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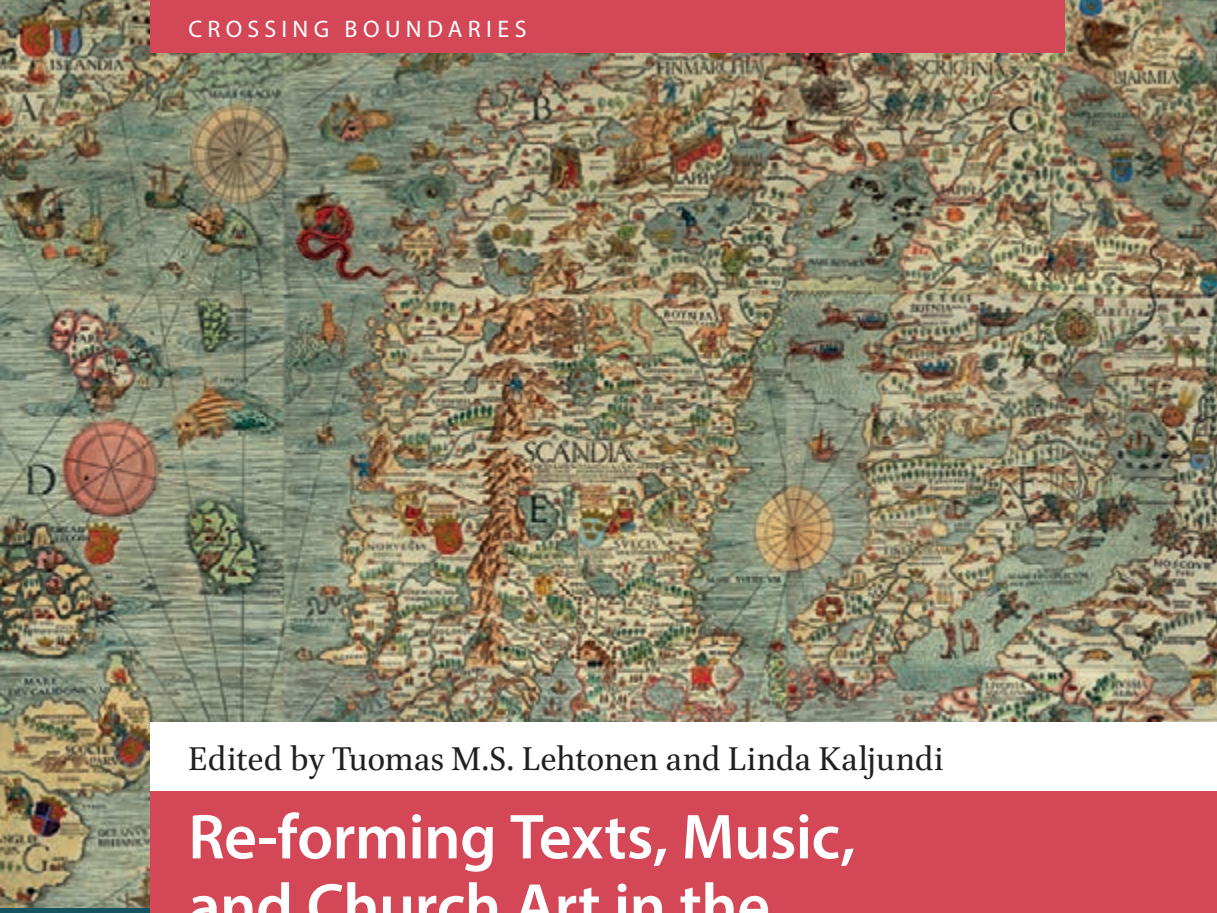

Edited by Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi

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

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

Edited by
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Table of Contents

Part III Church Art and Architecture

Part IV The 'Other' and the Afterlife

List of Maps, Figures, Tables, and Musical Examples

Maps

Figures

Tables

Musical Examples

Maps

Map 1 Baltic Sea region

Map 2 Baltic Sea region, 1530

Map 3 Baltic Sea region, 1580

Map 4 Baltic Sea region, 1630

Map 5 The Swedish provinces

Introduction

Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi

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

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

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

1 See Wallace, *The Long European*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cultural Transfer

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Continuities and Changes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Contributions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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