhukin aidalle kawahti' ('even the bear leant on a fence').[65]

Thus Merkel borrowed a total of eight deities – of these, Väinämöinen was probably not a direct loan – from Agricola's list via Hiärne's chronicle for his description of Estonian-Finnish mythology. Merkel's compilation felt so alien and artificial that later authors usually discarded it in its entirety. And yet the image of Väinämöinen published in Merkel's book (Figure 14.2) was to have great further significance. Merkel wished to use his illustration also for the purpose of demonstrating Estonian folk dress, and therefore apologized to the reader for the anachronism, probably referring to the ancient god of song being clad in modern peasant attire. The image was etched in Weimar by the artist Conrad Westermayr, who proceeded from two ethnographical drawings: the Estonian farm house from the work of August Wilhelm Hupel (1777), and the image of three Estonian peasants from Pärnu (Ger. Pernau) County in a book by Johann Ludwig Börger (1778).[66] Those borrowed motives have been placed on the background of a romantically rocky Finnish landscape lit by the glow of the rising sun, and the bears are indeed listening to Väinämöinen's zither as in the Finnish *runo*. The first visual image of Väinämöinen was born – depicting him as an Estonian peasant.[67] It is probable that the image had an impact also on Kristian Jaak Peterson, who complemented Ganander's examples of the *runo* and description of Väinämöinen with a remark: 'This god was probably also known among Estonians. As some Estonian songs are conceivably similar to the Finnish songs in the text above. Still the god who is the substance of the songs has almost completely disappeared from those [Estonian songs], or we may find a singing peasant in his place'.[68] And Merkel's book was

64   Merkel, *Die Vorzeit Lieflands*, pp. 227-8.

65   Haavio, *Väinämöinen*, pp. 16-22.

66   Hupel, *Topographische Nachrichten*, ill. no. 1 (Carl Magnus von Lilienfeld, *Ehstnische Kleidung*); Börger, *Versuch über die Alterthümer*, ill. no. [2] (G.C. Schmidt, *Die Tracht der Ehsten so wie sie im Pernauischen Kreise gebräuchlich ist*).

67   Põldvee, 'Vanemuise sünd', pp. 17-18; cf. Väisänen, 'Väinämöisen kantele', pp. 210-11.

68   [Peterson], *Christfrid Ganander*, p. 26.

probably one of the sources that inspired Friedrich Robert Faehlmann fifty years later to write folk tales about Vanemuine (Faehlmann's Wannemunne, Wannemuine, Wainemoinen), the Estonian god of song, although no such deity was known to authentic Estonian folk tradition.

Figure 14.2   Conrad Westermayr, *Wainamöinen – Finnish Orpheus*

Waina – Möinen, Orpheus der Finnen.
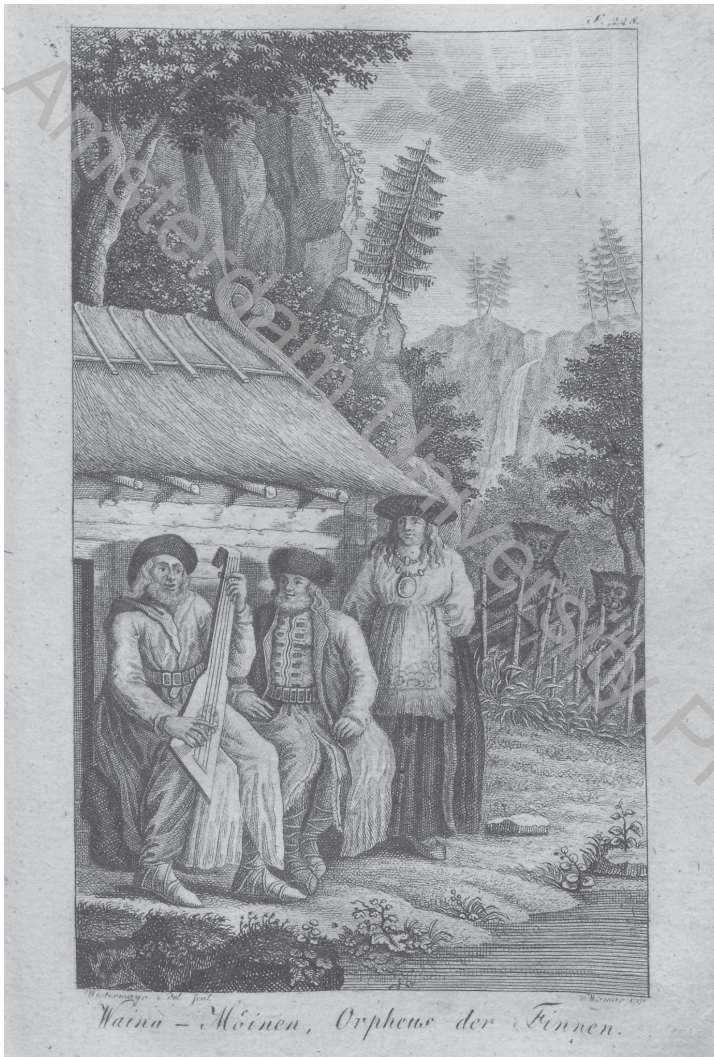
From: Garlieb Merkel, *Die Vorzeit Lieflands. Ein Denkmahl des Pfaffen- und Rittergeistes*, I
(Berlin: Voss, 1798)
Photo National Library of Estonia

Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald: Early Notes by the Epic's Creator

Agricola's list was also echoed in one of the early articles on Estonian mythology by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803-1882), published in the Baltic German magazine *Das Inland*.[69] Kreutzwald had been inspired by the second edition of Hiärne's chronicle, published in 1835,[70] the reason he too erroneously mentions 'Sigfrid Aron's Finnish rhymes' (i.e. Sigfrid Aronus Forsius, see above) as the original source. In those rhymes, Kreutzwald discovered some minor deities, whom he thought were also familiar to Estonians by name: 1. Cratti, the god of wealth and riches; 2. The household god Tontu, Estonian *tont*; 3. The weather god Ukko, whose worship in Estonia was confirmed by reports about the *Uku-vakk* (the 'Uku bushel') from Alutaguse (Ger. Allentacken), which Kreutzwald associated with offerings brought to Uku. He also associated the Estonian customs of the Annunciation, a 'popular celebration for women', e.g. drinking of the so-called *maarjapuna* ('Mary's red', red drinks consumed by women on Annunciation day), with accounts of the spring Bacchanals held in honour of Ukko and his wife Ranni; 4. Nyrckeo, the god of squirrels, whose Estonian counterpart, according to Kreutzwald, was the 'weasel', *nirk* in Estonian; in Wierland, it was forbidden to kill weasels, who were important for the fertility of horses.[71]

Kreutzwald's article was written in winter 1838, about the same time as the Learned Estonian Society (Gelehrte Estnische Gesellschaft) was founded in Tartu and Faehlmann read out his first mythological literary folktales at the society's meeting. Next year, Kreutzwald also joined the Learned Estonian Society, and after the clarion call of Georg Julius von Schultz-Bertram, the idea of an Estonian epic started to take root. Newly arrived from Finland, Schultz-Bertram declared at the society's meeting in October 1839,[72] 'Let us give the people an epic and a history of their own, and we have won a major victory!' It is significant that when Kreutzwald was writing the article, he obviously failed to recognize 'Calewan pojat' and the song maker 'Ainemoinen' (Hiärne's spelling) from Agricola's list as figures from folk tales he had heard from the people, and whose Estonian counterparts he was later to use as characters in his epic *Kalevipoeg* – Kalevipoeg and Vanemuine. About the latter, as mentioned above, no authentic folklore tradition was to be found,

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69   Fr[iedrich Reinhold] Kr[eutzwald], 'Beitrag zur Mythologie'.

70   [Hiärne], *Thomae Hiärn's*.

71   Fr[iedrich Reinhold] Kr[eutzwald], 'Beitrag zur Mythologie', columns 132-3.

72   According to Schultz-Bertram's vision, the epic about the son of Kalleva was born out of an amalgamation of pan-Finnish myths. See Annist, *Friedrich Reinhold*, pp. 421-33.

whereas folktales about Kalevipoeg were widespread all over Estonia,[73] and had already been described for the first time in the magazine *Das Inland* in 1836.[74] It is possible, though, that Kreutzwald, just like Merkel, disregarded Hiärne's Finnish version of the list, proceeded from the German translation, and was therefore misled by the inaccurate spelling ('des Cavela Söhne').

In his later work, Kreutzwald has not used Agricola's list as a source. Nevertheless, the war god Turisas[75] on Agricola's list came via other sources included among his mythological characters, and some time in the middle of the nineteenth century Kreutzwald tried to turn him into Turris, one of the four main gods worshipped by Estonians,[76] to whom feasts around the autumnal equinox had allegedly been dedicated.[77] Verses about Turris could still be found in the manuscript of the so-called preliminary *Kalevipoeg* (1853) in the story of Kalevipoeg losing his sword (VII Song, 401), but the war god imported from Finnish mythology was omitted from the final version. Thus Turris failed to gain any more permanent foothold in Estonian mythology.[78]

In the scholarly activities of the Learned Estonian Society and especially in the determined literary myth-making of Faehlmann and Kreutzwald, the design of the Estonian pantheon reached a new stage. The *Kalevala* (1835) served as the greatest source of inspiration, even if – at least initially – mostly by the mere fact of its existence, as knowledge of the Finnish epic in Estonia remained superficial.[79] If earlier attempts at describing Estonian mythology operated on the basis of analogies and, proceeding from the Finnish records, tried to discover similar deities in Estonian tradition, Faehlmann argued that

73 Annist, *Friedrich Reinhold*, pp. 315-23.

74 [Schüdlöffel], 'Káallew's Sohn'.

75 *Turris* did not make its way to Estonian pseudo-mythology directly from Agricola's list, but through Johannes Schefferus's *Lapponia* that was mediated by Johann Wolfgang Boecler in the late seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century, Turris was again brought into the spotlight by K.J. Peterson and Alexander Heinrich Neus. From their works, this prototype of the Estonian warrior god was taken up by Kreutzwald. For more on this, see Põldvee, '"Lihtsate eestlaste"', p. 209; Põldvee, 'Vanemuise sünd', pp. 22-6.

76 Kreutzwald constructed this polytheistic system in contrast to Faehlmann's monotheist treatment of Estonian mythology. According to the contemporary scholarly understanding of mythology, the people living in the Northern climate zones were supposed to celebrate four main religious feasts – one in each season – which were dedicated to the honour of their four main gods.

77 Kreutzwald, 'Ueber den Character'.

78 For more details, see Põldvee, 'Vanemuise sünd', pp. 22-6.

79 At that time, the main source of knowledge about the *Kalevala* was Holmberg, '*Kalevala*'. The Society obtained a copy of the *Kalevala* in 1839, but even in 1934, its pages were not cut. Kreutzwald familiarized himself more closely with the *Kalevala* only in 1853 with the help of the German translation.

Estonians had, unlike the Finns, prior to the arrival of Christianity reached the stage of monotheism (the cult of Taara). Therefore, ancient Estonians must have had 'a different religion' than the one described by Ganander and in the *Kalevala*.[80] Characters in Faehlmann's literary folktales, such as Wannemuine, Lämmeküne, Wibboane, etc, are presented as authentic; Faehlmann even asked Gabriel Rein, professor of history at Helsinki University, for assistance in comparing Estonian and Finnish theologies (*Götterlehre*).[81] Eventually, neither Faehlmann nor Kreutzwald succeeded in fully eliminating all Finnish implications from the nascent Estonian pseudo-mythology, but after the epic *Kalevipoeg*, the Estonian pantheon can still be treated as an independent cultural phenomenon and source for the shaping of Estonian identity.

The merging of Finnish deities mentioned in Agricola's list with Estonian pseudo-mythology is not limited to the examples brought out in the text. Later examples consist of nineteenth-century or early-twentieth-century loans from Ganander or Peterson, the *Kalevala*, or other indirect sources and popularizing treatments of the matter. These developments remain beyond the scope of this article, but deserve further research and a fresh approach.

Conclusions

Agricola's list (1551) is the cornerstone of Finnish mythology and folkloristics, and has had an impact also on the development of Estonian pseudo-mythology, whose earlier strata of evolution have so far not received the attention they deserve. To date, the evolution of Estonian mythology and the pantheon has been depicted as a nineteenth-century phenomenon starting with Kristian Jaak Peterson's German version of Christfrid Ganander's *Mythologia Fennica*, continuing with the literary folktales of Friedrich Robert Faehlmann, and becoming fully fledged in Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald's epic *Kalevipoeg*. This development, usually presented in three stages, in fact has a prehistory dating back to the late seventeenth century – to Thomas Hiärne's chronicle *Esth-, Liv- und Lettländische Geschichte* written in the mid-1670s. Into his chronicle, Hiärne copied a major part of Agricola's verses, using a transcript he ascribed to Sigfrid Aronus [Forsius]. Hiärne believed that transplanting Finnish deities into Estonian history was justified owing to the affinity of the two languages, which also allowed for the suggestion

80   Fählmann, 'Wie war der heidnische'. Cf. Metste, 'Von K.J. Peterson'.
81   F.R. Faehlmann to Gabriel Rein, 30 November 1846 (The Estonian Literary Museum, Estonian Cultural History Archives [Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, Eesti Kultuurilooline Arhiiv]).

of similarities in mythology. Hiärne was sufficiently familiar with Estonian circumstances to avoid indiscriminate transplantation of Finnish gods, and confined himself to comments which later served as a source for such Estonian theonyms as Vanaisa, Taara, and Uku.

Hiärne's chronicle remained in manuscript stage for a long time, and we can but imagine the inspiring impact Agricola would have had on the devising of Estonian mythology and the pantheon if Hiärne's work was published in the seventeenth century instead of 1794. The Estonian pantheon might have evolved into something quite different and had a considerably greater overlap with the Finnish. At the end of Swedish rule in Estonia, the work of Tartu University was interrupted (1710), and Estonian culture never saw the birth of phenomena represented in Finland by the early Fennophile Daniel Juslenius (1676-1752) or Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739-1804), the founder of Finnish folkloristics – both professors at the Academy of Turku..

To some extent, the gap was filled by the Livonian literary scholar Garlieb Helwig Merkel who, in his work *Die Vorzeit Lieflands* (1798), made the first attempt to provide a more comprehensive picture of the Estonians' ancient religion. In his rather undiscerning compilation, Merkel merged the Tavastian and Karelian deities from Agricola's list and copied into Hiärne's chronicle, with information from old chronicles and Scandinavians sagas, as well as records of Lappish mythology. In his description of the pan-Finnish pantheon, Merkel used analogies based on linguistic affinity similar to Hiärne's, backing them up with the description of Finno-Ugrian peoples provided by Johann Gottfried Herder (1792). Merkel's entire concept of nations and folklore, propelled by Romantic ideals of freedom, bore a strong flavour of Herder. His impressive portrayal of the ancient Finnish golden age should hence be treated not only as a source for the shaping of Estonian identity, but also as a harbinger of the Finno-Ugric movement. Merkel's pantheon, structured according to the hierarchies of the Lappish example (Ganander too had proceeded from a similar hierarchy), was far from adequate for the purposes of Estonian folk religion, and was therefore discarded as a curiosity. Nevertheless, the designers of Estonian mythology were impressed by the song god Wainamöinen, deemed by Merkel 'the Finnish Orpheus', whose visual image – clad as an Estonian peasant – was presented for the first time in Merkel's book.

Therefore, the existing outline of the evolution of Estonian (pseudo-) mythology, focusing so far on the nineteenth century, should be complemented with a prehistory, which via Merkel and Hiärne dates back almost to the late Middle Ages and Agricola's list. Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, the future author of the national epic the *Kalevipoeg*, also used Hiärne's chronicle in an attempt to find connecting links between the Finnish

deities mentioned in Agricola's list and the Estonians' beliefs. More remote echoes of Agricola's list, derived from Ganander or the Finnish *Kalevala*, are abundant in Estonian pseudo-mythology and deserve further research.

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