

Scandinavia

Preaching in Finland on the Eve of the Reformation and Beyond

The Evidence from Manuscript and Print

Circulating the Word of God in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Catholic Preaching and Preachers across Manuscript and Print (c. 1450 to c. 1550), ed. by Veronica O'Mara and Patricia Stoop, **SERMO** 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. @@-@@

BREPOLS PUBLISHERS

10.1484/M.SERMO-EB.5.130453

Jussi Hanska

Jussi Hanska [bio to come]

Almost two decades ago the German historian Arnold Esch wrote an extremely interesting essay on the difficulties of researching the social and economic history of late medieval and renaissance Rome. He describes a situation where the number of surviving sources is scarce and — what is even worse — this not only means that there are fewer sources, but also that they have survived asymmetrically, which presents a distorted view of reality. With Esch's words in mind, medievalists also have to peer into the darkness.¹ To do this, they must find and make use of sources that modern historians would not consider worthy of time or trouble. One may say that a medievalist can be compared to a person trying to put together a puzzle of 10,000 pieces with just a few hundred surviving and without any cover picture to show how they should fit together. Even if it is difficult to think of a more pronounced difference than the one between late medieval Rome and late medieval Finland, Esch's insights are more than valid for the latter. In fact, the problems involved in studying the Finnish Middle Ages are in some respects even more difficult than those for medieval Rome where the scarcity of sources is more relative than absolute. There are numerous issues that make the study of the Finnish situation particularly challenging.

Finland had gradually become part of the Swedish kingdom during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, making up the easternmost outpost of Western Christianity. Most of present-day Finland belonged to the Catholic diocese of Turku (or Åbo in Swedish). The rest of Finland was inhabited by the Sami in the north and Russian Orthodox Carelians in the east. The population in the coastal areas of Western and Southwestern Finland were Swedish speakers whereas the rest of the population spoke Finnish. In towns, such as the cathedral town of Turku, the majority spoke Swedish but there was also a considerable minority of German-speaking merchants and artisans due to the intensive contacts of the merchant towns of the Hanseatic League. The diocese of Turku covered a wide geographical area, but only had about a hundred parishes and at most three hundred thousand people. Turku had some five thousand inhabitants, the other four towns Viipuri (Viborg), Rauma (Raumo), Ulvila (Ulfsby), and

¹ Arnold Esch, 'Le fonti per la storia economica e sociale di Roma nel Rinascimento', in *Economia e società a Roma tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. by Anna Esposito and Luciano Palermo, Libri di Viella, 51 (Roma: Viella, 2005), pp. 4–6: 'Bisogna dunque sviluppare virtù che il medievista, rispetto al modernista, deve sviluppare comunque: il medievista deve vedere anche al buio' (p. 6).

Naantali (Nådental) were considerably smaller. Thus, the great majority of the population lived in rural areas. Being a border area meant that Finland enjoyed more than its share of wars and raids by the Russians and occasionally also by Danish pirates, quite apart from the ravages of fire that sometimes destroyed archives and manuscripts in its densely built medieval towns.²

Those manuscripts that managed to escape looters, fires, and general wear and tear were often lost during the Lutheran Reformation. The greatest reason for this was the so-called ‘voutivandalismi’ (bailiff vandalism). The Swedish king’s bailiffs in Finland, who were in charge of collecting taxes, had to keep record books. In practice this meant notebooks made of paper with covers made of parchment. The bailiffs obtained this parchment by ripping apart medieval Catholic codices. More than 9000 folia of medieval manuscripts have been recovered from the account books dated between 1530 and 1630. These are now stored at the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto or Finnish National Archives in Helsinki.³ Compared to this, the number of manuscripts and early printed books is relatively small. There is only a handful of surviving medieval manuscripts and fewer than a hundred early printed books.

If the situation of surviving written material from medieval Finland in general is poor, it becomes even more dramatic when one looks at the sources for medieval preaching in Finland. Sermons and *praedicabilia* in general are only a small part of the surviving material and this makes the study of preaching in medieval Finland extremely difficult; one is forced to follow Esch’s suggestion and try to search the most unlikely places to find even the smallest traces of homiletic culture preceding the Lutheran Reformation. Trying to form a coherent general view of the situation on the basis of such limited material is challenging to say the least.

It does not help that the propaganda diffused during the Reformation period (c. 1530–1630) sought to give as grim an impression as possible of the *cura animarum* in general and preaching in particular at the end of the Catholic period. For example, Paulus Juusten (d. 1575), the second Lutheran bishop of Turku, paints a rather dark picture of the Catholic period in the preface to his *Postilla* (1570):

Multi vestrum meminerunt, quod vigente adhuc apud nos idolatria papistica, sicut et in universo reliquo mundo, alebantur quidam sacerdotes, complures quibus adjuncti erant monachorum ordines in singulis fere civitatibus: horum omnium usus et officium maxime fuit ut praescriptum Psalmorum numerum, cum aliis cantiunculis quotidie decantarint: additis missis ad aras Sanctis mortuis consecratis [...] Erant missae de Beata virgine, de corpore Christi, de quatuordecim adiutoribus, erant missae pro defunctis, et multae aliae, quarum non est numerus. Hae saepe ab illis recitabantur, qui ipsi unam periodum linguae latinae non intellexerunt [...] Si lectio aliqua ex bibliis recitanda erat, id fiebat coram vulgo lingua non intelligibili. Conciones ad populum non fiebant, nisi tantum diebus dominicis et Sanctorum feriis: ne autem in illis habendis plures horae (inutiliter fortassis, prout illis videbatur) collocarentur, addebatur Epistola Dominicalis Evangelio aut proluxa aliqua legenda de Sanctis, quasi textus Evangelicus per se jejunam aliquam doctrinam contineret.⁴

² Tuomas Heikkilä, ‘Kirjallistumisen jäljillä’, in *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*, ed. by Tuomas Heikkilä, Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, 254 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 11–61 (p. 46). Turku, the cathedral town, was destroyed or looted by enemies in 1318, 1396, 1509, and 1522. Furthermore, Turku was at least partly destroyed by major fires in 1429, 1464, 1473, 1491, 1523, 1537, 1546, 1549, 1552, 1565, 1569, sometime during the 1570s, and in 1593.

³ Heikkilä, ‘Kirjallisuuden jäljillä’, pp. 49–50. Today these 9319 folia from roughly 1500 different manuscripts have been digitized and are available on the *Fragmenta membranea*-collection of Kansalliskirjasto (the Finnish National Library): <https://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/> [accessed 25 February 2021].

⁴ Edited in K. G. Leinberg, ‘Företalet till P. Iwstens Postilla’, *Historiallinen Arkisto*, 19 (1905), 268–69. See also Simo Heininen, *Suomalaisen historian kirjoituksen synty: tutkimus Paavali Juusten piispainkronikasta*, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Tutkimuksia, 147 (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1989), pp. 23–24. As Heininen rightly observes, Juusten is merely repeating Lutheran standard topoi concerning Church life during the Catholic period.

[Many of you will remember that when papistical idolatry still ruled in our land, as it did in the entire world, many priests were employed, most of them connected to monastic orders that were found in nearly every town, and whose only function was to chant daily the prescribed number of psalms and other chants. In addition to that they celebrated Masses in front of altars consecrated to dead saints [...] There were Masses for the Blessed Virgin, on the body of Christ, for the Fourteen Holy Helpers; there were Masses for the dead and many others that cannot even be counted. These were often recited by men who barely understood any Latin themselves [...] If there was any reading of the Bible in the presence of the people, it was done in a language they could not understand. There were no sermons for the people, unless on Sundays and saints' feast days and nor did they last many hours (which they perhaps thought would have been useless), and they added Sunday's Epistle reading or prolix legends of the saints to the Gospel text as if the Gospel text alone lacked sufficient doctrinal material].

Neither does it help that the earlier historiography in Finland accepted this confessional propaganda with very little criticism. Henrik Gabriel Porthan, 'professor eloquentiae' at the Kungliga Akademien i Åbo (Royal Academy in Turku) published a study on early Finnish preaching in 1781. Porthan's view of the pre-Reformation sermons in Finland was rather bleak:

Ut autem taceamus, raras eas saltim fuisse, certum fere videtur, non multum notitiae vel emolumenti ex illis ad auditores redundare potuisse: continebant enim prope nihil aliud, quam laudes Beatae Virginis, legendas sanctorum, atque alias tales ineptias; quae quam parum, vel potius nihil, ad veram salutis obtinendae rationem hominibus tradendam contulerint, quis non perspiciat ipsi quoque sacerdotes, in tanta versati sunt ignorantia, ut saepe nullam haberent linguae latinae peritiam, adeoque e Scriptura Sacra nihil proficere possent; unde mirum videri debet nemini, ipsorum conciones jejunas atque inutiles fuisse.⁵

[To say nothing else, there were very few of them and certainly it seems that the listeners did not get much information or benefit from them as they did not contain much other than praise of the Blessed Virgin, legends of the saints, and other such nonsense. They contributed very little, or more likely nothing at all as an attempt to lead people to true salvation. This was not noticed by the priests themselves, for they were in a such state of ignorance that often they did not have any command of Latin at all, and therefore they could not benefit from holy Scripture. Hence it should not come as a surprise to anyone that their sermons were simplistic in content and useless].

Porthan's evaluation was based on the above-mentioned prologue of Paulus Juusten and a limited number of other sources from Reformation times. Porthan, as a late eighteenth-century historian can be excused for underestimating medieval preaching. What is less excusable is the continuing historiographical tradition of accepting Lutheran reformers' anti-Catholic propaganda at face value when it comes to preaching. There is a well-established tradition among Reformation period scholars that — contrary to all the evidence — still takes the view that preaching was for the most part a Protestant phenomenon. John M. Frymire gives a striking example of this misunderstanding in his prologue to *The Primacy of Postils*:

Some ten years ago in the archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in Rome (aka The Inquisition and Index of Prohibited [p. 2] Books), I stumbled upon numerous sets of censorship protocols in which the sources given the privilege of a purge blindsided me: these were German Catholic sermon collections; many of them were postils; and most had originally been published in the vernacular. Their translation into Latin not only guaranteed them an international audience, but also provided German books in a language that Roman censors could actually read. Having recently passed my Ph.D. comprehensive exams, I knew that 'preaching and the German Reformation' was a Protestant phenomenon. Did not Catholics, for their part, simply pour scorn upon the Evangelicals in polemical pamphlets that few wanted to print and

⁵ Henrik Gabriel Porthan, *Historiola concionum sacrarum fennicarum* (Aboa: Frenckell, 1781), pp. 5–8.

fewer wanted to read? Was it not until the later sixteenth century, in the wake of the Council of Trent and especially during the Baroque period, that Catholic preaching really came into its own as an effective medium? Despite years of working in Germany, it was by accident and in Rome that I discovered a radical corrective to the long established conundrum of the German Catholic non-resistance to the Evangelicals in the pulpits, and one that came much earlier than the standard paradigms allowed.⁶

The remainder of this essay will seek to address head-on what underlies the sort of preconceptions in Frymire's comment by making a concerted attempt to uncover what evidence there is for preaching in Finland in the later Middle Ages as Europe moved from a manuscript to a print culture. Unlike many other regions in Europe, most notably Germany and the Low Countries, where examples of preaching activity is plentiful, for a complex mix of factors over several centuries that for Finland is very hard to find. In this essay we shall first examine what might loosely be called more direct evidence before moving on to indirect evidence gained from archival records and commentary, followed by a study of what manuscripts and early printed sermons actually survive in Finland (whether produced there or not), and end with a brief examination of the transition from Catholic to Lutheran preaching. In so doing we shall attempt to illuminate the ways in which the situation in Finland compares with — but largely contrasts to — the rest of Europe.

Direct Evidence

There are certain aspects about Finland that make it almost impossible to assume that there would not have been popular preaching there in the late medieval period. The most important of these is the presence of religious orders in the diocese of Turku. There were two Dominican convents in Turku and Viipuri; three Franciscan convents in Kökar, Rauma, and Viipuri; and finally there was the Birgittine monastery of Naantali. The preaching activities and indeed, the primary role of preaching in both Dominican and Franciscan apostolate, is too well-known to require any further comment here. The Birgittine order and the preaching activities of the Birgittine brothers are less well known to the wider scholarly community, but nevertheless well documented and studied.⁷ It would be absurd to assume that the Dominicans and the Franciscans did not preach in Finland when they did so everywhere else. Furthermore, St Birgitta herself gave instruction for preaching to the lay people who came to Birgittine monasteries, sometimes from far away.⁸ The Birgittine rule dictated that the brothers had to

⁶ John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 147 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 1–2.

⁷ On Birgittine preaching, see for example: Roger Andersson, *Postillor och predikan: en medeltida texttradition i filologisk och funktionell belysning*, Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, Scripta minora, 1 (Stockholm: Runica et Mediaevalia, 1993); Stephan Borgehammar, 'Preaching to Pilgrims: Ad vincula Sermons at Vadstena Abbey', in *A Catalogue and Its Users: A Symposium on the Uppsala C Collection of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by Monica Hedlund, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsalensis, 34 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1995), pp. 91–100; Roger Andersson, *Predikosamlingar i Vadstena klosterbibliotek: Vadstenabrödernas predikan*, Meddelanden, 1 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, Institutionen för klassiska språk, 1996); Roger Andersson, *De birgittinska ordensprästerna som traditionsförmedlare och folkfostrare*, Runica et Mediaevalia, Scripta minora, 4 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, 2001); Monica Hedlund, 'The Use of Model Sermons at Vadstena: A Case Study', in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. by Roger Andersson, Sermon: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 117–64.

⁸ Andersson, *De birgittinska ordensprästerna*, p. 25. Birgittine preaching in Finland is briefly dealt with by Marko Lamberg in his book on the first Finnish author, Jöns Budde, who was a monk in the monastery of Naantali. His information, however, is strictly based on what was known from the rule and the situation in Sweden; Marko

preach in the vernacular language at the monastery church every Sunday and at those feasts that had vigil days. There is no reason to imagine that this stipulation was not followed in Finland.

Moreover, one needs to take a look at the parish churches themselves, as they reveal some information concerning medieval preaching. Numerous late medieval Finnish stone churches include a structure that is called an exterior pulpit. There are twenty-three surviving exterior pulpits scattered throughout medieval churches in the Turku diocese.⁹ These are staircases that end in small windows on the second floor walls that open to the church yard. The current assumption is that they were used to preach to the parishioners that were gathered in the church yard — a custom that was common in connection with all sorts of community meetings and especially during the yearly fairs and market days that were traditionally held on the day of a parish church's patronal feast.

Nevertheless, it needs to be stated that we do not have a single example of an original medieval sermon, either in Latin or in the vernacular, which was written in Finland. There are a few sermons — in fact very few — that may have been written in Finland, but none of them can be identified beyond any doubt as Finnish. A good example are the Latin sermons for the feast day of St Henry, the alleged first bishop of Turku and the patron saint of Finland.¹⁰ Aarno Maliniemi has studied and edited thirty-one Latin sermons on St Henry, all surviving in the *C-samlingen* of Uppsala universitetsbibliotek.¹¹ All these sermon manuscripts came originally from the library of the Birgittine monastery of Vadstena (established sometime in the 1360s and consecrated in 1384). Some preachers remain unknown but others are known by name and we have further information on them in other sources such as *Diarium Vadstenense*.¹² At least two of these preachers spent some time in the Birgittine house of Naantali, which was founded in 1442. Johannes Borquardi (d. 1447) came to Finland in June 1446 and died there on 4 March 1447.¹³ Clemens Petri (d. 1500) was sent to Finland to reform the Nådendal monastery. He stayed in Finland for an unknown period of time between 1480 and 1484.¹⁴ It is possible that some of Clemens Petri's sermons were originally delivered in Finland and, even if they were

Lamberg, *Jöns Budde: Birgittalaisveli ja hänen teoksensa*, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia, 1115 (Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2007), p. 297.

⁹ Markus Hiekkänen, *The Stone Churches of the Medieval Diocese of Turku: A Systematic Classification and Chronology*, Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja, 101 (Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, 1994), pp. 90–96. Hiekkänen points out that exterior pulpits appear to be rare in other countries. In addition to Finnish churches, there are only a few known churches in Sweden and Denmark with similar structures.

¹⁰ According to his legend, St Henry came originally from England. He came to Finland together with St Erik, the king of Sweden, to convert the Finns. He remained in the country and became the first bishop. St Henry was allegedly martyred by a pagan Finn around 1150. He was never officially canonized, but his cult was reasonably widely spread in Scandinavia. There is very little reliable evidence for his life and some scholars even doubt his existence.

¹¹ *De S. Henrico episcopo et martyre: die mittelalterliche Literatur über den Apostel Finnlands. II Legenda nova. Sermones*, ed. by Aarno Maliniemi, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Tutkimuksia, 45 (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1942), II (only the second volume was published). On the manuscripts of the Uppsala C-collection, see Margarete Andersson-Schmitt and Monica Hedlund, *Mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsaliensis, 26, 8 vols (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988–1995).

¹² *Diarium Vadstenense: The Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey*, ed. by Claes Gejrot, Studia Latina Stockholmensia, 33 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988) and *Vadstenadiariet: latinsk text med översättning och kommentar*, ed. by Claes Gejrot, Handlingar, 19 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1996).

¹³ Roger Andersson, *De birgittinska ordensprästerna som traditionsförmedlare och folkfostrare*, p. 209.

¹⁴ Roger Andersson, 'Översättaren som predikant: Clemens Petri och svenska språket', in *Dicit Scriptura: studier i C-samlingen tillägnade Monica Hedlund*, ed. by Sara Risberg, Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, Scripta minora, 14 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, 2006), pp. 149–64 (p. 152); *De Sancto Henrico episcopo et martyre*, pp. 30–35, and 49–50.

not, it is reasonable to assume that these two prolific preachers delivered sermons during their stay in Nådendal. One could also speculate that some of Clemens Petri's sermons from that period found their way into his Latin model sermon collections.¹⁵

Maliniemi also published, in addition to sermons proper, the *Legenda nova* of St Henry of Finland written in Latin. He noticed that this legend is generically very close to the sermon genre: 'Die Form der Legende kommt derjenigen einer Predigt sehr nahe'. As Maliniemi points out, on the basis of internal evidence, this text was originally written by a Finnish Birgittine priest for the use of Turku cathedral.¹⁶ On the basis of Maliniemi's views, Jesse Keskiaho has proposed that the *Legenda nova* was re-worked from a sermon.¹⁷ However, for a scholar working in the field of medieval sermon studies it is quite clear that the *Legenda nova* does not structurally resemble a sermon and there is no real reason to suppose that it would have been based on a sermon or sermons. In fact, I present the *Legenda nova* here only as an example of the lengths to which scholars have gone to find some surviving evidence of Finnish medieval sermons.

Contemporary Sources on the Preaching and Preachers

In view of the lack of surviving sermons, one needs to look at other sources to find information about preachers and preaching during the latter half of the fifteenth century. Here one needs to consider that the same Reformation that destroyed most of the pre-Reformation Catholic literature also destroyed a good deal of the historical records. The surviving material concerning medieval Finland consists nearly exclusively of records concerning the ownership and sale of land and property. Such documents retained their value notwithstanding the Reformation.

Chronicles and annals reasonably common elsewhere in Europe are almost non-existent. There are few fragments from the fifteenth century. However, the *Catalogus et ordinaria successio episcoporum finlandensium* that was written during the Reformation period by the Lutheran Bishop of Turku, Paulus Juusten, was partly based on earlier, mostly now lost, medieval historiographical works.¹⁸ Unfortunately, Juusten is more concerned with the administrative achievements of the bishops. He has very little to say about preaching, and what he says is rather generic. His only mention of medieval preaching is his reference that Bishop Olavus Magni (1405–1460), who was consecrated in Rome during the holy year 1450, as 'rhetor extitit facundissimus' ['was an eloquent orator'].¹⁹ Searching through other documents and source publications produces almost as poor results. Any references to preaching are few and far between, and even those cases are not very solid or informative. For

¹⁵ There are two surviving model sermon collections by Clemens Petri; *de tempore* (Uppsala, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, C-samlingen, MS C 321) and *de sanctis* (Uppsala, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, C-samlingen MS C 308). Both these sermon collections are written mostly in Latin but include here and there a few words or short passages in Swedish; Roger Andersson, 'Översättaren som predikant: Clemens Petri och svenska språket', pp. 150–51.

¹⁶ *De Sancto Henrico episcopo et martyre*, pp. 4–5 (p. 5).

¹⁷ Jesse Keskiaho, 'Pappien koulutus ja Oppineen papiston kirjat', in *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*, ed. by Tuomas Heikkilä, Historiallisia tutkimuksia, 254 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 147–81 (p. 181).

¹⁸ Paulus Juusten, *Catalogus et ordinaria successio episcoporum finlandensium*, ed. by Simo Heininen (Helsinki: Societas Historiae Ecclesiastica Finlandiae, 1988). On Juusten's medieval sources, see Heininen, *Suomalaisen historian kirjoituksen synty*, pp. 32–92 (for the abbreviated German version, see pp. 128–29).

¹⁹ Juusten, *Catalogus et ordinaria successio episcoporum finlandensium*, p. 62.

example, Bishop Olavus Magni gave a forty days' indulgence letter to the parish church of Rymättylä (Rimito in Swedish) in south-western Finland during his visitation tour in the autumn of 1450. In this letter he specifies that indulgence are given to those who (among other specified things) listen to sermons in the said church.²⁰ This does not necessarily imply that preaching for the parishioners would have been regular or even a common thing at Rymättylä church; it is more likely that the bishop was simply copying the standard formula of an indulgence letter.

More interesting is a document from the year 1448. In it, the general confessor of Vadstena monastery acknowledged receiving payments from certain books that had been sent to the Finnish daughter house of Naantali. Some of the books were sold to the Naantali monastery, but two of them were only loaned to be copied there and then to be returned to Vadstena. They were an unidentifiable *exemplum* collection and a sermon collection written by a certain Johannes Petri.²¹ While the document does not specify who this Johannes Petri was, it is likely that he was one of the Vadstena brothers. In fact, the *Diarium Vadstenense* mentions that a certain brother Johannes Petri died in 1418. The *Diarium* mentions that this brother Johannes Petri 'Multa quoque bona reliquit in scriptis' ['left much good in writing'].²² This document proves that the Birgittine brothers of the Naantali monastery took their preaching duties seriously, responsibilities that were explained in normative documents such as the *Regula Sancti Salvatoris* and the *Liber usuum* that guided the lives of the Birgittines.²³

Furthermore, there is a short note in a Dominican general minister's *diarium* dated 15 June 1492 that a certain Brother Henricus Lolle (or Lelle) from the Dominican convent of Turku is given permission to stay with the bishop of Turku for the purpose of preaching: 'potest stare causa predicationis cum reverendissimo patre d. episcopo Aboense' ['can stay with the most reverend Father, lord bishop of Turku, for the sake of preaching'].²⁴ A year before this Brother Henricus Lolle had been given a letter of recommendation by the bishop. There he was entitled 'frater Henricus Lelle, in sacra pagina lector' that is, he was the Turku convent's lector and most probably a very well educated man.²⁵ This explains why the bishop would have wanted to have him accompany him as a preacher.

The Minister General's permission actually gave a stamp of approval to a pre-existing situation. It is known that two years earlier Henricus Lelle had followed bishop Magnus in his visitation tour. There is a document that shows how Bishop Magnus Stjernkors (1489–1500) consecrated the new cemetery of Lokalahti (Lokalax) church roughly 50 kilometres northeast of Turku. This document tells us that:

Anno 1490 benedictum et consecratum est cimiterium in Lockalax ipso die Edwardi regis et martyris per reuerendum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Magnum Nicolai Serkelax, diuina et apostolice sedis gracia episcopum Aboensem, in honorem sancte trinitatis, passionis Christi et salvatoris necnon et in memoriam compassionis gloriosissime virginis Marie omniumque sanctorum et sancte Katharine virginis et martyris gloriose, in presentia plurimum

²⁰ *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*, ed. by Reinhold Hausen, 8 vols (Helsingfors: Finlands statsarkiv, 1921), **III**, no. 2854: '[...] similiter hii, qui processionibus fieri consuetis ante missas vel post missas et missis votiuis interfuerint ibique missas, predicationes ac alia diuina officia diurna uel nocturna audierint [...]' ['[...] similarly those, who participate in customary processions before or after Masses, or are present for votive Masses, Masses, preaching, or hear other Divine Offices in the day or night time [...]'].

²¹ *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*, ed. by Hausen, **VIII**, no. 6652.

²² *Diarium Vadstenense*, ed. by Gejrot, pp. 174–75.

²³ Andersson, *Postillor och predikan*, pp. 194–204.

²⁴ *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*, ed. by Hausen, **V**, no. 4413. The name of the diocese is misspelled, it should read Aboense. This was a common enough mistake as there were very few documents that dealt with the remote Turku diocese, and, consequently, its name was not as familiar as the names of bigger and more important dioceses for the scribes of the papal curia.

²⁵ *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*, ed. by Hausen **V**, no. 4392.

de sua familia, clericorum et seclarium, presertim magistri Pauli Lingonis, ecclesie Aboensis canonici, et parente eciam cancellario et fratre Henrico Lelle, lectoris sacre theologie qui primam missam tunc in eodem cimiterio cantando solenniter in presentia eiusdem reuerendi patris celebrauit et predicauit.²⁶

[In the year 1490 in the day of Edward the king and confessor, the new cemetery of Lokalahti was blessed and consecrated by the reverend father and lord in Christ, lord Magnus Nikolai Särkilahti, by divine and apostolic grace bishop of Turku, in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Passion of Christ the Saviour, and in memory of the compassion of the most glorious Virgin, all the saints, and the virgin and glorious martyr St Katherine, and in the presence of many members of the bishop's retinue, clerics and laymen, especially Master Paulus of Lingonis, canon of Turku cathedral, and also in the presence of [the bishop's] relative and chancellor Brother Henricus Lelle, reader of sacred theology, who solemnly celebrated the first Mass in that cemetery in the presence of the reverend father [the bishop] and preached].

The case of Henricus Lelle, however, only shows that preaching was actually carried out in the close vicinity of the bishop, either in the cathedral or during his visitation tours. It does not say anything about the situation in rural parishes outside the cathedral town. The only source that actually mentions the sermons of the ordinary parish priests is the 1492 synodal statute of Bishop Magnus Stjernkors. It stipulates that:

Preterea statuimus et ordinamus, quod quilibet curatorum per se vel per alium capellanum in quolibet dominica legat in vulgari ex ambone pater noster, aue Maria, credo et modum confitendi, sub pena sex marcarum tociens quociens, et quod habeat omnia predicta in vulgari conscripta, ita quod uniformiter semper doceat suos parrochianos ut facilius discant.²⁷

[In addition, we stipulate that anyone in charge of the cure of souls, either personally or by a chaplain on each Sunday will read from the pulpit in the vernacular the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, the Creed, and the form of confession on pain of a fine of six marks for each occasion, and that they have all the above mentioned written down in the vernacular so that they can always teach them uniformly and thus make it easier for their parishioners to learn them].

This synodal statute follows the models known from the rest of Europe starting from John Pecham's famous Lambeth Constitutions of 1281 in England. It does not actually speak about preaching but rather of a catechetical instruction delivered from the pulpit. However, from the context it is clear that this instruction of the parishioners was meant to be carried out in connection with Sunday sermons, and it should be noted that 'in vulgari' in this context could mean either Swedish or Finnish depending on what was the generally spoken language in the parish.

Surviving Sermon Collections and *Praedicabilia*

Since, as seen above, the surviving direct source material does not allow us to form a coherent and integrated picture of preaching in medieval Finland, it is necessary to find other sources that provide us with indirect evidence of preaching. The best of these sources consists of surviving model sermon collections and other *praedicabilia*. The general logic here is that,

²⁶ *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*, ed. by Hausen, V, no. 4333.

²⁷ *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder*, ed. by Hausen, V, nos 4415 and 4433. A mark in Finland equalled c. 210 grams of silver. However, one 'mark' as a monetary unit was not equal to one mark as a weight measurement. Some idea of the severity of the fine can be drawn from the fact that the very same year bishop Magnus Stjernkors declared that the maximum annual wage of a chaplain was five marks.

taking into account the expensiveness of the books even after the spread of the use of paper and the development of print, they remained so pricey that one can easily suppose they were not copied or ordered just for aesthetic pleasure, but to be used. As the model sermon collections were mostly useful for priests writing their own sermons (and to a lesser extent as devotional reading), one can safely assume that if one can prove that a parish priest or a parish church owned a copy of such work, it was indeed used for preaching purposes.

A closer look at extant medieval literature from Finland shows that the surviving *praedicabilia* is indeed much richer than the narrative and documentary sources of preaching during the medieval Catholic period. However, before going into details an important methodological problem with these sources needs to be discussed. The provenance and history of these manuscripts, fragments, and early printed books is often poorly known and in many cases impossible to reconstruct. This is problematic because one cannot assume that a manuscript or a book found in the library registers at the nineteenth century was actually in Finland during the Middle Ages. It is a well-known fact that in the wars of the seventeenth century, that is, during Sweden's 'Stormaktstiden' or 'Great Power period', its armies plundered monasteries, castles, and bishops' palaces in central Europe and brought their booty back home. Some of these looting high-ranking officers came from Finland. A good example is the Swedish-speaking cavalry general Torsten Ståhlhandske (d. 1644) whose widow Christina Horn donated his looted book collection (consisting of 890 volumes) to the university library of the Kungliga Akademien of Turku in 1646.²⁸

This brings us to a concrete example relevant for this study. In the collections of the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto in Helsinki, there is a manuscript C.ö.I. 1 that contains an anonymous collection of sermons for Sundays and saints (some of them by Jacopo da Varazze) and an abbreviated version of Jacopo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea*. This manuscript has been put together from several texts all written in Germany during the fifteenth century. The first folio of the manuscript informs us that before coming to the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto: 'Pöytis moderkyrcka tilhörig', that is, it belonged to the parish church of Pöytyä in south-west Finland.²⁹ As we still have the inventory books of the Pöytyä church, it is easy to find out that the manuscript was first mentioned in the inventory dated 17 April 1654 with the title 'Latinsk postilla'.³⁰ Leaving aside the question of whether one can automatically assume — as Ville Walta does in his description of this manuscript — that a general reference to a medieval postil automatically means that it is the same manuscript that is housed in the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto today, one must ask when this manuscript actually came to Finland. As noted, it was written in Germany during the fifteenth century and most likely was still there towards the middle of the century as in the bindings there is a charter dated 1449 from Pope Nicholas V (1328–1330) concerning the city of Greifswald; we can also reasonably assume that it was in Pöytyä in the April of 1654 at the latest. However, what we cannot know for sure is if it found its way to Finland during the last years of the Middle Ages, perhaps with some of the Finnish students studying at the university in Greifswald, or was part of the booty of some officer of the Swedish army during the seventeenth-century wars (Greifswald was besieged and taken by

²⁸ Henrik Gabriel Porthan, *Historia Bibliothecae Regiae Academiae Aboënsis*, 25 vols (1771–1795) (Abo: Frenckell, 1778), pp. 17–18. The facsimile is reprinted in Henricus Gabriel, *Henrici Gabrielis Porthan Opera omnia*, 13 vols (Turku: Porthan-Seura, 1939–2007), V (1974). Here one might also mention Queen Christina Vasa's library now housed in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codices reginenses which also consists partly of books looted in Germany during the Thirty Years' War.

²⁹ The description of the manuscript has been made by Ville Walta. The description and digital version of the manuscript is found on the pages of the *Codices Fennici*-project, which is executed under the auspices of the Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura: <https://www.codicesfennici.fi/items/show/24> [accessed 25 February 2021].

³⁰ Pöytyä parish archive, inventories 1654–1759; see the digital archive of the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto: <http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=8246426> [accessed 25 February 2021].

the Swedish army in 1631 and belonged to Swedish Pomerania until 1815). For these reasons this manuscript cannot securely be used as evidence of preaching in medieval Finland.

The Suomen Kansalliskirjasto also has another surviving manuscript with two model sermon collections, namely MS C.ö.I.6. This manuscript includes the *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* collection by the Dominican preacher Peregrinus de Oppeln (d. 1335) as well as sermons by his confrère Antonio Azaro Parmense (d. c. 1310). This manuscript was also originally written in Germany, but unlike the Pöytyä sermon collection, it has marginal notes written in Swedish during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.³¹ These marginal notes make it highly likely that this manuscript was indeed used in Finland during the Middle Ages.

However, there is yet another sermon collection that was even more probably used in Finland during the medieval period, namely the copy of the so-called *Paratus postil* that is still found in the church archives of the Swedish-speaking parish of Rymättylä. It has not been possible to identify where and when this copy of the *Paratus postil* was printed as the title page as well as the first twenty-eight sermons are missing.³² The postil — a *de tempore* collection — is bound together with a Psalter printed in Leipzig by Melchior Lotter (d. 1549) on 14 July 1505. This Psalter is mentioned in the oldest surviving inventory of the Rymättylä parish archives in 1821.³³ However, the most important point is that there are several Swedish marginal notes in the *Paratus postil* written in a late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century hand. Some of the Swedish marginal notes are short commentaries on the text; others are Swedish translations of difficult Latin concepts, for example, in the second sermon on the Twelfth Sunday after Trinity the *Paratus postil* has: ‘Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris’. On the side margin one reads words ‘speciosa höffwelighet’ (that is ‘höflighet’ in modern Swedish, which means ‘suitable, good behaviour’). A few lines below the text says: ‘[...] oratio eius erit inexecrabilis’. And again one reads in the margin: ‘inexecrabilis stakkeligh’ (that is, ‘styggt’ which means ‘nasty, ugly’). It does not seem to be too far fetched to assume that these translations in the margins were made to make it easier to use the *Paratus postil* when writing and delivering vernacular sermons in Swedish. Judging from the style of letters, it seems that the *Paratus postil* was printed in 1480s or 1490s. This means that the Swedish language marginal notes were written at most twenty to twenty-five years after the book was printed and therefore it seems reasonable to assume that it was bought directly to a Swedish-speaking area, most likely to the parish of Rymättylä.³⁴

Finally, one needs to take a closer look at the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto above mentioned fragment collection. These include fragments of several sermon and *praedicabilia* manuscripts that can be proved with reasonable certainty to have been in Finland during the

³¹ The digitized manuscript is available at the website of the *Codices Fennici*-project (<https://www.codicesfennici.fi/items/show/25>; accessed 25 February 2021]. The description of the manuscript has been made by Ville Walta. The Swedish marginal notes are on fol. 22r–v. Peregrinus de Oppeln’s sermon collection has been edited as *Peregrini de Opole Sermones de tempore et de sanctis: e codicis manu scriptis primum*, ed. by Ryszard Tatarzyński, *Studia ‘Przeglądu Tomistycznego’*, 1 (Warszawa: Instytut Tomistyczny, 1997). There is an extensive introduction to Friar Peregrinus and his literary work in Polish, German, and in Latin on pp. vii–cii. On Antonio Azaro Parmense and his sermon collection, see G. Meersseman, ‘Le opere di fra Antonio Azaro Parmense’, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 10 (1940), 20–47.

³² There are twenty-four printed editions between 1480 and 1517. See British Library, *Incunabula Short Title Collection*: https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search?query=paratus&size=10&mode=default&from=20 [accessed 25 February 2021]. The fifteen editions available in digitized form have been checked, but none corresponds exactly with the Rymättylä book.

³³ Rymättylä Parish Archive, inventories 1821–1891, digitized in the digital archive of the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto: <http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=8544045> [accessed 25 February 2021].

³⁴ In 2009, when Rymättylä was incorporated into the neighbouring town of Naantali, it had fewer than six per cent Swedish speakers, but during the Middle Ages the south-west coastal area of Finland was nearly exclusively Swedish speaking.

Middle Ages.³⁵ In practice this means that those parchment leaves were used in bindings of bailiffs' accounts originating from Finland. These include, for example, *folia* from two different manuscripts of Jacopo da Varazze's Sunday sermon collection,³⁶ the Sunday sermons of the Dominican Jacques de Lausanne (d. 1321),³⁷ and parts of the sermon collection by the Franciscan Francesco d'Asti (active in the 1340s).³⁸ Furthermore this collection includes fragments of different *praedicabilia* manuscripts such as Jacopo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea*, collections of *distinctiones*, Nicolaus de Lyra's postils, Thomas Aquinas's *Catena aurea*, and so forth.

Here one may add a few words about early printed books and preaching in Finland. It is known that the first sermon collections in print had appeared by 1470 and from that time until the end of the Middle Ages the volume of printed sermon collections, as indeed of all printed books, grew exponentially.³⁹ However, the situation in Finland, judging on the basis of surviving evidence, seems to be rather different. As we have seen in the case of Rymättylä parish, there are indeed a few extant early printed books from medieval Finland. Some of them are still in the parish archives; some at the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto and yet others in other public libraries. Yet, their numbers are rather small compared to the surviving manuscript fragments, albeit that sermon collections and *praedicabilia* are particularly well represented in these volumes. There are a few reasons for the relatively small number of surviving early printed books. First, they were in most cases printed on paper which does not last as well as parchment and, most of all, could not be used as cover material for bailiffs' account books and so were not 'preserved' in this way. Therefore a greater number of medieval printed books than parchment manuscript books have simply been lost. Secondly, in 1488 the Bishop of Turku Konrad Bitz, ordered the printing of a rather expensive folio-sized *Missale* for the needs of his diocese. This was done to give more uniformity to the liturgy of the diocese. The purchase of the *Missale aboense* would have strained parish resources and perhaps distracted from the acquisition of sermon collections. The bishop used his authority to persuade his diocesan clergy to acquire the *Missale* for their respective parishes. He promised forty days of indulgence for all those who did so, and furthermore, it is easy to imagine that it would have been rather difficult for individual priests to decline the bishop's offer.⁴⁰ As the priests were practically forced to acquire the *Missale*, they probably had fewer resources to buy other books, given the poverty of some of the Finnish parishes.

Despite all this, there still remains a significant number of early printed model sermon collections in Finnish libraries and archives. The most significant collection, that is, the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto in Helsinki, includes copies of the following early printed model sermon collections: Leonardo da Udine, *Sermones quadragesimales de legibus* (Venezia, 1473), *Sermones de sanctis* (Köln, 1473), and *Sermones floridi de tempore* (Lyon, 1496); Roberto Caracciolo, *Sermones quadragesimales de poenitentia* (Basel, 1475, and Venezia, 1482); Albertus Magnus, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (Ulm, c. 1478–1480); Johannes

³⁵ See the *Fragmenta membranea*-database of the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto mentioned in n. 3.

³⁶ Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters: Texte und Untersuchungen, 43, 11 vols (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969–1990), III (1971), 221–35.

³⁷ Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*, III (1971), 54–89.

³⁸ Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters*, II (1970), 55–59.

³⁹ Anne T. Thayer, *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of Reformation*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 13–20; Frymire, *The Primacy of Postils*, pp. 12–13.

⁴⁰ Tuomas Heikkilä, 'Painoa sanalle: ensimmäiset Suomea varten painetut kirjat', in *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*, ed. by Tuomas Heikkilä, Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, 254 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 353–62. *Missale aboense* was printed by Bartholomeus Ghotan in Lübeck, it survives in sixteen partial copies. Heikkilä estimates that circa 120 to 200 copies were originally printed, some on parchment, some on paper.

de Verden, *Dormi secure de tempore* (Basel, before 1484); Ugo da Prato, *Sermones de sanctis* (Heidelberg, 1485); Meffreth, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis sive Hortulus reginae* (Nürnberg, 1487); Vicent Ferrer, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis, tom. 2 pars aestivalis* (Nürnberg, 1492); Antonio da Vercelli, *Sermones quadragesimales de XII mirabilibus fidei excellentiis* (Venice 1492); Antonio da Bitonto, *Sermones dominicales per totum annum* (Venezia, 1492), and *Sermones de epistolas dominicales et quadragesimales* (Venezia, 1496); Bernardino de Busti, *Mariale* (Milano, 1493); Bernard de Clairvaux, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (Venezia, 1495); Jacopo da Varazze, *Sermones quadragesimales, de tempore et de sanctis* in three volumes (Venezia, 1497); Pseudo Pierre de Palude, *Sermones thesauri novi de tempore* (Strasbourg, 1497); and Guillaume Peyraut, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis* (Tübingen, 1499). Furthermore, there are also a few copies of other early printed *praedicabilia*, for example, four copies of Jacopo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea* (Venezia, 1493; Basel, 1493; Lyon, 1504; and Rouen, 1510).⁴¹

To sum up, a few manuscripts, a few dozen fragments of manuscripts, and a handful of early printed books give us an impression that there indeed was a certain number of *praedicabilia* available for the clergy of Turku diocese. However, it needs to be kept in mind that they most likely present only a small minority of the material that once existed and so does not allow us to estimate their relative numbers compared to other areas in medieval Europe.

Indirect Evidence

Above we have analyzed surviving direct evidence concerning preaching and sermons in medieval Finland. It is possible to complete the picture by taking a look at some other indirect evidence largely beyond the medieval period. First, there is some information available in later sources, such as the archives of the parishes and some individual sources, concerning sermon collections and *praedicabilia* books and manuscripts that have not survived. Some manuscript books and early printed books managed to survive the vandalism of Gustav Vasa's (1496–1560) bailiffs and came to be appreciated by collectors during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some books found their way into private collections in Sweden and even abroad; others were bought or donated to the university library of the Kungliga Akademien in Turku. For example, according to the surviving inventory of 6 May 1630, the rural parish of Kokemäki in western Finland still owned a *Sermones de sanctis* and a *Catalogus sanctorum* in octavo. The rector of the parish, Simon Cardiaster, donated these two manuscripts to the university library on 27 December 1651. The *Sermones de sanctis* collection was returned to Kokemäki because it appears again at the inventory of 1680 but after that all trace of it disappeared.⁴² The fate of the *Catalogus sanctorum* was much more grim. The city of Turku burned down nearly *in extenso* in the great fire of 1827. This fire destroyed the university library completely and all of its holdings. The Turku fire also meant that the major part of surviving Finnish medieval manuscripts were lost, although we still have partial catalogues of the library that give us some indication of what was lost.⁴³

⁴¹ This information is gathered from Suomen Kansalliskirjasto electronic catalogue: https://helsinki.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/search?vid=358UOH_INST:VU1&lang=en [accessed 25 February 2021]. Here it is important to remember that these volumes need to be inspected one by one to find possible evidence of their provenance (the library catalogue does not include any information in this respect). It is very likely that at least in some cases these books have come to Finland only after the Middle Ages.

⁴² Tapio Salminen, *Joki ja sen väki: kokemäen ja Harjavallan historia jääkaudesta 1860-luvulle*, Kokemäen ja Harjavallan historia, I:1 (Jyväskylä: Kokemäen ja Harjavallan seurakunnat ja kaupungit, 2007), p. 282.

⁴³ *Bibliotheca Academiae Aboensis sive elenchus quo non modo certus scriptorum et librorum cujusque facultatis numeratus ordine alphabetico continetur, sed etiam ex quo initio, quibus incrementis, quorumque*

Another place to search for information concerning lost medieval material are the inventory books of the parish churches. By the end of the Middle Ages the diocese of Turku had approximately one hundred parishes and roughly thirty chapels that eventually became independent parishes in modern times. Nearly all of them have surviving inventories, the oldest ones dating from the first decades of the seventeenth century. Most of these inventories provide information concerning books owned by the parish. Some of them are reasonably detailed; others use generic expressions such as the short notice one finds in the inventories of 1774 from Tammela parish church: ‘Legenda monachorum in folio’.⁴⁴ An exceptional number of medieval books, both manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts, from Tammela parish have survived: fragments of a gradual, an antiphonary, and a copy of the *Missale aboense* (printed in 1488) are all now stored at the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto in Helsinki.⁴⁵ One can legitimately doubt the expertise of an eighteenth-century priest who wrote the inventory with regard to the proper identification of some medieval text; moreover, it is hardly possible that the book referred to can be any of the surviving Tammela books or fragments. However, it is possible to speculate what it might have been. First of all, one should not pay any attention to the word ‘monachorum’ as all the medieval books and manuscript in parish inventories were generally described ‘möncke böcker’ [‘monk books’]. Considering that it is a printed book and that the title seems to refer to saints’ legends, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to assume that it was Jacopo da Varazze’s *Legenda aurea* that was available in numerous folio-size editions. While it has not been possible here to research systematically all the inventories of the parish archives, the above-mentioned cases of Kokemäki and Tammela parishes clearly indicate that they may provide us with further indirect evidence of pre-Reformation preaching in Finland.

liberalitate et munificentia bibliotheca haec academica, ad tantam, qua nunc est, excrevit molem, paucis indicatur (Aboa: Typographica academica, 1655). Digitized: https://www.doria.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/119801/Bibliotheca_Academiae_Aboensis_sive_elenchus_quo_non_modoc.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y [accessed 25 February 2021]. Most of the books in the catalogue are from the post-Reformation period, but there were a few manuscripts and early printed books by medieval authors such as Nicolaus de Lyra, Thomas Aquinas, Robert Holcot, and so on. Furthermore, this catalogue predates the period of bibliophilic interest in medieval books and manuscripts and therefore it is plausible that the number of such volumes increased between the printing of the catalogue and the great fire of 1827. We get some further information from the history of the library of the Kungliga Akademien i Åbo published by its librarian (1772–1777), Professor Henrik Gabriel Porthan, in twenty-five *fasciculi* published between 1771 and 1795. Porthan tells us that during the 1650s fourteen different rural parishes and their clergy donated thirty-five books (presumably medieval manuscripts and early printed books) to the library. He also gives a description of manuscripts and early printed books. Among these he mentions manuscripts: Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* and Raymund Peñaforte, *Summa de penitentia* as well as several printed model sermon collections and other volumes useful for preachers: Birgitta of Sweden’s *Revelationes* (printed in 1492 in Lübeck), Antonino da Firenze’s *Confessionale* (Memming, 1483), (Ps-)Thomas Aquinas, *Tractatus solennis de arte et vero modo predicandi* (printed in 1483 no mention of the place), Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce, *Sermones de laudibus sanctorum* (Venezia, 1490), François de Mayronnes, *Sermones quadragesimales* (Venezia, 1491), Vicent Ferrer, *Tractatus de vita et instructione pie in Christo vivere volentium* (Magdeburg, 1494), Angelo Carletti di Chivasso, *Summa angelica de casibus conscientie* (Strasbourg, 1495), Johannes Herolt, *Liber de eruditione Christi fidelium* (Köln, 1496), Jacopo da Varazze, *Lombardica historia* (Nürnberg, 1501), Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scolastica* (Strasbourg, 1503); Henrik Gabriel Porthan, *Historia bibliothecae regiae academiae Aboensis*, 25 vols (Aboa: Frenckell, 1771–1795), **II** (1772), 26–27; **XI** (1783), 156–57, and **XV** (1785), 227–29.

⁴⁴ Tammela Parish Archive, *Inventories* 1774–1855, p. 7, digitized in the digital archive of the Suomen Kansalliskirjasto: <http://digi.narc.fi/digi/view.ka?kuid=6705941> [accessed 25 February 2021].

⁴⁵ Jesse Keskiäho, ‘Seurakuntien ja seurakuntapappien kirjat’, in *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*, ed. by Tuomas Heikkilä, Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, 254 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 265–67.

The Lutheran Reformation and Preaching in Finland

As we have seen previously, the first generation of Reformation commentators in Finland, Mikael Agricola and Paulus Juusten, did not give us a very flattering picture of preaching at the end of the medieval period. The implicit — and sometimes explicit — message of the reformers was that things were now generally better than they had been during the Catholic period, and especially when it came to preaching. This invites us to assume that the quantity and quality of the preaching must have improved after the Reformation. If that is true, one would expect to see some evidence of such an improvement in the form of more frequent mentions of preachers and sermons, new homiletic works, and postils in print, and signs of popular devotion to evangelical preaching of the Word of God. In practice none of this happened.

Paulus Juusten's Chronicle has not a word to say about evangelical preaching during the first decades of the Reformation era. He only mentions that his predecessor, Mikael Agricola, preached at Turku as well as during Bishop Martinus Skytte's visitation tours. Even this mention actually tells more about Catholic and Lutheran preaching as it took place before Agricola was sent to study in Wittenberg and was seriously exposed to Luther and his new learning.⁴⁶ Agricola came to Turku in 1528 and thus encountered the preaching and teaching of the Lutheran priest and schoolmaster Petrus Särkilax. However, Särkilax died the following year and therefore one cannot know how seriously he influenced Agricola. Mikael Agricola was ordained by Bishop Martinus Skytte who was not Lutheran but rather a Catholic bishop who was not that keen on the Lutheran Reformation, but did not consider it wise to stand against King Gustaf Vasa's Church politics. One may doubt that Bishop Skytte would have ordained anyone who was militantly Lutheran, not to mention promoting such a person as his chancellor. Agricola's preaching, alluded to by Juusten, took place between his ordination in 1530 and his departure for Wittenberg in 1536.⁴⁷ One can assume that at the time Agricola's Lutheranism was very mild, if it existed at all.

After his return from Wittenberg, Agricola had certainly internalized Lutheran doctrines, otherwise Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon would hardly have provided him with letters of recommendation for King Gustav. Undoubtedly, Agricola did preach in Turku and as a bishop during his visitation tours to parishes in the Åland archipelago in 1544, and to the northern parishes of the diocese in 1555.⁴⁸ However, Agricola's literary activities had very little to do with preaching. Between 1543 and 1552 he published nine books in the Finnish vernacular.⁴⁹ These did not include postils or any other *praedicabilia* which is rather surprising considering the traditional view of the importance of vernacular preaching for the reformers.

Furthermore, Agricola's own view of evangelical preaching in Finland two decades into the Reformation was rather pessimistic. He writes in the prologue to his vernacular translation of the Psalter (1551):

Wai eike se pappein wirca ole?

Studera, saarnaa ia rucole.

⁴⁶ Juusten, *Catalogus et ordinaria successio episcoporum finlandensium*, p. 74.

⁴⁷ Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola: Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita, 2007), pp. 45–47.

⁴⁸ Juusten, *Catalogus et ordinaria successio episcoporum finlandensium*, p. 77.

⁴⁹ Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 156. Agricola wrote an ABC-book (1543), a Prayer Book (1544), a Finnish translation of the New Testament (1548), a Handbook for Baptism and other Sacraments (1549), a Finnish Mass (1549), a tractate on the Passion of Christ (1549), and a Psalter (1551).

Hwij häpie, se wäähä quin kirioitetan,
haruoin se sarnatan eli luetan.
Quingas wastat sen Herran domios,
ettes aighas culutat laiskuos.
Oij sine surckia locasecki,
etkös neite mieleses ecke
Haiseua raato oleuas,
ia matoiu eues cooltuas?
Ios sine sis wircas hitas teet,
niin carta cuhungas wiimein iheet.

[Isn't it the duty of a priest
to study, preach and pray?

Woe! It is a shame how little is written,
how rarely it is preached and read out aloud.

How will you answer at the Lord's Judgement Day
if you spend your time in idleness?

Oh you miserable bag of dirt!

Don't you understand
that you are just a stinking corpse
and food for worms once you die?

If you do your duties half-heartedly,
you will have to fear where you will spend your eternity].⁵⁰

There is no doubt that Agricola is addressing his readers, that is, his contemporary Finnish priests, and not their Catholic predecessors. Allowing for the normal rhetorical exaggeration typical of such prologues, one still gets the impression that the Finnish priests' zeal in their duties in general, and especially when it came to preaching, left much to be desired. There was very little to help priests in their preaching activities. During the first hundred years of the Reformation period there were no printed Finnish language *postillae* available for the parish priests. The first Finnish postil was written by Bishop Paulus Juusten in 1570. This postil, however, was never printed. The library of the Kungliga Akademien in Turku purchased Juusten's autograph copy in 1738. This manuscript was destroyed in the great fire of Turku in 1827 and no other manuscripts are known to have existed.⁵¹ (The first Finnish language postil or collection of sermons for the Sundays of the Church year, which was actually printed came out in two volumes in 1621 and 1625 respectively — nearly a hundred years after the beginning of the Reformation in the Swedish realm. This postil, quoting heavily from German fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Lutheran postils, was also written by a Bishop of Turku, Ericus Erici Sorolainen (d. 1625).⁵²)

⁵⁰ This poem is quoted in Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, pp. 311–12. The translation is my own.

⁵¹ Simo Heininen, *Agricolan perintö: Paulus Juustenin elämä* (Helsinki: Edita, 2012), p. 144.

⁵² Erkki Kouri, *Saksalaisen käyttökirjallisuuden vaikutus Suomessa 1600-luvulla: Ericus Ericin postillan lähteet*, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia, 129 (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1984), p. 20. For a resumé in German, see pp. 293–307.

Fortunately, Juusten's prologue was copied before the fire and so survives. In it, he produces a more optimistic view of his contemporary clergy than Agricola had written two decades earlier. Juusten had to admit that the Mass had lost much of its ornateness and worldly pomp, but — he added — otherwise things are better. Sermons are preached in towns daily and on Sundays and feast days there are three sermons a day!⁵³ However, Juusten does not tell us anything about the situation in rural parishes where more than 95 percent of the faithful lived. The difference in Agricola's and Juusten's testimonies seems to imply that by the 1570s Turku diocese was slowly starting to recover from the religious and economic shock of the Lutheran Reformation. However, one must not jump to conclusions on the basis of two sources, both of a polemical nature.

The Slow Reformation and the Continuity of Catholicism

There are two significant reasons why the evangelical preaching revolution never happened. First, the Reformation in Finland happened very slowly indeed. It began in the 1520s when the first Lutheran-minded clergymen started to work and preach at the cathedral town of Turku, and during the following decade when the Church ceremonies also began to adopt the new Lutheran features in the rural parishes. However, these changes in Finland were cautious and slow. In fact, it could be claimed that the Reformation was truly only carried out in Finland in 1599 when Gustaf Vasa's son Duke Karl of Södermanland (later King Karl IX, 1604–1611), triumphed over the Catholic King Sigismund (1592–1599) in southern Sweden and also conquered Finland from the noblemen loyal to the king. Pro-Catholic clergy left the country and in 1617, as the so-called Lutheran orthodoxy became gradually more and more intolerant, the Catholic faith was banned on pain of death.⁵⁴ While it is questionable when the Reformation actually happened in Finland, it certainly was far from being established fully by Luther's death in 1546.

The sources for the attitudes of the Finnish clergy towards the Reformation during the early decades of the Lutheran era are very scarce. However, there are some sources that shed some light on the situation further away from the bishop's seat at Turku. In 1554, that is, roughly two decades after the Reformation really started in Sweden, the Swedish priest Hans Pauli Montanus (or Johannes Pauli Montigena) was imprisoned at Hämeenlinna castle in Finland because of his religious disobedience. Montanus's public practice of Catholicism annoyed Gustaf Vasa and led to his imprisonment. In Hämeenlinna castle Hans Pauli found sympathizers, including the bailiff of the castle. Therefore, he was able to get his hands on writing materials and to write a *postilla* for the whole year in two volumes. His books had been confiscated by the king's officials, but he found local help and was able to borrow material from the vicinity of the castle. Most likely those books came from the surrounding parishes. When Johan III became king in 1568, Hans Pauli was released and was able to return to Sweden. He ended up working as a chaplain for the nuns that still resided in Vadstena Abbey. Therefore his *Postil* became part of the Vadstena library and from there it was removed to

⁵³ Heininen, *Agricolan perintö*, p. 148.

⁵⁴ Jyrki Knuutila, 'Resistance to the Reformation in 16th-Century Finland', in *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700*, ed. by Sari Katajalla-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 206 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 256 and 271.

Uppsala universitetsbibliotek where it is still housed.⁵⁵ Hans Pauli's *Postil* is not the most glorious example of the genre, but what is interesting is that he gives a list of his source books, that is, the books he managed to borrow from the vicinity of Hämeenlinna castle. In addition to patristic works that could have been acceptable to the Lutheran ecclesiastical authorities such as Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory the Great, we also have the Sunday sermon collection by the Dominican Ugo da Prato that most certainly was not material that any Lutheran bishop would have accepted for priests of his diocese.⁵⁶ The fact that Ugo da Prato's Sunday sermon collection was still available in one of the parishes around Hämeenlinna castle not only provides us with one more clue about the *praedicabilia* that existed in pre-Reformation Finland, but it also gives us the impression that not all Finnish priests were ready to renounce Catholicism even in the 1550s. Indeed, there are some indications that not all the priests were particularly happy with the new situation. As late as 1573, Bishop Paulus Juusten saw it necessary to exhort the priests of his diocese to suffer poverty, not to despise their calling or to think that they have been forsaken by God, and — most of all — not to leave their posts.⁵⁷

Another interesting source concerning the situation in Finland is the Jesuit Antonio Possevino's report in 1580 to Pope Gregory XIII concerning the situation in the Swedish realm. Possevino writes that King Johan III had decided to reintroduce the Catholic faith and that there would not be any great problem in reconverting people as they already are, especially in Götaland (the southernmost part of medieval Sweden) and in Finland, inclined towards the old religion and love the old order and ceremonies.⁵⁸ It is clear that Possevino was overly optimistic and perhaps also exaggerating on purpose to please his lord and master. However, it is interesting that Götaland and Finland are mentioned as more inclined towards Catholicism than the rest of Sweden. From the point of view of Lutheran preaching during the Reformation era if, as it seems, there were priests who still held either open or secret Catholic sympathies, then one must assume that they were not particularly keen on preaching God's Word in pure evangelical fashion in accordance with resolutions at the Diet of Västerås in 1527 as the demanded by Lutheran reformers. In fact, it is possible that simultaneously with the new Lutheran preaching there continued some remnants of Catholic preaching for some time.

Gustaf Vasa's Plundering of the Church

The second reason for the lack of the revolution in preaching was materialistic. The Reformation in Sweden and hence in Finland meant economic disaster for the Church. The loss of property and revenues made it very difficult for the Church to organize the education of the clergy and, moreover, to attract capable young men to a clerical career. Serving the Church did not guarantee a comfortable life anymore, but rather an everyday battle to make ends meet. Furthermore, depriving the Church of its property and political power meant also that the

⁵⁵ Magnus Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia: katolskt liv i Sverige från Gustav Vasa till drottning Kristina* (Stockholm: Veritas, 2002), pp. 121–25.

⁵⁶ Hans Pauli Montanus, *Postilla*, Tomus I, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, MS C 41a, fol. 3r. The manuscript is available at the website of the *Codices Fennici*-project: <https://www.codicesfennici.fi/items/show/67> [accessed 25 February 2021]. On Ugo da Prato, see Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi*, 4 vols (Roma: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1970–1993), II (1975), 258–60. Ugo's *Sermones de tempore super evangelia et epistolas* was printed sixteen times before 1520 and it is most likely that the edition Johannes Pauli was using was one of these early printed books rather than a manuscript.

⁵⁷ Knuutila, 'Resistance to the Reformation in 16th-Century Finland', p. 266.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Nyman, *Förlorarnas historia*, p. 66: 'Ne si vede grande difficoltà alla riduzione de populi [...] altra parte i populi sono inclinata alla religione antica, et massima in Gothia, et in Finlandia, et sono amatori della vecchia disciplina et ceremonie'.

Church's prestige, authority, and even credibility in the eyes of the parishioners collapsed. The Church did not provide rural parishioners with blessings for their fields and did not guarantee the help of Christ and the saints against famine, torrential rain, floods, frost, and the other hardships that threatened their daily lives. Therefore the parishioners no longer found themselves obliged to support the Church any more than they were forced to do by royal tax collectors. They saw that the taxes that used to go to the Church, the local parish, and for the benefit of the sick and poor, now ended up in the bottomless chests of the king far away in Sweden.⁵⁹ Gustav Vasa's confiscations hit the Church hard. During the 1540s the clergy of the cathedral town of Turku lost three-quarters of its income and the rural clergy roughly half of theirs. This radical change in economic conditions made it difficult to send students to foreign universities and for the clergy to buy the necessary books to help them with their preaching duties. The few remaining resources had to be allocated to the liturgical books that the king's decision to unify liturgy in the whole of Sweden demanded. Mikael Agricola wrote on 11 December 1543 to Gustav Vasa's chancellor Georg Norman and complained about the low quality of his students at Turku cathedral school. He stated that some vicious person had disseminated a false rumour among the people that priests' income would be totally withdrawn by the Crown. In reality, the rumour was perfectly true and well-informed. Therefore, smaller and smaller numbers of young men came to study to enter a clerical career.⁶⁰

Conclusion

Most of the preaching materials from the Catholic Middle Ages in Finland have disappeared by natural causes, fires, or as a result of post-Reformation vandalism. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to establish what preaching in medieval Finland was like. At the current state of research we know of two surviving model sermon collections in manuscript (by Clemens Petri), fewer than fifty early printed sermon collections or other preaching aids, and a few dozen fragments of parchment ripped from *praedicabilia* manuscripts and re-used as covers of bailiffs' account books. In many cases it is not absolutely certain that these sermon manuscripts and books were in Finland during the Middle Ages. It is possible that they were bought and brought to the country by individual collectors or belonged to the booty brought home by the Swedish armies during the wars of the seventeenth century. This material can be complemented by a handful of mentions concerning preaching in chronicles and other surviving written documents. Furthermore, there is indirect evidence of medieval sermon materials and preaching. A few mentions of medieval manuscripts and early printed books are found in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century parish inventories.

The quantity and quality of these surviving sources do not allow us to conclude how common a practice preaching was in medieval Finland. However, it does prove that there was some preaching and that at least some priests saw it as important to obtain model sermon collections and other *praedicabilia* literature for that purpose. Furthermore, the small number of surviving material needs to be seen in proportion to the fact that, as noted previously, the diocese of Turku, even if it covered a wide geographical area, only had about a hundred parishes and at most 300,000 thousand people living in it. Taking into account the small number of parishes and scarce population, the surviving sources and indirect evidence presented above seem to suggest perhaps that the quantity of preaching was not so different from many parts of the rest of Europe.

⁵⁹ Knuutila, 'Resistance to the Reformation in 16th-Century Finland', p. 262.

⁶⁰ Heininen, *Mikael Agricola*, p. 107.

The Reformation in Finland was carried out over an extended period of time. The first Lutheran bishops provided a rather pessimistic and propagandistic picture of Church life in general and preaching in particular during the Catholic period. However, in the light of current research the situation does not seem to have been that hopeless, and it certainly did not improve with the Lutheran Reformation. On the contrary, it seems that the educational level of the clergy dropped and preaching was not particular common, especially during the first decades of the Lutheran period. During the seventeenth century things began to improve and the Church recuperated from the economic damages of the Reformation.

Despite the difficulties of lacking or destroyed sources, this essay shows that it has been possible to re-construct and present a picture of medieval and early modern preaching, sermon manuscripts, and printed sermon collections in Finland by using indirect sources in a creative manner. The puzzle has been put together and the picture is recognizable even if the majority of the pieces have been lost.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

Uppsala, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, MS C 41a, Hans Pauli Montanus, *Postilla*, Tomus I

Primary Sources

De S. Henrico episcopo et martyre: die mittelalterliche Literatur über den Apostel Finnlands. II Legenda nova. Sermones, ed. by Aarno Maliniemi, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Tutkimuksia, 45 (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1942), II

Diarium Vadstenense: The *Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey*, ed. by Claes Gejrot, Studia Latina Stockholmensia, 33 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988)

Finlands Medeltidsurkunder, ed. by Reinhold Hausen, 8 vols (Helsingfors: Finlands statsarkiv, 1910–1935)

Henricus Gabriel, *Henrici Gabrielis Porthan Opera omnia*, 13 vols (Turku: Porthan-Seura, 1939–2007)

Peregrinus, *Peregrini de Opole Sermones de tempore et de sanctis: e codicis manu scriptis primum*, ed. by Richardus Tatarzyński, Studia ‘Przeglądu Tomistycznego’, 1 (Warszawa: Instytut Tomistyczny, 1997)

Vadstenadiariet: latinsk text med översättning och kommentar, ed. by Claes Gejrot, Handlingar, 19 (Stockholm: Kungliga Samfundet för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1996)

Secondary Studies

Andersson, Roger, *De birgittinska ordensprästerna som traditionsförmedlare och folkfostrare*, Runica et Mediaevalia, Scripta minora, 4 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, 2001)

Andersson, Roger, ‘Översättaren som predikant: Clemens Petri och svenska språket’, in *Dicit Scriptura: studier i C-samlingen tillägnade Monica Hedlund*, ed. by Sara Risberg, Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, Scripta minora, 14 (Stockholm: Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, 2006), pp. 149–64

Andersson, Roger, *Postillor och predikan: en medeltida texttradition i filologisk och funktionell belysning*, Sällskapet Runica et Mediaevalia, Scripta minora, 1 (Stockholm: Runica et Mediaevalia, 1993)

Andersson, Roger, *Predikosamlingar i Vadstena klosterbibliotek: Vadstenabrödernas predikan*, Meddelanden, 1 (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, Institutionen för klassiska språk, 1996)

Andersson-Schmitt, Margarete, and Monica Hedlund, *Mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog über die C-Sammlung*, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsalensis, 26, 8 vols (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1988–1995)

Borgehammar, Stephan, ‘Preaching to Pilgrims: Ad vincula Sermons at Vadstena Abbey’, in *A Catalogue and Its Users: A Symposium on the Uppsala C Collection of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. by Monica Hedlund, Acta Bibliothecae R. Universitatis Upsalensis, 34 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1995), pp. 91–100

- Esch, Arnold, 'Le fonti per la storia economica e sociale di Roma nel Rinascimento', in *Economia e società a Roma tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. by Anna Esposito and Luciano Palermo, Libri di Viella, 51 (Roma: Viella, 2005), pp. 1–32
- Frymire, John M., *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 147 (Leiden: Brill, 2010)
- Hedlund, Monica, 'The Use of Model Sermons at Vadstena: A Case Study', in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. by Roger Andersson, Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 117–64
- Heikkilä, Tuomas, 'Kirjallistumisen jäljillä', in *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*, ed. by Tuomas Heikkilä, Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, 254 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 11–61
- Heikkilä, Tuomas, 'Painoa sanalle: ensimmäiset Suomea varten painetut kirjat', in *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*, ed. by Tuomas Heikkilä, Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, 254 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 350–66
- Heininen, Simo, *Agricolan perintö: Paulus Juusten elämä* (Helsinki: Edita, 2012)
- Heininen, Simo, *Mikael Agricola: Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita, 2007)
- Heininen, Simo, *Suomalaisen historian kirjoituksen synty: tutkimus Paavali Juusten piispainkronikasta*, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Tutkimuksia, 147 (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1989)
- Heikkanen, Markus, *The Stone Churches of the Medieval Diocese of Turku: A Systematic Classification and Chronology*, Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja, 101 (Helsinki: Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistys, 1994)
- Juusten, Paulus, *Catalogus et ordinaria successio episcoporum finlandensium*, ed. by Simo Heininen (Helsinki: Societas Historiae Ecclesiasticae Finlandiae, 1988)
- Kaeppli, Thomas, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi*, 4 vols (Roma: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1970–1993)
- Keskiaho, Jesse, 'Pappien koulutus ja Oppineen papiston kirjat', in *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*, ed. by Tuomas Heikkilä, Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, 254 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 147–81
- Keskiaho, Jesse, 'Seurakuntien ja seurakuntapappien kirjat', in *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*, ed. Tuomas Heikkilä, Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, 254 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2010), pp. 256–67
- Knuutila, Jyrki, 'Resistance to the Reformation in 16th-Century Finland', in *Lived Religion and the Long Reformation in Northern Europe c. 1300–1700*, ed. by Sari Katajala-Peltomaa and Raisa Maria Toivo, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, 206 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 255–73
- Kouri, Erkki, *Saksalaisen käyttökirjallisuuden vaikutus Suomessa 1600-luvulla: Ericus Ericin postillan lähteet*, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia, 129 (Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1984)
- Lamberg, Marko, *Jöns Budde: Birgittalaisveli ja hänen teoksensa*, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia, 1115 (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2007)
- Leinberg, K. G., 'Företalet till P. Iwstens Postilla', *Historiallinen Arkisto*, 19 (1905), 268–69
- Meersseman, G., 'Le opere di fra Antonio Azaro Parmense', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 10 (1940), 20–47
- Nyman, Magnus, *Förlorarnas historia: katolskt liv i Sverige från Gustav Vasa till drottning Kristina* (Stockholm: Veritas, 2002)

- Porthan, Henrik Gabriel, *Historia Bibliothecae Regiae Academiae Aboënsis*, 25 vols (Aboa: Frenckell, 1771–1795)
- Porthan, Henrik Gabriel, *Historiola concionum sacrarum fennicarum* (Aboa: Frenckell, 1781)
- Salminen, Tapio, *Joki ja sen väki: kokemäen ja Harjavallan historia jääkaudesta 1860-luvulle*, Kokemäen ja Harjavallan historia, I:1 (Jyväskylä: Kokemäen ja Harjavallan seurakunnat ja kaupungit, 2007)
- Schneyer, Johannes Baptist, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters: Texte und Untersuchungen, XLIII, 11 vols (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969–1990)
- Thayer, Anne T., *Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of Reformation*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002)