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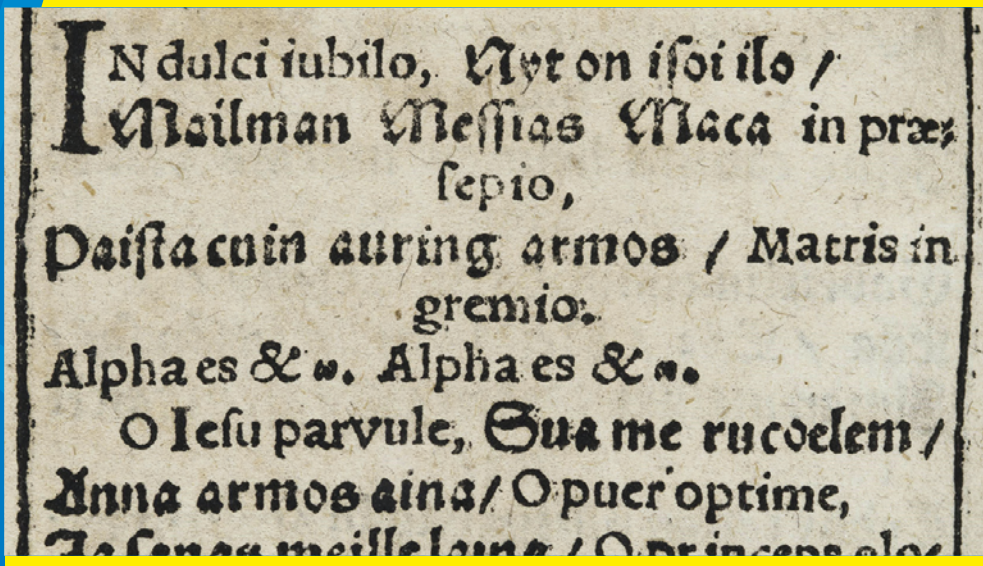
NETWORKS, POETICS AND MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY IN THE EARLY MODERN BALTIC SEA REGION

Edited by Kati Kallio, Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, Anu Lahtinen, and Ilkka Leskelä



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Networks, Poetics and Multilingual Society in the Early Modern Baltic Sea Region

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 133

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Preface

The early modern Baltic Sea region was covered by established networks of commerce, learning and political power. Although the region as a whole was never under one political power, nor was it linguistically unified, it was tightly knit together by multilingual communication. The religious, cultural, political and social changes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cannot be separated from the deep communicative changes that took place at the time. Starting from the 1540s, print culture spread into the Baltics and Scandinavia. At the same time, the Reformation introduced the idea of creating a written language for various vernaculars, such as Estonian, Finnish, Sami, Latvian and Lithuanian.

Conventionally, the early modern Baltic Sea region has been analysed from the standpoint of national histories and separate disciplines, each with its own source types and research questions. The present volume crosses the boundaries of modern nations and scholarly traditions by concentrating on sources at the intersection of different social networks and registers of expression. The eleven chapters bring together thirteen authors examining book history, letters and correspondence, vernacular poetics and the interfaces of oral and literary cultures in a set of studies covering the Baltic Sea region from early modern Livonia to the Swedish realm, especially present-day Estonia and Finland but reaching to Sweden, northern Germany, Latvia, Karelia, Lapland and even North American Swedish colonies.

The very first drafts of most of the chapters were presented at the conference 'Networks, Poetics and Multilingual Society in the Early Modern Baltic Sea Region' on 30–31 August 2018, where a range of historians, folklorists, literary scholars and linguists gathered to discuss the Reformation, book culture, letters, poems and manuscripts and the personal networks affecting these. We are grateful to the authors and other participants of the conference, who opened up new insights on the entanglements of elite and folk, ecclesiastical and secular and oral and literary cultures.

The current volume was edited as part of the project 'Letters and Songs: Registers of Beliefs and Expressions in the Early Modern North' led by Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and the postdoctoral project of Kati Kallio, both hosted by the Finnish Literature Society (SKS, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura) and funded by the Research Council of Finland 2015–2020. The project 'Letters and Songs' – researchers Eeva-Liisa Bastman, Kati Kallio, Anu Lahtinen, Ilkka Leskelä, and Ulla Koskinen – investigated cultural processes in the post-Reformation Baltic Sea region by analysing sociocultural networks and

changes in registers of expression, renewing the understanding of the relationships between institutions of power and faith vis-á-vis local communities and belief systems. The core approach was the collaborative use of methods across the fields of cultural, social and economic history, folklore studies and ethnomusicology and literary studies. The scholars benefited from the use of diverse early modern source materials, such as collections of correspondence, early books and other prints, manuscripts, hymns and sermons in Finnish, Swedish, Estonian, German and Latin. The focus of the research was on the areas of modern Finland and Estonia although Sweden and other Baltic Sea regions were in various case studies and comparisons. The cultural nexus of elite and folk, ecclesiastical and secular and oral and literary cultures was analysed in a set of books and articles.[1]

1 E.g. Kati Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset. Suullinen ja kirjallinen kulttuuri uuden ajan alun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), https://doi.org./10.21435/skst.1427, see especially the English Summary, pp. 591–608. See also Chapter 1 in this volume.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful for numerous persons and institutions for supporting the production of this book. In particular, we want to express our gratitude to the anonymous reviewer of the book, whose valuable comments helped to improve the manuscript. We are indebted to Dr Clive Tolley for his patient work in editing the language of the book, to research assistant M. A. Lari Ahokas ('Letters and Songs', SKS) for carrying out the technical editing of most of the articles and to Barnaby Cullen for editing the USTC numbers. Liisi Kasuk drew three maps for the volume. Research assistant Pihla Pekonen (University of Helsinki, Faculty of Arts, Anu Lahtinen) prepared the index for the book. The book was supported by the Research Council of Finland projects no 288119, 308381 and 346342, and the Finnish Literature Society and the University of Helsinki have supported the work in various ways.

Over the years, encounters with the collaborative network of the project 'Letters and Songs', part of which has participated in the present volume as the authors, have been overwhelmingly supportive, which we are grateful for. We thank the authors for their brilliant work and pleasant collaboration. We are very grateful to Brill for accepting this book into the series *Library of the Written Word*. The chief editor of the series, Prof. Andrew Pettegree, kindly encouraged us to propose this volume in the series. In particular, we want to thank him, chief editor Dr. Arthur der Weduwen and associate editors Ivo Romein and Francis Knikker for support along the process.

A Note on Terms and Names

Both personal and place names in the Baltic region vary in different sources, times and linguistic contexts. National historiographies have often favoured 'nationalised' names, which cannot be found in the early modern sources. Moreover, the sources themselves do not suggest any uniform standards, and it was possible for people to choose the form of their names according to the context of writing (Örjan Pedersson in Swedish becomes Georgius Petri in Latin). We have chosen modern place names to help readers identify them on the modern maps of the Baltic Sea region (Turku, Vyborg, Tallinn, Tartu, Gdansk, etc.). Historically, many of the region's towns and provinces appeared in the written sources first with their Swedish or German names, sometimes Latinised, and not with Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, or Lithuanian ones. Personal names are mostly given in the literary (often Latin, sometimes Swedish or German) form found in the written sources (Michael Agricola, Theodoricus Rwtha, Olaus Sirma). Kings and rulers are referred to mostly in contemporary Swedish form (Gustav Vasa, Johan III, Sigismund III, Duke Karl or Karl IX, Gustav II Adolf).

Ecclesiastical and secular terminology is often as tricky an issue as the names. Clergymen were called 'priest' long after the Reformation, and the local languages do not make a confessional distinction even now, Finnish pappi and Swedish präst being the same for Catholics, Lutherans and Reformed or Russian Orthodox. We use the terms 'priest' (in general for clergymen) or clergyman, 'vicar' and 'pastor' (*kyrkoherde* in Swedish, *kirkkoherra* in Finnish), 'dean' (*domprostor, prost* in Swedish, *tuomiorovasti, rovasti* in Finnish) and so forth. The 'peasants' in the Swedish context (*talonpoika* in Finnish, *bonde* in Swedish) denote freeholding farmers, whereas the 'peasants' in Estonia and Livonia often had the status of serfs. 'Noble' does not make a distinction between various decrees of nobility, whether high aristocracy (*riddare* in Swedish), landed gentry or a person exempted from taxes for providing a horseman for the king's service (*frälseman* in Swedish).

Abbreviations

BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France (National Library of France)
DF	*Diplomatarium Fennicum*
EEVA	*Eesti vanema kirjanduse digitaalne tekstikogu* (*Digital Text Repository for Older Estonian Literature*)
EKLA	Eesti Kultuurilooline arhiiv (Estonian Cultural History Archives)
EKM	Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum (Estonian Literary Museum)
EKS	Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi arhiiv (Estonian Literary Society Archives)
EMLO	*Early Modern Letters Online*
ESUKA	*Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri* (*Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics*, JEF)
EWOD	*Estonian Writers Online Dictionary*
HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
JEF	*Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* (*Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri*, ESUKA)
KA Joensuu	Kansallisarkisto, Joensuu (National Archives of Finland, collections in Joensuu)
KA Kansallisarkisto	National Archives of Finland
KB Kungliga Biblioteket	National Library of Sweden
Kotus	Kotimaisten kielten keskus (Institute for the Languages of Finland)
MHA	Maanmittaushallitus (National Board of Survey, Finland)
KA Mikkeli	Kansallisarkisto, Mikkeli (National Archives of Finland, collections in Mikkeli)
LVVA	Latvijas valsts vēstures arhīvs (Latvian State Historical Archives)
RA	Rahvusarhiiv (National Archives of Estonia)
SKS KRA, SP	Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran arkisto, Helsinki, Perinteen ja nykykulttuurin kokoelma, Samuli ja Jenny Paulaharjun käsikirjoituskokoelma (Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, Archive Materials on Traditional and Contemporary Culture, the manuscript collection of Samuli and Jenny Paulaharju)
SKVR	*Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot,* various editors (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1908–97).

SLUB	Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (Saxon State and University Library Dresden)
UHLCS	University of Helsinki Language Corpus Server
USTC	*Universal Short Title Catalogue*, see https://www.ustc.ac.uk/
UUB	Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek (Uppsala University Library)
UåUB	Umeå Universitetsbiblioteket (Umeå University Library)
WA	Weimar Ausgabe (*Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe*)

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PART 1

Translations and Transmissions of Texts and Music

∴

CHAPTER 1

Written Word and Social Networks in the Multilingual Early Modern Baltic Sea Region

Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, Kati Kallio and Anu Lahtinen

The early modern Baltic Sea region saw an emergence of new literary vernaculars, vernacular print cultures and new forms of oral and literary expression. The process was strongly affected by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation but also connected to the strengthening hold of the emerging early modern states on provinces close to and far from the administrative centres. Social and communicative networks enabled the creation of new vernacular literary cultures although the traces left of the workings of these networks are often only sporadic. How to map and analyse the wealth of influences and interactions that had once spread across Northern Europe? This book offers eleven analytical reflections on this topic.[1]

Early modern print culture, new literary vernaculars, letters, manuscripts and songs emerge in mutual interplay, embedded in complex social and communicative networks, of which only a part are documented in written sources. In some fortunate situations, parts of these networks may be traced: some portion of a larger correspondence has been preserved, a hitherto unknown literary work is discovered in an unexpected archival volume or a court case reveals some aspects of a social setting enabling or hindering the printing or reception of a literary work. Researchers may set already-known sources into wider transnational perspectives or conduct new comparative analyses, even by digital means, adding new possibilities to understand the social settings in which the texts were created.

Concentrating on the social networks and the interplay of poetics in multilingual historical contexts, the eleven case studies of this volume open up views on the northern and eastern shores of the early modern Baltic Sea region, where the status of vernacular languages, definitions of proper faith

1 This chapter was written with the support of the projects no. 288119, 308381 and 346342 granted by the Research Council of Finland. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen has written most parts on orality, literacy and book history, Lehtonen and Anu Lahtinen on the history of the Baltic Sea region and Kati Kallio on poetics and Uralic languages, and the ones referring to the other chapters of the book.

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and both the religious control of and requirements for literacy for lay people were in motion. The chapters build on – and transcend – long national and discipline-specific research traditions in literary, linguistic and cultural history, book history, hymnology, codicology and folklore studies.

We focus on communicative changes and socio-cultural developments at the time when the Scandinavian territorial monarchies consolidated, and Sweden slowly turned into a leading power dominating the Baltic Sea. Across Northern Europe, the Reformation and the following confessional and political turmoil altered the religious institutions, literary practices and linguistic hierarchies.[2] It also led to several Baltic and Finno-Ugric languages transforming from purely oral to literary ones and to an emergence of new literary genres with both local and transnational characteristics, relating in varying ways to pre-existing oral resources and traditions.

The processes of vernacular cultures transforming into more literary ones with the birth of the literary language and book culture – and the increasing role of written language in everyday life – may be called *literarisation* or *vernacularisation*.[3] These processes were not similar for all the languages but depended greatly on the cultural and political situations and positions of their speakers in local and areal hierarchies. Consequently, the spheres of the uses of languages and the socio-cultural possibilities available to their speakers were not identical. In addition, the existing oral poetic resources and their relationships to literary poetics in other languages varied. Thus, the cases presented in this book necessitate both local and transnational contextualisation.

Much of the older historical and literary research was interested in the formation of territorial states, leading to modern national states or building up national culture and literary vernaculars. The focus was often on the languages and forms of expression that were dominant and canonised in each modern national state searching for its history. As a result, the analyses were often monolingual, genre-specific or nationally motivated. Even if similar

2 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3. ed. (Farnham Burlington: Ashgate, 2009); Otfried Czaika and Heinrich Holze (eds.), *Migration und Kulturtransfer im Ostseeraum während der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stockholm: Kungliga Biblioteket, 2012); Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Robert Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London and Ronceverte: Hambledon, 1987).

3 E.g. Alexander Beecroft, *An Ecology of World Literature from Antiquity to the Present Day* (London and New York: Verso, 2015); Lea Laitinen and Kati Mikkola, *Kynällä kyntäjät: kansan kirjallistuminen 1800-luvun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2013); Sheldon I. Pollock, 'Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History', *Public Culture* 12/3 (2000), pp. 591–625.

MAP 1.1 The Baltic Sea region. Map: Liisi Kasuk

developments – with certain variations – were common to all of the Baltic Sea region, the local interfaces of oral and literary cultures and the creation of new vernacular literary spheres were, until recently, rarely studied as a part of wider transnational processes.[4]

In recent years, however, researchers have turned to analysing even specific cases in broader transnational and multidisciplinary settings. This has led, in different collaborative settings, to examinations of the entanglements of texts, music and visual arts and of oral and literary, local and transnational poetics from medieval to the early modern period in the Latin, Low-German, Swedish, Finnish, Estonian and Latvian languages, all this also laying the foundation for the present volume.[5] The interdisciplinary interest in phenomena transgressing social, regional and linguistic boundaries also characterises other recent endeavours on the Reformation, literary vernaculars, book culture, early modern song cultures and social networks.[6] At the local level, the Nordic literarisation, book production and lay education from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century have been at the centre of interesting new research.[7]

4 On the origins of transnational analysis and critique of methodological nationalism, see e.g. Patricia Clavin, 'Time, Manner, Place: Writing Modern European History in Global, Transnational and International Contexts', *European History Quarterly* 40/4 (2010), pp. 624–40; Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, 'Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences', *Global Networks* 2/4 (2002), pp. 301–34.

5 Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-Forming Texts, Music and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016); Lars Boje Mortensen and Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, with Alexandra Bergholm (eds.) *The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds. Non-Canonical Chapters of the History of Nordic Medieval Literature* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2013); Kati Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset. Suullinen ja kirjallinen kulttuuri uuden ajan alun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), https://doi.org/10.21435/skst.1427.

6 E.g. Dieuwke van der Poel etc., *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Charlotte Appel and Morten Fink-Jensen (eds.), *Religious Reading in the Lutheran North: Studies in Early Modern Scandinavian Book Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011); Matthias Asche, etc., *Die Baltischen Lande Im Zeitalter Der Reformation Und Konfessionalisierung: Livland, Estland, Ösel, Ingermanland, Kurland Und Lettgallen: Stadt, Land Und Konfession 1500–1721* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2009–2011); Thomas Deneire, *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular: Language and Poetics, Translation and Transfer* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Anu Mänd, and Marek Tamm (eds.) *Making Livonia: Actors and Networks in the Medieval and Early Modern Baltic Sea Region* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020); Kristiina Ross and Pēteris Vanags, *Common Roots of the Latvian and Estonian Literary Languages* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008).

7 E.g. Tuija Laine and Cecilia af Forselles (eds.), *Kirjakulttuuri kaupungissa 1700-luvulla* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2008); Cecilia af Forselles and Tuija Laine (eds.), *The Emergence of Finnish Book and Reading Culture in the 1700s* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011); Tuomas Heikkilä (ed.), *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010); Sari Katajala-Peltomaa etc. (eds.),

The aim of this chapter is to give the reader a closer view on the political turmoil, multilingual networks, creation of vernacular literary languages and interactions of oral and literary cultures during the two centuries after the Reformation in the Baltic Sea region. We introduce the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century political and religious turns in Scandinavia, Finland and Livonia and then discuss the developments of different socio-linguistic settings in the multilingual societies of the area, the beginnings of the print culture and folk education and changes in vernacular poetics. The chapter closes with a view on the social and literary networks in the background of these phenomena.

1 Political and Religious Upheavals

The late medieval and early modern Baltic Sea trade routes reaching from one coast to another and further inland connected the people living in the area. These were dominated by the German Hansa and later by the Dutch merchants, whose mercantile *lingua franca* was Low German. Other transregional connections were created by the medieval Catholic Church, which, until the first half of the sixteenth century, offered connections and communications in its universal language of Latin throughout the region except for the most eastern Russian Orthodox regions of the area. The Reformation around the Baltic Sea both made use of and changed these networks, affected local political transformations and altered the use and status of local vernaculars. Due to the processual and locally varying character of these changes, it has become common to talk about 'the long Reformation' and even Reformations in plural.[8]

The Reformation had an effect on many aspects of social and personal life. The religious performances and rituals changed, and many older traditions were judged idolatrous or superstitious. Gradually, the worship of saints, processions, some ceremonies and pilgrimages were officially abolished, although we have plenty of evidence that many practices were carried on by laymen and sometimes even by Lutheran clergy. Congregational singing was known

Suomalaisten pyhiinvaellukset keskiajalla: kun maailma aukeni (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2014); Laitinen, *Kynällä kyntäjät*; Ann-Catrine Edlund etc. (eds.), *Vernacular Literacies: Past, Present and Future* (Umeå: Umeå University and the Royal Skyttean Society, 2014); Dennis Howard Green, *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800–1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

8 See e.g. Peter G. Wallace, *The Long European Reformation* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); in Estonia, see Aivar Põldvee, 'Die langsame Reformation: Luthertum, Schrifttum und die estnischen Bauern im 16.–17. Jahrhundert', *Nordost-Archiv*, XXII (2014), pp. 56–88.

in the medieval Church, but its ample use in services and overall centrality for Lutherans was something new. The requirements for lay participation and teaching the common folk increased. Church interiors were restructured to fit with the new theology and liturgy even though many old sculptures and mural paintings survived for many centuries; except for some unique events in Tallinn, there were no wide iconoclastic movements in the Baltic Sea area.[9]

In many German towns on the southern shore of Baltic Sea, the Reformation was an urban popular movement. By contrast, in Sweden and Denmark, it was strongly a princely lead project although far from a linear or simple one. As early as the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Sture regents of Sweden had increased the influence of temporal power on the sees and property of the Church, ending up in conflict with the papacy.[10] The late medieval Nordic Union, or so-called Kalmar Union, dissolved when Denmark (including present Norway) and Sweden (including present Finland) broke apart in 1523. Both kingdoms soon took the Lutheran creed, Sweden in 1527 and Denmark in 1536. On the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea, the Reformation, favoured by burghers, led to a crisis of the Livonian state of the Teutonic Order. Livonia (comprising large parts of present Baltic countries) and northern Estonia became a longstanding battleground for Poland, Sweden and Russia. At the same time, the traditional commercial domination of the German Hansa and its main hub, Lübeck, were challenged by Dutch merchants entering into the Baltics, and, for a while, Danzig became the leading city in the region.[11]

In Scandinavia, Gustav Vasa (r. 1523–1560) led the Swedish rebellion against Danish domination and established a hereditary monarchy for the first time in Swedish history. He managed to consolidate his territorial reign in Sweden and Finland. In 1527, the Västerås Diet introduced the Lutheran Reformation, although Gustav Vasa's son, Erik XIV (r. 1560–1568), flirted with a sort of Reformed Calvinism, and Johan III (r. 1568–1592) was influenced by the Irenic theology of Flemish Georg Cassander (1513–1566). Johans's inclination towards Catholic liturgical forms and ceremonies was strengthened by his marriage to

9 Martin Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet. Uppror och reformation i Sverige 1525–1544* (Skellefteå: Artos, 2010); Pettegree, *Reformation*, pp. 1–9, 40–54, 211–17; Ulinka Rublack, *Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2011), pp. 157–73 and *passim*; see also Lehtonen and Kaljundi, *Re-Forming Texts*, pp. 1–40 and *passim*; Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*.

10 Jason Lavery, *Reforming Finland: The Diocese of Turku in the Age of Gustav Vasa 1523–1560* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 33–4, 42–4.

11 David Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period. The Baltic World 1492–1772* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), pp. 49–135; Jason Lavery, *The History of Finland* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2006), pp. 31–42; Michael North, *The Baltic. A History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016), pp. 87–144.

Polish-Lithuanian Catholic Princess Catherine Jagiello (1526–1583) even though Johan never abandoned the Lutheran faith. Their son, Sigismund Vasa, was raised Catholic and became both a Polish-Lithuanian (1587–1632) and Swedish (1593–1599) king. To be able to reach the Swedish crown, Sigismund had to accept the confessional declaration made at the Uppsala Diet in 1593, which confirmed the Lutheran church in Sweden. He soon entered into a bloody conflict with his uncle, Duke Karl, the youngest son of Gustav Vasa. Sigismund was deposed in 1599, and Karl, a stern Lutheran with strong Calvinistic leanings, reached the throne and reigned as Swedish king from 1604 to 1611.[12] In Chapter 9 of this volume, Ulla Koskinen and Anu Lahtinen further discuss the struggles of Lutheran, Catholic and even Calvinistic orientations in Sweden.

Gustav II Adolf (r. 1611–1632) followed his father Karl to throne. With crucial support from his chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, who practically governed Sweden after the king's death through the minority of his daughter, Queen Kristina (r. 1632/1644–1654), Gustav Adolf was able to construct a strong bureaucratic state. He also continued his father's work in building up a strong, uniform and strictly confessional Lutheran orthodoxy in Sweden. Sweden became a superpower in the Baltic Sea region and momentarily even at the European level. Yet, in the background loomed a constant fear of the Catholic Counter-Reformation and the challenge of the eldest branch of the Vasa dynasty reigning over the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[13]

Swedish involvement in the Thirty Year's War and the following conflicts with Poland and Denmark throughout the seventeenth century were a continuation of these religious and dynastic developments. They went hand in hand with building an absolutist, religiously and politically unified Lutheran state. Sixteenth-century Sweden proceeded towards a hereditary monarchy and the formation of absolutist state, renouncing the hegemony of Denmark. The area of present-day Finland was considered an established part of the Swedish realm although the linguistic differences were acknowledged. In northern Scandinavia, the area of the Sami people, with several Sami languages, was taxed but was only vaguely divided between Norway, Sweden and Russia. The increasing economic interests led to various administrative, ecclesiastical and educational

12 Petri Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta. Ruotsi ja Suomi 1521–1809* (Helsinki: WSOY, 2008), pp. 103–21; Kirby, *Northern Europe*, pp. 48 ff. and *passim*; Lavery, *Reforming Finland*, pp. 194–200, Raisa Maria Toivo, *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 6–8.

13 Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta*, pp. 121–38; Kirby, *Northern Europe*, pp. 123–35; North, *The Baltic*, pp. 117–29.

MAP 1.2 Swedish seventeenth-century provinces and annexations. The borders of Lapland in Northern Scandinavia were not yet strictly defined. Map: Liisi Kasuk

initiatives concerning the Sami and the northern areas, also encouraging new Finnish- and Swedish-speaking settlers to move into the area.[14]

In the Baltic region, the weakening of the small states in Old Livonia (the area of present-day Estonia and northern Latvia, namely the State of the Livonian Order, the Archbishopric of Riga, the bishoprics of Dorpat [Tartu], Ösel-Wiek and Courland) turned the region into a battleground between Sweden, Poland and Russia, with some Danish involvement. The rulers of Muscovy had attempted to expand the Russian territories westward by the late sixteenth century, and a conflict was inevitable in the Baltic Sea region, especially as the established powers in Old Livonia lost their position. The personal union of Poland and Lithuania dating from the Middle Ages created a powerful state in 1569. Between 1561 and 1621, southern Estonia was ruled by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, while the Dorpat (Tartu) bishopric was occupied by the Russians from 1561 to 1582. The Swedish kingdom gained a bridgehead in Estonia in 1561 and in the seventeenth century even reached the southern part of Estonia, the city of Riga and large parts of present-day Latvian territory, while the Duchy of Courland remained subjected to Poland-Lithuania. There were recurring wars especially on Baltic soil, and the Russian, Swedish, Danish and Polish troops invaded and devastated Old Livonia from 1558 to the 1660s. For Sweden, the seventeenth century marked the Age of Greatness, and the Truce of Altmark in 1629 consolidated the Swedish hegemony over mainland Estonia. In the following years, Sweden also annexed several areas in northern Germany. Swedish control over the east coast of the Baltic Sea lasted until the early eighteenth century, when the Great Northern War 1700–1721 marked the end of Swedish rule in Estonia, and Russia took over the whole region together with Ingria, Karelia and large parts of Eastern Finland.[15]

Along with the political turns, ecclesiastical and scholarly ties were also on the move. During the Middle Ages, Scandinavian students mostly went university in towns such as Paris, Prague, Leipzig and Bologna. After the founding of universities in northern Germany in Wittenberg, Rostock, Frankfurt an der Oder and others, more students started to go there. During the first half of the sixteenth century, these universities quickly transformed into Lutheran institutions. The Reformation ideology travelled to Scandinavia with ecclesiastical

14 Lavery, *History of Finland*, pp. 35–42; Lars Ivar Hansen and Bjørnar Olsen, *Hunters in Transition: An Outline of Early Sámi History* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2013), https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004252554, pp. 229–311.

15 Kirby, *Northern Europe*, pp. 66–74, 107–22, 293–322; North, *The Baltic*, pp. 69–73, 88–97, 117–22, 145–51.

students frequenting them, whereas in Livonia, the burghers were the first and most active proponents of the new faith – the Livonian economic, cultural and ecclesiastical elite was German speaking and continued to be so even after the collapse of the Teutonic Order and the weakening of the Hanseatic League. The seventeenth century saw the establishment of many new Swedish universities in Tartu (Dorpat in German) in 1632, Turku (Åbo in Swedish) in 1640 and Lund in 1666.[16]

The period of the mid-sixteenth century was thus characterised by the Reformation process and changes in power relations and the seventeenth century by the consolidation of the Swedish hegemony over the northern Baltic Sea region, also meaning the consolidation of the absolutist Lutheran state. The change was from local rule towards the centralised early modern state and from local religious practices towards the strict control of religious habits typical of the seventeenth century. This process also entailed an interest in consolidating the administration in the contested Sami areas and in attempts to create colonies in America and Africa. All these political, ecclesiastical and educational phenomena affected how the vernacular languages and new hymn poetics were created and propagated; how the vernacular ecclesiastical books were translated, compiled and printed; and how the new literary languages, hymns and books were received by different local populations.

2 Multilingual Societies

The area around the early modern Baltic Sea was heterogeneous but at the same time united by similar strains of cultural, religious and political practices and, at the latest from the medieval period on, tightly knit by multilingual communication. The medieval Roman Church and its universal language, Latin, reigned over most of the shores of the Baltic Sea, and the Russian Orthodox Church was present in the eastern regions, using Church Slavonic as its liturgical language. Low German was used as a mercantile *lingua franca,* while polities were governed in High German in Livonia and Prussia, Low German in Hanseatic coastal towns and in Swedish and Danish in Sweden and Denmark. Along the Reformation and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the clergymen of the area developed Estonian, Finnish, Latvian, Lithuanian

16 Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, pp. 591–608 and *passim*; Lehtonen and Kaljundi, *Re-forming Texts*, *passim*; Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria 1. Medeltiden, Reformationstiden* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1997), pp. 119–25; Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria II. Stormaktstiden* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1997), pp. 47–55.

and Sami literary languages, which were mostly used for religious and educational purposes. In the early modern Baltic Sea region, the societies were multilingual, and the creation of vernacular literary languages and book cultures was a long and uneven process.[17]

Although the Reformation and advent of print transformed the production and circulation of texts and ideas, leading quickly to new vernacular literary cultures, it must be kept in mind that Latin remained the universal scholarly language. This is elegantly shown in the literary works and wide correspondence of German-speaking Livonian-Polish humanist David Hilchen from Riga, analysed by Kristi Viiding in Chapter 5 of this volume. The Reformation did not root out Latin songs, either: they were still used in various contexts where the learned listeners understood the language. The collection of medieval Latin songs *Piae Cantiones* (1583), discussed in Chapter 2, was printed and kept in use in Reformed Sweden, also appearing in vernacular translations during the centuries after the Reformation. It is a fine example of the complex and sometimes discordant processes of transferring medieval heritage, at the time understood as both transnational and locally remarkable albeit open to disputes and in evident need of selecting and reworking to suit to the new Lutheran doctrine. In translations, some of these songs ended up in Finnish and Swedish Lutheran hymnals, and in Latin, they remained in scholarly use up until the nineteenth century. In Lutheran Scandinavia, the Divine Service was persistently called Mass during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Not only early modern elites but also local uneducated people appreciated Latin songs and medieval rituals and manners. Evidently, not all the parishioners preferred new hymns and Service in their own language over the familiar Catholic Mass and other rituals in Latin.[18]

Further, the appearance of printed books did not end the need for manuscripts. For example, the first Finnish Hymnal (1583), by Jacobus Finno, went quickly out of print, leading not only to various manuscript versions of the book but also to adding Finno's Finnish text translations to the musical manuscripts otherwise in Swedish or Latin. As the Finnish prints usually included no musical notations, the melodies for Lutheran hymns circulated in oral practice and ecclesiastical manuscripts.[19] In Chapter 3 of this volume, Sanna Raninen

17 Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, pp. 591–608 and *passim*; Lehtonen and Kaljundi, *Re-forming Texts*; Kristiina Ross, and Pēteris Vanags, *Common Roots*.

18 Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*; on Latin poetry, see Kristi Viiding, *Die Dichtung neulateinischer Propemptika an der Academia Gustaviana* (*Dorpatensis*) *in den Jahren 1632–1656*, Diss. (Tartu: University of Tartu, 2002).

19 P. J. I. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet v:een 1640* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1929); Jorma Hannikainen and Erkki Tuppurainen, 'Vernacular

discusses the changing but persistent positions of Latin songs and parts in the Mass and the continuity of musical manuscript tradition in Sweden. In some cases, the musical manuscripts were compiled by several persons, in this case in Swedish and Latin, and functioned as sorts of autograph books.

What was understood as a language varied. Michael Agricola, Lutheran bishop and developer of the Finnish literary language, called languages what contemporary scholars take as dialects, while in other contexts even a very wide set of related languages was understood as one mutually understandable vernacular. In multicultural settings, people often had some command of several languages, and for tradesmen, officials and priests, some degree of understanding of the spectre of local languages was prerequisite for success although not always met.[20] Tuija Laine shows in Chapter 6 how this ambivalence in defining and understanding languages meant that Swedish officials sometimes expected people to understand related languages to a much greater degree than what they were able to, assuming, for example, that a standard literary Finnish would pass for Karelians and Ingrians or that one standard Sami language would pass for the whole wide spectrum of different Sami languages. The first Lenape language catechism in the North American colony of New Sweden in Delaware was named with the broad label *Indian Cathechism*, including the Small Catechism by Luther in 'American' (meaning Lenape) and Swedish.

The Scandinavian kingdoms were adapted to the Christian faith by the local elites during the Middle Ages. In Finland and Livonia, the archaeological and linguistic evidence tells of the early local adoption of Christian practices, but the official conversion to Western Christianity was caused by German (in Livonia) and Swedish (in Finland) conquest and colonisation. In Livonia, this took the form of crusades acknowledged by the Pope and subsequent violent colonisation by the Teutonic Order. In Finland, the sources are vague, and contemporary research suspects the volume and character of the campaigns called crusades were exaggerated in later medieval ecclesiastical sources. There were previous ties between the Swedish and Finnish areas, and

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Gregorian Chant and Lutheran Hymn-singing in Reformation-era Finland', in Lehtonen, and Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts*, pp. 157–77; Sanna Raninen, 'Make Do and Mend: Reworking Liturgical Parchment Manuscripts in Post-Reformation Sweden', in Giovanni Varelli (ed.), *Disiecta Membra Musicae* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), pp. 185–203.

20 Laakso, Johanna, 'The Language of the People, or a Language for the People? On the Literarisation of the Vernaculars in Finland and Estonia', in *Anfangsgeschichten: Der Beginn volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit in komparatistischer Perspektive. Origin Stories: The Rise of Vernacular Literacy in a Comparative Perspective* (Leiden: Wilhelm Fink, 2018), https://doi.org/10.30965/9783846763469_010, pp. 199–218; Kaisa Häkkinen, *Spreading the Written Word. Mikael Agricola and the Birth of Literary Finnish* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2015).

Christianised Finland was not treated as colonised land but as an integral part of the kingdom.[21]

Thus, Finland constituted a part of the Swedish state formation from medieval times on as the most eastern diocese of the realm. There were Finnish speaking nobility and clergy during the Middle Ages and Reformation period, and both Swedish and Finnish peasants were freeholders, also having their representation in the Swedish Diet. Yet, there seems to have been a common understanding that the Swedes had Christianised the land. Although the eastern diocese had a similar position to other dioceses of the kingdom, the interest in antiquities mostly focused on the tangible monuments in the Swedish mainland and not on the Finnish let alone Sami prehistorical relics.[22] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the status of the Finnish language decreased, but it was still used by the common folk. Evidently, most of the sixteenth century clergymen involved in the development of literary Finnish spoke the language as a maternal one or as a strong secondary language acquired in childhood.[23] As Suvi-Päivi Koski shows in Chapter 4 in this volume, there were also vocal expectations – here expressed in the dedication to the Catechism – that even the king of Sweden should have some command of the Finnish language.

The situation for Sami was different. There were several Sami languages, not all mutually understandable without practice. Sami belongs to the same Finno-Ugric and Uralic language family as Finnic languages (such as Finnish, Estonian and Karelian), but the Finnic and Sami languages are quite distant.

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21 See e.g. Marko Lamberg, 'Perceptions of Finns and Ethnic Boundaries in Sweden during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era', *NORDEUROPAforum: Zeitschrift für Kulturstudien* 1 (2004), pp. 3–23; Tuuli Heinonen, 'Conflict or Cooperation? The Relationship between Finnish Iron Age Settlers and Medieval Swedish Colonists in Nyland (Fi. Uusimaa), Southern Finland', *SKAS* 1 (2020), pp. 2–21; Tuomas Heikkilä, 'An Imaginary Saint for an Imagined Community: St Henry and the Creation of Christian Identity in Finland, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries', in W. Jezierski and L. Hermanson (eds.), *Imagined Communities on the Baltic Rim* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 223–52, https://doi.org/10.1017/9789048528998.009; Lehtonen and Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts*, pp. 26–7.

22 Tuuli Heinonen, *The Social and Material World of Medieval and Early Modern (c.1200–1650) Villages in Southern Finland* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2021), http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-51-7293-8; Annamari Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden tuntemus 1500–1700-lukujen kirjallisuudessa* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1956); Johanna Widenberg, *Fäderneslandets antikviteter: etnoterritoriella historiebruk och integrationssträvanden i den svenska statsmaktens antikvariska verksamhet ca 1600–1720* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2006); Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta*.

23 Laakso, 'The Language of the People'; Häkkinen, *Spreading the Written Word*; see also Chapter 12.

The Sami were called Lapps by outsiders, but this nomination stood for livelihood rather than ethnicity or language: in early modern official records, Lapps were those who relied on hunting, fishing or herding reindeers and did not settle down to cultivate land. Today, the term Lapp is considered a racial slur. The ethnonym Sami (often used in the forms Sámi or Saami) takes varying forms in different Sami languages, such as *saemie*, *säämi*, and *sáme*.[24]

Not a great deal is known about the practical relations of the Sami with Scandinavian people before the Reformation. In the prehistoric period, Sami speakers evidently (based on Sami-derived toponyms and language history) spread as far as Southern Finland. In pre-medieval and medieval sources, the Sami are typically called Finns or 'skiing Finns' (*skridfinnar*). They were taxed, sometimes by several states, as the state borders in the North were not strictly defined until the eighteenth century.[25] The rhetoric during and after the Reformation emphasised the uneducated, half-pagan condition of the whole rural population but especially so in remote areas such as Lapland. All around the kingdom, Lutheran priests and officials were harsh on all the practices they considered pagan or *popish* (meaning the 'wrong kind' of medieval Christian or syncretistic practices).[26] In many places, the common people, such as Finns, Ingrians or even Sami, actually understood themselves to be good Christians even though considered pagan or half-pagan by the authorities. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Sami were actually actively asking for priests and churches from the Crown.[27] Evidently, the Sami did not have the same possibility to take part in the process of state formation as the Finns. As the interest of the Crown in the northern areas increased after the Reformation, they also had little say when the Finns and Swedes settled in

24 Hansen and Olsen, *Hunters in Transition*; Pekka Sammallahti, *The Saami Languages. An Introduction* (Kárášjohka: Davvi Girji, 1998); see also Chapter 7.

25 Hansen and Olsen, *Hunters in Transition*; Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En vetenskaplig antologi. Band 1* (Skellefteå: Artos and Norma, 2016).

26 Toivo, *Faith and Magic*; Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns and Devil's Music: Michael Agricola (c.1507–57) and Jacobus Finno (c.1540–88) on Church Song and Folk Beliefs', in Lehtonen and Kaljundi, *Re-forming Texts*, pp. 179–216.

27 For Ingrians, see Ergo-Hart Västrik, *Vadjalaste ja isurite usundi kirjeldamine keskajast 20. sajandi esimese pooleni. Alliktekstid, representatsioonid ja tõlgendused* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2007), http://hdl.handle.net/10062/3458; for Finns, see Toivo, *Faith and Magic*; Kati Kallio etc., *Uuden ajan alun loitsut* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, forthcoming); for Sami, see Lindmark and Sundström *De historiska relationerna*; Jonas M. Nordin, 'Sámi in Early Modern Stockholm in the Light of European Colonial Expansion. A Historical Archaeological Approach', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 22 (2018), pp. 663–85, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-017-0430-5.

those parts of their areas where farming or mining was possible. In contrast with the Finns, it is common to talk about the processes involving the Sami in Lapland as explicit colonisation.[28]

The situation is different still for Livonia, where sources tell of violent Christianisation and colonisation by the Teutonic Order and of stronger linguistic and social stratification, albeit the definitions and relationships of the *Deutsch* and *Undeutsch*, or 'German' and 'non-German', across the centuries are still discussed. The peasants became serfs, and the higher strata of society were dominated by the German-speaking elite. The local Finnic (North and South Estonian, Livonian) and Baltic (such as Lithuanian, Latvian, Curonian, Old Prussian) languages remained oral peasant languages up till the Reformation, and many languages and dialects became assimilated before ever being developed into literary languages. During the early modern period, the linguistic separation mostly corresponded with the social although to what exact degree continues to be debated.[29] In any case, it is evident that the early modern Estonian clergymen did not speak Estonian as their mother tongue. Kristiina Ross analyses in Chapter 12 how this affected the literary language, poetics and books they produced. However, Aivar Põldvee shows in Chapter 8 that at least some local late-sixteenth-century parish schoolmasters, while not clergymen, were native speakers of Estonian. Although they were not directly involved in book production or the creation of literary language, one of them, Käsu Hans, used the literary language both in letters and in poetry.

Throughout history, the area of contemporary Estonia has been divided in several different ways and been part of many different state formations. Due to its linguistic history, the dialects in northern and southern Estonia differ to the

28 Hansen and Bjørnar Olsen, *Hunters in Transition*; Carl-Gösta Ojala and Jonas Monié Nordin, 'Mapping Land and People in the North: Early Modern Colonial Expansion, Exploitation, and Knowledge', *Scandinavian Studies* 91/1–2 (2019), pp. 98–133, https://doi.org/10.5406/scanstud.91.1-2.0098; Marte Spangen etc., 'Sámi Histories, Colonialism, and Finland', *Arctic Anthropology* 52/2 (2015), pp. 22–36.

29 See e.g. Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 70–1; Mänd and Tamm, *Making Livonia*; Kirby, *Northern Europe*; Janis Kreslins, 'Linguistic Landscapes in the Baltic', *Scandinavian Journal of History* 28/3–4 (2010), pp. 165–74, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03468750310003659; Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1973); Wilhelm Lenz, 'Undeutsch. Bemerkungen zu einem besonderen Begriff der baltischen Geschichte', in ed. Bernhart Jähnig and Klaus Militzer (eds.), *Aus der Geschichte Alt-Livlands. Festschfrift für Heinz von zur Mühlen zum 90. Geburtstag* (Münster: Lit, 2004), pp. 169–84; Anti Selart, 'Non-German Literacy in Medieval Livonia', in Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska (eds.), *Uses of the Written Word in Medieval Towns: Medieval Urban Literacy*, vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 37–63; Lehtonen and Kaljundi, *Re-forming Texts*.

point that it is possible to talk about two relative languages, not just dialects. Throughout the Reformation, separate literary languages were developed on the basis of both linguistic forms; contemporary standard Estonian is based on northern dialects. The similar social and political developments and the process of creating the religious oral and literary languages under German influence also gave similar features to Estonian and Latvian languages although these two belong to different linguistic families, Finnic and Indo-European, respectively.[30]

In the early modern kingdom of Sweden, the linguistic populations were understood in different ways in regard to the age and quality of their Christian faith and in relationship to the Swedish realm.[31] Yet, the strategies for teaching the proper faith were rather similar for different parts of the population, independent of whether the area in question had been part of the kingdom for centuries or just acquired, whether the population spoke Finno-Ugric or native American languages and whether they confessed Lutheran, Russian Orthodox or indigenous faith. The most essential issue was to translate the Small Catechism (or some equivalent to it, at least a catechetical primer) and basic parts of the Service and, as soon as possible, some hymns. In the Swedish and Finnish languages, which were used in the age-old dioceses of the kingdom, all this happened during the sixteenth century. The seventeenth century produced catechisms for both the Sami in northern Scandinavia and for the newly acquired areas of Ingria, Karelia and Estonia and even for the North American colony of New Sweden in Delaware. What was common to all these processes was not only the understanding of the importance of vernacular teaching and religious literature but also the way the missionary work, religious vernacular education and book culture went hand in hand with economical and administrative interests. In the present volume, Tuija Laine analyses the Ingrian, Karelian, Sami and Lenape catechisms, and Taarna Valtonen and Kati Kallio examine the life of Olaus Sirma, who translated an unpublished Kemi Sami catechism. Aivar Põldvee explores the entanglements of Estonian language letters and the network of German and Swedish clergymen creating Estonian book culture, Kristiina Ross investigates the creation of Estonian hymn poetics and Eeva-Liisa Bastman and Kallio analyse the use of Finnish oral poetics in creating a vernacular Christian educational epic.

30 Mänd and Tamm, *Making Livonia*; Kristiina Ross and Pēteris Vanags, *Common Roots*; Karl Pajusalu, 'The Reforming of the Southern Finnic Language Area,' *The Quasquicentennial of the Finno-Ugrian Society* 258 (2009): 95–107.

31 Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden*; Widenberg, *Fäderneslandets antikviteter.*

Comparing the results of the analysis in these chapters, it becomes evident that the processes of creating the basic literary preconditions for Lutheran teaching were highly dependent on the interests of particular rulers and officials, and the capacities of individual clergymen, but also closely dependent on the educational condition and social positions available for the vernacular or indigenous people. There had been clergymen already in medieval Sweden speaking Finnish as a maternal or strong second language but, even after the Reformation, only second-language-speaking clergymen of the Estonian language, similar to the situation in Latvia. In Lapland, the lack of Sami-speaking clergymen was evident, and as to the Lutheran Church, it was slow to get an appropriate understanding of the considerable differences between the nine Sami languages. In newly conquered Ingria, Russian Orthodox priests were supposed to teach Finnish catechism, printed in Cyrillic script, to the indigenous Izhorian and Votic inhabitants, whose languages belong to the same Finnic language family as Finnish, and no Izhorian or Votic books or psalms were produced. All around the kingdom, ecclesiastical and linguistic teaching was part of a political and economic takeover, but it took different forms depending on the status and history of the area and people in question.

3 Vernacular Literary Works and Popular Education

There is no single reason for the breakthrough of the Reformation, there were religious, political and economic elements, but it is evident that the print culture and the changes it produced constituted one of the major forces.[32] Together with the ideology of teaching the basics of the faith (with catechisms, prayerbooks and hymnals) and holding services (with handbooks, hymnals and bibles) in the language of the people, this led to new literary languages and first books in many vernaculars. Print culture reached the northern and eastern shores of the Baltic Sea more or less simultaneously with the rise of territorial monarchies, the Reformation and the appearance of new written vernaculars. The first printed books intended for use in Sweden and Finland had been produced by the fifteenth century, but the first book printer arrived in Sweden in 1526.[33]

32 Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 2. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 164–208; see also Burke, *Languages and Communities*; Pettegree, *Reformation*, 132–134; Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

33 Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria 1*, 229.

Already in the early 1520s, Lutheran preachers were active in the Estonian towns of Tartu and Tallinn, and the Reformation was supported by the influential Brotherhood of Blackheads. Larger Livonian towns soon embraced Lutheranism, while the nobility and the Livonian Order preferred to remain Catholic. In Sweden, the decisive year was 1527, when King Gustav received the approval of the Västerås Diet (*riksdag*) for his ecclesiastical policies that he had been following since 1521. Many similar meetings, such as the meeting of the Danish estates in Odense in 1527, took place in the late 1520s, consolidating the Reformation process that had been gaining momentum since the year 1517. The process in Sweden turned out to be consequential for the Livonian area as well: from the mid-sixteenth century onwards much of the area was under Swedish control and thus followed the Lutheran Reformation.[34]

The following decades saw the abolition of monastic communities, the confiscation of the possessions of the Church by the Swedish Crown and step-by-step changes in liturgical praxis and popular education. In the Nordic and Baltic areas, there were many attempts to produce vernacular catechisms – both actual published books and attempts that did not lead to publications – and translations of the Bible or the New Testament. It took almost a century before the Lutheran forms of faith were consolidated in the area, and even then, we know mostly about the religious thoughts of the privileged: rural lay people seem to have kept to their old habits for a longer time. Scholars have put emphasis on the fact that the Reformation was a long process of redefining and renegotiating religious practices and institutions.[35]

The Reformation was thus the central motivation for the development of literary vernaculars. The first vernacular books in the northern Baltic Sea region were ecclesiastical books produced by the clergy for conducting vernacular Divine Services and basic catechetical teaching, including bibles (or at least parts thereof), Mass books, hymnals, prayer books and catechisms, often with commentaries or lengthy prefaces. Although the Bible especially was tightly defined by the original texts and theological tradition, other books were often new interpretations. German versions, especially by Martin Luther, served as models, but the books were often made not as direct translations but personal compilations from various ecclesiastical sources adapted to local needs and theological views. During the sixteenth century, these books were mostly used

34 Lavery, *Reforming Finland*, pp. 64–5.

35 Magnus Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia. Katolskt liv i Sverige från Gustav Vasa till drottning Kristina* (Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1997). For criticism, see Lavery, *Reforming Finland*, pp. 3–4. See also Raisa Maria Toivo, *Faith and Magic*, pp. 6–8; Lavery, *Reforming Finland*, pp. 194–200; Raisa Maria Toivo, 'Reformaatiohistorian ajankohtaisia haasteita', *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 1/2017 (115), pp. 101–6; Kallio, *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, pp. 127–322.

by the clergy: although one aim of the Reformation was to teach people to read the Bible themselves, this was a very slow project. In Chapter 10 of the present volume, Miia Kuha discusses the Christian teaching in the remote Finnish area of Savolax, where the folk literacy started to increase very slowly at the end of the seventeenth century. During the seventeenth century, the hymnals and catechisms had become the most popular books owned by lay people – the church law in 1668 also demanded that lay people have hymnals in Services.[36]

Martin Luther published the High German translations of the New Testament in 1522 and the complete Bible in 1534. Around the northern Baltic Sea region, similar translations appeared in Danish in 1524 (NT) and 1550 (Bible), Swedish in 1526 (NT) and 1541 (Bible), Finnish in 1548 (NT) and 1642 (Bible), Polish in 1551 (NT) and 1563 (Bible), Latvian in 1685 (NT) and 1694 (Bible), South Estonian in 1685 (NT) and North Estonian in 1715 (NT) and 1736 (Bible) and Lithuanian in 1701 (NT) and 1727 (Bible). Hymnals experienced a similar time frame: 1524 by Luther in High German, 1525 in Low German in Riga and 1531 in Rostock, 1526 in Swedish, 1529 in Danish, 1547 in Polish, 1566–1570 in Lithuanian, 1583 in Finnish, 1587 in Latvian and 1637 in Estonian. These were of various sizes, from some dozens to several hundreds of songs.[37] In Chapter 12, Kristiina Ross discusses the first hymn translations in Estonian (1637), which were literal prose translations of German hymns and thus difficult to fit with the melodies, and in Chapter 4, Suvi-Päivi Koski discusses the dating of the second edition of the Finnish hymnal.

Various catechetical works, often partial or complete translations of Luther's Small and Large Catechisms, appeared in a similar pattern. Catechisms, catechetical primers and other catechetical adaptations were some of the very first books translated in various small vernacular languages, such as Estonian (1535), Finnish (1543), Lithuanian (1547), Sami (1619), Finnish in the Cyrillic alphabet for Ingria and Karelia (1642) and even North American Lenape (1696, translated 1646). While some primers were intended for lay people, others served as tools for the clergy to learn the vernacular language and provide basic

36 Esko M. Laine and Tuija Laine, 'Kirkollinen kansanopetus', in Jussi Hanska and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (eds.), *Huoneentaulun maailma. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa keskiajalta 1860-luvulle* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 258–306; see also Forselles and Laine (eds.), *The Emergence of Finnish Book*.

37 Lehtonen and Kaljundi (ed.), *Re-forming Texts*, pp. 29–30; see Chapter 12 for the first Estonian and Chapters 2 and 4 on Finnish hymnals; for Latvian, see Māra Grudule, 'The Emergence of Hymns at the Crossroads of Folk and Christian Culture: An Episode in Early Modern Latvian Cultural History', in Lehtonen and Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Text*, pp. 217–50; for Swedish, see Emil Liedgren, *Den svenska psalmboken: en historisk överblick* (Stockholm: Sveriges kristliga studentrörelse, 1967).

Christian education, sometimes printed in both the maternal languages of the clergy (German, Swedish) and that of the people to be taught (Sami, Lenape, Estonian). Grammars and dictionaries, appearing in substantial numbers during the seventeenth century, served the same purpose. Finnish grammars also included short sections on vernacular poetics.[38]

In Finland and in the Baltic countries, it is evident that not all of the printed books and manuscript traditions were preserved. In general, the most popular books often wear out.[39] In addition, fires in the major cities and recurring wars had a significant effect on the number of printed and manuscript sources available today. In Estonian, there was likely a non-preserved Mass book also containing Estonian parts printed in 1525, and the first known printed book, the German-Estonian primer (1535), has been preserved only in some fragments. It is probable that some other sixteenth-century books have also disappeared. In Finnish, there are some early works, such as the Cathechism by Paulus Juusten (1574), which are only known by name from secondary sources, and the first prints of many books, such as the first catechetical primer (1543) and second edition (1605?) by Hemmingius Maskulainen of the Finnish hymnal by Jacobus Finno, have been preserved only in some potential fragments. The discovery of a hitherto-unknown print of this second edition of the Finnish hymnal (1607) and Finnish catechism (1607), examined in Chapter 4, is a rare case opening up a whole new view on one scholarly network. Printed works, such as the soon sold-out copy of the first Finnish hymnal (1583), were also copied and used as manuscripts until a new edition was made. In addition, some literary works that were intended to be printed were not published, only remaining as manuscripts, and some works were not even meant to be printed but simply to be used as manuscripts.[40]

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38 Burke, *Languages and Communities*, 78, 90; Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, 387–401; Chapters 6, 8 and 12.

39 Andrew Pettegree, 'The Legion of the Lost. Recovering the Lost Books of Early Modern Europe', in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

40 On Estonia, see Kristiina Ross, 'Linguistic Ideas of the Lutheran Reformation in the Genesis of Literary Estonian', in Mikko Kauko etc. (eds.), *Languages in the Lutheran Reformation: Textual Networks and the Spread of Ideas* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), pp. 57–77; on Lithuania, see Jakub Niedźwiedź, 'The Use of Books in 16th-century Vilnius,' *Terminus* 15.2, 27 (2013), pp. 167–84; on Finland, see Tuija Laine (ed.), *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden käsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997); for a quantitative view of books in Sweden (including Finland) from 1640 on, see Mikko Tolonen etc., 'A Quantitative Approach to Book-Printing in Sweden and Finland, 1640–1828', *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, 52/1 (2019), pp. 57–78, https://doi.org/10.1080/01615440.2018.1526657. See Chapter 6 for catechisms in

The hymnals are also a good example of the complexity of the authorship, which is often distributed, and only partially explained on the cover page or in the preface. In the research on Finnish hymnals, the editions are usually referred to by the name of their known editors or publishers, although in their titles, most of the books still claim to be made the by Jacobus Finno, the main editor of the first hymnal ('made by Jakob the Finn and the other Finnish clergymen'). This very first Finnish hymnal is preserved as one incomplete copy that lacks the title page, and as two manuscript copies. It contains 101 hymns that have been translated, adapted or compiled from various sources, taken from earlier manuscripts or books, or created for this hymnal, by Finno and others. This hymnal is often referred to by the title of the later editions 'A Small Finnish Hymnal' (*Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen Wirsikiria*) or just by 'Hymnal (of Jacobus Finno)'.[41] The second edition added 140 new hymns from various sources to the first one. Due to the missing title pages, the publication date(s) of the first print(s) of the second edition are not clear. In the library databases and earlier research, the first partial copies are dated to 1605(?) and 1610(?), and they are typically referred to as the Hymnal of Hemmingius of Masku (*Hemminki Maskulaisen virsikirja* in Finnish), with the title of the later prints (*Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen Wirsikiria*), or with the title of the first part of the hymnal: '1. Some hymns of thanksgiving [canticles] from the New Testament' (*1. Muutamat kiitosvirdhed uudhest, testamentist*). The current digital text edition is based on the 1605(?) print, with some added pages from the 1630 print.[42] The editor or the publisher 'H. [Master] Hemminki, vicar of Masku' (Hemmingius Henrici de Masco in Latin, Hemminki Henrici Maskulainen in Finnish) is mentioned on the surviving title pages of the 1607, 1630 and 1639

Finnish, Sami and Lenape, Chapter 4 for the unclear history and missing editions of catechisms in Finnish and Chapter 7 for the history of an unprinted Sami catechism.

41 Jacobus Finno: [*Virsikirja*] ([Stockholm]: [Andreas Gutterwitz], [1583], facs. edn, ed. Lempiäinen, Pentti (ed.), *Jaakko Finnon Virsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1988), USTC 300513; P. J. I. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet v:een 1640* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1929).

42 Hemmingius Henrici Maskulainen, ['I. Muutamat kiitosvirdhed uudhest, testamentist. ...'] [*Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen Wirsikiria*] (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz [1605]); Hemmingius Henrici Maskulainen, ['I. Muutamat kiitos-wirdhed uudhest Testamentist. ...'][*Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen Wirsikiria*] (Stockholm, Andreas Gutterwitz, *c.*1610), USTC 252059; digital text edn [based on 1605(?) and 1630 prints] 'Hemminki Maskulaisen virsikirja' (5 December 2006), in *Vanhan kirjasuomen korpus* (Helsinki: Kotus), https://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/virret/hemm1605_rdf.xml; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*; Jyrki Knuutila, 'Yxi wähä suomenkielinen wirsikirja, 1605', in Tuija Laine (ed.), *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden käsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), 147–8.

prints and indicated by the letters H. H. at the end of the preface poem. The recently found 1607 print of the second edition has the potential to affect the future interpretations of the relationships of different prints and persons involved in the making of the hymnals. In addition to the preface poem by H. H., this 1607 print contains a postscript about the printing condition, initialled by S. I. C. S. (probably Simon Johannis Carelius).[43] In 1621 Olaus Elimaeus, the bishop of the Vyborg diocese, published another version of the hymnal. He reduced the number of hymns, added a couple of new ones and edited the language of the hymnal to fit better with the eastern dialects of Finnish. Although this edition is closely based on earlier editions, it has another title: 'The Finnish Hymnal' (*Soomenkielinen wirsikiria …*) and is often mentioned in research as the 'Hymnal of Elimaeus'. The subsequent 17th century editions typically add new songs, and new hymns also appeared in smaller prints and chapbooks.[44]

For the most part, the early modern literary materials were produced by clergymen, as well as burghers and nobles, but Chapters 6–8 and 10–12 in this volume also examine traces of various responses to literary works and ecclesiastical teaching by local peasant communities and the ways the literary elites felt it necessary to use – or avoid – oral linguistic and cultural resources.

4 Entanglements of Oral and Literary Poetics

Alongside new religious ideas and practices, the Reformation also brought new poetic forms and expressions to be adapted in a wide variety of languages. In many cases, this was not only about cultural transfer from one language to another but about complex and diverse entanglements between oral and literary patterns in the original and receiving languages.[45] Depending on the

43 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria …* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1607), USTC 2092729; *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen Wirsikiria …* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1630), USTC 252060; *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen Wirsikiria …* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1639), see Chapter 4.

44 Olov Elimaeus, *Soomenkielinen Wirsikiria …* (Stockholm: Christopher Reusner, 1621), USTC 252786; see Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden*; Onni Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja. Vuoden 1701 suomalaisen virsikirjan synty ja sisällys*, Diss. (Helsingin yliopisto) (Rauma: [Onni Kurvinen], 1941).

45 Dynamic relationships of oral and literary and elite and popular cultures have been discussed over several decades in multiple fields, e.g., in Ruth Finnegan, *Literacy and Orality. Studies in the Technology of Communication* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); Jack Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Eric A. Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write. Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Leidulf Melve, *Med ordet som våpen. Tale og skrift: vetsleg historie* (Oslo: Universitet i Oslo, 2006); Robert Muchembled,

vernacular language in question, literary works drew from earlier oral genres and uses of language. In addition, many literary genres actually had oral manifestations: they were meant to be used in oral communication. Hymns and liturgical songs in print and manuscripts were meant to be sung, letters were often read aloud and catechisms were used for popular education in face-to-face contexts.[46]

Oral influences affecting literary culture may take place at several levels, from the details of the language to poetic features and story patterns, but these are often difficult to identify. As oral culture was not much documented in early modern Europe – folklore was recorded systematically and in greater quantities only from the nineteenth century onwards – and some features have spread into later oral culture from literary works, it is sometimes difficult to be sure whether a certain feature in early modern vernacular literary culture is of oral origin or an invention by the author. In this volume, for example, Kristiina Ross asks whether certain biblical proverbs and expressions could have been adapted into Estonian by earlier oral contacts from German, Swedish or Finnish as they are different in early modern Bible translation and later nineteenth century oral tradition. Bastman and Kallio note that Matthias Salamnius used the oral idiom and probably some traditional poetic formulas in his literary poem, but his verses also affected later oral culture.

In the creation of a new singing culture, Martin Luther and other early reformers used and modified existing Latin and vernacular stanzaic hymns, poetics and melodies, and created new ones, sometimes making use of patterns common in popular culture. A big change took place in the status and use of stanzaic hymns and congregational singing: the Reformation brought these in a new way into the core of the Service and into popular use.[47] Local

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Culture populaire et culture des élites dans la France moderne (*XV^e^–XVIII^e^ siècle*) (Paris: Flammarion, 2011); Arnved Nedkvitne, *Social Consequences of Literacy in Medieval Scandinavia* (Turhout: Brepols, 2004); Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982); Brian V. Street, *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

46 E.g. Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*; Burke, *Popular Culture*; Miia Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto varhaismodernin ajan Savossa* (*vuoteen 1710*) (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto 2016); Pettegree, *Reformation*; Rublack, *Reformation*; Scribner, *Popular Culture*; Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy. Written Language and Models of Interpretations in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Lotte Tarkka, 'Transformations on Epic Time and Space: Creating the World's Creation in Kalevala-metric Poetry', *Oral Tradition* 11.1(1996), pp. 50–84; Chapters 6–12.

47 Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet*; Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music. Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids:

strategies of creating vernacular Lutheran hymns varied as did the amount to which the hymn makers made use of existing oral or vernacular literary resources. Rhymed stanzaic form was the mainstream pattern of oral and literary poetry in many European languages at the time. This was not the case for all Finno-Ugric languages and not even for all the Indo-European ones: for some Scandinavian (Icelandic) and Baltic languages, and for all the Finno-Ugric languages, regular rhyme, stanzaic form or the iambic meter common in Lutheran hymns were new innovations.[48]

In the Estonian, Finnish and Sami languages, the making of vernacular hymnals meant both creating literary poetry and creating new poetic systems. Earlier oral verses were either 1) non-measured or very flexible, kind of free rhythmic verse, such as most Sami songs and Finnic laments, or 2) measured, making use of ample alliteration and parallelism but no regular rhyme or stanza structure, such as various forms of Kalevala meter (runo-song meter), which was used across a wide array of genres in Finnic areas.[49]

The most notable linguistic differences between the Indo-European and Finno-Ugric languages affecting poetics relate to the characteristics of words. On average, the Finnic and Sami languages make use of longer words, always put the main word stress on the first syllable of a word and employ complex morphological variation at word endings. Single-syllable words are relatively rare. These qualities affect iambic meters and rhyme, both characteristic for Lutheran hymns. Maria-Kristiina and Rebekka Lotman remark that in Estonian (similarly to Finnish), the long and ample morphological endings

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William B. Eerdman, 2007); Nils Holger Petersen, 'Lutheran Tradition and the Medieval Latin Mass', in Eyolf Østrem etc. (eds.), *The Arts and Cultural Heritage of Martin Luther* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2003), pp. 33–49; Ingrid Åkesson, 'Local and Religious Identity in Swedish Popular Hymn Singing during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Poel etc. (eds.), *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance*, pp. 39–58.

48 Chapters 6, 7 and 12; Kati Kallio, 'Changes in the Poetics of Song during the Finnish Reformation', in Lehtonen and Kaljundi, *Re-forming Texts,* pp. 125–55; Grudule, 'The Emergence of Hymns'.

49 See Marko Jouste, 'Suomen saamelaisten musiikkiperinteet', in Anneli Asplund etc. (eds.), *Suomen musiikin historia. Kansanmusiikki* (Helsinki: WSOY, 2006), pp. 272–307; Marko Jouste, 'Historical Skolt Sami Music and Two Types of Melodic Structures in Leu' dd Tradition', *Folklore. Electronic Journal of Folklore* 68 (2017), pp. 69–84; Kati Kallio and Frog with Mari Sarv, 'What to Call the Poetic Form: Kalevala-Meter or Kalevalaic Verse, regivärss, Runosong, the Finnic Tetrameter, Finnic Alliterative Verse, or Something Else?', *RMN Newsletter* 12–13 (2017), pp. 94–117; Eila Stepanova, 'The Register of Karelian Lamenters', in Asif Agha and Frog (eds.), *Registers of Communication* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2015), pp. 258–74.

and the big number of different diphthongs diminish the amount of available full non-morphological rhymes. This means a classic Indo-European iambic verse is more difficult to form.[50]

In Chapter 12, Kristiina Ross compares the ways the Finnish and Estonian clergymen adapted the Lutheran song meters to the Finnic languages. Finnish authors used flexible poetic feet and iambic inversion, which made it easier to create smooth iambic forms in a language that is not optimal for iambic structures. The German-speaking clergy in Estonia tried to create Estonian hymns by stricter poetics and German models, leading to a song language that was not natural to the language and was sometimes difficult to understand. In Finland, the hymn translators were native speakers or used Finnish at the level of native speakers, while the translators of the Estonian and Baltic hymns mostly belonged to the German-speaking elite and did not master the local language, meaning much less linguistic adaptation took place. As hymns also served as a model for other genres of vernacular literary poetry, these early modern choices affected the whole history of literary poetry in Finnish and Estonian.

In Finnish, as well as in Icelandic, the first hymnal created the new genre of stanzaic rhymed hymns, whereas the second one – created by the clergy speaking the local language as their maternal tongue – adapted more to local traditional aesthetics, such as by adding alliteration.[51] Incorporating some features of the old oral meter to the hymns probably made the songs more affective and popular in local contexts. Yet, it was evidently considered important for hymns to adhere to the transnational Lutheran hymn genre with particular characteristics such as stanza forms, rhyme and common melodies, and, moreover, the old meters potentially carried some medieval Christian, heathen or unproper associations. Yet in Finnish, the old oral Kalevala meter became one option for vernacular literary poetry, first in hybrid forms with rhymes in popular education and in occasional poetry for dedications, prefaces, funerals and weddings.[52] The first poem in non-rhymed old oral meter printed for wide vernacular audiences, a didactic Christian epic by Matthias

50 Maria Kristiina Lotman, and Rebekka Lotman, 'Rhyme in Estonian Poetic Culture', in Venla Sykäri and Nigel Fabb (eds.), *Rhyme and Rhyming in Verbal Art and Song* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, forthcoming). On the creation of early modern hymns in Latvia, see Māra Grudule, 'The Emergence of Hymns'.

51 See Chapters 2 and 11: on Iceland, see Margrét Eggertsdóttir, 'From Reformation to Enlightenment', in Daisy L. Neijmann (ed.), *A History of Icelandic Literature* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), pp. 174–250, especially pp. 179–80.

52 Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, pp. 323–410.

Salamnius (1690), became vastly popular and affected both literary and oral cultures for several centuries.[53]

Sami oral poetics, although widely known since the two love songs by Olaus Sirma (1672) and famous for highly symbolic musical expression, have been studied surprisingly little. In part, this is due to the small size and large number of local languages: there are nine different Sami languages, all with different musical and poetic genres and styles. In the most commonly known genre, North Sami *joik* (*luohti*), the non-linguistic song syllables dominate, and the linguistic parts are very concise and encrypted. Melodies are closely associated to particular persons and places. Some other genres, such as Skolt Sami *leu'dd*, have much longer lines and texts with complex poetics but, in a similar way, no regular measured meter. Olaus Sirma's poems, studied in Chapter 7, are closer to Skolt Sami *leu'dd* than to *joik*. The poetic adaptation of Lutheran hymns into Sami languages has not been thoroughly studied.[54]

In both the Estonian and Sami languages, the first known native-speakers to produce literary poetry lived in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, whereas in Finnish, the first literary poems had been written a century earlier. In Chapter 8, Aivar Põldvee analyses the works of Käsu Hans (*c*.1665–1715), a sexton and schoolmaster in Puhja, Estonia, who wrote a poem of 32 stanzas on the destruction of Tartu city and some letters in Estonian. His poem, although created as a literary poem with a firm stanza structure, shows some flexibility at the level of poetic feet. It also became a popular folk song, showing how this kind of verse structure – actually quite similar to the Finnish hymns – was easily adapted by the native speakers. Kemi Sami student Olaus Sirma's poems are quite a different case, being the first secular oral or oral-derived Sami poems to gain international reputation when printed and translated in the book *Lapponia*. Sirma became a Sami chaplain and later translated some psalms, a Sami primer and an unpublished Sami catechism. Käsu Hans and Olaus Sirma were among the first generation of native speakers educated to advance basic Christian popular education and congregational life in the local language in the most northern and southern parts of the Swedish realm. They also participated in the creation of literary culture and did this by using the resources available in their local languages.

Thus, the process of creating Lutheran hymns depended not only on language-specific characteristics but also on the linguistic and cultural competences of available authors and, thus, on the status and access to higher

53 See Chapter 11.

54 Jouste, 'Suomen saamelaisten'; Veli-Pekka Lehtola, *Saamelaiset: Historia, yhteiskunta, taide*, 2nd. ed. (Inari: Puntsi, 2015); Chapter 7.

education of the speakers of a particular vernacular language. To make appealing translations of poetry, the translator needed to be not only fluent in the language and the tradition they were translating but also deeply aware of the already-existing oral poetics and resources in different expressive genres of the vernacular language. The ample amount of native and strong secondary speakers of Finnish in both the lower and higher clergy enabled a more complex use of oral resources and the development of a wider spectrum of literary genres and styles than was the case in the Estonian and Sami languages.

The status of literary and ecclesiastical language helped small languages to persist long after the Reformation. Of the Finno-Ugric languages around the Baltic Sea, Finnish and Estonian are today national majority languages, with roughly five million and one million speakers, respectively. All the Sami languages are endangered, but Northern Sami, which was most used in literary works, has a rather strong minority position, with 50,000–80,000 speakers. Some Sami languages are very small, with only some hundreds (Southern, Lule, Inari, Skolt, Kildin) or mere dozens (Ume, Pite, Ter) of maternal speakers, and some are extinct (Akkala, Kainuu, Kemi). Of the Finnic languages that did not acquire literary language along the course of the Reformation, Karelian has roughly 70,000 speakers, Veps and Ludic *c.*5,000, Ingrian (Izhorian) less than one hundred maternal speakers, Votic at the most five fluent native speakers and Livonian is mostly spoken as a secondary language.[55] All the Finnic and Sami languages that did acquire a literary language along the Reformation still have a strong position today.

5 Social and Literary Networks

The personal and institutional networks of clergy, nobility and burghers greatly affected the ways individual manuscripts, books, songs and letters were created, circulated and used. These networks included various kinds of ties based on family, peer groups, places of study and work and also official connections. As seen in Chapters 2–9 in the present volume, the very same persons were often active in several fields: in forming nearby and transnational scholarly networks, in taking care of administerial duties, in educating vernacular clergy and in creating the overall basis for literary vernaculars, vernacular Services

55 Johanna Laakso, 'The Finnic Languages', in Östen Dahl and Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm (eds.), *The Circum-Baltic Languages: Typology And Contact*, Vol. 2 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2001), pp. 179–212; Marianne Bakró-Nagy etc. (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

and popular education. Letters were a central means to maintain these networks and to manage larger processes relating, for example, to literary works. One's social status and position in the network affected the scope of actions available for individuals.

The increasing importance of letters related, as Kristi Viiding in Chapter 5 notes, to the founding of postal services and new universities and an overall increase in diplomatic communication in 1450–1650. Livonian-Polish humanist David Hilchen, with over 700 preserved letters and a number of occasional poems, speeches and manuscripts, provides one view on the workings of a versatile scholarly network offering mutual help and commentary and affecting the production of books and prints both in Latin and in vernaculars. These networks often extended beyond linguistic and confessional borderlines and crossed estates. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen shines light on the network in the background of the production of different versions and translations of the song book *Piae Cantiones* (1583–), stretching from a single burgher family to students, clergy and even to the kings of Sweden. Ulla Koskinen and Anu Lahtinen examine the changes in religious expressions in laypeople's correspondence in 1579–1600. Like Viiding, they note that, some rare cases aside, the nobility and officials did not deal with religious or theological topics in their correspondence although they were using religious terminology as part and parcel of their letter formulae. During the turbulent period of confessional contestations, religious opinions could indeed have been dangerous.

In Sweden, students were often in charge of overseeing the printing of those books that were produced abroad. Their studying abroad was made possible by complex ecclesiastical and lay networks, which also had their own interests in publishing books and editions, as demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 4. Musical notations, in particular, were challenging to print and were often used as manuscripts. In Chapter 3, Sanna Raninen shows how a musical manuscript functioned as a kind of memory book and a tangible manifestation of a social network. Prior to ending up in the library, the book had gone through a process of production extending from Stockholm to continental Europe, followed by an intriguing chain of ownership and authorship, which illustrates the varied and flexible material relations a book could have in post-Reformation Sweden. The genres of letters, prefaces, speeches and occasional poems, all pivotal in nurturing personal, scholarly and patronal ties, relied on classic patterns, formulas and themes even when written in vernaculars.

Translating, compiling and editing religious songs and texts, and putting them into print, constituted not just a gesture of religious and learned sympathies but made visible various political and social ties. Chapters 2, 4–8 and 11–12 demonstrate the importance of individual agents in these networks in

creating successful books and other literary works. Indeed, linguistically competent persons – or persons understanding the importance of linguistic competences – with proper networks were essential in creating the new vernacular literary cultures.

The production of vernacular literary works was part of the consolidation of education and administration at the local levels. In Chapter 8, Aivar Põldvee reconstructs the social context for educating Estonian-speaking schoolmasters and developing the Estonian literary language, both of which were part of Sweden taking a tighter administrative hold of the area. Taarna Valtonen and Kati Kallio analyse, in Chapter 7, how the education of Sami-speaking clergy was connected to the network taking care of the overall consolidation of political, administrative, economical and ecclesiastical power in Lapland and how the very same individuals at the different hierarchical levels of this network were also prominent figures in the production of ethnographic and ecclesiastical books. In Chapter 10, Miia Kuha describes conflicts in a remote Finnish-speaking parish, where the written word was mainly mediated orally in liturgy, hymns, sermons and catechetical teaching – and received well enough to be used in oral parody and contestation.

While most of the early modern sources were produced by the literary elites, they also give some glimpses into the reception of new literary and ecclesiastical practices by the peasants as well as into the ways the elites related to oral or peasant cultures. Lower clergy and schoolmasters – such as Estonian local schoolmaster Käsu Hans, Sami chaplain Olaus Sirma and Finnish priest Matthias Salamnius in Ingria – not only took care of local basic education but also participated in the creation of vernacular literary culture as parts of complex social networks. They were also the first to encounter conflicts of interest, be they spiritual or economic, between the peasants and the Church. These mostly took place in the oral and tangible sphere but were textualised when taken into courts and described in court protocols.

The literarisation of the societies around the northern Baltic Sea was, thus, connected to the workings of wide multilingual networks that reached from the highest elites to local clergy and peasants. Political, administrative and ecclesiastical interests were tightly interwoven with the creation of vernacular literary language, popular education and print culture. Further, there is a clear connection between the character and thoroughness of the creation of vernacular literary cultures and the social status of native speakers. The higher social status of the native speakers of the vernacular meant more of them in the clergy when creating the new literary culture. The native-speaking clergy was able to use the linguistic, poetic and cultural resources of the vernacular on a wider scale, potentially making the resulting hymns and literary works

more appreciable and popular among the common folk. The vernacular languages that did acquire a literary language in the course of the Reformation are also those that have persisted up to the present day. This is probably due both to the prevailing conditions – those vernacular languages that already had a greater number of speakers and higher social status were literarised earlier – and to the way the vernacular literary culture affected the social status and self-esteem of the speakers of the language over the following centuries.

CHAPTER 2

Catholic Heritage, Lutheran Networks and Family Reputation: the Case of the *Piae Cantiones* Collection (1582–1625)

Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen

Producing and publishing Latin and vernacular songbooks was not only a religious, musical or literary gesture but also an investment of an author's, compiler's or editor's reputation which also involved supporters, patrons or powerful protectors. Networks that lay behind a book's production reveal the significance of individual publication events and help to unmask the sometimes intriguing religious connotations.

This chapter focuses on the communities and networks of learned clergymen and aristocrats who reworked the Catholic heritage and introduced new Lutheran forms of worship, practices such as congregational singing of hymns.[1] In doing so, they adopted various stances towards cultural resources at hand, both Latin literary heritage and oral vernacular traditions. The focal point is the editions of *Piae Cantiones* (1582, 1625) and its Finnish (1616) and partial Swedish (1591, 1608, 1614, 1619) translations. The elite network of learned Lutheran clergymen and their aristocratic patrons did not attach itself only to the multilingual literary great tradition; it was also in touch with the local vernacular small tradition. In addition to literary networks the families and relatives of all the actors are relevant, whether they were noble, clergymen and learned or coastal burghers and wealthy peasants.

In the age of consolidating Lutheran Orthodoxy when suspicions of being a Catholic led to exile or a death sentence and all forms of both 'popishness' and 'paganism' were condemned, some Lutheran clergymen, academics, nobles and burghers were actively cherishing parts of the medieval Catholic cultural heritage which they knew included suspicious contents, as the prefaces to the various collections of hymns published at the time, the alterations to the texts

1 I am indebted to Lari Ahokas who has worked as a research assistant to our project. He has helped me to interpret original sources and found some new ones. He has made numerous diligent comments and corrections for argumentation and references. I am, of course, solely responsible for all remaining flaws.

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and added biblical glosses clearly show.[2] Obviously the *Piae Cantiones* collection was understood as valuable and prestigious but at the same time it needed to be presented in a way that suited the contemporary religious and political atmosphere.

The original first edition of *Piae Cantiones* was published in 1582 in Greifswald by Theodoricus Petri Nylandensis (*c.*1560–*c.*1602/1617), or Didrik Persson Ruuth (Rwtha), a student from Nyland (Swedish) or Uusimaa (Finnish) in Finland, and printed by Augustin Ferber (Fig. 2.1.). The book contained seventy-four mostly medieval Latin pious songs and their musical notation.[3]

Some songs were included in contemporary Lutheran hymnbooks, such as the macaronic Christmas carol *In dulci iubilo* in Latin and Swedish or Latin and Finnish and even only in Finnish while the original was composed in Latin and German.[4] Some selections in Swedish translation and Latin original

2 *Cantiones piae et antiquae veterum episcoporum & pastorum in inclyto regno Sveciae praesertim in magno ducatu Finlandiae usurpatae, & primum opera viri nobilis Theodorici Petri Rwtha anno 1582 typis comissae. Nunc autem sumptibus virorum nobilium Johannis & Bartholdi Petri Rwtha; item Jacobi, Petri & Theobaldi Bartholdi Rwtha, fratrum, fratrueliumq; p. m. Theodorici Rwtha, denuo cum quibusdam marginalibus & locis S. Scripturam à viris Orthodoxis Diocesis Wijburg; illustratae prodeunt, hic accesserunt etjam cantiones quadam nove* (Rostock, 1625), pp. A1^{r}–A5^{v}, USTC 254953; cf. Haquinus Laurentii Rhezelius, *Några psalmer, andelige wijsor och lofsonger, vthsatte af Lavrentio Jonae Gestritio … och nu med noter affsatte, och aff trycket vtgångne aff Haqvino Lavrentii A. Rhezelio Predikant i Gråmuncka Clöster med egen bekostning* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1619), pp. v^{r}–vi^{v}, USTC 252187.

3 *Piae Cantiones Ecclesiasticae et scholasticae veterum episcoporum, In Inclyto Regno Sueciae passim vsurpatae, nuper studio viri cuiusdam Reuerendiss: de Ecclesia Dei & Schola Aböensi in Finlandia optimè meriti accuratè mendis correctae, & nunc typis commissae, opera Theoderici Petri Nylandensis. His adiecti sunt aliquot ex Psalmis recentioribus.* (*Greifswald: Augustin Ferber, 1582*), USTC 552285; facs. edn Einari Marvia, *Piae cantiones ecclesiasticae et scholasticae veterum episcoporum 1582* (Helsinki: Edition Fazer, 1967); see Rolf Lagerborg, 'Vår äldsta konstdiktning', *Skrifter utgifna af Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland*, 78 (1907), pp. 57–111; Tobias Norlind, *Latinska skolsånger i Sverige och Finland* (Lund: Håkan Ohlssons boktryckeri, 1909), pp. 46–150; Timo Mäkinen, *Die aus frühen böhmischen Quellen überlieferten 'Piae cantiones' Melodie* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1964); Timo Mäkinen, *Piae Cantiones -sävelmien lähdetutkimuksia* (Helsinki: Suomen musiikkitieteellinen seura, 1968); Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed in Latin and Vernacular Cultures from the Middle Ages to the Early Seventeenth Century: *Ramus virens oliuarum*', in Lars Boje Mortensen, Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Alexandra Bergholm (eds.), *The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds. Non-Canonical Chapters of the History of Nordic Medieval Literature* (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 109–110.

4 Lempiäinen, Pentti (ed.), *Jaakko Finnon Virsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1988), pp. 95–96, 271–272; Jacobus Finno, [*Wirsikiria*], (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1583), USTC 300513; Hemmingius Henrici Maskulainen, '[*I. Muutamat kiitos-wirdhed uudhest Testamentist. …*]' (Stockholm, 1605(?)), digital text edn [based on 1605(?) and 1630

were published in collections of spiritual songs by the vicar Laurentius Jonae Gestricius in 1591 and in its continuation posthumously by his son Haquinus Laurentii Rhezelius in 1619.[5] In between these two publications Sigfridus Aronus Forsius translated some pieces and published them in 1608 and 1614 (uncertain dating) together with some other psalms and hymns.[6] Two songs, *Puer natus in Bethelem* and *In dulci iubilo*, were translated and published by Jacobus Finno in his Finnish hymnbook in 1583. Three more (*Resonet in laudibus*, *Christus pro nobis passus est*, part of *Omnis mundus iucundetur*, new translations of *In dulci iubilo* and *Puer natus in Bethelem*) were added in Finnish by the vicar Hemmingius Henrici of Masku in the second expanded edition of the Finnish hymnbook in 1605(?). They were translated by himself and by the dean of Turku cathedral parish, Petrus Henrici Melartopaeus, a fervent proponent of Lutheran orthodoxy.[7]

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prints], http://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/virret/hemm1605_rdf.xml, Hemm1605-136:1-L8b-Hemm1605-137:4-L9a, accessed 18 July 2019, cf. USTC 252059; Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kati Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet ja virsisuomennokset; seremoniat, kansanusko ja runokieli 1500- ja 1600-luvun Suomessa', *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja*, 106 (2016), pp. 183–184; Otfried Czaika, '*In dulci iubilo*. Ein Weinachtslied in der pro-swedischen Propaganda des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs', in Dessislava Stoeva-Holm and Susanne Tienken (eds.), *Von Köchinnen und Gelehrten, von Adligen und Soldaten. Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Erschießen meschlischen Daseins in der Vormoderne* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet 2014), pp. 179–199; Otfried Czaika, 'Roggebibliotekets exemplar av Then Swenska Psalmboken 1582', in Otfried Czaika (ed.), *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582. Utgåva med inlednade kommentarer* (Skara: Skara Stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2016), pp. 89, 91, 95.

5 Laurentius Jonae Gestricius, *Några Andelighe Wijsor och Loffsonger. Vthsatte aff Laurentio Jonae Gestritio pastore Hernösandensi* (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz 1591), Ai^{r}–Aiiij^{r}, USTC 300484; Rhezelius (ed.), *Några psalmer*; Emil Liedgren, *Norrländska psalmer och psalmister* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1932), pp. 53–56; Henrik Schück and Karl Warburg, *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria*, 2: *reformationstiden och stormaktstiden* (Stockholm: Gebers, 1927), pp. 81–82; Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, *3* vols. (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1927–1938), 3, pp. 116–117.

6 Sigfid Aronus Forsius, *Någhra Nyia Psalmers, Loff-sångers ach Andelighe wijsors Thoner. Hwilke finnes j then lille Psalmboken, som nw är tryckt. Anno 1608.* (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1608), USTC 268954; facs. edn, ed. Toivo I. Haapalainen, as *Någhra Nyia Psalmers, Loff-sångers och Andhelighe Wijsors Thoner, sign. T3(2) i Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel* (Turku: Åbo Akademi, 1973); Sigfrid Aronus Forsius, *Andelige psalmer och wijsor* (1614?), USTC 251933; Sigrid Aronus Forsius, 'Forsius visbok och Blad sammanhörande med Forsius visbok', in Adolf Noreen and Anders Grape (eds.), *1500- och 1600-talens visböcker, 3* (Uppsala: Edv. Berlings boktryckeri, 1919, 1925), pp. 305–338, 535–574); see also Terhi Kiiskinen, *Sigfrid Aronus Forsius: Astronomer and Philosopher of Nature* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2007).

7 P. J. I. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet v:een 1640* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1929), pp. 349–351; Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 178–187.

In 1616 the whole collection with some added songs was published in Stockholm in Finnish translation by Hemmingius Henrici of Masku (Fig. 2.2.), which was followed in 1625 with the new Latin edition mentioned above.[8] Songs remained popular and widely used in the schools within the Swedish realm and the Latin collection was reprinted later in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[9]

Dynastic struggle and religious unrest in the Swedish realm in the 1590s led through violent phases to centralised state-building and strict religious policies in the early seventeenth century. The fear of the Counter-Reformation and revival of the Catholic Polish branch of Vasa dynasty shaped both secular and religious policy long into the seventeenth century. Together with Lutheran orthodoxy this led to outlawing Catholicism, adopting the Mosaic Law as the basis of legislation and to various ways of disciplining people and to the eradication of everything which could be interpreted as idolatry or superstition, both Catholic and pagan. Step by step both Karl IX (1550–1611), first regent in 1599 and then reigning as king, 1604–1611, and his son Gustav II Adolf (1594–1632, king 1611–1632) moved on to build a more solid state apparatus for controlling both bodies and minds of their subjects.[10]

The production of printed books for the Swedish realm had begun in the late fifteenth century but the Reformation launched a new wave, especially of vernacular prints. For the eastern province of the Swedish realm, Finland, the first books had been produced and printed in Germany from 1488 on, but

8 Hemmingius Henrici Maskulainen, *Vanhain Suomen maan Pijspain ja Kircon Esimiesten Latinan kielised laulud, Christuxesta, ja inhimisen elämän surkeudhesta: muutamissa M. Jacobilda Finnolda … ojetud: aina Suomen Schouluissa veisatud* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1616); *Cantiones piae et antiquae*. Both included some songs not published in 1582 edition. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, pp. 384, 391, 393, 406–408.

9 *Piae Cantiones ecclesiasticae et scholasticae* (Wisingsborg: Johannes Kankel, 1679), USTC 262339; *Cantilenae selectiores … aliaque adhibita emendatione, divulgatae a Joh. Lindell, Er. Fil., Dir. Cantus schol. cathedral. Aboëns* (Turku: Johan Christopher Frenckell, 1761); *Cantilenarum selectiorum editio nova, in gratiam scholarium notis musicis, distinctis strophis aliaque adhibita emendatione evulgata … a Joh: Lindell Er. fil. direct: cant: schol: cath: Aboens:* (Turku: unknown, 1776); Lagerborg, 'Vår äldsta konstdiktning', pp. 81–84.

10 Lennart Hedberg, *Karl IX. Företagarfursten & envåldshärskaren* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2009), pp. 256–278; Åke Hermansson, *Karl IX och ständerna. Trosfrågan och författningsutvecklingen i Sverige 1598–1611* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1962); David Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period: The Baltic World 1492–1772* (London: Longman, 2003), pp. 127–135; Mirkka Lappalainen, *Susimessu. 1590-luvun sisällissota Ruotsissa ja Suomessa* (Helsinki: Siltala, 2009), pp. 259–276; Mirkka Lappalainen, *Pohjolan leijona. Kustaa II Aadolf ja Suomi 1611–1632* (Helsinki: Siltala, 2014); Ingun Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 4: Enhetskyrkans tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2002), pp. 70–71.

the first post-Reformation book and the first printed book ever in Finnish, a catechetical primer, the *Abckiria* by Michael Agricola (*c.*1507–1557), was published in 1543 in Stockholm. Judging from preserved and known copies of printed books, it was followed by a series of biblical and other religious books, mostly translations and compilations by Agricola himself.[11] Thereafter book production for Finland diminished but in 1582 and 1583 four titles (one in Latin, three in Finnish) were published as a result of encouragement and financial support from King Johan III.[12] Only in 1605 did a new active phase begin, clearly as part of the new religious policy. Hymnbooks, catechisms, a church order and other works were published, mostly in Stockholm and sometimes in Rostock or other German towns.[13] A committee was established for a full Finnish Bible translation, since only the New Testament and some parts of the Old Testament had been translated by Michael Agricola in the 1540s and 1550s.[14]

In this context it seems to be somewhat anomalous that a Latin collection of medieval religious songs with music was published in 1582, and then some of its songs were translated and published in Swedish in 1591, 1608, 1614 and 1619, then the whole collection in Finnish in 1616 and an enlarged Latin edition in 1625.[15]

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11 Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns and Devil's music: Michael Agricola (*c.*1507–1557) and Jacobus Finno (*c.*1540–1588) on church song and folk beliefs', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (ed.). *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), p. 179, n. 1; Kaisa Häkkinen, *Spreading the Written Word. Mikael Agricola and the Birth of Literary Finnish* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2015), pp. 53–75; Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola. Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita, 2007), pp. 156–335.

12 Wilhelm Gabriel Lagus (ed.), *Handlingar och uppsatser rörande Finlands kyrko-historia, 1* (Helsinki: Wasenius, 1845), pp. 167–171; Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', p. 194.

13 Jyrki Knuutila, 'Aapiset ja katekismukset', in Tuija Laine (ed.), *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden käsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), pp. 80–83; Jyrki Knuutila, 'Virsikirjat ja hengelliset laulukirjat', in Tuija Laine (ed.), ibid., pp. 134–140; Jyrki Knuutila, 'Hartauskirjallisuus', in Tuija Laine (ed.), ibid., pp. 146–149; Tuija Laine & Rita Nyqvist (eds.): *Suomen kansallisbibliografia 1488–1700. Hakemisto* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto & Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1996), pp. 517–518; see also Chapter 4 by Suvi-Päivi Koski in this volume.

14 Wilhelm Gabriel Lagus (ed.), *Handlingar och uppsatser rörande Finlands kyrko-historia, 4* (Helsinki: A. W. Gröndahl, 1847), pp. 106–108; Martti Rapola, 'Raamatunsuomennos kirjakielen normien vakiinnuttajana', in Martti Rapola etc. (eds.), *Suomen kirjallisuus, II: Ruotsin ajan kirjallisuus* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1963), pp. 139–141.

15 Gestricius, *Några Andelighe Wijsor*; Forsius, *Någhra nyia psalmer*; Forsius, *Forsius visbok och Blad*; Rhezelius, *Några psalmer*; Hemmingius, *Vanhain Suomen maan Pijspain*; *Cantiones Piae et antiquae*.

All these songs were either collected from the diocese of Turku, Finland, or edited there by local clergymen. The printing was supported or financed by local burghers and noblemen or, in the case of the Swedish translations, songs were sought from Finland or the translator himself originated from Finland but they were printed either in Greifswald or Rostock in northern Germany or in Stockholm. Furthermore, it is puzzling that translations and new editions were published from 1605 to 1625 alongside ever more aggressive policies attacking everything hinting at 'popish' sympathies. At least superficially, it is even more perplexing that the Finnish translation in 1616 used poetics strongly influenced by oral idiom, the trochaic, alliterative and non-rhymed so-called Kalevala-metre, which the early Finnish reformers Michael Agricola and Jacobus Finno seem to have intentionally avoided.[16]

1 *Piae Cantiones* 1582

Although the *Piae Cantiones* collection was primarily a religious song collection, the various editions and translations were clearly more than that: they were statements of status and politics deviating from the usual religious books. This becomes evident when the frontispieces, dedications and prefaces are compared to catechisms, hymnbooks and biblical translations.[17]

In the first edition some texts were adapted for Lutheran use. Some of the songs were changed in a rather clumsy manner: instead of the Virgin Mary they were addressed to Jesus Christ, breaking both the poetic metre and grammatical gender.[18] No other saints except the Virgin Mary and St Henry, the patron of the diocese of Turku, were mentioned.[19]

Curiously, it is only one of the editors of the collection, Theodoricus Rwtha, who gives his name on the title page of the collection, although he relates that famous and learned scholars from the cathedral of Turku had been collecting and editing the songs. Only in 1616 did Hemmingius of Masku, the Finnish translator of the collection and vicar of Masku parish near Turku, claim that the collection and editorial work was done by Jacobus Finno (*c.*1540–1588),

16 Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', pp. 109–139; Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 168–202; see also Kati Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset. Suullinen ja kirjallinen kulttuuri uuden ajan alun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), pp. 56–126, 323–343.

17 See Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns'.

18 Lagerborg, 'Vår äldsta konstdiktning', pp. 85–87.

19 Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', p. 113 and *passim*.

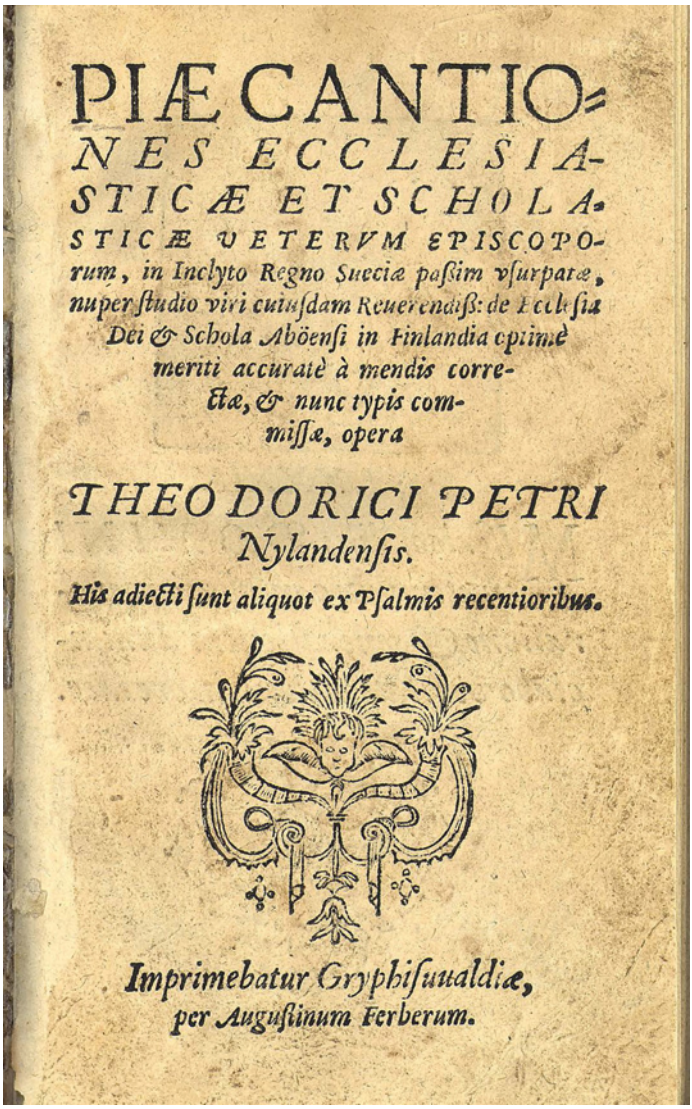
PIÆ CANTIO-
NES ECCLESIA-
STICÆ ET SCHOLA-
STICÆ VETERVM EPISCOPO-
rum, in Inclyto Regno Sueciæ paſſim vſurpatæ,
nuper ſtudio viri cuiuſdam Reuerendiß: de Eccleſia
Dei & Schola Aboënſi in Finlandia optimè
meriti accuratè à mendis correctæ, & nunc typis commiſſæ, opera
THEODORICI PETRI
Nylandenſis.
His adiecti ſunt aliquot ex Pſalmis recentioribus.
Imprimebatur Gryphiſuualdiæ,
per Auguſtinum Ferberum.

FIGURE 2.1 Title page of *Piae Cantiones*, 1582 edition
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF FINLAND

the head-master of Turku cathedral school and vicar of the nearby parish of Maaria, who published three books in the early 1580s: a hymnbook (1583), a catechism and a prayer book, all of them in Finnish.[20]

20 Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', 194; Pentti Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen virsikirja', in Pentti Lempiäinen (ed.), *Jaakko Finnon Virsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden

Theodoricus greets the editors from Turku in the plural. Jacobus Finno was the senior clergyman who had engaged in a task to publish 'some useful books' from King Johan III in 1578.[21] Hemmingius of Masku credited Jacobus with the edition in his Finnish translation in 1616, while Theodoricus' brothers and nephews named him as the sole editor in their republication of the collection in 1625. Most scholars agree that both Jacobus and Theodoricus had been collaborating in the editorial work but we do not know if anybody else was involved.[22]

Jacobus Finno was supported financially by King Johan III, whereas Theodoricus Rwtha names in his preface a prominent aristocrat and Johan's loyal supporter, Baron Christian Claesson Horn af Åminne (1555–1610), as his literary patron. This may have later sealed Theodoricus' fate since he and his patron were considered, in view of various ties, as supporters of Sigismund. Christian Horn and Theodoricus both attracted the disfavour of Duke Karl. Christian Horn was lucky not to be beheaded, as his brother-in-law Hogenskild Bielke and many other aristocrats and noblemen who fell from grace were in the early 1600s. Theodoricus fled from the country around 1601–1602.[23]

The assemblage of Latin religious songs (in total seventy-four pieces) was organised according to the main Christian festivities, theological and liturgical themes and moral songs (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Trinity, the Eucharist, Prayer, the Fragility of the Human Condition, School-Life, Concord), ending with two sections about history and springtime. It contains mostly medieval poetry and music. Both textual scholars and musicologists have been able to trace the roots of the collection to medieval sources. The oldest poetical and musical layers seem to date back to the eleventh century. Some of the musical forms of the collection were definitively old-fashioned in the sixteenth century, although medieval musical forms were widely practised in sixteenth-century and early-seventeenth-century Sweden and Finland.[24] Among the known

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Seura, 1988), pp. 358–387; Knuutila, 'Aapiset', pp. 81–85; Knuutila, 'Virsikirjat', pp. 136–138; Knuutila, 'Hartauskirjallisuus', pp. 147–149.

21 *Handlingar och uppsatser 1*, pp. 167–171.

22 Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', pp. 112–113, n. 12; see also Iiro Kajanto, 'Didrik Ruuth's *Propemptikon*: The First Finnish Humanist Poem' in Jyri Vaahtera and Raija Vainio (eds.), *Utriusque linguae peritus. Studia in honorem Toivo Viljamaa*. (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1997), p. 172.

23 Johan Axel Almquist, *Den civila lokalförvaltningen i Sverige 1523–1630, med särskild hänsyn till den kamerala indelningen, 4 vols* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1917–23), IV, p. 41; Ivan Svalenius, *Rikskansliet i Sverige 1560–1592* (Stockholm: Svenska Riksarkivet, 1991), pp. 96–97.

24 Norlind, *Latinska skolsånger*, pp. 46–150; Timo Mäkinen, *Aus frühen böhmischen Quellen*; Gudrun Viergutz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Musikunterrichts an den Gelehrtenschulen der östlichen Ostseeregion im 16. und 17. Jahrhunbdert* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto,

authors are Philippus Cancellarius from Paris (d. 1236), the Icelandic bishop Gísli Jónsson (d. before 1549), the headmaster of Aarhus school, Morten Børup (1446–1526) and professor of law from Rostock University Henricus Husanus (1536–1587). Some songs have acrostics with names such as Bircerus, Olauus, Raguualdus, Johannes, Petrus, Thomas and Iacobus.[25]

The title page and the following page with a psalm quotation (Ps. 89) is followed by a dedication to Christian Horn and a nine-page preface addressed to him in which Theodoricus defends the use of music as an integral vehicle for religious education. There is a certain resemblance of the preface by Jacobus Finno to his Finnish hymnbook of 1583. While Theodoricus argues that music 'turns the human mind and thoughts to things divine', Jacobus Finno argued that people internalise divine teachings through singing.[26] Both follow closely the words of Martin Luther about the centrality of spiritual song.[27] Theodoricus refers St Paul's epistles to the Colossians (Col. 3) and the Ephesians (Eph. 5), and gives King David as an example, all of which were conventional references in early Lutheran hymnbooks.[28]

Theodoricus and Jacobus both mentioned biblical examples of composing religious songs and relied on a continuous tradition. Jacobus gave more biblical and patristic examples while Theodoricus turned to describing musical features of the songs in *Piae Cantiones* which were set variously to one, two, three or four voices and emphasises the value of both theoretical and practical musical education.[29] According to Theodoricus, these songs were used in the schools of the whole Swedish realm, and were now being offered, reworked and corrected by magnificent and famous men from the city of Turku.[30] Finally he repeats his gratitude to his patron Christian Claesson Horn and dedicates his work to him.[31]

The octavo book with musical notation, despite its size, must have been a relatively costly effort in 1580s Finland, which was a remote periphery. Printers were available only in Stockholm or in the coastal towns on the southern

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2005); Jorma Hannikainen and Erkki Tuppurainen, 'Vernacular Gregorian Chant and Lutheran Hymn-singing in Reformation-era Finland', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 157–178; see also Sanna Raninen in this volume.

25 Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written and Performed', pp. 112–113.

26 *Piae Cantiones*, pp. 3–4; *Jaakko Finnon Virsikirja*, pp. 8, 168.

27 Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', pp. 195–196.

28 *Piae Cantiones*, pp. 4–6; see Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', pp. 194–195.

29 *Piae Cantiones*, pp. 3–5.

30 *Piae Cantiones*, p. 1; cf. Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', p. 112.

31 *Piae Cantiones*, pp. 10–11.

shore of the Baltic Sea, such as Lübeck, Rostock, Greifswald, Danzig (Gdansk), Königsberg (Kaliningrad) and others.[32] The involvement and support of princes, high aristocrats and senior clergymen was necessary. Hence efforts needed to be made to gain the acceptance of both lay rulers and high ecclesiastics. Evidently the project accorded with the Irenic theology and church policy sympathetic to ceremonial liturgical tradition favoured by King Johan III, although his relations with Catholic delegates and Jesuits had cooled in the early 1580s.[33] After spending some years in Rostock, Theodoricus moved to Stockholm to the king's service. But after the death of Johan III in the 1590s he found himself in an awkward and troubled position when dynastic and religious struggles broke out.[34]

2 Swedish Translations 1591–1619

In 1591 the vicar of Härnosand parish in Ångermanland, Laurentius Jonae Gestricius (d. 1597/1598), published a thirty-two-page octavo collection of religious songs *Några Andelighe Wijsor och Loffsonger*, which included twenty-one songs, both translations of biblical psalms and Latin hymns.[35] Later, in 1619, his son Haquinus Laurentii Rhezelius, preacher at the Grey Friars' (Gråmunka, now Riddarholmens) church in Stockholm, published another collection of his father's translations, *Några psalmer, andelighe Wijsor of Loffsonger*, containing 178 songs and fifty-eight musical notations.[36] The 1591 edition has translations of *Congaudet turba fidelium*, *Laetetur Ierusalem* and *Personent hodie*, and the 1619 edition *Christus pro nobis passus est*, *Puer nobis in Bethelem*, all included in the original *Piae Cantiones* from 1582. Rhezelius published in 1619 some which had been included in Hemmingius' expanded Finnish hymnbook from 1605 (*In natali domini*, *Ascendit Christus hodie*, *Surrexit Christus hodie*) and later printed in the second Latin edition in 1625

32 Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria, 1: Medeltiden, reformationstiden* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1975; repr. 1997), pp. 229–233; Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria, 2: Stormaktstiden* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1975; repr. 1997), pp. 69–71; Esko Häkli, 'Suomen ensimmäinen kirjapaino', in Esko Häkli etc. (eds.), *Kirja Suomessa* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto, 1988), pp. 97–99.

33 Lars Ericson, *Johan III. En biografi* (Stockholm: Historiska media, 2004), pp. 193–210.

34 Anthoni, 'En förteckning över flyktningar i Polen i början av 1620-talet', *Historisk tidskrift för Finland*, 27 (1943), p. 69; Svalenius, *Rikskansliet*, pp. 96–97; Ericson, *Johan III*, pp. 210–212.

35 Liedgren, *Norrländska psalmer*, pp. 53–56.

36 Liedgren, *Norrländska psalmer*, p. 54; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600, 3*, pp. 116–117; Henrik Schück and Karl Warburg, *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria, 2*, pp. 81–82.

(*Ascendit Christus hodie*, *In natali Domini*, *Parvulus nobis nascitur*, *Surrexit Christus dominus*, *Surrexit Christus hodie*).[37]

Laurentius Gestricius dedicated his collection in 1591 to two respectable women from the town of Härnosand, Catharina, the wife of the burgher Mårten Olufsson, and Sigrid, the wife of the burgher Mårten Hannse, but there is no preface nor is the printer mentioned.[38] His son Haquinus Rhezelius presents a much wider list of dedications, a ten-page preface and a recommendation by Johannes Botvidi, a doctor of theology, a Latin poem by Ericus Fabritii, rector of the school of Stockholm, praising the 'sacred songs' (*sacrae cantilanae*) of Laurentius Gestricius and even two Latin epigrams by Johannes Carolistadius and Aegidius Aurelius Holmius.[39]

Dedications and prefaces grew in number and in length in the early 1600s, although they were not exceptional among the books and publications of the previous century. While the father Laurentius Gestricius dedicated his translations to two burghers' wives, the son Haquinus Rhezelius lists seventeen clergymen from Ångermanland hailing collectively 'their collaborators in the service of the Order' and greets the governor of Ångermanland, Anders Erichson, Judge Nils Bengtson, the mayor of Härnosand Mårten Oloffson and collectively the town's council and burghers. In his preface he repeats some Lutheran commonplaces, emphasising the need for religious songs and congregational singing by referring to the same epistle of St Paul to the Colossians as Theodoricus Rwtha and Jacobus Finno and lists the moral benefits by following closely the arguments of Martin Luther in his hymnbook prefaces.[40] Rhezelius refers briefly to the biblical and Christian history of composing hymns in a similar way to Jacobus Petri Finno in the preface to the first Finnish hymnbook in 1583.[41]

It seems evident that Rhezelius wanted to promote his father's memory and the value of his work but, at the same time, felt it necessary to defend his choice of using old Latin songs as the source of translations. There is an air of ambiguity in promoting medieval or Catholic hymns: they were certainly valued but presented with arguments used to defend congregational singing

37 Gestricius, *Några Andelighe Wijsor*, pp. Ai^{r}–Aiiij^{r}; Rhezelius, *Några psalmer*, pp. 37, 40, 99, 122; Hemmingius, *Yxi vähä suomenkielinen Wirsikiria*, Hemm1605-139:1-L9b-Hemm1605-139:9-L10b, Hemm1605-161:1-N3b-Hemm1605-161:18-N4b, Hemm1605-166:1-N6b-Hemm1605-166:7-N7a; *Cantiones Piae et antiquae*, pp. 22, 36, 42–43, 48.

38 Gestricius, *Några Andelighe Wijsor*, pp. Ai$^{r.}$ Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, 3, pp. 116–117, attributes the print to Andreas Gutterwitz in Stockholm.

39 Rhezelius, *Några psalmer*, pp. i^{v}–viij^{r}.

40 Liedgren, *Norrländska psalmer*, pp. 53–54.

41 Rhezelius, *Några psalmer*, ij^{r}–vi^{v}; Lehtonen, 'Pious Songs', pp. 193–207.

diverging from the older tradition of educated ecclesiastical choirs formed by clergymen and schoolboys. For Rhezelius it was necessary to underline that the songs translated and published here were devoid of 'popish' influence.

Haquinus Rhezelius paraphrases Luther's arguments that hymns turn the youth away from evil and lewd songs, as does Jacobus Finno in his Finnish hymnbook in 1583: 'that people will be kept away from lewd love and whore songs which are composed by lewd people and now without any guidance are freely printed and distributed'.[42] He gives a short history of spiritual songs from biblical times through early Christian days up to his own time, again in a rather similar way to Jacobus Finno. Likewise Haquinus Rhezelius deprecates the use of 'foreign language' (Latin) and adds that in the songs of monks and nuns 'much sound and many notes were heard but only few words and little understanding'.[43] However, not all old church songs were tainted. There were also those which 'did not have the taste of popish leaven', which his father Laurentius Gestricius chose to translate and publish.[44] These songs have been approved by the archbishops of Uppsala Olaus Martini (1601–1606) and Petrus Kenicius (1609–1636), who were both known proponents of Lutheran orthodoxy.[45] Rhezelius himself claims to have collected the melodies and music from 'old parchments and songbooks which he had sought out from churches and schools both in Finland and here in Sweden'.[46]

Gestricius and Rhezelius were not the only ones who translated and distributed Latin songs from the *Piae Cantiones* collection. The learned clergyman and royal astronomer Sigfridus Aronus Forsius (d. 1624), born in Helsinki (Helsingfors in Swedish) was also active in this field. Forsius later acted in royal service in mainland Sweden in Stockholm and in Västerbotten comprising present-day counties (*län* in Swedish) of Västerbotten and Norrbotten including *lappmarker* (ie. mostly Lapland populated by Sami, see Fig. 7.1) in the very same regions as Theodoricus Petri Rwtha. Later Forsius was expelled from Stockholm and he returned to Finland to serve first as vicar of Kimito (Kemiö in Finnish) and then of Ekenäs (Tammisaari in Finnish) in southern Finland.[47]

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42 Ibid., p. ii^{v}.

43 Ibid., p. v^{r}.

44 Ibid., pp. v^{r}–vi^{v}.

45 Ibid., pp. v^{v}; Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria,* pp. 40–41, 75–77.

46 Rhezelius, *Några Psalmer*, p. vi^{r}.

47 Enewald, Nils, *Sverige och Finnmarken. Svensk Finnmarkspolitik under äldre tid och den svenska-norska gränsläggningen 1751* (Lund: Gleerupska Universitetsbokhandeln, 1920), p. 157; Per-Olof Snell, '*Brottstycken från Torne och Kemi lappmarker. Birkarlar, fogder, lappar, bönder, gränstvister'* (24 September 2013), in Leif Boström (ed.), *Släktforskning. Främst från Norr- och Västerbotten*, pp. 34–37, http://familjenbostrom.se/genealogi/norrbotten/Torne_Kemi_lappmarker.pdf, accessed 26 June 2018; Birger Steckzén, Birger, *Birkarlar*

Forsius was a prolific author who published almanacs, astrological predilections, works on astronomy and minerology, sermons and religious songbooks, and he left behind manuscripts now mostly kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm and at the Uppsala University library.[48] He published in 1608 eleven spiritual songs with their musical notation. Among them was *Ascendit Christus hodie*, translated by Laurentius Gestricius and later by Hemmingius of Masku and published in Latin in the 1625 edition of *Piae Cantiones*.[49] In *Andelige psalmer och och visor* (probably 1614) more songs from the *Piae Cantiones* collection were published. The collection has been attributed to Forsius, whose initials are attached to one song and whose name is found in an acrostic of another, although it is not sure whether he was behind the whole collection and its translations.[50] The collection included a version of a macaronic Christmas carol *In dulci iubilo* published both in monolingual and bilingual (macaronic) versions in Swedish and Finnish hymnbooks.[51]

Forsius published a preface in his 1608 collection where he addresses 'Christian readers', refers to psalms and praise songs in the Old and New Testament, David's psalms and St Paul's epistle to the Colossians (Col. 3). He relates that he has reproduced the melodies as well. He explains that he chose rhymes after the French model so that the number of syllables agrees in rhyming lines.[52] Already Jacobus Finno, in a Finnish context, had underlined the importance of the use of rhyme, deviating from the traditional Finnish oral idiom. For Finno it meant associating new Finnish hymnal poetry with the tradition of 'other Christian lands'.[53] For Forsius it seems to have been a question of poetic and metric ideals, possibly passed through Calvinistic

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och lappar: en studie i birkarleväsendets, lappbefolkningens och skinnhandelns historia (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964), pp. 76–83, 100, 311–312; Kiiskinen, *Sigfrid Aronus Forsius*, pp. 27–44 and *passim*; see also Martin Kjellgren, *Taming Prophets. Astrology, Orthodoxy and the Word of God in Early Modern Sweden* (Lund: Sekel förlag, 2011).

48 Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi: 1600-talet: Bidrag till en bibliografisk förteckning, I–II* (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1942–1946), pp. 269–274; *1500- och 1600-talens visböcker III*, pp. 305–338, 535–574; Toivo I. Haapalainen, 'En koralhistorisk undersökning. S. A. Forsius' koralhäfte och dess melodier', in *Några nyia psalmers, loffsångers och andhelighe wijsors thoner, sign. T3*(2) i *Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, ed. Toivo I. Haapalainen* (Turku: Åbo Akademi, 1973); Harald Olsson, *Johannes Messenius, Scondia illustrata. Studier i verkets tillkomsthistoria och medeltidpartiets källförhållanden* (Lund: Glerupska universitetsbokhandeln, 1944), pp. 311–313; Kiiskinen, *Sigfrid Aronus Forsius*, pp. 479–491.

49 Haapalainen, 'S. A. Forsius' koralhäfte', p. 8.

50 Ibid., p. 2.

51 See note 8.

52 Forsius, *Några nyia psalmers*, pp. 1–2.

53 *Jaakko Finnon virsikirja*, pp. 15, 175; Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', pp. 203–207.

French models. Forsius did not feel it necessary to defend his choice of medieval or Catholic repertoire, unlike Haquinus Rhezelius and later the brothers of Theodoricus Rwtha.

3 The Finnish Translation of 1616

Hemmingius Henrici (*c.*1550–1619), vicar of Masku parish, who translated the collection into Finnish, stood on the other side of the political divide from Theodoricus Rwtha and his patron Christian Claesson Horn af Åminne. Hemmingius' parish was next to the fortified manor of Kanckas (Kankainen in Finnish), which belonged to another branch of the Horn family, who were supporters of confessionalist or orthodox Lutheranism and backed Duke Karl. Hemmingius participated in the Uppsala synod in 1593 where the Swedish Lutheran confession was defined and established as the state religion. His bishop, Ericus Erici Sorolainen from Turku, was a moderate Lutheran, favourable to King Johan's church policy, loyal to his heir Sigismund and openly critical of the alleged Calvinistic sympathies of Duke Karl. Moreover, Carl Henriksson Horn, lord of Kanckas (*c.*1550–1601), father of Hemmingius' patron, attended the Uppsala meeting as well, supporting the stricter confessionalist line.[54] Later, possibly in 1605, Hemmingius published a new Finnish hymnal (which survives in the 1607 edition) including the hymns by Jacobus Petri Finno and 141 new ones translated or composed by Hemmingius and the dean (*domprost* in Swedish) of Turku cathedral, Petrus Henrici Melartopaeus (*c.*1550–1610), a strong supporter of Duke Karl and an active anti-papist and reformer of liturgical practices. In the preface to the hymnbook, Hemmingius addresses his words to the Finnish people and no dedication to any patron is given. But when publishing the translation of the *Piae Cantiones* in 1616 he dedicates the work to Henrik Carlsson Horn af Kanckas (1578–1618), the son of Carl Horn and a loyal supporter of King Karl IX and his son Gustav II Adolf.[55]

Hemmingius may have had a loyalty conflict between backing either his bishop or patrons from Kanckas, who belonged to opposing parties. Nevertheless, at least in the early 1600s he belonged among the trusted Lutheran clergymen

54 Eric Anthoni, *Till avvecklingen av konflikten mellan hertig Carl och Finland, I: Konfliktens uppkomst och hertigens seger* (Helsinki: Mercator, 1935), p. 40; Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 170–172.

55 *Yxi vähä suomenkielinen Wirsikiria* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1607), USTC 2092729; Hemmingius, *Vanhain Suomen maan Pijspain* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1616), p. Aii^{r}, USTC 251626; Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 170–171; see Chapter 4 by Suvi-Päivi Koski in this volume.

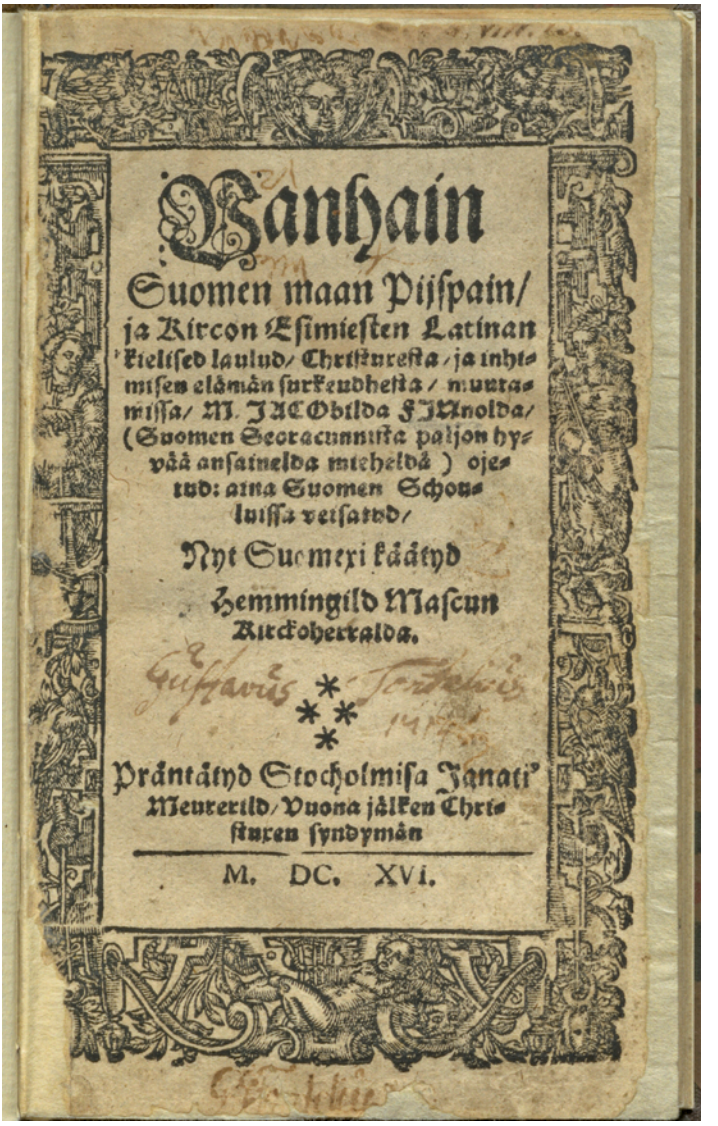
Vanhain
Suomen maan Piſpain/
ja Kircon Eſimieſten Latinan
kielised laulud/ Chriſtinuesta/ ja inhi-
miſen elämän ſurkeudhesta/ muuta-
missa/ M. JAC Obilda F JArnolda/
(Suomen Seoracunnista paljon hy-
vää ansainelda mieheldä) oje-
tud: aina Suomen Schou-
luissa vetsatud/
Nyt Sue mexi käätyd
Hemmingild Maſcun
Kirckoherralda.
Prändätyd Stocholmiſa Janati
Meurerild/ Vuona jälken Chri-
ſtuxen ſyndymän
M. DC. XVI.

FIGURE 2.2 Title page of *Piae Cantiones*, Finnish translation 1616
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who were working to root out the remnants of 'popish superstition'.[56] In this conjunction it is of course interesting that he translated the *Piae Cantiones* collection into Finnish and included a hymn about the medieval patron of the

56 Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 170–172.

Turku diocese, St Henry.[57] Furthermore, Hemmingius used poetic language containing features from Finnish oral tradition, the so-called Kalevala-metre poetry, which was avoided by his sixteenth-century predecessors Michael Agricola and Jacobus Finno. It seems that even the early orthodox Lutherans valued the 'Old Church' and medieval traditions, which, however, needed to be modified and re-interpreted. They did not avoid the Kalevalaic poetic features nor did they consider their use 'pagan' or 'superstitious'.[58]

Hemmingius had included some translations of songs from the *Piae Cantiones* in his expanded edition of the Finnish hymnbook of 1605 by Jacobus Finno, Petrus Melartopaeus and himself which he did not re-publish in the 1616 collection.[59] I have analysed elsewhere more closely Hemmingius' translation of *Ramus virens oliuarum*, a hymn celebrating the patron saint of Finland, Bishop Henry.[60] Hemmingius seems to have modified the Latin metric structure for Finnish, thus enabling the use of the original melody from the *Piae Cantiones*. However, he did so in a highly original way that set him apart from his predecessors, although Melartopaeus seems to have shared his poetic views. They both used elements of the vernacular oral Finnish poetic tradition instead of Germanicising or Latinising their Finnish, which was a standard solution among their predecessors.[61] In the case of *Ramus virens oliuarum* Hemmingius reorganised the original song and added some lines and one whole strophe to make his translation understandable for an audience not used to biblical, liturgical and hagiographic allusions as an audience fluent in Latin was assumed to be. Occasionally he used alliteration and other features familiar from oral idiom or so-called Kalevala-metre poetry. He combined oral features with new literary characteristics such as rhyme and iambic metre introduced into Finnish hymn poetry by Agricola and Finno. Hemmingius adapted the universal, abstract and allusive Latin into the local, concrete and literal vernacular. This does not mean that his vernacular does not contain as many other intertextual and immanent meaningful elements, quite the

57 See Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed'.

58 Kati Kallio, 'Changes in the Poetics of Song during the Finnish Reformation', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 125–156; Lehtonen and Kallio 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet'; Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, pp. 124–126, 406–410, 536–547, see English Summary, pp. 591–608.

59 Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, p. 21; Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 178–187.

60 Although I now disagree with some of my conclusions of the understanding of Kalevalaic features as remnants of 'Catholic' or 'Pagan' expressions, Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed'.

61 Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet'.

contrary; he seems to master the vernacular tradition not by imitating a poetically pure form, but in using its resonances for his own purposes.[62]

The title page is followed by a five-page dedication to Henrik Carlsson Horn af Kanckas, which is rounded off with two pages of summarising rhymes addressed to his 'reader'. The work is dated 9 June 1616. After crediting the original Latin *Piae Cantiones* to Jacobus Finno, Hemmingius refers to St Paul's epistle to the Colossians, as had Finno, Theodoricus, Forsius and Rhezelius in their respective prefaces. Hemmingius continued along the same lines, relating that 'here in Finland as well during the ancient decadence of the [Christian] teaching and in the times of darkness the Holy Spirit evoked some divinely learned men and leaders of the Church to write songs in Latin about the Nativity, Passion and Ascension of Christ, and the Holy Trinity, and complaints about the ills of the world and the sufferings in this life, thus urging the youth to a respectable life and good manners'.[63] According to Hemmingius these songs were sung in the schools of Finland and were mostly composed there with only 'one or two exceptions made abroad'.[64] This is decidedly an exaggeration. The text and music have pan-European origins; five identified authors are either from continental Europe or Scandinavia and names found in the acrostics do not refer specifically to Finland, although nothing rules out some of them possibly having been composed in the diocese of Turku. Only one song, *Ramus virens oliuarum*, relating elliptically the legend of St Henry, may have a local Finnish origin. Nevertheless, some variations were possibly local and the manuscript tradition seems to have been strong.[65]

Hemmingius comments on his own translations and explains how difficult the work had been, since, he argues, the Finnish language did not flow as smoothly as the original Latin did. This is a commonplace repeated in the prefaces of his predecessors such as Agricola and Finno.[66] However, despite linguistic and poetic difficulties, the original meaning is, he feels, conveyed in his translations. He claims that these songs are like old-fashioned clothes, which are still useful for us. Finally, Hemmingius concludes his dedicatory preface by addressing himself again to his patron Henrik Carlsson and greets his wife Anna and their sons and daughters.[67]

62 Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', pp. 124–130.
63 Hemmingius, *Vanhain Suomen maan Pijspain*, pp. Aii^{v}–Aiii^{r}.
64 Ibid., p. Aiii^{v}.
65 Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', pp. 112–113.
66 Hemmingius, *Vanhain Suomen maan Pijspain*, p. Aiii^{v}; Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', p. 204.
67 Ibid., pp. Aiij^{r}–Aiij^{v}.

4 The New Latin Edition of 1625

In 1625 the brothers and nephews of Theodoricus Petri Rwtha published in Rostock a new Latin edition of the *Piae Cantiones* collection. The main people concerned were Johannes Petri Rwtha, lord of Bergstadh and a colonel of Swedish army, and Bartholdus Petri Rwtha, mayor of Vyborg, and his sons. In the preface Theodoricus is credited as the sole editor of the collection and Finno is not mentioned. Furthermore they hired two clergymen, Henricus Martini Fattebuur, the headmaster of Vyborg school, and Matthias Jacobaeus Tholia, the vicar of the town parish, to annotate the collection as a proof of its evangelical content as the 'pure word of God'. Also a cantor, Daniel Friderici from Rostock, was hired to elaborate the music and modify it for 'present' use.[68]

Both Tholia and Fattebuur had been educated at German universities. Tholia studied at Wittenberg and visited the universities of Rostock, Greifswald and Giessen from 1614 onwards. Finally he returned to Finland via Amsterdam and Hamburg in 1619. He was supported among others by the leading Swedish aristocrat, Jakob De la Gardie, and King Gustav II Adolf. Fattebuur attended Wittenberg at the same time as Tholia, and studied in Rostock and Frankfurt an der Oder as well from 1608 to 1615. They both returned to Vyborg. It is quite likely that they knew Cantor Daniel Friderici from Rostock before they were hired to edit the *Piae Cantiones* collection.[69] Some print runs included a *Conclusio* mentioning students Jöns Henriksson Teetgren (son of Henricus Johannis named in the preface) and Samuel Croëll taking care of the business in Rostock.[70]

The purpose of the Ruuth (Rwtha) brothers was evidently to invest in promoting the family reputation and to whitewash allegations of their Catholic

68 *Cantiones piae et antiquae*, pp. A1^{r}–A5^{v}; Gudrun Viergutz, 'Daniel Friderici ja *Piae cantiones* -kokoelman vuoden 1625 painos', in Erkki Tuppurainen (ed.), *Virsin, lauluin, psalttarein. Juhlakirja Reijo Pajamon 60-vuotispäivänä 27.9.1998* (Kuopio: Sibelius-Akatemia, 1998), pp. 70–82; Viergutz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Musikunterrichts*, pp. 12–16.

69 Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun akatemian perustamista* 1940 (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1997), pp. 310–314; Simo Heininen, 'Fattebuur, Henricus Martini (noin 1590–1647), Nevanlinnan kirkkoherra, kirjailija', in Matti Klinge etc. (eds.), *Suomen Kansallisbiografia, 2* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura 2003), pp. 738–739; Simo Heininen, 'Tolia, Matthias Jacobaeus (1582–1656), Viipurin tuomiorovasti', in Matti Klinge etc. (eds.), *Suomen Kansallisbiografia, 8* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2007), pp. 857–858.

70 Viergutz, 'Daniel Friderici', 74–75; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, pp. 293, 315, 317.

sympathies. Not only had Theodoricus fled to Danzig but one of Bartholdus' sons, Johannes, who is not mentioned in the preface, had converted to Catholicism and was exiled as well to Danzig.[71]

The *Piae Cantiones* collection represented an ambiguous heritage. On the one hand it definitely added to the status of the Ruuth family, which had chosen a triple strategy to raise its sons as nobles, by looking out for careers in the military, as bourgeois, by achieving leading positions in the Finnish coastal towns, and as scholars, by showing literary and academic skills. At the same time the social structure of Sweden was changing; the status of the nobility was raised and after the establishment of the house of the nobility in 1626 the estate presented itself as a closed class.[72] Social climbers like the Ruuth family needed to work hard to solidify their own position. All religiously doubtful or treacherous stains had to be cleansed away. The preface proudly represents both Johannes and Bartholdus as nobles even though the latter had pursued a career of a successful merchant and a burgher.[73]

The new edition was dedicated to the governor of Finland, Carl Oxenstierna, a member of powerful Oxenstierna family and a nephew of Axel Oxenstierna, the king's chancellor. After them the sub-castellan of Vyborg, Henricus Johannis, and the nobleman Andreas Monachus are listed, along with the male members of the Ruuth family. By starting the list by mentioning King Gustav II Adolf and dedicating the book to his governor the authors were making a polite bow to royal authority.[74]

The leading men in the town of Vyborg, many of them personally connected to the high aristocracy and royal power in Sweden and who had studied at the same universities or been active close to the centre of power in Stockholm,

71 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Nedre justitierevisionen / Högsta domstolen, E 1 A:33, Revisionsakter, Carl Ruuth och Peter Golawitz contra fru Anna Ruuth, angående Bergstad gård i Åbo[sic] 2.10.1649; here consulted on microfilm: Kansallisarkisto (KA), Helsinki, Ulkomaiset mikrofilmit, luettelo 607–1, Ruotsi, Riksarkivet …, Justitierevisionen, Revisionsakter, Carl Ruuth och Peter Golawitz …, 2.10.1649, mf. FR 1092 (hereafter: *Golawitz v. Ruuth* [1649]). I am indebted with deep gratitude to Virpi Nissilä who let me use documents collected by her. Anthoni, 'Förteckning', p. 69.

72 Jan von Konow, *Sveriges adels historia* (Karlskrona: Axel Abrahamsson Förlag, 2005), pp. 94–104; Bo Eriksson, *Svenska adelns historia* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2011), pp. 173–181.

73 *Cantiones piae et antiquae*, pp. A1^{r}–A1^{v}; Hans Gillingstam, 'Ruuth, släkter', in Göran Nilzén etc. (eds.), *Svensk Biografiskt Lexikon, 30* (*Stockholm: Svenska riksarkivet, 1998*), pp. 779, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/7055, accessed 27 June 2018; Veli-Matti Autio, 'Ruuth (1500-) suku', in Matti Klinge etc. (eds.), *Suomen Kansallisbiografia 8* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006), pp. 427–429.

74 *Cantiones piae et antiquae*, p. A1^{v}.

dedicated their literary works to the leading members of the Swedish aristocracy in order to strengthen the mutual bond between them. It was not only the Ruuth family that applied these tactics; so did Tholia and the bishop of Vyborg, Olaus Elimaeus. Elimaeus had studied together with Axel Oxenstierna at Rostock and dedicated a congratulatory poem to him. In 1621 he published a hymnbook.[75] These men were aware of the risks of being associated with the wrong faith or the wrong dynasty. But instead of omitting some parts of their cultural heritage they tried to turn it into an acceptable aspect of their image and status. It seems that they succeeded in doing so, since the *Piae Cantiones* collection remained in use at the Swedish and Finnish schools and was reprinted in 1679 and again in the eighteenth century.[76] However, they were not able to cleanse all the suspicions. One members of the Ruuth family itself, Anna, the daughter of Bartholdus, was prepared to accuse her relatives, the descendants of Theodoricus, of being related to a Catholic traitor.

5 The Itinerary of Theodoricus

We know only fragmentary facts about the life of Theodoricus Petri Rwtha or Didrik Persson Ruuth. He was born into the family of Per Jönsson Ruuth (Petrus Johannis Rwtha), who was a member of the lower nobility (*frälse* in Swedish), since his father had been ennobled by King Gustav Vasa.[77] However, Per himself was a burgher of the small town of Porvoo. He seems to have promoted his sons' military, civic and learned careers, since one of them, Johannes or Jöns, became a professional soldier and lord of the Bergstadh estate, and another, Bartholdus or Bertil, a leading burgher and mayor of the city of Vyborg (Viipuri

75 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, pp. 249, 292, 302–305, 311–312; Pentti Laasonen, 'Elimaeus, Olaus' (18 July 2000), in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997–), http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-kbg-000475; Olov Elimaeus, *Soomenkielinen Wirsikiria: soomencocouxis Jumalata kijttä soomenkielellä, tehty m. Jacobilda Soomalaiselda, ia muilda Soomen papilda. Cunnialisen herran Wiburin pispan m. Olouin Elimaeuxen tiedhost ia soosiost …* (Stockholm: Christopher Reusner, 1621), USTC 252786.

76 *Piae Cantiones* (1679); *Cantilenae selectiores* (1761); *Cantilenarum selectiorum editio nova* (1776); Lagerborg, 'Vår äldsta konsdiktning', pp. 81–84.

77 Wilhelm Gabriel Lagus, *Undersökningar om finska adelens gods och ätter, eller Jesper Mattsson Krus' förteckning öfver nye och gamble frelsis landböndher 1618 med biografiska, genealogiska, heraldiska, topografiska och kameraliska anteckningar* (Helsinki: J. C. Frenckell & son, 1860), p. 74; Jan Samuelson, *Aristokrat eller förädlad bonde? Det svenska frälsets ekonomi, politik och social förbindelser under tiden 1523–1611* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1993), p. 323.

in Finnish, Viborg in Swedish) on the Karelian isthmus then in south-eastern Finland. Didrik Persson was probably born around 1560. He enrolled at the University of Rostock in July 1581 as Theodoricus Petri Suecus Wiburgensis, identifying himself probably with the city where he had been educated and where another branch of Ruuth family was firmly rooted. We do not have any other information about his education but his literary career as an editor of medieval school songs and versifier of neo-Latin poems proves that he was well educated in Latin already when arriving to Germany.[78]

Theodoricus dated the preface to the *Piae Cantiones* collection 23 May 1582.[79] He may have had the manuscript with him already when he arrived in Rostock the previous summer. At least the sailing season between the northern and southern shores of the Baltic Sea lasted from late spring to late autumn, varying from year to year. Anyway, he must have been trusted by the leading men of the diocese of Turku, among them the headmaster of the cathedral school, Jacobus Petri Finno, and the dean, Henricus Canuti, who was the acting bishop at the time but was never elected to the office. He had also formed close ties with the aristocratic family of Horn af Åminne. He thanked Christian Classon Horn for his protection and support in the preface.[80]

Theodoricus stayed in Rostock after his master's graduation in 1584. He seems to have been a part of the humanistic circles there. After the publication of the *Piae Cantiones* collection in 1582 he composed a *propemptikon* (farewell poem to travellers) to Johannes Petri Gevallensis on the occasion of his departure from Rostock in 1583.[81] Next year he published together with other

78 Gillingstam, 'Ruuth, släkter', p. 779; Autio, 'Ruuth (1500–), suku', pp. 427–429; Iiro Kajanto, 'Ruuth, Theodoricus Petri, (noin 1560–ennen 1617), latinankielinen runoilija, kuninkaan sihteeri, vouti', in Matti Klinge etc. (eds.), *Suomen Kansallisbiografia, 8* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006), pp. 433–435; Lagerborg, 'Vår äldsta konstdiktning', pp. 67–70; Almquist, *Civila lokalförvaltningen*, IV, p. 41; Svalenius, *Rikskansliet*, pp. 4, 20–21, 46, 96–97; Steckzén, *Birkarlar*, pp. 76–83; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, pp. 270–274, 299–300.

79 *Piae Cantiones 1582*, p. A6^{r}.

80 *Piae Cantiones 1582*, pp. B2^{r}, A5^{v}–A6^{r}.

81 Theodoricus Petri (Rwtha), 'Carmen elegiacum in discessum Johannis Petri Gevaliensis ab Academia Rostochiensi 1583', Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala, Palmskiöldska samlingen, vol. 343, pp. 269–270; Kajanto, 'Didrik Ruuth's *Propemptikon*', pp. 170–179; on Theodoricus' poems, see also Tuomo Pekkanen, 'Latinsk litteratur i Finland under 1500- och 1600-talen. Kort översikt över bestånd och forskning', in Karsten Friis-Jensen (ed.), *Latinen i Norden 1500–1700. Inlaeg ved nylatinkurset på Biskops-Arvö august 1975* (Køpenhamn: Museum Tusculanum, 1977), pp. 35–56: Tuomo Pekkanen, 'Suomen uuslatinalainen runous ennen Turun akatemian perustamista', in Pentti Laasonen etc. (eds.), *Collegium Scientiae. Suomen oppihistorian kehityslinjoja keskiajalta Turun akatemian alkuaikoihin* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1983), pp. 99–120; Iiro Kajanto,

students a congratulatory poem and another *propemptikon* in honour of his cousin Christianus Bartholdi Rwtha (Kristian Bertilsson Ruuth) on his master's graduation and as a farewell to Rostock, and a wedding poem for Martinus Toummanus and Anna Ruccenia (Rauch), a cantor and a vicar's daughter in a local parish of Gnoien near Rostock.[82]

In 1587 Theodoricus published in Stockholm together with Johannes Federus a wedding poem for his patron Christian Claesson Horn and Catharina Bielke, sister of the state counsellor (*riksråd* in Swedish), Hogenskild Bielke.[83] Next year Theodoricus or *Mäster* Didrik Persson was nominated as a secretary to the royal chancery, where he stayed at least until 1592.[84] According to Ivan Svalenius the secretaries' status was comparable to that of the high aristocracy and the leading ecclesiastics, although they were usually recruited from bourgeois and clerical families or from the lower nobility. Men with university training were often recruited into the chancery. During the reign of Johan III a relatively high number of the secretaries came from his former duchy of Finland. In the late 1580s and early 1590s humanistic learning and Catholic sympathies were common among them. Many of the secretaries lost their position after the death of Johan III and especially after Duke Karl became more influential. In the late 1590s and early 1600s many former members of the chancery were exiled and some were beheaded.[85]

Theodoricus married a noblewoman, Aurora Persdotter Silfversparre (d. *c.*1650), from the province of Uppland, Sweden, where they held some

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Latina, kreikka ja klassinen humanismi Suomessa (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000), pp. 64–67.

82 *Carmina gratulatoria in honorem honesti, pii, ac docti Iuvenis, Christiani Bartholdi Wiburgensi, cum ei gradus Magisterij Philosophici in Academia Rostochiana VII. Idus Aprilis, à Decano M. Iohanne Posselio, Graecarum literarum Professore celeberrimo, decerneretur: Ab amicis Scripta* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1584), USTC 619370; *Propempticon doctrina, pietate et virtute ornatissimo viro, M. Christiano Bartholdi Wiburgensi, ex Academia vrbis Rosarum, 12 Iulij. Anni 1584, in patriam discendenti, scriptum à popularibus.* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1584), USTC 687548; *Epithalamivm ad opt. v. doctrina atque virtute praestantem, Dn. Martinum Toumannum, amicum carissimum, sacram coniugij societatem ineuntem cum honestia, pia atq*[*ue*] *pudica virgine Anna, Reuerendi & docti viri, Magistri Ioachimi Ruccheni, Pastoris Ecclesiae Gnoiensis, filia carissima.* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1584), USTC 652776; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, pp. 31–32.

83 Johannes Federus and Theodoricus Petri Rwtha, *Epithalamion in honorem generosi et illvstris Christierni Horn, Liberi Baronis ab Aminna, etc., Sponsi, et, antiquae inclytae nobilitatis Catharinae Bielkiae, virginis lectissimae, Sponsae* (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1587), USTC 300054.

84 Svalenius, *Rikskansliet*, pp. 96–97.

85 Svalenius, *Rikskansliet*, pp. 4–6, 16, 21, 57–59, 88.

estates. The Silfversparre family had ties to King Sigismund but Theodoricus' brothers-in-law Arent and Kettil Persson Silfversparre were both amnestied in 1608 by King Karl. Three of Theodoricus' and Aurora's children reached adulthood.[86]

Theodoricus' fate was to be sent up north to Västerbotten and Lapland, where he participated in the work of the border commission, marking the border after the peace treaty of Teusina with Russia in 1595. Later he was active in discussing the pro-Swedish arguments against the claims by Denmark, which ruled the Norwegian territory. He seems to have criticised some Swedish arguments as being poorly based on reliable historical evidence.[87] He acted as a bailiff in Västerbotten comprising also regions in Norrland and Lappmark and collected taxes from 'Lapps' (the Sami population). It was not uncommon that the actions of royal bailiffs were opposed by the local population and complaints were sent to the king.[88] Theodoricus was not only attacked for benefitting himself but also for being in contact with King Sigismund's supporters. He was regularly in contact with Count Abraham Brahe, who was among other things the governor for the northern Swedish provinces.[89]

After 1601, I have not been able to find any traces of Theodoricus. Usually it is mentioned that he was exiled to Danzig sometime between 1602 and 1604.[90] He was listed in an anonymous *Hertigh Carls Slaktarebenck* attacking King Karl

86 Gillingstam, 'Ruuth, släkter', p. 779; Steckzén, *Birkarlar*, pp. 77–78; Autio, 'Ruuth (1500–), suku', pp. 427–429; Kajanto, 'Ruuth, Theodoricus Petri', pp. 433–435; see also 'Silfversparre nr 99. Adliga och friherrliga ätterna Silfversparre nr 99 och 330' (16 May 2014), in *Adelsvapen-Wiki*, https://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/silfversparre_nr_99, accessed 26 March 2019.

87 Steckzén, *Birkarlar*, pp. 76–83; Snell, '*Brottstycken*', pp. 34–37.

88 Mats Hallenberg, *Kungen, fogdarna och riket. Lokalförvaltning och statsbyggande under tidig Vasatid* (Stockholm / Stenhag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2001), pp. 285–286.

89 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Skoklostersamlingen 2, in Folio, Greve Abraham Persson Brahe, SE/RA/720795/II/01/002, E 8134: From Didrik Persson to Abraham Brahe: 10 December 1600, 16 April 1601, 29 June 1601, 'Vthj wästerbothen … knechternes månekosther', s.d., 23 July 1601, 29 July 1601; From Abraham Brahe, 'Fogdarne i Norrland' 22 January 1601, 'Memoriaal för fogdarnne i Nårlandenn', s.d.; to Didrik Persson: 17 June 1601, 27 February 1601.

90 Last dated correspondence by Theodoricus / Didrik to Count Abraham Brahe is from July 1601 (see note above); bailiff's accounts by Didrik Persson from years 1595–1601 have as well preserved, e.g. 1601: Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Landskapshandlingar, 1530–1630, Västerbottens handlingar, 1539–1630, 1601 (SE/RA/5121/5121.16/1601:4A, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0044459; complaint by Gert Skrivare is undated but refers to year 1600: Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Strödda kamerala handlingar 1520–1828, 55 (Klagomålsregister o. rannsakningar), 1581–1622, SE/RA/5103/55, 50 ('Klagopunkter mot fogden mäster Dirich i Västerbotten. 1601'), https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0071065_00289, accessed 8 November 2019).

posthumously in 1617. Among the exiles there is mentioned 'royal secretary, Master Dirich Person'.[91] In the early 1600s Gert Skrivare sent a long list of complaints from Västerbotten to Stockholm about Theodoricus' actions as a bailiff around 1600.[92] We have several letters by him addressed to Abraham Brahe where he explains his actions in the region but the last is dated July 1601.[93] Around 1601–1602 traces of him seem to disappear and his goods and estates were confiscated at the same time.[94]

The accusations against Theodoricus seem to have been common in almost every bailiff's sphere of activity.[95] It was evident that he was suspicious in the eyes of Duke Karl and strictly orthodox Lutheran clergy. He had served King Johan III, his patron Christian Claesson Horn was imprisoned and closely connected with aristocrats critical of Karl and with many supporters of Sigismund, his wife's relatives were in the same camp and he had been active in humanistic and possibly pro-Catholic literary circles. He had every reason to feel himself insecure in Sweden and he was probably aware that the accusations of betraying the crown as a tax-collector worsened his position.

6 Inheritance, Nobility and Religion

From 1647 to 1649 the Turku Court of Appeal (*Åbo hovrätt* in Swedish) dealt with an inheritance dispute between the members of the Ruuth (Rwtha) family. A branch descending from Theodoricus and another branch of his brother Bartholdus (Bertil) each litigated for the manor of Bergstadh in eastern Uusimaa (Nyland in Swedish) owned by Johannes Petri Rwtha (Ruuth) and after him Enewald Bertilsson Ruuth (Theobaldus Bartholdi Rwtha), brother and nephew of Theodoricus Rwtha. The parties presented careful family trees showing that Johannes had no heirs. The argument of the sister of Enewald and niece of Johannes and Theodoricus, Anna Ruuth, and her representative, her

91 *Hertigh Carls Slaktarebenck, dät är En sanferdigh wiss berättelse, om de ynckelige fängzlende, pinande, och mördande, som den ogudachtige försten hertigh Carl till Södermanlandh … bedreffwet hafuer …* (Cracow, 1617)*; Tor Berg* (*ed.*)*, Hertigh Carls Slaktarebenck … med efterskrift av Tor Berg* (Stockholm: Lagerström, 1915), p. 93.

92 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Strödda kamerala handlingar, 'Klagopunkter'.

93 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Skoklostersamlingen 2, E 8134: Didrik Persson to Abraham Brahe 10 December 1600, 16 April 1601, 29 June 1601, 'Vthj wästerbothen … knechternes månekosther', s.d., 23 July 1601, 29 July 1601.

94 Kansallisarkisto (KA), Helsinki, Yksityisarkistot, Johan Wilhelm Ruuth, luettelo 603: 18, 15–16; Almquist, *Civila lokalförvaltningen*, IV, p. 41.

95 Hallenberg, *Kungen*, pp. 285–286.

son-in-law Peter Udnie, was that Theodoricus had been exiled from Sweden as a supporter of Sigismund and as a Catholic which meant that he was guilty of high treason and had forfeited his descendants' inheritance rights to his brother. This penalty would be applied to his children and in-laws as well.[96]

Of Theodoricus and Aurora Silfversparre's children, Peder Didriksson Ruuth was a major in the Swedish army and was executed in 1637 after he had surrendered a fortress without resistance and given it to the enemy. Carl Didriksson Ruuth was a colonel in the artillery and died in 1656. Brita Didriksdotter Ruuth married Peter Golawitz, a Swedish lieutenant colonel of Russian origin who played a prominent role in the quarrel that broke over the Ruuth family estate representing at the court both his wife Brita and his brother-in-law Carl, who was garrisoned in Germany for the whole time, participating mainly through letter correspondence.[97]

On 2 October 1649 the Turku Court of Appeal gave its sentence in the case of Peter Golawitz vs. Anna Bertilsdotter Ruuth on the inheritance of Enewald Bertilsson Ruuth, who had passed away in 1641. Enewald was brother to Anna and cousin to Peter Golawitz's wife Brita Didriksdotter.[98] The core of the inheritance was Bergstadh estate in Porvoo (Borgå in Swedish), which enjoyed exemption from taxes, which required a formally acknowledged noble status of its owners.[99] Litigation did not end here since Peter Golawitz and Carl Didriksson Ruuth seem to have later sued Peter Udnie over defamation during the legal proceedings. It is significant that also Theodoricus was listed among the co-claimants, despite the fact that he had been deceased for decades at the time of the claim. They won their case in May 1657, although both Peter Udnie and Carl Ruuth had passed away in previous year.[100]

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96 *Golawitz v. Ruuth* [1649].

97 'Ruuth i Finland nr 125. Adliga ätten Ruuth I Finland nr 125†' (6 May 2014), in *AdelsvapenWiki*, https://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Ruuth_i_Finland_nr_125#TAB_15, accessed 26 March 2019; Gillingstam, 'Ruuth, släkter', p. 779; Steckzén, *Birkarlar*, pp. 77–78; Autio, 'Ruuth (1500–), suku', pp. 427–429; Kajanto, 'Ruuth, Theodoricus Petri', pp. 433–435; *Golawitz v. Ruuth* [1649].

98 *Golawitz v. Ruuth* [1649].

99 In 1618 Jesper Mattsson Krus made an inquiry of Finnish nobility, edited and commented in Lagus, *Undersökningar*. About Bergstadh estate: Lagus, *Undersökningar*, pp. 453–454; cf. Eino Jutikkala and Gabriel Nikander, *Suomen kartanot ja suurtilat, 1* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1939), pp. 22–31, on Bergsta[dh], pp. 564–565; see Samuelson, *Aristokrat, p. 323*.

100 Barthold Ruuths arkiv, SE/RA/720070, E 5447, vol. 24, Familjepapper, Bihang: … Handlingar tillhörande ätten Golawitz arkiv, Konungliga rätten i Finland 14.5.1657, here consulted on microfilm: Kansallisarkisto (KA), Helsinki, Ulkomaiset mikrofilmit, luettelo 607–3,

The Swedish House of Nobility was established in 1626 with a strict formal process defining how and who might be introduced into it.[101] At the same time the religious policy had become stricter. At the Örebro Diet of 1617, Catholicism was equated with high treason and was punishable with a capital sentence.[102] Along with genealogical arguments, the rights to the inheritance of Anna Bertilsdotter were defended with proofs that she was of a noble birth, while the other branch of the Ruuth family had a dubious pedigree as suspected Catholics and supporters of the Polish and Catholic branch of the royal Vasa dynasty. Especially incriminated was Theodoricus, the father-in-law of Peter Golawitz.

The court case led Carl Ruuth to defend his side of the family and its reputation. In a letter from Stettin on 21 February 1649 to Arvid Forbus, Carl relates that he has found a witness from Danzig about his father's death 'when pestilence was ravaging there', who could testify that Theodoricus never said or did anything against his fatherland, Sweden. We do not have the exact date of Theodoricus' death but usually it is said to have taken place before 1617. Neither do we have exact information about when he was exiled from Sweden.[103]

7 From Catholic Tradition to Lutheran Heritage

We do not have any direct evidence for the final reason for Theodoricus' fall from royal favour and his exile. Clearly there were plenty of reasons for suspicion in

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Ruotsi, Riksarkivet ..., Barthold Ruuths arkiv, Familjepapper ... 14.5.1657, mf. FR 487. The presence of these documents and other material probably presented at the defamation proceedings (such as letters of nobility issued for the Golawitz family) in the private archive of Barthold Ruuth (1626–1707), nephew of Anna and Enevald, may indicate that the documents were incorporated in the estate archives of Ruuth family, consolidated by Barthold.

101 Konow, *Sveriges adels historia*, pp. 94–104; Eriksson, *Svenska adelns historia*, pp. 173–181.

102 Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, pp. 70–71.

103 Universitetsbibliotek, Lund, De la Gardieska arkivet, Släktarkiven, Arvid Forbus, Vol. 15.2; Carl Didrichsson Ruuth, nr. 59. According to Carl Ruuth his father did not live long in Danzig. Furthermore epidemic pestilence ravaged in Danzig 1601–1603 killing a third of the population, 'Prussian Plague of 1602', in George Childs Kohn (ed.): *Encyclopedia of Plague and Pestilence. From Ancient Times to the Present* (New York: Facts on File, 2008), p. 313. Hence Didrik Ruuth probably passed away soon after his arrival to the city. More commonly accepted year of his death 1617 is based on the mention in *Hertigh Carls Slaktarebenck* published in 1617 established by J. W. Ruuth, Kansallisarkisto (KA), Helsinki, Yksityisarkistot, 'Johan Wilhelm Ruuth, luettelo 603: 18, 15–16. I am indebted to Lari Ahokas for this observation.

Duke Karl's eyes. The relatives of Theodoricus evidently felt first that there was something in his reputation that needed to be cleared publicly, although their descendants later showed no scruples in using them in a civil case against their own kin. No suspicions against the *Piae Cantiones* are expressed in the contemporary sources but the editors and translators felt it necessary to emphasise the nature of the songs as being based on the 'pure word of God' and 'free from popish leaven'. The tendency grew more vocal in the late 1610s and in the 1620s as Rhezelius' and the Ruuth brothers' prefaces testify.

To sum up, the case of the *Piae Cantiones* collection shows that the medieval Catholic heritage in the form of Latin pious songs was highly valued. This is in line with the treatment of church decorations, mural paintings and statues in Sweden and Finland, which for the most part were not whitewashed or destroyed as in many other places in Protestant Europe.[104] However, contemporaries felt that they needed to re-interpret their contents by emending the texts to fit with Lutheran dogma or by adding biblical references to them. The authoritative dedications were added to show the loyalty to the reigning dynasty and its representatives. The prefaces show varying ways to link the authors or compilers with relevant networks and elites.[105] In 1582 Theodoricus/Didrik bound himself to a local nobleman with close connections to royal power, while Laurentius Gestricius expressed his gratitude in 1591 to female representatives of a small town's bourgeoisie. In 1605 Hemmingius sought in his hymnbook the backing of the leading clergymen of the Turku diocese, while in his translation of *Piae Cantiones* in 1616 he dedicated his work to a well-connected local nobleman close to the new ruling branch of the Vasa dynasty. Haquinus Laurentii Rhezelius chose to list clergymen, all well-known supporters of the new confessionalist or orthodox Lutheranism. In 1625 the Ruuth family wanted to associate itself with aristocrats and the loyal servants of Gustav II Adolf to ensure their reputation. Translating, compiling and editing religious songs and putting them into print was not only a gesture of religious and learned sympathies but made visible political and social ties. Both Rhezelius, by publishing his father's translations, and the

104 Anna Nilsén, 'Reform and Pragmatism. On Church Art and Architecture during the Swedish Reformation Era', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 253–286; Hanna Pirinen, 'Early Lutheran Networks and Changes in the Furnishings of the Finnish Lutheran Parish Church', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 287–310.

105 See Richard A. McCabe, *'Ungaineful Arte'. Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016), pp. 1–12 and *passim*.

Ruuth brothers, by having their brother's achievements printed, were investing in magnifying their family reputation, although they had to put some effort into convincing their audiences that these songs were free from 'popish leaven' and were based on the 'pure word of God' – both shibboleths for reliable Lutheran texts.

CHAPTER 3

The Musical, Material and Social Networks of Swedish Clergy in the Early Seventeenth Century

A Case Study of Manuscript S 110 from the National Library of Sweden

Sanna Raninen

The gradual implementation of religious reformation in the new kingdom of Sweden is evident in the liturgical music books from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; although new Lutheran music required some new books, the clergy continued to create and circulate their own music manuscripts, often with repertory familiar from the pre-Reformation era. Each liturgical music manuscript is a unique composite in terms of format and content, reflecting the materials available and skills possessed by each clergyman-scribe, who occasionally left his signature on pages to signify ownership of the book. The surviving books offer an invaluable insight into the development of music, liturgy and language; in addition, their physical properties provide an interesting case study for the material culture of books in Sweden, as is the case with the liturgical music manuscript S 110, held in the National Library of Sweden. Prior to ending up in the library the book had gone through a process of production that extends from Stockholm to continental Europe, followed by an intriguing chain of ownership and authorship, which illustrates the varied and flexible material relations a book of music had in post-Reformation Sweden during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[1]

1 Making a Music Book: the Material Properties of S 110

Manuscript S 110 is in oblong quarto format, with page dimensions of 151 × 196 mm. In its current state the book has 61 folios, with some pages missing

1 This chapter stems from my post-doctoral research project Material Culture of Music Books in Post-Reformation Sweden, funded by the Kone Foundation and the Swedish-Finnish Cultural Foundation. My thanks to Wolfgang Undorf, John Milsom, Marianne C. E. Gillion, Mattias Lundberg and Fanny Stenback for sharing their wisdom that has helped me in the process of research and writing. The manuscript S 110 has been digitised by SweLiMus (Swedish Liturgical Music Sources *c*.1520–1820), a project funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond: http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-401033.

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from the original quire structure. Judging by the surviving spine and bindings, however, it would appear that the number of missing pages is not considerable; the original binding may have consisted of 64 folios, and thus have been made from 16 sheets in total.[2] A modern pencil foliation has been added in the top-right corner of the openings, although it is not consecutive throughout. The watermark on the paper is similar to one found in a bailiff's account book from southern Finland, dated to 1581; it is not listed in the Briquet catalogue, but it is similar to watermarks originating from the area of the Upper Rhine–Lorraine.[3]

A notable feature that sets S 110 apart from other liturgical manuscripts surviving from the era is its grid of staves printed ready on each page; usually in Swedish manuscripts staves are drawn with the help of either a ruler or a rastrum (see Fig. 3.1). Printed staves usually appear in published books of liturgy, among other textual material, but not as a form of stationery paper to create a book from, as is seen in S 110. Paper with ready-printed staves for music was widely available in Europe during the sixteenth century, although usually these contain staves with either five stave lines for mensural vocal or instrumental music, or even six lines for lute tablatures.[4] Music paper with four-lined staves is a little less common, as it restricts its use to more specific musical activities such as chant, but also for plucked instruments such as the mandore, a small lute used mainly in France, and the cittern, a plucked instrument popular throughout Europe in various forms.[5] The stave area in S 110 measures *c.*120 ×

2 Quire structure 1^4 (1, 2 missing), 2^4, 3^5, 4^4, 5^3, 6^5 (4 missing), 7^3, 8^4. The folio numbers referred to in this chapter are according to the modern foliation, excluding the missing pages.

3 Kansallisarkisto (KA), Helsinki, Varsinais-Suomen voutikuntien tilejä, 1389 Etelä-Suomen tilikirja (1581) (https://www.finna.fi/Record/narc.VAKKA-316273.KA_VAKKA-2187266.KA); a copy of a similar watermark and its provenance in Nils J. Lindberg, *Paper Comes to the North. Sources and Trade Routes of Paper in the Baltic Sea Region 1350–1700* (Marburg (Lahn): International Association of Paper Historians, 1998), pp. A 119, A 190.

4 For the production of printed music paper, see Iain Fenlon and John Milsom, '"Ruled Paper Imprinted": Music Paper and Patents in Sixteenth-Century England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37/1 (Spring 1984), pp. 139–63; Laurent Guillo, 'Les papiers à musique imprimés en France au XVII^{e} siècle: Un nouveau critère d'analyse des manuscrits musicaux', *Revue de musicologie*, 87/2 (2001), pp. 307–69; Katherine Butler, 'Printed Borders for Sixteenth-Century Music or Music Paper and the Early Career of Thomas East', *The Library*, 7th ser., 19 (2018), pp. 174–202; John Milsom, 'Printed Music Papers: Research Opportunities and Challenges', in Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Grantley McDonald (eds.), *Lasting Impressions: Music and Material Cultures of Print in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2021), pp. 41–62.

5 James Tyler, 'Mandore', *Oxford Music Online*, https://doi-org.ezproxy.its.uu.se/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.45646, accessed 4.4. 2019; James Tyler: 'Cittern', *Oxford Music Online*, https://doi-org.ezproxy.its.uu.se/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05831, accessed 4.4. 2019.

FIGURE 3.1 Printed staves in MS S 110
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SWEDEN, MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION, MS S 110

155 mm, with a grid of six staves per page, with a stave height of 10 mm and space between staves of 11 mm. The staves were printed from single pieces of type, measuring *c.*10 × 12 mm; each line of staves is constructed of 12 pieces of type; thus to print one sheet of stave paper seen here would take 288 separate pieces. The printer would have had to invest a small sum for the acquisition of the type, but in terms of labour, the process of assembling formes for printing stave paper like this would have been a fairly straightforward task for experienced printing-house staff.[6] The printer of this paper has not yet been identified, but there are at least two manuscripts from the first half of the sixteenth century that use printed music paper with very similar style and dimensions: Stadtbibliothek, Ulm, MS Schermar Misc. 133 contains repertory for mandore, and Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Vm[1] 957 contains chant repertory for an unidentified professed house.[7]

6 Milsom, 'Printed Music Papers'.

7 Guillo, 'Les papiers à musique', pp. 349–50; other four-line stave paper is mentioned in Fenlon and Milsom, 'Music Paper and Patents', pp. 159, 162, but the measurements do not match those of S 110.

The continental origin of the printed music paper in S 110 is further evident in light of contemporary music-printing activities in Sweden. King Gustav Vasa began imposing strict censorship from 1526 onwards on all printed books in the kingdom to guard against any Counter-Reformation measures or any other activities that might diminish his status; in addition, he centralised all publishing activities to the royal printing press in Stockholm, which remained the only one in the country throughout the sixteenth century.[8] Some printing activity existed prior to the Reformation: the first example of printed staves is the *Missale Upsalense* of 1484 by Johan Snell in Stockholm, but the materials used in the royal printing house after the Reformation differ in dimension and technique from the earliest works. The royal printer Amund Laurentsson (active 1543–75) printed staves from woodcuts for several liturgical books during his career, as did his follower Torbjörn Tidemansson (active 1576–8).[9] Printing staves and notation together from single-type (or cast-type) was not carried out in Sweden until 1586 by Andreas Gutterwitz, who used them in only four known titles before 1600.[10] Overall, markets for music publications were very limited in Sweden at the end of the sixteenth century, and printing of any kind of material operated in Stockholm at a considerably smaller scale than in big centres of printing and publishing in continental Europe.[11]

S 110 has retained its original binding of brown leather with stamped and gilded decoration (Fig. 3.2). The front cover also gives clues as to the original date of the creation of the book, as it carries an inscription 'V:B | Dono dedit E P | 1580' ('[To] V:B.given as a gift from E P, 1580'). Given particularly the decorative motif in the middle of the cover, the likely identity of the binder is Nils Olofsson, also referred to as 'Nils Bokbindare', a book dealer and binder of German origin who operated in Stockholm between 1564–1627. Previous research has identified ten different bindings attributed to Nils Olofsson that

8 G. E. Klemming and J. G. Nordin, *Svensk boktryckeri-historia 1483–1883: med indelande allmän öfversigt* (Stockholm: Mannerheim & Mannerheim, 1983), p. 150; Remi Kick, 'The Book and the Reformation in the Kingdom of Sweden 1526–71', in Jean-François Gilmont (ed.), Karin Maag (English edn & tr.), *The Reformation and the Book*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 450–1.

9 *Messan på swensko förbättrat* 1548, *Messu eli Herran Echtolinen* 1549, *Een liten songbook til at brukas j kyrkionne* 1553 (two editions), *Then parabolen om Samaritaner* 1572, *Se pyhä messu Somen kielen* 1575, *Troon* 1578. Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, 3 vols. (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1927–38), 1, pp. xi–xvi.

10 Åke Davidsson, *Studier rörande svenskt musiktryck före år 1750* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1957), pp. 93–4.

11 Sten G. Lindberg makes a vivid anecdote by stating that all known printing activity in sixteenth-century Sweden equals to one year's output of all printing in Paris. Sten G. Lindberg, *The Art of Book in Sweden* (Lund: Svenska Institutet, 1983), p. 6.

FIGURE 3.2 Front cover of MS S 110
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SWEDEN, MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION

range from the covers of city privileges and the New Testament in Swedish of 1526 to various account books for different organisations.[12] The stamped motif in the middle of the binding of S 110 is identical with one described to have been in the cover of Stockholm's town hall protocol books (*tänkebok* in Swedish) collated and bound in the 1590s.[13] Nils Olofsson was evidently running a successful book-binding and import business at a considerable volume for the needs of Stockholm and beyond;[14] therefore, it is likely that the paper containing the printed staves inside the bindings of S 110 were also imported

12 Gustaf Rudbeck, 'Några band af Nils bokbindare och hans son Mäster Bengt, Med 4 fig.', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, II (1915), 265–72; Arvid Hedberg, *Stockholms bokbindare 1460–1880*, I (Stockholm: Kungliga boktryckeriet, 1949), pp. 32–3.

13 Hedberg, *Stockholms bokbindare 1460–1880*, p. 32 (fig. 66). The original bindings described and illustrated by Hedberg were discarded as the books were re-bound in 1950 (Stockholms stadsarkiv, Borgmästare och råd före 1636, A:28); the bindings are also described in Daniel Almqvist, *Stockholm stads tänkeböcker från år 1592* (Stockholm: Stockholms stadsarkiv, 1939), v.

14 Hedberg, *Stockholms bokbindare*, p. 32.

by him. Printed stave paper was imported and used in Sweden prior to the collation and binding of S 110, as Nils Olofsson's professional colleague and fellow German Hans Düsterbach provided bindings for a few surviving partbooks that are associated with Erik XIV's court (1560–8), which have five-line staves printed ready for mensural music.[15]

2 Owners: from an Aspirational Bailiff in Stockholm to a Pastor in Uppland

S 110 was donated to the National Library of Sweden on 9 August 1887 by Johann Wilhelm Schürer von Waldheim på Mellingeholm (1843–1914), who was a nobleman and a landowner from Norrtälje.[16] He appears to have owned the book for some years prior to donating it, as he has added his name and the year '1878' to the inside of the front cover. The inside of the cover also bears the name of the possible first owner of the book, 'Anno s. 81 die 21 April. Erich Biörsz Katt', along with an Ovidian quotation: 'Conscia mens recti famae mendacia ridet' ('A mind that is aware of what is right laughs at the lies of fame') and a passage from Proverbs 18.10: 'Turris fortissima est nomen domini' ('The name of the Lord is a strong tower'), written in the same handwriting (Fig. 3.3). The card catalogue of the National Library identifies the date as 1681 and the name as 'Erik Björk Katt'.[17] This identification is possibly derived from research by Sigurd Kroon, who researched the possible bearer of that name from the *Series pastorum* of Uppsala diocese, without finding a match.[18] A more plausible identification is presented by Bengt Kyhlberg as 'Erich Biörsz[on] Katt', a bailiff from Stockholm Castle, with a date 1581, this being closer to the year indicated in the cover.[19] Erik Björnsson first appears in archival material as a commanding officer (*skeppshövitsman* in Swedish) on various ships between

15 See, for example, Kungliga Biblioteket (KB), Stockholm, MS S 229:1 and 229:2; Musik- och teaterbiblioteket (Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Bibliotek), Stockholm, Tyska Kyrkans Samling, 45; Hedberg, *Stockholms bokbindare*, pp. 33–7; Kia Hedell, *Musiklivet vid de svenska Vasahoven: med fokus på Erik XIV:s hov (1560–8)*, Studia Musicologica Upsalensia, new ser. 20 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2001), pp. 198–9.

16 Adam Lewenhaupt, *Sveriges ridderskaps och adels kalender 1913* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1912), pp. 1008–9.

17 Kungliga Biblioteket (KB), Stockholm, Handsskriftsamlingens nominalkatalog, 22264.

18 Sigurd Kroon, *Ordinarium Missae. Studier kring melodierna till Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus och Agnus Dei t.o.m. 1697 års koralpsalmbok* (Lund: Gleerup, 1953), p. 95 n. 1.

19 Bengt Kyhlberg, *Musiken i Uppsala under stormaktstiden. Bidrag till dess historia grundade på en arkivinventering*, 1 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1974), p. 142.

1565–71.[20] He is then listed as a castle bailiff in Stockholm between 1571–81. During his employment at the castle he was also associated with work at Häringe between 1575–81, which was the location of a shipyard and a naval base near Stockholm.[21] In 1585 he is listed as a Master of the Ordnance for the field artillery (*tygmästare vid fältarkliet*) in Livonia, before working for the district court in Sollentuna between 1588–9, and earning himself the title of nobleman on 15 July 1590.[22] The last name 'Katt' appears in documents is in connection with his daughter, Margareta Eriksson Katt, who inherited a house in Stockholm owned by Erik.[23] Although it has not been possible to trace the 'V.B.' and 'E.P.' mentioned in the cover specifically to Erik Björnsson or any of his associates, a fine leather-bound book with printed staves ready for collating music suitable for moments of pastime is not an inconceivable item in the hands of an upwardly mobile gentleman such as Erik Björnsson evidently was. Yet, judging by the lack of significant gaps in the existing quire structure and the lack of any written notation other than the later liturgical music, it would appear that he did not use the book very much. Although citterns that would have been played from four-stave tablature notation are not mentioned specifically in surviving inventories from late-sixteenth-century Sweden, lutes and lute tablatures appear in the royal inventories and musicians associated with the court in Stockholm, and the import of music instruments to Sweden was an established practice from King Gustav Vasa's time onwards.[24] S 110 does stand out somewhat from the surviving tablatures of late-sixteenth-century Sweden, however, as none of the surviving tablatures are written for a cittern.[25]

After Erik Björnsson, the next identified owner of the book was Johannes Beck (Becchius), who was the pastor for the Bro parish (now Roslagsbro-Vätö parish in Norrtälje commune) in the Uppsala diocese between 1611 and his

20 Hjalmar Börjeson and Georg Hafström, *Skeppshövidsmän vid örlogsflottan under 1500-talet. Biografiska anteckningar* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1949), p. 26.

21 Jan Glete, *Swedish Naval Administration 1521–1721. Resource flows and organizational capabilities* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 282, 366, 376.

22 Johan Axel Almquist, *Den civila lokalförvaltningen i Sverige 1523–1630, med särskild hänsyn till den kamerala indelningen*, 4 vols. (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1917–23), I, p. 158; IV, pp. 44–5; Bernhard Schlegel and Carl Arvid Klingspor, *Den med sköldebrev förlänade men ej å Riddarhuset introducerade svenska adelns ättar-taflor* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1875), p. 379.

23 Frans de Brun, *Holmiana et alia*, 1 (Stockholm, 1922), pp. 238–9.

24 Hedell, *Musiklivet*, pp. 150–1, 153–9.

25 A comprehensive list of surviving tablature sources in Jan Olof Rudén, *Music in Tablature: A Thematic Index with Source Descriptions of Music in Tablature Notation in Sweden* (Stockholm: Svenskt musikhistoriskt arkiv, 1981).

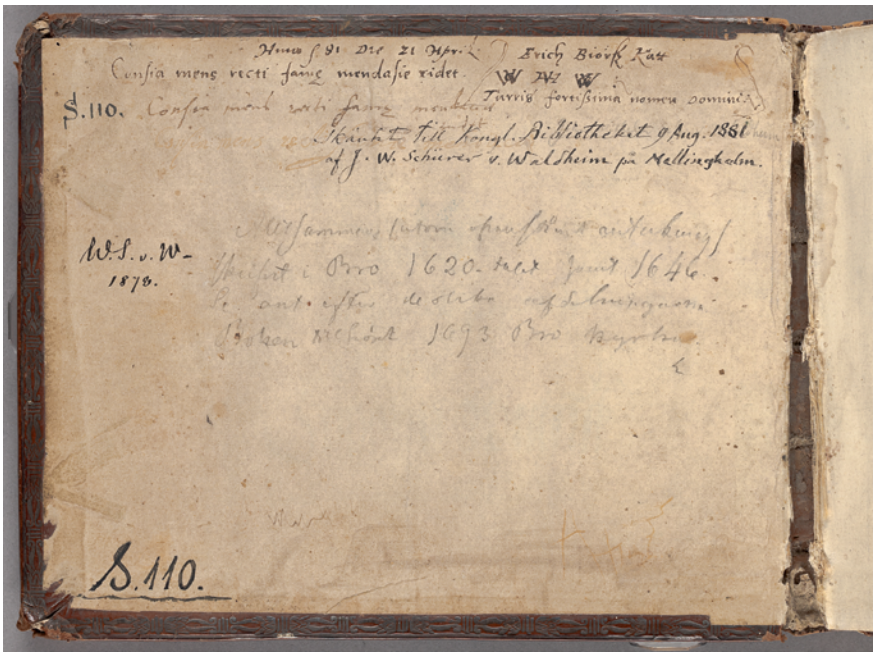

FIGURE 3.3 Inside the front cover of MS S 110
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death before 1634.[26] He received an education in Uppsala and is credited as the author of *Catecheseos chytrei* of 1602, mentioned by Johannes Schefferus in *Svecia literata* of 1680.[27] It is unclear how the book passed from Erik Björnsson's possession in Stockholm to Johannes Beck in a small parish in Uppland, as no evidence of Björnsson's connections with the area survives. The existing contents of the book were added for the most part during Johannes Beck's ownership, and he used it to preserve liturgical music, especially chants for the Divine Office. The Church Ordinance of 1571 was the first complete church order in Sweden after the Reformation, and remained in force until a new

26 Johan Eric Fant and August Theodor Låstbom, *Upsala ärkestifts herdaminne*, 1 (Uppsala: Wåhlström & Låstbom, 1842), p. 166; Lars-Erik Bergström and Åke Malmström, *Sveriges kyrkobyggnader: i ord och bild jämte series pastorum* (1935); Sigurd Kroon, *Ordinarium Missae*, p. 94; Bengt Kyhlberg, *Musiken i Uppsala*, p. 142.

27 'Analysin Catecheseos Chytrei a D. L. Paulino in Acad. Upsal. expositae publice, excepit An. 1602.' Johannes Schefferus, *Svecia literata seu descriptis & scriptoris gentis sveciae. Opus postumum* (Stockholm: Henrici Keyser, 1680); also mentioned in Kyhlberg, *Musiken i Uppsala*, p. 142.

comprehensive church law was written in 1686. The church order stipulates that the use of songs in Latin for the Office is still allowed occasionally, and thus the cathedral schools could ensure proper education in Latin was still available.[28]

Although the continued use of chants in Latin for the Office is evident from surviving music manuscripts from the first hundred years after the Reformation, no printed books containing the repertory were available until 1620, when Eskil Mattsson printed his *Liber Cantus*.[29] In order to have appropriate songs in Latin available, the clergymen were reliant on their own scribal skills or books collated prior to the Reformation and still in usable condition. S 110 contains chants for the celebration of the Office for some key dates in the liturgical year: Christmas Day, Easter Sunday, Pentecost and the Feast of St Michael (Appendix 1). In addition to the chants for the Office, there are also Kyriales in Swedish for Pentecost, the Feast of St Michael and Easter Sunday, as well as *Te Deum* and the Athanasian Creed in Swedish. The book has fifteen empty folios in the middle, and the very last quire of the book contains ten funerary songs, one of which is in Swedish. The placement of the funerary songs at the very end of the book reflects an organisational practice seen in other sources in which *cantus funebres* are presented at the very end of a printed book or a manuscript;[30] in the case of S 110 the scribe has made a generous estimate for the space required, which has resulted in the last three folios being left empty. The collections for Christmas and Easter Sunday are the most comprehensive, containing repertory for Matins, Lauds and second Vespers, although for Easter Sunday the section for Vespers includes only two antiphons.

28 'Så mångha ock än nu några Latiniska songer medh ibland sungne warda, för theras skul som thet Latiniska målet kunna eller ock lära skola', *Den svenska kyrkoordningen 1571: jämte studier kring tillkomst, innehåll och användning*, ed. Sven Kjöllerström (Lund: Håkan Ohlsson, 1971), p. 103. Also discussed in Jyrki Knuutila, 'Tukholman suomalaisen seurakunnan 'messukirja' ja jumalanpalveluselämän muuttuminen evankeliseksi 1500-luvulla', in Jorma Hannikainen (ed.), *Facultas Ludendi: Erkki Tuppuraisen juhlakirja* (Iisalmi: Sibelius-Akatemia, Kuopion osasto, 2010), pp. 79–114 (pp. 95–6).

29 *Liber cantus in quo glorificationes, hoc est: Kyrie et Venite, nec non: Sequentiae ac Antiphonae, in summis & simplicibus Festis, atq; diebus Dominicalibus usitatae, continentur. Additus est etiam cantus ecclesiasticus sive Gregorianus, qui in solennibus Ecclesiae Festivitatibus, canitur. Item: Threnodiae, quibus in funerum deductionibus, utuntur* (Uppsala: Eskil Mattsson, 1620), USTC 252345.

30 For example MS *Liber cantus* (early seventeenth century), Gamla Uppsala Kyrkoarkiv; Facsimile edition in Folke Bohlin, *Olaus Ericis sångbok. En handskriven liber cantus i Gamla Uppsala kyrkoarkiv* (Uppsala: Wetterqvist, 1967), *Liber Cantus Upsaliensis*.

3 Scribes: Wandering Students, Peers, Family Members and Successors

Though the book was owned by Johannes Beck, he seems not to have written any of the music himself. Along with Schürer von Waldheim's and Björnsson's names, eight scribes have written their names in relation to the contents of the book, and Beck's ownership of the book is evident through the dedications written for him. Usually liturgical music manuscripts contain names to indicate ownership of the book, and the dedications of music to the book's owner are yet another unusual feature in S 110, giving it some features of a *liber amicorum*. The earliest surviving repertory in the book is for the Christmas Day (fols. 1^{r}–7^{v}), written by Elias Olai and Andreas Johannis Bothniensis, with a dedication reading:

> Elias Olavsson and Andreas Johannesson of Bothnia wrote these things for the use of the most learned man Johannes Beck, most watchful pastor of the people of Bro, on the festal day of December 1615.[31]

The date is later altered to look like '1545' with black ink, possibly by Schürer von Waldheim in the late nineteenth century. Elias Olai Bothniensis (1580–1653) is listed as a chaplain to Bälinge parish (now Bälingebygden in Uppsala commune) in 1623, before his appointment as a pastor to Häverö parish (now Häverö-Edebo in Norrtälje) from 1635 until his death.[32] No details of the life and career of Andreas Johannes Bothniensis have survived, apart from a speculative presence at Uppsala University in 1611 along with Elias Olai.[33] The first quire is missing some pages from the beginning, and it is possible that the portion written by Andreas Johannes and Elias Olai also included chants for the Vigil for Christmas Eve, as the first page includes the final four words of the antiphon *Dum ortus fuerit sol* as well as a complete antiphon *Ecce completa sunt omnia*, also belonging to the Christmas Eve Vigil repertory.

The repertory for Easter Sunday (fols. 8^{r}–14^{v}) was also a team effort by two scribes named Olaus Petri and Johannes Petri Suderbyensis, who did not leave a dedication or a date but only their names at the bottom of fol. 14^{v}. Olaus and

31 Kungliga biblioteket (KB), Stockholm, MS S 110: 'Haec in usum Doctissimi viri Domini Johannis Beckii | Pastoris Broensium vigilantissimi, scripserunt Elias Olai | et Andreas Johannis Bothniensis Anno 1615 | die Festio Decembris'.

32 Fant and Låstbom, *Upsala ärkestifts herdaminne*, 1, p. 213; Kyhlberg, *Musiken i Uppsala*, p. 144.

33 Fant and Låstbom, *Upsala ärkestifts herdaminne*, 2, p. 123; Kyhlberg, *Musiken i Uppsala*, p. 160.

Johannes were presumably brothers from a neighbouring parish of Söderby (now Estuna och Söderby-Karl in Norrtälje). Olaus's career is mostly obscure, apart from his final position as a chaplain at Stockholm's Storkyrkan before his death around 1630. Johannes' career is slightly better known, as he entered Rostock University in 1621 and graduated in 1624, followed by an appointment as an academic notary in Uppsala in the same year, and as a rector in the town of Enköping in Uppland in 1628, before settling as a pastor in Väddö parish (now in Norrtälje) from 1635 to his death in 1655; he was evidently very successful in his career as he was also made a provost (*kontraktsprost* in Swedish) in 1640 and attended the Diet (*riksdag*) in 1635 and 1643.[34] Although the scribal entry in S 110 carries no date, it was in all likelihood made before Johannes departed for Rostock. Again the beginning of the collection is defective, as the invitatory antiphon *Alleluia surrexit dominus* is missing the first word 'Alleluia'. The beginning of the chants for Easter does coincide with the start of a quire, and it is possible that it originally contained chants for the first Vespers written on the outer leaves of the previous quire, which are now lost along with the missing first pages of the chants for Christmas Day.

The scribal work of these two pairs of men was probably a result of the tradition of *sockengång*, in which students toured around parishes to collect money for their studies, and often participated in singing in church services. In 1624 there was an attempt to forbid the tradition because of its potential to disrupt parish life, with a move instead to collect money for schools by tax, but the practice persisted nonetheless.[35] It would seem that Pastor Johannes Beck saw the arrival of students in his parish as a way to collect musical material from them and make them work for whatever subsistence they might get. In both sections the handwriting and style are consistent, so it is not clear how – or indeed if – the work was divided between the two. Students would have provided an ideal source of repertory in Latin, as school statutes of 1611 state that musical training received in cathedral schools must include psalms, components of the Mass, and antiphons, responsories and polyphony.[36]

Not all contributors to Beck's music collection were wandering students; there were also clergymen with social ties either to the parish or to Beck himself. The scribe for the Feast of St Michael and the sequence *Then helge Andens nåd* for Pentecost, *Te Deum* and the Athanasian Creed (fols. 23^{v}–37^{r}), written

34 Kyhlberg, *Musiken i Uppsala*, p. 145.

35 Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria, 2: Stormaktstiden* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1975) p. 212; Tobias Norlind, *Latinska skolsånger i Sverige och Finland* (Lund: Håkan Ohlsson, 1909), p. 11.

36 Norlind, *Latinska skolsånger*, p. 22.

in 1626, was Israel Roslagius, who had ties to the parish through his father Matthias Nicolai, pastor of Bro parish before Johannes Beck. His name appears in student records of Uppsala University in 1613, but no further details of his life and career survive.[37]

Gylichius Michaelis Svinfot contributed a Kyriale and chants for the Office for Pentecost (15^{r}–23^{r}). His dedication has no date, but its placement in the book between the section for Easter Sunday (written before 1621) and the following section of music for the Feast of St Michael dated 1626 would suggest a broad timeline between 1615 and 1626. Svinfot was born in the town of Hudiksvall in Hälsingland in 1593, and studied in Gävle, Uppsala, Västerås and Stockholm. He worked as a chaplain in Rasbo parish (now Rasbo-Rasbokil, in Uppsala commune) in 1616, before being ordained as a minister in 1617; in 1636 he became a pastor (*kyrkoherde*) for the town of Öregrund in Uppland, where he resided until his death in 1654.[38] Comparing the timeline of his career to the time he may have entered his contribution to Beck's book, it would seem likely that he may have been in the early stages of establishing a career during that time, thus making his entry more a gift from peer to peer. Furthermore, he later became a brother-in-law to Johannes Beck through his marriage, so his relation to the book's owner is perhaps collegial as well as familial.[39] He was also socially connected to Israel Roslagius, as his name appears as a baptism witness for his daughter 'dominus frater Jsrael Matthiae i Vpsala'.[40]

Another scribe with ties to the Bro parish was Petrus Erasmi Paxhamberus, who wrote the *cantus funebres* at the end of the book. His written dedication at the end of the book is partially damaged as a result of something burrowing through the final pages and the cardboard on the binding, and the remaining text does not contain a date:

> [God] give our business a good ending. … Funeral [songs] for the use of the most learned man of the Lord, Johannes Beck, pastor of the people of Bro. In … and friendship. Peter Rasmusson Paxhamberus wrote it.[41]

37 Kroon, *Ordinarium Missae*, p. 94; Kyhlberg, *Musiken i Uppsala*, p. 161.

38 Fant and Låstbom, *Upsala ärkestifts herdaminne*, 3, p. 490; Kroon, *Ordinarium Missae*, p. 94; M. Collmar, 'Ett bidrag till släkten Svinefots historia', *Årsboken Uppland* (1961), pp. 95–112.

39 Kyhlberg, *Musiken i Uppsala*, p. 148.

40 Kyhlberg, *Musiken i Uppsala*, p. 161.

41 Kungliga biblioteket (KB), Stockholm, MS S 110: '[Gudh] Giffue wårt måhl en godh enda. | … [E]xequiale in usum Doctissimi viri | [Domini] [Jo]annis | Becchii Broensium pastoris.v.s.|…. et Amicitia causa. | Scripsit Petrus Erasmi Paxhamberus'.

He is thought to have studied at Uppsala University under the name of 'Petrus Erasmi Roslagius' in 1614, before being ordained in 1617. He had a very short-lived appointment as a chaplain in Sigtuna until 1618, and no further details of his career survive; it would seem that much like Israel Roslagius, he may have been unemployed and returned to his home parish during the time he was copying the songs for Johannes Beck. His use of name 'Paxhamberus' instead of 'Roslagius' is possibly a reference to his place of birth (Frötuna, now in Norrtälje commune), distinguishing himself from other locals.[42]

The repertory for the *cantus funebres* becomes more common in manuscripts after the publication of *Liber cantus* of 1620, and given that Petrus Erasmi's exact time of residence in Bro is uncertain, it is possible that the repertory may have been copied from Mattsson's printed book or a manuscript copy deriving from it. The order of the songs is slightly different compared to the printed book, and S 110 is missing *Iagh weet at min Förlossare leffuer* that is present in the *Liber cantus*, even though there would have been ample space left in the quire for it. Petrus Erasmi was the most artistically adventurous of all the scribes with his stylised decorative initials. Other scribes settled for fairly modest calligraphic initials at the beginning of a section followed by smaller cadels, but Petrus Erasmi has drawn square initials for the funerary songs in Latin, decorating the background of the letter with a grid of lines. For the M in *Media vita in morte* he has drawn a round frame for the letter, and for L in *Libera me domine* he has drawn an animal leaning against the body of the letter (Fig. 3.4). The designs made by Petrus Erasmi are not copied from those printed in Mattsson's book, although the style of confining the letter within a square frame is visually closer to printed initials from woodcuts than calligraphic letters seen in the rest of the book. Other sections in S 110 predate Mattsson's *Liber cantus*, except for the melodies written by Israel Roslagius in 1626. Much of the repertory written by him is also in the printed book, although again the organisation of the material does not follow the printed book directly. The Athanasian Creed (*Hwilken som wil salig warda*) is not in the printed book, however, so he must have had other sources available, making direct stemmatic relationship to Mattson's printed book even more speculative.

The last scribe in the book is Andreas Bergius, who wrote the Kyriale in Swedish for Easter Sunday. He has signed the music with a date of 28 March 1646 with a note 'in currenti calamo' ('written in haste'), which is fairly apt given the close proximity of the feast in relation to the date given. As the previously

42 Fant and Låstbom, *Upsala ärkestifts herdaminne*, 2, p. 451; Kyhlberg, *Musiken i Uppsala*, p. 163; Lars Otto Berg, *Ärlinghundra kontrakt* (Uppsala: Stiftshistoriska kommitén i Uppsala, 2015), p. 303.

FIGURE 3.4 MS S 110, fols. 56v–57r
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written section for Easter Sunday contained only music for the Office, Andreas Bergius' addition of the Kyriale provides a fairly comprehensive repertory in one book for the music required for the celebrations. His written portion is also the only one in the book not relating to Johannes Beck; Andreas Bergius became the pastor (*kyrkoherde*) for Bro in 1644, and thus inherited the book for himself. Prior to his arrival in Bro, he was schooled in Västerås, where he is mentioned as one of the trumpeters (*tubicines*) of the cathedral school in 1622.[43] He was ordained in 1629, and served as a chaplain in Veckholm parish (now in Enköping commune) between 1636 and 1643, and he is mentioned as being a Diet representative (*riksdagsman*) of his parish in 1649, before his death in 1658.[44]

4 S 110 in the Context of Bro Parish Book Inventories

Andreas Bergius was also the scribe for the earliest surviving book inventory for Bro parish from 1652. The inventory lists six books: two bibles (one of which was bought by Bergius in 1649); a psalter; two *manuales* (handbooks), one of which 'according to the old style' ('efter gambla sättett'); and finally a 'sånge book skriffsen' – the handwritten book of songs that is now S 110. As there are no dates designated for the books apart from a date of purchase of the second bible, it is not possible to ascertain which editions of each book were owned

43 Kyhlberg, *Musiken i Uppsala*, p. 182.

44 Fant and Låstbom, *Upsala ärkestifts herdaminne*, 1, p. 167; Lars Otto Berg, Magdalena Hellquist and Ragnar Norrman, *Trögs-Åsunda kontrakt 1593–1999* (Uppsala: Stiftshistoriska kommitén i Uppsala, 2004), p. 92.

by Bro parish, or whether they were printed books at all. The title 'sånge bok skriffsen' appears again in the 1659 inventory, but the subsequent inventories between years 1677–1829 make no mention of the book.[45] The back cover of S 110 contains a faint text 'Thenna book hörer Broo kiyrkia till anno 1693' ('This book belongs to Bro church, 1693'),[46] so it is not certain for how long the book remained in the parish before ending up in Schürer von Waldheim's ownership in the nineteenth century. The absence of mention in the inventories is not necessary an evidence of its absence though, as the later inventories possibly omit books not kept in active use: for example, the inventory from 1828–1829 mentions the presence of a manual from year 1614, which is not specified in any of the inventories from the eighteenth century.[47]

Although S 110 contains a fair amount of musical material, it is missing some of the core repertory seen in many other books, such as melodies for the ferial mass, the Nicene Creed and popular sequences for special feast days either in Latin or Swedish. The repertory written in S 110 was not for everyday service, which curiously coincides with the special material properties of the book, with its use only on special occasions. Based on the contents listed in Bro church book inventory, the other books possibly contained music for the liturgy that is not present in S 110. Throughout the sixteenth century, psalters were printed mostly without notation;[48] the first example containing notated melodies along with texts was printed by Eskil Mattsson in Uppsala in 1616,[49] followed by an edition by Haquinus Rhezelius, issued by Ignatius Meurer in Stockholm in 1619.[50] It is also possible that the *manuales* contained notation: Eskil Mattsson's printed *Manuale* of 1614 – a copy of which was owned by Bro parish based on the 1828–1829 inventory – was printed with notation for the recitation of some parts of holy communion, such as prefaces, Lord's Prayer and Psalm 'Gudh giffuer wårom Konung och all Öffuerheet' ('O God, give the king your justice'); adding notation to *manuales* was a standard practice in later

45 Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Roslags-Bro kyrkoarkiv, L I a 1 contains inventories from years 1644, 1659, 1677, 1730, and 1749.

46 Kroon, *Ordinarium Missae*, p. 95 n. 1.

47 Stockholms Stadsarkiv, Roslags-Bro kyrkoarkiv, N III 1.

48 The first book of psalms containing notation was printed by Andreas Gutterwitz in 1586, but even then, it contained notation only for Credo in both Latin and Swedish.

49 *Then swenska psalmboken, medh flijt öfwerseedt och corrigerat sampt medh notuler öfwer några förnemligha psalmer förbättrat. Item calend; eccles. Anno 1616.* (Uppsala: Eskil Mattsson, 1616), USTC 252869.

50 Haquinus Laurentii Rhezelius (ed.): *Några psalmer, andelige wijsor och lofsonger, uthsatte af Laurentio Jonae Gestritio past. Hernösand. Och nu med noter affsatte, och aff trycket uthgångne aff Haquino Laurentii A. Rhezelio Predikant i Gråmuncka Clöster med egen bekostning* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1619), USTC 252187.

editions. Also, any book used for service could have a music manuscript addition included in it, without this warranting a specific mention in later inventories. Even Bibles could have additional material included; for example, MS S 113 at the National Library of Sweden includes eight folios of manuscript pages added in the middle of the Swedish New Testament printed in 1526, which contain liturgy and melodies for the celebration of the Mass.

5 Music Books as Evidence of Material and Social Networks in Post-Reformation Sweden

The material properties of S 110 reflect the flexible approaches taken towards the physical properties of a music book in professional use by the Lutheran clergy in Sweden, but also attest the continuing reliance on handwritten manuscripts and their importance for conducting services, especially for repertory in Latin. It is interesting to note that, unlike many clergymen, Johannes Beck delegated the scribal activities to his visitors. It is also noteworthy that all the persons named as scribes in the book remained geographically close to each other in the Uppsala diocese; many of the men were trained at Uppsala University, but also ended up taking positions in parishes not far removed from each other. A closer study of the material properties of liturgical music manuscripts along with their melodies and repertory thus provides a wealth of evidence on the material culture of books in Sweden: a personal music manuscript meant for pastime activities in a well-to-do household in Stockholm could end up being used in a professional context in a parish in Uppland, with its contents written for the sake of friendship ('amicitia causa'), preserving a local network of musical exchange between clergymen.

Appendix 3.1. List of Contents for S 110

Folio number	Feast	Contents	Genre
1r	Vigilia Nat. Domini (Christmas Eve)	*Dum ortus fuerit sol de* [incomplete]	Antiphon
	Sabbato Hebd. 3. Adv (Saturday, 3rd Advent)	*Ecce completa sunt omnia*	Antiphon
	Nativitas Domini	*Christus natus est*	Introit

(*cont.*)

Folio number	Feast	Contents	Genre
1r–3r	Nativitas Domini	*Venite exsultemus Domino*	Invitatory (Psalm)
	Nativitas Domini	*Dominus dixit ad me*	Antiphon
	Nativitas Domini	*Tamquam sponsus dominus*	Antiphon
	Nativitas Domini	*Diffusa est gratia*	Antiphon
3r–4r	Nativitas Domini	*Hodie nobis caelorum rex*	Responsory
	Nativitas Domini	*Gloria in excelsis deo*	Responsory verse
	Nativitas Domini	*Hodie nobis de caelo*	Responsory
	Nativitas Domini	*Hodie illuxit dies redemptionis*	Responsory verse
4v	Nativitas Domini	*Verbum caro factum est*	Responsory
	Nativitas Domini	*In principio erat verbum*	Responsory verse
5r	Nativitas Domini	*Quem vidistis pastores dicite*	Antiphon
5r–v	Nativitas Domini	*Genuit puerpera regem*	Antiphon
5v	Nativitas Domini	*Angelus ad pastores ait annuntio*	Antiphon
5v–6r	Nativitas Domini	*Facta est cum angelo*	Antiphon
6r	Nativitas Domini	*Parvulus filie nobis natus est*	Antiphon
6r–v	Nativitas Domini	*Tecum principium in die virtutis*	Antiphon
6v	Nativitas Domini	*Redemptionem misit dominus populo*	Antiphon
	Nativitas Domini	*Exortum est in tenebris*	Antiphon
	Nativitas Domini	*Apud dominum misericordia*	Antiphon
7r	Nativitas Domini	*De fructu ventris tui ponam*	Antiphon
	Nativitas Domini	*Hodie Christus natus est*	Antiphon
7r–v	Nativitas Domini	*Puer natus est nobis*	Introit
7v	Nativitas Domini	*Cantate Domino cantatum novum*	Psalm

(*cont.*)

Folio number	Feast	Contents	Genre
8r	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Alleluia surrexit domino* [incomplete]	Invitatory (Antiphon)
8r–9v	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Venite exsultemus Domino*	Invitatory (Psalm)
9v–10r	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Ego sum qui sum et consilium*	Antiphon
10r	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Postulavi patrem meum alleluia*	Antiphon
	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Ego dormivi et somnum*	Antiphon
10r–v	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Angelus domini descendit de caelo*	Responsory
11r	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus*	Responsory verse
11r–v	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Angelus domini locutus est mulieribus*	Responsory
11v	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Jesum quaeritis Nazarenum*	Responsory verse
11v–12r	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Dum transsisset sabbatum*	Responsory
12r	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Et valde mane una sabbatorum*	Responsory verse
12v	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Angelus autem domini descendit*	Antiphon
	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Et ecce terrae motus*	Antiphon
12v–13r	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Erat autem aspectus*	Antiphon
13r	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Prae timore autem ejus*	Antiphon
13r–v	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Respondens autem angelus*	Antiphon
13v	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Et valde mane una sabbatorum*	Antiphon
	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Et respicientes viderunt*	Antiphon
14r	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Alleluia resurrexit dominus*	Antiphon
14r–v	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Resurrexi et adhuc tecum*	Introit
14v	Dominica Resurrectionis	*Domine probasti me*	Introit verse
15r	Dominica Pentecostes	*Herre förbarma tigh*	Kyrie
15r–16r	Dominica Pentecostes	*Ära wari gudh i höghden*	Gloria

(*cont.*)

Folio number	Feast	Contents	Genre
16v–17r	Dominica Pentecostes	*Heligh heligh heligh*	Sanctus
17r–v	Dominica Pentecostes	*Veni sancte spiritus*	Hymn/Antiphon
17v	Dominica Pentecostes	*Beata nobis gaudia*	Hymn
	Dominica Pentecostes	*Non vos relinquam orphanos alleluia*	Antiphon
	Dominica Pentecostes	*Alleluia spiritus paraclitus*	Antiphon
18r	Dominica Pentecostes	*Alleluia spiritus domini*	Invitatory (Antiphon)
18r–19v	Dominica Pentecostes	*Venite exsultemus domino*	Invitatory (Psalm)
19v–20r	Dominica Pentecostes	*Jam Christus astra*	Hymn
20r	Dominica Pentecostes	*Factus est repente de caelo*	Antiphon
	Dominica Pentecostes	*Confirma hoc deus quod operatus*	Antiphon
	Dominica Pentecostes	*Emitte spiritum tuum*	Antiphon
20v	Dominica Pentecostes	*Dum complerentur dies pentecostes*	Responsory
20v–21r	Dominica Pentecostes	*Dum ergo essenit discipuli*	Responsory verse
21r–v	Dominica Pentecostes	*Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto*	Responsory
21v	Dominica Pentecostes	*Loquebantur variis linguis*	Responsory verse
	Dominica Pentecostes	*Apparuerunt apostolis dispertitae*	Responsory
21v–22r	Dominica Pentecostes	*Spiritus sanctus replevit totam*	Responsory verse
22r	Dominica Pentecostes	*Dum complerentur dies pentecostes*	Antiphon
	Dominica Pentecostes	*Spiritus domini replevit*	Antiphon
	Dominica Pentecostes	*Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto*	Antiphon
22r–v	Dominica Pentecostes	*Fontes et omnia quae moventur*	Antiphon
	Dominica Pentecostes	*Loquebantur variis linguis*	Antiphon
	Dominica Pentecostes	*Accipite spiritum sanctum*	Antiphon

(*cont.*)

Folio number	Feast	Contents	Genre
22v–23r	Dominica Pentecostes	*Hodie completi sunt dies pentecostes*	Antiphon
23v	Dominicale	*Herre förbarma tigh*	Kyrie
23v–24v	Dominicale	*Ähra wari gudh i höghden*	Gloria
24v	Dominicale	*Heligh heligh heligh*	Sanctus
25r	Dominicale	*O Gudz lamb*	Agnus Dei
25v	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Omnes fideles Christi devoti*	Antiphon
25v–26r	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Dum sacrum mysterium cerneret*	Antiphon
26r	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Angelorum regi deo jubilemus*	Invitatory (Antiphon)
	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Introibo in domum tuam*	Antiphon
26r–v	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Stetit angelus juxta*	Antiphon
26v	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Data sunt ei incensa*	Antiphon
26v–27r	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Factum est silentium in coelo*	Responsory
	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Milia milium ministrabant ei et*	Responsory verse
27r–v	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Stetit angelus iuxta*	Responsory
27v–28r	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Data sunt ei incensa*	Responsory verse
28r	In Festo S. Michaelis	*In conspectu gentium*	Responsory
28r–v	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Stetit angelus iuxta*	Responsory verse
28v	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Dum proeliaretur Michael Archangelus*	Antiphon
	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Dum committeret bellum draco*	Antiphon
	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Archangele Michael constitui te principem*	Antiphon
29r	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Angeli archangeli throni et dominationes*	Antiphon
	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Factum est silentium in coelo*	Antiphon

(*cont.*)

Folio number	**Feast**	**Contents**	**Genre**
29r–v	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Benedicite omnes angeli eius potentis*	Responsory
	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Benedic anima mea domino et omnia*	Psalm
29v–31r	In Festo S. Michaelis	*Venite exsultemus Domino*	Invitatory (Psalm)
31v–33r	Dominica Pentecostes	*Then helge Andes nåd* [*Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia*]	Sequence
33v–35v		*O gudh wij loffue tigh* [*Te Deum laudamus*]	
35v–37r		*Hwilken som wil salig warda*	
37v	Paschale	*Herre förbarma tigh*	Kyrie
37v–38v	Paschale	*Ähra wari gudh i höghden*	Gloria
38v	Paschale	*Heligh heligh heligh*	Sanctus
38v–39r	Paschale	*O Gudz lamb*	Agnus Dei
39v–53v		[Empty]	
54r	'Cantus Funebris'	*In pace in idipsum*	Responsory
		Si dedero somnum	Responsory verse
54v		*Emendemus in melius*	Responsory
55r		*Peccavimus cum patribus*	Responsory verse
55r		*Si bona suscepimus*	Responsory
55v		*Nudus egressus sum de utero*	Responsory verse
56r		*Media vita in morte*	Antiphon
56v		*Libera me domine*	Responsory
57r		*Dies illa dies irae*	Responsory verse
57r		*Tremens factus sum ego*	Responsory verse
57v		*Quid ego miserrimus*	Responsory verse
57v		*Nunc te Christe petimus*	Responsory verse
57v–58r		*Creator omnium rerum deus*	Responsory verse

(*cont.*)

Folio number	Feast	Contents	Genre
58r		*Credo quod redemptor*	Responsory
58v		*Quem visurus sum ego*	Responsory verse
58v–60r		*I stofft och sand och svarte mull*	

CHAPTER 4

A Discovery in Germany: a Previously Unknown Early Finnish Hymnbook and Catechism

Suvi-Päivi Koski

A previously unknown early edition of a Finnish hymnbook and a catechism was discovered in 2015 by the author in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB) in Dresden. These two important works were bound together inside one cover in 1607 in Rostock. This kind of combination of different ecclesiastical books was often referred to as the 'manuale' (handbook). The first part of this volume is a previously totally unknown edition of a Finnish Lutheran hymnbook, the second part a similarly unknown Finnish Lutheran catechism. The page size of the whole is a mere 13 × 8.5 cm. They were printed under the editorship and direction of a certain Simon Johannis Carelius. Published in Rostock, they were missing from *Fennica*, the national database of printed Finnish books in the Finnish National Library. The original, compound volume with the catalogue reference Lit. var. 167 remains in the collections of the library in Dresden but both the hymnal and the catechism are now available in the digital archives of the Finnish National Library as well.[1]

The discovery was made public at the Finnish National Library on 7 December 2015. It attracted attention and comments from both Finland and abroad.[2]

1 Suvi-Päivi Koski, 'Ennennäkemätön kirjalöytö Saksasta', *Bibliophilos*, 1 (2016), pp. 4–12; *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria / Suomencocouxis Jumalata kijttä Suomenkielellä / tehty M. Jacobilda Suomalaiselda / ja muild Suomen papeilda. Cunnjalisten herrain Turun Pispan M. Erichin / ja Capitularesten tiedhost ja suosjost / H. Hemmingin Maschun kircko=herran vaevall ja culutuxell / ensin Präntätty Stocholmisa. Mutta nyt Herman Sulkin käskyst / Staffan Myllärin Präntill uudhistettu Rostochis /* [...] (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1607), urn:nbn:de:bsz:14-db-id4257186705 (SLUB, Lit.var.167, misc.1, Dresden), also https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2015120321826 (Finnish National Library), USTC 2092729; *Catechimus* [*sic*] *Se on Christilisen opin Pää cappaleet / D. Martinus Lutherin vlostoimituxen cansa / Soomen kielen tulkitut. Lyhykäisen Esipuheen cansa iosa yxikertaisesta tiettäväxi tehdän/ quinga itze cukin Chri=stitty/ hänens swren hödytyxen cansa ioca päivä Catechismuxessa harioitta machta. Simonis Iohannis Carelij culutuxel vlos käynyt ia Prentätty Rostokissa Staffan Mylly mieheldä/* [...] (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1607), urn:nbn:de:bsz:14-db-id4257198128 (SLUB, Lit.var.167, misc. 2, Dresden), also https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2015120321827 (Finnish National Library), USTC 2092731.

2 Pekka Rautio, 'Yllätyslöytö vuodelta 1607: kaksi uutta kirjaa suomeksi' (7 December 2015), in *Uutiset ja tiedotteet* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto), https://www.helsinki.fi/fi/uutiset/kieli

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The books have already been characterised as a unique source for the early stages of the Finnish language.[3] In this chapter I will concentrate on the hymnbook and its background in order to open up new perspectives, especially for future research into the early history of the Finnish hymnbook. The catechism as the second part of this handbook and Simon Johannis Carelius, the editor of the whole and the supervisor of the printing process in Rostock, will at this stage be considered only briefly.

1 The Wittenberg Reformation, the Hymnbook and the Catechism

In the medieval Catholic Church, congregational singing did not have a notable role in liturgy.[4] In contrast, for the Lutheran Reformation vernacular hymns

-kulttuuri/yllatysloyto-vuodelta-1607-kaksi-uutta-kirjaa-suomeksi, accessed 28 December 2020; Kansalliskirjasto (Helsinki): 'Poimintoja vuodelta 2015: *Tutkija löysi Lutherin Katekismuksen varhaisimman suomennoksen – digitallenne Kansalliskirjastoon*', in *Vuosikertomus 2015*, https://www.kansalliskirjasto.fi/fi/poimintoja-vuodelta-2015#tutkija-loysi-lutherin-katekismuksen-varhaisimman-suomennoksen---digitallenne-kansalliskirjastoon, accessed 28 December 2020; Koski, 'Ennennäkemätön kirjalöytö', pp. 4–12; Anna Perälä, 'Tulkintoja aiemmin tuntemattomasta Fennicasta', *Bibliophilos*, 1 (2016), pp. 12–23; Thomas Haffner, '*Ältestes vollständig erhaltenes finnisches Gesangbuch in der SLUB Dresden*' (4 January 2016), https://blog.slub-dresden.de/beitrag/2016/01/04/aeltestes-vollstaendiges-finnisches-gesangbuch-entdeckt/, accessed 28 December 2020; '*Oldest complete Finnish songbook discovered in Dresden*' (7 January 2016), *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, http://www.rism.info/en/home/newsdetails/select/rediscovered/article/64/oldest-complete-finnish-songbook-discovered-in-dresden.html, accessed 10 March 2019; Antti Raunio, 'Luther in Finnish', *Lutheran Quarterly*, 30/2 (2016), p. 205, https://doi.org/10.1353/lut.2016.0046; Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kati Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet ja virsisuomennokset: seremoniat, kansanusko ja runokieli 1500- ja 1600-luvun taitteessa', *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja*, 106 (2016), pp. 178–9; Otfried Czaika, 'Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582. Avsnitt 2. Det andra exemplaret', *Biblis 77* (2017), p. 63, https://issuu.com/biblis/docs/biblis77.issuu, accessed 31 December 2020; Tuija Laine, 'Viipurin kirjallinen kulttuuri vuoteen 1710', in Petri Karonen (ed.), *Arki, kirkko, artefakti* (Helsinki: Viipurin suomalainen kirjallisuusseura, 2017), pp. 129–30, 143; Ilmari Karimies, 'The Appeal to Luther in the Conflicts between the Finnish Pietist Movements in the 19th and Early 20th Century', in Heinrich Assel etc. (eds.), *Reformatio Baltica. Kulturwirkungen der Reformation in den metropolen des Ostseeraums* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), p. 948, https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110573558-059; see also Otfried Czaika, 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field: Swedish Hymnals and Hymn-Printing in the Sixteenth Century', In Maria Schildt etc. (eds.), *Celebrating Lutheran Music* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2019), p. 130.

3 For example, Simo Heininen, Professor emeritus of Church History (University of Helsinki); see Elise Tarkoma and Riku Jokinen, 'Yhteiset löydöt', *Bibliophilos*, 1 (2016), p. 3.

4 Seppo Suokunnas and Pentti Lempiäinen, 'Kristillisen virren vaiheet', in Pentti Lempiäinen (ed.), *Virsitieto. Käsikirja virsikirjan käyttäjille* (Helsinki: Kirjapaja, 1988), pp. 28–32; Hans

and hymnbooks were an essential part of identity from the very beginning: the Reformation was a great song movement.[5] After translating the New Testament into German (1522), Martin Luther (1483–1546) considered it essential for the Word of God to dwell amongst the people through common hymn-singing in the vernacular. These liturgical, catechetical and didactical functions began with the so-called *Achtliederbuch* ('Book of eight songs', Nuremberg, 1523/4) and the earliest domestic and congregational German hymnbooks. The first hymnal to appear in Wittenberg was *Eyn geystlich Gesangk Buchleyn* (1524). This earliest collection of hymns for choir was soon edited by the cantor and composer Johann Walter. The foreword was written by Luther, twenty-four of whose hymns were included in the book. A unison lay version of the hymnal followed in 1526.[6] However, the so-called Klug hymnal (*Geistliche Lieder auffs new gebessert zu Wittemberg*, 1529) is considered to be the earliest congregational Lutheran hymnbook. Hymns in the liturgy can be seen in Luther's Orders of Service (1523, 1526). Joint hymn-singing by the congregation was made a regular part of the service, which has been cited as the most significant innovation of the Reformation. The educational aspect was essential.[7] As early

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Rupprich, *Die deutsche Literatur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Barock. Erster Teil. Das ausgehende Mittelalter, Humanismus und Renaissance 1370–1520* (2nd edn, München: Beck, 1994), pp. 191–3; Erkki Tuppurainen, 'Hemminki Maskulaisen virsikirjaan liittyneet sävelmät', *Hymnos* (2005), pp. 53–64; Jorma Hannikainen, 'Suomenkielinen psalmilaulu', *Hymnos* (2009), pp. 128–34. Henning P. Jürgens, 'Das Evangelium singen. Gesangbücher und Psalter im europäischen Kontext', in Irene Dingel etc. (eds.), *Entfaltung und zeitgenössische Wirkung der Reformation im europäischen Kontext* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2015), pp. 104–5.

5 Christian Möller, 'Das 16. Jahrhundert', in Christian Möller etc. (ed.), *Kirchenlied und Gesangbuch. Quellen zu ihrer Geschichte. Ein hymnologisches Arbeitsbuch* (Tübingen: Francke, 2000), pp. 69, 71, 85–6; Lukas Lorbeer, *Die Sterbe- und Ewigkeitslieder in deutschen lutherischen Gesangbüchern des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), pp. 38–41; Jürgens, 'Das Evangelium singen', p. 104; Otfried Czaika (ed.), *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582* (Skara: Skara Stifthistoriska Sällskap, 2016), p. 60.

6 See e.g. Friedrich Zelle, *Das älteste lutherische Hausgesangbuch. Färbefaß-Enchiridion 1524* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1903), title page, pp. 4–6, 127; L. Zscharnack and W. Jannasch, 'Gesangbuch. I. Geschichte und gegenwärtiger Beistand', in Kurt Galling (ed.), *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft, 3* (2nd edn, Tübingen: Mohr, 1958), p. 1452; Gerhard Hahn: *Evangelium als literarische Anweisung. Zu Luthers Stellung in der Geschichte des deutschen kirchlichen Liedes* (München: Artemis, 1981), p. 12; Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music. Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman, 2007), pp. 117, 127, 145, 162–3, 393, 404; Martin Rössler, '"Ein neues Lied wir heben an". Luther als Liedermacher des neu entdeckten Evangeliums', in *Bene Cantate Ei. Festschrift 50 Jahre IAH* (Graz: Selbstverlag der IAH, 2009), pp. 307–29; Lorbeer, *Die Sterbe- und Ewigkeitslieder*, p. 35; Jürgens, 'Das Evangelium singen', pp. 105–9.

7 Hahn, *Evangelium*, pp. 38–43, 61–3; Inge Mager, 'Lied und Reformation. Beobachtungen zur reformatorischen Singbewegung in norddeutschen Städten', in *Das protestantische*

as 1524 Luther also mentioned the need to publish a catechism; *Der kleine* and *Der grosse Catechismus* ('The Small' and 'The Large Catechism') subsequently appeared in 1529. Like hymnbooks, Luther's Small Catechism was one of the most important disseminators of the thoughts of the Reformation movement amongst the people. Different hymnals and catechisms were the most important books in teaching the laity the new Lutheran Christianity. The influence was soon felt in several other European countries as well. The translation of the whole Bible into German was published in 1534.[8]

2 The Early Hymnbooks and Catechisms in Denmark and Sweden

The Reformation spread rapidly into Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea region. It played a significant role in the development of literary languages.[9] The New Testament was first translated into Danish by Hans Mikkelsen (1524), and later by a great linguist, Christian Pedersen (1529). The first small Danish hymnals were printed in Malmö in 1528 and 1529 and the catechism in 1537. The important *Den danske Salmebog* was authorised in 1569.[10] The first version

Kirchenlied im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Text-, musik- und theologiegeschichtliche Probleme (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), p. 25; Suvi-Päivi Koski, *Geist=reiches Gesang=Buch vuodelta 1704 pietistisenä virsikirjana. Tutkimus kirjan toimittajasta, taustasta, teologiasta, virsistä ja virsirunoilijoista.* Diss. (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura 1996), pp. 15–7, 165–80; Patrice Veit, *Kirchenlied in der Reformation Martin Luthers. Eine thematische und semantische Untersuchung* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1986), pp. 68–9; Möller, 'Das 16. Jahrhundert', pp. 70–1; Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, pp. 108, 110; Lorbeer, *Die Sterbe- und Ewigkeitslieder*, pp. 33–42; see also Rössler, 'Ein neues Lied wir heben an', pp. 311–25; Miikka E. Anttila, *Luther's Theology of Music. Spiritual Beauty and Pleasure* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 190–2.

8 Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, pp. 109–11; Simo Heininen, 'Abckirian sisältö ja lähteet', in Kaisa Häkkinen (ed.), *Mikael Agricola. Abckiria. Kriittinen editio* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2007), pp. 42–3.

9 See Martin S. Lausten, *Die Reformation in Dänemark*, tr. Lise Miller Tönnies, ed. Johannes Schilling (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2008), pp. 40–3; Birger Olsson, 'Bibeln på svenska', in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, III. Reformationstid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), p. 240. See also Kaisa Häkkinen, *Spreading the Written Word. Mikael Agricola and the Birth of Literary Finnish* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2015), pp. 24–5.

10 Oskar Lövgren, *Psalm- och sånglexicon* (2nd edn, Stockholm: Gummesson, 1964), pp. 541–2; Pentti Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen virsikirja', in Pentti Lempiäinen (ed.), *Jaakko Finnon Virsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1988), pp. 358–9; Suokunnas and Lempiäinen, 'Kristillisen virren vaiheet', p. 62; Jürgen Henkys, 'Aus Liedtraditionen der fremdsprachigen Ökumene', in Christian Möller (ed.), *Kirchenlied und Gesangbuch* (Tübingen: Francke 2000), pp. 372–3; Peter Balslev-Clausen, 'Reformationstidens salmesang i Danmark. Kreativ kontinuitet og folkelig legitimitet', *Hymnologiske*

of a Swedish booklet of hymns, edited by the Swedish reformer Olaus Petri, probably appeared between 1526 and 1529.[11] He also translated the New Testament, published in 1526. His *Swenske songer* with around forty hymns followed in 1536.[12]

A large number of Swedish hymn publications and hymnals were brought out during this century. *Then Svenska Psalmeboken* ('The Swedish Hymnbook'), of which the first edition appeared probably in 1542, has usually been considered the most important of these. It ran to many editions: by 1594 it had been reprinted at least fifteen times. Seven more editions are known by 1613, most of them published in Stockholm, a few in Lübeck and one in Rostock.[13]

It is only rarely that lost hymnbooks have been discovered. An edition of *Then Svenska Psalmeboken* (printed by Amund Laurentzon in Stockholm 1562) was found by Arthur Malmgren in the National and University Library of Iceland in Reykjavik and was republished in 1966. Recently, Otfried Czaika at first located two more copies of a version of the same hymnal, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken* (Stockholm 1582) published twenty years later. The first, already

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meddelelser, 34/3 (2005), pp. 1–2, 10–11; Lausten, *Die Reformation in Dänemark*, pp. 22–5, 33, 41–3, 49–51, 162–3; F. J. Billeskov Jansen, 'From the Reformation to the Baroque', in Sven H. Rossel (ed.), *A History of Danish Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), pp. 71–7.

11 According to Czaika, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582*, pp. 21–2, 62, who considers this information (date) somewhat uncertain; cf. Sven Ingebrand, *Swenske songer 1536. Vår första bevarade evangeliska psalmbok* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1998), p. 8.

12 Olsson, 'Bibeln på svenska', pp. 239–41; Harald Göransson, 'Musiken under reformationstiden', in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, III. Reformationstid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), p. 262; Czaika, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582*, pp. 50, 62–5, 68–74. The forerunner of the hymnal was *Några Gudhelige Wijsor* from 1530 (ed. by Olaus Petri), USTC 300153. There was an attachment of four anti-papist songs (*om Antichrist och hans wesende*). They have also been associated with the schoolmaster Olaf Svensson. Emil Liedgren, *Svensk Psalm och Andlig Visa. Olaus Petri-föreläsningar i Uppsala mars 1924* (Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelse, 1926), pp. 85, 104–113; Allan Arvastson, *Den svenska psalmen* (Lund: Gleerup, 1963), pp. 57–8.

13 Stockholm [1542 (?), 1543, 1549, 1562, 1567, 1572, 1576, 1582, 1586 (also in Lübeck), 1589 (also in Lübeck), 1594 (probably three times)]. Czaika, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582*, pp. 16–27, 125, lists the editions according to Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, 1–3 (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1927–38). He ascertains 20 Swedish hymnals of this bibliography with two editions of the 1536 hymnal but puts emphasis on the fact that 9 of them were known by Collijn only secondarily or as incomplete fragments. Czaika, 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field', pp. 125–7; Otfried Czaika, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582*, pp. 60–6. The Libris database of the National Library of Sweden (Kungliga Biblioteket, KB) mentions seven more editions from 1601 (Stockholm, defective), 1603 (Lübeck), 1607 (also Lübeck), 1608 (Rostock), [1610] (Lübeck), 1611 and 1613 (Stockholm); cf. https://libris.kb.se/, accessed 3 October 2019.

mentioned by the Swedish royal librarian and book historian Isak Collijn (1931), was a fragment consisting only of the title page and parts of the book, found in the Kungliga biblioteket (KB, the National Library of Sweden). The other (including 115 hymns) was located by Czaika himself in the Swedish Rogge Library (Strängnäs) and published in 2016.[14] Later in the same year he found a third copy of the same 1582 edition in the Albertina Library at the University of Leipzig.[15] The latest find was also his: the catechism, *Een lijten catechismus* ('A Small Catechism'), translated into Swedish by Olaus Petri and printed in 1530, with many subsequent editions.[16]

Why have the hymnbooks not been preserved for posterity? There are several reasons. Although the hymnbooks in general became actually the most widely circulated of all publications during the Swedish Reformation, the editions could be small. However, it has been estimated that hymnbooks printed in or for Sweden in the sixteenth century numbered around ten to twenty thousand. The hymnal was a people's book; it represented everyday literature, used not only in services of worship but also, after being abandoned for liturgical use, at home over many generations. Hymnals could follow their owners even to the grave. This explains the low number of discoveries of early Swedish hymnals and the fact that they never found their way into libraries: numerous editions did not survive to the present neither in a single copy (i.e. hapax) nor as a fragment.[17]

3 The Earliest Hymnbook and Catechism in Finnish

Michael Agricola (*c.*1510–57), the Finnish reformer, had studied in Wittenberg and is known as the father of Finnish literature and the Finnish written

14 *Then Swenska Psalmboken* (Stockholm: Anders Torstensson, 1582), USTC 300418; Czaika, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582*, pp. 13–6, 18; Czaika 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field', pp. 129–30.

15 Czaika, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582*, pp. 26–46, 463–6; Czaika 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field', pp. 126–30.

16 According to Åke Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 3. Reformationstid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), p. 87, the catechism probably appeared in 1537, either as a reprint or for the first time. Cf. the *DISA* catalogue of Uppsala University Library, which however lists an edition both from 1530, Sv. Rar. 10:43, and from 1537, Sv. Rar. 10:33.

17 Czaika, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582*, pp. 20–1, 84–7; Czaika, 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field', pp. 128–34. On the phenomen lost books in Europe see Andrew Pettegree, *'The Legion of the Lost. Recovering the Lost Books of Early Modern Europe'*, in Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.) *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 1–27.

language. Most people in Finland – as in many other places in Europe – were illiterate. Agricola published the main contents of the catechism in his spelling primer (*Abckiria,* 1543), and some versified hymns in Finnish in his Prayer Book (*Rukouskiria*, 1544) and the New Testament (*Se Wsi Testamenti,* 1548). The Catechism in Finnish published in 1574 by the bishop of Turku, Paulus Juusten, is not extant.[18]

It was only at the end of the sixteenth century that a proper Lutheran hymnbook and a catechism were published in Finnish by Jacobus Petri Finno (*c.*1540–88). He had studied both in Wittenberg and in Rostock, which after 1550 had replaced the 'Lutherstadt' as a prime place of education for the academic youth of Scandinavia. Finno had returned to Finland in 1568.[19] He modelled his ideas especially on those of Professor David Chytraeus (1530–1600) from Rostock.[20] Chytraeus had a significant and long-lasting influence as a transmitter of Ramist philosophy and moderate Melanchthonian, 'Philippist' theology: his students made up the theological leadership in Sweden and Finland. The *Catechesis* of Chytraeus (1554) was especially important after

18 Michael Agricola, *Abckiria* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1543), USTC 300213; Agricola, *Rucouskiria* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1544), USTC 300208, Agricola, *Se Wsi Testamenti* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1548), USTC 300229. Markku Heikkilä and Simo Heininen, *A History of the Finnish Church* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2016), pp. 98–9; Esko M. Laine, 'Did Mandatory Literacy Distort Lutheranism?', in Tuija Laine (ed.), *Luther, the Reformation and the Book* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2012), pp. 81–2.

19 P. J. I. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet vuoteen 1640* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1929), pp. 221–39; Hannu Vapaavuori, *Virsilaulu ja heräävä kansallinen kulttuuri-identiteetti*, Diss. (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1997), pp. 13–5; Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun akatemian perustamista 1640*. Diss. (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1997), pp. 182, 185–6; Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen virsikirja', pp. 361–4; Erkki Tuppurainen, 'Mikael Agricola und das Kirchenlied', *IAH – Bulletin. Publikation der Internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Hymnologie* 35–6 (2007–8) s.l., pp. 435–8; Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns and Devil's Music. Michael Agricola (*c.*1507–57) and Jacobus Finno (*c.*1540–88) on Church Song and Folk Beliefs', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), p. 193; Häkkinen, *Spreading the Written Word*, pp. 53–7, uses the title 'primer catechism *Abckiria*'. See Tuija Laine, 'Finnish Primary Religious Books from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Laine, *Luther*, p. 63; see also Laine, 'Viipurin kirjallinen kulttuuri, pp. 128–9; Suvi-Päivi Koski, 'Paul Gerhardt in Finnland. Aspekte der Verbreitungsgeschichte seiner Lieder im Norden', in Winfried Böttler (ed.), *'Wach auf, mein Herz, und singe'. Paul Gerhards Lieder im Ostseeraum* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2020), pp. 88–9.

20 On Chytraeus and his contacts to Sweden see especially Otfried Czaika, *David Chytraeus und die Universität Rostock in ihren Beziehungen zum schwedischen Reich*. Diss. (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft, 2002).

the Uppsala synod of 1593. In 1595 the work was elevated to normative status for teaching. Its reception was far-reaching: its influence extended as far as the Finnish catechism (1614) published by Ericus Erici Sorolainen, the bishop of Turku.[21]

The Swedish king Johan III (r. 1568–92) has been characterised as Irenic. In his efforts to reconstitute the 'old ecclesiastical dignity' of the Swedish church in his *Liturgia suecanae ecclesiae* (1576) he had moved close to Tridentine Catholicism, long believing in the possibility of a synthesis of Lutheranism and Catholicism. The king did not, however, want to give up sharing the chalice with the laity (Holy Communion *sub utraque*), the right of the priests to marry and the holding of services in the vernacular. Because the Catholic Church for its part did not make any concessions the contact was suspended.[22]

Jacobus Finno had from 1568 worked as the headmaster of the cathedral school in Turku. Later, in 1578, Johan III gave him the task of translating important ecclesiastical Lutheran literature: the prayer book, catechism, and hymnal.[23] We can only be certain of the publication date of the prayer book

21 Ericus Erici Sorolainen, *Catechismus eli Christilisen opin päächappalet* (Stockholmis, Christoph. Reusnerild, 1614), USTC 251830; Jukka Paarma, *Hiippakuntahallinto Suomessa 1554–1604* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1980), pp. 143, 152–3, 220–2, 226–7; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, pp. 185–6, 189, 262–3, 270, 273, 317; Pentti Lempiäinen, 'Finno, Jacobus' in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (11 January 2012) (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997–); http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-kbg-002310, accessed 9 September 2019; Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', pp. 200–1. Regarding the role of the works of Professor Chytraeus in the Kingdom of Sweden see Czaika, '*David Chytraeus*', pp. 359–78.

22 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, pp. 192–6; Czaika, *David Chytraeus*, pp. 59–60, 248–9, 299, 392–4; Simo Heininen, and Otfried Czaika, Otfried, '*Wittenberg Influences on the Reformation in Scandinavia*' (EGO European History Online, 2012), urn:nbn:de:0159-2012080109; see also Birgitta Lager-Kromnow, 'Johan III'. In: *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon,* urn:sbl:12099, accessed 27 August 2021. According to Czaika, Johan however – in dissonance with Irenic convictions – allowed his son Sigismund a Catholic education. After the death of his first wife, Catharina Jagellonica in 1583, the king began to move back towards German Lutheranism, but was still trying to establish his liturgy. For a long time, Johan also had contact with the Rostock professor Chytraeus, see Czaika, *David Chytraeus*, pp. 125, 227–30, 248–9, 299, 393–8.

23 The favouring of Finno is evident from the financial rewards from Johan III. Lempiäinen, 'Finno, Jacobus'; Jyrki Knuutila, 'Jacobus Petri Finno: Yxi wähä rucous kiria, 1583'; and Jyrki Knuutila, 'Jacobus Petri Finno: Catechismus, 1583'; and Jyrki Knuutila, 'Yxi wähä suomenkielinen wirsikirja, 1605', in Tuija Laine (ed.), *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden käsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), pp. 81–2, 136–7, 147–8; Martti Takala, *Lex Dei – Lex Politica Dei: Lex Politica Dei -teos ja Kaarle IX:n lainsäädäntö. Diss.* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1993), pp. 71–3; Lehtonen, 'Pious hymns', p. 194; Kati Kallio, 'Changes in the Poetics of Song during the Finnish Reformation', in Lehtonen etc. (eds.), *Re-forming Texts*, pp. 136–8.

(1583). As to the first actual catechism it may have been edited by Finno and printed in 1583 but just a few pages of it have been preserved for posterity. A second edition, probably of this catechism, was printed in Stockholm (1615).[24] Finno's works – including *Piae Cantiones* (published by Theodoricus Petri Ruuth, printed in Greifswald, 1582) – have been seen as a statement on behalf of the liturgical programme of King Johan III, but Finno has also been seen as a supporter of the Reformation.[25]

A large number of Swedish hymnbooks and smaller hymn publications came out during the sixteenth century. The best known of them, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken* (The Swedish Hymnbook), had been reprinted at least fifteen times by 1594. Finland was part of Sweden but the situation with hymnals in Finnish was quite different. The first hymnal, the so-called *Jaakko Finnon Virsikirja* (the Hymnal of Jacobus Finno), did not appear until around 1583. The only existing version of it is defective; the title page is also missing. It has, however, been concluded that the book was printed around 1583 in Stockholm by Andreas Gutterwitz, with 101 hymns.[26] Because it had been put together during King Johan III's reign it omitted any material that is critical of the Catholic Church.[27] The principal source of this earliest Finnish hymnbook is

24 Jacobus Finno, *Catechismus eli sen Christilisen opin pää cappalet* (Stockholm: Christopher Reusner, 1615), USTC 252785; Knuutila, 'Yxi wähä suomenkielinen wirsikirja', pp. 81–2, 136–7, 147–8. The main contents of the catechism had, however, already been printed in Agricola's spelling primer *Abckiria* in 1543, see Simo Heininen, 'Michael Olai Agricola: Abckiria, 1543', in Laine (ed.), *Vanhimman suomalaisen*, pp. 80–1; Laine, 'Finnish Primary Religious Books', p. 63.

25 *Piae cantiones ecclesiasticae et scholasticae veterum episcoporum* (Greifswald: Augustin Ferber 1, 1582), USTC 684082; Paarma, *Hiippakuntahallinto*, pp. 152–3; Lehtonen, 'Pious hymns', pp. 193–5; Jorma Hannikainen and Erkki Tuppurainen, 'Vernacular Gregorian Chant and Lutheran Hymn-singing in Reformation-era Finland', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen etc. (eds.), *Re-forming Texts*, p. 172; see Chapter 1 by Tuomas Lehtonen about *Piae Cantiones*.

26 Jacobus Finno, [*Wirsikiria*], (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1583), USTC 300513. The hymnal is part of Uppsala University Library's collections. Because of the missing title page of the book, Lempiäinen uses the heading *Jaakko Suomalaisen virsikirja*, see Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen virsikirja', pp. 361–8, 374–7, 388–95; Knuutila, 'Yxi wähä suomenkielinen wirsikirja', pp. 136–7; Lempiäinen, 'Finno, Jacobus'; Czaika, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582*, p. 24. Cf. Heikkilä and Heininen, *A History of the Finnish Church*, p. 81, who only mention the hymnbook (1583) and Väänänen, according to whom it had been headed *Yxi wähä suomenkielinen wirsikiria*, see Kyösti Väänänen, 'Finno, Jacobus Petri (noin 1540–1588)'. in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721 -verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011–), http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-thp-000649, accessed 26 August 2021. However, Väänänen mentions no sources.

27 Knuutila 'Yxi wähä suomenkielinen wirsikirja', pp. 136–7; Tauno Väinölä, 'Hemminki Maskulaisen virsikirja', in *Hymnos* (2005), p. 47; see also Kallio, 'Changes in the Poetics',

thought to have been the above-mentioned Swedish hymnbook (*Then Swenska Psalmeboken*) in its 1572 edition.[28] One reason for this presumption has been the identical number of hymns.[29] However, the core contents of the Swedish hymnal had been the same since 1562.[30] A facsimile of Jacobus Finno's hymnbook including a commentary was published in 1988 by Pentti Lempiäinen. He notes that Finno must have been aware of other hymnals as well.[31]

4 The Monarch Karl Vasa: an Advocate of the Second Reformation

The number of Swedish hymnals increased considerably during the sixteenth century. In contrast, by the beginning of the seventeenth century the first hymnal in Finnish from the 1580s appears to have been out of print; about twenty years had elapsed since it was printed. It has been speculated that there was now a need for a new edition or version because the first hymnal had sold out. Indeed, there are two known hand-written copies of Finno's book from the beginning of the seventeenth century.[32] Compiling a new book would have been perfectly logical. Another factor may have been the change of ruler: after Johan III, his son, the Catholic King Sigismund III of Poland, ascended the throne in 1592. His reign was, however, a short one. The country came soon into the hands of Duke Karl (1550–1611) of Södermanland, the youngest son of the Swedish King Gustav I Vasa. Like his brothers, Karl showed great interest in theology. He had already strengthened his position in summoning the Uppsala synod of 1593. The Riksdag at Linköping then declared Sigismund deposed in 1599. Although Karl initially refused the crown, as prince regent the duke was the real ruler of Sweden after 1600. The Diet of Norrköping (1604) finalised a

pp. 141–2. Also the 1589 version of *Then Swenska Psalmeboken* contained material consistent with the liturgical movement of Johan III, see Allan Arvastson, *Svensk psalm genom tiderna* (Lund: Liber Läromedel, 1975), p. 34.

28 *Then Swenska Psalmboken* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1572), USTC 300083; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, pp. 14–7, 256–312; Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen virsikirja', p. 382; Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', pp. 194, 198; cf. H. Schück, 'Våra äldsta psalmböcker', *Samlaren 12* (1891), p. 10.

29 See e.g. Ilkka Oramo, 'Virsikirjan vaiheita' (4 November 2005), in Veijo Murtomäki (ed.), *Muhi: Musiikin historiaa* (Helsinki: Taideyliopiston Sibelius-Akatemia, 2006–), https://muhi.uniarts.fi/suomi_uskonpuhdistus3/, accessed 31 December 2020.

30 Czaika, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582*, pp. 18, 64, 7–8, 87–96.

31 See Lempiäinen (ed.), *Jaakko Finnon virsikirja*; Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen virsikirja', p. 382.

32 Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen virsikirja', pp. 366–74; Pentti Lempiäinen, 'Hemminki Maskulainen 1605 – totta vai tarua?', *Hymnos* (2009), pp. 93–4, 96.

new hereditary treaty that transferred the crown but his coronation as Karl IX did not take place until 15 March 1607.[33]

Much has been written about Karl and the foundations of his theological thought; he has been characterised as a stern Calvinist or as a Lutheran with strong Calvinist influences, as the contemporary Swedish Lutheran clergy fostered in the University of Rostock claimed. The accusation was strongly voiced by Olaus Martini, archbishop since 1601, and this interpretation has lived on to this day.[34] On the other hand, Karl has been seen as a Melanchthonian humanist, as a Protestant, as a Lutheran Biblicist and as an amateur theologian. He has as well been characterised as a representative or advocate of the so-called Second Reformation, which had begun soon after the death of Martin Luther and insisted on the renewal of Christian life.[35]

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33 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, pp. 191–9, 207, 223, 230–1, 236–9, 241, 250–4, 285–6; Lennart Hedberg, *Karl IX. Företagarfursten & envåldshärskaren* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2009), pp. 245–63, 355; Heikkilä and Heininen, *A History of the Finnish Church*, p. 67; Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Sweden in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2004), pp. XV, 10–13; Sven Ulric Palme, 'Karl IX', in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, urn:sbl:12354; cf. Nuorteva, who dates the coronation only to the 18 August 1607, see Jussi Nuorteva, 'Kaarle IX', in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-kbg-000312, accessed 6 October 2019.

34 Michael Roberts: *The Early Vasas. A History of Sweden, 1523–1611* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 414–15; Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 18, 73–6, 158, 162–7, 217–18; Pentti Laasonen, *Luterilaisuus Rooman ja Geneven välissä. Luterilaisuuden identiteettitaistelu 1577 – noin 1590* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1998), p. 75; Ingun Montgomery, 'The Institutionalisation of Lutheranism in Sweden and Finland', in Ole Peter Grill (ed.), *The Scandinavian Reformation from Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 160–6; Heikki Ylikangas, 'Juhana III' (22 September 2008), in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997–), http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-kbg-000313, accessed 17 June 2019; Nuorteva, 'Kaarle IX'; Hedberg, *Karl IX*, pp. 216–33, 234–41; Ingun Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria 4. Enhetskyrkans tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2002), pp. 27–36; Hanna Pirinen, 'Early Lutheran Networks and Changes in the Furnishings of the Finnish Lutheran Parish Church', in Lehtonen etc. (eds.), *Re-forming Texts*, pp. 288, 303–4; Markku Heikkilä and Simo Heininen, *Uusi Suomen kirkkohistoria* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), p. 85.

35 Otto S. Holmdahl: 'Karl IX:s förmenta kalvinism', in *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 20 (1919), pp. 237–314; Tobias Norlind, *Svensk musikhistoria* (Stockholm: Helsingborg, 1901), pp. 38–9; Roberts: *Early Vasas*, p. 491; Ingun Montgomery, *Värjostånd och lärostånd. Religion och politik i meningsutbytet mellan kungamakt och prästerskap i Sverige 1593–1608*. Diss. (Uppsala: Uppsala universitetet, 1972), pp. 322–33, 337, 387–90; Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 18, 71–81, 158, 162–7, 217–18; Martti Parvio: 'Upsalan kokouksen (1593) tunnustusmuodostus Ruotsi-Suomen kirkon reformatorisena pohjana', in Martti Parvio (ed.), *Confessio Fidei. Suomen luterilaisuuden ensimmäinen tunnustuskirja* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1993), pp. 172–3; Kaarlo Arffman, *Mitä oli luterilaisuus? Johdatus kadonneeseen eurooppalaiseen kristinuskon tulkintaan* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 1996), pp. 295–6; Simo

Karl wanted to take care of both justice and religion. They were the conditions for welfare and peace. That is why he has also been characterised as the defender of true doctrine, the Augsburg Confession and the will of Gustav Vasa. He found support in the Lutheran theory of state, where lay authority was assigned responsibility for the law, including religion. He as the ruler saw himself as *custos utriusque tabulae* ('keeper of both tables'). This is a reference to the Decalogue, the two stone tablets of Mosaic Laws. They set the conditions for welfare and peace as defined in a tradition confirmed both by Luther and Melanchthon. As a ruler he claimed the position of defender of the church (*custos ecclesiae*) as well, similarly confirmed both by Luther and Melanchthon: Karl wanted to protect the evangelical faith and the resolutions of the Uppsala Synod. He was not only the leader of the country but as well the leader of the Swedish church. That is why he also was very active in theological questions and personally intervened in ecclesiastical affairs. His reign established Lutheranism at the state religion of Sweden. His son and successor, Gustav II Adolf, promised to adhere to the Augsburg Confession and the Uppsala Resolution. Thus the decisions of the Uppsala synod of 1593 came to be acknowledged as the basis of doctrine in Sweden.[36]

However, as Michael Roberts pointed out as long ago as 1968, 'No king of Sweden is more in need of a modern biography than Karl IX'.[37] Today there are a couple of modern biographies.[38] Yet, there are still gaps in the bigger picture: Karl as regent and as a representative of the 'Second Reformation' wanted to oversee both religion and justice and saw himself as responsible of the renewal of Christian life. In several instances, the clergy did not expedite the adoption of measures agreed at the synod of 1593, for instance the preparations for a new Bible translation. The proactive and swift-acting duke then appointed a Bible translation committee in 1600 (Swedish) and 1602 (Finnish). He was actively engaged in several other theological questions as well, for instance literary discussion with the archbishop on Holy Communion. The duke wanted to take holy scripture as the only basis for his planned revision. Already at the

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Heininen and Markku Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria* (6th edn, Helsinki: Edita, 2010), p. 85.

36 Holmdahl: 'Karl IX:s förmenta kalvinism', pp. 270–86; Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 73–5; Montgomery, 'Institutionalisation of Lutheranism', pp. 160–6; see also Olav D. Schalin, *Kulthistoriska studier till belysande av reformationens genomförande i Finland 4* (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1946), pp. 99–101 and Lockhart, 'Sweden in the Seventeenth Century', pp. xv, 12.

37 Roberts, *Early Vasas*, p. 491.

38 Erik Petersson, *Den skoningslöse. En biografi över Karl IX* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2008) and Hedberg, *Karl IX*.

Diet of Söderköping in 1595 he had demanded a reform of the church manuals. A couple of months later he called for a revision of the manual, and also a new and improved edition of the catechism of 1593. At the Diet of Linköping (1600), a service-book proposed by him was rejected by the clergy.[39] As a consequence Karl later presented his own Handbook (manual, 1602) and Catechism (1604).[40] The former was written for the court congregation but was in reality intended for use by the church in general. The books themselves do not mention the author, but both of them were, nonetheless, known as his works.[41] Otto Holmdahl, Herder Block and Ingun Montgomery list altogether five theological works by Karl.[42]

Among the clergy, there was a discussion concerning competence. They rejected the changes suggested by the duke, accusing him of 'some dangerous opinions inspired by Calvinists and Sacramentarians'. The leader of the ecclesiastical opposition was Olaus Martini, who had in 1599 drafted a new manual, which the duke had rejected. Martini was then elected archbishop in 1600. The theological confrontation between these leaders of church and state continued at full intensity; the question was, who should administer the teaching of the church. They both wrote a series of religious tracts. Karl published his *Bevisbok* (1604) with plenty of quotations from Luther and Melanchthon; Olaus Martini responded immediately with a tract. Karl's catechism was then published at the end of the same year. It drew mainly on Luther's Small Catechism but also included material from the Reformed Heidelberg and Emden Catechisms. The

39 Eric Gustave Geijer, *The History of the Swedes I* (*London, 1845*), pp. 201–2; Montgomery: *Värjoström och lärostånd*, pp. 289–310, 434–5; Montgomery, 'Institutionalization of Lutheranism', pp. 161–2.

40 See *Christeligh Ordning och Sätt, huruledes hålles skal vthi then Högborne Furstes och Herres Her CARLS med Gudz nåde …* (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1602), title page, USTC 252203. Lund University Library catalogue attributes Karl IX as the author or editor of this work, see Lund University Library, Äldre samlingen, SweLiMuS SLMS0025, urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-104721, accessed 12 July 2020; *Catechismus heller rätt christeligh kennedom om wåre christelige troos nödhtorfteligeste artikler …* (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1604), Uppsala University Library, Carolina Rediviva Sv. Rar. 10:57 (1), urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-100900, accessed 12 July 2020. See also Lena Huldén, 'Karl IX (1550–1611) Sveriges konung', in *Biografiskt lexikon för Finland 1. Svenska tiden* (2008), URN:NBN:fi:sls-4036-1416928956642, accessed 10 June 2020.

41 Herder Block, *Karl IX som teolog och religiös personlighet. Studier öfver utvecklingen af hans åskådning* (Lund: Gleerup, 1918), pp. XIII–XIV, 217–346; Holmdahl, 'Karl IX:s förmenta kalvinism', pp. 237–314, 268–9; Montgomery, *Värjoström och lärostånd*, pp. 289–310, 434–5; Montgomery, '*The institutionalisation of Lutheranism*', pp. 161–2.

42 Block, *Karl IX som teolog*, pp. XIII–XIV, 221–230, 247; Montgomery, *Värjoström och lärostånd*, pp. 289–310, 336–47, pp. 434–5 (the theological works of Karl); Montgomery, 'The institutionalisation of Lutheranism', pp. 161–3; see also Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 166–7.

archbishop answered with a hostile response. The controversies continued until Olaus Martini died in 1609. Karl himself pointed out that he based his work solely on the word of God.[43] New research into the theology of this 'independent lay theologian', as seen in his activities and works, would be valuable.[44]

When Karl published regulations for the reform of Christian life, he used as his source *Lex Politica Dei*. The original source was the Latin *Leges Politicae* (1577) by the French Hugenot lawyer, Francescus Raguellus. It had been translated into German by Conrad Gerhard Saurius. His translation, *Lex Politica Dei*, for its part was however based on another German version, *Leges Politicae* translated by his father, Abraham Saurius. The German translation of the younger Saurius had then been translated into Swedish from German by the Vyborgian interpreter Henrik Jönsson Careel. He was a brother of the Theologian Simon Johannis Carelius, who seems also to have participated. The work – the creation of the first legal treatise in Swedish – was apparently supervised by the Swedish court chancellor of Karl, Nils Chesnecopherus, and printed in Rostock on Karl's orders in 1607. The apparent motivation for the publication was the idea about the absolute power of the monarch and the biblical fundamentalist understanding of the judicial system.[45]

In Swedish or Finnish hymnological research Karl seems only seldom to have received attention. For example, P. J. I. Kurvinen mentions King Johan III several times in his classic hymnological study, while Karl is referred to only once.[46] Pentti Lempiäinen and Seppo Suokunnas do not mention him at all in connection with the so-called hymnal of Hemmingius Henrici of Masku,

43 Montgomery, *Värjostånd och lärostånd*, pp. 434–5; Montgomery, 'The Institutionalisation of Lutheranism', pp. 161–7; Norlind, '*Svensk musikhistoria*', pp. 41, 45. See also Anders Lundberg, *Kyrkofäder, reformatorer och 'ofromma oxförare'. Bruket av kyrkofäderna i polemic gentemot kalvinism och romersk katolicism i Sverige 1527–1604* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2012), pp. 35–41, 59; cf. Petersson, '*Den skoningslöse*', pp. 295, 310, mentioning the theological library and the theological works of Charles; Hedberg, *Karl IX*, p. 230, only mentions the catechism.

44 To this topic see especially Block, *Karl IX som teolog*, and critical analysis of it in Holmdahl, 'Karl IX:s förmenta kalvinism', pp. 237–314. See also Roberts, *Early Vasas*, pp. 491–4); Montgomery, *Värjostånd och lärostånd*; Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 154–74.

45 Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 7–8, 63–70, 177–93, 216–7, 243–4; Hendrich Jönsson Careell (tr.), *Lex Politica Dei; Thet är: Gudz Regementz Ordning* ..., (Rostock: Christoffer Reusner, 1607), USTC 2150289.

46 Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, pp. 62–3, 142, 8; 156, 191, 207, 217, 397 on Johan III, only p. 416 on Karl; Onni Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja. Vuoden 1701 suomalaisen virsikirjan synty ja sisällys*, Diss. (Helsingin yliopisto) (Rauma: [Onni Kurvinen], 1941), p. 34, only mentions Sigismund 'at a time when love for the Lutheran faith and orthodoxy received a new boost'.

the second Finnish hymnal.[47] Yet here too more attention should be paid to the potential influence of this monarch: this self-styled Prince Regent of the Kingdom of Sweden ('Sweriges Rijkes Regerende Arffurst') is said to have held firmly to his own theological principles.[48] He was well-versed in theology and presented his own works, and had received musical education along with the rest of the royal family and played several instruments.[49] He also wrote a rhymed work on his own life up to 1592 (*Rim-Chrönika*).[50] Karl considered himself responsible for both the people and the church: his interests might well have extended to hymnals as well.[51]

The Uppsala synod of 1593, summoned by him, calls for further research. The *Postulata* of the clergy, issued in 1594, already demanded an updating of the hymnal: 'The Swedish hymnbook must be checked and those beautiful hymns that have been omitted must be replaced, and others that are indifferent must be removed, and yet others that do not appear in the old one must be printed separately.'[52] This statement could also be considered as a theological critique of *Then Swenska Psalmeboken* 1582 published during the reign of King Johan III. The criticism may have given Karl – as a representant of the 'Second Reformation' – further impetus for practical action also on the hymnbook front. Yet, the clergy did not hurry with the adoption of several measures agreed at the synod. As there was no progress regarding the hymnbook either, it is quite possible that Karl took it on himself to promote its publication.

47 Suokunnas etc., 'Kristillisen virren vaiheet', pp. 68–9. In view of this newly discovered material the research has moved on to another stage. Hence the volume in question is referred to here as the so-called hymnal of Hemmingius Henrici of Masku (the hymnal of Hemmingius).

48 Holmdahl, *Karl IX:s förmenta kalvinism*, pp. 237–314; Montgomery, *Värjostånd och lärostånd*, pp. 322–33; Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 166, 217–18; Hedberg, *Karl IX*, pp. 216–33; Heininen and Heikkilä, *Suomen kirkkohistoria*, p. 85.

49 Beckman, *Försök*, pp. 474, 833; Norlind, *Svensk musikhistoria*, pp. 38, 60; Tobias Norlind, *'Svensk musikodling under reformationstidevarvet', Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning, 26* (1944) pp. 16, 53, 64–5, 118. The son of Karl, Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm, the stepbrother of Gustav II Adolf, later published a hymnbook too, see Arvastson, *Svensk psalm*, p. 40.

50 *Konung CARL den IX:des Rim=Chrönika* was printed only in 1759 by Bengt Bergius in Stockholm; Montgomery, *Värjostånd och lärostånd*, p. 434.

51 Cf. Palme, 'Karl IX'. According to Palme the common opinion that Karl had also published a hymnbook in 1601 is based on a misunderstanding. However, he neither mentions any ecclesiastical material amongst the printed works of Karl nor justifies his opinion.

52 'then Suenske Psalmboken må öffersees och the sköne psalmer som vthlåttne ähre igen insettias och andra som nya ähre och fögha dochse ähre vht slutas, och huär några andra psalmer giorde warde icke måga i then förre Psalmboken indmengieas vthan serdeles tryckas.' Johan Wilhelm Beckman, *Försök till Swensk Psalmhistoria* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1869), pp. 473–4; Anton N. Sundberg, *Om den svenska kyrkoreformationen och Upsala möte 1593*, (Uppsala: Berling, 1893), pp. 90–1; Roberts: *Early Vasas*, pp. 413–14.

5 *Een liten Psalmbook*: a Forgotten Genre of Swedish Hymnal

Research on the Swedish hymnbook has focused on the tradition of *Then Swenska Psalm(e)boken* ('The Swedish Hymnbook'), and this has influenced views in Finland as well. Nevertheless, a Danish hymnologist, Pastor Jens Lyster, made an interesting find in the Herzog August Bibliothek (Wolfenbüttel, Germany) already in the 1970s: a Swedish hymnbook, printed in Rostock in 1602, titled *Een liten Psalmbook* ('A Small Hymnbook'). The discovery, presented in an article in three parts in *Hymnologiske Meddelelser,* was soon assessed in Sweden by Allan Arvastson, for whom the find radically altered the Swedish literary history of the seventeenth century: with *Een liten Psalmbook* began a new, important and forgotten genre or tradition of Swedish hymnals.[53] In Collijn's bibliography there had been five versions of the book; Lindquist had then mentioned two more. Lyster for his part mentions altogether twelve editions with the title *En liten Psalmbok* (1596?–1691), printed mostly in Stockholm, and Arvastson added a further one. This adds up to twenty different editions up to 1691.[54] Yet, *Een liten Psalmbook* (1602) seems very seldom to have been considered after Lyster and Arvastson.[55]

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53 See Jens Lyster, 'En liten psalmbok – en svensk 1600-talstradition', *Hymnologiske Meddelelser* 4 (1974), pp. 160–78; Jens Lyster 'En liten psalmbok – en svensk 1600-talstradition', *Hymnologiske Meddelelser* 2–3 (1975), pp. 114–34 and Jens Lyster 'En liten psalmbok – en svensk 1600-talstradition', *Hymnologiske Meddelelser 1 (1976)*, pp. 31–42; Allan Arvastson, 'Ett halvt sekel av svensk psalmhistoria i ny belysning', *Svensk teologisk kvartalskrift 54/3* (1978); Christian Wedow, *Die Rolle des deutschen Luthertums für Schweden zwischen 1600 und 1648*, Diss. (University of Rostock, 2013), pp. 318, 324.

54 The twelve editions with this title listed by Lyster are 1596 (? s.l.), 1602 (Rostock), 1608 (Stockholm, edited by Sigfridus Aronus Forsius), 1614 (Lübeck, a reprint of the 1608 version edited by Forsius), 1622/23 (Stockholm), 1626 (Stockholm – the so-called Hymnbook of Gustav II Adolf), 1647 (Stockholm), 1648 (Stockholm, Meurer – a special miniature hymnal), 1648 (Stockholm, Keyser), 1650 (Strängnäs), 1650 (Stockholm, reprint of 1626), 1691 (Stockholm). See Lyster, 'En liten psalmbok' (1974), pp. 157–9, 161, 168–9, 172, 177; Lyster, 'En liten psalmbok' (1975), pp. 115–26, 130–3 and Lyster, 'En liten psalmbok' (1976), pp. 31, 36–9. Collijn had already earlier listed partly same editions (1596, 1637, 1639, 1647, 1650), then additionally four more versions from Stockholm (1639, 1642, 1651, 1663) and one from Lund (1686), see Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi. 1600-talet. Bidrag till en bibliografisk förteckning I–II* (Uppsala: Svenska Litteratursällskapet 1942–6), pp. 727–40. Lindquist had mentioned two more versions (Stockholm 1637 and Göteborg 1675), see David Lindquist, *Studier till den svenska evangelieboken. En liten bönbok* (Uppsala: Kyrkohistoriska Föreningen, 1944), pp. 89–91. Arvastson added one more (1620 s.l.), see Arvastson, 'Ett halvt sekel', p. 136. The real number may be greater: further editions may have been published, for instance as parts of Manuals (Handbooks).

55 For instance, Suokunnas and Lempiäinen later merely mentioned the heading *Een liten Psalmbook* of 1602 once, Czaika did not pay attention to this tradition, see Suokunnas and

This new tradition involved a musician by the name Torsten Johannis Rhyacander, also known as Torstenius Johannes.[56] Rhyacander first worked as a court musician during the reign of King Johan III of Sweden. He then continued as court conductor for Karl, at this time still the Duke of Södermanland. Rhyacander seems to have been the editor of the first, lost version of *Een liten Psalmbook* 1596 (?), which can be regarded as the starting point of this tradition. It appears that this court musician had the authority to freely publish and arrange hymns according to his own taste – he was also known as a hymn lyricist and was well versed in theology. Given its origins at the court, the new hymnal tradition seems to have been issued under royal authority from the very beginning. The printer of this hymnal in Rostock (1602) was Christopher Reusner, a German, who later moved to Stockholm. Also the publisher Herman Sulke (Sulcke, Sulken; d. 1611) was from Germany. He had already settled in Stockholm and was known as 'Karl's court bookseller'; he had had dealings with Karl at least since 1591.[57]

There are 121 hymns in the second edition of *Een Liten Psalmbook* (1602). It is a remarkable number, given that it was mainly intended as a portable travel version. On the other hand, such a number seems, at the end of the sixteenth century, to have been around the norm in hymnbooks in Sweden in general.[58] 28 of the new hymns in the 1602 version had previously been thought to have arrived later. Three of them are marked with the initials T. R. or T. J. R., the initials of Rhyacander. A translation of an old macaronic Christmas song (Latin–German) had been published earlier as a Latin–Swedish version *IN dulci iubilo, Nu siunge wij i-o i-o*, and as well in the hymnbook of Finno (1583?) as a version in Finnish *Ilon cans weisatcam*.[59] In this forgotten *Een*

Lempiäinen, 'Kristillisen virren vaiheet', pp. 58–9; Czaika, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582*, pp. 22–4.

56 Cf. Norlind, *Svensk musikhistoria*, p. 60, and Lyster, 'En liten psalmbok' (1974), p. 167, who spell the name as Rhyarander. According to Arvastson, 'Ett halvt sekel', p. 137, the correct spelling is Rhyacander.

57 Lyster, 'En liten psalmbok', pp. 167–70, 177–8; Arvastson, 'Ett halvt sekel', pp. 135–8. The 1602 title page bears the text 'Nw nylighen öffuerseed / medh flere Psalmer och Loffsånger förbättrat' ('Now newly edited and improved with several hymns and songs of praise'), see Lyster, 'En liten psalmbok' (1974), pp. 161–2; cf. Terhi Pursiainen, *Sigfridus Aronus Forsius. Pohjoismaisen renessanssin astronomi ja luonnonfilosofi …* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), p. 120; *Någhra nyttigha Andelighe Loffsånger* (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1601 and 1607), USTC 252371 and 252372; see also Olof Sundel, *Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Academiens Handlingar* 9 (Stockholm, 1811), p. 91; Geijer, *The History of the Swedes* I, p. 202.

58 *Een liten psalmbook* (Rostock, 1602), USTC 2139475; Czaika 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field', p. 127.

59 Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, pp. 284–5.

liten Psalmbook of 1602 there is a new Latin–Swedish translation of the same song, marked with Rhyacander's initials: *IN dulci jubilo, Siunger på Jorden boo.* Some years later, a Latin–Finnish translation of this hymn was also published in the newly discovered Finnish hymnal of 1607 (*IN dulci iubilo. Nyt on isoi ilo*, no. 136), with the initials P. M., for Petrus Melartopaeus (d. 1610).[60]

The subsequent edition of *Een Liten Psalmbook* came out in 1608 in Stockholm, published by Gutterwitz, with some new hymns added. It is important to pay attention to the fact that it was edited by Sigfridus Aronus Forsius, the versatile Finnish theologian and astronomer, who was also known as a hymn writer. When visiting Germany from autumn 1605 until May 1606 (for example Lübeck and Rostock) Forsius also met the Finnish theologian Simon Johannis Carelius, the editor of the Finnish hymnal and catechism (1607). Returning home, Forsius was arrested on the order of Karl and imprisoned in 1606–7 in Örebro castle, as the prince regent suspected him of having had contacts with King Sigismund's supporters abroad. Sigismund, the Catholic king of Poland, had legitimate claims to the Swedish throne as the son of Johan III. However, Karl's trust was later restored: Forsius was released and named as professor in astronomy at Uppsala University. The hymns Forsius added to *Een Liten Psalmbook* (1608) were also used in other hymnals. The arrangement of hymns had an influence up to the first official Swedish hymnbook of 1695 (*Then Swenska Psalmboken*), which included some hymns from this tradition – these were still in use as late as 1937.[61] In addition, it is important to mention the small choral book *Någhra Nyia Psalmers / Loffsångers och Andelighe wijsors Thoner* (Stockholm, Gutterwitz 1608), which is the oldest Swedish choral book. It works together with the *Een Liten Psalmbook* 1608 and was also published by Sigfrid Aronus Forsius.[62]

60 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1607), USTC 2092729; cf. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, pp. 284–5; Lehtonen etc., 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 178–9.

61 Arvastson, 'Ett halvt sekel', pp. 135–8; Pursiainen, *Sigfridus Aronus Forsius*, pp. 56–78, 120–2; see also Czaika, 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field', pp. 125–38. According to Lyster the hymnal *Then Swenska Psalmeboken* 1594 is however important in the background of the new tradition. Lyster, 'En liten psalmbok' (1974), p. 169.

62 *Någhra Nyia Psalmers / Loffsångers och Andelighe wijsors Thoner* (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1608), USTC 268954; *Een Liten Psalmbook* (Stockholm, 1608), USTC 268955; Arvastson, 'Ett halvt sekel', pp. 136–7; Pursiainen, *Sigfridus Aronus Forsius*, pp. 56–78, 120–2; Suokunnas and Lempiäinen, 'Kristillisen virren vaiheet', pp. 58–9; Tuppurainen, 'Hemminki Maskulaisen virsikirjaan liittyneet sävelmät', pp. 55–6. The booklet appeared as a facsimile with comments: Toivo I. Haapalainen (ed.), *Någhra Nyia Psalmers, Loffsångers och Andelighe wijsors Thoner: sign. T3(2) i Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel* (Turku:

6 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria*, 1607: the First Part of the Discovery

It was in this context that the next Finnish hymnbook came into existence. It has been named the hymnal of Hemmingius after Hemmingius Henrici (*c.*1550–1619), the vicar of Masku parish, and has been recognized as a central work in the development of literary Finnish and of the Lutheran church of Finland.[63] Yet in the research of the history of the Finnish Lutheran hymnals there have been different opinions and views on the state of affairs at the beginning of the seventeenth century because of the lacking or defective sources. The two copies that have been considered to be the earliest examples of this hymnal are defective, even the title pages are missing. That is why we have to ask: When was this hymnal published for the first time? According to Julius Krohn (1880) this occurred in 1610–1614. The Finnish Hymnbook (1938) and Onni Kurvinen (1941) proposed that the hymnal had been published around 1614. Jorma Vallinkoski wrote in 1952 about his observations regarding the handwritten inventory (1664) of the Finnish church in Stockholm. He had noticed there a mention of a hymnal consisting entirely of Finnish hymns and printed in 1605. However, he gives no name for the book, mentions only that it had been printed by Gutterwitz in Stockholm. In the inventory itself the book is anonymous. Nevertheless, Vallinkoski suggested that this was the hymnbook published by Hemmingius of Masku, allowing no other possibilities. His opinion became an undisputed 'fact' for a long time, until in 2009 Pentti Lempiäinen did not consider that the anonymous hymnal (1605) could be attributed to the so-called hymnal of Hemmingius. The archival record

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Åbo Akademi, 1973). Regarding Forsius, see also Nuorteva, 'Kaarle IX'. Heikkilä and Heininen, *History of the Finnish Church*, p. 82.

63 Paarma, *Hiippakuntahallinto*, pp. 261–3; Suokunnas and Lempiäinen, 'Kristillisen virren vaiheet', pp. 68–9; Kaisa Häkkinen, 'Maskun Hemmingin kieli', *Hymnos* (2005), pp. 27, 37–8; Heikki Laitinen, 'Barokki tunteen ja järjen dialogina. Hemminki Maskulaisen Uscovaisen sielun halu Christuxen jälken', *Hymnos* (2005), p. 146; Heikki Laitinen, 'Maskun Hemmingin virsikirjan neljä vuosisataa (1605–2005): veisaajan kokemuksia', in Tuomas Eerola etc. (eds.), *Suomen musiikintutkijoiden symposiumin satoa* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 2005), p. 68. http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:951-39-2162-X, accessed 28 December 2020; Väinölä, 'Hemminki Maskulaisen virsikirja', p. 39; Anna Viinamäki, *Hemminki Maskulainen – virsirunoilija*, ed. Raija Miikkulainen, (Helsinki: Kotus, 2005), https://kaino.kotus.fi/www/artikkelit/maskulainen/, accessed 1 January 2021; Ilkka Leskelä, 'Trade and the Known World. Finnish Priests' and Laymen's Networks in the Late Medieval Baltic Sea Region', in Lehtonen etc. (eds.), *Re-forming Texts*, p. 80; Perälä, 'Tulkintoja', pp. 13–14. Kallio, 'Changes in the Poetics', pp. 141–55. See also Lehtonen etc., 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 166–90; cf. SLUB Digitale Sammlungen urn:nbn:de:bsz:14-db-id4257198128 (accessed 17 July 2020) that declares that the author of the 1607 hymnal was Jaakko Finno.

and printing year of the anonymous hymnbook ('12mo der alenast är finske psalmer, tryckt af Anders Gutterwitz, 1605') is not – even with a caveat addition 'probably' – a sufficient proof. Lempiäinen suggested that there may however have been a Finnish hymnal printed in 1605 in the archives in question even though it then has no more been mentioned in the later inventories but if there was a publication produced by Gutterwitz in 1605 it might have been a new edition of the hymnal of Finno. Furthermore, he stated that the hymnal of Finno probably was complete already in 1583: The print of the defective copy of this hymnbook evidences that it had been printed at the Gutterwitz press. Already 1988 Lempiäinen had pointed out that the hymnal of Finno appears to have been out of print in the beginning of the seventeenth century: only two manuscript versions have been preserved. The one is from the year 1604; the completion year of the other is unknown. In 2009 he added that the so-called hymnal of Hemmingius ought to have been published at the latest in 1610.[64]

Two more viewpoints can be added. In the handwritten inventory itself the hymnbook (1605) is anonymous, and Finnish hymnbooks were not published as often as the Swedish ones. As far as is known, the next hymnal, published in 1621 in Stockholm, was only the third one. It was the *Soomenkielinen wirsikiria*, the so-called hymnal of Elimaeus. It was then followed by two new editions of *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* (published in Stockholm by Ignatius Meurer in 1630 and 1639).[65]

And now in 2015 a new book has been added into this short list of early Finnish hymnbooks. It is *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria*, a hitherto totally unknown Finnish hymnbook with the same heading. It had been printed in Rostock 1607 and surprisingly discovered by the author of this chapter in The Saxon State and University Library (SLUB) in Dresden (Germany) with the catalogue reference Lit. var. 167.

The title page explains the short history of the Finnish hymnbooks: the first hymnal for the Finnish divine services had been carried out by Jacobus Finno and other clergymen of Finland. It had been printed in Stockholm with the costs borne and support of Hemmingius of Masku and under the auspices of

64 Vallinkoski, Jorma, 'Milloin Maskun Hemmingin virsikirja ilmestyi?', in *Ramus virens in honorem Aarno Maliniemi* (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1952), pp. 396–400; Onni Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, p. 27; Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen virsikirja', pp. 366–74; Lempiäinen, 'Hemminki Maskulainen 1605', p. 93. P. J. I. Kurvinen did not mention any exact year of publication. According to him the early hymnals are defect. As an example, he, however, mentions an anonymous, defect Swedish hymnbook, *Andelighe Psalmer och Wijsor* (1614?) of Sigfridus Aronus Forsius – and [*Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen Virsikirja* s.a.]. Kurvinen as well uses the title of the last-mentioned hymnal (the edition of 1652), see Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, pp. 17–8, 65.

65 Pentti Lempiäinen etc., 'Kristillisen virren vaiheet', p. 69.

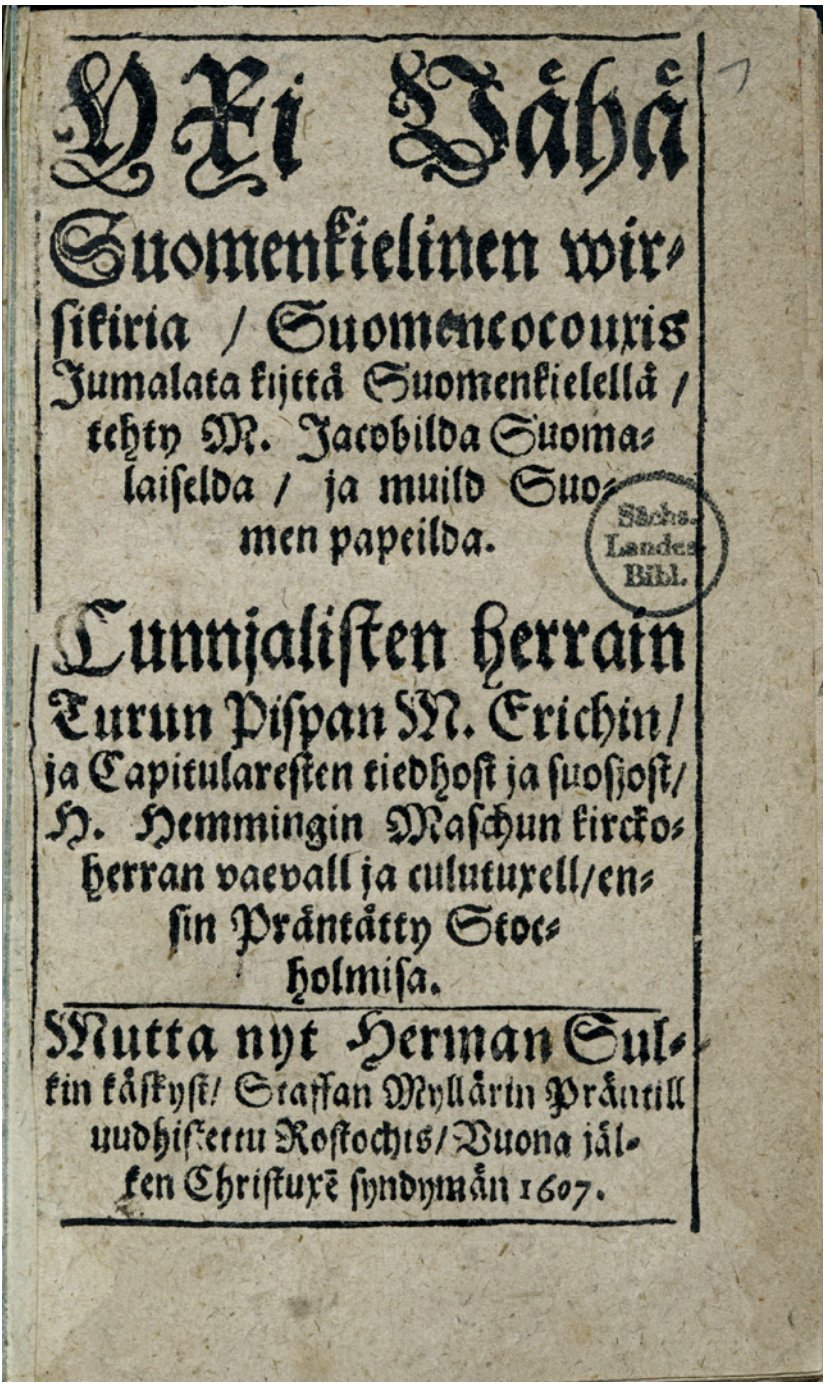
Yxi Wähä
Suomenkielinen wir-
sikiria / Suomencocouris
Jumalata kijttä Suomenkielellä /
tehty M. Jacobilda Suoma-
laiselda / ja muild Suo-
men papeilda.
Sächs. Landes Bibl.
Cunnjaliſten herrain
Turun Piſpan M. Erichin /
ja Capitulareſten tiedhoſt ja ſuoſioſt /
H. Hemmingin Maſchun kircko-
herran vaevall ja culuturell / en-
ſin Prändtätty Stoc-
holmiſa.
Mutta nyt Herman Sul-
kin käſkyſt / Staffan Myllärin Prändtill
uudhiſettu Roſtochis / Vuona jäl-
ken Chriſtuxē ſyndymän 1607.

FIGURE 4.1 Title page of *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria*, 1607
THE SAXON STATE AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY DRESDEN (SLUB)

the bishop Erik and members of the Diocesan Chapter of Turku. This new *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* ("a Small Finnish Hymnbook") – updated by the order of Herman Sulke – in turn has been printed in Rostock 1607 by Stefan Möllemann. Jacobus Petri Finno (circa 1540–1588) had been the headmaster of the cathedral school of Turku, where Hemmingius Henrici had studied. The latter became the vicar of Masku parish (1586–1619) and had been present at the Uppsala synod 1593. The expression 'vaeval ja culutuxel' on the title page means 'with the efforts and costs, by financing'. Hemmingius was known as a wealthy man – that is why he can have participated in the work economically as well.[66] Further research, including a comparative study of the vocabulary, is required to confirm the background of this discovery. It could be either a reprint of an earlier (if the presumption of the possible first edition of this Finnish hymnbook 'perhaps 1605' is correct) so-called Hemmingius hymnal or the first edition of the second Finnish hymnal.[67]

Be this as it may, this discovery from Dresden is now the oldest hymnbook in the Finnish language preserved in complete form. It was published 'by order of Herman Sulke', the German publisher in Stockholm and the court bookseller of Karl IX. It is very interesting that he was the very same person who had already been involved with the publication of the Swedish *Een liten Psalmbook* (1602) printed in Rostock by Christopher Reusner. The printing of *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* (1607) was carried out at the 'Printing House of Staffan Mylläri', referring to another Rostock printer, Stephan Möllemann (Müllman, Myliander; 1561–1610).[68] At the end of the hymnbook, there is a very short and practical 'dedication' to its prospective user by Simon Johannis Carelius, who had also been supervising the printing process in Rostock. It begins with some warm words addressed to 'Racas Suomalainen' ('Dear Finn').[69]

66 For Hemmingius Henrici and his background see Aulis Oja, 'Maskun kirkkoherrat Hemming Henrikinpoika ja Henrik Hoffman' *Genos* 35 (1964), pp. 1–13; Kyösti Väänänen, 'Hemmingius Henrici Maskulainen', in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto*, http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-thp-000929, accessed 24 July 2021.

67 Cf. Czaika, according to whom this hymnal represents an edited version of Finno's Hymnbook and is attributed to Simon Johannis Carelius. He neither mentions any Finnish hymnal published 1605 nor Hemmingius. See Czaika 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field', p. 130.

68 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria 1607*, title page; Anna-Maria Rimm, 'Herman Sulke', in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, http://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/34679, accessed 7 September 2019; Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (2nd edn, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982), p. 394; Koski, 'Ennennäkemätön kirjalöytö', p. 7; Perälä, 'Tulkintoja', p. 14. The majority of works published by Sulke were printed abroad, particularly in Rostock, see Wedow, *Die Rolle des deutschen Luthertums*, pp. 312–46.

69 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* 1607, [227 b].

As to the title of this 1607 hymnbook, *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* ('A Small Finnish Hymnbook'), we may ask where the expression *Yxi Vähä* ('A Small') comes from. The Danish hymnologist Jens Lyster actually hinted to this point earlier when he already raised another interesting question. When did the Finnish (Lutheran) church come into contact with *Een liten Psalmbook*? We now continue with asking: Could the Finnish *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* (*'A Small Finnish Hymnbook'*) be linked to the Swedish *Een liten Psalmbook* ('A Small Hymnbook') tradition? As stated earlier, within research into the Swedish hymnbook, the tradition of *Then Swenska Psalm(e)boken* (*c.*1542, 'The Swedish hymnbook') has been dominant, also in Finland. Nevertheless, the context of its origin suggests that the new Swedish hymnal tradition of *Een liten Psalmbook* had a royal connection and maybe royal authority as well from the very beginning.

Then why did the Finnish hymnal appear in 1607? Karl's aim was to safeguard the welfare of the people. He was the guardian of the dual supporting pillars of religion and justice. The power of the clergy was restricted by this prince regent, especially from 1604 to 1607. He was then crowned king as Karl IX in March 1607.[70] The already mentioned Swedish translation of *Lex Politica Dei* (originally 1577), the first legal treatise published in Swedish, appeared in Rostock in the same year, 1607, translated by Henrik Jönsson Careel, who was a brother of Simon Johannis Carelius.[71] From the viewpoint of the 'Second Reformation' alone it is possible to consider the Finnish hymnbook and catechism, together with the Swedish translation of *Lex Politica Dei*, as part of a spiritual reform entrusted to the monarch for the celebration during the very special coronation year of 1607 of Karl IX.

The hymnbook *Een liten Psalmbook* of 1602 differed from the predominant tradition of Swedish hymnals: a quarter – 30 of the total number 121 of the hymns – were missing from *Then Swenska Psalmeboken* tradition and its appendix, *Någhra nyttigha Andelighe Loffsånger och wijsor*. In other words, the 1602 Swedish hymnal seems now to be the earliest known version of the significant but largely forgotten hymnbook tradition that continued well into the seventeenth century.[72]

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70 Lyster 'En liten psalmbok' 1975, p. 134; Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 166, 171–4.

71 Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 18, 176–86; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, p. 203; see also Jyrki Knuutila, 'Franciscus Raguel: Lex Politica Dei, 1607', in Laine (ed.), *Vanhimman suomalaisen*, pp. 174–6.

72 Lyster, *'En liten psalmbok'*, pp. 161–6, 174–8. A commentary on Lyster's research was then written by Arvastson, *'Ett halvt sekel'*, pp. 135–7; cf. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, pp. 284–5.

The royal context had given the Swedish hymnbook of 1602 a special authority. It is now important to answer the question Lyster raised in 1975, to clarify how the pressure to update the Swedish hymnal is also reflected in Finland: Petrus Henrici Melartopaeus, Ericus Erici Sorolainen and Hemmingius Henrici of Masku had been present at the Uppsala synod in 1593. Two of them are mentioned on the title page of the newly discovered hymnal of 1607. Surprisingly, the first is the bishop of Turku, Ericus Erici Sorolainen, who had often incurred Karl's displeasure, being accused by him of popery and imprisoned. The bishop seems to have regained his status and privileges only in 1609. The other name is Hemmingius Henrici, the vicar of Masku parish. The name of Petrus Melartopaeus is missing from the title page but his initials (P. M.) can be found with five hymns in the book. As the dean of Turku Cathedral, he was a member of the diocesan chapter, mentioned in the title page. It was his task to adopt the decisions of the Uppsala synod and to act as the stand-in for Bishop Sorolainen when he was imprisoned and suspended in 1600.[73] A preliminary appraisal shows that several new hymns of the Swedish hymnbook 1602 are translated into the Finnish hymnbook 1607 as well – including hymns translated first by Sigfridus Aronus Forsius into Swedish. This could be an evidence of some kind of collaboration between Forsius and Simon Johannis Carelius. Forsius had during his long visit in Germany 1605–1606 also met Carelius.[74]

Generally, the so-called Hemmingius hymnal has previously been reckoned as containing 242 hymns, which is a significant number.[75] However, the

73 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, pp. 264–6, 269, 274; Simo Heininen, 'Melartopaeus, Petrus Henrici' (18 July 2000), in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997–), http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-kbg-000456, accessed 11 August 2019; Nuorteva, '*Kaarle IX*'; Parvio: 'Upsalan kokouksen (1593) tunnustusmuodostus', pp. 174–7. Concerning the hymnological work of Melartopaeus, see also Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 166–90; Mikko Hiljanen, 'Servants of the Crown or Trustees of the People? Personal Agency among the Local Clergy (1550–1610)', in Petri Karonen and Marko Hakanen (eds.), *Personal Agency at the Swedish Age of Greatness 1560–1720* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), pp. 199–200. According to Paarma, *Hiippakuntahallinto*, pp. 261–3, the work for a new hymnal belonged to the duties of the chapter.

74 For instance the following quite new hymns, translated first by Forsius into Swedish (*ELPSB* 1602), have then been taken into *Yksi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* 1607: Martin Luthers *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl*, in Swedish *Then Ogudhachtighe sägher så*, in Finnish *SVullans tyhmäd kyll kerskavad*; Seb. Heyden's *Gott, vnser sterck*, in Swedish *GVdh är vår starckheet och tilflycht*, in Finnish *JUmal on meidhän väkevä apum*; Paul Ebers *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*, in Swedish *När wij j höghsta nödhen ståå*, in Finnish *CUin hätä cova käsis on*, see Kurvinen 1929, pp. 315, 19, 368; Lyster 1974, p. 167.

75 Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, p. 64; Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, p. 27; Suokunnas & Lempiäinen, 'Kristillisen virren vaiheet', p. 68; Tuppurainen, 'Hemminki

hymnbook of 1607, which now seems to be the earliest version of this second Finnish hymnbook, contains one less, that is, 241 hymns: the last one is titled *Ruomin Antichristuxest* ('Of the Antichrist of Rome').[76] It begins *RVomi röyhkjä cuing kätes käi nyt?* ('Insolent Rome, what will happen to you now?'). Its origins were in the early Swedish Reformation period, and it expresses overt opposition to the Catholic Church. The lyricist of this originally Swedish acrostic hymn ('*O Rom går thet nu så med tig*') was the schoolmaster Olaf Svensson (Suensson). It was one of the four anti-papist songs of the booklet called *Några Gudhelige Wijsor* (1530), edited by Olaus Petri, the Swedish reformer. It had also already been included in the Swedish hymnbook of 1601 (*Then Swenska Psalmboken*, Stockholm).[77] Finno's hymnbook (*c.*1583) had been put together during King Johan III's reign and had omitted any material critical of the Catholic Church.[78]

Maskulaisen virsikirjaan liittyneet sävelmät', p. 65; Väinölä, 'Hemminki Maskulaisen virsikirja', 39. Cf. Knuutila, 'Yxi vähä suomenkielinen wirsikirja, 1605', p. 139, according to whom there had been only 237 hymns. There are two extant copies of this hymnal, one in Uppsala University Library (http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record%3A156090&dswid=8559): Hemmingus [sic] Henrici Maskulainen, ['*I. Muutamad kiitosvirdhed uudhest, testamentist. …*'] (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1605), the other in Finnish National Library (https://kansalliskirjasto.finna.fi/Record/fikka.3886904): Hemmingius Henrici Maskulainen, ['*I. Muutamad kiitos-wirdhed uudhest Testamentist. …*'] (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, *c.*1610), USTC 252059. The unnumbered pages [221]–[223] are located after the alphabetical index. These hymns passed unnoticed by Knuutila.

76 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* 1607, no. [241]. The hymns of this hymnbook are unnumbered; see leaves 1–223. In this paper they are numbered according to P. J. I. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet* 1929, pp. 313–83 (the section 'Hemminki Maskulaisen Virsikirja').

77 *Några Gudhelige Wijsor* (Stockholm: Royal Printer, 1530), USTC 300153; *Then swenska psalmboken* (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1601), USTC 252863; Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, pp. 138, 382; Liedgren, *Svensk Psalm*, pp. 85, 104–13. This hymn had also been published in Swedish in 1598 by the Royal Printing Press at Stockholm as a chapbook song titled *En psalm, om Antichristi rijkes affall*, ['A hymn about the fall of Antichrist's realm'] (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1598), pp. [1]–[5], https://litteraturbanken.se/forfattare/Anonym/titlar/EnPsalmOmAntichristi/sida/I/faksimil, accessed 30 December 2020. Cf. Fredrik Cleve, according to whom the hymn was included in the first (Swedish) 'official' hymnal 1695 and had been printed in Finnish in 1614 (!) in the hymnal of Hemmingius of Masku and in the first 'official' Finnish Hymnal in 1701, see Fredrik Cleve, 'Förändringar i tolkningen av reformationen avspeglade i en finländsk psalm', in Krister Ståhlberg (ed.), *Norden och Europa: Språk, kultur och identitet* (København: Nordisk Ministerråd, 1999), pp. 59–60. Czaika 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field', p. 138 (especially footnote 39) repeats Cleve's point of view.

78 Knuutila, 'Yxi wähä suomenkielinen wirsikirja, 1605', pp. 136–7; Väinölä, 'Hemminki Maskulaisen virsikirja', p. 47; see also Kallio, 'Changes in the Poetics', pp. 141–2. Also the 1589 version of *Then Swenska Psalmeboken* contained material which was consistent with the liturgical movement of Johan III, see Arvastson, *Svensk psalm*, p. 34.

It is thus quite telling that this Finnish hymnal, published during the reign of King Karl, ends with this early, fervently anti-papist hymn. In contrast, the hymn *Ota pois Jumal, päldäm julma vihas* ('God, take away from us thy cruel wrath'), by the vicar of Mikkeli, Paulus Johannis Carelius, appeared not 1607 but only much later, in the Elimaeus hymnal of 1621. Nine years later it was finally taken into *Yxi Vähä Suomen=kielinen Wirsikiria* (Stockholm 1630), in the tradition of the so-called Hemmingius hymnal.[79] It belonged to the hymns of the following edition (1639) as well. The initials of its author are P. I. C. We shall return to this other brother of Simon Johannis Carelius later.[80]

7 The *Catechimus* [sic], 1607: the Second Part of the Discovery

The second part of my discovery was another, hitherto wholly unknown Finnish catechism. Like the hymnbook, it was printed in Rostock in 1607.[81]

This catechism had lain undiscovered at the Saxon State and University Library (SLUB) in Dresden. It is not mentioned on the spine of the old binding, which merely reads, 'Finnisches Gesangbuch 1607' ('Finnish Hymnal 1607').[82] It is so far the oldest Finnish catechism to survive in its entirety. The indication is that this fairly limited book, printed in Rostock in 1607, may actually be the earliest Finnish version of Luther's *Small Catechism*.[83] At an initial estimate, it may well reflect Luther's original German work, although the editor and translator of the book Simon Johannis Carelius actually mentions both versions

79 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen Wirsikiria …* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1630), USTC 252060, no. 242; Lempiäinen, 'Virsirunoilijoiden elämäkerrasto', in Lempiäinen etc. Virsirunoilijoiden, p. 212; Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 177–8.

80 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen Wirsikiria …* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1639), no. 242. Even the corpus of old literary Finnish seems to assume the hymn had already appeared in the earlier defective versions of the so-called hymnal of Hemmingius, see '[*Hemminki Maskulainen: Virsikirja*]', in *Vanhan kirjasuomen korpus* (Helsinki: Kotus, 2007), http://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/virret/hemm1605_rdf.xm,l accessed 4 July 2019, no. 242; Väinölä, 'Hemminki Maskulaisen virsikirja', p. 39.

81 *Catechimus* [*sic*] […] *Simonis Iohannis Carelij culutuxel vlos käynyt …* (Rostock, Stephan Möllemann, 1607), USTC 2092731, see the first footnote of this chapter.

82 The present author discovered the catechism after ordering a digital version of the Finnish hymnal 1607 from the Dresden library (SLUB), which revealed, upon examination, that there could be another volume bound together with it. The librarians were contacted, and the catechism, which had remained unknown, was duly recognised and as well added into the library catalogue.

83 According to Professor Emeritus Simo Heininen during the publication of the book discoveries at the Finnish National Library on 7 December 2015; see also Koski, 'Ennennäkemätön kirjalöytö', p. 9.

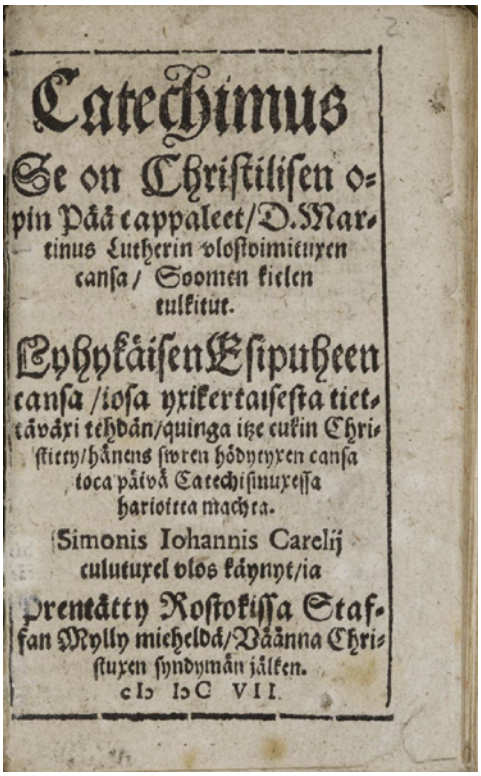
Catechimus
Se on Christiliſen o=
pin Pää cappaleet/D. Mar=
tinus Lutherin vloſtoimitetuxen
canſa/ Soomen kielen
tulkitut.
Lyhykäiſen Eſipuheen
canſa /ioſa yxikertaiſeſta tiet=
täväri tehdän/quinga itze cukin Chri=
ſtitty/hänens ſuoren hödyxyxen canſa
toca päiwä Catechiſinuxeſſa
hariotta machta.
Simonis Iohannis Carelij
culutuxel olos käynyt/ia
Prentätty Roſtokiſſa Staf=
fan Mylly micheldä/Päänna Chri=
ſtuxen ſyndymän jälken.
cIↃ IↃC VII.

FIGURE 4.2
Title page of *Catechimus* [sic], 1607
THE SAXON STATE AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY DRESDEN (SLUB)

of Luther's Catechism in the foreword of this edition.[84] Carelius was also an adherent of David Chytraeus' theology. In addition, we need to clarify whether Carelius' work was influenced by the Swedish version of the catechism (1604) published by prince regent Karl.

84 It is typical for early modern Finnish catechisms to rely on several sources. For instance the (defective) Catechism of Jacobus Petri Finno (1583–5? and 1615), had several sources. The Catechism of Ericus Erici Sorolainen (1614) is a commentary of the Catechism of Luther. As sources, Sorolainen used several catechisms, for instance those of David Chytraeus (1554) and Simon Musaeus (1569). See Jyrki Knuutila, 'Jacobus Petri Finno: Catechismus'; Tuija Laine, 'Ericus Erici Sorolainen: Catechismus, 1614', in Laine, *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden*, pp. 80–2, 84–5. Luther's Small Catechism was translated in 1628 by another Carelius, the vicar of Ala-Tornio, Canutus Martini Carelius. However, it was more a summary while the text and outline of the work did not follow Luther's original text verbatim. The hitherto oldest preserved Small Catechism of Luther in Finnish that followed the original text was published in *Manuale Finnonicum* 1646 – this kind of combination normally included a hymnal, a catechism, the Gospels, a handbook and other important ecclesiastical texts. See Tuija Laine, 'Finnish translations and publication of Luther's text', in Laine, *Luther*, p. 109; Simo Heininen and Tuija Laine, 'Exhibition Catalogue', in Laine, *Luther*, p. 177.

The title page explains that the catechism contains 'The main tenets of the Christian doctrine as set out by Dr Martin Luther's publication', stating that these are now 'interpreted into the Finnish language'. Carelius specifies his motivation for creating it so that 'each Christian can practise the catechism every day for his/her own great benefit'. The work is 'published through the sponsorship of Simon Johannis Carelius'.[85] In the foreword Carelius mentions a pressing reason for the publication of the book: a shortage of catechetic material in Finnish. Furthermore, he confirms that the source of the work is Luther's 'smaller' catechism.[86] The editor, publisher and sponsor of this book is thus the same Carelius whose initials appeared in the postscript of the hymnal of 1607 and whose share in the work needs to be established by further research. Here he also appears as the translator. The present research into his catechism is thus only the beginning.

Carelius dedicated the catechism to his 'Noble and Sovereign Lord Gustav Adolf, the Eldest Son of the Great Sovereign, Mighty and Powerful Lord Karl, by God's grace the King of Swedish etc. Realm, the Grand Duke of the whole wide of Finland'.[87] This refers to the future King Gustav II Adolf (1594–1632). The crown prince, who was only twelve at the time, was given the title 'Grand Duke of Finland' in connection with his father's coronation 1607.[88] It makes perfect sense to have the catechism dedicated to a member of the royal family: King Karl was an advocate of the 'Second Reformation'. He had published a handbook for the services at court in 1602. His 'everyman's' catechism had appeared in 1604 in Swedish. He seems also to have been interested in hymnbooks, and he wanted to strengthen the normative position of the Bible. As the ruler, he considered himself responsible for both the people and the church.[89] Simon Johannis Carelius had connections with the royal family. In

85 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* 1607, title page; Koski, 'Ennennäkemätön kirjalöytö', pp. 8–11.

86 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* 1607, foreword [20].

87 'Sille Corkia sucuiselle ja Valdiallen Herrallen / Her Göstaff Adolphille / Sen Swrivaldiaan / Cwluisan ja Voimalisen Her Carlin / Jumalan armost / Rootzin &c. Rijkin Kuningaan Vanhimalle Pojalle / Lavian Soomen maan Ruchtinalle', *Catechimus* [sic] 1607, dedication [2].

88 Jussi T. Lappalainen, 'Kustaa II Aadolf' (12 February 2008), in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-kbg-000311, accessed 17 October 2019; Koski, 'Ennennäkemätön kirjalöytö', p. 11; Perälä, 'Tulkintoja', pp. 21–2.

89 Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 166, 171–4.

his dedication to Gustav Adolf he even suggests that the trigger for the Finnish translation may have been this young man: the prince had voiced his wish three years earlier, in 1604, when Carelius worked in the Finnish congregation of Stockholm.[90] He decided to publish the catechism because, he states, 'I have seen very few examples in my own mother tongue'. It seems that there was a real shortage of material in Finnish. As a cultured and educated Finn, Carelius viewed himself as being in a privileged position. As such, he was 'in debt' to God's people: he had been called to serve them with his talents. He explains himself as follows:

> I have had it printed again so that, bound together with the hymnal, it may become a handbook for every Finnish youth, in order that both clergymen and students and others who are literate may read it before the people in the same manner and so train everyone who has received baptism and wishes to be a Christian in the main tenets of the Christian faith.[91]

The publication of the hymnbook and the catechism together was thus entirely intentional: they constitute a handbook for the literate. In his dedication to Crown Prince Gustav Adolf, Carelius had also cited his appreciation of the fact that the latter, who had learnt many languages, did not 'overlook the Finnish language' but had asked for the catechism in order to 'learn that language also'.[92] An examination of the demanding text of the work makes one wonder at the difficulty of learning Finnish by reading it.[93] However, in this way Carelius communicates to his readers the fact of the influential support that he has received from such a high authority. He actually gives the impression that he himself and the crown prince are working together, for the good of the people.[94]

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90 In his own words, 'A feeble servant of the Finnish parish in Stockholm' ('Heicko Soomen Seuracunnã palvelia Stocholmissa'), see *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* 1607, foreword [21].

91 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* 1607, foreword [20]. The opportunity to hear a written text conveyed by a person reading aloud is called accessive or mediated literacy, see Laine, 'Did Mandatory Literacy Distort Lutheranism?', pp. 81–2.

92 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* 1607, [21].

93 Lappalainen, 'Kustaa II Aadolf', states that although Gustav II Adolf was well versed in many languages he is unlikely to have known more than a limited amount of Finnish.

94 *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* 1607, [20]–[21].

8 Simon Johannis Carelius: the Polymath at Work

Finally, we still need to discover a little more about the identity of Simon Johannis Carelius previously almost unknown in the context of research into Finnish history and church history. His personal touch is apparent in the creation of both the hymnal and the catechism. Carelius had previously acted as curate or preacher with the Finnish congregation in Stockholm (1603–4).[95] He came from Vyborg (Viborg in Swedish, Viipuri in Finnish), situated at the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland – Carelius signed in at Rostock University as 'Simon Iohannis Carelius Wibergensis Suecus'.[96] He was a member of an influential ecclesiastical family and belonged to the ruling elite of the country's secular government: his father Johannes Matthiae was the vicar of Sysmä and his mother, Karin Teit, belonged to the noble family of Teit. The dean of Turku Cathedral, Gregorius Martini Teit, was a cousin of Simon Johannis and married to the widow of Jacobus Petri Finno.[97] The most famous member of the family at that time was probably the brother of Simon Johannis, the interpreter Henrik Jönsson Careel, who, as mentioned earlier, had been responsible for the important translation of *Lex Politica Dei*. His other brother, the vicar of Mikkeli Paulus Johannis Carelius (d. 1621), was later known as the lyricist of the hymn *Ota pois Jumal, päldäm julma vihas*, which appeared in the Elimaeus hymnal of 1621, and then in the following edition of *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen wirsikiria* (Stockholm 1630).[98]

Simon Johannis Carelius himself was one of a number of Finns who studied theology exclusively at Rostock. He registered with the university in July 1605

95 Lauri Pihlajamaa, *Tukholman suomalaisen seurakunnan papisto 1533–1999* (Stockholm: Terttu Pihlajamaa, 2000), p. 279; Tuija Laine, 'Viipurin kirjallinen kulttuuri', pp. 128–9; cf. Karl Gabriel Leinberg, *Några underrättelser om finska nationella församlingen i Stockholm* (Helsingfors: Svenska Literatursällskapets i Finland), p. 15. Leinberg does not mention Carelius.

96 Adolph Hofmeister (ed.), *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock, 2: Mich. 1499–Ost. 1611* (Rostock, 1891; repr. Nendeln: Kraus, 1976), p. 282; see also Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, p. 293.

97 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, p. 293. As to the family Teit, see also Kyösti Väänänen, 'Teet, Gregorius Martini', in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto*, http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-thp-002453, accessed 8 July 2020.

98 Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 177–84; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, p. 293; cf. Kurvinen, Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet, pp. 242–3; Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, p. 28; *Yxi Vähä Suomenkielinen Wirsikiria* 1630, no. 242; Väinölä, 'Hemminki Maskulaisen virsikirja', p. 39; cf. Pentti Lempiäinen, 'Virsirunoilijoiden elämäkerrasto', in Lempiäinen, *Virsitieto*, p. 212; Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 177–8.

after his years in Stockholm. The dominating figure at Rostock University had been Professor David Chytraeus (1530–1600), whose Philippo-Ramist philosophy had also found favour in Finland. Carelius disputed twice at Rostock for the master's degree at the private theological college of the professor of theology, Lucas Bacmeister the Younger (1570–1638).[99]

Whilst still a student in Rostock, Simon Johannis had also had contact with Sigfridus Aronus Forsius, who had come to Germany in the autumn of 1605 in order to have his work printed, returning from Germany only in May 1606.[100] It would seem likely that as these two learned Finnish men were both involved with publishing hymnals and had connections with Duke Karl, their discussions may have touched on the prospective new Finnish hymnbook. The Finnish hymnal 1607 includes new Finnish translations of the new hymns by Forsius from *Een liten Psalmbook* tradition.

Simon Johannis Carelius engaged also in other literary activities during the years 1605–7 in Rostock. The printing of the Swedish version of *Lex Politica Dei*, translated by his brother Henrik Careel, took place under his editorship and direction. Martti Takala even proposes the possibility that the entire work was translated as a joint effort under the supervision of the court chancellor, Nils Chesnecopherus, as may be indicated by evidence in the text of the tell-tale poetic talents of Simon Johannis.[101] The translation ends with his hymn *Hwar Christen weta skal*, based on Psalm 15. It is intended to be sung as there is a reference to a melody: 'to be sung as' ('*Siunges såsom Tacker Herranom som är ganska blijder* …'). The hymn is a so-called acrostic: the initial letters of every other line make the name HENDRJCH JÖNSSON. The hymn is thus dedicated to Henric Jönsson Careel. Underneath are the initials S. J. C. meaning Simon Johannis Carelius.[102] Hence, future research has to pay attention to the fact

99 Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 155–6, 182; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, p. 293. A short dissertation was required for the master's degree. It was often composed by the professor advising the student, but the master's candidate had to demonstrate his competence by defending the dissertation in a public defence. See Heininen etc., 'Exhibition Catalogue', p. 169.

100 Fredrik Wilhelm Pipping, *Historiska bidrag till Finlands calendariografi*, (Helsingfors: Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, 1858), pp. 41–4; Kyösti Väänänen, 'Sigfridus Aronus Forsius', *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto*, http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-thp-000704, accessed 26 August 2021; Haapalainen, 'S. A. Forsius' koralhäfte och dess melodier', in Haapalainen, *Någhra Nyia Psalmer*, pp. 2–3; Pursiainen, *Sigfridus Aronus Forsius*, p. 120.

101 Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 191–3; cf. Czaika, who does not mention the engagement of Carelius but writes: 'Carelius is not known to appear elsewhere as a writer', see Czaika, 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field', p. 130.

102 Takala, *Lex Dei*, pp. 182, 191; Careell, *Lex Politica Dei*, unnumbered page [3] after p. 153.

that he was not just the editor of the hymnal (1607) but could equally have turned his hand to composing lyrics.

As mentioned earlier, *Lex Politica Dei* had been carried out at Karl's request. The linguistically gifted Simon Johannis Carelius was counted among Karl's men and was thus connected in one way or another with several significant literary enterprises over just a few years. After his years at Rostock, Carelius assumed a new post at the Vyborg school.[103] The post of *Lector theologiae* was founded by Karl IX in order to improve the training of the clergy. An open letter from the king is dated 17 October 1607; it shows that the gifted and erudite Finnish theologian was given this post as a reward for his work.[104] However, the career of Simon Johannis Carelius in Vyborg was cut short, as he passed away in 1610.[105] Karl's actions indicate that, as was the case with his elder brother Johan III before him, his views probably influenced the publication of the new Finnish hymnal and catechism (1607).

9 Discoveries and Challenges for Future Research

The hymnbook has quite rightly been called a 'people's book'. It has had a long history, in the same way as the catechism. The Lutheran Reformation was a great song movement. It had begun with the so-called *Achtliederbuch* ('Book of eight songs', Nuremberg, 1523/4) followed by the earliest domestic and congregational hymnbooks. The first hymnal to appear in Wittenberg was *Eyn geystlich Gesangk Buchleyn* (1524). In the same year Luther also mentioned the need to publish a catechism. *Der kleine* and *Der grosse Catechismus* (The Small and The Large Catechism) then appeared in 1529 – in the same year as the so-called Klug hymnal (*Geistliche Lieder auffs new gebessert zu Wittemberg*, 1529). It is considered to be the earliest congregational Lutheran hymnbook.

103 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, p. 355; cf. Takala, *Lex Dei*, p. 183, Knuutila, 'Lex Politica Dei, 1607', p. 175, and Czaika, 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field', p. 130.

104 In the letter '*Kongl. Maj:ts Bref angående tillsättandet af en Lector Theologiae i Wiborg, gifvet den 17. Oktober 1607*' Karl urged, 'så mycket Oss om hans lärdom är kunnigt vordet, är så skickelig, att han samma kall må förestå, hafve Wij honom dertill förordna låtit, och på det han sig uti samma kall och embete skall dess flitigare bruka och befinna låta'. The task also merited an annual remuneration. See Karl Gabriel Leinberg, *Handlingar rörande finska skolväsendets historia 2* (Jyväskylä, 1887), p. 370, and Pipping, *Historiska bidrag*, pp. 43–4; cf. Takala, *Lex Dei*, p. 183, and Czaika, 'A Vast and Unfamiliar Field', p. 130.

105 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, p. 355.

Hymns and hymnbooks were central to both church services and personal devotional life. There are many reasons for this living tradition. One of them is the use of the vernacular. Services in the native tongue helped significantly to elevate the importance of collective and individual hymn-singing in central and northern Europe. Literacy was low but everyone could join in. No reading skills were needed, as it was easy to learn hymns – poems with music – by heart. This connection was very important. The literate were called to sing and read hymns before the people, who then repeated them 'in the same manner'. In practice, hymns were effective in spreading the message of the Reformation among the lay people. Hymn lyrics were composed by many major poets. Luther's own work culminated in his last hymnal, the *Babst Hymnal* (Leipzig, 1545).[106] The foreword was written by the reformer himself. He compares the preconditions for singing in the Old and New Testament: a joyful heart and mind were granted by God through his beloved Son. Faith in him is the source of joy in singing. The gospel is advancing:[107]

> Wer solchs mit ernst gleubet / der kans nicht lassen /
> Er mus frölich vnd mit lust dauon singen vnd sagen /
> das es andere auch hören vnd herzu komen.
>
> (Whosoever seriously believes the Gospel / cannot help but /
> Joyfully and enthusiastically sing and speak about it /
> So that others as well will hear it and come along.)

The Reformation spread rapidly to Denmark, Sweden and also Finland, part of the Swedish realm. It had a significant role in the development of the literary languages. The remarkably wide circulation of hymnbooks and catechisms as well as the popularity of Luther's own hymns tell the story of the spread of the movement into more and more parts of Europe. It has even been said that the Lutheran Reformation was carried out by singing.[108]

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106 *Geystliche lieder* (Leipzig: Valentin Bapst, 1545), USTC 659758; Czaika (ed.), *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582*, pp. 69–74, 137; Mager, 'Lied und Reformation', pp. 25, 27, 29–30, 32–3; Veit, '*Kirchenlied in der Reformation Martin Luthers*', p. 11; Suokunnas etc., 'Kristillisen virren vaiheet', pp. 30–1; Rössler, 'Ein neues Lied wir heben an', pp. 204–8. Möller 'Das 16. Jahrhundert', pp. 69–85; Lorbeer, '*Die Sterbe- und Ewigkeitslieder*', p. 37.

107 Luther [1545] 2004, foreword, unnumbered page 3, Anttila, 'Luther's Theology of Music', pp. 95–7, 101, 137–45.

108 Hahn, *Evangelium*, pp. 61–3; Mager 'Lied und Reformation', pp. 25–38; Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 2007, pp. 168–9, Jürgens, 'Das Evangelium singen' 2015, pp. 105–11.

Hymnbooks were important as a type of everyday literature in advancing literacy. They became the most widely circulated of all publications during the Swedish Reformation, although the editions could be small. Print runs of hymnbooks printed in or for Sweden in the sixteenth century numbered apparently around ten to twenty thousand. This raises the question: why have there been only a few discoveries? The explanation is the character of these books. Hymns could be sung not only in the church but at home as well, alone or together with other people. They could also be used as prayers. The books could be emotionally very beloved and valuable: as a hymnologist I have seen many old hymnbooks provided with dedications – for instance from a father or mother to a son or daughter. In domestic use the books could easily become totally worn out. According to some stories, the books were even put onto the graves with their owners. The deep emotional and personal relation to hymnbooks explains why so few have been preserved.

The discoveries of hymnals mentioned in this chapter have been made by researchers in three European countries: *Then Swenska Psalmeboken* (Stockholm, 1562) was found in Reykjavík (Iceland) by Arthur Malmgren, the Stockholm edition of 1582 both in Strängnäs (Sweden) and in Leipzig (Germany) by Otfried Czaika and *En liten Psalmbook* (Rostock, 1602) in Wolfenbüttel (Germany) by Jens Lyster. An important discovery was an unknown miniature (!) hymnal in Finnish, with the heading *Yxi Wähä suomenkielinen Wirsikirja* (printed mid-seventeenth century in Stockholm), found in a mansion library by an anonymous Finnish bibliophile and bought and published by the Finnish National Library in 2005.[109] The newest discovery in Dresden in 2015 by the author of this chapter, first the Finnish hymnbook, then surprisingly also the catechism (both Rostock, 1607), both as a miscellany volume in the Saxon State and University Library (SLUB). This combined Finnish volume had only the description 'ein Finnisches Gesangbuch' on its back cover. It consisted, however, of two parts – it was a handbook for the literate. On the inside of the cover the work was classed as representing Belgian (!) literature ('Litt. Belg. 114'). The catechism was missing from the catalogues of the library.

These examples highlight how there can be surprising challenges. New strategies may be useful in order to find possible further treasures. Discoveries can be made not only in public libraries but elsewhere, too: a number of valuable works may still be awaiting discovery for instance in second-hand bookshops

109 See Suvi-Päivi Koski, 'Yxi Wähä suomenkielinen Wirsikirja – arvokas harvinaiskirjahankinta', in *Kansalliskirjasto. Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston tiedotuslehti* 1 (2005), https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:ELE-1282205, accessed 18 July 2020.

or private collections. Furthermore, parish hymnbook exhibitions or events in the parishes – combined with hymn singing together – may offer surprises. A hymnologist can first give information about previous discoveries, then the event participants can get their possible old hymnals they have preserved at home analysed. In these settings, I have met many Finns interested in lost books and have seen some very interesting ancient hymnbooks.

CHAPTER 5

Arranging Learned Literary and Book Culture around the Baltic Sea in the Early Seventeenth Century

The Case of the Livonian-Polish Humanist David Hilchen

Kristi Viiding

The writing, reading and collecting of books around the Baltic Sea in the early modern period has been researched from different points of view. Private and public book collections, the probate inventories of libraries and diaries provide evidence of the familial attitude towards books, which was associated with unsocial and even anti-social activities. Yet literary and book culture includes such aspects as the preparation, production, ordering and distribution of books, which were among the most social activities of early modern *literati*, helping to establish and organise social networks and obtain feedback on their work across regions and confessions.[1]

In recent decades, there has been intensive research into early modern book production among the other activities of the communication revolution, especially the founding of new universities in northern Germany and Scandinavia, the establishment of printing presses and postal services and routes and growing diplomatic communication across Europe around 1450–1650. Crucial is the connection of this research with the Renaissance discovery of familiar letters as a literary genre, which became an important religious, intellectual, pedagogical and communicative tool. This medium enabled an intense and transnationally entangled exchange of information even to the periphery of Europe (and of the world), where universities, printing presses and official postal services did not exist, and connected it to the universal learned network called *res publica litteraria* ('republic of letters', *Gelehrtenrepublik*).[2]

1 The Estonian Research Council supported this work under grant PRG 1926 (Connections, transition, change: nobilitas haereditaria ac litteraria in the emergence of early modern literature in Polish and Swedish Livonia). For their useful comments I am grateful to the editors of this volume, and for proofreading to Gregor Dunn.

2 For the newest contribution to this area with some references to the earlier research literature, see Howard Hotson and Thomas Wallnig (ed.), *Reassembling the Republic of Letters in the Digital Age. Standards, Systems, Scholarship* (Göttingen: Göttingen University Press 2019): for definition, see chapter 1 2 by Dirk van Miert, Howard Hotson and Thomas Wallnig 'What

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The focus of the following contribution will be the question of how and when the 'republic of letters' spread around the Baltic Sea, especially on its eastern shore, and how this development influenced regional book culture. I will make use of the most comprehensive early modern correspondence from Livonia, as known today: that of the Livonian-Polish humanist David Hilchen (with the humanist name Heliconius, 1561–1610) dating from 1577 to 1610.[3] Its importance was recognised as early as the nineteenth century by Baltic German researchers.[4] In recent years Hilchen's correspondence has been catalogued.[5] Preparations for editing it with German annotations and commentary are in progress.[6]

It must be borne in mind that Hilchen was an exceptional figure among the learned men in the early modern Baltic, at least in two respects. First, he was the only conscious representative of the principles of civic or political humanism in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Livonia, using as his personal motto, or leading principle of life and activities, the Latin sentence *Non sibi, sed patriae* ('Not for oneself, but for one's country'), and devoting himself to the service of his home country in the practical way that the Italian Renaissance humanists had developed since the fourteenth or fifteenth century (see below).[7] Second,

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was the Republic of Letters?', pp. 23–40. For the terminology and functions of early modern letter-writing, see e.g. Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500–1700* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), esp. pp. 22–37. As an exemplary case study can be mentioned the book by April Shelford, *Transforming the Republic of Letters: Pierre-Daniel Huet and European Intellectual Life, 1650–1720* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007).

3 The cataloguing and editing of early modern correspondence or parts thereof only began recently: the first volume of the correspondence of Riga superintendent Hermann Samson was edited by James Dobreff (ed.), *Hermannus Samsonius to Axel Oxenstierna. Latin Correspondence from 1621 to 1630 with Linguistic and Historical Commentaries* (Lund: Lund University, 2006); Martin Klöker prepared the correspondence of love letters between Caspar Meyer and Catharina von der Hoyen from the mid-seventeenth-century Tallinn (*c.*1637–1653): *Caspar und Catharina. Eine Revaler Liebe in Briefen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2020).

4 See e.g. Theodor Schiemann, 'Hilchen, David', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 12 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1880), pp. 394–395: 'Von größtem Interesse sind namentlich seine Briefe, von denen 715 erhalten sind' ('Highly interesting are his 715 preserved letters').

5 Kristi Viiding, Thomas Hoffmann, Hesi Siimets-Gross, and Patryk Sapala (eds.), 'The Correspondence of David Hilchen', in *Early Modern Letters Online* [EMLO], Cultures of Knowledge, http://emlo-portal.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collections/?catalogue=david-hilchen (hereafter: EMLO).

6 Being prepared in the Under and Tuglas Literature Centre of the Estonian Academy of Sciences by Kristi Viiding, Thomas Hoffmann and Hesi Siimets-Gross as part of the Estonian Research Council project PUT-1030.

7 For an updated approach to these concepts, see e.g. Craig Kallendorf, 'Civic Humanism' (26 May 2016), http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0234.xml, accessed 15 April 2019; Thomas Maissen, 'Political Humanism'

he was the first author in the northern Baltic to shape for himself a clear literary profile. He modelled it on European, mainly German, humanists. Hilchen composed during his life about twenty-five political, festive, commemorative and congratulatory speeches in Latin, extending to more than 300 pages. He composed an unfinished historical monograph about the Calendar Riots in Riga, about 700 Latin letters, 34 occasional poems amounting to almost 1000 verses and a verse satire in 140 hexameters.[8] Nobody in Livonia had cultivated Latin oratory in such a high style nor used the genre of historical monograph before him. Nor had anybody cultivated, collected and systematised Latin correspondence, in accordance with classical and humanist examples found in books, and prepared it for publication. Hilchen did not experiment with epic, comedy or tragedy, probably because of their large size and smaller public resonance, as there was no theatre in Riga during his time.[9]

In the following discussion I analyse the as yet unpublished Latin correspondence, of almost 800 letters by and to Hilchen, from the perspective of

FIGURE 5.1 The seal of David Hilchen in a letter to Johan Jacob Grynäus
UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK BASEL

(24 November 2016), in Manfred Landfester, Chad M. Schroeder (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly Supplements, II:8: The Reception of Antiquity in Renaissance Humanism* (2017), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-3418_bnps8_SIM_004941, accessed 15 April 2019.

8 Hilchen's satire is edited and analysed in Kristi Viiding, 'Gefährliche Bücher, gefährliche Gattungen, gefährliche Vorlagen: Die Geburt der Satire in Livland', *Book in Context, Renæssanceforum* 15 (2019), pp. 73–99 (http://www.renaessanceforum.dk/rf_15_2019.htm); his entire poetry in David Hilchen, *Sub velis poeticis. Lateinische Gedichte*, Kristi Viiding and Martin Klöker (eds.), (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2021).

9 See to this topic Kristi Viiding, 'Wandel durch Verflechtung, Wandel durch Konflikt. David Hilchen und die literarische Blüte in Riga 1585–1600', in Martin Klöker (ed.), *Literarischer Wandel in der Geschichte der Baltischen Literaturen* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2023), pp. 49–58.

book history. After a short introduction to Hilchen's life and contextualisation of his contribution to Livonia's Renaissance humanism, I typologise Hilchen's activities in organising literary and book culture and discuss a selection of letters by and to him from this point of view.

1 Biographical and Historical Background

David Hilchen was born into a wealthy merchant family of German origin in Riga in 1561. His lifetime was influenced by the complicated political and religious history of Livonia, as after the dissolution of the Livonian Order the old Livonia lost independence in the year of Hilchen's birth and became the Duchy of Livonia, a vassal state of Lithuania, and later (1582) of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Only Riga became a free imperial city until it was incorporated to Duchy of Livonia in 1581. Yet, as Sweden and Muscovy were interested in the Livonian territories, the development of the southern part of the Livonia was mainly focused on the establishment of military and religious authority by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Thus, after Hilchen had completed his basic education at Riga cathedral school he had to continue his studies abroad, as there was no university in Livonia.[10] He spent six years abroad (1579–85), including visiting the Jesuit College in Vilnius and undertaking the study of rhetoric and law at the universities of Ingolstadt, Tübingen and Heidelberg. After his return to Riga in 1585 he was appointed secretary of the city. He provided good service in solving a serious dispute between Riga city council and the guilds (also known as the Calendar Riots), and in 1589 he was appointed syndic (judicial adviser of the city council) of Riga – which was not only based on his diplomatic capacity, but also his jurisprudential proficiency. Hilchen was also very active as a legal counsellor, as a member of more than twenty legations and as the author of various acts and statutes. In 1591 he was ennobled by the Polish king, and he soon started to represent both the city of Riga and the Livonian nobility in the Polish Sejm (parliament). Additionally, he was appointed secretary to the Polish king and notary of Wenden (today's Cēsis), which resulted in a complex and controversial triangular balancing act for Hilchen as the representative of the city of Riga, of the Livonian nobility, and of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

This plurality of offices, crossing political and sometimes even religious boundaries, soon earned Hilchen a broad range of reactions, from distrust to

10 The first university in Livonia, the University of Tartu (Academia Gustaviana) in southern Estonia, was established only in 1632 by the Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus.

open animosity, especially among the members of Riga city council. This conflict escalated in 1600 when Hilchen was officially accused of treason against the city of Riga, forcing him to flee and spend the next ten years until his death in exile in Zamość, Poland. Proceedings against Hilchen continued through various stages for nine years, only being terminated in 1609 by a decree of the Polish King Sigismund III (Pl. Zygmunt III Waza). Hilchen never returned to Livonia.[11]

In the Livonian humanism of the last few decades of the sixteenth century and the first decade of the seventeenth century, Hilchen was in many ways a key figure.[12] The earliest signs of Renaissance humanism only appeared in Estonian and Livonian cities very shortly before the Lutheran Reformation of the 1520s and developed slowly during the sixteenth century.[13] The first peak of Renaissance humanism came as late as the 1580s in Riga, as an adjunct to Polish rule, with the appearance of the first printing house in the entire region, a humanist gymnasium and a city library. In fact, this first peak was the result of Hilchen's activities. It was he who invited the first printer, Claes Mollyn, from Antwerpen to Riga.[14] He also invited the first inspectors of the humanist

11 The key bibliographic sources for Hilchen's life and activity are listed in Viiding etc. (eds.) 'The Correspondence of David Hilchen'. For Hilchens activity as lawyer and his proceedings see Kristi Viiding, Hesi Siimets-Gross, Thomas Hoffmann (eds.), *Briefe, Recht und Gericht im polnischen Livland am Beispiel von David Hilchen / Letters, Law and Court in Polish Livonia. The Case of David Hilchen* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2022).

12 Hilchen's position among his educated and humanistically orientated contemporaries is underlined by researchers from different generations, countries and disciplines, independently of their opinion regarding the details of humanism: Arnold Spekke, *Alt-Riga im Lichte eines humanistischen Lobgedichtes vom Jahre 1595* (*Basilius Plinius Encomion Rigae*) (Riga: W. F. Häcker, 1927), pp. 5–8; Gero von Wilpert, *Deutschbaltische Literaturgeschichte* (München: Beck, 2005); Ojārs Lāms, 'Who are the humanists of Riga: a general introduction to the phenomenon', *Letonica. Humanitāro Zinātņu Žurnāls*, 30 (2015), pp. 9–20; Jost Eickmeyer, '*Sodalitas litteraria Rigensis*? Umrisse eines Netzwerks deutscher und livländischer Humanisten im sechzehnten Jahrhundert', in Raivis Bičevskis etc. (eds.), *Baltisch-deutsche Kulturbeziehungen vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert. Medien – Institutionen – Akteure, 1: Zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2017), pp. 237–267.

13 See Kristi Viiding, 'Das Verhältnis der Reformation und des Humanismus in Est- und Livland im 16. Jahrhundert', in Heinrich Assel, Johann Anselm Steiger, and Axel E. Walter (eds.), *Kulturwirkungen der Reformation in den Metropolen des Ostseeraums* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2017), pp. 843–854.

14 Arend Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga 1588–1888: Festschrift der Buchdrucker Rigas zur Erinnerung an die vor 399 Jahren erfolgte Einführung der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga* (Riga: Müller, 1890), pp. 15–74; Ojārs Zanders, 'Nicolaus Mollyn, der erste Rigaer Drucker. Sein Schaffen in Riga von 1588 bis 1625', in Klaus Garber (ed.), *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der frühen Neuzeit, II* (Tübingen: Niermeyer, 1998), pp. 786–800.

gymnasium, Johannes Rivius and Salomon Frenzel von Friedenthal, to the city.[15] In addition, he organised a small group of humanists around him (Daniel Hermann from Prussia, Georg Ciegler from Tallinn and Salomon Frenzel from Helmstedt).[16] These fields of Hilchen's activity are well documented in his printed works and contemporary public documents.

2 The General Characteristics of Hilchen's Correspondence

As Hilchen was a highly versatile man who travelled a great deal, he had many contacts across the regions of Europe, from France in the west to Livonia in the east. The social spectrum of his addressees stretched from noble circles to the representatives of the academic world, various confessions and high military leaders, and from his friends and acquaintances to patrons, forming a substantial epistolary community of almost two hundred individuals over thirty-three years (1577–1610).[17] As his epistolary community was relatively open, four epistolary circles can be distinguished in it:

15 About David Hilchen and Salomon Frenzel: Kristi Viiding, 'Salomon Frenzel von Friedenthal – Endstation eines Humanistenschicksals', in Ludwig Braun (ed.), *Album alumnorum. Gualthero Ludwig: Septimum decimum lustrum emenso, dedicatum* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2014), pp. 209–227; Kristi Viiding, 'Salomon Frenzels schwere Mission in Riga', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch. Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature* 21 (2019), pp. 329–346.

16 Briefly mentioned in Herta von Ramm-Helmsing, *David Hilchen 1561–1610. Syndikus der Stadt Riga* (Poznań: Historische Gesellschaft für Posen, 1936), p. 51; qualified by Eickmeyer, 'Sodalitas litteraria', pp. 237–267. For Daniel Hermann's poetry in Riga, see Magnus Frisch, 'Daniel Hermann – a well-travelled Prussian humanist and his poetic work in Riga', *Letonica. Humanitāro Zinātņu Žurnāls*, 30 (2015), pp. 44–57 with an overview of older research literature.

17 There are many other relevant ways of cataloguing the letters written by, to or on Hilchen's behalf. In comparison to the only previous division from the early modern period, my division into four circles is slightly altered. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the earliest collected manuscript in Riga (see below), his letters from 1600–10 were systematised in six books according to their author and/or addressee: books 1–2 contained Hilchen's letters to the Polish-Lithuanian officials, humanists and clergymen, books 3–4 letters written by Hilchen on behalf of other persons, and books 5–6 Hilchen's letters to Western and Central European addressees. For different reasons, this early modern division is somewhat complicated nowadays. First of all, letters to Hilchen, well known today from the other sources, are not represented at all. Secondly, the letters by Hilchen and on behalf of the other persons written by Hilchen are scattered over various books. Thirdly, Hilchen's Livonian addressees are divided into six books in accordance with their current position as students in the Western European universities or in the service of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or in the military service of various political powers.

1. German (including Prussian) humanists, academics and officials. Particularly prolific was Hilchen's contact with the *Caseliani*, the network of scholars associated with Professor Johannes Caselius (1533–1613) in Helmstedt.[18] This group is responsible for a total of 53 letters, among them 41 to or by Caselius himself.[19]
2. Eminent Western European humanists, *literati*, diplomats and politicians from the Low Countries (Justus Lipsius, Jan Wowerius, Janus Dousa Senior and Joseph Justus Scaliger), France (Isaac Casaubon, Theodor Marcilius and Fédéric Morel Junior), Denmark (Heinrich Ramel and Predbjørn Gyldenstierne) and Sweden (Lindorm Nilsson or Bonde (Lilliehöök), till Gälared). It was the smallest epistolary circle, which Hilchen reached only thanks to the mediation of Johannes Caselius.
3. Polish-Lithuanian humanists, scholars, high officials and representatives of various religions and orders. Here, on the one side the eminent politicians and patrons of Hilchen like Jan Zamoyski (20 letters, 1589–1602), Bishop Eustachy Wołłowicz (Valavičius) of Vilnius (27 letters, 1605–9) and the Lithuanian chancellor Leo Sapieha (Sapiega; 10 letters, 1599–1608) can be highlighted. On the other side, the circle of scholars from the Academia Samosciana is represented by 46 letters (1603–9), and representatives of the Jesuit Order by 45 letters (1602–9).
4. Livonian nobility and their sons, officers in cities and the countryside and his own relatives. At most, 14 letters are preserved addressed to the bishop of Wenden, Otto von Schenking (1601–8); 13 to Hilchen's sons David and Franz; and letters on behalf of the Livonian nobleman General Georg (Jürgen) von Fahrensbach to different people. In addition, Hilchen wrote letters to local women in Riga and Livonia, as shown by the list of correspondents in her court acts (Fig. 5.2). Unfortunately, no letters have survived from his correspondence with women.

There existed many overlapping epistolary circles between the first and third as well as second and third circle, as Hilchen engaged in oral sharing of his

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With my current grouping I would like to underline the main trends in geographical extent of the places of origin of Hilchen's addressees, not to follow the present-day linguistic, political or national divisions. Many other options of division can be tried quickly in David Hilchen's letter catalogue, in *Early Modern Letters Online* (see note 4).

18 On the *Caseliani*, see Richard Kirwan, 'It's Who You Know: Scholarly Networks in Liddel's Helmstedt', in Pietro Daniel Omodeo (ed.), *Duncan Liddel (1561–1613): Networks of Polymathy and the Northern European Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 154–159.

19 Hilchen's correspondence with Caselius is analysed from the perspective of rhetorical strategies in Kristi Viiding, 'Rhetorical strategies in the correspondence of Johannes Caselius to the Livonian humanist David Hilchen', *Acta Comeniana. International Review of Comenius Studies and Early Modern Intellectual History*, 33 (2019), pp. 27–45.

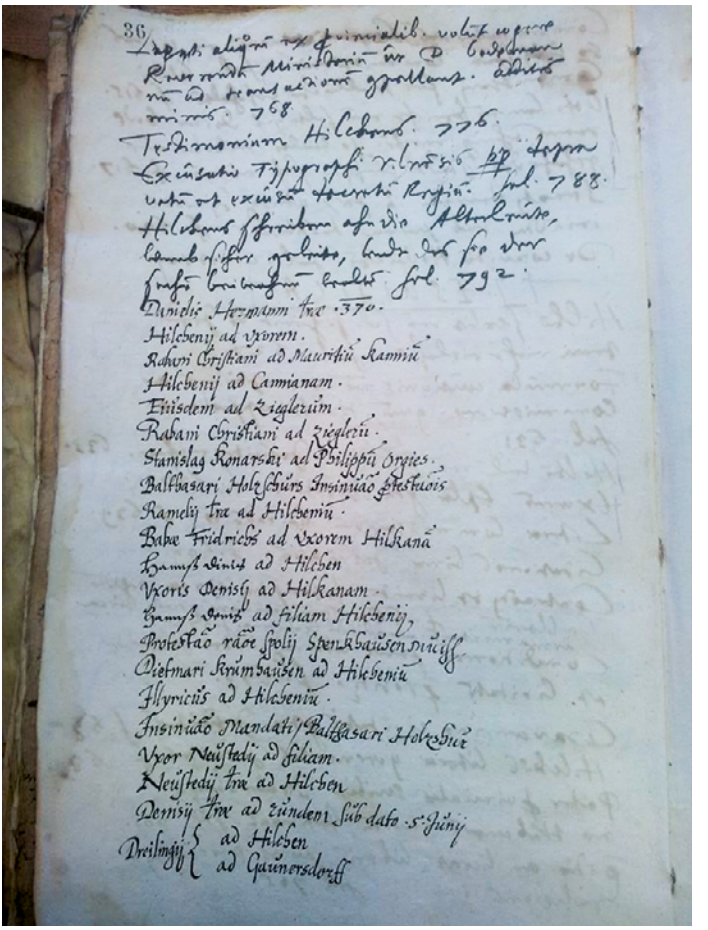

FIGURE 5.2 Additional list of lost letters by and to Hilchen in his court acts RIGA LATVIAN STATE HISTORICAL ARCHIVES (LVVA) 673-1-344B FOL. 36. PHOTO: THOMAS HOFFMANN

letters, reading aloud letters sent to him, giving rise to new correspondence between the members of his epistolary community.

As can be seen from the two main and almost identical manuscripts of Hilchen's letters – one in the Latvian State Historical Archives (Latvijas valsts vēstures arhīvs; hereafter: LVVA) in Riga and the other in Stiftsbiblioteket in Linköping (presently part of Linköpings stadsbibliotek) – Hilchen began consciously collecting his letters only after he left Riga in 1600.[20] However, he only

20 David Hilchen, 'Epistolarum libri VI', LVVA, Riga, 4038–2-297; Stadsbibliotek Linköping, Stiftsbiblioteket, Br 43.

collected his own letters and letters he wrote on behalf of others, not those he received from his correspondents. The letters from 1600–10 were systematised in six books according to groups of addressees after his death. As the Baltic German researcher Herta von Ramm-Helmsing assumed, this was done on the initiative of the later Riga syndic, Caspar von Ceumern.[21] The extant main manuscripts were probably planned for Hilchen's older son David, and for his second son Franz.

Besides these two sizeable collections there are around sixty further letters by and to Hilchen in other collections of the Latvian State Historical Archives, in the Warsaw Historical Archives from the fonds of Jan Zamoyski (Warszawa Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Archiv Ord. Zamoiskich), in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, in Basel University Library, in Leiden University Library, in Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, in Berlin State Library, in the Library of the *Christianeum* in Hamburg and in the British Library. These individual letters give us at least some idea of Hilchen's letter-writing practices during the earlier decades of his life.

Although we have only 45 extant letters from the period 1577–99 and 71 letters without a date, the remaining batch of letters from 1600–10 demonstrates that Hilchen's interest and confidence in letter-writing grew constantly. The number of extant letters is still rather small (54) from the years 1600–2, when Hilchen was involved in the Livonian war.[22] The number increases, however, as soon as he found a more stable residence in Orissowo near Zamość in the summer of 1603.[23] During 1604–6 he wrote or received almost 80 letters each year.[24] In his most prolific years (1607–9) he composed more than 100 letters per year.[25] The falling-off in the half-year before his death after 6 June 1610 (just seven letters) shows that Hilchen was occupied with practicalities or simply ill during the last months of his life.

The rhythm of his letter-writing meant sometimes 4–6 letters a day, not only from the war camp or diplomatic missions, but also from his residence in Orissowo.[26] As the spatial distance between Hilchen and his recipients was almost always long, Hilchen depended on the logistical possibility of sending the letters: from Riga and Livonia, Hilchen used the sea route to Rostock and Danzig and the land route via Courland and Lithuania. From Zamość, the land route via Cracow prevailed. In both periods, Frankfurt (an der Oder)

21 Von Ramm-Helmsing, *David Hilchen*, p. 71.

22 1600: 14 letters, 1601: 7 letters, 1602: 33 letters.

23 Thus we have 41 extant letters from 1603.

24 1604: 73 letters, 1605: 76 letters, 1606: 79 letters.

25 1607: 105 letters, 1608: 134 letters, 1609: 94 letters.

26 30 April 1602: 6 letters; 20 August and 11 October 1604: 5 letters, etc.

and Helmstedt were the main distribution points from where his letters were despatched onwards: in Frankfurt, Hilchen's friend, the theologian Christoph Storch (with the humanist name Pelargus) (1565–1633), and in Helmstedt, Hilchen's mentor, Professor Johannes Caselius, were responsible for this. In the logistics of sending letters from Riga and Livonia before the years of exile, the increasing tendency to circulate letters via Lithuania and Poland instead via Rostock and Danzig is remarkable. The deeper political and religious integration of Livonia within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth came into effect in Hilchen's personal case – the increasing number of his correspondents in Lithuania and Poland indicated a growing use of their logistical possibilities and greater confidence in this region.

The main topics Hilchen discussed with his correspondents changed over time in accordance with new events and circumstances in Hilchen's life. During the years of his political activity in Riga the main topic of his letters was the prosperity and rights of the city and of Livonia. His involvement in the Swedish–Polish war in Livonia (1600–2) saw the details of military life, battles and plans for future contests come into focus. From 1603 the exchange of institutional and official news was more and more replaced by the defence of Hilchen's own reputation, and the details of his proceedings against the city of Riga and Jacob Goedemann came under consideration. In the five years prior to his death, his life in Zamość – especially the advancement of his sons and his relationship with the Jesuits – came to the fore. Untypical for Hilchen's correspondence of all periods are the letters that say 'nothing', impart little or no explicit information, and communicate only fidelity and alliance.

Against this backdrop it is remarkable that Hilchen discussed literary topics with correspondents from all four groups of addressees and throughout his adult life – starting from the 1580s at the latest. More than a hundred remarks on books and literature can be found in his correspondence. There are, however, no clear characteristic trends between the topics and the four circles of his addressees.

The typology of Hilchen's literary activities, described in his letters, includes three basic domains: 1) ordering, reading and reception of published books; 2) distributing and mediating: (a) books and manuscripts; (b) dedications and remuneration for them; (c) factual material about famous people and contemporary events to humanists in other regions for their works; (d) advice about appropriate literary genres and forms and so on; and 3) producing his own books and books in the name of others. In what follows I characterise all of these groups using examples to map the relationship of one eminent Eastern European humanist with books and literature.

3 The Ordering, Reading and Reception of Published Books

The ordering and reading of books, which is regarded as basic and most traditional field in book history is, in fact, the least reflected and discussed in Hilchen's letters, while it did, in fact, constitute the grounds for all his other literary activities. First, we can see from his example how professional the ordering of books was, not only on the German or Scandinavian sides of the Baltic Sea but also in the eastern Baltic and Poland as early as the seventeenth century, in the first few decades after the emergence of the printed catalogues of book fairs. Significant evidence of this is Hilchen's letter to the German diplomat, philosopher and poet Johannes von Werdenhagen (1581–1652), who was active in many northern German towns. Hilchen wrote to him on 4 January 1608 from Zamość:

> I saw the title of your collection of poems in the catalogue of the [Frankfurt and Leipzig] book fair. I should like to order your book. Please take care to ensure that my wish is fulfilled as soon as possible.[27]

The catalogue Hilchen used was very new, from autumn 1607, as was Werdenhagen's book in which Hilchen was interested.[28] The cause of interest was, in fact, that in the third part of the book an elegy to Hilchen's daughter Leonora (who had died in 1598) was published.[29] It may seem remarkable that Hilchen ordered the book directly from the author rather than from the publisher, Stephan Mylius, or from the printer, but in the sixteenth-century view, the book was at its best when given and should not be sold above a justifiable price.[30] In addition, Hilchen had a long history of personal contact with the Helmstedt humanist and obviously placed greater trust in the direct mail connection.

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27 'Titulum tuorum poematum in Catalogo nundiali vidi. Rem ipsam desidero. Ne vel frustra aut diutius tu vide.' David Hilchen to Johannes von Werdenhagen, 4 January 1608.

28 *Indicis generalis continuatio, In quo continetur designatio omnium librorum, qui nundinis autumnalibus Francofurtensibus et Lipsiensibus Anni 1607, vel novi, vel emendatiores, aut auctiores prodierunt* (Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, 1607), USTC 2066202; Johannes Werdenhagen, *Varia Poëmata Iuvenilia* (Vlissea: Stephan Mylius, 1607).

29 The 1607 edition of Werdenhagen's poems is a rarity; the poem was included in a collection of poems by Johannes Werdenhagen, *Poëmatum Iuvenilium Pars prima Lyrica Continens, ab Ethnicismo vindicata, et pietati Christianae restituta* (Leiden: Abraham Commelinus, 1629), pp. Nn8–Nn8^{v} (book 3, ode 10), USTC 1011762.

30 Cf. Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 73–109, esp. p. 76.

Hilchen not only ordered books as commemorative objects connected with his family and reputation, but also read and expressed his opinions about them, whether positive or sceptical. As there were no magazines of literary criticism in the early seventeenth century, Hilchen expressed his opinion directly to the authors in his letters, even if they were little known to him previously. The first of the following three examples concerns his positive reception of a book. In a letter dated 13 August 1603 Hilchen sent his views to the physician, professor of mathematics and poet David Herlitz (1557–1636) in Stargard in Western Pomerania, praising the extraordinary quality of the prognostications in Herlitz's book *Groß Prognosticon oder Practica, auffs 1600. Jahr* by giving his own example: 'Earlier I merely glorified your professional skills, but now I am prompted to do so much more fervently because of your extraordinary competence in my case'.[31] According to Herlitz's prognostication for 12 January 1600, certain people would need to be attentive around that time as traps for foxes would be prepared, but without doubt it would be a wolf that was caught. Secret snakes, he said, would whet their tongues against a candid person, but the poison would harm the snakes themselves. In this period many strange things would be revealed, but the honest of heart would face no troubles.[32]

Hilchen was convinced that Herlitz had foretold exactly the events that befell him on 14 January 1600 in Riga: he was himself the fox for whom the traps had been prepared. Hilchen was innocent, but nevertheless imprisoned, condemned and sent into exile. However, the wolves, that is, the hostile members of Riga city council, were now in the traps themselves. The conspirators and slanderers would be poisoned.[33] This direct eulogising feedback to a

31 'Ita factum fuit, ut cum ante ob insignem artis tuae scientiam te magnifacerem, pluris ab eo tempore faciendum putaverim ob experientiam tuam evidenter in me prae aliis comprobatam, quam re ipsa saepius declaras pluribus.' (David Hilchen to David Herlitz, 13 August 1603).

32 'Mögen umb diese Zeit etliche ihre Sachen wol in acht haben / sintemahl ein netz aufgestellet Füchse zu fangen / wird aber sonder zweiffel ein Wolff drinnen behangen bleiben. Heimliche Nattern wetzen ihre zungen wieder einen Simplicisten / darf aber der stich in sie selbst gehen. Wird gewisslich viel seltsames vmb diese zeit an den tag kommen. Wer recht handelt, ist ohne Sorge.' (David Herlicius, *Groß Prognosticon Oder Practica, auffs 1600. Jahr, nach der Gnadenreichen vnnd heilsamen Geburt Jesu Christi. Gerechnet durch Davidem Herlitzium von Zeitz, Philosophiae & Medicinae Doctorem, vnd der löblichen Stadt Newen Stargard in Pommern an der Jhna bestalten Phylicum* (Stettin: Joachim Rhete, 1599), p. B^{v}), USTC 2215892.)

33 'Rem tangere, confirmavit prognosticum tuum anno 1600 editum. In eo die Januarii 12 veteris Calendarii diserte demonstrasti, qua vulpina quaedam ingenia laqueos suos extersura essent in exilium hominis innocentissimi. Sed ea suis propriis laqueis involuta et saepta iri. Turpem certe ignominiam coniurati quidam Rigensi, q[ui] exitio meo laqueo tendebant, eo retulerunt et adhuc laqueis irretiti suis haerent. Antevertit DEUS sicariorum

book's author was interpreted by humanists as a gift, which ensured further mutual obligation.[34] In addition, this case demonstrates that apart from book catalogues, Eastern European humanists also enjoyed reading calendar books with astrological prophecies.

The same thoroughness was used by Hilchen to give feedback to authors who wrote books about his homeland of Livonia. In the early seventeenth century the librarian at the Royal Library in Paris, Jacques-Auguste de Thou (Thuanus, 1553–1617), published the first volume of his world history *Historiarum sui temporis* (1604–14). In its twenty-first book he described in six chapters the history of Livonia and Courland up to 1560.[35] Hilchen, totally unsatisfied with this description, sought to communicate his opinions to Paris. Yet he did not write directly to de Thou, but to his correspondent in Paris, the humanist Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614). In a letter dated 24 February 1606 (see Fig. 5.3) Hilchen mentioned some of his own publications – the speech *Livoniae supplicantis* and *Prosphonesis ad Nobiles* – as gifts to his French colleagues,[36] and added for Casaubon's benefit:

> Please make known my books to the very learned man de Thou. I should like to whisper in his ear further details about Livonia, if he is prepared

istorum conatus, nec sivit ut me vi opprimerent coram manus, sed sua forti manu me ab iis liberavit, ut nunc eos pravi pudeat consilii.' (Hilchen to Herlitz, 13 August 1603).

34 Cf. e.g. Guillaume Budé's interpretation of Erasmus' eulogising notes as gift in Erasmus' translation of the New Testament in 1516 (Zemon Davis, *Gift*, pp. 110–141, esp. p. 119).

35 Jacques-August de Thou, *Historiarum sui temporis tomus primus*, ed. Samuel Buckley (London: Samuel Buckley, 1733), pp. 709–725.

36 For the speeches, see David Hilchen, *Livoniae Supplicantis Ad S*[*acram*] *Regiam Maiestatem Illustrissimosque Ordines Regni Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae, Oratio A nunciis nobilitatis Livonicae Generosis et Nobilibus, Reinhold Brakel, Ermessensi Capitaneo, S*[*acrae*] *R*[*egiae*] *M*[*aiestatis*] *Camerario: Ottone Dönhoff, Haerede in Idwen: Davide Hilchen, S*[*acrae*] *R*[*egiae*] *M*[*aiestatis*] *per Livoniam Secretario, et Notario terrestri Livon*[*ensi*]. *In Comitiis Varsaviens*[*ibus*]. *Anno M.D. XCVII. die VII. Mensis Martij publice habita* (Cracow: Officina Lazari, 1597), USTC 268956, (Riga: Nicolaus Mollyn, 1597), USTC 6910890; David Hilchen, *Προσφωνησις ad Nobiles atque incolas Livoniae, qui sese cum Carolo Sudermanniae Duce conjunxerunt. Davidis Hilchen, Secretarii Regii et Notarii terrestris Wenden*[*sis*] (S.l., 1601), USTC 268957. Based on the wording of this letter ('Adjeci supplicantem meam Livoniam et Anticarolinam (anonymam) orationem'), 19th century bibliographers Estreicher, Recke and Napierski have hypothesized that in 1606 Hilchen published a work entitled *Oratio Anticarolina*. The existence of a book with this title is not attested. The other reasons to exclude the existence of a special *Oratio Anticarolina* are as following: First, Hilchen used in this letter for his other speech *Livonia supplicans* the same kind of periphrasis, not the exact title of the published book. Second, he emphasizes in this letter that the book was published anonymously, but both of the rare copies of *Prosphonesis ad Nobiles* have survived as evidence in the Hilchen court acts in Riga and Krakow.

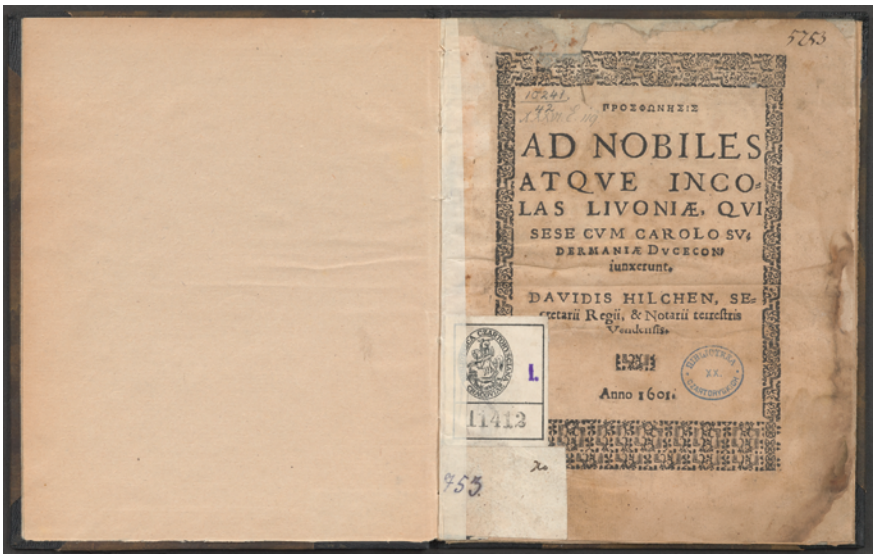

FIGURE 5.3 Title page of the one of extant copies Προσφωνησις ad Nobiles atque incolas Livoniae, qui sese cum Carolo Sudermanniae Duce conjunxerunt. Davidis Hilchen, Secretarii Regii et Notarii terrestris Wenden[sis] (S.l., 1601), referred in Hilchen's letter 1606 also as Oratio Anticarolina, in National Museum Krakow Biblioteka Czartoryskich sygn. MNK XVI-11412 I
PHOTO: PHOTO LABORATORY STOCK NATIONAL MUSEUM IN KRAKOW

> for friendly admonition. I have found in his chronicle more than 600 mistakes about persons, dates and events. They likely arose from the chronicle of Chytraeus. … But I do not wish to overload you with this … Pass on my greetings to de Thou and recommend me to him.[37]

Casaubon did indeed inform de Thou of Hilchen's proposal, and some years later de Thou sought out Hilchen's comments and corrections on his history, as a letter from de Thou to the Polish diplomat Andreas Rey (Andrzey Rej de Naglowice, 1584–1641) in 1613 demonstrates.[38] Rey was prepared to make

37 'Quae omnia Thuano incomparabilis eruditionis viro ostendi velim: cui et insusurrerem aliquid de Livonicis, si se amice admoneri pateretur. Errores [e]n[im] fere sescentos video (pace illius dixerim) quos Chytra[e]um fortassis sequutus in personis, temporibus et rebus ipsis commisit. Occasio et calamus me invitant ad scribendum, sed ne molestus sim tibi occupato, cui vel brevis epistola solet esse longa abrumpo et ut Thuano salutem ex me dicas eidemque me commendes, studiose oro.' (David Hilchen to Isaac Casaubon, 24 February 1606.)

38 'Recueil de Lettres latines adressées au président J.-A. De Thou par plusieurs érudits flamands, anglais, allemands et polonais (1588–1617)', Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

excerpts of or transcribe Hilchen's comments if they were relevant. Hilchen himself had already died by this time.[39] Obviously de Thou did not receive from Rey any of the corrections proposed by Hilchen: the description of the events between 1585 and 1610, including of the Calendar Riots in Riga, were published only in 1620, after the death of de Thou, by his friends Pierre Dupuy (1582–1651) and Nicolas Rigault (1577–1654), but following the example of the *Chronicon Saxoniae* by David Chytraeus with the approach antagonistic to Hilchen.

Hilchen's reaction to the books he read was not always positive or even polite, and he occasionally broke off his friendships with authors because of their publications. This happened, for example, in 1607, when Professor Matthias Dresser (1536–1607) published in Leipzig a letter to the young Thomas Zamoyski (1594–1638), son of Jan Zamoyski, *Epistola ad generosum Dominum Thomam Zamoscium*.[40] In this letter, he described Jan Zamoyski's presumably critical attitude towards the Jesuits, adding that his information came from an 'unidentified source' and 'confident gossips'.[41] As it was Hilchen who had introduced Dresser to Zamoyski in 1594, Dresser's source of information did not remain secret for long. Because of this, Hilchen reacted to Dresser's booklet with disappointment and anger on 19 July 1607:

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de France (hereafter: BNF), Département des manuscrits, Dupuy 836, Andreas Rey de Naglowice to Jacques de Thou, Danzig, 9 March 1613, ff. 158–160 (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10033911w/). For systematic search among the early modern letters in BNF, I am indebted to Dr Hesi Siimets-Gross (Tartu).

39 'Ille qui ad Casaubonum de rebus Livonicis scripsit, David Hilchenius [*pro* Hilckenius *manu correctum*] est ad quem nonnulla Lipsij epistolae extant. Vir eruditus fuit atque in nostris rebus versatissimus, sed qui non ita pridem vivere desijt. Sciam tamen, quis eius commentarios atque notata possideat nihilque intentati relinquam, ut ex ijs aliquid decerpam – aut si tanti momenti erunt, transcripta tecum communicem.' (BNF, 'Recueil de lettres', Rey de Naglowice 9 March 1613, f. 158^{v}, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10033911w/f159.image). The connecting person between Hilchen and Rey was probably Jan Zurecki (1582–1643), who has been the *famulus* of brothers Rey during their studies in the University of Altdorf (Elias von Steinmeyer (ed.), *Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf* (Würzburg: Stürtz, 1912; repr. Nendeln: Kraus 1980), p. 67), and who corresponded with Hilchen (seven letters from 1608 are preserved).

40 Matthaeus Dresser, *Epistola ad generosum Dominum Thomam Zamoscium, Generosi Domini Joannis Zamoscii, Cancellarii magni & ducis militaris supremi & generalis Poloniae filium* (Leipzig: Michael Lantzenberger, 1607), USTC 2092677.

41 'Fateor me deceptum esse opinione, quam nescio unde conceperam, fore scilicet Academiam illam Zamoscianam Iesuitarum sedem. Itaque cum a me flagitaretur, ut scripto quopiam meo illam ornarem, vel certe parenti tuo de tanto bono gratularer, repressi me ne Iesuitarum felici progressu in Polonia laetari forte viderer. Verum non ita multo post, rumoribus certis ad me delatum est, Zamoscium id genus hominum minime probare, sed procul ab alveolis suis arcere nec pati, ut vestigium pedis in sua ditione ponat' (Dresser, *Epistola ad generosum Dominum Thomam Zamoscium*, f. B–B^{v}).

> From your [published] letter to Thomas Zamoyski I see that you are alive. I am happy for that. But I am sorry for your public attack against the Jesuits. As you should be sorry, for naming me and my recommendation as the source of your attack. … You should speak plainly: who influenced and supported you in this opinion?[42]

No further letters between Hilchen and Dresser are known. It is likely that their correspondence came to an end following this offensive criticism.

4 Distributing and Mediating Books and Manuscripts

Distribution and mediation seem to have been a favourite part of Hilchen's literary activities. First of all, as was usual among the humanists, many books were distributed in the form of gifts.[43] To make a name for himself Hilchen gave his own books as presents. When contacting famous Western European humanists for the first time, he would always include some of his published works with his letter. Such was the case, for example, with Hilchen's first letter to Justus Lipsius in 1598 and to Isaac Casaubon in 1606.[44] To his closest humanist friends he sent his new works as soon as they were published. An example is his political pamphlet against Duke Karl of Södermanland (1550–1604, later King Karl IX of Sweden 1604–11), *Prosphonesis ad Nobiles atque incolas Livoniae, qui sese cum Carolo Sudermanniae Duce conjunxerunt*.[45] He published this pamphlet in hopes of convincing the Livonian nobility to move

42 'Nunc te vivere audio, imo ex litteris, quas ad Thomam Samoscium misisti, video. Laetor quidem te adhuc superstitem esse, sed certe doleo, ut est meus in te amor, quod publice de Fratribus Jesuiticis contendas. Sed aliquid amplius tibi dicam, quod et tu doleas. Quia in litteris tuis me nominasti, et utrum hic adhuc sim quaeris, in suspicionem me das juxta clare, ac si meo suasu id scripsisses. Et sic iterum afflicte afflictio additur. Purgavi me ex conscientia. Sed nisi tu quamprimum auctorem indicaveris, quo hortante scripseris, me praecipitem dabis. Dic igitur mi Dressere, aperte absque omni dissimulatione: Quis te movit? Quis ma[liti]am ad istud aedificium tibi suppeditavit? Egone? Ne neges si factum: si non factum, indica, ne suspicio in me haereat.' (David Hilchen to Matthias Dresser, 19 July 1607).

43 Cf. Zemon Davis, *Gift*, pp. 56–72, esp. pp. 60–61; Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods. A New History of the Renaissance* (London: Macmillan, 1997), p. 420.

44 As seen from Lipsius' answer (Justus Lipsius to David Hilchen, 20 December 1598, *EMLO*, http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/w/981802): 'Praeter epistolam etiam scripta tua adiuncta mihi dicunt: scripta, quibus astipulari debeo elegantiae et doctrinae'; David Hilchen to Isaac Casaubon, 24 February 1606; Hilchen to Casaubon, 24 February 1606: 'Adjeci supplicantem meam Livoniam et Anticarolinam (anonymam) orationem.'

45 Hilchen, *Προσφωνησις ad Nobiles*.

away from supporting Sweden and towards Poland.[46] During his later years in Poland Hilchen even gifted the books of a dead friend – Salomon Frenzel von Friedenthal's *Sacrificium agni caelestis*, published much earlier, in 1592 – to the Polish humanist, Bishop Jan Dymitr Solikowski.[47]

In some cases Hilchen lent friends books from his private library. This emerges in a small number of remarks made by Hilchen expressing his disappointment at not getting his books back. In 1609 he invited to his residence in Orissowo many professors from Academia Samosciana, adding in his invitation to the rector Jan Sechinius (1570–1632) that he could use his authority to force a colleague called Węgrzynowski to return Hilchen's folio edition of the work of Joachim Mynsinger (1514–88).[48] The unreturned book seems to have been the cause of a conflict between Hilchen and Węgrzynowski, whose contemptible attitude towards the man who had lent it to him and to Hilchen's books generally meant that Hilchen did not even address the borrower personally.

In exceptional cases (primarily from the perspective of publishing) Hilchen entrusted even his manuscripts to his closest humanist friends for reading. For example, in 1603 he sent his commemorative speech about Salomon Frenzel to Johannes Caselius in Helmstedt, hoping Caselius could arrange for additional funeral poems and publish the speech in Helmstedt.[49] Yet Hilchen's manuscript remained unpublished and the reason for this is unknown. Hilchen had more luck with his mourning poem to Jan Zamoyski, which he sent to Helmstedt two years later: Caselius first shared it among his friends in handwritten form before publishing it for further distribution in Germany and Poland.[50]

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46 E.g. David Hilchen to Jan Dymitr Solikowski, 10 December 1601, *EMLO*, http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/w/981821: 'Meam etiam Προσφώνησιν mitto, in quibus fui aridior, quam esse debebam.'

47 Salomon Frenzel von Friedenthal, *Sacrificium agni caelestis* (Neiße: Reinheckel, 1592), USTC 691916; David Hilchen to Jan Dymitr Solikowski, 10 May 1600, *EMLO*, http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/w/981811: 'Cum nihil praeterea sit, quod scribam, mitto Sacrificium Frencelii nostri.'

48 David Hilchen to Jan Sechinius, 11 July 1609: 'Dederam Wegrzinovio ad tempus Mynsingerum ut eo uteretur. Indignus a[utem] mea salutatione. Tu quaeso omnem adhibe diligentiam, et si opus sit, dextram admove, ut iste liber (folii formam habet) ad me redeat.' It is not clear which book by Joachim Mynsinger von Frundeck is under discussion.

49 David Hilchen to Johannes Caselius, 1 July 1603: 'Mitto orationem meam optimo meo Frencelio inscriptam. Legat eam, et si videbitur, edat, carminib[us] tamen amicorum auctam.'

50 'Tuos autem versos dedi familiaribus legendos: ut plures legerent in Germania vos iterum in Polonia, dedi recudendum typographo: addidi, ut vides ipse eulogiam breve.' (David Hilchen to Johannes Caselius, 30 September 1605.) In the same year (1605), Hilchen's poems were printed both in Poland, *Luctus in obitum Illustrissimi Herois, Domini Ioannis Zamoyski de Zamoscie, Regni Poloniae Supremi Cancellarii, et exercituum Ducis Generalis:*

The second aspect of sharing pertains to the mediation of literary contacts and establishing patronage through them. Particularly in his Polish period Hilchen arranged for dedicatory poems by other authors to his patron Jan Zamoyski and vice versa, placing 'orders' for dedications with the *literati*. For example, in summer 1603 Hilchen ordered dedicatory poems for a large volume of stoic philosophy entitled *Dialectica Ciceronis, … maxime ex Stoicorum sententia*, which was published a year later in Zamość.[51] The book was compiled by Adam Bursius (1560–1611), a professor at the local academy, but was praised by contemporaries, including Hilchen, as a piece from the youth of Zamoyski himself under the guidance of his teacher in Padua, Carolus Sigonius (1524–84).[52] In his letters Hilchen sought dedicatory poems from Prussian humanists, from the lawyer Jakob Monau (1546–1603) in Wrocław and from the theologian Christoph Storch (Pelargus) in Frankfurt.[53] The poems arranged by Hilchen did not in fact appear in the volume.

For the authors – even for the most honourable university professors – it was not easy belonging to Hilchen's network: they had to take into account that for the remuneration they were paid they had to accept the criticisms and recommendations of his patron Jan Zamoyski and amend their writings even in terms of content. In 1604, Hilchen sent Professor Johannes Caselius in Helmstedt information about remuneration of 100 florins for his educational programme *Ad nobilem adolescentem Davidem Hilchenivm … Protreptikos*.[54] It

Die tertia Iunii Anno 1605 pie placideque defuncti (Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1605), USTC 268958, and in Helmstedt, *Honori Herois Zamoscii David Hilchen Regiae Maiestati in Polonia a secretis faciebat. Ex editione Zamosciana* (Helmstedt: Academia Iulia, 1605), USTC 2118222.

51 Adam Bursius (ed.), *Dialectica Ciceronis, quae disperse in scriptis reliquit, maxime ex Stoicorum sententia cum commentariis, quibus ea partim supplentur, partim illustrantur* (Zamość: Marcin Łęski, 1604), USTC 257858.

52 Danilo Facca, Valentina Lepri, 'In the shadow of Cicero: an early modern think-tank at the Academy of Zamość', in Katarzyna Marciniak and Elżbieta Olechowska (eds.), *De Amicitia. Transdisciplinary Studies in Friendship* (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2016), pp. 79–89.

53 Both letters are dated 12 July 1603. To Jakob Monau Hilchen wrote: 'Fac periculum si q[ui]d possim apud Ill[ustrissimu]m D[omi]n[um] Cancell[ariu]m meum, cui adhaereo, usque dum Justitiam desierit, te in gratiam ponam, si voles et modum ostendes. Brevi ille juventutis suae tyrocinium Dialecticam Stoicam et peripateticam in lucem mittet, cui si carmen aliquod praemiseris, ipse te insinuabis'; and to Christoph Pelargus: 'apud illum [Jan Zamoyski] te in interiorem gratiam ponam, si voles et illi ingenii tui excellentissimi foetum aliquem dedicabis. Brevi in publicum emittet dialecticam stoicam et peripateticam Juventutis suae tyrocinium hoc castigante aliquo carmine si ornaveris, primam glaciem franges.'

54 Johannes Caselius, *Ad nobilem adolescentem Davidem Hilchenivm vt insistat vestigijs maiorum ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΣ* (Helmstedt: Jakob Lucius, 1604), USTC 2026846.

was published by Caselius for Hilchen's oldest son David. Hilchen, however, also had to mediate Zamoyski's recommendations for changes to the programme: 'His Excellence [Jan Zamoyski] wishes certain details to be changed in *Protreptikos*. As soon as I receive his remarks, I shall pass them on to you.'[55] Yet comparing the first version of *Protreptikos* in 1604 with the second one in the posthumous edition of collected letters of Caselius (1619) reveals no discernible changes.[56]

One of Hilchen's favourite activities in regard to book production was sending factual material about famous people and contemporary events to humanists in other regions for their works, along with his advice about appropriate literary genres. Western European and German humanists particularly appreciated Hilchen as an eyewitness to events in Zamość. Following the death of Jan Zamoyski in June 1605, Johannes Caselius, in his letters of 8 September 1605, sought information for a commemorative book about Zamoyski specifically from Hilchen.[57] Just two months later, on 13 November 1605, Caselius described how his colleagues, the German humanists, had made use of the material:

> I have advised many authors to find the time and commitment to write about such an important event. When you read my letter to Rhodoman, you will note my care and curiosity in this case. When I gave your letter to my familiars [i.e. to the Caseliani in Helmstedt] to read, they were all convinced that it was written with gratitude and great dedication. Although many of them were interested in composing contributions, in the end only Rudolph Diephold wrote a poem.[58]

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55 'Protrepticos Caselii non mihi solum, sed Ill[ustrissi]mo et Sam[o]scio ita gratus et acceptus fuit, ut pro labore centum illi florenos rependat. Mitto eos per meum famulum ad Constantinum Gise Gedanium, qui eos ad vos diriget. /…/ In protreptico Ill[ustrissi]mus nonnulla mutata vellet. Quae illa sint, ubi cognovero, indicabo' (David Hilchen to Mauritius Cannius, 11 October 1604).

56 Ioanni Caselii, *Epistolarum Centuria una ad viros principes* (Helmstedt: heirs of Jakob Lucius, 1619), pp. 234–283. USTC 2135510.

57 'Scripsi pro consolatione ad Thomam Zamoscium. Volo enim isti nationi ostendere nequaquam me esse ingratum hominem, nec frustra fuisse benevolentia et beneficij magni Zamoscij provocatum: Si vivam, dabo aliquid accuratius, et alias quoque summi viri virtutes persequar: in quo tu me iuvabis. Namque et de alijs me ipse monebis, et mittes, quae istic a doctiss[imis] viris monumentis litterarum consignata sunt: nec enim id factum dubito: unde depromam in usus meos, quae videbuntur' (Johannes Caselius to David Hilchen, 8 September 1605, apograph: 'Commercii litterarii Ioannis Caselii', III, Herzog August Bibliothek (hereafter: HAB), Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 89 Helmst., 137^{v}–138).

58 'Namque unum atque alterum, qui scribendo valerent, monui, ut in tantis rebus ornandis temporis aliquid et studii ponerent. Hanc meam sollicitudinem sive curiositatem, non

As is widely known, the collection *Laurentii Rhodomani Epos manibus Magni Zamoscii. Alia praeterea multa adiecimus eodem pertinentia* was fast published in 1606 in Helmstedt. It contained a long Greek encomiastic poem by the German humanist Laurentius Rhodomanus (Lorenz Rhodoman, 1546–1606) with a translation into Latin, a poem by Rudolph Diephold, two poems by David Hilchen and many letters written by Johannes Caselius and David Hilchen to different addressees that document the preparation process of the book in detail.[59] In addition, in the same year the poem by Rudolph Diephold was published separately in Helmstedt.[60]

5 Producing Books

Hilchen's third main activity in the world of books was their production. As mentioned before, Hilchen was a prolific humanist author and poet himself. All of his works were written in Latin.

As an author, Hilchen was not as confident as he was in the role of reader and organiser of books, but heeded the advice of prominent literary advisors from different countries and sought to adapt himself to different literary standards depending on the genre and purpose of his books. The earliest example comes from his activities as an orator. During the election of the Polish King Sigismund III Hilchen prepared a long festive speech of more than 10,000 words, which is extant only as a manuscript in Riga.[61] Obviously, Hilchen was interested in publishing it, despite there being no printing house in Riga before 1588. To improve the quality of his speech, Hilchen commissioned thorough

admodum, ut opinor, reprehendendam ex mea ad Rhodomannum epistola perspexeris, aut videbis, quando haec leges. Eam cum legendam his quoque familiaribus darem, non fuit nemo, qui illam grate, et erga summam virtutem studiose scriptam diceret. Forte et apud nos erant alii, qui mihi morem gerent, voluntatem autem meam secutus est modo Rudolphus Diepholdius, vir et doctrina multiplici praeditus et humanae vitae intelligens' (Johannes Caselius to David Hilchen, 13 November 1605, EMLO; editio princeps: Laurentius Rhodomanus, *Laurentii Rhodomani Epos manibus Magni Zamoscii. Alia praeterea multa adiecimus eodem pertinentia* (Helmstedt: Jakob Lucius (II), 1606), fol. E3^{v}, USTC 2027254).

59 Regarding the background of the Greek poem by Laurentius Rhodomanus cf. Walther Ludwig, 'Der Humanist Laurentius Rhodomanus als griechischer Dichter Laurentios Rodoman und seine Autobiographie von 1582', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch, Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature*, 16 (2014), pp. 137–171.

60 Rudolph Diephold, *Inclvtae memoriae Magni Zamoscii. Carmen Rudolphi Diepholdi* (Helmstedt: Jakob Lucius, 1606), USTC 2040292.

61 David Hilchen, '*De amabili Civium christianorum concordia paraenetica Oratio Varsoviae in Conventu Electionis Generali mense Julii anno 1587*', LVVA, Riga, 673–3 (K-11)-4, ff. 1–30^{v}.

proofreading of it from the Italian humanist Gian Michele Bruto (Johannes Michael Brutus, 1517–92), who from 1576 to 1586 served as the court historiographer to the Polish king Stephan Bathory in Cracow. In more than two hundred remarks in the margins and in footnotes Bruto corrected Hilchen's word choice (synonyms, the influence of German in his word formation, semantics and phraseology) and occasionally also verbal forms and syntactical constructions, such as accusative with infinitive instead of subordinate clauses. Even though it remains an example of an unfinished book, it proves how high were the linguistic standards Hilchen established for his works.

In early 1596 Professor Johannes Caselius of Helmstedt sent literary advice to Hilchen.[62] Hilchen seems to have sent him his manuscript about the history of Riga – a text mentioned in other sources as Hilchen's only historiographical monograph: *Brevis narratio earum rerum quae An*[*no*] *1585 a 12 die Jan*[*uarii*] *juxta Calend*[*arium*] *Gregor*[*ium*] *Rigae mota in ibidem seditione contra Maiest*[*atem*] *reg*[*iam*] *nec non consulatum civitatis sine causis legitimis ac probabilibus temere, petulanter et hostiliter attentata ac commissa sunt*.[63] It clearly remained unfinished and unpublished, and even the manuscript has never been found in the archives. In his letter, Caselius encourages Hilchen to continue writing his historical opus, underscoring two important aspects of good historians. Firstly, history must be written by contemporaries who witnessed the events as well as participating in them.[64] Secondly, it is not enough to live in the midst of historical events and observe them. According to Caselius, true history could only be written by a person who had investigated

62 This letter (Johannes Caselius to David Hilchen, 1 February *1596, EMLO, http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/w/981788) is extant in three contemporary copies: firstly, as a manuscript concept, defective at the end and containing many corrections, in 'Iohannis Caselii epistolae ad amicos de anno 1596', HAB, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 860 Helmst., ff. 77r–78v; secondly, as a manuscript fair copy in ibid., ff. 129r–130v; and thirdly, printed in Johannes Peparinus, *Ad Magnificvm et Nobilem Dn. Davidem Hilchen I*[*uris*]*C*[*onsult*]*um et Oratorem Cl*[*arissi*]*mum Amplissimae Reip*[*ublicae*] *Rigensis Syndicum, Serenissimi Regis Poloniae per Liuoniam Secretarium, et nunc Legatum in Germaniam Ode Ioan*[*nis*] *Peparini, qua transeunti Helmaestadium gratulatur* (Helmstedt: Jakob Lucius (1), 1595), pp. A2–A2v, USTC 608764.

63 Benjamin von Bergmann, *Die Kalenderunruhen in Riga in den Jahren 1585 bis 1590* (Bergmanns Historische Studien, vol. 2) (Leipzig: J. F. Hartknoch, 1806), p. 9.

64 Caselius to Hilchen, 1 February 1596: 'Nunc et eam ad te mitto: et remitto, quae rogatus mihi legenda relinqueres: legi diligenter omnia: multa didici, quae uel ante non accepissemus, uel secus narrata fuissent. Qui omnium spectator fuerit, qui pleraque ipse administravit; ab eo historiam conscribi operae pretium est.'

the sources. Not only should all events be described in the right order, but the causes of the events should also be described.[65]

Caselius was not entirely uncritical: he recommended that Hilchen improve his writing to achieve the best result for society as a whole. Nevertheless, he was afraid that Hilchen, as a politician, would not have the time to do so. Yet for Hilchen to write the history himself was the only way to save his name from oblivion and provide a correct history of his fatherland for future generations.[66]

The subject of the true history of Riga was of personal importance to Hilchen, as in the 1590–3 editions of the influential and widely disseminated chronicle of David Chytraeus entitled *Chronicon Saxoniae et vicinarum aliquot gentium ab anno 1500 usque ad 1593*, Hilchen's role in the Calendar Riots in Riga was depicted subjectively, from the point of view of rebellious citizens. Just before receiving Caselius' letter, at the end of 1595 Hilchen met with Chytraeus in Rostock and discussed the topic with him. The result of this meeting was that in the German translation of the chronicle in 1596, as well as in subsequent Latin editions from 1600 onwards, a new take on the Calendar Riots was presented and the thirtieth book in the chronicles was dedicated to Hilchen and the burgrave of Riga, Nicolaus Eccius. As a result, Hilchen obviously had no interest in publishing his own monograph about recent history, which Caselius had recommended that Hilchen do in his letter.

In his exile in Zamość Hilchen sought literary advice from many leading local humanists. Prior to printing mourning poems after the death of his patron Jan Zamoyski, Hilchen asked Szymon Szymonowic (Simon Simonides, 1558–1629) for his opinion.[67] After a trivial Horatian verse about the power of poetry to eternalise great deeds (*Odes* 4.8.28), Hilchen asks for benevolent advice from Szymonowic, as only benign feedback could help Hilchen in his emotionally difficult situation. The poems – the first in epodic metre (hexameter + iambic

65 Caselius to Hilchen, 1 February 1596: 'Qui enim explorata scribit, hic solus uera scribat: idem nihil omittet omnium, quae narrari oporteat: nec solum, quae gesta sint, narret ordine, sed consilia quoque, in quibus rerum causae reconditae sunt, exponat.'

66 Caselius to Hilchen, 1 February 1596: 'Non relinque hoc opus; censeo, vbi perpolieris, publici iuris facias. At quam uereor, vt possis per negotia! Quin decerpe ex ijs aliquid temporis: quae agis alia ad salutem quidam publicam pertinent: sed hoc pacto nomen etiam tuum ab obliuione vindicabis: etsi fieri non potest, ut quicunque istas res consignet, non tua simul erga patriam merita praedicet. Quare etiamsi te minus respicias, historiam patriae certam posteris inuidere noli.'

67 'Ecce funera. Sed nollem ea excudi, priusquam censionem tuam exercueris. Dignos laude viros, Musa vetat mori. Nihil quaero nisi benevolentiam, qua nunc maxime opus mihi est. Velim igitur mea causa tantum laboris subeas, et novam hisce tenebris lucem adferas' (David Hilchen to Szymon Szymonovic, 13 June 1605).

trimeter), the second in Asclepiadean verse and the third in elegiac distichs – were published that same year.[68] As Hilchen stressed at the end of the longest poem, he was hesitant after all about his metric skills: 'Meanwhile, what I could not cover metrically, I will soon take up in more voluminous speech.'[69] As such, it was most likely advice on metric questions which Hilchen awaited from Szymonowic above all else.[70]

In addition to help with the language, content and metrical problems of his books, Hilchen sometimes sought advice on stylistic matters. Preparing a currently unidentified poem in 1609, Hilchen consulted Professor Adam Bursius about its style. Clearly Hilchen did not like the answer Bursius gave him, which recommended a more temperate style, as he did not amend his poem.[71]

Hilchen's book production comprised not only the preparation of original works, but (the commissioning of) translations as well. In early 1607, Professor Albert (Wojciech) Siemkowski (died 1610) of the Academy of Zamość was engaged in translating into Polish some of Hilchen's writings about the political situation in Riga in the 1580s, most likely about the Calendar Riots. Siemkowski evidently sought Hilchen's advice on how to translate into Polish a word that marked this historical event, as there was no established term for such a rebellion in the language. Hilchen recommended using the Latin word *secessio*:

> Your efforts in translating [my writings] into Polish are a gift to me. I shall repay it to the utmost. I do hope there is no term in Polish for the phenomenon you asked me about, since we will therefore have much less trouble with the words. As we had such an event, we must find a term to signify it. The first authors who wrote about it referred to it as *secessio*, and the use of this word has taken root. Why then have we to find another word for it? I recommend that you do not concern yourself with the words so much, as it may slow the completion of the translation.[72]

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68 Hilchen, *Luctus In obitum*.

69 'Interea quod non potui comprendere metro, / Mox pleniori oratione persequar' (Hilchen, *Luctus In obitum*, Verse 145–146).

70 For complete analysis of Hilchen's metrical and prosodical skills cf. Maria-Kristiina Lotman 'Die Versmaße, Versformen, Prosodie und Rhytmik in der Dichtung von David Hilchen', in Kristi Viiding and Martin Klöker (eds.), David Hilchen. *Sub velis poeticis Lateinische Gedichte* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2021), pp. 37–45.

71 'Inconsiderate autem viderer mihi facturus si in tanta carminis brevitate omitterem ultimum distichon, praesertim cum illud me non omissurum ita rogatus promiserim. Gratissimum igitur scito mihi rem te facturum, si Sophiae Suadelam addi carmini promiseris. Scio dissimilem illum tui, imo sui ipsius esse. Sed ratio habenda est meae constantiae' (David Hilchen to Adam Bursius, 4 August 1609).

72 'Labor iste, quem D[ominati]o V[estra] rogatu meo in translationem Lachicarum lucubrationum impendit, instar muneris mihi est. Eum igitur quacunque re potero rependam.

It seems the translation was never completed, however, and that no writings by Hilchen were ever published in Polish.

Last but not least, Hilchen organised the publication of many other books. One of the earliest examples of his activities as a publisher is from 1594, when he recommended to Jan Zamoyski the writings of three German *literati*: Johannes Caselius from Helmstedt, the humanist historian Matthias Dresser from Leipzig and the Riga cathedral school inspector Johannes Rivius (1528–96) to Jan Zamoyski. Caselius had drafted a piece eulogising Zamoyski, according to Hilchen's descriptions of the man; Dresser had written a laudatory speech about the office of chancellor using the example of Zamoyski; and Rivius had written in modest praise of Zamoyski and his academy.[73] Hilchen's further aim in this mediation was to gain the favour and support of Zamoyski for all four of them, himself included. Ultimately, only one part of the planned collection was issued: the *Oratio de Instituta Illustrissimi Domini, D. Joannis De Zamoyscio, benignissima liberalitate Academia Zamosciana … elaborate studio et diligentia Joannis Rivii, Inspectoris Scholae, Mense Januarii Anno salutiferi partus* MDXCV by Rivius.[74]

Utinam istius rei, de qua D[ominatio] V[estra] q[uae]rit, nullus in Pol[oni]a usus extitisset. Sic minus de verbis laboraremus. Nunc a[utem] ita res, ut sese dat, appellanda est. Secessione primi istius rei auctores appellarunt, et sic iam usus obtinuit. Cur nos eam aliter appellamus? De vocabulis nolim D[omi]n[ationem] V[estram] adeo sollicitum esse. Metuo [e]n[im] ne ista nimia sollicitudo retardet laborem, quem expeditum cuperem' (David Hilchen to Wojciech Siemkowski, 1 March 1607).

73 'Sunt ig[itu]r, quibus Ill[ustrissi]mae Cels[itati] V[est]rae favorem conciliare studeo, viri omnibus liberalibus disciplinis exculti, Joannes Caselius: Matthaeus Dresserus, et Joannes Rivius, … Ex his Caselius in Academia Helmstadien[si], imit[ati]o[n]e subiectissimae erga Ill[ustrissimam] Cels[itatem] V[est]ram obseruantiae meae: atque navatae a me opellae, in diuulganda ab Ill[ustrissi]ma Cels[itate] V[est]ra instituta Academia. Elogium ipse quoque ex dispositione mea iam meditatur, ad commenda[n]dum immortalitati et posteritati nomen Ill[ustrissimae] Cels[itatis] V[estr]ae. Dresserus autem in Academia Lipsica magnus, vt Ill[ustrissi]ma Cels[itas] V[estr]a innotescat, oratiunculam de munere Cancellarii habitam mittit, et in ea non falso Ill[ustrissim]am Cels[itatem] V[est]ram laudat. … Riuius autem nobiscum est, praefectus nuper admodum Inspectioni scholae n[ost]rae, qui quidem quam sit deditus Ill[ustrissi]mae Cels[itati] V[est]rae, eius l[itte]rae docebunt: et ipse breui eiusmodi edito scripto declarabit, ut studiosissimum … nominis Zamosciani esse, et Ill[ustrissi]mae C[elsita]ti V[est]rae et omnibus qui id lecturi sunt, persuasissimum fieri queat. V[est]ra autem Ill[ustrissi]ma Cels[i]tas, subiectissima petitione mea permota, gratiosissimo fauore universos hosce et singulo[s] comprehendet' (David Hilchen to Jan Zamoyski, 11 September 1594, EMLO, http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/w/981785).

74 Johannes Rivius, *Oratio de Instituta Illustrissimi Domini, D. Joannis De Zamoyscio, benignissima liberalitate Academia Zamosciana … elaborate studio et diligentia Joannis Rivii, Inspectoris Scholae, Mense Januarii Anno salutiferi partus* MDXCV (Riga: Nicolaus Mollyn, 1595), USTC 6910563.

From these examples it is evident that Hilchen had a great interest in producing books, but that very few of his plans were fully or even partly completed. His activities in this field did not end after he left Riga, whose printing house was answerable to him as the *Druckereiherr*, but continued intensively during his exile, when he made use of the printing possibilities afforded in Vilnius, Cracow and especially in Zamość.

6 Typical and Untypical in Hilchen's Humanist Approach to the Book Culture

The analysis of David Hilchen's letters and especially his remarks and discussions about different practices connected with books demonstrates that in research on early modern book culture and networking, correspondences provide a rich vein of material not only regarding political and private relationships, but also literary practices. Hilchen's correspondence is the earliest evidence for the systematic spread of the learned 'republic of letters' and with it of the humanist book culture to the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea, including to Livonia. Since a very young age – in 1577 Hilchen was sixteen – he was occupied with creating his own 'republic of letters'. As a typical citizen on the geographical periphery of Europe, he tried to develop his epistolary community with as many distinguished scholars as possible: among his almost two hundred correspondents he received feedback from most well-known contemporary humanists such as Johannes Caselius, Justus Lipsius, Isaac Casaubon, or Jan Dymitr Solikowski. By learning from their wide-ranging erudition Hilchen started to understand the humanist approach to books. Already at the age of thirty he was engaged in almost all areas of book culture: he ordered books from catalogues, read and criticised them as a literary advisor, lent books to his friends as a private librarian, wrote books as an author, sent news about Livonian and Polish events and individuals to Western European authors as an informant, commissioned, edited and published original books and translations as a literary manager and *Druckereiherr* in Riga, and last but not least, he sent books as gifts. Hilchen organised literary culture not only in Riga, Livonia and later in Zamość, but throughout the Baltic region and Europe. This meant the continuous overriding of confessional limits. As such, he was the last and maybe the only person in Livonia who embodied real humanism, maintaining Lutheran, Calvinist, Catholic, Jesuit and possibly even Eastern Orthodox networks for literary purposes.[75]

75 It is probable because Hilchens's older brother Johannes was appointed personal physician in 1600 to the Russian Tsar Boris Godunov.

Literature and books were for Hilchen never introspective activities, but above all social and creative occupations, through which he demonstrated his devotion to collaborative effort. Yet, trying to put into practice almost all activities from the wide-ranging humanist approach to book culture, Hilchen became overloaded with too many tasks, having insufficient time to realise them all. His letters reveal a clear contrast between many activities, but meagre results in terms of actual publications. Clearly, it was not a great problem to Hilchen. Even as some of his projects remained unfinished, he created in his letters a sympathy among recipients towards books and literary topics, spreading and deepening thereby the idea of the 'republic of letters' on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea.

An exceptional side of Hilchen's humanist model must be stressed, however: All of the discussions and remarks in his letters are about contemporary literary practices and contemporary and prospective works – not about earlier, classical authors and writings or even about the Bible or theological treatises. Of course, Hilchen sometimes quotes or alludes to the Bible or classical authors and uses genres from classical antiquity, but only *ornatus* or *docilitatis causa*, not as a subject *per se*. In the context of Livonian literary practices, with their clear tendency towards Latin school rhetoric on the one side and vernacular (Low) German literature, mainly about the theological topics on the other, Hilchen's attitude may seem unexpected, innovative or sometimes even inappropriate.

In subsequent studies of later (especially seventeenth- and eighteenth-century) book culture on the eastern shore of the Baltic, the impact of this humanist model with its vivid social network and many different practices should be a starting point for further comparison. One of the most inviting prospects is to analyse Hilchen's letters to his sons, considering if and how he passed on his example directly and intentionally in the family.

PART 2

Textualising Vernacular in Multilingual Societies

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CHAPTER 6

Swedish Missionary Work among the Sami, Eastern Orthodox Christians and Native Americans in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

Tuija Laine

The seventeenth century was a period of absolutism in the Swedish realm. From the monarchy's point of view, it was very important to keep the whole realm unanimous, because a common religion provided stability and safety to the kingdom. To fulfil this aim, all ecclesiastical books were harmonised, and all confessions were prohibited apart from Lutheranism. Only the Reformed Walloons had a specific permission to have services of their own, but they were not allowed to spread their religion.[1]

After the Peace of Stolbovo (1617) between Sweden and Russia, ambitions to expand Lutheranism were mostly targeted at newly conquered areas of Ingria and Karelia, which were mainly inhabited by Eastern Orthodox Christians, and the Sami people in Lapland, who still had also their own native religions in spite of the efforts to make the area Lutheran. The third group of non-Lutherans were the Native Americans in the Delaware region, an area which belonged to the Swedish Realm in 1638–55. They had their own form of worship. The Sami people and Native American tribes were both seen as 'sinful heathens' and exemplary 'noble savages' in mission descriptions, and at the same time they were considered to be suitable subjects for Christian conversion. In addition, the religious habits of Native Americans and Sami people were very different compared with Christian customs, and evoked fear and experiences of otherness among the Lutherans.[2]

1 *Kircko-Laki Ja Ordningi 1686. Näköispainos ja uudelleen ladottu laitos vuoden 1686 kirkkolain suomennoksesta*, eds. Lahja-Irene Hellemaa, Anja Jussila, and Martti Parvio (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1986), 1. Lucu § IV–V; Esko M. Laine, *Yksimielisyys – sota – pietismi. Tutkimuksia suomalaisesta papistosta ja yhteiskunnasta kolmikymmenvuotisesta sodasta pikkuvihaan*, doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki, 1996, pp. 16–18; Ingun Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 4: Enhetskyrkans tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2002), pp. 156–66.

2 Bill Widén, *Kristendomsundervisning och nomadliv. Studier i den kyrkliga verksamheten i Lappmarkerna 1740–1809* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1964), p. 16; Daniel Lindmark, 'Syndiga hedningar och ädla vildar. Synen på samer och indianer i tidigmoderna svenska missionsskildringar', in Hanne Sanders (ed.), *Mellem Gud och Djævelen. Religiøse og magiske verdensbilleder i*

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During the period of absolutism, all the subjects of the Swedish king had to be baptised and had to confess the Lutheran faith. Before baptism people had to learn about Christianity, or the Lutheran faith, if they were already Christians, such as the Eastern Orthodox Christians. Catechetical knowledge was required for marriage, attending the eucharist and for becoming a godparent. For teaching and learning, books, especially catechisms, were needed. Knowing Christian teachings was one of the main ideas of the Reformation and this knowledge was realised through learning to read the Catechism.[3]

I shall introduce the basic religious literature, especially catechisms written for these various groups in Lapland, Karelia and Delaware. I discuss the circumstances under which they were written and published, the kind of catechisms they represented and how they were used in this missionary work. The last question is probably the most difficult to answer as there is little available information, but some indications of plans and expectations can be drawn from the texts of publications.

1 The Catechism and Its Importance in Lutheranism

The Reformation highlighted the individual's capacity to learn Christian teachings and, hence, the foundations of his or her own salvation. This necessitated the production of vernacular Christian literature since only the learned mastered Latin. The Reformation led to the writing and publishing of vernacular literature across Europe. The first vernacular books were mostly Bibles, catechisms and primers that often contained catechetical texts teaching the basics of the Christian faith.[4]

In Lutheran regions, catechisms were even more significant than the Bible for teaching Christianity. Martin Luther wrote the *Large Catechism* with

Norden 1500–1800, Nord (København) 2001: 19, (Copenhagen: Nordiska Ministerrådet, 2001), p. 203; Jyrki Paaskoski, 'Inkerin kirkko Venäjän keisarikunnassa Suuresta Pohjan sodasta 1800-luvun alkuun', in Jouko Sihvo and Jyrki Paaskoski (eds.), *Inkerin kirkon neljä vuosisataa. Kansa, kulttuuri, identiteetti* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2015), p. 21.

3 Simo Heininen, 'Vanha Viipurin hiippakunta 1554–1711', in Simo Heininen etc., *Viipurin – Porvoon – Tampereen hiippakunnan historia 1554–2004* (Helsinki: Edita, 2005), p. 59; Daniel Lindmark, *Ecclesia Plantanda. Swedishness in Colonial America* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2005), pp. 141–2; Esko M. Laine and Tuija Laine, 'Kirkollinen kansanopetus', in Jussi Hanska and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (eds.), *Huoneentaulun maailma. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa keskiajalta 1860-luvulle* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 258–60.

4 Tuija Laine, *Aapisen ja katekismuksen tavaamisesta itsenäiseen lukemiseen. Rahvaan lukukulttuurin kehitys varhaismodernina aikana* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), pp. 32, 36–7.

extensive commentaries and explanations for the clergy, and the more concise *Small Catechism* for the use of laymen, which was widely translated and used as a model for other catechisms. The Small Catechism consisted of central Christian texts with explanations: the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, words of institution for the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, prayers before and after eating, and morning and evening prayers. Luther's Catechism also included the introduction to confession even though, unlike in the Catholic church, it was not considered as a sacrament.[5]

Luther's Large and Small Catechisms were both translated into Swedish and Finnish. Probably the earliest Finnish translation of the *Small Cathechism* was printed in 1607 in Rostock at the request of the crown prince Gustav Adolf (1594–1632).[6] It was translated by Simon Johannis Carelius, who was born in Vyborg (Viipuri) and studied at Rostock. The *Large Catechism* was translated by the vicar of Pirkkala parish Jacobus Pauli Raumannus in 1674. Both Finnish and Swedish Small Catechisms were reprinted several times by several editors. They were both used in the Swedish realm's eastern province, in Finland, as the majority of the population in the coastal areas was Swedish-speaking, while in inland areas Finnish was spoken.[7]

Luther's work had already inspired new catechetical explanations, published under the names of the respective authors. In Finnish, the first of these was the catechism of Jacobus Petri Finno in the 1580s (with a second edition in 1615). The most popular were the Small Catechisms by the Bishop of Turku (Åbo in Swedish) Ericus Erici Sorolainen (the first known edition in 1629) and the Cathechism *Yxi lasten paras tawara / Ett rätt barna-klenodium* in 1666 by the bishop of Turku, Johannes Gezelius the Elder, published in Turku in both Finnish and Swedish. By the first years of the nineteenth century, the latter book had been reprinted over sixty times in Finnish and more than ten times in Swedish. Immediately after its publication in 1696, the Catechism of Olaus Svebilius was established as the official catechism of the whole Swedish realm,

5 Laine, *Aapisen ja katekismuksen tavaamisesta*, pp. 36–7.

6 See Chapter 4 by Suvi-Päivi Koskinen in this volume.

7 *Catechimus* [*!*] *Se on christilisen opin pääcappaleet, d. Martinus Lutherin vlostoimituxen cansa, soomen kielen tulkitut. Lyhykäisen esipuheen cansa, iosa yxikertaisesta tiettäväxi tehdän, quinga itze cukin christitty, hänens swren hödytyxen cansa ioca päivä Catechismuxessa harioitta machta. Simonis Iohannis Carelij culutuxel vlos käynyt …* (Rostock: Stefan Möllemann, 1607), USTC 2092731; Martin Luther, *D. Martinus Lutheruxen Catechismus se suurembi hänen cuningallisen Maij:tins cuningas Carlein, sen XI. Ruotzin, Göthein, ja Wendein, etc. etc. suurwoimallisimman cuningan ja herran armollisimman käskystä, ja culutuxella. Suomexi käätty â Jacobo Raumanno pastore & praeposito in Birckala* (Turku: Johan Winter, 1674), USTC 268953; Tuija Laine and Rita Nyqvist (eds.), *Suomen kansallisbibliografia. Finlands nationalbibliografi. Finnische Nationalbibliographie 1488–1827* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1996).

as one way to reinforce unanimity of the kingdom with uniform religious literature. However, only in 1746 did the Finnish translation of Svebilius' Catechism displace Gezelius' Catechism (1666).[8]

Notwithstanding the various authors involved, the structures of all the seventeenth-century catechisms were very faithful to the model of Luther's *Small Catechism*. There was some variation in parts of the explanations but, naturally, they all agreed with the lines of Lutheran theology. Adults and children read the same catechisms. In the mid-eighteenth century a new catechetical genre, composed primarily to teach children, appeared alongside the older catechisms. By then, adult catechetical literacy was already more common, and hence attention was given to teaching minors. Simultaneously, the notion of childhood changed, and new genres meant for children saw the light of day all over Europe. At the same time, Pietists began to work on their own catechisms, emphasising the views of the revivalists.[9]

2 The Sami

Lapland was geographically distant and hard to access, and as a result the powers interested in exploiting the resources of Lapland were first content to collect the so-called Lapland tax in furs from the Sami people. But little by little Denmark, Sweden and Russia (Novgorod) started to incorporate the region more systematically and solidify and institutionalise their presence. For the Swedish part of Lapland, the royal politics meant that the Sami people would honour Swedish law, religion and taxation, and in return the crown would protect the people in this area. Taxation, education and conversion were the crucial points in this policy. It was, however, very challenging to organise any ecclesiastical activity or to teach Christianity to the Sami people. Settlement was geographically scattered and long distances were involved. In addition, there were several Sami languages, a fact that the administration was slow to

8 Tuija Laine, 'Johannes Gezelius vanhemman katekismus ja sen lähteet', in *Teologinen Aikakauskirja 98/5* (1993), pp. 398–9; Tuija Laine and Rita Nyqvist (eds.), *Suomen kansallisbibliografia*, nos. 1054–67, 1113–14, 1452–7, 1423–34, 2497, 2499–2504; Tuija Laine, 'Ericus Erici Sorolaisen Wähä catechismus ja vuoden 1657 katekismuspainoksen synty', in Tuija Laine (ed.), *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden käsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), p. 86; Laine, *Aapisen ja katekismuksen tavaamisesta*, pp. 128–9; Tuija Laine, 'Viipurin kirjallinen kulttuuri vuoteen 1710', in Petri Karonen (ed.), *Arki, kirkko, artefakti. Viipurin kulttuurihistoriaa Ruotsin ajalla* (*n. 1300–1700*) (Helsinki: Viipurin suomalainen kirjallisuusseura, 2017), p. 128.

9 Tuija Laine, 'Lapsille tarkoitetut uskonnolliset kirjat' in Esko M. Laine and Minna Ahokas (eds.), *Hyödyllisen tiedon piirit. Tutkimuksia papistosta, rahvaasta ja tiedon rakentumisesta 1700-luvulla* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2018), pp. 189–91, 198–9.

understand. (See Map 7.1. and Map 7.2. in the next chapter for the Lappmarks and towns of Northern Scandinavia.)

Christian influences had already reached Lapland in the Middle Ages, both from east and west, but the conversion of the Sami truly started only after the Reformation. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were several royal orders and attempts to found parishes and build churches in Lapland, the intention being to establish Swedish power in the area. The first parishes in what is today the Swedish part of Lapland were founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the eastern (present-day Finnish) parts of Lapland, the so-called Kemi Lapland, the first churches were built in 1648. However, the 1673 decree concerning the settlement of Lapland made legal the moving of Swedish and Finnish people to Lapland, and Lycksele, Jokkmokk, Jukkasjärvi, Kautokeino and Kuusamo were separated into independent ecclesiastical areas and provided with ministers. The whole of Lapland was divided into independent church parishes.[10]

In 1596 it was decreed that all the inhabitants in the Swedish archdiocese had to be examined in Christianity, namely the main articles of the Catechism. The same order naturally concerned the Sami people as well, the Swedish government's interest in the Sami at this time being both religious and economic. The productivity of the area was to be strengthened and trade, taxation and natural resources were considered to be very important. The teaching of Christianity required catechisms as well as teachers who had knowledge of the local language. The first clergy in the area were mainly Swedish and had little if any knowledge of Sami, though they did have translators to help them. Not many of the clergy were interested in settling in Lapland, in view of the difficult and isolated circumstances they had to live in. The best way to get teachers able to use the Sami language in the area was to educate Sami children in Lapland. Even this proved challenging, because at least some Sami people who studied in southern Sweden were no longer interested in moving back to their native area. On the other hand, some did not get on in the south, and fled back to their home region.[11]

10 K. B. Wiklund., 'De första lappska böckerna', in *Nordisk tidsskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 9 (1922), p. 13; Widén, *Kristendomsundervisning*, p. 21; Sten Henrysson, 'Samernas kristnande och undervisning', in Sten Henrysson etc. (eds.), *Samer, präster och skolmästare. Ett kulturellt perspektiv på samernas och Övre Norrlands historia* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 1993), p. 4; Gunlög Maria Fur, *Colonialism in the Margins: Cultural Encounters in New Sweden and Lapland* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 247–8; Juha Pentikäinen and Risto Pulkkinen, *Saamelaisten mytologia* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2018), pp. 69–77, 79–81.

11 Widén, *Kristendomsundervisning*, p. 22; Henrysson, 'Samernas kristnande', p. 4.

The first printed book in Sami (*En lijten Sångebook, huruledes Messan skal hållas, läsas eller siungas, på Lappesko*, Stockholm, 1619) was written by Nicolaus Andreae Rehn, who was the pastor in Piteå. It was a missal which helped priests conduct the service and take care of sacraments and funerals in Lapland. The main texts were written in Sami, but all the instructions were printed in Swedish, and without knowledge of Sami it was difficult to use the missal. In his dedication letter to King Gustav II Adolf, Nicolaus Andreae made it clear that mission work targeted all people throughout the Swedish realm. According to him, the Sami people had been taught with Swedish books before and some of them had even understood some Swedish. But mostly people understood only their own language and therefore texts in Sami were needed. He also states that in addition to his missal he had also published a primer in Sami, which was printed in Stockholm. The king permitted Nicolaus Andreae to have some kind of grammar school in Piteå for six Sami boys and to teach them to read, not only in Sami, but in Swedish and Latin as well.[12]

Although Nicolaus Andreae boasted about his translations, they were far from excellent. They included so many Finnish words that researchers are convinced that the translator had Finnish as a mother tongue. Nicolaus Andreae's father was for some time a priest in Torneå (Tornio in Finnish) and it is possible that he was born in Finland. So he and his son probably spoke Finnish as their native tongue. On account of the poor level of the translations, the Sami people must have understood little from either the books or Nicolaus Andreae's words.[13]

In 1619, the same year as he prepared his missal, Nicolaus Andreae published an alphabet book. It was a typical 'Catechism primer' (*Katechismus Fibel* in German) with the alphabet and Catechism given without explanations and some prayers at the end of the book. The second edition was published in 1632, and possibly even the 1638 and 1640 primers are primarily based upon the 1619 primer. In 1633 the pastor of Umeå, Olaus Petri Niurenius, published a proper catechism, the *Same nolmay catechesis*. An indication of its overall incomprehensibility is suggested by the fact that even its title is incorrect: *Same nolmay* should be *Samen olmay*, 'of people of Sami'. We do not know if the mistake was made by Olaus Petri Niurenius or by the compositor at the printing press.

12 Nicolaus Andreae Rehn, *En lijten Sångebook, huruledes Messan skal hållas, läsas eller siungas, på Lappesko. Stält och sammansatt Aff Nicolao Andreae Pastore in Pitha* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1619), USTC 251342; Wiklund, 'Första lappska böckerna', p. 18; Sven Ingemar Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Carl IX och Gustaf II Adolf', in Gunnar Westin, Sven Ingemar Olofsson, and Åke Stille (eds.), *Övre Norrlands historia, II: Tiden till 1600–1721* (Umeå: Norrbottens och Västerbottens läns landsting, 1965), pp. 279–80.

13 Wiklund, 'Första lappska böckerna', pp. 24–7.

Whoever the translator was, it is evident that he knew little or no Sami. The possible method had been to let a Sami speaker orally improvise upon the text of the Swedish catechism and the 'translator' had written down what he had heard. When the task became too hard, the parts which had already been published in Nicolaus Andreae's primer were used. The result is that there are two inconsistent texts: one poor and the second even poorer.[14]

In 1648 a Sami handbook, *Manuale Lapponicum*, was published in Stockholm. It was translated by Johannes Tornaeus, a clergyman in Nedertorneå (in Swedish, Alatornio in Finnish). In his dedication to Queen Kristina, he followed the ideas of Nicolaus Andreae: the word of God belongs to everybody. Tornaeus mentions the difficulties in teaching Christianity to Sami people and hopes that this manual might help in eradicating all superstition and idolatry from the area. Tornaeus confessed that the Sami language was totally unknown to him when he first took up his position. He was aware, however, that there were many Sami dialects and used several native speakers as translators to make the book understandable for everybody. *Manuale Lapponicum* was translated from *Manuale Sveticum*, its larger version (1639), because, according to Tornaeus, it was more suitable for the Sami circumstances. Researchers have considered the language of the book to be quite stiff, no doubt the result of Tornaeus trying to combine all the languages together. It was, however, understandable to speakers of different Sami languages.[15]

From 1619 to 1648, eight books written in Sami, either educational works or church rituals, were published. Four of them were primers, two catechisms and manuals of two different kinds. Several of them were published in both Swedish and Sami. There are, however, no books in Finnish intended for Sami use, or in Finnish and Sami, although some Finnish-speaking pastors did

14 *Same nolmay* [*sic*] *catechesis, thet är, wår christeligha hufwud stycken, eller troos artick-lar medh s.d. Luth. förklarning vppå lappespråk förwendt och aff then edle och wälborne herre, her Johan Skytte, frijherre til Duderoff, herre til Grönsöö, Strömsrum och Elffwesiö, riddare, Sweriges rijkes rådh och general gubernator i Liffland och Ingermanneland, lagh-man öffuer Norre Finland, sampt Vbsala Academiae cantzler, etc. Bestelt til at tryckias medh eghen omkostnadt. Procurante, O. P. N.* (Stockholm; Ignatius Meurer, 1633), USTC 252402; Wiklund, 'Första lappska böckerna', pp. 20–2; Tuuli Forsgren, 'Böcker och språk i sameun-dervisningen före 1850. Med facit i hand …', in Sten Henrysson etc. (eds.), *Samer, präster och skolmästare. Ett kulturellt perspektiv på samernas och Övre Norrlands historia* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 1993), p. 37.

15 Johannes Tornaeus, *Manuale Lapponicum. Tat lie: braude-kiefe-kirieg joite mij adnestop, nabmatom: …* (Stockholm: Henric Keyser, 1648), a1–a7, USTC 252444; Just Knud Qvigstad and Karl Bernhard Wiklund, *Bibliographie der Lappischen Litteratur* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1899; repr. Stockholm: Björck & Börjesson, 1978), p. 5; Forsgren, 'Böcker och språk', p. 37.

officiate in Lapland. The books were printed in Stockholm and transported to the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia in order to be sent north to Lapland. Their language was mostly South Sami and Ume Sami spoken in the Umeå district, but *Manuale Lapponicum* can be characterised as mainly North Sami and was therefore only useful in the Torneå area.[16]

3 Eastern Orthodox Christians

During the Middle Ages Ingria belonged to Russia, first to Novgorod, then to Moscow. Therefore, the population were mostly Eastern Orthodox Christians by denomination. Lutheranism started to have an influence in Ingria in the 1580s, when the Lutheran preacher of the fortress of Kaprio (in Finnish and Ingrian, Koporje in Russian), Olaus Georgii, worked as a spiritual counsellor. Sweden was interested in acquiring areas from Ingria at the turn of the seventeenth century in the wars between Sweden and Russia, and there were Swedish troops in the area. They were placed not only in the countryside, but in towns as well. The army chaplains were Lutheran and this helped Lutheranism to emerge in the area.[17]

After the Peace of Stolbovo in 1617 between Sweden and Russia, Ingria and the Karelian province of Kexholm (Käkisalmi in Finnish and Karelian) were ceded to Sweden. The inhabitants of the newly conquered provinces, the Ingrians and the Karelians, were mainly Eastern Orthodox Christians. The Swedish king allowed them freedom of religion and did not require them to convert to Lutheranism, but from the point of view of the Church, it was very important to teach them the Lutheran religion. The solution was to send Lutheran priests to the area and replace the Eastern Orthodox bishop with a Lutheran one. Moreover, new Eastern Orthodox priests were not allowed to

16 Leonard Bygdén, *Hernösands stifts herdaminne. Bidrag till kännedomen om prästerskap och kyrkliga förhållanden till tiden omkring Luleå stifts utbrytning* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1923–6), pp. 128–9; Widén, *Kristendomsundervisning*, pp, 22–4; Qvigstad and Wiklund, *Bibliographie*, pp. 9–23; Henrysson, 'Samernas kristnande', p, 6. Forsgren, 'Böcker och språk', pp. 34, 36–8. The preparing of the religious literature in Sami languages continued still in later part of the seventeenth century. For example, Olaus Sirma translated the catechism by Johannes Gezelius the Elder, although the manuscript was published only in 1913 by Wiklund. See the Chapter 7 by Taarna Valtonen and Kati Kallio in this volume.

17 Mika Sivonen, 'Inkerin luterilainen kirkko Ruotsin vallan kautena 1611–1702', in Jouko Sihvo and Jyrki Paaskoski (eds.), *Inkerin kirkon neljä vuosisataa. Kansa, kulttuuri, identiteetti* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2015), pp. 18–23.

come from Russia and Eastern Orthodox Christians were told that Lutheranism was not very different from Eastern Orthodox faith.[18]

Petrus Bjugg, who was nominated as bishop of Vyborg in 1642, received an order from the Swedish government to direct Eastern Orthodox Christians towards Lutheranism with the help of suitable catechisms. In fact, two catechisms were published. The first was printed in Finnish using Cyrillic script and the other was printed in Russian using Latin script. The first Cyrillic printing no longer exists but a new edition, published in 1644, is still extant.[19] The catechism is known as Selow's Catechism, because it was printed by the Dutch type founder Peter van Selow, who in 1625 had established in Stockholm a printing press which included Cyrillic type. Transliteration into Cyrillic was by the translator Johannes Roselin. The model for the catechism was a Swedish catechism printed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but besides the Swedish texts, the translator used the texts of several Finnish catechisms in constructing the work.[20]

The people of Ingria and the province of Kexholm spoke the closely related Finnic languages: Ingrian (Izhorian), Votic and Karelian. These languages contained many indigenous and Russian features, but in the seventeenth century, people thought they were closer to Finnish than was actually the case. In the last decades of the seventeenth century, the superintendent (bishop) of Ingria, Johannes Gezelius the Younger (1681–1689), thought that the Ingrian people were in fact Finnish in origin, and had only moved to Russia. During the Ingrian war (1610–17), many Ingrian people had died or fled to Russia. After the Peace of Stolbovo many Finnish people, especially from the eastern parts

18 Martti Parvio, 'Suomalainen katekismus kyrillisin kirjaimin (1644) eli ns. van Selowin katekismus', in *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja, 75 (1985)*, pp. 43, 55; Kyösti Väänänen, *Herdaminne för Ingermanland, 1: Lutherska stiftsstyrelsen, församlingarnas prästerskap och skollärare i Ingermanland under svenska tiden* (Helsinki: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 1987), p. 17; Veijo Saloheimo, 'Inkerinmaan asutus ja väestö 1618–1700', in Pekka Nevalainen and Hannes Sihvo (eds.), *Inkeri. Historia, kansa, kulttuuri* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1991), p. 71; Sivonen, 'Inkerin luterilainen kirkko', p. 23.

19 *Katechismus, eli se christillinen oppi meiden uskon päe kappalegista nuorel ja yxikertaisel kansal sangen tarpellinen. Prentetty somenkelen* (Stockholm: Peter van Selow, 1644), USTC 252400; *Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets protokoll och meddelanden, Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran pöytäkirjat liitteineen, 1: 1892–1897* (Helsinki: Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundet, 1898), pp. 82–3; K. G. Leinberg, *Handlingar rörande Finska kyrkan och presterskapet 7 vols.* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä boktryckeri, 1898–1907), II, pp. 227, 229, 232; *Suomen kansallisbibliografia*, nos. 2053–5.

20 Parvio, 'Suomalainen katekismus', pp. 45–60; Mika Sivonen, *'Me inkerikot, vatjalaiset ja karjalaiset'. Uskonnollinen integrointi ja ortodoksisen vähemmistön identiteetin rakentuminen Ruotsin Inkerissä 1680–1702* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2007), p. 78.

of Finland, settled in Ingria and the province of Kexholm. These people were Lutheran by denomination.[21]

It is known that the Cyrillic Finnish catechism was much used in Ingria. The work was targeted at Eastern Orthodox priests, who were supposed to use it to teach Lutheranism to Eastern Orthodox Ingrians. In 1644, the same year as Selow's Catechism was published, the first superintendent of Ingria, Heinrich Stahl, reported that even in Eastern Orthodox parishes people knew the whole of Luther's Catechism and understood its contents. However, this is possibly too positive a statement about the knowledge of the common people. Certainly not all of them were willing to give up the Eastern Orthodox faith and resisted when Stahl confiscated their religious books. According to a royal recommendation, Eastern Orthodox priests were to be paid for preaching and giving teaching in Christianity. The idea was to keep Lutherans as well as Eastern Orthodox Christians in the Swedish realm in a state where Eastern Orthodox Christians were willing to flee to Russia and even Lutherans were interested in the Eastern Orthodox religion because Eastern Orthodox priests did not require as much knowledge of the Christian faith as Lutheran clergy did. The fear of flight was real – for example, almost 220 people fled to Russia in the year 1643 alone.[22]

4 Native Americans

During the seventeenth century, Sweden was one of the most powerful kingdoms in Europe, and engaged in colonial expansion. Sweden founded its own colony in North America, New Sweden, in Delaware, the first settlers reaching the mouth of the Delaware River in 1638. The colony was founded for the interests of the state as well as to conduct missionary work among Native

21 Saloheimo, 'Inkerinmaan asutus', pp. 68–71; Kyösti Väänänen, 'Kirkko Inkerinmaalla Ruotsin vallan aikana (n. 1581–1704)', in Pekka Nevalainen and Hannes Sihvo (eds.), *Inkeri. Historia, kansa, kulttuuri* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1991), p. 86; Sivonen, 'Inkerin luterilainen kirkko', pp. 21–2; Manja Lehto, 'Uhanalainen inkeroinen', *UHLCS* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 1998), http://www.ling.helsinki.fi/uhlcs/projects/databank/lehto/uhanalainen-inkeroinen.htm, accessed 1 August 2018.

22 Veijo Saloheimo, *Inkerinmaalta ja Käkisalmen läänistä paenneita vuosina 1618–1655* (Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto, 1999), pp. 4, 6–11. Pentti Laasonen, 'Bjugg, Petrus (1587–1655)' (18 July 2000), in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997–), http://www.kansallisbiografia.fi/kb/artikkeli/478, accessed 3 December 2015; Heininen, 'Vanha Viipurin hiippakunta', pp. 59–61; Laasonen, *Novgorodin imu*, pp. 21–2, 41, 52, 61; Sivonen, *Uskonnollinen integrointi*, p. 78; Sivonen, 'Inkerin luterilainen kirkko', pp. 21, 34, 38.

Americans. Although the colony was taken over by the Dutch in 1655, Swedish and Finnish people still inhabited the area and were granted permission to have their own government and Lutheran faith. Even after the English took over the colony in 1664, religious freedom was still extended to them.[23]

The relationships between the Swedes and the Lenape tribe who lived in the area of New Sweden were mostly friendly. At first, the tribe wanted to kill the Swedish newcomers, but when they found Swedish guns powerful, they changed the strategy and wished to be their friends. The Lenape were also interested in things the Swedish brought with them. Pastors tried to get them interested in the Lutheran faith as well, but without success. Several missionaries from different nations noted that a crucial reason for this unwillingness was the unchristian behaviour presented by Western people, especially the colonists. The Europeans did not live according to their own rules and regulations and this had an adverse effect on missionary work. Besides this, some missionaries merely tried to exploit the natives. They educated and prayed with them as long as the Native Americans had pelts to give them but when this ceased they lost interest. This change did not greatly bother the Swedes, however.[24]

The first Swedish missionary in the area was Johannes Jonae Holmiensis Campanius (1601–83), who came to New Sweden in 1642 and stayed there for six years. Although there were other priests, Campanius was the one who was most interested in learning the Lenape language and teach Christianity to the tribe. He prepared a manuscript for what became known as the Indian Catechism. It included Luther's *Small Catechism* with an introduction to the language of the Lenape tribe. The catechism manuscript, which was completed in 1646, was aimed at teaching Christianity to the Lenape. After that, Campanius began an evangelical tour in the towns of Native Americans, calling them to listen to the Gospel. Campanius was well-versed in languages, as many Swedish people in Virginia were at that time. He also knew other native languages spoken farther away from the colony. At the end of the Catechism proper and the Lord's Prayer, sections were attached in Native American and Carib languages taken from the Bibles and catechism published earlier. The introduction printed along with the catechism included many useful words,

23 Daniel Lindmark, *Ecclesia Plantanda. Swedishness in Colonial America* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2005), pp. 11, 142–3; Fur, *Colonialism*, pp. 88, 92–3.

24 Thomas Campanius Holm, *Kort Beskrifning Om Provincien Nya Swerige uti America, Som nu förtiden af the Engelske kallas Pensylvania. Af lärde och trowärdige Mäns skrifter och berättelser ihopaletad och sammanskrefwen, samt med åthskillige Figurere utzirad af Thomas Campanius Holm.* (Stockholm: Nils Wankijff (widow of), 1702; facs. edn, Stockholm: Rediviva, 1988), pp. 62–6, 124–5; Lindmark, 'Syndiga hedningar', pp. 211–13; Fur, *Colonialism*, p. 259.

for example God, heaven, time, weather, anatomical words, clothes, animals and plants. Besides these, there are phrases and very short discussions to help communication with the local people. These discussions handle daily things like coming and going, trade, fishing and hunting.[25]

The Indian Catechism was published in 1696 in Stockholm by the grandson of this missionary, Thomas Campanius Holm. It was published in two languages, Swedish and 'American', as Holm labelled it. 'American' means probably the language of the Lenape tribe. Thomas Campanius Holm never visited Pennsylvania himself, but uncovered his grandfather's notes and diaries and was interested in his father's and grandfather's history in America. He even published his grandfather's notes, adding facts taken from the later history of America. This book, entitled *Kort beskrifning om provincien Nya Swerige uti America* ('A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden in America'), was published in Stockholm in 1702.[26]

During the English rule there were two congregations, Christina in the south and Wicaco in the north. They had their own churches built in 1667 and 1677. In the beginning, the Swedish people did not have a priest of their own, and they depended on a German Lutheran minister for some years. Thereafter the Swede Jacob Young served in Wicaco as a parish clerk until 1686 and Lars Lokenius as a pastor in the southern congregation. However, Lokenius died in 1688. When even the German minister, Jacobus Fabritius, succumbed to blindness, the Swedish parishioners had to rely on lay priests, who could not service them with the sacraments. In the last years of the 1690s two Swedish ministers, Eric Biörck and Andreas Rudman, were appointed missionaries in the area by Archbishop Olaus Svebilius. They also brought a large amount of religious literature with them. Several new churches were built and religious literature was spread among the parishioners.[27]

When the American Swedes had a large number of basic religious literature in Swedish imported from Sweden, there were also 500 copies of the printed Swedish-Lenape catechism. The total print run of the edition had been

25 Martin Luther, *Lutheri Catechismus, Öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket* (Stockholm: Georg Gottlieb Burchardi, 1696), pp. 130–53, USTC 262337–262338; Teddy Brunius, 'Efterskrift', in Thomas Campanius Holm, *Kort Beskrifning Om Provincien Nya Swerige uti America* (Stockholm: Rediviva, 1988), p. 142; C. A. Weslager, *New Sweden on the Delaware: 1638–1655. A Special Edition for the Swedish-American Celebration* (Wilmington: The Middle Atlantic Press, 1988), p. 104; Lindmark, *Ecclesia Plantanda*, p. 143.

26 Brunius, 'Efterskrift', pp. 142–3.

27 Daniel Lindmark, *Reading, Writing and Schooling. Swedish Practices of Education and Literacy, 1650–1880* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2004), p. 124; Lindmark, *Ecclesia Plantanda,* pp. 11–12.

900 copies. There were two additional book shipments in 1697 and 1699. The Lenape catechism was included in both of them; in 1699 a hundred copies of it were sent to America, and most likely it was distributed among the Swedes.[28]

The catechism was targeted at the Swedes and Lenape tribe alike, but probably it was used mostly among the Swedes. As a bilingual book it was useful in the religious education of the Swedes, but it also had a great symbolic value. In a long preface, Sweden's presence in America was validated and the book consisted of many printed symbols, which told the American Swedes about their former homeland and the care shown by the Swedish king towards his American subjects. The Lenape tribe mostly left the area at the beginning of the eighteenth century and the linguistic value of the book was smaller than planned during the publication process.[29]

5 The Significance of the Catechisms for Sami, Orthodox Christians and Native Americans

The motivation for the mission to America was twofold – the Swedish realm was to be united and in this respect a common faith and confession were important. For the Lutheran church, a common faith was even more important, and as a consequence the Church emphasised the meaning of the Lutheran confession even more than the notion of secular power. For Lutherans, the catechism was the most important means to teach Christianity and was consequently among the first books printed for nations who did not yet follow the Lutheran faith. All the catechisms as well as the primers mentioned above were published in order to teach Christianity, but how might they have been used and for whom were they primarily published?

It is most likely that all the texts were written for priests and clergy, for in general, the common people were at that time largely illiterate. But additionally, these books were the first attempts to create a written form of Sami and the Native American languages spoken in the Swedish colony. Moreover, if they had been written for the common people, they would very likely have included the alphabet, but they did not. Only the Sami primers had an alphabet. Sami primers and the Lenape Catechism were printed in two languages, as were the Sami manuals. They were obviously designed for Swedish clergy who did not know Sami or Native American languages, but could read the texts with the help of the accompanying Swedish text. They could learn the languages

28 Lindmark, *Reading, Writing and Schooling*, pp. 126–9.
29 Lindmark, *Reading, Writing and Schooling*, pp. 134–5.

from the catechisms as well. The bilingual vocabulary at the end of the Indian Catechism supports this view, and of course the printed language has the effect of regularising the linguistic forms of these languages.

Vocabulary helped the Swedish people to communicate with the Lenape tribe over daily issues. However, the delay in the publication process changed the original target of the catechism. It was published only at the end of the seventeenth century, when almost all the Lenape were leaving or had already left the area and the Swedish congregation suffered from the lack of catechisms. The catechism became more a symbol of the Swedish crown and faith and an aid for teaching Christianity to the Swedes than a tool for communication and conversion of the Lenape tribe.

There was no Swedish text in the first Sami catechism from 1633; using it also required the officiating clergyman to know at least some Sami. But even this was not of great help, however, because the language of the catechism was so poor that the Sami people themselves did not understand it and a clergyman who knew Sami would probably not have used it because of its incomprehensibility.

Selow's Catechism was in Finnish in Cyrillic script. It is unlikely, however, that the Swedish or Finnish clergy sent to Ingria could read Cyrillic. The catechism must therefore have been primarily intended for Eastern Orthodox priests to teach the Lutheran faith, and they were indeed paid to teach this catechism to Eastern Orthodox Ingrians. How eager they were to do this, we do not know. According to contemporary sources, even Eastern Orthodox observers knew Luther's Catechism at that time and Selow's Catechism was frequently used in Ingria. This is, however, quite difficult to believe. Eastern Orthodox priests generally knew little Finnish and without the knowledge of the language, it was hard to use Selow's Catechism in teaching with any great success. It is possible that superintendents Heinrich Stahl and Johannes Gezelius the Younger wanted to stress the results of making the Ingrian people Lutheran and consequently gave exaggeratedly positive reports on the confessional state and knowledge of Lutheran Christianity in the area.

In the missionary work of the Swedish church in the seventeenth century, many challenges came together at the same time. One of the hardest was difference in languages, which made it difficult to communicate with the local people directly. As we have seen above, several attempts were made to make communication easier by publishing catechisms in local languages. Unfortunately, though, many of the publications were of poor quality, owing to translations that were not comprehensible to the local people. The other challenge was to make the Lutheran faith so inviting that the indigenous population would adopt it in place of their own rituals and habits. Here too the level of success was far from satisfactory.

Appendix 6.1. Catechisms and Publications with Catechetical Texts Mentioned in This Chapter

Ericus Erici Sorolainen
Wähä catechismus, erinomaisten kysymisten ja wastausten cansa, vlgoswedety Suomen kielen catechismuxesta, ensistä oppiwaisten tähden. Ericus Erici episc. Aboënsis. – Präntätty Stockholmis: Ignatius Meurerildä, anno 1629 – [120] p.; 12:o.

A–E12. – In Finnish. – The first edition was published probably in 1614.

Finno, Jacobus Petri
Catechismus eli sen christilisen opin pää cappalet, lyhykäisen vluos [*!*] *toimituxen cansa, yxikertaisil inhimisil sangen tarpelinen. Mutta nytt toisen kerran wastwdest.* – Stockholmin caupungis präntätty: Christ: Reusnerildä, sinä 1615 wuona, jälken Christuxen syndymän. – [72] p.; 8:o.

A–D8 E 4. – In Finnish.

Gezelius, Johannes the Elder
Ett rätt barna-klenodium är I. ABC-boken. II. Catechismus. III. Spörsmålen. IV. Skrifftenes språk. – Åbo: tryckt aff Peter Hansson, åhr 1666. – [104] p.; 8:o.

π1, A7 B–F8 G4. – In Swedish.

Gezelius, Johannes the Elder
Yxi lasten paras tavara on I. ABC kirja. II. Catechismus. III. Kysymyxet. IV. P. Raamatun erinomaiset opetus sanat. – Turusa: prändätty Petar Hannuxen pojalda, wuona 1666. – [96] p.; 8:o.

A–F8. – In Finnish.

Katechismus, eli se christillinen oppi meiden uskon päe kappalegista nuorel ja yxikertaisel kansal sangen tarpellinen. Prentetty somenkelen. – Stukkolmis: Peter Fanselaulda, 1644 vuona jälken Chirstuxen syndimen. – [88] p.; 8:o.

A–E8 F4. – *Text in Finnish with Slavonic script. 2. edition?*

Luther, Martin
Catechimus [*!*] *Se on christilisen opin pääcappaleet, d. Martinus Lutherin vlostoimituxen cansa, soomen kielen tulkitut. Lyhykäisen esipuheen cansa, iosa yxikertaisesta tiettäväxi tehdän, quinga itze cukin christitty, hänens swren hödytyxen cansa ioca päivä Catechismuxessa harioitta machta. Simonis Iohannis Carelij culutuxel vlos käynyt, ia* – Prentätty Rostokissa: Staffan Mylly mieheldä, Vååna Christuxen syndymän jälken, 1607. – [72] p.; 12:o.

A–C12. – In Finnish. – Printing year in Roman numerals.

Luther, Martin
D. Martinus Lutheruxen Catechismus se suurembi hänen cuningallisen Maij:tins cuningas Carlein, sen XI. Ruotzin, Göthein, ja Wendein, etc. etc. suurwoimallisimman cuningan ja herran armollisimman käskystä, ja culutuxella. Suomexi käätty â Jacobo Raumanno pastore & praeposito in Birckala. – Turusa: Prändätty Johann Winterildä, anno 1674. – [16], 240 p.; 4:o.

a–b4, A–2G4. – In Finnish.

Luther, Martin
Lutheri Catechismus, Öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket. – Stockholm: tryckt vthi thet af Kongl. Maytz. privileg. Burchardi tryckeri, af J. J. Genath, f. anno M DC XCVI (1696). – 16, [160] p; 8:o.

1 leaf, a8, A–K8. – Instructions in Swedish, the catechetical texts in 'American' (probably the language of Lenape tribe).

Luther, Martin
Same nolmay [*sic*] *catechesis, thet är, wår christeligha hufwud stycken, eller troos articklar medh s.d. Luth. förklarning vppå lappespråk förwendt och aff then edle och wälborne herre, her Johan Skytte, frijherre til Duderoff, herre til Grönsööö, Strömsrum och Elffwesiö, riddare, Sweriges rijkes rådh och general gubernator i Liffland och Ingermanneland, laghman öffuer Norre Finland, sampt Vbsala Academiae cantzler, etc. Bestelt til at tryckias medh eghen omkostnadt. Procurante, O. P. N.*

– Stockholm: [Ignatius Meurer], anno M DC XXX III (1633). – [40] p.; 8:o.

A–B8 C4. – In Sami. – Printer from the database Libris.

Rehn, Nicolaus Andreae
ABCbook på lappesko tungomål, / stält och reformerat aff Nicolao Andreæ. – Stockholm: [Ignatius Meurer], 1619.

Rehn, Nicolaus Andreae
En lijten sångebook, huruledes messan skal hållas, läsas, eller siungas, på lappesko, stält och sammansatt aff Nicolao Andreæ pastore in Pitha. – Tryckt i Stockholm: hoos Ignatium Meurer, åhr 1619. – 20, [76] p.; 4:o.

a–b4 c2, A–I4 K2. – Texts in Sami, instructions in Swedish.

Svebilius, Olaus
Enfaldig förklaring öfwer Lutheri lilla catechismum, stält genom spörsmåhl och swar. – Upsala: Tryckt af Henrich Keyser, Kongl. M. och Acad. boktr., åhr 1689. – (1) 2–104 p.; 12:o.

(1) leaf,)(2, a12 b6.

Tornaeus, Johannes
Manuale Lapponicum. Tat lie: braude-kiefe-kirieg joite mij adnestop, nabmatom: I. Konuk Dawidin psaltar. II. Salomoni pakowaijase. III. Salomoni sarnotee. IV. Jesus Syrachin kirie. V. Cathechesis D. M. L. tain kåte-pakatusin. VI. Ahte utza kircko-ordnik. VII. Ewangelia ia epistoleg, collectae ia rockolwasa färte sodnopäiwin ia passe päiwin pirra jäge. VIII. Christusen pijdnen historia. IX. Jerusalemi häwätemen pirra. X. Ahte utza psalm-kirie. XI. Ahte utza råckolwas-kirie. Mijen armokas råttik buda manga, tackatom same-kiel, ja sinun Maijestetin rudoin trycketom. – Stockholmis: Henrich Keyser ludni, tan jägen 1648. – (32), 1–259 p.; 1–62 p.; 1–22 (1) p.; 1–112 p.; (3) 4–52 p.; (2) 3–192 (eg: 214) p.; (1) 2–41 (1) p.; (1) 2–131 (9) p.; (1) 2–48 p.; 8:o.

a–b8, A–2Y8 Z4 3A–3D4 E2, A–L8 M6. – In Sami.

CHAPTER 7

Olaus Sirma: Sami Poetics and Clerical Networks in Early-Modern Swedish Lapland

Taarna Valtonen and Kati Kallio

The two songs by the Kemi Sami Olaus Sirma (*c.*1655–1719), published in the famous book *Lapponia* by the professor and antiquarian Johannes Schefferus in 1673, are the first well-known examples of long Sami poetry.[1] *Lapponia* was translated into several languages, and the poems also circulated as separate translations and adaptations, first in the periodical *The Spectator* in 1712 and later in versions by Herder, Goethe, Longfellow and others.[2] Reception as proof of 'natural tenderness of sentiment' of uncivilised people changed when, in 1890, it came to light that Sirma was not a random 'Lapp' that Schefferus found in the wilderness, but a student at the University of Uppsala and a priest-to-be.[3] This led to two parallel processes: questioning the authenticity of these songs as oral tradition, and finding out who actually this Sami student was.[4] Yet these processes were tied to a dualistic understanding of relationships of oral and literary cultures, and to stereotypical evaluations of seventeenth-century sources and ethnic minorities.

1 The writing of this article has been possible thanks to funding granted by the Research Council of Finland (projects n:o 308882, and 349818 (Valtonen); 288119, 308381, and 346342 (Kallio)) and Kone Foundation (Valtonen).

2 István Átányi, 'Kahden vanhimman tunnetun lappalaisen runon vaikutus maailmankirjallisuuteen', *Virittäjä,* 45 (1941), pp. 110–22; Andreas F. Kelletat, '"Brautlied – Kulnasadž, mein Ren". Übersetzungen und Nachdichtungen lappischer Juoiks', *Trajekt*, 2 (1982), pp. 107–47.

3 Hugh Blair, 'Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian', in James Macpherson, *The Poems of Ossian*, II (Edinburgh: J. Mundell, 1796); E. N. Setälä, 'Lappische lieder aus dem XVII:ten jahrhundert', *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja*, VIII (1890), pp. 105–18; see also Erkki Itkonen, 'Olaus Sirman kotiseudusta ja kielestä', *Virittäjä*, 44 (1940), pp. 334–49.

4 Raija Bartens, 'Olaus Sirma: kansanrunon välittäjä vai saamelaisen taiderunon ensimmäinen edustaja', *Virittäjä*, 96 (1992), pp. 214–15; Howard Gaskill, 'Herder, Ossian and the Celtic', *Studia imagologica*, 8 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 263–4; Tore Wretö, *Folkvisans upptäckare. Receptionsstudier från Montaigne och Schefferus till Herder* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1984), pp. 34–6. For examples see, Isak Fellman, *Handlingar och uppsatser angående Finska Lappmarken och lapparne, I–II* (Helsingfors: Finska litteratursällskapet, 1910), pp. I:174–6, 187–90, 445–8; II:27–8; Itkonen, 'Olaus Sirman kotiseudusta'; Wretö, *Folkvisans upptäckare*, pp. 25–6.

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Our aim is to analyse the poetic reception, personal networks and wider historical context in relation to the later reputation of Olaus Sirma. After giving an overall context of the changing administrative status of early-modern Lapland, we begin by concentrating on the ways Sirma is presented in *Lapponia* and in the historical reception of the two Sami poems, also setting these songs in a comparative perspective. The main part of the chapter discusses Sirma's personal history and local networks: besides later oral history, a surprising number of official documents relating to him remain, partly published by Isak Fellman, with more of them investigated and copied in the personal archives of K. B. Wiklund and Erik Nordberg during the early twentieth century.[5]

The Sami are an indigenous people living in Scandinavia, northern Finland and the Russian Kola peninsula, speaking several Sami languages. Olaus Sirma's native tongue belonged to a dialect continuum nowadays called Kemi Sami that was spoken in the central and southern parts of present-day Finnish Lapland and in the regions west of the White Sea in the Murmansk *oblast*, and the Republic of Karelia in present-day Russia. Only a few texts exist in Kemi Sami, as the speakers became gradually assimilated with Finnish-speaking settlers, with only a few speakers left by the beginning of the nineteenth century.[6]

Although often represented as wild nomads, the Sami living in the southern and central parts of Norway and Sweden had their first contacts with Christianity as early as the eleventh century through Scandinavians living in the neighbouring regions. At least since the fourteenth century, Christianity and indigenous religions of the Sami were intertwined into a syncretic practice with several regional subvariants. Yet the conversion to full Christianity was slow and ended only around the 1750s. As early as 1388, individual Sami started to demand the teaching of Christianity amongst their people, and since the 1550s the lack of sufficient ecclesiastical services was evident.[7]

5 Fellman: *Handlingar*; Erik Nordberg, 'Kapellanen Olof Sirma i Enontekis', Universitetsbiblioteket, Umeå, Forskningsarkivet, Handskrift 25, *Kyrkoherde Erik Nordbergs arkiv*, Volym 25:2:k (1973; publ. September 2011), www.foark.umu.se/sites/default/files/arkiv/25/sefoark2502k.pdf, (hereafter: UåUB N25); K. B. Wiklund, 'Olaus Sirma och Rounala kyrka', Universitetsbibliotek, Uppsala, Handskrifter, *Professor K. B. Wiklunds arkiv* 70: G 3, W30, 1934/50 96 bl. (hereafter: UUB W70).

6 Pekka Sammallahti, 'Olaus Sirma: Kulnasatz niråsam', in Vesa Guttorm (ed.), *Giellačállosat* III (Guovdageaidnu: Sámi instituhtta, 1998), p. 84; Pekka Sammallahti, *The Saami Languages. An Introduction* (Kárášjohka: Davvi Girji, 1998), pp. 5–38, esp. 26.

7 Fellman, *Handlingar*, II: 3–17; Bo Lundmark, 'Medeltida vittnesbörd om samerna och den katolska kyrkan', in Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En vetenskaplig antologi*, 1 (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma, 2016), pp. 222–6, 229–33; see also Ritva Kylli, *Saamelaisten kaksi kääntymystä.*

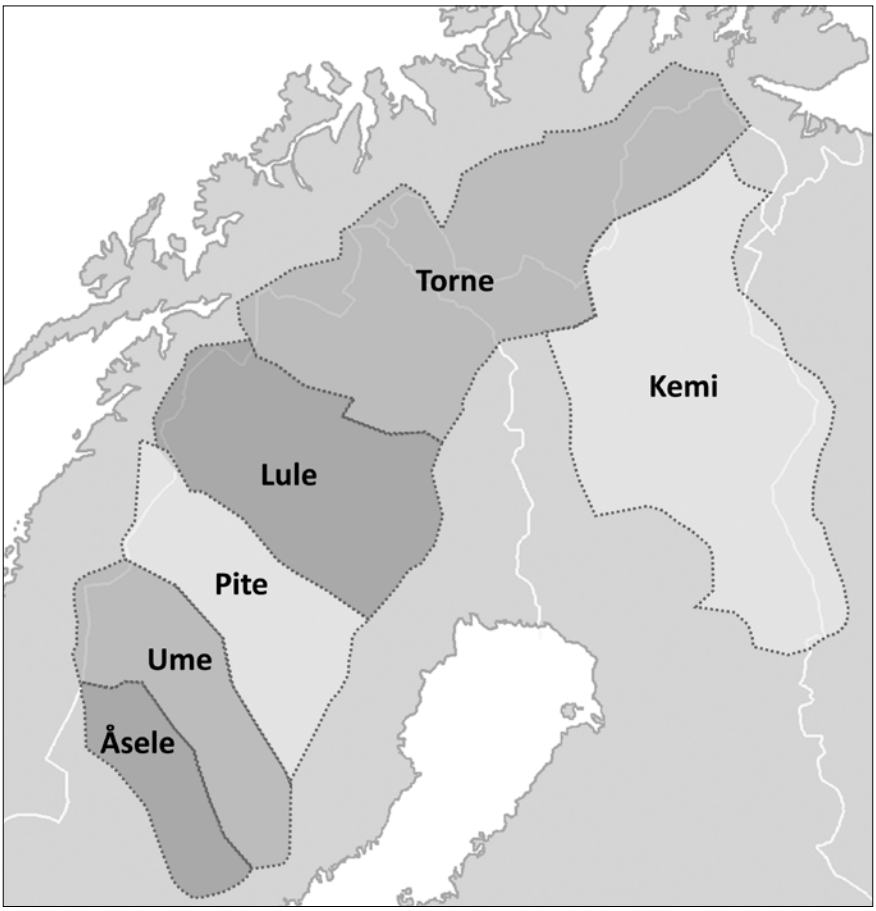
1 Politics, Ideologies and Personal Networks in Educating the North

The process that led Sirma from being an uneducated native to a highly educated clergyman reflects the political and ideological development by the church and crown of more effective administrative, ecclesiastical and economic control over the northern districts and of education for all the population in the spirit of strict Lutheran exegesis. The Swedish crown had a growing interest in claiming Lapland and even Finnmark as part of the kingdom. The governmental status of the northernmost regions of Scandinavia was undefined up until the treaty of Teusina in 1595 with Russia and the treaty of Strömstad in 1751 with Denmark. Here, the Sami population had a central role: the kingdom they chose would claim their lands. Thus, they were treated with respect and their wishes were taken seriously, and the Sami, accordingly, used their position to their own advantage.[8]

The Swedish kings Gustav Vasa (reigning 1523–60) and his son Duke Karl, later King Karl IX (reigned 1599/1604–11) shared an interest in developing Lapland. They reorganised the administration, trading politics and taxation of the region. In order to establish crown authority in Lapland, Karl IX imposed a rule that all trading with Sami should be done during given days at new marketplaces that he founded in each of the Lappmarks. He also ordered that new churches should be erected at the marketplaces and special Lappmark's priests should be nominated to lead the new congregations. One of these new marketplaces established during the reign of Karl IX was Markkina (in Finnish, Márkan in North Sami; literally: 'marketplace') in Enontekiö, where the first church was built as the centre of Torne Lappmark in 1606–7, followed by four

Uskonnon muuttuminen Utsjoen ja Enontekiön lapinmailla 1602–1905 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2012), pp. 25–133.

8 Bjørn Aarseth, 'Grenseoppgjørene og konsekvensene av disse for den nordsamiske bosetting i Norge', in Bjørn Aarseth (ed.), *Grenser in Sameland* (Oslo: Norske Folkemuseum, 1989), pp. 53, 55–6; Roger Kvist, 'Myten om samerna och alkoholen', *Spiritus*, 6 (2004), pp. 4; Sven Ingemar Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Gustaf Vasa och hans söner', in Gunnar Westin and Sven Ingemar Olofsson (eds.), *Övre Norrlands historia, I: Tiden till 1600* (Umeå: Norrbottens och Västerbottens läns landsting, 1962), pp. 361–2, 427–8; Sven Ingemar Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Carl IX och Gustaf II Adolf', in Gunnar Westin, Sven Ingemar Olofsson, and Åke Stille (eds.), *Övre Norrlands historia, II: Tiden till 1600–1721* (Umeå: Norrbottens och Västerbottens läns landsting, 1965), pp. 23–6; 30–8, 41–5, 279–83; Siv Rasmussen, 'Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid', in Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En vetenskaplig antologi. Band I* (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma, 2016), pp. 287–8; Åke Stille, 'Övre Norrlands administrativa historia', in Gunnar Westin, Sven Ingemar Olofsson, and Åke Stille (eds.), *Övre Norrlands Historia, II*: *Tiden till 1600–1721* (*Umeå: Norrbottens och Västerbottens läns landsting*, 1965), pp. 334, 346, 355.



MAP 7.1 Seventeenth century Swedish Lappmarks with modern state borders for comparison. Map: Taarna Valtonen and Mikael Manninen

other churches for adjacent Lappmarks. Markkina would be Sirma's first posting. The role of the priests was to disseminate God's word but also to form a basic administrative structure, drawing Swedish and Finnish settlers to the region traditionally inhabited by the Sami only.[9]

Gustav II Adolf (reigned 1611–32) continued economical, administrative and ecclesiastical reforms which aimed to develop the northern regions to meet the same standards as other parts of the country.[10] The high officials of Stockholm,

9 Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Gustaf Vasa', pp. 430, 516; Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Carl IX', pp. 5–9, 33–8, 43–4.

10 Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Carl IX', pp. 250–3.

such as Johan Skytte (1577–1645), a member of the state council, the Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654) and the Lord High Chancellor Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (1622–86), all with a personal interest in Lapland, started to oversee the development of the Swedish north. From 1638, the most important link between local agents of the north and Stockholm were the governors of the new provinces of Västerbotten and Österbotten.[11]

Gustav II Adolf initiated the reorganisation of the Sami congregations in 1614, since the Lapland congregations founded by Karl IX had turned out to be a failure: Swedish priests were unwilling to live alongside their congregations and, consequently, visited the Sami only once a year.[12] The priests were meant to be an efficient way to stabilise the crown's authority and ecclesiastical teaching in Lapland. They were the only representatives of the bureaucratic machinery that were supposed to stay in Lapland all year round. One way to actually make them stay would be educating Sami priests. In 1617, Gustav II Adolf ordered Nils Andreae, the parson of Piteå, to start a Sami school. In 1632 the school was moved to Lycksele in Ume Lappmark, and renamed after its new sponsor, Johan Skytte, 'Skytteanska skola' (Skyttean school).[13] This started the process of educating Sami-speaking priests and catechists, a process which was most active from 1630 to 1710.[14]

Sirma's recruitment evidently took place in connection with this process. The students of Lycksele school came from the western Sami *siidas* (villages) and, in addition to their native languages, spoke Swedish. However, in Torne Lappmark there was a need for priests that could speak Sami and Finnish, since the settlers of the region were mainly Finnish-speaking, but the Sami knew little Finnish. This is why Sirma, a Kemi Sami who knew both languages, was suited to the job.[15] We do not know whether his university education was funded to fulfil this need in the planned Jukkasjärvi congregation or if the fortunate timing was just a coincidence.

Johan Graan was the governor of the northern provinces (during 1653–79) and the planner and executor of the re-establishment of the network of Lapland congregations in the 1670s.[16] He recommended Sirma to the superintendent

11 Ibid., pp. 225, 251, 279, 318–19.

12 Ibid., pp. 195, 210, 277, 279.

13 Ibid., pp. 279–80.

14 Rasmussen, 'Samiske prester', pp. 287–8.

15 Fellman, *Handlingar*, II: 189–90; UUB W70. Even though Sirma's native language Kemi Sami and North Sami spoken in Enontekiö are regarded as different languages, they were most probably mutually intelligible during seventeenth century or at least it was easy for a native speaker to learn the differences (see e.g. Wiklund, 'En kemilapsk text från år 1716', *Le Monde Oriental*, VII (1913), pp. 43–4).

16 Stille, 'Övre Norrlands administrativa historia', p. 334.

(later bishop), Petrus Steuchius.[17] Steuchius was the first leader of the new northern superintendenture (*superintendentia*), later diocese of Härnosand, who directed Christian activity in the northernmost parts of present-day Sweden, and Finnmark. He was also a former court preacher of Queen Kristina (reigned 1632–54), known to be a great advocate for education, and had learned to speak Finnish and Sami in order to be in contact with the ordinary people.[18] Steuchius or Graan, or both, contacted High Chancellor Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, who wrote recommendations to the headmaster of the University of Uppsala in October 1671.[19] This network of highly influential men ensured Sirma became a priest, but, after Sirma left Uppsala, the network dissolved: Schefferus and Graan both died in 1679 and de la Gardie soon after in 1686, having lost most of his power already by 1680. The Steuchiuses, the father Petrus followed by his son Matthias, were Sirma's superiors until 1695.[20]

2 Schefferus' *Lapponia* and Sirma as an Ethnographic Source

In February of 1671, High Chancellor Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie sent a request to the Swedish Council of Antiquities (in Swedish *Antikvitetskollegiet*, Latin *Collegium antiquitatis*), asking someone to write about 'the life and customs of the Sami'. The most important motivation for the book seems to have been the rumours circulating in Europe that Swedes were exploiting Sami sorcery and magic to win their glorious European battlefield victories. Sami sorcery had been a widely known theme since the publication of the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* by Olaus Magnus (1555) and was mentioned already in the medieval *Historia Norwegiae*. The assignment was taken by Johannes Schefferus (1621–79), known as a diligent follower of source criticism acquired through classical philology.[21]

17 According to K. B. Wiklund, in Leonard Bygdén, *Hernösands stifts herdaminne. Bidrag till kännedomen om prästerskap och kyrkliga förhållanden till tiden omkring Luleå stifts utbrytning, II* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1923), p. 52.

18 Jan Samuelson, 'Matthias Steuchius' (21 October 2014), in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon, 33* (Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 2007–11), https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/20156.

19 UåUB N25.

20 UUB W70; UåUB N25.

21 Anders Burius, 'Johannes Schefferus', in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon, 31* (Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 2000–2), sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/6376; Phebe Fjellström, 'Företal', in Phebe Fjellström and Israel Ruong (eds.), *Berättelser om Samerna i 1600-talets Sverige* (Umeå: Skytteanska Samfundet, 1983), p. V; Bengt Löw, 'Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia', in Johannes Schefferus, *Lappland*, ed. John Granlund etc. (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell 1956), pp. 10, 12–13.

Schefferus was a highly renowned scholar of German origin, who became a professor at the University of Uppsala, invited to the country by Queen Kristina in 1648. He was also an assessor of the first Swedish Council of Antiquities, established in 1666 with the blessing of de la Gardie. Schefferus is known as the first internationally recognised Swedish philologist, as the father of Swedish literary history and as the writer of many normative handbooks of the era. In his house and under his personal supervision studied many young men of high nobility, amongst them de la Gardie's sons, and his networks amongst European scholars were wide.[22]

Schefferus set to work immediately in the spring of 1671. He worked fast, as was his habit, and maintained throughout the writing process a lively correspondence with several informants and supporters. As soon as January 1672, Schefferus reported that his work was almost done. In the spring of that year the whole book was ready to be sent to Frankfurt am Main for printing; this was completed by the autumn of 1673, but it took until the beginning of the following year before the cover picture was ready.[23]

Schefferus never visited Lapland himself, but based his work on earlier published sources, such as the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, which he scrutinised with a good deal of critical scepticism. He also studied artefact collections. The most important source materials were, however, the accounts written by the priests living in Lapland and the correspondence with other experts of the region, such as the future superintendent of Härnosand, Matthias Steuchius, who was a former student of Schefferus, the son and follower of the superintendent Petrus Steuchius. The networks of High Chancellor de la Gardie were used in order to reach important sources. Here, the key intermediary was the governor of the provinces of Västerbotten and Österbotten, Johan Graan, who every year visited all the Sami marketplaces in Ume, Pite, Lule and Torne Lappmarks, and sometimes also Kemi Lappmark, and knew all the important local agents. He was, in addition, a highly educated man and a Sami himself: his father was the first Sami priest in Sweden, Gerhardus Jonae (*c*.1555–1623). It is not a great surprise that the same people that made Sirma a priest pop up when *Lapponia* was being created and its contents collected: the group of high-ranking Lapland enthusiasts was small.[24]

22 Burius, 'Johannes Schefferus'; Löw, 'Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia', pp. 9–11.

23 Löw, 'Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia', pp. 13–14, 20.

24 Fjellström, 'Företal', pp. v–xi; Löw, 'Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia', pp. 14–18; Samuelson, 'Matthias Steuchius'; Stille, 'Övre Norrlands administrativa historia', p. 329; UUB S163; UUB W70.

FIGURE 7.1 Title page of *Lapponia* by Johannes Schefferus (1673)
UPPSALA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

In addition to various written sources, Schefferus took advantage of the chance to interview the Kemi Sami student Olaus Sirma straight after he had arrived in Uppsala at the beginning of 1672. Schefferus was probably notified of his arrival in the city by Sirma's referee, de la Gardie. In the book itself, Schefferus was meticulous in making his sources explicit. He listed these by

name after the preface – both printed and unpublished, and oral. 'O. Matthiae Sirma Lappo' is listed alongside Swedish priests, contemporary scholars, Saxo Grammaticus, Adam of Bremen, Tacitus and others. In addition to Sirma, Schefferus got a written description from one other Sami: a Lule Sami called Spirri Nils (falsely 'Spirtzi Nils Lappo' in *Lapponia*'s 1673 source listing) and interviewed random Sami attending the Uppsala market fair.[25]

Sirma contributed to many parts of *Lapponia*, and Schefferus mentions him several times as a source.[26] He also mentions Sirma as being present while he wrote the book, making explicit he had the learned student, first-hand Sami informant present, thus giving additional credibility to his work.[27] Schefferus seems to treat Sirma's contribution in similar ways and with similar words to those of corresponding priests.[28] For Schefferus, he did not represent an anonymous, collective or primitive source. The respect for the knowledge of Sami informants in general is shown when Schefferus refers to anonymous Sami informants in order to confirm some details given in second-hand sources.[29]

Although, during the following centuries, the ancient past was romantically projected onto peasant folklore, minorities, and national frontiers, Schefferus was, evidently, not searching for any ancient Sami past or romantic folk poetry but describing the current geographical and ethnographical situation for contemporary audiences.[30] However, his work was consistent with seventeenth-century Swedish historiography. While Swedes were commonly depicted as a glorious ancient civilisation retaining martial ethics and the original knowledge of literacy in runes, Schefferus' description of Sami people follows a common pattern of the time, interpreting them as timid and

25 Johannes Schefferus, *Joannis Schefferi Argentoratensis Lapponia, id est, Regionis Lapponum et gentis nova et verissima descriptio. In qua multa de origine, superstitione, sacris magicis, victu, cultu, negotiis Lapponum, item animalium, metallorumque indole quae in terris eorum proveniunt, hactenus incognita. Produntur,* [*et*] *eiconibus adjectis cum cura illustrantur* (Frankfurt: Christian Wolff, 1673), USTC 2665322, http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2010-00003187, preface and pp. 110–11; see also Löw, 'Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia', pp. 15–16, 19; K. B. Wiklund, 'En kemilapsk text', pp. 43–4.

26 Schefferus, *Lapponia*, p. 292, see also pp. 196, 227, 235–9, 278, 245, 280–2, 284.

27 '… ut me docuit Olaus Matthiæ Gentis Lapponicæ apud nos, dum ista scribo, Studiosus' (Schefferus, *Lapponia*, p. 227).

28 E.g., Schefferus, *Lapponia*, pp. 280–1.

29 E.g., Schefferus, *Lapponia*, p. 272; see also Löw, 'Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia', pp. 15–16.

30 On later folklore collecting, see Richard Bauman, and Charles L. Briggs, *Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997); on Schefferus in particular, see also Löw, 'Johannes Schefferus och hans Lapponia'.

peaceful people not able to survive for long when away from their homelands.[31] Antiquarian and historiographical interest concentrated on tangible remains of central and southern Sweden with its rune stones and ancient burial mounds. In this approach, Sami and Finnish minorities were regarded as others, with no ancient tangible or military past, although Finns were considered as part of the common state and ecclesiastical history from the Middle Ages on.[32] The rise of Sweden to become a major northern power took place both on the European battlefields and, as Schefferus appraises in the preface to *Lapponia*, at the hands of scholars and historians.

3 Two Love Songs in Literary History and in Comparative Perspective

In *Lapponia*, most short mentions of traditional Sami singing, often called joiking appear in the chapters describing indigenous religion, and they are labelled pagan practices. Schefferus did not deny the existence of witchcraft, although he explained there were no Sami involved in Swedish warfare.[33] The two love songs *Kulnasatz* and *Morse faurog* by Sirma, in contrast, occur in the part that describes Sami courtship and marriage, with no religious or mythological overtones. The two poems are presented as common traditional songs of young Kemi Sami men; Schefferus says Sirma had notified him about them and given him the texts.[34] Sirma is presented as a Sami provider of traditional, current Sami songs, but not explicitly as a performer or composer of the songs. The poems might have been an unexpected by-product during a routine inquiry from a good informant, or even brought up at Sirma's own initiative. On the other hand, the habits and singing relating to courtship and marriage were themes that the early-modern descriptions of the Estonian region also mentioned, suggesting this was a relevant and appealing way to illustrate historical and geographical works.[35]

In the English (1674), German (1675), French (1678) and Dutch (1682) translations, *Lapponia* quickly spread around Europe. In the original Latin version, Schefferus printed the Sami poems *Kulnasatz* and *Morse faurog* verse by verse,

31 Schefferus, *Lapponia*, preface; see also Kvist, 'Myten om samerna', p. 3.

32 Johanna Widenberg, *Fäderneslandets antikviteter: etnoterritoriella historiebruk och integrationssträvanden i den svenska statsmaktens antikvariska verksamhet ca 1600–1720* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2006), pp. 226–8, 237–8.

33 Schefferus, *Lapponia*, preface.

34 Schefferus, *Lapponia*, pp. 282–3: 'communicatum mihi ab Olao Matthia Lappone', 'quam ab codem Olao acceptam'.

35 Eduard Laugaste, *Eesti rahvaluule* (Tallinn: Valgus, 1975), pp. 94–104.

followed by Latin translations in prose, with occasional rhythmic and rhyming elements. The two poems appeared also as separate translations and adaptations, starting from the versions in the popular periodical *The Spectator* in 1712. Hugh Blair wrote about the poems in an accompanying essay to James Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian* in 1796, translations of the poems were presented by Johann Gottfried von Herder, and adaptations by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Henry Longfellow and others; all this was tightly connected to the evolving romanticism and folk-song enthusiasm.[36]

In their early reception, *The Spectator* and Blair treated the songs as examples of anonymous, exotic Sami tradition:

> Surely among the wild Laplanders, if any where, barbarity is in its most perfect state. Yet their lovesongs, which Scheffer has given us in his Lapponia, are a proof that natural tenderness of sentiment may be found in a country, into which the least glimmering of science has never penetrated.[37]

Herder simply cites directly a descriptive passage from Schefferus on the use and variation of *Morse faurog*, with no indication on the provider of the poems.[38] In this reception, Sirma, it seems, was understood either as an insignificant mediator or as anonymous representative of these sentimental yet barbaric Laplanders. In fact, the interpretations have been strongly influenced by an accidental detail. The Sami version of the *Kulnasatz* ends by asking a reindeer if it could already see the eyes of the beloved. In his translation into Swedish, Sirma highlighted the structure of rhyming couplets, and thus translated the last verse, following the rhyming structure, as 'Kulnasatze min waij seer för tig / sij om tu seer henne twättä sig' ('Kulnasatze my dear doe / watch if you see her wash herself').[39] Schefferus translated this verse into his Latin prose version as such. This gave a much more erotic and daring tone to the discreet original, distorting the interpretations made on the basis of the translations.

During the nineteenth century, the fabricated origins of *The Poems of Ossian* became a scandal that forced all producers of folk-song collections and epics to demonstrate the authenticity of their work and sources.[40] In this context,

36 Átányi, 'Kahden vanhimman tunnetun'; Bartens, 'Olaus Sirma'; Kelletat, 'Brautlied'; Wretö, *Folkvisans upptäckare*.

37 Blair, 'Critical Dissertation', p. 279.

38 Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Johann Gottfried von Herders Werke, 1: Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (Uppsala: Em. Bruzelius, 1815), p. 62.

39 UUB S163.

40 Bendix, *In search of Authenticity*.

the Finnish scholar E. N. Setälä found the original manuscripts of Sirma's songs in the archives of the library of the University of Uppsala in 1888, and understood that the poems were not collected from some illiterate singer or 'one of Schefferus' Lapps', as understood earlier.[41] Instead, the source was an educated Sami student and future priest.[42]

After this the poems were read with more critical appraisal: were they literary fabrications or inventions by Sirma himself? Why are they so different from famous North Sami *joiks* (*luohti*), which are characterised by very short, almost cryptic text, series of linguistically meaningless one-syllable words and symbolic musical expression? Were the poems inauthentic, or had *joik* degenerated from ancient longer texts? Kemi Sami poems were hence associated with very different North Sami *joiks* that many scholars misinterpreted as the master music genre of all the Sami cultures.[43] This assumption is an example of the stereotypes that hinder the recognition of linguistic and cultural variation among minority groups: in reality the North Sami have various different traditional and regional musical genres and other Sami groups have spectra of their own.[44] A more balanced analysis was presented in 1992 by Raija Barthens, comparing the poems with later Skolt Sami songs (*leu'dd*) and other oral traditions, yet acknowledging the likelihood of literary influences.[45]

In contemporary understanding, the borderline between oral and literary, or folk and elite cultures is a messy and blurred one, and may vary greatly according to local, historical and individual contexts. As demonstrated by Peter Burke, the educated elite may share some parts of popular culture, and may

41 R. Bergström, 'Spring min snälla ren', *Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen* 5/4 (1885), p. 2.

42 Setälä, 'Lappische lieder'.

43 For example, Itkonen, 'Olaus Sirman kotiseudusta', p. 335; Erkki Itkonen, 'Lappalainen kansanrunous', in *Suomen kirjallisuus*, 1: *Kirjoittamaton kirjallisuus* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1963), pp. 525–569, repr. *Lappalainen kansanrunous* (Helsinki: Lapin Sivistysseura, 1963), p. 542; see also Wretö, *Folkvisans upptäckare*, pp. 34–5; and even for many twentieth-century Sami scholars such as Nils-Øivind Helander and Harald Gaski, *Čálli giehta ollá guhkás. Sámi girjjálašvuođa birra. En skrivende hånd når langt. Om samisk litteratur* (Kárášjohka: Davvi media, 1989), p. 22; Vuokko Hirvonen, *Sydämeni palava. Johdatus saamelaiseen joiku- ja kertomusperinteeseen, taiteeseen ja kirjallisuuteen* (Oulu: University of Oulu, 1995), p. 11; for more neutral approach by Sami scholars see, for example, Samuli Aikio, Erkki Itkonen and Pekka Sammallahti (eds.), *Tulia kaamoksessa. Saamelaisen kirjallisuuden antologia – Skabmatolak. Sabmelaš kirjjalašvuođa antologiija* (Helsinki: Otava, 1974), pp. 28–9, 346; Israel Ruong, *Samerna i historien och nutiden, 4th edn* (Stockholm: BonnierFakta, 1982), p. 150.

44 See e.g. Marko Jouste, 'Suomen saamelaisten musiikkiperinteet', in Anneli Asplund etc. (ed.), *Suomen musiikin historia. Kansanmusiikki* (Helsinki: WSOY, 2006), pp. 272–307.

45 Bartens, 'Olaus Sirma'.

also have learned oral practices. Ruth Finnegan showed that learning to write and becoming involved in literary culture may cause various individual and social changes, but does not necessarily present a fundamental mental shift.[46] Learning literary ecclesiastical culture certainly took Sirma into new social and cultural contexts, but did not necessarily invalidate or corrupt his knowledge or will to pass on his oral childhood culture.[47]

When compared to literary seventeenth-century poetry and later documents of nearby oral cultures, Sirma's poems look more oral, although the setting is very complex. Seventeenth-century Kemi Sami music culture cannot be compared with any living culture as such but should be seen in its own context, which might also include interaction with other oral and literary cultures. In our more detailed, comparative reading, undertaken with Marko Jouste and based on poetic, linguistic and musical analysis, the texts themselves are also shown to be very complex.[48]

The structure of rhyming couplets of the poem *Kulnasatz* was, indeed, popular in seventeenth-century poems in Sweden, both oral and literary. Nevertheless, the rhyme in *Kulnasatz* is often weak and, actually, mostly fits into the category of grammatical rhyme between parallel lines. Irregular grammatical rhyme is common in later documented Sami and Finnic traditions, and it may sometimes group into more regular couplets and triplets.[49] It is possible that Sirma highlighted this feature and built on regular parallel couplets in order to make the poem fit the literary contexts. On the other hand, it is not impossible that this kind of more or less regular couplet could have existed in seventeenth-century Kemi Sami oral tradition.

The surprising verse structure of *Morse faurog*, on the other hand, builds on three different textual elements: a line always contains a textual element A (with no repetitions), and then, optionally, either both the elements B (with repetition of one syllable) and C (with repetition of a word or part of a word) or only one of these. Similar fragmentary musical or additive principles are found in later Finnic, Sami and Siberian song cultures, but are not known from any seventeenth-century literary poetry.[50]

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46 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 51–6; Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry. Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 16–24, 160–9.

47 See also Kati Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset. Suullinen ja kirjallinen kulttuuri uuden ajan alun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), pp. 56–8.

48 Kati Kallio, Taarna Valtonen and Marko Jouste, 'Olaus Sirman runojen vertailevaa luentaa – runojen poetiikka suhteessa suullisiin ja kirjallisiin lähikulttuureihin', *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja*, 97 (2019), pp. 109–52.

49 Kallio, Valtonen and Jouste, 'Olaus Sirman runojen', pp. 121–9.

50 Kallio, Valtonen and Jouste, 'Olaus Sirman runojen, pp. 129–43.

The ambiguity recurs also on the thematic level. Several themes of the poems do have parallels in later Sami traditions, and some also in Finnic ones. A poetic formula 'boy's mind [is like] the wind's mind' in *Morse faurog* ('Parne miela. = Piägga miela') seems to derive straight from the Bible, either directly by Sirma or via some oral route – a similar formula also appears in the later documented Finnic tradition ('emon mieli, tuulen mieli', 'mother's mind [is like] the wind's mind').[51] In the manuscript and as conveyed by Schefferus, Sirma explains that the poems were traditional and versatile, allowing improvisation and adaptation to personal situations and contexts. This means that – although Schefferus does not say it directly – according to local cultural understanding, the performer might well add something of his own, expressed in traditional poetic style, while the poem was still recognised as a traditional representation of the genre.

The two poems are based on quite different poetic structures, but they share a rich, organically varying poetic texture of repetitions, parallel structures and assonances of various kinds. They do not seem to exhibit any regular poetic metre with measured rises and falls. The amount of parallelism does not exceed the possible styles in oral tradition. Sirma seems to confine himself to poetry of a very oral character that, on the basis of the variety of later Sami and other nearby song cultures, represent plausible a Kemi Sami oral tradition. It is, nevertheless, possible that Sirma highlights some features in order to make the poems more understandable or commendable in literary contexts.

4 Sirma in Local Sami Contexts

Not much is known about the background of Olaus Sirma. His native name in Kemi Sami was probably *Čirma Mohcee Vuolli*, meaning *Vuolli* (Olaus in Latin, Olof in Swedish) the son of *Mohcee* (Matthiae in Latin, Mattson in Swedish) from the family of *Čirma* ('wolf', Finnicised as *Sirma*).[52] In Swedish practice this usually took the form Olof Mattson Sirma, or Olaus Mathiae Sirma in

51 Kati Kallio and Taarna Valtonen, 'Ei minulla ole siipiä sotkan siipiä: Olaus Sirman runojen suhde kalevalamittaiseen runouteen' (forthcoming).

52 The word *čirma* means 'wolf'. Several old native Sami family names are appellatives referring to animals (see e.g. Samuli Aikio, 'Samiska släktnamn från 1600- och 1700-talet', *Studia anthroponymica Scandinavica*, 10 (1992), pp. 55–76.). Hence, Sirma is not a negative nickname given by his comrades at the university, as some sources imply (e.g. Matti Kuusi, 'Maailmanlyriikkaa', in Hannu Launonen and Kirsti Mäkelä (eds.), *Folklore tänään* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1974), p. 191; Olsen, *Om lappernes vildfarelser*, p. 77).

MAP 7.2 Northern Scandinavia. Olaus Sirma's congregation (approximately) marked with darker colour; most of the rivers and lakes not marked. Map: Liisi Kasuk

Latin.[53] In Enontekiö he was known as *herr Olof* in Swedish, *herra Vuolevi* in Finnish and *hearrá Vuolab* in North Sami ('Master Olaus').[54] Erkki Itkonen analysed the language used by Sirma as Kemi Sami, and located the place names of his poems around Lake Orajärvi in Sodankylä Sami village some 200 km from Torneå.[55] The documents at the University of Uppsala confirm the Kemi Sami region as Sirma's home district.[56] The seventeenth-century Kemi Sami of Sodankylä lived in small family clusters and gained their livelihood mainly by fishing and hunting. They were Christian, or Christianity was part of their

53 T. I. Itkonen, *Koltan- ja kuolanlapin sanakirja, I–II* (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1958), p. 1047; Rasmussen, 'Samiske prester', pp. 301–2.

54 K. B. Wiklund, *Rounala kyrka* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1916), p. 16.

55 Itkonen, 'Olaus Sirman kotiseudusta'; see also Sammallahti, 'Olaus Sirma: Kulnasatz niråsam'.

56 UåUB N25.

syncretic religion. In addition to their native language at least most of the men could speak some Finnish.[57]

According to eighteenth-century oral history Sirma's family was poor and non-Christian (which is unlikely), but some cleric or official took him to study in *paedagogium* at the small but locally important city of Torneå, as the boy was noticed to be talented.[58] Sirma studied at the *paedagogium* until the end of 1671 and continued directly to the University of Uppsala. This was exceptional, but not unthinkable: some other talented students from Torneå did the same, although the typical way to the university went via the secondary-level school, called *trivialskolan*.[59] At the same time, Sirma was separated from his childhood language, culture and networks in Kemi Lappmark – much like Finnish and Swedish-speaking young boys of peasant origin when adapting to the Latin-based school system.

The oldest known document on Sirma is the letter of High Chancellor de la Gardie to the *rector magnificus* of the University of Uppsala, asking him to take care of the poor Sami boy. The documents of the *consistorium academicum* (academic consistory of the university) show that his studies were sponsored by the *cassa studiorum* of the university, providing him study materials, accommodation in a local resident's house and even clothes.[60]

Sirma started his studies at Uppsala on 1 February 1672, and graduated, faster than was normally possible, in July 1674. The reason for the rapid graduation may be that the consistory nominated and sponsored for him an older student to guide his studies and make sure he progressed as expected.[61] The documents of the University of Uppsala describe Sirma as having good learning abilities and being rather hard-working. There is only one document connected to conflicts: in February 1673 Sirma was assaulted by a drunken journeyman without any particular reason.[62]

Only a couple of days before graduation, Sirma expressed a wish to the consistory to be recommended for a post situated in Lapland. He was admitted

57 Fellman, *Handlingar*, pp. 1: 309–12.

58 Isaac Olsen, *Om lappernes vidfarelser og overtro. Kildeskrifter til den lappiske mythologi ved J. Qvigstad, II* (Trondhjem: Aktietrykkeriet, 1910), p. 77; Rasmussen, 'Samiske prester', pp. 302–3.

59 Aksel Andersson, *Uppsala universitets matrikel 1665–1680* (Uppsala: Akademiska bokhandeln, 1904), p. 206; Itkonen, 'Olaus Sirman kotiseudusta', p. 337; Juhani Lassila, *Lapin koulutushistoria. Kirkollinen alkuopetus, kansa-, perus- ja oppikoulut, 2* (Oulu: Oulu University Press, 2001), pp. 526–7.

60 UåUB N25; cf. Gunnar Suolahti, *Suomen papisto 1600- ja 1700-luvuilla* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1919), p. 260.

61 Cf. Suolahti, *Suomen papisto*, pp. 258–9.

62 UåUB N25.

into orders in 1675, and ordained in 1676 as chaplain (*kapellen* in Swedish) of Enontekiö (in Finnish, Eanodat in North Sami, Enontekis in Swedish), a Sami annex congregation situated in the present-day municipalities of Enontekiö and Karesuando (in Swedish, Gárasavvon in North Sami, Kaaresuvanto in Finnish). In the 1670s the congregation consisted of three Sami villages (*siida* in North Sami): Rounala (in Finnish, Ruovdnal in North Sami) in the west, Suonttavaara (Suovditvárri in North Sami) in the centre and Peltojärvi (Bealdovuopmi in North Sami) in the east.[63]

Sirma was the first priest of Enontekiö actually living among the congregation. He was stationed by the parish church that was situated in Markkina in the middle of the Suonttavaara Sami village. His predecessor, Georgius Henrici (in office 1604–16), had been the first priest in Torne Lappmark appointed solely as a preacher for the Sami, even though he was probably unable to speak Sami, using Finnish instead.[64] Markkina had been meant to be his homestead from 1607 but he decided to live in the village of Ylitornio (in Finnish, Övertorneå in Swedish) more than 250 kilometres away. Before and after Georgius Henrici, until Sirma arrived, the church of the congregation had been served only once a year by the priest situated farther south in the city of Torneå on the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia.[65]

The building of the first church of Markkina started in 1606–7 when the crown decided to create a new, controlled meeting place for ecclesiastical and administrative purposes, replacing the old chapel of Rounala, which was located too close to Norway ruled by hostile Denmark. The church that Sirma preached in was the second on the site, completed in 1661. Markkina can hardly be called even a small village, since there were no permanent residents other than the priest and his family members and servants. The Finnish and Sami names Markkina and Márkan, meaning 'marketplace', describe the role of the place well. A market fair was held around the church every Candlemas (in

63 Itkonen, 'Olaus Sirman kotiseudusta', p. 337; UåUB N25.

64 Before Georgius Henrici, there had been other priests and monks sent to serve the Sami since the Middle Ages but their territories were wider than one parish or one Lappmark (Bygdén, *Hernösands stifts herdaminne*, pp. 58–60; Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Gustaf Vasa', pp. 257–9, 351).

65 Bygdén, *Hernösands stifts herdaminne*, pp. 58–60; Fellman: *Handlingar*, pp. 1: 379–80; Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Gustaf Vasa', pp. 257–9, 351; Samuel Rheen, 'En kortt Relation om Lapparnes Lefwarne och Sedher, wijd-Skiepellsser, sampt i många Stycken Grofwe wildfarellsser' (1671), ed. Phebe Fjellström and Israel Ruong, *Berättelser om samerna i 1600-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: Skytteanska Samfundet, 1983), p. 68; Nils Slunga, 'Kirkko ja koulu: papisto ja kirkollinen elämä', in Olof Hederyd and Yrjö Alamäki (eds.): *Tornionlaakson historia, II: 1600-luvulta vuoteen 1809* (Tornio: Tornionlaakson kuntien historiakirjatoimikunta, 1993), pp. 281, 293; UåUB N25.

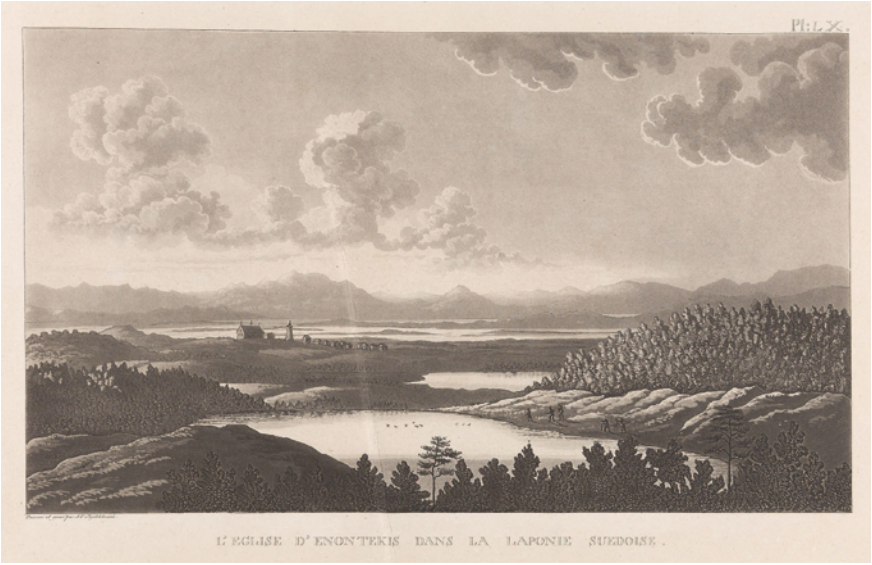

FIGURE 7.2 Church of Enontekiö in Markkina drawn by A. F. Skjöldebrand in 1801
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NORWAY

February) with ecclesiastical services, court proceedings and taxation, drawing the local reindeer herders, fishermen, cattle farmers and long-distance merchants from Torneå river valley to the south. The huts and storehouses rested unused for the greatest part of the year.[66]

Sirma seems to have adapted easily to the natural and cultural surroundings as well as to the borderless existence in the north that allowed him to travel to the coast of the Arctic Sea in Norway as easily as to the nearest Swedish towns of Torneå and Piteå, or indeed all the way to Stockholm, as he did at least in 1688.[67] Once or twice a year he met the burghers and officers of Torneå and during summer the residents of the present-day county of Troms in Norway. He made contact with his nearest superior, the vicar of Jukkasjärvi, mainly during important holidays, when common services were held in Markkina or in Jukkasjärvi.[68] He presented no signs of the usual clerical aversion to moving around the large parish with no roads, nor does he complain that it was impossible for a learned man to live in the region. There is no information that he missed his home district in Sodankylä, over 200 km south-east of Markkina, or

66 Bygdén, *Hernösands stifts herdaminne*, p. 60; Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Carl IX', p. 262, 280; Slunga, 'Kirkko ja koulu', pp. 293, 299; UåUB N25.

67 Cf. Stille, 'Övre Norrlands administrativa historia', p. 346.

68 UUB W70; UåUB N25.

that he had difficulties adapting to the local North Sami language, that differed from his native Kemi Sami.[69]

The fragmentary source materials suggest that Sirma identified himself, at least partly, as a member of the Rounala Sami village while at the same time having a cattle farm in Suonttavaara.[70] Rounala was the only *siida* in Sirma's parish where the main occupation was reindeer pastoralism and that had no Finnish settlers. In Suonttavaara and Peltojärvi the Sami population lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and the settler Finns that had been moving to the region in fast-growing numbers after the 1650s earned their living by cattle-breeding.[71]

Sirma's commitment to the Rounala Sami people can be detected in various ways. In addition to the parish church of Markkina, he gave sermons regularly, even during some Easters, at the old Rounala chapel, the originally medieval marketplace some 60 km to the north-west. During the summers he followed the Rounala Sami to the coast of the Arctic Sea in order to be able to preach for them, and, probably as importantly, to buy food supplies, especially dried fish, for the following winter. He also fished in lakes that belonged to Rounala Sami village.[72]

All these activities with the members of the Rounala *siida* resulted in complaints from the more stationary members of the congregation belonging to the Suonttavaara and Peltojärvi Sami villages who lived closer to the main church. Sirma defended himself by explaining how important it was to support the Christian life of the Sami by providing them with the ecclesiastical services at the place where they needed to stay. It was too easy, he argued, for the mobile pastoralist Sami to explain their absence from the church services through the needs of their livelihood. Despite his arguments, he was forbidden

69 UUB W70; Wiklund, 'En kemilapsk text'.

70 UUB W70.

71 Ilkka Teerijoki, 'Tornionlaakson asutuskehitys 1600–1809', in Olof Hederyd and Yrjö Alamäki (eds.): *Tornionlaakson historia, II: 1600-luvulta vuoteen 1809* (Tornio: Tornionlaakson kuntien historiakirjatoimikunta, 1993), p. 32; Jouko Vahtola, 'Tornion Lapin saamelaiset', in Olof Hederyd and Yrjö Alamäki (eds.): *Tornionlaakson historia, I: Jääkaudelta 1600-luvulle* (Tornio: Tornionlaakson kuntien historiakirjatoimikunta, 1991), pp. 262–3, 265.

72 Fellman: *Handlingar*, pp. II: 102–3, 189; Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki, Perinteen ja nykykulttuurin kokoelma, Samuli ja Jenny Paulaharjun käsikirjoituskokoelma (1921–46), (hereafter: SKS KRA, SP), 'Enontekiö'; 'Karesuando', 14255–6, 28392, 33327, 33329, 33334; Samuli Paulaharju, *Lapin muisteluksia* (Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Kirja, 1922), pp. 225–6; Rasmussen, 'Samiske prester', p. 304; UUB W70; UåUB N25; Thomas Wallerström, *Kunglig makt och samiska bosättningsmönster: Studier kring Väinö Tanners vinterbyteori* (Oslo: Novus, 2017), p. 128; Wiklund, *Rounala kyrka*, pp. 8–9.

by his superiors in 1707 to move with the Sami and preach in Norway, and he was given a strict order to stay at the main church during important holidays. Even so, in 1717 it was reported that he had, again, been staying during summer at the seashore.[73]

Later oral tradition tells us that Sirma wished to be buried in the Rounala chapel in order to support the members of his congregation at the judgement day. A similar story about the priest wanting to be buried at the Rounala chapel was also related about a priest called Georgius (possibly the first priest of Enontekiö, Georgius Henrici, mentioned above), in Tornaeus' memoirs in 1672, and, then, in 1746 by some local Sami.[74] It seems that the idea of the priest wanting to stay with the Sami congregation was important for the self-esteem of the local community.

Sirma translated into Sami a primer, some psalms and a shorter version of the popular catechism by the Finnish bishop Johannes Gezelius (manuscript versions of 1688 and 1716; catechism published in 1913 by Wiklund).[75] He got the order to translate these from superintendent Matthias Steuchius, who must have thought that Sirma was able to accomplish this non-typical task for a chaplain of that era. The order might be connected to the bishop's meeting known to be held in 1686, in which the need to have basic Christian literature, such as the catechism and primer, available in different Sami languages was discussed.[76]

Sirma himself mentions in his petition to the state council in 1688 that the *Manuale Lapponicum*, translated into Sami by Johannes Tornaeus in 1643, was no longer available in Sami parishes.[77] Despite the obvious need, Sirma's translations were not published: in the same petition in 1688 Sirma suspected that the reason was the lack of Sami skills amongst the contemporary officers in Härnosand, who were thus not able to review the texts. Wiklund evaluates his translations as of exceptionally high quality compared to other contemporary

73 Bygdén, *Hernösands stifts herdaminne*, p. 52; Fellman: *Handlingar*, pp. II: 102–3; Kylli, *Saamelaisten kaksi kääntymystä*, p. 68; Rasmussen, 'Samiske prester', p. 304; UUB W70; UåUB N25.

74 SKS KRA, SP 14255–6, 28392, 28442, 28437:1–2, 33327, 33329, 33334; Paulaharju, *Lapin muisteluksia*, p. 225; Wiklund, *Rounala kyrka*, pp. 11, 16.

75 Wiklund, 'En kemilapsk text'.

76 Fellman: *Handlingar*, pp. I: 363; II: 175.

77 The first books published in Sami were a primer and a psalm book translated by the vicar of Piteå, Nils Andreae in 1619. Before Tornaeus, Olaus Petri Niurenius' translation of the Small Catechism of Luther was published in 1633 (Capdeville, Sophie Alix, *L'histoire du livre saami en Finlande: ses racines et son développement de 1820 à 1920* (Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2017), pp. 66–8; Fellman, *Handlingar*, I: 362–4; see also Chapter 6 by Tuija Laine in this volume).

examples. Sirma also applied, unsuccessfully, for money to establish a local school for Sami children.[78]

Sirma was married to Katarina (Carin) Eriksdotter, a Finnish woman from Oulu (in Swedish Uleåborg) of humble background. Very little is known of her, and the date of their marriage is unknown. Sirma was still a bachelor in 1676 when he moved to Enontekiö but was married no later than 1680. They had one child surviving to adult age, Brita, who married the chaplain of Torneå, Henrik Tornberg, and died young.[79] Thus, Sirma married across the ethnic boundary, although, it seems, not necessarily across social classes. His daughter married a priest of the same ecclesiastical rank as her father.[80]

It seems that Sirma had no wish to improve his social standing after he was ordained as a chaplain in 1676. For instance, he refused to be nominated as a candidate for the post of Jukkasjärvi parson after Johannes Tornberg in 1687, as was proposed by the members of the congregation.[81] However, his economic status grew considerably after he moved to Enontekiö in 1676 to start up a new household from scratch. When he died in 1719 he was, according to the local standards, owner of a large and wealthy farm.[82] Sirma's biography seems to fit the basic pattern of slow social advance of a first-generation Lutheran priest from the lower social classes, but his translations are exceptional.[83]

5 The First Sami Chaplain of Enontekiö: a Drunken Fighter?

After Setälä's discovery of the original manuscripts of Sirma's poems in 1888, further sources on Olaus Sirma were actively sought. The first to be discovered was Isak Grape's *Minne af presterskapet i Lappmarks-Församlingarne i Hernösands stift* ('History of the clergy of the Lappmark congregations in Härnösand diocese'), in which Sirma is described, according to oral history of

78 Fellman: *Handlingar*, pp. II: 174–7; Wiklund, 'En kemilapsk text', pp. 82–5.

79 Isak Grape, *Svenska Lappmarkens herdaminne. Minne af Presterskapet i Lappmarks-Församlingarne i Hernösands Stift* (Umeå: Lindroth, 1853), p. 84; Itkonen, 'Olaus Sirman kotiseudusta', p. 340; Mikko Korhonen, 'Sirma, Olaus Matinpoika' (23 March 2007), in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997–), http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-kbg-002341, accessed 28 March 2019; UUB W70; Kyösti Väänänen, 'Henricus Johannis Tornberg' (19 January 2011), in *Turun hiippakunnan paimenmuisto 1554–1721 -verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011–), http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-thp-002539.

80 For similar cases in Finland, see Suolahti, *Suomen papisto*, pp. 273–4, 279.

81 Fellman: *Handlingar*, II: 177.

82 Hiltunen, 'Sodankyläläinen Enontekiöllä', p. 221; UUB W70.

83 See e.g. Suolahti, *Suomen papisto*, pp. 281–4.

late eighteenth century, as: 'a stern man, who during the sermon descended from the pulpit to shake by the hair those listeners that he thought were paying too little attention. In fights with his vicar Elingius of Juckasjervi (Jukkasjärvi in Finnish) Sirma was most often described as the winner.'[84]

These sentences are repeated by Setälä and many others after him with reference to Grape but without mentioning the oral, story-like character of this information. In addition, Setälä seems to have felt a need to disdain Sirma since he reports that his manuscript was written in an inexperienced handwriting and was thus almost unreadable.[85] Actually, the manuscript does not differ from other hand-written documents of that era written by experienced hands.

In 1910, Isak Fellman published some court documents, episcopal audition reports and one letter written by Sirma.[86] In later research, only one of these documents is usually mentioned: a report of a court case in 1681 against Sirma, who had given the local *länsman* (officer) one cuff on the ear, shaken him by the hair and used bad language against him. Sirma explained in court that he was drunk at the time and that he suffered a weakness for liquor.

On the basis of these sources, the image of Sirma changed from that of a noble anonymous poet of the wilderness into a curious hot-headed fighter and a drunkard who had ongoing disputes with his superiors and members of the congregation.[87] Typically, these statements are based only on a limited selection of first-hand sources or, frequently, just copied from previous secondary sources. Interpretations, as a rule, are made from a twentieth-century perspective. The most repeated negative descriptions are in line with the typical pejorative stereotypes of Sami people, such as extensive drinking, laziness, backwardness and other signs of cultural decadence, such as quarrelling and general weakness of character. This stereotype developed during the eighteenth century: the earlier one, repeated by Schefferus, represented the Sami as timid and peaceful, yet a little rough in view of the harsh living conditions.[88]

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84 Grape, *Svenska Lappmarkens herdaminne*, p. 84.

85 Setälä, 'Lappische lieder', pp. 108–9.

86 Fellman, *Handlingar*, pp. 11: 174–6, 187–90, 445–8; 11: 27–8.

87 See e.g. Harald Gaski, *Den samiske litteraturens røtter. Om samenes episk poetiske diktning*, Master's thesis Universitet i Tromsø, 1986, p. 14; Korhonen, 'Sirma'; Kuusi, 'Maailmanlyriikkaa', p. 191; Slunga, 'Kirkko ja koulu', pp. 294–5; Wretö, *Folkvisans upptäckare*, p. 25.

88 See e.g. Kvist, 'Myten om samerna'; Veli-Pekka Lehtola, *Rajamaan identiteetti: lappilaisuuden rakentuminen 1920- ja 1930-luvun kirjallisuudessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), pp. 47–51; 1999; Sari Pietikäinen and Sirpa Leppänen, 'Saamelaiset toisin sanoin', in Joel Kuortti, Mikko Lehtonen, and Olli Löytty (eds.), *Kolonialismin jäljet. Keskustat, periferiat ja Suomi* (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2007), pp. 180–1; Seija Tuulentie, *Meidän vähemmistömme: valtaväestön retoriikat saamelaisten oikeuksista käydyissä keskusteluissa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2001).

In fact, there is an extensive number of official documents concerning Sirma's life observing that he was just a chaplain in a remote and sparsely populated Sami parish. His letter from 1688 to the state council is preserved, he is mentioned in several documents, such as auditions of the congregation and, indeed, he is a party in several documented court cases. In addition, oral history about his deeds is documented in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[89] One of his manuscripts with a cover letter is preserved, and was published by Professor K. B. Wiklund in 1913. Wiklund (67 handwritten pages in Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, 1934) and the vicar Erik Nordberg (39 typed pages in Umeå universitetsbibliotek, 1973) collected and copied most of these old documents from the original seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century sources for their personal archives.[90] In addition, some of these documents have been published by Isak Fellman and partly discussed by the Finnish historians Mauno Hiltunen and Ritva Kylli.[91]

Analysing these documents on Sirma's life after 1676 shows that the current overall picture of him is inaccurate. The documents consist of 93 cases. Of these, 24 can be described as official documents giving neutral information about Sirma's post. Of the remaining 69 cases 18 are directly connected to Sirma's rights as a local priest: 8 are concerned with his rights to use fishing waters and meadows that he needed for his livelihood, guaranteed for him by the governor Graan, and 10 relate to his other legitimate rights as a priest. The last 51 cases are a heterogeneous group with accusations by or on Sirma on various issues or Sirma being a witness in a court. Only 6 of these relate to fighting, drunkenness or both, but, in all of the occasions, Sirma was not the one provoking the fight.[92]

As a whole, the documents reveal a harsh situation. When Sirma arrived in Enontekiö in 1676, there was only the partly furnished church waiting for him, but no decent house nor clearly defined lands or waters to provide for his subsistence. His wage was only partly paid during first five years and the congregation was unwilling to pay for the maintenance of the priest.[93] Sirma was

89 For example Grape, *Svenska Lappmarkens herdaminne, 79, 84;* SKS KRA, SP; Arvid Oukka, *Tornionlaakson kansanperinnettä, IV* (Tornio, 1976); Paulaharju, *Lapin muisteluksia*; Wiklund, *Rounala kyrka.*

90 Wiklund, 'En kemilapsk text'; UåUB N25; UUB W70.

91 Fellman: *Handlingar*, pp., I; 102–3, 174–6, 187–90, 445–8; II: 27–8; Mauno Hiltunen, 'Sodankyläläinen Enontekiöllä. Herra Vuolevin matkassa Sodankylästä Enontekiölle ja vähän muuallekin', in Antero Tervonen (ed.), *Rohkea, reima ja horjumaton. Samuli Onnelalle omistettu juhlakirja* (Oulu: Oulun historiaseura, 1998), pp. 215–39; Kylli, *Saamelaisten kaksi kääntymystä.*

92 UUB W70; UåUB N25.

93 UUB W70; UåUB N25.

forced to create, organise and justify the existence of an annex congregation and his personal life in a context that was in many ways unwelcoming towards him. As Erkki Itkonen has suggested, it seems that there were complex and problematic issues connected with ethnicity, wealth and the status of Sirma and his congregation.[94]

The court cases are often mentioned as an example of Sirma's violent nature and abuse of alcohol. However, of the 51 cases only in 6 Sirma was fined for these reasons. In three of these, in 1681, 1684 and 1691, he injured the counterparty physically, although mildly. In all these cases the other person involved had done his best to provoke Sirma, most often by insulting his honour, and Sirma fought back.[95] Use of alcohol, but not in exceptional amounts from a contemporary perspective, was mentioned in connection to the fight in two cases.[96] It is worth noting that all his opponents were Finnish settlers from the neighbouring farms, which implies that the motivations might have been economic or ethnic, and part of longer disputes over land rights.

In three other cases, in 1689, 1707 and 1710, a fine was imposed on Sirma for behaving in an undignified manner, cursing and slandering in a deeply drunken condition and in front of higher officials.[97] These cases can be understood as protests or attempts to insult the persons present. According to Kustaa H. J. Vilkuna, the drunken state made it possible for a man of the lower order to show his opinion of members of the higher order without being given punishments other than a fine.[98] This interpretation is supported by the fact that all these cases seem to be connected with court cases that Sirma lost or where accusations he had made were disapproved.

The members of Sirma's parish complained three times, in 1680, 1681 and 1688, about him being too hard on his flock and using bad language in church, as well as behaving in a manner that was not suitable for a priest on holiday days; they asked for a replacement. In 1681 they also threatened to move away to Norway. Sirma defended himself by saying that the members of his congregation were not making it easy for him to be their priest and educator, who had

94 Itkonen, 'Olaus Sirman kotiseudusta', p. 338.

95 About practices connected to violating someone's honour see Jenni Lares, *Alkoholinkäytön sosiaaliset merkitykset 1600-luvun länsisuomalaisessa maaseutuyhteisössä* (Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto, 2020), pp. 173–4, 192, 220–5, 228–9.

96 UUB W70; UåUB N25. For detailed analysis of alcohol use in western Finland during the seventeenth century, see Lares, *Alkoholinkäytön sosiaaliset merkitykset*.

97 UUB W70.

98 Kustaa H. J. Vilkuna, *Juomareiden valtakunta. Suomalaisten känni ja kulttuuri 1500–1850* (Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Teos, 2015), pp. 189–91, 195–201, 217; see also Lares, *Alkoholinkäytön sosiaaliset merkitykset*, pp. 165–6, 254–5.

to make them attend services and learn Christian habits and doctrines.[99] Sirma was not convicted for any of these allegations owing to the lack of impartial witnesses and because, according to all the witnesses, he managed his work as he should. One judge even hinted that there might be other reasons behind these court cases: it is worth remembering that during the 1680s Sirma was embroiled in several court cases connected to land and water rights.[100] It is also true that in the seventeenth century priests were often forced to discipline worshippers for their behaviour during service: the holidays involved abundant use of alcohol.[101]

In the collected sources, there is very little evidence to support the oral history, as mentioned by Grape, that there was an ongoing dispute and several fist-fights between Sirma and his last superior, Christian Elingius, the parson (*kyrkoherde* in Swedish) of Jukkasjärvi in 1691–1717.[102] The only reported case is about Elingius' shirt that Sirma accidentally took instead of his own while visiting Jukkasjärvi, with no violence involved.[103] A poisonous, even violent relationship between a vicar and his chaplain was common in seventeenth-century Sweden, especially if the office-holders originated from different social backgrounds, as Sirma and Elingius did.[104]

Undoubtedly, Sirma was a proud man of impetuous character and thus easily provoked, and a regular user of alcohol, all negative characteristics if measured on a modern scale. Yet, by seventeenth-century standards, this was not uncommon, and short-tempered behaviour and fights with neighbours were considered normal for a member of the common people, although not commendable for a priest, who should have been an example of dignified and peaceful behaviour.[105] Mauno Hiltunen has further suggested that the occasionally tense relations between Sirma and his flock should be interpreted as representing the tensions created by the changing power relations and growing control of the state instead of a consequence solely of his personality.[106]

Especially among seventeenth-century common people the continuous use of alcohol was considered normal. Abundant use was typically connected to

99 For similar cases, see Hiltunen, 'Sodankyläläinen Enontekiöllä'.

100 UUB W70; UåUB N25.

101 Kvist, 'Myten om samerna', pp. 2–5; Vilkuna, *Juomareiden valtakunta*, pp. 207–9, 213, 216–17.

102 Grape, *Svenska Lappmarkens herdaminne*, pp. 79, 84.

103 UUB W70.

104 Bygdén, *Hernösands stifts herdaminne*, p. 374; Suolahti, *Suomen papisto*, pp. 188, 192–5, 261–2.

105 Kylli, *Saamelaisten kaksi kääntymystä*, p. 69; Lares, *Alkoholinkäytön sosiaaliset merkitykset*, pp. 192–3; Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Carl IX', 264; Suolahti, *Suomen papisto*, pp. 191–2, 262, 278; Vilkuna, *Juomareiden valtakunta*, pp. 437–41.

106 Hiltunen, 'Sodankyläläinen Enontekiöllä', pp. 234–5.

special events, such as market fairs, holidays and trials. In Lapland, all these happened simultaneously over a short time, and in addition, this was the only time during winter when alcohol was easily available. To drink trading swigs was an immemorial tradition followed by the Sami and the burghers alike.[107] The same applied to the lower clergy: use of alcohol was not recommended but it was accepted as long as it did not prevent the satisfactory fulfilment of the office. There was, however, one major difference: a priest should not be intoxicated during holidays, although mild tipsiness was allowed.[108]

Thus, in a seventeenth-century context, the most objectionable part of Sirma's behaviour was not the use of alcohol or occasional undignified or violent behaviour, but the timing: on Sundays and holidays the priest was supposed to give a good example. This was, however, not regarded as a great problem since Sirma never got suspended or received a notice for major misconduct, as many other priests of his era under the supervision of Härnosand's superintendents did.[109] It was also a common way to discredit a disliked priest to blame him for being a drunkard.[110] In almost every eighteenth-century bishop's or provost's (*domprost* in Swedish) examination the local priest was criticised for his alcohol use. This was connected to the new policy of abstinence that was adopted at the turn of the century with the Pietistic ideologies, especially in the north, where the idea of Sami being inclined to drink developed during the same century.[111]

Jenni Lares has studied alcohol consumption in seventeenth-century western Finland and points out two major problems in older studies. First, the seventeenth-century alcohol use has been evaluated according to nineteenth- and twentieth-century cultural understandings and moral values. This has led to narrow-minded interpretations that see alcohol only as a problematic element and people as unable to control their alcohol consumption and behaviour. Second, in older studies, violence and alcohol have been too simplistically

107 Kvist, 'Myten om samerna', pp. 2–7, 10; Lares, *Alkoholinkäytön sosiaaliset merkitykset*, pp. 95–7, 105–7,121, 147–51, 252, 255; Olofsson, 'Övre Norrlands historia under Carl IX', p. 262; Vilkuna, *Juomareiden valtakunta*, pp. 433, 480.

108 Kvist, 'Myten om samerna', pp. 3, 7; Lares, *Alkoholinkäytön sosiaaliset merkitykset*, pp. 122–31, 190–3, 210; Vilkuna, *Juomareiden valtakunta*, pp. 439–43.

109 For similar cases nearby, see Bygdén, *Hernösands stifts herdaminne*, pp. 29, 37–8, 71–3, 99, 139–40, 271, 383; in Finland, see Suolahti, *Suomen papisto; for* priests' abundant use of alcohol and misbehaviour in Finland, see Lares, *Alkoholinkäytön sosiaaliset merkitykset*, pp. 135, 155, 177–8, 201, 219.

110 For example Hiltunen, 'Sodankyläläinen Enontekiöllä', p. 220; see also Lares, *Alkoholinkäytön sosiaaliset merkitykset*, p. 172.

111 Kvist, 'Myten om samerna', pp. 1, 3–5, 10–11; Lares, 'Alkoholinkäytön sosiaaliset merkitykset', pp. 131–40, 257–9; Vilkuna, *Juomareiden valtakunta*, pp. 434, 436–41, 480.

connected and their association exaggerated. According to Lares' analysis, the connection actually comes into existence only via the special social contexts where alcohol was consumed and violent incidents took place. Compared with the great number of social gatherings, violence was not common.[112] When the earlier-century interpretations of Sirma's court cases are compared with similar cases that Lares analyses and explains with a multifaceted seventeenth-century understanding, it becomes evident that the interpretations of Sirma are also incomplete and outdated.

6 Changing Conceptions of Olaus Sirma

As a university student, Olaus Sirma provided two Kemi Sami poems to Professor Johannes Schefferus. In the book *Lapponia* and in various translations and adaptations, these poems became widely known and appreciated across Europe. Sirma himself fulfilled his career as the chaplain of a newly established Sami annex congregation of Enontekiö.

Hitherto, Sirma has been understood in at least four different ways. First, in the book *Lapponia*, Schefferus himself uses Sirma's knowledge in a similar way to the written sources and other written and oral communications mostly by northern priests and some other Sami informants. The credibility of the information seems to be confirmed both by Sirma's status as a student and by his ethnic background (*studiosus gentis Lapponicae*). Secondly, in comments on the translations of his poems, Sirma merges into the cluster of anonymous exotic Lapps without personal identity. Thirdly, after the late-nineteenth-century realisation that the provider of the poems was a learned student and a future priest, the authenticity of the poems and thus Sirma's authenticity as a representative of his native culture were discussed. His life history has been investigated, but often with partial sources and twentieth-century stereotypes of Sami minorities. Fourthly, the seventeenth-century official documents offer the opportunity to get a glimpse of the local contradictions and living conditions for the first priest to maintain a presence within a congregation of new Finnish settlers and Sami pastoralists, fishers and hunters.

Our aim has been to interpret the sources – *Lapponia*, its early reprints and adaptations, and official documents – in relation to larger historical contexts and provide a more complex understanding of Olaus Sirma. His poems, from a comparative perspective, seem more oral than literary or fabricated in their nature, although they evidently belonged to a genre which sought to create personal, contextualised variations of tradition. Sirma's education and

112 Lares, *Alkoholinkäytön sosiaaliset merkitykset*, pp. 18–24, 86–8, 122–3, 183, 230–1, 251–5.

his post were the result of wider processes, by which the Swedish crown and church were tightening their hold on the northern regions. The same men from Stockholm, High Chancellor Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, Governor Johan Graan, Superintendent Petrus Steuchius and his son and successor Matthias Steuchius, were involved in administrative development, the making of *Lapponia* and education of Sami priests. Sirma himself asked to be sent to a northern congregation and did not show any subsequent interest in getting more prestigious posts elsewhere. While there, at the request of the superintendent he translated a primer and catechism into Sami.

Sirma was the very first priest to live among the congregation of Enontekiö, which caused disputes on his official rights to use lands and water and the responsibility of the congregation to provide for his livelihood, typical of other northern areas. The new situation also created complaints that Sirma required the congregation to follow ecclesiastical discipline. His other disputes and alcohol consumption do not seem exceptional compared to other local priests of Lapland, Finland or Sweden at the time, and did not seem to have affected his career. That he did not get his translations published was, apparently, more related to the changes in northern networks than, as has been suspected, to his personal reputation: Governor Johan Graan and High Chancellor de la Gardie, who had supported him earlier, were no longer alive, and there were no longer officials in Härnosand capable of reviewing his translations.

Sirma was obviously engaged with his remote congregation, remaining there until his death, for more than forty years. This is quite uncommon in seventeenth-century Torne Lappmark; during his time as chaplain Sirma outlasted, for instance, four priests of the Jukkasjärvi parish, and after him there were, again, great problems in getting a new priest and making him remain in the parish.[113] Likewise, the positive part of the oral history connected to Sirma has gained less publicity and is often labelled as a curiosity. He was remembered and respected as an impressive preacher who could reach the members of his flock in their own language, either Sami or Finnish.[114]

Thus, the provider or author of the two famous love songs in *Lapponia* was a learned man, but his education did not inevitably corrode his relationships to his native oral traditions. In addition, his being a Sami does not mean the court cases on local disputes, fighting and alcohol use should be read as a proof of his exceptionally wild, violent or addictive character: contrary to many of his Swedish and Finnish colleagues, he did not get any serious convictions or reprimands for not carrying out his office.

113 See Bygdén, *Hernösands stifts herdaminne*, p. 54.

114 See e.g. SKS KRA, SP 33327, 33334; Paulaharju, *Lapin muisteluksia*, pp. 222, 226–7, 230.

CHAPTER 8

The Letters of Käsu Hans and the History of Estonian as a Written Language

Aivar Põldvee

The roots of this chapter lie in an astonishing archival find in Riga: two of the earliest private letters in Estonian, written in 1702 and 1703 by Käsu Hans, an Estonian sexton (*köster* in Estonian, *Küster* in German), who was a peasant by birth.[1] During the research was also discovered the original version of a letter written by Käsu Hans in 1706, which had previously been considered lost.[2] First, the letter had been found by Villem Reiman in the archives of the Supreme Consistory of Livonia and published in 1893 under the headline '*The Oldest Letter by an Estonian Man*'.[3]

Käsu Hans was a sexton and schoolmaster in Puhja (Kawelecht in German) parish near Tartu (Dorpat in German), within the area of the South Estonian dialect. In literary and cultural history, he is known as the first Estonian poet and the author of the extensive lament '*Oh! ma waene Tardo Liin*' ('Oh me! Poor Tartu town!') about the destruction of Tartu by the Russians in 1708.[4]

1 The present standard Estonian is mainly based on the North Estonian dialect, while in larger historical context the term 'Estonian' covers both North and South Estonian dialects. In German seventeenth-century glotonyms, *Estnische*, *Revalsche* and *Dörptische Sprache* ('Estonian, Tallinn (Reval) and Tartu (Dorpat) language') were most common. The ethnonym 'Estonian' is also kind of anachronistic, since the Estonian population was divided between three provinces of Sweden (Estonia, Livonia, Ösel/Saaremaa). – This chapter was completed under the project supported by the grants of the Estonian Research Council IUT31–6 and the Tallinn University TF/6520 (Educated Estonian (and Latvian) peasants in the late 17th and early 18th centuries).

2 Latvijas valsts vēstures arhīvs (Latvian State Historical Archives; hereafter: LVVA), Riga, 233.1.837, pp. 552–5^{v}; Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum (Estonian Literary Museum; hereafter: EKM), Tartu, Eesti Kultuurilooline arhiiv (hereafter: EKLA), f. 105 Villem Reiman (Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi arhiiv, hereafter: EKS), m. 48:3. Published and commented in Aivar Põldvee, 'Käsu Hansu kirjad', *Tuna. Ajalookultuuri ajakiri*, 21/4 (2018), pp. 85–103.

3 W. R. [Villem Reiman], 'Kõige wanem Eesti mehe kiri', *Postimees*, 46 (27 February 1893), p. 2; Albert Saareste and Arno Rafael Cederberg (eds.), *Valik eesti kirjakeele vanemaid mälestisi a. 1524–1739* (Tartu: Akadeemiline Emakeele Selts, 1925–31), doc. nr. 136, pp. 305–6.

4 Cornelius Hasselblatt, *Geschichte der estnischen Literatur: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), pp. 123–4; Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman (eds.), *The Princeton Handbook of World Poetries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), p. 181;

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This chapter briefly describes the cultural and historic context of Käsu Hans's letters and lament and attempts to find an answer to the questions when and why Estonians learned to write. A more thorough history of the Estonian language, which would besides philological treatment encompass also sociolinguistic and communicative aspects, is yet to be composed. Yet, the analysis of historical changes in sociolinguistic practices by Tiit Hennoste provides a good basis for further work.[5] From the perspective of the period of the Swedish hegemony, the topics have been explored by Raimo Raag, who paraphrased Joshua A. Fishman's classic sociolinguistic question: 'Who speaks (or writes) Estonian to whom in the seventeenth century and to what end?'[6] A good introduction to the topic of social and practical changes brought about by writing skills and literacy is provided by Roger Chartier.[7] The case of Käsu Hans allows us to compare Estonian to other embryonic or emerging written vernaculars and to the first native writers within the one Swedish kingdom and even in colonial America at the same period of time, although historical circumstances were different.

1 Writing in Estonia in the Seventeenth Century

In about 1676, the Swedish Livonian author Thomas Hiärne (1638–78) wrote in his chronicle about Estonians:

> They have no idea of reading or writing, first they didn't even believe that you could send your thoughts to another country on a piece of paper – the same is told about Indians.[8]

Mart Velsker, 'About Käsu Hans', in Jüri Talvet, Arne Merilai, and Sven Vabar (eds.), *Estonian Writers Online Dictionary* (EWOD), https://sisu.ut.ee/ewod/k/kasuhans, accessed 20 May 2019.

5 Tiit Hennoste, 'Eesti keele sotsioperioodid. Üldpilt', in Mati Erelt, Meeli Sedrik, and Ellen Uuspõld (eds.), *Pühendusteos Huno Rätsepale 28.12.1997* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, 1997), pp. 44–66.

6 Raimo Raag, 'Estniska', in Bo Andersson and Raimo Raag (eds.), *Från Nyens skans till Nya Sverige: Språken i det Svenska Riket under 1600-talet* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2012), p. 34. See also: Laakso, Johanna, 'The Language of the People, or a Language for the People? On the Literarisation of the Vernaculars in Finland and Estonia', in *Anfangsgeschichten: Der Beginn volkssprachiger Schriftlichkeit in komparatistischer Perspektive. Origin Stories: The Rise of Vernacular Literacy in a Comparative Perspective* (Leiden: Wilhelm Fink, 2018), https://doi.org/10.30965/9783846763469_010, pp. 199–218.

7 Roger Chartier, 'The Practical Impact of Writing', in David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 118–42.

8 'Von Lesen und Schreiben haben sie nichts gewust, sondern im Anfang nicht müglich gehalten, daß einer auf ein Stück Papier seine Meinung in frembde Länder hätte können zu

This anecdote comes from the book *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* by Girolamo Benzoni, written in 1565. The chronicler Arvid Moller (1674–1758), who was born near Tartu and was a contemporary of Käsu Hans, described the seventeenth-century situation as follows:

> The worst is the fact that neither here nor in all Estonia or Livonia, can anyone read books, as the people here were in great slavery and the masters of the country thought that it would be better to keep their peasants ignorant, so that they can better enjoy the fruits of slavery. … their pastors are almost all foreigners, who do not understand the local language but need to learn it before becoming pastors, also in that there were no other hymnals and other church books in their languages than the ones that they themselves [the pastors] put on paper from German word by word with the help of a translator who in some cases was the wife of the pastor and so that all that could have emerged from there was a strange language that the peasants called the *Jumala-Kel* and the *Kircko-Kel*, which means God's language and the church language.[9]

Written Estonian in both main dialects was not created by native educated men, like Michael Agricola (*c.*1510–57) in Finland, but by Germans.[10] The first grammar book of the North Estonian (Tallinn language) *Anführung zu der*

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verstehen geben: gleichwie man solches auch von den Indianern erzehlet.' (Thomas Hiärne, *Thomæ Hiärn's Ehst-, Lyf- und Lettlaendische Geschichte*, ed. Carl Eduard Napiersky (Riga: Ed. Frantzen, 1835), p. 49.

9 'Men det wärsta war, at hwarken här eller uti hela Est- och Lifland någon fans, som kunde läsa i bok, emedan de woro sladde uti swår träldom och Herrskaperne på landet tyckte för sig nyttigast wara, at bibehålla sina bönder uti okunnigheten, och des bättre njuta des träldoms frukt. … at deras Präster woro mäst alle utlänningar, som icke förstodo Landsens språk, utan det först lära skulle, sedan de blefwit Kyrkioherdar, såsom ock at de uti det språket inga Psalm- eller andra Kyrkioböcker hade, utan hwad de sjelfwe efter Tyskan ord ifrån ord med tilhjelp af en tolk, som ibland war Prästens Hustru, på papper upsatt, och som härutaf intet kunde blifwa annat än ett underligt språk, kallade Bönderna det Jumala-Kel och Kircko-Kel, det är, Guds Språk och Kyrkjans Språk.' (Arvid Moller, *Fata Dorpati. Den i förra tiden namnkunniga Lifländiska Staden Dorpts Öde, or, Kort beskrifningh öfwer Est- och Lifland … Så ock den i förra tiden namnkunniga staden Dorpts öde …* (Västerås: Johan Laurentius Horrn (II), 1755), pp. 52–4).

10 See Kaisa Häkkinen, Tanja Vaittinen (eds.), *Agricolan aika* (Helsinki: BTJ, 2007); Kaisa Häkkinen, *Spreading the Written Word. Mikael Agricola and the Birth of Literary Finnish* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2015); Jason Lavery, *Reforming Finland. The Diocese of Turku in the Age of Gustav Vasa 1523–1560* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018). About Estonian language and dialects, see Mati Erelt (ed.), *Estonian Language* (Tallinn: Estonian Academy Publishers, 2007), esp. ch. III, 'Estonian Dialects' (by Karl Pajusalu) and ch. IV, 'Written Estonian' (by Heli Laanekask and Tiiu Erelt), pp. 231–342. See also the introduction of the Chapter 12 by Kristiina Ross in this volume.

Esthnischen Sprach was compiled by the pastor Heinrich Stahl (*c.*1600–57) in 1637. Stahl's grammar was more based on German orthography than the vernacular language and the same holds true for the first grammar of the South Estonian (Tartu language) *Observationes Grammaticæ circa linguam Esthonicam* by Johannes Gutslaff in 1648. In the same year as Stahl's grammar was printed, Reiner Brockmann (1609–47), professor of Greek at Tallinn (Reval) Gymnasium, who had come from Mecklenburg in 1634, published the very first piece of occasional poetry written in the Estonian language. He justified his attempt to write a poem in Estonian with the following words:

ANdre mögn ein anders treiben;	Others may do otherwise,
Ich hab wollen Estnisch schreiben.	[but] I have chosen to write in Estonian.
Esthnisch redet man in Lande /	Estonian is spoken in the countryside /
Esthnisch redet man am Strande /	Estonian is spoken on the shores /
Esthnisch redt man in der Mauren /	Estonian is spoken inside the [city] walls /
Esthnisch reden auch die Bauren /	Estonian is spoken also by the farmers /
Esthnisch reden Edelleute /	Estonian is spoken by the nobility /
Die Gelährten gleichfals heute.	And even by the scholars nowadays.
Esthnisch reden auch die Damen /	Estonian is spoken also by the ladies /
Esthnisch / die auß Teutschland kamen.	Estonian / [by those] who came from German lands.
Estnisch reden jung' und alte.	Estonian is spoken by the young and old [alike].
Sieh / was man von Estnisch halte?	But look / what does one think of Estonian?
Esthnisch man in Kirchen höret /	Estonian can be heard in the churches /
Da GOtt selber Ehstnisch lehret.[11]	Where [even] God Himself teaches [in] Estonian.

Despite Brockmann's optimism, the social status of the Estonian language remained very low. Most Estonians were peasants, and most of the peasants were serfs of the German or Swedish noblemen. Estonian national, i.e. popular culture was oral both in the country and in towns.[12] Occasional poetry

11 See Reiner Brockmann, '*Carmen alexandrinum Esthonicum ad leges Opitij poëticas compositum* and *Lectori Carminis Esthonici*', in Reiner Brockmann, *Teosed. Ρεινερου Βροκμαννου ποιηματα. Reineri Brockmanni opera. Reiner Brockmann's Werke*, facs. edn, ed. and tr. Endel Priidel. (Tartu: Ilmamaa, 2000), pp. 92–7. Translation by Lari Ahokas.

12 About Estonian population in Tallinn, see Paul Johansen and Heinz von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch im mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Reval* (Köln: Böhlau 1973).

by Brockmann and others was not meant for the ears of Estonians. The purpose of written Estonian was Lutheran indoctrination and communicating rulers' orders, which also mostly took place in churches. As Estonians could not read, they received the written language passively – by listening, and this language was often hard to understand. The languages of administration and education, German, Swedish and Latin, were nearly inaccessible to Estonians. However, there were some exceptions. Adrian Virginius mentions in 1691 that a few years earlier there had been an old peasant near Tartu who had learned Latin while living with the monks, meaning Jesuits.[13] This must have been in so-called Polish times before 1625, when Tartu was conquered by Protestant Swedes. In 1632, a university, Academia Gustaviana, was opened in Tartu, but there were no Estonians among its students. There was one native Latvian, Jānis Reiters (Johannes Reuter), a son of a craftsman in Riga, who studied at Tartu university in 1650–6 and became a clergyman.[14] As for the seventeenth century, we do not know any Estonian pastors.

There are very few reports of written Estonian being used outside church, court and administrative authorities and occasional poetry. These cases could be regarded as curiosities, as written Estonian had no place in day-to-day communication. For example, an Estonian duel invitation of 1679 has been preserved in a court record. It was sent by a nobleman's servant Tönnis Jürgensson (*Tonnis Jurgen poick*), a descendant of a Laoküla (Laydes) peasant, to another nobleman who had slapped him in the face. As a duel between representatives of different estates was not possible, the challenge written in Estonian and peppered with insults was probably intended as a double humiliation, giving the sender additional satisfaction. Indeed, the injured party called the invitation a defamation in court.[15] It is not known whether Tönnis Jürgensson himself wrote the letter in the language, which was hard to understand, or used somebody's help. Sometimes the Estonian language can also have served as a means to hide messages in plain sight. For example, in 1684 pastor Johann Wolfgang Boecler from Kuusalu (Kusal) wrote to his wife Gerdruth Göseken, who had escaped to Vilnius, a letter in Estonian to keep the private family matters from the unwanted reader. Gerdruth was a clergyman's daughter and knew

13 [Adrian Virginius,] 'Vorrede. Christlicher und geneigter Leser' [1691] in Osmo Ikola, 'Vanhan eteläVirolaisen käsikirjan esipuhe', *Sananjalka*, 25 (1983), pp. 136–8.

14 Edgars Dunsdorfs and Benjamiņš Jēgers, 'Jāņa Reitera dzīve avotu gaismā', *Arhīvs. Raksti par latviskām problēmām*, 9 (1969), pp. 45–72.

15 Saareste and Cederberg (eds.), *Valik eesti kirjakeele vanemaid mälestisi*, nr. 161, pp. 361–2; Aivar Põldvee, *Pakri rootslaste kaebused Karl XI-le 1684. aastal. Muutuste aeg Harju-Madise ja Risti kihelkonnas* (Keila: Harjumaa Muuseum, 2001), pp. 50–2, doc. nr. 3, p. 146.

FIGURE 8.1 Peasants' of Reigi (Röicks) parish supplication with house marks, 1669. Detail NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ESTONIA (RA), TARTU

the Estonian language.[16] The oldest Estonian epistolary text, dating from the year 1530, has also been regarded as a cipher.[17]

16 Aivar Põldvee, '"Lihtsate eestlaste ebausukombed" ja Johann Wolfgang Boecleri tagasitulek. Lisandusi kiriku, kirjanduse ja kommete ajaloole', in Piret Lotman (ed.), *Ajalookirjutaja aeg. Aetas historicorum* (Tallinn: Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu, 2008), p. 187.

17 Jüri Kivimäe, 'Eestikeelne kiri XVI sajandist', *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 40/5 (1997), pp. 315–26.

In peasant society, the need for writing was rare. It could be needed while making complaints to state authorities, but in these cases people turned to professional writers, who compiled complaints either in German or in Swedish, depending on the addressee. There are some examples of how peasants signed the complaints with house marks drawn with an inexperienced hand.[18]

At the end of the seventeenth century, in connection with the wider spread of reading and writing skills, people started to write in books, and some books with such owner inscriptions have been preserved. In the church handbook *Hand- Hausz- Und Kirchen-Buch, Für die Pfarrherrn und Hausz-Väter Eestnischen Fürstenthumbs* (1673–4), written in the North Estonian, there is the owner's inscription 'Jürgen Hansson Ochter 1690', the names Jürgen and Johan Ochter as well as several handwritten marginalia in Estonian.[19] The handwriting is uneven and orthography insecure. An owner's inscription 'Lutznik Jakop Anno 1691', made with a much more experienced hand, can be found in a copy of the South Estonian New Testament (*Wastne Testament*) of 1686.[20]

Reading skills started to spread among Estonians more widely after 1686, when Karl XI of Sweden issued an order to open a school at every church in the governorate of Livonia. In 1690, a similar decision was made in the governorate of Estonia and in 1692 also in Saaremaa (Ösel in German). In 1686–8, about fifty schools with more than 1200 pupils are known to have existed in the territory of present-day Estonia. During the following years, the number of schools grew and indirect data allow us to assume that before the catastrophic famine of 1695–7 there were about 20,000 people in the country who could read, which makes 5 per cent of the Estonian population, mostly younger people.[21] Reading, the catechism and hymns were taught in parish schools: there are only occasional reports about teaching writing. We know the Audru

18 Peasants of Reigi (Röicks) parish, Hiiumaa (Dagö) to the Consistory of Estonia (10 May 1669). Rahvusarhiiv (National Archives of Estonia; hereafter: RA), Tartu, EAA 1187.2.364, fol. 57–58.

19 Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, *Hand-Hauss-* [sic] *und Kirchen-Buch für die Pfarrherrn und Hauss-Väter Eestnischen Fürstenthumbs* (1673–4), 96, 80 00656 S-1977. Vello Helk, 'Estica-trükiseid Kopenhaagenis ja mujal', *Tuna. Ajalookultuuri Ajakiri*, 3/2 (2000), p. 64.

20 *Meije Issanda Jesusse Kristusse Wastne Testament …* (Riga, Gedruckt durch Johann Georg Wilcken, Königl. Buchdr. Im Jahr M DC LXXXVI), USTC 268928, EKM Arhiivraamatukogu, ÕES 20 (1).

21 Aivar Põldvee, 'Peasant schools in Estland and Livland during the last quarter of the seventeenth century', in Kristiina Ross and Pēteris Vanags (eds.), *Common Roots of the Latvian and Estonian Literary Languages* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), pp. 61–99; Enn Küng and Marten Seppel (eds.), *Eesti ajalugu, III: Vene-Liivimaa sõjast Põhjasõjani* (Tartu Ülikooli ajaloo ja arheoloogia instituut, 2013), pp. 408–14.

(Audern) pastor Friedrich Döpner made his schoolboys rewrite hymns as there were too few hymnals.[22] As for the seventeenth century, only one letter written by an Estonian in the Estonian language is known: a supplication written by Jüri (*Jürri*), sexton of Rõuge (Rauge) parish, in 1698 to the 'bishop', that is, superintendent general of Livonia, about pay he had not received.[23] Against this background, the letters by Käsu Hans are extremely remarkable, as they are not a one-time address to the authorities, but correspondence held about day-to-day matters with personal acquaintances.

2 Käsu Hans, His Mentors and His Addressees

There is very little biographical information available about Käsu Hans, as the archives of Puhja church were destroyed during the Great Northern War (1700–21). Villem Reiman assumed that Hans studied in Tartu in the schoolmasters' seminary of Bengt Gottfried Forselius.[24] The earlier biography is based on Friedrich Gustav Bienemann's data, which mostly come from the parish registers of the Puhja congregation (new registers were started in 1713) and from eighteenth-century visitation protocols. Bienemann found that Käsu Hans (Hans from Käsu farm) was first mentioned as Puhja sexton in 1701, but while interpreting the later data he mistakenly identified Käsu Hans (*Käßo Hanß*, *H. Kes*) as his successor, also called Hans (Märdi Hans – *Merdi Hans*, *Marthy Hans*).[25] This mistake was pointed out in the 1930s, but remained unnoticed.[26]

In 1944, August Annist summed up everything known by that time about Käsu Hans. However, his longer anonymous serial in the newspaper *Eesti Sõna* remained unfinished as a result of the occupation of Estonia by the Soviet Union at the end of the Second World War.[27] During the years of the Soviet occupation, Käsu Hans became a taboo topic, as his lament brought to mind

22 Riksarkivet (National Archives of Sweden), Stockholm, Livonica II, Livländska överkonsistoriets arkiv SE/RA/2402.3, vol. 401, Brev, supplement, 1635–95, Friedrich Döpner to Supreme Consistory of Livonia, 26 June 1689.

23 Facsimile in Otto Liiv and Hans Kruus (eds.), *Eesti ajalugu, III: Rootsi ja Poola aeg* (Tartu: Eesti Kirjanduse Selts, 1940), figure 75; Vello Helk, 'Rõuge köstri kodumurdeline palvekiri', *Tulimuld. Eesti kirjanduse ja kultuuri ajakiri*, 34/3 (1984), pp. 134–136.

24 Reiman, 'Kõige wanem Eesti mehe kiri', p. 2.

25 Bienemann, *Die Katastrophe der Stadt Dorpat*, pp. 83–92; H. Schmidt, 'Käsu Hans', in A. R. Cederberg etc. (eds.), *Eesti biograafiline leksikon* (Tartu: Loodus, 1926–1929), p. 250.

26 'Käsu Hansu elulugu. Ta nutulaulu eeskujud', *Waba Maa*, 43 (20 February 1931), p. 6.

27 August Annist, 'Tartu hävitus 240 aasta eest. Sündmused, millest esimene eesti soost kirjanik Käsu Hans lõi oma "ikulaulu"', *Eesti Sõna*, 209 (8 September 1944), p. 6; 211 (10 September 1944), p. 6; 213 (13 September 1944), p. 6; 217 (17 September 1944), p. 6.

historical parallels with the destruction of Tartu in the Second World War.[28] Annist's research was published only after the end of the occupation, almost half a century later on the basis of his draft manuscript, which had been preserved at the Estonian Literary Museum.[29] Annist remained undecided about the biographical data of Käsu Hans. He believed Reiman's version that Hans was one of Forselius' students in Tartu, which meant that Hans could have been born around 1665–70, was about forty years old when he wrote his lament, and presumably died in about 1715. Annist did not rule out Bienemann's version that after the insecure times Hans served as a sexton under the name of Märdi Hans and in 1734 gave his vocation over to his son Samuel Klokkar (*klockare* in Swedish, literally 'bell-ringer', parish clerk with duties similar to those of sexton). After Annist's research, only one piece of information has been added to Käsu Hans's biography: during the resistance to Swedish soldiers in Puhja in 1703, Pastor Könik Könikson and Sexton *Hans Kess* encouraged the peasants to take back their hay that the soldiers had requisitioned, as the soldiers had no written permission.[30] We can even today find both versions of Käsu Hans's biography in reference works, accounts of literary history, and so forth.

Käsu Hans as the first Estonian poet and the dramatic character of his lament have also inspired writers. In 1942, Friedebert Tuglas started to write a longer piece of fiction about Käsu Hans, but during the insecure period managed to finish only six initial chapters plus single separate pages about the periods of the protagonist's later life.[31] In 1954, the literary historian Herbert Salu, who had emigrated to Sweden, published the novel *Surmatrummid ja pajupill* ('Death drums and willow whistle'), written as Käsu Hans's diary.[32] In 2009, Mart Kivastik's play *Käsu Hansu ajalootund* ('Käsu Hans's history lesson') was staged. Nowadays, Käsu Hans's lament has found its way into anthologies of Estonian poetry and school literature programmes.

The central assumption, on which both Käsu Hans's date of birth and his educational profile are based, lies in his studies at the so-called seminary of Forselius in Tartu. The school had been founded on the initiative of the superintendent general, Johann Fischer, and it educated parish schoolmasters in

28 Maie Kalda, 'Käsu Hansu pretsedent', *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 35/8 (1992), pp. 472–4.

29 August Annist, 'Käsu Hans ja tema "ikulaul" Tartu hävitamisest', *Akadeemia. Eesti Kirjanike Liidu kuukiri Tartus*, 4/12 (1992), 5/1 (1993), pp. 2484–501, 125–49.

30 Sulev Vahtre, 'Senitundmatu fakt Käsu Hansu eluloost', *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 8/11 (1965), pp. 657–8.

31 Friedebert Tuglas, 'Käsu Hansu noorus. Katkeid Käsu Hansu kroonikast', in Friedebert Tuglas, *Neli novelli* (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1966), pp. 98–125.

32 Herbert Salu, *Surmatrummid ja pajupill. Ülestähendusi Tartust Issanda aastal 1704* (Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv, 1954).

1684–6.[33] During its first winter, the school worked in Piiskopi (Bischofshof) manor near Tartu, and during the second winter in a big house in a suburb of Tartu. The students received free board and lodging, and according to two different sources there were either 160 or almost 200 of them.[34] There is no exact data available about their curriculum. Sources mention reading, singing and praying, that is, catechism, while indirect reports also refer to writing and book binding. Besides Bengt Gottfried Forselius (*c.*1660–88), two Estonian boys from peasant families acted as assistant teachers. A year before, Forselius had taught them in a school that operated in his native Risti (Kreuz) rectory, in North-West Estonia. One of the assistant teachers was fifteen years old, which raises the possibility that the schoolboys were about the same age or a little younger.[35] Thus we might agree with the hypothesis that Käsu Hans was born in about 1670 and received his basic education at Tartu school. Most probably his father was Käsu Peets (*Keßo Peetz*), the owner (*peremees* in Estonian, *Wirth* in German) of a quarter-ploughland household in Teilma village, who was an overseer (*kubjas* in Estonian, *Schultheiß* in German) and thus belonged to the elite of the local village community.[36] The only fact known to us about the final days of Käsu Hans is the notice that in about 1710, a new sexton was hired in Puhja. Pastor Laurentius Lechander, who was invited to Puhja in 1708, was imprisoned and sent to Pskov, being later released in an exchange of prisoners.[37] Possibly Käsu Hans was also taken to Russia.

In Puhja, the school was founded by Adrian Virginius (also Vergin, 1663–1706), who started as a pastor there at the end of 1686. Virginius wrote in his

33 About the seminary and the parish schools see: Põldvee, 'Peasant schools', pp. 67–74, 81–6.

34 Friedrich Georg von Bunge, 'Zur Geschichte Des Bauerschulwesens und der Leibeigenschaft in Livland', *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Esth- und Curlands*, 4 (1845), pp. 105–10; Aivar Põldvee and Kai Tafenau, 'Emanuel Reger über den Aufbau des livländischen Schulwesens (1708): Transkription und Kommentar', *Forschungen zur baltischen Geschichte*, 13 (2018), pp. 121–40.

35 Aivar Põldvee, 'Uustalu Bengti tundmatu elutee ja elutöö', in Andres Andresen (ed.), *Muinasaja loojangust omariikluse läveni. Pühendusteos Sulev Vahtre 75. sünnipäevaks* (Tartu: Ajaloosihtasutus Kleio, 2001), pp. 205–221; Aivar Põldvee, 'Lisandusi koolmeister Bengt Adamsoni eluloole', *Haridus*, 2 (2010), pp. 41–5.

36 'Keßo Peetz', see Rahvusarhiiv (National Archives of Estonia; hereafter: RA), Tartu, Description book (1684), EAA.308.6.283, fol. 5. The plougland (*Haken* in German, *adramaa* in Estonian) refers roughly to a unit of land that could be cultivated by one plough. Actually, it is a complex concept that served varying functions like land measurement, taxation etc. at different times. A quarter-ploughland was size of a normal peasant household in Livonia in the seventeenth century. Peasant households were owned by landlords or by the Swedish state.

37 Carl Eduard Napiersky, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchen und Prediger Livland*, III:2 (Jelgava [Mitau]: J. F. Steffenhagen und Sohn, 1851), p. 50; Martin Ottow and Wilhelm Lenz (eds.), *Die evangelischen Prediger Livlands bis 1918* (Köln: Böhlau, 1977), p. 315.

biography that one of his first tasks as a pastor was to establish a good school at the church and hire a schoolmaster, so that the pastor's time would not be tied to teaching peasants' children. Old people and adults who were not sufficiently familiar with the word of God were also invited to listen to the catechism lessons.[38] Virginius sent two Puhja boys, who had studied in Tartu, to work as schoolmasters in the manors of influential noblemen in more distant parishes. In the winter of 1688, forty-eight boys and some girls studied in Puhja school. In summer, two days a week, the schoolmaster taught reading, singing and catechism to those children who had come to school later in winter. On Sundays, the schoolchildren's skills were demonstrated in church in front of the congregation.[39] Virginius does not mention the schoolmaster's name, but most probably it was Käsu Hans, who after a while also started to carry out the duties of a sexton in Puhja.

It is hard to imagine a more suitable mentor for the young Estonian schoolmaster than Adrian Virginius. Virginius was one of the best speakers of Estonian among the clergy of Livonia. In 1683, he interrupted his university studies in Germany and started at Superintendent General Johann Fischer's command to prepare school and church books in South Estonian for print in Riga. Among them, the most important was the New Testament (*Wastne Testament*), which appeared in print in 1686. Its main translator was his father Andreas Virginius, pastor of Kambja (Camby). Bengt Gottfried Forselius studied in Tallinn Gymnasium a bit earlier than Adrian Virginius. Their paths crossed when in August and September 1686 a Bible conference was held in Johann Fischer's manor in Liepa (Lindenhof) to edit the North Estonian version of the New Testament. At the conference, Forselius presented his proposals for orthographic reform, which were based on his experience received from his students, and suggested that with a limited alphabet and way of writing, which corresponded to the Estonian pronunciation, it would take only a few months to learn to read.[40] The most influential clerics of the governorate of Estonia rejected the innovations, but Fischer still pursued his goal. In Riga, primers were printed in North Estonian with the innovative orthography and new method, and Forselius and Virginius together compiled a small North Estonian hymnal for schools. At the end of 1687, Johann Hornung (*c.*1660–1715),

38 '*Curriculum Vitae Adriani Verginii*', LVVA, Riga, 214.6.144a/12, fol. 330.

39 Adrian Virginius to Bengt Gottfried Forselius, 28 July 1688, in Greta Wieselgren, 'B. G. Forselius und die Grundlegung der estnischen Volksschule. Urkunden und Kommentar', *Vetenskapssocieteten i Lund. Årsbok* (1942), p. 120.

40 Aivar Põldvee, 'Seventeenth Century Estonian Orthography Reform, the Teaching of Reading and the History of Ideas', *Trames: Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 15/4 (2011), pp. 365–84.

Forselius' nephew and Virginius' schoolmate from Kiel University arrived in Puhja to translate the New Testament from Greek into North Estonian at his host's house.[41] Later, Hornung compiled a North Estonian grammar book based on Forselius' linguistic innovations.[42] Virginius worked with his father at the translation of the Old Testament and at the beginning of 1691 he had to move to Riga at Fischer's invitation for more than a year to finish the translation and prepare a South Estonian church handbook of innovative orthography. In Puhja he was temporarily substituted by Salomo Heinrich Vestring (1663–1749), Virginius' schoolmate from Riga Lyceum and a linguist, whose major work is the manuscript of an Estonian–German dictionary.[43] During these years, the Puhja pastorate was like an institute of the Estonian language. The local sexton most probably witnessed everything happening there, and maybe was also consulted as a native speaker.

In 1694, Adrian Virginius was invited to take up duties as a pastor at Otepää (Odenpeh) and Puhja church was given as a prebend to Professor Skragge, who was one of Käsu Hans's addressees. Gabriel Skragge (1660–1710) came from Hedemora in Sweden, had studied in Uppsala and Jena and in 1690 in the reopened Tartu University became a professor of oriental languages and Greek, and in 1698 the third professor of theology. From 1693, he was a member of the consistory in Tartu and a year later became a pastor at Puhja.[44] Skragge received extra income from his prebend, but the real work in the congregation was mostly done by chaplains, Zacharias Brenner (1694–6) from Finland and Olaus Levelin (1696–1700) from Sweden. The most important assistant of the pastor and chaplain was the local sexton and schoolmaster. In 1699, the university moved to Pärnu (Pernau) and Könik Könikson took over Skragge's pastorship at Puhja. In the winter of 1700, the Great Northern War broke out. During the fit of panic that hit Pärnu in the summer, Skragge was one of the first professors to flee, whereupon Karl XII of Sweden dismissed him from service. In March 1702 Skragge attempted to get his professorship back, but without success.[45] Under what circumstances he was in Tartu during the next

41 Vello Helk, 'Lisaandmeid perekond Hornungi kohta', *Tulimuld. Eesti kirjanduse ja kultuuri ajakiri*, 42/1 (1992), pp. 51–3.

42 Johann Hornung, *Grammatica Esthonica, brevi, Perspicuâ tamen methodo ad Dialectum Revaliensem* (Riga: Joh. Georg Wilck[en], 1693).

43 Salomo Heinrich Vestring, *Lexicon estonico germanicum. Eesti-saksa sõnaraamat*, ed. and preface Ellen Kaldjärv (Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, 1998).

44 Ottow and Lenz (eds.), *Die evangelischen Prediger* (Köln: Böhlau, 1977), pp. 431–2 (nr. 1762); Alvin Isberg, *Livlands kyrkostyrelse 1622–1695. Reformsträvanden, åsiktsbrytningar och kompetenstvister i teori och praxis* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1968), p. 234.

45 Georg von Rauch, *Die Universität Dorpat und das Eindringen der frühen Aufklärung in Livland 1690–1710* (Essen: Essener Verlagsanstalt, 1943), pp. 153–7, 169; Helmut Piirimäe

winter is not exactly known to us, but Käsu Hans knew about it and sent his letters to Tartu.[46] In 1705 Skragge became the superintendent of Saaremaa, where among other things he compiled the curriculum for the Estonian school in Kuressaare (Ahrensburg).[47] In 1706 Skragge was appointed superintendent general of Livonia, residing in Pärnu. Käsu Hans's private letter probably found its way to the archives of the Supreme Consistory together with other papers belonging to Gabriel Skragge.

Käsu Hans's second addressee, the Puhja pastor Könik Könikson (Könik Kuuth, Kenicius Kenicii, 1666–1708), was born in Anundsjö in Sweden. He studied at Uppsala and Tartu universities, learned as a student both German and Estonian and obtained his master's degree in 1693 under Professor Gabriel Skragge's presidency. In the same year, Könikson took up teaching at Tallinn cathedral school. In 1695, he applied for the post of rector there, but with no success; after that he left for Tartu, where he became the rector of the town school and thereafter an assistant pastor for the Swedish congregation. In 1700, he was invited to Puhja to become a pastor.[48] During his time in Puhja, Könikson is known to have participated in the revolt against Swedish soldiers. In the summer of 1704, Russian troops conquered Tartu and this also created a new situation for the clergy in the neighbourhood. On 30 September 1704, the former Puhja pastor and the then Otepää pastor Adrian Virginius was arrested by the Russians and accused of maintaining correspondence with the enemy. Virginius was held in prison for a long time and then beheaded, together with his alleged co-culprit, the Otepää sexton Jacob Erdmann, in June 1706 in Tartu.[49] Könik Könikson escaped from the 'barbarous enemy', as he put it, from Puhja to Pärnu and became a military cleric there in 1705. In February 1706,

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(ed.), *Tartu ülikooli ajalugu, 1: 1632–1798* (Tallinn: Valgus, 1982), pp. 132–4; August Buchholtz, 'Verzeichniss sämmtlicher Professoren der ehemaligen Universitäten zu Dorpat und Pernau und der academischen Beamten', *Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Ehst- und Kurlands*, 7 (1853), pp. 184–5.

46 G. Skragge's letters to the Supreme Consistory of Livonia reveal that he was in Tartu already in 1701 and dealt with consistorial matters, among other things carrying out a visitation in the state school. Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Livonica II, Livländska överkonsistoriets arkiv SE/RA/2402.3, vol. 415, Brev och suppliker 1702–3, Gabriel Skragge to Supreme Consistory in Pärnu (Pernau), 9 December 1701, 14 March and 7 July 1702.

47 Mart Lepik, 'Kuressaare eesti kooli õppekava 1706. a.', *Ajalooline Ajakiri*, 4 (1929), pp. 236–9.

48 Ottow and Lenz (eds.), *Die evangelischen Prediger*, p. 299 (nr. 941); Yrjö Kotivuori, '*Könik Kuuth*' (16 August 2011), in Yrjö Kotivuori (ed.), *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 2005), https://ylioppilasmatrikkeli.helsinki.fi/henkilo.php?id=U436, accessed 20 May 2018; Rauch, *Die Universität Dorpat*, p. 117; Piirimäe (ed.), *Tartu ülikooli ajalugu*, pp. 104, 241, 258; RA, Tartu, Two letters of Könik Könikson to Bishop and Consistory of Estonia, date unkown (1695), EAA 1187.2.379, fol. 233, 280.

49 Margus Laidre, *Dorpat 1558–1708. Linn väe ja vaenu vahel* (Tallinn: Argo, 2008), pp. 633–7.

the vice-governor of Livonia, Gustav Adolf Strömfeldt, sent Magister Könikson with a certain task ('in gewißen Angelegenheiten') to Tartu district and quite possibly he happened to visit Puhja once again. In the autumn of 1706, Könikson became an adjunct for the Swedish congregation, who gathered in Pärnu in the chapel of the university. Könikson presumably died in the spring of 1708. Käsu Hans's letter, which was most probably among his papers, found its way to the archives of the Supreme Consistory of Livonia.[50]

3 The Contents of Käsu Hans's Letters

The contents of the three preserved letters are not fully comprehensible in all details. As both Professor Skragge and Pastor Könikson were Käsu Hans's former acquaintances, the circumstances and persons were known by default to both parties and Hans needed no excessive words to explain himself. We may infer that these were not the only letters written by Käsu Hans to Skragge and Könikson, but fragments of a longer correspondence, preserved by chance. Skragge's and Könikson's letters to Käsu Hans have not been preserved, and nor have any other letters either sent to him or written by him.

1) Letters to Professor Gabriel Skragge in Tartu, 22 December 1702 and 20 January 1703

In 1702–3, Sexton Hans wrote to Professor Skragge about school land.[51] The king's order of 1686 had decreed that parish schoolmasters should be provided with quarter-ploughland farms, which had to be the main source of the schoolmaster's income. It had to be separated from the lands that had been returned to the Crown during the Great Reduction of noble fiefs (1680s). However, this process could not be carried out everywhere without obstacles. Hans's letter reveals that Puhja received its school land during Professor Skragge's time, only in 1694 or even later, and Hans made his first sowing there with his own seed-corn. For some reason, Hans was worried that he might be dismissed soon, nobody would believe him and he would lose his seed-corn. Therefore he asked the professor to give him a written statement. In the second letter, Hans thanks the professor for his joyful reply, but has to remind him that he has not yet received the statement, which he had repeatedly asked for and which the honourable professor had promised to send. Hans adds that he would gladly travel to town, but he is too busy, as there was catechising going on in

50 Põldvee, 'Käsu Hansu kirjad', pp. 91–2.

51 LVVA, Riga, 233.1.837, fol. 552–5^{v}; published in Põldvee, 'Käsu Hansu kirjad', pp. 98–101.

the parish at that time. Hans mentions in his postscript that he is sending a couple of tankards (probably of beer) to the professor with the person who is to deliver the letter.

No information is available about how the problem was solved. There are only some hints in the 1717 visitation protocol, which includes statements by Puhja peasants, Pastor Lechander (see above) and the old wife of the sexton ('die alte Küsterin'). The latter was most probably Käsu Hans's widow, otherwise Hans would have explained the case himself. The protocol mentions a disputed piece of land, which had been taken away from the pastorate and which the district bailiff (*Kreisvogt*) had investigated already thirty years earlier. According to the peasants' statement, the piece of land under dispute had to be part of the school land, meaning it belonged to the sexton. Relations with the Kavilda (Kawelecht) manor were also tense under the new pastor, Erik Candelin. The pastor complained that in 1715 the manor had deprived the pastorate of the sexton's bathhouse. It had been replaced with another bathhouse, but this was in such poor condition that the manor was told to build a new one. The protocol mentions that the sexton 'Marthy Hans' has been in this job for seven years. He was a peasant from Ulila (Ullila) manor, whom the landlord had allowed to serve the church only if his children remained the manor's serfs. Like the previous sexton, 'Marthy Hans' was also a schoolmaster; he could write, but could not lead German songs very well.[52]

2) Letter to pastor Könik Könikson in Pärnu, 14 February 1706

The 1706 letter was written during the second year of the Russian rule of Tartu.[53] At the beginning of 1706, only five Tartu district pastors out of twenty-nine were serving their congregations. The rest of them had either sought refuge, worked as military chaplains, been taken to Russia, been imprisoned (like Virginius) or were dead.[54] During the months before the letter was written, Swedish troops around Tartu had become so active that Russians feared they would besiege the town. Swedes were already within gunshot and were burning the Russians' boats on the river Emajõgi (Embach). However, their actions did not go beyond blockading the town and cutting its supply lines. Russians

52 RA, Tartu, EAA.1262.1.35 Protocol of church visitation in Kawelecht/Puhja, 21. September 1717, fol. 3–6, 9v.

53 EKM, Tartu, EKLA, f. 105 Villem Reiman (EKS), m. 48:3; published in Põldvee, 'Käsu Hansu kirjad', pp. 102–3. The letter, which according to Villem Reiman was held in the archives of the Supreme Consistory of Livonia, was until recently in its original form unknown to researchers.

54 Bienemann, *Die Katastrophe der Stadt Dorpat*, pp. 64–9.

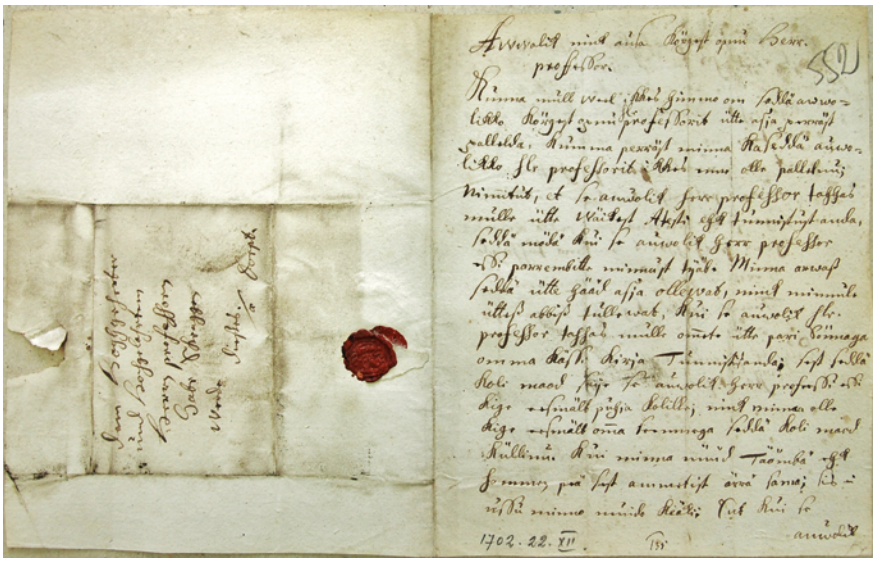

FIGURE 8.2 Käsu Hans to Professor Gabriel Skragge, 22 December 1702
LATVIAN STATE HISTORICAL ARCHIVES (LVVA), RIGA

feared espionage and demanded no letter be sent out of town unless it was read to the commander.[55]

At the same time, Käsu Hans felt quite safe in Puhja. He starts his letter with news about the war, and the news sounds promising: the enemy is not seriously feared any more – rather, the enemies are afraid themselves – and it is rumoured that the Russians' leaders are trying to flee from Tartu. Thereafter Hans informs Könikson that Pastor 'Oldenkop' (Bernhard Johann Oldekop from Äksi/Ecks) wanted to come to Puhja to celebrate communion, but had to give up the idea as they had no wine or wafers. Now, Hans consulted his people and collected money, as he wanted to bring – together with a churchwarden – wine and wafers from Pärnu (before that, these were brought from Tartu). Hans hopes that things would take a turn for the better and the pastor could come back to Puhja with them. In a postscript he asks the pastor to write to Lieutenant 'Naldenstatt' (Johan Nandelstädt, most probably Könikson's son-in-law) to send the church master's peasants to the forest to bring wood, because a new fence had to be built for the pastorate (the old one had been burnt for firewood). Finally Hans mentions that he has been trying to protect the pastor's fruit trees, but in vain.

55 Laidre, *Dorpat 1558–1708*, pp. 629–31.

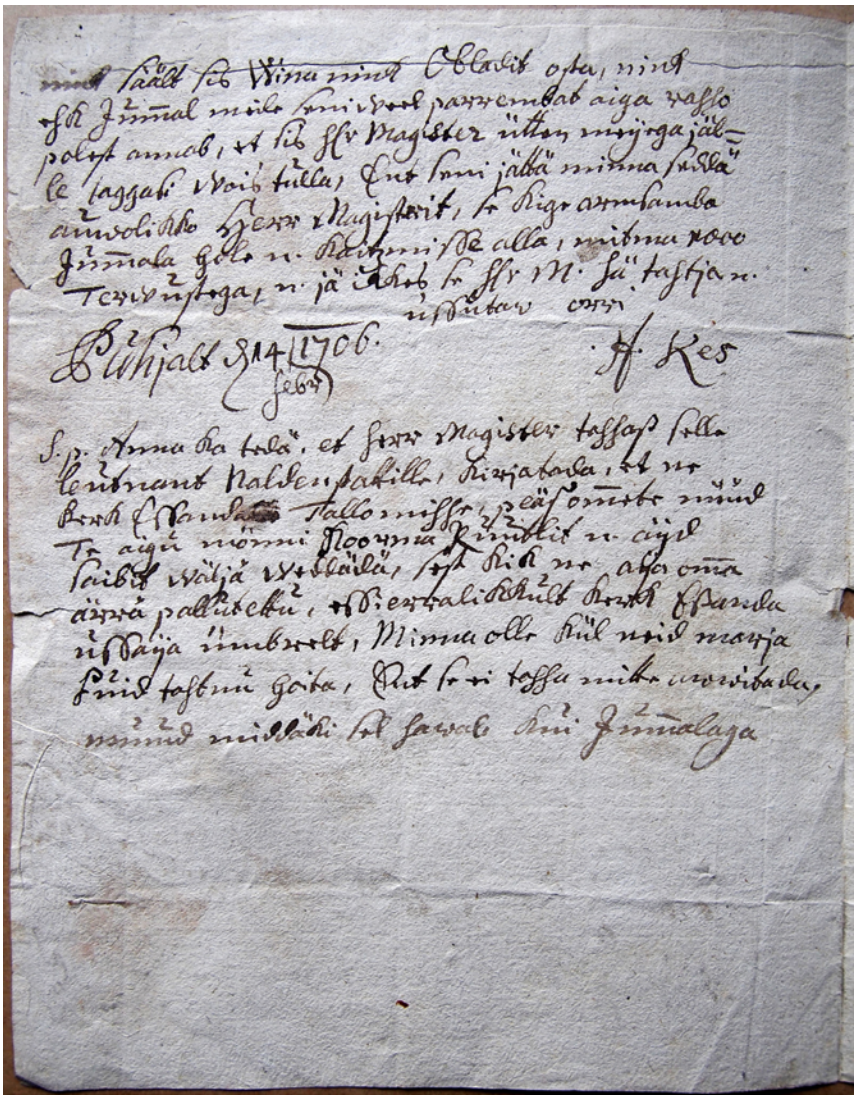

FIGURE 8.3 Käsu Hans to Pastor Könik Könikson, 14 February 1706
ESTONIAN LITERARY MUSEUM (EKM), TARTU

4 Käsu Hans's Lament

Käsu Hans's lament has been thoroughly researched by August Annist and its linguistic aspects have been analysed by Aino Valmet.[56] Here, we only briefly

56 Annist, 'Käsu Hans'; Aino Valmet, 'Käsu Hansu kaebelaul ja selle keelekasutus', *Akadeemia. Eesti Kirjanike Liidu kuukiri Tartus*, 5/1 (1993), pp. 161–73.

describe the content of the lament, because it reflects not only Hans's literary abilities, but also his education and political attitudes. During the Great Northern War Russian attacks in the Baltic provinces of Sweden lasted from the year 1700 and ended with the capitulation of Riga, Tallinn and other cities in 1710. Hans, who had witnessed the horrors of the war, the destruction inflicted on Tartu, and also deportation, describes in his poem the Russians' deeds as a dedicated Swedish patriot. In Otepää, Adrian Virginius had even formed a defensive unit of peasants like him. Annist emphasised Käsu Hans's lament's epic *élan* and historical accuracy as well as the simple rustic vividness of his language. He calls Käsu Hans the Nestor (that is, the chronicler) of Puhja, as his chronicle-like text reveals deep empathy with the fate of his country and his nation as well as his forefathers' sorrow, resentment, hope and suffering in war.[57]

Käsu Hans's lament, written in 1708, was preserved as a transcript made in the church registers in 1714 by Pastor Johann Heinrich Grotjan of Tartu's St John's church after his arrival from imprisonment in Russia.[58] The poem is written in the first person, starting with the words 'Oh! ma waene Tardo liin' ('Oh me! Poor Tartu town!'[59]) and contains 32 stanzas in 256 lines.[60] First, the personified Tartu reminisces about its glorious, wealthy and happy bygone days, during which the town with its beautiful houses, garners full of grain, schools and fine churches had its own academy and court of appeal, and major fairs were held. Hans describes how a lot of money came to town, so that both food and shelter grew more expensive for its highly educated professors, students at the academy, honest assessors and people going to court. Greed and unkindness towards its citizens and guests were to blame, and the Russians' attack was the punishment for these sins. Then comes the description of the siege, bombardment, fires and plundering as well as of citizens' imprisonment and persecution. Hans mentions by name the magistrate (Abraham) Moresin

57 Annist, 'Käsu Hans', pp. 126–7, 148–9.

58 RA, Tartu, EAA.1253.3.1, 'Kirchenbuch der Deutschen Gemeine an der St. Johannis-Kirche zu Dorpat', fol. 9–10^{v}.

59 Comment and translation into English of line 13: Hilary Bird (transl. and ed.), *An introduction to Estonian literature* (Bloomington: Slavica, 2018), pp. 23–8. See also Endel Nirk, *Estonian Literature: Historical Survey* (Tallinn: Perioodika, 1987), pp. 35–6; Mart Velsker, 'South Estonian Literature: A New Phenomenon with a Centuries-long History', *Interlitteraria*, 20/1 (2015), pp. 122–3.

60 First publication, comment and translation into German: Friedrich Bienemann, *Die Katastrophe der Stadt Dorpat während des Nordischen Krieges. Nebst zeitgenössischen Aufzeichnungen* (Reval: Franz Kluge, 1902), pp. 82–98 ('Ein estnisches Klagelied auf die Zerstörung Dorpats und sein Verfasser'). Publication and contemporised reconstruction: August Annist, 'Käsu Hansu kaebelaul', *Akadeemia. Eesti kirjanike liidu kuukiri Tartus*, 5/1 (1993), pp. 150–60.

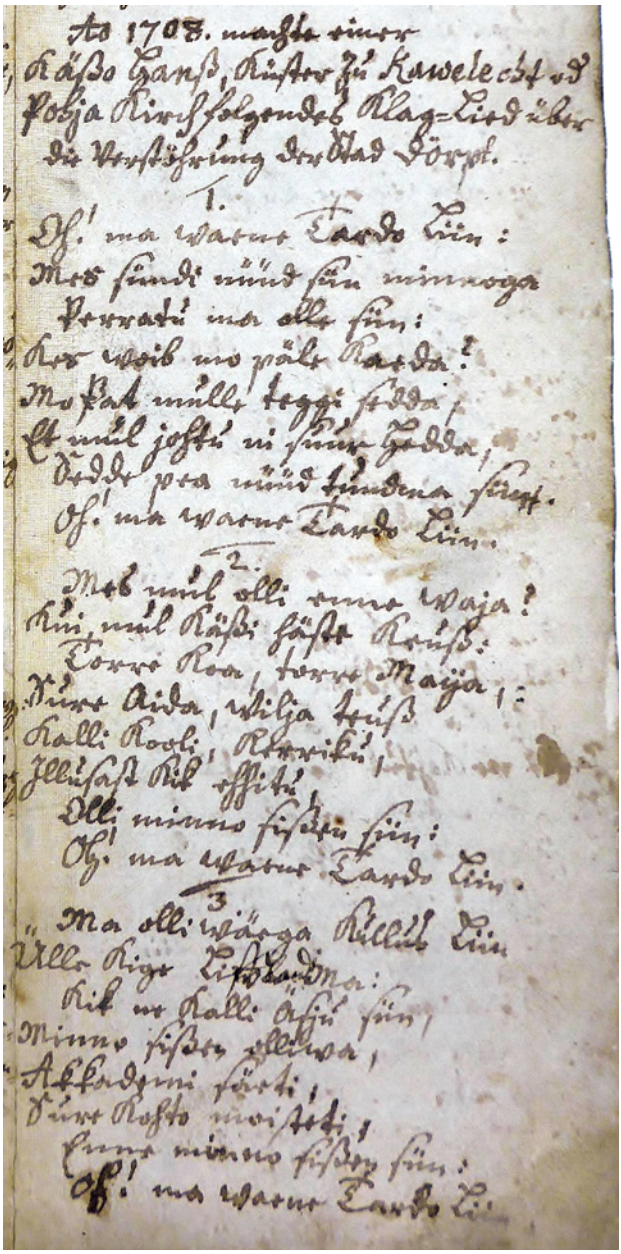

FIGURE 8.4 Käsu Hans's lament (1708). Transcript by Johann Heinrich Grotjan, 1714. Detail
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ESTONIA (RA), TARTU

and the excise inspector (Claus) Kropp, whom the Russians hanged in 1708. He talks about taking the imprisoned Swedes to Narva and the deportation of citizens to Russia as well as the burning of villages. The final part of the lament describes the destruction in town – the walls pulled down, moats filled with earth, dwelling houses and churches collapsed. Hans begs all honest folk to write down in their own language what the Russian wrath ('Wenne Wihha'), that is, war did to Tartu, and also weaves into his poem the date when the town was burnt down: 'Anno Tuhhat seitse Sadda / Päle Katessa … Margret Päiwal', meaning St Margaret's Day, 13 July 1708. Hans calls Russians tyrants ('Tyrran') and begs Tallinn, Pärnu and Riga to be humble, turn away from sin and learn from the example of Tartu, which has become no more than a heap of stones.

In stanza 20 of the lament, Hans states: 'Hirmusß Hedda se olli nätta, / Halle om sest Kirjota' ('this was an awful pain to see, this is a great pity to *write* about it'). This clearly demonstrates that Käsu Hans's lament was written, not born as an oral work like folk songs, although this song, too, passed from mouth to mouth, itself became a folk song.[61] As far as the contents go, the lament is similar to the Tartu cleric Timann Brakel's dialogue in verse, *Christlich Gesprech von der grawsamen Zerstörung in Lifland* (1579).[62] The story, which tells us about Jerusalem's destruction, appeared in a South Estonian church handbook (1691) edited by Adrian Virginius. It was based on *The Jewish War* by Flavius Josephus, and has been regarded as an example for the composition of Käsu Hans's lament. However, considerable similarities can be detected between his lament and four anonymous threnodies written to commemorate King Karl XI of Sweden, bearing marks of South Estonian dialect (1697).[63] August Annist does not exclude the possibility that these could also have been written by Käsu Hans. Most probably he at least knew them and maybe even sang them in Puhja church.[64] In one of them, the author says: 'Es olle enne teddä mitt / Me Rahwal Tarkust üttekitt'. It means that before King Karl XI of Sweden, '*we*', that is, the Estonians, had no knowledge or education whatsoever.

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61 Heinrich Prants, "Tarto liina ikulaulu' teisend, Ida-Võrumaa versioonis', *Eesti Kirjandus*, 12 (1932), pp. 596–601.

62 Vahur Aabrams, 'Käsu Hans (1665?–1734?). Eluloolisi pidepunkte', *EEVA. Eesti vanema kirjanduse digitaalne tekstikogu,* https://utlib.ut.ee/eeva/index.php?lang=et&do=autor&aid=48, accessed 20 May 2019).

63 Saareste and Cederberg (eds.), *Valik eesti kirjakeele vanemaid mälestisi*, pp. 245–65.

64 Annist, 'Käsu Hans', pp. 144–7. See also Anneli Mihkelev, 'Texts of Tallinn and Tartu in Estonian poetry', in Virve Sarapik, Kadri Tüür, and Mari Laanemets (eds.), *Koht ja paik. Place and location, II* (Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 2002), pp. 435–9; Elle-Mari Talivee, *Kuidas kirjutada linna. Eesti proosa linnamaastik aastail 1877–1903* (Tallinn: Tallinna Ülikool, 2017), pp. 36–40.

5 Käsu Hans and the Art of Writing

The art of letter writing has always been surrounded by a set of rules of rhetoric and epistolary culture, teachings and customs characteristic of the period. It had to observe good practice and conventions, and to consider social hierarchies and wider socio-cultural norms. It also depended on writing implements and postal conditions.[65] The matter-of-fact contents of Käsu Hans's letters, their correctness and clear handwriting leave no doubt that he was an experienced writer, for whom sending written messages was a common thing and a convenient way of smooth communication. Hans knew the general principles of letter writing, the conventions which had already been taught in medieval handbooks (*ars dictaminis*, *ars dictandi*) and which spread more widely through printed textbooks in the early-modern period (*ars epistolica*, *ars epistolandi*).[66] His letters start with complimentary phrases and titles or *salutatio*, which he varies nicely, then present the main topic (*narratio*) and his aim or proposal (*petitio*), and finishes with summarising compliments (*conclusio*), which ask for the addressee's goodwill (*captatio benevolentiae*). In classical letters, the rhetorical figure was presented after the salutation, but as Hans was writing to old acquaintances, he got down to business right away. In one of his letters, he addresses the professor in Latin: *Salutem!* In the letters, the addresses, dates and place names are in German (Dörpt, Pernau), the text contains abbreviations ('Hr M', 'Jan', 'febr', 'Decembr', 'Ao.', 'p.s.'); two of the letters end with postscripts, in one case 's.p.' [sic]. The addresses on the letters demonstrate that in 1706 Hans's German orthography had somewhat improved, which shows that he knew some German too. What language Professor Skragge and Pastor Könikson used to reply to him is not known. In view of their professions, command of the Estonian language was essential to both of them.

65 For an introduction to the theme see Roger Chartier, Alain Boureau, and Cécile Dauphin, *Correspondence: Models of Letter-writing from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); David Barton and Nigel Hall (eds.), *Letter Writing as a Social Practice* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin, 2000); James J. Murphy (ed.), *A Short History of Writing Instruction: From Ancient Greece to Contemporary America* (London: Routledge, 2012); Alexandru Duțu, Edgar Hösch and Norbert Oellers (eds.), *Brief und Briefwechsel in Mittel- und Osteuropa im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Essen: R. Hobbing, 1989); Kristi Viiding, 'Humanistlik epistolaarkultuur Eesti- ja Liivimaal. Tallinna literaatide kirjad Meibomide kirjakollektsioonis', in Piret Lotman (ed.), *Konfessioon ja kirjakultuur. Confession and the Literary Culture* (Tallinn: Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu, 2016), pp. 118–27.

66 See Martin Camargo, 'Ars Dictaminis', in Theresa Enos (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition: Communication from Ancient Times to the Information Age* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 36–38; Emil J. Polak, *Medieval and Renaissance Letter Treatises and Form Letters*, 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1992–2015).

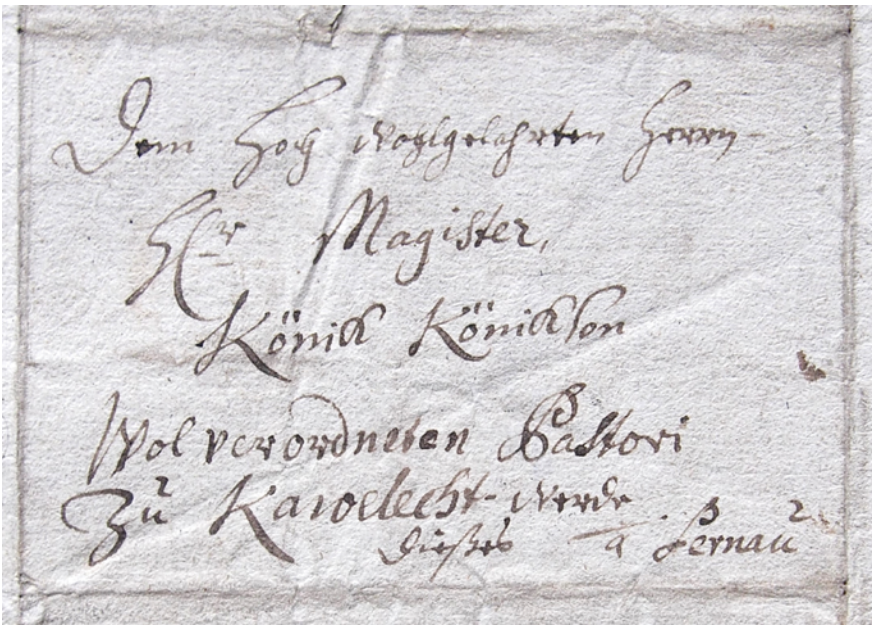

FIGURE 8.5 Käsu Hans to Pastor Könik Könikson, 14 February 1706. Address
ESTONIAN LITERARY MUSEUM (EKM), TARTU

In the seventeenth century, letter writing at the level described above was taught at the so-called German school and grammar school (*schola trivialis*), where grammar books included samples of simple and practical letters. Most probably Hans learned his basic writing skills from Bengt Gottfried Forselius, whose new orthography he follows in his letters. In Puhja, Adrian Virginius supposedly supervised him, and Hans later improved his skills, imitating others and learning from replies sent to him. Hans folded his letters, as was usually done, and sealed them with sealing wax, into which he pressed a seal with his ring. The image on Hans's seal and its meaning need further clarification; at first glance there seems to be a man wearing a long robe together with a horse rampant or St George with a sword and a dragon.

Hans's handwriting is legible and quite even, his lines straight and the layout of the text proportional. During the three years that separate his earlier letters from the latest ones, his handwriting did not change much. Hans used Latin-type Gothic mixed script, in which Latin loanwords and other foreign words were mostly painstakingly lettered in humanist Latin script: *Magister*, *Catecheserimä*, *Wina*, *Obladit*, *leitnant*, … Therefore, Hans knew the rule followed in German texts, and was able to identify foreign words. His use of capital letters is inconsistent, mostly following the German custom, but his handwriting does not always let us distinguish between capital letters and small letters.

FIGURE 8.6 Käsu Hans' seal
LATVIAN STATE HISTORICAL ARCHIVES (LVVA), RIGA

Evidently Hans paid no careful attention to it, as Forselius' primer, from which Hans probably learned reading and which he later used as a textbook while teaching at school, replaced complex-shaped uppercase letters with simply enlarged lowercase ones. Hans's skill in hyphenation also seems to be based on Forselius' primer with syllabised text.[67]

The form of Käsu Hans's name as currently given is the written-language version taken from Pastor Grotjan's explanatory sentence: 'A[nn]o 1708. machte einer Käßo Hanß, Küster zu Kawelecht od[er] Pohja Kirch folgendes Klag-Lied über die Verstörung der Stadt Dörpt'. The letters demonstrate how Hans presents himself and how he varies his name:

67 See Aivar Põldvee, 'Viis aabitsat ja Forseliuse õppeviis', in Piret Lotman (ed.), *Lugemise kunst. The art of reading* (Tallinn: Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu, 2011), pp. 94–8.

> Se awwolikko herr profesri allandik kerko teender köster kässo hantz ('The honourable professor's humble church servant, *sexton kässo hantz*')
>
> Se Auwolikko H[err] prof[esri] Sönna wötlik, nink allaheitlik diender ni kawwa kui minno kutsutaß. Kässo Hantz Kawelechte köster ('The honourable professor's docile and obedient servant until I am taken away [by God]. *Kässo Hantz sexton of Kawelechte*')
>
> H[er]r M[agistri]. hä tahtja n[ink]. ussutaw orri H[ans]. Kes ('The master's [academic title] well-wisher and true slave *Hans Kes*')

In the last example, from the third letter, the phrase 'true slave' is followed, ironically, by the name of a free man, that is, a family name derived from the name of a farmstead (*Kässo* > *Kes*). Hans's letters' imaginative baroque figures might suggest that his style was somewhat poetic; the author is definitely an eloquent and style-conscious man.

6 Käsu Hans in Comparative Perspective

How extraordinary can the fact that Käsu Hans wrote letters and poetry be considered in the context of his time? Writing became to some extent a common practice among Estonians a generation later, but even then only within the Moravian church.[68] The seventeenth-century network of schools paved the way for such literati as Mango Hans (1713–80), Michael Ignatius (1713–77) and others, their social background being similar to that of Käsu Hans. The first Estonian poet whose work could be esteemed in the context of the high-level literature of the period is Kristian Jaak Peterson (1801–22).[69] More than a century separates him from Käsu Hans, and in terms of education Peterson's studies at Tartu University distinguish him from the earlier writers. Already in 1697, the German pastor Johann Wischmann from Courland published the textbook *Der Unteutsche Opitz* ('The Latvian Opitz'), which followed Martin Opitz's rules, for writing poetry in Latvian, but its target group was the local German elite, not Latvians.[70] Käsu Hans as a *litterateur* with a peasant's background has no equivalent in Latvia in the seventeenth century or at the beginning of the eighteenth, although social and educational conditions were the same in both

68 Rudolf Põldmäe, *Vennastekoguduse kirjandus* (Tartu: Ilmamaa, 2011).

69 Hasselblatt, *Geschichte der estnischen Literatur*, pp. 190–201.

70 Johann Wischmann, *Der Unteutsche Opitz oder Kurze Anleitung zur Lettischen Dicht-Kunst* (Riga: Georg Matthias Nöller, 1697), USTC 267583; Johann Wischmann, *Der Unteutsche Opitz*, ed. and commented by Stephan Kessler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008).

Estonian and Latvian areas. No similar private letters in Latvian are available. Johann Reuter, son of a Riga craftsman, had a German cultural background. The person considered to be the first Latvian poet and the first Latvian author whose works appeared in print, even called the Latvian Homer, Elkaleju Indriķis (also known as Neredzīgais Indriķis, or Blind Indriķis, 1783–1828), born to a serf's family in Courland, was blind. His oral work was written down and published by a learned man of German origin, Pastor Karl Gotthard Elverfeld in 1806.[71]

Finland's context is different. The peasants did not live under serfdom and although the state authorities were Swedish, the clergy mostly came from their own country, spoke their own language and were also socially closer to common people than pastors in Estonia or Livonia. These belonged to the German gentry, although some of them came from Sweden or Finland.[72] Nor can the Swedish elite in Finland be compared with the Baltic-German nobility, who had become used to the privileges of the society of serfdom. As far as the socio-linguistic aspect is concerned, it should be pointed out that the foundations of the Finnish written language were laid by the Turku bishop Michael Agricola, who had studied at Wittenberg and grown up in Finnish-speaking surroundings. Compared with the Estonian language, the Finnish language carried more weight in administrative matters, although it remained peripheral compared with Swedish.[73]

Somewhat surprisingly, parallels can be drawn between the foundation of the Estonian written language, translating ecclesiastic literature and emergence of the first native writers and the Christian mission among the Sami people and native Americans. This multifaceted and ambivalent topic can be mentioned here only by means of a few preliminary remarks. These parallels are supported by observations on the history of the Estonian written

71 Ludvigs Bērziņš, *Neredzīgais Indriķis un viņa dziesmas* (Īstlasinga: Gauja, 1979); Pauls Daija, *Literary History and Popular Enlightenment in Latvian Culture* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), p. 54.

72 See Gunnar Suolahti, *Suomen papisto 1600- ja 1700-luvuilla* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1919); Esko M. Laine, 'Papisto ja yhteiskunta Suomessa 1600-luvulla', *Historiallinen Arkisto 105* (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1995), pp. 131–78; Arno Rafael Cederberg, 'Suomalainen aines Baltian kirkon ja koulun palveluksessa vuoden 1561:n jälkeen', *Suomen Sukututkimusseuran Vuosikirja, 21* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1937), pp. 110–45.

73 Erling Wande, 'Finska', in Bo Andersson and Raimo Raag (eds.), *Från Nyens skans till Nya Sverige: Språken i det Svenska Riket under 1600-talet* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2012), pp. 104–21; Kustavi Grotenfelt (ed.), *Suomenkielisiä historiallisia asiakirjoja Ruotsin vallan ajalta* (*vuosilta 1548–1809*) (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura,1912).

language within the discourse of missionary linguistics.[74] To some extent, the Puhja sexton Käsu Hans could be compared with the Sami cleric Olaus Sirma (*c.*1655–1719). Sirma became a student at Uppsala University in 1672, being one of the few Sami students during that century, and in 1675 became chaplain at Enontekiö (North Sami: Eanodat) church. The Uppsala professor Johannes Schefferus published two of his songs in *Lapponia* (1673), the extensive international dissemination of which helped Sirma's name find a permanent place in world literature. Olaus Sirma's poems achieved such a degree of recognition that they earned a review in the English periodical *The Spectator* in 1711. Sirma translated Johannes Gezelius' catechism into the Kemi Sami language, but it was not printed, and remained merely in manuscript form.[75]

The beginning of Christian writing culture in North America ran in the seventeenth century along much the same path as the similar processes in Estonia, although Estonians had been christened already in the thirteenth century. The beginning of the so-called Indian library is connected with the Puritan missionary John Eliot (*c.*1604–90), who translated the Bible into the Massachusett language. The Bible was printed in 1663, twenty-three years earlier than the New Testament into South Estonian. The same year, 2,000 copies of Eliot's *The Indian Primer* were printed and in 1666 *The Indian Grammar.* Eliot was now called 'the apostle of the Indians', just as Johann Fischer (1636–1705) was called 'the new apostle of Livonia'.[76] In Sweden, Luther's catechism in the Lenape

74 Marju Lepajõe, 'Johannes Gutslaffi grammatilised vaatlused', in Johannes Gutslaff, *Observationes grammaticae circa linguam Esthonicam/Grammatilisi vaatlusi eesti keelest* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, 1998), pp. 285–316; Kristiina Ross (ed.), *Uue ajastu misjonilingvist. Eduard Ahrens 200* (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2003); Annika Kilgi, 'Misjonilingvistika', *Oma Keel* 15 (2007), pp. 24–6. See also Otto Zwartjes and Even Hovdhaugen (ed.), *Missionary Linguistics/Linguistica misionera. Selected Papers from the First International Conference on Missionary Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin, 2004).

75 Lars-Gunnar Larsson, 'Samiska', in Bo Andersson and Raimo Raag (eds.), *Från Nyens skans till Nya Sverige: Språken i det Svenska Riket under 1600-talet* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2012), pp. 88–103; Tuuli Forsgren, *'... först at inhämta språket, och sedan derwppå lära sin Christendom ...' Om finska böcker och sameundervisning i Torne och Kemi lappmarker före 1850* (Umeå: Forskningsarkivet, 1990), p. 12; Thomas A. DuBois, *Lyric, Meaning, and Audience in the Oral Tradition of Northern Europe* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 4–10; Steven P. Sondrup etc. (eds.), *Nordic Literature: A Comparative History, 1: Spatial Nodes* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin, 2017), pp. 17, 580–1; Rolf Kjellström, Gunnar Ternhaf and Håkan Rydving, *Om joik* (Hedemora: Gidlund, 1988), p. 106; Neil Kent, *The Sámi Peoples of the North: A Social and Cultural History* (London: Hurst, 2014); see Chapter 7 by Kati Kallio and Taarna Valtonen in this volume.

76 For John Elliot, see E. Jennifer Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), pp. 60–2. For Johann Fischer,

language was printed in 1696; it had been translated already in the 1640s by the priest Johannes Campanius, who had been assigned to the Swedish colony in America.[77] Some of the Native American boys reached academic education earlier than Estonians, as did the Sami. In 1665, the first Native American, Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck (*c.*1644–66), graduated from Harvard's Indian college. He was the only one of a small number of Indian students to survive disease as well as unfamiliar schooling and living conditions, and he completed the four-year programme. There are two literary texts which, it has been argued, might be attributed to Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck and his co-students, but there is no complete certainty as to the authorship of the texts.[78] Very similar marginalia to the ones in the above Estonian books can be found in the so-called Indian Bible (1685), written by a Native American, Nannahdinno, in the Massachusett or Wampanoag language.[79]

Käsu Hans's lament waited almost two centuries until it was published, and his three letters over three centuries before appearing as facsimiles with exact transcriptions. This full material allows us to review former treatments of Hans's use of language. With the vocabulary of Hans's letters we can elaborate the orthography of the transcript of his lament and on the basis of these four sources we can compile a language corpus of Hans's letters. Despite the limited scale of such a corpus, it is of considerable interest in that unlike the earliest examples of the Estonian written language, which were mostly written down by German pastors, this corpus contains a native Estonian's language, part of which was born of poetry of 'rustic vividness', and the rest from common correspondence. The corpus could also reveal to what extent the texts include so-called church language imitating religious literature, which was discussed by Arvid Moller (see above).[80] However, we can say already that besides their philological value, Hans's letters also have an essential socio-linguistic value, as

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see Greta Wieselgren, 'Johann Fischer – Livlands nye apostel', *Svio-Estonica*, 17 (1964), pp. 26–58.

77 Luther, Martin, *Lutheri Catechismus, Öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket* (Stockholm: Georg Gottlieb Burchardi, 1696), USTC 262337–262338; see Daniel Lindmark, *Ecclesia plantanda. Swedishness in colonial America* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2005).

78 Wolfgang Hochbruck and Beatrix Dudensing-Reichel, '"Honoratissimi Benefactores": Native American Students and Two Seventeenth-Century Texts in the University Tradition', in Helen Jaskoski (ed.), *Early Native American Writing: New Critical Essays* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 1–14; Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*, pp. 59–60. See Chapter 6 by Tuija Laine in this volume.

79 Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write*, p. 2, figure 2.

80 See Aivar Põldvee, 'Wenneküla Hans and Estonian church language', *Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri* ESUKA. *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* JEF 3/1 (2012), pp. 259–78.

they gave the native Estonian language a new, written register, thereby making it a means of lateral communication. Earlier, the written Estonian language had been used to read aloud religious texts and orders from the authorities, which in both cases was a process carried out top down (from the pulpit), and also for hymns and a little occasional poetry, as well as for oaths in court and in military service, which were all translations of foreign originals.

The question of whether Hans had other correspondents, and whether some of them were Estonian, remains unanswered. It is not impossible that he exchanged written messages with other sextons and schoolmasters such as the Rõuge sexton, Jüri, who was mentioned above, or Ignatsi Jaak, who had worked for Adrian Virginius in the 1690s and later worked in Kambja. According to August Annist, Hans lived during the earliest period of the emergence of Estonian rural intellectuals, and his lament – coming from the bottom of the Estonians' heart – was a loyalty oath to the king of Sweden and a memorial to folk-friendly education policy.[81] Hans's letters predicted the emergence of a new era, for which the provincial policy of the Swedish state in the field of religion, education and administration had paved the way, but which received a significant reverse during the Great Northern War.

81 Annist, 'Käsu Hans', p. 2488.

PART 3

Interfaces of Oral and Literary Cultures

CHAPTER 9

Religious Expressions in Literate Laypeople's Correspondence in Finland, 1570–1600: a Quantitative and Qualitative Database Analysis

Ulla Koskinen and Anu Lahtinen

Learned debate and religious writings played a special role in the Reformation era and contributed to societal change at large. Even Sweden, the realm that consisted of the present-day Sweden and Finland, faced profound changes from the 1520s on. The clergy wrote a great deal about the Reformation, the king gave his orders and letters, and well-to-do laypeople are known to have bought and owned pious books.[1] However, despite many decades and volumes of speculation, it has proved difficult to trace the attitudes of sixteenth-century laypeople.[2] For example, non-clerical correspondence often focuses on economic questions related to landed property transactions and other non-religious issues.[3]

However, while laypeople's correspondence does not engage in religious topics as such, it is nonetheless replete with religious expressions. Could a new approach shed light on how laypeople adapted the thoughts of the Reformation in particular, or religious attitudes in general? In the following analysis we report on the search undertaken to identify religious expressions in two research databases, based on archival collections of letters. We examine almost 2,000 letters written between 1570 and 1600, sent by literate, mostly noble, laypeople, as transcribed in two databases, the Tawast Collection and the Fleming Letters.[4] How did laypeople, that is, people outside church offices

1 Stina Hansson, *Ett språk för själen. Litterära former i den svenska andaktslitteraturen 1650–1720* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1991), pp. 25–6.

2 Raisa Maria Toivo, 'Reformaatiohistorian ajankohtaisia haasteita', *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* 115/1 (2017), 101–6, pp. 102; Jason Lavery, *Reforming Finland. The Diocese of Turku in the Age of Gustav Vasa 1523–1560* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 164–5.

3 About the correspondence of the nobility, see Anu Lahtinen, 'Pragmaattiset protestantit? Kuningas ja aateli reformaation rakentajina', in Meri Heinonen and Marika Räsänen (eds.), *Pohjoinen reformaatio* (Turku: Turun historiallinen yhdistys, 2016), pp. 25–41, 67, n. 49.

4 The databases were originally collected for the doctoral dissertation projects of the authors: Anu Lahtinen, *Sopeutuvat, neuvottelevat, kapinalliset. Naiset toimijoina Flemingin sukupiirissä 1470–1620* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2007), tr. *Anpassning, förhandling, motstånd. Kvinnliga aktörer i släkten Fleming 1470–1620* (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2009), and Ulla Koskinen, *Hyvien miesten valtakunta: Arvid Henrikinpoika*

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and without higher education use religious expressions in their writings? Do these expressions reflect a consciousness of the Reformation and change of religious thinking or practice over time?

Our report is based on quantitative analysis combined with close reading. The letters or parts of them have been transcribed and compiled into text databases, which has made it possible to use digital text-analysis tools. We present the background to the research and discuss the quantitative results, and then analyse some examples with richer references to religion in greater depth. In order to ascertain the possible changes and continuity after the Reformation period, we have used concordance searches to the Diplomatarium Fennicum database and its documents from the period 1490–1530.[5]

1 The Background

As has been pointed out by Jason Lavery, the study of the Reformation in Finland has not been marked by triumphalism; rather, the researchers have emphasised continuity and slow change instead of celebrating the dawn of Protestantism as a dramatic turn. The important turning point in Sweden was the Diet of Västerås in 1527 that emphasised 'purity' of faith as opposed to the doctrines of the pope.[6]

The evolution from a Catholic to a Lutheran doctrine took many turns. King Johan III (1568–92) was inclined towards Catholicism, especially because of his Polish spouse Catherine Jagiellon (in Polish, Katarzyna Jagiellonka, Swedish Katarina Jagellonica), who was a Catholic princess. Their son Sigismund was raised in the Catholic faith, in the hope of making him the king of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.[7] The strategy worked in the Commonwealth but proved to be troublesome in the Lutheran realm of Sweden. King Johan III even tried reconciling some of the elements of the Reformation with a mainly Catholic liturgy: in his worship order, the so-called Red Book (*Liturgia Svecanae ecclesiae*, 1576/7), priests would still have been allowed to

Tawast ja aatelin toimintakulttuuri 1500-luvun lopun Suomessa (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011).

5 *Diplomatarium Fennicum*, https://df.narc.fi/concordance, accessed 8 October 2022.

6 Lavery, *Reforming Finland*, pp. 1–4, 13–4, 64–8.

7 Susanna Niiranen, 'Catherine Jagiellon, Queen Consort of Sweden: Counselling between the Catholic Jagiellons and the Lutheran Vasas', in Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, and Catherine Fletcher (eds.), *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

marry. In 1593, the synod of the Swedish church, meeting at Uppsala, chose the Lutheran faith, repudiating at the same time both Calvinism and Catholicism.[8]

Things did not change overnight; even some of the Brigittine convents continued to function until the 1580s and 1590s. The Catholic church historian Magnus Nyman has stressed continuity, pointing particularly to the connection of the Swedish nobility, such as the Fleming family, to the Catholic institutions; it has to be stressed, however, that several of Nyman's interpretations stretch the credibility of the sources.[9] Historians have taken some key figures of the time as devout Catholics or active Protestants, but it seems that many such claims are difficult to prove. Thus Queen Margareta, spouse (1536–1551) of King Gustav Vasa, has been said to have remained a devout Catholic despite the fact that his husband committed himself to the Reformation process; however, few if any contemporary sources survive to confirm these apparently later fabricated stories.[10]

In the 1590s, there was a lot of political turmoil related to the succession to the throne after Johan III, as his son Sigismund, who had been elected king of Poland as Zygmunt III Waza, followed him on the Swedish throne. The political situation developed into a crisis as Johan III's brother Duke Karl (later King Karl IX) confronted the absent king and succeeded in taking over the realm in a civil war in 1597–9. In the eastern part of the kingdom, nowadays Finland, this proved disastrous. Encouraged by Duke Karl, the peasantry raised a rebellion in 1596–7, known as the Cudgel War (in Swedish *klubbekriget*, Finnish *nuijasota*) which was savagely defeated. The nobility, on the other hand, remained loyal to Sigismund and had to face the duke's violent political cleansing operation. The same applied to his opponents on the Swedish side.[11]

Church politics, then, took many turns over the decades. In principle, the events provide material for discussions of the topics of faith. The overall impression among historians, however, is that the laypeople were rather sparing in commenting on religious questions in writing. As Anu Lahtinen has

8 Raisa Maria Toivo, *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland*. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 6–8; Lavery, *Reforming Finland*, pp. 194–200.

9 Magnus Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia. Katolskt liv i Sverige från Gustav Vasa till drottning Kristina* (Uppsala: Katolska bokförlaget, 1997). For criticism, see Lahtinen, 'Pragmaattiset protestantit?', p. 220; Lavery, *Reforming Finland*, pp. 3–4.

10 See, for example, Göran Dahlbäck, 'Margareta (Leijonhufvud)', in Göran Nilzén (ed.), *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, 25 (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1987), p. 139; about Per Brahe the Elder and speculation on his religious attitudes, see Bo Eriksson, *I skuggan av tronen. En biografi över Per Brahe d. ä.* (Stockholm: Prisma 2008), pp. 349–51.

11 Petri Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta. Ruotsi ja Suomi 1521–1809* (3rd edn; Helsinki: WSOY, 2008), pp. 103–21.

observed, theoretical education – or any education, for that matter – was haphazard even in many noble families, and the interest in written in-depth analyses of one's world view was not very strong.[12] It has to be borne in mind that in the sixteenth century, most correspondents were keenly aware of the fact that their letters might be confiscated or copied and sent to the authorities, and thus they were likely to formulate their messages carefully when discussing possibly sensitive topics.[13]

The Reformation period is marked on the one hand by religious discussions, correspondence, declarations and instructions, conducted by the clergy and the regent, and on the other by pragmatic power-struggles that dominate the documents produced by the nobility and other literate laypeople.[14] Research has been somewhat divided. Church historians have focused on the theological debates and historians more on the societal developments and the immediate power struggles. This has left some topics such as personally expressed religion less studied.[15]

In some personal papers, such as the handwritten note book of Councillor (*riksråd*) Lars Sparre (d. 1554), known as *Chronicon Genealogicum*, there are short notices on Reformation history, recording, among others, the death of Martin Luther (in 1546):

> God had given this man his grace to preach his Holy Gospel that had been hidden for many hundreds of years, so may God give us who live on his grace that we may keep the Holy Word of God and remain steadfast to the end.[16]

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12 Lahtinen, 'Pragmaattiset protestantit?', pp. 27–30.

13 Anu Lahtinen, '"There's No Friend Like a Sister": Sisterly Relations and the Rhetoric of Sisterhood in the Correspondence of the Aristocratic Stenbock Sisters', *Collegium: Studies across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2 (Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2007), pp. 185–6; Anu Lahtinen, 'The Marriage Process in the Light of Family Correspondence: A Comparative Perspective on the Swedish Evidence', in Mia Korpiola (ed.) *Regional Variations in Matrimonial Law and Custom in Europe, 1150–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 252–4.

14 Lahtinen, 'Pragmaattiset protestantit?', pp. 39–41.

15 Mikko Hiljanen, *Suomalaiset kirkkoherrat Ruotsin valtion rakentajina 1550-luvulta 1610-luvulle*. JYU Dissertations 67 (Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 2019), pp. 21–3.

16 'hade Gud giffuid thenne samme man sin naade at predige hans hällige Euangelium, som i mang C. aar hade wärid länge fordult / huilkit Gud giffue oss sin naade som äffter liffue / at wi maage blifue fast vid Guds Hällige ord oc faste staa i änden.' *Chronicon Genealogicum, eller: underwisning på någon gammal slächt, med åthskilliga tidahändelser; fordom sammanskrefne af Anna Fickes dotter Bylou, abbedissa i Wadstena; och vidare af herr Lars Siggesson på Sundby, riddare och Sweriges marsk, samt af des son riks cancelleren, herr Erik Sparre, med theras egnas händer uptecknade*, ed. Johannes Peringskiöld

Laypeople were not uninformed or uninterested in religion, faith or holy texts. Many writings, such as the *Oeconomia*, a household guidebook written by Per Brahe the Elder (several versions from the 1570s on), include a lot of references to the Bible, and very often to the apocryphal book of Sirach (or Ecclesiasticus, appreciated by Catholics and Luther alike).[17] Per Brahe is also known for having written a *Tröstbok* (a book of religious consolation, a religious guide).[18] Further occasional traces of the influence of Sirach can be observed in the writings of the Swedish nobility.[19] However, these are the expressions of only a few people. What kind of information may be elicited from the investigation of letters by a larger community of literate laypeople?

2 The Sources and Methods

As there are no readily available edited digital collections of sixteenth-century Swedish laypeople's correspondence, the authors of the chapter have used databases based on their own research and transcription work. As the transcription of sixteenth-century Swedish letters is a time-consuming process, given their varying handwriting, orthography and style, the analysis of so much material has never been undertaken before. The first database of the source material is the collection of Arvid Henriksson Tawast's letters (hereafter: the Tawast Collection) from the years 1570–99. The text database consists of 214 letters.[20] The Tawast Collection comprises correspondence from members of the nobility, burghers, servants of the state and personal servants. Priests and learned men are virtually absent. Most of the letter collection is administrative correspondence by laypeople to other laypeople, reflecting Arvid Henriksson Tawast's career. He lived from 1540 to 1599 in the Finnish part of the realm and

(Stockholm: Horrn, 1718), p. 42. About personal expressions of faith, see even Anu Lahtinen and Terhi Katajamäki, 'Anna Vasa (1568–1625): Lutheran Sister of the Catholic King', in Kirsi Stjerna (ed.), *Women Reformers of Early Modern Europe. Profiles, Texts, and Contexts*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press), pp. 366–7.

17 Per Brahe, *Oeconomia eller Hushållsbok för ungt adelsfolk*, ed. John Granlund and Gösta Holm (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1971), pp. 7, 10, 12, 28–9, 31, 33.

18 Bo Eriksson, *I skuggan av tronen*, pp. 351, 423.

19 Jan Samuelson, 'Att vinna ärans krona. En 1500-talskvinna skriver om sitt liv', in Irene Andersson, Kenneth Johansson, and Marie Linstedt Cronberg (eds.), *Tid och tillit. En vänbok till Eva Österberg* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2002), pp. 139–63.

20 The original collections contain a minor number of other documents as well as very short sketches and fragments, which are excluded from the transcribed database. There are also *c.*20 letters in German, which are also excluded as we concentrate on analysing religious expressions in Swedish.

was both a civil and military administrator, something that was common for noblemen in those days. He belonged to a group of the most prominent noblemen in Finland in this late Reformation era.

In the Tawast Collection, there are about a hundred senders and sixty recipients. In this large network, there are identifiable persons who have sent or received more letters than the rest. They include Arvid Henriksson Tawast's peers, that is, noblemen (Henrik Claesson (Horn), *c.*50 letters, Arvid Eriksson Stålarm, *c.*35 letters, Lars Torstensson Ram, *c.*20 letters), merchants (Michel Jöransson, *c.*10 letters), and persons working in local administration (Henrik Jakobsson (Speitz), *c.*10 letters).

The other collection of correspondence, here called the Fleming Letters, includes transcriptions and extracts of letters written by noblemen or women in the period 1570–1600. The database consists of the following: *c.*150 letters from the 1570s, *c.*300 letters from the 1580s and *c.*1,000 letters from the 1590s, a total of 1450 letters, consisting of approximately 100,000 words. Not all letters have been transcribed from beginning to end, and some survive only as extracts or fragments, so the number of religious expressions covered represents a minimum. Also, as many letters survive only as early-modern copies or fragments, some greetings or religious expressions that existed in the originals may have been omitted already by those who copied or drafted the letters.

Unlike the Tawast Collection, the Fleming Letters were not originally a cohesive collection. Instead, they have been collected and transcribed by Anu Lahtinen from a large number of volumes recording the correspondence of members of the noble or aristocratic families of Fleming, Horn, Bielke, Stålarm and Stenbock.[21] The Fleming family has been of interest to historians as its various influential members have been labelled as either actively supporting or undermining the Reformation. For example, Erik Fleming (d. 1548) has been praised for offering to support vernacular translations of holy texts, a promise he never actually fulfilled. Herman Fleming (d. 1583) and his wife Gertrud Hand allegedly made a Catholic-minded imprisoned cleric their chaplain. Finally, it has been suggested that one of the most prominent political and military actors of late sixteenth-century Sweden, Admiral Claes Eriksson

21 Most notably the letters have been transcribed from the collections Strödda historiska handlingar, Skoklostersamlingen 2, Kungliga arkiv and Biografica in Riksarkivet, Stockholm, and Acta Historica, Biografica, and Laguksen kokoelma (Lagus Collection) in Kansallisarkisto, Helsinki (hereafter: KA). However, even some source editions as well as sources archived at other institutions, such as the University Libraries of Uppsala and Lund, have been studied. In the following, a more detailed reference is given in connection with cited sources.

Fleming (d. 1597), converted to the Catholic faith; this notwithstanding, the Papal nuncio reported to Rome that the admiral, regrettably, was not Catholic and refrained from praying for saints.[22] It will be interesting to see whether the topic is touched upon in the letters related to the Fleming family or families connected to it.

When studying the correspondence, it is important to note that the nobility and other civil and military office-holders in late-sixteenth-century Finland were linked in inter-connected social networks based on mutual help and solidarity. Also their letter writing follows shared patterns, formulae and conventions. For instance, both the Arvids that feature prominently in our source material – Arvid Henriksson Tawast and Arvid Eriksson Stålarm – were central figures in the military and administrative and in close contact with each other. They called each other 'dear brother of my heart' (*min hjärtans käre bror* in Swedish), which indicates a special friendship.[23]

We have used a simple text-analysis method to search through the text databases for a number of search terms in Swedish: for example, God, Jesus, church, mass, sacrament, devil.[24] The search terms have been selected on the basis of previous studies of Reformation texts as well as our experience of the vocabulary that is used in the letters (see Appendix 9.1). For best results, the terms have been searched in various spelling forms (for example, ä/e, d/th/t, u/w/v) that are known to occur in Early Modern Swedish (*äldre nysvenska*). The search results and their context have then been checked case by case with the help of concordance search and a closer study of letters.

We analyse the religious expressions by focusing firstly on quantity: how common and prominent religious vocabulary is and which words or terms are used, and secondly, by context: in which circumstances religious vocabulary appears and what role it has in communication. We also present some more detailed examples of the religious rhetoric used in difficult or precarious situations.[25]

22 Lahtinen, 'Pragmaattiset protestantit?', pp. 37.

23 Koskinen, *Hyvien miesten valtakunta,* p. 140.

24 We have used the software AntConc 3.5.8 for Windows (AntLab Solutions, Tokyo, Japan 2019), which is designed for text analysis and concordance searches.

25 For the advantages of combining quantitative and qualitative analysis in studying phraseology, see for example Sylviane Granger and Fanny Meunier, 'Introduction: The many faces of phraseology', in Sylviane Granger and Fanny Meunier (eds.), *Phraseology: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008), p. xxvii.

3 Quantitative Analysis: God and Christ

In general, both the Tawast Collection and the Fleming Letters reveal quite similar general traits. One clear result is that writers avoid discussing the Reformation and faith, though their letters still contain many expressions rooted in Christianity. Unlike the learned Rigan humanist and book publisher, David Hilchen, for example (see Chapter 5 by Kristi Viiding in this volume), the correspondents did not engage in learned discussions or religious questions.

In the Tawast Collection, the Reformation or religious ideology is never explicitly discussed, but there is religious vocabulary in every one of the letters present in their entirety. Probably the only vague hint about working for the Reformation is a short notice from Arvid Henriksson Tawast to his spouse Margareta Mårtensdotter from about 1590, typically hidden amidst practical information:

> I send to you now here the books that Master Abraham sent to me with the hired man, and half a barrel of dried whitefish which I bought here in Helsinki town from the peasants of Björkö.[26]

'Master Abraham' may refer to a person known by that name, the pastor Abraham Angermannus, a central and active figure in the late Swedish Reformation era. In the 1580s, he was in exile and published literature that directly attacked Catholicism, using his channels to disseminate it throughout the Swedish realm. On the basis of the letter above, it seems that Arvid Tawast and Margareta Mårtensdotter were parts of the distribution network, although there is no other evidence to support it. In the year of the Uppsala synod, 1593, Abraham became the archbishop of Uppsala and continued his reformatory work.[27]

In both databases, the vast majority of Christian expressions are monotonic, habitual references to God. In the religious vocabulary, *God* (*gud* in Swedish) is by far the most common term: there are 736 instances in the Tawast Collection and 529 in the Fleming Letters. In the Tawast Collection, God is mentioned in every letter, on average 3.4 times. Adjectives describing God's agency are also

26 'send – – – Jagh till digh här medh nw dij böker sosom M abraham till migh sendhe # med drengen # och vdi En half t:no Tår Sijch sosom Jagh köpt här uthi Staden helsingefårs af bierchöö bönd – – –' (Riksarkivet, Tawastska papper (also known as Arvid Henriksson Tawasts samling), vol. 1 (SE/RA/720846, E 5707), Arvid Henriksson Tawast to Margareta Mårtensdotter, undated (*c.*1590).

27 Ragnar Ohlsson, *Abraham Angermannus. En biografisk studie* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelse, 1946), pp. 176–85 and *passim*.

common in both databases, especially *almighty* (*alsmäktig*, Tawast 268 times, Fleming 144 times), but to a smaller extent also *gracious* (*nådig/nåd*, Tawast 49 times in connection with *gud*, Fleming 45 times), *merciful* (*mild*, Tawast 30 times, Fleming 9 times), and *eternal* (*evig*, Tawast 20 times, Fleming 11 times). On the other hand, terms like *father* and *fatherly* are rare and used only a couple of times in connection with God.

Almighty appears as God's attribute in most of the letters, as it forms a part of the standard opening formulae. This word occurs solely in connection with God: he is described as the only universal force in the letter-writers' world. As we shall see, almighty God is a central part of religious understanding: God's presence and unrestricted agency in the human world forms an overall background to the mental world of the letters. Correspondingly, God's *merciful protection* (*guds milde beskydd* in Swedish) is part of the conventional concluding formulae, which explains its popularity. It is interesting to note that the only beings whose agency is described by the term gracious are God and members of the royal family, so the usage of the term draws a parallel between heavenly and earthly power. It seems that these two are recognised as exerting more or less unlimited power over their subjects, so they are also in a position to be gracious towards them.

The adjective *Christian* is sporadically used to describe ways of living that are either suitable or not suitable for a Christian person. These kinds of evaluations appear in only seven letters which makes 3 per cent of the total, so they are rare. In the Fleming Letters, comments on Christ and Christianity (27 instances in total) are restricted to some special cases, such as the correspondence where Erik Stenbock tried to prove that the new faith did not prevent him from marrying his cousin Malin Sture whom he loved dearly. Stenbock did not go into lengthy religious details himself, but just noted that he had consulted the priests; his clerical correspondents were more wordy when arguing, in accordance with the Reformation authorities, that the old Catholic restrictions on marriages between cousins should be abandoned.[28]

28 University Library, Uppsala, Palmskiöldska samlingen, vol. 242, pp. 303–6; 'Ett Swar gifwit på Her Erich Göstafssons Spörsmål om sitt företagne Echtenskap. Anno Chri 1571. mense Septemb.'; National Archives of Sweden, Skrivelser till konungen, Skrivelser till Johan III, 4, Erik Stenbock to King Johan III, *c.*1570. About the case of Erik Stenbock and Malin Sture, see Mia Korpiola, 'Marrying off Sons and Daughters: Attitudes Towards the Consent of Parents and Guardians in Early Modern Sweden', in Grethe Jacobsen, Helle Vogt, Inger Dübeck, and Heide Wunder etc. (eds.), *Less Favored – More Favored: Proceedings from a Conference on Gender in European Legal History, 12–19th centuries* (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 2005), pp. 1–30.

Other Christian figures like Mary, prophets or even the devil are not mentioned at all, with the exception of the Holy Spirit, which occurs once. Most Christian practices, such as mass and sermons, are not mentioned, and Martin Luther is nowhere referenced. Only holy communion is mentioned once in a revealing plea by Arvid Henriksson Tawast's brother-in-law Jöns (Johan) Skytte, bailiff of the castle of Häme. He uses communion at the upcoming Easter as a motivation to settle their mutual disputes:

> Dear brother, because the holy celebration is coming and one shall receive the highly valued sacrament that is God's body and blood, I beg my brother lovingly that you would not hold an undeserved grudge against me […] because of evil persons and the tolling of a false bell that have [been] between us (for which God shall reward them).[29]

On the other hand, some saints appear a few times in the dates, following the old Catholic tradition, although this is relatively rare. In comparison to *Diplomatarium Fennicum*, this is the biggest change from the period 1490–1530, when the letters included numerous references to the Catholic feasts of saints; otherwise even in the Catholic era the direct references to saints seem to have been relatively scarce.[30] In the late sixteenth century, almost all the dates are expressed in the modern way by number of the day and name of the month. This is the clearest sign of the impact of the Reformation.[31]

There are more references to the temporal cycle of the liturgical calendar than to the feasts of saints. In the actual text part of the letters it is common to specify future or past events by means of well-known liturgical celebrations, such as the Holy Day of the Three Kings (Epiphany) in January, which receives four references, and days of Easter week, which are used five times; others, including Trinity, Peter and Paul and the first Sunday of Lent are each mentioned once.

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29 'Så efther thet Käre bror ath then helige höghtijden tilstundar ath man skall annam – e thet höghwerdige Sachramenthet som ähr gudz lekame – och blodh til sigh Beder Jagh min bror Kärligen J wille icke migh oförtienth Köle blodh emoth migh För onde Menniskior skuldh och för falske Klaffarens tungo skuldh som oss emillan – – – geth hafue (thet gudh löne them).' Riksarkivet, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Jöns Skytte to Arvid Henriksson Tawast, 14 April 1587, Hämeenlinna.

30 *Diplomatarium Fennicum* (hereafter DF), searches sancta, sancte, sanctus. For example, there is a reference in *DF* 5799: 'huilkit mik Gudh oc Sanctus Thomas ma hielpa etc.', or in *DF* 5484: 'Gud giffue och alle rigesins helige patroner', but these kinds of references are scarce in comparison to simple references to God Almighty (accessed 8 October 2022).

31 See Tapio Salminen, *Vantaan ja Helsingin pitäjän keskiaika* (Vantaa: Vantaan kaupunki, 2013), pp. 165–8.

Sancta trinitas vnus deus: miserere nobis.ā. Te inuocam⁹:te adoramus:te laudam⁹:te glorificam⁹:o btā trinitas. ℣. Sit nomen dñi benedictum. ℟. Ex hoc nunc ⁊ vsqz in seculum. ¶ Oratio. Oms sempiterne de⁹ q̄ dedisti famulis tuis i confessione vere fidei eterne trinitatis gl̄iaz agnoscere ⁊ i potētia maiestatis adorare vnitatez q̄s vt eiusdē fidei firmitate ab oīb⁹ semp tuea

FIGURE 9.1 The Holy Trinity in a 16th century Book of Hours
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF LUND

4 A Quantitative Look at Jesus Christ, the Holy Trinity and Travelling

Somewhat surprisingly, Jesus (*Jesu*) is rare in both collections. There are only eight matches in the Tawast collection, meaning that 96 per cent of the letters do not mention him. However, this is not the whole truth, as the term Christ (in forms *Christi/Christo*), emphasising Jesus as the Redeemer, appears eighteen times, three of these together with Jesus. Even so, Jesus Christ receives attention in only slightly more than every tenth of the letters. One of the writers was engaged in a dispute over a farm and pleaded to Arvid Henriksson Tawast: 'let us now in the name of Jesus have what we rightfully should have' ('lather oss nu i Jesu nampn bekoma thett oss medh retta böör och till koma').[32] In the Fleming Collection, there are some ten mentions of Christ, most often in friendly phrases, and only two references to Jesus.

The Holy Trinity (*den helige trefaldighet*) receives seven mentions in the Tawast Collection. Interestingly, they all are linked to either travel or weddings. The prominent noblemen Henrik Claesson Horn (1578) and Matts Larsson Cruus (1593) use the formula 'in the name of the Holy Trinity' ('vdi the helge trefaldighez nampnn') when revealing their plans to organise wedding festivities. Another interesting feature in these two letters, which are intended as invitations, is that the date of the wedding is announced first by the liturgical date, such as the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity ('then 15 Söndagh effter Trinitatis'), or the first Sunday of the upcoming Lent ('thenn förste Söndag i fastan näst till stundende'), accompanied by specification by number of the day and name of the month. The practice may hint at the use of old models when formulating the invitations.[33]

The same goes with the Fleming collection, in which all the five mentions of the Holy Trinity were related to aristocratic marriages between 1573 and 1593. For example, when the Queen Dowager, Katarina Stenbock, informed her sister of a wedding that she was planning to organise, she wrote:

> And we let our dear sister hereby know that we are planning in the name of the Holy Trinity to organise the wedding of our dear brother, the noble and well-born man Arvid, son of Gustaf, to the noble and well-born

32 Riksarkivet, Tawastska papper, vol. 2 (SE/RA/720846, E 5708), Lasse Michelsson to Arvid Henriksson Tawast, 19 March 1596, Helsinki.

33 Riksarkivet, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Henrik Claesson Horn to Arvid Henriksson Tawast, 7 August 1578, Kankainen; and Matts Larsson Cruus to Arvid Henriksson Tawast, 21 February 1593, Harviala.

> maiden Karin, daughter of Magnus, here in Stockholm, on Sunday before the next St Andrew's Day, which is 25 of November, etc.[34]

The writers seem to resort to Jesus or Holy Trinity when they feel they are in need of special help, typically heading off on a dangerous sea journey. One of the few mentions is in a letter by Arvid Eriksson Stålarm as he was planning to sail with his troops and was expecting a clash with the forces of Duke Karl. Wishing farewell to his friend and his family in a very moving tone, Arvid wrote: 'I will now sail away in the name of Jesus as I have heard that there are ten enemy ships by the Åland Islands'.[35] Fifteen years earlier he had invoked the Holy Trinity before another sea journey with the military and interestingly combined this with a rare reference to the saints' calendar:

> Therefore I beg you, dear brother, that you will write to the soldiers really strictly that they should be present at the aforementioned Pitkäpää before the feast of St Peter and St Paul, because then we shall set off in the name of the Holy Trinity.[36]

Arvid Henriksson Tawast uses the same expression a few times, for example twice in 1590 when informing his family that he was sailing off on a military campaign.[37] In one of the letters, he performs a double check by referring also to Jesus: 'Tomorrow, in the name of the Lord Jesus, I am going to take myself to sea' ('achtar i Morgon, herren Jesu nampn gifue migh till siös').[38] Even the Holy

34 'och giffue wår Kiere Syster här medh Kierlige tilkenne, att wiij achte J dhe hel:ge Trefalligheez nampn att hålle wår Elschelig Käre brodh[er] dhen Edle och welborne her Arffued göstaffsons brollop med dhen edle och welborne Jungfru Karin Måns Dåtter här wtij Stocholm, Söndagen för Sancte Andre dagh nu nästkommend: som är dhen 25 novembris, etc.' (Riksarkivet, Skoklostersamlingen 2:5, Katarina Stenbock to Cecilia Stenbock, 23 October 1582.)

35 'iagh rett nu i Jesu Nampn gåår till Sägels effter iagh förnimmer 10 hertigens skip ligger vdi Ålandh', KA, Laguska samlingen, vol. LXI (154), Handlingar rörande Clas Fleming och Arvid Stålarm, Arvid Eriksson Stålarm to Michael Påvalsson, 17 July 1598.

36 'Beder för then skuld käre bror att thu uille schrifue knechterne till rätt häftigt att the ähre tillstädes uidh för– – –ne Pitkäpåss innan Petri pauli Ty thå wele wij i the helge trefaldighets nampn slå löös' (Riksarkivet, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Arvid Eriksson Stålarm to Arvid Henriksson Tawast, 14 June 1583, Lindö).

37 Riksarkivet, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Arvid Henriksson Tawast to Germund Henriksson and Peder Dän, undated (1590) and to Margareta Mårtensdotter, undated (1590).

38 Riksarkivet, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Arvid Henriksson Tawast to Margareta Mårtensdotter, undated (1590).

Spirit is invoked once by Henrik Claesson Horn in connection with his son's forthcoming military campaign.[39]

5 Formulas Relating to God in Letter Writing

Altogether it can be said that the religious vocabulary is quite basic and even monotonic. Basically it centres around God and his attributes. It can be deduced that constantly referring to God was mandatory in the letters, but otherwise religious consideration does not play a part in laypeople's writing. The conventional religious expressions are not evenly dispersed in the letters. They concentrate around some traditional formulas that are used at the beginning or end of the letters.

Letters in both collections follow quite strictly the general outlines of medieval *ars dictandi*, or a Swedish version of it. They have almost always five parts: *salutatio* (greeting), *captatio benevolentiae* (capturing goodwill), *narratio* (narration), *petitio* (petition) and *conclusio* (finishing).

Religious vocabulary forms some of the basic expressions in the formulaic parts *salutatio* and *conclusio*, sometimes also in the *captatio benevolentiae*. In addition to God and his attributes, the opening and finishing phrases include words like soul (*själ, salighet*), eternal (*ewig*), grace (*nåd*) and peace (*fred*), that are also parts of Christian phraseology.

In the actual message, that is, *narratio* and *petitio*, religious vocabulary is not so prominent. It is mostly found in short conventional sayings like 'God be praised' (*Gud ske lov*), 'God amend' (*Gud förbättra*), 'God forbid' (*Gud förbjuda*), 'God grant' (*Gud giva*), 'God knows' (*Gud vet*) or 'if God wills' (*om Gud vill*). It seems that these sayings were not only polite formulaic expressions but could be referred to as ritualised phrases that were perceived as necessary speech acts in their corresponding contexts. For instance, when planning travelling, it was customary to express the willingness to leave the ultimate power of decision to God by adding 'if God wills' in parenthesis.

Ritual is here understood, as discussed by Edward Muir, as 'a formalised, collective, institutionalised kind of repetitive action', or 'rules on conduct' guiding behaviour in the presence of the sacred.[40] While the correspondents were not focusing on performing rituals in their letters, they were referring

39 Riksarkivet, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Henrik Claesson Horn to Arvid Henriksson Tawast, 1 August 1578, Turku.

40 Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edn 2009), pp. 3–4.

to spheres that were seen as closely related to the sacred. Leslie K. Arnovick points out that by using these kinds of sayings, the writer actually takes part in what is originally a religious ritual. This raises the question to what extent the sixteenth-century writers perceived the sayings as actual acts of religion or just polite convention.[41]

To clarify this, it might be revealing to compare our source material to William Shakespeare's texts as analysed by Geoffrey C. Williams. Given the different context, the main words related to God are strikingly similar: in Shakespeare, he is also described as almighty and invoked by sayings like 'God forbid', 'God bless', 'God save' and 'God knows'. Williams compares the collocates of God in the New Testament, Shakespeare's texts and the British National Corpus and finds that the original semantic strength of the expressions is lessening and moving towards purely formulaic in the modern usage. According to Williams, Shakespeare's language is in the intermediary stage of this process. In his plays God represents an external force who is invoked for assistance, protection or as a witness 'with a more or less strong feeling of religiosity', though his direct intervention is not expected as in the New Testament.[42]

Exactly the same can be said about sixteenth-century letter writers in Finland: they are repeatedly appealing to God in specific situations by predetermined expressions and phrases, seemingly with some expectations of real assistance. However, they are not using his name randomly as a meaningless formula as in modern sayings (for instance, the everyday 'my God' and 'thank God'); the letters show a contextual reason for using the expressions.

An example of a rich use of religious expressions would be Arvid Henriksson Tawast's letter to bailiff Henrik Eriksson, 2 August 1598. All the religious expressions are included in the extracts below. Tawast begins with a standard opening line referring to almighty God and goes on to reflect on the conflict between members of the royal family:

> My friendly greetings to you with God Almighty as before. Dear Henrik Eriksson, next a wish that you are well … God Almighty has helped with

41 According to Arnovick, the primary illocutionary significance of sayings could change in the process of being rendered into discourse. Arnovick calls this discursization. Leslie K. Arnovick, *Diachronic Pragmatics: Seven Case Studies in English Illocutionary Development* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), pp. 1–5, 116–18, 131–2, 139–43; Andreas H. Jucker, 'Historical pragmatics', in Mirjam Fried, Jan-Ola Östman, and Jef Verschueren (eds.), *Variation and Change: Pragmatic Perspectives* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010), p. 116.

42 Geoffrey C. Williams, 'The Good Lord and his works: A corpus-driven study of collocational resonance', in Sylviane Granger and Fanny Meunier (eds.), *Phraseology: An interdisciplinary perspective* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2008), pp. 159–73.

> his gracious help our most gracious king and lord happily to Kalmar, for which we should thank God Almighty inwardly from our hearts, and beg that God Almighty will find it worthy to wake in his royal majesty's heart a good, Christian spirit and concordance with his princely grace Duke Karl, without any discord, bloodshed and misunderstanding. … to oppose their peasant troops (in the case that (God prevent) there is need) … I hope to God Almighty that he will make everything for the best … And I commend you amicably to God Almighty.[43]

'God' is repeated several times, both in the opening and concluding phrases, but also in the actual text, which is set in the context of the ongoing civil strife. The prominent wishes for a Christian reconciliation are worth noticing. Here, God is not expected to punish the enemy, but to make a peace between the parties. They are, after all, fellow Christians and also members of the same royal family.

On the other hand, the following letter represents a slightly different type of religious formulae. It is written in Nyslott by the infantry captain Ambrosius Henriksson. His background is unclear, but it seems that he or his scribe had received a different education from most of the writers in the Tawast Collection. To begin with, Ambrosius is one of the few writers to use the saints' feasts to mark the date of his letter: 'on the day of Philip [and] James etc. Anno 1583' ('åm Philippi Jacobi dagh etc. Anno 1583'). Another peculiarity is that he mentions Jesus in his opening phraseology:

> Eternal well-being, health, happiness and blessing, grace and peace through Him who is God of grace and peace, from our Lord Jesus Christ, to Your Nobleness now and always. Next humble and subservient thanks for the great good Your Strictness has often and always done and shown towards us, poor subjects. God Almighty and we shall repay this with our little might quite subserviently. … they have cried for peace, which God

43 'Mijn Wenligh Helssen eder medh Gudh Alzmechtig tilförenne Käre Hinrich Erichsson Nästh eders wälfärdz Lyckönskan … gudh Alzmechtig igeno – sijn Nådige tilhielp haffuer hulpit Wår Aller Nådigste Konung och Herre Lyckligen till Calmar Huarföre Hör oss Gudh Alzmechtig innerligen af hiertadh betacke. Och bedie, thet Gudh Alz– – –tig wille wärdigas beuecke Hans Kon. Mttz hiertte till een godh Christeligh sinnie och eenigheet medh H. F. N. Hertigh Carll, wthan all oenigheet blodzspilla– och mis Forståndh … göre theris bonde hop mottståndh /: Så frempt / gudh Förbiudhe nogot omtrenger :/mig förhåppes till Gudh Alzmechtig, Att han warder alle saker till thz beste lage och stelle … Och befaler eder Wennligen Gudh Alz mechtigh' (RA, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Arvid Henriksson Tawast to Henrik Eriksson, 2 August 1598, Vesunta).

> give us […] Commending Your Strictness, your dear beloved wife and little Ivar to God Almighty for both life and soul.[44]

Despite the promising beginning, Ambrosius Henriksson's letter is typically sparse on religious rhetoric. He only mentions God once in the actual text, wishing that he will grant peace.

In addition to the conventional phrases, references to biblical context in the Tawast Collection are limited in number. A couple of examples stress God's overall presence in the human world, especially as a witness to injustice. One of the authors is discussing what actually happened on a war campaign and almost draws a parallel between God and the other witnesses of the case:

> God as well as all honest, good men, noble and not noble, both the officers and private soldiers, both cavalrymen and foot soldiers, have a different awareness of the case.[45]

Another author refers to God in a case concerning his landed properties:

> Act in this matter according to what you in your consciousness know to be our right in front of God and men.[46]

There is also an isolated example that makes use of a creative metaphor to explain why, after the death of the original customers, a merchant suddenly has some valuable cloth to sell:

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44 'Er nu Ewigh welffärdtth Sundheetth lycka och Saligheett, Nådh och Fredh igenom hånom som ähr Nådenns och Fridzens Gudh aff wårom herra Chro- Jesu Edhers welbördigheett nw och altijth önskiath. Thernest enn ödmiuke och vnderdåneligh tackseielsse för mykitt gotth Edhers Strengheett, emotth åss fatighe vndsåther, åfftha och altijdh bruk giordtth och beteedtt haff – r, hwelka Gudhi then alzmectig – te samptt wij Effther wåre ringe machtt, ganska vnderdånelig:n tiene wille, etc. … vthropningh the haffttth haff – r åm fredh, hwilke gudh åss vnne … Edhers Strengheett Edher elskeligh kere Frw och lille Iffwar gudhi then alzmectig – te bådhe till lijff och siell beffallandh' (RA, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Ambrosius Henriksson to Arvid Henriksson Tawast, 1 May 1583, Savonlinna).

45 'Gudh sampt alle erlige godhe Men Ädle och oedle så och aff Befelet och gemeene krigzfolcket sså wäll Ryttere szom Knechter Ahnnorlundhe vm samme handell wetterligitt ähr' (RA, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Henrik Claesson (Horn) to Henrik Abel von Minden and Arvid Henriksson Tawast, 29 February 1580, Kankainen).

46 'rette Edher sielff vdij thette ärendett, effther som i wethe medh Edher Samweth oss för Gudh och Meniskior haffue rett till' (RA, Tawastska papper, vol. 2, Lasse Michelsson to Arvid Henriksson Tawast, 19 March 1596, Helsinki).

> He ordered the silk he now has specifically at the late Mårten Boije's and Lars Torstensson's request, whom God has now found good to dress in angels' clothes, which remain unblemished to eternity etc.[47]

6 Religious Expressions as a Framework for Suffering

As Valborg Lingärde and Jan Samuelson have observed, religious framing gave meaning and explanation to suffering for a sixteenth-century person.[48] There is a striking example of this in the letter of Princess Sofia Vasa to her aunt Märta Leijonhufvud. Princess Sofia's unfortunate marriage to the violent Duke Magnus II of Sachsen-Lauenburg took a heavy toll on the life and spirits of the 22-year-old princess.[49] In 1579, one year after her husband had left her, she was asking for her aunt to pray for her, as she knew that the prayers of pious persons had a powerful effect on God. She also seems to refer to *imitatio Christi*, using an expression of (bearing) one's Cross:[50]

> We thank God for health as there is little other wordly joy with us. God give us his holy grace so that we may carry our cross with patience, and we will thank our dear aunt very dearly for her Christian sympathy in our sorrow.[51]

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47 'thetta Sijdentyg han nu haff – r, bestelte han enkanerlig efter Salige Mårthen Boijes och Lars Torstensons begären, huilche Gud nu haffuer täckts att bekläde med Engladrägt som obefläcked bliff – e i all Ewigheett etc.' (RA, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Henrik Johansson to Arvid Henriksson Tawast, 8 December 1595, Viborg).

48 Valborg Lindgärde, 'Nu skal och Herren upptaga mig. Två självbiografiska texter från 1600-talet', in Elisabeth Møller Jensen, Eva Hættner Aurelius, and Anne-Marie Mai (eds.), *Nordisk kvinnolitteraturhistoria, 1: I Guds namn, 1000–1800*, (Höganäs: Wiken, 1993), pp. 277–85; Samuelson, 'Att vinna ärans krona', p. 153.

49 Mia Korpiola, 'Kyrkotukt för hela folket: hertig Gustafs av Saxen "horerij" och luthersk kyrkodisciplin i Sverige på 1500- och 1600-talen', in Jukka Kekkonen, Pia Letto-Vanamo, Päivi Paasto, and Heikki Pihlajamäki (eds.), *Norden, Rätten, Historia. Festskrift Till Lars Björne* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Lakimiesyhdistys, 2004), pp. 65–7.

50 Anu Lahtinen, 'A Nobleman's Death. Power Struggle and Resistance in Accounts of a Political Execution in Early Modern Sweden', in Henrik Jensen (ed.), *Rebellion and Resistance* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2009), pp. 40–3.

51 'Tacke wi Gwd för hellsen en då nogen annen werdzlig Glede er inted hos os Gud werdiges gewe os Sinne helge Nåder ded wi måte drage wårt kors med Tollemodh wi welle och min kerre MorSyster Så kerlige Betacked hawe som har et kristelliged medlidende öwer wår bedröwelse' (Princess Sofia Vasa to Märta Leijonhufvud, 8 May 1579, in Per Wieselgren (ed.): *Dela-Gardiska archivet, eller, Handlingar ur grefl. Dela-Gardiska bibliotheket på Löberöd* (Stockholm: Wieselgren, 1821), pp. 94–5).

The use of religious expressions in difficult times can be seen in the letter by Carl Henriksson Horn, writing to King John III on 23 January 1591, because he had been put in prison for treason. Writing to the king, he lamented his unfortunate position, made worse by enemies and their lies against him, and the fact that even public defamation had been used against him:

> And I cannot think (though I admit that I, in front of God, am a poor and great sinner, and this punishment and pain from God have been well deserved) that I alone have deserved from God this punishment, and turn of fortune, or am the only one guilty of it; rather I see this as a general punishment for sins, as Daniel says in his ninth chapter.[52]

In the ninth chapter of the Book of Daniel, Daniel is fasting and praying the Lord for mercy, admitting the common sins of all Israel, until an archangel comes to him and announces a prophecy, and also says that he is highly esteemed.[53] Explaining his misfortune in wartime, he points out that victory is in God's hands and that he cannot influence the situation as much as he might wish, 'if God does not want to build and protect the house' ('när Gud icke wil åpbygia och bevaka huset'), a reference to Psalm 127:1.[54] Thus, we may say that Carl Henriksson Horn presents himself as a person who, like Daniel, is praying for the whole of Israel and the people, and his penitence should be seen as suffering and praying for others, and his adversities as a sign of the lack of God's grace.

In some letters that express sorrow, sad events and a feeling of unfair treatment, the references to God are very prominent. One of those letters was sent by the newly widowed Baroness Ebba Stenbock to her sister, Queen Dowager Katarina, informing her of the death of her husband Claes Eriksson Fleming. The beginning of the text reads:

> I cannot leave it untold that God Almighty has seen it right to call from this valley of sorrow my heart's dear lord. May God Almighty wake his

52 'Och kan jag icke troo (endoch jag mig för Gud bekenner för en fatig och stoor Syndare, och thetta straf och wedermödo of Gud wäl och högre wärdig) att jag allena of Gud thenne lyckas förwandling, och straf förtiänt haffuer, eller är ther til wållandes, utan achtar thett wara ett alment Syndastraf sosom Daniel thet i sit 9 Capitel bekennes.' (Carl Henriksson to King John III, 23 January 1591, in *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia* XV (Stockholm: Johan Hörberg, 1830), pp. 75–8).

53 Daniel 9.

54 Psalm 127:1 (King James Version): 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain'.

> soul to eternal joy with his chosen ones, which I have no doubt will happen &c. And God the Almightiest, from whom nothing is hidden, knows my heart's great sorrow because of the loss that I and my children have suffered. However, over all this sorrowful loss, I have to complain both in front of God and people, about the shameful untrue lies that His Princely Grace Duke Karl has been distributing both in print and by word of mouth about my dear late lord, accusations which will never be proved to be truthful, and it is a wrongdoing that God Almighty in heaven laments that he who so faithfully and with so much labour served his fatherland will be paid in this way for his troubles.[55]

To cry to heaven and invoke biblical suffering has often been traced back to imitating Job, but as Eva Haettner Aurelius has shown, the Book of Psalms was a very likely model for people of the time. The Book of Psalms was an appreciated and widely known book of the Bible, with the same suffering and prayers for mercy, but without the defiance of Job. Even Sigrid Sture, along with her autobiographical poem, wrote down biblical verses, which, according to Jan Samuelson, seem to hold the Psalms and the Book of Sirach in special regard.[56] What was decreed by God had to be accepted, and to accept it was an act of a pious person.

It is understandable that suffering and difficult situations could inspire especially abundant religious expressions or references to heavenly powers. Such was the case of Ebba Stenbock, who went on to talk about her plans, God allowing, to fight the false accusations, when God gave her the opportunity. She also described the death of her husband and put emphasis on his brave, solemn and

55 'Kan E: M:t af ett bedröfwet hierte icke oförmält lådta, att Gud den Alz:tig haff:r täckts att kalla af thenne bedröfwede jemmerfulle Werlden min hiertans Käre Herre, Hwilkens Siel Gud den Alz:tig Upwäckie till den ewige glädien att besittia medh alle sine Vthkorede, thz iagh icke twifler etc. Och skall Gud den Alz:tigst, som ingen ting är fördoldt, wete min hiertans store bedröfwelse öfwer mitt och mine barns store frå:fell. Doch öfwer alt thette sorglige fråfelle, är mig till att beklage Vtöfwer både för Gud och menniskior, den tillwytelse H: F: N:de Hertig Carl effter osanfärdigh berättelse min Käre Sal. Herre både mundtligen så och medh Prent och skrifwelser till … idt haff:r. Hwilcket Doch, aldrigh Vthi sanning bewises kan, hwilcket Gud den alz:tigste i himmelen wthi Klagar, att den sitt Fädernesland så troligen och medh så mödesam tienst tient haff:r, skall för sin långlige hafde möde så belönt blifwe.' KA, Kopiokirja 1592–1601, pp. 131–132, Ebba Stenbock to Katarina Stenbock, 5 June 1597.

56 Eva Haettner Aurelius, *Inför lagen. Kvinnliga svenska självbiografier från Agneta Horn till Fredrika Bremer* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1996), pp. 109–10; Samuelson, 'Att vinna ärans krona', pp. 152–3.

Christian departure, praying and listening to pious texts, to fight any claims that he might have died in a violent, even self-destructive, manner.[57]

In times of war, sixteenth-century officers faced a constant problem of disobedient and reluctant soldiers that were eager to run off if, for example, they did not get their payments in time. This explains the seasoned military commander Jöran Boije's humble wish, which is another example of richer religious rhetoric and draws a parallel between godly and worldly authority:

> The Russians will quickly strengthen themselves. God be on our side and may we have willing people who want to keep God first before their eyes and do what their authorities tell them to, which can be useful to His Royal Majesty and our fatherland and damage our enemies.[58]

In times of crisis, the overall picture of a sympathetic and protecting God is occasionally balanced by a darker tone. Sometimes God sends ordeals, such as the 1590 plague in Estonia, which is called God's fatherly whip ('gud … sitt faderlige rijs').[59] The same expression was used by Baron Hogenskild Bielke, when he reported the death of his little baby girl.[60] Although the idea of sin is seldom mentioned, the writers are convinced that God will reward good and punish evil. It is hoped that enemies will meet their well-earned punishment, but the writers are aware that the same threat lies upon themselves.[61] In the economic and social crisis that resulted from constant warfare, many officials found themselves in situations just as frustrating as that of Lars Torstensson Ram, who complains about his difficult orders and the evil rumours that had been spread about him:

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57 Lahtinen, 'Sisterly Relations', pp. 194–5.

58 'Ryssen skall flux förstärkie sigh, gudh ware på wår sidhe, och wij måthe haffue willigh fålk de som wille först haffue gudh för ögenn, och giöre huadh deriss öffuer heth dem befaller, som kan landhe K:M: och wårth fäderness landh till nytto, och wåre fiendhe till aff bräck' (RA, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Jöran Boije to Arvid Henriksson Tawast et al., 16 November 1590, Ivoldh).

59 Riksarkivet, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Arvid Henriksson Tawast and other commandants of Narva castle to John III, 30 August 1590, Narva.

60 Kaarlo Blomstedt, 'Aatelin maanhankinnasta 1500-luvulla. Suuntaviivoja ja menettelytapoja', in *Historiallinen Arkisto* 39/II (1932), p. 62.

61 Ulla Koskinen, 'Sodankäynnin perustelut suomalaisupseerien kirjeenvaihdossa 25-vuotisessa sodassa (1570–1595)', in Jaakkojuhani Peltonen and Ollimatti Peltonen (eds.), *Lupa tappaa: sodankäynnin ja sotien oikeuttamisen pitkä historia* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2019), pp. 163–4.

> May God punish me for eternity if I have at any time left my lord's and king's loss unrevenged: then my God may punish me. God help me with that office, with the hunger, the constant worry for food. And I hope the deceitful liars from an honourless place will have shame here on earth before they die.[62]

Another example of the fear of God's punishment is Arvid Henriksson Tawast's letter just after the peasant uprising known as the Cudgel War (1596–7). He refers to the peasants' poverty and desolate situation and concludes in what is almost a poetic declaration of a fear of God: 'If the peasant is now not helped and aided, God will without doubt punish us.'[63]

7 Arvid Stålarm and His Correspondence

In the correspondence related to the power struggles of the 1590s, noblemen spend a lot of paper and ink in discussing the political problems and the tensions between King Sigismund and Duke Karl. In addressing such sensitive issues, correspondents were trying to avoid expressions that would be seen as provocative by either party. There were many political tensions at stake, as well as the religious tension that the synod of the Swedish church aimed to solve in 1593. However, the religious disputes were not the focus of the correspondence analysed.

The correspondents in the collections include Arvid Eriksson Stålarm, who served as the governor (*ståthållare*) of Finland and the commander-in-chief (*amiral*) of the armed forces (1597–9), and his brothers-in-law Claes Hermansson Fleming and Lars Fleming, who took turns in commanding the castle of Turku from autumn 1597 to autumn 1599. The correspondence takes place in the midst of a crisis that had already escalated into an open armed conflict where loyalties were fluid. In those years, Stålarm was King Sigismund's main support in Finland and was leading the defence against Duke Karl. Stålarm, who found

62 'so straffe mig gudh ttill euig ttidh # ell- hau- jag nogonttidh min herress og konugz- skade ell- seettedh ohembdtt so mo min gudh straffe mig gudh hielpe mig ffron dz embette ffron den hungren Jemlige mattsorgen og jag fförhoppess att di ärlässe ortts skelmiske löngerer skole ffo skam H- po jorden fför änn Di döö:' (RA, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Lars Torstensson (Ram) to Arvid Henriksson Tawast, 1 October 1584, Haaga).

63 'Bliffuer iche nu bonden … lijsat och skånther … derföre warder oss gud vthan tuiffuel straffandes' (RA, Riksarkivets ämnessamlingar, miscellanea, Strödda historiska handlingar 18, Arvid Henriksson Tawast to Bengt Severinsson Juusten (Gyllenlood), undated, associated with a letter from 13 June 1597).

himself between the two opposing parties when trying to mediate between the supporters of the King and the Duke, wrote many letters about the political situation, both to his enemies and his friends. Stålarm was a little too open and changeable in his expressions of political opinions, but his religious ruminations remain brief. He would later change sides and was caught in duplicitous moves that ultimately led to a lifetime of imprisonment.[64]

Again, when using religious expressions, the correspondents are mostly referring to ritualised wishes for the best outcome, as in Claes Hermansson Fleming's letter of 2 January 1598:

> I hope to God that everything will be reconciled between His Royal Majesty and His Princely Grace.[65]

The conciliatory wish is similar to the one above by Arvid Henriksson Tawast. In the politically very precarious situation, this was the wisest way to write – not taking sides too clearly on the dispute, nor accusing anyone of too much, but instead expressing hopes that God would resolve matters for the best.

The situation was difficult in any case, as Arvid Stålarm's wife Elin Fleming had been imprisoned by Duke Karl. At this point, the leading nobility were hoping to get a confirmed declaration that Sigismund would offer them military support and allow them to keep their Protestant faith, as Arvid Stålarm commented:

> if His Royal Majesty will not secure us in writing and have his royal orders issued about our religion and privileges, then we will set ourselves free from our service, and not otherwise act or fight against our own consciences. God Almighty knows how one should act; one does not want to let go so lightly of one's oath and promises given to his royal majesty, not for threats or blows; I would rather be dead than live with shame [of that sort].[66]

64 See Veli-Matti Syrjö, 'Stålarm, Arvid' (6 September 2001), in Matti Klinge etc. (eds.), *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997–), accessed 8 October 2022.

65 'önskar aff gud att all ting måtte bliffua well förlickt emellom H: K: M: och H: F: N) (RA, Strödda historiska handlingar, 18, Claes Hermansson Fleming to Hans Krank, 2 January 1598).

66 'åm H. K. M. iche will göre den försäkring bode skrifftlig so och lathe vpgå sin Konungs Mandater, åm wår religion och friheter, så wehle wij vpfriija wår tienst och eliest för ingen deell streffue eller Krige emodh wårtt egett Samwett, Gudh den allrehögste weedh huru man skall sig ut bere, indhz will man så lättelig afftrede? sin Eedh och Lijffte Detth man H. K. M. giortt haffue, huarken för hooth eller slag, iag wilde heller wara dödh en mz

FIGURE 9.2 Epitaph of Arvid Stålarm and Elin Fleming, commissioned to the Tenhola Church to honour the deceased Elin Fleming, is the first known epitaph in Finland, manifesting the devotion of the couple DRAWING: AGATHON REINHOLM, 1885. FINNISH HERITAGE AGENCY

This letter, the end of which resonates with 2 Maccabees 6:19, refers to an actual discussion and expectation of the firm commitment of King Sigismund so that the nobility could feel secure when supporting the king.[67] Here there is a reference to religion, most likely a reference to the Uppsala synod of 1593 and the diet that the Swedish nobility wanted to maintain.

8 Interpreting Ritualised Religious Expressions

It is important to keep in mind that the sources and the methods impose some restrictions on interpretation. The analysis is based on a selection of correspondence, and while the combined method of concordance searches and in-depth analysis help to identify certain patterns, there are certainly other religious aspects that are left in the shadows. Nevertheless, the material used and the analysis derived from it are, to our knowledge, more comprehensive than in previous studies.

We have seen that religious expressions, that is, mainly God, dominate the formulaic parts of the letters of the sixteenth-century nobility and other literate laypeople in Finland. These parts follow the traditions of *ars dictandi* and represent the learned, Christian tradition of writing. Writers and their scribes learned this practice as an essential part of written culture. The expressions (such as wishing good health in the name of God Almighty) are similar in most of the letters, showing that the religious expressions follow a common practice. There are some exceptions to the main formulas in some of the letters, which probably shows that the writing traditions varied slightly according to location or education.

On the other hand, the *narratio* or the free text is less dependent on the learned tradition. It probably represents more directly the laypeople's own use of vocabulary. In these parts, Christian expressions are not so prominent or sophisticated. They are mainly short sayings about God's will which are used as comments on future or past events. The writer may express his wish that something may happen, his unawareness of something or his opinion of past events by referring to God in short sayings consisting of two to four words. The point

Skamme Leffue.' (RA, Strödda historiska handlingar, 18, Arvid Eriksson Stålarm to Claes Hermansson Fleming 16 October 1597, copy).

67 'Men han wilde heller ärligha dö än så medh skam leffua' (*Biblia / Thet är / All then Helgha Scrifft / på Swensko* [Gustav Vasa's Bible] (Uppsala: Georgen Richolff, 1541), 2 Maccabeorum 6:19.

is always that God knows and decides everything, humans do not. Other religious concepts apart from God are rare in the free text. On the whole, religion is present in our source material mostly as ritualised expressions: proverbs and conventional letter phrases. They were an essential and necessary part of writing.

Religious contemplation or theorisation is much less apparent. Correspondingly, the letters hardly discuss the Reformation at all. The ongoing, partly religious conflict between members of the royal family inspires humble wishes for reconciliation, clearly avoiding over-provocative contentions. Religion is present as something very concrete in these laypeople's letters: it centres around God as the principal ruler of the world. Religious expressions are practical and serve the simple purpose of crediting supernatural forces for everything significant that happens in the world. The general discourse centres around reverence for God, who is almighty and all-knowing and actively present in everyday events. He helps and protects, but also punishes wrong-doers. A few more elaborate cases testify that more elaborate religious expressions are presented in precarious situations: for instance, in the context of suffering or dangerous journeys.

It is striking that the fearsome, strict, judging and punishing God of the Old Testament is mostly absent in the laypeople's written mentality. The devil and sin are not discussed either. Instead, God is described in positive terms such as *gracious* and *merciful* and the standard phraseology includes wishes for God's protection. He is a gentle, almighty force over the uncertain and sinister human world. The writers express their trust that God will help them and promote righteousness. To do this includes punishing those that have done wrong. His agency is beyond human reach, but writers express humble wishes that God will use his almighty grasp to steer things according to their best. As Arvid Tawast put it in 1598: 'I hope that God Almighty will put everything right'.[68]

The tone of the religious expressions resonates with the observations of Raisa Maria Toivo, that one had to put faith in God in order to gain grace, to show submission. Shared submission was an important way for the laypeople to present themselves as pious. In some cases, the expressions may have come closer to a ritual, while in others they may have meant a great deal to the sender of the letter. It may be good to bear in mind that, as has been suggested by Stina Hansson, the letters and prayers shared similar structures and features, and may have been inspired too by prayer books.[69]

68 'mig förhåppes till Gudh Alzmechtig att han warder alle saker till thz beste lage och stelle' (RA, Tawastska papper, vol. 1, Arvid Henriksson Tawast to Henrik Eriksson, 2 August 1598).

69 Hansson, Stina. *Ett språk för själen. Litterära former i den svenska andaktslitteraturen 1650–1720* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1991), pp. 25, 27, 108–9.

Ritualised expressions such as *if God wills*, *thank God* or *God amend* (*om gud vill, gud ske lov, god förbättra* in Swedish,) reflect the idea of subordination. By using them the writer manifests his willingness to yield before supernatural forces and acknowledge them as the cause of everything that happens around him. These speech acts were based on the power of words and can even be interpreted as further examples of the religious intertwining with the magical, which has been observed in various religious acts both before and after the Reformation.[70] Subjectivity to God's will is like a mantra that is immediately uttered after referring to future or past events, as to prevent any harm resulting from hubris and an arrogant belief in one's own possibilities. This is in harmony with what has been observed by Raisa Maria Toivo concerning seventeenth-century Swedish expressions:

> The Protestant idea of salvation by faith alone was based on the human incapability of not sinning, thus the utter sinfulness of flawed humans, who could only be saved if they admitted to and believed in their sinfulness and submitted to the divine grace.[71]

Even when the letters deal with war and other human activities, God is ultimately credited for everything that has happened. This may reflect the influence of the Reformation. The traditional active negotiation with saints as mediators has been replaced by the omnipotence of God, whose unquestionable will steers the world, leaving humans in a position where their only option is total acquiescence.

In terms of rhetoric, the letter writers can be interpreted as using God as a *God-term* (Kenneth Burke) or as an *absolute presupposition* (R. G. Collingwood).[72] This means that God is the final argument that needs no more motivations. If God has decided that events will go in a particular way, then nobody can argue against it. In this way, the concept of God was used as a rhetorical tool to belittle one's own agency and minimise the risks of responsibility. This was often wise in the precarious world of uncertainty in which sixteenth-century noblemen lived.

Put together, the letters we have analysed do not take part in in-depth religious discussions. Despite this, they are full of religious expressions, mainly

70 Arnovick, *Diachronic Pragmatics*, 130.

71 Raisa Maria Toivo, 'Gender Performances in Early Modern Religious Life', in Elise M. Dermineur, Åsa Karlsson Sjögren and Virginia Langum (eds.) *Revisiting Gender in European History, 1400–1800*, 169–86. (New York: Routledge, 2018), p. 172.

72 Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945), pp. 54, 73, 351–6; R. G. Collingwood, *An essay on metaphysics*, ed. Rex Martin (rev. edn; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 31.

related to God. They are used to present an individual's agency and possibilities as strongly subjected to almighty God, who makes everything happen and decides how things turn out. Individuals relate that they live in uncertainty, but at the same time express their trust in God and that he will make everything happen according to his plans, in just and righteous ways.

Appendix 9.1. Search Terms for Religious Expressions

TABLE 1 Search terms

Swedish standard version	English translation	Tawast	Fleming
Alsmäktig	Almighty	268	144
Ängel	Angel	1	0
Bestraffa	Punish	0	0
Bibel	Bible	0	0
Bok	Book	2	0
Bedja	Pray	1	0
Bön	Prayer	0	0
Christelig	Christian	7	17
Christi/Christo	Christ	18	10
Djävul	Devil	0	1
Ed	Oath	6	22
Evig	Eternal	20	11
Fred	Peace	2	0
Frälsare	Savior	0	1
Gud	God	736	529
Helg, Helig	Holy	18	17
Helgon	Saint	0	2
Helig ande	Holy Spirit	1	2
Hämnd	Revenge	1	1
Jesus	Jesus	8	3
Jesuit	Jesuit	0	0
Jungfru	Virgin	0	0
Kloster	Cloister, Monastery	7	0
Kyrka	Church	9	2
Latin	Latin	0	2
Lov	Praise	30	15
Maria	Mary	0	0

TABLE 1 Search terms (*cont.*)

Swedish standard version	English translation	Tawast	Fleming
Martin Luther	Martin Luther	0	0
Mild	Merciful	30	9
Munk	Monk, friar	1	0
Mässa	Mass	0	0
Nattvard	Communion	0	0
Nåd, nådig	Grace, gracious	49	45
Ond	Evil	0	1
Predika	Preach	0	0
Profet	Profet	0	0
Protestant	Protestant	0	0
Påv	Pope	0	3
Reform	Reform	0	0
Rom	Rome	1	0
Sacrament	Sacrament	1	1
Salig, salighet, lycksalig	Blessed	51	78
Sankt	Saint	3	5
Själ	Soul	26	15
Skrift	Holy text	0	2
Straff, straffa	Punish	3	6
Synd	Sin	0	1
syndare/synderska	Sinner	0	4
Svärja	Swear	7	6
Trefaldighet	Trinity	7	5
Tröst	Sooth	0	0

CHAPTER 10

The Teachers and the Listeners? The Encounter of Oral and Literary Cultures in the Peripheral Parishes of Eastern Finland in Seventeenth-Century Sweden

Miia Kuha

It was one of the central aims of the Reformation that people should be taught to read the Catechism and understand the basic doctrines of Christianity.[1] Increasing literacy was in the interests both of the centralising states in their need for educated officials, and of churches of different confessions as they tried to define their doctrine more precisely and make it clear to their followers.[2] The educational role of the church was emphasised in seventeenth-century Lutheran Sweden, where the clergy and the parishioners were often referred to as *lärare och åhörare*, the teachers and the listeners, in different kinds of documents.[3] However, in the peripheral parishes of eastern Finland, a part of the Swedish kingdom at the time, a considerable portion of the peasant population was only starting to learn the very basics of Christianity. Book ownership was rare in this poor and rural area. Regardless of the spread of printing in Europe, it was difficult even for the church and schools to obtain enough books for their needs in the diocese of Vyborg, not to mention the peasant

1 This chapter has been finalized as part of the Research Council of Finland project 'Women of the clerical estate: Clergymen's wives and widows in Lutheran local communities (1650–1710)' (project number 338706).

2 Karen E. Carter, *Creating Catholics. Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011); Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC. Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Rab Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Routledge, 2002, repr. 2013).

3 Göran Malmstedt, *Bondetro och kyrkoro. Religiös mentalitet i stormaktstidens Sverige* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2002); Daniel Lindmark, *Uppfostran, undervisning, upplysning. Linjer i svensk folkundervisning före folkskolan* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 1995); Esko M. Laine and Tuija Laine, 'Kirkollinen kansanopetus', in Jussi Hanska and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (eds.), *Huoneentaulun maailma. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa keskiajalta 1860-luvulle* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 258–306. Examples of the use of the term 'lärare och åhörare': Kansallisarkisto (KA, The National Archives of Finland), Mikkeli (hereafter: KA Mikkeli), Joroinen, church archive, II Cd: 1 Visitation record (1693); Kangasniemi, church archive, II Cd: 1 Visitation record (1680); Kangasniemi, church archive, II Ce Visitation record (1704); Kansallisarkisto, Joensuu (hereafter: KA Joensuu), Kuopio, church archive, II Cd: 1 Visitation record (1678).

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population, who had very limited access to any printed products.[4] Thus, in practice, the church was the only place where the peasants had a chance to listen to the reading of written religious texts and learn about the Lutheran doctrine – which they were also obliged to do, since regular church attendance was enforced by law.[5]

Printed books and various cheap printed materials have been highlighted as important mediators of Reformation ideas. However, the printed book was not the only way to convey the message of the Reformers: there were many traditional ways of communication available, such as preaching, singing and catechetical teaching.[6] In this chapter, I examine the reception of Lutheran teaching among the people in the province of Savo in eastern Finland by analysing an exceptional court case that survives from the parish of Sulkava. In the summer of 1668, the secular lower court session in the village of Sulkava handled a case of suspected blasphemy, after a group of peasants and soldiers from peasant families had parodied the Christmas Day service in a household feast on the evening of the following day.[7] The case analysis explores the encounter of oral and literary cultures in the north-eastern periphery of post-Reformation Europe, an area where the ecclesiastical culture was relatively young and book ownership was rare. The events of Sulkava related to local power relations and the relationship between the clergy and the

4 Tuija Laine, 'Vanhan Viipurin hiippakunnan alueen kirjahistorian lähteet', in Ilkka Huhta and Juha Meriläinen (eds.), *Kirkkohistorian alueilla: juhlakirja professori Hannu Mustakallion täyttäessä 60 vuotta* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura etc., 2011), pp. 217–25; Miia Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto varhaismodernin ajan Savossa (vuoteen 1710)* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto 2016). There were great regional differences in the book markets and infrastructure of printing in early-modern Europe. See Andrew Pettegree and Matthew Hall, 'The Reformation and the Book: A Reconsideration', *The Historical Journal*, 47, 4 (2004), pp. 785–808.

5 The punishment for absence was a large fine that usually resulted from a recurrent absence from the church. Miia Kuha, 'Popular Religion in the Periphery. Church Attendance in seventeenth Century Eastern Finland', *Perichoresis* 13: 2 (2015), pp. 17–33.

6 Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Robert W. Scribner, 'Oral Culture and the Diffusion of Reformation Ideas', *History of European Ideas* 5 (1984), pp. 237–56. See also Arnold Snyder, 'Orality, literacy and the study of anabaptism', *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 65 (1991), pp. 371–92.

7 Kansallisarkisto, Helsinki (hereafter: KA), Renovoidut tuomiokirjat, Pien-Savon kihlakunta, KO a:1, Sulkava, 6–7 May 1668, pp. 113–19. The record of the case is available in a digitalised form in the Digital Archive, https://astia.narc.fi/uusiastia/viewer/?fileId=6533365663&aineistoId=642405597. The case has been discussed earlier with a methodological point of view in Miia Kuha, 'A Parody of the Church Service in Seventeenth-Century Finland. Reconstructing Popular Religion on the Basis of Court Records', *Frühneuzeit-Info* 23: 1–2 (2012), pp. 99–104, and in the context of the popular observance of holy days in Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, pp. 119–27.

parishioners, but the surviving record also offers a glimpse at the reception of Lutheran teaching among the populace.

In Sweden and Finland, an integral part of the Swedish realm in the early-modern era, the lower court records that survive in great abundance provide excellent source material for investigation of the religious life of the peasantry. In late-seventeenth-century Sweden, religion had a major effect on legislation, and matters related to religion were handled in the secular lower courts.[8] For example, the breach of the Sabbath, with more severe consequences after the ordinances of the years 1665 and 1687, brought to the courts accusations of absence from the church service, communion and catechetical teaching.[9] Parish life is also described in cases where the accusation concerned violent behaviour or drunkenness during the church service or disturbance of the service. In addition, religious concepts were discussed in hearings related to suspected blasphemy, magic and witchcraft.[10]

I will analyse the case of Sulkava in the context of the ecclesiastical life and development of the knowledge of the Catechism in the parishes of the province of Savo, using visitation records from the period 1659–1710 as source material. In the visitation records that survive from the period, the visiting bishops and deans noted down a general evaluation of the religious understanding acquired in each parish. Even though this information is fragmentary, it is possible to gain a general picture of the development of the catechetical and literary skills in particular areas.[11] Catechisms, other ecclesiastical literature and

8 The lower court records have survived as transcriptions that were sent to the Court of Appeal for inspection. For discussion of using lower court records as source material in the study of thought and religious conceptions of commoners, see for example Raisa Maria Toivo, *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 16–20; Riikka Miettinen, *Suicide in Seventeenth-Century Sweden. The Crime and Legal Praxis in the Lower Courts* (Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto, 2015), pp. 46–58; Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, pp. 30–2; Jari Eilola, *Rajapinnoilla. Sallitun ja kielletyn määritteleminen 1600-luvun jälkipuoliskon noituus- ja taikuustapauksissa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2003), pp. 41–5.

9 Johan Schmedeman, *Kongl. stadgar, förordningar, bref och resolutioner ifrån åhr 1528 in til 1701* (Stockholm: Johan Henric Werner, 1706), pp. 453–63; Lahja-Irene Hellemaa, Anja Jussila, and Matti Parvio (eds.), *Kircko-Laki ja Ordningi 1686. Näköispainos ja uudelleen ladottu laitos vuoden 1686 kirkkolain suomennoksesta* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1986), pp. 157–70, 'Sabbatin Ricoxesta'.

10 Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, pp. 26–9.

11 From the province of Savo, forty-one visitation records from six parishes (Hirvensalmi, Iisalmi, Joroinen, Kangasniemi, Kuopio and Mikkeli) survive from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The earliest record is from the parish of Kangasniemi in 1659. The records have survived fragmentarily from each parish and most are available from the 1690s and the first decade of the eighteenth century. Church archives: KA Joensuu,

visitation records have been commonly used to gain information about the religious education of the populace in various parts of Europe. In this chapter, I will also utilise lower court records to gain a new perspective on the reception of religious education among the peasantry.[12]

1 The Encounter of Oral and Written Cultures in Eastern Finland

In eastern Finland, large distances and difficult conditions acted as challenges to catechetical teaching. The province of Savo, together with Northern Karelia, formed the most peripheral part of the diocese of Vyborg. Savo was a large, agrarian area, with slash-and-burn farming as the main means of the inhabitants' livelihood. People lived in single households situated in loose groups or at greater distances from each other.[13] Distances between churches were long. People living near the church probably attended church services at least almost every week, but others might only have travelled there on the greatest holy days of the year. Thus, it was difficult to organise catechetical teaching separately from the church service.[14]

Kuopio church archive, II Cd: 1 Visitation records, 1670–1804; KA Joensuu, Leppävirta church archive, II Cd: 1 Visitation records, 1662–1841; KA Mikkeli, Joroinen church archive, II Cd: 1 Visitation records, 1693–1748; KA Mikkeli, Kangasniemi church archive, II Cd: 1 Visitation records, 1660–1794, and II Ce Visitation records, 1659–1840; KA Mikkeli, Mikkeli church archive, II Cd: 1 Visitation records, 1700–1848. In 1710, Russian troops invaded the town of Vyborg and soon after occupied the whole area of Finland, after which the normal functions of most institutions ceased and most clergymen fled to Sweden proper. See Petri Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta. Ruotsi ja Suomi 1521–1809* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2014; 4th rev. edn), pp. 313–18. In both visitation and court records, there is a gap of at least a decade after 1710 or 1712, depending on the locality.

12 On reading culture among early-modern commoners, see Tuija Laine, *Aapisen ja katekismuksen tavaamisesta itsenäiseen lukemiseen. Rahvaan lukukulttuurin kehitys varhaismodernina aikana* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017).

13 The Savo region was connected to the Swedish realm in the treaty of Nöteborg in 1323 with Novgorod. It was an area of new settlement until the late sixteenth century. First, the whole area made up only one parish. Gradually, new parishes with their respective churches were founded, and in the late seventeenth century, there were in total fifteen parishes in the province. Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, p. 45; Kauko Pirinen, 'Savon keskiaika', in Pirkko-Liisa Lehtosalo-Hilander and Kauko Pirinen, *Savon historia, 1: Esihistorian vuosituhannet ja keskiaika* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila, 1988), pp. 289–95; Kauko Pirinen, *Savon historia II:1: Rajamaakunta asutusliikkeen aikakautena 1534–1617* (Pieksämäki: Kustannuskiila, 1982), 535–54; Veijo Saloheimo, *Savon historia, II:2: Savo suurvallan valjaissa 1617–1721* (Kuopio: Kustannuskiila Oy, 1990), pp. 460–5.

14 Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, pp. 104–8.

Local clergymen were the main representatives of literary culture in the rural parishes of Savo. There was usually a pastor and one or sometimes two chaplains working in a parish. Most of the clergymen in the Savo region conducted their studies in Vyborg, the capital of the diocese and also an important commercial and administrative centre. In the seventeenth century, two of the dioceses in the Swedish realm were situated in the area of present-day Finland. The diocese of Turku covered the whole of Finland from the medieval era until the eastern diocese of Vyborg was founded in 1555. However, this region, situated next to the Russian border, suffered from the many wars between Russia and Sweden, and the function of the diocese of Vyborg was only properly established after the peace of Stolbovo (1617) and the appointment of Bishop Olaus Elimaeus in 1618.[15]

The Reformation changed the ideal of the clergymen, who became teachers and officials of the state as servants of the Lutheran state church. In practice, most of the changes made after the Reformation took place very slowly, especially in the peripheral, rural areas of the realm. After the Reformation, and still during the late sixteenth century, clerical education was poor. Important educational reforms were made under Gustav II Adolf, especially after the year 1620. *Gymnasiums* were founded in the cathedral towns of each diocese to replace the former cathedral schools. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Swedish clergymen mainly studied in gymnasiums. Two years of studies, either in a gymnasium or at the university, were required before ordination. The gymnasium of Vyborg, founded in 1641, had high standards and the content of the teaching was similar to that of the Swedish universities of the time.[16] It has been estimated that the teaching in the cathedral school was based on Lutheran ideas from the 1530s onwards.[17] In the last decades of the seventeenth century, it became more common for the clergymen of the diocese of Vyborg to conduct studies also in the universities of the Swedish realm, most commonly in Turku, but also in Tartu and Uppsala. Even so, the clerics working in the Savo area who had conducted studies at a university

15 The function of the diocese ceased with the occupation of Vyborg in 1710 in the Great Northern War (1700–21), and the town was lost to Russia in the treaty of Nystad in 1721. Simo Heininen, 'Vanha Viipurin hiippakunta 1554–1711', in Simo Heininen et al., *Viipurin – Porvoon – Tampereen hiippakunnan historia 1554–2004* (Helsinki: Edita, 2005), pp. 13–64; Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta*, pp. 307–26.

16 Malmstedt, *Bondetro och kyrkoro*, pp. 74–5, 123–6; Ragnar Askmark, *Svensk prästutbildning fram till år 1700* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelse, 1943), pp. 108–16; Matti Klinge etc., *Helsingin yliopisto 1640–1990, 1: Kuninkaallinen Turun Akatemia 1640–1808* (Helsinki: Otava, 1987), pp. 20–48.

17 Anu Lahtinen and Jussi Hanska, 'Keskiajalta 1500-luvun lopulle', in Jussi Hanska and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (eds.), *Huoneentaulun maailma. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa keskiajalta 1860-luvulle*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 17–111, at p. 87.

still constituted a minority during the latter half of seventeenth century.[18] In comparison, in Germany, non-academics became a clear minority in about 1600, and in Denmark, it was required in the early seventeenth century for all would-be clergymen to conduct at least two years of studies at a university.[19] In Sweden, clergymen were also obliged to participate in further training in synodal meetings led by the bishop. Bishops also monitored the work of the clergy during regular visitations to the parishes. The bishops of the Finnish dioceses usually studied at Swedish and German universities, and brought influences from important Lutheran centres, such as Wittenberg.[20]

In Savo, peasant culture was essentially oral, and people who were dependent on agricultural work for their subsistence were not eager to learn to read or take their children to the lessons of the parish clerk (*klockare*, *klåckare* in Swedish). The population of the province of Savo consisted mostly of freeholding peasants and other commoners who did not own land, such as servants. The leading clergymen often lamented the ignorance and superstition of the inhabitants, and there is information in the sources on the kind of popular religious practice that was officially considered as superstitious. For example, saints' day celebrations that also contained pre-Christian elements were still a lively part of local religious culture. However, the clergy did not usually report these practices for prosecution in court.[21] The relationship between local clergymen and parishioners was generally good and trusting, and it is mostly occasional quarrels over unpaid taxes and peasants' negligence in building or repairing the church or the parsonage that come up in the sources.

2 The Peasants of Telataipale and the Re-enactment of the Christmas Service

'For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given', a peasant-born soldier intoned in a farmhouse of a remote village of Telataipale in the parish of

18 Of the pastors and chaplains working in the parishes of Savo during the period 1650–1710, about 42 per cent conducted studies in a university. See Miia Kuha, 'Prästkarriären, prästernas rörlighet och förhållande till lokalsamhällen i Viborgs stift 1650–1710.' Historisk Tidskrift för Finland 106: 2 (2021), pp. 282–283.

19 Thomas Kaufmann, 'The Clergy and the Theological Culture of the Age: The Education of Lutheran Pastors in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in C. Scott Dixon and Luise Schorn-Schütte (eds.), *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 120–36, at p. 128; Malmstedt, *Bondetro och kyrkoro*, p. 74.

20 Kimmo Katajala etc., *Viipurin läänin historia, III: Suomenlahdelta Laatokalle* (Lappeenranta: Karjalan kirjapaino, 2010), pp. 358–63; Malmstedt, *Bondetro och kyrkoro*, p. 75.

21 Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*; Toivo, *Faith and Magic*.

Sulkava in eastern Finland on St Stephen's Day, 26 December 1667.[22] The soldier had heard the text of the Bible that the pastor had read from the pulpit the day before in the Christmas Day service at the church. The next evening, as the neighbours gathered in a peasant household to spend St Stephen's Day, a popular feast day among the peasantry, a group of men re-enacted the Christmas Day church service in a humorous, parodic manner. It did not take long before rumours of the events started to spread. The neighbouring community was clearly interested in the evening's events and the participants were not afraid to reveal the actors and their roles. Local peasants talked and joked about 'the congregation of Telataipale'[23] as opposed to the parish of Sulkava, which the participants of the feast did not seem to mind. After the rumours reached the local authorities, the case was first handled in an episcopal visitation carried out by Bishop Petrus Brommius in the winter or early spring in 1668. The visitation record has not survived, but the bishop referred the case to the secular court, and an examination of suspected blasphemy followed when the district court of the Pien-Savo jurisdiction gathered in the village of Sulkava in the summer 1668.

At the trial, there were many people present: the judge of the judicial district of Pien-Savo, a jury consisting of nine peasant farmers, the bailiff, the scribe and the rural constable, the local pastor and chaplain, the witnesses and the defendants, and an audience consisting of local inhabitants. The lower court session that was organised two or three times a year in each hundred was an important event that always gathered many people to handle their affairs and follow other hearings. The court audience was often consulted in matters regarding the local community. The scribe recorded the course of court sessions, translated into Swedish, the official language of the realm, but Finnish was usually spoken in the courtroom, and most eastern Finnish peasants could not understand Swedish.[24]

In the case of the parody, four participants and at least four other witnesses were questioned. The judge tried to untangle the course of events, focusing mainly on finding out if actual communion bread had been used, and if the participants had disgraced the sacrament of the eucharist. Degrading the sacrament was considered as blasphemy, which was a serious crime and could lead

22 'ett barn är oss födt, een son ähr oss gifuin' (KA, Pien-Savo, KO a:1, Sulkava, 6–7 May 1668, p. 118). See note 6 for information on the source used in this chapter. See below for an analysis of the paragraph of the Bible mentioned.

23 'Telataipall församblingh' (KA, Pien-Savo, KO a:1, Sulkava, 6–7 May 1668, p. 114).

24 In some court cases in eastern Finland, peasant witnesses were not able to testify about conversations between people from higher estates, because they did not understand if only Swedish had been spoken. See Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, p. 116.

to the death penalty.[25] The peasants had shared regular bread, but the problem was that one of them had proclaimed that they would share the bread as if it was the Host. After the hearing, the judge discussed the case with the jury and local clergymen, and the outcome was that the participants of the feast had not distributed the sacrament, but that they had, in their drunkenness, ridiculed God's word and talked about the Host. The judge chose to refer the case back to the ecclesiastical forum, to be examined by the chapter in Vyborg. The records of the chapter have been destroyed, but a year later, in the summer 1669, we can find the two main characters of the re-enactment as prisoners in the castle of Vyborg. After four months of imprisonment, whilst their case was probably being examined in the chapter, they were finally discharged.[26]

In the trial, the events were gradually exposed by the testimonies of second-hand witnesses, who had talked about the evening later with the participants, and finally the reluctant participants confessing their share in events. There were at least ten people present at the celebration, both invited guests and members of the household. The record mentions only one woman, the mistress of the house. During the feast, fish and bread were served to eat and plenty of beer to drink, and it is mentioned that the participants were drunk. The evening's host passed out soon after the beginning of the parody. In the course of the evening, two of the participants, both cavalry soldiers recruited from peasant families, acted as the pastor and the chaplain in a parody of the church service. The farmhand took on the role of the parish clerk, while others performed as churchgoers. It seems that the three men playing the main parts were young and unmarried.

The re-enactment of the service included the following parts: ringing the bell, confession and absolution, communion, the 'pastor' quoting the Bible, singing hymns and saying 'things he had heard from the pastor'.[27] Ringing the bell, or a fish trap hanging in the ceiling, was the job of the clerk, just like in the actual service.[28] To make it feel real and tangible, different kinds of material items from the peasant household were used: bread and beer to imitate the communion and a mantle that the fake pastor put on to resemble the cassock of the clergyman. Rituals of the service were imitated with bodily gestures: for example, the churchgoers fell on their knees when the fake pastor gave

25 Soili-Maria Olli, *Visioner av världen. Hädelse och djävulspakt i justitierevisionen 1680–1780* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, 2007), pp. 1–2.

26 Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, p. 123.

27 'hwadd han aff Presten hördt hadhe'. (KA, Pien-Savo, KO a:1, Sulkava, 6–7 May 1668, p. 117).

28 The Swedish word *klockare* (parish clerk) comes from the word *klocka* (bell), referring to the original task of the clerk as the bell-ringer. 'Klockare', in *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok (1936)*, https://www.saob.se/, accessed 21 March 2019.

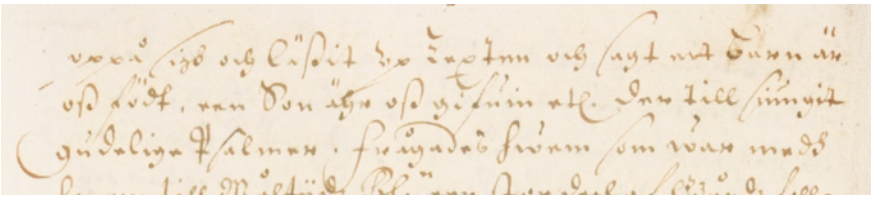

FIGURE 10.1 An extract from the lower court protocol from the investigation of the case of suspected blasphemy in Telataipale
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them absolution. There were different kinds of jokes and mockery included in the parody, for example, during the re-enactment of communion, one of the guests asked for more to drink because he claimed to be a greater sinner than the others.[29]

The passage of the Bible mentioned earlier is the only reference to a religious text that was recorded. Otherwise, the men acting as clergymen clearly tried to imitate the church liturgy, hymns and probably the sermon. In the trial, the soldier who had played the part of the chaplain confessed that the mistress of the house had only allowed him to sing godly hymns and say things he had heard from the clergy, which is an interesting detail. It might imply that he had tried to sing or say something that would have been considered as superstitious or blasphemous in the eyes of the judge. There is another mention in the court records from a St Stephen's Day celebration in the same region, where one of the participants insisted the others sing godly hymns instead of other songs, probably of older, non-Christian origin.[30]

Many non-Lutheran popular rituals were a part of the celebration of St Stephen's Day. In northern Europe, St Stephen was especially known as a protector of horses, and the rituals of the day were connected to horses: for example, bringing a horse inside the house, making it drink ale and finally riding out on the ice. St Stephen's Day was essentially a feast of men and the rituals strengthened the mythical connection between men and horses.[31] The house that hosted the events in Telataipale was a household that equipped a cavalryman and a horse in the military in exchange for tax reliefs from the state. Almost all of the participants either came from a similar household or

29 For an analysis of the humorous and carnivalesque elements in the parody, see Kuha, 'A Parody of the Church Service'.

30 KA, Savo, KO a:2, Sääminki, Sulkava and Kerimäki, 16 February 1648, pp. 713–13^{v}.

31 Kati Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset. Suullinen ja kirjallinen kulttuuri uuden ajan alun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), pp. 148–84, https://doi.org/10.21435/skst.1427.

were cavalry soldiers themselves. Thus, it was especially important for them to ensure the success of horses. Horses were valuable and only wealthier households could afford to keep them.[32]

Even though the participants of the parody were men, it seems that the mistress had some control over them, demanding that they sing godly hymns and imitate the pastor in what they spoke. The mistress did not seem to think that it would be dangerous to replicate the church service at home as long as it was done correctly, following to the pattern used by the clergymen at the church. After all, the parishioners were told that they should pray, sing hymns and recite the Catechism at home especially on holy days in order to teach their children and servants and live like proper Christians.

3 The Parishioners of Savo as 'Listeners'

It seems that the men who took part in the parody in Sulkava were somewhat wealthier and more educated than the majority of the local parishioners, which means that they were able to recite the main articles of the Small Catechism and were probably familiar with some of their explanations as well. We can assume that many others would not have been able to perform this kind of parody with all its references to the church, Bible and liturgy. The campaign for teaching the subjects of the Swedish realm, the overwhelming majority of whom were peasants, to read, had started in the early seventeenth century. Learning the basics of the Catechism was obligatory if one wished to take communion or marry. Thus, being able to recite the most important articles of the Catechism became an important prerequisite of social life. The parish clergy regularly examined all parishioners, but they paid special attention to the education of the youth.[33] In Finland, bishops Isaacus Rothovius (1627–52) and Johannes Gezelius (1664–90) in the diocese of Turku, and Petrus Bjugg (1642–55) and Petrus Bång (1681–96) in Vyborg, strove to improve the Christian education of the populace. However, there were considerable regional differences, especially between the densely inhabited areas of south-western Finland and the large parishes in the east. Books were particularly rare in the eastern Finnish countryside.[34]

32 Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, p. 142.

33 KA Joensuu, Kuopio church archive, II Cd: 1, Visitation record (1670); Laine and Laine, 'Kirkollinen kansanopetus', p. 266; Laine, *Aapisen ja katekismuksen tavaamisesta*, p. 10.

34 Laine and Laine 2010, 'Kirkollinen kansanopetus', pp. 282–3.

There were no schools in the province of Savo, but the church law of 1686 required every parish to have a literate clerk who would be able to teach the children.[35] Parents were urged to send their children to be taught by the clerk, but for many, that was not possible because of the long distances and the need for a workforce at the farm. In addition, it was not a given that every parish even had a literate clerk. In the parishes of Savo, the visitation records usually mention that the parish had a literate clerk, but the earliest mention can be found only in the year 1683. Furthermore, in a record from the parish of Joroinen from 1700, it is mentioned that the clerk was not literate, and the local clergymen were urged to ensure that this should not become an obstacle to the children's advancement in learning. It is also mentioned that the parishioners were otherwise satisfied with their clerk.[36] Thus, even in 1700, it was still possible that the religious teaching of the parish lay in the hands of the pastor and the chaplain, and a non-literate clerk was not replaced with a literate one.

The parishioners' happiness with the non-literate clerk reflects their opinions on the importance of teaching. The peasants, who did not need literary skills in order to be able to perform their everyday work, were not particularly eager to learn, and the conditions of the church service made learning difficult even for those who had an interest in improving their skills. The churches in Savo were made of wood, they were small and modest and they were often in need of repair. The conditions inside were particularly inconvenient in the winter. The church service took hours and it seems to have been difficult for the parishioners just to sit still and listen, only being allowed to stand up and kneel as the liturgy required. In practice, many of the parishioners came to church late, and when they were there, chatted with their neighbours and often walked outside to the churchyard and back again while the service went on. In the churchyard, beer and spirits were sold and consumed, which made it even more difficult for many to stay in their seats. One pastor complained that there was such a noise at the church that it was not even possible to hear the sermon.[37]

35 *Kircko-Laki ja Ordningi 1686*, p. 124, *c.*XXIV, § XXXI. The visitation records usually mention the name of the clerk and that he is literate and able to teach the children of the parish. For example, KA Mikkeli, Kangasniemi church archive, II Cd: 1 Visitation record (1704). It is probable that this kind of activity was sporadic in the late seventeenth century, and proper clerks' schools were organised in the countryside only gradually during the eighteenth century. See Laine and Laine, 'Kirkollinen kansanopetus', pp. 262 and 278–9.

36 KA Mikkeli, Joroinen church archive, II Cd: 1 Visitation record (1704).

37 Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, pp. 52–4, 109. After the publication of an ordinance on church disturbances in 1686, those who were disturbing the service ended up in the courtroom more easily. For example: KA, Pien-Savo, KO a:4, Sulkava, 1–2 June 1693, pp. 292–3;

The clergymen were supposed to preach the Small Catechism regularly in a simple manner, so that the parishioners could easily become familiar with the content. It is likely that in the 1660s, the clergymen in Sulkava used *Wähä Catechismus* by Bishop Ericus Erici Sorolainen (1629).[38] In the examination of the Catechism, the minimum requirement was to be able to recite the main articles: the Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer, the preparatory words for baptism and communion, and confession. Prayers for morning, evening and mealtime were also the subject of questions. The next level was to learn the explanations of the main articles, and even more advanced students would be able to answer questions on the contents of the Catechism. Learning to read printed texts in the vernacular, mainly the Catechism, also belonged to the more advanced skills, acquired mainly by the youth in the 1690s and 1700s.[39] However, learning to read by heart was considered to be more important than reading the text inwardly. It was thought that if someone recited the text many times, they would also learn to understand the content.[40]

The visitation records from Savo show that before the 1690s, the parishioners were able to recite the main articles, often somewhat inadequately.[41] In the parish of Kuopio in 1670, most of the parishioners were not able to recite even one of these articles correctly, to the astonishment of the visiting dean, Johan (Johannes) Cajanus. In his evaluation, the parishioners did not show any improvement during the frequent visitations of the decade. Before the 1690s, it

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'Cuning. Maij:tin Asetus ja Kieldö. Tappeluxista / Capinoista ja Pahennuxista Kircoisa' in *Kircko-Laki ja Ordningi 1686*, pp. 171–2.

38 Ericus Erici Sorolainen, *Wähä Catechismus* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1629), USTC 251831. Ericus Erici also published a more extensive edition of the Catechism for clerical use in 1614. See Tuija Laine, 'Ericus Erici Sorolainen: Catechismus, 1614' and 'Ericus Erici Sorolaisen Wähä catechismus ja vuoden 1657 katekismuspainoksen synty', in Tuija Laine (ed.), *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden käsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura), pp. 84–5 and 86–8. Simplicity in preaching was emphasised already in late medieval preaching manuals from the turn of the sixteenth century. See Beth Kreitzer, 'The Lutheran Sermon', in Larissa Taylor (ed.), *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 35–63.

39 Learning requirements were stated in some of the visitation records, for example: KA Mikkeli, Kangasniemi church archive, II Ce Visitations records (1659 and 1662). See also Laine, *Aapisen ja katekismuksen tavaamisesta*, p. 38; Martti Parvio, *Isaacus Rothovius. Turun piispa* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1959), pp. 236–8.

40 Charlotte Appel, 'Printed in Books, Imprinted on Minds. Catechisms and Religious Reading in Denmark during the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries' in Charlotte Appel and Morten Fink-Jensen (eds.), *Religious Reading in the Lutheran North. Studies in Early Modern Scandinavian Book Culture* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 70–87.

41 This subchapter elaborates some of the results published in my dissertation. Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, pp. 105–7. For the visitation records used, see reference 10.

seems to have been rare for parishioners in Savo to have been able to remember the explanations, and reading the text is not mentioned before 1693. However, in most parishes, focusing on teaching the children led to an improvement in the knowledge of the articles of faith and to growing literacy by the early 1700s. In the parish of Kuopio, where education seems to have started from scratch in the 1670s, the diligent bishop David Lund found an impressive number of readers; in addition, the young in particular were also able to explain the contents of the Catechism.[42]

In some cases, the visitation records give a contradictory testimony on the parishioners' skills. In Kangasniemi, the parishioners were mentioned as knowing the explanations quite well in deans' visitations up to the year 1683, when the visiting bishop Petrus Bång found that they were not at all used to reciting explanations or answering questions. Thus, there might have been notable differences in the requirements depending on how rigorously the examiner performed his task. On the other hand, deans as intermediate-level clergymen might have wanted to give a favourable picture of themselves and their work in checking the parishes of their deanery. It is also possible that being questioned by the bishop himself was such a frightening experience that the parishioners performed worse than they would have done otherwise.[43] However, the generally good performance in the episcopal visitations of the first decade of the eighteenth century does not give support to this supposition.

In the development of the knowledge of the Catechism and literary skills, Savo was about half a century behind the more central areas of south-western Finland.[44] If we compare other rural areas in the diocese of Vyborg during the episcopate of Petrus Bång, it seems that the results were not remarkably better in parishes situated at closer proximity to the episcopal seat. For example, in the parish of Savitaipale in 1687, as visiting bishop Bång found that the parishioners were able to recite the main articles but had no understanding of them.[45] There were great differences between the towns and countryside both in the availability of books and the advancement of literacy. In the town of Helsinki in 1684, Bishop Bång was satisfied to see how the children and the youth all came with their books in their hands to the examination. However,

42 KA Joensuu, Kuopio church archive, II Cd: 1 Visitation records, 1670–1710.

43 KA Mikkeli, Kangasniemi church archive, II Cd: 1 and II Ce, Visitation records 1659–83. See also Laine and Laine, 'Huoneentaulun maailma', p. 264.

44 Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, p. 106.

45 Visitation in Savitaipale 1687, in Esko Häkli, *Biskops- och prostvisitationsprotokoll från det äldre Wiborgska stiftet: på basis av Albin Simolins samling kompletterade och utgivna av Esko Häkli* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 2015), p. 333.

even here, the bishop judged that only some of the students also had a good understanding of what they had read.[46]

4 The Relationship of Clergymen and Parishioners in Sulkava

There are no surviving visitation records from Sulkava, and it is not known if the clerk working in the parish in the 1660s was literate or not.[47] However, we have some information on the clergymen who were active in the parish at the time of the parody. The parody indicates some kind of juxtaposition between the inhabitants of Telataipale and local authorities, especially the clergy. From this perspective, it is interesting that neither of the clergymen working in Sulkava had been born in the parish.

Claes (Claudius Samuelis) Molander, a clergyman of about fifty years of age, was appointed the pastor of Sulkava in 1663. Molander was born in Muolaa, a parish on the Karelian isthmus, an area that is a part of present-day Russia. Molander had conducted his studies in the gymnasium of Vyborg, and probably rehearsed his pastoral duties in his home parish. In 1648, he became the chaplain of Muolaa, a post he held for the following fifteen years. Having lost the contest to become the pastor of his parish in 1662, Molander was appointed the pastor of Sulkava the following year, and moved north to southern Savo with his family.[48] Thus, Pastor Molander was a newcomer in the area, which means that the events of Telataipale may imply a difficult relationship between the new pastor and some of his parishioners, but no other evidence has been preserved to support this assumption. It was common for the pastor to have come to his parish from outside, at least in the parishes of eastern Finland.[49] When the former pastor died, there were usually local candidates, such as the

46 Helsinki, Visitation record 1684, in *Biskops- och prostvisitationsprotokoll*, p. 94. On understanding, see also Pettegree, 'Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion', pp. 6–7.

47 A schoolmaster was taken in the parish in the 1690s, which shows quite a strong commitment to teaching at that point. Paavo Seppänen, *Sulkavan historia, 1: Sulkava vuoteen 1860* (Sulkava: Sulkavan kunta, 1999), pp. 360–1.

48 KA, Pien-Savo, KO a:3, Sulkava, 9–10 February 1685, p. 101; Seppänen, *Sulkavan historia*, p. 336; Yrjö Kotivuori, '*Anders Molander*' (24 September 2010), in Yrjö Kotivuori (ed.), *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 2005) https://ylioppilasmatrikkeli.helsinki.fi/henkilo.php?id=2122, accessed 15 February 2018; Matthias Akiander and Iikko B. Voipio (ed.), *Östra Finlands herdaminne. Herdaminne för fordna Wiborgs och nuvarande Borgå stift intill år 1868. 2 Delen, Lampis – Östersundholm* (Helsingfors: Finska vetenskaps-societeten 2008), pp. 78, 320.

49 Of the pastors and chaplains working in the parishes of Savo during the period 1650–1710, about 42 per cent worked in two or more parishes during their careers. Kuha,

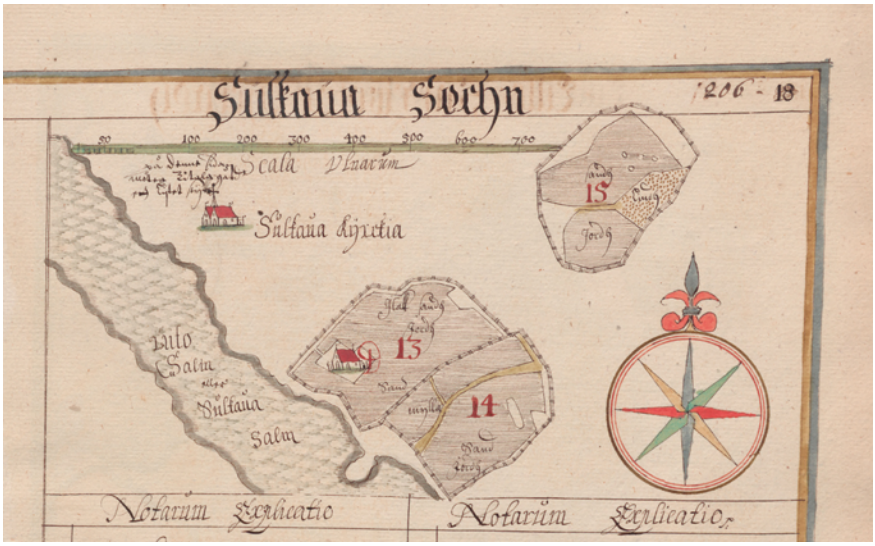

FIGURE 10.2 A drawing of the church of Sulkava (upper building on the left) and parsonage marked with the letter D in the land taxation map from the 1640s. Both buildings were located by the Sulkava strait. It is likely that rather than resembling the actual buildings, they were drawn according to a conventional model
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chaplain or the son of the former pastor, who would already have been helping his father some years before his death. However, it was the responsibility of the chapter to nominate the most worthy applicant for the post, although it was also an advantage if the candidate had local support or was willing to marry the widow or the daughter of his predecessor, thus securing the subsistence of the pastoral family.[50]

However, there was some friction between the parishioners and the chaplain, Johan Martini Borgoensis or Borgensis (later Allenius), who was also a newcomer, appointed to his post only a couple of years before the parody, after marrying the daughter of his predecessor.[51] It seems that he had some problems with the parishioners being unwilling to pay for his dues at the turn of the 1670s. Three years after the events in Telataipale, he ended up in court

'Prästkarriären', pp. 287–288. See also Gunnar Suolahti, Suomen papisto 1600- ja 1700-luvuilla (Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1919), p. 42.

50 Peter Lindström, *Prästval och politisk kultur 1650–1800* (Umeå: Umeå universitet, Institutionen för historiska studier, 2003), pp. 31, 48.

51 Yrjö Kotivuori, *'Mårten Allenius'* (*18 September 2010*) *in Yrjö Kotivuori* (*ed.*), *Ylioppilasmatrikkeli 1640–1852* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 2005) https://ylioppilasmatrikkeli.helsinki.fi/henkilo.php?id=3540, accessed 29 March 2019.

again with the central figure in Telataipale, Olli Holopainen, who had sworn that the chaplain would be attacked by 'a thousand devils' after demanding Holopainen pay his dues.[52] Later, at the turn of the 1680s, the chaplain made several attempts to get the parishioners' support for the post of pastor in Sulkava both before and after the death of Claes Molander. To his disappointment, the parishioners favoured the former pastor's son, Andreas Molander, who was appointed in 1682, even though they did say that they were also satisfied with their chaplain.[53]

In the feast of Telataipale, it seems that the laughter and mockery was targeted at the local clergymen and probably also secular authorities. Behind the events, there seems to have been a local power struggle, where this particular group of peasants felt that they had been pushed aside from their previous more powerful position in the community. When the parish of Sulkava was founded in 1630 and the civil parish established by 1660, a new centre was established in the village of Sulkava, after which the rural constables (*länsman*) were also recruited from the houses near the village. Before this, the constables of this area, forming a part of the large late-medieval parish of Sääminki, used to be recruited from Telataipale and neighbouring villages. One of the last of these was the father of the host of the evening, Tuomas Holopainen, who was already an old man living in his son's household, and also present at the feast. The rural constable was a member of the local elite in the countryside, and it is likely that Olli Holopainen would have wished to step into his father's shoes. The clergymen and secular authorities worked in close collaboration, and the authority of the state and the church intermingled both in practice and in the eyes of the peasantry.[54] Performing scornful poems or songs have been interpreted as a means of active resistance, and in the early-modern world, turning social roles upside down could have been a way of making flaws inside the community visible.[55] By means of the parody, it is likely that the men gathered at the celebration were commenting on the power relations in the parish.

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52 '[…] 1000 dieflar skulle fara uthj Presten …' KA, Pien-Savo, KO a:2, Sulkava, 18–19 August 1671 [no pagination]; Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, pp. 123–4.

53 KA, Pien-Savo, KO a:2, Sulkava, 29 October 1681, pp. 79–80; KA, Pien-Savo, KO a:2, Sulkava, 16–17 January 1682, pp. 25–7; Seppänen, *Sulkavan historia*, pp. 335–41.

54 Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, pp. 123–4. On authority and resistance, see also Miia Kuha, 'Rörelse i periferin. Kyrkobesöket i 1600-talets Savolax', in Mats Hallenberg and Magnus Linnarsson (eds.), *Politiska rum. Kontroll, konflikt och rörelse i det förmoderna Sverige 1300–1850* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press 2014, 159–73).

55 Kati Mikkola, *Tulevaisuutta vastaan. Uutuuksien vastustus, kansantiedon keruu ja kansakunnan rakentaminen* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2009), pp. 298–301; Kustaa H. J. Vilkuna, *Katse menneisyyden ihmiseen* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2011), pp. 103–4, 128–51.

5 The Christmas Day Liturgy in Sulkava and the Diocese of Vyborg

In the trial described above, one of the participants of the feast testified that the fake pastor had sung and cited the Gospel 'as he should', which probably means that he had remembered the hymns and paragraphs of the Bible correctly according to the judgement of other peasants.[56] One paragraph of the Bible that the soldier performing as the pastor recited is mentioned in the text. He remembered it from the Christmas service that they had attended the day before. When the judge pushed him to confess, after several witnesses' statements, he finally admitted and explained that 'he had had the mantle on and recited the text and said that a child is born to us, a son is to us given etc. and then sung godly hymns'.[57] The text mentioned in the record can be identified as a prophecy from the book of Isaiah (9:6) from the Old Testament:

> For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counseller, the mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.[58]

The English translation of the paragraph from the King James Bible (1611) resembles the Finnish translation of *Coco Pyhä Raamattu* (1642) very closely. The repetitive structure and the different names and qualities of God make the passage cited by the soldier resemble the traditional parallelistic language of songs and incantations that the peasants were still familiar with in the seventeenth century.[59] This kind of a structure might have made this particular paragraph easier to understand and remember for the peasants of Telataipale.

The recited paragraph was marked in the court record with an 'etc.' sign that refers to that the soldier was able to remember more of the paragraph than

56 'som sigh borde' (KA, Pien-Savo, KO a:1, Sulkava, 6–7 May 1668, p. 117).

57 'han haffuer … hafft mantelen oppå sigh och läsit up texten och sagt ett barn är oss födt, een son ähr oss gifuin etc. der till siungit gudelige Psalmer' (KA, Pien-Savo, KO a:1, Sulkava, 6–7 May 1668, pp. 117–18).

58 King James Bible 1611. In Finnish: 'Sillä meille on lapsi syndynyt/ ja poica on meille annettu/ jonga hartioilla Herraus on/ ja hänen nimens cudzutan/ Ihmelinen/ Neuwo/ Wäkewä/ Jumala/ Ijancaickinen Isä/ Rauhan päämies.' *Biblia, Se On: Coco Pyhä Ramattu, Suomexi. Pääramattui[de]n, Hebrean ia Grekan jälcken: Esipuhetten, Marginaliain, Concordantiain, Selitösten ia Register[e]in cansa* (Stockholm: Henric Keyser, 1642), USTC 2178828, p. 350.

59 Kati Kallio, *Laulamisen tapoja. Esitysareena, rekisteri ja paikallinen laji länsi-inkeriläisessä kalevalamittaisessa runossa* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 2013), p. 127; Anna-Leena Siikala, *Suomalainen samanismi – mielikuvien historiaa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1992), pp. 64–83.

what was written in the record. A longer section was also read in the service at the church. The prophecy of Isaiah 9: 1–6 was officially added to the Christmas Day liturgy in the diocese of Vyborg in 1618, when the newly appointed bishop, Olaus Elimaeus, published his book *Evangeliumit ja epistolat*, a book of Gospels and epistles, which was a liturgical handbook that directed the use of texts of the Bible in the church services throughout the year.[60] The book was based on the first Finnish-language mass book *Se pyhä messu* that the bishop of both Turku and Vyborg, Paulus Juusten, had published in 1575.[61] In his book, Elimaeus aimed at renewing and developing the liturgy in the eastern diocese. Elimaeus made some changes to the liturgy, mostly based on the Swedish church manual of 1614, but also independently. One of the changes he made independently concerned the Christmas day liturgy, where Elimaeus added a prophecy from the book of Isaiah.[62] Interestingly, this was exactly the same text that the soldier in Telataipale recited in the fake service. *Evangeliumit ja epistolat* was published in several later editions during the seventeenth century as a part of church manual collections, for example the *Manuale Finnonicum* that also included a hymnal, a Catechism and other religious texts.[63] It is likely that one of these editions was also in use in Sulkava at the time of the events of Telataipale.

In seventeenth-century Sweden, the centralising government aimed to unify the religious practice as well as the religious literature of the whole state. However, the dioceses had relative independence in many areas, and the bishops were able to influence the liturgical choices, organisation of education

60 *Evangeliumit ia Epistolat, iotca seuracunnas ymbäris aiastaian luetan eli weisatan, Sunnuntaina ia muina Pyhäpäivinä* (Stockholm: Christopher Reusner, 1618; 2nd edn, 1622), USTC 251861, 251862. See also Martti Parvio, 'Karjalaisväritteinen kirkollinen kirjallisuus Viipurin hiippakunnassa 1600-luvun alkupuolella', in Kyösti Pulliainen and Hannes Sihvo (eds.), *Carelia rediviva. Juhlakirja professori Heikki Kirkiselle 22.9.1987* (Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto, 1987) pp. 135–58; Jyrki Knuutila, 'Evangeliumit ja epistolat, 1618 ja 1622', in *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden käsikirja*, pp. 117–22; Tuija Laine, 'Viipurin kirjallinen kulttuuri vuoteen 1710', in Petri Karonen (ed.), *Arki, kirkko, artefakti. Viipurin kulttuurihistoriaa Ruotsin ajalla* (*n. 1300–1710*) (Helsinki: Viipurin suomalainen kirjallisuusseura, 2017), pp. 124–48, at p. 127.

61 Paulus Juusten, *Se pyhä messu* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1575), USTC 300449. Juusten's Mass book was a compilation that also included the texts of Gospels and epistles, whereas Olaus Elimaeus published the Gospels and epistles separately. Laine, 'Viipurin kirjallinen kulttuuri', pp. 127–8.

62 Knuutila, 'Evangeliumit ja epistolat, 1618 ja 1622'; Parvio, 'Karjalaisväritteinen kirkollinen kirjallisuus', pp. 140–1.

63 The first editions of *Manuale Finnonicum* were published in 1646, 1653 and 1664 (USTC 6910970, 261922, 261924), see Tuija Laine, 'Manuale Finnonicum 1600-luvulla', in *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden käsikirja*, pp. 140–3.

and even church legislation in their own dioceses.[64] Before coming to Vyborg, Olaus Elimaeus (in office 1618–29) had studied in Turku, Stockholm, Uppsala, Rostock and Wittenberg, and held the highest ecclesiastical post in Stockholm as *pastor primarius*. When he arrived in his new post as the bishop of Vyborg, Elimaeus translated, edited and published books in Finnish for the needs of his diocese. His publications included a Finnish-language hymnbook, which included mainly the same hymns as had been published in earlier hymnbooks, but adapted to linguistic forms of eastern Finnish dialects; the composition of the book was influenced by Swedish hymnbooks.[65] He also translated the first Lutheran church manual (first published 1614, in Finnish 1629) that was to be followed in the whole realm of Sweden.[66] There was great need for books in the parishes of the diocese and also in the schools of Vyborg since the town did not have a printing press before 1689.[67] The church of Asikkala in Häme did not even have a Finnish Bible until a local officer donated a copy in 1672.[68] This problem was even more urgent in the early seventeenth century, but Bishop Elimaeus did his best to improve the situation. Born in Elimäki in south-eastern Finland, he also wanted to make the language of the books easily accessible to people living outside south-western Finland that dominated the development of the written language, as he proclaimed in one of his publications.[69] Elimaeus' publications have been seen both as a part of the unification process of the liturgy in the Swedish realm as well as an endeavour to develop ecclesiastical life in the diocese of Vyborg independently.[70]

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64 Askmark, *Svensk prästutbildning*, pp. 108–10.

65 Olov Elimaeus, *Soomenkielinen Wirsikiria …* (Stockholm: Christopher Reusner, 1621), USTC 252786; Onni Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja. Vuoden 1701 suomalaisen virsikirjan synty ja sisällys.* Diss. (Helsingin yliopisto) (Rauma: [Onni Kurvinen], 1941), pp. 39–43. On exceptions in the hymnbook in comparison to predecessors, see also Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, pp. 499–500: P. J. I. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet v:een 1640* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1929), pp. 359–60.

66 Olaus Elimaeus, *Käsikiria, jossa on käsitetty, millätawalla jumalan palwelus, christilisten ceremoniain ia kirconmenoin cansa, somen seuracunnis pidhettämän pitä* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1629), USTC 252278. Pentti Laasonen, 'Elimaeus, Olaus' (18 July 2000), in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu. Helsinki: Studia Biographica: 4*, (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997–), http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-kbg-000475, accessed 26 March 2019; Katajala etc., *Viipurin läänin historia*, p. 358; Knuutila, 'Evangeliumit ja epistolat, 1618 ja 1622', p. 122; Parvio, 'Karjalaisväritteinen kirkollinen kirjallisuus', pp. 142–3.

67 Laine, 'Viipurin kirjallinen kulttuuri', pp. 132–3.

68 Visitation in Asikkala 1672, in *Biskops- och prostvisitationsprotokoll*, p. 59.

69 O. Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, pp. 40–1.

70 Parvio, 'Karjalaisväritteinen kirkollinen kirjallisuus', *passim*; Jyrki Knuutila and Markus Hiekkanen, 'Viipurin kirkollinen elämä ja sen vaikutus kirkolliseen kulttuuriin 1200-luvun lopusta vuoteen 1710', in Petri Karonen (ed.), *Arki, kirkko, artefakti. Viipurin kulttuurihistoriaa*

6 Learning and Appropriating the Literary Culture

In German areas, the centre of the Lutheran Reformation, Reformation ideas spread with books and pamphlets. Even the illiterate were able to look at woodcuts and many had a chance to hear the text read aloud by someone else. On the north-eastern periphery of post-Reformation Europe, the eastern Finnish countryside, the peasants had practically no access to any printed products.[71] As the churches were poor and did not have much artwork, the visual means for educating the populace were scant. Here, the Lutheran message was communicated mainly through liturgy, hymn singing, sermons and catechetical teaching.

In this chapter, I have analysed a unique case from the secular lower court records from Sulkava in eastern Finland. At a farmhouse in the small village of three peasant households in Telataipale, a group of men from the neighbourhood performed a humorous re-enactment of the Christmas Day divine service on St Stephen's Day evening 1667. The analysis of the case shows that these men were able to remember and reconstruct the course of the church service, imitate the most important parts of the liturgy, sing hymns, recite paragraphs from the Bible and copy some of the content and the manner in which the pastor spoke in the pulpit. These men, who found themselves in a position with considerably less authority than before the founding of the new administrative unit of Sulkava, used this knowledge to comment on the power relations in the parish and question the authority of their pastors coming from outside the parish.

In general, on the eastern rural periphery of the Swedish kingdom, it seems that parishioners were not very interested in learning the Catechism, even though the church considered catechetical teaching one of the most important tasks of the local clergy. To the commoners, going to church was both a religious and a social event, where it was important to come close to the sacred as a community and meet relatives and other acquaintances. It was important for the peasants that the pastor delivered the sermon, but they did not seem to

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Ruotsin ajalla (*n. 1300–1710*) (Helsinki: Viipurin suomalainen kirjallisuusseura, 2017), pp. 26–84, at pp. 64–5. On the unification of liturgy in Finland after the Reformation, see Jyrki Knuutila, 'Liturgisen yhdenmukaistamisen toteutuminen Suomessa reformaatiokaudella 1537–1614', *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja 77* (1987), pp. 9–40.

71 Hymn folios, leaflets containing only a few Christian hymns, were published especially in the late seventeenth century, and it is possible that they had a wider distribution because they were cheaper to print than larger books. However, there is no evidence on their use on the local level in my research area. See O. Kurvinen, *Vanha virsikirja*, pp. 77–9.

think that it would be necessary to listen carefully, at least every time. Difficult conditions also might have made some people lose their focus on what they were listening to.[72]

However, the peasants who re-enacted the Christmas service in Sulkava had clearly absorbed a lot of information from the church service, from the course of liturgy to the text of the Bible. This is an interesting contradiction that can probably be explained by the different physical, social and economic conditions of the inhabitants of eastern Finland. For wealthier peasants, performing well in examinations might have been an important part of representing their social status. In general, the inhabitants of the area identified themselves as Christians, and Lutheran religious practice was an integral part of their lives, even if they were not interested in learning the Catechism or eager to attend examinations. The influence of the church can also be seen in popular culture. The most important prayers were used for different purposes, which is one example of the intermingling of the oral and written cultures.[73] Prayers heard in church services could be adapted into incantations used in popular healing.[74] By the seventeenth century, singing Christian hymns had also become a common part of the celebration of popular feasts.[75] These examples together with the case from Sulkava show how texts were commonly adopted from church services for popular use.

The example from Sulkava shows that the holy day service as a whole had an important role as a tool of Christian education. It seems that the peasants did not learn only by reciting the Catechism, but also by participating.[76] When they were present at the church service as 'listeners', the parishioners sang the hymns they knew, recited prayers, stood up and knelt down in certain parts of the liturgy, tasted the wine and bread of the eucharist, and sometimes even walked up to the altar to bring their offerings.[77] According to Göran Malmstedt, Swedish clergymen complained about their parishioners who would repeat

72 Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*, p. 109; Malmstedt, *Bondetro och kyrkoro*, pp. 159–62.

73 For example, in Häme in western Finland, when a group of peasants drank a ceremonial toast in honour of a mythological deity called Ukko, asking him to give rain for their crops, they recited Lord's Prayer three times both before and after drinking the toast. (KA, Porvoo ja Hollola, KO a:2, Hauho, Tuulos and Lammi, 19–21 November 1662, pp. 90^{v}–91^{v}).

74 Eg. 'Pistos / Kristuksen ruumis' (KA, Pohjanmaa, KO a:10, Isokyrö and Vähäkyrö, 5–10 July 1658) and other examples in Kati Kallio, etc. (eds.), *Uuden ajan alun loitsut* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura; forthcoming).

75 Toivo, *Faith and magic*, p. 93.

76 Raisa Toivo has emphasised the participatory nature of religious practice in *Faith and Magic*, pp. 97–8.

77 See Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto*; Monica Weikert 2004, *I sjukdom och nöd. Offerkyrkoseden i Sverige från 1600-tal till 1800-tal* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 2004).

the cleric's words in a quiet murmur in certain parts of the service. Malmstedt interprets this behaviour as an expression of popular piety and veneration of the holy word.[78]

In this chapter, I have also aimed to show some examples of how influences spread from the centre to the periphery, travelling along with people and books around the Baltic Sea. The bishops of Vyborg studied in German universities and the local clerics in Uppsala, Tartu, Turku and Vyborg, and influences spread with them to the parishes mainly through church services. Liturgical literature published in the vernacular was also an important way of spreading the message of the church. The work of Bishop Elimaeus shows that individuals were also interested in developing their local church with some independence. The peasants, on the other hand, were able to integrate literate influences from the church as a part of their own oral culture, like the celebration of traditional feast days in a carnivalesque manner, turning the world and social roles upside down. The re-enactment of the Lutheran church service on the traditional feast day of St Stephen, with rituals centred on the success of cavalry households, is a concrete example of the ways in which the oral and literary cultures met on the periphery. The young cavalry soldier dressing himself in the 'cassock' and reciting the Bible both represented the traditional meaning of the feast and displayed the skills he had learned in the parish church.

78 Malmstedt, *Bondetro och kyrkoro*, pp. 133–4. This kind of behaviour is also known from eastern Finland. See Pentti Laasonen, *Pohjois-Karjalan luterilainen kirkollinen kansankulttuuri Ruotsin vallan aikana* (Helsinki: The Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1967), p. 233.

CHAPTER 11

'Turning Simple Speech into Beautiful Song': Imitative Poetics and the Combination of Registers in *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* (1690)

Eeva-Liisa Bastman and Kati Kallio

Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta ('Joyous song of Jesus') is an epic poem of 2265 lines about the life of Christ written by the Lutheran minister Matthias Salamnius (1640–91) and published in the town of Turku (in Finnish, Åbo in Swedish) in 1690.[1] It is the first long literary poem composed in the traditional non-rhymed metre of Finnish oral poetry, known as Kalevala-metre or *runo*-song metre, and intended for wide popular use. The composition demonstrates a deep knowledge of both Lutheran theology and oral poetics.

Apart from the Lutheran hymnals, *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* is the most important poetical work written in Finnish during the early-modern period. Altogether nineteen editions of the poem are known; nine were published during the eighteenth century in Turku and in Stockholm, and seven during the nineteenth century in Turku and in Helsinki. The latest editions are from the 1960s.[2] *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* was also used as a song, and it affected oral traditions.

Here, we analyse the poem in relation to seventeenth-century understandings of oral and literary genres, and as a part of a complex intertextual network, referring to discussions especially in literary and folklore studies. The focus is on seventeenth-century textual relationships via the concepts of genre, register and intertextuality. As a theoretical concept, we understand genre as a means of communication and interpretation, with both social and aesthetic dimensions. As socially maintained open categories, genres are subject to redefinition and alteration. Moreover, works of oral or literary tradition can make use of a variety of different generic features, and may serve various generic purposes.[3] We also use the concept of register, meaning socially

1 Matthias Salamnius, *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* (Turku: Johan Winter, 1690), USTC 1781504. The writing of this article has been possible due to funding by the Research Council of Finland (projects n:o 288119, 308381, 333138 and 346342).

2 Fredrik Wilhelm Pipping, *Luettelo Suomeksi präntätyistä kirjoista* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1856), 78–9; *The National Collection* (Helsinki: Kansalliskirjasto, https://www.kansalliskirjasto.fi/en/collections/national-collection (2.7.2022).

3 See Charles L. Briggs and Richard Bauman, 'Genre, Intertextuality and Social Power', *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 2 (1992), pp. 131–72; Ralph Cohen, 'History and Genre', *New Literary*

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situated styles of communication, based on shared conventions within a speech community.[4] We approach the features of the poem not merely as elements representing different poetic and literary traditions, but as poetic and communicative resources. Besides genre and register, our research questions are related to the field of intertextuality, a concept referring to the relationship of a text to other texts or discourses.[5] Interface Octavo is used for comparison of *Ilo-Laulu* with the *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (hereafter: *SKVR*) corpus of Finnic oral poems (89,247 texts) and the concordance research tool *Korp* for the comparison with the *Corpus of Old Literary Finnish*.[6]

Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta has been admired for its skilful use of metre, for its vibrant recapitulation of biblical events and for bringing together two different traditions, the transnational tradition of Christian literature and the local tradition of Finnish oral poetry.[7] Scholarly interest has mainly focused on the poem's relationship to other poems on the life of Christ from the same period, and the interrelatedness of *Ilo-Laulu* and the medieval oral song cycle known as *Luojan virsi* ('The song of the Creator').[8]

History 17/2 (1986), pp. 203–18; Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature. An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); William Hanks, 'Discourse Genres in a Theory of Practice', *American Ethnologist* 14 (1987), pp. 668–92; Lotte Tarkka, *Songs of the Border People: Genre, Reflexivity, and Performance in Karelian Oral Poetry* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2013).

4 Asif Agha, 'Registers of language', in Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 23–45; Asif Agha and Frog (eds.), *Registers of Communication* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2015), https://doi.org/10.21435/sflin.18.

5 Briggs and Bauman, 'Genre'; Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein, *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 5–27; Marko Juvan, *History and Poetics of Intertextuality* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008); Tarkka, *Songs of the Border People*.

6 *SKVR: Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot*, various editors (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1908–97). Published also as a digital database in http://www.skvr.fi; URN:[NBN:.-fe20051411, used via *Octavo*; *KORP* (*see Borin, Lars, Markus Forsberg, and Johan Roxendal, 'KORP: the corpus infrastructure of Språkbanken', in Proceedings of LREC* (*Istanbul: ELRA, 2012*), *pp. 474–478*), adapted to the Language Bank of Finland, used on the Corpus of Old Literary Finnish, https://korp.csc.fi; on the methodology, see Kati Kallio and Eetu Mäkelä, 'Suullisen runon sähköisestä lukemisesta', *Elore* 26/2 (2019), pp. 25–40, https://doi.org/10.30666/elore.84570.

7 Viljo Tarkiainen, *'Suomalainen messiadi', in Viljo Tarkiainen, Piirteitä suomalaisesta kirjallisuudesta* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1922), pp. 66, 75; Annamari Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden tuntemus 1500–1700-lukujen kirjallisuudessa* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1956), p. 88.

8 Tarkiainen, *'Suomalainen messiadi'*, pp. 63–9; Yrjö J. E. Alanen, 'Kaksi suomalaista messiadia' in Yrjö J. E. Alanen, *Kansamme tien viitoittajia* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1944), pp. 74–81; Matti Kuusi, 'Salamnius, Matthias' (22 April 1998), *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997). http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-kbg-002340; Kati Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset. Suullinen ja kirjallinen kulttuuri uuden ajan alun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), http://dx.doi.org/10.21435/skst.1427 (27 September 2017), pp. 356–61; Senni Timonen, '"She was fulfilled, she was filled by it …": a Karelian

This chapter examines the complex poetics and intertextual references of *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta*. The poem offers examples of the ways in which the imitative poetics of seventeenth-century written poetry was domesticated and adapted for the vernacular. Moreover, it illuminates the interplay between oral traditions and literary cultures in the early-modern period. We examine the relationship of *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* to other works in written literature and oral culture which the poem draws upon or alludes to, or which are in other ways present in the poem. Our aim is to analyse the ways in which the poem relates to models of speech, generic traditions and preceding works, and to examine how these merge and generate meaning.

1 Writing, Reading, Singing and Publishing in Finnish in Early-Modern Sweden

In northern Europe, the seventeenth century marked the breakthrough of learned vernacular poetics and vernacular literature. Martin Opitz published his major work on poetics in German in 1624, Hans Mikkelsen Ravn in Danish in 1649, and Andreas Arvidi in Swedish 1651. In Finland, Aschillus Petraeus wrote some paragraphs on poetics in his textbook on Finnish language *Linguae Finnicae Brevis Institutio* in 1649.[9] The Lutheran Reformation, in 1527 in Sweden, had made Finnish an ecclesiastical language and led to the creation of literary Finnish for vernacular services, Lutheran education and devotional life by Michael Agricola and his colleagues – the undocumented roots of oral ecclesiastical Finnish are in the Middle Ages. Agricola translated and published a Primer (1543), Prayer Book (1544), the New Testament (1548), the Mass (1549), Handbook (1549), Passion (1549) and Psalter (1551), while a committee published the whole Bible in Finnish in 1642.[10]

Popular Song of St Mary and the Conception of Christ', in Lars Boje Mortensen, Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Alexandra Bergholm (eds.), *The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds. Non-Canonical Chapters of the History of Nordic Medieval Literature* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 389–432.

9 Kallio *etc.*, *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, pp. 388–92.

10 Michael Agricola, *Abc-kiria* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1543), USTC 300213, Michael Agricola, *Rucouskiria* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1544), USTC 300208, Michael Agricola, *Se wsi Testamenti* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1548), USTC 300229, Michael Agricola, *Messu* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1549), USTC 300220, Michael Agricola, *Käsikiria* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1549), USTC 300221, Michael Agricola, *Se meiden Herran Jesusen Christusen pina* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1549), USTC 300219, Michael Agricola, *Dauidin Psaltari* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1551), USTC 300114; see Kaisa Häkkinen, *Spreading the Written Word. Mikael Agricola and the Birth of Literary Finnish* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2015).

The first Finnish hymnal was published by Jacobus Finno in 1583, mostly translated and adapted from Latin, Swedish and German sources. These hymns were stanzaic and rhymed, according to Lutheran German and Swedish models and the melodies of the originals. As was typical of the time, Finno applied loose poetics with ambiguous verses and weak rhymes. At the same time, he seems to have been avoiding references to oral Kalevala-metre. By contrast, the next edition of the hymnal while retaining the older hymns by Finno, added new ones making use not only of rhyme and stanzaic structures, but also of alliteration and some formulas typical of oral tradition. This may be seen as a way of vernacularising the Lutheran tradition and making it more appealing to local audiences.[11] A similar process took place in Iceland, where the first hymnal was created strictly according to the German model, while the second added local vernacular features to these models.[12] Yet, the unrhymed Kalevala-metre was never used in hymns as such; merely some features were adopted for stanzaic contexts: Lutheran hymns were understood as a rhyming and stanzaic genre.

The goal of the Lutheran Reformation was to teach people the basics of the Christian faith in the vernacular, and to make biblical texts more accessible through translations, book production and the increase of literacy. Hymns were one step in this slow process. The church law of 1686 made lay reading an explicit goal.[13] From 1670 to 1700, both the knowledge of basic Christian teachings and literacy improved considerably, even in the more remote parishes, such as Kuopio.[14] The number of catechisms and hymnals in lay ownership increased steadily.[15]

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11 Kallio *etc.*, *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, pp. 104–24, 327–43; Kati Kallio, 'Changes in the Poetics of Song during the Finnish Reformation', Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art In the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 125–55, https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/167839 (2016); Lehtonen, Tuomas M. S., 'Pious hymns and Devil's music: Michael Agricola (*c.*1507–57) and Jacobus Finno (*c.*1540–88) on church song and folk beliefs', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.). Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 179–216.

12 Margrét Eggertsdóttir, 'From Reformation to Enlightenment', in Daisy L. Neijmann (ed.), *A History of Icelandic Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), pp. 179–80.

13 Mikko Juva, *Varsinais-Suomen seurakuntaelämä puhdasoppisuuden hallitsemina vuosisatoina* (*1600–1808*) (Turku: Helsingin yliopisto, 1955), pp. 114–23.

14 Miia Kuronen (= Miia Kuha), *Onnea tavoitellen, vaaraa välttäen: kansanomainen uskonnonharjoitus sekä noituus-ja taikuuskäsitykset puhdasoppisuuden ajan Kuopion pitäjässä, master's thesis, University of* Jyväskylä (2009) http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:jyu-201002051189, p. 35; Miia Kuha, *Pyhäpäivien vietto varhaismodernin ajan Savossa* (*vuoteen 1710*) (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 2016), p. 108; see also Chapter 10 by Miia Kuha.

15 Esko M. Laine and Tuija Laine, 'Kirkollinen kansanopetus', In Jussi Hanska and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (eds.), *Huoneentaulun maailma. Kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa keskiajalta 1860-luvulle*, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki, 2010), pp. 258–306.

The emergence of Sweden as a new northern superpower during the seventeenth century generated processes that affected also the literary uses of Finnish. Systematic attempts were made to establish universities, educate public servants and diplomats, write a history for the nation and raise the standard of Swedish language and culture to a level appropriate for an empire.[16] In Finland, the university of Turku was established in 1640, based on the previous cathedral school, leading also to an increase in learned literary activity not only in classical languages and Swedish, but also in Finnish.[17] Various kinds of occasional poems were composed for prefaces, congratulations and condolences, using, in various ways and combinations, classical and rhymed metres, with some vernacular features.[18]

The interest in ancient history and rune-stones led to literary poems in Swedish imitating the Old Norse metres.[19] Toini Melander and Annamari Sarajas see this as parallel to the emergence of the first explicit use of Kalevala-metre in literary poems.[20] The congratulatory poem for King Karl X Gustav in rhymed, exceptionally regular alliterative trochaic metre, entitled *Imitatio Antiquorum Tavvast-Finnonicum* by Ericus Justander in 1654 created a new literary, rhyming version of the oral metre, and yielded a professorship of poetry to the author. In contrast, from the 1660s on, a network of clergymen from northern Finland started using unrhymed Kalevala-metre in their poems.[21] This might be seen as a local Finnish response to the national Swedish entwinement of antiquities, identity and literary creation.

2 Pagan Past, Oral Metre and 'Song'

The first edition of *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* starts with a dedication and a short preface, in which Salamnius clarifies the aims and objectives of the poem, and

16 Petri Karonen, *Pohjoinen suurvalta. Ruotsi ja Suomi 1521–1809* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2014).

17 Laine and Laine, 'Kirkollinen kansanopetus'.

18 Toini Melander, *Suomalaista tilapäärunoutta Ruotsin vallan ajalta, I–II* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1928–41).

19 Anthony Faulkes, 'Foreword', in Anthony Faulkes, Peder Hansen Resen, and Snorri Sturluson, *Two Versions of Snorra Edda from the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. 13 (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1977); Johanna Widenberg, *Fäderneslandets antikviteter: etnoterritoriella historiebruk och integrationssträvanden i den svenska statsmaktens antikvariska verksamhet ca 1600–1720* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2006).

20 Melander, *Suomalaista tilapäärunoutta, II*, pp. 15, 54; Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden tuntemus*, p. 54.

21 Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden tuntemus*, pp. 57–8.

addresses his gratitude to his patron, Bishop Johannes Gezelius the Younger. In later editions, the preface was no longer included. Instead, the poem was often published together with a hymn from the Finnish translation of *Piae cantiones* by Hemmingius Henrici of Masku as a coda.[22] The original preface offers some important points of departure for studying the generic context of the poem. The preface, with references to the Bible and classical authors, is clearly aimed at scholarly readers. In contrast, the long title of the poem on the first title page, written in flawless alliterative oral metre, addresses a wider audience:

> The Joyous Song of Jesus / the Solace of the Redeemer / a Good Message of Nativity / a Miraculous one of Life / a quite Beautiful one of the Death / a Happy one of the Resurrection / a best one of Departure / said in the Finnish Language / for the Favour of Finns.[23]

The alliterative pair '*favour*' – '*Finn*' ('suomalaisten suosioksi') also occurred earlier in the short versified part of the preface of the second Finnish hymnal ('hyvän suova suomalainen') in 1605 by Hemmingius – which is the first known printed example of hybrid versification with rhyme, alliteration and a trochaic metre resembling in many ways the oral metre – and in the preface to the Finnish translation of the Latin song book *Piae Cantiones* by Hemmingius.[24]

In the subsequent part, *Ilo-Laulu* is dedicated to 'those highly and well-learned gentlemen' and 'highly praised vicars' Johannes Cajanus in Paltamo, Jacobus Frosterus in Oulu, Magnus Preutz in Pietarsaari and Jacobus Tuderus in Kemi, parsons or clergymen in Ostrobothnia (Österbotten in Swedish). Thus, Salamnius is addressing clergymen related to the northern network that had

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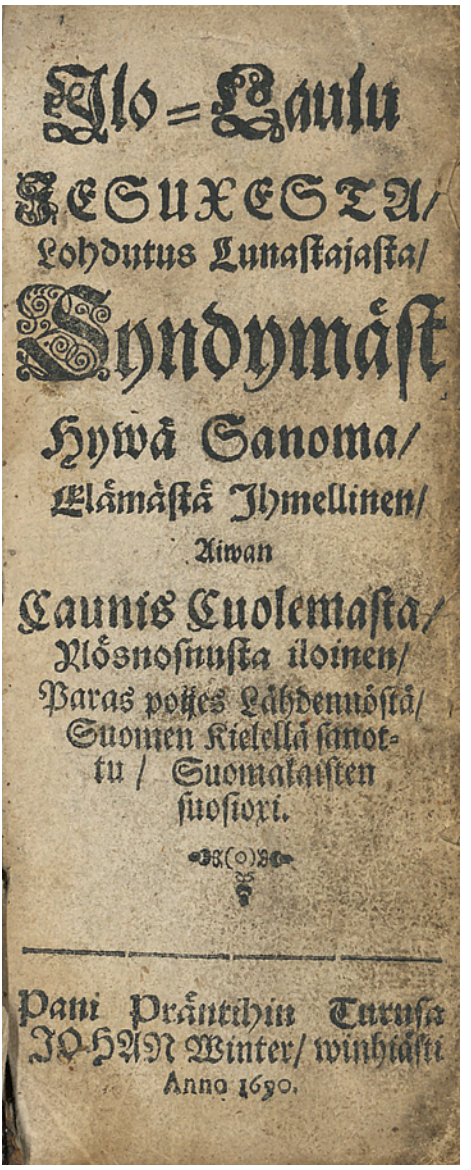
22 Hemmingius Henrici Maskulainen, *Vanhain Suomen maan Pijspain ja Kircon Esimiesten Latinan kielised laulud, Christuxesta, ja inhimisen elämän surkeudhesta: muutamissa M. Jacobilda Finnolda … ojetud: aina Suomen Schouluissa veisatud* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1616), USTC 251626, http://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/59053), pp. 72–3; of later editions of *Ilo-Laulu*, see e.g. Matthias Salamnius, *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* (Stockholm: [Johan Arvid Carlbohm], 1787); see also Chapter 2 by Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen.

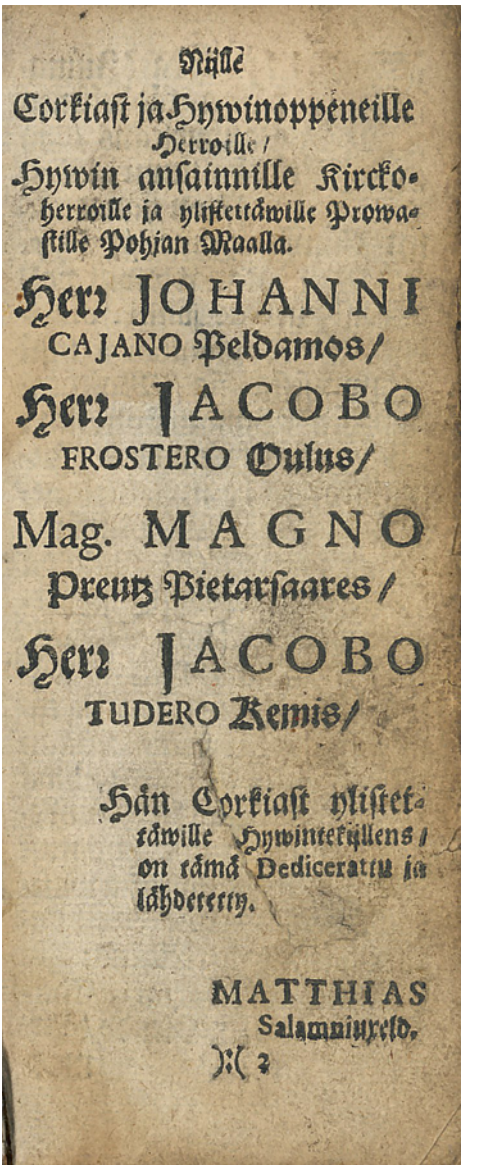
23 'ILo-Laulu JESUXESTA / Lohdutus Lunastajasta / Syndymäst / Hywä Sanoma / Elämästä Ihmellinen / Aiwan Caunis Cuolemasta / Ylösnosuusta iloinen / Paras poijes Lähdennöstä / Suomen kielellä sanottu / Suomalaisten suosioxi.'

24 *Yxi vähä suomenkielinen wirsikiria, suomencocouxis Jumalata kijttä suomenkielellä, tehty m. Jacobilda Suomalaiselda, ja muild Suomen papeilda …* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1607), preface, USTC 2092729, http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2015120321826, digital text edn [mostly based on 1630 print, partly 1605(?)], '*Hemminki Maskulaisen virsikirja*' (5 December 2006), in *Vanhan kirjasuomen korpus* (Helsinki: Kotus), https://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/virret/hemm1605_rdf.xml, also in *Korp*.



Ilo = Laulu
JESUXESTA/
Lohdutus Lunastajasta/
Syndymäst
Hywä Sanoma/
Elämästä Ihmellinen/
Aiwan
Caunis Cuolemasta/
Nösnosmusta iloinen/
Paras poiges Lähdennöstä/
Suomen Kielellä sanottu / Suomalaisten
suosiori.

Pani Prändihin Turusa
IOHAN Winter/ winhiästi
Anno 1690.



Nälle
Corkiast ja Hywinoppeneille
Herroille /
Hywin ansainnille Kircko-
herroille ja ylistettäwille Prowa-
stille Pohjan Maalla.
Herr JOHANNI
CAJANO Peldamos/
Herr IACOBO
FROSTERO Oulus/
Mag. MAGNO
Preutz Pietarsaares /
Herr IACOBO
TUDERO Kemis/

Hän Corkiast ylistet-
täwille Hywintekiällens /
on tämä Dediceratty ja
lähdetetty.

MATTHIAS
Salamnius.

FIGURES 11.1 AND 11.2 Title page and dedication page of the Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta by Matthias Salamnius in 1690
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF FINLAND

started to use purely oral-like Kalevala-metre in written poems some decades earlier. Furthermore, Salamnius dedicates the poem directly to the congregations in Ostrobothnia, that is to say to one of the northern areas in Finland where oral epic poetry in Kalevala-metre was used up to the nineteenth century. Salamnius also refers to Ostrobothnia as the native place that he is wishing to return to.

Not much is known of the life story of Salamnius. He is mentioned as a clergyman ('*medhjälpare*', '*konminster*', meaning vice-pastor) in the governorate of Ingria in the 1680s. Ingria is a Finnic area to the south-east of the Gulf of Finland where the Kalevala-metre singing culture continued up to the twentieth century, especially among Eastern Orthodox inhabitants, and contained many Christian themes. Salamnius was probably familiar with oral poetry both from his native Ostrobothnia and from Ingria: this is also plausible given his use of poetic formulas that appear frequently in the later oral traditions of these areas. In 1690, Salamnius travelled with his family to Turku, apparently following the promotion of Johannes Gezelius the Younger from superintendent of Ingria (1681–9) to bishop of Turku (1690–1718). Salamnius died in 1691, while waiting for a position in Finland, shortly after translating a long biography of the previous bishop of Turku, Johannes Gezelius the Elder (1664–90), into Kalevala-metre, and publishing *Ilo-Laulu* in 1690.[25]

The actual preface to *Ilo-Laulu* begins with biblical praise from the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* (Wisdom 15:3). Salamnius uses the official translation in the Finnish Bible (1642), very similar to the King James Version, or Authorized Version (1611, hereafter: AV): 'For to know thee [God] is perfect righteousnesse: yea to know thy power is the roote of immortality'.[26] Directly following is a long and detailed passage on pagan antiquity, on all the philosophical wisdom that, as yet, was incomplete without the grace of the true God and the knowledge of Jesus – 'our small children, with their creed, are much wiser than Plato, Aristotle, Cicero or some other pagan wise man'. Salamnius emphasises that 'we, living in Finland', have had this bliss of knowing Jesus, and are, hence, debtors who must praise his grace. He also gives this debt and the urge to praise as reasons for his writing of the poem. These rhetorical figures

25 Kuusi, 'Salamnius'. See Chapter 6 by Tuija Laine for Swedish missionary work in Ingria.

26 'Tuta sinua (Jumala) on täydellinen Wanhurskaus / ja tietä sinun Woimas / on iancaickisen elämän juuri', *Biblia, Se On: Coco Pyhä Ramattu, Suomexi. Pääramattui*[*de*]*n, Hebrean ia Grekan jälcken: Esipuhetten, Marginaliain, Concordantiain, Selitösten ia Register*[*e*]*in cansa* (Stockholm: Henric Keyser, 1642), USTC 2178828, digital edn in *Biblia. Vanhan kirjasuomen korpus* (Helsinki: Kotus, http://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/biblia/biblia_coll_rdf.xml (20.5.2019)), also in *Korp*.

may also hint at the conventional need to emphasise the Finns' Christianity and situate paganism in the distant past.[27] Salamnius continues with a rare account of vernacular poetics:

> One should not wonder that this poem has been written in the *runo-metre* very familiar among the Finns. For as other languages have their specific poetic forms through which simple speech is turned into beautiful song, so is our Finnish language not without one either. And even though we know that this kind of *runo-songs* have in the past been used to compose and sing many illicit things, it should not prevent us from adopting this form, any more than we should abandon common speech altogether, just because it is often misused.[28]

All languages have their poetic forms, and for Salamnius, the Finnish poetic metre means the traditional alliterative four-beat metre of oral poetry. The metre had in the past been used for illicit things. This can be understood as a reference to inappropriate and even pagan aspects of some songs or charms, associated with the whole poetic register. In Finland, the Reformers aimed their criticism as much or even more at medieval Christian vernacular syncretistic practices and contemporary ungodly habits as at the paganism that was, mostly, rhetorically situated in the distant past.[29] Similarly, Salamnius situates his work in relation to distant pagan pasts (antique wisdom and past uses of traditional Finnish metre) and long Christian history (universal and Finnish).

Kalevala-metre was the prevailing form of the Finnic oral tradition, and it was used for all kinds of genres from epics, lyrical songs, lullabies and mocking songs to spells and charms.[30] Thus, it contained various elements potentially obscene, outrageous and disgraceful, but also neutral and potentially positive

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27 Lehtonen, 'Pious hymns'; Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kati Kallio: 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet ja virsisuomennokset: seremoniat, kansanusko ja runokieli 1500- ja 1600-luvun Suomessa', *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja*, 106 (2016), pp. 177–8.

28 'Waan että tämä on tehty nijllä suomalaisten tykönä hywin tutuilla Runoi wärsyillä / ei ole Ihmex otettawa. Sillä nijncuin muilla kielillä on heidän erinomainen wärsyiensä muoto / jossa yxinkertainen Puhe suloisexi lauluxi käätään/ nijn ei ole meidän Suomen-kieli täsä asiassa wähin osasta/ Ja waicka me sen kyllä tiedämme/ että tämän caltaisten Runolauluin cautta on ennen monda luwatoinda Asia coconpadu ja lulettu/ Nijn taita se sitä wähemmän tätä edesottamista estä cuin että meidän pitäis sen yhteisen Puheen sentähden poisheittämähän/ Että se usein wäärin käytetän.'

29 Lehtonen, 'Pious hymns'.

30 Matti Kuusi, 'Questions of Kalevala metre: what exactly did Kalevala language signify to its users?' in Anna-Leena Siikala, Sinikka Vakimo (eds.), *Songs beyond the Kalevala. Transformations of Oral Poetry* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1994), pp. 41–55;

ones. The proverbs were explicitly appreciated by the ecclesiastical elite, charms and mocking songs understood as impious or idolatry, and processed in the seventeenth-century secular courts.[31] Bishop Johannes Gezelius the Elder wanted to dispose of all superstitious songs, such as incantations used in hunting, and mocking songs. His predecessor as bishop of Turku, Isaacus Rothovius (1572–1652), seems to have forbidden not only charms and impious songs, but the traditional secular songs, 'Dicht och Påfund', altogether.[32] In the preface to the first Finnish hymnal, Jacobus Finno expressed his hope of replacing impious songs with new Lutheran hymns.[33]

Salamnius obviously deems that it is necessary to explain his choice of metre, which implies that the use of the traditional oral form of poetry – by a clergyman, in a Christian context – was not entirely uncontroversial. Comments on metre are, however, common in authorial prefaces of the period in other languages and in cases where the metre is not disputable.[34]

Salamnius goes on to praise Bishop Gezelius the Younger, who had suggested he write the poem, supervising and financing the work. Thus, the use of Kalevala-metre and the creation of the poem was commissioned and approved by a man known both for his harshness in converting the Eastern Orthodox Ingrians to Lutheranism and his desire to educate the common folk and create ecclesiastical vernacular literature.[35] If we take Salamnius' words seriously, it means the metre did not pose problems for the new bishop, but was, on the contrary, a potentially efficient way of spreading the knowledge of the true faith and literacy among the common folk.

In this passage, Salamnius also tells of the functions of the poetic metre and genre. Metre is used to 'turn simple speech into beautiful song'. Here, the generic term 'song' ('*laulu*') of the title *Ilo-Laulu* ('A joyous song') occurs again. '*Laulu*' is a general Finnish word for all kinds of songs, biblical and impious ones, but applying the term sets the poem apart from Lutheran hymnals, called '*virsikirja*', 'hymn-book' (adopting the term '*virsi*', originally 'poem', traditionally used for narrative songs in Kalevala-metre). Vernacular poetry – Lutheran hymns

Tarkka, *Songs of the Border People*; Senni Timonen, *Minä, tila, tunne. Näkökulmia kalevalamittaiseen kansanlyriikkaan* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2004).

31 Kallio *et al.*, *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, 362–87.

32 Sarajas, *Suomen kansanrunouden tuntemus*, 41–2, 69–70.

33 Lehtonen, 'Pious hymns'.

34 See, for instance, Haqvin Spegel on hexameter in *Guds Werk och Hwila*, a Swedish epic on the creation from 1685, Bernt Olsson, *Spegels Guds werk och hwila. Tillkomsthistoria, världsbild, gestaltning* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1963), pp. 280–2.

35 Pentti Laasonen, *Vanhan ja uuden rajamaastossa: Johannes Gezelius nuorempi kulttuurivaikuttajana* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2009).

and folksongs alike – was most commonly sung. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers use 'song' as a very concrete term, in relation to singing, not in the metaphorical sense meaning 'a poem' or 'poetic text'.[36]

In the first lengthy treatise on Finnish poetry in 1766–78, Professor Henrik Gabriel Porthan uses Salamnius most frequently for examples of traditional Finnish poetics. When describing the peasant ways of singing, he cites the first verses of Salamnius as an example, showing how the lead singer and the accompanying singer take turns.[37] For Porthan, it seems to have been self-evident that this literary work – or any poem using the traditional oral metre – was used as song. Two *runo*-song melodies used with the poem have been recorded in the 1870s, one in Ingria and one in Keuruu, Central Finland, both representing typical Finnish and Karelian five-beat *runo*-song melodies of narrative and epic oral poems. Parts of *Ilo-Laulu* and other literary works were performed as songs for nineteenth-century folklore collectors.[38] The singers also adapted themes and verses of *Ilo-Laulu* for their traditional oral poems in more subtle ways.[39]

Thus, for Salamnius, it seems, the use of the oral metre and style was possible, since: 1. this was his native style; 2. it was referred to already in the preface to the second hymnal (1605) and used as such by Ostrobothnian clergymen for some decades; 3. it was not reasonable to condemn a poetic language on the basis of past (or even present) misuses; 4. it was an efficient way to spread a deeper knowledge of the Christian faith; and 5. the use of the vernacular metre was approved by Bishop Gezelius himself.

3 Crossing Generic Traditions: Christian Epic

When Salamnius in the preface talks about 'turning simple speech into beautiful song' he is referring to his poem as a poetic, and singable, paraphrase of the Gospels. Versified paraphrases of biblical texts were composed from late antiquity onwards, first in Latin, later also in the vernacular, as part of the venture to

36 *Korp*, 'laulu', 'laul*'; *Vanhan kirjasuomen sanakirja* (Helsinki: Kotus, 2021), http://kaino.kotus.fi/vks, 'laulu'.

37 Henrik Gabriel Porthan, *De poësi Fennica* (Turku: J. C. Frenckell, 1766–78), tr. Iiro Kajanto, as *Suomalaisesta runoudesta* (Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1983), p. 80.

38 See *SKVR* VII 239; Thomas A. DuBois, 'The Kalevala Received: From Printed Text to Oral Performance', *Oral Tradition*, 11/2 (1996), pp. 270–300; Heikki Laitinen, 'Runolaulu Turun Akatemiassa', In Anneli Asplund etc. (eds.), *Suomen musiikin historia, 8: Kansanmusiikki* (Helsinki: WSOY, 2006), p. 54.

39 For example *SKVR* V2 441; VII1 314; VII2 1774, XII1 150.

Christianise classical literary genres, most notably the epic. Originally, the idea was to polish the stylistically unpretentious prose of the Gospels by casting it into hexameter verse associated above all with Vergil and his *Aeneid*.[40] Stylistic revision is what Salamnius aims at as well: in *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta*, he is trying to make the life of Christ more compelling and more accessible to the public by bringing it into a poetic form which the audience knew and would appreciate.

Thus, the biblical epic is an important generic context for *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta*. An epic can be defined as a narrative poem of heroic action, telling deeds of exceptional courage, which have a major impact on both the present and the future of the community that the hero represents. The task that the hero undertakes is dangerous, even perilous, and involves struggles and seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Besides narrative form and heroic action, a third important criterion for epic is the blending of divine and human forms of agency.[41]

For centuries, Vergil's *Aeneid* was the most important model of epic. However, later writers of epic had to find a way to imitate the classics in a way that suited the culture of a Christian society. One solution was to compose epic poetry with biblical subtexts and Christian subject matter. Many conventions of epic, such as metre, style and the length and scope of the narrative, could be preserved; other things had to change, such as the nature of heroism and the nature of the divine. Christ and eventually other biblical characters were introduced as epic heroes, and the Olympian deities were either reduced to allegorical characters or replaced entirely by a Christian God.[42]

One central feature developed by the biblical epics of late antiquity and shared by many Christian epics since, including *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta*, is typological symbolism. Typology refers to an interpretation of biblical texts where events in the Old Testament are understood as foreshadowing Christ. This 'new epic device', as Barbara K. Lewalski describes it, is a way to give the biblical narrative epic proportions: by means of typology, every single event is connected to the great soteriological theme, thus involving all mankind and all history in the narrative.[43] *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* explains the sacrificial theme and the concept of Christ as the Lamb of God through a chapter on the Exodus and

40 Michael Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1985), pp. 73–4, 107.

41 Thomas M. Greene, *The Descent from Heaven. A Study in Epic Continuity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 14–25; Gregory Tobias, *From Many Gods to One: Divine Action in Renaissance Epic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 22.

42 Tobias, *From Many Gods*, pp. 11–13.

43 Barbara K. Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic. The Genre, Meaning, and Art of 'Paradise Regained'* (London: Methuen, 1966), p. 45.

Passover. This chapter is based on the typological paralleling of the sacrificing of the Passover lamb to save the firstborn of the Israelites from the Lord's judgement, and the sacrificing of the son of God to save all mankind.

Biblical versified epic became one of the most popular European literary genres of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[44] Latin biblical epics from Late Antiquity, such as *Evangeliorum libri quattuor* by Juvencus and *Carmen Paschale* by Sedulius, were widely read and appreciated both for their spiritual content and artistic merits, and stayed on the curricula in schools all over Europe for most of the seventeenth century.[45] Marco Girolamo Vida's epic on the life of Christ, *Christiad* (1535), was hailed as a serious contender to the *Aeneid*.[46]

Vernacular biblical epics started appearing during the Middle Ages. In many medieval Christian epics, the events of the biblical world were adapted to the cultural sphere in which the epic was composed. For instance Germanic poems, such as *Heliand* (*c.*830), utilise both the metre – a four-beat alliterative metre – and the formulas and epithets characteristic of Germanic secular epic.[47]

It is probable that the Finnic oral Christian song cycle *Luojan virsi* relates to these medieval contexts. The content of the songs varies according to singer and local tradition: various parts of the cycle have been recorded from Karelia, Ingria and northern and eastern Finland. The oral poems make use of vernacular motifs while rephrasing biblical and apocryphal themes. In one common version, a maiden becomes pregnant by eating a lingonberry in the forest. She searches for the *sauna* as a place to deliver the child, but her mother refuses, claiming a whore has to deliver in a stable. After birth, the maiden goes searching for her stolen baby, asking for help from the road, the moon and the sun. Only the sun is willing to help: it flies to the grave of the Lord and shines, making the guardians fall asleep, or the rocks or the nails in the coffin melt. In disguise and by bluff, the Lord fetters Satan, usually referred to as the mythological character Hiisi. Many of these vernacular themes have parallels in other European folk traditions.[48]

The earliest account of the oral *Luojan virsi* is a short quotation, but it matches later recordings and confirms the early modern existence of the tradition. In his

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44 Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic*, pp. 79–99; Carl P. E. Springer, *The Gospel as Epic in Late Antiquity. The Paschale Carmen of Sedulius* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), pp. 135–46.

45 Roger P. H. Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament: Juvencus, Sedulius, Arator* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 356–72.

46 Greene, *The Descent from Heaven*, pp. 170–5; Tobias, *From Many Gods*, pp. 65–8.

47 Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic*, 48–9.

48 A. A. Borenius, 'Suomen keskiaikaisesta runoudesta', *Virittäjä*, 11 (1886), pp. 58–82; Julius Krohn, *Kantelettaren tutkimuksia, 11* (Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1901).

dissertation in 1697, Ericus Cajanus cites two opening verses of the oral cycle and mentions that this song of an unknown author 'elegantly treats the whole history of the Passion of Christ'.[49] After some eighteenth-century fragments, most of the long versions of the cycle are recorded from Russian Orthodox singers of Russian Karelia and Ingria, and shorter and partly prose versions also from eastern and northern Finland. The edited collection of Finnic oral poems, *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (SKVR), contains almost 350 variants of the interconnected songs of the cycle, often combined with more secular or syncretistic themes.[50]

While both oral and literary biblical epic are undoubtedly a relevant generic context for *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta*, it is noteworthy that the poem lacks direct references to the classical epic tradition. In addition, Salamnius himself does not refer to *Ilo-Laulu* as an epic. In fact, he does not comment on the epic nature of his poem in any way, which is peculiar, considering the status of epic as the most prestigious of literary genres. On the contrary, some of his notions in the preface point to other genres than the epic. He refers to the habit of preaching on and reading about the Passion during the weeks before Easter, and in doing so relates *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* to the field of devotional literature, particularly Passion literature.

The poem can, indeed, be read as a versified Passion. Not only does it take Christ's Passion as its central subject, but the Passion story is also followed by a concluding chapter which explains the spiritual teachings of the Passion in a highly didactical manner. Versified Passions were published during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in many Lutheran countries, for instance in German by Joachim Greff in 1538, in Swedish by Olaus Petri in 1557 and in Danish by J. M. Gettorp in 1623.[51] Like *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta*, Olaus Petri's versified Passion is composed in a stichic metre and accompanied by a didactic poem about the proper understanding of the Passion and Resurrection. These vernacular, versified Passions have a primarily didactic function. They are a part of the Lutheran endeavour to place the biblical text at the centre of Passion

49 David Johannis Lund and Ericus Erici Cajanus, *Lingvarum ebraeae et finnicae convenientia* (Turku: Johan Larsson Wall, 1697), USTC 268952, http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2014-00004507, p. 13.

50 Senni Timonen, 'Karelian Popular Song', pp. 389–432.

51 Joachim Greff, *Das leiden und Aufferstehung unsers Herrn Jhesu Christi aus den vier Evangelisten* (Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz, 1538), USTC 627614; Olaus Petri, *Svenska mässan* (Stockholm: Amund Laurentsson, 1557), USTC 300034; Jens Madsen Gettorp, *Vor Herris Jesu Christi Pjnis oc Døds Historie vdi Rijm befatted* (Kiøbenhaffn, Salomon Sartor, 1623), USTC 270581. Valborg Lindgärde, *Jesu Christi Pijnos Historia Rijmwijs Betrachtad. Svenska passionsdikter under 1600- och 1700-talet*. (Lund: Lund University Press, 1996) pp. 16, 51–2.

spirituality. The versified, paraphrastic Passions faithfully follow the text of the scriptures and give preference to educational approaches to the Passion narrative.

Thus, the biblical epic in *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* is in relation to both literary and oral epic, and paired with elements which originate in devotional literature. Christian epics were not alien to didactic elements, but Salamnius makes didactics his primary aim: according to the preface, he wishes to familiarise readers with the life of Christ. This explains the supplementation of the narrative with an exhortative concluding chapter, which uses the register of devotional literature to imprint the central Christian teachings and the significance of Christ's death on the reader.

4 Simple Speech into Beautiful Song: Imitation and Paraphrase

In essence, biblical epics are paraphrastic texts: they follow the biblical original closely.[52] A comparison between the poem and the Gospels reveals that Salamnius uses material from all four canonised Gospels. Some chapters are complemented with material from other biblical texts as well. The harmonisation of the four Gospels into one coherent story is not, however, done by the author himself: for the most part, Salamnius uses a previously existing original. The chapters on the Passion of Christ (chapters 7–28 of the poem) follow – word for word, indeed, when the metre allows – the Passion harmony compiled by Michael Agricola in 1549.[53] Agricola's Passion is, in turn, based on a German Passion by Johannes Bugenhagen from 1544, and on Agricola's own Finnish translation of the Gospels.

Agricola's Passion was published, with only slight modifications, during the seventeenth century in different manuals and compilations together with other essential books of Christian teaching, such as the hymnal, the catechism, a prayer book and the Gospels.[54] Agricola published material mainly for the

52 Research on biblical epics has mainly concentrated on questions concerning the nature and the origins of paraphrase, as well as on the relation of biblical epics to the classical tradition. (Roberts *Biblical epic*, pp. 61–74; Springer, *The Gospel as Epic*, pp. 9–22; Green, *Latin Epics,* pp. 46–50, 375.

53 Mikael Agricola, *Se meiden herran Jesusen Christusen pina, ylesnousemus ia taiuasen astumus* (Tukholma: A. Laurentsson, 1549).

54 Simo Heininen, 'Mikael Agricolan Passio', *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja*, 68–9 (1978–9), pp. 17–29; Tuija Laine, 'Manuale Finnonicum -julkaisun synty ja kehitys', *Opusculum*, 2–4 (1991), pp. 177–200.

needs of ecclesiastical services, but the Passion also offered edifying lay reading. A central context, in both cases, was Holy Week. Hence, the Passion is divided into chapters based on the days of the week, with chapters to read from Palm Sunday to Easter Day. The division of the Passion story into six parts was a Christian commonplace which recurs also in epics: for instance, Vida's *Christiad* contains six books on the Passion.

Salamnius does not follow this tradition of six parts but chooses a tactic of concentration and compression. He is very selective in his choice of scenes to include or to omit. *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* centres on the Nativity and the Passion scenes: the Nativity and subsequent events (such as the flight to Egypt and the slaughter of the innocents) are depicted in five chapters amounting to a total of 267 lines; the Passion and the Resurrection in twenty chapters (1536 lines); and finally the Ascension in two chapters (142 lines). In addition, there is one chapter with 118 lines on the Exodus and Passover, which functions as an introduction to the Passion, and a final concluding chapter with 156 lines, discussing the meaning of Christ's Passion and Resurrection. Jesus's teaching, preaching and healing are only referred to very briefly, before moving on to the Passion. Salamnius is clearly not interested in portraying Jesus as a miracle-worker or teacher; his focus is solely on Christ as the Saviour.

The principle of concentration and compression also guides the structure of the poem. Compared to the six-part structure of Agricola's Passion, *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* has far more but much shorter chapters. The length of the chapters varies – the shortest, the harrowing of hell, has 31 lines; the longest, the conclusion, 156 lines – but they are all thematically concentrated and focus on one single event and only a few central characters. These characteristics are strikingly similar to Finnic oral epics, which rarely exceed 300 lines. In the depiction of the events of the Passion, Salamnius mainly follows Agricola's storyline but also makes some deviations in the structure of the story. Agricola seems to prioritise a chronological order in the way he combines passages from the Gospels of Matthew and Mark to describe the arrival of the women at Jesus's tomb and the following events; Salamnius depicts one character and one event at a time and dedicates separate chapters to the women arriving at the grave and the post-resurrection appearances. Presenting the events of the Passion concisely, clearly and logically seems to be the motivation for the changes made.

The idea that the original text, when used as source material for new literary works, was to be modified and altered and not copied or reproduced is essential in early modern literary culture. The prevailing practice of cultural production was *imitation*. Imitation in literature may refer to the adoption of an author's vocabulary, style, themes, a specific genre or the adaptation of a

specific work.[55] As a strategy of writing, imitation produces new works from already existing material by using existing models and ways of writing. Every new work of literature thus formed some kind of relationship to its predecessors. Usually this relationship was based on either an adoption of features from earlier canonical works or an attempt to rival them.[56]

Even though there were many understandings of what imitation entailed and what the models, techniques and goals of imitation should be, most theories of imitation agreed on one thing: that a slavish copying was undesirable, and that a proper imitation always included some kind of modification. Imitation, therefore, has a double nature: it is dependent on existing models and materials, but at the same time is perceptive of and responsive to differences entailed by changed historical, cultural and linguistic circumstances.[57]

This element of imitation was especially emphasised in the concept of *aemulatio*. *Aemulatio*, emulation, could signify rivalry, the aspiration for new poets to match or to surpass the works they imitated, for instance in style and composition, or even correct or revise the model, or, in some cases, demonstrate the writer's awareness of historical or cultural change.[58] In biblical epics and poetry based on biblical originals, *aemulatio* had a slightly different meaning, since the word of God could hardly be rivalled or improved upon. Hence, *aemulatio* in a Christian context typically refers to stylistic change, or the addition of exegetic comments and explanations.[59]

The annunciation to the shepherds in *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* provides an example of this kind of commentary. According to Luke 2:14, the angels and the 'heavenly host' praise God by saying (AV): 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men' ('Cunnia olcon Jumalalle corkiudes / ja maassa rauha / ja ihmisille hyvä tahto'). The Gloria in *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* has been amplified to eight lines (the lines corresponding to the original by Agricola in italics):

55 Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 171.

56 R. R. Edwards, 'Imitation', in Roland Greene (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 678–9.

57 Ann Moss, 'Literary imitation in the sixteenth century: writers and readers, Latin and French', in Glyn P. Norton (ed.), *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism, III: The Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 108; G. W. Pigman, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33/1 (1980), pp. 7, 30, 32.

58 Jean-Claude Carron, 'Imitation and Intertextuality in the Renaissance', *New Literary History*, 19/3 (1988), pp. 568–9; Pigman, 'Versions of Imitation', 22–9; Gordon Williams, *Change and Decline. Roman Literature in the Early Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 196–7.

59 Roberts, *Biblical Epic*, pp. 219–20.

Kijtos corkian *Jumalan*	*Praise to the* high (great) *God,*
Ylähällä Taivahasa	*high up in Heaven.*
Tähden armonsa avaran	Because of his ample mercy,
Että tiettävän totuden	and his truth that will be known,
Voiman caicki voittavaisen	(and) his might, victorious over all:
Maasa Rauha rackahimbi	[there is] most beloved *peace on earth*
Ilo Ihmisten seasa;	*Joy among the people;*
Ei ole Pelcoa Pirusta	there is no fear of the devil,
Eikä huolda Helvetistä	nor worry about Hell,
Eikä Synnistä surua	nor sorrow for sin,
Cuolemasta cauhistosta.	no dread of death.
Polki tai Callon Perkeleldä	He trampled the skull of devil,
Häijyn Helvetin hävitti	destroyed vicious hell,
Saatti Synnistä sovinnon	brought redemption for sin,
Käänsi cuoleman unexi.[60]	turned death into a dream.

The amplification is done by inserting lines which explicate the significance of Christ's birth: because of mercy, truth and God's might, hell has been destroyed, all sins atoned for and death has been turned into a mere dream. Here, the angels allude to events which are yet to come, and in this way, we are reminded of the way in which the episodes of Christ's birth and death are connected. Although not appearing in Agricola's Passion, the theme is repeated in his prefaces and explanations. Agricola commonly refers to Christ saving humans from 'sin, death, the devil and hell'.[61] In the preface to the Gospels, he explains: 'Christ is this seed of a woman, that is, a foetus, who has trampled the head of the devil, that is, sin, death, hell, and all his might'.[62] Salamnius adds this theological explanation to his rendering of the Gospel itself.

In addition, Salamnius uses references both to Lutheran hymns and oral traditions. Alliterative formulas such as '*ample grace*', '*know the truth*', '*dread of death*' appear especially in the 1605 Hymnal and the translation of *Piae Cantiones* (1616) by Hemmingius of Masku. The theme of trampling or crushing the devil or his skull (based on Gen 3:15) is repeated several times in the 1605 Hymnal.[63]

60 Salamnius, *Ilo-Laulu*, pp. 6–7.

61 Mikael Agricola, *Mikael Agricolan teokset, I–III* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1987 [1543–52]). Digital edn in *Agricola. Vanhan kirjasuomen korpus* (Helsinki: Kotus, http://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/agricola/agricola_coll_rdf.xml (20.5.2019)), also in *Korp*, pp. I 634, cf. 726, 741, 771; III 594, 677.

62 'Christus ombi temen Waimon Siemen / eli sikijö / ioca Kermen / quin on Perkelen pään / se on / Synnin / Coleman / Heluetin / ia caiki henen wäens rickipolkenut on.' Agricola II, p. 4.

63 E.g. 'armostas avarast', 'tundeman totutta', 'cuoleman cauhjan', 'Pirun pään polki ricki perät', 'pirun pään peräti polki pois', 'cuolleisans kärmen pään polki', *Korp*.

In addition, Salamnius makes use of occasional formulas deriving from oral tradition, but often modifies and reframes them or sets them into new contexts. The passage above contains two common, wide-spread formulas, 'high God' and 'high up in the sky', used both in Christian and non-Christian vernacular contexts (such as in 'Ukkoinen korkea jumala', 'Thunder, the high god').[64] 'High God' does not appear in the corpus of sixteenth- to seventeenth-century literary texts, while 'high up in the sky' is also a common expression in hymnals (1583, 1605) and in the Bible (1642).[65]

Elsewhere, Salamnius also uses epithets common in later oral tradition, both those connected to vernacular Christian themes ('suuri Luoja', 'great Creator'; 'Ilman herra', 'the lord of air') not appearing in earlier literary sources, and those typically connected with pre-Christian figures such as Ukko ('itse pilviä pitävä', 'the one who holds the clouds'), the sky deity also mentioned by Agricola in his list of pagan gods. The formula 'Jesus, the lord of air' appears also in Ostrobothnian vernacular charm texts recorded before Salamnius.[66] Six of the fifteen verses above have no parallel whatsoever in the oral corpus, and some connections with the oral corpus are very weak.[67] Salamnius does not need oral formulas to be able to make his poem, although he sometimes makes use of them.

Exegetical commentaries and amplifications are often embedded into characters' speech. In this way they blend into the narrative, even when their didactic and exegetical nature is obvious. Particularly interesting is the comment embedded in Jesus's speech in chapter 16 (p. 54). In this episode, which follows the Gospel of Luke (23:27), the poem describes how Jesus is carrying the cross while some women in the crowd weep for him. Jesus tells them to weep not for him, but for themselves and their children. This reply leads to a lengthy comment in which the narrator speaks directly to readers, urging them to contemplate the fact that God's son is being punished for people's sins. The switch from Gospel paraphrase to comment, that is, from Jesus's speech to the narrator's, is not indicated in any way; rather, they blend into each other seamlessly.

The amplification of the angel's *Gloria* to an exegetical comment about Christ's incarnation, and the development of his reply to the weeping women into an exhortation to the readers of the poem, foreground the didactic aims and functions of the texts. These deviations from the biblical intertext

64 For example, *SKVR* VII5 45; Octavo.

65 *Korp*, e.g. 'kork* tai*'.

66 *SKVR* XI 1570, 1586.

67 *Korp* and *Octavo*, word and collocation queries.

anticipate the change of register that takes place in the last chapter, where the poem moves from epic narrative to contemplation and teaching.

Didactic elements, such as exegetical comments and amplifications, are given more emphasis as the narrative proceeds. However, there is one sequence towards the end of the poem where the epic dominates, and this is the harrowing of hell. In this part of the poem, Christ is most clearly portrayed as a warrior-like epic hero, who engages in combat with his opponent, and wins.

5 Registers of Heroism: Christ as an Epic Hero

Gregory Tobias stresses the importance of *historical consequence* in the actions of the epic hero. This aspect of heroism was significant already in Vergil's *Aeneid*, but gained even more weight in Renaissance epic, such as Vida's *Christiad*. From this angle, Christ is even more an epic hero than the model of epic heroes, Aeneas himself. Christ's utmost heroism is expressed by his self-sacrifice and death on the cross, and in Christian epic, Christ's victory over death is depicted as the culmination of the greatest of battles.[68]

In *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta*, Jesus is menaced by different kinds of adversaries. Firstly, by worldly rulers, like King Herod and the governor, Pontius Pilate; secondly, by Judas Iscariot, the high priests and the Jews with whom Judas conspires; and finally, by the demons in hell. The descent to the underworld is an epic convention, occurring in classical epics as well as in oral traditions and mythologies worldwide. In Karelian and Finnish oral tradition, the old sage Väinämöinen, in particular, travels to the underworld to search for healing words or a bride.[69]

Christ's harrowing of hell was a favourite subject in medieval art, and it is included in medieval as well as some Renaissance epics, like Vida's *Christiad*. The depiction of these events originates primarily in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. In the canonical Bible, Christ's descent to hell is only briefly and indirectly referred to, but the concept of Christ descending to hell to rescue the souls of prophets and patriarchs, and the doctrine of the harrowing of hell, were entirely established in Christian tradition.[70] Influence from the Gospel of Nicodemus can also be seen in the oral poems of the *Luojan virsi* cycle, dealing

68 Green, *Latin Epics*, p. 68; Tobias, *From Many Gods*, pp. 80–3.

69 Tarkka, *Songs of the Border People*, pp. 183–92, 391–3.

70 Catherine Ella Laufer, *Hell's Destruction: An Exploration of Christ's Descent to the Dead* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 39–41.

with the *Hiiden sepän kahlinta* (*'Fettering of the smith of Hiisi'*), although most themes of the song are closer to other vernacular song traditions in Europe than the original apocryphal text.[71]

Particular motifs connect the apocryphal text and the descent to hell in *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta*:

Jesus astupi lähemmä	Jesus walked closer,
Liki Linnaa piruen	nearer to the castle of devils,
Potcaisi leviän Portin	kicked the wide gate,
Paiscais mahan Pihtipielet:	smashed the gateposts to the ground:
Lucko koht lumehen lensi	the lock soon flew into the snow,
Naulat tuiscuvat tulehen	the nails swirled into the fire,
Salvat lieckihin samahan.[72]	the bolts into the same flame.

In this passage, Salamnius follows the apocryphal gospel closely, but amplifies the story with formulas from oral sources. Although this gives the passage quite a vernacular tone, the formulas he uses relate not to the *Luojan virsi* cycle, but to various other themes in Karelian charms and epic, and Ingrian wedding songs.[73] This is natural, as the oral cycle has only vague thematic connections with the apocryphal text. In oral tradition, the smith of Hiisi forges a neck chain to shackle Christ but ends up being shackled in his own chain. Here, Christ is portrayed as a trickster-like character, who is able to defeat his adversaries thanks to his cleverness.[74] The gates or hell are not described, and no other hardship is presented.

In *Ilo-Laulu*, the harrowing of hell can be interpreted as an allegorical presentation of victory over death. This is also the interpretation that is referred to earlier in Salamnius' poem, in the annunciation to the shepherds. The harrowing scene in *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* emphasises that Christ's heroic deed makes not only him but the whole of mankind invulnerable to the evil of sin and death.

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71 Borenius, 'Suomen keskiaikaisesta', pp. 62–77; Krohn, *Kantelettaren tutkimuksia, II*, pp. 326–31; Martti Haavio, 'Hiiden sepän kahlinta', *Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja*, 18 (1938), pp. 20–52.

72 Salamnius, *Ilo-Laulu*, pp. 76–7.

73 Charms for childbirth, e.g. 'Jolla auvot luiset lukot' (*SKVR* XII2 6214), 'Jolla auvot luiset portit' (*SKVR* VII4 loitsut 3046), 'pihtipieliset hajotan'; Karelian hunting charms, e.g. 'Avaja lukot lumiset' (*SKVR* VII5 loitsut 3507; overall formulas (tuli-tuiski), e.g. in the song of Lemminkäinen: 'Itse tuiskahti tulehen' (*SKVR* I2 725); Ingrian wedding songs, e.g. 'Lukut mie suullani sulatan, Salvat sanoilla hajotan, Lukut mie lumelle tuiskin, Salvat hankelle hajotan' (*SKVR* III3 3570).

74 Haavio, 'Hiiden sepän kahlinta', p. 37.

6 *Ilo-Laulu* and the Registers of Devotional Literature

A substantial portion of *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* – approximately two thirds of the entire poem – is devoted to the Passion of Christ. In the spiritual life of the seventeenth century, the Passion played a central role. It was a recurring subject in both devotional literature and poetry. Reading and meditating on the Passion was especially recommended during Lent and Holy Week and as a preparation for the eucharist.[75]

Literary representations of the Passion, particularly in the Lutheran tradition, are characterised by the depiction of the events according to the Gospels, and by a meditative element. This means that the speaker of the poem contemplates the events of the Passion, or the reader is urged to contemplate them. Either way, the text aims to engage the reader in a dialogue with the narrative, during which the reader traces the significance of Christ's Passion, death and resurrection in his or her own life.[76]

In *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta*, narration dominates in all parts of the poem, except in the final chapter, entitled 'Conclusion' (*Päätös*), which uses a different register: that of education, instruction and exhortation. In the conclusion, the reader is urged to contemplate the Passion and to learn a lesson from this contemplation. The conclusion of the poem is most reminiscent of the so-called instructive meditations. These differ from proper meditation manuals in that their focus is on the result of contemplation: what one is supposed to learn from the meditation, and not on the exercise itself.[77]

Poems on the Passion of Christ belong to two literary cultures in being at the same time artful and devotional. The boundaries between poetical works and devotional works were everything but clear-cut: generally, devotional literature could be markedly poetical in style, while the reading of Christian poetry was considered to be spiritually edifying. Devotional literature was not directly dependent on the poetics of imitation and concomitant rules and practices. Even devotional works did, however, make use of the tradition of rhetoric, which was also the foundation of imitative poetics.[78] Therefore, devotional literature was not detached from the norms and values of artistic literature.

The most striking difference between biblical epics and Passions with a meditative approach lies in their narration. In epic, the narrator has a more

75 Stina Hansson, *Ett språk för själen. Litterära former i den svenska andaktslitteraturen 1650–1720* (Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet, 1991), p. 85.

76 Barbara K. Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 148–50.

77 Hansson, *Ett språk för själen*, pp. 84–6, 179.

78 Ibid., pp. 26–9; Valborg Lindgärde, *Jesu Christi pijnos historia*, p. 129.

passive role, whereas the narrator of a meditative Passion is not only rendering events, but is also offering the reader an interpretation of the events narrated, and, in some cases, guides the reader through the spiritual exercise of meditation. Meditative texts on the Passion aim at evoking feelings in the reader and ultimately, with the help of these feelings, to a renewal and a strengthening of their faith.

An essential feature in meditative Passions is what could be described as *reporting of feelings*, where the speaker or narrator describes feelings experienced by the characters, by the speaker, or even by the reader.[79] In *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta*, this rhetorical tool is used for instance in the episode where Jesus carries the cross and addresses the weeping women. Jesus's words to the women are amplified into an exhortative comment, where *we*, the readers of the poem, are urged to contemplate what is just about to happen. The emotions expressed and referred to in this episode from Luke function as a point of departure for the blending of the narrative and the devotional registers.

Such evocation of feelings enters the epic narrative also in the depiction of Jesus's death on the cross. As expressed by the title of the chapter, 'The darkening of the sun and the death of Jesus' (*Auringon Pimenemisest / Jesuxen kuolemast*), Salamnius' poetic description of Jesus's death takes the sun as a central character. The darkening of the sun at the moment of Jesus's death is reported by three of the four canonical Gospels. Instead of just paraphrasing the evangelists' notion of the growing darkness, Salamnius personifies the sun and makes it an eyewitness to the events. The sun turns away its face in mourning, covers itself in a dark veil, and declares that it will not shine upon evil people. By introducing the sun as an onlooker to the events, Salamnius emphasises the affective dimensions of the Passion. In addition, the sun's feelings and reactions function as a model for the proper expression of feelings when beholding the Passion.

The sun reappears in the conclusion of the poem, which starts with a request to the reader to contemplate the Passion story. Also in this passage, the eyewitnesses who behold the Passion scene and Christ crucified are not, as in most cases, the narrator, but the sun and the earth. Focus here is on the emotions of Christ as well as on those of the scene's spectators. The emotions described are expanded to concern not only the sun, but 'everyone': everyone looks on in grief, but no-one tries to understand the reasons for Christ's suffering, which are, as the narrator concludes, '*your* worst sins / and *our* many wrongdoings [italics added]' ('Syy on syndinne pahimmat / Ja paliot pahat tecomme').[80]

79 Hansson, *Ett språk för själen*, pp. 177.
80 Salamnius, *Ilo-Laulu*, p. 91.

In this way, the change of register in the concluding chapter implies a remarkable change in the role of the speaker and the reader. The narrator takes on the role of the teacher or preacher. The reader becomes someone who is spoken to – the speaker continuously addresses the reader as 'you' – and whose thinking and feelings the speaker is trying to affect. The manner of address is exhortative and appealing, and makes use of rhetorical devices such as questions ('Mitä sijs sinun tulepi?', 'What are you to do?') and affective figures. The reader is urged to contemplate the life and the death of Christ. Ultimately, what the speaker is trying to achieve is a response from the reader.

The sun also has an important role in the oral *Luojan virsi* cycle, where the sun first guides the Virgin Mary, then flies to the grave of Jesus and makes Hiisi sleep or rocks melt so that Jesus is able to escape from the grave.[81] Even though both *Ilo-Laulu* and *Luojan virsi* personify the sun, there is a remarkable difference in the way this motif is used. For Salamnius, the sun has a double role: the grieving sun works as a point of resemblance for the reader and a model for emotions, but it is at the same time a symbol for Christ. His death is associated with darkness, the absence of the sun, and his resurrection with sunrise. In the poem, the sun is the first to greet the Lord risen from death. The sun in *Luojan virsi* acts as an indispensable helper to the Virgin and to Christ. In *Ilo-Laulu*, the sun only beholds and expresses feelings, but cannot affect the events of the poem in any way.

Salamnius is eager to emphasise, like Jacobus Finno and Hemmingius of Masku in their Easter hymns, that Christ is resurrected by his own power, 'voimalla omalla'.[82] The focus on the role of the sun and the harrowing of hell in *Ilo-Laulu* might be interpreted as a correction of the earlier oral interpretations. In contrast to these, Salamnius' Jesus is never actually threatened by the devil, nor is he in need of the sun's help in his resurrection.

7 The Network of Poetic Registers

Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta is in many ways an exceptional work of literature, but also illustrates some characteristics central to early modern culture and seventeenth-century literature. Being the most famous printed poem in traditional Finnic oral alliterative metre before the first version of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala* (1835), and a versified interpretation of the Passion, the

81 *SKVR*, poem types *Marjavirsi; Ylösnousemusvirsi; Hüden sepän kahlinta*; Borenius, 'Suomen keskiaikaisesta'; Krohn, *Kantelettaren tutkimuksia, II*.

82 *Korp*, 'voim* om*'; Kallio *et al.*, *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, pp. 357.

poem may be interpreted as both a result of and a comment on the long processes of vernacularisation of Christian tradition and its rendering in literary form. In creating the epic, Matthias Salamnius refers and relates to various oral and literary genres.

Imitation dominates seventeenth-century literature and classical poetics. Imitation is present in *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* above all in the form of paraphrase. The poem paraphrases the Gospels, taking Michael Agricola's Passion (1549) as its most important intertext. Salamnius' approach to imitation is characterised by application: he adopts the traditional vernacular oral metre for literary use and composes an epic poem with Christian content. He also refers to other writings, amplifying the poem with themes or formulas from earlier ecclesiastical writings, poetic prefaces, apocryphal Gospels, Lutheran hymns and vernacular oral tradition. The comparison of his poem with later oral sources reveals that Salamnius was familiar with both Ostrobothnian and Ingrian oral poetry, which was already potentially a source, given what is known of his life history. Nevertheless, the relationship of Salamnius to preceding and succeeding oral traditions is a tricky question. Evidently, the oral tradition both affected Salamnius and was affected by his work, and often it is not possible to know exactly the direction of influences. Yet, in cases where a formula is varied across a wide array of genres and local cultures in nineteenth-century oral sources, or used as a prominent line in some oral poem, it is probably not adapted from *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta*; rather, Salamnius is using a formula from the earlier oral tradition. In contrast, when some nineteenth-century singer has an individual section of similar verses with formulas not appearing elsewhere in oral tradition, the direction of influence is likely to be the opposite: from *Ilo-laulu* to oral use.

When the metre allows, and no additions are needed, Salamnius may follow the central ecclesiastical intertexts word for word. He only uses occasional formulas and expressions from vernacular oral tradition, often reworking them to new contexts to convey new meanings. In some cases, as when giving the epithet usually associated with the pagan god Ukko to the newborn baby Jesus, he is evidently correcting vernacular interpretations. In the preface, Salamnius comments on the use of oral idiom, explaining that the past impious uses of the vernacular metre do not make all uses inappropriate. Both in later Finnic oral poetry and in other cultures, the formulas or verses of oral poetry are often referred as *words*.[83] In this regard, one might say Salamnius is only applying

83 See Senni Timonen, *Minä, tila, tunne. Näkökulmia kalevalamittaiseen kansanlyriikkaan* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2004); John Miles Foley, *The Singer of Tales in Performance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

and modifying the words of oral poetry. He uses the traditional register but does not make use of wider themes.

Ilo-Laulu continues the long tradition of Christian epic, a favourite genre of the seventeenth century, and, at the same time, is a modification of the epic genre. It is not just a combination of Christian content and traditional oral metre, as earlier research has suggested.[84] It also brings together two different literary registers, the narrative register of Christian epic and the didactic register of devotional poetry. The centrality of the Passion, the amplifications of and commentaries on the biblical intertext which emphasise the soteriological doctrine as well as the devotional register, with its characteristic manner of representation and manner of address to the reader, are markers which point to the devotional genre. In addition, the didactic and spiritual aims of the poem are explicitly stated in the preface. However, the author's own attitude towards the epic genre is unclear, since Salamnius does not indicate or comment on the epic in any way.

Seven years after the first edition of the *Ilo-laulu*, Ericus Cajanus gives a brief credit to the earlier vernacular song cycle that, on the basis of later recordings, is only vaguely affected by biblical and apocryphal texts. Indeed, it is an enigma whether Salamnius did appreciate the older oral versions of Christian tradition from which he evidently took some formulas, or whether these old legends with all their vernacular and fairy tale-like features belonged to earlier illicit things, comparable to other parts of medieval heritage the Lutheran church wanted to get rid of. His unwillingness to use anything but occasional oral formulas shows he was not making any new version of Christian oral tradition, but creating a whole new Lutheran epic. Yet, the way Salamnius lengthens the passages on the harrowing of hell and on the role of the sun suggests he might have been willing to correct earlier vernacular interpretations. In the oral cycle, the devil (the smith of Hiisi; devil's might, either literally or figuratively) is a dangerous opponent that Jesus is able to defeat only with the help of the sun, and through his own cleverness. Salamnius emphasises the helplessness of the devil, and emphasises that Christ is resurrected only by means of his own power. He does not need the sun to help him. At the same time, Salamnius uses the sun, as in a devotional context, as an eyewitness to the Passion.

The number of editions and the oral transmission of *Ilo-Laulu Jesuxesta* demonstrate that the kalevalaic adaption of the life of Christ was a success. However, the later reception also illustrates historical changes in oral and literary genres. In 1836, permission to publish a new edition of Salamnius' poem

84 E.g. Tarkiainen, '*Suomalainen messiadi*'.

was denied because the poem depicted the life of Christ as a fairy tale and was, therefore, inappropriate reading for the common people.[85] The first version of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*, building on Karelian prechristian oral epics, had been published only a year earlier in 1835, strongly affecting the associations given to the traditional oral meter. At this time, the spiritual aims of Salamnius' poem or its close connection with Agricola's Passion were evidently no more recognised. As the censoring of the 1836 edition shows, it was no longer clear, whether it was a devotional book or plain fiction, spiritually edifying or just entertaining.

85 Tuija Laine, *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden käsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), 216–17; Tarja-Liisa Luukkanen, *Mitä maalaiskansa luki? Kirjasto, kirjat ja kirjoja lukeva yhteisö Karstulassa 1861–1918* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2016), 368–9.

CHAPTER 12

German Pastors Creating Estonian Rhyming Poetics in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Kristiina Ross

In the modern period, Estonian culture, like many other vernacular cultures in Europe, underwent a transition from the traditional, purely oral verbal form to a new level, which included learned written genres of verbal art. In the case of Estonia, however, the whole process had a distinct colonial flavour. The new learned types of verbal art were introduced to Estonians by German or Swedish pastors, who could not speak Estonian at a native level and had no vernacular knowledge of the local traditional culture. Most Estonians remained passive receivers of this cultural innovation up to the nineteenth century.[1]

Christianity and learned European culture were established in the area of Estonian habitation by German and partly by Danish conquests. From the thirteenth century to the eighteenth the local elite consisted of the descendants of German conquerors, supplemented later by immigrants from German, or less often Scandinavian, territories. Politically, the Estonian territory was annexed to Sweden in the seventeenth century and to Russia in the eighteenth century, but the local German elite maintained their position. The social barrier between the German-speaking elite and Estonian-speaking lower stratum of society was quite rigid. There was more communication between the ethnic groups in the lower to middle strata in towns, and the impact of German on the language of non-rural Estonians must have been very strong already in the Middle Ages. But the lack of written evidence makes it difficult to assess how widely German cultural patterns had spread among Estonians in general before the sixteenth century.

Martin Luther's reformist ideas were imported into the Estonian areas in the 1520s, mediated by German reformers. As an organisation, the Lutheran church was finally established in the seventeenth century, at the time when the area belonged to the Swedish kingdom, while the local German gentry retained their patronage over the church. The Lutheran traditions of church organisation

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survived (owing to religious privileges granted to the Baltic provinces) even after the Great Northern War (1700–21), when the Estonian-speaking areas were incorporated into the Russian Empire. As a result, the task of translating the basic Lutheran texts into Estonian, from the catechisms, pericopes and hymns up to the Bible, fell to German pastors, while Estonians, who belonged to the lower social stratum, scarcely participated in the process. In this respect, the generation of early ecclesiastical literature in the Estonian-speaking area differed markedly from the similar process among their northern neighbours, the Finns, despite the linguistic and cultural closeness stemming from both languages belonging to the Finnic group of the Finno-Ugric language family. As the Finnish people enjoyed a far greater autonomy at the time, the native Finns had a decisive role in establishing religious literature in Finnish, even though the Finnish local elite spoke Swedish. As for historical developments, the fate of the Estonians resembled that of their southern neighbours, the Latvians; early Latvian church literature was also created by German pastors. But as Latvian belongs to the Baltic group of the Indo-European language family, the native speakers of Latvian were closer to the Germans, both linguistically and culturally, than Estonians. This is why the early church literature created in a version of the native language of the congregation worked better for Finns and Latvians than for Estonians, whose acceptance of the early-modern spiritual poetics up to the nineteenth century was in a way more demanding of effort than that of their northern and southern neighbours.

In the present chapter, the process of introducing new verbal genres into Estonian is described, using the example of the translations of Lutheran hymns in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The hymn translations introduced into Estonian poetry syllabic-accentual verse and end rhyme, which replaced the poetic system of old traditional *runo* songs by the nineteenth century. The chapter attempts to find, both in metatexts and in the wording of the translations, some signs of the extent, if any, to which the foreign translators were capable or willing to avail themselves of the prosodic options offered by local traditional poetics.

1 Two Poetic Systems

In present-day meta-level descriptions the archaic Estonian folksong of local oral tradition is called *regilaul* or *runo* song. Like old Finnish songs, it features parallelism, alliteration and a metre using quantitative elements.[2] There

2 Eduard Laugaste, 'Regivärsilise rahvalaulu stiilist', in Ülo Tedre (ed.), *Eesti rahvalaulud. Antoloogia*, IV (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1974), pp. 20–44.

is no end rhyme or strophic structure. Parallelism as a constitutive stylistic device based on repetition can occur within a line of verse as well as in consecutive lines (line parallelism) or in verse couplets, triplets, et cetera. The Estonian *runo* song is characterised by a pervasive multi-level parallelism dominated by line parallelism, where a complete thought is rendered starting from the main line, whose content is then repeated, nuanced or deepened, in varied wording, in parallel lines.[3] Estonian alliteration is usually defined as a similarity of speech sounds (consonants or vowels) at the beginning (in the first, or main-stress syllable) of at least two stem words in the same line; a subclass is called zero-alliteration, where at least two words of a line are vowel-initial, but the vowels differ. Following this definition, alliteration can be detected in 78–95 per cent of the lines of Estonian folk songs (depending on the contents and age of the song), most of the lines featuring, predictably, just two alliterated words.[4] As for rhythm and metre, a typical *runo*-verse line has eight syllables forming four trochaic feet. If the verse line consists of even-syllable words, the verse accent falls on the same syllable as the word accent. If, however, there are mono- or trisyllable words, the two accents do not coincide. Depending on syllable length, the placement of words in a *runo*-verse line is supposed to be governed by five rules, the two most important being: (a) The arsis should not have a short main-stress syllable anywhere outside the first foot, and (b) the thesis normally does not feature long main-stress syllables.[5]

Church hymns, however, introduced a new verse system, with a strophic structure, where verses were linked by end rhyme and the metre was syllabic-accentual, either iambic or trochaic. The strophic structure of hymns varies significantly.[6] In the Estonian translations of the eighteenth century, stanzas including 2–10 lines can be distinguished, whereas the most typical strophes consisting of 4 lines make up 17.6 per cent of the total number of strophes.[7] Since the mid-seventeenth century, hymns were translated into Estonian according to the poetical ideals of Martin Opitz, expressed in his *Buch von*

3 The most in-depth study of parallelism in the Estonian *runo* song can be found in the unpublished candidate's thesis 'Süntaktilisi aspekte eesti regilaulu värsiparallelismis' [Some syntactic aspects of the verse line parallelism of the Estonian runo song] (Tallinn, 1978) by Helle Metslang.

4 Laugaste, 'Regivärsilise rahvalaulu stiilist', pp. 40–1.

5 Ibid., pp. 21–2.

6 In the twentieth century, Christhard Mahrenholz distinguished 126 different strophic structures of hymns: Christhard Mahrenholz, 'Übersicht über den Strophenbau der Lieder', in Christhard Mahrenholz, Oskar Söhngen, and Otto Schlißke (eds.), *Handbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch*, 1:1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953), pp. 249–64.

7 Kristiina Ross and Ahti Lohk, 'Words, Forms and Phrases in Estonian Folksongs and Hymns', *Folklore. Electronic Journal of Folklore*, 67 (2017), p. 59.

der Deutschen Poeterey (1624). The translations applied a strict alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables in iambic or trochaic feet, while the end rhymes followed the original German patterns.

As a result, the eighteenth-century Estonian knew two poetic systems used in parallel – one for the *runo* song and the other for hymns. The situation is aptly summed up by a short description by Friedrich Christian Weber, a diplomat from Hanover, in his book *Das veränderte Russland* (1721):

> It was harvest-time and whenever I met grain-cutters in the field [...] I would hear some rough singing by the people while working. From a cleric I heard that those were old pagan rhymeless songs from which the peasants could not have been weaned, although indeed it has been attempted to use the Estonian language for rhyming purposes and many evangelical chants have already been translated into Estonian verse.[8]

The two poetic sublanguages differed not only in metre and the presence or absence of rhyme, but also in lexis, grammar and phraseology. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the old *runo* song showed increasing signs of retreat, surrendering ground to the newer folk song, which had a strophic structure, and used end rhyme and syllabic-accentual verse.[9] Although there were several reasons for the retreat of the *runo* song, the role of hymns in the adoption of the new system of versification in folksong can hardly be overestimated. Even the secular written learned poetry arising from the nineteenth-century National Awakening enjoyed using the language and form of church hymns.

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8 'Wie ich unterwegens in der Erndte-Zeit die Schnitter im Felde antraf ..., hörte ich allenthalben ein wüstes Gesänge, welches diese Leute bey ihrer Arbeit trieben, und vernahm von einem Prediger, daβ es noch alte Heidnische Lieder ohne Reimen wären, die man ihnen nicht abgewöhnen könte, wiewol man doch noch gerade auch die Esthische Sprache in eine Reim-Kunst zu bringen sich bemühete, und schon viele Evangelische Gesänge in Esthische Verse gesetzet hätten.' (After Eduard Laugaste, *Eesti rahvaluuleteaduse ajalugu, 1. Valitud tekste ja pilte* (Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus, 1963), p. 81.) Weber passed through Estonia twice, in 1714 and 1718 on his way to Russia; the remark on Estonian singing is believed to have been made during the first trip (Laugaste, *Eesti rahvaluuleteaduse ajalugu*, p. 305).

9 The system shift in the folksong was a gradual process producing numerous transitional forms, see: Ingrid Rüütel, *Eesti uuema rahvalaulu kujunemine* (Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi Teaduskirjastus, 2012). For details on the metric and rhythmic transformation of the *runo* song, see: Mari Sarv, *Loomiseks loodud. Regivärsimõõt traditsiooniprotsessis* (Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2008).

2 The History of Estonian Hymn Translations

The arrival of Lutheranism in Estonian-speaking areas created a need for Estonian-language cathechisms, pericopes and church hymns. As Estonians had no native-speaking cultural elite, the new spiritual texts were translated into Estonian by native Germans or Swedes. The written translations were first of all necessary for the German pastors, whose competence in Estonian was inadequate considering their job, which involved delivering sermons and holding church services in the local vernacular. The Estonians first encountered those early written translations audially, as read or sung to them by the same pastors.

According to indirect data, the first Lutheran hymns were translated into Estonian as early as the mid-sixteenth century, but no example from that period has survived.[10] The first surviving fragments originated in the early seventeenth century. The most radical change in the translation principles took place in the 1630s to 1650s, when prose translations were replaced by versified ones.

The earliest surviving prose translations occur in sermons held and written down in 1600–6 by Georg Müller, pastor of the Estonian congregation of the church of the Holy Spirit in Tallinn.[11] The first extant hymnal was published in 1637 as the second part of the four-volume church manual by Heinrich Stahl, the then dean of Järvamaa, pastor of Kadrina and assessor of the Consistory of Estonia.[12] Both the translation fragments contained in Müller's sermons and all translations in Stahl's hymnal are rather literal translations of German source texts, with no consideration given to verse length, rhythmic structure or end rhyme. In view of their form, those translations must have been quite difficult to sing, while the word-for-word approach may, in places, have puzzled the audience content-wise as well. Müller's sermons present a couple of much-quoted citations on how the pastor reprimands his flock for 'bleating like silly sheep' ('maekawat, kudt ned rumalat Lambat') and getting the

10 Hans Treumann, '*Molleriana*. Isikuloolist Georg Mülleri kohta', *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 8 (1963), pp. 481–2; Paul Johansen, 'Wanradt-Koelli katekismuse senitundmatuist järglastest', *Eesti Kirjandus*, 10 (1935), p. 435.

11 The sermons have survived in manuscript and have been published twice later: *Neununddreißig Estnische Predigten von Georg Müller aus den Jahren 1600–1606, ed. Wilhelm Reiman* (Tartu: Schnakenburg, 1891); Georg Müller, *Jutluseraamat* (Tartu: Ilmamaa, 2007).

12 Heinrich Stahl, *Hand- und Hauszbuches Für die Pfarherren und Hauszväter Esthnischen Fürstenthumbs, Ander Theil, Darinnen das Gesangbuch … In Teutscher und Esthnischen Sprache angefertiget … Von M. Henrico Stahlen …* (Tallinn: Christoff Reusner, 1637), USTC 6910111.

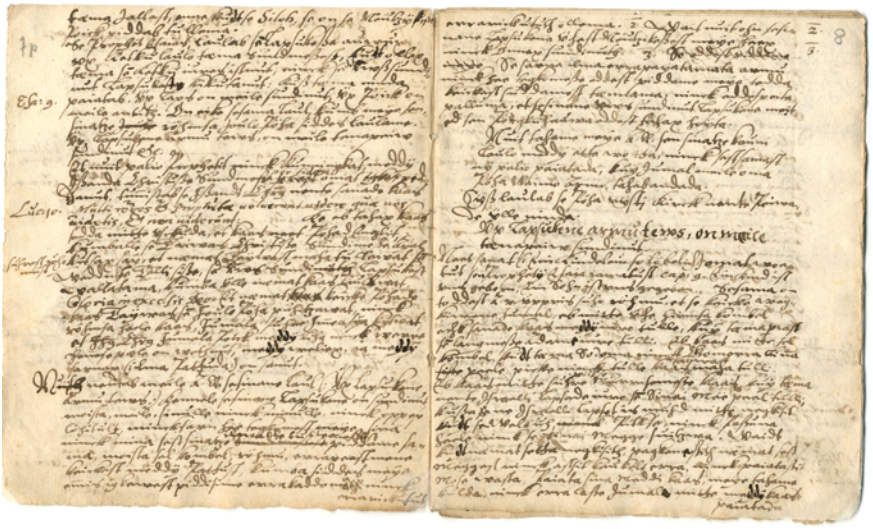

FIGURE 12.1 Two pages from the manuscript of Georg Müller with first verses from the translation of Luther's hymn 'Ein Kindelein so löbelich'
TALLINN CITY ARCHIVES

words wrong too.[13] Bishop Jhering, in his preface to the second printing of Stahl's church manual (1656), also points out problems in singing the prose translations:

> In some verses there are either twice or half as many syllables as notes, and so some verses have to be sung very slowly, dividing words and stretching them across many notes, whereas some other verses require that many syllables be brought together on one note or skipped altogether.[14]

At the end of the 1630s, a remarkable breakthrough occurred when the first versified translations were effected using syllabic-accentual metre and end rhyme.

13 E.g., Müller, *Jutluseraamat*, pp. 292–4, 304.

14 '*[I]n dem der eine Vers auf die helffte mehr oder weniger Syllaben als Noten hat / und also ein Vers langsahmer muß gesungen und die Wörter vertheilet und auff so viel Noten gezogen / im andern aber desto geschwinder und viel Syllaben entweder auff eine Note gezogen oder gantz vorbey gegangen und übergehüpffet werden …*' (J. Jhering, 'Vorrede über das Ehstnische neue Hausz- und Handbuch', in *Hand- Hausz- Und Kirchen-Buch für die Pfarrherren und Hausz-Väter Ehstnischen Fürstenthumbs* (Tallinn: Adolph Simon, 1656), sig. A8^{v}–B1^{r}, USTC 268149.

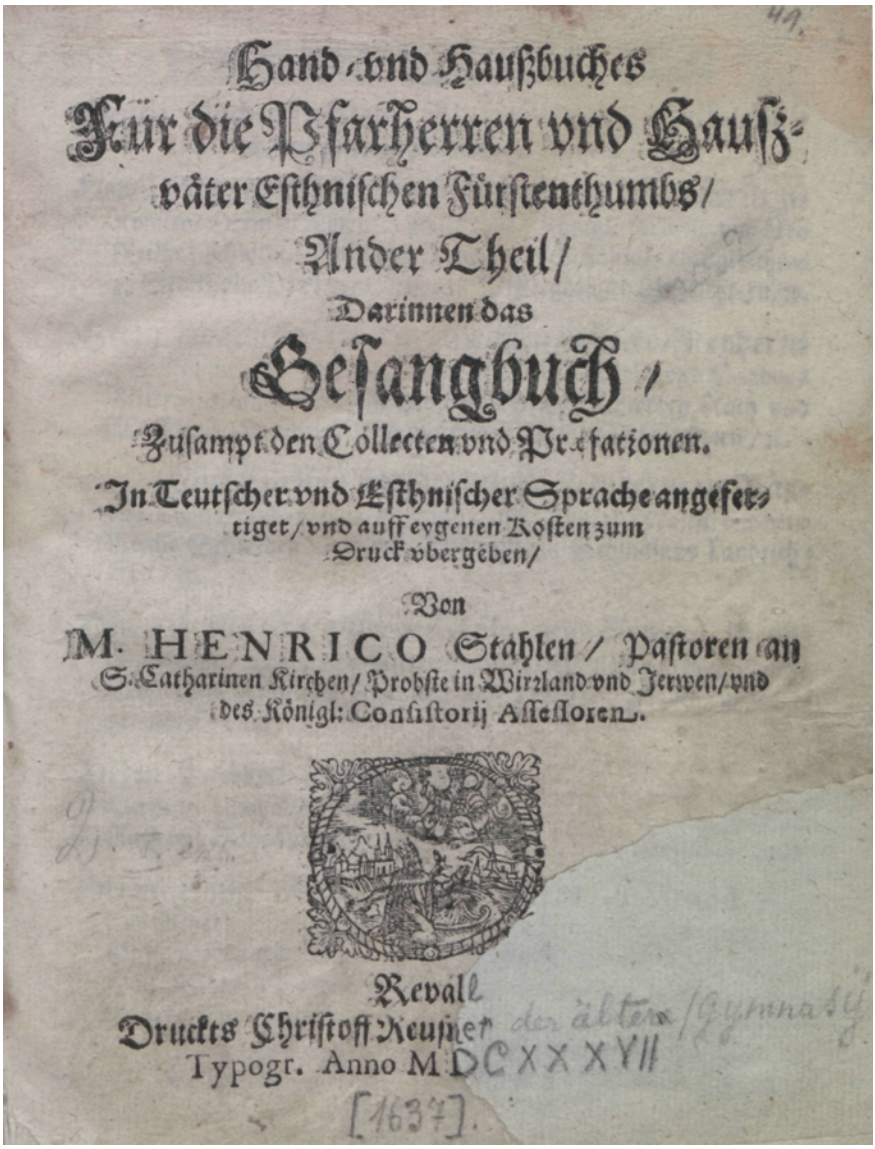
Hand- vnd Haußbuches
Für die Pfarherren vnd Hauß-
väter Esthnischen Fürstenthumbs/
Ander Theil/
Darinnen das
Gesangbuch/
Zusampt den Collecten vnd Præfationen.
In Teutscher vnd Esthnischer Sprache angefer-
tiget/ vnd auff eygenen Kosten zum
Druck vbergeben/
Von
M. HENRICO Stahlen/ Pastoren an
S. Catharinen Kirchen/ Probste in Wirtland vnd Jerwen/ vnd
des Königl: Consistorij Assessoren.
Reval
Druckts Christoff Reusner
Typogr. Anno MDCXXXVII
[1637].

FIGURE 12.2 Title page of the first hymnal with prose translations by Heinrich Stahl
ESTONIAN LITERARY MUSEUM

The translators were inspired by the ideas of Martin Opitz expressed in his *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624) and probably encouraged by Opitz's disciple Paul Fleming, who visited Tallinn in the 1630s.[15] The first cases where the new verse form was applied in Estonian involved occasional poetry, beside occasional poems in German, the native language of the authors, and in classical languages.[16] The idea that hymns should be translated in verse form was first suggested by Georg Salemann, pastor of the Estonian congregation in Tallinn, in the late 1630s.[17] The first versified hymnal was published in 1656. The translations were by four clerics: Reiner Brockmann, Georg Salemann, Heinrich Göseken and Martin Giläus, who all had had some experience pastoring Estonian congregations in Tallinn. Moreover, the first three of them have left us some examples of occasional poetry, some in Estonian. In the new hymnal, the Estonian translation strictly adhered to Opitz's recommendations. Alternating metre (iamb or trochee) was applied very accurately and the stressed (or secondary-stressed) syllable was invariably placed in a verse-accented position in all feet. End rhyme was also applied consistently. Not all of Opitz's recommendations were always followed, as the natural scarcity of one-syllable rhymes in Estonian led the translators increasingly to use not only pure masculine rhymes but also to rhyme secondary-stressed third syllables. Opitz's rules were followed in the translations of earlier hymns as well, although many originals from the sixteenth century did not match Opitz's ideals.

The translators were extremely proud of their achievement, finding their work superior to the German originals. In the Preface they wrote:

> Just look at the German hymns and their original way of rhyming: They forcibly rhyme *Gott* and *Wort*, *Augen* and *Läugen*, *Liebe* and *Bleiben* and innumerable other words totally unrhyming. See also how Germans keep

15 Martin Klöker, *Literarisches Leben in Reval in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (1600–1657). Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit und Dichten bei Gelegenheit, I. Darstellung* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005), pp. 453–66.

16 The first Estonian poem with syllabic-accentual metre and end rhyme, 'Carmen Alexandrinum Esthonicum ad leges Opitij poëticas compositum', was published by Reiner Brockmann in 1637, see Villem Alttoa and Aino Valmet, *17. sajandi ja 18. sajandi alguse eestikeelne juhuluule* (Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1973), pp. 23–4; Klöker, *Literarisches Leben*, pp. 300–14.

17 Uku Masing and Albert Soosaar, 'Kolme sajandi eest värsistatud lauluraamatust', in Uku Masing, *Eesti vanema kirjakeele lood* (Tartu: Ilmamaa, 1999), p. 64; Piret Lotman, 'Saleman ja Saalomon. Põgus sissevaade 1656. aastal ilmunud eestikeelsesse kirikulauluraamatusse', in Katre Kaju (ed.), *Kroonikast epitaafini* (Tartu: Rahvusarhiiv, 2017), pp. 323–47.

FIGURE 12.3 Title page of the first versified Estonian hymnal of 1656
ESTONIAN LITERARY MUSEUM

> mixing up feet, often using an iamb instead of a trochee and vice versa [...] all of which we have been avoiding as far as possible.[18]

Amazingly, the translators managed to combine metrical smoothness with a quite precise figurative match between the source and target text. What suffered was Estonian usage, as word forms and morpho-syntactic constructions were shortened quite freely in order to keep the rhythm and reproduce the images. Despite Opitz's emphatic prohibition of maiming or distorting a word for the sake of rhyming, the translators of the hymnal of 1656 would often sacrifice the naturalness of language to smooth rhythm. It is worth mentioning that all the four translators had been born outside Estonia: three of them, Brockmann, Salemann and Göseken, in the German language area, and Giläus in Sweden, which means that their Estonian was acquired only in adulthood. Probably this made it easier for them to adapt Estonian words and phrases almost mechanically to regular feet. The resulting version of Estonian sounds quite artificial and wooden. In places the hymns are totally unintelligible if not checked against the German source text. However, one cannot deny that the figurative brightness and brave linguistic resourcefulness make the translations quite witty to read. The hymnal of 1656 had decisive ramifications for all Estonian poetry to come.[19]

As far as metre and end rhyme are concerned, the translations from 1656 to the end of the eighteenth century can be seen as homogeneous enough. However, from the linguistic point of view the language of the first versified hymnal was soon subjected to criticism and by the end of the seventeenth century the figurative system of the translations had begun to be simplified. The evolution of the hymnal was part of the language reform as a result of which the literary standard of Estonian became more natural, approaching colloquial usage. An important part in this process was played by the superintendent

18 'Man sehe die deutschen Kirchen Lieder an / wie die anfänglich sind gereimet worden; Da muß sich reimen Gott und Wort / Augen und Läugnen / Liebe und Bleiben / und unzähliche viel andere gantz ungereimbte Wörter mehr. Man beobachte / wie die Deutschen die Pedes vermischet / und oft einen Jambum an Statt eines Trochaei, wie auch einen Trochaeum an Statt eines Jambi gesetzet haben ... Welches alles wir in diesen Ehstnischen Gesängen zwar nach Müglichkeit gemeidet.' – In Georg Saleman, Heinrich Göseken, Martin Giläus, 'An- und Vorrede an den günstigen Leser', in *Neu Ehstnisches Gesangbuch, Worinnen die Kirchen-Gesänge Sel. Hn. Lutheri und anderer Gottseligen Männer in die gewöhnliche Melodeyen und gleiche Reimen verfasset sind* ... (Tallinn: Adolph Simon, 1656), sig. B7^{v}–B8^{r}, USTC 268083.

19 Maria-Kristiina Lotman, 'Martin Opitz ja eesti luule katkestamatuse kultuur', in Martin Opitz, *Raamat saksa luulekunstist*, tr. Kai Tafenau and Maria-Kristiina Lotman (Tallinn: TLÜ Kirjastus, 2016), pp. 221–39.

general of Livonia, Johann Fischer. True, Fischer could not speak Estonian himself, but he was convinced that the linguistic aspect of a translation could be evaluated only by native speakers of the target language, not by foreigners relying on abstract grammar rules.[20] As there were no native Estonian translators available in the late seventeenth century, Fischer's principles started to be implemented mostly by sons of pastors of Estonian rural congregations. Although their native and home language was German or Swedish, they had acquired some Estonian in childhood. The most outstanding of them were the Bible and hymn translators Adrian Virginius and Johann Hornung, and the reformer of Estonian orthography, Bengt Gottfried Forselius. The late 1680s, the 1690s and the very beginning of the eighteenth century saw the publication of linguistically revised or totally re-translated hymnals, with a gradual increment of new songs.

After the Great Northern War, when the Estonian areas had been annexed to the Russian Empire, but the Lutheran church retained its German administration as well as privileges, the leading positions in the local church organisation came to be occupied by clerics with Pietist views. The Estonian of the reformers was taken over and developed by a group of Pietist pastors, who published a freshly edited version of the church manual in 1721 and finally (in 1739) the full Bible. The new hymnal, published as a volume of the church manual, became extremely popular among peasants. More than a half of the 255 hymns presented were a selection from revised or re-translated hymns, while the remaining 114 made their debut in Estonian.[21] Four of the committee of five chosen to edit and publish the manual and the hymnal therein were known as advocates of Halle Pietism and this is reflected both in the principles of revising old translations and of including new ones.[22] As for the linguistic aspect of the manual, it was Anton Thor Helle and Heinrich Gutsleff who had the decisive say. They had both been born in Tallinn (Thor Helle being a merchant's son, Gutsleff descending from an old family of pastors) and studied at

20 Aivar Põldvee, 'Eesti "tähesõja" taust ja retoorika', *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 8–9 (2009), p. 658.

21 The Preface to the hymnal of 1899 presents slightly different data (see: *Uus Lauluraamat. Kirikus, koolis ja kodus tarwitada*, Tallinn: Eestimaa Ew.-Luth. usu Õpetajate Seltsi kirjastus, 1932), lk IX–XV), as its statistics of 'new songs' includes those published meanwhile in South Estonian. The present statistics are based on the Hymnal database of the Institute of the Estonian Language (see: http://www.eki.ee/kirikulaulud/), where 'new songs' mean just those without known earlier Estonian versions.

22 Rudolf Põldmäe, 'Anton Thor Helle. Esimese eesti piibli tõlkija', in *Vana Tallinn*, IV (Tallinn: Tallinna Ajaloo Selts, 1939), p. 46. The relationships between the Pietist Estonian hymnal and the hymnal of Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen have been analysed by Suvi-Päivi Koski, 'Zur Rezeption des Freylinghausenschen Gesangbuches in Schweden, in Finnland und in Estland des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts', *Hymnologi*, 1 (2010), pp. 36–9.

Kiel, Gutsleff also at Halle.[23] In the 1740s the hymnal was supplemented with a few more translations of the songs of the Herrnhut Brethren.[24] This supplemented version remained in use practically unchanged until the very end of the nineteenth century.[25] This means that by the 1860s, when the National Awakening set in, the language and rhythm of the Pietist hymns had been fixed in the consciousness of Estonian church-goers as the form of learned poetry.

3 Lutheran Hymn Translators on Estonian Folk Song

As the hymn translations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries smuggled a totally new pattern into the Estonian poetic tradition, the question arises: did the translators know, or at least sense, that the local people already had a poetic tradition of their own, and that it was essentially different from theirs?

Isolated hints at the possibility can be found in prefaces to church manuals, in chronicles, sermons, letters and so forth, but these should be interpreted warily. The late sixteenth and the first third of the seventeenth century have left us some remarks by pastors of local Estonian congregations, which are totally negative and full of contempt towards orally transmitted songs as 'dirty and unsuitable', in contrast to the 'beautiful and sacred' hymns. The earliest relevant remark comes from Balthasar Russow, pastor of the Estonian congregation of the church of the Holy Spirit in Tallinn. In his *Chronicle of Livonia* (1584) Russow describes how the peasants would drink and shout at the *kirmes* (church festival and market fair) before the service, then enter the church half-drunk, being noisy even during the sermon. Russow adds:

> After the service they would leave the premises none the wiser, only to continue their drinking, singing and screaming, so that men's shouting, enhanced by the singing of women and girls as well as by the piping of numerous bagpipes, would nearly rob one of sight and hearing.[26]

23 P. Blaubrük-Arumaa, 'Helle, Anton Thor', in A. R. Cederberg etc. (eds.), *Eesti biograafiline leksikon*. 2. edn (Saku: Eesti Akadeemiline Ajalooselts, 2001, p. 123; P. Blaubrük-Arumaa and A. R. Cederberg, 'Gutsleff, Heinrich', in A. R. Cederberg etc. (eds.), *Eesti biograafiline leksikon*, (Saku: Eesti Akadeemiline Ajalooselts, 2001), p. 110.

24 Thus the Estonian history of hymn translation differs from the Finnish and Swedish one in that the latter countries released Pietist hymns in special collections, whereas in Estonia the Pietist, and later also some Herrnhut hymns were gradually incorporated into the 'official' hymnal – Suvi-Päivi Koski, 'Zur Rezeption', p. 39. In addition, Herrnhut hymns started appearing in special collections from 1740.

25 *Uus Lauluraamat*, pp. XII–XV.

26 'Darna alse se jo so klock vnde wys alse vorhen vth der Kercken gingen, ys dar wedder an ein schwelgendt, Dantzen, singen vnde springen gegahn, also dat einem vor erem geschrey,

Georg Müller, who was Russow's successor at the same church, pays a lot of attention to church hymns in his sermons and scolds his congregation for not being able to sing *meddÿ Laulut* ('our songs', that is, church songs) correctly, preferring their own *Portulaulut* ('harlots' songs').[27] Heinrich Stahl, compiler of the first extant hymnal, continues the same line in his general preface to his *Manual* of 1632, contrasting the hymns presented in his book with the 'stupid and useless' folk songs:

> We must not forget praising God, but we have to honour him with all kinds of sacred songs – not to defame and irritate him with frivolous and fleshly songs or any other useless and stupid songs.[28]

In particular the phrasing by Stahl suggests that these pastors admonished their congregations simply using Martin Luther's discourse, which contrasted the good and right spiritual hymns with the vain and empty popular songs hailing fleshly love.[29] Probably it was not specifically the archaic pagan *runo* song that was deprecated, but all kinds of light and frivolous worldly songs.[30] Thus, the above remarks fail to provide a reliable reference to whether their authors had any closer knowledge of the Estonian folk song or not.

As for the authors of the first versified hymnal, however, at least the three who signed the preface of their book, Georg Salemann, Martin Giläus and Heinrich Göseken, are obviously more specific, and mean *runo* songs when mentioning the versified songs of peasants in the preface to their book of 1656.[31] In justification of their translation they emphasise that in contrast to

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vnde der Wyuer vnde Megede Gesange, vnde ock vor dem geludt der velen Sackpipen, dath hören vnde sehen vorgahn möchte.' (After Laugaste, *Eesti rahvaluuleteaduse ajalugu*, p. 27).

27 Müller, *Jutluseraamat*, pp. 290–300.

28 'Das wir auch des lobes Gottes nicht vergessen; sondern ihn mit Geistlichen / welches wol in acht zu nehmen / nicht buhlen-schmehe-ehrenrührigen / oder andern vnnützen ergerlichen Liedern lestern vnd erzürnen; sondern mit Geistlichen-Liedern in der Kirchen vnd Daheim ehren / vnd preisen sollen.' (Heinrich Stahl, 'Den Guthertzigen, Christlichen, und Gott liebenden Leser …', in *Hand vnd Hauszbuches Für die Pfarherren vnd Hauszväter Ehstnischen Fürstenthumbs Erster Theil Darinnen der kleine Catechismus D. Martini Lutheri …* (Riga: Gerhard Schröder, 1632), sig. B1^{v}, USTC 6910963.

29 Luther's preface to his Wittenberg hymnal of 1524 justifies the use of spiritual songs (*geistliche lieder*) by arguing, *inter alia*, that they help young people to dispense with nonsensical and fleshly songs (*damit sie der bul lieder und fleyschlichen gesenge los werde*): WA, 35, p. 474.

30 Inspired by a note of similar contents left us by Jacobus Finno, the same idea has been emphasised with regard to Finnish poetic history: Kati Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset. Suullinen ja kirjallinen kulttuuri uuden ajan alun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), pp. 109–11.

31 The fourth translator, Reiner Brockmann, had died by the time the book was published.

the opinion of many contemporary Germans, the Estonian language is quite suitable for poetry, as is proved by the Estonians' own singing tradition. The incredulous are offered the following recommendation:

> Let them just come and listen to how our non-German peasantfolk use versified songs (how well they sound we would better not discuss here) to mitigate their hard, sweaty work in the field as well as at home, which demonstrates a natural inclination for versification alive in this country folk.[32]

Even though the parenthesised remark on the sound of the folk singing can be interpreted as generally negative, the translators still perceive the songs as proof of poetic ability in Estonians.

All four examples mentioned above come from pastors, who were *ex officio* called upon to teach Estonians to sing church hymns and to wean them from secular songs. There are also a couple of more distant observations, which discuss folk songs in the general context of indigenous customs and ethnography. Arguably, the first author to draw attention to the parallelism characteristic of the Estonian folk song was Dionysius Fabricius in his historical survey of 1610, stating: 'Their songs are usually confined to distichs with an equal number of syllables; most of the songs are witty, making their point in two lines'.[33] A longer discussion about the singing of Estonians and Latvians belongs to historian Friedrich Menius (1632), who describes folk song presentation and the roles of lead and chorus.[34] The first written records of folk songs also come from the seventeenth century. Note that in this early period, Estonian and Latvian folk songs are lumped together for discussion and they can even be mixed up, despite their substantial difference in structure. True, most of the Latvian *dainas* also use a verse of four trochaic feet, yet *dainas* have a strophic structure and they typically appear as quatrains forming a thematic conceptual whole.[35] For example, the first published Estonian folk song,

32 'Man gehe und komme nur zu unsern undeutschen Baurs-Leuten und höre doch / wie sie ihre blutsaure Arbeit mit Reimliedern / (wie wol dieselbe klingen / wollen wir itzt nicht sagen/) so wol auf dem Felde / als zu Hause erleichtern; Daß man also gleichsam die Natürliche Zuneigung dieses Land-Volckes zum Reimen drauß abneheman kan.' (Saleman, Göseken and Giläus, 'An- und Vorrede', sig. B5^{r}).

33 Laugaste, *Eesti rahvaluuleteaduse ajalugu*, pp. 36, 292.

34 Ibid., pp. 39, 41, 295–6.

35 Dace Bula, 'Foreword', in Krišjānis Barons, *Latvju dainas. Latvian folksongs. Interlinear Translation* (Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Literatūras, folkloras un mākslas intitūts, 2012), p. 14. The poetic specifics of Estonian runo song and Latvian daina has been recently

which appeared in Christian Kelch's chronicle *Liefländische Historia* in 1695, had, by that date, already travelled from author to author, at times representing Estonian, at times Latvian folk songs.[36] Thus, as the brief, extant remarks suggest, the learned German *literati* of the seventeenth century may have had an inkling of the parallel nature of the Estonian folk song, but their knowledge thereof was certainly superficial.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century brought a general change in the attitude towards the language and culture of minor nations, but it did not much affect the Baltic German pastors' attitude to Estonian folk songs. Even the enlightened pastor August Wilhelm Hupel, who was inspired by Johann Gottfried von Herder to collect Estonian folk songs and send them to him, did it out of respect towards Herder, without attributing much value to the songs as such. Although Hupel's comments reveal some knowledge of the language and the way the songs were presented, he did not appreciate the songs, calling them 'old wives' monstrous inventions' ('Ausgeburten alter Weiber').[37]

The slighting and belittling attitude towards the language of folk songs also sticks out in the nineteenth-century writings of Eduard Ahrens, pastor of Kuusalu. Ahrens as the author of a ground-breaking grammar of Estonian was well informed about new linguistic ideas.[38] As a devoted Fennophile he believed that the Estonian language was the daughter of Finnish. He levelled severe criticism at the ecclesiastical Estonian of the time, arguing that all church literature was too German-like and should be re-translated into a much more idiomatic language variant sounding closer to the spoken vernacular. But as for the old folk song and its language Ahrens's attitude was even more negative than towards the German-like literary language. The second edition of Ahrens's grammar contains a special chapter on folk-song language, saying that folk songs have but a modest value, as their language is erroneous and childish.[39]

True, in the nineteenth century, by the times of Eduard Ahrens, the old folk song was already receding, but in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries it must

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contrasted by practical two-way translator Guntars Godiņš in his article Guntars Godiņš, 'Minu eesti luule tõlkespetsiifika', *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 1–2 (2019), pp. 94–106.

36 Laugaste, *Eesti rahvaluuleteaduse ajalugu*, p. 204.

37 Indrek Jürjo, *Liivimaa valgustaja August Wilhelm Hupel 1737–1819* (Tallinn: Riigiarhiiv, 2004), pp. 398–406.

38 The first print: Eduard Ahrens, *Grammatik der Ehstnischen Sprache Revalschen Dialektes, 1: Formenlehre* (Tallinn: Heinrich Laakmann, 1843); the second print: Eduard Ahrens, *Grammatik der Ehstnischen Sprache Revalschen Dialektes, 1: Formenlehrte; 2: Satzlehre* (Tallinn: Kluge und Ströhm, 1853).

39 Ahrens, *Grammatik* (1853), pp. 143–7.

still have been very much alive. The pastors who had created literary Estonian and translated church hymns into that language were aware of the existence of this vernacular poetry, but they disparaged it. Even if some of them happened to take an interest in it as an exotic object, it seems obvious from the above quotations that none of them could have been struck with an idea that the poetic techniques of a folk song could in any way be used in translating a church hymn.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pastors were familiar with the minor genres of Estonian folklore, that is, proverbs, sayings and riddles. Ever since the seventeenth century, examples of such have been recorded in dictionaries and grammar books.[40]

4 Adapted and Unadapted Elements in Hymn Translations

While the attitudes of learned German translators towards Estonian folk songs can, to a modest extent, be deduced from written notes, it is much more difficult to say anything plausible about the attitudes of Estonians towards Lutheran hymns from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Georg Müller's rebukes, as referenced and cited above, suggest that his flock must have made attempts to adapt the German-like prose translations to make them comprehensible. Martin Giläus' remark from the second half of the seventeenth century also suggests that Estonians tried adapting the artificial expressions of baroque translation to their natural vernacular. In a letter from 1670, Giläus admits that the strictness of following Opitz's rules may have been a little overdone, saying that the linguistically erroneous, albeit metrically correct trochee 'Minno Südda Pochjast' ('from the bottom of my heart') could have been replaced, for example, with the linguistically correct, although metrically incorrect, phrase 'minno süddame Pochjast', as 'the peasants actually sing'.[41]

The fact that the peasants had an active relationship with their Christian songs can also be surmised from Adrian Virginius' preface to his hymnal of

40 The occurrence of the minor genres in early literary Estonian has been discussed in great detail by Arvo Krikmann, e.g. Arvo Krikmann, *Fraseoloogiline aines eesti vanimais Grammatikates ja sõnastikes* (Tallinn: Valgus, 1986); Arvo Krikmann, 'Piibel kui ütluste allikas', *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 5 (1996), pp. 289–301; Arvo Krikmann, *Eesti lühivormide allikaloost* (1999), sections 3.1 and 3.2, http://www.folklore.ee/~kriku/ALLIK/, accessed 3 December 2018.

41 '*… die bauren singen doch süddame Pochjast*' (M. Giläus to Bishop J. J. Pfeiff, 1670). EAA.1187.2.736; Uku Masing, 'Martin Giläuse "Ehstnische Sprachbemerkungen"', *Emakeele Seltsi aastaraamat*, 8 (1962), p. 114.

1691, where he reports that although a new, versified South Estonian hymnal had been published in 1685, older peasants would keep singing the translations dating back about 140 years.[42]

Despite the scarcity of written records eloquent of the peasants' attitudes there is no reason to doubt that versified hymn translations were quite popular with peasantfolk and they spread rapidly, thus preparing the ground for the general adoption of the new verse system. This is, for example, also proved by Käsu Hans's *Lament*, which is the first known syllabic-accentual poem written by a native Estonian author in the early eighteenth century.[43] Later in the eighteenth century, Estonians gained an increasingly important role in translating the hymns created by the Herrnhut Brethren. According to Rudolf Põldmäe, the leading researcher of the Estonian Herrnhut literary heritage, the translators of the Brethren, would on the one hand simplify the 'elegant baroque poetry', but on the other hand they also used 'genuine vernacular lexis and style'.[44]

Until the mid-eighteenth century, however, any traces of hymn-translation activity on the part of Estonians are hard to detect. True, there are also some *runo* songs carrying Christian traces. A number of *runo* songs feature motifs of Our Lady, probably dating from the Catholic era. The early nineteenth century has also left us some records of short *runo* songs of a spiritual nature.[45] A closer analysis of that material may reveal a deeper interest on the Estonian side and a closer contact between the vernacular and ecclesiastical elements in the Estonian language and culture than is evident at first sight.

However, the general history of the genesis of early Estonian hymnals and the sparse surviving notes of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century translators in secondary sources suggest that in Estonian poetry the transition from old secular *runo* songs to the syllabic-accentual end-rhyming spiritual songs happened relatively abruptly and without much adaptation or intermediate mitigation, and the rhyming folk song probably appeared only after the folk singers had been introduced to rhyming hymns. Estonian syllabic-accentual

42 [Adrian Virginius,] 'Vorrede. Christlicher und geneigter Leser', in *Tarto-Ma Kele Kässi Ramat* (Riga: Johann Georg Wilcken, 1691), p. 3^{v}, USTC 268933.

43 See Chapter 8 by Aivar Põldvee in this volume.

44 Rudolf Põldmäe, *Vennastekoguduse kirjandus* (Tartu: Ilmamaa, 2011), pp. 155–6.

45 First samples were published in 1817 in the journal *Beiträge zur genauern Kenntniss der ehstnischen Sprache*, 7 (1817), pp. 43–5, 62–3. Later, these have been briefly discussed in Kristi Salve, 'Estnische geistliche Verse', in Heikki Leskinen etc. (eds.), *Congressus Octavus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum* (Jyväskylä, 1996), pp. 379–383; Kristi Salve and Janika Oras, 'Veel üks katse mõista värsikesi', in Janika Oras etc. (eds.): *Regilaulu teisenemised ja piirid.* (Tartu: Eesti kirjandusmuuseumi Teaduskirjastus, 2014), pp. 9–10.

end-rhyming spiritual poetry was created on the example of German models by native German pastors and taught to the uneducated Estonian congregations, who received it ready-made. That is why the hymn translations differ essentially from old oral *runo* songs not only in their metrical form, rhyming principles and imagery, but also in all the other poetic devices and forms of linguistic expression. And yet there is also a minimum of adaptation in every domain of poetic language.

As for the syllabic-accentual metre, strictly mechanical patterns were used in hymns very consistently indeed. In the hymnal of 1656, the rigour of Opitz's iamb or trochee overwhelmed morphological rules wherever necessary. For example, to make the word form fit the metre better, *jumala,* the trisyllabic genitive of *jumal* ('god'), would be replaced by the disyllabic invention *jumla*. Translations from the late decades of the seventeenth century, however, contain single aberrations from the strict pattern. The Pietist hymnal tries to avoid conflict between morphology and metre, and in its reprints some clear cases can be detected, where the divergence of verse and word stress enables the use of trisyllabic word forms in iambic songs by placing verse accent on the second syllable. For example, in 1656 the first line of the seventeenth stanza of Johannes Leon's hymn 'Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt' was translated with fluent metrics but erroneous grammar as 'O Jesu Christe *Jumla* Poick' ('O, Jesus Christ, God's Son'). In the first edition of the Pietist hymnal (1721) the critical word form was written grammatically correctly but with a smaller lifted final vowel indicating that it need not be pronounced: 'Oh Jesus Kristus Jummal[a] Tal' ('O Jesus Christ, Lamb of God'); in the reprint of 1727 the spelling and pronunciation were both adapted to spoken Estonian, while the verse accent falls on the second (unstressed) syllable: 'Oh Jesuke! *Jummala* tal' ('O Jesus [diminutive], God's Lamb').[46]

Yet even in the Pietist hymnal such deviations were rare and nearly all seventeenth and eighteenth-century Estonian verse translations (used up to the late nineteenth century) strictly followed the syllabic-accentual pattern, either

46 Most of the examples used in the chapter come from two databases under way at the Institute of the Estonian Language: Estonian hymn corpus (https://eki.ee/kirikulaulud/) and Estonian folk song corpus (https://eki.ee/rahvalaulud/). The former contains Estonian hymnals published before 1727, the latter, as of now, contains 1178 *runo* texts from the Central dialect area. Although the user interfaces (as of March 2019) are not available yet, the presented examples can be found in the database lexicon under entry words. The Pietist hymnal is represented by a reprint from 1727; This chapter quotes, by default, the first edition (1721) and if necessary, the reprint of 1727. The cited examples of Estonian Bible translations are referenced according to the database of historical Estonian Bible translations (https://eki.ee/piibel/).

iambic or trochaic, where verse accent coincided with word stress, either main or secondary. Similarly, most of the imagery and phraseology are direct loans from the German originals.

Despite everything said above, in places the hymns reveal something like vernacular phrasing as well as poetic techniques resembling, at least from the outside, those of a folk song. Single idiomatic phrases can even be spotted in early prose translations. Luther's hymn 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott', for example, has in general been translated rather awkwardly, but line five of the first stanza uses alliteration and line six sounds quite free and dynamic: 'Der alte böse Feind / mit ernst ers jetzt meynt' becomes 'se wanna weehane wainlane / weggiwast teñma oñat asjat hajap' ('the old evil enemy / mightily he conducts his affairs'; for alliteration in line five see more below).[47] Amazingly smooth vernacular influence can also be suspected in some phrases used in versified translations of the 1656 hymnal. The three last lines of the second stanza of Luther's hymn 'Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein' were translated by Reiner Brockmann using the Estonian proverb 'Libe keel, tige meel' ('glib tongue, biting mind'): 'Der wehlet diß der ander das / sie trennen vns ohn alle Maß / vnd gleissen schön von aussen' becomes 'üx kihtap / toine laitap se / üx Nouw ep eal peetaxe | Keel libbe on / Meel kibbe' ('one praises, another blames, they are never of one mind, the tongue is glib, mind biting').[48] New vernacular expressions were introduced into translations by reformers of the 1680s and 1690s and particularly by Pietists. In the first half of the fifth stanza of Laurentius Laurenti's hymn 'Es sind schon die letzten Zeiten' in the hymnal of 1721, the translator has (probably deliberately) avoided the allegorical literary figure *Hoffnungskleid*, 'dress of hope', of the German original, replacing it by the vernacular expression *hiirekõrvule minema* 'to break open (buds)', word for word 'to develop mouse's ears (on trees)': 'Weil der feigenbaum ausschläget, / Und anlegt sein *hoffnungs-kleid*' becomes 'Wigi puud, kui pakkatawad, *Lähwad hire körwule*'.[49]

Nevertheless, the number of truly vernacular expressions in hymns is scarce. At the same time, however, the number of alliterative phrases, especially word pairs in the translations is quite remarkable. As mentioned above, alliteration is one of the poetic devices regarded as typical of the Estonian and Finnish old folk song. Note that the phenomenon is not specific to Finnic poetry, but

47 Hereafter the German original of Luther's hymns is rendered after the left column of Stahl, *Hand- und Hauszbuches* (1637).

48 Krikmann, *Eesti lühivormide allikaloost*, section 3.2.5.

49 For more on literary expressions and their adaptation in Pietist translations see: Kristiina Ross, 'Eesti filoloogia sünd ja kirikulaulude tõlked', *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 8–9 (2016), pp. 657–63.

quite universal. The original Hebrew Bible also contained alliterative phrases, nor was alliteration unfamiliar to German vernacular or even literary language. Martin Luther preferred alliteration to the extent of introducing new alliterative phrases in the course of editing his Bible translation.[50] Predictably, alliteration also occurs in the German originals of our hymns. Paul Gerhardt, who was the main author of many new songs appearing in the Pietist hymnal, has been called master of alliteration, aural association of semantically close words' and other consonances.[51] Gerhardt also loved noun pairs: for example, in his 'Wie soll ich dich empfangen', as many as eleven noun pairs are used, two of them (*Fried und Freude* and *Lieb und Lust*) alliterative.[52]

The fact that early Estonian versified translations of hymns are quite rich in alliterative expressions makes us ask whether the hymn translators found inspiration for alliteration from vernacular Estonian or from the original source texts. Analysing the hymn corpus underpinning the present study, numerous cases of alliteration, ever since the early prose translations, have been observed, which can be regarded as a deliberate expression of a poetic ambition and possible reflections of the Estonian folk song. Note, for example, the repetition of *w* in three words of the first line and the first word of the next line in the translation fragment of Luther's 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott', discussed above: 'Der alte böse Feind / mit ernst ers jetzt meynt' becomes 'se *w*anna *w*eehane *w*ainlane / *w*eggiwast teñna oñat asjat hajap'.[53] The available analysis does not rule out the possibility that the dynamic translation and single alliterative verses observed in the hymn translations published by Stahl witness to an earlier tradition of translation. There has been a lot of discussion about the origin of early-seventeenth-century Estonian texts and it is considered possible that they contain fragments of sixteenth-century translations.[54] The psalm and pericope translations from the early seventeenth century

50 Stephan Füssel, *The Book of Books. The Luther Bible of 1534. A Cultural-Historical Introduction* (Köln: Taschen, 2003), p. 36. Numerous examples of Luther's affinity for alliteration and other kinds of sound repetition can be found in G. W. Hopf, *Alliteration, Assonanz, Reim in der Bibel. Ein neuer Beitrag zur Würdigung der Luther'schen Bibelverdeutschung* (Erlangen: Andreas Deidhert, 1883).

51 Paul Gabriel, 'Geschichte des Kirchenliedes. Ein Abriß', in Christhard Mahrenholz, Oskar Söhngen, and Otto Schlißke (eds.), *Handbuch zum Evangelischen Kirchengesangbuch*, II:2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), p. 28.

52 'Wie soll ich dich empfangen', *Wikipedia*, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wie_soll_ich_dich_empfangen, accessed 5 May 2022.

53 Heiki Reila's oral communication of May 2018.

54 On the problem of abridgements see: Külli Habicht, *Eesti vanema kirjakeele leksikaalsest ja morfosüntaktilisest arengust ning Heinrich Stahli keele eripärast selle taustal* (Tartu: Tartu University Press, 2001), pp. 18–23.

contain, besides the rare examples of dynamic translation, a few single phrases whose source text must be either the Latin Vulgate or some German translation of the Vulgate.[55] And yet, unlike the Latvian material, for example, the only surviving sample of sixteenth-century Estonian translation is the fragmentary Catechism text of 1535, which leaves us with nothing but hypothetical speculations about the possible translation method of the time. The following is an attempt to trace the origin of alliteration in the hymns through the example of six binomial pairs.

Among the alliterative pairs of hymn translations we can find, on the one hand, constructions which recur from one hymnal to the next in different songs, such as *hing ja ihu* 'soul and body' (occurs 34 times in the Pietist hymnal), *meel ja mõte* (*~mõistus*) 'mind and thought' (23 times), *suu ja süda* 'mouth and heart' (14 times). On the other hand, there are binominal pairs which occur only once, and only in the Pietist hymnal, such as *põrm ja pihu* 'dust and ashes', *mäed ja mättad* 'hills and hummocks', *tuli ja tõrv* 'fire and tar'.[56] Some of them are biblical expressions translated directly from German, or Hebrew or Greek, which simply sound perfect in Estonian, whereas for some others foreign equivalents are hard to find. The pair meaning 'soul/body' for example, occurs already in the biblical Hebrew, but uses no sound repetition in other languages, compare with Hebrew *néfeš/basar* (e.g. Is. 10:18), Greek *psychē/sōma* (e.g. Mt 10:28), Latin *anima*/*corpus*, German *Seele/Leib, although* there is also the German alliterative pair *Leib und Leben*. The Estonian alliterative translation *hing ja ihu* was current since early Bible translations and occurs in the prose translations in Stahl's hymnal, becoming fixed for the German *Leib und Seele* from the versified translation of 1656 on. A foreign model can also be established for the pair 'mouth and heart'. Although the Estonian *suu ja süda* first appears in the versified hymnal of 1656, where it cannot directly be referred to the German original, it is mostly used in the Pietist hymnal as a literal translation from German *Mund* (*~Zung*) *und Herz*. Unlike the above two pairs, however, the expression *meel ja mõte* looks like a purposeful invention of seventeenth-century German translators. The expression first appears in pericope translations from the 1630s (Luke 10:27, Matthew 22:37), rendering Luther's single word *Gemüt*. The alliterative pair took root in seventeenth-century Estonian spiritual translations and

55 Kristiina Ross, 'Translation of Psalms by Georg Müller and Heinrich Stahl', in Piret Lotman (ed.), *Kirik ja kirjasõna Läänemere regioonis 17. sajandil / The Church and Written Word in the Baltic Sea Region in the Seventeenth Century* (Tallinn: Eesti Rahvusraamatukogu, 1998), pp. 106–33; Ahti Lohk and Kristiina Ross, 'Joachim Rossihniuse ja Heinrich Stahli perikoopide võrdlus', in *Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat*, 64 (2019), pp. 65–110.

56 The observations presented here are based on a preliminary analysis; see Ross, 'Eesti filoloogia sünd', pp. 661–3, while a thoroughgoing analysis is still pending.

became a favourite trope of the Pietist hymn translators, without a definite model pinpointable in German originals.

As for the three pairs which occur just once in the hymn corpus the expression *mäed ja mättad* appears already in a South Estonian pericope translation of the 1630s (Isaiah 40:4), rendering the German *Berge und Hügel*. The pair *põrm ja pihu* is later used by Pietists in their Bible translation (although the other way round: *pihu ja põrm*). The most curious pair, however, is *tuli ja tõrv* 'fire and tar', which was used, besides the Pietist hymn translators, by several seventeenth-century translators of the New Testament to render the Greek pair *pyr kai theion*, German *Feuer und Schwefel* 'fire and sulphur', despite the semantic difference between the second components.

Four of the six pairs discussed above also occur in the folk-song corpus, which was analysed comparatively with the Pietist hymnal.[57] Here, however, in most cases the pair members are not joined by a conjunction, but occupy similar positions in parallel half-lines, such as 'vandus *ihu*, vandus *hinge*' ('cursed the body, cursed the soul'), '*Suu* laulab, *süda* muretseb' ('the mouth sings, the heart worries'), or appear as a fixed phrase in a definite case form, such as 'pihuks-põrmuks' ('into smithereens'; translative singular); one pair is connected by a copula: '*tuld ja tõrva* toobi sees' ('fire and tar [partitive singular] in the bucket'). Yet the occurrence of the expressions in the recorded folk songs is not definitive proof that the word pairs are old and vernacular. As most of the written records of Estonian folk songs come from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a reverse passage from hymns to folk song cannot be ruled out, especially for the fixed pairs such as *hing ja ihu* ('soul and body'), *suu ja süda* ('mouth and heart'), which frequently appear in hymns.

The actual direction of passage of the potential borrowings found in Estonian is not easy to establish. The sixteenth to eighteenth-century literary records were, without exception, written down by Germans, or occasionally by Swedes, while most of them are translations from German, or some other language. Any reconstruction, however, of the colloquial phraseology of the time means treading on thin ice as the folklore records from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may already have been contaminated by the literary Estonian created by Germans. The paremiologist Arvo Krikmann has observed that the use of many biblical proverbs and fixed word pairs differs in vernacular Estonian and the Pietist Bible translation, which led him to suspect that those vernacular Estonian idioms may be much earlier oral borrowings from vernacular German, Swedish or Finnish obtained long before the Bible

57 Ross and Lohk, 'Words, forms and phrases', p. 51.

was translated.[58] Krikmann admits that for many biblical expressions it is hard to say whether their passage has been from biblical to vernacular Estonian or vice versa.[59]

Thus the origin of some of the alliterative word pairs occurring in hymns is also left open. We can only say that to a certain extent the use of the alliterative pairs rests on vernacular Estonian expressions, while to a certain extent the example has probably been set by German binomial pairs. In any case, the hymn translators must have had some skills in using the options offered by the Estonian language and they are likely to have borrowed single expressions from the minor genres of the Estonian oral tradition, that is, from proverbs, sayings and other phraseological units. However, there is no sign of their knowledge of the poetic techniques of *runo* songs. At the same time, we can be sure that the hymns acted, *inter alia*, as a means of importing into Estonian many German phraseological units, including binomial pairs, some of them alliterative.

5 Juxtaposition of the Estonian and Finnish Practices

Both metatexts and hymn translations offer evidence to prove that the seventeenth and eighteenth-century hymn translators, being native Germans or Swedes, were not familiar with traditional Estonian folk song, or if they were, they failed to appreciate it and never used its poetics. In the first versified hymnal of 1656, the poetic form and figures of speech of the German syllabic-accentual end-rhymed strophic poetry were in most cases translated into Estonian mechanically. Yet this defined the general form and pattern for hymns sung up to the nineteenth century.

This is where a notable difference between Estonian and Finnish translation practices sets in. As Finnish studies have shown, the Finnish native translators of the seventeenth century tried adapting hymn texts, both metrically and soundwise, to the formal devices familiar from folk songs. The new system with its syllabic accentuation and end rhyme was introduced gradually and smoothly. Although the first sixteenth-century translators made a deliberate effort to

58 Krikmann, 'Piibel kui ütluste allikas', p. 297. The notable difference between the orally borrowed biblical expressions and those of the written translation is probably due to the oral Estonian translations deriving from Luther's German translations, whereas the Estonian Pietists translated from the original languages, meticulously following the source text: Kristiina Ross, 'Ülemlaulu tõlkest esimeses eestikeelses Piiblis', *Akadeemia. Eesti kirjanike liidu kuukiri Tartos*, 7/1 (1995), pp. 3–29.

59 See Arvo Krikmann's approach to the problem in his web discussion of minor genres of folklore: Krikmann, *Eesti lühivormide allikaloost*, particularly section 3.2.1.

avoid the formal devices of folk song, some translators of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries consciously turned to folk song, resulting in plenty of alliteration and parallelism as well as occasional Kalevala-metre-like patterns used in their translations.[60] For example, in seventeenth-century Finnish translations, the inverted iamb was quite normal not only at line beginnings, but also within lines, although since the mid-nineteenth century it could only be used in a line-initial (post-pausal) position.[61]

True, evidence of formal adaptation can also be met in Estonian translations. With time, the mechanical metre used in the first versified hymnal became slightly more flexible, while individual translators were able to use some vernacular Estonian expressions and even some options offered by Estonian prosody. Alliterative binomial pairs are remarkably frequent in hymn translations, but the observations made so far suggest that these may have been inspired by German originals rather than by Estonian folk songs. Nevertheless, some of the alliterative pairs may have entered the hymns from the vernacular. On the other hand, there may be some pairs borrowed from German that have made their way into the *runo* songs written down in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such two-way traffic shows that the boundary between the translators as the active introducers of the new poetic form and the passive target group cannot have been quite so impassable, after all.

Despite the fuzziness of the boundary between 'ours' and 'yours', between loaned and indigenous examples among the alliterative binomial pairs in the history of Estonian poetics, there is a clear-cut difference between the Estonian and Finnish practices of hymn translation into the vernacular. For Estonia, the colonial beginning made a lasting impact on later poetry, while Opitz's techniques and strategies can still be recognised in both native Estonian and translated poetry.[62] In the nineteenth century the whole romantic poetry of the National Awakening was constructed relying on the same unadapted poetic form. The development of Estonian artistic poetry is analogous to that of literary Estonian, illustrating the relationships between the emergence of national self-awareness and the literary language created by colonisers, which

60 Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kati Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet ja virsisuomennokset: seremoniat, kansanusko ja runokieli 1500- ja 1600-luvun taitteessa', *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja*, 106 (2016), pp. 168–202; Kati Kallio, 'Literary Kalevala-metre and hybrid poetics in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Finland', *Folklore*, 67 (2017), pp. 12–48; Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, pp. 339–43.

61 Pentti Leino, "Eesti värsiõpetuse' võimalused', *Looming*, 8 (1985) p. 1126.

62 Lotman, 'Martin Opitz ja eesti luule', p. 238.

have also been observed in the case of other peoples.[63] Although the canon of Estonian poetry was created by German pastors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for translating hymns, it was 'pirated' in the nineteenth century by Estonians, who used it in their own poetry, with an ambition to achieve national independence.

63 Joseph Errington, *Linguistics in a Colonial World. A Story of Language, Meaning, and Power* (Malden: Blackwell, 2008), p. 125.

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Same nolmay [*sic*] *catechesis, thet är, wår christeligha hufwud stycken, eller troos articklar medh s.d. Luth. förklarning vppå lappespråk förwendt och aff then edle och*

wälborne herre, her Johan Skytte, frijherre til Duderoff, herre til Grönsöö, Strömsrum och Elffwesiö, riddare, Sweriges rijkes rådh och general gubernator i Liffland och Ingermanneland, laghman öffuer Norre Finland, sampt Vbsala Academiae cantzler, etc. Bestelt til at tryckias medh eghen omkostnadt. Procurante, O. P. N. (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1633). USTC 252402.

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NETWORKS, POETICS AND MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY IN THE EARLY MODERN BALTIC SEA REGION

The literarisation of the early modern Baltic Sea region was a long and complex process with varying trajectories for different vernacular languages. This volume highlights the interaction of local social and cultural settings with wider political and confessional contexts. With rarely examined materials, such as prints, court protocols, letters and manuscripts in Latin and a range of vernacular languages, including Estonian, Finnish, German, Ingrian, Karelian, Latvian, Lenape, Sami languages and Swedish, the thirteen authors chart the social and literary developments of the area. Wide networks of learned men and officials but also the number of native speakers in the clergy defined the ways the poetic resources of transnational and local literary and oral cultures benefited the nascent literatures.

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