

III Lucu.



Ja taas rupesti hen opettamans
 Amerens tykene ia cokounsi palio
 Canssa henen tygensen/nin että henen
 piti astumā hachteē/ ia istumā meren
 päle. Ja caiti Canssa iai maalle merē
 tyge/ Ja hen opetti heite palio werda
 usten cautta / Ja hen sanoi heille he-
 nen Sarnasans/ Cwlcac. Cazo vlos-
 leri Kylueije Kyluemen. Ja tapacheti
 Kyluetteis/ että monicadha langesit Tien wiereen / Lin tulie
 Cains alda linnut ia soit sen. Monicadhat langesit Kimira
 union / iossa ei ollut palio multa / ia cocha se ylescauoi / sille
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 nin se poudhittijn / ia sille ettei hen ollut iwordunut / nin se
 quuettun. Ja mytamantantessit Oriantawuroin / ia ne Da-
 riantap
 mete.

Edited by Mikko Kauko, Miika Norro, Kirsi-Maria Nummila,
 Tanja Toropainen, and Tuomo Fonsén

Languages in the Lutheran Reformation

Textual Networks
 and the Spread of Ideas



Languages in the Lutheran Reformation

Crossing Boundaries

Turku Medieval and Early Modern Studies

The series from the Turku Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (TUCEMEMS) publishes monographs and collective volumes placed at the intersection of disciplinary boundaries, introducing fresh connections between established fields of study. The series especially welcomes research combining or juxtaposing different kinds of primary sources and new methodological solutions to deal with problems presented by them. Encouraged themes and approaches include, but are not limited to, identity formation in medieval/early modern communities, and the analysis of texts and other cultural products as a communicative process comprising shared symbols and meanings.

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Languages in the Lutheran Reformation

Textual Networks and the Spread of Ideas

Edited by

*Mikko Kauko, Miika Norro, Kirsi-Maria Nummila, Tanja Toropainen,
and Tuomo Fonsén*

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Preface

In 2017, the 500th anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation was celebrated in several countries. In connection with the jubilee year, a lot of new research on the Lutheran Reformation was done, for example by theologians, historians – and linguists. The jubilee year was also commemorated by TUCEMEMS (the *Turku Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies*) – a multidisciplinary centre funded by the University of Turku with a focus on interdisciplinary and cross-cultural topics from late Antiquity to the 1700s.

In October 2015, a two-day cross-lingual seminar was arranged by the linguistics working committee of TUCEMEMS in Turku with the title *Languages in the Lutheran Reformation*. The working committee was convoked by Adjunct Prof. Tuomo Fonsén. The present members of the committee are Prof. Emerita Irmeli Helin, Prof. Emerita Kaisa Häkkinen, M.A. Ruut Kataisto, Dr. Mikko Kauko, M.A. Miika Norro, Adjunct Prof. Kirsi-Maria Nummila, Prof. Matti Peikola, Lic. Minna Sandelin, and Dr. Tanja Toropainen. The seminar was international, with invited guests from several countries. The program consisted of discussions and talks that were given mainly in English, partly in German. Researchers from different countries had the opportunity to meet each other and comment on each other's contributions. The seminar talks led to this collection of articles.

In Protestant countries, the Lutheran Reformation had an important effect on languages: several languages that had hardly been written previously became literary when biblical and religious texts were translated into them (e.g., Estonian and Finnish). The Reformation also affected those languages which already had a literary tradition, for instance German and Swedish. Baltic and Slavic languages were also affected in a similar way. However, experts on Scandinavian languages, for example, do not know much about the history of Baltic languages and vice versa, even though they have much in common and have shared fields of interest. This book brings together the different fields of study. Internal developments of individual languages are often well known, but scholars have seldom focused on influences between these languages. By concentrating on these influences, this book offers a novel approach to the Reformation. Central fields of interest include mobility, networks, textual influences, dissemination of texts, exchange of ideas, language use, language culture, and translation activities.

We wish to thank Amsterdam University Press for kind cooperation and TUCEMEMS for important support. We are also grateful for the support of the editor of the series *Crossing Boundaries*, Prof. Matti Peikola. We wish to thank M. Phil. Damon Tringham for checking the language of the volume. We cordially thank all the contributors and the referees who have read the chapters and commented upon them.

*Mikko Kauko, Miika Norro, Kirsi-Maria Nummila, and Tanja Toropainen
Turku, February 2018*

Introduction

Kirsi-Maria Nummila

The inspiration for writing and publishing the current work, *Languages in the Lutheran Reformation: Textual Networks and the Spread of Ideas*, arose from the 500th anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation. The Reformation was an extremely powerful influence for many of the languages and the literalization processes that took place in the Baltic Sea region. Consequently, the language forms and texts written during the transition from the Middle Ages to the early modern period have been of interest to linguists and philologists for decades. The ideas of the Lutheran Reformation were spread, above all, by means of texts and as a result of translation into vernaculars. The circulation of Reformation ideas could be seen as textual networks that extended to the Baltic Sea region and partly beyond, serving to unite the Lutheran world. In this volume, the central theme is not specific languages and their development but the interrelationships between languages and the ways in which different linguistic and literary influences have been passed from one language to another. The current work offers the perspectives of individual languages on the common cultural phenomenon of the Reformation, which itself affected different languages and in many ways served to link them.

The chapters in this volume focus on northern Europe in the 16th to 17th centuries, more specifically on the Baltic Sea region and its sphere of influence. As is still the case today, many different languages were spoken in the region at that time. They include representatives of many language groups – Germanic, Slavic, Baltic, and Baltic-Finnic languages. This work deals with a large number of languages, and all the language groups are represented, including German (Low and High German), Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Dutch, Finnish, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Czech, and English. During the period under study, it was typical that many languages were spoken in the same administrative area. Also, individual speakers were quite often multilingual, especially in towns. Everyday contacts between

the languages were a significant factor in facilitating the relatively rapid spread of influences from one language to another.

The 16th century was an eventful period in northern Europe, and it is impossible to give more than a brief account of the events that were most significant historically. In the following review, however, I will attempt to describe the broad outlines of the period and shed light on the social and historical context that forms the background for the internal and external phenomena and interconnections of the languages discussed in the current work.

The cultural context of the Baltic Sea region

This volume examines the area into which Lutheranism had spread early in the Reformation. In this case, it is not a strictly defined geographical area or one that followed national borders. The centre from which the expansion of Lutheranism began was Germany,¹ from where the phenomenon spread elsewhere in the Baltic Sea area, comprising the entirety of its northern, eastern, southern, and western areas and extending from the present Nordic countries (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland) and the present Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland) to the Netherlands and England. In my text, I use the concepts of the Baltic Sea region and northern Europe in a broad sense, covering all the above-mentioned areas.

Although common factors can be seen in the history and societal conditions of northern Europe during the transition from the Middle Ages to the early modern period, it must be noted that the region is extensive and that sociocultural conditions within it differed. However, during the period under study, as also before and after it, the Baltic Sea region formed a cultural area in which the history of the peoples had gone through many similar stages, and their cultures had many significant features in common. More specifically, the towns and their common Germanic urban culture were factors that united the region. In the Baltic Sea area, a significant proportion of the town dwellers were German, and typically, for instance, the same laws applied as in the North German towns. The towns in fact played a very important role in the course of development during this time, as it was through the towns that new ideas, beliefs, political views, and other ideologies spread (see, e.g., Morris 1998: 66-67; Kasekamp 2010: 36-37, 39).

1 In the 16th century, the German Empire consisted, roughly speaking, of the present Germany, the Czech Republic, Poland, and the areas of what are now the other Baltic States.

In the history of the period significant for the region under study, a dominant role was played by the Hanseatic League, which governed trading in the area. In its Golden Age, in the 15th century, some 200 towns belonged to the trading alliance, most of them in North Germany, though in the east the area extended to Livonia and in the west to the Low Countries. In the 16th century, however, the importance of the Hanseatic League declined as the role of Dutch trading companies in the Baltic Sea region grew (Müller 2002: 76-77). The period following the Hanseatic League was marked by radical political changes, administrative reorganization, and wars. Significant events occurring during the period and widely affecting the region included issues concerning the government of Livonia and the disintegration of the Kalmar Union, a union of the Nordic countries that had lasted for more than 120 years (see, e.g., Kirby 1990). All in all, the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern period were very unsettled as regards the power relations of region.

Even though folk beliefs still had their place in the 16th and 17th centuries northern Europe, Christianity was often part of everyday life, and the Church played a role at different stages of life. It offered stability and support for people whose lives were typically marked by hard conditions, poverty, and war. The Roman Catholic Church was a dominant organization in the late Middle Ages and was a significant influence in society, having a considerable income and enormous wealth (from tithes, land ownership, and donations). The Church used its revenue and the donations received to, among other things, provide care for the poor and the sick and also for education.

In addition to Catholicism, important movements that marked the era in Europe included both the Renaissance and the cultural ideals of humanism that arose from it. Indeed humanism was a crucial influence in the literary culture of the Reformation period and thus also in translations of the Bible. The principles of humanism included, for example, recognition of the value of original texts. Other ideals that sprang from humanism include the concept of man as an individual and the idea of a personal belief. Those who headed the movement for religious reformation were typically advocates of humanism (Ozment 1980: 290-317; Müller 2002: 91).

At the beginning of the 16th century, Latin played a crucial role in the Baltic Sea region. It was above all the language of the Church and of literature, since books, whether printed or in manuscript, were mainly written in Latin before the Reformation. Although it was the lingua franca of mediaeval (Western) Europe, Latin was a language known only to the learned and educated members of society (Janson 2002; Burke 2004: 43-60).

The world at the turn from the Middle Ages to the early modern era is often described as multilingual, but in the countryside, people typically spoke only one and the same language, the local vernacular. The towns, however, were genuinely multilingual. In addition to the vernaculars and Latin, Low German was an important language in the Baltic Sea region. Despite being a vernacular, Middle Low German achieved the status of a *lingua franca* for trade during the period when the Hanseatic League was at its height (Pettersson 2005: 134-36; Peters 2008: 1418; see also Tiisala 1996; and Ross, Bentlin, and Vanags in this volume). In many areas there was also an administrative language, as was the case of Swedish in Finland, for example. In the area and era reviewed, different languages typically had specialized functions and contexts of usage.

The birth and development of the Lutheran Reformation

The Lutheran Reformation is considered to have begun when Wittenberg University Professor of Theology Martin Luther nailed his list of 95 theses to the door of the church at Wittenburg Castle in the year 1517. Luther's action was intended to protest against abuses committed by the Roman Catholic Church. In 1520, Luther burned the papal bull received from the pope and publicly cut off his relations with Rome. The fundamental themes of Luther's Reformation were opposition to the sale of indulgences, bringing personal faith to the people, and promoting the view that man was saved by grace alone.

Lutheranism spread very rapidly to the towns of northern Germany and beyond, especially to the towns of the Baltic Sea region and among the bourgeoisie. It reached the Nordic countries, the Baltic countries, and England very early; in many towns, such as Riga, Tartu, Tallinn, Copenhagen, Turku, and Stockholm, Lutheran doctrine was preached as early as in the 1520s. The adoption of the new teachings was promoted above all by the spread of Germanic culture and through German citizens who settled in the towns (Klinge 1995: 53). The concrete routes and distribution channels through which the ideas, texts, and works were transferred played an important role in the creation of the networks of the Lutheran Reformation. At the nodal points of these networks were the important expansion centres of Lutheranism, such as the churches, congregations, printing presses, and booksellers. Particularly important centres for the spread of Lutheranism were the universities of the large towns, such as Königsberg University in Prussia and Cambridge in England.

However, Lutheranism was not accepted so rapidly everywhere in the Baltic Sea region, and in Lithuania, for example, the doctrines only gained a foothold in the 1550s (Kasekamp 2010: 39). The Reformation also began slowly in some parts of the Low Countries; for example, the former Roman Catholic Church of the Province of Utrecht did not accept the Reformation until the year 1578 (Prak 2005: 201-10). While many areas went over to Lutheranism during the 16th century, Poland and Lithuania remained mainly Catholic. An important exception was Danzig, which followed the example of many other Baltic Sea area towns and turned for the most part to Lutheranism (Kłoczowski 2000; see also Kirby 1990: 88). In all, the influence of Lutheranism affected religious life and society widely throughout the Baltic Sea region. Putting the new teachings into practice required the renewal and updating of many cultural conventions to meet the new demands (see, e.g., Lehtonen and Kaljundi 2016).

Outside Germany, the Reformation was typically dictated by the ruler, and the factors influencing the reform were generally other than religious. In northern Europe, the Reformation saw the decline of the Church's power. This development was made possible by the Lutheran view that the Church and the clergy should be subject to the ruler's will in all but matters of faith. The power to decide on earthly matters had been bestowed on the ruler by God. In many cases this meant that the property of the Church was transferred to the ruler and the nation. A further development was the closing of the monasteries, which also affected the lives of common people; there were more beggars, schools fell into disrepair, and the numbers of pupils decreased. Thus it was a question not simply of the Roman Catholic Church losing its power but of the disintegration of the entire social structure built up by the Church (Hentilä et al. 2002: 60, 65-67). All in all, the distribution of power and wealth in society underwent many significant changes in northern Europe as a result of the Reformation.

In the 16th century, the time was ripe for a reform of the Church and for profound changes. However, doubts had already been cast on the Christian faith and on the doctrines of the Church in Europe even before Luther. Important names in this context are John Wycliffe (d. 1384), who was influential in 14th-century England and at the beginning of the 15th century, and Jan Hus (c. 1369–1415), the Czech martyr to the faith. Opposition to the Roman Catholic Church and to the pope was dangerous, and the fate of the first reformers was usually death and burning at the stake (see, e.g., Atwood 2015; Kłoczowski 2000: 92-93; also de Smit in the current work). In Switzerland, Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) preached Protestant views at the same time as Luther. The spread of Zwingli's ideas was continued by

the French-born reformer Jean Calvin (1509–1564), after whom the widely spread Protestant movement, Calvinism, was named. In part of Europe this movement, known as the second wave of the Reformation, took place in the 1540s, when the Reformation spread to many areas in the specifically Calvinistic form. Examples of Calvinistic areas are Switzerland, the Low Countries, and Scotland, as well as the eastern areas of Poland and Lithuania (see, e.g., Ozment 1980: 318–39, 352–80; Morris 1998: 69–83).

The Reformation and spreading the word of God in the vernacular

One of the fundamental ideas of the Reformation was that people should be able to read God's word in their own language. In practice, this meant translating biblical texts into the vernacular, and this led to Latin being replaced by local languages in literary usage. There are languages in which, in concrete terms, the Reformation led to the birth of a literary language. This was the case with Finnish and Estonian, for example. In those languages, too, which already had a literary culture, the literature that sprung from the Reformation helped to establish and standardize the written language.² The birth and development of new literary languages also played a key role in spreading literacy to all parts of northern Europe during the following centuries (see Burns 1989; Kasekamp 2010: 40).

Whereas texts copied by hand had been used previously, in the 15th century the printing press was invented in Europe (see Steinberg 2001). Thanks to the new technology, the written word could be spread effectively and widely. In fact, printing skills and the production of books played an important role in the rapid spread of the Protestant Reformation to a wide area (e.g., Morris 1998: 61; Kasekamp 2010: 40). The churchmen and humanists understood the power of the written word and published a great many works, both in Latin and in the vernacular. A good example of this is that by the year 1500, almost 100 printed editions of the Latin Bible translation, the Vulgate, had appeared.

The most important literary models in Europe were the Bible in its original languages and the most influential Latin translations (particularly the

2 It must be noted, however, that as far as Low German was concerned, the development was in fact the opposite; with the publishing of Reformation literature in High German, Low German, which in the 16th century had still been a highly developed written language, lost its status and became a mere dialect (see, e.g., Bentlin 2008: 51; also Bentlin in this work).

Greek-language *Septuaginta* and the Latin translation *Versio Vulgata*). Erasmus of Rotterdam translated the New Testament again from Greek into Latin in 1516, and this work had a great influence on other translations of the Reformation era. Luther's translation of the New Testament into High German in 1522, which was based on Erasmus's 1519 edition of the Greek New Testament, and of the entire Bible in 1534, the Old Testament having been translated from Hebrew, were of special significance as a model for the other texts.³ In practice, this led to the decline of Low German, which had spread widely throughout the Baltic Sea region. There were also Low German editions of biblical texts in the 16th century, the most important being the entire Bible by Johannes Bugenhagen, printed in 1533. Bugenhagen's work was translated into Low German from Luther's High German Bible (for more about Bugenhagen, see Seyferth and Bentlin in this work).

Luther was a prolific writer; his most significant works in addition to biblical texts were postils and other religious books such as a prayer book, a text of the Mass, many printed sermons, and a catechism (see, e.g., Manns and Loose 1982), all of which served as models for works published in the vernacular around the Baltic Sea area. It must be noted, however, that the German translations of the biblical texts and other religious literature had a remarkably long tradition even before the Reformation. For example, the first Bible in German was printed in 1466, and altogether some 20 Bibles in High and Low German had been printed before Luther's New Testament (see, e.g., Rupprich 1994: 342-47; see also Flood in this volume).

Biblical texts and some other central religious works translated into Swedish have been preserved since the Middle Ages, from the 14th and 15th centuries. The Swedish New Testament of the Reformation era also appeared relatively early, in 1526. The new revised edition was published together with the first entire Bible (the *Gustaf Vasa's Bible*) in 1541 (see Pettersson in this volume). The known translators of the Reformation era Swedish biblical texts were Laurentius Andrae and Olaus Petri (Bergman 1984: 86-87). The 16th century also saw the other most important religious texts translated into Swedish. Finland was under Swedish rule and adopted Lutheranism along with Sweden. The first known Finnish religious texts are manuscript fragments from the 1530s and 1540s (see Toropainen in this volume). The key works of church life and at the same time the first printed works in Finnish were published in Stockholm in the 1540s and 1550s, translated by Mikael

3 In fact, the first translation of the entire Bible to German after 1517 following humanistic and evangelical ideas was not Luther's Bible but the Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli's Bible, widely known by the name *Zürich Bible* (1531).

Agricola. The first Finnish translation of the New Testament was printed in 1548 (see Häkkinen 2015: 28-30, 53-75; see also Bentlin in the current work). The first entire Bible was printed in Finnish in 1642.

Biblical texts in Danish are also known from the Middle Ages, from the 15th century (for more detail, see, e.g., Molde 1949: 55-56). The first Danish translation of the New Testament was published as a cooperative effort by the translators Hans Mikkelsen, Henrik Smith, and Christian Vinther in Holland in 1524. The New Testament was translated again by Christiern Pedersen in 1529 in Antwerp in Flanders (there were also later translations from the 16th century; see Molde 1949: 56-57). The first translation of the entire Bible into Danish was edited by Pedersen and printed in 1550 (*Christian III's Bible*; the second Danish Bible translation was printed in 1589; see, e.g., Luby and Grell 1995: 129). The same work was also in use in Norway. The history of Icelandic literary culture is remarkably old, but printed literature was born as a result of the influence of the Reformation. Iceland, which, like Norway, belonged to Denmark, saw its own first New Testament translation published in 1540. The translator was Oddur Gottskálksson, and it was printed in Roskilde. The complete Bible translation was published by Guðbrandur Þorláksson and printed in Hólar, Iceland, in 1584 (see, e.g., Eggertsdóttir 2006: 177; for more about the written Scandinavian languages and their literature in the 16th and 17th century, see Kleivane and Óskarsdóttir in this work).

Biblical texts translated into Polish are known from as early as the 13th century. In the 16th century, Poland was enjoying a period of flourishing culture, and this was also to be seen in publishing activity. The first New Testament that appeared in Polish was Protestant, translated by Stanisław Murzynowski and edited by Jan Seklucjan in Königsberg in Prussia in 1551 and 1552, and the complete Protestant Bible was printed in Polish in 1563 (*Biblia Brzeska*, the *Brest Bible*).⁴ Other translations also appeared in the 16th century (see Kłoczowski 2000 for more detail on Polish Bible translations; Pietkiewicz 2016; see Winiarska-Górska in the current work about influence of the Lutheran Reformation in written Polish). The first book in Lithuanian, a catechism by Martinus Mosvidius, also printed in Königsberg, appeared as result of the Reformation, in 1547 (e.g., Kasekamp 2010: 40, 202). It was followed during the 16th century by other religious works. Translations of the Bible were longer in coming, although the first translation of the Bible into Lithuanian by Jonas Bretkūnas was completed in 1579–1580 but never printed. Samuel Bogusław Chyliński's translation was completed in

4 The first entire Bible printed in Polish was Catholic, the so-called *Leopolita's Bible*, published in 1561.

the mid-17th century, and in 1660 the first Old Testament in Lithuanian was printed in Oxford. The New Testament was published in 1701; the first Lithuanian language translation of the whole Bible was not printed until 1735 (for more about early Lithuanian literature, see Pociūtė in this volume).

The written form of the Estonian language was born as a result of the Lutheran Reformation. Even in the 16th century there was little writing or translation using Estonian. However, the first catechism appeared in Wittenberg in 1535; other 16th-century catechisms were also known. The oldest known New Testament texts in manuscript date to the middle of the 17th century. The earliest printed versions were published around the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries (see Ross 2007). The first entire Bible was printed in Estonian in 1739 (see, e.g., Ehasalu et al. 1997; Kivimäe 2000; for more about the early Estonian literature, see Ross in this volume). Written Latvian also came into being as a result of the Reformation. The first biblical texts were translated into the Latvian language already in the 16th century, and these pericope texts were also printed. Also other texts, such as catechisms from the 16th century (the Lutheran version in 1586), are known (e.g., Talve 2004: 104). The complete Bible was translated into Latvian in the 17th century, and the first Bible was published in the years 1685–1694 (for more, see Vanags in the current work; for the historical ancestry of the Estonian and the Latvian literature, see Ross and Vanags in this volume).

In the area of the present Czech Republic (until the early 20th century known as Bohemia), the literary culture is rather old. In the Middle Ages many biblical texts had already been translated into Czech, and in the 14th century the Bible had been translated in its entirety. The first Bible in Czech, the *Prague Bible*, was printed in 1488, and subsequent entire Bibles in Czech were printed in 1489 and 1506. The first New Testament translated from a non-Vulgate source dates from 1533, and there was also a translation of the entire Bible, mainly from the original languages, from the years 1579–1594 (*Bible kralická*, the *Kralice Bible* ‘the Bible of Kralice’) (see, e.g., Pánek 2009: 215–18; Voit et al. 2014; for more about the Czech Bible translations, see Dittmann in the current work).

Translations of Christian texts in the vernacular have a long tradition also in the Low Countries. The oldest texts in Dutch date back to the Middle Ages; for example, translations of the New Testament Gospels were already known in the 14th century, while the Old Testament appeared in 1477 (*Delft Bijbel*). The first New Testament translations of the Reformation period were printed in the 1520s, and the entire Bible appeared in a translation by Jacob van Liesvelt in 1526 and by Willem Vorsterman in 1528 (see, e.g., Pleij 2009; see also de Smit in this work). The vast majority of the Dutch translations

of the Reformation era were printed at an important printing centre of the time, Antwerp, in present-day Belgium, as were also many versions in other languages (see, e.g., Arblaster 2004: 9-11, 13-24).

In England, as in many other countries, the influences that led to the Reformation were primarily anything but religious. Translating the Bible into the vernacular was not among the most important issues to be addressed. In fact, the ruler was opposed to this as well as to many other changes in religious doctrine and ecclesiastical life. All in all, the Protestant Church reached the shores of England through a long, complex, and bloody process. The Reformation (as the Church of England) only became established in the latter half of the 16th century. There is, however, a long history of biblical texts in the vernacular in England, going as far back as the turn of the 7th and 8th centuries. Worthy of mention here are the first Bible entirely in English, translated by the early reformer John Wycliffe or his followers, dating back to the 1370s/1380s, and then, during the Reformation period in the 16th century, William Tyndale's translations of the New Testament (1525, 1526) and the complete Bible (the *Great Bible*, 1539), which comprises Tyndale's translations but also texts by other translators (see, e.g., Newcombe 1995: 11-14; Morris 1998: 171-76; see also Flood in this volume).

The importance of Bible translations in the vernacular for the spread of the Reformation cannot be overestimated. In practice, however, the word of God in the vernacular reached the people often by word of mouth. As the common people were largely illiterate, they became familiar with the teachings by listening to the priests. Preaching in the vernacular was in fact a fundamental cornerstone of the Lutheran Reformation. Compared with earlier practices, the change was more significant in some areas than in others. In some areas, even before the Reformation, priests had taught and preached in the local languages. However, even after the Reformation, not everyone had the opportunity to follow the church service in their mother tongue. For example, in Norway, under the rule of Denmark, Danish was the language used in the Church following the Reformation, not the local language (Hentilä et al. 2002: 66-67; Talve 2004: 95; see also Ross and Vanags in this volume).

The influence of the Reformation on languages

As the Bible represented the highest literary authority, it served as an example for other literature and literary language. Bible translations were also typically rendered into the target language with great care. In the early

stages of the Reformation, Bibles in the vernacular were the models for several literary and standard languages in the Baltic Sea area. The printing of Bibles and other religious books also helped significantly to establish the written languages (see, e.g., Burke 2004: 89-110).

Throughout the ages, translation has been the route through which many linguistic changes and innovations have found their way into languages. In fact, it is one of the most important phenomena regarding contacts between languages.⁵ The ideal in translating the Bible had for centuries been to reproduce the word of God as exactly as possible. The Lutheran ideal of translation differed from the mediaeval tradition in that it stressed the production of a natural and easily understandable language, avoiding complex, obscure expressions. Nevertheless, translators in the Reformation age often translated word for word, copying the structures of the source text. This may have partly been done subconsciously, but it may also have been due to their lack of practical language skills (see, e.g., Ross in this volume). The difference compared with former Catholic practices was that the source texts used were often other translations in the vernacular, especially Luther's German translations. As a result, new kinds of influences were passed from one language to another (for more about differences between traditional and Protestant translation methods, see de Smit in the current work).

Due to the translation of biblical and other religious texts in the 16th century, foreign syntactic structures, morphological elements, concepts, and vocabulary were borrowed and used in the target texts. The source languages also left their mark on word order and orthography. In addition to linguistic elements, new text genres were also adopted (see, e.g., Vanags 1995; Eggertsdóttir 2006: 178; Häkkinen 2015: 108-11, 126). Borrowing from one language to another affected languages belonging to different language groups but also related languages. For example, German has had a considerable effect on the structures and vocabulary of literary Swedish. Likewise, German has influenced Estonian and Latvian, while Swedish has influenced Finnish. Even though the languages spoken in the Baltic Sea region belong to different language groups and differ in many aspects, they have still been in close contact for a very long time and have come closer to one another in many ways, perhaps even to the degree that we can even speak of a

5 It is not always easy to distinguish the influence of translation on languages from those changes caused by other contacts between languages since translation and other language contacts can lead to corresponding innovations. The combined effect of various types of contacts is most probably the explanation for contact-based changes and variations that affect languages (Kolehmainen 2013: 452-53).

hypothetical Baltic Sea linguistic area (the *Baltic Europe*), within which the languages have certain features in common (Raukko and Östman 1994: 1).

In the above, the way in which languages have come closer to one another through literary culture and translation has been discussed. A similar process might also take place within a single language, as different dialects acquired similar features through standardization of the written language. However, the literary culture can also have the effect of differentiating languages. For example, while Swedish and Danish formerly formed a continuum of dialects, the birth of literary languages brought with it a clear differentiation between the languages. In the same way, the literary culture emphasized the differences between Finnish and Estonian, Karelian, and the Veps language, and in the same way between German and Danish and Dutch (Klinge 1995: 63).

Contributions

This volume examines the impact of the Lutheran Reformation on the languages of the Baltic Sea region from several different perspectives. The book contains twelve chapters written by experts in the old written Baltic Sea region languages. The chapters of the book deal with the events related to the translations of the Bible texts, but genres other than biblical are also discussed. A few of the most central themes of the chapters are: how the ideologies and other ideas related to Lutheranism were adapted to the new areas, new languages, and new contexts during the Reformation period in the 16th and 17th centuries; and how the Lutheran Reformation affected the standardization of the literary languages.

The current volume is divided into four parts. Part I, 'The Reception of Luther's Ideas and their Influence for the Development of Written Languages', examines how Lutheran ideals were expressed in writing in the translations and other texts of the Reformation period. Although the ideals were common, the external world of the languages and the different social and linguistic conditions prevailing in the different regions affected how they were understood and put into practice.

The opening chapter, by John L. Flood, discusses how the ideals of the Lutheran Reformation were received in 16th-century England. Firstly, the chapter examines the disagreements between King Henry VIII and Martin Luther regarding the sacraments; secondly, it deals with William Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament (1525, 1526) and how it was received. Tyndale's translation is considered extremely significant for

the development of the written English language, and the language itself has been praised as being, among other things, natural, clear, rich, and easily understandable. However, the chapter stresses that the merits of Tyndale's work should be seen in the light of Luther's New Testament (1522) and Luther's ideals regarding translation. It is indeed clear that Luther was a model for Tyndale, not only in terms of ideology but also linguistically. English was Tyndale's mother tongue, and written English had long traditions, so the starting point for putting Luther's visions into effect can be considered excellent.

The second chapter, by Kristiina Ross, deals with the question of how the ideals of the Lutheran Reformation regarding language usage and translation were put into practice in written Estonian. The chapter focuses on the confrontation between ideals and practical reality. The role of the German language was very strong in the area of contemporary Estonia at the early modern time; the elite were German speaking, and this also applied to the Lutheran clergy and those who did the actual translation work. According to the Lutheran ideal, the translation should aim at a language that was understandable to the common people and was clear and expressive. The aims were challenging when the text was translated into a new language that was still in the process of developing and when the translators were non-native speakers who only had a basic knowledge of the language. The chapter deals with these perspectives from the development of written Estonian over a 200-year period, from the early 16th century, at the beginning of the Lutheran era, to the publishing of the first complete Bible in Estonian in 1739.

The third chapter, by Izabela Winiarska-Górska, sheds light on the influence of the Lutheran Reformation on the history of written Polish. The focus is above all on the 16th century, when the ideas of Lutheranism also reached Prussia and Poland. The chapter discusses how Lutheranism was reflected both in the standard language and in religious discourse. The cultural context differs from that prevailing in many of the other areas of the Baltic Sea region, among other reasons because Catholicism never lost its predominant position in the area. Naturally, political factors and changes in administrative areas, as well as the local and marginal nature of Lutheranism, affected the importance of Lutheran literature as a channel of influence. In spite of this, Lutheran literature can be seen above all as having promoted the development of the written language and literature of the region during the Reformation period.

Part II of the book, 'Effects of Bible Translations on the Evolution of Written Language', examines the linguistic influence of the Lutheran source texts. Generally speaking, the Reformation was of considerable importance for the

development and establishment of the written languages of the Baltic Sea region. However, these influences varied for different languages, which was partly due to social factors and partly depended on how old, how far developed, and how well established the written language was. Regarding the stage of development, it is also relevant to consider the relationship between significant historical events and periods and the actual development of the language.

In the fourth chapter, Robert Dittmann discusses the influence of the Lutheran Reformation period on written Czech. The Bible was translated into Czech as early as the 14th century, and by the time of the Reformation, the language was a rich, highly developed and well-established written language based on the mediaeval tradition of biblical language. Protestant views had long traditions in Czech lands,⁶ and Luther's ideas also reached the area early. All in all, the religious situation in Czech lands was very confused in the 16th century, and although Luther's texts were translated, neither his Bible nor his New Testament were ever translated into Czech. Thus, ultimately, his influence on Bible translation and the development of the written Czech was not particularly significant. Instead of the Lutheran Bible, the new model for written Czech was offered by the Bible as translated mainly directly from the original languages from the end of the 16th century.

The fifth chapter, by Jonatan Pettersson, deals with the development of written Swedish in the light of early Bible translation work. The focus is on the translation of the New Testament (1526) in the Reformation period, which in the history of written Swedish has been seen as a special milestone in the transition from the Middle Ages to the early modern age, and from Old Swedish to Early Modern Swedish. Even though the work contains linguistic innovations and has had a powerful influence on establishing the written language, it also serves as a document of mediaeval linguistic usage. From the perspective of written Swedish, the 16th century, the Reformation period, and the early modern age appear to be a time of further development of late mediaeval phenomena and changes rather than the beginning or end of any period of development.

Part III of the book, 'Reuse of (Catholic) Texts after the Reformation', discusses the use of old texts from the time of the Roman Catholic Church in the Lutheran context. The adoption of Lutheran views changed the cultural contexts of interpretation and use in several ways. The themes discussed here include the suitability of the subjects and text genres and their adaptation to the context, as well as changes relating to the use of the texts.

6 The area here called the *Czech Lands* consisted of the areas of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia (see Dittmann in the current volume).

The sixth chapter, by Elise Kleivane and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, deals with the appearance of stories about the child Jesus and his mother Mary in late mediaeval and early modern Nordic literature. It is an old apocryphal subject that in Catholic times was very popular in Europe, when the worship of saints played an important role. These texts telling the story of the child Jesus and the mother Mary were also known in Nordic countries, and they seem to have only increased in popularity in the centuries following the Reformation. The chapter focuses on the use of the texts and how they were spread, especially to the areas of Norway and Iceland. The texts were adapted to the new context and are excellent proof that an old popular theme could survive reforms by adapting to the changed expectations.

The seventh chapter of the book, by Sebastian Seyferth, concerns the New Testament summaries compiled by the 16th-century Low German reformers, such as Johannes Bugenhagen and Veit Dietrich. The summaries were précis-like texts, introducing readers to the books of the Bible and explaining the biblical texts. The chapter examines the textual and other linguistic means by which the biblical texts are referred to in the summaries, and links are created between the texts. The questions focused on are: How far did the New Testament summaries of the Reformation period serve purely as introductions to and synopses of the actual texts of the Bible, to what extent did they deal with the ideas of Reformation, and to what extent was the function of the summaries to explain and give theological interpretations of the texts? These questions are interesting, particularly against the background that, according to the principles of the Reformation, the Bible should be in the vernacular and presented in such a clear and easily understandable way that it could function alone as a guideline for life and religious belief, without the explanatory texts inherited from Catholic times.

In Chapter 8, Tanja Toropainen compares early Finnish translations of the Latin hymn *Te Deum laudamus*. The hymn, dating from the time of the mediaeval Roman Catholic Church, has been translated into Finnish several times; these texts include both prose-type versions and a rhymed version of the hymn. From these versions we can see the change that took place when the Catholic choral singing tradition was replaced, in accordance with the Lutheran ideal, by the practice of chanting the hymn together as a congregation. The chapter examines the relationship between the versions and considers the influence of the Latin, Swedish, and German versions on the Finnish translations.

Part IV, 'Language Contacts and Loanwords', discusses the traces left by contacts and recorded in texts as a result of translation – for example, cultural words, terminology, and other structures adopted from one language

into another. The language and texts are also examined more widely from the perspective of discourse: how the contacts created by the Reformation influenced the way in which people talked about certain things and the language they used to describe the world around them.

In the ninth chapter, Mikko Bentlin looks into the traces left by Low German on early Finnish translations from the Reformation era. It is well known that Mikael Agricola, Finland's most important reformer and a powerful influence in creating the written Finnish language, used Luther's High German texts as his source texts. This chapter complements earlier research by establishing the extent to which the influence of Middle Low German source texts is to be seen in the Finnish translations. Interesting potential source texts are, for example, Johannes Bugenhagen's Low German texts from the same period. The chapter also considers the reasons why the influence of Low German language and Low German texts seems to have remained surprisingly scant in Agricola's work.

The tenth chapter, by Merlijn de Smit, deals with the influence of Luther's texts as source texts on 16th-century Dutch Bible translations. The initial situation was an interesting starting point, as during that time both Protestant and Catholic translations were produced in the vernacular. The chapter examines how different translation ideologies and strategies were applied in the texts. The focus is on translations of the names of exotic animals in the Old Testament. The Catholic translation principle dating from mediaeval times can be described as relying on source texts, whereas the Protestant principle was more concerned with adapting the text to the target language. The study shows, for example, that the Protestant translations do, in fact, generally use more target language vocabulary, while in the Catholic vernacular translations the tendency is to rely on loan words.

The eleventh chapter, by Dainora Pociūtė, focuses on medical terminology and discourse in 16th-century texts, which are the oldest texts in the Lithuanian language. A central theme of the study is how the early Lutheran texts influenced the development of Lithuanian medical terminology and the understanding of diseases in the early modern age. The chapter is concerned with the interface between folk medicine and the Lutheran concept of disease and medicine. The early Lutheran texts in Lithuanian show that those who composed and translated them created a foundation for Lithuanian medical terminology going beyond that of the vernacular and Latin.

In the last chapter, Pēteris Vanags discusses the influence of German on early written Latvian. The focus is on Christian discourse. The background for the themes dealt with is formed by loan-based cultural phenomena (the

Christian religion and the Lutheran Reformation) and the loan-based texts (above all biblical texts) relating to the phenomena and their translation. The chapter examines the vocabulary and idioms of Christian discourse in the early 16th and 17th centuries, and also the morphological and syntactic structures, in terms of their origin. Early written Latvian was in practice a language translated from German, which was clearly reflected in the difference between the written and the spoken language. The influence of German on the written language was even more pronounced because the writers either spoke German as their mother tongue or they had a very good command of German. The influence of German and the resulting obscurity of the texts remained characteristic features of the language of Christianity until in the 19th century.

The present volume has been produced as the result of cooperation between leading language researchers in their special fields. It offers interesting points of view and thought-provoking observations on the usage of the written language, the literary models, and the spread and adoption of ideas and practices into new languages and new societies in the Reformation era. The work deals with the Reformation from the perspective of language and linguistic research, while offering not only information of general interest but also significant research knowledge for the use of many other scientific fields, such as church history, history, cultural history, and other cultural research fields. This book is the first work to examine the influence of the Lutheran Reformation, and the use of 16th- and 17th-century language in writing and its literary usage, from the perspective of different languages. As many as twelve languages of the Baltic Sea area or languages in its immediate sphere of influence are given a voice in this work. All the literary languages discussed here are still flourishing today, and we wish them all an excellent 500 years to come!

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