

# THE ROLE OF CLERGYMEN FROM FINLAND AND MAINLAND SWEDEN IN DEVELOPING BOOK CULTURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH- CENTURY ESTONIA



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*The present article aims at throwing light on publishing in the area of present-day Estonia and the role of clergymen originating from Sweden and Finland in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The authors of the first books printed in Estonia were of German, Swedish and Finnish origin. German and Baltic-German clergy have been researched in greater detail than parish ministers of Swedish and Finnish origin. The article will focus on the latter, placing them in the context of general literary culture in the area of present-day Estonia.*

## Introduction

The contacts of the region of present-day Estonia with Scandinavia, especially the region of present-day Finland and Sweden, may be traced back to at least the Mesolithic age, i.e. c. 11,000 years ago.<sup>1</sup> The conversion to Christianity of Scandinavia from the tenth century and the Baltic region from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards naturally strengthened these bonds. In the Middle Ages, the territory of present-day Estonia (part of Old Livonia<sup>2</sup> encompassing Northern Latvia as well) was dominated in turn by the Danish Crown, the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order and the Hanseatic League. From the middle of the sixteenth century until the beginning of the early eighteenth century the territory was ruled over by the Swedish Crown. Russia annexed it in 1710.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Kriiska 2010.

<sup>2</sup> The area conquered by the Teutonic Knights in the thirteenth century was later titled Old Livonia (1347–1561). This area, corresponding to present-day Estonia and Latvia, was then divided into two provinces, that of Livonia (Southern Estonia and Northern Latvia) and that of Estonia (Northern Estonia).

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Kala 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d.

While migrations between Sweden, Finland and present-day Estonia have been well researched<sup>4</sup>, less work has been done on intellectual and religious contacts.<sup>5</sup> It is to reduce this gap that the present study will examine the clergymen originating in mainland Sweden and the territory of the Swedish Grand Duchy of Finland who were active in developing Estonian as a literary language in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The sources for this discussion of devotional, theological and ecclesiastical literature are published university registers and diplomas. This material also gives information on students' extracurricular activities.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, valuable information may be found in the Estonian, Finnish and Swedish national bibliographies,<sup>7</sup> as well as catalogues of libraries having belonged to the clergy in these three regions of the Swedish realm.<sup>8</sup>

### **The beginnings of printing in Estonian**

Until the middle of the sixteenth century, the Christianised Old Livonia theoretically belonged to the Holy German Empire, though the Emperor did not exercise any real political power over the region. The highest religious authority was the Archbishop of Riga, appointed by the Pope. The Archbishop ruled over the Saaremaa (German *Ösel*), Läänemaa (German *Wiek*) and Tartu (German *Dorpat*) dioceses. The bishop of Tallinn (German *Reval*) was a suffragan of the Archbishop of Lund in Scania.<sup>9</sup>

As in other territories converted to Protestantism, Estonian-language printing coincides with the Reformation. According to the German historian W. Jannasch, the earliest Estonian-language printed volumes, unfortunately lost, may be dated to 1525. He discovered this information in an entry, dated 8 November 1525, in the palaeographically difficult diary of Johannes Brandes, dean of Lübeck Cathedral Chapter.<sup>10</sup> In his detailed description of the long struggle for power between Catholics and Protestants in Old Livonia, Brandes mentions a barrel containing Estonian, Latvian and Livonian books awaiting shipment to Riga via Travemünde. The books were

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<sup>4</sup> Palli 1995, 2–8; Orav 1994, 104–111; Vasar 1931, 549–567, 639–652; Loit 1982, 193–198; Püvi 1982, 215–222, 230–231; Hyrenius 1922, 1–321; Gustafsson 1912.

<sup>5</sup> Piirimäe 1982, 94–194, 155–172; Tering 1984, 17–37; Jaanson 2000; Cederberg 1937, 110–149; Cederberg 1939, 8–13; Suolahti 1950, XXI, 73–79.

<sup>6</sup> For the *Academia Gustaviana* of Tartu, see Tering 1984, 1–528; for the *Academia Aboensis* of Turku (Swedish *Åbo*), see Lagus 1891, Lagus 1895 and Lagus 1906 as well as Kotivuori 2005.

<sup>7</sup> Annus 2000, 57–684; Laine & Nyqvist 1996a, 1–803; Laine & Nyqvist 1996b, 1–621; Collijn 1942–1944, 1–1080.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Tallinn City Archives, f. 230 (Tallinn Magistrate) list 1, B.t 17.

<sup>9</sup> Zetterberg 2009, 60, 61.

<sup>10</sup> Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Archiv des Domkapitels Lübeck, D II 6, C I – Actus capitulares.

confiscated by Catholics at the *Guldene Horn* inn at Lübeck.<sup>11</sup> By such measures the Catholic Church tried to prevent Reformation from spreading further in Livonia, where the towns and nobility<sup>12</sup> had expressed their support for it on 19 July 1524.<sup>13</sup>

One of the basic tenets of Reformation being divine service and the Bible in the vernacular (in this case German, Latvian and Estonian) for the benefit of the faithful, schools were established in towns and villages. Thus, the first printed books in Estonian would be Lutheran liturgical works and textbooks for schools. According to Brandes, the barrel that had been confiscated contained Lutheran books in German (*in vulgari theutonico*) and *missae*, i.e. Mass texts, in the Estonian, Latvian and Livonian languages. The Mass texts were set aside as nobody could read them. They were not sent to their destination, however, as it was feared that they might be dangerous to people poorly educated in religious matters:

[...] arrestari in deme Guldene Horne vas plenum libris lutterianis, eciam missis in vulgari Livonico, Lettico ac Estonico, ne illut defferret ad navim, ne inficiat populum adhuc rudem in fide christiana (Prande 1993, 252).

As no titles are mentioned, the contents and material characteristics of these volumes may only be guessed at. Many an Estonian scholar has attempted to explain the word *missis*.<sup>14</sup> Ablative of pl. *missae* 'Masses', the volumes referred to are obviously connected to prefacial liturgy consisting of such texts as *Kyrie Eleison*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei*.<sup>15</sup> The 1525 reformers of Tallinn used this word for the German word *Gesänge* ('songs').<sup>16</sup> It may thus be hypothetised that the book(s) published in 1525 contained Lutheran hymns in three languages, and most probably the *Pater Noster*, *Credo* and the *Ave Maria* as well, considering that the latter three texts

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<sup>11</sup> Jannasch 1958, 252. See also Johansen 1959, 523–553.

<sup>12</sup> Zetterberg 2009, 67: The diet in Livonia was the convention of the master of the order with his subalterns (bailiffs and commanders of order castles, clerks), high clergy and representatives of Tallinn, Tartu and Riga. Political, economic and clerical issues were discussed at these conventions that became regular in the 1420s–30s.

<sup>13</sup> Russwurm 1874, 7, 8: Demgemäss haben sich drei Städte vereinigt und verbunden, in allen rechtmässigen Sachen einander beizustehen, namentlich aber das heilige Ewangelium mit Leib und Gut aufrecht zu erhalten und nicht zu verlassen. Als hierauf die Ritterschaften eintraten, wiederholte der Bürgermeister Riga noch einmal, dass die Städte das heilige Ewangelium nach Inhalt des alten und neuen Testaments nicht verlassen wollen; Sild 1924, 52; Wittram 1956, 47.

<sup>14</sup> Miller 1978, Kivimäe 2000, 21–25.

<sup>15</sup> Anonymous 1992, 613–615.

<sup>16</sup> Tallinn City Archive, f.230 (Tallinn Magistrate), list 1, B.q. 1,2.

have survived in the archives in Estonian-language manuscript copies dating from the same period.<sup>17</sup>

In 1535 Simon Wandradt and Johannes Koell published a *Catechism* in Estonian and Low German, printed by Hans Lufft in Wittenberg. For unknown reasons, this *Catechism* was banned according to the 1537 minutes of the City Council of Tallinn. The minutes record a court case between bookseller Gisebert Schepeler, who claimed damages for his losses, and the authors of the *Catechism*, which is described as being full of errors. The only remains of the *Catechism* are eleven pages found inside a sixteenth-century book cover in 1929. The pages show marginal corrections of different origins. It may be this print that Johannes Bugenhagen refers to when stating that the people of Livonia deserved *a better book than this booklet*. A translation of Luther's *Catechism* into Estonian was published by Franz Witte in Lübeck in 1554.<sup>18</sup>

The author Friedebert Tuglas (1886–1971) once poetically compared the beginnings of the Estonian-language book culture with a little brook that in time was to become a mighty river.<sup>19</sup> More Estonian-language publications were to follow later in the sixteenth century, and the last quarter of the seventeenth century was a period of intense development and use of Estonian in ecclesiastical contexts, with the publication of a series of religious works, textbooks and a translation of the Bible in the South Estonian dialect.

### **Finnish and Swedish congregations in Estonia in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century**

Sweden conquered the whole of present-day North Estonian territory in 1561 and the Province of Livonia in 1621. Settlers from mainland Sweden and Finland had been living on the northern coast and islands of Estonia for centuries. After the annexation of Old Livonia the immigration increased.<sup>20</sup> There were Finns living both in towns, mainly Tallinn and Narva, and the countryside. According to Vasar, rural Finns formed about 12% of peasants in Harjumaa (German *Harrien*), 15–18% in Virumaa (German *Wirland*), 10% in Järvemaa (German *Jerwen*) and 3–4% in Läänemaa (German *Wiek*) in present-day Northern Estonia in 1637–1640, whereas in present-day Southern Estonia they made up only 4.5% of the total population. There the largest

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<sup>17</sup> Tallinn City Archive, f.230 (Tallinn Magistrate), list 1, B.m. 23 p. 142.

<sup>18</sup> Weiss & Johansen 1956.

<sup>19</sup> Tuglas 2001, 287.

<sup>20</sup> Lists of soldiers and officials originating in Finland (500–600 men, a considerable number for the time) are included in the 1570s–1580s reports of the bailiwick (Swedish *fögderi*, German *Vogtei*) in Tallinn, see Stockholm, RA, KA, arch. fond 365.

community, 191 peasant families, lived in Põltsamaa.<sup>21</sup> Mixed marriages were frequent between prevalently Estonian women and Finnish-origin men, with the children considering themselves Estonians. The origins of the Finnish settlers were mainly in the South and South-East of the Grand Duchy of Finland: Uusimaa (Swedish *Nyland*), the city of Viipuri (Swedish *Viborg*, German *Wiborg*) on the Karelian isthmus, other parts of Karelia and Ingria.

Immigrants also came from other regions controlled by the Swedish crown, i.e. the Finno-Ugric Vepsians and Votes, mainly of low social extraction.<sup>22</sup>

From the beginning of the Swedish rule, Finnish-Swedish congregations with preachers of Finnish-Swedish origins were established all over the region.

Tallinn had been divided into three parishes in pre-Reformation times, i.e. St Mary's in the Upper Town (Estonian *Toompea*), St Olaf's and St Nicholas' in the Lower Town. During and after the Reformation, parish boundaries started to lose importance to a new division according to ethnic origins, as services would be held in the particular vernacular of each congregation. While the origins and development of the Estonian-language congregation has been thoroughly studied,<sup>23</sup> the fact that two Swedish-language pulpits were established in two German-language churches (St Nicholas' and St Olaf's) almost simultaneously to the Estonian-language pulpit has not attracted equal attention. In 1550 both St Olaf's and St Nicholas' paid a salary to a Swedish and an Estonian (called *Undeutsch* in German) preacher.<sup>24</sup>

Swedish-language preachers at St Michael's church predate the oath of allegiance to Sweden given by Tallinn in 1561. Olaus Andreae Suecus, of Swedish descent, is documented as having preached at St Michael's as early as 1557. He reported on the Russian threat to Swedish authorities in Stockholm in April-March, 1558, and through his diplomatical activities contributed to Tallinn opting for Sweden. He was also the Swedish minister of Tallinn Cathedral. At his death in 1563, he was buried in the episcopal vault of the Cathedral.<sup>25</sup> The Swedish congregation of St Michael's went on to flourish in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with ministers mostly from mainland Sweden.

The Finnish population of the Lower Town belonged to the Estonian Holy Ghost congregation. From the early seventeenth until the first decades of the

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<sup>21</sup> Vasar, 1931, 564.

<sup>22</sup> Vasar, 1931, 642–651.

<sup>23</sup> Johansen 1973, 352.

<sup>24</sup> Tallinn City Archive, f.230 (Tallinn Magistrate), l. 1 B.l. 4, p. 203.

<sup>25</sup> Aarma 2007, 261.

eighteenth century altogether seventeen preachers, of which fourteen from mainland Sweden, served the congregation.

Since the annexation of Old Livonia by Sweden, there was also a congregation in the Upper Town for Swedish and Finnish soldiers and officials. The preachers were Swedish, the divine services being organised in the hall of Toompea castle. As there are no records of either Swedish- and Finnish-language preachers or services in these languages for the Upper Town, it is reasonable to infer that the congregation only came to being after 1561. During the period under observation 36 preachers, basically of mainland Swedish origin, served the Toompea congregation.

In 1670, an Estonian- and Finnish-language congregation was established in a new wooden church on Tõnismägi (St Anthony's Hill). A suburb of Toompea, Tõnismägi was called after the mediaeval chapel of St Anthony. The chapel had been demolished by 1570, perhaps destroyed in the Livonian War (1558–1583). About a century later, a new wooden chapel was erected eastwards of modern Hariduse Street. The Finnish-Estonian church named *Kaarli kirik* (Finnish *Kaarlenkirkko*) after King Charles XI of Sweden, was consecrated on the fourth Advent Sunday in 1670. The two congregations were officially separated in 1696. In 1710 the church was burnt down and the congregations were taken to the Holy Ghost Church of the Lower Town. In the period between 1670 and 1710, 26 preachers, 24 of them from Finland and two from mainland Sweden, served in this church.<sup>26</sup>

Another church dedicated to St Michael was established for the garrison and the citizens in Narva, the second-largest town of present-day North Estonia, in 1582. The congregation attended Swedish-language services in the garrison chapel before the completion of a new imposing church in 1642. The Finnish congregation used the Estonian church of Pikk Street from 1583 onwards. In 1704 this church was burnt down by Russian troops. Finally, in 1727 a new church was consecrated for the new re-united Estonian-Finnish-Swedish congregation. 41 preachers, most of them of mainland Swedish origin were active in the Swedish congregation in 1582–1739. The Finnish congregation was served by altogether 20 preachers, 17 of which came from Finland and three from mainland Sweden.<sup>27</sup>

There were Finnish- and Swedish-language congregations in three towns of North Livonia (present-day South Estonia), i.e. Tartu, Pärnu and Kuressaare on the island of Saaremaa. After the establishment of the Academia Gustaviana in 1632, Tartu became one of the centres of the Swedish- and Finnish-language community. St Mary's congregation had 11

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<sup>26</sup> Aarma 2005, 33–34.

<sup>27</sup> Aarma 2005, 113–118.

preachers in 1630–1699, eight of them from Finland and three from mainland Sweden.<sup>28</sup>

The church of St John in Pärnu that existed from 1650 until 1710 had but four known preachers, two of them from Finland and two from mainland Sweden.<sup>29</sup>

There was a bilingual Finnish-Swedish congregation between 1645 and 1710 using the church of St Lawrence in Kuressaare, the capital of Saaremaa, the largest island of present-day Estonia. Six preachers have been recorded; three of them came from mainland Sweden, the other three from Finland.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to the already mentioned Swedish- and Finnish-language preachers there were still others in other parts of present-day Estonia, especially in Western and Northern Estonia with Swedish and Finnish-language settlers. The Swedish Noarootsi (Swedish *Nuckö*) was served by five Swedish and Finnish-language ministers out of seven, Risti in Harju-Madise by eleven out of fourteen. In Hiiumaa at Käina, four out of twelve, at Pühalepa three out of eleven and at Reigi four out of seven were of Swedish or Finnish origin, whereas the figure for Vormsi is ten out of a total of twelve ministers. Last but not least, between 1564 and 1710 altogether twelve ministers served Paide. Some of these multilingual ministers worked for Estonian congregations as well, e.g. at Vaivara in Virumaa, with eight pastors of Finnish or mainland Swedish origin.<sup>31</sup>

### **Survey of the clergy of Finnish or mainland Swedish origin serving in the territory of present-day Estonia and their literary output**

In the period studied here the contingent of ministers of either Finnish or mainland Swedish origin formed a large part of all the clergy in the territory of present-day Estonia. Altogether 579 clergymen serving in those parts between 1625 and 1710 are recorded. 103 of them were born in mainland Sweden and 67 in Finland, 193 had come from the German-language part of the Empire, 183 were born in the territory of present-day Estonia and 13 in that of present-day Latvia. The two last groups contained German, Swedish and Finnish-language individuals. There are thirteen people for whose origin or language there are no data.<sup>32</sup> Generally, the number of ministers of Finnish and Swedish origin was more or less equal. Altogether eighty served in bilingual Finnish and Swedish-language congregations, whereas about ninety worked in other congregations. All of them may be considered potential

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<sup>28</sup> Ottow & Lenz 1977, 104–105.

<sup>29</sup> Ottow & Lenz 1977, 127–128.

<sup>30</sup> Ottow & Lenz 1977, 138.

<sup>31</sup> Aarma 2005, 62, 64, 101, 132, 133, 150, 163, 165, 167, 176.

<sup>32</sup> Calculated according to Aarma 2007 ja Ottow & Lenz 1977.

authors and publishers of texts. While from 1630 onwards almost all clergymen of Finnish or mainland Swedish origin were university graduates, some of their predecessors had finished Latin<sup>33</sup> or Cathedral schools only. Since the opening of the *Academia Gustaviana* at Tartu in 1632, many clergymen were graduates of the Faculty of theology. All in all, 185 Finnish and 510 mainland Swedish individuals studied at this Faculty in 1632–1710. Several had attended universities in mainland Sweden (Uppsala University) or Finland (since 1642, *Academia Aboensis* at Turku) before coming to Tartu. Eighty graduates of the *Academia Gustaviana* later worked as ministers in the territory of present-day Estonia.<sup>34</sup> By the time of graduation they had written dissertations, speeches as well as MA or PhD theses published in print. The clergymen from mainland Sweden or Finland would write Estonian-language ecclesiastical texts. For example, after the pastoral visit of Johannes Rudbeckius, Bishop of Västerås, to Estonia, a committee was established to examine the state of the Estonian Church. In that context, the Swedish government promised to sponsor the publication of religious texts, i.e. handbooks for home and church, in North and South Estonian dialects.<sup>35</sup>

Many of the Finnish and mainland Swedish clergymen residing in Tallinn were exceptionally active intellectuals – as many as 45 pastors are known for their theological or ecclesiastical literary output between 1561 and 1710. There were many remarkable ministers of Finnish origin serving on Toompea. We might start the list with Christian, son of Michael Agricola, the Reformer of Finland and creator of literary Finnish. He was consecrated bishop of Northern Estonia in 1584. Though he died two years later, his term was fruitful, with ecclesiastical visitations to Narva, Rakvere and Paide, consolidating the administration of his diocese and writing several texts, not printed but surviving in manuscript form.<sup>36</sup>

The next in line is Sigfridus Aronus Forsius, a well-known scholar, astronomer, astrologist and man of letters born in Helsinki in c. 1550. He was also headmaster of Tallinn Cathedral School. Recent research both in Finland and Sweden has shed light on different aspects of his work.<sup>37</sup> There is, however, but little information on his Tallinn and Narva periods. As the headmaster of the Cathedral school and minister of the Cathedral congregation Forsius had learnt Estonian as early as 1592–1595 during his

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<sup>33</sup> Piirimäe 1992, 34: the Latin school, i.e. a *studium particulare*, was a trivial school giving instruction in Latin. The graduates continued their studies at continental universities to become ministers.

<sup>34</sup> Tering 1984, 100–103.

<sup>35</sup> Stockholm, RA Liv II: 621 Rudbeckius' visitationsresa till Estland.

<sup>36</sup> Tarkiainen 2007; Aarma 2007, 9–10.

<sup>37</sup> Forsius 1996; Kiiskinen 2005.



first stay in Tallinn. He left that city for Narva in 1596.<sup>38</sup> He took a remarkable interest to the local people of the Lower Town, praised the local booktrade and bought several books.<sup>39</sup> Until 1599 he worked in Narva, establishing a Swedish-language school there. Upon his arrival in Estonia, he started to compile calendars. During his stay in Narva, this led to a major conflict with another well-known author of calendars, Lambert Kemmerling, minister of Narva German congregation. In his later calendars Forsius frequently wrote about events that occurred during his stay in Tallinn.<sup>40</sup>

In the early seventeenth-century, another Forsius, a clergyman called Sigfrid Aschillus Aronus Forsius Junior served first Tallinn Cathedral congregation and later the congregation at Vormsi. Forsius Junior's grandson from his daughter's marriage to Johannes Jurgh, pastor of Harju-Madise congregation was Heinrich Jurgh/Jürgky, who was active as bookbinder and bookseller in Tallinn in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>41</sup>

Another family originating in mainland Sweden, the Forselii, were also important in seventeenth-century Estonia and Livonia. The clergyman Johann Haquinus Forselius served Tallinn Cathedral for several years and quickly learned the Estonian language. A relative of his, another Johann Haquinus Forselius (b. Umeå, 1607) arrived from Helsinki in 1634 to take up the positions of headmaster of Tallinn Cathedral School and minister of the congregation of Virgin Mary.<sup>42</sup> He wrote two dissertations defended and published at Uppsala University. Forselius as a sender of dedications was mentioned. His dedications were published in four editions by the press of the *Academia Gustaviana* in 1637, 1641, 1646 and 1654.<sup>43</sup> He was one of the first clergymen to revise the Estonian translation of the New Testament in 1645–1650. From 1645 until his death in 1684 he served the Swedish congregation at Risti church of Harju-Madise. He gathered information about the religious beliefs of the Estonians and his data were published in German by Johann Wolfgang Boecler in 1688.<sup>44</sup>

Bengt Gottfried Forselius (1660–1688), the son of Johann Haquinus Forselius, developed a new orthography for Estonian. The new spelling started to spread in the last quarter of the seventeenth century when B.G. Forselius became headmaster of Tartu Teachers' Training Seminary in 1684.

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<sup>38</sup> Stockholm, RA, Riksregistraturen 16. XI 1596: "Hr. Sigfrid Canuti skulle blifva brukat till scholemästare uti Narva efter han ähr både lärd uti Bokliga konsten, såsom och kunnig på estnische målet [...]"

<sup>39</sup> Kiiskinen 2007, p. 30, 31.

<sup>40</sup> Aarma 1997, 38–40, 44.

<sup>41</sup> Tallinn City Archive, f.230 (Tallinn Magistrate), list 1, B.f.30; Aarma 2007, 139.

<sup>42</sup> Aarma 1997, 45–46.

<sup>43</sup> Jaanson 2000, 203 (D151), 232 (D305), 272 (D503), 334 (D837).

<sup>44</sup> Boecler 1685, see Annus 2000.

This school, established by Superintendent General Johann Fischer in 1675, admitted young Estonian men of peasant origin.<sup>45</sup> According to Forselius, spelling should follow pronunciation, i.e. in modern terms every grapheme should correspond to one phoneme.<sup>46</sup> Forselius and his nephew Johann Hornung (1660–1715), author of an Estonian grammar in the new orthography, also wrote the first Estonian primer for the students of the seminary. Its explicit purpose was to improve peasant children's reading skills.<sup>47</sup>

We should also mention Johann Georg Forselius from Finland, minister of the Finnish congregation of Tallinn from 1659 (maybe 1657) until 1665.<sup>48</sup> He witnessed growing tensions between the Finnish-Swedish congregation of the Lower Town and the Finnish-Estonian congregation of the Upper Town. The City Consistory had received a complaint from the clergy of the Lower Town about the Finns of that congregation preferring the minister of Toompea congregation for baptisms, wedding ceremonies and burials. The Finns were fond of the pastor of the Finnish congregation, praising his clear diction in the vulgar tongue. This situation might have contributed to the establishment of the new Kaarli church (cf. above p. 60). Lower Town Finns mostly belonged to the congregation of the Holy Ghost Church, with no minister of their own. Their role in the Lower Town only became evident with the construction of Kaarli church. There are, indeed, records about the Lower Town Finns wishing to arrange the above-mentioned rituals in the Upper Town. The clergy of the Lower Town was very much opposed to this practice as it deprived them of additional income. The quarrel that had started at the time of the minister Johann Georg Forselius carried on into the period of his successor, Heinrich Elosinus (1675–1685).<sup>49</sup>

With the expansion of Tõnismägi, a suburb of Toompea, the local Estonian congregation started to grow as well. Consequently, it was divided into two congregations in 1696. The minister of the Finnish congregation was Nicolaus Indraeus, at the service of the congregation since 1685. He was to stay on until his death in 1707. Since 1692 Kaarli church had been served by Tallinn-born Heinrich Derling, already called the Estonian pastor. When in 1696 he was appointed minister of Rapla congregation, his successor was Johann Zimmermann from Kuressaare. At that point a new parsonage was built for the Estonian congregation. Zimmermann and his wife were arrested by Russians in 1704 but soon released.

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<sup>45</sup> Aarma 2001, 401–404.

<sup>46</sup> Aarma 1993, 31–47.

<sup>47</sup> Aarma 1996, 399–406.

<sup>48</sup> Luther 2002, 137–146.

<sup>49</sup> Aarma 2003, N 3.

At the end of 1707 the Finnish congregation seems to have been served by two ministers, Johann Levanus, appointed for a widow's year (the year consequent to the death of an incumbent, the widow of whom was given a year to find new lodgings), and Eduard Nybeck (Nybäck), born in Nyen, Ingria (site of St Petersburg, founded on Swedish soil in 1704). Nybeck had been invited to Tallinn by the Consistory in 1707. Since the Northern War had dramatically increased the number of Finnish soldiers and garrisons posted in the city, two Finnish pastors were needed. Eduard Nybeck fled the Russians to Finland in 1710, and then to Sweden in 1714. He was employed as minister of Resmo-Mörbylånga in Öland in 1716 and was appointed provost on 20 June 1722. He went on to become a member of the Swedish Diet in 1726. He died in Stockholm on 22 January 1727 and was buried in St. Clare's.<sup>50</sup>

Johann Levanus, for his part, left Tallinn for Kirbla, Läänemaa County, early in 1710. This move probably saved him from the terrible plague that devastated Tallinn in the second half of the year. Although even Kaarli church perished in 1710, many parishioners survived both the plague and the war. A new minister, Tallinn-born Samuel Striecker, was appointed their minister in 1715. However, he left for Harju-Madise as early as 1717. In 1738 Peter Johann Fass was appointed minister the Estonian Cathedral congregation as well as chaplain of the reformatory-prison. He already left the following year for Rakvere. In the eighteenth century the Finnish-Swedish congregation was incorporated into the Cathedral congregation, whereas the Estonian congregation joined the Holy Ghost Church.<sup>51</sup>

Andreas Mennander, father of Carl Fredrik Mennander (1712–1786), bishop of Turku and later archbishop of Uppsala, was first appointed chaplain of the Swedish Cathedral congregation, then became rector of Tallinn Cathedral School and dean of the Swedish congregation (1696), and finally minister of Vigala rural congregation in 1707. In 1710 he fled the Russians to Finland, to become minister of Ilmola congregation (1711–1713 and 1716–1719). Later he was appointed minister of the Finnish congregation in Stockholm. He ended his career as minister of Ilmajoki congregation in Ostrobothnia, Finland (1724–1737). He was married to Margareta Elisabet Ruuth, daughter of Södermanland-born Abraham Ruuth (1640–1693), minister of the Swedish Cathedral congregation at Tallinn.<sup>52</sup> Andreas' younger brother Johannes Mennander was an army chaplain posted in Estonia

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<sup>50</sup> Aarma 2007, 60, 61, 168, 199.

<sup>51</sup> Aarma 2007, 65.

<sup>52</sup> Aarma 2007, 182, 183, 226, 227.

and adjunct of the Swedish Cathedral congregation; he, too, fled to Finland in 1710.<sup>53</sup>

The literary output of ministers of Finnish and mainland Swedish origin is documented in the Finnish, Swedish and Estonian national bibliographies. Thus, for example, the Estonian retrospective national bibliography records Martin Gilläus,<sup>54</sup> minister of Toompea Finnish congregation, an outstanding specialist in the Estonian language. Together with Reiner Brockmann and Johann Forselius he revised the Estonian Bible translation in the 1640s. Gilläus' literary talent is evident in the beautiful use of metre and rhyme in his Estonian hymn translations. A case in point is his version of Luther's *Vom Himmel hoch*. In the 1680s Nicolaus Congelius (also known as Longelius) contributed to the North Estonian dialect edition of the Bible translation. Congelius, who had moved from Turku to Estonia in 1671 to become minister of Vaivara congregation, died in Narva before September 1690.<sup>55</sup> The Estonian national bibliography also mentions Nicolaus Bagge, Erich Simonis Buess, Andreas Lundius and Laurentius Melander (Mollerus) among the first translators of hymns into Estonian.<sup>56</sup> Of clergymen of Finnish and mainland Swedish origin we should mention Erich Johannis Falck who served in Narva and published two poems in Latin and four in Swedish,<sup>57</sup> as well as Gustav Johann Laurentius, son to Joachim Laurentij, of Sweden, headmaster of Paide town school. G.J. Laurentius, an eminent specialist of Estonian, translated and revised the 1699 Church handbook<sup>58</sup> and composed a well-known Estonian funeral hymn, *Heh selle / kumb siht hedda seest* ('Blessed the one who is saved') in 1686.<sup>59</sup> The Swede Gabriel Herlin also contributed to the Church handbook.<sup>60</sup> Last but not least, one should mention Olaus Bergius, who wrote Latin and Swedish poems and sermons, as well as his son Nicolaus Bergius, whose literary output covered texts in Estonian and Russian publications and the New Testament in the North Estonian dialect.<sup>61</sup>

The Finnish national bibliography records a number of clergymen who served in Estonia, e.g. Bergius, Forsius, Forselius, Mommerus and Rothovius. Most of them published also in the territory of present-day Estonia, as Ene-Lille Jaanson<sup>62</sup> showed in her comparative study of the output of the

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<sup>53</sup> Aarma 2007, 183.

<sup>54</sup> Salu 1965, 133–142; Masing 1999, 91–99; Annus 2000, N 26, 37, 38.

<sup>55</sup> Tafenau 2006, 276, 277; Aarma 2007, 48

<sup>56</sup> Annus 2000, N 14.

<sup>57</sup> Annus 2000, N 22; Jaanson 2000, A60, D188, A320, D 452, D519.

<sup>58</sup> Aarma 2007, 164, 165; Annus 2000, N 83.

<sup>59</sup> Alttõa, Valmet 1973, 63–68.

<sup>60</sup> Aarma 2007, 114; Annus 2000, N 83.

<sup>61</sup> Aarma 2007, 25, 26.

<sup>62</sup> Jaanson 2000.

*Academia Gustaviana* at Tartu and the Finnish national bibliography. The list of works published by the *Academia Gustaviana* during the Swedish period contains the names of Ericus Johannis Albogius (contribution to 9 publications), Henricus Bartholinus (6), Gamaliel Bergius (14), Olaus Nicolai Bergius (9), Ericus Buure (6), Olaus Duncanus (2), Magnus Lallaerus (14), Andreas Lundius (one), Laurentius Mellerus/Melander/Mollerus, (9), Georg Preuss (11), Petrus Momerus (2), Benedict Rothovius (4) and others.

### **Conclusion**

To sum up: the literary output of the clergymen from Finland and mainland Sweden active in the territory of present-day Estonia in the seventeenth century was by any standards considerable. On the one hand, they all had a university education, which meant that they had experience in composing different types of texts, and on the other hand, they were keen on producing and printing ecclesiastical texts in Estonian. In this, they were far from being alone, as it was the local clergy and ministers originating in different parts of the Empire that dominated the process of developing Estonian as a written language. However, as regards bringing the Estonian literary language closer to the spoken language and contributing to the Bible translation, the role of seventeenth-century ministers of Finnish and mainland Swedish origins cannot be overestimated.

**Manuscripts and archival documents****Tallinn City Archive**

f. 230 (Tallinn Magistrate), list 1, B.f. 30; B.l. 4; B.q. 1, 2; B.t 17.

**Stockholm, Riksarkivet (RA)**

Liv II-621 – Rudbeckius' visitationsresa till Estland

Kammararkivet, Baltiska kameralia. Fond 365: Fogderäkenskaperna i Reval.

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