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A most Lutheran nation? On popular religion and eucharistic belief in post-Reformation Sweden

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A Most Lutheran Nation?

On Popular Religion and Eucharistic Belief
in post-Reformation Sweden

Thesis submitted for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THEOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES

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Abstract

This study investigates Eucharistic piety in the seventeenth-century Lutheran Church in Sweden. The Eucharistic doctrine and piety of Church leaders and laity are examined through spiritual literature, hymnody and church interiors. In order to trace the belief systems of various layers of society, the TAR method from practical theology is used. It explores theology from four perspectives: normative (official dogma), formal (the teaching of the Church), espoused (how the laity expressed their faith), and operant (lay religious practice). The investigation covers the period 1630-1700.

The combined study of texts and practices demonstrates a diverse understanding of both Lutheranism and Eucharistic piety. The episcopacy phrased their instruction to the laity in a manner that went beyond the foundational sources of Eucharistic doctrine. They enriched the language of Redemption with joyous themes of Christ's mercy and fruits of the Spirit. However, they also emphasised the holiness of the church building, which was in contrast to the view of the Swedish reformers. The study reveals that the understanding of the holy seems to have its source in the sacrament of the altar and the real presence, rather than the Word and the pulpit. The laity also demonstrates diversity of Eucharistic piety. Such diversity can be identified between social orders, where the higher orders started a trend of privatisation of religion, whereas Communion in the lower orders was a concern for the community. Diversity can also be observed within people's own religious worldview. The study shows that laity outwardly adopted the Lutheran faith already in the sixteenth century; even poorer parishes made investments to celebrate the Lutheran Mass. However, in practice the same communities transmitted traditional religion, such as prayers to saints and reverence of the host, until late seventeenth century. Salvation from death was a major concern in Eucharistic piety, but so was fear of God's judgement, and, as in medieval times, a moral life and a peaceful community was necessary in order to approach Communion and an almighty God.

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London, Advent 2019

Terms and abbreviations

Abbreviations

ARCS – Action Research Church and Society

CA – Augsburg Confession (*Confessio Augustana*)

FC – Formula of Concord (*Formula concordiae*)

HB1614 – Service book of 1614

KL1686 – Church Act of 1686 (*Kyrkolagen 1686*)

KO1571 – Church Ordinance of 1571, by Archbishop Laurentius Petri (*Kyrkoordning 1571*)

PB1695 – The official hymnbook of the Swedish Church from 1695 (*Psalmbook 1695*)

RPB1627 – Rudbeckius' hymnal from 1627, also *Enchiridion* (see Rudbeckius, *Enchiridion*)

PB1986 – The official hymnbook of the Church of Sweden, adopted 1986.

SAOB – The Dictionary of the Swedish Academy (*Svenska akademins ordbok*)

SAOL – The Shorter Dictionary of the Swedish Academy (*Svenska akademins ordlista*)

TAR – Theological Action Research

UPB1645 – Uppsala Hymnal 1645 (*Uppsalapsalmboken 1645*)

Terms

Adiaphora – indifferent things, which are of no importance to salvation.

Church vs church – church with a capital 'C' refers to the national body, whereas 'church' is used for a local parish building or community.

Church in Sweden, Church of Sweden – for this time period I have chosen to talk of the Church in Sweden rather than Church of Sweden, since both state and church were under formation.

Confession (private, general and public) – I use three different terms to distinguish between three different modes of confession. Private confession, which became increasingly less common. General confession, which is part of the liturgy, and at this time often said by the priest. Public confession, which took place before the service, mainly one or two days before Communion (Fridays or Saturdays), but sometimes also on Sunday Morning. With KL1686 Public confession became regulated by law.

Proto-Pietism – it is difficult to pinpoint the moment when Pietism became a proper and strong spiritual movement in Sweden. Since this research mainly deals with the times before or at the beginning of Pietism, I have chosen to use the term Proto-Pietism, in order to avoid any mistaken associations with the eighteenth-century movement.

Riksdag – the Swedish Parliament.

The Estates of the *Riksdag* – until 1866 the Swedish Parliament was divided into four estates or houses: the nobility, the clergy, the burghers and the (freehold) farmers.

Traditional and Medieval Religion vs Catholic – in general I will use the terms traditional or medieval religion when referring to the pre-Reformation Church and religiosity. This is to avoid association with the confessional dichotomy of Protestant Churches and the Tridentine Roman Catholic Church.

Turku/Åbo – even though Turku is the Finnish and English name of the town, there will be occasions when the Swedish name is used, for example when referring to the Swedish language version of the Åbo/Turku hymnal, *Åbopsalmboken*.

Information

In order to ease the readability of the older primary sources in footnotes, I have generally used shortened titles in the footnotes, and given the full reference in the bibliography.

Names – throughout, and mainly for consistency, I have chosen to use the Swedish names for kings and noteworthy people, for example Gustav II Adolf, not Gustavus II Adolphus. Another name practice that deserves a mention is the general lack of surnames in the early modern era. Archbishop Laurentius Petri Gothus can serve as an example. This is a Latinised version of Lars (individual name) Pettersson (paternal designator) Gothus (geographical origin). The custom is to primarily refer to the given name Laurentius, or to the full name, but not the more general paternal designator Petri. Where there are surnames I have referred to these as is customary.

Introduction

The Church of Västerjärna, Sweden, has a seventeenth century chasuble, that looks remarkably like a medieval chasuble in the nearby diocesan Cathedral of Strängnäs.¹ These two vestments, made in two different religious contexts, post-Reformation and pre-Reformation, seem to overlook the fact that the Reformation ever happened in Sweden. A similar link can be found across liturgical music. The Swedish liturgies produced during the Reformation, and also the liturgical handbook of 1614, mention the Latin chant *Discubuit Jesus* to be sung during Communion.² Traditionally the song was associated with guilds and processions with the monstrance, supported by processional candles, organ music and the chant *Discubuit Jesus*.³ Only a few edits of Latin text separate this medieval processional from the version used in the Swedish Lutheran liturgy. A similar connection with medieval Communion piety can be found in the use of the Song of Simeon, which in the seventeenth century was used as a personal devotional prayer at the moment of distribution. The canticle's words of 'seeing Christ', used in conjunction with Communion, nurture faith in Real Presence; yet they were endorsed by Lutheran bishops in post-Reformation Sweden.⁴ These are just three examples of Eucharistic piety that may seem incongruous in the Lutheran society of seventeenth-century Sweden.

¹ Inger Estham's research shows how medieval chasubles continued in use during the sixteenth century, and new chasubles made in the seventeenth century were often based on traditional designs. See Inger Estham, *Figurbroderade mässbåkar från reformationstidens och 1600-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1974), p. 14, p. 19.

² Ann-Marie Nilsson, "'Discubuit': a service, a procession or both? : some notes on the Discubuit Jesus in North European traditions", *Laborare fratres in unum: festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Janka Szendrei and David Hiley, (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1995), pp. 241-249.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-246.

⁴ For an example, see the catechism and prayer book in the hymnal produced by Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus Gothus from 1633: Laurentius Paulinus Gothus [and Martin Luther], *Gudz församlingz, aff J. Christo tilbetrodde Clenodium: författadt vthi: Catechismo, böner och psalmer, sampt hela åbrszens euangelier och epistler*, etc., (Strengnes: 1633).

This thesis will explore the interplay between medieval and post-Reformation religiosity, and between official church teaching and lay piety, in order to discern what was seen as the norm of Eucharistic faith in seventeenth-century Sweden. For this purpose, all layers of society will be of interest: church officials as well as the laity, the elite and the lower orders, both literate and oral culture. Post-Reformation Sweden was the time of Lutheran Orthodoxy, an era commonly called *the Age of Unity*. This sense of a consolidated society, under one Lutheran banner, makes the interplay between traditional religiosity and Lutheran piety particularly interesting. It was not until the Early Modern period that Sweden as a concept took root, in the state and among the people, and for the government 'Swedishness' was to a great extent defined by religion.⁵ In this context, how was the Eucharist – that fundamental dogma and act of the Church – understood and believed by clergy and laity alike? Was there actual unity, or was Swedish Lutheranism an umbrella for a variety of Eucharistic piety?

I. Aim and Purpose

The aim of this thesis is to create a comprehensive study of Eucharistic theology of the post-Reformation Church in Sweden, both as it was communicated in doctrine and by theologians, and in the faith and practices of the laity. The objective is to give voice to different layers in society and explore the Eucharistic theology and piety that existed in early modern Sweden.

In historical research there will always be the problem of direction. We can either talk of the revolution that was the Reformation, or the printing-press (as in Elizabeth Eisenstein's pioneering study),⁶ or we can focus on what influence religious pamphlets had

⁵ During the seventeenth century the Church pushed for a reading campaign in Sweden, in particular in the provinces that used to belong to Denmark, in order to create a confessional, cultural and linguistic unity. See Daniel Lindmark, *Reading, writing and schooling: Swedish practices of education and literacy, 1650-1880*, (Umeå: Institutionen för litteraturvetenskap och nordiska språk, Umeå universitet, 2004), p. 87.

⁶ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1979). On pamphlets, see Scribner who offers a more distinct

on the illiterate individual, which has been debated.⁷ It is possible to piece together what the Church authorities promoted as right faith through their written word, but how the laity understood religious instruction is another matter. The above examples – vestments, songs, and prayers – tell individual stories, but also paint a bigger picture. Behind the production of the seventeenth century chasuble from Västerjärna lie hundreds of years of theological and cultural influence, disregarding the liturgical context of the time. On the other hand, the possible religious impact and meaning this vestment had would be lost if its home of Västerjärna was not taken into account: the parishioners, the local culture and the design elements of the church. But, of course, the laity did not speak with one voice either. The most obvious demarcation line runs between high and low culture, between those who were able to write down and document their beliefs for posterity, and oral tradition, which is generally lost to us. Geography, urbanisation, and occupation also played a part in religiosity. These factors will be taken into account in answering the question of whether the seventeenth century in Sweden was really in a state of post-Reformation, or if the Protestant faith was still being implemented.

This study focuses on the period 1630 to 1700. While no definite event marks the beginning of the early-modern period or the post-Reformation era in Sweden, the death of Gustaf II Adolf in 1632 can be used as a one starting point. The Reformation had reached some conclusion with the Uppsala Synod of 1593, when the estates of the *Riksdag* declared Sweden a Lutheran country. When Gustav II Adolf died there had been two Protestant kings ruling on the basis of the 1593 declaration: Gustav II Adolf and his father King Karl IX (1604-1611).⁸ Both at a national level and in international relations, Sweden was a

description of the different modes of propaganda and their effectiveness in literary circles, oral culture, as well as the in-between layers of German society. See Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

⁷ On propaganda during the time of the Reformation, see Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the culture of persuasion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁸ For the importance of the Uppsala Synod as a religious guarantee for the sovereign, see Ingun Montgomery, "The Institutionalisation of Lutheranism in Sweden and Finland" in *The Scandinavian Reformation: from evangelical*

Lutheran country, but this came after almost a century of religious uncertainty. The period 1630 to 1700 spans an era of modern nation building. Under the regency government during Queen Christina's minority there were further attempts to strengthen religious unity and a new administrative government, until religious unity was realised with the Church Act of 1686 (KL1686).⁹

Sweden had never been completely homogenous. Finland was part of the nation so there was a large Finnish speaking population in the east and the north was populated by the Sámi. New territories around the Baltic also added to the diversity, and these areas were supported with liturgical books in their language. Swedish Lutheran confessional texts were produced in, Sámi, Finnish, Estonian, German and naturally Swedish.¹⁰ This study will focus on the Swedish works however, mainly to keep the research within a manageable length. The geographical parameters will be limited to mainland Sweden for a similar reason. The texts of bishops or diocesan areas of Strängnäs, Västerås and Uppsala will be studied, as well as the interior of churches from these dioceses. The three diocesan cities are situated close to the governmental centre of Stockholm, but are large enough for the regions to be able to provide research material from both civic centres and rural outposts. The aim is to give a broad spectrum of seventeenth-century religious life in Sweden, from urban to rural areas and from Church leaders to local laity.

Against this backdrop, the aim is to define various strands of Eucharistic piety in early modern Sweden, c. 1630-1700. To attain this, Eucharistic media (texts, songs, images, etc.) used to instruct the Swedish laity will be compared with both foundational documents and material created by the laity themselves. Of interest are literary works, mainly produced

movement to institutionalisation of reform ed. by Ole Peter Grell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 144-178 (pp. 156-170).

⁹ On the consolidation of the Swedish nation and the importance of the KL1686 for religious unity, see Anders Jarlert, 'Orthodoxy and Pietism: Sweden's Separate Path, 1648-1750', in *Deutsches Historisches Museum. The Luther effect: Protestantism - 500 years in the world*, (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2017), pp. 98-106 (p. 98, p. 100).

¹⁰ Otfried Czaika, 'The Swedish Empire in the Early Modern Period: The Makings of a Lutheran Great Power', in *Deutsches Historisches Museum. The Luther effect: Protestantism - 500 years in the world*, (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2017), pp. 76-85 (p. 85).

by the episcopacy in the dioceses of Strängnäs, Västerås and Uppsala, but also images, songs, prayers and other material remains from oral culture that give evidence of lay Eucharistic piety.

The objective gives three perspectives to work with:

- 1) Eucharistic theology as described by the Church hierarchy in the early modern period.
- 2) Religious practice and how the Eucharist was perceived by the Swedish laity.
- 3) Exploring to what degree the Reformation had been adopted by the Swedish population in the period 1630 to 1700 and, if traditional religion was still at play?

II. Historical Overview

Situated on the fringes of the European continent, Sweden was a large, rural and sparsely populated country. It was also a very young nation. The Reformation was in many ways facilitated by the formation of the nation, and vice versa. By breaking from the Kalmar Union and the overlordship of the Danish Crown, Gustav Eriksson Vasa was elected King of Sweden in 1523. The Reformation gave Gustav I Vasa (1523-1560) the rationale for taxing the church, and thereby financing the continuous wars against Denmark, as well as the motivation to remove bishops who were either siding with the Danish crown or with Rome, and thus further his own power base.¹¹ At the time of the Reformation, Sweden encompassed most of present-day Finland, but the southernmost regions of Scania, Blekinge, Halland and Bohuslän, belonged to Denmark until 1658; the Island of Gotland also remained with Denmark until 1645. Further north the regions of Jämtland and Härjedalen were historically part of Norway (within the Empire of Denmark), but they too

¹¹ Czaika, 'The Swedish', p. 76, p. 80; Erkki. I.Kouri, 'The early Reformation in Sweden and Finland, c. 1520-1560' in *The Scandinavian Reformation: from evangelical movement to institutionalisation of reform*, ed. by Ole Peter Grell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 42-69 (p. 45-46).

became Swedish in 1645. The borders remained fairly stable during the sixteenth century, but this would change. The seventeenth century saw Sweden grow in power until it had territories around the Baltic Sea. The Peace of Westphalia 1648 confirmed Sweden's position as a political power in Europe by gaining several German states; Estonia and Livonia were already under Swedish rule.¹²

The strengthening and modernisation of the Swedish nation also took place at the national level. In c. 1580, Stockholm had a population of no more than 8.000, but already by 1640 the population had grown to 40.000. However, it should be pointed out, that for a long time, Stockholm was the only city of any significance in Sweden. In comparison Södermanland, the important county to the west of Stockholm and the heartland of Duke Karl's (later King Karl IX, 1604-1611) duchy, had only a few small towns with populations of 2 to 3000 inhabitants throughout the seventeenth century. Sweden remained largely rural. The wars on the continent also had a detrimental impact on an already small population. Church records detail the young men subscribed for the war effort, with some parishes in the northern region of Västerbotten losing 44 per cent of the male population between 1620 to 1640.¹³ At the same time, the nobility gained in power and numbers. Magnus Mörner has shown how the nobility doubled their control of arable lands in Södermanland in the hundred years between c. 1550 and c. 1650. These families not only enjoyed exemption from taxes on their holdings, but they also had a monopoly on all high positions in both military and civic government.¹⁴ This probably contributed to the increased social stratification in the seventeenth century, as highlighted by Czaika; the

¹² Czaika, 'The Swedish', p. 76

¹³ Magnus Mörner and Aare Mörner, eds., *Kyrka och krona i sörmäländskt 1600-tal*, (Mariefred: Richter läromedel, 1996), pp. 2-4.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 2; Magnus Mörner, 'Seventeenth Century Immigration in Sweden', *IMIS-Beiträge*, 12 (Osnabrück 1999), 23-36 (p. 25).

lifestyle of the literate and elite classes became markedly different from the culture of the majority of the population throughout the century.¹⁵

At the start of the Reformation the burgher class lived mainly in Stockholm and was part of the German-speaking trading network around the Baltic. The literate classes were what Czaika calls 'vanishingly small'.¹⁶ It was also to Stockholm that Protestant ideas first came, apparently spread by German merchants in 1522.¹⁷ The clergy too, were in contact with the German speaking world. Influences of Luther, Melancthon and the Reformations of southern Germany (Nuremberg, Württemberg and Strasburg) can be found in the publications of Swedish reformers.¹⁸ However, the majority of the population were illiterate, and even if the pamphlet industry was thriving in parts of Sweden there is little evidence that Protestantism spread beyond the literate spheres. Both Kouri and Martin Berntson comment on the peasant rebellions in Sweden, during the Reformation, which occurred primarily as a means to defend traditional religion. Two of the biggest revolts were those of Dalecarlia (1527), and the Dacke rebellion (1542 to 1543).¹⁹

II.i The Reformation in Sweden

The leading reformers in Sweden were the brothers Olaus (1493-1552) and Laurentius Petri (1499-1573), who both studied in Wittenberg in the early sixteenth century. Olaus Petri was involved in the production of several Protestant works, most notably the New Testament in Swedish (1526) and the Mass in Swedish (1531). How radical the Mass of 1531 was depends on what scholars choose to highlight. Christer Pahlmblad's study of the Swedish Mass shows that, even though the liturgy was influenced by German Protestant material (especially Döber's *Spital-Messe* from Nuremberg 1525), it

¹⁵ Czaika, 'The Swedish', p. 77.

¹⁶ Loc. Cit.

¹⁷ Kouri, 'The early', p. 44

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 52, pp. 58-59.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 54; Martin Berntson, *Mässan och armborstet: Uppror och reformation in Sverige 1525-1544*, (Skellefteå: Artos 2010), p. 92, p. 212.

still uses a great deal of the medieval ordinary, but translated into the vernacular.²⁰ Mattias Lundberg's research on the musical aspects of the preface highlights both influences from German reformations, as well as the traditional *Missale Upsalense* 1513. Lundberg concludes that the Swedish Mass of 1531 shares remarkable similarities with medieval Gregorian chant, despite the Protestant influences from the continent, and that the continued use of traditional liturgy would have felt familiar for both clergy and laity.²¹ Similarities notwithstanding, other scholars such as Czaika and Berntson write of the Mass of 1531 as a decisive shift from the medieval liturgy. Czaika's point is that the new liturgy was almost all in Swedish, and Berntson stresses that the laity would have experienced even a small change to a well-known liturgy as a radical departure from tradition.²² Lee Wandel too, though pointing out that no two Lutheran liturgies were the same, places the Swedish Mass firmly in the group of liturgies that were influenced by Luther's German Mass.²³ These liturgical changes caused negative reactions in most Swedish regions, where they probably continued using the Latin Mass well into the sixteenth century. A Lutheran incumbent of Skellefteå did try to celebrate Mass in the vernacular on Christmas Day 1536; the report reads that 'it was not much welcomed'.²⁴ Latin continued in use in cathedrals and city churches where there was a Latin school, especially for the offices, and a Latin *Psalterium Davidis* was printed as late as 1620.²⁵

Laurentius Petri was the first Protestant archbishop in Sweden (1531-1573), and he managed to lead the Swedish Reformation along a consistent path through the reign of

²⁰ Christer Pahlmblad, *Mässa på svenska: den reformatoriska mässan i Sverige mot den senmedeltida bakgrunden* = *Mass in Swedish: the Mass of the Reformation in Sweden against the late Medieval background* [dissertation], (Lund: Arcus, 1998), p. 34.

²¹ Mattias Lundberg, (2017). 'Prefationstonen tonus solemnis som melodiskt sammanhållande element i den svenska reformationstidens mässa,' in *Svenskt gudstjänstliv*, Vol. 92 (2017) 67-94.

²² Czaika, 'The Swedish', p. 80; Martin Berntson, 'Popular Belief and the Disruption of Religious Practices in Reformation Sweden', in *Re-forming texts, music, and church art in the Early Modern North*, ed. by Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 42-68 (pp. 51-53).

²³ Lee, P. Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: incarnation and liturgy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 117.

²⁴ My translation. See Pahlmblad, *Mässa*, pp. 46-47

²⁵ Ragnar Holte, 'Laurentius Petri och gudstjänstsången', *Svenskt gudstjänstliv*, 79 (2004), 64-94 (81-82)

three kings with disparate religious agendas. Gustav I Vasa's tolerance of the Reformation shifted depending on how it affected his sovereignty. In the 1540s Gustav Vasa introduced superintendents, only to reintroduce the episcopacy in the 1550s. Gustav Vasa also avoided adopting a church order or siding with any Protestant confession; at the time of his death in 1560, Sweden lacked a firm doctrinal foundation.²⁶ His son, King Erik XIV (1560-1568), was also somewhat ambiguous in his religious leanings, but, whereas Gustav Vasa was probably a traditionalist, Erik leaned more towards Philippism and Calvinism, possibly inspired by his former tutor Dionysius Beurreus. Erik at least adhered to anti-sacramental Lutheranism, objecting to the elevation and suggesting that liquids other than wine could be used in the Eucharist. This latter discussion, the *liquores* dispute, was caused by a short supply of wine during the Seven Years War with Denmark (1563-1570). On both these issues, Archbishop Laurentius Petri took a stand for a more moderate and sacramental Lutheranism that clarified the Swedish Eucharistic position: elevation remained and Communion could only be celebrated with wine. The religious ambiguity of the king also incited the first confessional discussion among the Church leadership about the true faith of Sweden, which forced the king to readdress his previous welcoming attitude towards Calvinist immigrants. The immigrants were allowed to worship, but not to proselytise.²⁷ Laurentius Petri wrote a Church Ordinance, but he was unsuccessful in getting it approved by either Gustav Vasa or Erik XIV. Ultimately it was King Johan III (1568-1592) who accepted the Church Order in 1571 (KO1571). Johan III was the second of Gustav Vasa's sons to take the crown, Erik XIV being deposed in 1568, and he cut yet another religious path for Sweden. Johan attempted to create a compromise between the Lutheran faith and pre-Tridentine Catholicism. His should probably be defined as a humanistic confession, but his additions to the KO1571 called *Nova Ordinantia* and his new liturgy *the Red Book*

²⁶ Czaika, 'The Swedish', pp. 81-82; Kouri, 'The early', p. 67.

²⁷ Montgomery, 'The Institutionalisation', p. 146.

were deemed as Catholic by the Swedish clergy.²⁸ The Bishop of Strängnäs managed to forbid the use of this liturgy in his diocese, with the support of the royal Duke Karl (King Johan's brother).²⁹

II.ii The post-Reformation era

During the reigns of Erik XIV and Johan III a Lutheran Orthodox movement developed.

The movement opposed both Johan III's liturgy and Erik XIV's non-sacramentarian views.

This faction walked a middle road between Philippists and Gnesio-Lutherans by being

liturgically moderate and doctrinally orthodox and later became an important voice at the

Uppsala Synod of 1593.³⁰ A great many of the opponents of *the Red Book* had also been

students of David Chytraeus in Rostock.³¹ In 1592 Johan III died and left the throne to his

son Sigismund, a Roman-Catholic who was also the King of Poland. Jumping at this

opportunity for influence, Duke Karl (Sigismund's uncle) initiated the Synod of Uppsala in

1593 where the estates of the *Riksdag* finally agreed on the confession of Sweden. The

Uppsala Synod decided on the doctrinal foundation of the unaltered Augsburg Confession

(CA), and affirmed the KO1571 (as opposed to *Nova Ordinantia*).³² The adoption of the CA

as opposed to the Book of Concord, can possibly be explained by the influence of the

melanchthonian Chytraeus, who despite being one of the authors of the *Formula concordiae*

(FC), doubted its ability to bring about religious unity.³³ Melanchthon's CA promoted

freedom in the matter of ceremonies (to retain or reject), which the Swedish Church

leaders desired after Johan III. The FC, on the other hand, did not take such a liberal view

on *adiaphora* (matters that Melanchthon viewed as indifferent to salvation); according to

²⁸ Czaika, 'The Swedish', p. 83.

²⁹ Åke Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – reformationstid*, (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), p. 185.

³⁰ Montgomery, 'The Institutionalisation', p. 148.

³¹ Ibid., p. 155.

³² Ibid., pp. 156-158.

³³ Otfried Czaika, 'David Chytræus och hans betydelse för utformningen av en svensk bekännelsekyrka', in *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift*, 104 (2004), 23-29, (p. 26).

Gnesio-Lutherans on the continent, ceremonies was a matter of confession. Thus, by adopting the CA, Sweden declared itself Lutheran without siding with any Lutheran factions on the continent.³⁴ The elevation was retained, as in many German Lutheran states, but the synod was unwilling to allow ceremonies to dictate the faith.³⁵ However, the Lutheran confession also meant that King Sigismund could not be the *custos ecclesiae*, a role that was instead filled by Duke Karl.³⁶ In 1598 King Sigismund was forced to leave the country, and Karl ascended the throne as King Karl IX (1604-1611). The tug-of-war between Crown and Church was not over, however. Karl IX had Philippist tendencies and a great interest in Church affairs. Like his brother he suggested a service book, but finding it Calvinistic the clergy rejected it. Furthermore, King Gustav II Adolf (1611-1632) had to offer religious guarantees, in accordance with the Uppsala Resolution of 1593, before his coronation.³⁷

Both the confession of the Church in Sweden and the legitimacy of the monarch were thus based on the CA, but the reality was more complex. The seventeenth century saw a continuous debate between Orthodox, Irenean and Concordian theologians in Sweden. This debate had implications for Eucharistic theology, and it will be discussed later. Interesting to note is that the religion at the Court rested more on the legacy of King Karl IX than on the Uppsala Resolution. Descriptions of court services from the period indicate that the clergy did not wear vestments, the liturgy excluded the Kyrie and the Gloria, and the exorcism was removed from the baptism service, which were all in line with the directives of Karl IX.³⁸ Queen Kristina I (1632-1689, came of age 1644), who famously abdicated to become a Roman Catholic in 1654, also tried to suspend the private masses

³⁴ Czaika, 'The Swedish', p. 84; Andrén, *reformationstid*, p. 217.

³⁵ Andrén, *reformationstid*, pp. 218-219. On the elevation in the German Lutheran states, see Bodo Nischan, *Lutherans and Calvinists in the age of confessionalism: from Jerusalem to Cyprus*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. V:21.

³⁶ Montgomery, 'The Institutionalisation', p. 153, p. 158.

³⁷ Czaika, 'The Swedish', p. 84.

³⁸ David Lindquist, *Höförsamlingens liturgiska tradition 1614-1693*, (Lund: Gleerup, 1944), pp. 4-5.

that were favoured by court members instead of regular church services. However, complaints about the spartan worship practices of the court continued throughout her reign, and vestments were still not in use. An important personage and possible influence at the court during Queen Kristina's time was her former tutor, Johannes Matthiae, a humanist with Irenean tendencies who favoured religious tolerance over orthodoxy.³⁹ There were a few attempts to reform Court worship during the 1660s and the 1670s, but it was not until King Karl XI, and the Church Act of 1686 (with its subsequent religious books) that the Court followed the same religious custom as the people. Complete uniformity was apparently never fulfilled.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, according to the KL1686 King Karl XI's rule was ordained by God, in an absolute monarchy, and Swedish Lutheranism was the unifying force in the Swedish empire across the Baltic.

Both the catechism and the hymnals published by various dioceses in the seventeenth century can be regarded as the tools of confessionalisation because they ensured the formation of the Lutheran state of Sweden.⁴¹ They were also instrumental in the government's effort to 'Swedify' the former Danish provinces in the south.⁴² A School Act was adopted in 1649, and a reading campaign was also set in motion, aimed to improve both reading skills and catechetical knowledge. Later, the Church Act of 1686 (KL1686) underlined the need to create a confessional, linguistic and cultural unity of the Swedish nation. Since schools were not a viable option in such a large and sparsely populated country home schooling was encouraged instead. It was the responsibility of the master of the household that all members were schooled in reading and the catechism; this

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 10-11, p. 32.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 38-44.

⁴¹ Heinz Schilling writes about the long sixteenth century, and the rise of the national state, which he intricately links to the uniformity of religion. Confessional teaching material was used by all three main churches, with what Schilling refers to as, 'an intensity previously unknown'. See Heinz Schilling, *Religion, political culture and the emergence of early modern society: essays in German and Dutch history*, (Leiden: Brill, 1992), p. 234, p. 244.

⁴² Eric Lund, 'Nordic And Baltic Lutheranism', in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550-1675*, ed. by Robert Kolb, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 411-454 (pp. 453-454); Jarlert, 'Orthodoxy', p. 100.

instruction was examined and registered by the clergy. Thus, the clergy acted as officials of the government in keeping a census and recording the abilities of the population.⁴³ Egil Johansson did a thorough job of decoding and analysing these records, and his data show how literacy rose in Sweden from about 15 to 20 per cent in 1614 to about 90 per cent in 1690.⁴⁴ These records also indicate that Sweden was more semi-literate than literate, with high reading skills but low writing abilities. Daniel Lindmark, who has studied the Swedish education system, links semi-literacy to home schooling and a society where most people had access only to the catechism and possibly a hymnal. Reading was not so much for personal pleasure, but a result of ecclesial and governmental instruction.⁴⁵

II.iii Crown and Church

Karl IX had tried to curtail the power of the bishops by interfering in episcopal elections and by suggesting a new church ordinance in 1600. His claims on power were checked by the Swedish *Riksdag*, which ensured that the bishops remained in a powerful position, and indeed the seventeenth century was a period with very influential bishops. In matters of faith, the bishops and King Karl IX could only agree on the CA.⁴⁶ Karl IX's guiding principle was *sola scriptura*, and he was sceptical of concepts such as the doctrine of ubiquity (in effect the Real Presence) and *manducatio indignorum* (that the unworthy would have a share of Christ's body and blood).⁴⁷ Contrary to Karl IX, the Church leadership was not satisfied with *sola scriptura*, but demanded a specific interpretation of the Scripture to ensure good doctrine and that interpretation was given by the CA and the KO1571.⁴⁸ Similarly,

⁴³ Lindmark, *Reading*, pp. 87-88.

⁴⁴ Johansson, Egil, 'Literacy Studies in Sweden: some Examples', *Educational Reports Umeå, nr. 2 1973: Literacy and Society in a Historical Perspective – a Conference Report*, ed. by Egil Johansson, (Umeå: Umeå University and Umeå School of Education, 1973), pp. 41-66, (45).

⁴⁵ Lindmark, Daniel, *Pennan, plikten, prestige och plogen – Den folkliga skrivkunnighetens spridning och funktion före folkskolan*, (Umeå: Alphabeta varia, Album Religionum Umense 4, 1994), pp. 30-36.

⁴⁶ Lund, 'Nordic', p. 440.

⁴⁷ Montgomery, 'Institutionalisation', p. 163.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 158-165.

Queen Kristina and the Church leadership came into conflict over the FC, which Kristina refused to adopt as the doctrine of faith for Sweden. It was not until Kristina had abdicated (1654), and her former tutor and humanist-minded Bishop Johannes Matthiae had been removed from his office, that the FC was recognised as the confession of the Church.⁴⁹

The FC was adopted only after an internal debate amongst the clergy. The seventeenth-century theological thought in Sweden spanned Concordian Lutheran Orthodoxy to Philippism and intra-Protestant irenicism. Furthermore, the academic discussion on Aristotelian pedagogy contra Ramism influenced the theological education at universities and cathedral schools.⁵⁰ To some degree, this was a continuation of the sixteenth-century debates over the Lord's Supper which took place in Germany between Philippists and Gnesio-Lutherans. There is no scope for a detailed exposition here, but the conflict flared up between the Gnesio-Lutherans and Melanchthon's disciples. The Gnesio-Lutherans followed Luther's Christological argument for the real presence in the Eucharist, whereas the Philippists proposed a more spiritual interpretation of the words of institution rather than a 'real' and metaphysical presence. Melanchthon argued that Christ in his present heavenly situation could be everywhere, including the Eucharist. Philippists developed this reasoning, talking of the 'doctrine of ubiquity' (Beze) and 'multivolipresence' (Chemnitz), which were based on God being present wheresoever he wills it.⁵¹ In other words, their argument had more to do with God's supreme will than with Christ's nature. For the seventeenth-century discussions in Sweden, Irene Dingel's description of the different positions is helpful:

[T]he Philippists, generally sought agreement on the basis of general statements on a disputed teaching and avoided condemnations of false teachings. The Gnesio-

⁴⁹ Lund, 'Nordic', p. 452.

⁵⁰ Czaika, 'The Swedish', p. 85.

⁵¹ Irene Dingel, 'The Culture of Conflict', in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550-1675*, ed. by Robert Kolb, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 15-64 (pp. 56-58).

Lutherans favored theologians as agents of concord, insisted on explicit, detailed expositions of disputed points, with condemnations of both false teachings and false teachers.⁵²

As mentioned, it was the Philippist consensus attitude that greatly influenced the Uppsala Resolution of 1593, with followers of Chemnitz and Chytraeus driving the agenda. Laurentius Paulinus Gothus (1565-1646) was a theologian on the rise at the synod who would become one of the most influential theologians of the next century. Laurentius Paulinus is in Swedish sources defined as a philipporapist, who studied under Chytraeus in Rostock, and later served as both bishop and archbishop; he made sure that the Melanchthonian position remained strong in Sweden.⁵³ However, when some Swedish theologians desired to clarify matters of faith, especially on the Eucharist and the real presence, Concordian Orthodoxy came to the fore; King Karl IX's Calvinistic tendencies would have been one motivating factor. In 1611 the theological textbook in schools was exchanged from Melanchton's *Loci* to one written by a theologian from Schwaben, Matthias Hafenreffer, which closely followed the articles of the FC.⁵⁴ The desire for exact theological positioning became even greater after Queen Kristina's abdication and conversion to the Roman Catholic faith in 1654.

Sven Göransson has researched the theological debates between Orthodoxy, Philippism and Irenicism in Sweden that spanned the period of 1647-1664.⁵⁵ In the Swedish debates the term syncretism is more common than Irenicism, especially among the Lutheran Orthodoxy. One particularly heated debate on the Eucharist followed discussions of the FC. Some proposed the FC as a safe-guard against crypto-Calvinism. Eric

⁵² Ibid., p. 61.

⁵³ Sven Göransson, *Ortodoxi och synkretism i Sverige 1647-1660*, (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri AB, 1950), pp. 22-23.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 25.

⁵⁵ See Göransson's studies: Sven Göransson, *Ortodoxi och synkretism i Sverige 1647-1660*, (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri AB, 1950); Sven Göransson, *Den synkretistiska striden i Sverige 1660-1664*, (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 1952).

Emporagrius (1606-1674) would champion the FC for this very reason, as well as being a persistent opponent of Queen Kristina's tutor Johannes Matthiae Gothus. In a recorded debate in 1646, the Concordian faction argued that the FC offered distinct and orthodox teaching on the sacramental doctrine of ubiquity, and those who opposed the Formula must be in favour of syncretism. In his defence, Johannes Matthiae (then the Bishop of Strängnäs) stated that the FC only stirred feuds about *adiaphora*, that it was theological nit-picking, and that quarrels and ruckus went against the spirit of the Uppsala Resolution.⁵⁶ The episcopacy got caught up in the finer points of theological definitions and what it meant to be a Swedish Lutheran. The debate became so bitter that Bishop Johannes Matthiae was accused of syncretism, removed from office and replaced by Emporagrius in 1664. The year before, with the religious ordinance of 1663, Concordian Orthodoxy had won another great victory when the Book of Concord became the norm for theological instruction.⁵⁷ Interestingly, this discussion is barely noticeable in the texts which bishops wrote to instruct the laity. These books contained a simplified teaching that may well illustrate what the episcopacy considered to be essential teaching on the sacraments for the Lutheran laity. Here the bishops' Eucharistic instruction to the laity will be studied, rather than the details of the academic theological discussions. Emporagrius, Johannes Matthiae, and Laurentius Paulinus Gothus will all be part of this study, with publications from the diocese of another formidable bishop of his age, Johannes Rudbeckius (1581-1646).⁵⁸

II.iv Pietism

The end of the century also saw the rise of Pietism. Court pietism was introduced by the German Philipp Jakob Spener, who sent his text *Die evangelische Glaubenslehre* to Queen Ulrika Eleonora in 1688 (wife of Karl XI). This early Pietistic movement was also

⁵⁶ Göransson, *Orthodoxi*, pp. 161-162.

⁵⁷ Jarlert, 'Orthodoxy', p. 98.

⁵⁸ See Chapters One and Two.

supported by the Church through members of the clergy who had heard Spener preach in Germany. A second pietistic movement came in the early 1690s from Halle through Swedish students who had studied at the new university. The Halle pietism became influential in places with German contacts, such as Stockholm, Karlskrona and Gothenburg.⁵⁹ The new religious movement drew on the rich source of devotionals that had become popular during the seventeenth century, in particular the works of Johann Arndt (1555-1621). His *The Garden of Paradise* was published in Swedish in 1646, but it was known in its German version from the 1610s.⁶⁰ Devotionals will be discussed in more detail when spiritual literature is studied, such works draw on medieval mysticism, the bridal mysticism of St Bernhard and even Jesuit meditations. Arndt's desire with his work, as he himself stated in *True Christianity* was to make people followers of Christ, not just nominal disciples.⁶¹ It is important to remember that during the seventeenth century Arndt's books were also appreciated by the clergy. Only at the end of the century did the Church leadership redefine Arndt's work as Pietistic and potentially harmful, and some of Arndt's books were subjected to censure in 1708.⁶² A quarrel in the bishop's council in 1695 demonstrated the ambivalence over Arndt's prayers, with certain bishops dubbing them vague and inaccessible to the laity.⁶³ Despite censure, Pietism grew as a lay movement in the eighteenth century. The songs and prayers of eighteenth-century Pietism used the emotional, mystical and introverted aspects of seventeenth-century spirituality, but emphasised.⁶⁴ We cannot really talk of Pietism in Sweden in the seventeenth century,

⁵⁹ Montgomery, Ingun, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – enhetskyrkans tid*, (Stockholm: Verbum, 2002), pp. 180-181.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 64; Jarlert, 'Orthodoxy', p. 104.

⁶¹ David Lindquist, *Studier i den svenska andaktslitteraturen under stormaktstidevarvet – med särskild hänsyn till bön-, tröste-, och nattvardsböcker*, (Uppsala: Svenska diakonistyrelsens bokförlag, Dissertation, Lunds Universitet, 1939), pp. 76-79.

⁶² Montgomery, *enhetskyrkans*, p. 181, p. 185.

⁶³ Jarlert, 'Orthodoxy', p. 104.

⁶⁴ Valborg Lindgärde, 'Fromhetslitteraturen under 1600-talet' in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – enhetens tid*, ed. by Ingun Montgomery, (Stockholm: Verbum förlag, 2002), pp. 270-279 (pp. 278-279).

however; the devotionals were used by laity and clergy alike. This intra-ecclesial spirituality in Sweden tends instead to be called pre-Pietism, and that will be the term used.⁶⁵

III. Method

Normative methodology is important in the study of Eucharistic piety in early modern Sweden, c. 1630-1700. The text material is limited however, to that which was produced by a small learned elite. These texts are valuable, especially for the insight they offer into what was being extolled as the proper faith of a Swedish Lutheran. Further into the study, works produced by the Church elite specifically to teach the laity about Lutheran faith will be compared with the Eucharistic piety of the common man and woman. Prayer books and hymnals form the core study, but church ordinances and research on visitation and court records are also included. However, the study of written sources may not be enough to unearth popular culture, which is why a more exploratory method will be used in this study.

Popular culture in seventeenth-century Sweden is a relatively new field of research, especially in the fields of ecclesiastical history. By including research that has been conducted in other Nordic countries and Germany, a wider scope of current research will be revealed, whilst also making comparisons in the development of Protestant popular culture. The difficulty with popular culture is that it is mostly oral, and existing sources have varying degrees of credibility. Two recent Swedish studies, one on the seventeenth-century practice of magic by Linda Oja and the other by Göran Malmstedt on early modern religious practice, make good use of diocesan visitation records and official records from courts and ecclesial authorities. Oja, in particular, has used court records and letters.⁶⁶ Malmstedt on the other hand has focused more on church records, such as those from

⁶⁵ Loc. Cit.

⁶⁶ Linda Oja, *Varken Gud eller natur – Synen på magi i 1600- och 1700-talets Sverige*, (Stockholm/Stehag: Kulturhistoriskt bibliotek, 1999).

diocesan chapters and parishes, which tell of the communication between the laity, their parish clergy and the diocesan chapters.⁶⁷ A problem with these sources is that the elite's account of events and description of the lower orders in visitation or court records stands, but the voice of the common man and woman is rarely heard. This is something that both Malmstedt and Oja bring to the fore in their discussion. They stress their aims of finding those instances when the common folk speak through the sources. The church leaders' description of a phenomenon or practice could be very different from the laity's understanding.⁶⁸ Their research has given insight into seventeenth-century popular belief, but to further distinguish the culture of orality I have chosen a method that may elucidate different layers of culture, those of rural and urban, of lower and higher orders, and between orality and the literate elite. Finding the different voices can be especially challenging when approaching source material that is non-literary, such as music and artefacts. When studying popular belief, it also becomes evident that confession and religious practice is not always the same. People can say they adhere to a faith, which can be contrary to the faith they practice. In order not to let practice take a back-seat to verbal expression this historical study will use a method from the field of Practical Theology called 'Theological Action Research' (TAR), which helps to discern the practice from the norms of both the Church leadership as well as the laity.⁶⁹

Instrumental in the TAR methodology is that it looks at the ecclesial structure from four different theological perspectives: *normative, formal, espoused* and *operant*. These are four 'voices' that can be found in most denominations: in official documents, in leaders (clergy, elders), in lay confession and in practice. The intention behind the model was to encourage

⁶⁷ Göran Malmstedt, *Bondetro och kyrkoro – Religiös mentalitet i stormaktstidens Sverige*, (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2002 and 2007).

⁶⁸ Oja, *Varken*, p. 22; Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 25-27.

⁶⁹ The methodology was developed by the ARCS (Action Research Church and Society) team, to be used in ecumenical and interdisciplinary research. See Helen Cameron, Debora Bhatti, Catherine Duce, James Sweeney and Clare Watkins, *Talking About God in Practice, Theological Action Research and Practical Theology*, by (London: SCM Press, 2010), p. 49.

a greater awareness of theology and practice within denominations, both for ecumenical dialogue and internal renewal.⁷⁰ Even though this is a study of church history and not theological action in progress, its aim is still to illuminate both action and belief and how these correlate. To this end, the model can be a helpful tool in identifying the origin of different theological practices. For example, considering the serious theological disputes that took place among the Church leadership in the seventeenth century, disputes that led to the removal of bishops, it would be enlightening to know what these bishops still regarded as a joint normative foundation, and how this norm was used in the formal instruction of the population. The model can also clarify the illogical practices of faith that human beings sometimes adopt.

The four different strands of theology in TAR (normative, formal, operant and espoused) are not always distinct from each other. Much like organisms or relationships they are ever changing, ever inter-changing. *Normative* theology is the instruction a Church finds in the Scripture, the Creeds, official church teaching and the liturgies. *Formal* theology on the other hand is the theology of the theologians, the manner in which a Church or a denomination chooses to interpret and explain *normative* theology. In this study these two distinctions will clarify what was the foundation of church doctrine, the documents that were agreed upon, such as the CA, which for the seventeenth-century Church in Sweden was *normative* theology. It will also elucidate what the episcopacy chose to highlight when they instructed the laity on Eucharistic doctrine, and how they explained doctrine in layman's terms. This is *formal* theology, and this interpretation can be quite individual, as will be apparent in teaching on Real Presence. The academic theological discourse, which is also *formal* theology, will only occasionally be mentioned as it rarely makes an appearance in the source material used. *Espoused* theology is the theology we find articulated and

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 49-54.

explained within a group, that is, the manner in which members of a church understand and express the theology of the church (*formal* and *normative*). *Operant* theology is expressed faith in practice by the body of the church. It is the way theology is articulated outwardly, in action and in ritual, which is not automatically the same theology as *espoused, formal* or *normative*.⁷¹ Since *espoused* and *operant* theology is the hardest to pinpoint in a historical study on oral culture, the use of these strands will be dependent on the material at hand. Material such as hymns or the visual aspects of a church building will offer different challenges in the exploration of lay piety. In these chapters the method will be discussed and the parameters may be readjusted in order to better aid the study.

An anthropological approach is not entirely new to historical studies however, as observed by Scribner. He mentioned in particular the difficulty of distinguishing between different groups in historical context, as well as the changes of behaviours and the motivations behind modifications. Studies have shown that traditional manifestations of piety persisted even when there was a change of confession, whereas other expressions went through a quick change and it is not always clear why there was continuity or discontinuity. Traditional behaviour and changed belief systems often contradict each other too, even in the same community or within a person's own worldview.⁷² Scribner describes this as an ability 'to inhabit multiple mental worlds simultaneously,' and further as a 'phenomenon of syncretism, the ability to merge different thought systems without concern for logical or systematic consistency.'⁷³ These are the illogical leaps of lay religion that this study aim to clarify by using the TAR method. Several blurred boundaries of early-modern society, of sacred and secular, of high and low culture have already been mentioned, and also of religious syncretism between traditional and Protestant practices. It

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 53-56.

⁷² Robert (Bob) W. Scribner, 'Reformation and Desacralisation: from Sacramental World to Moralised Universe', in *Problems in the Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Europe*, ed. by R. Po-Chia Hsia and R. W. Scribner, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997), pp. 75-92 (pp. 86-89).

⁷³ Ibid., p. 90.

is here that the TAR method may give some guidance and comprehension, both to discern the various theological motivators at play and how these were relevant in different communities.

III.i Special terms

The terms ‘popular belief’ and ‘popular culture’ will frequently occur. They are ambiguous terms, but here will generally refer to all kinds of lay religiosity. Scribner offers four different interpretations of ‘popular culture’. First, it could be social customs, such as mass culture as opposed to the elite; secondly the culture of travellers, rather than settled and organised communities; it could also be superstitious beliefs; and finally all aspects of material life, such as agricultural calendars and reproduction. The latter two Scribner also terms as ‘popular belief’, but he maintains that both popular culture and popular belief are two elusive concepts that are hard to distinguish from each other.⁷⁴ Scribner thus offers a loose definition of popular culture and popular belief, but all these aspects will play a role in this study. The difficulty in trying to distinguish between ‘popular belief’ and ‘popular culture’ in the seventeenth century is that more often than not secular life and sacred life merged.⁷⁵ With hindsight, it is almost impossible to identify lines drawn between regular life and sacred life; to this end, popular culture will sometimes be used interchangeably with popular belief, as both may well display the Eucharistic piety of the laity. The terms will also be used for different spheres of society. At times popular culture will refer to the culture of the elite, as in popular literature when these are compared to the official publications of the Church. But as will be clear in the different discussions, the concept will also be used for the customs and beliefs of low culture, as compared to the culture of the intellectual and literate elite.

⁷⁴ Scribner, *Simple Folk*, p. 59.

⁷⁵ As an example of the close relationship between sacred and secular, Scribner describes the mystery aspect of play and games, and also how these could be used in religious propaganda. See Scribner, *Simple Folk*, pp. 59-61.

A similar unclear distinction emerges in the study of different social spheres. Terms such as 'literary elite' and 'the culture of the elite' have already been used. It is tempting to divide the different layers of a society into clearly defined groups, especially if it is possible to point to a literary group in a mainly oral culture, but that does not mean that they are separate entities. Writing about the early modern period, Peter Burke refers to the great and little tradition, which is mainly a division between the learned elite and the uneducated masses. However, he is also quick to point out the overlap that existed between different social layers.⁷⁶ This seems to be particularly true with regard to popular belief, where the higher and lower orders sometimes came together for certain rituals, but at other times developed different traditions. Martin Berntson has shown how the blurred lines of social groups and piety had an effect on the Swedish Reformation. Protestant changes were met with civic unrest, and that protest united different spheres of the social hierarchy.⁷⁷ Although the aim here is to study the layers of post-Reformation society, and the cultures of both the higher and lower orders will be of interest, it is always with the understanding that these groups overlapped, communicated and were interdependent.

IV. Material and Structure

Searching for the dissonance and/or harmony between Church and popular belief, this study focuses on the converging points of clergy and laity. To this end, the material for the thesis is collected mainly from the parochial sphere: what was promoted by the Church hierarchy as proper Eucharistic faith, and the material that was produced and used by the laity. The search parameters have been limited to three types of media: Spiritual Literature, Hymns, and the Visual Space (the fittings and layout of the church building). These three themes will be explored from the four different perspectives of the TAR methodology: *normative, formal, espoused* and *operant*.

⁷⁶ Peter Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe. 3rd ed.*, (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 49-56.

⁷⁷ Martin, *Mässan*, pp. 214-215.

While sermons were important for Lutheran Orthodoxy and seventeenth-century worship, they will not form part of the research material. Seventeenth-century homiletics is a vast field of research, and excluding sermons is one of the limitations that has had to be made to research the material at hand thoroughly. Had sermons been included in the material, they would also warrant a further discussion on how effective the pedagogy of the parish priest was (as a preacher) for the religious community. Malmström observes that this is an under-studied field, but his study also shows that a priest's homiletic abilities were of less importance to the laity than his sacramental duties.⁷⁸

IV.i Spiritual Literature

The publishing industry in Sweden went through rapid growth in the seventeenth century, providing extensive material to work with. It is estimated that there was one publishing house at the start of the century but about seventeen at its close.⁷⁹ No definite documentation about the volume of publications exists,⁸⁰ but the number of reprinted editions gives an indication of popular authors and books. According to these numbers Johann Arndt, Johann Gerhard, Philipp Kegelius and Caspar Neumann were the most read authors.⁸¹ Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi* was also reprinted four times in the seventeenth century in its Latin original. The book came in an edited Swedish and 'Lutheranised' translation in the mid-century.⁸² Both *Imitatio Christi* and works of Johann Arndt will be used as representatives of devotional literature and in Arndt's case also in hymnody. Another important devotional for the period is *En andeligh watukälla* by Basilius Förtsch that came in a Swedish translation by Haquin Ausinius in 1641.⁸³ Förtsch was a

⁷⁸ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, p. 22, p. 132, p. 139.

⁷⁹ Lindgärde, 'Fromhetslitteraturen', p. 270.

⁸⁰ Thank you to Professor Daniel Lindmark for bringing this to my attention (personal communication).

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 271; Stina Hansson, *Ett språk för själen: litterära former i den svenska andaktslitteraturen 1650-1720* = [*A language for the soul : [literary form in Swedish devotional literature 1650-1720]*], (Göteborg: Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen, Univ., 1991), pp. 54-68.

⁸² Thomas de Kempis, *Thomæ de Kempis anderijke betrachtelse, beskrefwen vthi fyra böcker åbr 1441 om Christi effterföllielse...* aff Lavrentio Johannis Preutz. Stockholm 1684.

⁸³ Basilius Förtsch, *En andeligh watukälla*, [Stockholm], 1641.

German Lutheran pastor and he compiled the German original of this devotional in 1609. Bishop David Lindquist wrote a leading work on Swedish spiritual literature in 1939 that is still referred to, he also mentions both the publications of Arndt and Förtsch. Of Förtsch's book he notes five known reissues between 1671 and 1690 alone, but he thinks it may have come out in at least 20 editions during the seventeenth century. It was also used as a main source for prayer books published later in the century. Arndt's *Garden of Paradise* (1618) must also be mentioned here, as a book Lindquist defines as the most important of the period. It was published in Swedish as *Paradisets lustgård* in 1648 and was not only reissued many times, but the prayers that Arndt compiled have been found in the official prayer books of the Church of Sweden well into modern times.⁸⁴ Most devotional books were translations from German; they were compilation works of foreign and old material, mainly medieval mysticism, Jesuit meditations and St Bernhard's bridal mysticism. Lindquist actually defines Förtsch's compilation of prayers as an oddity because of the amount of evangelical material he used, such as prayers by Luther.⁸⁵ It is interesting that in a century defined as Lutheran and Orthodox, these popular devotional books give examples of many strands of Christian tradition, for example: medieval mysticism, church fathers, proto-pietism and humanism.⁸⁶ Another trend that defined the period was the specialisation of devotional material; prayer books were published for all orders of society, for different genders, various professions and assorted activities of the day and year.⁸⁷ Lindquist also notes that devotional works written specifically for Communion became more common. Although many prayer books had a section on Communion, and then concentrated mainly on the preparation before confession and Communion, few volumes were dedicated specifically to the sacrament. Lindquist lists only two Communion devotionals from the

⁸⁴ Lindquist notes that Arndt is the most prominent contributor in the Swedish Prayer Book, Lund 1933. Lindquist, *Studier*, pp. 41-42, pp. 73-75.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 51, p. 77, Lindgårde, 'Fromhetslitteraturen', p. 271.

⁸⁶ Hansson, *Ett språk*, pp. 67-68; Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 63.

⁸⁷ Lindquist, *Studier*, p. 258.

beginning of the century, one by Caspar Melissander and *En Gylденne Altartaffla* by Martin Gammal, with a few more published at the very end of the century and beginning of the next.⁸⁸ The Eucharistic sections in devotionals also tended to be dedicated to preparation before confession and Communion, but Lindquist notes a trend; Gammal's prayer companion, from the first half of the seventeenth century, emphasised frequency, whereas later Communion manuals expressed the need for proper and thorough preparation before Communion. Lindquist's point is that confessional manuals in Communion devotionals became more systematic.⁸⁹ Two modern scholars of Swedish spiritual literature, who have also looked at the systematisation of devotional literature are Valborg Lindgärde and Stina Hansson. Hansson, in her more recent study, makes the same observation as Lindquist on the increased systematisation of prayer manuals. The prayer books went so far as to include instructions for every given hour and activity of a day.⁹⁰ Hansson has also focused her research on the differentiation of language style and gives examples of how the style of popular literature of devotionals grew increasingly more emotional, especially when compared with the dogmatic orthodox language of the Church or the strictures of Classical rhetoric and literature.⁹¹ Valborg Lindgärde, on the other hand, has looked into the systematisation of devotional literature that brought women to the fore as translators, writers and consumers. She writes about how women were caretakers of spiritual literature, and how homes became educational centres after the dissolution of the monasteries. The late seventeenth century saw the publication of two prayer books written specifically for young women.⁹² Both these sources will be used in this study, *Andelig pärl-skred*, by Johannes Cundicius (1696),⁹³ and *Christelig fruens-timmers andelige Dygde-spegel* by Salomon

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 127.

⁸⁹ Later in the century, Communion frequency is hardly ever mentioned in the literature, instead the recommended time for preparation increases. One book suggests a week of preparation. Fasting and other physical restrictions are also commonly mentioned. Ibid., pp. 334-336.

⁹⁰ Hansson, *Ett språk*, pp. 75-84.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 26-28.

⁹² Lindgärde, 'Fromhetslitteraturen', p. 272.

⁹³ The version referred to in this study is Johannes Cundicius, *Andelig pärl-skred*, [...], Stockholm, 1726.

Liscovius (1695).⁹⁴ Lindgärde has also dedicated her time studying women's literature. She mentions the many prayer books transcribed by noble women, and how sharing prayers or even inheriting handwritten manuals were part of the piety of women of that era.⁹⁵ One such prayer book, written by Sigrid Bielke, a Swedish noble woman, will be examined; it is now in the collection of Uppsala University Library.⁹⁶ Another example of women's literature is the first great poetess of Sweden, Sophia Elisabet Brenner (1659-1730), whom Lindgärde has written about in several studies. Unlike Bielke and her peers, Brenner, from a German-speaking burgher family in Stockholm, had had to work for her living. This makes her work an interesting study, in that she wrote on commission and not just for her own spiritual piety.⁹⁷

Before turning to the literature of popular culture however, this study will explore the source material written by Swedish Church leaders. We have previously mentioned four influential bishops, Laurentius Paulinus Gothus (1565-1646), Johannes Rudbeckius (1581-1646), Johannes Matthiæ Gothus, 1593-1670, and Eric Gabrielsson Emporagrius (1606-1674). All four wrote or endorsed hymnals, prayer manuals, catechisms and further doctrinal instruction for both laity and clergy in their respective dioceses.⁹⁸ These texts will be the sources for formal theology, that is, how the Church leaders interpreted the foundational doctrines of faith and presented them to the population in their instruction. Unlike devotional literature these books are under-studied as spiritual literature. They have

⁹⁴ Salomon Liscovius, *Christelig fruens-timmers andelige Dygde-spegel*, [...], Stockholm, [...], 1695.

⁹⁵ Lindgärde, 'Fromhetskitteraturen', pp. 273-277.

⁹⁶ Sigrid Bielke, *Sigrid Bielkes bönbok*, T142b.

⁹⁷ Sophia Elisabeth Brenner, *Samlade dikter / D. 1, Poetiske dikter 1713 / utgivna av Valborg Lindgärde. 1, Text*, (Stockholm: Svenska vitterhetssamfundet, 2009); Valborg Lindgärde, 'Sophia Elisabet Weber, g. Brenner (1659-1730)', *Vår lärda skalde-fru: Sophia Elisabet Brenner och hennes tid*, ed. by Valborg Lindgärde, A. Jönsson, and E. Göransson, (Lund: Språk- och litteraturcentrum, Lunds universitet, 2011), pp. 25-55.

⁹⁸ These are the main sources from the four bishops. Laurentius Paulinus Gothus [and Martin Luther], [...] *Clenodium*: [...], (Strengnes: 1633); Johannes Matthiæ Gothus, *Strengnäs kyrkie och hms-book*. [...], Strengnäs, tryckt aff Zacharia Brockenio, åhr 1658; Eric Gabrielsson Emporagrius, *Catechesens*, [...] Strengnäs aff Zacharia Brockenio, anno 1669; Rudbeckius's brother compiled a hymnbook that was published as the official hymnal of Rudbeckius's diocese of Västerås, and is commonly known as *Enchiridion* or *Västeråpsalmboken* (*the Västerås Hymnal*), see Petrus M. Rudbeck [and Martin Luther], *Enchiridion eller then svenska psalmboken sampt andra små vanliga handböcker: flitigt öfversedt och corrigerat, såsom ock medh några nödtorffliga stycker förbättrat och förmerat*, [Stockholm] 1624-1625.

been studied as hymnbooks or from the perspective of church discipline or doctrinal disputes, but not particularly as mediums of personal piety. The Church leadership did not themselves contribute to the production of devotionals. Both Hansson and Lindgärde mention the fact that the bishops are conspicuously absent as writers of spiritual literature.⁹⁹ Furthermore, only one hymnbook and prayer book published by a bishop gets a mention in Lindquist's study, which is the Åbo prayer book of 1683. It was printed with the Psalter and was published by Bishop Johannes Gezelius Snr. of Turku (Swe: Åbo).¹⁰⁰ Lindquist's account of the book is more a description of its contents than an analysis of its theology and use, save to mention that it was influential in the creation of the prayer book for the official Hymnbook of 1695 [PB1695]. The Åbo book, much like PB1695 contains prayers for various times and duties in life, as well as for church attendance.¹⁰¹ But as the Åbo book shows, the episcopacy did produce prayer books, often in combination with a catechism or hymnal. Since these do not strictly fall into the category of 'proper devotional books' they are under-studied in the field of spiritual literature. And yet, more than theological academical disputes or costly translated devotional material, the common man and woman would have been much more likely to come across the simple prayer books included in hymnals.¹⁰² This is why these, along with the catechism, will be the focus for the formal instruction by the Church leadership of the population.

Another interesting aspect of the publications of the episcopacy, is exploring what sources they used for their texts. This indicates what they saw as normative sources, that is what they deemed was the foundational doctrine of the Lutheran Church in Sweden. The Uppsala Resolution of 1593 should have made it simple by listing the Bible, the three

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 54; Lindgärde, 'Fromhetskitteraturen' p. 271.

¹⁰⁰ Reference here will be to the hymnbook and diocese as Åbo, the Swedish version of the hymnal's prayer book, and not Turku. See Lindquist, *Studier*, pp. 109-113.

¹⁰¹ Loc. cit.

¹⁰² Lindmark has shown that hymnals and catechisms dominated in book ownership in Rättvik c. 1720. See, Lindmark, *Reading*, p. 132.

ecumenical creeds, the unaltered CA and the KO1571, but reality was more complex. Though contested by clergy, Crown and government, some bishops let themselves be influenced by the FC.¹⁰³ Another example of an influential text is Matthias Hafenreffer's *Compendium doctrinae coelestis*, or *Loci Theologici*.¹⁰⁴ This textbook was also structured in agreement with the FC, and even though it was the textbook for schools since 1611 it was not officially a normative text for the church in Sweden.¹⁰⁵

IV.ii Hymns

When dealing with Eucharistic hymns, the selection of songs at first seems obvious. The liturgy, until the advent of new liturgical books of the 1690s, mentioned three Communion hymns, in addition to the medieval liturgical songs. Two of these can be attributed to Luther, the third to Nikolaus Decius (c. 1485-1541). While the focus will target these three hymns, the fact that there was no official hymnbook for the church in the seventeenth century must also be taken into account. There was a plethora of hymnals and also hymns added to devotional books. The previously mentioned Basilius Förtisch's *En andeligh wotukälla* and Salomon Liscovius, *Christelig fruon-timmers andelige dygde-spegel* are examples of such books; Liscovius includes a Communion song that will also be one of the sources here because the text gives insight into popular belief. As this is a study of practice, the question of *how* the material was used is as interesting as *what* material may have been used. This becomes another vital aspect in the chapters on Communion hymns: how the songs were used by laity and clergy and what possible usage there may have been outside Communion.

Compared with the variety of spiritual literature and prayer books, hymnody used a very limited selection of Communion songs. The research of Allan Arvastson (1906-1991)

¹⁰³ See Chapter 1.3.

¹⁰⁴ Matthias Hafenreffer, *Compendium doctrinae coelestis*, translation, preface and comments [by] Bengt Hägglund and Cajsa Sjöberg, Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, Skara 2010.

¹⁰⁵ Göransson, *Ortodoxi*, p. 25.

and Folke Bohlin (b. 1931) clarifies the origin and use of these songs. Arvastson wrote on the history of hymnody and his work assists us in tracing the developments of song writing and traditions, from medieval times through to eighteenth-century Pietism.¹⁰⁶ Bohlin, on the other hand, studied Swedish Gregorian music in the post-Reformation era.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, he has shown the great influence of low German Protestant material on Swedish hymnody and liturgy. His work has greatly influenced liturgical studies. Lars Eckerdal, bishop and professor in Church and Mission studies, has made a special study of Communion hymns. This is important because they show the connection with the German originals and how they were introduced in the Swedish Mass.¹⁰⁸ A collaborative volume on Luther's hymns in the Nordic countries was produced within the scholarly network on hymnody NORDHYMN, *Martin Luthers psalmer i de nordiska folkens liv*.¹⁰⁹ The project was spearheaded by, among others, Sven-Åke Selander, professor in Church and Mission studies. His articles in particular will be cited for the application of Luther's hymns in the Swedish context. The volume also shows clearly the importance of Rostock for the transmission of Protestant hymns in the Nordic countries.¹¹⁰

The research carried out by Christer Pahlmblad on the Swedish Protestant Mass,¹¹¹ and by Professor Mattias Lundberg on liturgical music and manuscripts will lend aid to this study. Some sixteenth-century liturgical manuscripts have recently been discovered in an inventory carried out in the Diocese of Strängnäs. One of these, the *Stigtomta Manuscript*,

¹⁰⁶ Allan Arvastson, *Den svenska psalmen*, (Lund: Gleerups förlag, 1963); Allan Arvastson, *Svensk psalm genom tiderna*, (Lund: Liber Läromedel, 1975).

¹⁰⁷ Folke Bohlin, 'Gregorianik i Sverige genom tiderna', *Svenskt gudstjänstliv*, 70 (1995), 33-47.

¹⁰⁸ Lars Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång i Svenska kyrkan' in *Svenskt gudstjänstliv*, 82 (2007), 82-130.

¹⁰⁹ Sven-Åke Selander and Karl-Johan Hansson, eds. *Martin Luthers psalmer i de nordiska folkens liv: ett projekt inom forskarnätverket Nordhymn*, (Lund: Arcus, 2008).

¹¹⁰ For a chart on how hymns came to the Nordic countries via Rostock, see, Sven-Åke Selander, 'Vägen till Norden – ett nordiskt komparativt perspektiv', in Sven-Åke Selander & Karl-Johan Hansson, eds. *Martin Luthers psalmer i de nordiska folkens liv: ett projekt inom forskarnätverket Nordhymn*, (Lund: Arcus, 2008). pp. 441-448 (p. 442).

¹¹¹ Pahlmblad, *Mässa*.

will be used in a discussion of the liturgical chant *Discubuit Jesu*.¹¹² The manuscript shows Gregorian music in both Latin and Swedish versions, and it is only the second manuscript found with the vernacular text. The actual song *Discubuit Jesu* was a medieval chant that seemed to be strongly associated with Corpus Christi processions and guilds, and its study may help in the understanding of lay religiosity during the shift between the late medieval era and the Reformation. Save for Lundberg's current study, there is little research on the connection between lay religiosity and the song. Adding this research on Gregorian chants to the study of Protestant hymnody and songs of popular spiritual literature, the aim is to find a more comprehensive understanding of lay religiosity and singing.

The liturgy of 1614 (HB1614) was a lightly edited version of the liturgy of KO1571. Lutheran hymns were added to the sixteenth-century Swedish Mass, but that also contained traditional liturgical songs translated into the vernacular and some in Latin, and with HB1614 these continued to be used.¹¹³ The selection of Communion songs in the hymnal mirrored those in the liturgy. Despite the many hymnbooks published in the seventeenth century, the diocesan hymnals had only two Communion songs printed for the Sacrament of the Altar: *Jesus Christus är vår helsa*, and *Gudh ware loffuat och högeliga prijsat*.¹¹⁴ The liturgy also mentioned Nikolaus Decius's paraphrased *Agnus Dei*, but in hymnals it came under other headings. An official hymnal for the Church in Sweden was not issued until 1695, with music in 1697 [PB1695].¹¹⁵

¹¹² *Stigtomta Manuscript*, Book no 1081 in book inventory in the Diocese of Strängnäs, 2017, Unique music manuscript (*Discubuit Jesu*), Stigtomta Parish Office, Parish of Stigtomta-Vrena, Diocese of Strängnäs.

¹¹³ The Swedish Mass of 1541 mentioned three Communion songs, two of these were by Luther. The liturgy of 1548 added *Discubuit Jesus*, a medieval Latin paraphrase of the Words of Institution, and Nicolaus Decius's *Agnus Dei* paraphrase. See Sverker Jullander, 'Sub communione: perspektiv på kommunionsmusiken', *Svenskt gudstjänstliv*, 69 (1994), 45-81 (p. 59); and Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång', pp. 83-84.

¹¹⁴ Spelling as in the Rudbeck hymnal (RPB1627), see Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, pp. 41-44.

¹¹⁵ For the initial discussions and editorial proceedings on PB1695, see Bengt Wahlström, *Studier över tillkomsten av 1695 års psalmbok*, (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri AB, 1951). For an introduction to the music edition of 1697, see Erik Kjellberg, 'Andlig sång och musik', in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – enbetskyrkans tid*, ed. by Ingun Montgomery, (Stockholm: Verbum, 2002), pp. 280-289 (pp. 282-285).

Bengt Wahlström's study from 1951 researched the debate that led to the production of PB1695. At the *Riksdag* of 1680 the clergy complained about religious disorder, and pushed for uniformity in the liturgy and the ecclesial books. The desire for uniformity resulted in the PB1695.¹¹⁶ The chaos that the clergy described can, to an extent, be attributed to what Wahlström calls 'a golden age for various privately produced hymnals, manuals, catechisms etc.'¹¹⁷ An attempt was made to make the diocesan hymnbook of Uppsala, published in 1645 (PB1645), the Hymnbook of the Church, but many dioceses used other editions.¹¹⁸ An example is Petrus Rudbeck's *Enchiridion* (RPB1627), which was preferred by his brother, Johannes Rudbeckius, Bishop of Västerås (1619-1646), and his nephews, Nikolaus Johannis Rudbeckius, also Bishop of Västerås (1670-1676), and Petrus Johannis Rudbeckius, Bishop of Skara (1692-1701). The Diocese of Strängnäs, on the other hand, preferred the hymnal of their old bishop, Laurentius Paulinus Gothus's *Clenodium* from 1633.¹¹⁹ *Enchiridion* and *Clenodium* also contain two of the prayer books that will be important sources in the chapters on spiritual literature. The publication of hymnals and hymns is a topic that has been well researched. Arvastson's research from the 60s and 70s depicts the theological development of hymnody from the Reformation to post-Reformation. He describes the songs of the Reformation as educational and rooted in the Gospel, and the songs of the Orthodoxy as focused on dogma and written with classical tropes.¹²⁰ Furthermore, Arvastson contrasts the classic rhetoric of Orthodoxy with the emotionally and mystically driven prose of the Pietistic movement.¹²¹ Pietism became a controversial movement during the last years of the seventeenth century, but it was enough of an issue that the clergy objected to hymns written by the laity.¹²² The entire publication

¹¹⁶ Wahlström, *Studier*, p. 13.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

¹¹⁸ For an exposé of which hymnals were preferred by the various dioceses, see *ibid.*, pp. 14-20. The first half of the century Rudbeck's *Enchiridion* was a strong contender for the Uppsala Hymnal.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

¹²⁰ Arvastson, *Den svenska*, p. 45, pp. 62-63, pp. 84-85.

¹²¹ Arvastson, *Den svenska*, pp. 86-87, pp. 104-105,

¹²² Wahlström, *Studier*, pp. 22-23.

of PB1695 also came to a halt when the Swedish bishops judged some content as Pietistic, and it had to be revised.¹²³ Yet, some new hymns in PB1695 sound as if they contain traces of the mystic and emotionally driven prose that Arvastson talks of. One of these songs, *Säll then som hafwer Jesum kär*, a Communion hymn written by the Swedish bishop, Haquin Spegel (1645-1714), will be studied. As there had been so few Eucharistic hymns in the first Swedish Protestant liturgies, the new Communion songs, written almost two centuries after, were quite different in style and content. It is the theology in these Communion songs, and the theological development between the old and new songs that is of interest.

Despite the conformity of Communion songs from the Reformation to PB1695, seventeenth century music still proves quite as difficult to trace as the literature of popular culture. The main difficulty is that music is very much part of oral culture, and little is known of lay songs and singing. Added to this is the complexity of determining what constitutes music, prose or both. Professor of Musicology, Erik Kjellberg, has researched the practice of music in the seventeenth century (both ecclesial and popular), and he describes how reading could easily have turned into singing as a way to enhance written prose.¹²⁴ The art of creating verse (written or oral) was commonplace, as was making music and singing together. Broadsheets also referred to different tunes, both worldly and ecclesial.¹²⁵ The ambiguity of tunes and music extends to the church service. Church songbooks were distributed in the dioceses without music scores, and Kjellberg points out that many churches were without an instrument and had to rely on choirs or a cantor to lead the hymns through repetitive line singing.¹²⁶ This means that tunes could develop with regional differences. Apart from the actual Communion songs mentioned in the liturgy, the practice of singing is also an important issue in this study. As Kjellberg stresses, there

¹²³ Jarlert, 'Orthodoxy', p. 104.

¹²⁴ Kjellberg, 'Andlig', p. 286.

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 285-288.

¹²⁶ Ibid., pp. 282-283.

existed an ambiguity between songs and texts, singing and reading, that must be borne in mind when exploring how the laity understood and used Communion songs.

So even though hymnals have been well researched, and the actual Communion songs were so few, the usage of these hymns is still under-studied, both within and beyond the service. It is this lay understanding (espoused and operant theology) that is the main point of interest, as is the use of songs by Church leaders in lay instruction (normative and formal theology). This subject, however, has garnered little interest in Sweden. Sven-Åke Selander has looked particularly at catechetical hymns, but he still places the usage of hymns firmly in the context of a church service, and only secondarily in a household setting.¹²⁷ Research from neighbouring Denmark, Norway, and Germany, on the other hand, shows the importance of hymns in catechetical teaching. Jon Haarberg's Danish study on 'Singing the Catechism', will be instrumental here as will Christopher Boyd Brown's research on Lutheran attitudes towards hymns and singing in Reformation Germany.¹²⁸ This study will discuss to what extent hymns were used in lay instruction, which may offer new insights into popular culture and belief.

IV.iii The Visual Space

The third main theme, the visual experience, is at the heart of the Eucharistic moment, and cannot be underestimated in an oral culture. Even when the view of the chancel was impaired by screens, the church interior would have spoken to the laity through murals, vestments and reredoses, as would the Eucharistic vessels used during the distribution. The focus of this part of the study is motivation and experience. The chapters on normative

¹²⁷ Sven-Åke Selander goes through the rise and decline of the catechetical section in the hymnbooks in an article based on Luther's catechetical hymns. In the early days of Swedish hymnal, the first part was structured much like the catechism, with hymns covering the same topics. This section was a mainstay until the hymnbook of 1819. See, Sven-Åke Selander, 'Luthers psalmer som katekespsalmer i svensk tradition', in *Martin Luthers psalmer i de nordiska folkens liv: ett projekt inom forskarnätverket Nordhymn*, ed. by Sven-Åke Selander & Karl-Johan Hansson, (Lund: Arcus, 2008), pp. 274-279, (pp. 277-278).

¹²⁸ Jon Haarberg, 'Earways to Heaven: Singing the Catechism in Denmark-Norway, 1569-1756' in *Religious Reading in the Lutheran North: Studies in Early Modern Scandinavian Book Culture*, ed. by Charlotte Appel and Morten Fink-Jensen, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), pp. 48-69; Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel – Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*, (London: Harvard University Press, 2005).

and formal theology will clarify how the Church aimed to instruct the laity with the visual of the ecclesial space. Through studies of espoused and operant theology we will then explore how the laity perceived the sanctuary and the Eucharistic event.

Based on Malmstedt's research we know that the laity centred their religious life on much more than the spoken or written word; the ritual, the tradition and the local community were just as important in popular belief.¹²⁹ During the Reformation, the Church leadership also seemed to view images as a second layer of instruction. A great many churches had murals painted in the period c. 1540 to 1600, which Merete Lindgren discussed in her dissertation from 1983.¹³⁰ This and other publications from the author will help us bridge the gap between traditional and Reformation imagery. One major change that she notes in post-Reformation murals is how biblical motifs replace illustrations of saints, but also the continued popularity of traditional motifs that caution against immorality.¹³¹ Wandel also mentions the central place of the image in Lutheran churches. In his treatise on the Eucharist in the Reformation he observes how Lutherans found ways to re-use medieval fabric in the new Protestant setting. He also points out the development of new imagery, in particular the baroque reredoses that were installed in Sweden and in Germany. He sees this not just as a testimony to the importance of images, but also the fundamental role of the altar and the Eucharist in Lutheran worship.¹³²

The continued use of murals in seventeenth-century Sweden, shows the value of images in post-Reformation times, as do the reredoses. Murals and reredoses will therefore be valuable sources for this study, and the sample churches offer examples of both, from medieval times and the post-Reformation era. The current leading researcher on reredoses

¹²⁹ See Chapter 5 on the Reformation and instruction of the laity in, Malmstedt, *Bondetro*.

¹³⁰ Mereth Lindgren, *Att lära och att pryda: om efterreformatiska kyrkmålningar i Sverige cirka 1530-1630*, (Vitterhets- historie- och antikvitetsakad., Diss. Stockholm: Univ., Stockholm, 1983).

¹³¹ Mereth Lindgren, 'Reformationen och bilden', in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – Reformationstid*, ed. by Åke Andréén, (Stockholm: Verbum förlag, 1999), pp 304-320, (306-309)

¹³² Wandel, *The Eucharist*, p. 120.

is Inga Lena Ångström, and her study from 1992 covers the period from the Renaissance to the early modern period.¹³³ Another important scholar of Swedish church interiors is Per Gustaf Hamberg (1913-1978). He was professor of art history and created what can be considered a primer on the changes in Swedish church buildings from the Reformation to the time of Lutheran Orthodoxy.¹³⁴ His work will be consulted in the study of chancel screens and reredoses. There are very few screens left, so a seventeenth-century screen that used to be in St Jacob's Church in Stockholm will be examined, and which is known from a description written by a former schoolmaster of the church, Fred[rik] Wittingh, in 1771.¹³⁵ Because there is always the question of credibility with these historical descriptions, Hamberg's expertise on the subject is all the more important.

Sweden is fortunate in having an abundance of parish records and inventory lists, at least from the seventeenth century and onwards, many being digitized. Of great help for this study is the ongoing work being conducted by the Dioceses of Västerås and Uppsala, and the regional museum of the county of Södermanland (the eastern part of the Diocese of Strängnäs) in the production of church descriptions. These are based on archaeological studies, parish records and inventory lists. Here particular mention should be made of the past curator of *Södermanlands Museum*, Ivar Schnell (1904-1993), who published studies of the county's 124 old churches, of which several will be cited here. Some Swedish churches also appear in the project called *Sveriges kyrkor* (*Churches of Sweden*), which has been published through the Swedish National Heritage Board (*Riksantikvarieämbetet*) and The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (*Kungliga vitterhetsakademien*).

¹³³ Inga-Lena Ångström-Grandien, *Altartavlor i Sverige under renässans och barock: studier i deras ikonografi och stil 1527-1686*, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992).

¹³⁴ See both, Per Gustaf Hamberg, *Norrländska kyrkoinredningar: från reformation till ortodoxi: idéhistoria, kulturförbindelser, mästare*, (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets-, historie- och antikvitetsakademien, 1974), and, *Temples for Protestants; Studies in the Architectural Milieu of the Early Reformed Church and of the Lutheran Church*, (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2002).

¹³⁵ Fred. L. Wittingh, *St. Jacobs Minne, eller Historisk Berättelse, om St. Jacobs och Johannis Församling i Stockholm*, Författad och Utgifwen af Fred. L. Wittingh, Schol – Mäst. wid St. Joh., Stockholm, tryckt hos Wennberg och Nordström, Åhr 1771.

The various studies, by reference to parish records and inventory lists, offer a historical background to the parishes in question, the building stages of the churches and an inventory of interior and exterior objects; the subtitle of the series defines the project as an inventory of the art history of churches. As this thesis aims to clarify the theological motivation and use of the church building, the thorough background offered by the project *Svenska kyrkor* will be most useful. The project will be consulted for the study of St Jacob's Church in Stockholm, the Cathedral of Stockholm, Kristine Church in Falun (Diocese of Västerås), Fors Church in Eskilstuna (Diocese of Strängnäs), and Jäder Church (Diocese of Uppsala).¹³⁶

Edward Foley produced a detailed account of the changes of the Christian churches over the ages. Regarding Protestant churches, he observes that the removal of the rood-screens was common. But, as with everything, Foley remarks that exceptions were frequent. Not only did England keep their screens (if not the roods), but some Lutheran churches kept old pieces, like the sacrament house in Ulm. Yet other Protestant churches installed new elaborate pieces, like the silver altar and reredos in Stockholm Cathedral.¹³⁷ Hamberg also comments on this, adding that about the same time as the acquisition of the silver altar, in the 1650s, the Cathedral in Stockholm also ordered a choir screen based on a model from the Reformed Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam.¹³⁸ It seems that architectural inspiration was not stifled or hindered by confessional boundaries. The one common element that Foley has found in Protestant churches was the emphasis on the Word from the pulpit.¹³⁹ But, as has been seen with Wandel's comment on the central role of the

¹³⁶ Alice Quensel, *S. Jakobs kyrka. 1, Församlingshistoria*, (Stockholm: 1928); Efraim Lundmark, *S. Jakobs kyrka. 2, Konsthistoria*, (Stockholm: 1930); Johnny Roosval, ed., *S. Nikolai eller Storkyrkan. 3, Inredning och lösa inventarier*, (Stockholm: 1927); Gerda Boëthius, ed., *Sveriges kyrkor: konsthistoriskt inventarium. Dalarna. Bd 2:1, Falun*, (Stockholm: 1941); Robert Bennett and Ralph Edenheim, *Fors kyrka, Västerrekarne härad, Södermanland band V:1*, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1976); Barbro Flodin, *Jäders kyrka: Österrekarne härad, Södermanland*, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1989).

¹³⁷ Edward Foley, *From Age to Age: How Christians Have Celebrated the Eucharist*, rev. and expanded ed., (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2008), p. 255.

¹³⁸ Hamberg, *Norrländska*, p. 65.

¹³⁹ Foley, *From Age*, p. 256.

Eucharist in the Lutheran confession, which he bases on the significance of the altar and the prominent reredoses that were installed,¹⁴⁰ there are different viewpoints to be taken on the subject. This tension between pulpit and altar will be a major issue in this study. There has been a lot of research on the development of the pulpit, and the role of the Word in the Lutheran service, so this study will focus mainly on the sanctuary, on murals, screens, reredoses, and other items that are part of the Eucharistic service: silver vessels and vestments. Among the reredoses that will be explored is the above mentioned silver altar at Stockholm Cathedral, a reredos that Hamberg describes as a juncture between medieval altarpieces and the Baroque designs with evangelical motifs. The silver altar does have doors, like a medieval altarpiece, but the imagery is purely biblical and the arrangement of the images became an inspiration for reredoses all over Sweden.¹⁴¹

Nigel Yates has also attempted to define what differentiates Reformed and Lutheran church interiors in his study on the ecclesial space. He remarks on the conservative approach in Lutheran church buildings, and connects it with the more moderate transformation of the Lutheran Mass. This view, however, is not completely straightforward. Bodo Nischan's article on the elevation debate shows that Lutherans could not even agree amongst themselves, instead there were entrenched factions of Gnesio-Lutherans, who saw elevation as a confessional marker, and Philippists, who deemed it *adiaphora*.¹⁴² The debates that engaged the Swedish clergy on the FC, the Real Presence and ubiquity have also been discussed.¹⁴³ The concept of 'Lutheranism' and what it means in liturgy, culture and confession needs to be addressed with caution. Hamberg points to differences in attitudes to images, even between the neighbouring Lutheran lands of Denmark-Norway and Sweden. The Trondheim reform of 1589 introduced 'nicht-bild'

¹⁴⁰ Wandel, *The Eucharist*, p. 120.

¹⁴¹ Hamberg, *Norrländska*, pp. 44-46.

¹⁴² On the elevation debate, see Nischan, *Lutherans*, Chapter V.

¹⁴³ See Göransson's studies: Göransson, *Ortodoxi*, and Göransson, *Den synkretistiska*.

reredoses in Norway, whereas Sweden in general kept pictorial altarpieces.¹⁴⁴ Keeping in mind the variations that existed within Lutheranism, Yates comments that Swedish churches in particular were conservative with change; during the Reformation era, pulpits and box-pews were installed, but that happened within the old interior design of the building, and screens remained commonplace well into the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁵ The Lutheran churches of Sweden give ample illustrations of the altar-area as a vital part of the ritual and spiritual experience. But what significance did the clergy and the laity place on the altar-area, especially in proportion to the pulpit and the Word? It is this dichotomy between pulpit and altar that will be explored, that formed the centre of the religious experience for the clergy and the laity respectively. To this end, the study of the source material will focus on the experience and use of the sanctuary and its interior.

The sample of reredoses in the post-Reformation era shows that there was an equal appreciation of both medieval and Baroque pieces. Wealthy parishes like Rättvik and Jäder kept, or invested in, traditional altarpieces during the seventeenth century. The question is whether the old material was appreciated for reasons of religious experience, or if there were other factors at play, such as local pride or aesthetic preferences. Ångström poses a similar question regarding the reredoses that ended up in Sweden as war booty, that is, whether the Catholic pieces were merely tolerated or if they became trophies of a religious war.¹⁴⁶ These are questions that need further exploration. Vestments also indicate a Reformation ‘in moderation’, as medieval chasubles seems to have been used all through the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁷ Inger Estham (1929-2016) was a curator at the Swedish National Heritage Board and the leading expert on historical textiles in Sweden. She catalogued and

¹⁴⁴ Hamberg, *Norrländska*, pp. 144-151.

¹⁴⁵ Nigel Yates, *Liturgical Space – Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500-2000*, (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 30-31, pp. 38-39.

¹⁴⁶ Ångström-Grandien, *Altartavlor*, pp. 122-123.

¹⁴⁷ Bengt Stolt, *Kyrkelig skrud enligt svensk tradition*, (Stockholm: Diakonistyrelsens förlag, 1964).

dated Swedish chasubles from the sixteenth and the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁸ Her research is far greater in scope than the rather small sample of vestments discussed here, but she points out that three of the vestments in this study – from Rättvik (1650/1674), Falun (1666), and Ytterjärna (1645) – have their counterparts in other areas of the region or the county. She also remarks on the great similarities between seventeenth-century chasubles made in Sweden and those made in Catholic parts of Europe.¹⁴⁹ These similarities of design indicate the links that existed between parishes and countries through artists or donors, but they may also tell us of the experience of Mass and Eucharistic piety through the means of art. Similar connections in spiritual literature, with prayers collected from medieval piety to Jesuit meditations in Lutheran devotional books are noted. By looking at piety through art, literature and music, a fuller understanding of the religious interconnectedness that existed between countries and confessions can be obtained. Estham's studies of visitation records and inventory lists also indicate that very few chasubles were created during the Reformation. Her conclusion is that the medieval vestments were in continual use during this period, only to be replaced when necessity demanded it or finances allowed it. She maintains this theory by showing the correlation that can be found in design and textile work between medieval chasubles and those made in the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁰

Church silver is mentioned occasionally in scholarly research, noting general changes of design and use, but there is a lack of a comprehensive study on silver in Sweden. The relevant volumes in a series on the Swedish church history, *Den svenska kyrkohistorien*, together with a series on Swedish art history of churches, *Signums svenska kyrkohistoria* will be consulted.¹⁵¹ Signum's art history, in particular, is generally referred to in studies of the history of church buildings and interiors, and Kersti Holmquist's articles on

¹⁴⁸ Estham, *Figurbroderade*.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 37, p. 45, pp. 89-92.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 15, p. 19.

¹⁵¹ Czaika, 'The Swedish'; Jarlert, 'Orthodoxy'; Andrén, *reformationstid*; Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*.

gold and silverwork offer a guide to the main developments of church silver in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.¹⁵² Lindgren's study on imagery will also be an aid. The silver sources for this study will show illustrations of the scripture based images that Lindgren describes, so a comparison between the imagery of silver and those on murals and reredoses should be of interest.¹⁵³ But silver vessels are also the details of church interiors that show the best correlation between sacred and secular life, as so many donations clearly were household objects. Some objects, like a flagon (c. 1630) designed to be a show piece for a wedding banquet, was subsequently donated to Tyresö Church (now in the Diocese of Stockholm).¹⁵⁴ The object was donated to the History Museum in 1961, and since it is no longer *in situ* any interpretation of the object must be made with caution. This is just one example of a 'profane' secular piece donated to a church building. Holmquist brings up these donations as common in both the sixteenth and the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁵ Thus, the trend seems to indicate that there was a relaxed attitude to which images were seen as acceptable in a church setting, this in turn can offer insight into the blurred lines between the secular and the sacred, as well as the laity's understanding of the holy.

These two concepts, sacred vs. secular, and 'the holy' will be crucial in the discussion of the visual of the church. As we are studying the experience of the church building, both by the clergy and the laity, these two concepts need to be further clarified. A consecration sermon for the new church of Hudiksvall in 1672 will offer an insight into the Church hierarchy's understanding of the holy. The preacher Martin Brunnerus was a proponent of Lutheran Orthodoxy, and his sermon clearly defines the church building as a

¹⁵² Kersti Holmquist, 'Guldsmidskonsten', in *Signums svenska konsthistoria [Bd 5] Renässansens konst*, ed. by Göran Alm, (Lund: Signum, 1996), pp. 378-395; and 'Guldsmidskonsten', in *Signums svenska konsthistoria [Bd 6] Barockens konst*, ed. by Göran Alm, (Lund: Signum, 1997), pp. 472-495.

¹⁵³ Lindgren, 'Reformationen'.

¹⁵⁴ For further information, see Tyresö flagon, History Museum website <<http://kulturarvsdata.se/shm/object/html/44048>>, [accessed 9 November 2018].

¹⁵⁵ Holmquist, 'Guldsmidskonsten', 1996, p. 389; Holmquist, 'Guldsmidskonsten', 1997, p. 478.

temple.¹⁵⁶ This is a departure from KO1571, in which Laurentius Petri specifies that churches are indeed not temples but a house where Christians gather.¹⁵⁷ It seems that there had been a development among the Swedish Lutheran theologians about how to interpret the holy. John Sommerville suggests that secularisation was in fact the result of a new idea, the definition of the holy. The Church leadership made an effort to emphasise the holiness of the church space and its ritual, and thereby – inadvertently – created a distinction between sacred and secular.¹⁵⁸ That is, it was not the laity that attempted to carve out a civic sphere void of religion, but the other way around. The silver vessels that were donated to churches, some with images of bare-chested women, will show just how intricately connected religion and everyday life tended to be for the common man and woman. This too denotes the disparate views that clergy and laity had on holiness.

The interpretation and perception of ‘holy’ and ‘holiness’ will run as a common thread throughout the thesis. This concept is at the heart of most misunderstandings between Church and people, as well as high and low culture. Much as Rudolf Otto describes the dichotomy between reason and emotion in his *The Idea of the Holy*, this study reveals how Church officials frequently attempted to intellectualise holiness, whereas the majority of the laity approached holiness on an emotional plane.¹⁵⁹ Both Malmsted and Oja’s studies are also important. Their work shows that the laity did appreciate the holiness of the church and of the Eucharist, but with a different appreciation of *how* God was holy, and *where* God was holy.¹⁶⁰ God and the holy could be both personal and intimate. The

¹⁵⁶ Rurik Holm, ‘Martin Brunnerus’, in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/17076>> [accessed 31 July 2019]; Brunnerus M. *En christelig predikan om Gudz boning på jorden och himmelens port, af förste Mose boks 28. cap. 17. v. [...]* Tryckt i Stockholm af Job. Georg Eberdt år 1676.: 1676.

¹⁵⁷ Laurentius Petri, *Then Svenska kyrkeordningen*. Tryckt j Stocholm aff Amund Laurentzson. Anno. Domini. M. D. LXXI.: 1571. [KO1571], p. xlviii.

¹⁵⁸ John C. Sommerville, *The Secularization of Early Modern England: From Religious Culture to Religious Faith*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 6-7.

¹⁵⁹ For a discussion on the rational and non-rational approach to the holy, see Rudolf Otto and John W. Harvey, *The idea of the holy: an inquiry into the non-rational factor in the idea of the divine and its relation to the rational*, (Mansfield Centre, CT: Martino Pub., 2010 [1923]), in particular Ch. Xiii.

¹⁶⁰ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 146-152; Oja, *Varken*, pp. 179-182.

emotional understanding of the holy is akin to Scribner's theory of the 'sacramental gaze'; approaching a sacred object was a sensual experience, it engaged the senses as much as the mind.¹⁶¹ The Church's attempt to define the holy therefore went against the laity's personal engagement with holiness. A recent study concerning the different approaches to the visual, and the understanding of the visual world is Steven Pattison's *Seeing Things*, which looks further at the 'sacramental gaze' and attempts to explain how for some seeing is a physical experience, almost like touching that which one beholds. This, he mentions, is why seeing a sacred object like a host, can be regarded as partaking and worshipping the holiness of God.¹⁶² With the research made by Pattison, Scribner, Otto, Malmstedt and Oja, we aim to unpack the concept of holiness, explore how the holy was understood in the Swedish post-Reformation period, and what consequences that would have had for Eucharistic piety.

In order to explore popular belief, we must strive to understand the society as the seventeenth-century man and woman saw it, of the cultural layers, of local piety, and the different concepts of holiness. The fact that religion was part of everyday life (and *vice versa*) make for some interesting features in church settings; while the modern eye may dismiss a feature as secular, it may still offer insight into the popular belief of the seventeenth century, but it will also help the interpretation of how 'the holy' could be understood. The aim of this study is to explore the instruction of Communion by the Church leaders through the visual space of the church, how the laity experience that same space, and what it tells us of Eucharistic piety in post-Reformation Sweden.

¹⁶¹ Robert Scribner, 'Perceptions of the Sacred in Germany at the End of the Middle Ages', in *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400-1800)*, ed. by Lyndal Roper, (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 85-103.

¹⁶² Stephen Pattison, *Seeing things: deepening relations with visual artefacts*, (London: SCM Press, 2007), pp. 42-43.

Spiritual Literature

Chapter 1 – Eucharistic Literature of Church and Episcopacy

1.1 Introduction

In 1658 Johannes Matthiae Gothus, Bishop of Strängnäs (1592-1670), published a book for the spiritual wellbeing of the people in his diocese. The book contains a special section for children that offers a simple introduction to the Lord's Supper. Johannes Matthiae can be seen as a pioneer in teaching, and for a time he was even the appointed tutor of Crown Princess Christina. As a humanist, he regarded humanity in a positive light, and children as having agile minds whose abilities should be appreciated and nurtured.¹⁶³ In both these opinions he stands out in his period. It is personal mindsets, such as these, that are of interest here, where we will explore how church officials used Eucharistic normative theology (church dogma) to create formal theology (church instruction for the laity). Bishop Johannes' humanistic values went against the Lutheran Orthodox view on humanity as unable to produce anything genuinely good, and he did not share the general understanding of children as *tabulae rasae* without any innate capabilities.¹⁶⁴ His humanistic open-minded approach in education and religion was one of the reasons that the Concordian Lutheran Orthodoxy ensured he was removed from his bishop's seat. And yet, as we will see, these differences of opinion did not seem to reach the laity. Bishop

¹⁶³ Febe Crafoord, "*Läter all ting äbrligha och skäckeliga tilgå*" – *Prästerskapet i 1600-talets Sverige*, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, Diss. Stockholm Univ., 2002), pp. 63-65.

¹⁶⁴ The clergy saw themselves very much as teachers of faith, interested in pedagogical theory, and devoted to the art of rhetoric and preaching. See, Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, for Aristotelism, Ramism, and preaching, pp. 58-62. For more on bishops and pedagogy see, Crafoord, "*Läter*".

Johannes' instructions on the Eucharist end with values shared by the Church leadership. He tells his readers that one must prepare oneself well before receiving Communion. He urges them to attend the Lord's Supper frequently, on the basis that the Eucharist offers rich fruit and good sustenance.¹⁶⁵

There were, however, significant disparities between Johannes Matthiae's writings on the Eucharist, and the authors of popular devotional literature, differences he shared with other bishops, which will help reveal the formal theology of the seventeenth century Swedish church. The main focus for the episcopacy (formal theology) is a theocentric religion, a merciful God, and the fellowship of believers – themes that are not as frequent in the devotionals of the laity (espoused theology). The Eucharistic themes of official dogma and episcopal writing will also be at the heart of the following two chapters. In this chapter, we will focus mainly on what is distinct in normative and formal theology. We will do so by establishing what the Church leadership deemed to be normative documents, and then explore how they used these in their own publications. The aim is to see what the consensus was on normative theology, that is, to study episcopal teaching (formal theology) on the Eucharist to note where the bishops converge and diverge in their instruction. The next chapter will then continue to research formal theology in comparison with popular literature.

Even in this chapter, however, we need to be aware of some overlap between the episcopal publications and popular literature. Many prayer books were compilation works and the same prayers appear in various publications.¹⁶⁶ But whereas popular devotional literature is a compilation of many spiritual traditions, from medieval mysticism to proto-pietism,¹⁶⁷ we will find that the bishops' publications – though also compilation works – drew inspiration from sanctioned literature such as Scripture and Luther's catechism, but

¹⁶⁵ Johannes Matthiae, *Strengnäs, Barnabook*, pp. 34-35.

¹⁶⁶ Lindquist, *Studier*, p. 257.

¹⁶⁷ Lindquist, *Studier*, p. 254; Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, pp. 62-66.

also more contested works including the Book of Concord, and a theological textbook by Matthias Hafenreffer (1569-1619).¹⁶⁸

1.2 Eucharistic Themes from the Episcopal Pen

This chapter will focus on four publications. The first is by *Laurentius Paulinus Gothus* (1565-1646), Bishop of Strängnäs 1609, Archbishop of Uppsala 1637. He is mostly known for publishing a large, multi-volume commentary on the catechism *Ethica christiania* (1617-1630), as well as a shorter version for practical use by the clergy *Thesaurus catecheticus* (1631 and 1640).¹⁶⁹ The focus here will be the catechism he produced for the laity, *Clenodium*, which is basically a fuller version of Luther's smaller catechism.¹⁷⁰ Next is a publication endorsed by *Johannes Rudbeckius* (1581-1646), Bishop of Västerås 1619. Rudbeckius founded the first gymnasium (secondary education) in Sweden and became one of the most powerful figures of seventeenth-century Sweden.¹⁷¹ His brother Petrus Rudbeckius (1580–1629) was a lecturer at the gymnasium in Västerås, and at that time he published a hymnal, *Enchiridion*.¹⁷² This hymnal became something of a bestseller of the century, especially in the bishop's seats held by generations of the Rudbeckius family. Even though *Enchiridion* was not produced by Bishop Johannes Rudbeckius, it is improbable that he would have endorsed a hymnal for his diocese that did not correspond with his position on both pedagogy and theology. The Church Ordinance Bishop Rudbeckius wrote for the Diocese of Västerås clearly details how and when examinations of the catechism should take place, and the hymnal (which contained the catechism) was crucial for the realisation of these instructions.¹⁷³ The prayer book in *Enchiridion* also shows similarities with Hafenreffer's

¹⁶⁸ Hafenreffer, *Compendium*.

¹⁶⁹ Crafoord, "Läter", pp. 55-56.

¹⁷⁰ Laurentius, *Clenodium*.

¹⁷¹ Crafoord, "Läter", pp. 57-58.

¹⁷² Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*.

¹⁷³ Johannes Rudbeckius, *Biskop J. Rudbeckius' kyrkio-stadgar för Westerås stift*, ed. by Herman Lundström, (Uppsala: 1900), I:5, 8-9.

theological textbook, which Bishop Rudbeckius frequently lectured over when professor at Uppsala University.

A contemporary to the brothers Rudbeckius was *Johannes Matthiae Gothus* (1592-1670), Bishop of Strängnäs 1643-1664. He was influenced by humanism, and he had close connections with the Court. In 1653, he produced the previously mentioned household book for the laity of his diocese, simple spiritual fare for the common folk. He was later accused of syncretism and was deposed from his seat in 1664.¹⁷⁴ *Ericus Gabrielis Emporagrius* (1606-1674) succeeded Johannes Matthiae as Bishop of Strängnäs in 1664. He was an advocate for the Book of Concord, and instrumental in getting the FC adopted by the clergy and eventually also added to the confessional documents of the Church in Sweden.¹⁷⁵ This influence of the FC is also apparent in his book to the laity of Strängnäs, which is another commentary on the catechism.¹⁷⁶ These four publications have been chosen because their intended audience were the common people. The texts also give examples of distinct theological and pedagogical views, but at the same time they illustrate a uniformity of Eucharistic teaching in the Church leadership.

Johannes Rudbeckius, Bishop of Västerås, (1581-1646) was a man known for his authoritarian character. As one of many powerful bishops during the age of Swedish Lutheran Orthodoxy, Rudbeckius claimed that the clergy, or *ecclesia*, should wield authority over both government and society since the church already had the responsibility to examine, judge and command the laity.¹⁷⁷ Visitation and diocesan records also tell of a bishop who kept his clergy in such strict order they likened him to Odin.¹⁷⁸ In contrast to this, the prayers on Communion in his brother's prayer book portrays a generous and

¹⁷⁴ Johannes Matthiae, *Strängnäs, Barnabook*; Crafoord, "Läter", pp. 63-65.

¹⁷⁵ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, pp. 130-131.

¹⁷⁶ Emporagrius, *Catechesens*.

¹⁷⁷ Crafoord, "Läter", p. 58; Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 58.

¹⁷⁸ A rector's wife forced her way into a meeting where her husband was being assessed by bishop and chapter, and there compared Rudbeckius to Odin. See Crafoord, "Läter", p. 58.

loving God.¹⁷⁹ The prayers does not seem to be those preferred by a forbidding, detached father figure, but by the benevolent father of a prodigal son. If Bishop Rudbeckius himself endorsed *Enchiridion*, then perhaps these prayers belie the forceful nature of his character. Their message is in harmony with Hafenreffer's textbook that Bishop Rudbeckius used at Uppsala University, so much so in fact, that it seems implausible for him not to have had some hand in the compilation of the prayer book. The similarities in structure will be discussed later.¹⁸⁰ The themes that emerge from Petrus Rudbeckius's prayers on Communion undoubtedly have a strong emphasis on preparation and the need for forgiveness, but they also convey divine mercy and love that is unconditional. 'I confess that I am a poor sinner, in no way worthy of your benevolence, and yet I firmly believe you will make me part of your true body and blood.'¹⁸¹ And it is with genuine trust in God's generosity that the communicant is to approach the altar. One can even call it a joyful approach, 'O dear Lord, I am confident that your word and your promise hold true, and it is with a joyful heart that I, with you, celebrate this Eucharist.'¹⁸² Nor does God's work end with the participation in Communion. For the reception and the moment after Communion, *Enchiridion* offers prayers that describe the Fruits of the Spirit. In the Sacrament, God makes himself part of the communicant, who is then able to live out God's love in the wider community. '[We] pray that you, merciful [Lord] let this [Sacrament] work goodness within us, and increase our faith, that we may have a burning love for one another.'¹⁸³ And 'I thank you that you have enriched me with faith and love.'¹⁸⁴ Joy, love, compassion and life – all characteristics of God, which through the Sacrament can operate within the communicant. It should be noted that the Real Presence is implicit

¹⁷⁹ Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, 'Almennelig Bönbok', pp. 21-24.

¹⁸⁰ See Chapter 1.3.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 21-22.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁸³ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

here. In fact, the Real Presence is another prevalent theme in the prayer books of this era, both in official publications of the bishops and in popular devotional books.

Turning to Bishop Johannes Matthiae's book for children, he even makes the Real Presence one of the major points of the Communion section. The section is divided in two, with one part dedicated to instruction on the Eucharist. Here Bishop Johannes informs his readers of the origin and benefits of Communion. The second part is a Communion prayer, but this also sounds like a textbook instruction. All along the margins are references to different bible passages, like pearls on a string. As to Real Presence, Johannes Matthiae incorporates it with a pared down paragraph from 1 Cor 10.16, 'The cup of blessing, is it not the communion of your [Christ's] blood? And the bread, is it not the communion of your [Christ's] body?'¹⁸⁵ Johannes Matthiae continues his prayer in this pedagogical vein, sprinkling it with biblical symbols of the life-giving gifts of God. He mentions the life-giving manna. He paints the picture of the Tree of Life from both Rev 2.7 and Gen 2.9.¹⁸⁶ The Eucharist, by being the body and blood of Christ himself, turns into a life-saving viaticum. In comparison, the catechisms of Laurentius Paulinus Gothus (1565-1646) and Ericus Gabrielis Emporagrius (1606-1674) are not quite as life-affirming. The two men were Johannes Matthiae's predecessor and successor as Bishops of Strängnäs. Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus had a great interest in education, much like Johannes Matthiae, but in his school of pedagogy humankind is so ruled by sinfulness that it cannot improve itself. He went so far as to state that since humankind cannot produce anything good, then empirical thought has no value, and natural law does not exist. Instead, Archbishop Laurentius used Ramism's methods of rhetoric and systematisation to uncover Biblical knowledge and ethics, without needing to resort to pre-Christian Aristotelian

¹⁸⁵ Johannes Matthiae, *Strängnäs, Barnabook*, p. 46.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, pp. 46-47.

philosophy, or reason-based Scholasticism.¹⁸⁷ To this end he created the largest publication by a Swedish author of his day, with a complete systematisation and commentary on the catechism, *Ethica christiana*, in seven volumes.¹⁸⁸ This publication was for the learned mind however, and much more thorough than the simple theological fare he put in the hands of the common people. So, what did he emphasise in his instruction on the Eucharist? In 1633, Laurentius Paulinus published, *Clenodium*, a hymnal that also contained a prayer book and a catechism.¹⁸⁹ As might be expected by someone who published a multi-volume analysis of the catechism, this simple explanation of the faith is the main focus in the hymnal. The prayer book starts with the catechism, and the following prayer section is not at all as extensive as in Rudbeckius's hymnal that. The hymns in *Clenodium* also follows a catechetical structure, with the same rubrics for the hymns as those in the catechism. Thus, the benefits he mentions are those of the catechism: Communion gives remission of sins, life and eternal salvation. This emphasis can at first sight seem quite particular, with the main benefit being redemption for the poor miserable sinner. On the other hand, if we add the prayers from the prayer section to the mix, a broader picture emerges.

Of the three prayers on Communion, Archbishop Laurentius has two prayers in common with *Enchiridion*. Both prayers depict the great mercy and benevolence of God. The second prayer thanks a merciful God for nourishing the Christian with faith and love. The same prayer also talks of Jesus as 'dearest' or 'sweetest', in other words a very personal, intimate language from a most formal and strict church official. The third prayer, the 'Nunc dimittis', confirms the belief in the Real Presence in Lutheran Orthodoxy. The Sacrament is not just a spiritual connection with God. 'For mine eyes have seen thy glory'—in the Sacrament we see, touch, and taste God, and can thus depart in peace, trusting in

¹⁸⁷ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 58. Birger Olsson, 'Bibel på svenska' in *Svenske kyrkohistoria – reformationstid*, ed. by Åke Andrén, (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999) pp. 238-248, (p. 248).

¹⁸⁸ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 58.

¹⁸⁹ Laurentius, *Clenodium*.

God's mercy. Even though Laurentius Paulinus Gothus did not offer a rich variation of Eucharistic themes in the prayers of *Clenodium*, even if he centred his teaching on the catechism, God is not portrayed as a fearful judge. Redemption is an important Eucharistic theme for Archbishop Laurentius, for sure, but he also emphasises life, salvation, mercy, and a benevolent God whom we face in flesh and blood (real presence) at the altar. Going to Communion is not just about preparing a sinful soul for forgiveness, it is about being united with God, about getting close to the dearest, sweetest Jesus, and being fed by his love. An interesting discrepancy between this simple prayer book and his doctrinal encyclopaedia is that the latter mentions the work of the devil. In *Ethica christiana* the devil is described as a fearsome enemy who contorts God's good reality and human souls, and against whom we must have constant vigilance. One would think that the Eucharist might be mentioned as a good defence against this evil force, but the Communion sections in *Clenodium* does not mention the devil by name.¹⁹⁰ We will look further into this curiously absent theme in the following chapters.

Ericus Gabrielis Emporagrius is the bishop who differs most from his colleagues on the matter of the Eucharist. After succeeding the humanistic-minded Bishop Johannes Matthiae as Bishop of Strängnäs in 1664, Emporagrius produced a commentary on the catechism, published in 1669. He had previously been professor of both Physics and Theology, travelled to Leiden, Paris and Pomerania (1642-43), and been elected the Queen's chaplain (1645) and pastor primarius of Stockholm (1650). In Stockholm he instigated a discussion on the school ordinance and attempted to centralise the school system. With this background it is not surprising that he took a very active role in the oversight of his new diocese, visiting his parishes extensively and calling together the diocesan clergy for regular meetings. During his visitations, he also noted the poor quality

¹⁹⁰ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 46, p. 58.

of education among the laity and tried to rectify the situation with the publication of his commentary. Emporagrius clearly stated that the commentary contained nothing new as regards the previous books used in the diocese. The book was, however, simplified and shorter, in order to aid the ministers as they explained the complexities of theology to the laity. Or as he put it, to enable the lowering of the learned man to speak to simple minds.¹⁹¹ While Emporagrius claimed his book contained nothing new, there are significant differences between him and both his predecessors (Archbishop Laurentius and Bishop Johannes). He starts by pointing to fallibility and sin as the main issues in Eucharistic instruction. In the very first part of the section on the Lord's Supper, or 'The Sacrament of the Altar'¹⁹², Emporagrius defines God's main concern to be our human frailty. Because of our frail nature, God has devised a plan to ensure our salvation through the instruction of the Law, by faith that springs from the Gospel, and the institution of the Sacrament of the Altar. In the Eucharist, God unites his grace and forgiveness with the receiver through Jesus Christ.¹⁹³ It is true that Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus also singled out redemption as the main Eucharistic theme in his commentary, but he did include prayers that broadened his purview.

Emporagrius' book is mainly a commentary, but each section ends with prayers, as does the chapter on the Eucharist. And whereas the prayers compiled by Archbishop Laurentius broaden the variation of Eucharistic themes, the prayer in Emporagrius' volume instead expands on the main theme of redemption. The prayer is based on Psalm 23, likening Jesus to the shepherd. Humankind on the other hand is poisoned by sin, and it thirsts and hungers for the nourishment that only God can offer in the Sacrament and the Word. God gives grace, but Emporagrius never refers to him as merciful or full of grace.

¹⁹¹ Sven Kjällerström, 'Erik Gabrielsson (Ericus Gabriëlis) Emporagrius', in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/16056>> [accessed 7 June 2016].

¹⁹² Emporagrius, *Catechesens*, chapter V 1.1

¹⁹³ Loc. Cit.

The prayer also asks Jesus to keep the supplicant from the temptations of the devil and the world, lest they fall into further sin, and as a consequence receive unworthily. ‘Do not let the devil, the world, or the flesh bring us to sin, so that we do not consume them [bread and wine] unworthily, and bring judgement on ourselves by eating and drinking.’¹⁹⁴

Interesting to note is that the prayer asks Jesus directly for help, and not through the sacramental gifts of his body and blood. For Emporagrius, the only real fruits of the sacrament are redemption, and subsequently the promise of eternal life and the heavenly banquet, ‘Pray offer us the ability to partake of you in such a manner, that we may in the hereafter sit at the table with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.’¹⁹⁵ Overall, Emporagrius is much more precise in his description of the Eucharist. He pinpoints both the exact moment of the Real Presence, in *usus*, and further explains that it is not a carnal eating of Jesus Christ, but it is a supernatural presence, under, and with the bread. In comparison, the three other prayer books speak as one voice about Real Presence: Christ is present in, under and with the bread, but they do not attempt to distinguish the exact moment of Real Presence. They emphasise the mystery instead.

More than Real Presence, these diocesan hymnals and catechisms emphasised quite naturally one theme: redemption. Hand in hand with redemption is the need for preparation before confession and Communion. Thus far these publications are in agreement, but then a variation of themes emerges. Johannes Matthiae is the one who puts the greatest focus on the Eucharist as life-giving. He uses images such as the tree of life and the manna in the desert to underline the theme in both his instruction and Communion prayer.¹⁹⁶ The very last paragraph of the instruction also points to the good fruits of partaking in Communion: the redemption found in Christ’s body and blood, and

¹⁹⁴ ‘Tilstäd icke Diefwulen, Werlden och Kiöttet föra oss til Synd, på thet wij icke owärdeligen them anamma, och äte och dricke oss sielfwom Domen.’ Emporagrius, *Catecheses*, chapter V.

¹⁹⁵ ‘Utan förlän mildeligen, oss kunna aff tig här så spijsade warda, at wij mågom effter theta lijfwet så sittia til Bordz medh Abraham, Isaac och Jacob.’ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Johannes Matthiae, *Strengnäs, Barnabook*, p. 32, pp. 46-47.

the glory that belongs to God.¹⁹⁷ In comparison, the hymnals of Petrus Rudbeckius and Laurentius Paulinus use a more personal language than either Emporagrius and Johannes Matthiae. Both *Enchiridion* and *Clenodium* contains a prayer that addresses Jesus in an intimate, loving manner, thanking him for the gifts of faith and love. God's mercy and benevolence are also to the fore, as is human fallibility. Archbishop Laurentius ends his three prayers with the *Nunc dimittis*, a prayer that incorporates not only redemption, but viaticum, and a most personal encounter with Christ.¹⁹⁸ Petrus Rudbeckius, on the other hand, builds on his themes with prayers that emphasise the Fruits of the Spirit, such as life, joy, neighbourly love, and a forgiving spirit.¹⁹⁹ Although the Fruits of the Spirit are mentioned on more occasions in *Enchiridion*, they are prevalent in Archbishop Laurentius' and Johannes Matthiae's prayers too. The latter not only uses the word 'fruits' when describing the benefits of the sacrament, but he shares especially the theme of life with Rudbeckius. Another theme in *Enchiridion* is the sacrament as a sign of God's mercy.²⁰⁰ We will find that this theme of *sign and seal* also has to do with the Fruits of the Spirit, but it deserves a special mention, because previous interpretation of the theme has linked it with redemption and confession, thus reducing the sacramental value of Real Presence.

The themes of these diocesan publications take us into the realm of formal theology. Whereas the Bible, the CA, and the catechism gave a normative foundation, these prayer collections and commentaries offered a formal interpretation by the Church and for the laity. The population would have been most familiar with the catechism as a normative document. There redemption stands out as the main and most important value of the sacrament. Thus, the prayer books, barring Emporagrius, broaden the understanding of Eucharistic benefits with their publications. Formal theology has a richer description of the

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, pp. 34-35.

¹⁹⁸ Laurentius, *Clenodium*, En litten bönebok.

¹⁹⁹ Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, pp. 21-24.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. pp. 21-22.

Eucharist than the more streamlined normative theology, so the question needs asking, how did the bishops justify their theological fare, and what did they deem proper sources for these additional themes? It is to the origin and explanation of the themes of formal and normative theology we will turn to next.

1.3 Origin of the Themes

Although these diocesan publications had a similar message in their Eucharistic teaching (formal theology), they did not get their inspiration from the same sources (normative theology). Their final message may be similar, but the different focus they put on various themes and the manner in which they structure their books, all point towards a diversity of original documents. These sources, in turn, indicate what they saw as the normative foundation of their formal interpretation. The Uppsala Resolution (1593) offers a very clear list of the normative theology of the Church, namely the Bible and the CA, and these sources are indeed used by the bishops.²⁰¹ As will be shown, however, they also incorporate other material, like Hafenreffer's theological textbook, and the Formula of Concord (FC). When these books were published, the FC had yet to be adopted by the Riksdag.²⁰² In other words, it seems as if some representatives of the official Church expanded the list of foundational documents for the church in Sweden.

As the Humanist he was, Johannes Matthiae turned *ad fontes*. Not only are the margins in his children's book filled with Bible references, his text is also the one that

²⁰¹ The resolution mentions the Bible, the three creeds, the CA and the Church Ordinance of 1571 (KO1571). The resolution does not mention Luther's catechisms, but they are implied since the resolution makes a strong case for educating the common people in the right faith, as well as taking a firm stance against the Roman-Catholic Church, Calvinism, Anabaptists and other denominations. See, Lars Eckerdal and Per Erik Persson, eds., *Confessio fidei: Uppsala mötes beslut 1593 om Svenska kyrkans bekännelse*, (Stockholm: Verbum, 1993), pp. 12-14. The KO1571 does regulate the instruction on the catechism, however, so in an indirect way they are part of the confessional documents. See Laurentius Petri and Emil Färnström, *Laurentius Petris Kyrkoordning av år 1571*, (Stockholm: Diakonistyr., 1932), p. 36. For a commentary and analysis on the Uppsala resolution, see Montgomery, 'Institutionalisation', pp.156-160.

²⁰² The FC was adopted by the House of Clergy in 1647, and by the Riksdag in 1663. See, Crafoord, "*Läter*", pp. 48-50.

contains the most Eucharistic images from Scripture. He starts from the very beginning, mentioning both Melchizedek and the Exodus images of the Pascal lamb and the manna, and then moves towards the Revelation reference of the Tree of Life.²⁰³ If the Bible references in the margin can be likened to pearls on a string, then these have their corresponding gems in the actual body of text. Johannes Matthiae connects the Old Testament references with New Testament counterparts. So, the manna correlates to Jesus describing himself as the bread of life, and the Pascal lamb is the Lamb of God. The difference between his references to the Old and New Testament, however, is that while he may refer to the images of the Old Testament, the actual New Testament passages are incorporated in the text. Thus, Johannes Matthiae not only uses scripture as the foundation for his instruction on the Eucharist, he turns his explanations into a mini-New Testament on the sacrament. For the Bread of Life reference, he copies John 6. For the Words of Institution, he references Mark 14 in the margin, but uses words closer to 1 Cor 11.²⁰⁴ He adjusts the text slightly to create a flow in his writing, but all in all he stays true to the biblical reading. The second column alone is derived from 2 Pet 1.10, 1 Cor 10 15-16, 1 John 5.6 and 8, John 8, Wisdom 9.16, Zech. 8.6, 2 Cor 10, and Rom 4.11.²⁰⁵ Here Johannes Matthiae describes how the body and blood give a share in Jesus Christ, as well as the difficulties that come from attempting to understand the Real Presence with one's mind. There is a distinction, he says, between God's wisdom and human understanding, and the only way to understand the wisdom of the Sacrament is through faith in God's word.²⁰⁶

Johannes Matthiae continues in a similar vein in an advisory text to young parsons on what to say to the congregation before Communion.²⁰⁷ He uses Bible references, but the

²⁰³ Johannes Matthiae, *Strengnäs, Barnabook*, p. 32, pp. 46-47.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 32, 1st column.

²⁰⁵ Loc. Cit., 2nd column.

²⁰⁶ The entire section in six columns, has over 70 bible references, not counting those in the text. Ibid, pp. 32-35.

²⁰⁷ Johannes Matthiae Gothus, 1593-1670. - Form eller sätt om beredelse, til then helge nattwarden, eller skrifftermål. : vnga predikanter til vnderwijszning, och andra christne til förbättring / aff d. Johan. Matthiae. - 1653, pp. 1-3.

text reads more like the catechism, which he also mentions at the very end of the exhortation. This makes sense since the text was meant to be read from the pulpit. The message would easily resonate and be recognisable for the people. Johannes Matthiae then references the CA after he has laid out the text on Real Presence: a sharing of Christ's body and blood, truly present in the Eucharist.²⁰⁸ This compilation of the Scripture, the catechism, and the CA, were all the normative theology of the Church. These instructions were published in 1653. Just a few years earlier, in 1646, he used the confessional documents of the Church, among them the CA, arguing against the adoption of the FC. According to Johannes Matthiae, the discussion on the FC was nothing but theologians arguing and being overly punctilious with *adiaphora*. Furthermore, the debate threatened the peace and spiritual wellbeing of the Church, which was exactly why the Uppsala Resolution had been agreed on in the first place, to maintain the peace.²⁰⁹ Thus, Johannes Matthiae is the only bishop to name the CA in the books we are studying. He did it at a time when the adoption of the FC was discussed, and this might well be one subtle input in the debate, showing that the CA was enough to maintain good and proper faith.²¹⁰ This makes for an interesting comparison with his successor/replacement as Bishop of Strängnäs, Emporagrius. As we will see, Emporagrius clearly let himself be inspired by the FC when writing his new commentary.

Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus, on the other hand, did not trust his readers with Scripture. His pedagogical idea was to start with easy fare and move progressively to more substantial instruction.²¹¹ Larentius Paulinus did not share Johannes Matthiae's humanistic positive view on humanity. Humanity was flawed and sinful. It was void of both natural law, ethics and faith, which had to be taught. Thus, with the catechism a Christian could

²⁰⁸ Loc. Cit.

²⁰⁹ Göransson, *Orthodoxi*, pp. 161-162.

²¹⁰ In 1663, see Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 131.

²¹¹ Mörner, *Kyrka*, p. 74.

obtain the basic and necessary knowledge of the faith, before possibly being trusted with the complexities of Scripture. In the catechism, we learn what we need, also regarding the Eucharist. Luther stands as co-author of Archbishop Laurentius' book, *Clenodium*, so he is by no means trying to reinvent the catechetical wheel.²¹² Compared to Johannes Matthiae's retelling of the catechism in his clergy manual, the text in *Clenodium* follows the catechism verbatim. There are no Bible references in the margins. Instead Laurentius keeps to the straightforward catechetical references to Matthew, Mark, Luke and St Paul in the text. These four wrote about how Christ instituted the sacrament, and that is all we need to know.²¹³ What unites Johannes Matthiae and Laurentius Paulinus, however, is the fact that both bishops based their teaching on the foundational doctrine of the Church of Sweden: the Scripture, CA and the catechism.

Basing formative writing on foundational doctrine (normative theology) might be what we expect from a clergyman in the Lutheran Orthodox era, but both the Västerås hymnal, *Enchiridion*, and Bishop Emporagrius went down an alternative route when it came to sources, one emphasising the Orthodox position. In effect, we find that doctrine – the *correct* doctrine – became increasingly more important, and possibly to the detriment of *sola Scriptura*. Rudbeckius and Emporagrius did use normative theology, but they expanded the category by also leaning on the Book of Concord, and a theological textbook by Matthias Hafenreffer. The latter was the book *Compendium doctrinae coelestis et locis theologicis* (henceforce called *Loci theologici*).²¹⁴ This textbook had a great impact on Petrus Rudbeckius's hymnal, as well as on the academic work and ministry of his brother, Bishop Johannes Rudbeckius. Even though *Enchiridion* shared two prayers with Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus's *Clenodium*, Hafenreffer influenced the Communion section of the prayer book in *Enchiridion* more than the catechism. Hafenreffer (1561-1619) was a

²¹² Laurentius, *Clenodium*.

²¹³ Ibid., V.I.

²¹⁴ Hafenreffer, *Compendium*.

professor and sometime Superintendent of Tübingen. He published his textbook on theology in the early seventeenth century. From 1611 *Loci theologici* became the standard textbook for Theology and Latin in city schools. Swedish universities used it well into the eighteenth century, and so did diocesan synods for continued education of the clergy.²¹⁵ To fully understand the influence that *Loci theologici* had in Swedish society, its thirty (known) editions can be compared with the most reissued devotional author, Caspar Neumann, with a combined thirteen editions of his two books.²¹⁶ Its direct influence must be seen as limited to those with higher education, though, since it was a school textbook, and for common households book ownership had not diversified beyond the hymnal and the catechism.²¹⁷ But secondary influence did exist, and we will find that Rudbeckius' *Enchiridion* is such an influence.

Loci theologici strongly emphasised the fruits of the spirit, which was a theme that did not appear to a great extent in other devotional books. It also had a great variety of Eucharistic images, beyond that of redemption, which was a most common theme in spiritual literature. Both these influences are evident in the prayer book of *Enchiridion*. Hafenreffer expands on the many fruits in five different modes: 1) confirmation of the faith in the forgiveness of sins 2) hope in eternal life, 3) thanksgiving and remembrance, 4) new life and mutual love (agape) and 5) public communion and confession of the faithful (synaxis).²¹⁸ Some of these topics appear in the other diocesan publications, most frequently topics one to three. Petrus Rudbeckius, however, is the only one who covered all of the themes with his selection of prayers. *Enchiridion* places the same importance on the fruits of the spirit as Hafenreffer did. The first topic, the sign of forgiveness, has

²¹⁵ See the introduction written by Bengt Hägglund and Cajsa Sjöberg, in Hafenreffer, *Compendium*, p. 8 p. 10.

²¹⁶ Hansson, *Ett språk*, p. 54.

²¹⁷ Records from an affluent area in 1720s Sweden show that the hymnals had become a personal object, and that the catechism was a household book, whereas bibles were still rare, see Lindmark, *Reading*, p. 132.

²¹⁸ Hafenreffer, *Compendium*, pp. 246-247. Interestingly, when writing about thanksgiving ευχαριστηα, Hafenreffer first uses *gratiarum*, and secondly *eucharistia*. He generally uses Coena dominicae (Lord's Supper) to denote the sacrament. That he uses *eucharistia* here is very likely a way of underlining the topic of thanksgiving.

already been discussed. This appears in the prayer that in parts is shared with Archbishop Laurentius. Rudbeckius's version has the added line, 'here you make me a part of your true body and blood, and give me a real and certain sign'.²¹⁹ The second prayer in *Enchiridion* emphasises the confirmation of our faith in the forgiveness of sins, much like a paraphrase of Hafenreffer's first point. 'O, dear Lord, I am certain that your H.[oly] word and promise are true, which is why I joyfully celebrate this Supper with you.'²²⁰ The third prayer in Rudbeckius's compilation focuses the theme of eternal life through the union of Christ. Here the prayer implores Christ to redeem the supplicant with his body and blood, so as not be separated from him [Christ] for eternity. We should note that these two prayers are to be used before the Eucharist. The seal of forgiveness and eternal life are fruits of the sacrament, but also what we need to prepare ourselves for, as Hafenreffer teaches along with the FC.²²¹ Looking at the next few prayers in *Enchiridion* – those used during and after Communion – more themes appear. The first connects theme two and four: when the body has been united with Christ's own body, this also awakens a desire to change one's life, so that the union may last *ad infinitum*. 'Work in me all good works, so that I may eternally be near you.'²²² The next prayer expresses thanksgiving, in accordance with point three and agape as in point four. This prayer expresses gratitude for all Christ's good works and gifts, as well as imploring God for neighbourly love.²²³ The last prayer picks up the fifth theme of *synaxis*. 'Oh Father, we pray that you would deign to let your H.[oly] Spirit grow and increase in us.'²²⁴ With just a few short prayers, *Enchiridion* offers a concise paraphrase of Hafenreffer's writings on the benefits of the Lord's Supper.

²¹⁹ Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, pp. 21-22. Laurentius, *Clenodium*, *En litben bönebok*, prayer two.

²²⁰ 'O käre Herre/ jag är wiss ther på / at tijn H. ord och löffte äro sann / warföre iagh så gladheligha medh thigh håller thenna Natwarden.' Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, p. 23.

²²¹ Hafenreffer, *Compendium*, pp. 252-3; FC VII:9,10.

²²² Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, p. 23.

²²³ Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, pp. 23-24.

²²⁴ 'Wij bidhie thigh o Fadher / at tu wärdigas låta tin H. Anda wexa til / och förökas j oss.' Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, p.24.

Bishop Johannes Rudbeckius also used Hafenreffer when he was professor in Uppsala (1611-1613). The lectures on *Loci theologici* were even mentioned by Johannes Matthiae in his 1670 autobiography, and he recalled them as immensely popular among the students. For Johannes Matthiae to remember them so many decades later, they must indeed have made a lasting impression.²²⁵ Bishop Rudbeckius, and his brother Petrus, studied at several universities in Germany between 1601-1609, and it was during this time that Hafenreffer's textbook was published. But by adopting his brother's hymnal for the diocese of Västerås, which seems to have been inspired by *Loci theologici* in structure and content, Bishop Rudbeckius did more than teach on Hafenreffer's textbook, he effectively put the textbook on an equal level to the foundational normative documents of the Church in Sweden.²²⁶ Matthias Hafenreffer is interesting also as a forerunner of Lutheran Orthodoxy, and a known force behind the Book of Concord. His textbook faithfully follows the articles of the FC. But even though Hafenreffer's textbook became influential early on in the seventeenth century, the Book of Concord itself was not officially adopted by the Swedish Nation until the Church Act of 1686. Prior to that it was accepted by the Estate of the Clergy in 1663, and with it especially the Formula of Concord, as normative in all teaching. The clergy were to be guided by the Formula in all their interpretations of the Scripture.²²⁷ Bishop Emporagrius was one of the architects behind this development. However, the Formula was adopted with an understanding that it was to serve members of *ecclesia*. Until the Church Act of 1686 it was within the right of individual priests to question the FC.²²⁸

The FC was merely supposed to be a guiding principle for the clergy, but that did not stop Emporagrius from basing his catechism on it. The most obvious reason for using

²²⁵ Bengt Häggglund, 'Johannes Rudbeckius som teolog – En introduktion till hans föreläsningar i dogmatik', *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift*, 68 (1992), 1-9 (p. 1).

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

²²⁷ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 131.

²²⁸ Crafoord, "Läiter", p. 48.

the FC as source material was surely to demonstrate its practical pastoral usefulness. The fact that Emporagrius succeeded Johannes Matthiae as Bishop of Strängnäs is also something to consider. As mentioned, Johannes Matthiae was removed from his bishop's seat because he was accused of syncretism. Furthermore, he was a vocal supporter of the CA. As an opponent, and the successor of Bishop Johannes, Emporagrius would have wanted to be precise in his teaching, and push for the FC in all matters, also when addressing the laity. The FC is divided into *Affirmativa* (what is true and affirmed) and *Negativa* (what is rejected and denied). Concerning Communion, the FC lists ten *Affirmativa* points, and of these Emporagrius has correlating articles for the first seven, usually in duplicates. Article six of the FC is a clear example. This section stipulates how we receive the body and blood of Christ, in a supernatural and heavenly mode, but not in a *Capernaitic* way. This is almost word for word echoed in Emporagrius' text.²²⁹ It is also a singular description among those of the bishops in this study. Emporagrius is almost pedantic in his definition of the Real Presence. The other writers are not only vague about the actual *timing* of Real Presence, but also nebulous about the *manner* of Real Presence, simply referring to the catechism, describing it as a union with Christ's body and blood, or repeating Paul's word in 1 Cor 10.²³⁰ A closer read also shows similarities between Emporagrius and Hafenreffer, which is unsurprising considering Hafenreffer's influence on the FC. They both start their deliberations with the sinfulness of humankind. Emporagrius starts his chapter 'Since humankind always sins in many ways... Christ unites himself with the Christian person, thus he gives and reassures them of God's grace.'²³¹ Similarly, Hafenreffer begins the section on the sacraments by posing the question of what Christ, in

²²⁹ See FC, Lord's Supper, affirmative theses 6; Emporagrius, *Catechesens*, V, II:5

²³⁰ '16 Is not the cup of thanksgiving for which we give thanks a participation in the blood of Christ? And is not the bread that we break a participation in the body of Christ? 17 Because there is one loaf, we, who are many, are one body, for we all share the one loaf.' (1 Cor 10. 16-17). See Johannes Matthiae, *Strängnäs, Barnabook*, p. 33.

²³¹ Emporagrius, *Catechesens*, V 1:1.

his priestly duties, does to save sinful humanity.²³² Emporagrius and Hafenreffer are also both concerned with *how* and *when* the bread and wine is the true and substantial presence of Christ. The other diocesan publications do not define an exact moment of Real Presence. Hafenreffer, on the other hand, clarifies that Real Presence has no permanence, and it is not a local union outside the actual moment of Communion.²³³ Hafenreffer only refers to the meal, which could be interpreted broadly as the entire duration of the Eucharist, from the Eucharistic prayer to the reception of the sacrament. Emporagrius is more specific, referring to *usus*, when one partakes of the bread and wine. He succinctly adds, ‘neither before nor after’.²³⁴ They both draw up distinctions between what the Lutheran church holds true, as compared to the Roman and the Calvinist church. We can compare this position with Johannes Matthiae’s less distinct description in his children’s book. He may stipulate that everyone should have the right to partake of the wine, which clearly is a strike against medieval and Roman practices, but the foe goes unmentioned. Furthermore, Johannes Matthiae instructs that the Sacrament was not instituted as a sacrifice – there was just one sacrifice, the one on the cross. But again, the church which preaches sacramental sacrifice goes without a mention.²³⁵

1.4 Summary

The Uppsala Resolution (1593) mentions only a few foundational documents for the Church: Scripture, the original CA, and the three creeds. Luther’s catechisms may be implied. These documents shaped normative theology, and both Laurentius Paulinus and Johannes Matthiae kept to them as their main sources. *Enchiridion* and Emporagrius, however, expanded normative theology, by using Hafenreffer’s theological textbook and

²³² Hafenreffer, *Compendium*, p. 223.

²³³ Hafenreffer, *Compendium*, p. 245.

²³⁴ Emporagrius, *Catechesens*, Book V, I:8.

²³⁵ Johannes Matthiae, *Strengnäs, Barnabook*, p. 33.

the FC. With four very different bishops publishing or endorsing material that used normative sources in such a varied manner, it is remarkable that the overall result is a coherent formal theology on the Eucharist. The diocesan publications deploy similar Eucharistic themes, and it is interesting how formal theology develops a variation on Eucharistic themes, when compared with normative theology. The exception is Emporagius, who in his single-mindedness kept to one theme: redemption. Even though all the themes are based and found in the Bible – nothing else is to be expected – formal theology added more flavour to the themes, and gave them more room in the text than what is found in other normative sources such as the catechism, the liturgy or the CA. With the addition of Hafereffer's textbook and the Book of Concord as sources for formal theology, Swedish normative theology got a distinct nudge in the direction of Lutheran Orthodoxy.

Chapter 2 – Sacramental Preparation According to Formal Theology

2.1 Introduction

The prayer books published by the official church are an understudied field. The academic discourse and the homiletics of the episcopacy have been under greater scrutiny than their writings for spiritual contemplation.²³⁶ Based on this, one may ask what impact their publications had on lay Eucharistic piety. Research has instead focused on popular devotional literature, including the handful of prayer books devoted to the Eucharist.²³⁷ The difference between the two genres (diocesan prayer books and popular devotionals) has not sparked much debate either. Stina Hansson, who has written a comprehensive study of seventeenth century spiritual literature in Sweden, does comment on the fact that the episcopacy did not contribute to the publication of devotionals. She leaves the issue open, but both she and David Lindquist remark on how odd their lack of contribution is.²³⁸

The fact that the bishops failed to publish popular spiritual literature may not be so very curious though. They produced educational material and hymnals in their capacity of teachers and guardians of the Swedish Lutheran faith, and despite their internal conflicts they were remarkably cohesive in their instructions of the laity. We are going to focus on those publications that helped the laity prepare for Communion. The books may not be part of studies on spiritual literature, as such, but that does not rule out their having been widely read. In fact, I would argue that the bishops' publications had a larger readership than popular devotional books, since they were geared towards the common man and

²³⁶ The previously mentioned book from 1950 by S. Göransson gives a detailed study of the intense theological debate of the era, Göransson, *Ortodoxi*. A more recent study of theological debate and compromise, in particular among the episcopacy, is F. Craaford's dissertation from 2002, Crafoord, "Läster".

²³⁷ Lindquist, *Studier*; for more recent studies see: Hansson, *Ett språk*, from 1991, and Lund, *Meditations*, from 2011.

²³⁸ Lindquist, *Studier*, p. 429; Hansson, *Ett språk*, pp. 54-55, see also footnote 37.

woman. What is curious therefore, is that these books have not garnered more interest; they may well have had a great influence on the laity and lay understanding of the Eucharist. The books may not be deemed proper devotional material, but side by side with instruction are prayers and hymns, that is, material for use in practical spiritual life. The purpose of this chapter is to compare these two genres, episcopal publications (formal theology) and popular devotionals (espoused theology). Preparation before Communion was by far the most common issue in any book concerned with the Eucharist, and it is the issue of preparation that will be studied here. The main question is whether the two genres differed on what it meant to be properly prepared.

Another aspect to consider is for what purpose something was written, and who were the imagined readers? As mentioned, the bishops wrote with a pedagogical purpose, both for instruction in the faith, as well as for a transformation of religious practice. They purposely followed the guidelines of the Uppsala Resolution to educate the population with the aim of abolishing medieval practices such as elevation without causing upset and conflict.²³⁹ The importance of education in the right faith was also reiterated in the Church Act of 1686. The Act details when and where the youth of Sweden were to be instructed and examined on the catechism.²⁴⁰ We will find that the instruction was not just needed to promote proper faith, but also because the Church began to make a distinction between what was secular, and what was sacred. As Malmstedt points out, the Church leadership of the seventeenth century increasingly promoted the church building as a pure and holy place, set aside for divine worship.²⁴¹ It is the sacred that should be stressed here, more than the secular. As C. J. Sommerville puts it in his study of secularisation, the Church was interested in marking out the definition and boundaries of holiness. As a consequence, they

²³⁹ Eckerdal, *Confessio*, pp. 12-14.

²⁴⁰ According to the Church Act of 1686 the catechism should be explained during evensong in cities, for about half-an-hour, and examined in house-gatherings every Sunday. In the country-side both catechetical sermons and assessments should take place on Sundays. *1686 års kyrkolag* (KL1686), Chap. 2 §9.

²⁴¹ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 146-147.

also emphasised what was not as pure or holy, i.e. secular.²⁴² Talking of actual secularisation, however, would be inconclusive in this period. The common folk were much more likely to understand God's holiness as ubiquitous, permeating everything in the material world.²⁴³ This question will come in focus more in the chapters on the visual experience of the church, a building promoted by the Church leadership as a holy space.

2.2 Who Was Worthy?

Previous research on seventeenth-century Eucharistic practice has focused on the concepts of preparation and being worthy of receiving the Sacrament. Only a few devotionals were published on the sole topic of the Eucharist, and all underlined the necessity of proper preparation.²⁴⁴ The number of published preparation manuals did increase over the course of the century, but other prayer books should not be overlooked, since most of them included a section for Communion. The books produced later in the century offer such a detailed preparation that they may even be called *Confessionals*. Lindquist sees this development as a response to the cessation of private confession in favour of public and general confession.²⁴⁵ That is, since public confession did not involve an actual account of individual sins, there was a need for more private preparation before confession. The bishops preferred private confession, possibly because it offered opportunity for personal guidance and discipline by the local parson, but despite their objections public confession

²⁴² Sommerville, *Secularization*, p. 6.

²⁴³ Ibid. p. 7. See also Scribner, 'Reformation', p. 75.

²⁴⁴ Two manuals, by Caspar Melissander and Martin Gammal Hansson, were in circulation for most of the century. See Caspar Melissander, *Een nyttig bönebook, för alla christne eenfällige communicanter, medh een böghnödligh underrijdsning och rättelse om skriftermålet, aflösningen, och Herrans Jesu Christi natward.*, Stockholm: 1609; and Martinus Matthaei Gammal, *Til Gudz kyrkio, en liten gyldenne altartaffla*, (Uppsala: 1632).

It was not until the end of the century and the beginning of the eighteenth century that a few more Communion preparation manuals were published. Hansson make a study of Gunde Rosenkrantz's *Faderliga förmaningar*, (Stockholm: 1694), and Christian Rosenthal's *En å nyo författat bootskrift- och communion-bok*, (Stockholm: 1717). See Hansson, *Ett språk*, pp. 81-84; and Lindquist, *Studier*, p. 127, pp. 335-342.

²⁴⁵ Lindquist, *Studier*, pp. 333-334. With the terms general and public confession, I make a distinction between the general confession, which is part of the liturgy, and public confession, which took place before the service, mainly on a Friday or a Saturday, or sometimes on Sunday morning.

became the preferred practice.²⁴⁶ We can see this as a case of operant theology (the practice of the laity) overruling formal theology (the interpretation of proper faith by the Church authority). With an exception for the guidance that clergy gave in sermons, exhortations and catechetical examination, public confession placed the responsibility of preparation solely on the individual, and thus came the need for Confessionals.²⁴⁷ Lindquist further speculates that it was this preoccupation with preparation, coupled with an emphasis on preaching, which weakened the position of the Eucharist. He even claims that confession became a more important ritual for the laity than the sacrament in itself, since it was the confession they prepared for.²⁴⁸ The popularity of Confessionals may well be the result of the practice of public confession – at the detriment of private confession – but we also need to keep in mind the rise of both the publishing industry and the advance of a literate, affluent middle class.²⁴⁹ The market for specialised literature was growing fast, and the latter part of the century saw the publication of books aimed at all sorts of situations and activities. There were special prayer books for travelling, days of the week, women, professions, to name a few. Though Lindquist writes about all these genres, he makes little of the publishing industry when it comes to confessionals.²⁵⁰

So, was there a difference between what Church officials (formal theology) and the laity (espoused theology) deemed proper preparation and worthiness? The question is important because instruction on the Eucharist by the Church elite focused on the good fruits of the Sacrament, as well as the joy and benefits of Communion, whereas popular literature, when it touched upon the Eucharist, was more concerned with preparation

²⁴⁶ Loc. Cit.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 340-342.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 344; David Lindquist, *Nattvarden i svenskt kultliv – en liturgihistorisk studie*, (Lund: Gleerup, 1947), p. 93.

²⁴⁹ Valborg Lindgärde writes that there was possibly one publishing house at the beginning of the seventeenth century, rising to c. seventeen at its close, see Lindgärde, 'Fromhetslitteraturen', p. 270. For more on the growing burgher class and an influx of intellectual and entrepreneurial immigrants to Sweden, see Magnus Mörner, *Människor, landskap, varor och vägar – essäer från svenskt 1600- och 1700-tal*, (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2001), pp. 190-201.

²⁵⁰ Lindquist, *Studier*, in particular pp. 258-268; Lindgärde, 'Fromhetslitteraturen', pp. 270-272.

before Communion. This dichotomy is overlooked when episcopal writing is left out of the study of spiritual literature. We will briefly explore the lay position – espoused theology – for a means of comparison, but a fuller study will follow in the next chapter. For the position of the official Church, however, we turn to Johannes Matthiae. In his children's book he defines formal theology and proper preparation by dedicating the last page of his three-page instruction to worthiness. First he lists all those who are not allowed at the Lord's table. He draws a parallel between the baptised Christian and the circumcised in the Old Testament, and then declares that only those who are part of the church may receive Communion, just as only the circumcised were allowed to partake of the Pascal lamb. He continues, claiming that unrepentant sinners, the heretics, children or witless are also not allowed to take Communion. Thereby he eliminates those who could be regarded as either 1) unable to share the faith or 2) unable to understand its significance.²⁵¹ To further underline his point, he claims that God's wrath will fall on those who receive Communion without proper understanding and preparation. He ends on a positive and encouraging note, however, urging his readers to frequently partake of the Sacrament for its great benefit and many fruits [of the spirit].²⁵² Johannes Matthiae resumes this line of thought in the prayer that follows his instruction. Jesus gave his life for the sheep in order to prepare his Holy Supper for them. Only God can grant his children the right and the ability to believe, and to make them worthy to be in his presence.²⁵³ He makes it clear that both life and faith come from God, and this, not deeds, prepares the soul for the sacrament. From Communion springs the reward of good fruits.

The instructions in the prayer books of *Clenodium* and *Enchiridion* are of the same vein. Only God can grant the Christian soul a place at his table, a soul who, effectively, is completely unworthy of such divine grace. A human being's only comfort is the salvation

²⁵¹ Johannes Matthiae, *Strengnäs, Barnabook*, pp. 33-34.

²⁵² Ibid., p. 34.

²⁵³ Ibid., pp. 46-47.

God grants, and the only peace a human soul can find is in the divine union, which will bring the Christian to eternal life with God.²⁵⁴ Some phrases evoke the main confession from the High Mass liturgy, which begins, ‘I, miserable and sinful, in sin both conceived and born, and in all my days leading a sinful life,’ and continues, ‘But you, our dear and heavenly Father, have now promised you will show grace and mercy to all miserable sinners, who want to turn to you’.²⁵⁵ In the prayers this reads as, ‘I poor miserable sinner’ as well as ‘I am not worthy that thou should come under my roof’. Both the confessions and the private prayers also spell out the great difference between the frail human and the infallible divine. God calls the Christian souls to the Eucharist, even when they are sinners, unworthy of any merciful deed. In Communion, Christ’s body is the same that was given for their death on Good Friday, and Christ’s blood the same as given for their sins.²⁵⁶ While the general confession was rarely said by the congregation, the same message is underlined in the exhortation that follows the Eucharistic prayer and precedes Communion.²⁵⁷ The exhortation reminds the communicant of the grace received in the Eucharist, but also of the need to examine one’s soul, to come to the altar with an honest heart and mind, and truly thirst for the righteousness bestowed in the sacrament. It spells out the sacrifice Christ made for humankind, but also issues a stern warning against partaking of the body and blood of the Lord when unprepared or it could lead to damnation.²⁵⁸ The catechism too, offers a similar message the power behind the Eucharist is Word and faith. Fasting and physical preparation are just part of the effort needed to approach the altar – more important is having faith in the Word, “[Given] for you... for

²⁵⁴ Laurentius, *Clenodium*, ‘En Lithen Bönebok’.

²⁵⁵ See, *Handbook* / ... Tryckt i Upsala / aff Eskil Matsson. ANNO CHRISTI MDCXIV (HB1614) p. xiii.

²⁵⁶ Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, bönbok, pp. 21-22.

²⁵⁷ For an account of seventeenth-century liturgical practice, see Christer Pahlmblad, ‘Gudstjänstliv och gudstjänstbruk i 1600-talets Sverige’, in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – enhetskyrkans tid*, ed. by Ingun Montgomery, (Stockholm: Verbum förlag, 2002), pp. 259-269 (pp. 260-261).

²⁵⁸ HB1614, p. xxx.

the remission of [your] sins.”²⁵⁹ Both the catechism and the words of the liturgy are normative theology, the foundational texts of the Church.

The diocesan material gives examples of formal theology that drew from normative theology, but further expanded Eucharistic imagery with a greater variety of themes, and also redirected the focus towards grace, praise, and the fruits of the spirit. We should firmly trust in God, our redeemer, and respond with praise. The difficulty with these instructions, however, is knowing with any certainty that one has the right faith. For the lay person, it would not so much be a question of doubting God’s grace, as their own readiness. As a means of comfort, perhaps, both Archbishop Laurentius and Petrus Rudbeckius share a prayer, which is all about bolstering faith in the sacrament. The prayer offers words of confidence that the body and the blood of Jesus Christ was once sacrificed for the supplicant’s salvation of forgiveness and eternal life, body and blood, which is now offered through the medium of bread and wine.²⁶⁰ Rudbeckius’ version of the prayer even has an added passus that refers to the sacrament as the sign of forgiveness. It reads, ‘[the Sacrament] gives me here a firm and sure *sign*, that it is true what you have promised us poor sinners, that is, our sins would be forgiven.’²⁶¹ This theme of ‘sign and seal’ has been the subject of some interesting interpretation by David Lindquist. But as interesting as his analysis is, it may also be debatable. As mentioned, Lindquist proposes a growing need for preparation materials as a consequence of the change from private to public confessions.²⁶² Confessions usually took place the day before the Eucharist in the towns, and in rural areas on Sunday morning. Despite protests from the Church hierarchy, general confession also

²⁵⁹ Laurentius, *Clenodium*.

²⁶⁰ Laurentius Paulinus’ version of the prayer reads: ‘Doch Tror iagh fulkomligha / utan all wilfarelse/ At thet som Jagh nw/ förmedelst Brödh och Wijn/ uthi thenna tin H. Natward anammer/ är tin sanna Lekamen och Blodh/ som til mina synders förlåtelse och ewigha Salighet/ på Korszens trä Utgiffwen och Utgwtidt är.’ See Laurentius, *Clenodium*, *bönebok*, prayer two.

²⁶¹ My italics. ‘[O]ch giffuer migh ther til itt fast och wist tekn, at så skal warda sant, som tu oss arma syndare loffuat haffuer, nämligha, at våra synder skole warda förlättna.’ Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, pp. 21-22;

²⁶² Lindquist, *Studier*, pp. 334-335

took place during the creed.²⁶³ Lindquist draws the conclusion that confession overtook the Eucharist in significance, mainly because ritual around preparation became increasingly formalised in manuals, and because of the emphasis put on preparation and confession. He also posits that Eucharistic attendance fell during the century, both a cause and effect of this trend. This formula ‘the sign and seal of forgiveness’ is one he uses as the sign and seal of his supposition.²⁶⁴

Eucharistic attendance probably never answered to the Protestant ideal of high frequency, but seems to have followed the medieval pattern of Communion only a few times a year. Thus, infrequent participation in Communion predates the rigours of Communion preparation illustrated in late seventeenth century manuals.²⁶⁵ It was not so much attendance that decreased, but the number of Eucharistic services. Another problem with Lindquist’s theory is that he makes no distinction between how the phrase ‘as sign of forgiveness’ was interpreted, and the meaning the church officials put in the words. Even if the laity interpreted the Eucharist in the same vein as Lindquist – as a sign of forgiveness – we will find that church doctrine and church practice are not automatically one and the same. That is to say, that there may well be a difference between formal theology, on the one hand, and espoused (lay description of faith) on the other.

Taking the example of the above prayer from *Enchiridion*, the full sentence reads,

‘Yet, I do fully believe, that you [God] here make me a participant in your true Body and Blood, and *here give me a firm and sure sign, that it is true what you have promised us poor sinners, that is, our sins would be forgiven.*’

And continues,

²⁶³ Pahlmblad, ‘Gudstjänstliv’, p. 268.

²⁶⁴ Lindquist, *Studier*, p. 344.

²⁶⁵ The early Morning Mass also seemed to be preferred for Communion in lieu of High Mass, which more and more transformed the later service to a pure homiletic service, Pahlmblad, ‘Gudstjänstliv’, pp. 268-269.

‘And believe firmly, without misgiving, that this body, which I now receive, is the same as was given for me in death.’²⁶⁶

In its context, it becomes clear that the sign is for something that happens in the moment: a sharing in Christ, through the body and blood, and the forgiveness that comes by receiving Christ’s body, which is the same that which was nailed to the cross. A sign, in effect, that God’s promise is true. In other words, there is no need for doubt. God is our saving grace, not our deeds. The sacrament is the sign of this grace, because if only those deemed worthy are to be allowed at the table then no one would receive. Instead the sacrament is offered to anyone who approaches with an honest, contrite heart, a sign that God’s mercy has no bounds.

The interpretation of the sacrament as a seal of God’s goodness and mercy is even clearer in the Swedish – and Lutheranised – translation of *Imitatio Christi*, attributed to Thomas à Kempis.²⁶⁷ In the Latin version, there is an undercurrent of doubt as to whether God will see the Christian soul as worthy or not, an undercurrent meant to encourage the betterment of one’s human nature. As an example, the disciple (the reader) hopes that all who reverently receive the sacrament: ‘may be found worthy to find grace and mercy with you [God], and humbly pray as supplicants for me a sinner.’²⁶⁸ The undercurrent spoke of a theology of merit that would be a stumbling block in any Lutheran translation of the work. Though not an official Church translation, the *Imitatio Christi* – the translation was made by a Swedish clergyman – it still conformed with the Eucharistic theology evident in episcopal

²⁶⁶ My italics. ‘Dock troor iagh fulkomligha, at tu gör migh här deelachtigh aff tin sanna Lekamen och Blodh, och giffuer migh her til itt fast och wist tekn, at så skal warda sant, som tu oss arma syndare loffuat haffuer, nämligha, at våra synder skole warda förlåtna. Och troor stadeligha, uthan all wilfarelse, at thenna lekamen, som iagh nu anammar, är then same som för migh I dödhen uthgiffuin är.’ Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, pp. 21-22.

²⁶⁷ The latest Swedish translation of *De Imitatione Christi* came in 2005: Thomas à Kempis, *Om Kristi efterföljelse*, translated by Bengt Ellenberger, (Vejbystrand: Catholica, 2005). Though *De imitatione Christi* is ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, this translation uses an older version of the text dated to 1280-1330. See Ellenberger’s preface and commentary, in Thomas à Kempis, *Om Kristi*, 2005, pp. 24-25.

²⁶⁸ My translation. See Thomas à Kempis, *Om Kristi efterföljelse*, translated by Johan Bergman, (Stockholm: Diakonistytelsens bokförlag, 1961), p. 238. One Latin version uses *mereantur* (merens), see *De imitatione Christi libri quatuor*. (*Of the Imitation of Christ four books*.) [The Latin text from Hinsche’s edition with an English version based on Challoner’s.] (London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1892), p. 446, p. 448.

writing.²⁶⁹ It should come as no surprise then that the translation diverges from the original by removing any reference to making oneself worthy. The phrase ‘to be found worthy’ is completely omitted.²⁷⁰ And the example above, from the end of Chapter XVII, has gone through a most Lutheranised revision. Instead of praying for betterment of life, the reader wants to, ‘give glory and praise to you [God] for all the grace and mercy you bestow on them.’²⁷¹ Faced with the sign of God’s boundless grace – that is the sacrament – the only response left to the human soul is praising and glorifying his goodness. This reasoning fits well with Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus’ idea of a faulty human nature, without the ability for betterment. It also resonates with the prayer he shares with *Enchiridion*, which mentions the sacrament as the sign of God’s forgiving nature. Just as Johannes Matthiae gives evidence of this view by ending his text on Eucharistic instruction with,

‘He will forgive us our sins and never again remember our sins, to him be the glory and [unintelligible, but probably reads *kingdom*] from eternity to eternity, Amen.’²⁷²

Studying the doctrinal context of sign and seal as a Eucharistic theme, the way it is used seems to point to the Sacrament as being a sign of God’s infinite mercy, to unify himself with a human being’s sinful self, to give them a share of his sinless nature, his forgiveness and eternal life. A sign, as it were, of God’s goodness, and not as Lindquist interpreted it, as a sign of and seal of the absolution given in public confession. Thus, Church instruction seems to emphasise the sacredness of God, and the secular sinful state of humanity, a gap that can only be overcome by God. Proper preparation then is not so much about preparing the soul as having faith in God’s grace.

²⁶⁹ Tomas de Kempis, 1684.

²⁷⁰ The Latin original uses “effici merearis” (mereo), see *De imitatione Christi*, 1892, p. 416; Tomas de Kempis, 1684, p. 513; Thomas à Kempis, *Om Kristi*, 1961, p. 221.

²⁷¹ My translation: “the lofwa och prijsa tig för all tin Nåd och Barmhertigheet som tu medh them gör.” Tomas de Kempis, 1684, p. 553.

²⁷² My (literal) translation. See Johannes Matthiae, *Strengnäs, Barnabook*, p. 35.

2.3 Proper Preparation

Two distinct differences emerge between the episcopal definition of being prepared and the definition found in popular culture, differences between formal and espoused theology. One disparity, which is more prominent in low culture, is to do with spiritual versus practical readiness. Formal theology focuses more on the spiritual readiness, whereas the populace seems to put greater emphasis on practical life. The other variance is that between a theocentric view of salvation, which is represented by episcopal writing (formal theology), and a homocentric view, which can be found in high culture and popular devotionals (espoused theology). We will look more closely at the latter distinction here, the difference between diocesan and popular literature, and return to the first issue on spiritual vs practical readiness in the next chapter.

The dichotomy between theocentric and homocentric is not a difference between two polar opposites. As mentioned, many devotionals were compilation works, and popular spiritual literature tended to contain both theocentric and homocentric prayers. Sometimes these came side-by-side. One example can be found in a prayer book translated into Swedish by Mårten Helsing, *Een nyttigh och christeligh bönebok*, published 1632.²⁷³ The chapter on Communion contains prayers attributed to the church fathers: Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine. Ambrose, in his prayer, asks God to protect him from all his enemies so that he may be able to walk a righteous path that leads to God's kingdom.²⁷⁴ Augustine's prayer, on the other hand, expresses a wish for God to lead and guide the Christian soul. Humanity in itself is too unworthy, and therefore unable, to step into God's presence without divine salvation.²⁷⁵ Ambrose's prayer conveys a homocentric worldview, while Augustine offers a theocentric approach. The definition of homocentric here means

²⁷³ Mårten Helsing, *Een nyttigh och christeligh bönebook, bådhe aff gamla och nya kyrkionnes lärare tilbopa dragen...* / *Aff Martinio Helsingio förswenskat...*, Stockholm 1632.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 293

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 296

that humanity has the ability to gradually advance towards God's kingdom, by will and deed. These prayers also often include images like ladders or steps.²⁷⁶ Humanity can certainly not advance to heaven completely without divine aid, but the human soul plays a bigger role in prayers like Ambrose's, than in the theocentric prayers. Augustine's example, by contrast, reads more like the episcopal writings, where God is the sole active agent. Thus, popular literature (espoused theology) could contain both a homocentric and theocentric worldview, side by side in one book. Readers of popular literature could therefore be influenced by both traditions, both by redemption through faith alone, *and* justification by deeds. Episcopal literature (formal theology), on the other hand, spoke with one voice for a theocentric dogma. There was no spiritual mixer in the publications offered by the official church, nor in such Lutheranised translations as the previously mentioned *Imitatio Christi*. While espoused theology had room for a homocentric belief, in high culture and popular literature, normative and formal theology affirms only justification by faith, and a theocentric theology where God is the supreme power.

2.4 Summary

In normative theology (foundational texts) the themes of Real Presence, redemption and eternal life had a prominent place. To these, formal theology (episcopal writing) added: grace; thanksgiving; praise; and Fruits of the Spirit, with charity, love, compassion and joy. Normative and formal theology were unanimous on the fact that humanity is irredeemable on its own. The only acting agent in the bishops' publications is God Almighty. This is paramount in their preparation material for Communion, because it is in this light that the sacrament must be understood, as an agent of God's good transformation. And the sacrament can only act in this way because of the Real Presence of God. This divine

²⁷⁶ Lindquist, *Studier*, pp. 252-255.

meeting then, and the grace it entails, drove the narrative of the importance of preparation and confession. The diocesan publications make it clear, however, that the sacrament was the essence of absolution, not confession. The sign and seal of forgiveness lies in God's merciful presence for the penitent sinner, and during Communion. Whether the laity understood it in this light is another question; the language of sign and seal can be misunderstood outside the full context of the sacramental themes of formal theology. The theology of the foundational documents and Church instruction was completely theocentric, and most sacramental. Humanity can only act in sinfulness, unless saved by God. The devil is barely mentioned at all, which is an interesting omission considering the fallibility of the human race. The absence might be a way to underscore God's almighty nature, and to protect the populace from a reminder of the Evil Tempter. Laurentius Paulinus Gothus instead mentions the devil in his big catechetic encyclopaedia, which was not aimed at the unlearned laity. Since the topic of preparation and worthiness before the altar is so dominant, the bishops use their publications for reassurance as well. This is where the themes of grace, love and compassion come to the fore. The prayers for Communion are all about trusting in God's infinite grace and love, and then responding with praise. The church is a place for sinners, met and saved by God's mercy. As one community, in neighbourly love, we then turn to God with thanksgiving.

The diocesan publications probably spread more widely among the population than many devotionals; whether they were influential among the laity is a most pertinent question. Whereas formal theology kept to a theocentric worldview, espoused and operant theology seems to have been more open to a dualistic worldview with the devil as one of the key players, and a homocentric spirituality with morality and introspection. It is to an exploration of the background and impact of these themes that we turn in the next two chapters. We will also continue to explore the questions as to how deeply formal theology influenced the laity, and what constituted espoused and operant theology.

Chapter 3 – Users and Usage of Eucharistic writing

With the following two chapters, attention turns from the official writings and documents of the Church, to the laity and literature from their point of view. The first of these chapters (Chapter Three) will search for what constitutes lay literature. Since high and low culture differ greatly with regard to literacy abilities, this search is not without its complications. What can be considered literature in a predominately oral culture, that is, without excluding a large part of transmitted cultural material? The aim in this chapter (3) is to gain an insight into how the laity expressed their Eucharistic faith, that is espoused theology, and for this reason the definition of literature will be both broad and generous. Chapter Four will in turn explore how the sacramental literature was understood and used by the laity, both the literature of popular belief and of the Church. The purpose here is to unearth operant theology, and study what literature tells of lived-out faith in popular culture.

3.1 Introduction

Just looking at a seventeenth-century devotional book will undoubtedly tell us something about its owner. Usually small, these books were portable, meant for personal use in the home or on the road. Opening one will pull us further into its history. It is worn, by age for sure, but also from frequent use. The owner has marked it. Not just one name appears on the first page, but often a string of names. Female names. The corners are blackened by the continued perusal of the book. Personal notes cover what spare space the book has.

Studying the book will not only tell us something about the owner but the place of the book itself in seventeenth-century society, a record as it were, both of how the laity

expressed their faith in word and writing (espoused theology), but also the use of devotional material, the lived-out faith (operant theology). The manner in which the books were handed down and used to record family history gives us an understanding of the value placed in them, and the longevity of their use. These books were rare and treasured objects. Objects meant for personal devotion, certainly, but considering their monetary and intellectual value they would also have been a status symbol.²⁷⁷

Many prayer books had a specific Eucharistic section, and we will explore Communion piety through popular literature.²⁷⁸ As we strive to reach all parts of society, the catechism will also be included in this study; a book which touched the lives of low as well as high culture. The study of popular devotional literature invites us into the higher circles of society. Beyond this literary elite, was the culture of the majority, based mainly on orality. The main issue in this chapter is to explore what words (written and oral) were used to express lay belief, both in the higher and lower orders, thus we may be able to define espoused theology in the literary sphere.

3.2 What the Laity Read

We started this chapter with a foray into the intellectual elite, a good place to start since these cultural circles produced and read the majority of printed material. To ensure that low culture is not overlooked, however, we will have to expand our definition of literature. In our day and age, very much dominated by words on screen and paper, the consideration of oral traditions may seem illogical in a literary study. We need to picture ourselves in a society where images and the spoken word was necessary for transferring traditions, news, and culture.²⁷⁹ Popular literature had a limited reach, which is why this study will widen its

²⁷⁷ See Lindgärde, 'Fromhetskitteraturen'.

²⁷⁸ Hansson, *Ett språk*, p. 81.

²⁷⁹ Scribner talks of the impact of woodcuts in propaganda, and the necessity to consider the acts of listening and looking alongside reading ability when studying communication in an oral culture. See Scribner, *Simple Folk*, p. 3.

scope, and research both the written word and the oral culture the common man and woman would have come across. Thus, both high and low culture will be represented in this exploration of Eucharistic espoused theology (lay expressions of belief), starting with the written word.

In her article on Devotional literature in seventeenth-century Sweden, Valborg Lindgärde describes the era mostly through women. They were the operating agents, both as readers, translators, and writers of personal prayer books. She makes the point that of the handwritten books available to us today, women owned practically all of them.²⁸⁰ In low culture, women were also at the heart of literacy. Women had the main responsibility for home schooling during the literacy campaign in the latter half of the century.²⁸¹ Women passed books down through the generations, and since they used and owned the books, they also tended to feminise the language, turning servant to maid, and sinner to a female sinner (Swe: *syndare* and *synderska*). The users read and copied material from their friends' books, or they wrote prayers as a parting greeting in each other's prayer books.²⁸² We will see how one noble woman shaped her handwritten prayer book, with both daily prayers and prayers especially for before and after Communion.²⁸³ Her book leaves a testimony as to what a lay person (of the higher order) considered as she prepared herself for Communion. The prayer books, published or hand-written, give voice to a cultural ideal of piety. This was a society in which a king (Karl IX) could write a service book (which was rejected) and his natural son (Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm) an autobiography, on the theme of *a righteous life*.²⁸⁴ But the basic meaning of an ideal is that it is something to aspire to, not necessarily something achievable. There were other cultural voices too in the era. An

²⁸⁰ Lindgärde, 'Fromhetslitteraturen', p. 272; Hansson, *Ett språk*, p. 55.

²⁸¹ Egil Johansson, 'Kyrkan och undervisningen', in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – enhetskyrkans tid*, ed. by Ingun Montgomery, (Stockholm: Verbum, 2002), pp. 248-258, (pp. 256-258).

²⁸² Lindgärde, 'Fromhetslitteraturen', pp. 272-275.

²⁸³ The example referred to here is a book of prayers collected by Sigrid Bielke, now at Uppsala University Library. See, Bielke, *bönbok*.

²⁸⁴ Montgomery, *enhetskyrkans*, p. 65.

important aspect of this study is not to see the laity as a cultural whole. It goes without saying that the laity, within the different spheres of the hierarchy as well as geographically, developed various cultural layers. Lately, some researchers have explored oral and low culture to encourage a more balanced understanding of the century. They show that piety was not perhaps the ideal, or even interpreted in the same way, in the different cultural layers. This field needs to be studied further, however, especially in ecclesial history.

Daniel Lindmark has investigated book ownership in the early eighteenth century. At that time literacy had risen to about 90 per cent, and yet the book ownership in a prosperous country parish would amount to only a couple of books per household. His study shows that in a prosperous parish most households owned a catechism, while hymnals were becoming a personal object.²⁸⁵ This inventory is from the 1720s, and the extent of book ownership was probably even lower in the seventeenth century. One reason may have been that books were costly. Even the higher classes treasured these objects and passed them on through the generations. Another reason is the nascent state of the publishing industry. As mentioned, the industry went from possibly one to seventeen publishing houses in the seventeenth century.²⁸⁶ The third reason was the limited market due to poor literacy. Not until the end of the century was the industry able to grow to meet the need of an expanding market. It is also at the end of the century that more books, specifically on Communion and preparation, were produced. This means that in order to tap into Eucharistic piety of the seventeenth century we need to explore other cultural influences in the population. Alongside the literary tradition there was also an oral tradition, which to a great deal is less accessible to us. What was recorded, however, shows that medieval religious thought still held sway over the population in most parts of the

²⁸⁵ The inventory of books is from the 1720s, in the parish of Rättvik (Diocese of Västerås). Only four per cent of households owned a Bible, which was 29 Bibles in total. See Lindmark, *Reading*, pp. 132-133; For literacy, see David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 178-179.

²⁸⁶ Lindgärde, 'Fromhetslitteraturen', p. 270.

country. Medieval prayers and spells, mentioning both saints and the Virgin Mary, were documented all through the century. Some of these tell us of Eucharistic faith and practice.

²⁸⁷ It is also worth noting that these blessings and spells have been collected from court rulings, and episcopal letters, as examples of religion gone astray. This points to popular belief in juxtaposition to the official religion of the Church. The actual practice of these prayers and spells will be explored further as we look at operant theology (the lived-out faith) in the next chapter (4). For this section, however, we should bear in mind that some medieval Eucharistic tradition was kept alive through oral transmission.

Apart from popular devotional books and oral tradition, there is a third influence on Eucharistic piety to consider as well, that of Church instruction and the catechism. The Church started a literacy campaign in the middle of the century, to ensure that everyone would be able to read the Word and the catechism. Based on church records, the literacy rate rose from 35 per cent in 1660 to 90 per cent in 1720.²⁸⁸ The long-term aim was to create a religiously uniform population. The very first paragraph of the 1686 Church Act declares that every person within the realm of the Swedish Kingdom should adhere to the Christian faith as it is grounded in Scripture, the Creeds, and the unaltered 1530 Augsburg Confession, and furthermore explained in the Formula of Concord.²⁸⁹ To become informed, the population needed reading skills. The solution in such a rural and vast country as Sweden was home-schooling.²⁹⁰ There were resources already available, since a basic knowledge of the faith had been necessary for First Communion in the medieval tradition also. Here we find traces of an old operant theology still at work. In medieval times, First Communion took place between the ages of seven and twelve. The communicant in pre-Reformation times was supposed to know the Lord's Prayer, the

²⁸⁷ Linderholm, *Signelser*, pp. 96-99.

²⁸⁸ Johansson, 'Literacy', pp. 45-46.

²⁸⁹ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, pp. 144-145. KL1686 Chap. 1 §1.

²⁹⁰ Ninna Jørgensen, 'Works: Catechisms', in *Oxford encyclopedia of Martin Luther*, ed by Derek R. Nelson and Paul R. Hinlicky, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 503-518, p. 512.

articles of faith, Ave Maria and other pertinent prayers, which was established through an oral exam.²⁹¹ The interesting situation for Sweden is the extensive and complex system that was developed to examine the population on their knowledge of the catechism and their reading skills. This task of examinations and record keeping fell on the clergy.²⁹²

Abc-pamphlets from the Reformation and onwards, both in Sweden and on the continent, show how the oral medieval tradition had been adapted for the new age.

According to Ninna Jørgensen, Lutheran children learned to read with the aid of Abc-books that contained the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Commandments; the children then moved on to the catechism. This practice had seemingly developed from the medieval custom of using wooden boards with the 'first prayers' printed in both Latin and vernacular languages. Luther, too, used similar board for his first catechism.²⁹³ Egil Johansson has studied the Swedish version of a Lutheran Abc-book, generally called *Runa ABC*, which was a pamphlet printed by Johannes Bureus (1568-1652) in 1611. This primer was a broadsheet, folded into a 16-page pamphlet, and used both runes and Latin letters to print the Swedish versions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments, two short Bible lessons on the Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and prayers for mealtimes, and for morning and evening.²⁹⁴ Thus, the primers supplemented the medieval tradition with the words for the catechetical definition of baptism and the Eucharist, along with the collected prayers from the catechism. The Ave Maria, however, was of course removed. The primers prepared the child to then move on to learn the elementary parts of the catechism, which

²⁹¹ Johansson, 'Kyrkan', p. 248.

²⁹² Johansson gives examples of a seventeenth-century record from Mora. The record is divided in columns for each section of the catechism, and symbols are used to denote various levels of skills and understanding. Ibid. p. 251-253. For more on the seventeenth-century parochial record keeping, see also Egil Johansson, 'Läser själva orden. Läser I book – Barnens läsning i Bydeå 1640 med några vidare utblickar' in *Kan själva orden*, ed. by Egil Johansson (Umeå, Forskningsarkivet, Umeå universitet, 1993), pp. 6-16.

²⁹³ Jørgensen, 'Works: Catechisms', p. 511.

²⁹⁴ Johansson, 'Läser', p. 9. The Royal Library in Stockholm (*Kungliga biblioteket*) has a digitized version of the primer on their website, see Johannes Bureus, *Runa ABC boken Prentat i Stockholm, ... 1611.*, Stockholm, 1611. Electronic resource: <<http://www.kb.se/F1700/ABC.htm>> [accessed 30 May 2019]

was a requirement before First Communion at the age of nine to ten.²⁹⁵ Johansson writes about young Erik Olsson in Flarken, who was examined by his parish priest in Rickleå in 1664. The priest's records note that the boy knew 'no more than Our Father, the Creed and [the medieval prayer] "Watch over us..."'. According to the records this was not enough to be admitted to the Lord's Table. Young Olsson had to wait another year to receive Communion.²⁹⁶ The records tell us about the rigorous framework that was put in place by the Church, with regular examinations and recordkeeping, but they also give an insight into the severe consequences that befell the parishioners who did not know their catechism. Considering the central place these primers and the catechism had in seventeenth-century instruction (both for reading skills and religious education) it is more than probable that they formed the basis for religious expression for almost everyone. This was the shared espoused theology of the people; how these words were then understood and put into practice is another question, revealed in operant theology. Evidence points towards a slow and unskilled reading ability, so practical religion (operant theology) would not have relied solely on the written word. Mnemonic skills, and thus old tradition, would still have been influential. Records from Finland, at the close of the century, tell of such a slow-paced reading that even the hymn singing slowed down. Organists added extra interludes between each line, to give the congregation time to read the next words before singing them.²⁹⁷ That means that even though the population had become literate, it was an unpractised kind of semi-literacy. This also indicates that literature was a slow and steady influence, rather than one that caused rapid change, which offered space for oral transmission and medieval Eucharistic piety to prevail in post-Reformation times also.

²⁹⁵ Johansson, 'Kyrkan', pp. 248-249, p. 252, p. 254.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 254.

²⁹⁷ Bill Widén, 'Literacy in the Ecclesiastical Context', in *Educational Reports Umeå, nr. 2 1973, Literacy and Society in a Historical Perspective – a Conference Report*, ed Egil Johansson, Umeå University and Umeå School of Education 1973, pp. 33-40 (p. 38).

In the literary classes, however, diversity was to be found in popular devotional literature. These books create a mixed bag of spirituality, ranging from medieval mysticism to humanism, from Lutheran Orthodoxy to Pietism.²⁹⁸ Communion devotional works were fewer in number. Hansson mentions ten books devoted solely to the Eucharist, but only two of these give detailed instructions on how to prepare for Communion. Both of these were published at the turn of the eighteenth century.²⁹⁹ Many more books, however, had sections with prayers for confession and Communion. I have studied twelve volumes. Five of these were books for the preparation and reception of Communion.³⁰⁰ One of the remaining seven volumes is a handwritten prayer book by a noble woman, Sigrid Bielke (c. 1620-1679). The study will also include prayers and poems by the poetess Sophia Elisabeth Brenner (1659-1730), which were recently reprinted.³⁰¹ It is from these books that we can trace Eucharistic themes expressed by espoused theology (lay religious language), and find material comparable to the themes found in formal theology (the devotional literature published by Church leaders).

3.3 Common Eucharistic Themes in Lay Reading Material

The diversity of traditions in the devotional material reflected an array of Eucharistic themes, but the theme of redemption stands out in frequency. This theme – how to prepare a sinful soul for confession and Communion – becomes the wallpaper on which the other leitmotifs are painted. In this, popular devotional literature appears similar to Church instruction. What is curious to see, however, is the range of other themes, and how

²⁹⁸ Lindquist, *Studier*, p. 254; Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, pp. 62-65.

²⁹⁹ Of the two books mentioned by Hansson (Rosencrantz's *Faderliga förmaning*, 1694, and Rosenthals's *boot-skrift- och communion-bok*, 1717) only Rosencrantz' volume will be included here, since it was published within the time period of this study. See Rosenkrands, *faderliga*; and Hansson, *språk*, p. 81.

³⁰⁰ These books are: Ahasverus Fritsch, *Doct. Ahasveri Fritschens skriffte- och comunions-bok* (Stockholm: 1693); Johannes Olearius, *D. Johannis Olearii, Christelige Skrifftermåhls-Book* (Stockholm: 1679); Gammal, *gyldeenne altartaffla*; Liscovius, *Bitter tåre*; and Rosenkrands, *faderliga*.

³⁰¹ Bielke, *bönbok*; Brenner, *Samlade dikter*.

they vary from those treated by the episcopacy. Even when the two genres – devotional literature and diocesan publications – use the same themes, they are not mentioned with the same frequency. That is, the balance of how much weight is put on various themes differs between popular writing and official Church publications. The most apparent example is how rarely ‘thanksgiving’ and ‘the fruits of the Spirit’ are mentioned in popular devotional literature. Another difference between Church instruction and devotional books is how often the devil appears in popular literature. We have mentioned it before, this difference between espoused and formal theology. The bishops put so much weight on God’s almighty power that the devil rarely got a hoof in. The fascination with (or fear of) the evil one is much greater in popular devotional works, as well as in oral culture. The theme appears often enough in both high and low culture that we may describe espoused theology as having a dualistic world-view, a religious paradigm existing in parallel with the theocentric universe taught by the official Church. This was probably true also for operant theology (religious practice), since it was such an apparent strain at all levels of espoused theology.

One of the most popular prayer books of the seventeenth century, *Een Andelig Wattukälla* (A Spiritual Well of Water), was reissued possibly up to twenty times after its publication in 1640. The book was a translation of a German original by a Lutheran pastor Basilius Förtsch (d. 1619 in Gumperda, Thuringia), and was first published in Weimar in 1609. Like many other prayer books this is a compilation of several sources, and Förtsch was more the editor than the writer of the volume.³⁰² Lindquist describes it as a treasure of its era, with prayers covering a broad range of medieval mysticism, blood mysticism, and prayers by Luther.³⁰³ Books at this time were usually written for several areas of religious life, and only a small section was devoted to the Eucharist. This is true also for *Een Andeligh*

³⁰² Förtsch, *En andeligh*; Lindquist, *Studier*, pp. 41-43.

³⁰³ Ibid, p. 51.

Wattukälla. One prayer in the book was for before receiving Communion, and it highlights the fruits of the Spirit. '[...] Help [me, o, Lord Jesus Christ] that my faith in the forgiveness of sins and transgressions, may day by day strengthen [...] and that a devout love towards you and my neighbour may ignite and prosper both in length and depth [...].'³⁰⁴ This paragraph, with the fruits of the Spirit, comes at the tail end of the prayer, so it was not the core message, as was often the case with Church instruction. The Communion section in Förtsch's book is made up of four prayers, and this is the only mention of any fruits of the Spirit in the section. We can compare this to formal theology, in which the theme was frequently repeated.

A slightly modified version of the prayer appears in another popular devotional book, *Andelig Pärleskrud* (Spiritual Robe of Pearls), published in 1696.³⁰⁵ This book was also a compilation volume, and with a greater variety of Communion prayers. Published later in the century and based on a German version by Johannes Petraeus (c. 1640-1678), *Andelig Pärleskrud* is influenced by a larger variety of sources. Thus, the theme 'Fruits of the Spirit' actually appears on a few occasions. These appeals are usually more introspective however, than the bishops' more common outward-looking supplications of neighbourly love and thanksgiving. The most common plea is that God would strengthen the supplicant's faith in the Sacrament. Sometimes a shorter prayer for *betterment of life* appears within a prayer. In a few instances, the fruit is further specified as love for one's neighbour, as in the above prayer. Indeed, of the twenty-four prayers to be used for Communion, eight mentioned *strengthening of faith*, six *betterment of life*, and three *increased love*. But five prayers mentioned more than one of these themes. In total, this means that only ten of the twenty-four prayers in *Andelig pärl-skrud* mention the fruits of the Spirit, which is quite a contrast from formal theology.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ My translation. See, Förtsch, *wattukälla*, För Nattwardsens Anammelse, Fyra Böner...

³⁰⁵ Cundicius, *Andelig pärl-skrud*, pp. 417-418

³⁰⁶ Cundicius, *Andelig pärl-skrud*, pp. 416-428.

As mentioned above, yet another divergence from Church instruction (formal theology), is that the prayers here centre the fruits of the Spirit on the person: for increased faith. Formal theology, by comparison, focuses as much on the community and neighbourly love. The community stands back for the sake of individuality in the espoused theology of high culture. This is quite startling, considering that the preparation is for Communion, an activity described as a communal act in many Lutheran writings. Luther himself talked of how Communion would strengthen the congregational bond, one of the more important aspects of the Eucharist. The celebration was a *Gemindesache*.³⁰⁷ In popular literature (espoused theology) we find language that picks up on the formal theology of fruits of the Spirit, but then transforms it to possibly better suit a pre-Pietistic mind-set of personalised faith. It is further evidence that there was a divergence between formal theology, and its mission on nurturing a Lutheran society and community building, and high-culture espoused theology, which centred more on personal devotion. This dichotomy between Orthodox Lutheranism (formal theology) and the lay piety of spiritual literature (espoused theology of high culture) will be even more evident when we look at Communion hymns. Another explanation could also be that community building was not a priority with the readers of popular devotional literature.

The principal theme of popular prayers written for Communion is the need for redemption. No other topic can quite compare with this one. Still, a few other motifs appear. The most prominent of these is the Sacrament as a viaticum, a protection. Because the Real Presence was so generally accepted, it is the actual union with Christ in the Eucharist that acts as a shield. Protection against sin, death, the wiles of the devil, are the most common thoughts in the prayers aside from redemption. Sigrid Bielke's prayer book shows this predisposition with great clarity. On the pages of this book we can trace a

³⁰⁷ Lindquist, *Nattvarden*, pp. 12-13.

lifetime of prayer through the handwriting: the beautifully driven style of the young woman, the more economic style of the mature wife, and the ever-fading work of an old hand. It is in many ways a testimony of a life. I have not found a study on this particular prayer book, but Valborg Lindgärde has researched similar handwritten books. She emphasises the important role they played for the women of the upper classes, both for their personal spirituality and for social discourse within those circles.³⁰⁸ The Sigrid Bielke of this prayer book is probably a noble woman who lived 1620-1679, and who married Field Marshal Gustav Horn in 1644. The first page of the prayer book contains a note by Sigrid, mentioning that she inherited the book from a dear relative in 1641. If this is Sigrid Bielke, the wife of Gustav Horn, she would then have been 21 years old. It is unclear, however, whether she wrote most of the prayers in the book, or if they were part of the heritage. Since Uppsala University library catalogues Bielke as the author, this is the assumption we will work with here.³⁰⁹ The book contains morning and evening prayers for every day of the week, and other useful prayers. The book also contains a few prayers for Communion.

The first Communion prayer Bielke calls ‘a rather devout prayer for the forgiveness of Sins, the worthy reception of the Sacrament, the strengthening of faith in the right knowledge of Truth, and God’s merciful aid to a proper understanding of one’s calling and stewardship.’³¹⁰ This abundantly rich title presents Bielke’s purpose with her prayer on a silver platter. The core message of the prayer is that she regards herself as a sinner, calling out to a merciful God, and reminding God of all his promises as a loving, ever-present God. The second most common theme is that of a viaticum, and her fear of death. ‘Oh God, I am deserving of Death, of you I ask for Mercy, you who are Life Itself,

³⁰⁸ Lindgärde, ‘Fromhetslitteraturen’, p. 272.

³⁰⁹ Bielke, *bönbok*.

³¹⁰ My translation, ‘En ganska innerligh Bön om Syndernas nådiga förlåtelse, om Sacramentzens Werdiga annammelse, om tronens styrekia i Sanningens sanna kännedom och om gudz nådige Bijståndh Till att Wäll förestå sitt befalta Kall och ämbethe.’ Ibid.

oh David's Son, Lord Jesus Christ, my only comfort, my hope, and life...' ³¹¹ These types of interludes appear at seven places in the prayer, which spreads over nine pages. At one point she quotes John 3. 16. ³¹² Bielke also clarifies that it is the Real Presence of Christ that safeguards her life: 'Oh, you true Life, nourish me, a dead human [...] that I may have a share in your pain, death and resurrection.' ³¹³ It is by suffering, dying and rising again with Christ, through the union of the sacrament, that we gain eternal life. Two more themes make cameos at the very end of the prayer: protection against the devil, and being united with God in this life and the next. 'Save [me] from Death, the devil and Hell,' she prays. ³¹⁴ And at the end, 'that I with good sense and with your holy Body and Blood's worthy reception, for the certain forgiveness of my sins, may pass on, and [unintelligible, but probably: live] with you in eternity. Amen.' ³¹⁵

At a later point in life, Bielke added some shorter prayers, popularly called Prayer Sighs. These were commonly used on the way up to the altar, during reception, and on the way back from Communion. Unfortunately, the older, feeble hand makes the text much less legible; the ink has also faded more than Bielke's earlier writing. The text that is discernible relays prayers similar to those in *Andelig Pärleskrud*. She wrote down two prayers for the reception of the body and the blood respectively. While receiving the body, she ponders how Christ's own body was given for her sake, and then asks Jesus Christ to save her for eternal life. Then, when partaking of the chalice, she reflects how his blood was

³¹¹ My translation, 'O Herre jag haffuer förtiändt Döden, af tigh begärer jag Miskundt tu som äst Sielffua Lifuet, O Davidz Sonn, Herre Jesu Christe, min enda tröst, mitt hop, och lif,' Ibid., p. 2 of prayer.

³¹² Ibid., p. 4 of prayer. John 3. 16: 'For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.'

³¹³ My translation, 'O tu sanna Lif, wederquick migh döda meniskia genom tin dödh och upståndelse tu som haffuer öffuerwunnit dödhnen, [...] på dhet jag och må deelachtigh bligua aff tin Pino, Dödh och upståndelse,' Ibid., p. 3 of prayer.

³¹⁴ My translation, 'Frälselse ifrå Dödomen, Diäfulenom och Heluetet,' Ibid., p. 7 of prayer.

³¹⁵ My translation, 'att iag medh goda förnufft och medh tins heliga Lekamens och Blodz Werdigha annammellse, till mina Synders wißa förlåthelße, må ferdas hädan, och [otydligt, förmodlingen: Lefande] medh tigh euinnerliga. AMEN.' Ibid., p. 9 of prayer.

shed for her sins and prays that Christ would keep her to eternal life.³¹⁶ They read much like personal reflections on the words of distribution.

These prayers, with the themes of salvation from death, sin and eternal damnation, can be seen as the ambassadors of popular devotion (and espoused theology). Much more than community building, or even betterment of life, which were the themes of formal theology, the prayers of the laity concerned fear of death and hell. We will see further on how operant theology (lived out faith) in both high and low culture echoed these sentiments. In religious practice a dominant aspect seems to have been the medieval narrative of God as the Heavenly judge and the threat of damnation. It may be a remnant of that belief that is revealed here as well, expressed in espoused theology. Living with constant fear of death and damnation, one's only hope was the share one had in Christ through the Sacrament. The poetess Sophia Elisabeth Brenner (1659-1730) puts it thus in a sonnet called 'The Great Mystery of the Lord's Supper' (*Om Nattwardens stora Hemlighet*).

So, come my soul-friend, unite yourself with me,
and in a mysterious way, Satan will find himself powerless
against both of us united.³¹⁷

Brenner was not just a woman on the periphery, or one whose work was meant for the seclusion of the household, she was a poetess of some renown. She was born into a German merchant family in Stockholm, and as such had close ties to the continent. In 1680 she married Elias Brenner, an artist. The Brenner household was a natural meeting place for many international guests to Sweden. Today we can trace these visits through travel journals, many of which contain a poem written by Brenner's hand.³¹⁸ Brenner thus

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ My translation. See, Brenner, *Samlade dikter*, p. 17.

³¹⁸ For a brief account of Brenner's life, literary importance and international connections, see Lindgärde, 'Sophia'; and Brenner, *Samlade dikter*, p. XV.

had a public audience and appreciation for her work, an audience too that looked to popular devotional works for spiritual sustenance.

Bringing to mind the earlier discussion of Lindquist's theory of the Eucharist as the sign and seal of the power of the Absolution, the belief that emerges through these prayers challenges his postulation.³¹⁹ The mind-set in both Bielke's prayers and Brenner's poetry shows that it is the sacramental union with Christ, in body and blood, that gives the ultimate protection against the wiles of the devil and hell. The Eucharist may be a sign and seal, but a sign of God's protection through his presence, not as Lindquist understood it as the sign and seal of absolution. However, the prayers in popular devotional literature do confirm Lindquist's observation of an ever-growing systematisation of and preoccupation with preparation. The number of prayers published to be used for preparation before confession and Communion greatly exceed that of all other prayers for Communion. This may speak of an operant need, that is, religious practice asked for this kind of material. On the other hand, it could also be the result of an ideal, expressed in espoused theology, that may never have become realised in practice.

In espoused theology it appears as if sin is rooted in humanity, for sure, but it is through the works of the devil that sin comes to fruition. The fear that emerges from these pages is that the devil will play on one's own sinfulness. Ahasverus Fritsch's Communion Book from 1693 gives a good example with the reassuring prayer titled, 'For Anxious Thoughts' (my italics).³²⁰

God and the Lord of my Life, *help me to resist all the fretful thoughts of my wretched heart, by which the wicked Satan plagues and afflicts my Flesh and Blood.* You know I gladly want to serve you with a righteous heart, and I come in good faith to Holy Absolution and the Lord's Supper.

³¹⁹ See the above discussion on the sign and seal of the Eucharist. Section 2.2. Lindquist, *Studier*, p. 344.

³²⁰ My translation. See Fritsch, *skrifte- och comunions-book*, p. 178.

This prayer does indeed speak of an anxious mind, the fear of being deluded by Satan, of not being properly absolved, and coming unworthily to the Sacrament. We will delve further into this in the next chapter (4). In contrast, formal theology meets the anxious with reassurances of God's mercy and that the Eucharist is salvation through the grace of God. And as we have seen, when the devil gets a mention it is no more than an annoying fly in a sky dominated by almighty God. Have no fear, in other words.

Popular literature, on the other hand, has no qualms in reminding the reader of the devil, and the great need to have God on their side. Reassurance in espoused theology is not just about God's absolute power, the message is rather that God is more powerful than the devil. The devil's snares will not hold against the powers of Christ's body and blood. Salomon Liscovius included a reassuring Communion hymn in a book he published for pious women. He called it a hymn of thanksgiving after Holy Communion.³²¹ Here we are invited to sing (my italics):

3. My sin is removed, in your blood I am washed clean; *in your embrace I now rest, no more fearing the arrows of Satan.*

5. And Jesus, who is Life, you have given me of yourself, made yourself a dwelling place in my heart, and ended the pain of sin.

7. *For though Satan I fear, You are the one who defends me.* You have dressed the wounds of my sins, and overcome death.³²²

The reassurance lies in being united with Christ, with his body and blood, but the root of the anxiety lies in the works of the devil, not in the innate sinfulness of the human being as such.

³²¹ Salomon Liscovius, *Christelig fruën-timmers andelige Dygde-spegel*, Stockholm,... 1695, pp. 328-329.

³²² My translation. Loc. cit.

3.4 Summary

The burning need that is expressed in espoused theology is Communion as protection against the devil and death. Both high and low culture put the devil's snares front and centre. Popular devotional works, however, place the devil as a tempter on the spiritual plane, in one's thoughts and heart, more than someone with a physical presence. And yet, it was the Real Presence, a share in God through Jesus Christ, that would help us prevail against the evil one. The frequent mention of the devil is but the first difference from formal theology, which had a theocentric focus that had no room for any more power players than God Almighty. The second divergence by espoused theology of high culture is that the 'fruits of the Spirit', and any moral consequences in community life, rarely make an appearance in popular devotional books. The question is whether community life and neighbourly love was of much consequence for the elite, who adopted the individualistic religiosity from the continent also on a practical level (operant theology of high culture). Communion turned more to the protection of one's personal soul, a spiritual armour, than creating the bond that builds God's kingdom here on earth. In other words, against the wiles of the devil, the fruits of the Spirit lost the battle.

Community life was very much at the heart of low culture, however, and the lower orders had a different reading list than the literate elite. The catechism was obligatory knowledge for first Communion, and parish records shows a distinction between those who knew it (memorised), and those who were able to read and understand it. So, the catechism must be considered here in order to include Espoused theology of low culture, and so too must orally transmitted material. However, catechism and oral culture will not always cooperate, and this juxtaposition will be one of the main questions in the next chapter on operant theology. On the whole, we are able to identify a divergence between the espoused theology of high culture (literate book owners) and that of low culture (semi-literate, oral tradition). This division is of course a rather crude description as there would

have been many layers in between, but the two distinctions may help in a further exploration of espoused theology. A connection between these two layers are the themes of judgement and redemption, which appear in both espoused and operant material. We see them in high culture through devotional literature and as oft-occurring themes in prayers. In the next chapter we will note them in low culture too, with an emphasis on the sacrament as a ward against eternal damnation. Another theme that occurs is the sacrament as a viaticum, and protection against evil, and a desire to keep God close as a shield against the snares of the devil. Then again, God is not a completely comfortable ally, since he comes with judgement and the possibility of damnation. The need for proper preparation stems as much from being a sinner, tempted by evil forces, as it does in facing God Almighty. This understanding of God, as someone to keep at a respectful distance, is something we will dig deeper into in the following chapter when we explore the lower orders, oral culture, and the remnants of traditional religion.

What is clear, however, is the firm belief in the bread and the wine as the body and blood of Christ. The poems and prayers depict a moment of union between Christ and the supplicant. Blood mysticism is at the heart of lay piety in these texts. But espoused theology of popular literature also has traces of a spiritual understanding of the divine sacramental union. It is with the heart and the spirit that the believer recognises God. This more Pietistic development will be more evident when we turn to the songs of popular culture, but for now, there was no question that a Christian stood in the presence of God when they went to Communion. As we turn to low culture and a further exploration of operant theology, we will see that the spiritual aspects of Real Presence are much less evident.

Chapter 4 – The Lay of the Land – How the Laity Understood Church Instruction?

4.1 Introduction

We have already concluded that the literary elite and high culture only encompassed a small portion of the population, and here we will further explore oral tradition, as well as studying the practical religiosity (operant theology) of both low and high culture. This chapter, then, will focus more on popular belief, and mainly that which sprung from oral culture, since that was the culture of the majority of the lay population. The sources used here are medieval prayers, collected well into the eighteenth century, and the easy literary fare of primers and catechisms. The aim is mainly to see how these sources were used in conjunction with the sacrament and preparation for the Eucharist. In addition to low culture, the religious practice of the literary elite will also be explored, tracing both the connecting points between the layers of society, and where they diverge. For high culture, the religiosity of privatised religion and proto-Pietism will appear as the main trait, whereas low culture seemed to hold on to medieval tradition in post-Reformation times also.

4.2 Confession

The catechism and confession are convenient places to start in the search for operant theology and Communion. By definition the section on confession considers an example of normative theology put in the hands of the laity, something which everyone would have to read and understand to gain admission to the altar. It is also plausible that the words of the catechism became the expressed faith (espoused theology) of the laity. As both Jørgensen and Johansson demonstrate with their research, the catechism was a memorised

shorthand for endorsed religion.³²³ Thus, they were words that would have come naturally to the common man and woman. The question is what effect this text had on operant theology.

With the catechism, Luther continues a medieval tradition of a confessional mirror, suggesting the use of the Commandments as a guide for self-examination.³²⁴ Even Luther's first catechetical booklet from 1528/29 contained the Ten Commandments. The Decalogue, together with the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, were texts that Luther described as all a Christian need to know for salvation, for the law makes a Christian aware of their sins, the Creed where to find grace, and the Lord's Prayer the fulfilment of God's will.³²⁵ The medieval confessional primers, on the other hand, could be quite extensive. Pahlmblad writes about the advice given to late medieval confessors. One primer counsels the priests to question the parishioners on sins against the Commandments, on the five senses, on the sacraments, on the seven gifts of the Spirit, on refraining from performing any of the seven charitable acts, and on committing any of the seven deadly sins.³²⁶ Thus, Luther's use of the Commandments was a simplification, which is a development that Pahlmblad also finds in the Swedish formulas of the Reformation.³²⁷ Nevertheless, according to Luther's instructions, the place for committing a sin is very much in everyday practical life. One should consider one's actions depending on one's situation in life, as a father, mother,

³²³ Jørgensen, 'Works: Catechisms', p. 511-512; Johansson, 'Läser', and Johansson, 'Kyrkan'.

³²⁴ The confession was not part of the original catechism, but was commonly included, and Luther referred to the Commandments as a mirror of confession also in other works, see Carl-Axel Aurelius, 'Inledning', in *Lilla katekesen*, by Martin Luther, (Göteborg: Göteborgs stift, 2011) pp. 9-19, (p. 14). On the confession, see Martin Luther, *The Small Catechism*, (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1986), Confession; a modern German version is available online on EKD's website, Martin Luther, *Luthers Kleiner Katechismus*, <<https://www.ekd.de/Kleine-Katechismus-Das-Fuenfte-Hauptstueck-13473.htm>> [accessed 17 January 2019].

³²⁵ Jørgensen, 'Works: Catechisms', p. 506-507.

³²⁶ This list is from *De septem sacramentis*, from Vadstena, but there were other confessional formulas in circulation too. See Pahlmblad, *Mässa*, pp. 143-152. See also, Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and confession on the eve of the Reformation*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U.P., 1977), pp.84-86. A mirror of virtues and sins was also present in art work, see Walter S. Gibson, 'Hieronymus Bosch and the Mirror of Man: The Authorship and Iconography of the "Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins"', *Oud Holland*, 87, (1973), 205-226.

³²⁷ Pahlmblad, *Mässa*, p. 153.

servant, maid.³²⁸ Luther also pointed more towards sins within these relationships, in the home and in the community, instead of exemplifying sins as acts committed specifically against God.

Thus, Luther's catechism reads as if sins are an endeavour in the physical world, more than in spiritual life. The examples he gives are human-relational, such as being hot-tempered, lazy, or cruel. The only reference to erring against God comes in the actual words of confession, where the sinner confesses to having sinned against God, but having done so by harming family, servants or peers.³²⁹ The distinction here is worth contemplating, because Luther's writing compares better with medieval traditions than with the seventeenth-century legal definition of sin. When Eamon Duffy describes medieval tradition in an English context he portrays a moralistic religion focused on merciful deeds, and a religion that feared the devil, death, and judgement. The way to avoid the vengeance of God was by charitable acts, in other words salvation through deeds, rather than justification.³³⁰ Even though Sweden was a self-professed Lutheran country, practising a post-Reformation religion, we will find that Duffy's description of medieval tradition was still applicable to the average lay Swede. The medieval confessional tradition is not refuted outright by the catechism, and it is most plausible that it was with this mindset that the laity prepared for Communion. The traditional mindset of the laity and understanding of sin as a practical infraction is further confirmed by legal cases from the seventeenth century.

Linda Oja has researched the use and understanding of magic through court records. Her study reveals that all magic was understood as a sin by the government, and only some magic thought of as sinful by the laity. In our context – popular religion and the Eucharist – this offers an interesting starting point for exploring the perceived relationship

³²⁸ Luther, *Katechismus*, das fünfte Hauptstück, <<https://www.ekd.de/Kleine-Katechismus-Das-Fuenfte-Hauptstueck-13473.htm>> [accessed 17 January 2019].

³²⁹ Ibid.; Luther, *Catechism*, Confession.

³³⁰ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars; Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580*, 2nd ed, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 72-73, p. 75.

between a Christian and God, and specifically what removed a human being from God's grace. Sinning and Communion were intrinsically united, since a rift with God would mean being excluded from the Eucharist. So, how did the laity define sins? In governmental texts we find two definitions, and it is a question of whether sins are a practical or a spiritual infraction. Legal records indicate that in lay understanding sin was a practical offence and done with intent. In court, the laity claimed that their good magic was harmless, done with the blessing of God for the betterment of their community.³³¹ In operant theology the understanding of evil magic (and thereby sin) was in correlation to what harm magic could cause for others. Evil magic also derived its power from the devil or demons.³³² Church and Law (formal theology and the governing body) judged magic on a completely different scale. Even though legal texts also referred to harmful and non-harmful magic, it was the non-harmful magic that caused most culpability. Harmful magic was described as a crime against one's neighbour, and while being a serious offence, it was not nearly as severe as non-harmful magic, which was a crime against God.³³³ Superstition, in other words, was to misuse faith in a way that was neither Godly or Christian. And yet, it persisted. As late as 1730 the clergy complained about how lax the laity were in their opinion on non-harmful magic.³³⁴

If we compare the lay definition of magic with the confessional in the catechism, then – and even though the catechetical intention would have been the same as the ecclesial normative and formal definition – we can see how it could be understood to support the oral tradition of good and bad magic. The normative theology of the catechism – that to sin was to behave wilfully against one's neighbour, and to abandon one's duty and

³³¹ Oja, *Varken Gud*, pp. 191-192.

³³² Loc. Cit.

³³³ Non-harmful magic, such as protection spells or healing, could either be created by forming a bond with a demonic power; this was a sin against the first commandment, because faith was placed in someone other than God. A variation included a ritual with God; this was still a sin, but now also against the second commandment, as one used God's name in vain. These definitions were penned by Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus Gothus, in 1617. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

³³⁴ Ibid., p. 191.

calling in life – would most likely have supported an already existing operant theology (religious practice). The legal cases also show how this belief was the expressed faith of the laity (espoused theology) of the lower orders, and probably in conjunction with the catechetical words. The definition of sin was a moral practical concept, rather than a more introspective break with God, and thus the espoused and operant theology of low culture deviated from formal theology. We may here detect a continuation of medieval tradition, where salvation was linked to a morally upright life.³³⁵ If this is how the laity understood the instructions of the catechism, then it would have severely undermined the Lutheran teaching of justification by faith.

High culture, on the other hand, was more preoccupied with introspective religiosity and less with the betterment of life and neighbourly love. The emergence of private chapels, house chaplains, and separate Communion services, supports the individualised spirituality found in devotional books.³³⁶ Both in espoused (expressed faith) and operant (practical belief) theology, the higher orders opted for spirituality in favour of practical morality, and individuality instead of communal life. On the matter of community and moral life high and low culture diverged.

4.3 The Sacrament of the Altar

Confession, however, is but the preparation for the Sacrament of the Altar. Luther's catechism first of all defines Communion as the real presence of Christ, his body and blood under the bread and the wine. He then continues to explain that it was instituted by Christ and given for the forgiveness of sins. For a right preparation, lest one be unworthy, he writes that the Christian must believe that the sacrament is offered as the forgiveness of

³³⁵ The lay definition of a sin seems to be a practical action of harm, either against a neighbour (such as lying) or God (such as swearing). Duffy mentions this as commonplace in medieval England, see Duffy, *The Stripping*, pp. 71-72, p. 75.

³³⁶ For privatisation of religion, see Pahlmblad, 'Gudstjänstliv', pp. 268-269.

their personal sins.³³⁷ If the medieval understanding of sinfulness still persisted within the population, how well had they integrated this text into their religious practice? We are going to search for operant theology in popular belief, and low culture leaves us with the need to interpret literature in the broadest sense, either as written or spoken word, this will include chants, prayers, or even spells.

The elevation was removed from the liturgy with the new service book of 1614, but the subject had been discussed before then.³³⁸ After the death of Luther in 1546, the elevation became a major discussion point among Lutherans. Bodo Nischan has offered a thoughtful overview of the elevation debate on the continent, which in many ways drew a line in the sand between Philippists and gnesio-Lutherans. Gnesio-Lutherans claimed that those who abandoned the elevation were deniers of the real presence and had adopted a Reformed and spiritual understanding of the sacrament. The Philippists, in turn, claimed that the practice was *adiaphora* at best, or reinforced superstitions and papal belief at worst.³³⁹ Nischan has shown that in some German states, like Saxony, the practice was abandoned in 1542, whereas in other German areas, particularly in the northern states, the elevation was understood as a Lutheran rite. North and East Germany remained liturgically traditional and retained the elevation until late in the sixteenth century. The debate became increasingly heated in the 1570s, when some Philippist groups talked of a Second Reformation to remove the last vestiges of Roman practices. This provoked their opponents to declare that certain ceremonies (the elevation) must not be rejected at times of oppression (in the Formula of Concord 1577).³⁴⁰ In Sweden, the elevation was at the centre of a debate between Crown and Church in the 1560s. King Erik XIV, who was

³³⁷ Luther, *Catechism*, The Sacrament of the Altar.

³³⁸ Yates, *Liturgical*, pp. 29-30; for a discussion on the elevation in a practical setting, see Riitta Laitinen, 'Church Furnishings and Rituals in a Swedish Provincial Cathedral from 1527 to c. 1660', in *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andrew Spicer, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate 2012) pp. 311-332, in particular p. 317.

³³⁹ Nischan, *Lutherans*, pp. V: 13-14.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., p. V: 10, pp. V: 20-21.

more of a Philippist or Calvinist persuasion, called for a discussion on sacramental practices during the two Riksdag meetings of 1561 and 1562. The king feared that some of the traditional practices would seduce the laity to keep to traditional belief, and among the things he objected to were the elevation and bells rung during the Communion.

Archbishop Laurentius Petri's reply shows that he adhered neither to the Reformed opinion of the Eucharist as a spiritual union, nor the Philippist belief of the real presence during *usus*, instead the official position of the Church was that Christ was present in, under and with the bread and the wine from the moment the Words of Institution had been read. The Word (of Christ) was the working agent. Adoration of Christ present in the gifts was only natural and admirable, according to Laurentius Petri.³⁴¹ In the KO1571, Laurentius Petri clarified his position further, however, by treating the elevation as an *adiaphora*. He writes that the evangelical faith offered freedom to keep the practice, but there may well come times when such ceremonies could be abandoned; the Church was also free to decide what was for the best.³⁴² The Uppsala Synod of 1593 created another arena to discuss the elevation, and the attitudes had changed somewhat in agreement with the development on the continent. Many strong voices now wanted to abolish the elevation. One advocate for removing the elevation was Duke Karl (later King Karl IX), who was of a Reformed persuasion, but the clergy still supported the retention of the practice. The clergy favoured a slow change of practices through instruction. In their mind, preaching against the need of such rituals was the key for proper Reformation.³⁴³ The question here is how much the debate between Crown, Church, and reformers (formal theology) affected the belief among the people (espoused and operant theology). We also need to consider how effective preaching was in changing popular belief. The worship practices of the laity may offer some insight here.

³⁴¹ Pahlmblad, *Mässa*, pp. 214-216; Andrén, *reformationstid*, pp. 144-146.

³⁴² Laurentius Petri, KO1571, p. xxxviii.

³⁴³ Andrén, *reformationstid*, p. 164, pp. 218-219.

When the clergy objected to the elevation, then it was often due to what they perceived as malpractice by the laity. In 1595, the Dean of Turku (Åbo), penned his observations about the population and he thought they were much too preoccupied with elevation. Petrus Melartopæus, the dean, also documented a traditional elevation prayer the congregation used: 'Today I saw my God and creator in the hands of the priest.'³⁴⁴ Melartopæus continued to complain about his congregation, writing that they took no interest in the sermon; they walked around talking during that part of the service, and only calmed down for the elevation.³⁴⁵ Sweden and Finland may have kept many traditional liturgical elements in the Lutheran worship, but Melartopæus' description of lay worship practices still sound decidedly medieval. We would, however, be wise to interpret Melartopæus' grievances as somewhat exaggerated. Göran Malmstedt has studied court cases and diocesan records from the seventeenth century, and he found only a very few instances where interruptions and disturbances of the sermon were reported by the clergy.³⁴⁶ Perhaps we can attribute some of Melartopæus' remarks to a human tendency to document the extraordinary, quite often with an emphasis on the extraordinarily bad. Rarely do mundane or good habits get into print.

There are, however, other examples of the laity's fascination with the blessed hosts. The court in Älvdalen, Dalecarlia, documented this prayer in 1668.³⁴⁷

Holy, merciful God,
born of Mary,
afflicted on the cross for us.

I pray to you for your bitter death,

³⁴⁴ Laitinen, 'Church' p. 317.

³⁴⁵ Loc. Cit.; Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, p. 131, p. 137.

³⁴⁶ There were several complaints made by priests about late-comers to the service, or those who leave early, but barely any for the actual sermon. See Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 131-132.

³⁴⁷ My translation: 'Heel, miskunder Gudh, åf Maria är du födder, på korset för oss mödder. Jag beder tig för tin bittra dödh, du frälser oss både ifrån piina och nödh. Titt H. Lekamen ware mitt yttersta brödh, Gudz ord ware mitt ytersta åkläde på min yttersta tijdh! Det unne mig G[udh] F[adher], och G[udh] S[on], och G[udh] then H[elge] And!'. See, Emanuel Linderholm, ed., *Signelser ock besvärjelser från medeltid ock nytid*, (Stockholm: Nordstedt, 1917-1940), p. 96.

you save us from both pain and strife.

Your Holy Body be my bread at my last.

God's word be my last shroud³⁴⁸ in my last days!

May God Father, and God Son, and God the Holy Spirit grant me this!

By the time this prayer was recorded the laity had had a share of the wine for more than a century, and yet the words only mention the bread. A logical explanation is that the prayer is of medieval origin. Here we have an example of operant theology (practice), that may or may not be espoused theology (expressed faith). Just because the words were still in use does not necessarily mean they were believed. Still, it points towards a society that still drew water from the well of medieval traditions. Further study will also show that these traditions were very much part of practical religiosity. The prayer was recorded in court protocols as a 'morning prayer', and was offered by Beritz Olofs Anna of Klitten, in the county of Dalecarlia. It is part of a collection of prayers and spells put together by Emanuel Linderholm in the early twentieth century and falls under a category he called 'Catholic'.³⁴⁹ The reference must be understood as prayers Linderholm assumed were a remnant from medieval church traditions. This category also contained prayers to saints, such as St Sigfrid or St Brita (St Bridget of Sweden), and were collected as late as the eighteenth century.³⁵⁰

There are two questions to ask here. First of all, did these practices have a counterpoint in actual belief, that is did espoused and operant theology work in tandem? The second question is whether the laity saw these prayers as an alternative to the Lutheran faith, or just part of *faith*? As we will see in a later chapter, statues of the saints were retained well into the eighteenth century. Mary, in particular, had a place in the

³⁴⁸ Åkläde – a thick warm blanket, used when travelling. The meaning here seems to be as protection on the journey through death.

³⁴⁹ Linderholm, *Signelser*.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 97, p. 99.

seventeenth-century church.³⁵¹ Furthermore, as we have seen with the definition of magic, the people were not always aware that their definition of good and evil differed from that of the official church.³⁵² If the laity had been taught religious behaviour by their elders, would they have reflected on whether this differed from the teachings of the Church Official, or would they simply merge these two influences? The whole definition of operant theology is that it is religious practice that is not always explained or defined. The prayer from Klitten conveys the belief in the host as a defence against evil, death and hell. On the surface, it could very well fit into a Swedish Lutheran context. The bread – as the catechism tells us – is the body of Christ, a medium of forgiveness of sins, and thereby a key to God's kingdom. And God's Word is the acting power in the Sacrament. It is, however, possible that an old prayer in itself can be seen as protection, regardless of the meaning of its words. As Scribner reminds us, one strand of religious belief does not need to undermine another contrary doctrine or world view. A person can hold to several world views at the same time.³⁵³ Therefore it is quite possible that the laity had understood the teaching on the real presence only in *usus*, at the same time as they revered the sacrament outside the Eucharistic moment also. Here we will look further at how the consecrated host was perceived outside worship, and its place in operant theology.

Linda Oja has found two court cases where the host was used for magic purposes. One case, from 1729, tells of Maria Persdotter Lind who confessed to being guilty of prostitution and infanticide. She also admitted to practising magic by using a reserved host in healing rituals, and for good luck. The court of appeal found her confessions of murder rather fantastical, but on the account of magic she was punished with flagellation and a

³⁵¹ See Anna Nilsén, 'Reform and pragmatism: on church art and architecture during the Swedish Reformation era', in *Re-forming texts, music, and church art in the Early Modern North*, ed. by Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 253-286, especially the conclusion on p. 285. Inger Estham writes about the seventeenth century motifs on chasubles, where Mary is frequently depicted, see Estham, *Figurbroderade*, p. 92, p. 196, p. 198.

³⁵² Oja, *Varken Gud*, pp. 191-192.

³⁵³ Scribner, 'Reformation', p. 90.

lifetime sentence of hard labour. The charge was using the sacrament for deception.³⁵⁴ By this we understand that the magic user, and those who sought her services, saw the host as something containing extraordinary powers. In the other example the host was also used for non-harmful magic. A soldier, Hans Isaksson Bladh, used a host as a lucky charm for hunting, and was sentenced to death for his crime in 1698.³⁵⁵ We do not have access to the spells that Lind or Bladh might have used, but we have here examples of the faith put in the host, both in word and action (espoused and operant). Much as the prayer from Klitten suggests, this host was a sign of God's physical and active presence in people's everyday life. It shows us a culture where sacramental power was not confined to *usus* and the Eucharist, or even to the restricted spatial dimension of a church building. In lived-out faith (operant theology), the divine power of the sacrament can be transferred from the service and be owned and used by the people.

Operant theology reveals not just a definition of sin that differed from normative and formal theology, but also the understanding of the holy. For the laity the holy was ubiquitous, experienced and owned by all. As it shows further on in this study, in the chapters on the visual space, the actions of the Church leadership point to a campaign that wanted to restrict the holy to church space and rituals. In effect, it was a drive to emphasise the sacred by defining the non-sacred, and at the same time claiming stewardship of the holy.³⁵⁶ The above account of the laity's use of the blessed host, discounts the Church leadership's authority on the holy and the sacrament. The dichotomy here brings to mind Otto's discussion on the holy, and the trajectory of the holy in early religious thought as something experienced, awesome and yet tenable, as compared to modern religiosity where the holy has been rationalised and separated from mundane human life.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁴ Oja, *Varken Gud*, pp. 154-155, p. 174.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 158.

³⁵⁶ Sommerville, *Secularization*, p. 6.

³⁵⁷ Otto, *The idea* pp. 66-67, pp. 116-117.

For operant theology, this more egalitarian understanding of the holy and the sacrament is natural if considered against the background of medieval processions with the blessed sacrament. In Stina Fallberg Sundmark's study on home communions in medieval religiosity, a story emerges of village life with a habitual presence of the host at the heart of the community. Whether the priest travelled to a sick bed with the host, or it was a procession specifically to bless different aspects of work and life, Christ was at the centre of the event, and affected all those who saw and venerated the host in its pyx or ciborium.³⁵⁸ God was not consigned to the holy space of the church, he was a constant presence in all aspects of life. In this context there is no separation between sacred and secular; life was full of work, relationships, and ritual. Turning to religious life in post-Reformation times we find a similar combination of the sacred and the secular. Malmstedt tells of priests who complained about loud dogs messing up the church; of teenagers throwing things from the upper levels at the poor souls sitting in the pews; and of heavy drinking on the church grounds.³⁵⁹ Village life did not stop at the church door, nor did God cease to be an active part of the parishioners' lives when they left the church. God was a necessary presence, the awesome, holy protector in a society that believed in a constant battle between good and evil.

Demons were a physical reality, but then so was God. Sundmark, for example, writes about the custom of bells in the medieval processions. The cantor rang the bell, not just to alert the people about the presence of the blessed sacrament, but also to put the fear of God in the ever-present demons. Demons had no place near a procession including the Son of God.³⁶⁰ This describes late medieval custom, but belief in demonic activity was present in post-Reformation operant theology as well. A travel journal of a French valet

³⁵⁸ Stina Fallberg Sundmark, *Sjukbesök och dödsberedelse – Sockenbudet i svensk medeltida och reformatorisk tradition*, (Skellefteå: Artos 2008), p. 109.

³⁵⁹ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 54-56, pp. 48-50, pp. 43-45.

³⁶⁰ Sundmark, *Sjukbesök*, p. 110.

gives a poignant example of popular culture. The Frenchman visited Sweden in the latter half of the century, and one of the anecdotes he tells from his sojourn features a lake in the vicinity of Stockholm. The lake would freeze over in the cold season, but at some stage every winter the ice would suddenly melt, leaving nothing but open water, only to freeze over again the following night. Local legend told that the lake was the home of a demon. Along with Lucifer, legions of spirits were expelled from the heavens when the angel fell. Some of these spirits, those who had sinned a bit less, did not end up in the lower regions of hell, but instead stayed in the air, the mountains, the forests, and the lakes, a constant demonic presence, always ready to plague and torment humanity. One of these took up residence in the lake and stirred the waters.³⁶¹ The valet wrote the journal many years after his visit, and the accuracy of a story written in hindsight can be disputed, but it may give insight into both espoused and operant theology. The story served to explain and verbalised the operant belief of demonic activity. It also indicates a dualistic world-view with a battle raging between good and evil, and where humanity lives a precarious existence trapped between heaven and hell. In this light the repeated invocations to God for protection, through spells, magic, hymns, signs of the cross, and prayers, makes perfect sense.³⁶² The most powerful protection of all, of course, was the Sacrament.

The preoccupation with demonic forces is one that low culture shared with high, but there seems to have been a difference regarding in which sphere this demonic battle played out. The prayers of popular literature (high culture) mention a more introspective spiritual battle. Oral tradition, on the other hand, seems to understand the battle as a tangible thing, where human beings become casualties in a real physical war. In the

³⁶¹ The valet (who described the people as terribly superstitious) attempted to scientifically study the phenomenon together with the Catholic priest at the French delegation. They found sulphur in a soil sample taken from the bottom of the lake, which they claimed explained the occurrence. See, Ingemar Oscarsson, ed., *Den franske kammarjänares resa: minnen från länderna i norr på 1660-talet*, (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2013), pp. 139-140.

³⁶² Oja, *Varken Gud*, p. 219.

seventeenth century, the legal language also made allowance for the physical presence and attributes of the devil, and the century did see the horror of witch trials, on the basis of demonic activity.³⁶³ Here it seems as if operant theology in the higher orders joined hands with operant theology in the lower, despite the introspective and spiritual language of espoused high culture. With the eighteenth century, legal language altered and turned the devil into a mental tormentor, so it seems that with time the operant theology of high culture conformed with the espoused theology of the literate elite.³⁶⁴ The change of legal language seems to have taken place simultaneously with religious language turning more introspective and privatised in popular devotional literature.

Another dichotomy emerges, that between oral tradition and the official church line. The former, the espoused/operant theology of low culture, fosters a dualistic worldview with a battle raging between good and evil, as well as a religiosity that makes no separation between secular and sacred. Formal theology, on the other hand, is clearly theocentric. Only church officials had the authority to understand God's will, and the administration of divine powers (sacraments) was only to take place within the Church. And while popular prayer books – espoused theology of the higher orders – have a more dualistic worldview than formal theology, the language is still spiritual and personal. Operant theology of high culture, on the other hand, seems to have shared some commonality with low culture when it came to demonic powers in the physical world, as is evident from the manner in which the higher classes actively responded to witchcraft.

If we continue to compare high and low culture, we find that some differences were deliberate. As mentioned, the higher order adopted some new behaviours that were meant to emphasise a social distance between them and the lower classes. In the religious

³⁶³ There was a widespread fear of witches and witchcraft in the 1660s and 1670s. Over a thousand witches were condemned and c. 300 were executed for witchcraft. The witch trials were supported by many clergymen, lawyers, and leadership on both regional and national levels. See Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, pp. 176-179.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 81, p. 200, pp. 228-229.

sphere we can see this development with the increase of chaplains for noble families. The latter half of the seventeenth century saw an influx of homecoming army chaplains. The nobility used the situation with excess clergy to create household chapels with private chaplains. This trend was later adopted by the wealthier burgher families. As a consequence, there was an increase of in-house Communion services.³⁶⁵ The seventeenth century saw the Swedish nobility gain more power, both fiscal and political, which they made manifest with elaborate ceremony and grandiose buildings.³⁶⁶ They also discussed ways to highlight their exalted status in ritual. One suggestion was to use special Communion chalices for the nobility, and another to change the liturgical distribution formula, so that the distribution to the nobility would be conducted with formal address.³⁶⁷ The latter may have become a reality at home Communion, with a family's own chaplain, but it met with criticism from the Church leadership and was rejected at a parish level. It is quite possible then, that Fruits of the Spirit in popular prayer books focused on personal faith (to the detriment of communal religiosity) for two reasons, one espoused, the other operant: first, an influence of proto-Pietism for deep personal piety in devotional works, and second, a high cultural development towards more privatisation of religious practice.

4.4 The Matter of Worthiness

Who then, did the laity deem worthy of receiving the sacrament of the altar? The catechism tells us that true faith in God's forgiveness is necessary. Anyone who does not believe in the distribution words 'given/shed for you' needs to prepare their hearts further, lest they be unworthy. This instruction is also repeated in popular devotional literature. We have seen it in lengthy preparation prayers, such as the one Sigrid Bielke copied in her prayer

³⁶⁵ Lindquist, *Nattvarden*, pp. 84-92.

³⁶⁶ Mörner, *Kyrka*, p. 2.

³⁶⁷ The Estate of the Nobility also discussed whether the same baptismal water could be used for both a noble child and one of lower status. See Lindquist, *Nattvarden*, p. 80-81, p. 83.

book.³⁶⁸ It is further underlined in the many prayers that try to instil reassurance of true faith.³⁶⁹ But even though the catechism was part of espoused theology of low culture, operant theology points in a different direction. Low culture does not seem to have adopted the instruction on a deeper level.

Malmstedt writes about admission to Communion as a rite of passage, from childhood to adulthood.³⁷⁰ From a personal point of view, Communion established one's place in the community, and from a collective point of view it confirmed the community as a well-functioning fellowship. Malmstedt describes a couple of instances when the fellowship faltered, thus exemplifying operant theology around the altar. On both occasions, parishioners quarrelled about admission to the Lord's table, to the point where they forcibly obstructed members of the congregation from advancing to the altar. Anders in Måbacken, stopped another parishioner from receiving Communion because Anders felt wronged by him; in his opinion the man was an unrepentant fraudster. This happened in 1657. In the aftermath it emerged that Anders had not gone to Communion for a year, largely on account of the ongoing conflict. Likewise, we know of another incident in which a man prevented his sister-in-law from receiving the sacrament because there was bad blood between them. Until the conflict was resolved, he thought neither of them worthy of admittance to the Lord's table. Malmstedt makes a connection with medieval practice and beliefs, which maintained the danger of receiving Communion whilst in conflict with one's neighbour. Facing God's wrath was the underlying fear. The Swedish Church Ordinance of 1571 also points out that one must resolve conflicts before receiving Communion, but also that the necessity of the Sacrament would lead to reconciliation at the earliest opportunity.³⁷¹ So whereas operant theology emphasises God's wrath and the fear of God,

³⁶⁸ Bielke, *bönbok*.

³⁶⁹ Olearius, *Skrifftermåhls-Book*, p. 97; Fritsch, *comunions-book*, pp. 133, 178; Rosenkrands, *faderliga*, preface and p. 84.

³⁷⁰ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, p. 140.

³⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 140-142.

normative theology (KO1571) sees the sacrament as the carrot – the desire to once again be in union with God will encourage the process of peace making.

The Religious behaviour of the laity (operant theology) did not run counter to Lutheran ideals, per se, but it did emphasise community ahead of personal contemplation, and practice over spirituality. It also emphasised a different sort of community from the one promoted by the reformers. This is not the sort of pious community, full of thanksgiving for God and support for one another, which Luther hoped the Eucharist would foster.³⁷² Nor is it a Community that prayed for the spiritual gift of increased love towards one's neighbour. Rather, it is a community where moral values were shared, and moral oversight was in place, and to be part of this community one had to share these values. The Eucharist, too, was a place where one could be touched by the wrath of God, not so much because one was unworthy according to the dictates of the catechism – a matter of faith in God – but because one was unworthy according to traditional moral values. Normative theology, then, emphasises faith, and operant theology, morality and community. The practical aspects of life, and traditional values still had a great hold on the collective spirit, instead of the deep introspection of theologians and the personalised faith of proto-pietism. Nor does espoused and operant theology (in either high or low culture) give much evidence for those communal values promoted by the episcopacy, such as thanksgiving or the fruits of the Spirit.

³⁷² In *Ein Sermon von dem Hochwirdigen Sacrament*, 1519, Luther first mentions the fellowship created by baptism ('voreynung und unvorteylete gemeynschafft der heyligen'), and then continues to expand on the topic of fellowship as one of the main blessings in the sacrament of the altar, 'Die bedeutung odder das werck dißes sacraments ist gemeynschafft aller heyligen: drumb nennet man es auch mit seynem teglichen namen Synaxis oder Comunio, das ist gemeynschafft'. Martin Luther, *Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe, II.*, (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1884), pp. 742-743. For a discussion on the reformers and the Eucharist as the community of the holy, see Lindquist, *Nattvarden*, pp. 12-15.

4.5 Summary

The French valet's travel memoirs described a popular myth, which told of demons in the sky and demons in the air. The need for God's protection against evil forces was at the heart of magic rituals and prayers in oral tradition, and so too was faith in God's physical presence and protection in the Eucharistic wafer. In popular literature, most Communion prayers mentioned the devil in some way or another. The fear of evil powers, personified by the devil, is a common denominator in operant theology, both in low and high culture. God and the sacrament are the protector and final defence in an ever-raging battle between good and evil. However, just as the devil was feared for his evil powers, so did God's awesome powers fill the people with trepidation. God was as much a heavenly judge as he was a protector. By comparison, normative and formal theology barely mention the evil one. In normative and formal theology God appears as the ultimate power in his creation; the sacrament was for helping a sinful humanity to unite with God, not to be used as a weapon in a cosmic war with the devil. Though God will be the ultimate judge, the episcopacy also speaks of God's mercy and fatherly love.

We can, however, talk of several operant theologies at play. Seventeenth-century Swedish society contained layers of cultures and sometimes these overlapped, either with each other or with normative or formal theology. One overlap between high culture and formal theology, is that the devil tends to be described as a spiritual being. In both legal and ecclesial texts, the devil tempts faith and disturbs the spirit, but is rarely described as someone who can play a role in the physical realm. Low culture, on the other hand, makes no real distinction between the physical and the spiritual realm. Just as God is omnipresent, so is the devil. Another overlap is low culture's concern for good community life, yet this concern was caused by different reasons than in formal and normative theology. For the Church leadership (formal theology) community life was important as a place where

Christians came together worshipping God, and where the fruits of the Spirit could grow to fruition. In low culture (operant theology) the community was a place of practical living, where work, faith and play was in constant interplay. A good life was not perhaps a pious life, but a life of good neighbourliness. This distinction is mirrored in the understanding of the holy. To the episcopacy, holiness was a matter for the Church, housed in the ecclesial space, and administered by the clergy. For the laity, God's holiness was ubiquitous, both in space and time.

The theme of redemption – fear of death, hell and the devil – is one which appears frequently in espoused and operant theology, both in high and low culture. This preoccupation may well be rooted in the medieval tradition of judgement and God as the awesome heavenly judge. Operant theology in low culture gives several examples of a good moral life as essential for admittance to the Lord's Table. Much as was the case in the medieval church, parishioners of the seventeenth century harboured a fear of offending God if they stepped before his altar while still being in conflict with a neighbour. Since this tradition put more emphasis on human behaviour than the grace of God, it was also in all essentials in contention with the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith. On the other hand, the ideal of a harmonious community life put great importance on fellowship. Similarly, the medieval prayers that had been transmitted orally, indicate the continuation of traditional religion in espoused theology also.

To conclude, normative theology affected espoused theology through the teachings of the catechism. These were the words that one needed to learn to be admitted to Communion, and thus be a part of the adult parochial community. At the same time, however, operant and espoused theology transmitted medieval traditions, which in turn seems to have influenced the laity's interpretation of the catechism, at least in low culture. Practice centred to a great degree on moral living, God was the eternal judge, and the devil was an active player in daily life. Whether the words of the medieval prayers (espoused

theology), words that mentioned saints and transubstantiation, also expressed actual belief is another matter. This will be further explored in the following chapters. However, operant theology does give us an understanding of how important the Eucharist was for its communal value, and as a protection against evil, death and hell. First Communion, in this perspective, retained the status of rite of passage, and an entrance into the community. Traditional faith also appeared in high culture, in that the devil had two faces: in espoused theology he was more a spiritual presence, but in operant theology the devil was an active agent in the physical world and could severely impact one's life.

Hymnody

Chapter 5 Themes and Images in Eucharistic Hymns

5.1 Introduction

In 1524, there was no public celebration of the Corpus Christi festival in Wittenberg. Luther reacted strongly against the festival, but he did see the benefit of a popular song associated with it, *Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*. Using the Corpus Christi song – a medieval *parleis*³⁷³ – he created something of a Lutheran Eucharistic theme song by adding two verses.³⁷⁴ This song and *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*, another Communion song by Luther, were some of the first Protestant songs to be translated and included in the Swedish liturgy as *Gudh vare loffuat* (Ger: Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet) and *Jesus Kristus är vår helsa* (Ger: Jesus Christus unser Heiland). These Lutheran songs will be explored in the first two chapters on hymnody where the focus is on the formal and normative Eucharistic theological aspects of the hymns. Chapter Five will look for the themes and images that appear in the Swedish translations of the Communion songs. The Swedish version of *Jesus Christus unser Heiland* also reveal a few theological differences from Luther's German original, and these may point to a Swedish variation of Lutheran formal theology. This will be the major point of interest in Chapter Six, which centres more on usage of hymnody. Chapter Six will also study the liturgical context. The Uppsala Resolution 1593 formally ratified the liturgy of the Swedish Mass (along with the Church Ordinance of 1571), and

³⁷³ A *leis* was a medieval song generally sung by the laity. Here Lars Eckerdal is using the term *parleis* to denote a song where the verse consists of two equal parts (possibly even two songs that were brought together into one). See Arvastson, *Svenske*, p. 20; Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång', p. 87.

³⁷⁴ Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång', pp. 87-89.

thus the songs turned into normative theology as part of the foundational documents of the Swedish Church.³⁷⁵

Chapter Five will focus on the normative aspect of the hymns by exploring what Eucharistic themes they convey. In general, the liturgical Communion songs remained the same from the first Swedish Mass until the Church (in both Sweden and Finland) was able to agree on new official books in the late seventeenth century.³⁷⁶ In this study I will discuss the Swedish official hymnbook of 1695 [PB1695], and not refer to the Finnish official hymnbook, mainly for language reasons.³⁷⁷ Before PB1695 there was a plethora of hymnals, most were diocesan but a few hymnbooks were published by private initiative.³⁷⁸ This pluralistic situation had little bearing on Communion songs, however, since the most common hymnbooks (all diocesan) only used the songs mentioned in the liturgy. Some late seventeenth-century devotionals did publish alternative Communion songs. We will return to these in Chapters Seven and Eight, on lay religiosity (espoused and operant theology). In effect, only two Communion hymns were in official use up until PB1695. While the practical situation before PB1695 was one of diversity moving towards uniformity, Eucharistic hymns in contrast had a singular development, going from a uniform use of two hymns to more variation with PB1695.³⁷⁹ The fact that the official Communion songs of the Church were in a sort of stasis from the Reformation until PB1695 gives us an opportunity to trace the development of seventeenth-century Eucharistic theology. The

³⁷⁵ The Swedish Mass of 1541 mentioned three Communion songs, two of these were hymns by Luther. The liturgy of 1548 added a medieval Latin paraphrase of the Words of Institution, and Nicolaus Decius's *Agnus Dei* paraphrase. See Jullander, 'Sub communione', p. 59; Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång', pp. 83-84.

³⁷⁶ A Church Act was ratified 1686, then a newly commented catechesis (1689), service book (1693), hymnal (1695), and Bible (1703) were adopted, see Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, pp. 156-165.

³⁷⁷ A Finnish equivalent to PB1695 came in 1701. The two versions were quite similar but not completely identical. For an overview of Finnish hymnals, see Frédric Cleve and Karl-Johan Hansson, 'Luthers psalmer i Finland', in *Martin Luthers psalmer i de nordiska folkens liv: ett projekt inom forskarnätverket Nordhymn*, ed. by Sven-Åke Selander and Karl-Johan Hansson, (Lund: Arcus, 2008), pp. 400-420, in particular p. 404.

³⁷⁸ For a discussion on different hymnals, and which hymnbooks became popular in various dioceses, see Wahlström, *Studier*, pp. 14-20. In the first half of the century *Enchiridion* was a strong contender to the Uppsala hymnal.

³⁷⁹ Even though the medieval *Discubuit Jesus*, and the two *Agnus Dei* songs were mentioned alongside hymns in the liturgy, the Eucharistic section in *Enchiridion* and *Clenodium* mentions only '*Jesus Kristus är vår helsa*' and '*Gud wari loffuat*'. Decius' *Agnus Dei* was placed in other sections in the hymnals.

aim here in Chapter Five is to discern the most common Eucharistic themes in the Communion songs of the Reformation, the normative theology of the liturgy. These themes will then be compared with the theology of the new Communion hymns of PB1695 (in Chapter Eight).

When discussing the two Communion songs, *Jesus Kristus är vår helsa* and *Gudh vare loffuat* the analysis will frequently move between the different translations. To avoid confusion, I will use catalogue numbers constructed by Markus Jenny. The catalogue contains all hymns and tunes that are assumed to be by Luther's hand. The catalogue numbers pertinent here are: (004) *Gudh vare loffuat* (Swe), *Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet* (Ger), and (006) *Jesus Kristus är vår helsa* (Swe), *Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns* (Ger). The latter is not to be confused with *Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der den Tod*, which is another Luther hymn, (013.).³⁸⁰

5.2 Origin and Development of Lutheran Hymn Tradition

The study of Communion songs will reveal the importance that the reformers, and later the national Church, put on songs and singing. Congregational singing and learning the Word – both are at the heart of Lutheran religiosity.³⁸¹ These aspects came together in the texts of hymns. In the introduction to the Swedish Lutheran songbook from 1536 the Swedish reformers stated that Christian songs are both spiritual prayers, and a means to ponder God's mighty deeds.³⁸² Singing may have held further significance, however, since the activity was not only popular, but it was inherently an excellent pedagogical tool. Luther and his followers knew the emotional impact songs could have and stressed the need for

³⁸⁰ Sven-Åke Selander and Karl-Johan Hansson, 'Introduktion', in *Martin Luthers psalmer i de nordiska folkens liv: ett projekt inom forskarnätverket Nordhymn*, ed. by Sven-Åke Selander and Karl-Johan Hansson, (Lund: Arcus, 2008), pp. 13-18 (pp. 17-18).

³⁸¹ Lund, *Meditations*, pp. 10-11.

³⁸² Tradition gives Olaus Petri as the author, but no conclusive evidence exists. *Svenska Songer, eller visor nu på nytt prentade, förökade, och under en annan skick än tilförenna utsatte*, Stockholm MDXXXBi: 1536, [Faksimiltryck av 1536 års psalmbok, Stockholm 1862], Introduktion.

spiritual songs for the common people. In medieval life singing was at the centre of most social activities. According to Andrew Pettegree, Mass was almost the only situation when the laity of pre-Reformation Europe did *not* sing.³⁸³ Even though the laity did not participate with congregational singing in Mass, the High Middle Ages did see a rise in popular responses for processions and festivals. The *parleis* Luther used: *Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet* (004) is one example of a popular song that was widely known in different vernacular versions in Europe. In Sweden it was known as *Gudh ware loffuat*.³⁸⁴ A song had the potential to quickly reach even a rural, illiterate population, especially compared to the reach of a written pamphlet. A song is easy to memorise, because one can participate, and the tune might even be familiar.³⁸⁵

The popularity of singing and well-known tunes were used to great effect by the reformers. Several towns in Germany show the transformative power owed to congregational participation with songs, from Wittenberg, to Nuremberg, on to Rostock, and Strasbourg. Nuremberg added a passus on congregational singing to its new church order in 1525, and in Strasbourg the psalmody became so fundamental to the worship that it inspired John Calvin to bring the practice back with him to Geneva. For Denmark and Sweden, however, it was the northern town of Rostock that was most important.³⁸⁶ Eckerdal points to a probable correlation between the Rostock songbook by Joachim Slüter, written in low German, and the Swedish version of *Gudh ware loffuat* (004).³⁸⁷ The impact Lutheran songs had in community building, was also evident in the new mining town of Joachimsthal on the German/Czech border. A large group of Saxon miners of Lutheran confession came to settle in the town and congregational singing was a notable aspect of their religious life. The church historian Christopher Brown has made a close

³⁸³ Pettegree, *Reformation*, p. 41.

³⁸⁴ Arvastson, *Svenske*, pp. 19-22; Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång', p. 89, pp. 94-97.

³⁸⁵ Pettegree, *Reformation*, p. 51, pp. 53-54.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47, p. 55.

³⁸⁷ Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång', p. 95.

study of this town, and his research will be discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight on lay religiosity and congregational singing.³⁸⁸

The development of congregational singing in sixteen-century Sweden was probably halting, however, although its impact and popularity is a matter of discussion. Otfried Czaika claims that the practice spread quickly in the kingdom from the 1520s onwards. She maintains this theory based on the popularity of a Protestant songbook that was reprinted several times.³⁸⁹ Several scholars disagree with this theory, however. Not only is there a lack of concrete evidence of the practice of congregational singing, but the men of Dalecarlia actively objected to vernacular songs in a letter to the Crown in 1527. Martin Berntson shows that it was not Christian songs in the vernacular that was questionable to the population – they were used to singing medieval leis, but outside the church – instead they objected to Swedish songs sung in the church service.³⁹⁰ Furthermore, Sverker Jullander points out that the liturgies produced during the sixteenth century states that the ‘choir’ was to sing certain songs during the Communion, not the congregation. Not until the handbook of 1617 does congregational singing seem to be expected, a development that appear to have started with the Uppsala Synod 1593, and the revision of the liturgy that followed after Johan III’s *Red Book*.³⁹¹ Christer Pahlmblad has a good summary of this discussion in his dissertation on the first Swedish liturgies.³⁹² The psalms, the offices, and songs about saints, on the other hand, seems to have been popular among the population, which may account for the spread of the first songbooks since they contained canticles and psalms too.³⁹³ The song book *Piae Cantiones*, which was published in Greifswald 1582 by a Finish student, may indicate the strength of the medieval song tradition. Although lightly

³⁸⁸ See Brown, *Singing*.

³⁸⁹ Czaika, ‘The Swedish’, p. 82.

³⁹⁰ Berntson, *Mässan*, pp. 231-234.

³⁹¹ Jullander, ‘Sub communione’, pp. 58-59.

³⁹² Pahlmblad, *Mässan*, p. 72, footnote 39.

³⁹³ Arvastson, *Svenske*, p. 25-27, p. 33.

'Lutheranised' the collection contain medieval songs in Latin and traces of Marian devotion.³⁹⁴

Sweden and Finland also enjoyed a conservative development of the liturgy by the retention of the pre-Reformation liturgical practices. Even if there were little to no congregational participation in the singing, there were many sung parts by the priest, cantor and in some places a choir. The lectionary was sung as it commonly had been. The preface may have been translated into the vernacular, but it kept its medieval musical form (*tonus sollemnis*) and was extended to include the Words of Institution and the Lord's Prayer. The *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus* also remained in the Eucharistic liturgy, to be 'read or sung' between the Preface and the Lord's Prayer.³⁹⁵ Mattias Lundberg demonstrates how the Swedish Mass of 1531 used the previously known tunes for the preface and the Lord's prayer to incorporate the hitherto silently said words of institution; the difference, of course, was that it was all in the vernacular. This use of the preface is almost unique to the Swedish and Finnish ordinaries among the Protestant liturgies, and Lundberg has only found one similar occurrence in Thomas Müntzer's liturgy from 1523/4. A direct influence from the radical reformer Müntzer is improbable, considering Luther's sharp criticism of the reformer, but the Lutheran parish in Rostock seems to have used some of Müntzer's material. Lundberg theorises that this is how the liturgy may have indirectly spread to Sweden.³⁹⁶ In the development of the Swedish preface we can trace both the early influences of the Reformation from the continent to the Swedish reformers, but also inherently Swedish/Finnish liturgical changes. Another example of the conservative changes of a Swedish liturgy is the retention of the Latin response *Discubuit Jesus* (a

³⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 34.

³⁹⁵ Lundberg, 'Prefationstonen', p. 67; Mattias O. Lundberg, 'Liturgical Singing in the Lutheran Mass in Early Modern Sweden and its Implications for Clerical Ritual Performance and Lay Literacy,' in *Yale Journal of Music & Religion*. Vol. 3: No. 1 (2017), pp. 61-76, (pp. 61-62).

³⁹⁶ Lundberg, 'Prefationstonen', pp. 67-94.

paraphrase of the words of institution). It was reintroduced in the Swedish liturgy 1548.³⁹⁷ Thus, the Protestant hymns were an addition to the medieval musical tradition, not a replacement, and the change lay more in introducing vernacular text to known music, than in completely reshaping a liturgical and musical tradition. Jorma Hannikainen and Erkki Tuppurainen offer an overview of the different Swedish and Finnish vernacular translations of the traditional Latin ordinaries. Notable for Sweden are the two manuscripts from the churches in Hög and Bjuråker (diocese of Uppsala, Sweden, c. 1541).³⁹⁸ Considering the protests that liturgical change caused, it is possible that this moderate development was all with which the populace would concede. The conservative Reformation of Sweden and Finland is even more interesting when compared with the West Nordic Reformation, with Denmark influencing Norway and Island. Here the influence of Luther's *Deutsche Messe* (1526) as well as hymns from Rostock is much more apparent, and the new liturgies were reshaped with Protestant hymns as the main components in what was called the Hymn Mass (*salmemesse*). The church order of 1537/39 (*kirkeordinansen*) was an important step in the Reformation of Denmark-Norway.³⁹⁹ The Swedish liturgy was also influenced by Protestant liturgies from Germany, by *Deutsche Messe*, Nuremberg (the liturgies of 1524 and 1533) and the above mentioned *Messe* by Münster, but the medieval heritage is equally strong.⁴⁰⁰

The different ways in which the Protestant liturgy was adopted in the West Nordic and the East Nordic areas may shed some light on just how reluctant the Swedish and

³⁹⁷ Jullander, 'Sub Communion', p. 58.

³⁹⁸ Jorma Hannikainen and Erkki Tuppurainen, 'Vernacular Gregorian Chant and Lutheran Hymn-singing in Reformation-era Finland', in *Re-forming texts, music, and church art in the Early Modern North*, ed. by Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 157-177. See in particular p. 160.

³⁹⁹ Ove Paulsen, 'Luthers salmer som faste gudstjenseled og i anden liturgisk bestemt brug', ed. by Ove Paulsen, with contributions by Åke Haavik, Jákup Reinert Hansen, Kristján Valur Ingólfsson, Einar Sigurbjörnsson, Lars Eckerdal, Erkki Tuppurainen, Frédrik Cleve, in *Martin Luthers psalmer i de nordiska folkens liv: ett projekt inom forskarnätverket Nordhymn*, ed. by Sven-Åke Selander and Karl-Johan Hansson, (Lund: Arcus, 2008), pp. 599-683 (603, 605-606).

⁴⁰⁰ Wandel, *The Eucharist*, pp. 118-119; Pahlmblad, *Mässan*, pp. 198-199.

Finnish populations were towards perceived changes of religion. This disinclination towards change, however, makes the Swedish reformers Protestant message all the more interesting. What Protestant material did they choose to highlight, and how was it prased in the new hymns?

5.3 Themes in Eucharistic Hymns

While it is probably a mistake to assume that *Gudh ware loffuat* (004) and *Jesus Kristus är vår helsa* (006) would have been sung by the congregation during the Reformation era, it is still plausible that they could have memorised them, either by listening or in catechetical instruction. We are here going to look closer at the Protestant themes these hymns convey. *Gud ware loffuat* (004) is an excellent place to start as a closer study of the hymn reveals that it mirrors the entry of the Lord's Supper in the catechism. The song consists of three verses, and in turn they answer the rubricized questions in Luther's Smaller Catechism. Luther published the hymn in 1524, and a Swedish translation appeared in a Swedish song collection in 1536.⁴⁰¹ Later, the reformer Olaus Petri suggested it as a Communion song in the 1541 Swedish Mass, together with *Jesus Kristus är vår helsa* (006). In 1548, the Swedish translations of the medieval *Agnus Dei* and the *Agnus Dei* paraphrase by Nicolaus Decius were added to the liturgical list of distribution songs.⁴⁰² Together with the pre-Reformation songs *Discubuit Jesus* and *Da Pacem* (sung in Swedish), this collection of songs were recommended also in the liturgy of 1614, and they remained a constant of Communion songs until the late seventeenth century. A new handbook was adopted in 1693, the new hymnbook in 1695, and the hymnbook with a music setting in 1697.⁴⁰³ What is interesting to note is that the themes in these hymns that represent the doctrine of the church

⁴⁰¹ Loc. Cit.; also, Jullander, 'Sub communione' pp. 57-58.

⁴⁰² For more on the different songs recommended in the first editions of the Swedish Mass, see Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång', in particular pp. 82-86; and Pahlmblad, *Mässa*, pp. 70-78.

⁴⁰³ Jullander, 'Sub communione' p. 59.

(normative theology) correlate with those that are otherwise only found in episcopal writing (formal theology). These are the joyous Eucharistic themes of thanksgiving, viaticum, remembrance, grace and all the gifts that can be summed up as *Fruits of the Spirit*.

5.3.1 Thanksgiving

The hymns may well have inspired later diocesan publications. Thanksgiving, which is a frequent topic in diocesan prayer books of the seventeenth century, is also one of the main themes in *Gudh ware loffuat* (004). The hymn begins, ‘God be praised and glorified’, as befits a song for a public and joyful feast day. As mentioned, the song was sung at the feast of Corpus Christi. Despite the connection with Corpus Christi, Luther still used it and just added two new verses. This traditional medieval song consists of two parts, *leis*, that that make up a verse, a *parleis*. The new Lutheran verses follow the same pattern. The first half-verse meditates on the sacramental mystery, and the second is a prayerful response to the mystery.⁴⁰⁴

Verse 1⁴⁰⁵

Gudh ware loffuat och högeligha prijsat
som oss haffuer så wäl spijsat
med sin Lekamen och medh sinom blode
thet giff oss Herre Gudh til godhe Kyrie Eleison.

Herre genom tin helgha Mandom
Som aff tinne Modher Maria kom
Och titt helgha Blodh
Hielp j nödh och giff oss modh Kyrie Eleison.

God be glorified and highly praised

⁴⁰⁴ Eckerdal describes the background of the *parleis* and the feast of Corpus Christi in Eckerdal, ‘Kommunionssång’, pp. 86-88, p. 90.

⁴⁰⁵ My translation. The Swedish text is from Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*.

*Who has fed us so well
With his body and his blood
God, give it to us for our wellbeing, Kyrie Eleison.

Lord, through your holy incarnation
Which came through your Mother Mary
And your holy blood
Help us in need, and give us courage, Kyrie Eleison.*

The praise is a response from having shared in Jesus's body and blood, the divine nourishment. This is also the mystery described in the first *parleys*: the Real Presence of Jesus in the sacrament. The second part of the verse continues with a prayer over the mystery. Through his mother Mary, Jesus becomes flesh and blood, and through the sacrament he continues to aid humanity. This is a song of celebration and joyful praise for the acknowledgement of God's presence in the bread and wine, and the recollection of his mother Mary, through whom we have access to God himself. In this verse Jesus is linked to us through his mother. Through her deeds we know Christ, and thus also God's blessing.

The second verse offers two more Eucharistic themes: viaticum and remembrance or *anammes*.

Verse 2

Sin helga lekamen for oss mände giffua
At wij ther aff skulle leffua
Ey kunde han oss störrer gäffua skenkia
Ther medh wij honom skulle åtenckia Kyrie Eleison.

Herre tijn kärligheet thet giorde
At wij aff titt blodh thet Under sporde
At thet galt våra skuld

Och Gudh är oss worden huld Kyrie Eleison.

His holy body he would give us

That by it we may live

He could give us no greater gift

Through which we would remember him, Kyrie Eleison.

Lord, your love made it so

That by your blood we would know the Miracle

It paid our debts

And God is gracious to us, Kyrie Eleison.

In the second verse the Eucharist is connected to the Word (Scripture), and in particular to the Words of Institution. The Eucharistic mystery in the second half verse is this: The body of Christ is a gift of life, a viaticum, a great gift by which we can remember him. Basically, it paraphrases the Words of Institution in Luke 22. The second half-verse meditates on the mystery. We may partake of this viaticum only through the actions of God's great love. Through God's mercy, and in Jesus's blood, we find remission of our sins. The half-verse leads us through the second half of the Words of Institution, this time from Matthew 26. The first verse named Mary as the link between Jesus and us. The second, instead, names Jesus himself as our link to God's kingdom and our understanding is based on the Word. Here the Eucharist is rooted in Scripture and adds the perspective of grace and remission of sins, and of course the lay participation of the wine/blood.

The third verse continues further on the Lutheran path of Eucharistic doctrine.

Verse 3

Gud giffue oss sina helgha nådhe

At wij wandre effter hans rådhe
J rett kärleek och Christeligha troo
At thet oss må komma til roo Kyrie Eleison.

Herre med tinom anda oss ey förlåt
Then som lærer hålla thet rätta mått
At tijn arma Christenheet
Niuta må fridh j ewigheet Kyrie Eleison.

*God gave us his sacred grace
That we may walk/ live following his wisdom
In true/ right love and Christian faith
That it may be our peace, Kyrie Eleison.

Lord, do not forget us by your spirit
The one who teaches us what is right
That your poor Christian people
May enjoy peace for all eternity, Kyrie Eleison.*

This verse names many of the Eucharistic themes that appear in Lutheran dogmatic publications and devotional material. The themes are reminiscent of the prayer book in Petrus Rudbeckius's *Enchiridion*.⁴⁰⁶ The main theme, and the mystery of the third verse, is *grace*. Grace is further specified as help to increase our faith, Christian love and fellowship, and peace – in other words, *Fruits of the Spirit*. The second half-verse meditates on the mystery of *grace*, and roots it in the Holy Spirit, and is thus another link to God.

The three verses then centre the Eucharist on the incarnation through Mary in verse one, the Word in verse two, and the Spirit in the last verse. Through the Spirit we are able to believe in Christ Jesus and thus may enjoy peace in eternity. As mentioned, the

⁴⁰⁶ Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, pp. 21-24.

hymn corresponds to the catechism, and reads almost like a paraphrase on the Sacrament of the Altar. The first rubric in Luther's catechism concerns the Real Presence; it is truly the body and blood of Jesus Christ, which is given for us. The second informs us of which Bible passages mention the Last Supper and recounts the Words of Institution. The third talks of the benefits of the Sacrament, and how life and salvation come through forgiveness of sins.⁴⁰⁷

The themes here also relate to those in episcopal prayer book compilations (see Chapter 1.2), such as thanksgiving and viaticum, grace and forgiveness, the Fruits of the Spirit and peace.⁴⁰⁸ The big difference between Communion hymns and episcopal publications however, is that the hymns are normative theology in their own right as part of the established liturgy. They formed the body of official doctrine of the Church. Episcopal prayer books, on the other hand, are commentaries on normative theology, and examples of formal theology. These hymns, therefore, move the themes that belonged to the episcopacy in Spiritual Literature (formal theology), into core doctrine (normative theology). In Chapters Seven and Eight we will study how these hymns and themes were received in popular culture (espoused and operant theology).

Eckerdal writes of this song (004) as being *pars pro toto* [a part representative for the whole], a representative of the origin, production and message of all Communion songs in Sweden.⁴⁰⁹ Bearing in mind the construction of the song – with its comparability to the catechism, and also the mysteries: real presence, grace and eternal life; as well as the benefits: praise, blessing, faith, love, and peace – I would call this hymn not just *pars pro toto* for Lutheran Eucharistic hymns but indeed for Lutheran Eucharistic instruction. This usage, of the hymn as a catechism, is an applied use by the Church, a formal theological incentive as it were. The question then is if Eucharistic hymns had a place outside the

⁴⁰⁷ Luther *Catechism*, on the Sacrament of the Altar.

⁴⁰⁸ See Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*; Laurentius, *Clenodium*; Johannes Matthiae, *Strengnäs, Barnabook*.

⁴⁰⁹ Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång', p. 86.

Eucharistic moment in instruction (formal theology) and personal spirituality (espoused and operant theology)? Eckerdal's study of *Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet* helps us see the background to Communion hymns, the melody and the translations, but the article does not go beyond the liturgical moment. In fact, the study of hymns as an educational tool is still in its infancy. Songs and hymns have, however, been talked of for their educational value. In a study from 1967, Hilding Pleijel and Bror Olsson described the hymnal as the 'people's book' (as compared to the costly Bible) of the eighteenth century, from which the laity learned the stories of the Bible.⁴¹⁰ A recently published article by Mattias Lundberg points to just these links between liturgical chant, literacy and mnemonic learning.⁴¹¹ Therefore, these poignant issues will be examined further in the next three chapters on hymnody.

A recent collaboration of the hymns in all the Nordic countries mentions three music settings for *Gudh vare loffuat* (004), and *Jesus Kristus är vår helsa* (006). It also marks the year of the first confirmed music settings in Sweden of the two tunes for *Jesus Kristus är vår helsa* (006) as 1582 and c. 1600, and for *Gudh vare loffuat* (004) as c. 1600.⁴¹² This does not mean that the music settings were not used before, because the texts of the hymns had been known in Sweden since the 1530s, only that this is the oldest confirmed manuscript (for now) of the tunes. The study of music settings is complicated by the fact that hymn books and ordinaries were printed empty staves to be filled in by hand. A few music manuscripts that can give an understanding of the music tradition, such as the previously mentioned handwritten manuscripts from Hög and Bjuråker (c. 1541).⁴¹³ Folke Bohlin has

⁴¹⁰ Hilding Pleijel, Bror Olsson and Sigfrid Svensson, *Våra äldsta folkböcker*, (Lund: Gleerup, 1967), p. 6, pp. 113-115.

⁴¹¹ Lundberg, 'Liturgical'.

⁴¹² Ove Brinthe, Peter Balslev-Clausen, Sigvald Tveit, David Scott Hamnes, Guðrún Laufey Guðmundsdóttir, Marianne Clausen, Folke Bolin and Erkki Tuppurainen, 'Melodierne til Luthers salmer in Norden', in *Martin Luthers psalmer i de nordiska folkens liv: ett projekt inom forskarnätverket Nordhymn*, ed. by Sven-Åke Selander and Karl-Johan Hansson, (Lund: Arcus, 2008), pp. 526-527.

⁴¹³ Hannikainen, 'Vernacular', p. 160.

also studied a manuscript that was probably written for a chorister.⁴¹⁴ We cannot, however, know what tunes may have been created on a regional level. Not until after the turn of the seventeenth century did tunes begin to be collected, both in Sweden and Finland.⁴¹⁵ The Mönsterås manuscript (1646) contains music for the Uppsala hymnal of 1645 and this manuscript offers two tunes for *Jesus Christus är vår helse* (006). A study from 1940 defines one of the tunes as of the Bohemian medieval tradition.⁴¹⁶ The other tune is still used in the Swedish hymnbook of 1986 (number 387) and is listed as both fifteenth century and of Erfurt (1524).⁴¹⁷ The same study of the Mönsterås manuscript highlights the importance of how music was transcribed in Rostock for the music setting of *Gudh vare loffuat* (004).⁴¹⁸

5.3.2 Redemption, collective worship and proper preparation

Jesus Christus är vår helse (006) is a hymn of the Reformation, and at its core are the Protestant themes of redemption and viaticum. The Swedish version is a translation of Luther's *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*, which in turn is related to a Latin song⁴¹⁹, but the three renditions have little in common beyond the first lines.⁴²⁰ If the last hymn (004) reads like the Lutheran catechism, this hymn (006) has the air of a Lutheran Eucharistic homily. The

⁴¹⁴ Folke Bohlin, ed., *Olaus Ericis sångbok en handskriven liber cantus i Gamla Uppsala kyrkoarkiv*, (Uppsala: Wetterqvist, 1967).

⁴¹⁵ Hannikainen, 'Vernacular', p. 160; Brinth, 'Melodierne', pp. 449-534 (pp. 467-468).

⁴¹⁶ Natanael Fransén, *Koralbok till Then svenska Ubsala psalmboken 1645: Sveriges äldsta bevarade koralbok*, (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1940), pp. 350-351.

⁴¹⁷ *Den svenska psalmboken: antagen av 1986 års kyrkomöte. Den svenska evangelieboken*, (Älvsjö: Verbum, 1986) [PB1986].

⁴¹⁸ Fransén, *Koralbok*, p. 351.

⁴¹⁹ *Jesus Christus, nostra salus*.

⁴²⁰ The origin of this hymn has been the cause of much debate. Lars Högmarch's reference book to Swedish hymns from 1736 names Laurentius Petri as the translator and author. See Lars Högmarch, *I HERrans Jesu Namn! Psalmbopoeographia...* (Stockholm: Uplagd med Joh. Laur. Horn, Kongl. Antiquit. Arch. Boktr. 1736), p. 10. However, his is probably a traditional view. Another theory is that the hymn came to Sweden via Denmark and a Danish translation. This is unlikely, as the Danish version more closely follows Luther's hymn as compared to the Swedish version. The Swedish version is also possibly older than the Danish hymn. The Swedish hymn was first published in 1530 (a year after the Danish hymn was published in *Malmö-psalmboken* 1529). The language is very similar to pamphlets, discussions and publications by Olaus Petri earlier in the 1520s, which has made some scholars argue this position, see Sven Ingebrand, *Svenske sanger 1536 – Vår första bevarade evangeliska psalmbok*, (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1998), pp. 103-106. However, other than comparing style of language, no conclusive evidence exists that proves Olaus Petri's authorship.

first two verses lift both the theme of the Eucharist as a viaticum, and instruction on redemption and the Real Presence. It is Christ's body and blood we eat, and in him we have our health, *unser Heiland*. The translations here are my own from the Swedish version, as printed in *Enchiridion*.⁴²¹

- 1) Jesus Christ is our health. He wanted to save us all;
by his suffering and painful death,
he gave us salvation from the misery of death.
- 2) That we would remember him, he gave us food to eat,
under the bread his body, and offered us his blood in wine to drink.

The next two verses talk of the comfort Jesus brings, and the theme of salvation. The instruction here is the need of firm faith, to truly believe in Christ as a personal saviour who died for our sins, and whose body we share in Communion.

- 3) With this food he would comfort us, so that [we know] our debt is paid.
To believe firmly, and to go to this Holy Supper. ⁴²²

By pointing to Scripture, verses five and six instruct the singer on how to celebrate Communion in the right manner. Since Christ did not separate the gifts of bread and wine in the Last Supper, then that is how it is meant to be distributed, meaning that the laity too should have access to Christ's blood and not only the body.⁴²³ The hymn then continues to teach the communicant on proper preparation in verses seven to eight.⁴²⁴ The Lord's Supper will lead to death for the unworthy, so we must examine ourselves, but also firmly believe that our debts have been paid. An old friend of diocesan prayer compilations makes its debut here: the Eucharist as a sign and seal of redemption.⁴²⁵

⁴²¹ Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*, p. 41

⁴²² Loc. cit.

⁴²³ Verse 5b: När man tå går til Christi Bord, Skal förkunnas Gudz helgha ord. Verse 6: Så är thet och Christi willie, At wij thetta ey åtskillie. Uthan dricke alle hans Blodh. Som äte thenna Nattward godh. Ibid., p. 42

⁴²⁴ V. 7: Man skal och sigh sielff betrachta, Och uppå sina saker achta: Then owerdeligha här til går, För lijffuet han här dödhen får. Loc. cit.

Verse 8a: Så skal tu och här begrunda, Och thet tuifla ingalunda, At tijn synd är afflanat grant. Loc. cit.

⁴²⁵ See Chapter 2.2

Verses nine and ten dig deeper into the theme of redemption, focusing on Christ as a personal saviour. He himself addresses the singer: ‘Come to me, you who sin, and I will carry your sins’.⁴²⁶ Verse ten urges the communicant not to lose faith in his promise because the Eucharistic table is a meeting place especially for the sinful. Indeed, it is the fellowship of sinners.⁴²⁷ The last two verses end with peace and praise. By ‘eating in strong faith, he will find peace in his heart.’⁴²⁸ This peace leads to joy and the will to praise God in his goodness. ‘Thanksgiving be his forever, for his great mercy.’⁴²⁹

As mentioned, the themes of Communion songs are similar to the themes of diocesan prayer books, which are generally compilation works. There is a clear symbiosis however, between the normative theology of Communion hymns and the formal theology of Spiritual literature. The songs may well have worked as inspiration for the Church leadership, as well as authorised the inclusion of themes otherwise not found in confessional documents. The main themes are the benefits found in the Eucharist, *viaticum* and *salvation*, *preparation* and *forgiveness*, and the Fruits of the Spirit: *fellowship*, *peace* and *praise*. Another theme that is explored in these songs is the *personal Christ*. It is by Christ’s *personal* invitation, that we can approach the altar, it is by *personal* grace that we are saved. And it is by faith in a *personal Saviour* that comes to us in bread and wine, that we may obtain grace.

The instructional tone of these hymns, in particular *Jesus Kristus är vår helsa*, is strong. The text sound like the response to the catechetical question: how can one believe in these mysteries? Because the *Word* tells us so. Everything is rooted in Scripture, and the administration and ritual of the sacrament needs to be based on the Word. *Communion in its fullness* is one such important instruction. Another is the proper way of preparation, lest one be unworthy. Also, the proper response by the Christian, praising God for his mercy, and

⁴²⁶ Verse 9b, loc. cit.

⁴²⁷ Verse 10b, loc. cit.

⁴²⁸ Verse 11b, *ibid.*, p. 43.

⁴²⁹ Verse 12b, loc. cit.

not doubting his grace. Bernice Sundkvist makes a similar observation in a later Swedish hymn, a translation of Luther's Christmas song, *Vom Himmel hoch* (033), which was published in Sweden in the early seventeenth century. Comparing the two language versions, she finds that the Swedish song, *Af Himmels högd*, consistently offers dogmatic pointers that are not present in Luther's original. She calls these 'pedagogical markers'.⁴³⁰ Considering the instructional tone of *Jesus Kristus är vår helse*, pedagogical markers seem to be a characteristic of Swedish Protestant hymnody.

Jesus Kristus är vår helse (006) also contains an interesting shift from plural to singular pronouns, which gives a rhythm to the didactic language. The first six verses give us the background: benefits of the Eucharist; instruction on right faith and Christ's personal presence; and anchor the doctrine in the Scripture. These verses use personal pronouns in the plural. They speak to the collective, much like a sermon, which should guide towards personal faith. The following five verses move to address the individual singer, with second person singular: thou, thee, thine. These verses also move from the background instruction to the personal aspects of the Eucharist. They concern self-examination, unworthiness, doubts, absolution and Christ's personal sacrifice for each and every one of us. As Christ is personal, so must the believer's presence be before God. Personal sins brought the penitent to the altar, but it is Christ's personal involvement – his invitation and his absolution – that will bring peace. The song ends in praise, and this final verse is offered by the collective. *We* – the Church, together, restored in grace – praise God's mercy. The personal presence of Jesus in this hymn is indicative of the Reformation and Lutheran Orthodoxy. By the late seventeenth century, the personal aspect in hymns moves from Jesus to the individual, from God to humanity. This development follows much the same trajectory as the rise of the Pietistic movement. In the sixteenth century,

⁴³⁰ Bernice Sundkvist, '*Vom Himmel hoch* – Från berättande till belärande berättelse', in *Martin Luthers psalmer i de nordiska folkens liv: ett projekt inom forskarnätverket Nordhymn*, ed. by Sven-Åke Selander and Karl-Johan Hansson, (Lund: Arcus, 2008), pp. 205-235, pp. 214-217.

however, the focus was Christocentric, a theme that is further defined in Decius's *Agnus Dei* paraphrase (see below).

Lutheran reformers tended to emphasise the congregation's ownership of their worship songs. A German pastor spoke of them as 'your German hymn' or 'as you sing'.⁴³¹ This description very much contrasted with the medieval Latin song, which would be introduced as 'the Church sings'. That is, the songs of the past were the canonically correct songs of tradition, but the new songs were 'our songs', what Luther saw as the response by the Christian fellowships to God's loving mercy.⁴³² *Jesus Christus är vår helse* (006) is a song in this mould, 'our song', for a new era. A song for the collective use of the congregation, as 'we – the church – sing our songs', not merely 'as the Church sings'.

5.3.3 Personal Saviour

The songs of the Reformation tended to enunciate the personal presence and involvement of Jesus. Nicolaus Decius's *Agnus Dei* paraphrase is a pertinent example. In the liturgy of HB1614 it reads as follows:⁴³³

O reene Gudz Lamb oskyldigt,
på korset för oss slachtat,
altijdh befunnen toligh,
ehuru tu wast förachtat,
wåra synder haffuer tu draghit,
dödhen och heuetet nedherslaghit,
Förbarma tigh öffuer oss O JEsu.
Giff oss tin ewigha fridh O JEsu.

English translation, verbatim:

⁴³¹ See Brown's study of the Bohemian mining town Joachimsthal for the role of Lutheran hymns in the formation of a Lutheran parish, its fellowship and religious belonging during the counter-Reformation, Brown, *Singing*, in particular pp. 102-103.

⁴³² Loc. Cit.; see also, Arvastson, *Den svenska*, pp. 44-45.

⁴³³ HB1614, p. xxxi and following.

O Lamb of God, pure and innocent
Slaughtered for us on the cross
Always found patient,
Although you were despised.
All our sins you have borne,
Defeated death and hell
Have mercy upon us, O Jesus.
Give us your eternal peace, O Jesus.

We find here a personalisation of the Lamb of God. He was crucified for us, carried our sins, defeated death and hell in order to give us his eternal peace. Jesus is the active agent, who offers a personal relationship with humanity. The personal aspect is, of course, implied in the traditional *Agnus Dei*, where Jesus redeems the world from sins and grants mercy and peace, but Decius takes it a step further and spells it out. The emphasis Decius put on the Lamb of God concerns sacrifice, with clear parallels to Isaiah 53.7-9. He is the lamb led to the slaughter who did not open his mouth, silent before his shearers (v 7), even though he had committed no violence nor harboured any deceit (v 9). Archbishop Haquin Spegel (1645-1714) once said that the children of God learned the Word of God through songs. Decius's *Agnus Dei* exemplifies how the Scripture and liturgical songs could be paraphrased and used for instruction.⁴³⁴

As is to be expected of the song *Agnus Dei*, the image of the Lamb is the focal point. Decius's parallel is linked more clearly with the Crucifixion, the salvation story, and how a personal Christ redeems us from death and sin. This, the song seems to say, is how God shows his mercy: in his personal actions. The themes here can be seen as completely

⁴³⁴ Pleijel, *Våra*, p. 117.

theocentric: a pure God, sacrificed God, compassionate God, merciful God, victorious God. The other side of the coin, however, is humanity: sinful yet served by God, loved, redeemed, and saved. The Christocentric theme would later change (as will be seen in PB1695) to a more homocentric language that emphasized a personally engaged faith instead, a change possibly influenced by proto-Pietism.

5.4 Summary

Compared to Spiritual literature, and the writings of the Church leadership, Communion songs do not really bring any new themes to the table. The themes are the familiar: thanksgiving, preparation, redemption and viaticum, Fruits of the Spirit, and the necessity to praise God for his mercy as a united church. The big difference between Eucharistic hymns and prayer manuals is that Communion songs were the doctrine of the Church and thus normative theology. The liturgy made these themes part of the confession and added a richness and depth to Eucharistic theology. Episcopal writing on the other hand is a commentary on doctrine, and formal theology. It is possible then, that the themes of the hymns inspired and authorised the variety of themes published by the bishops. The songs also focused more on a personal Christ than the individual Christian. The writing was Christocentric more than homocentric. The difference between these two modes will become more evident later in the seventeenth century, when proto-Pietism had begun to influence the religious language.

The purpose for all these songs, however, seems to be their pedagogical potential. The language is consistently didactic, with pedagogical markers, a conscious effort perhaps to reform the religion of an entire and illiterate population. Where one hymn reads like a catechetical paraphrase, the other Communion song sounds like a Lutheran sermon on the Lord's Supper. Whereas the themes and the images of the hymns are more a study of the

normative theology of the Church, this pedagogical campaign speaks of formal theology, which forms the next topic of discussion.

Chapter 6 Swedish Development of Lutheran Hymns and Theology

6.1 Introduction

So far, the Swedish versions of Luther's Communion songs have been explored. However, with the translations came a few theological differences from the original, which speaks of the pedagogical value that was put on Swedish hymnody, and may point to a Swedish particular on Lutheran normative theology. This chapter will therefore start by comparing the German and Swedish versions of *Jesus Christus är vår belse* (006), to further discover the theological and pedagogical differences in the song. With that in mind, the discussion will then turn to how the Church leaders used the normative text of hymnody and thereby shaped formal theology. Formal theology does not appear in the song texts as such, but rather in how the Church interpreted and used the hymns, both within and without the service. One process that may reveal formal theology and hymnody comes with the discussions and the production of the official hymnal PB1695, and this study will follow in Chapter Eight.

Here the focus is on the pedagogical value of the hymns. If the Swedish hymns are signified by their instructional language, how did the Church leadership use the songs to foster the population in the new faith? The genius of Luther's use of the Corpus Christi song *Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*, was that it was already known in Europe. A vernacular version of the first verse existed in Sweden before the Reformation. Using the song aided the Lutheran movement both by introducing Protestant theology in the new verses, and (ideally) by encouraging congregational singing. As noted in the previous chapter, Lutheran reformers (on the continent and in Sweden) greatly valued songs and singing for fostering a

new kind of worship community and in the instruction of the proper faith.⁴³⁵ The different language versions of Lutheran hymns do contain variations however, which is the case with the Communion hymn *Jesus Christus är vår helse* (006). Since songs were deemed such an important pedagogical tool, what may the different language versions of songs tell us of the Protestant faith that was imparted with the texts, and how were the songs used to spread the Lutheran confession in Sweden? It is these two issues of formal theology that will be studied here: the pedagogical language of the Swedish version of *Jesus Christus är vår helse* (006) and the educational value of songs and singing.

6.2 German Hymns in Swedish Translation

Three Swedish Communion songs were introduced during the Reformation and all were translations from German. Two of the hymns, *Gudh vare loffuat* (004), and Decius's *Agnus Dei* paraphrase are similar to the German songs, but *Jesus Christus är vår helse* (006)⁴³⁶ deviates from its original already in the first few verses. This section will focus on these variations by comparing the Swedish translation to the Luther's German version *Jesus Christus unser Heylandt* (from the Erfurt Enchiridion).⁴³⁷ This may also shed light on how the reformers (formal theology) used congregational singing and songs in the vernacular to promote the Protestant religion. Here, where the discussion concerns the creation of the Communion songs during the Reformation, I will refer to them as formal theology. Before the songs became part of an adopted and official liturgy (normative theology) the songs were the reformers' attempt to interpret Lutheran material for Swedish circumstances. The approach of the Swedish reformers seems to have been both well-considered and

⁴³⁵ Eric Lund, *Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Meditations and Hymns*, in *Classics of Western Spirituality*, (New York, Mahawah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2011), pp. 10-11.

⁴³⁶ The version of the hymn used here is from, *Svenska Sönger*, 1536.

⁴³⁷ The Erfurt song book titles the song as, 'Das Lied S. Johannes Hus gebessert.'. *Der Erfurter Enchiridion : gedruckt in der Permentergassen zum Ferbefass 1524 : ... [Erfurt] 1525 : Faksimiledruck / mit einem Geleitwort herausgegeben von Konrad Ameln*, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983) [no pagination].

pedagogically planned, which will be explored by studying the Swedish and German versions. When studying these vernacular songs, we need to keep in mind that the Swedish congregation did not seem to participate in singing hymns in the same extent as their Lutheran counterparts. Most songs were sung by a cantor or choir, and not until the seventeenth century do the instructions in liturgies show an expectancy of congregational singing.⁴³⁸ The Swedish laity of the Protestant era would have listened to the songs more than participated.

Jesus Christus är vår helse (006) diverts from Luther's original after the second verse, but even the first two verses contain differences.⁴³⁹ As we look into these differences we will find that although both hymn versions are edifying, the German version strove more for an emotional response, whereas the Swedish song emphasised Eucharistic instruction and correct practice. Furthermore, Luther tends to write for the individual, and the Swedish reformers turned to a collective; the Swedish hymn both starts and ends with plural pronouns. The Swedish hymn starts off following the same themes as Luther's, with Jesus as our salvation, and the Real Presence explained as Jesus's body and blood under bread and wine. But Luther's song is consistently more explicit and emotive. Luther describes Jesus as the one 'who turned God's anger away from us',⁴⁴⁰ and helped us from the pain of Hell, *helle peyn*. The Swedish version is more prosaic, describing Jesus as he 'who wanted to save us all'.⁴⁴¹ He did so by helping us in the misery of death, *dödzens nödh*. This difference may of course be due to the complexity of translation, there are only a few three-syllable words in Swedish that would compare with *helle peyn*, but the emotional

⁴³⁸ Arvastson, *Svensk*, p. 20. On rebellions against liturgical change, and slow adoption of congregational singing see Martin Berntson, 'Popular', pp. 49-53; Kati Kallio, 'Changes in the Poetics of Song during the Finnish Reformation', in *Re-forming texts, music, and church art in the Early Modern North*, ed. by Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 125-156 (p. 137). For the push- and pull effect of congregational singing and chanting, see Lundberg, 'Liturgical'.

⁴³⁹ The hymns also differ in length. Luther's song 'Jesus Christus unser Heylandt' consists of 10 verses, and the Swedish version 12 verses.

⁴⁴⁰ (006) v. 1, in German, 'der von uns den zorn Gottis wand'.

⁴⁴¹ (006) v. 1, in Swedish, 'Som oss alla ville frälsa'.

variance is evident also in the following verses. In verse two, the German version makes it clear that Jesus gives us *his* body to eat, ‘*sein' Leib zu essen*’, the Swedish hymn feels the need for clarification, saying that Jesus gave us *food* to eat ‘*Gaff han oss en spijs at äta*’. There are several Swedish one-syllable words that could have been used that were closer to the German *Leib*, such as body, life, and flesh (Swe: *kropp, liv, kött*), so one may wonder if it was important to emphasise that the Eucharist was actual spiritual food and not something to be adored from afar. The Real Presence is not contested, however, since the Swedish verse has a reference to Christ’s body under the bread (*under bröd lekamen sin*).

From a practical point of view, the difficulties of translating may explain the modifications, but so too must differences in culture and theology. The fact is that the Swedish hymn takes on a life of its own from verse three with only the odd reference to Luther's hymn. This cavalier usage of Luther's material might be seen as a dismissal of Luther's didactic and emotive language. In this deliberation, however, it is pertinent to remember that most Swedish and Finnish reformers had studied in Wittenberg, which is why this town, along with Rostock, were so important to the Swedish Protestant movement.⁴⁴² Regardless of what caused the differences, the words Luther uses move on a personal level, with personal experiences and a divine response to individual need, whereas the Swedish text prioritises instruction to the detriment of the emotional. Verse three illustrates these differences.

German:

Wer sych zum tisch wil machen,
der hab woll acht auff sein sachen.

Wer unwirdig hic zu gehet, fur das leben den todt empfehet.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴² Olaus Petri (1493-1552), had been a student of Luther for two years (from 1516 to 1518). His brother, Laurentius Petri (1499-1573, who became the first Lutheran archbishop, and the foremost Finnish reformer Mikael Agricola (1509-1557), also studied in Wittenberg, see Czaika, ‘The Swedish’, p. 81.

⁴⁴³ *Der Erfurter*.

Swedish:

Med den spijs wil han oss trösta, At wij äre återlöste,
Ther skole wij fast troo uppå,
Och så til thenna Nattward gå.

Here Luther tries to stir the user's conscience, to wake and warn, much like the Good Friday cockerel. The German verse translates:

Whoever wants to go to the [altar] table,
should take care and seriously consider their affairs.
If anyone who is unworthy approaches,
they will receive death instead of life.

In the previous verse, the singer had been urged to regard the mysterious life given to us in such a small piece of bread, the body of Christ. A gift that should make us seriously consider our state of living, our sinfulness, lest we eat death instead of life. By comparison, the Swedish version, delays the warning that Luther offers in verse three. A comparable text comes in verse seven. Rather than going directly from a reflection of the Real Presence to contemplating personal sins, as Luther did, the Swedish hymn writer gives further instruction on why the Real Presence is linked to personal sins. The text reads:

With this food he would comfort us, [to know] that our debt is paid.
To believe firmly, and go to this Holy Supper.

First note the choice of pronoun. Luther writes in the third person, but it is a personal address to 'me', the user, to rouse 'my' conscience. The Swedish hymn on the other hand addresses a collective group. It is inclusive in that it uses first person plural, but the language is instructive, like a teacher using an inclusive pronoun to make the students listen.

The use of pronouns gets even more distinct in the next verse, where Luther, while delving deeper into personal experiences, switches to second person singular. The Swedish

version instead goes from the plural to the singular (third person) and further details the instruction on the Eucharist. The verses try to catch our attention in different ways, hence the variation of pronouns. Luther seems to want to stir heart and mind. It is as if he wants his Christian reader to think of nothing but the state of their soul at the sight of the Eucharist. To think: 'How may I, a sinful person, stand in the presence of my God?' The Swedish translation instead uses statements and facts, describing the eternal truth that God's congregation should listen to and believe. God wants to comfort his people with the Eucharist. He wants them to be saved with his food. And this the Christian congregation should firmly believe, in order to be granted passage to the altar. Thus, Eucharistic instruction is not only found in the themes divulged, but in the language that is used. With Luther, the language indicated that the Spirit could revive the heart of the individual. In Swedish, it was language wherein the Spirit could stir the mind of a people, to steer their collective hearts to the right faith.

Bernice Sundkvist finds similar differences of language in a study she has made of Luther's Christmas song *Vom Himmel hoch* (033), and its Swedish translation, *Af Himmels högd*. She talks of the recurring *pedagogical markers* found in the first Swedish translation. Luther wants his reader – or in this case, the singer – to experience the event of the nativity story. It is not just a narrative, it is a happening in the 'here and now'. With the song Luther attempts to turn the biblical story into a personal experience in the present, a concrete event that will transform hearts and encourage faith.⁴⁴⁴ The Swedish version of the Christmas hymn instead focuses on the eternal and universal. As Sundkvist remarks, it is not enough to just see a sweet child in a manger, the message has to be doctrinally correct. Thus, taking Luther's description of Jesus, the sweet baby, the Swedish translation both expands the theme and defines it. Jesus is not just a babe; he is true God and human.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁴ Sundkvist, '*Vom Himmel*', pp. 213-214.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 215.

This is an example of what Sundkvist calls a ‘pedagogical marker’. *Jesus Kristus är vår halsa* (006) contains another Lutheran trope. In the second verse Luther talks of the Eucharist as Christ’s body, manifest under the gifts of bread and wine, and he makes it a paradox to experience, ‘seyn leib zu essen... ym brott so klein’; the divine body of Christ, in a little piece of bread, much like the Christmas paradox of heaven found in a manger.

The Swedish version of *Vom Himmel hoch* still has Luther’s paradox, but with a doctrinal edit.⁴⁴⁶ The translator of *Jesus Kristus är vår halsa* (006), on the other hand, edited out the paradox that is found in *Jesus Kristus unser Heiland*. This edit was possibly done for language purposes, to maintain the rhyme, but removing the paradox also makes the doctrinal point clear and concise. The hymn writer invites the congregation to partake of both bread and wine, which is celebrated on Christ’s command and in accordance with Lutheran Eucharistic ideals. This is an edit that bears resemblance to the pedagogical marker that Sundkvist writes about. Compared to Luther’s paradox, the verse reads quite mundanely, ‘He gave us to eat, his body under bread, and to drink his blood in wine.’ The following verse underlines the new practice by pointing out that the Church is guilty of misusing the sacrament when bread and wine are not offered together. The instruction to offer both sacramental gifts to the laity is notably absent in the German version. Why it was omitted in Luther’s original is something we can only speculate about, but for the Swedish context this hymn would probably have been an effective channel to promote a new Protestant liturgical practice to the populace. In other words, songs had a most pedagogical use. *Jesus Kristus är vår halsa* (006) is known since the 1530s, decades before the Swedish Christmas hymn, which was translated in the first years of the seventeenth century. Nonetheless both songs contain pedagogical markers and an emphasis on doctrinal correctness. Sundkvist explains these characteristics as belonging to Lutheran

⁴⁴⁶ Sundkvist, ‘Vom Himmel’, p. 215.

Orthodoxy, but *Jesus Christus är vår helsa* (006) shows that they are of an earlier date.⁴⁴⁷ I would link both pedagogical language and a desire for unemotional universal truths with the formal theology of the early Swedish reformers. As previously mentioned, formal theology of the reformers (that is, the interpretation and delivery of what they saw as normative theology: the Scripture) later become normative theology at the start of the seventeenth century if they were adopted as confessional documents (the Augsburg Confession, the liturgy and Communion songs).

The German states and Sweden had different cultural settings during the Reformation; consequently, should not the religious language differ too? Luther's writings landed in fertile soil in German burgher classes. Even if we cannot talk of a literate German society, the reformation was a movement from below. Brown's account of the Lutheran fellowship in the Bohemian mining town of Joachimsthal describes one example of this Protestant development. The fellowship founded and nurtured the evangelical faith by singing hymns, both in public worship and in their homes. The laity of the mining town also collected private libraries, a large proportion of which was religious literature.⁴⁴⁸ Whether deliberately or not, it was possible for Luther to write to the individual, and about personal experience. It made sense to try to engage the individual in the Biblical story, because it was on a personal level (individually or in a household) that these words could be read and deliberated. The Swedish reformation, by comparison, would not have benefited from such an individual approach, even though there were literate people (a small minority) spread across the country, and most people surely heard news indirectly by having it read for them. The question is then, how much of an impact did Protestant pamphlets have outside places of religious reform, such as Olaus Petri's Stockholm?

⁴⁴⁷ *Af Himmels bögd* (033) was probably translated by Archbishop Olaus Martini (in office 1601-1609), a man who in many ways embodied Lutheran Orthodoxy. In his lifetime he opposed both the perceived Catholic tendencies of King Johan III and the Calvinistic promptings of King Karl IX. Ibid., pp. 214-217.

⁴⁴⁸ Brown, *Singing*, pp. 26-30, pp. 119-127.

Scribner remarks that Germany too had a Reformation dominated by preaching revival, and that printing material was a supplement to oral communication.⁴⁴⁹ This Scribner claims despite the fact that Germany had a smattering of printing presses all over the German territory in the early sixteenth century, whereas Sweden only had one.⁴⁵⁰ On the other hand, Pettegree, emphasises the spread a song could have, in comparison to the written word, and he talks of the ease with which a printed song became part of oral culture.⁴⁵¹ Furthermore, even though the Swedish towns were few and far between, we cannot underestimate the cultural exchange between these towns and the continent because of the large groups of German-speaking burghers who remained in close contact with the rest of the German-speaking areas around the Baltic.⁴⁵² So, while there may have been only one official printing-press in Sweden, pamphlets and broadsheets could easily follow established trading routes.

Still, the Swedish reformation was largely a movement from above, and in the 1520s protestant ideas had only gained liminal support in Stockholm and a few other coastal towns.⁴⁵³ To reform the people, the reformers needed a pedagogical plan. How else could the transformation of a large but scarcely populated country take place? Would it not make sense the use the impact and power of songs in popular culture, and write hymns with a doctrinal and pedagogical theme, instead of a personal approach? Would it not be more practical to write a song sung in public worship, where it could be collectively memorised, and to address it to the congregation, instead of the few individuals with the ability to read a songbook? The Reformation may have been inspired by the Reformations

⁴⁴⁹ Scribner, *Simple Folk*, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁰ Gustav Vasa closed the printing press in Linköping (deemed as Catholic) in 1526. At the same time he moved the remaining press at Uppsala, which had been under control by the chapter, to Stockholm, thus gaining full control over the printing industry in Sweden, see Kouri, 'The early', p. 50. For a map of early printing centres, see Tim Dowley, *Atlas of the European Reformations*, (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015), pp. 36-37.

⁴⁵¹ Pettegree, *Reformation*, pp. 52-53.

⁴⁵² Czaika, 'The Swedish', p. 77.

⁴⁵³ Kouri makes a case for how the Reformation was intricately inter-woven with Gustav Vasa's power struggle against Denmark, but also the creation of a nation state, see Kouri, 'The early', pp. 43-46.

of German towns and states, the hymns and the thematic content discussed above may also originate from German Lutheran material,⁴⁵⁴ but the packaging and presentation took a Swedish twist. Formal theology in the Swedish Protestant movement gives evidence of this pedagogical trait in many areas, such as the need for a ‘gentle Reformation’,⁴⁵⁵ not to cause disturbance and turn people away from the true faith. Another example is the retention of images in churches,⁴⁵⁶ which gave the reformers an extra layer of instruction in murals and reredoses. And so, *Jesus Kristus är vår helsa* (006) focused on the collective more than the individual, on eternal truths more than the personal relationship with Jesus, and on instruction more than emotional experience. By doing so, it motivated religious reform and laid a foundation for further religious instruction in the seventeenth century.

6.3 Hymns as Liturgy

The Uppsala hymnal from 1645 [UPB1645] was the recommended hymnbook for the Church until the adoption of PB1695 in Sweden. This recommendation, however, had little impact as a number of diocesan hymnbooks (and a few private hymnals) were published in the seventeenth century.⁴⁵⁷ This variety of hymnbooks had little impact on sacramental hymns, however. The market for hymnals may have been diverse, but the development of the liturgy remained slow.⁴⁵⁸ In fact, the recommended songs *pro Communione*, which Olaus

⁴⁵⁴ For the origin and development of Swedish hymnody, see Arvastson, *Svenske*, and Ingebrand, *Svenske*.

⁴⁵⁵ The Uppsala Resolution included a deliberation on how traditional practices (such as *sanctus* bells, elevation and candles) could be removed peacefully and without causing rebellions. ‘Ceremonier medh tjdhen (dogh uthan någon förargelse och buller) i stillheet kunde afläggas.’ Eckerdal, *Confessio*, p. 13.

⁴⁵⁶ See Chapters Nine and Ten.

⁴⁵⁷ UPB1645 had a strong competitor in the Västerås hymnal, *Enchiridion*, from 1627 [RPB1627], even in the diocese of Uppsala. In 1673 Bishop Gezelius (the elder) of Åbo published another hymnal, which also proved popular. The different dioceses tended to favour diocesan hymnbooks, as with *Clenodium* by Bishop Laurentius Paulinus of Strängnäs, in his diocese. *Clenodium* came in print in the early 1600s. The latter part of the century shows an increasing popularity for private publications of hymnbooks. One notable example is Keyser, a printer in Stockholm, whose hymnbook became very popular in his hometown. Some popular devotionals also contained songs, such as Philipp Kegel, *Philippi Kegelij tolff andelige betrachtelser, utholkat och förswenskat aff Erico Scrodero* ... Stockholm ... år 1682. Visitation protocols show that all dioceses favour different hymnbooks, with RPB1627 and UPB1645 as the two favourites. About dioceses and competing hymnbooks, see Wahlström, *Studier*, pp. 15-19.

⁴⁵⁸ See Yates, *Liturgical*, pp. 27-30.

Petri listed in 1548, also appeared in HB1614 and in the diocesan hymnals. Apart from the liturgical songs, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* (in the vernacular), HB1614 mentions Decius's *Agnus Dei* paraphrase, *Gud wari loffuat* (004), *Jesus Kristus är vår helsa* (006), and the medieval Latin responses, *Discubuit Jesus*.⁴⁵⁹

The traditional *Discubuit Jesus* is a retelling of the Lucan version of the words of institution and Artaxerxes' feast in the book of Esther. This Latin paraphrase was kept in the liturgy of HB1614, but in a Protestant version that leaned more on Luke than Esther. The responsory seemed to have played an important part in medieval religious life, and it was probably used as a processional chant in processions with the monstrance. It may also have had special significance for certain guilds. The accounts for the 'Heliga lekamens gille', the Stockholm Guild of Corpus Christi, shows that young men were paid for 'ministering' during the *Discubuit*. Ann-Marie Nilsson who has studied these accounts interprets the responsory here as a procession.⁴⁶⁰ Nilsson has also examined a will from 1472 that mentions *Discubuit*. A widow left Uppsala Cathedral property on the condition that they would offer the responsory of Corpus Christi called *Discubuit*. The will then details a magnificent procession with the monstrance.⁴⁶¹ Both these examples seem to indicate that the *Discubuit* was used as a name for a Eucharistic procession with the monstrance. These processions, in turn, were a chance for the gathered congregation can see and adore the blessed host, so it is interesting that the Swedish reformers kept the responses as a Communion song. Mattias Lundberg has stipulated an interesting theory that the song was transferred from the mediaeval Office for Corpus Christi to the Mass as a means to appease traditional guilds. Considering the records of families and guilds investing large funds specifically for this song to be sung, then the retention of it in the official liturgy might

⁴⁵⁹ See Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång', p. 83. A use of psalms in both Latin and Swedish is actively recommended in some church song books. See Pahlmblad, 'Gudstjänstliv', pp. 265-266, for more on morning and evening prayers and the use of the psalter in the seventeenth century.

⁴⁶⁰ Nilsson, "'Discubuit'", pp.241-244.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., p. 245.

have aided the transition from requiem masses to a Lutheran understanding of congregational Eucharistic worship.⁴⁶² We will return to this song in a later chapter on lay piety and hymnody.⁴⁶³ Another important aspect of Swedish Communion songs is that the *Benedictus* remained in the liturgy all through the Reformation, it just merged with the *Sanctus*.⁴⁶⁴ This too highlights the uncontested place of Real Presence in normative and formal theology.

The whole *raison d'être* of normative theology – foundational documents and the liturgy – is to be a firm foundation for the trials, discussions and oscillations of dogmatic interpretation and practice. With time, Communion songs became this constant. The Reformation came with changing practices, and the post-Reformation was possibly a time of stabilisation.⁴⁶⁵ Part of this constant were also the Eucharistic themes of Communion songs. They frequently refer to thanksgiving, redemption, viaticum, and Fruits of the Spirit, which mirror the topics found in episcopal prayer material. Communion songs thus supported the language used by the episcopacy (formal theology). On the other hand, the songs created a contrast to prayer books in general (espoused and formal theology) and their emphasis on preparation before Communion. While the hymns mention the importance of preparation, they furthermore underline that it is a compassionate and personal Christ who invites the sinner to the altar. The Eucharist becomes a celebration that makes us, the congregation, want to respond and praise God. The celebratory language of the hymns stands in great contrast to the stark penitential language of many preparation manuals. This fact – the enrichment of Eucharistic theology through hymns – needs to be stressed. It is important, since hymns, together with the catechism and sermons, would

⁴⁶² Mattias Lundberg, *Transplanting Ritual Hope for Salvation: The Responsory "Discubuit Jesus" in the North-European Late Middle Ages and Lutheran Reformation Movements*, (forthcoming article).

⁴⁶³ See Chapter 7.2

⁴⁶⁴ Yates, *Liturgical*, pp. 27-30.

⁴⁶⁵ Whether the Reformation was a time of perceived liturgical change or of minimal transformation is a matter of discussion. See, Berntson, 'Popular' and, Pahlmblad, *Mässa*, for two different perspectives.

have been the Lutheran instruction that had the greatest chance of reaching out to the larger population. Hymns were also far easier to memorise than sermons, which increases their importance. To paraphrase Archbishop Spegel, the people not only learnt the Word of God through hymns, but the normative theology of the Church, which brings the discussion to hymns as a means of instruction.⁴⁶⁶

6.4 Hymns as Instruction

In the hymnals of the seventeenth century, Communion songs had their assigned space. They tended to appear in much the same place regardless of which publication one consults. The hymnals all started with a catechetical section, which very much followed the structure of the catechism. Some hymnbooks clearly refer to the section as *Catechetical*, others tend to use the actual rubrics of the catechism for their corresponding sections in the hymnbook.⁴⁶⁷ It is here we find the two Luther hymns (004) and (006).

Communion hymns, as has been noted are intrinsically didactic and mnemonic. The official and liturgical use of Communion songs is self-evident, but the development of the catechetical section of the hymnbook may hint at a more domestic use of hymns in home schooling. This is an important consideration, since it not only shows how the Church leadership used Communion songs (formal theology), but also the channel with which the laity shaped their religious language on the Eucharistic (espoused theology). Sven-Åke Selander presents a study of the rise and decline of the catechetical section in Swedish hymnbooks. The first proper hymnbook of 1562 contained ten (10) catechetical songs, and the last, PB1695, contained twenty-one (21). The next Swedish hymnbook PB1819 had dropped this section completely. Selander posits Christian and literacy

⁴⁶⁶ Since so few owned a book or had the ability to read, Archbishop Spegel claimed that the common folk learnt Scripture by singing the Word. See, Pleijel, *Våra*, p. 117.

⁴⁶⁷ See both, Laurentius, *Clenodium*; and Rudbeck, *Enchiridion*.

schooling as one explanation for the disappearance of the section. With good education, the catechism took the place of the hymnbook, and memorising hymns became less of a priority in school ordinances.⁴⁶⁸ The decline also happened at the same time as the rise of literacy. It would be the natural order of things if actual catechisms replaced the use of catechetical hymns when reading improved.

In a country where books were rare, and literacy low, but where learning the Word and instilling the Fear of God (Sw: *gudsfruktan*)⁴⁶⁹ was paramount to the Church establishment, songs and singing would have been an effective teaching tool. In previous chapters we have traced the remarkable effort that was exerted to make an illiterate population semi-literate in just fifty years, but we cannot assume that many had access to either a catechism or a hymnal before the eighteenth century.⁴⁷⁰ There are also accounts that singing by rote remained a common practice, even when hymnbooks became more prevalent at the close of the seventeenth century.⁴⁷¹ Singing, literacy and catechetical teaching were seemingly interlinked during the seventeenth century, on which the Swedish practice of *eftermässning* (literally: after-chanting) may shed some light.

Eftermässning describes a practice where the congregation chanted after the priest in the service. The practice is mentioned in several sources from the early seventeenth century and the eighteenth century, but it has an obscure origin. Accentus singing, the liturgical chanting of the Mass and the lessons (always the epistle, and at the celebration of Mass also

⁴⁶⁸ See, Selander, 'Luthers', pp. 274-279. Selander's purpose with the article is to trace the usage of Lutheran catechetical hymns. To that extent his other explanation has to do with the reduced role Luther's theology played in Lutheran Orthodoxy.

⁴⁶⁹ By *Gudsfruktan* is here meant the ability to trust, respect, and count on a personal God, as much as fear his awesome power.

⁴⁷⁰ About the ownership of books and hymnals in particular, see Pleijel, *Våra*, pp. 115-117; see also, Cressy, *Literacy*, pp. 178-179.

⁴⁷¹ See Widén's study on examination records from Korpo, Finland, in 1697. Bishop Gezelius the younger warned those who ridiculed anyone reading their hymnal rather than singing from memory. The bullies were to be accused before the parish meeting. He also urged everyone who owned a hymnbook to bring it to church. Widén, 'Literacy', p. 38.

the Gospel reading), were primarily the task of the ordained priest in the Swedish liturgy.⁴⁷² Writing about accentus singing, Mattias Lundberg draws attention to the fact that the laity never heard the lectionary read, only sung. The laity picked up the habit of chanting after the priest, as Lundberg puts it ‘seemingly spontaneously’, a habit to which the clergy objected.⁴⁷³ The earliest incidents and complaints that Lundberg refers to happened in 1642 and 1643, and these seem to be in conjunction with the actual Mass, or the after-Mass (*eftermässan*). In the eighteenth century, the complaints also mention the congregation chanting after the lessons.⁴⁷⁴ Lundberg points towards the pull-factor of the chanting, something that drew the congregation into the worship, but also discusses the after chanting as a push-factor for the Church, in that it became a means to memorise the Bible.⁴⁷⁵ If the congregation ‘seemingly spontaneously’ started chanting after the priest in the service – to the priest’s dismay – then the obscure origin of this may lie outside the church service, in catechetical instruction. If the laity were used to chanting after the priest upon other occasions, a way of learning by repeating both catechism and readings, then it would be a short step to resume the practice also in the services. Especially if the clergy had pushed for congregational singing of hymns during the sixteenth century. The interesting aspect of this phenomenon is that *eftermässning* (after chanting) of lessons only starts when a larger part of the laity has access to hymnbooks with a lectionary.⁴⁷⁶ The congregation simply repeated the lessons that were printed in the hymnbook; in effect they practised reading by mimicking the priest’s chanting.

The study of singing and religious education in Sweden is still fairly uncharted territory, so a fuller study on *eftermässning* may well shed more light on the use of hymnody

⁴⁷² The priest chanted and sang parts of the liturgy together with a choir and/or a cantor. See, Lundberg, ‘Liturgical’, p. 65, p. 70.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., p. 69, p. 71.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 68-69.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 72.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 67.

in early Swedish pedagogy. Clearly, *eftermässning* points to reading as a collective activity, closely connected with singing. In Denmark and Norway this link has already been established. Jon Haarberg has researched the use of singing in catechetical instruction in Reformation and post-Reformation Denmark-Norway in the fittingly named article ‘Singing the Catechism’. Here he explores how doctrine was transmitted through catechetical songs, well into the eighteenth century. He also refers to Bohemia where ‘sung reading’ was common despite the accessibility of hymnbooks.⁴⁷⁷ The latter shows how singing was considered an important part of both learning and reading, even when literacy had become the norm.⁴⁷⁸ Though we have no real knowledge of how the hymns were used in catechetical instruction, we cannot exclude them from a study on either hymns or Eucharistic understanding. Practice on the continent shows the importance put on hymns and singing in instruction. *Eftermässning* in Sweden indicates the growing significance of singing in post-Reformation lay religiosity and literacy training. For the Church hierarchy, and thus formal theology, instruction in the right faith was paramount. The structure of the actual hymnals, with catechetical sections, denotes a context where texts, songs and erudition were connected.

What may the catechetical section and after-chanting tell of formal Eucharistic theology? That is, how did the Church leadership use these agents? With the Reformation came both a changed Eucharistic theology and liturgical practice. Training a reluctant lay population in these two novelties would have been fraught with problems, which peasant revolts suggest. The mere rumour of Mass in Swedish was a cause for the Dacke rebellion of 1542 to 1543 in the region of Småland.⁴⁷⁹ Teaching the illiterate laity Communion songs

⁴⁷⁷ Haarberg, ‘Earways’, pp. 50-51.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 53; Marie-Elisabeth Ducreux mentions sung reading in an article on farmers in Bohemia and comments, ‘By means of the hymn or the song, the text took flight from the pages of the book to reach the illiterate or the semiliterate even when [...] they had daily acquaintance with reading,’ Marie-Elisabeth Ducreux, ‘Reading unto Death: Books and Readers in Eighteenth-Century Bohemia’, in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Roger Chartier, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 191-229 (p. 219).

⁴⁷⁹ Berntson, ‘Popular’, p. 51. For more on rebellions caused by religious reformation see, Berntson, *Mässan*.

would have been a most efficient way to prepare them for a new worship model and also the Eucharistic theology behind the changes. Memorising hymns made the catechism accessible to all, even when neither hymns nor catechisms were prevalent.⁴⁸⁰ To paraphrase Archbishop Spegel, hymns were not only the *common man's bible*, but the *common man's catechism* also. As congregational singing became more common – in parallel with the occurrence of accentus singing – at the turn of the seventeenth century, songs would have been an important push-factor from the Church leadership, both to interest the laity in worship and in promoting proper faith.⁴⁸¹

Thus, hymns, worship and catechisms were essential for formal theology in creating the Lutheran ideal of the Christian fellowship. Church songs were not just liturgical, nor were they just personal (in teaching and praying), they had a role as a builder of community. In the Lutheran congregation of Joachimstahl, the songs they used for worship and house prayers were referred to as 'your German hymn' or 'as you sing'.⁴⁸² This speaks of the changed ideal of a Communion fellowship. With the Reformation the sacrament became more a practical sacrament as compared to a visual sacrament. The reformers wanted it to be something to experience in the proper faith, certainly, but also as a tactile moment. More than a visual moment, it was a happening for the fellowship of faith: under bread Christ's body, and in wine his blood, as the hymn teaches us. And we, the congregation, respond with praise. The occurrence of after chanting tells of how operant theology (lay religious practice) changed through the gentle steering of formal theology (the instruction by the Church leadership), from the Reformation, when the laity were reticent to take on congregational singing, to post-Reformation, when their sung

⁴⁸⁰ According to church records about 90 per cent of the population were at least semi-literate at the turn of the eighteenth century, see Johansson, 'Literacy'. Daniel Lindmark's research shows that in a wealthy parish the hymnal had started to become a personal item by 1720. In comparison catechisms were less common, usually one per household. See Lindmark, *Reading*, p. 132.

⁴⁸¹ Lundberg, 'Liturgical', p. 61, pp. 66-67.

⁴⁸² Brown, *Singing*, pp. 102-103.

participation even caused consternation among the clergy. The pedagogy of formal theology seems clear, even though the result was not always the one that had been anticipated or desired.

Before the reformation, a Swedish layperson would often have experienced the sacrament outside the ecclesial space, when carried in processions. The sacrament was a visual object at the heart of the community.⁴⁸³ Thus, it was a paradoxical development, because the Sacrament was made distant by being removed from everyday life, but at the same time it was made more accessible by being described through words in the vernacular. With 'your Swedish hymn', it is possible that the Church tried to create a Christian Eucharistic fellowship, not with processions but in songs.

6.5 Summary

Formal theology in hymnody has more to do with pedagogy and practice than the actual words. The words were part of doctrine, but the thought behind their construction seem to have been a pedagogical one, a thought which was fostered by the Church leadership through the Reformation and during the post-Reformation. Where the original Lutheran hymns move on a personal level, describing personal experiences, the Swedish version chooses language to instruct and inform. The Swedish hymnody makes Jesus personal, but addresses a collective, and it is personal only as a means of being educational. It is Christocentric, not homocentric, and the mode of address is homiletic.

Whether the pedagogical plan was one of conscious creation or not, the pedagogy is apparent, even in the catechetical order of the hymns in the hymnbooks. Thus, hymns were instructive both in their words and in systematisation. Communion songs also offered the population a chance for a richer understanding of the sacrament, with themes such as

⁴⁸³ Sundmark, *Sjukbesök*, pp. 92-93, pp. 96-97.

Thanksgiving and the Fruits of the Spirit that were otherwise lacking in the Smaller Catechism. The usage of hymns in catechetical teaching and reading practice can only be speculated on here, but singing and literacy were clearly interlinked for the laity in the seventeenth century. This circumstance may have been a creation of the clergy by using songs as a reading tool and thus used to enable literacy. Both after-chanting and the catechetical setting of the hymnals indicate the use of hymns and singing in catechetical Christian instruction.

The fact that there was a slow development in the creation of more Communion songs, as well as the few changes to the liturgy as a whole, can be seen as a result of formal theology. The main objective for the Church leadership at the Uppsala Meeting 1593 was the gentle adoption of a Swedish-Lutheran confession and ritual without causing rebellion. The diocesan hymnals were kept in harmony with the liturgy, and no further Communion songs were introduced until the new liturgy and hymnal at the very end of the seventeenth century. Formal theology managed to turn that which caused so much upheaval in the nascent days of the Swedish Reformation – songs in the vernacular – into a constant that lasted into the post-Reformation era.

Chapter 7 Users and Usage of Eucharistic Hymns

7.1 Introduction

In 1527, in the early days of the Reformation, Dalecarlia's strong body of independent farmers objected to church songs in the vernacular. King Gustav I Vasa (1496-1560) reprimanded the farmers by pointing out that Swedish religious songs had been sung for generations.⁴⁸⁴ These fragments of popular culture, the practice of singing and the songs sung, will be the point of discussion in the following two chapters. This chapter will be dedicated to the habit of singing (especially Communion songs) and the words used, in low and high culture, in order to unearth espoused and operant Eucharistic theology in hymnody. In the study of low culture and oral tradition it will prove difficult to distinguish clearly between espoused theology (how the laity described their faith), and operant theology (how the laity practised religion). This chapter will aim to explore espoused theology, but operant theology will also come into play. Chapter Eight will in turn focus more fully on operant theology.

As King Gustav Vasa told the farmers, church songs were already part of the Swedish cultural fabric. The medieval church had created thousands of *leis* that engaged the laity in dialogue singing.⁴⁸⁵ The *leis* that were connected with Eucharistic feast days, such as Corpus Christi, should be particularly noted in this study. *Gud wari loffuat* (004), the *leis* that turned into a Protestant Communion song, has already been discussed. Another song told of the Mass of St Gregory. Both this legend of St Gregory and the song were used as an

⁴⁸⁴ Arvastson, *Svenske*, p. 33.

⁴⁸⁵ The *leis* tradition dates back to the days of Ambrosius. At the time of the Council of Trent these *leis* counted up to 5000. At the Council only four *leis* were approved for continued use, all connected with a great feast day. See, Arvastson, *Svenske*, pp. 20-21.

instruction of transubstantiation.⁴⁸⁶ Responses used during sacramental processions are also of interest here. These may have been limited to a simple ‘ora pro nobis’ and were either said or sung.⁴⁸⁷ Even though the songs/responses mentioned above were part of the medieval tradition, they indicate a foundation of congregational participation and song tradition on which the songs of the Reformation could build.

Where low culture seemed to rest on the traditions of old, high culture also picked up influences of a more modern kind from the Continent. Communion songs were sometimes added to prayer books, and in a writing style that had more in common with proto-Pietism than with the official style of the Church. But despite the different origins of the song material in low and high culture, there are also common threads of Eucharistic themes in both traditions that make it possible to talk of one espoused theology.

7.2 Traditional Religion and Low Culture

The Dalecarlian farmers were not the only group who objected to Protestant reform. There were several revolts in the first decades of the Swedish Reformation, protesting against what they perceived as improper changes, both in the liturgy and taxation of churches.⁴⁸⁸ It is unlikely however, that the population outside Stockholm had any experience of the new liturgy. Instead they reacted against rumoured vernacular elements, both hymns and sermons, which they had been told were in use in Stockholm.⁴⁸⁹ Regardless of the reformers’ enthusiasm for congregational singing and lay participation, the Swedish laity did not share the excitement.⁴⁹⁰ The farmers may have relied on second-hand information, but their reaction tells us that congregational singing was something they neither desired

⁴⁸⁶ Arvastson, *Svenske*, pp. 23-25.

⁴⁸⁷ Sundmark, *Sjukbesök*, p. 103.

⁴⁸⁸ See Berntson, *Mässan*.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 231-234; Arvastson, *Svenske*, p. 33; Berntson, ‘Popular’, p. 51, p. 58.

⁴⁹⁰ Arvastson, *Svenske*, p. 33. For the history of church songs, and the idea and meaning of *sicut ecclesia canit*, see ibid., pp. 44-45. About songs in vernacular in a German Lutheran parish, see Brown, *Singing*, in particular pp. 102-103.

nor considered proper. It did not help matters that the tunes used for church songs came from popular culture, tunes used in public houses and village feasts.⁴⁹¹ The familiarity may well have disqualified the songs from being considered ‘proper’ for a holy ritual even without the vernacular texts. So, although the laity had participated in some form of congregational singing before the Reformation, possibly even in the vernacular, the circumstances had been different. A cantor or a choir would have sung most of the responses, leaving only a little part for the congregation. This practice seems to have persisted during most of the sixteenth century.⁴⁹²

Before the Reformation, a Swedish layperson would have experienced the sacrament carried in processions outside the church. Even though the host was contained in a pyx and a pouch (and out of sight), God’s presence reached out to the community in a most direct manner. The behaviour of the priest and the responses from the parish community were tied to the presence of God, and not just visibility.⁴⁹³ A sung response was a vital part of lay behaviour in proximity to the sacrament. Stina Fallberg Sundmark, who has researched visitation of the sick in both medieval and Reformation traditions, describes the processions. The medieval liturgy called for accoutrements, such as lights and bells, but also liturgical words with penitential prayers, psalms, and the litany. The words, sung and said, would have been chanted by the priest. Sundmark also proposes the likelihood of a prayer response, like *ora pro nobis*, from the cantor and the parish community. Both the lights and the bells announced the presence of the sacrament. The bell had a secondary function to scare off demons, but also to call the community to revere the sacrament.⁴⁹⁴ Furthermore, a church synod at Arboga in 1412 had stipulated certain responses to be sung

⁴⁹¹ Sven-Åke Selander, ‘Reformationen och lekfolket’, in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – Reformationstid*, ed. by Åke Andrén, (Stockholm: Verbum, 1999), pp. 290-303 (pp. 294-295).

⁴⁹² Loc. Cit.; See also Jullander, ‘Sub communione’, pp. 58-59. Jullander does not see any conclusive evidence of congregational singing until the adoption of HB1614.

⁴⁹³ Sundmark, *Sjukbesök*, p. 104.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 102-104.

by the congregation when the monstrance was carried to and from the altar.⁴⁹⁵ These sacramental processions were thus a feast for the senses with songs, prayers, lights and bells. Sundmark makes a connection between the processional bell and the *sanctus* bell in the Mass. At both times, the host was lifted up to be revered by the congregation.⁴⁹⁶ Considering the strong emphasis in espoused and operant theology of the sacrament as a protection against evil, this connection between processional and *sanctus* bell seems most plausible. The processional bell had been rung to scare off evil spirits, and so too may the *sanctus* bell have been understood. As we have seen in the post-Reformation era, long after this medieval context, the theme of the sacrament as protection against the devil still appears in the Communion songs and prayers of high culture. Official Eucharistic hymns, on the other hand, make no mention of evil forces. So, it seems as if this theme creates a bridge between traditional religion and the spirituality of the late seventeenth century, in both the lower and higher orders.

Hymnody is a topic with complications because we cannot always tell what was said or sung, or both, and often the tunes are lost. Music was difficult to print, so manuscripts contained only texts and empty staves that were completed manually.⁴⁹⁷ Folke Bohlin explains how this created a variety of diocesan traditions for the ordinary.⁴⁹⁸ Hymnody also developed with regional differences, and these versions are in many cases impossible to trace.⁴⁹⁹ The phenomenon of *eftermässning* (the after-chanting of the priest's accentus singing) that occurred in the seventeenth century also indicates the blurred lines between what was said and/or sung. Although we can only speculate on a plausible origin, there may be a connection between *eftermässning* and the responses used in the medieval tradition

⁴⁹⁵ Berntson, *Mässan*, p. 233.

⁴⁹⁶ Sundmark, *Sjukbesök*, p. 110.

⁴⁹⁷ Loc. Cit.; 'En liten sångbok' (A little song book) from 1553, only contained the lines for the music, see Arvastson, *Den svenska*, p. 62.

⁴⁹⁸ Bohlin, 'Gregorianik', p. 42.

⁴⁹⁹ Kjellberg, 'Andlig', pp. 282-283.

in that they were both lay participation in the ritual. As we have seen, medieval religion was long-lived in popular culture, there were songs and prayers to saints, elevation prayers were used; these traditional elements were easily transmitted in an oral culture.⁵⁰⁰ It is in this oral tradition that we may find traces of operant theology – that is, faith that is expressed not through declarations but in practice. The responses used in sacramental processions were a way to revere the presence of God. If prayers and songs were transmitted orally after the Reformation, then the traditional sacramental piety may also have been transmitted. The Archdeacon of Turku, Petrus Melartopaeus (d. 1610), complained as late as 1596 about inappropriate worship of the host during the elevation.⁵⁰¹ Much like the bells in traditional processions, it is possible that responses and elevation prayers were used to ward off demonic forces. And as mentioned, it is practically impossible to draw a clear demarcation line between prayers, responses and songs. That is, much of what we regard as spoken, may have been sung.

Songs also have a further reach than the written word. Easily memorised they could have been transmitted to far regions and over several generations, to individuals and groups alike. Songs can be shared by a collective on a larger scale than something said. By using a traditional *leis* like *Gud vari loffnat* (004), new Eucharistic dogmas could spread, but on the other hand, the use of traditional material in new modes may have legitimised other old songs. Both legends like that of St Stephen (*Staffansvisan*), and theological concepts such as the ‘mass offer’ in songs of St Gregory, lived on in oral culture long after the Reformation.⁵⁰² The hagiography of St Gregory has its origin in the feast of *Corpus Christi* and the theology of transubstantiation. The legend tells of St Gregory asking for proof of transubstantiation in order to convince a disbeliever, and in response to Gregory’s

⁵⁰⁰ See Linderholm, *Signelser*; Laitinen, ‘Church’; Arvastson, *Svensk*, pp. 23-26.

⁵⁰¹ Laitinen, ‘Church’, p. 317.

⁵⁰² Several of these songs were transcribed in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, indicating their longevity in popular culture. Notably, the song about St Stephen is still a popular Swedish Christmas carol. Arvastson, *Svensk*, pp. 25-26.

supplication Christ appeared above the altar when the Pope celebrated Mass.⁵⁰³ The Mass of St Gregory was a common image in church décor; it appears on murals and altarpieces. Murals from the fifteenth century remained in many churches, often side by side with new murals painted in the seventeenth century.⁵⁰⁴ Images were part of religious life; they told a story much like the songs that were sung. Children would ask questions. Their elders would respond. Diocesan chapter records give several examples of children acting out the ceremonies of the church, such as weddings and the Eucharist (much to the consternation of chapter and clergy), which shows how central the church and the rituals were in people's lives.⁵⁰⁵ Through images, the *Corpus Christi* legend was part of the visual world even after the Reformation, and may well have been part of oral culture through songs about the saints, thus giving transubstantiation an enduring place in operant theology (lived out faith).

Another clue to traditional popular culture is the retention of the *Discubuit Jesus* by using it in the Protestant High Mass liturgy. The medieval responsory, which was a combination of the Words of Institution and Artaxerxes' feast in the book of Esther, appears in the printed Mass order of 1548 and remained in the 1614 service book (HB1614) as the only Latin song to be used during Communion.⁵⁰⁶ All other Communion songs had been translated into Swedish (including the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*) with the first Swedish liturgies (in 1531 and 1541), even though introits and graduals had Latin alternatives.⁵⁰⁷ Eckerdal links the use of Swedish in the Communion songs to the general idea of accessibility and understanding of the Eucharistic moment. As the words of

⁵⁰³ Ibid., p. 25. See also Duffy, *The Stripping*, pp. 238-239.

⁵⁰⁴ Ytterjärna Church has murals from the fourteenth, fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. One of the fifteenth century murals depicts the Mass of St Gregory. The murals from the seventeenth century, on the other hand, are only fragmental and one scene possibly shows the young Jesus in the temple. The murals were not whitewashed until the eighteenth century, and then mainly for aesthetic reasons. See Ivar Schnell and Erik Bohrn, *Ytter-Järna kyrka, Sörmländska kyrkor 106*, (Nyköping: Stiftelsen Södermanlands museum, 1976), pp. 12-13.

⁵⁰⁵ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 50-54.

⁵⁰⁶ *The Discubuit* is printed with the music in *Liber Cantus Upsaliensis* of 1620, but then in the reformed Lutheran version, which gave more weight to the Gospel. See Nilsson, "Discubuit", p. 242.

⁵⁰⁷ Jullander, 'Sub communionē', pp. 57-59. Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång', p. 83.

institution should be heard and understood, so too the songs that were part of the ritual.⁵⁰⁸ The songs were sung by a choir, not the congregation,⁵⁰⁹ so it was not to make them user-friendly that the lyrics were translated into Swedish but to make the words understandable. And yet, the *Discubuit Jesus* was a Communion song in Latin. In a forthcoming article, Mattias Lundberg (pers. comm.) suggests that the continued use of the *Discubuit* was due to popular religion, in particular to guilds and endowments.⁵¹⁰ Late-medieval records show that the *Discubuit*-processions must have been a captivating and dramatic narrative. The records prescribe that boys sung the verses whilst carrying chandeliers. These verses were the narrated part (the evangelist), which was alternated by the words of Christ, sung by a priest or cantor. Meanwhile the bells tolled, and the organ played.⁵¹¹ This practice seems to have been wide-spread, as the Danish Graduale printed by Niels Jespersen in 1573 indeed has marked "duo pueri" ('by two boys') at the verses.⁵¹²

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the song was important for the *Corpus Christi* Guild in Stockholm 'Heliga lekamens gille'. A will from 1472 also stipulates that a bequest to Uppsala Cathedral should fund the spectacular *Discubuit* procession every Thursday at the cathedral, for the glory of God and to praise *Corpus Christi*.⁵¹³ It is this monetary investment for Requiem Masses and processions that Lundberg highlights in his discussion. He suggests that popular culture connected the *Discubuit* so strongly with the Eucharist and the memory of dearly departed that abolishing it completely would have caused unnecessary conflict during the Reformation. Gustav Vasa had indeed been involved with several uprisings against the new liturgical orders in the 1530s, and had himself disbanded the *Corpus Christi* Guild, who were the chief advocates for the *Discubuit*

⁵⁰⁸ Eckerdal, 'Kommunionssång', p. 83.

⁵⁰⁹ Jullander, 'Sub communione', pp. 58.

⁵¹⁰ Lundberg, *Transplanting Ritual*.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.; Nilsson, "'Discubuit'", p. 245.

⁵¹² Lundberg, *Transplanting Ritual*.

⁵¹³ See Nilsson, "'Discubuit'" for more on the guilds, endowments and the Eucharistic processions that were connected with the *Discubuit*, here p. 245.

processions in Stockholm. Requiem Masses may have stopped, but the *Discubuit* at least remained in use in the ordinary High Mass.⁵¹⁴ Whether the laity of the post-Reformation era made the same connection between the Requiem Mass and the *Discubuit* is more inconclusive, but the song remained in its Latin form in HB1614, and at a time when congregational singing had become common, which points to its continued significance in lay worship. There were even attempts to turn the *Discubuit* into a song in the vernacular. A Finnish version appear in the Codex Westh in the 1540s.⁵¹⁵ Just recently two Swedish translations have also been found. One manuscript (c. 1582), was unearthed at the Diocese of Skara.⁵¹⁶ The other manuscript was discovered at the Parish of Stigtomta-Vrena during a recent inventory of books in the Diocese of Strängnäs. The latter is not yet properly dated but Prof Mattias Lundberg provisionally dates it to c. 1600 (pers. comm.).⁵¹⁷ As the previous chapters on spiritual literature have shown, popular culture was preoccupied with mortality and tended to seek Communion as a viaticum to death. Later chapters on church interiors will add to this picture, showing how the laity of the post-Reformation era invested heavily in memorials and tributes to the dead. In a society with this kind of mindset, a song that had long been associated with requiems and remembering the dead would still have been relevant.

Further to the theme of death, popular culture also frequently mentions Communion as protection against evil. It is a recurring theme in the devotional books of high culture (espoused theology) where the sacrament is called upon to defend the supplicant against the devil and hell.⁵¹⁸ This theme also appears in Communion songs published in the literature of popular culture.⁵¹⁹ As with the theme of mortality, this

⁵¹⁴ Lundberg, *Transplanting Ritual*.

⁵¹⁵ See Hannikainen, 'Vernacular', pp. 163-164.

⁵¹⁶ Loc. Cit. The Swedish version was found as a handwritten appendix to *Piae Cantiones* from 1582.

⁵¹⁷ *Stigtomta Manuscript*.

⁵¹⁸ See the prayers of both Bielke and the Poetess Brenner: Bielke, *bönbok*; Brenner, *dikter*, p. 17.

⁵¹⁹ See, Liscovius, *Dygde-spegel*, pp. 328-329.

connection between demons and the Eucharist as protection may well stem from medieval religiosity and sacramental processions with bells, songs and the host to ward off evil spirits. If that was the case, then we find here a progression of espoused and operant theology from the medieval tradition to post-Reformation times. Notably, the theme of the devil is not at all prominent (even missing) in the Communion songs of normative theology.

During the post-Reformation era, with the increased focus on catechetical instruction, the population would gradually have been instructed in the new faith. The influx of catechetical hymns was discussed in the last chapter (Chapter Six). Here we are going to examine what impact such hymns might have had on espoused theology. Catechetical hymns had a different development in Sweden and Denmark respectively.⁵²⁰ During the Reformation in Denmark-Norway, a liturgy based on Luther's German Mass was created, and used into the seventeenth century. This liturgy exchanged the medieval chants for new Protestant hymns. The Swedish (and Finnish) Mass, on the other hand, translated the medieval liturgy and supplemented it with protestant hymns.⁵²¹ This is of interest here, as the available research of catechetical hymns in oral instruction is from Denmark and Norway. That is, the use of catechetical hymns, inside and outside the church service, would have been more comprehensive in Denmark-Norway. By contrast the Swedish (and Finnish) liturgy went through a gradual transformation, with old tunes and texts (although in the vernacular) still part of worship.⁵²² Whether or not the laity perceived the changes as dramatic or not, is a point for discussion.⁵²³ The question here is to what degree the laity picked up on the finer points of Eucharistic theology (those

⁵²⁰ During the seventeenth century the Nordic countries constituted two distinct areas of East and West, with Denmark-Norway to the west, and Sweden, including Finland, to the east. Here Sweden and Denmark refer to these two areas of East and West.

⁵²¹ For more on the Nordic variations, see Paulsen, 'Luthers'.

⁵²² Pahlmblad, *Mässa*, pp. 79-91.

⁵²³ Pahlmblad emphasises the liturgical continuation from the medieval to the Lutheran liturgy, whereas Berntson focuses more on how the laity perceived the new ritual as a great change. Loc. Cit.; Berntson, *Mässa*, pp. 229-234.

pertaining to transubstantiation and consubstantiation) and the changes that came with the Lutheran doctrine. Even though Lutheran hymns were included in the Swedish Mass, they shared the liturgical sequence with familiar Gregorian tunes and with traditional rituals like the elevation.⁵²⁴ Furthermore, this took place in churches that were still decorated with medieval statues and illustrations.

During the post-Reformation period, the ritual habits had gone through some changes. The initial objections to songs in the vernacular would have ceased with a century of church instruction, and congregational singing seemed to have become common at the turn of the seventeenth century.⁵²⁵ Admission to First Communion was conditional on knowing and understanding the catechism.⁵²⁶ Admission to Communion was also imperative on the good standing of an adult in the parish community.⁵²⁷ These are two strong incentives for a young person to observe and learn the rituals and responses surrounding the Eucharist. Learning the Communion hymns would have been a major part of proper congregational behaviour, as well as catechetical instruction. So, whereas operant theology (lived out faith) probably still had deep roots in traditional religion, espoused theology (the expressed faith) would have been diverse, using both the chants and songs of old, as well as incorporating more of the expressions of normative theology through catechesis.

7.3 High Culture and a New Spirituality

The Church had little control, however, over which songs the laity learnt outside Church instruction. In an oral society, songs would have had a farther reach than the written word and also carried the potential to connect the literate and illiterate spheres of society. The

⁵²⁴ Elevation was removed with HB1614, see Yates, *Liturgical*, p. 29-30. HB1614 does not have any rubrics about elevation, but regardless of the handbook it may still have been used by individual priests, see HB1614.

⁵²⁵ Jullander, 'Sub communione', p. 59.

⁵²⁶ Johansson, 'Kyrkan', p. 252, p. 254.

⁵²⁷ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 140-141.

terms high and low culture must be seen as a generalisation to distinguish between two somewhat different spheres in seventeenth century Sweden. Peter Burke writes about the many cultural layers that made up society in early modern Europe. He also cautions his reader from seeing these cultural layers as separate and independent. There were frequent cross-overs between cultural groups.⁵²⁸ One example Burke gives of oral culture in the hands of the literate elite is from Sweden. He refers to a song book compiled by Per Brahe the Younger (member of a prominent noble family), containing ballads that had so far been transmitted orally. They survive to this day only because a nobleman wrote them down.⁵²⁹

One aspect that did distinguish the literate class and higher orders however, was their connection to the cultured elite on the continent both through personal relationships and also imported spiritual literature. These connections gave them access to a larger circulation of Communion songs than those found in the liturgy and diocesan hymnals.⁵³⁰ Furthermore, a new national literary style may also have been developing. Devotional literature at the time showed evidence of change, a change Stina Hansson calls *the new sensibility*.⁵³¹ This style did not just make inroads into spiritual literature, but also into the hymns of popular culture. Among these songs were alternative Communion songs, and these may indicate that espoused theology in high culture created its own strand of religious song, something which will be investigated further whilst looking at the hymns of PB1695. During the eighteenth century, Pietistic songbooks in themselves became popular. One of the first collections came in 1717, *Mose och lamsens visor* (*Songs of Moses and the lambs*), with songs that accentuate themes that were already part of PB1695, such as mysticism and emotion, repentance and Christian virtue. *Sions sånger* (*Songs of Sion*) was published in 1743 and was influenced by Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, (1700-1760) and the *Herrnbuter*

⁵²⁸ Burke, *Popular*, pp. 49-56.

⁵²⁹ Ibid., p. 52.

⁵³⁰ Lindquist, *Nattvarden*, pp. 25-27, p. 83.

⁵³¹ Hansson, *Ett språk*, pp. 22-24; Kjellberg, 'Andlig'.

Brüdergemine. These alternative songbooks were used to a great extent in both personal and household prayers.⁵³²

We are going to examine a song from a devotional book in greater depth, namely from *Christelig fruen-timmers andelige dygde-spegel* (Christian Women's Spiritual Mirror of Piety) by Salomon Liscovius (German, 1640-1689). This prayer book was published in Swedish 1695.⁵³³ The song contains themes that keep recurring in espoused theology: devil, death and hell – images that were also a common thread in oral culture. It also illustrates the emotional language of the new style and includes both a more individualistic (homocentric) language, and blood mysticism, which became common in the eighteenth century with the emergence of Pietism.⁵³⁴ The hymn expresses a personal experience, speaking in the first person singular (I, me), quite unlike the Communion songs of the Reformation, which used second person singular (thee, thou). The individual, the Christian, is in focus, whereas before it had been on a personal Christ. Furthermore, rather than talking of faith, it is love and the heart that connect the Christian with Jesus.

8. Hwem är som mig fördömer; / I tin Sår iag mig gömer;
Tu/ som mitt hierta gäster/ Min Salighet befäster.

8. *Who is there to judge me, I hide in your wounds; you, a guest in my heart, confirm my salvation.*

9. Nu war/ O Jesu prijsat/ Som mig så har bespijsat/
Och en ifrån tig drifwet/ Men skänkt/ för Döden/ Ljfwet.

9. *Now, praised be Jesus, who has thus fed me, and one, pushed away from you, but given life instead of death.*

10. Jag tackar tig/ och beder/ At tu min Sång så leder/
At iag ey från tig wijker/ Och Satan mig ey swijker.

10. *I thank you and pray, that you direct my song, so I may not depart from you, and that Satan does not betray me.* ⁵³⁵

This is quite a departure from the hymns of the Reformation where the Word is the Christian guide. The sacrament is furthermore described as a spiritual experience, with the

⁵³² Arvastson, *svensk*, pp. 49-52.

⁵³³ Liscovius, *Dygde-spegel*, pp. 328-329.

⁵³⁴ Arvastson, *Svensk*, p. 51.

⁵³⁵ My translation, Liscovius, *Dygde-spegel*, pp. 328-329.

heart finding rest in Jesus's wounds. Both official Communion songs (normative theology) and episcopal writing (formal theology) instead use more physical descriptions of the sacramental salvation, seeing God's flesh in the host and drinking his blood in the wine, thus literally tasting divine life. Therein lies a distinct difference between the Communion hymns of the Church and the songs of popular devotional books: the former strove for doctrinal correctness, with a Christocentric and tangible physical language, while the latter were more personally homocentric and described the sacramental experience in more spiritual terms. As the seventeenth century progressed, the songs of high culture increasingly termed faith and Communion as the heart and the spirit (espoused theology). We can wonder at the influence these hymns of the learned elite might have had on low culture. Whether the songs of proto-Pietism were picked up by the common people more readily than its prose is not something that can be determined here, but these tendencies from espoused theology did appear in the official hymnbook in 1695, and thus were introduced into formal and normative theology.

To some degree the text of this hymn is a proto-Pietistic influence from the Continent, the song is a translation from German after all, but the actual writing style did have a national correlation. Hansson describes a new poetic style in seventeenth-century Sweden as *the new sensibility*, which she finds has strong connections with both popular devotional literature and later eighteenth-century secular writing. She uses two poems by the Swedish poet Lasse Lucidor (1638-1674) to illustrate 1) a genre that follows in the tradition of renaissance poetry and 2) *the new sensibility*. The first poem follows the formal structures of Petrarchan tradition. It centres around bittersweet love [*amaro amore*] and this emotion is fixed in verbal constructions or images, rather than in expressive words.⁵³⁶ A

⁵³⁶ Hansson, *Ett språk*, pp. 9-10. The poem starts with an account of all that afflicts the lover who hopelessly yearns for Margaris, a generic name for a shepherdess. His emotions of anxiety, grief, bittersweet joy (and others) are all personified in the poem and become companions on his journey. In verse two he is even joined by the Goddess of Death. Lars Johanson (Lucidor), *Samlade dikter*, ed. by Stina Hansson, (Stockholm: Svenska vitterhetssamfundet, 1997), pp. 465-466.

common theme in renaissance and baroque art was to personify virtues, vices, heavenly phenomena and emotions, turning them into minor deities.⁵³⁷ For the educated man or woman, these would have been familiar images, and thus they became personal conveyors of emotion. The second Lucidor poem that Hansson writes about however, has a different character. Lucidor describes his immediate emotions: his heart quails in the presence of Eternity, his thoughts soar at its depths, it is eternal damnation that he fears. Only God can lift the qualms from his prospective doom.⁵³⁸ Hansson concludes that Lucidor allows himself to write in a new style when he composes spiritual poems, even when his worldly love poems are written according to classical rhetorical rules. This new style would become prevalent in most Pietistic devotional literature in the eighteenth century, but also in secular writing.⁵³⁹ The root however, seems to be found in the spiritual literature of popular culture.

7.4 Eucharistic Themes in Popular Songs

Both the emotional language and the effusive imagery were common themes in the songs of popular devotional books. Blood and water flow freely in both hymns and prayers, as we have seen in Liscovius' Communion song above, images of deep emotion.⁵⁴⁰ Another example is in a prayer of Cundicius' *Andelig Pärle-Skerud* (Spiritual Robe of Pearls), where a torrent of gushing blood and water wipe away our sins.⁵⁴¹ Cundicius suggests both prayers and hymns to use after the Lord's Supper. He mentions Luther's familiar Communion songs (004) and (006), but also a new hymn that touches on a personal and emotional level.

⁵³⁷ Examples of these are *Charity* as a goddess nursing two babies at her bosom, *Time* as an old bearded man with a time-piece in his hand, or *Sloth* as a sleeping house maid, see Erika Langmuir, *Allegory*, (London: National Gallery Publications, 2010), pp. 9-13, pp. 36-41, pp. 51-52.

⁵³⁸ Johanson, (Lucidor), *dikter*, pp. 517-518.

⁵³⁹ Hansson, *Ett språk*, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁴⁰ Verse 3 mentions, 'my sins that are gone, washed away by your [Jesus'] blood'. Then in v. 8 where 'I hide in your wounds', Liscovius, *Dygde-spegel*, p. 328-329.

⁵⁴¹ Cundicius, *pärle-skerud*, p. 436.

This song praises the sacrament as a testament to God's love, faithfulness and comfort.⁵⁴²

These words are neither didactic nor explanatory but meant to reassure the fearful.

Reassurance is also what Cundicius offers his reader at the end of his Communion section, with a prayer that pleads with God to, 'Bless and keep me today and always in body and soul, from the Devil, sin and all evil.'⁵⁴³ Espoused theology, in both hymns and prayers, frequently mentions the evil one, the source of a Christian's anxiety.

In all things, these themes are more engaging, personal, and emotionally abundant, than the themes of the official Communion songs in the liturgy. The difference in the language should be no surprise; the hymns were written for different forums and in different times, but it offers a distinction between normative/formal theology and espoused theology. Another comparison, however, between the songs and the prayers of some popular devotional works, reveals a more compelling variation. In my search for Communion songs in popular literature, I have found none that display the exact and detailed structure of Eucharistic preparation, a product of Lutheran Orthodoxy which was common in late seventeenth-century preparation manuals for the sacrament. This is surprising since songs were often used as a memory tool, cataloguing biblical names or commandments.⁵⁴⁴ The songs researched in this study mention the remorseful sinner, that is true, but rather than making it the focal point, the text uses sinfulness to underscore the great mercy and love of Jesus. These hymns were not the production of theologians and Lutheran Orthodoxy, instead we can assume they emanated from proto-Pietism with its deep emotion and privatised faith. It appears, however, as if the new and emotional writing

⁵⁴² Ibid., p. 437.

⁵⁴³ My translation. Ibid., p. 438.

⁵⁴⁴ Hymns could be purely catechetical and deal with the different passages of the catechism, or paraphrase biblical passages such as: the creation story; canticles or psalms (*magnificat, nunc dimittis, de profundis* and *the Lord is my shepherd* are just a few examples); prophetic stories (*Esaie Prophetenoms hände thet så*); and the parables (*Een lijkensel linslig och klaar*). See *Een vanlig psalmbook, Göteborgspsalmboken 1650*, (The Gothenburg hymnal from 1650), at the Bodleian library in Oxford, or the facsimile edition, *Een vanlig psalmbook: Göteborgspsalmboken 1650 : faksimilutgåva av exemplaret i Bodleian Library*, Oxford, Göteborgs stiftshistoriska sällskap, Göteborg, 2002[1650], for a few of these examples.

style developed first in prayers, not hymns. A possible reason may be that prayers were for personal use, not for public worship. When Arndt in one of his prayers uses John 6.56, it is a personal Jesus who speaks, 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.' And the prayer ends on a personal note too: in the sure hope that nothing can give more comfort, be more dear, than to be in Christ.⁵⁴⁵

If we compare the themes of songs and prayers found in popular devotional books, a few more differences are revealed. Whereas the prayers are generally compiled to be used for preparation before Communion, the hymns tend to be suggested for thanksgiving after the Eucharist. The difference of usage creates a variance in themes. The songs have themes of reassurance and thanksgiving, as compared to most of the prayers, which were meant to wake the sinner in preparation for the sacrament. It is possible that this is in correlation with the traditional Communion hymns. Even though *Jesus Kristus är vår helsa* (006) is instructive and dogmatic, it has personal moments. There is Jesus's direct appeal, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.'⁵⁴⁶ Within the context of espoused theology, however, the language became even more personal and emotional. They became homocentric more than Christocentric. The themes in formal theology also tended to focus on the Fruits of the Spirit, and the sacrament as a motivator to look outside oneself to strengthen the community. By contrast, the themes of espoused theology in high culture were introspective, regarding the sacrament as protection against evil, and a spiritual moment of peace, healed by the wounds of Jesus.

⁵⁴⁵ D Johan Arndts, *Paradis Lust-Gård / Med många Christeliga Dygder upfylld*. Burchardi Tryckeri, Stockholm 1695, p. 308.

⁵⁴⁶ Matt 11.28

7.5 Summary

We have here searched for espoused theology in hymnody and songs of the sacrament. In the foggy history of oral culture, there has to be speculation. Considering the survival of medieval hagiographic songs, the historical accounts of spontaneous after-chanting (*eftermässning*), the continued use of *Discubuit Jesus*, the rise of catechetical songs, it can be concluded that singing played an important part in oral tradition, in both high and low culture. Whether official Communion hymns were used in everyday religion (operant theology) is a different question, but the songs were surely learnt through catechetical teaching and thus had become part of how the laity expressed their faith (espoused theology). Prayer books (espoused theology of higher orders) also suggested hymns to be sung after Communion, possibly during household prayers, but it would be presumptuous to assume that this advice had been adopted by the laity. What is noteworthy in the Communion songs found in devotional books, however, is the omission of themes such as preparation and worthiness. This too, points to the function of the songs as thanksgiving after Communion, a personal response to God's grace, rather than as an aid in preparing for the Lord's Supper. Despite this usage of the hymns of popular prayer books, there is still no mention of the Communion leading to a missional activity such as neighbourly love or strengthened community, which was a central topic for the Church (in formal and normative theology).

Overall, singing would have been a pull-factor for the Church in sacramental instruction, as it was such a popular part of common life. Such hymns, and in this instance Communion songs, may have been the greatest influence normative theology had on espoused theology and the religious language of the laity. But with the pull-factor of singing, it is also possible that high culture carried influence on low culture, and thereby may have been instrumental in spreading proto-Pietism through the cultural layers of espoused theology. Again, these can only be conjectures. Operant theology however, and

the continued use of medieval chants and prayers, would support this. There are also greater overlaps of sacramental themes between medieval mysticism and proto-Pietism, than between lay religion and the hymns of the Reformation. The preoccupation in medieval tradition with the devil, demons and hell, can also be found in the songs of seventeenth-century popular devotional books. As Peter Burke points out, high and low culture were not independent, but interdependent and both made up popular culture.⁵⁴⁷

There were, of course, also differences between the literate and illiterate classes. When oral tradition asked for protection against demonic forces in chants and prayers it seemed to be against both physical and spiritual harm. The evil forces were active players in the real world. In literary circles though, the words expressed a need to protect the mind and heart from the Evil Tempter. For the higher echelons, the devil seemed to be more of a cosmic force than a physical presence. The question is, therefore, if this division between a physical and spiritual understanding of demonic forces, also mirrored an understanding of Real Presence in Communion. This issue becomes the main topic in the next chapter.

⁵⁴⁷ Burke, *Popular*, pp. 49-56.

Chapter 8 The Influence of the Laity on Normative and Formal Theology

8.1 Introduction

The new sensibility, the writing style of seventeenth-century popular spiritual literature (and espoused theology), differed from both the pedagogical language of the old Communion hymns as well as the rhetorical strictures of sermons and classic poems.⁵⁴⁸ Official Church language, however, seems to have been influenced by *the new sensibility* in the latter half of the century. At least that is what appears in a close read of some new Communion songs that were adopted with PB1695. Studying these hymns helps trace the impact lay piety (both espoused and operant theology) may have had on formal and normative theology. This new writing style may also reveal a new understanding of the Real Presence in lay piety.

All through the seventeenth century, the episcopacy had asked for a new church ordinance, liturgy and hymnal, hoping this would act as a unifying glue in a society they saw as too religiously diverse.⁵⁴⁹ Still, and as previously discussed, some new Communion hymns of PB1695 echoed the sentiments of *the new sensibility*, with language that is both emotional and individualistic. Could it be that even the episcopacy had been influenced by the new trends of lay religiosity? Espoused theology is found in how the laity expressed their faith, such as the prayer books used in the literate spheres. Operant theology, on the other hand, is about faith in practice. One example is the increased privatisation of the

⁵⁴⁸ For a definition and a discussion of the term, see Hansson, *Ett språk*, pp. 34-36, and the English abstract.

⁵⁴⁹ The last decades of the seventeenth century saw a flurry of activity to create an absolute and unified state in which the church became a cog in the machinery. The Church Act was adopted in 1686, a new edition of the catechesis came 1689, a service book in 1693, a new school ordinance in 1693, an official hymnal in 1695, and a new translation of the Bible in 1703 (Charles XII Bible). See Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, pp. 156-166.

Communion service in the higher circles of society.⁵⁵⁰ The trend of privatisation comes through in the personalised language of the Communion songs of popular spiritual literature. The main question here is, did privatisation (operant theology) become strong enough to influence official norms of formal and normative theology? A follow-up question is whether privatisation and the new writing style possibly reflected a change of lay understanding of Real Presence.

8.2 *The New Sensibility* – The Influence of High Culture

When searching for the possible influence operant and espoused theology had on formal theology, then the discussion that led to the adoption of PB1695 needs to be considered. Prior to the official hymnbook of 1695, another hymnbook was published, edited by Professor Jesper Swedberg (1653-1735). Swedberg was later made Bishop of Skara. Swedberg's edition was meant to become the official hymnbook, but it was retracted by the Council of Bishops. The bishops argued that it contained Pietistic ideas and blamed Swedberg for its failure. This discussion points both to the spiritual movements at play in society (operant theology), and to how this was seen as something that challenged the official religion of the Church (normative theology). This debate is something of a crossroads of late seventeenth-century religiosity. There was the influence of popular belief in songs and writing (espoused theology); the strictures of official dogmas (normative theology); the production of a new official hymnal (formal theology); and the new movements at play in lay piety (operant theology).

The problem with Pietism, as the Council of Bishops saw it, was an individualistic and emotionally driven piety that challenged the dogmatic authority of the Church and the idea of one religion for one nation. The debate escalated, and Pietism was increasingly

⁵⁵⁰ See Lindquist, *Nattvarden*.

identified as a threat to religious and national unity. 1724 saw the adoption of *Konventikelplakatet* (the charter of the true faith), which forbid religious gatherings outside of household prayers. Repeat offenders for anyone who arranged such a meeting could face prison or exile.⁵⁵¹ Emotive language had been used before, however, so it is not that Lutheran hymn writing or theology suddenly changed, nor were there distinct demarcation lines between dogmatic and emotive writing. As has been seen before in the discussion of Luther's hymns, emotional and personal language were very effective pedagogical tools.⁵⁵² In devotional books too, which were often compilation works, medieval mysticism stood alongside more doctrinal and Protestant prayers.⁵⁵³ And even if the prayer books were not the work of Swedish bishops or theologians, they were still translated and valued by the clergy in general. Furthermore, the bishops may have objected to Swedberg's so called Pietistic hymnbook, but we will see that they too were influenced by the new emotional writing style.

Bridget Heal stresses that seventeenth-century Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism cannot be clearly defined, nor seen as two movements in opposition with each other – of doctrine versus devotion – the religious cultures were often too interwoven. Furthermore, she explains that it was within Lutheranism and building on Luther's own writings, which often focused on affection and the heart, that a more emotional style was developed in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Inspiration was also found in mysticism and contemporary Catholic works. Arndt (1555-1621) is the most noteworthy of these Lutheran writers, but also Philip Kegel (d. after 1611) and his combined prayer and hymnbook, which was published in Sweden as *Tolff andelige betrachtelser* (*Twelve spiritual*

⁵⁵¹ Harry Lenhammar, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – individualismens och upplysningens tid*, (Stockholm: Verbum, 2000), pp. 58-59.

⁵⁵² See Chapter 6.2, German Hymns in Swedish Translation.

⁵⁵³ See Chapter 1 and the introduction to Spiritual Literature.

meditations) in 1617.⁵⁵⁴ The cause for the piety of the early seventeenth century is equally difficult to define. Theories mention a third-generation crisis, caused by a gap between what the reformers had preached, and a sense of unfulfilled promises for the Christian. Other theories attribute the need for emotional piety to larger crisis, such as the little Ice Age and the 'Thirty Years' War'.⁵⁵⁵ Regardless of why Lutheran writers further developed the emotional style, Heal can at least identify a reason for its existence: 'to bridge the gap'; the 'gap' she defines as that between mind and heart, and between understanding and feeling.⁵⁵⁶ However, the sixteenth-century Swedish translations of Luther's hymns tended to favour instruction over the emotional language of Luther, and the aim of the seventeenth-century reading campaign was religious instruction and unity. This may be why Swedish literary scholars talk of a new writing style of the seventeenth century. Stina Hansson expounds on the style, *den nya sensibiliteten* (*the new sensibility*), as developed out of *the old sensibility* of late medieval mysticism, rather than earlier Swedish Lutheran texts. She then places *the new sensibility* in contrast with the more dogmatic and rhetorical texts of Swedish Lutheran Orthodoxy.⁵⁵⁷ The focus on instruction in the Swedish Church may also be why hymnody scholars like Arvastsson describe songs of Pietism as subjective and emotional in comparison with the formal style of Swedish Baroque hymns.⁵⁵⁸ Thus, in Sweden there seemed to be a greater contrast between the writings of Church and clergy and those of popular devotional literature.

In order to glean a better understanding of what both united and separated the songs of the official Church and those of lay piety, this chapter will continue to explore the hymnal PB1695, and in particular Communion hymns. The debate that preceded the

⁵⁵⁴ Kegel, *tolff andelige*; and Bridget Heal, *A Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany*. First edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 101-104.

⁵⁵⁵ Heal, *A Magnificent*, pp. 103-104.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵⁵⁷ Hansson, *Ett språk*, pp. 34-36. The English terminology is from the abstract.

⁵⁵⁸ Arvastson, *Svensk*, pp. 49-50.

adoption of PB1695 sheds light on different layers of Eucharistic spirituality in the late seventeenth century, even in the Council of Bishops. When PB1695 was adopted after much argument, 78 hymns had been removed from Swedberg's original edition, and quite a few songs had been revised.⁵⁵⁹ None of the Communion songs were omitted, but some had been edited. The group of new Communion hymns that were adopted with PB1695 contains one Swedish original. With several of the new hymns there is evidence of inspiration from devotional literature; one song is based on a prayer by Liscovius, and others are translations of German hymns by Arndt or Olearius. Lars Högmärck's *psalmopoeographia* from 1736 lists the hymns in PB1695 and gives his readers a summary of their origin.⁵⁶⁰ Tracing the history of hymnody, however, is fraught with difficulty. Hymnbooks of the sixteenth and seventeenth century mentioned neither writers nor composers, which is why their origin is sometimes unclear. Moreover, Högmärck is not the most reliable source, and there are mistakes in his account.⁵⁶¹ Despite his errors, Högmärck's description of the hymns offers an interesting example of his personal conflict between individualistic piety (of operant and espoused theology) and Christocentric doctrine (of formal and normative theology). His contribution also shows that the discussion on what could be described as 'proper' piety was still relevant in the eighteenth century: was it personal spirituality or proper doctrine that ultimately defined a good Swedish Lutheran? Two Swedish hymn-writers stand out among the Communion songs of PB1695: Jesper Swedberg and Bishop Haquin Spegel (1645-1714, archbishop 1711).⁵⁶² One

⁵⁵⁹ Arvastson, *Den svenska*, p. 104-105.

⁵⁶⁰ Högmärck, *Psalmopoeographia*.

⁵⁶¹ As an example, he lists John Huss as the original writer of (006), *Jesus Christus nostra salus*, which is more legend than fact. Furthermore, he names Laurentius Petri as the translator of (006) instead of the more probable translator/writer Olaus Petri, *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11. Swedberg and Spegel contributions to the current official hymnal of the Church of Sweden are still considerable.

hymn by Spegel, *Säll then som hafwer Jesum kär*, illustrates the conflict between lay piety and official doctrine.⁵⁶³

8.2.1 'Säll then som hafwer Jesum kär' – Emotive Singing

According to Högmarck, Spegel was behind two of the new hymns, a Swedish original (No 16), and a translation of a German hymn by Arndt (No 19).⁵⁶⁴ Högmarck describes the translation of hymn no 19, *Säll then som hafwer Jesum kär* (In German, *O Jesu süß wer Dein gedenckt*) as greatly diverging from the German original. Yet, he says, Spegel infuses the text with 'both the sap and the strength, the core and the marrow in this delightful song of praise that stirs and warms the heart.'⁵⁶⁵

Högmarck's praise of the emotive language in this hymn can be compared with the importance formal theology put on Scripture and instruction, which is evident in the Communion songs of the Swedish Reformation. Dogmatic correctness and literary decorum were also important for Swedish Lutheran Orthodoxy.⁵⁶⁶ Högmarck's description indicates a new purpose for church singing, one which bears the mark of espoused theology; songs greatest value was not only in their didactic purposes, but in that they could rouse emotion and introspective faith. And indeed, the writing of hymn no 19, *Säll then som hafwer Jesum kär* compares well with the style of proto-Pietism. What makes this hymn such an interesting example however, are the revisions made to the hymn. Before appearing in PB1695, the Council of Bishops corrected what they found dogmatically unsound, but only in verse sixteen. Spegel's own affiliation to the bishops (and formal

⁵⁶³ *Säll den som håller Jesus kär*, is hymn 389 in the current hymnal of the Church of Sweden, though the hymn has been heavily edited.

⁵⁶⁴ Arndt in turn based his hymn on a Latin song, *Jesu dulcis memoria*. In the current hymnbook of the Church of Sweden the hymn has number 389. The current hymnbook mentions the medieval roots of the hymn, but not Arndt.

⁵⁶⁵ My translation, Swe: 'innefattat safften och krafften, kiernan och mergen theraf i thenna liufliga och hiertstyrckande Lofsongen.' Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁶⁶ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, pp. 60-62, p. 173.

theology) is also apparent, since he makes a distinct shift in style, from emotive to instructive, in verse fourteen. The hymn has an emotionally driven beginning though, and the first verse centres us firmly in matters of the heart.

1. Säll then som hafwer Jesum kär, Och honom i sitt hierta bär! Ty ingen större hugnad är, Än
hafwa Jesum hos sigh när.

The first line reads ‘*Blessed is the one who has Jesus dear*’, or ‘*who loves Jesus*’. The first verse spells it out for us, namely that holding Christ dear means that he is in one’s heart, always close, and the greatest comfort. Already there is a diversion from the traditional emphasis on true faith and correct doctrine, which is instead replaced by emotion and experience. Love for Jesus is at the heart of the song, not correct faith.

The hymn explores the theme further in verse two with a reference to the blood mysticism that would become a common *leitmotif* in the eighteenth century.⁵⁶⁷

2. Jagh hörer ingen sötare röst, Jagh finner ingen kärare tröst, Än Jesum som migh återlöst, Och
haar för migh sin blodh uthöst.

The second verse tells that no voice is sweeter than Jesus’s; no comfort dearer than the one Jesus gives, who (almost like an afterthought) ‘has redeemed me’. The verse ends, ‘And has shed his blood for me.’ The singer is connected with Christ through the supernatural nature of his blood. Christ is close if he resides in the heart. His blood holds us together. In this relationship we find both comfort and safety. Even the language is personal, using the first person singular: *I* experience these emotions; they are personal, deep and direct.

Not until the third verse is a real reference to the contrite found. There is no warning about the need for preparation, however, as there was in previous Communion songs. These are instead words of comfort: Jesus is good to the repentant; he gives courage to the afflicted; his baptism purifies; and his blood gives strength.

⁵⁶⁷ Arvastson, *Svensk*, p. 51.

3. Jesus är them bootfärdigom godh: han gifwer them bedröfwadom modh: Han renar them medh Döpelsens flodh: Och styrcker medh sin heliga blodh.

The verse starts by describing Jesus as good towards the repentant sinner. It continues by focusing on the experience of the divine relationship: here is courage, cleansing and strength for the disheartened. Compare this with the hymns of the Reformation, and their stern warning against approaching the altar unprepared.

Moving on to verse six, the song offers an explanation of what proper love is to the Christian: look for Jesus, trust him, long for him, yearn to see him face to face.

6. Jagh söker Jesum medh all flijt, Och haar til honom all min lijt: Jagh sträfwär stedze komma tijt, Ther jagh må see hans Anlet blijdt.

Despite the focus on Jesus, this is still an example of homocentric faith, not Christocentric. Here it is humankind that aspires towards a unification with God, not the other way around. The theology bears resemblance to the stages or ladders of faith used in some devotional texts.⁵⁶⁸ The writer, however, pulls us firmly back to the Christocentric fold in verse eight.

8. O Jesu, tu äst en Konung stoor, Som ej begrips af Himmel och jord: Tu hos honom doch nådig boor, Som uthaf hiertat på tigh troor.

Jesus is here described as a king, too great for both heaven and earth. The song informs the Christian (this verse uses second person singular) that, despite God's greatness, he/she is still in a divine union with Jesus, as long as the heart is full of faith. The hymn clarifies proper faith in the last line, 'who with their heart believes in you [Jesus].' It is Christ who makes the union possible, not the individual Christian. Yet, at the forefront is the definition of faith. Faith is not merely trusting in the Word, nor is it enough to believe that Jesus is a mediator and redeemer. He must be a personal redeemer. Faith must be personal

⁵⁶⁸ Lindquist, *Studier*, pp. 254-257.

to the extent that it engages the ‘self’ as an expression of love. With this hymn, there is a shift in formal theology, from the *Word* to the *Heart*, a shift seemingly influenced by popular culture and espoused theology.⁵⁶⁹

The novelty factor of ‘faith as a lover’s response’ can be understood if put in contrast with doctrinally concerned bishops. Two good examples are Laurentius Paulinus Gothus and Johannes Matthiae. They here act as representatives of early seventeenth century formal theology presented in the publications that were studied in previous chapters on Spiritual Literature.⁵⁷⁰ Bishop Laurentius (as always true to the catechism) lifts up faith in the Word as that which makes us ready for the Lord’s Supper.⁵⁷¹ Bishop Johannes, on the other hand (a humanist and teacher), uses his texts to enlighten his readers. He makes it clear that the human mind cannot possibly understand the mystery of the Eucharist, ‘One must believe in the Word of God, and “bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ;”’⁵⁷² Between these texts from the first half of the seventeenth-century and Spegel’s late-century hymn, there is a shift from pedagogical markers and faith that is personal only in its passive reception of the Eucharistic elements, towards faith that is still Christocentric, but more emotional and with an active human agent. Could Spegel’s hymn possibly be an example of espoused theology (lay religious expression) influencing formal theology (the language of Church officials)?

Counting thirteen verses, *Säll then som hafver Jesum kär* is void of pedagogical markers. Its words instead express the need for love and a faith rooted in the heart, not in knowledge. The importance of the Word of God, which makes no appearance in the text, seems to be replaced by the Love of Jesus. The faith of humankind, rather than being defined as trust in the Word, turns into a responsorial love for Jesus. This kind of faith

⁵⁶⁹ See above 7.4.

⁵⁷⁰ See above 1.2.

⁵⁷¹ The Words of Institution in particular, and ‘shed/given for you’ was important to Bishop Laurentius. See, Laurentius, *Clenodium*, book 5, IV

⁵⁷² Johannes Matthiae, *Strenghäs, Barnabook*, p. 32, bible quote from 2 Cor 10:5b (KJV).

wants to rejoice, as much as it finds comfort in the peace of divine union. With this kind of faith, the individual wants to linger in the encounter, which redeems the soul and gives reassurance to the fearful. But what the divine union is not, is tangible. All through the hymn the yearning for God and for Jesus has rested on a spiritual plane. The blood flows, but it is blood that comforts the heart and the soul. The words do not specify the body and blood in the form of the bread and wine.

This text is formal theology, it was written by a Church leader for the official hymnbook of Sweden, and yet, the language reads more like the devotional works of popular literature. Instead of a defined and physical description of Real Presence, the ambiguous description seen here was already found in prayers and songs of the literate espoused theology. Furthermore, it compares well to the non-corporeal cosmic description of the devil in the same popular devotional works. Whether this more spiritual interpretation of Real Presence was also adopted in low culture is less certain. But hymns, like this one, may have been one way to influence the religion of oral culture.

We may speculate about the difference in language between this hymn and earlier songs. Bishop Spegel belonged to the theological elite. In his work, do we simply see the influence of proto-Pietistic publications, which transformed the writing pattern from classical decorum to a more personal style? Or can it be explained as a consequence of 150 years of Protestant campaign, and a society no longer in need of strict pedagogical markers? Or does it go hand in hand with operant theology, and a more individualised religion? A major point of Lutheran theology was that the Eucharist was a communal moment, where the Christian fellowship both fostered each other and praised God together.⁵⁷³ Either the Church elite had been forced to divert from this theological thought due to privatisation of religion, or they were themselves part of the new movement. Before

⁵⁷³ Lindquist, *Nattvarden*, pp. 12-20. For more on the privatisation of religion, and the privileges sought by the nobility, see also pp. 80-90.

any attempt can be made to answer some or all of these questions, the hymn takes an unexpected turn to traditional normative and formal theology in its last verses.

8.2.2 *Winning or Avoiding the Wars of Temptation – Correct doctrine*

Suddenly, in verses fourteen and fifteen of *Säll then som hafver Jesus kär* (No 19), the ghosts of Eucharistic hymns past are heard. With language similar to the opening verses of Olaus Petri's *Jesus Christus är vår helsa* (006)⁵⁷⁴, Spegel's hymn sounds remarkably old-fashioned. Verse fourteen tells how Jesus chose to reside with us in order that we might believe. On the cross our soul will be able to find peace and grow in spirit. Then in verse fifteen, Spegel finally instructs us on the Real Presence: Jesus comes to us in blessed bread, and in blood so red. Spegel may not use pedagogical markers, as Olaus Petri does in his Communion song, but we are still instructed about the Eucharist. God gave us Communion in order that we would believe, be redeemed, and grow in maturity as Christians. We are taught that God willingly sacrificed himself on the cross that we may live through his body and blood.

Further on, verse sixteen offers insight into the disputes that resulted in the rejection of the hymnbook edited by Bishop Swedberg. The verse, as it was published in PB1695 is as follows in translation: 'Anyone who worthily receives you, He has God's kingdom within him. He finds peace and joy in you, And will be victorious in the wars of evil passions.'

16. Then som tigh undfår wärdelig, Han haar Gudz Rijke uthi sigh, Han finner frijd och frögd af tigh, Och winner I ond lustars krig.

According to Högmarck, the last line was different in Spegel's first version, and the original was also closer to Arndt's German text. The line read: 'And will be *relieved* from the wars of evil passions.' [My italics] Högmarck's comments are interesting, because he attempts to

⁵⁷⁴ Hymn no 14 in PB1695.

make a case for both versions, and thus illustrates his personal conflict between popular piety and doctrine. He attempts to exonerate the translator (Spegel) by picturing a communicant truly worthy of the Eucharist, someone Högmarck calls ‘strongly united’ with Christ.⁵⁷⁵ This communicant would not have to fight because Christ wins all battles for humanity. He remarks, however, that the council was wise to edit the text for the sake of the simpleminded, so that no one would carelessly think themselves worthy. Here the eighteenth-century Högmarck reasserted the need for theocentric salvation.⁵⁷⁶ The PB1695 version of the hymn has an ending where the Christian soldier is ready to take arms against the evil foe, but only if Jesus is by their side. In English translation: ‘Oh Jesus make us ready, Destroy all powers of sin in us, And open the door to our hearts, So that we may praise you, as is just and right.’

17. Ach Jesu oß beredda gör! All syndsens macht i oß förstör: Och öppna tu vår hiertans dör, At wij tigh fägne som sigh bör.

8.2.3 *The Clash of Pietism and Lutheran Orthodoxy*

It is as if the hymn is caught between a Pietistic rock and an Orthodox hard place, with beginning and end at odds with each other. The former is emotive, with themes of the heart and love. It is cerebral, moving on a spiritual plane, but personal through the use of first- and second-person singular pronouns. It sounds as if it has borrowed from any popular prayer book, influenced by espoused theology. Then, suddenly, Spegel seems to remember doctrine, and introduces themes of right faith, the worthy recipient of the Eucharist, and God’s victorious battle against sin and evil. Here he uses physical descriptions: God lets us taste him in bread and wine; but also, impersonal language in the form of second person plural. We have moved from a personal experience on a spiritual

⁵⁷⁵ In Swe: ‘kraftteligen förenad’. Högmarck, *Psalmbopoeographia*, p. 12.

⁵⁷⁶ To back up his argument, and the superiority of the council’s wisdom, Högmarck uses Paul’s words. He makes references to the weak human spirit who chooses bad over good (Rom 7.15-24), instead of using Christ as a spiritual armour (Gal 5.17), with which any opponent will be put to shame (Tit 2.8), Ibid., p. 12.

plane, to instructing the collective in participating in a real physical divine meal. This may imply a tug of disagreement on a societal plane, between espoused theology (individualistic emotional faith) and the formal theology of the church (correct doctrine and collective worship).

8.3 Worship and Spirituality, the Influence of the Laity

Personal emotions and privatisation of religion may have been the trend in high culture (both espoused and operant theology), but worship is a public ritual. Despite the instruction in some popular devotional books, advising the use of Communion songs after the service, the common place for Communion hymns is in the public service. The examinations of catechetical knowledge and public confession were also communal.⁵⁷⁷ Church officials may have promoted private confessions, but public confessions became the norm, usually performed a day or two before the Communion services.⁵⁷⁸ The 1686 Church Act specified the time and place for public confession, which differed in towns and rural areas. In towns the *Skriftermål* (public confession) should take place on a Saturday if it was before a Sunday Communion; in the country it was on Fridays.⁵⁷⁹ The rise of public confessions was formalised with KL1686, at the same times as Church officials promoted private confession. This shows a discrepancy between the directives of formal theology (Church leadership) and the actual practice of operant theology (lay practice). This interplay between formal and operant theology will now be examined, because the divergence is also noticeable in hymnody. Even though PB1695 had a great impact on the Swedish

⁵⁷⁷ Pahlmblad, 'Gudstjänstliv', p. 267-268.

⁵⁷⁸ About the objections from the clergy, see Lindquist, *Studier*, p. 333; for an eye witness account, see Ogier, *Från Sveriges*, p. 41. Ogier joined an embassy from France to Sweden 1634-1635. He comments on the different practices of confession that he observed in Swedish churches and the German Church in Stockholm. The Swedes only went to public confession, whereas the German Church practised private confession.

⁵⁷⁹ KL1686 Chap. 8 §2. Chapter 7 also gives directions for private confession, but KL1686 Chap. 6 §2 clarifies that public confession was more common.

population, and along with the catechism became the most commonly owned book in the eighteenth century, it had to compete with a great number of Pietistic songbooks that were published in the same century.⁵⁸⁰ The linguistic quality of the hymns in PB1695 was subject to criticism from the start. Only a fraction of the new hymns give evidence of the new emotional language. The majority of the new hymns aligned with the formal theology of Lutheran Orthodoxy, but it was the cumbersome and formalistic Baroque style that soon became outdated. Consequently, the Pietistic songbooks became popular for *husandakt* (household prayers).⁵⁸¹ We can assume the competition from these song pamphlets was fierce since the clergy requested a revised hymnal as early as 1741.⁵⁸² Thus espoused high culture, would come to have had a greater pull-effect on the wider population than formal theology. But, as we have seen, the competition between religious movements was not just an eighteenth-century phenomenon. Many of the prayer books popular in the seventeenth century contained a section with hymns. *Andelig pärlé-skrud* (by Cundicius), *Andelige Dygde-spegel* (by Liscovius), and *Skriffte- och Communion-Book* (by Fritsch) all suggest Communion songs for the private sphere of *husandakt* (household prayers).⁵⁸³

There was also a dichotomy between public religious life, which centred on Eucharistic knowledge and right faith, and private religious life, which encouraged spiritual experience in personal prayer and silent confession. The public language, which was found in the liturgy and the Communion hymns from the Reformation, contains language that support the communal and collective.⁵⁸⁴ This was normative theology that was most likely

⁵⁸⁰ Between 1695 and 1810 (when the next hymnbook was adopted), PB1695 was printed in 250 editions, c. a million and a half copies. By comparison, the Bible was printed in no more than 164 000 copies during the same period. See Pleijel, *Våra*, p. 113. Arvastson, *Svenske*, pp. 49-58.

⁵⁸¹ About the Baroque linguistic style, see Arvastson, *Den svenska*, p. 101, p. 105. A popular pamphlet *Mose och Lamsens Wisor* (Songs of Moses and the Lamb) was published in 1717 for the young Pietistic movement. See Bernt Olsson, '1695 års psalmbok', in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – enbetskyrkans tid*, ed. by Ingun Montgomery, (Stockholm: Verbum förlag, 2002), pp. 290-300 (p. 300).

⁵⁸² In 1741 the estate of the clergy suggested a revision of the hymnbook, a suggestion that recurred several times during the century until a trial hymnal was commissioned in 1762. Arvastson, *Svenske*, pp. 52-53.

⁵⁸³ Cundicius, *pärlé-skrud*, pp. 511-518; Liscovius, *Dygde-spegel*, pp. 328-329; Fritsch, *comunion-book*.

⁵⁸⁴ Olsson, '1695 års', (p. 298).

supported by the clergy in sermons and teaching (formal theology). The new Communion hymns, on the other hand, reached out to the individual. It would not be out of place, either, to imagine the use of these songs as preparation for and reassurance after Communion, because the singing of hymns was and is a major part of Lutheran *busandakt*. Also, singing was as much part of the Pietistic movement as the Lutheran Reformation, if not more so.⁵⁸⁵ Apart from *busandakt* we can also, with some certainty, assume that Communion songs would have been used in catechetical teaching. There are several examples that show how central singing was in popular belief and lived out faith (operant theology). By all accounts, *eftermässning* (repetitive chanting after the priest) came about spontaneously.⁵⁸⁶ Hymns were memorised to the degree that those who actually read and sang from the hymnbook in the service were subjected to ridicule.⁵⁸⁷

There can be no real conclusions about how hymns were used outside public worship. It is known, however, that singing was a popular communal activity. With some certainty, it can also be said that the preparation for Communion was of utmost importance, both for the Church officials and for the parish community. Those who were seen as unprepared were even stopped from attending by their neighbours, lest God's anger would fall on the community. In low culture, preparation was not just an individual affair, but a matter for the entire congregation.⁵⁸⁸ It is quite possible therefore, that these two – Eucharistic songs and preparation – also supported each other in a household setting. That is, the use of Communion songs outside public worship is a plausible conclusion. Just as likely, however, is the transmission of popular proto-pietistic songs among the laity.

⁵⁸⁵ Arvastson, *Den svenska*, p. 107.

⁵⁸⁶ Lundberg, 'Liturgical', pp. 66-69.

⁵⁸⁷ Records from 1697 in Korpo, Finland, tells of Bishop Gezelius the younger stating that those who dared to mock anyone reading from the hymnal would be publicly accused at the parish meeting. See Widén, 'Literacy', p. 38.

⁵⁸⁸ See Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, for incidents when the parish community intervened in the proceedings around the Lord's Supper, pp. 140-143.

Privatisation of faith in low culture would have been a major shift in religiosity (operant theology). Not only would there have been a lack of devotional books, but more importantly a lack of both private space and private time. Private devotion within the estate of the peasantry would probably have been synonymous with family prayers, catechetical examination, or the devotion that can be carried out during daily chores, and in worship. The public religious life used a collective language, 'We sing,' 'We praise,' 'Have mercy on us.' Only the formula for public confession had a distinct voice in the singular, 'I poor miserable sinner,' and this was often assumed to be the priest's own confession.⁵⁸⁹ Instead, the individual had to use silent language in public worship for personal piety: silent confession before public absolution; personal prayers and prayer sighs before and after communion. The songs of the 'new spirituality', with their quintessential personal touch of emotions and use of first person singular, could have offered an outlet for a new type of religiosity, operant theology that had turned private and introspective.

8.4 Summary

The seventeenth century saw a development towards privatisation of religion. This privatisation can be seen as a contrasting trend from the traditional language of worship, which expressed communality and the need of correct doctrine. In many ways, the espoused theology of the laity was the communal faith of the hymns, the service and the catechism. This they said and expressed together. The catechetical expressions of faith would probably also have come naturally for a lay person if they were to describe their belief. But underneath the surface a new religious practice was brewing, of individualism: the operant theology of high culture.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 129-130. Pahlmblad notes that the practice of the priest's private confession at the beginning of Mass was a continuation from the medieval liturgy. The rubrics of the Swedish Masses of 1548 and 1557 state that this confession should be said by the priest quietly and by himself. See Pahlmblad, *Mässa*, pp. 80-81.

It is possible, however, that when the Church stressed the need for proper preparation before Communion, they inadvertently intensified privatisation of religion. The personal and introspective practice of preparation seemed to have fostered a more individualistic faith. It was already there in the spiritual literature of high culture, in espoused theology. For low culture too – and despite the lack of time, space and books for private devotion – religious practice (operant theology) grew inherently more individualistic during the century. One possible conduit between high and low culture may well have been worship songs that could easily have spread independently from books and pamphlets. We have noted that songs were an intrinsic part of medieval tradition, and this oral tradition (operant theology) seemed to have been shared by both the higher and lower orders. Songs were taught and memorised in oral culture as well as in literate circles. If espoused theology of high culture increasingly used songs to express their faith, this would have been a successful medium to influence oral culture with proto-Pietistic spirituality later in the seventeenth century. Songs of personal emotional faith would in that case have strengthened the operant theology of individualisation.

Chapters One to Four (on Spiritual Literature) stressed the importance of the catechism for a layperson's understanding of the Eucharist. Adding hymnody to the discussion, this supposition still holds, but in the shape of catechetical hymns. In an oral tradition, the important position of songs and singing cannot be underestimated. Clearly, the first reformers saw songs as a vital medium to teach Protestant faith. Singing was also important in high culture, which is apparent both in the creation of new songs for devotional books and their influence on new Communion songs for PB1695. In turn, songs became an increasingly vital aspect of the Pietistic movement of the eighteenth century, with popular songbooks such as *Mose och lamsons visor* (1717) and *Sions sånger* (1743). The songs found in seventeenth-century prayer books express a deep need for protection against death, hell and the devil. In high culture and popular spiritual literature, the devil is

not so much a physical force, but a spiritual presence that only Christ can overcome by protecting the Christian's heart. Overall, *love for God* seems to be used where older Communion songs would have used *faith in God*. This is apparent too in Spiegel's Communion hymn from PB1695 with its focus on love, heart and blood, instead of the more didactic language of the Reformation. With this hymn, espoused theology of high culture seemingly shows how it had influenced a church official and thus formal theology.

In the chapters on spiritual literature and the visual, the medieval Eucharistic tradition of God as the fearsome, almighty judge frequently appears. Here, in the songs of espoused theology, the theme takes another shape, as fear of the devil's influence on the vulnerable soul. Considering this motif, the new worship songs would have been a solace, as they offered reassurance for the anxious. Songs of Christ's love, of being united with him, of being bathed and washed clean by Jesus's blood; the personal language made the liberation from the works of the devil an intimate comfort. The themes did not, however, really express the actual physical presence of Jesus, with all his awesome power, instead they focused on a mystical presence in a person's heart and soul. In turn, this would have had an effect on the understanding of the Real Presence, with Christ defined less like a physical presence and more as a spiritual helper. It is possible that the introverted contemplation that was part of the preparation before Communion helped change the worldly and physical language of traditional religion, into something spiritual and cosmic.

The language turned more homocentric, and less Christocentric. As a consequence, the emphasis in espoused (and later operant) theology would turn to blood mysticism and faith described in words of love. This can be compared to the formulas of normative and formal theology, which spoke of a physical presence of Jesus, and faith, defined as trust in the Word. The development went from knowledge driven, collective worship in the physical presence of the Divine, to love centred worship by individuals with God in their hearts.

The Visual

Chapter 9 The Theology of Images

9.1 Introduction

One may think that the Reformation would have been a transformative time in church space. Images speak to both the literate and the illiterate, and alterations to the liturgical space would clearly have conveyed religious changes. And yet, the sixteenth century was not a time of radical change in the Swedish churches, the reason for which may be both a disinclination for the new religion or lack of resources.⁵⁹⁰ A comprehensive study of ecclesial art, the liturgy, and popular belief has not been conducted in Sweden, but a few publications on Lutheranism and images have just been published for neighbouring countries. Bridget Heal has researched the German Lutheran context in *A Magnificent Faith*, and Martin Wangsgaard Jørgensen has made a study of Danish church architecture and art with *Ritual and Art across the Danish Reformation*.⁵⁹¹ Wangsgaard mentions a similar slow and gradual transformation of the church space during the Danish Reformation, and that the Lutheran interior came into its own with the Orthodox movement of the seventeenth century.⁵⁹² While there is no scope for such a comprehensive study as Wangsgaard's here, this study brings together what happened in the liturgical space, in art and in religious behaviour and discern what it can tell us of post-Reformation Swedish Lutheranism.

⁵⁹⁰ Agnes Geijer writes about the stagnation of church interior and decoration during the sixteenth century, and the retention and continued use of medieval vestments in the Swedish liturgy. See Agnes Geijer, *A history of textile art*, [Rev. transl.], (London: Pasold research fund in ass. with Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979), p. 250; and Agnes Geijer, 'Textilkonst', in *Tiotusen år i Sverige*, ed. by S. Curman, B. Nerman, D. Selling, (Stockholm: Staten Historiska Museum, 1945), pp. 352-381, particularly p. 379.

⁵⁹¹ Heal, *A Magnificent*; Wangsgaard Jørgensen, Martin, *Ritual and art across the Danish reformation: changing interiors of village churches, 1450-1600*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

⁵⁹² Wangsgaard, *Ritual*, pp. 537-538.

Chapters Eleven and Twelve will focus on the popular belief, and the contributions the laity made to the visual space (espoused and operant theology). The following two chapters will instead trace the transformations the Church advocated for in the ecclesial space. In order to trace what happened in the Orthodox era, there is first a need to understand the transformations that took place during the Reformation. Especially important were the alterations deemed necessary for the liturgical practice of the new Lutheran faith. How comprehensive were these developments in the church space, and what was the Church leaders hoping to achieve with the changes?

In Chapter Nine we are primarily going to explore what must be regarded as normative theology in the visual sphere, by determining what changes were made in church interiors due to the Lutheran confession. Here we will discuss which churches made part of the study and why they were chosen. We will also look into the historical background of the churches to be able to determine what happened in the post-Reformation era. Chapter Ten will in turn search for formal theology by exploring those features in church interiors that were added or retained on the initiative of Church leaders, and thus discern how they interpreted the Lutheran theology of images.

9.2 Sample Churches and the Cultural Context

The churches in the case studies belong to three bishoprics that are clustered in a horizontal band from Stockholm and westward towards Norway. The dioceses surround Lake Mälaren. Stockholm is situated on the lake's outflow to the Baltic, which gave the city a strategic position for transportation, commerce and communication. The diocesan towns of Västerås and Strängnäs were built on the shores of the lake, the former on the north-western shore, and the latter on the south shore. Uppsala is inland, north of Stockholm, but the diocese stretches down to the north-east parts of Lake Mälaren. Stockholm officially fell under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Uppsala, but the incumbents of

Stockholm parishes were quite independent, and together they made up what was called the Stockholm consistory. The Diocese of Stockholm was created in 1942.⁵⁹³

The Diocese of Uppsala included the region of Uppland and regions to the north.⁵⁹⁴ The region of Uppland was at the heart of both royal and ecclesial governance. The diocese of Strängnäs included the regions of Södermanland, to the east, and Närke, to the west. Both regions belonged to the duchy of Duke Karl, later Karl IX.⁵⁹⁵ Uppland and Södermanland had a strong aristocratic presence, and many churches in these regions were supported by wealthy and influential patrons.⁵⁹⁶ The Diocese of Västerås, on the other hand, stretched from Lake Mälaren in a north-westerly curve towards Norway. The diocese consisted of the regions of Västmanland and Dalecarlia. Västmanland, on the north shores of the lake, was close to the administrative centre of Sweden. Dalecarlia, to the west, was a county with independent farmers and entrepreneurs. The a mining town of Falun is in Dalecarlia, and, after it gained city rights in 1641, it became the second largest city in Sweden with a population of c. 6000.⁵⁹⁷

Three different types of churches are included in this study. The first is the village church of a farming community. The second type are churches with clearly defined patrons. By defined patron is understood as one or more families that has supported a church through several generations. The third section is the city church. Since most towns, with the notable exception of Stockholm and Falun, were small the congregation tended to be made up of both urban and rural residents.

⁵⁹³ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 38; Ingmar Brohed, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – religionsfrihetens och ekumenikens tid*, (Stockholm: Verbum, 2005), pp. 130-134.

⁵⁹⁴ Uppsala covered all the northern territories of Sweden a superintendent was installed in Härnösand in the mid seventeenth century. For an ecclesial map of Sweden in 1660, see Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 136.

⁵⁹⁵ Andrén, *reformationstid*, p. 143.

⁵⁹⁶ When Ellenius extrapolates on noble patrons and the many memorial chapels of the seventeenth century, his examples are mainly from these two counties. See Allan Ellenius, 'Kyrklig konst och miljö', in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – enbetskyrkans tid*, ed. by Ingun Montgomery, (Stockholm: Verbum förlag, 2002), pp. 190-203 (pp. 197-202).

⁵⁹⁷ Sune Garmo, *Falu Kristine kyrka*, 2nd rev. ed., (Västerås: Västerås stifts kyrkoberskrivningskommitté, 2014), p. 1.

9.2.1 Village Churches

Rättvik, Dalecarlia

Rättvik is situated on Lake Siljan in Dalecarlia, in the Diocese of Västerås. Archaeological research indicates that Rättvik was a historical centre for commerce, and that an international network of trade and ideas was established already in the Nordic Stone Age.⁵⁹⁸ The first stone church was built in the thirteenth century, and most probably replaced an older wooden building. The parish was a wealthy living with independent farmers who continuously made investments in the church. A building project took place almost every century, and the church was expanded shortly after the first stone structure was erected, early in the fourteenth century. The fabric of the church is another testimony to this affluent parish. The church still houses a richly embroidered fifteenth-century cape from Flanders and several medieval sculptures.⁵⁹⁹

Västermo, Södermanland

The Parish of Västermo is situated on the forested border regions of Västmanland and Södermanland, and between the Dioceses of Strängnäs and Västerås. In the early modern era it was scarcely populated and parish records show a continuous struggle with finances. Since it was a poor living and at times part of the Diocese of Västerås (1585-1613), one can assume that the parish sometimes neglected by the diocesan administration. The stone church is dated to the twelfth century and records tell of modest investments in the building by the farming community. The fabric is sparse, and gradual renovations, mainly in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, turned it into a long narrow hall church.⁶⁰⁰

Tuna, Södermanland

When it was built, in the thirteenth century, the church at Tuna surpassed all its neighbouring churches in size. The nave was 150 m² while other churches were only about

⁵⁹⁸ Sune Garmo, *Rättviks kyrka*. (Västerås: Västerås stifts kyrkoberskrivningskommitté, 1999), p. 1.

⁵⁹⁹ Sune Garmo, *Rättviks kyrka*, 2nd rev. ed., (Västerås: Västerås stifts kyrkoberskrivningskommitté, 2014), pp. 2-5, pp. 14-15.

⁶⁰⁰ Mats Bergman, *Västermo kyrka, Sörmländska kyrkor 71*, (Nyköping: Södermanlands museum, 1989), pp. 3-5.

30 m². The parish is situated near Nyköping, in the Diocese of Strängnäs. The very name *Tuna* denotes a place of importance. The specific meaning of the Tuna is unclear, but there are several churches with a variation of the name in Södermanland, but generally just one in each *Härad* (a judicial area made up of many *Socken* – a country parish).⁶⁰¹ The first thirteenth-century building also had a vestry with a rib vaulted ceiling made of bricks; both the additional extension and the complicated construction method was unusual. Before a tower was built in 1877, the only other addition to the church was a porch that was constructed in the fifteenth century.⁶⁰² The initial building seems to have been large enough to meet even the population growth of the early modern era, making extensions unnecessary.

9.2.2 Churches of the Nobility

Jäder, Södermanland

The parish of Jäder, Diocese of Strängnäs has two rune stones on its grounds. Rune stones are generally decorated with Christians symbols and tend to indicate early Christian presence in Sweden.⁶⁰³ The first wooden church was probably built in the middle of the eleventh century, a couple of decades after a Swedish king was first baptised.⁶⁰⁴ The present building has remains of a stone structure from the twelfth century in the north wall. The church was expanded many times, and an early use of brick as building material points to the prosperity of the area.⁶⁰⁵ The Oxenstierna family is intimately linked to the church.

Lord High Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna (1583-1654) put a significant mark on the church

⁶⁰¹ Schnell Ivar, *Tuna kyrka, Sörmländska kyrkor 31 (3rd ed)*, Sörmlands hembygds- och museiförbund, Nyköping, p. 3.

⁶⁰² Ibid., pp. 3-4

⁶⁰³ Bengt Ingmar Kilström, *Jäders kyrka, Sörmländska kyrkor 38*, 7th rev. ed., (Nyköping: Sörmlands museum, 1999), p. 3. For rune stones, see Henrik Williams, '»Gud hjälpe hennes själ»: Kristna inslag i runinskrifterna', in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – missionstid och tidig medeltid*, ed. by Bertil Nilsson, (Verbum: Stockholm, 1998), pp. 177-184 (p. 177).

⁶⁰⁴ King Olov Eriksson Skötkonung (c. 995-c. 1022) is generally counted as the first Swedish Christian king, see Bertil Nilsson, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – missionstid och tidig medeltid*, (Verbum: Stockholm, 1998), pp. 65-67.

⁶⁰⁵ Kilström, *Jäders*, pp. 3-4; Marian Ullén, 'Kyrkobyggnaden', in *Sveriges kyrkohistoria – hög- och senmedeltid*, ed. by Sven-Erik Pernler, (Verbum: Stockholm, 1999), pp. 254-267 (pp. 262-263).

by adding a tower, a vestry and reconstructing the chancel into the family memorial chapel.⁶⁰⁶

Ytterjärna, Södermanland

Ytterjärna, in the Diocese of Strängnäs, is positioned on a high vantage point and overlooks a narrow water passage between the Baltic and Lake Mälaren. From the tower one has a good view over the water passage, which would have been of tactical advantage. The church and the tower were built in the twelfth century.⁶⁰⁷ The church building underwent several renovations already in the medieval era, and it was extended both to the east and the south. In the 1640s, the patron Privy Counsellor Lars Eriksson Sparre, further extended the church and built a vault for his family under the main chancel.⁶⁰⁸ Interesting features include mural paintings from several periods. The oldest are from the fourteenth century, and only fragments remain. The south nave has paintings from around 1460, among them the Mass of St Gregory. There are also murals from the seventeenth century, one of which can possibly be the adolescent Jesus in the temple. The paintings were uncovered during a renovation in 1949.⁶⁰⁹

Julita, Södermanland

Another church with elaborate paintings is Julita, in the Diocese of Strängnäs. This church was the parish church of two great estates, Gimmersta and Fogelsta, and they continually added to the fabrics and beautification of the church. Only traces are left of the medieval church, as the building has been extended in all directions over the years, particularly in the fifteenth and eighteenth century.⁶¹⁰ The central nave has a painted ceiling from the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁶ Kilström, *Jäders*, pp. 4-6.

⁶⁰⁷ Schnell, *Ytter-Järna*, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 4, p. 7.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 11-13.

⁶¹⁰ For the many building stages of this church, see Ivar Schnell, *Julita kyrka*, 2nd rev. ed., (Nyköping: Södermanlands museum, 1976).

⁶¹¹ Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 106-107.

Skokloster, Uppland

Skokloster, in the Diocese of Uppsala, was built as a convent. Until the dissolution, the church served a dual function as convent chapel and as parish church.⁶¹² The estate later came into the possession of the Wrangel family. The church was built in the thirteenth century, and except the addition of the Wrangel memorial chapel (1630s),⁶¹³ the original layout of the church remains fairly intact. The church has three naves, with a taller and wider central aisle.⁶¹⁴ The original medieval brickwork is a testament to a prosperous past, while loot taken from the continent – and donation by the Wrangel family – add elements of Counter-Reformation Baroque décor.⁶¹⁵

Torsvi, Uppland

Torsvi Church, in the Diocese of Uppsala, is located just next to the patron's house. While contemporary with Skokloster, both church and house are on a modest scale. The church still retains its original thirteenth-century layout and it was built in stone not bricks. The rectangular nave includes the chancel.⁶¹⁶ The estate *Torsvi gård* was established in 1626 and included the church grounds given to the Utter family by the Crown. The patrons did not change the actual building, but they did put their mark on the fabric. They added two elaborate box pews for the estate that tower over the other pews, and constructed a family crypt under the chancel floor.⁶¹⁷

9.2.3 City Churches

Defining city churches in this period is not completely straightforward because they did not form a cohesive group. Some churches were built to serve city dwellers, whereas others

⁶¹² Per Sundberg, Bengt Samuelsson and Bror Nygren, *Skokloster kyrka: en handledning för kyrkobesökare*, (Bålsta: Kyrkorådet, 1974), pp. 4-5.

⁶¹³ Ellenius, 'Kyrklig', p. 198.

⁶¹⁴ Sundberg, *Skokloster*, p. 7.

⁶¹⁵ Ångström, *Altartavlor*, pp. 158-159.

⁶¹⁶ Armin Tuulse, *Torsvi kyrka*, 3rd rev. ed., (Uppsala: Uppsala stifts kyrkoberskrivningsredaktion, 1995), pp. 2-4.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 6-9, pp. 11-13.

maintained an intermediate position, shared between a town and the surrounding countryside.

Falu Kristine Church, Dalecarlia

Falun was one of the largest towns in Sweden and owed much of its prosperity to the mining industry. The mining industry also attracted international workers and investors.⁶¹⁸ When Falun gained city rights in 1641, Hans Förster, the German born master builder who had constructed St Jacob's in Stockholm, was contracted for Falu Kristine.⁶¹⁹ Another German master, Ewert Friis from Holstein, carved the pulpit, reredos, the rood screen and parts of the organ frontal.⁶²⁰ Both Falu Kristine and St Jacob's in Stockholm are a mix of medieval and Baroque designs. The buildings have high vaulted ceilings, three long narrow aisles, and a taller central nave, which is a style that follows medieval aesthetics more than the often domed and cross-shaped Swedish Baroque churches.⁶²¹ The interior decoration, however, is Baroque. The elaborately carved reredos at Falu Kristine is comparable both with the reredos at Holy Trinity Church in Gävle, and contemporary pieces in Germany.⁶²² The reredos will be discussed later, along with a full set of Eucharistic vessels from the 1670s and seventeenth-century vestments.⁶²³

St Jacob's, Stockholm

St Jacob's was part of the northern expansion of Stockholm from the original islands. An old church stood on the site, but it was completely rebuilt to serve the people of a newly formed city parish. As mentioned, the architecture relied on medieval church construction.

⁶¹⁸ Charles Ogier, secretary to a French ambassador, travelled to Stockholm and Falun in 1635. He describes Falun in his travel journal as prosperous and well-populated. Furthermore, he portrays an international community, with artisans and workers from other European countries. See Charles Ogier, *Från Sveriges storhetstid – Franske legationssekreteraren Charles Ogiers dagbok under ambassaden i Sverige 1634-1635*, (Stockholm: Nordiska museet och Liber förlag, 1978), pp. 68-70.

⁶¹⁹ Garmo, *Falu*, p. 1.

⁶²⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

⁶²¹ Sandström Sven & Hamberg Per Gustaf (red.), *Konsten i Sverige, Vasatiden och den karolinska tiden*, AWE/Geber, Stockholm 1981, p. 83. For examples of the new ideals in Swedish architectural drawn from Calvinistic temple architecture and Roman Renaissance and Baroque, see p. 84, p. 87.

⁶²² Ångström, *Altartavlor*, p. 176, p. 180.

⁶²³ Garmo, *Falu*, pp. 10-12.

The church was first commissioned by King Johan III (1569-1592) but it was not dedicated until 1643, during Queen Christina's reign.⁶²⁴ A school master of the church school, Fred[rik] Wittingh, wrote the history of the Parish of St Jacob's in 1771, which also contains descriptions of inventories that no longer exist. Among these inventories is the seventeenth-century rood screen that will be examined as part of this study.⁶²⁵

All Saints Nyköping, Södermanland

The town of Nyköping was divided by a river into an eastern and western part. To the west was the city proper and St Nicolai Church. All Saints, on the other hand, served both a smaller part of the city and the surrounding countryside. It enjoyed the patronage of Duke Karl (1550-1611), later King Karl IX. Nyköping was an important town in his duchy and the church was close to one of his main residences, Nyköpingshus.⁶²⁶ All Saints was originally constructed in the late medieval period, but Duke Karl rebuilt both the church and his castle. The next royal generation retained the connections to the church; the Queen Dowager Maria Eleonora, widowed by King Gustav II Adolf (son of King Karl IX), had a royal pew at All Saints. Two estates, Ånga and Sjösa, were also patrons of the church. The Ånga estate added a memorial chapel in 1670, and gifted a pulpit in 1675, whereas the family of Sjösa donated a reredos in 1674.⁶²⁷ The local silversmith Henning Petri (d. 1702) is also of great interest here, as are the vessels he made for the church.⁶²⁸

Eskilstuna Fors Church, Södermanland

The parish of Fors had a complex development. The church was built in the eleventh century, possibly as a centre for the English missionary Eskil. A diocese named Tuna also existed until circa 1160. Which church was the cathedral of this diocese is unclear, but it

⁶²⁴ Quensel, *S. Jakobs*, pp. 16-17.

⁶²⁵ Wittingh, *St. Jacobs*, p. 58, pp. 60-63.

⁶²⁶ Anita Liepe, *Alla Helgona kyrka – Sörmländska kyrkor* 27, 3rd ed., (Nyköping: Sörmlands museum 2000), pp. 1-6

⁶²⁷ Ibid., p. 6, pp. 10-11.

⁶²⁸ For Henning Petri, see Holmquist, 'Guldsmedskonsten', 1997, p. 473.

was either Fors Church (Eskil's own mission) or Tuna Church (burial site of the martyred Eskil). After 1160 Strängnäs remains the sole cathedral town in the region of Södermanland. The churches Fors and Tuna were situated on either side of a river, and they served two different functions. Fors was a rural parish church, while Tuna became the chapel for a monastery. The chapel was also the place of worship for merchants who lived on the same side of the river, and the surrounding rural area called Kloster Parish. With the dissolution of the monastery in 1530, the townspeople and Kloster Parish had to turn to Fors Church.⁶²⁹ Later two other local communities would gain city rights, one at the beginning of the seventeenth century and the other in 1771. Thus, the church became the joint responsibility of the rural parishes of Fors and Kloster, the old town parish, and the two new city parishes. A nineteenth-century maintenance agreement shows that the two rural parishes funded three quarters of the parish expenses, while the three urban parishes only paid for one quarter. The pews in the church were divided in the same way.⁶³⁰ Apparently, the church had historically been seen as a country church, of which the urban communities had rights but not ownership. The north-west part of the church building and the tower is medieval, and the east wall, transept and chancel are from the seventeenth century.⁶³¹ The fabric of the church was given by the many individuals and communities that had ties to the church, creating a rather eclectic collection. One industrial family, however, put a significant mark on the church. The ironmasters Lohe added a memorial chapel (1700), as well as donating a reredos for the new chancel, which was finished in 1655.⁶³²

⁶²⁹ Bennett, *Fors*, p. 9.

⁶³⁰ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁶³¹ Ibid., p. 14.

⁶³² Ibid., pp. 40-41.

9.3 The Graven Image – Was It Permissible?

The Swedish church interiors went through only minor modifications during the reformation. Some objects disappeared as rituals were transformed to a Lutheran liturgy, but the visual scope of the interiors remained largely unchanged. A hundred years after the Reformation had begun, the transformation of the church space picked up its pace. The blueprints of church architecture no longer followed the medieval standard. New pulpits were installed, while screens, altarpieces and church silver developed new shapes.⁶³³

When studying the interior of a Swedish church, it is worth remembering how both the Lutheran and the Roman Catholic church interprets the Decalogue: neither recognise a separate commandment against images. Depictions of the commandments also have them grouped as three and seven, with Moses holding the tablets with commandments I-III on one, and IV-X on the other. A good example of this is found in the parish church of Alla Helgona, Nyköping (see Plate 1b). Thus the three commandments concerning God reads:

You shall have no other gods.

You shall not misuse the name of the LORD your God.

Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy.⁶³⁴

Indeed, in his explanation of the first commandment in the larger Catechism, Luther barely mentions images at all. His sole concern is faith. The idol is that which the heart desires and trusts, but his examples are concepts such as power, Mammon and saints, not images.⁶³⁵ The closest Luther comes to mentioning visual objects is in Comment 21, where he states that idolatry is not only about worshipping an image, rather it is what is in the

⁶³³ Ellenius, 'Kyrklig', pp. 191-192.

⁶³⁴ Luther *Catechism*, the first three Commandments.

⁶³⁵ For Luther's full explanation on the Ten Commandments, see Martin Luther, *The Large Catechism*, the *Concordia Triglotta* translation, <<http://bocl.org/?LC+I>> [accessed 2 November 2018].

heart which leads more to idolatry. If the heart seeks help and consolation from anything but God, that is idolatry.⁶³⁶ Images were condoned as long as they were not the means of worshipping anyone but God. Yates, in his study on liturgical space, shows how even the Lutheran churches of southern and western Germany, where the liturgy was influenced by Swiss Reformed Protestantism to a greater degree, still retained their paintings and statues.⁶³⁷ Bridget Heal has also highlighted the importance that Lutheran clergy in Germany placed on pedagogy. Studying Marian iconography, Heal points to how Lutheran reformers saw religious images as a didactic tool. The images could be instructive in their own right, but there was also the pedagogical value of reinterpreting old imagery in texts and sermons.⁶³⁸ The normative texts of the Lutheran church offered freedom where images were concerned, in both directions, either for rich iconography, or for word-based decoration and the removal of images.

The Swedish churches give only a few examples of the latter, though one poignant case is the Church at Bettna. The turn of the seventeenth century saw a conflict, with the church at Bettna at its centre, involving the patron Hogenskild Bielke (1530-1605), the rector Abraham Petri Angermannus (who became the stipendary in 1588), and even the king. The interior of the church is almost completely void of images, and is instead decorated with letter-based cartouches and garlands. The rector was probably instrumental in the unusual decoration, which illustrates a more Calvinistic doctrine with its strict interpretation of idolatry. By comparison, the patron, who had also been a supporter of Johan III, and his liturgy, ‘the Red Book’,⁶³⁹ kept a portable altarpiece with hagiographic

⁶³⁶ Comment 21 on the Ten Commandments in Luther, *The Large Catechism*. ‘Thus it is with all idolatry; for it consists not merely in erecting an image and worshipping it, but rather in the heart, which stands gaping at something else, and seeks help and consolation from creatures, saints, or devils, and neither cares for God, nor looks to Him for so much good as to believe that He is willing to help, neither believes that whatever good it experiences comes from God.’ Ibid., <<http://bocl.org/?LC+I+21>> [accessed 2 November 2018].

⁶³⁷ Yates, *Liturgical*, p. 26.

⁶³⁸ Bridget Heal, *The cult of the Virgin Mary in early modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic piety, 1500-1648*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 88-109.

⁶³⁹ Johan III produced a liturgy that attempted to close the rift between the Lutheran and the Catholic churches. To that end he turned to the church fathers and let them be the guides on how to interpret the

images on his estate. The mix of a strict Protestant clergyman and a traditionally minded patron turned out to be explosive. Enter the king. Both the nobleman and the clergyman complained to King Karl IX (1604-1611).⁶⁴⁰ Had the patron been wise, he would have remembered the king's leanings to the protestant reformed confession. In fact, Mereth Lindgren has shown similarities between the garland murals at Bettna and those painted in Karl IX's chambers at Gripsholm and Nyköpingshus, which were quite possibly made by the same master painter.⁶⁴¹ Both the king and the rector shared the same beliefs regarding religion and images, and the rector came victorious out of the conflict.⁶⁴² Their stance, however, was the exception that confirmed the rule in Sweden. Luther's normative documents offered freedom for images or no images. What seems to have gone against normative theology in Sweden was to have a strict adherence to either position. King Karl IX favoured letter-based and image-free decoration, but he was also accused of Calvinistic tendencies by the clergy.⁶⁴³

The Swedish normative documents also adopted the idea of 'freedom' in the use of vestments. Indeed, Laurentius Petri's Church Ordinance (KO1571) specifies that the same freedom which makes other churches abolish the use of vestments makes it possible for the Swedish priest to retain their usage. The instructions of KO1571 also instructs the priest to use the customary robes when celebrating Mass.⁶⁴⁴ The desire not to fall into one (non-image) extreme could inadvertently have led the Swedish interpretation of normative

Gospel. He proposed the reintroduction of several medieval practices, such as the lavabo, and the episcopal crook and mitre. The liturgy was adopted in 1577, only to be revoked by the Uppsala Resolution 1593. See Andrén, *reformationstid*, pp. 175-178, pp. 182-185.

⁶⁴⁰ Bettna Parish was situated in the king's royal duchy of Södermanland.

⁶⁴¹ Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 100-102.

⁶⁴² The nobleman had to pay dearly for his support to Johan III, the brother of King Karl IX, and was in the end executed by order of the king. See Lindgren, 'Reformationen', pp. 310-313.

⁶⁴³ Montgomery, 'Institutionalisation', p. 163.

⁶⁴⁴ KO 1571: 'När tå Presten skal hålla Messo, klädher han sigh, såsom plägsedh är.' Laurentius Petri KO1571, p. xxxvii. Furthermore, Laurentius Petri stated that vestments, elevation and similar ceremonies and items could be retained under the same freedom with which other countries had had them abolished: '[M]åghe wij lika som welcorligh ting frijtt behålla, ändoch slijkt j annor land genom samma frijheet är borttlagdt.' Ibid., p. xxxviii. See also, Stolt, *Kyrkläg*, p. 38.

theology on images to the other end of the spectrum. The Lutheran churches of Denmark-Norway display a greater variety of image-based and word-based decoration. For half a century, from about 1575 to 1625, there was a rise in letter-based reredoses.⁶⁴⁵ A very few of these are still in place on the island of Gotland, which was under Danish rule at the time.⁶⁴⁶ Jämtland is another county that has alternated between Denmark-Norway and Sweden. Per Gustaf Hamberg, who has studied the altarpieces of the region, tells the story of Norwegian and Swedish rule and how it transformed church interiors. Some letter-based reredoses were installed in Jämtland when it was part of Denmark-Norway. Later, under Swedish rule, all letter-based altarpieces were replaced with traditional image-based reredoses, probably after episcopal visitation and instruction.⁶⁴⁷

Thus, according to normative theology, the actual presence of images was not an issue. The question is how formal theology used images. In Sweden the episcopacy pushed for the use of images, in Denmark-Norway iconography was more contested. We will pursue the consequences of Swedish formal theology in the following chapter, in a study on Eucharistic objects and images in the chancel. What follows here is instead a discussion on the dogmatic reasoning behind concepts such as: holy space, worship, secular use and adoration.

9.4 Sacred and Secular – Creating the Holy

The seventeenth century was a time when the church space moved from being predominantly a place of worship – a view prevalent during the Reformation – to a space

⁶⁴⁵ Birgitte Bøggild Johannsen and Hugo Johannsen, 'Re-forming the Confessional Space: Early Lutheran Churches in Denmark, c.1536-1660.', in *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andrew Spicer, (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 241-276 (p. 264); Øystein Ekroll, 'State Church and Church State: Churches and their Interiors in Post-Reformation Norway, 1537-1705', in *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andrew Spicer, (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 277-309 (p. 303).

⁶⁴⁶ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 105, p. 155.

⁶⁴⁷ Loc. Cit.; Hamberg, *Norrländska*, p. 54.

sacred in its own right.⁶⁴⁸ An indication to the attitude among theologians can be found in consecration sermons. Martin Brunnerus, a Professor of Theology at Uppsala University, preached at the inauguration of Hudikvall's Church in 1672. This sermon was printed in 1676, and just the title of that sermon tells us of the church as a temple and a house for God, *A Christian sermon of God's dwelling of earth, and the gate of heaven*.⁶⁴⁹ He begins his sermon with the consecration of Solomon's temple and the second temple of Jerusalem, and goes on to say that any Christian church is greater than any of these temples because the glory of Jesus Christ himself will dwell where Christians come together to worship. Compare this to the words of KO1571, where Laurentius Petri writes of a church as a common house. Stressing that a church is quite unlike the temple of Jerusalem, he instead likens it to a school building, where Christians can come together, sheltered from inclement weather, and hear the word of God. Only because of the Word and the Sacraments should a church building at all be honoured.⁶⁵⁰ In the space of a hundred years, church officials went from saying that a church is nothing like a temple, to saying that it is more glorious than any of Jerusalem's temples. The screen that used to be in St Jacob's Church in Stockholm (from 1667 to 1814) also referred to the church as the temple. The inscriptions on this screen further described how it enclosed the holiness of the sanctuary.⁶⁵¹ This description may offer one explanation as to why the theologians of post-Reformation pronounced the church as a temple, that is by emphasising the sacrament of the altar.

Since Lutheran Orthodoxy put such an emphasis on the Word and sermons, present-day research has naturally followed suit, and focused on the pulpit as the centre

⁶⁴⁸ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 171.

⁶⁴⁹ Brunnerus M. *En christelig predikan om Gud's boning på jorden och himmelens port, af förste Mose boks 28. cap. 17. v. då den nye kyrckian i staden Hudvikszvall i Helsingeland, genom Gud's ord, bön och tacksägelse, med gåfvor och offrande, och mycken glädie i Gudi belgades och innwägdes, år effter Gud's sons födelse 1672 den 23 dagen i juni månad, som då var den fjerde söndagen effter h. trefaldighets söndag, förrättad af Martino Brunnero ... Tryckt i Stockholm af Job. Georg Eberdt år 1676.* 1676.

⁶⁵⁰ See Laurentius Petri KO1571, p. xlviii.

⁶⁵¹ Lundmark, *S. Jakobs*, p. 320. For more on this screen, see Chapter 10.2. The screen was described by Fred[rik] Wittingh, a parish school master in the 18th century, see Wittingh, *St. Jakobs*, pp. 60-63.

and focal point of seventeenth-century worship. Unfortunately, this has also made researchers on church interiors overlook the sacramental life of the church. Even when reredoses are mentioned, they tend to support research on the Word.⁶⁵² A major purpose of this study is to raise the question and weight of sacramental life in Swedish Lutheran Orthodoxy. It will be shown here how the Eucharist was instrumental in creating a sacred space in the Church, and how the Holy was intrinsically linked to the altar and the chancel. In Scandinavia the sanctuary was kept distinct by screens. The seventeenth century even brought a new-found interest in screens, and new designs were installed in Sweden.⁶⁵³ A similar trend may be traced in the Laudian transformation of English churches, and the instalment of rails around the altar.⁶⁵⁴ The question here, as sacred and secular is considered, is what purpose the screens served in the eyes of the Church? They naturally sectioned off the chancel and thus emphasised both Communion and the holiness of the sanctuary, and this may be the screen's principal purpose for formal theology. In the actual chancel the most dominating feature was the reredos. Even behind a screen, the imagery of the reredos would have offered instruction on the Gospel and dogma.⁶⁵⁵ Like an exclamation mark the tall Baroque design indicates the place, as if to say that here – at the altar – the sacred enters the secular world. Brunnerus' sermon is based on Genesis 28.17, when Jacob has just dreamt of the ladder to heaven, and then exclaims, 'How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.' It may be just this sense of awesome dread that the clergy wanted to instil in the laity as they entered the church. This idea is also apparent in the design of vestments and church silver. The details show the intricacies of Eucharistic theology, enforced by images from the

⁶⁵² Ellenius uses the new reredoses to support his theory that the pulpit and sermons were the central aspects of the church space and worship. Ellenius, 'Kyrklig', p. 194.

⁶⁵³ Hamberg, *Temples*, p. 167, pp. 170-172; Foley, *From Age*, pp. 254-255. Eamon Duffy writes about rood-screens in Tudor England, and their significant role of supporting the figure of Christ, but also the defacement of images and the removal of the roods during the sixteenth century, see Eamon Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition; Religion and Conflict in the Tudor Reformation*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 55-82.

⁶⁵⁴ Hamberg, *Temples*, pp. 193-195; Yates, *Liturgical*, pp. 74-75.

⁶⁵⁵ Hamberg, *Norrlandska*, pp. 43-44; Ellenius, 'Kyrklig', p. 190.

Passion narrative or Old Testament stories. A flagon at Stockholm Cathedral from 1636 shows Moses with his staff in the desert (Plate 18), and a chasuble in Rättvik shows Mary and John standing by the cross (Plate 7a).⁶⁵⁶ In general, the iconography of the church fabric transitioned to illustrating the Bible, and images of saints were replaced by apostles. Estham, Lindgren and Ångström all give examples of this on vestments, murals and reredoses respectively.⁶⁵⁷ It was not uncommon, however, with renditions of saints in Swedish churches well into the post-Reformation era, which may indicate a dichotomy between lay preferences and official Church imagery. This dichotomy will be further explored in Chapters Eleven and Twelve on the laity and the visual.

The ecclesial space of the seventeenth-century church saw the changes one might associate with the Reformation. Not that modifications were not carried out in the sixteenth century, but the transformations picked up pace as the church turned the corner to a post-Reformation era.⁶⁵⁸ There were several reasons behind the delayed transformation of the church, and the same is true for the flurry of activity in the seventeenth century. The Swedish Reformation was an extended time of gentle change.⁶⁵⁹ After the Uppsala Resolution 1593, the Reformation was *de facto* a reality, agreed upon by the *Riksdag*. This may have motivated the incorporation of more Protestant image-based pedagogy in the churches. However, there were two other major motivational factors for the redecoration of churches. First, the strengthening of aristocratic power, and secondly the new aesthetics of Baroque Classical ideals. With power, wealth and influences from the continent, the churches became a stage for the nobility to showcase their status, and the Baroque's ideals of beauty gave them just the right accoutrements. The motivation behind these changes,

⁶⁵⁶ Roosval, *J. Nikolai 3*, p. 453; Estham, *Figurbroderade*, p. 92.

⁶⁵⁷ Estham, *Figurbroderade*, p. 39; Lindgren, 'Reformationen', p. 307; Ångström, *Altartavlor*, p. 224.

⁶⁵⁸ The late medieval era saw a peak of ecclesial building work, but in the sixteenth century there was a regression, which only really picked up again in the seventeenth century. See Hamberg, *Temples*, p. 181, pp. 196-197.

⁶⁵⁹ Nilsén, 'Reform', pp. 253-255, pp. 259-264.

and the visual language they contain, will also be explored when espoused and operant theology are discussed in Chapters Eleven and Twelve.

Even though the theologians of the Reformation had a practical view of the ecclesial space as the place of communal worship – a view that would fall into the category of normative theology as foundational for the Lutheran Church – the formal theology of the post-Reformation leadership started to regard it as a space with an innate holiness.⁶⁶⁰ One iconographic pointer within the church building is an emphasis on the heavens. The church – the House of God – should remind people of the heavenly realm. The idea of the church as a holy place was advocated by both Church authorities and the government.⁶⁶¹ The iconography gave a visual map of the hierarchy of the heavens and the world, with God as the divine ruler, and the king as the worldly counter-part. There was a godly created order, where everyone had their place, from the King down to the common man. This preoccupation with divine order and structure can also be found in hymns, often based on Old Testament theocratic narrative, or with lyrics that described the Godly ordained positions of civic society.⁶⁶²

Marking the space as holy would then have stressed not only God's almighty power, but the authority of the government. For a young nation and dynasty that would have been of tremendous import. The grand architecture would have highlighted the fact that Sweden had gained a hitherto unparalleled position as a power house in Europe. Another indication of the importance the Crown placed on the church as a holy place was that it became a civil crime to disturb the peace of a church. Before 1680 such conduct had been regarded as a grave sin and a matter for church discipline, but not a criminal offence.⁶⁶³

⁶⁶⁰ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 171.

⁶⁶¹ The holiness of the church building was also regulated by the Church Act of 1686. Loc. Cit.

⁶⁶² Arvastson, *Den svenska*, pp. 68-69.

⁶⁶³ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 171.

9.4.1 Markers of the Holy

Following Rudolf Otto's *Idea of the Holy*, we can perhaps see the clear demarcation lines of sacred space as a rationalisation of the holy.⁶⁶⁴ That is, within this space – of the chancel – is what the Church defines as holy and good, which should neither be confused with magic or superstition, nor with secular customs.

The holy can also be traced by several markers in the chancel, from the screens to the altar. At the chancel entrance – as sentry to the holy – was the screen. As mentioned, the dividers remained from medieval times, but they enjoyed a resurgence in some post-Reformation churches and remained popular in Sweden throughout the seventeenth century. The screens were commonly tall, above human height. They created a semi-transparent divide, like a picket fence, with turned wooden balusters.⁶⁶⁵ One of the first of these baroque-type screens in Sweden, was installed in Stockholm Cathedral in 1655, but here the balusters were of brass. It bears a striking resemblance to the new screen in the Protestant Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam.⁶⁶⁶ Few screens are available for study, but those that still exist display little or no iconography.⁶⁶⁷ Their meaning seems to have been in their function, as a divider. This becomes especially clear since the congregation were invited into the sanctuary for Communion. The sanctuary was not a forbidden part of the church; it was a sacred part of the building. So whereas normative theology (doctrine) gave the congregation access to the sanctuary as the priesthood of all believers, formal theology (doctrine as practised by the Church leadership) marked off the sanctuary to emphasise the

⁶⁶⁴ Otto, *The idea*, pp. 113-114.

⁶⁶⁵ Hamberg, *Temples*, p. 193; for Norwegian counterparts, see Ekroll, 'State', p. 283.

⁶⁶⁶ Hamberg, *Norrlandska*, pp. 63-64.

⁶⁶⁷ Stockholm Cathedral still has a few pieces of the screen left in the chancel. A provincial example is found in Ragunda Old Church, in Härnösand Diocese (formerly Uppsala Diocese). An excellent example of a screen still in situ is in St Olav's Cathedral in Elsinore, Denmark. See Hamberg, *Norrlandska*, pp. 64-67.

church as a holy space.⁶⁶⁸ An analogy can be made to the temple and the tabernacle, a parallel that rings true considering the Old Testament allegories and iconography that dominated the seventeenth-century church.⁶⁶⁹ The images and events of the Old Testament were used to illustrate both New Testament dogmas, but also current events.⁶⁷⁰ In the church, the people of God were invited to the holy of holies, but through steps. They came from the secular world, and entered first through the porch, in Swedish called *vapenhuset* (the weapon room). This is the place to put aside anything that did not belong in God's house, much like the forecourt in the temple. The congregation then convened in the holy, the nave. However, and in accordance with the Priesthood of all Believers, the Lutheran congregation also had access to the holy of holies, the chancel.

The holy of holies is clearly marked by the baroque reredoses that came to replace the medieval altarpieces. The altarpieces went from a horizontal display with winged doors, predominant in the medieval church, to a vertical baroque design, made up of many tiers. One of the more striking examples is found in Stockholm Cathedral, the Silver Altar from 1652.⁶⁷¹ Hamberg shows how this reredos came to influence new altarpieces installed in churches all over the country. He makes a point of the fact that the Cathedral was used by the Estate of the Clergy for meetings when the *Riksdag* was in session. Clergy from all regions would have seen and probably been influenced by the new theological display.⁶⁷² This indicates that the new design had a seal of approval from the clergy. Furthermore, it also implies an agenda by the clergy to introduce theologically instructive iconography. The vertical design is yet another way to emphasise the holy space; as if to say that here, in this place, heaven meets earth. A design then, that worked in tandem with formal theology's

⁶⁶⁸ On Luther's definition of the priesthood of all believers and the sacrament, see Aleksander Radler, *Kristen dogmatik*, (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2006), pp. 531-536.

⁶⁶⁹ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 61; Nilsén, 'Reform', p. 279.

⁶⁷⁰ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, pp. 59-60; Ellenius, 'Kyrklig', p. 195.

⁶⁷¹ Hamberg, *Norrländska*, p. 44, p. 46.

⁶⁷² Ibid., p. 46.

idea of the holy. The composition of the pieces also hints of the chancel as a divine meeting place, with more human iconography at the base and divine imagery at the top. The next chapter will delve into the design of a few examples, but the reredos at Falu Kristine Church can stand as a representative for the period. Surrounded by statues of the apostles and the evangelists on six different levels, the reredos retells the passion narrative, starting with the Last Supper in the predella – the human man eating with his friends – and the crowning statue of God, Christus Pantocrator, at the top.⁶⁷³

The church, with its towering reredos in the chancel, was a place where holiness was displayed as divine authority: the template on which worldly hierarchies were modelled. In conjunction with the analogy of the temple: what made the holy of holies sacred in the temple, was the presence of God. This is the place the screens marked out. This is what the reredos pointed towards, the presence of God in the sacrament. More than the Word, the sacrament was at the heart of the Lutheran Orthodox church. More than just a place of worship, the post-Reformation church became a temple, harbouring the Real Presence of Christ. As a contrast to the doctrinal understanding of the holy, the laity seemed to have regarded the church in a different light. The church building and grounds were holy, but the lay definition appears to have been more in concordance with popular beliefs than with the doctrine of the Church. The parochial community tended to make a difference between the physical aspects of the room and the spiritual aspects of it. The room could be both practical and spiritual, a place for commerce and fellowship, and yet one that should be free from violence.⁶⁷⁴ This dual view of a space as both community owned and God's holy space caused some consternation among the clergy. As a holy space the place was linked to traditions of magic, practices the Church leaders did their best to

⁶⁷³ The reredos donated in 1655 by Chancellor Anthony Trotzig and his wife. The frame and structure, surrounding the paintings, are made entirely of wood. In 1905 the reredos was treated with gilding and painted a rich blue. The actual paintings are from northern Germany. See Garmo, *Falu*, pp. 5-6.

⁶⁷⁴ Malmstedt, *Bondeiro*, pp. 38-39, pp. 60-61.

curb. Communal practical use of the church grounds, however, such as grazing and markets, also jarred with the doctrinal understanding of a separate holy place.⁶⁷⁵ The blurred lines between practical and holy may be explained by the traditional lack of distinction between sacred and secular - a distinction the Church now tried hard to implement among the general population.

9.4.2 Sight – a Special Sense, or One Among Many

The two different ways of understanding *holiness* may also be traced to diverse ways of regarding the world. The links between sight, experience and interpretation are not completely straightforward. Stephen Pattison discusses the issue in his book *Seeing Things*, and not just the act of interpreting what one sees, but the actual act of ‘seeing’. Pattison makes a distinction between different attitudes to ‘seeing’, with what he calls scopic regimes. The scopic regime currently influencing much of the western social sphere he refers to as *ocularcentric*. Classical philosophers and Church fathers, among them Plato, Aristotle and Augustine, lauded sight as the noblest of senses. In the physical hierarchy of the body, the eyes ranked highest. Sight was regarded as foremost among the senses too, as the preferred way to get to know and understand the world around us. ‘While light floods the eyes with sight, reason floods the mind engaged in *theoria* with knowledge of the physically invisible reality of ideas,’ Pattison describes Platonic philosophy.⁶⁷⁶ These classical ideas can also be traced with later philosophers such as Locke and Descartes.

This notion of sight and insight as premier, would have been important in a reason-driven academic environment, where research called for detachment and objectivity. The viewer aims to be detached from the object to analyse it with the mind. The drawback is that it also makes the viewer a detached centre in the world they inhabit. Pattison remarks

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 148-151.

⁶⁷⁶ Pattison, *Seeing*, pp. 31-33.

that, 'This way of understanding the world with and through vision separates the subject from the world; it objectifies everything outside the self.'⁶⁷⁷ Even God does not escape being objectified. The Creator turns into a satellite around the planet that is the viewer. And perhaps, by overrating sight – and with it reason and the mind – humanity also overestimates its ability to be objective.⁶⁷⁸ This thought resonates with Otto's argument of intellectualisation of the holy, which he claims has taken place since Johann Gerhardt and onwards.⁶⁷⁹ Whether this is a generalisation or not, the academically trained Church leadership would have been well versed in classical philosophies. Though they may not have identified their way of regarding the world as a different scopic regime, or indeed a rationalisation of the holy, they had been taught the art of categorising, and thus would have seen a distinction between worldly/physical/secular and spiritual/cerebral/sacred.⁶⁸⁰ The separation of sacred and secular was supported by normative theology as well; Luther himself specified what was a suitable use for church space and church land, and what was not. The churchyard should be a peaceful and holy place, on account of it being a resting place for godly people. Instead – and Luther lamented the fact – the churchyard in Wittenberg was more a common place for gatherings and markets.⁶⁸¹

When *ocularcentric* vision is put in contrast with *baptic* vision the distinctions between the Church and the laity get even clearer. Pattison defines *baptic* vision (from Greek *haptein* = to seize, to grasp, to touch) as the scopic regime most prevalent among the uneducated classes in the pre-modern era. Here sight is not seen as separate from other senses, instead the senses collaborate. They support and enhance each other. In historical

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 33-35.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 33-36.

⁶⁷⁹ Otto, *The idea*, pp. 112.

⁶⁸⁰ Laurentius Paulinus Gothus large systematisation of the catechism *Ethica Cristiania* (in seven volumes) is a good example of seventeenth century academic categorisation, which built on Petrus Ramus ideas, see Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, p. 58. *Thesaurus catecheticus* is yet another example by his pen, see Laurentius Paulinus Gothus, ..., *Thesaurus catecheticus tam theoreticus, quam practicus*, ..., Strengnes, ..., 1631.

⁶⁸¹ See Martin Luther, *Ob man vor dem Sterben fliehen möge. Martinus Luther. Gedruckt zu Leipzig durch Georg Hantzsch, Anno M. D. LII. (1552)*. First written as an open letter during the plague in Wittenberg in 1527. See also Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, p. 58.

texts it is therefore not unusual for sight to be described as a kind of touch. Pilgrims, for example, often described how they felt as if they were touching the objects they saw.⁶⁸² Haptic vision is not a detached observation. The mysterious and holy is not an intellectual thought. The viewer and the object affect each other, both psychically and physically, leading to a mutual exchange. Pattison comments on how this relationship with ‘what is seen’ can have shaped medieval Eucharistic practice, and the elevation prayers used by the congregation.

The haptic or material nature of sight may help to explain why for medieval Christians, just witnessing the consecration, or seeing the elevation of the host at Mass rather than consuming it, was thought to be efficacious.⁶⁸³

Despite almost a century of Lutheranism, the use of elevation prayers is documented in Finland in the late 1590s.⁶⁸⁴ There are also recordings of elevation-type prayers in use in Sweden in the seventeenth century.⁶⁸⁵ This is mentioned here, because the Church campaign for the holy may well have been instrumental in eventually transforming how the population understood their world, not only their faith. By transforming religious practice (operant theology), the Church would also come to change the intellectual beliefs (espoused theology). The holy as something distant and separate from human secular life, goes hand in hand with the knowledge-based catechetical faith of the Lutheran Orthodox church. Both normative and formal theology turned faith into an intellectual pursuit, which should be understood more than felt. In the following chapters it will be demonstrated how these two scopic regimes and interpretations of holiness played out against each other.

⁶⁸² Pattison, *Seeing*, pp. 41-42.

⁶⁸³ Ibid., p. 43.

⁶⁸⁴ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, p. 131, p. 137; Laitinen, ‘Church’, pp. 311-331 p. 317.

⁶⁸⁵ Linderholm, *Signelser*, p. 96.

9.5 Summary

For the Lutheran Church as a whole, normative theology on ecclesial space and decoration was one of freedom. The Swedish strand of normative theology, however, seems to have preferred images to non-image decoration. It was one of those choices that made the church in Sweden not just Lutheran, but a national variety of a Lutheran Church, diverging somewhat from the Lutheran churches in Denmark and the continent. As a consequence, the identifying factor of the normative theology (doctrine) for the church in Sweden was not just that it was Lutheran, but that it was national, as in a Swedish Lutheran Church. Both images and traditional ritual accoutrements, such as vestments, could also be used, as long as they promoted the Gospel or were deemed *adiaphora* (of no importance to salvation). Indeed, using no images at all could be seen as a sign of extreme religious tendencies and Calvinism, which seems to be the stance taken by the estate of the clergy (formal theology).

The transformation of the church building in the seventeenth century also speaks of a new understanding of the building as holy, a temple likened to that in the Old Testament. The ecclesial building was no longer just a practical place to conduct worship (as for the reformers), but a holy place to keep separate from secular life. A rationalisation, as it were, of what belonged to the church and what was popular religion. Not just images could be used to promote the idea of the holy, as in tall towering reredoses, the chancel itself was kept separate with the retention of screens. The people had access to the sanctuary, but the area was distinctly separate from the nave, much like the holy of holies from the forecourt in the temple.

It is possible that we here see a pedagogical display on a larger scale. The actual building exemplifies the hierarchical order that is God-given. The traverse from the secular to the sacred, as the people moved through the church to the chancel. In the chancel the reredos showed the earthly images at the bottom and the divine realms at the top. So,

everything had its given order, everything in its right place. This striving to structure and rationalise religion also seemed to be part of both normative and formal theology.

Education would undermine superstition and traditional religion, and shape a godly and faithful population. Thus, images could be helpful to promote right faith, as long as the people were also taught to interpret the images in the proper way.

In short, as long as the Gospel was clearly preached and the sacraments rightly administered, imagery in the churches was of lesser concern in normative theology. In fact, reluctance towards iconography could be used as a litmus test for Calvinism. Whereas the use of images held the didactic promise of forming a Lutheran nation. The freedom gave formal theology a vast playing field to explore different ways of promoting the Gospel, which is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 10 – Iconography as a Pedagogical Tool

10.1 Introduction

How was the pedagogical tool of images used by *ecclesia*? This chapter now turns from normative theology and the foundational doctrines on iconography, to the practical use of images by the Church. Here two questions will be considered. The first is what meaning did the Church leaders attach to various objects? If, however, the Church appears to have placed no official value or meaning on an object or image, a second question needs to be asked: why were they still *in situ*? Was it just that the image was seen as *adiaphora* (a matter of indifference or unimportance to church doctrine), or was it kept on the particular will of someone other than the Church leaders? The last question highlights the fact that the Church hierarchy were not the only agents with ownership over the church building, the laity also had a strong influence. An issue rising from this question, therefore, is the ownership of the church. This matter will be considered here to a degree, but explored further in the following two chapters on the laity.

To summarise, this chapter will explore the official meaning of ecclesial objects and images, and how these were used by the Church hierarchy to instil a perception of holiness in the sanctuary. Also considered will be how this worked with or against lay understanding of church interiors. The study will start at the chancel arch and work towards the altar, a move that will highlight the centre of the holy: the liturgical events unfolding at the altar.

10.2 Partition of the Chancel – Screens and Arches

One of a very few church projects initiated during the Reformation was St Jacob's parish church in Stockholm, which was founded to accommodate a growing population in the

city. The church was not completed until 1643 however, well into the post-Reformation era. So, while the layout of the church can be characterised as late-medieval, the interior was furnished during Lutheran Orthodoxy.⁶⁸⁶ One of those features was a screen that will be an elucidating introduction to this section, despite a lack of iconography. The screen is long lost, but was described by the parish historian and school teacher, Fredric Wittingh in 1771. Replacing the first wooden screen, a brass screen was installed in 1667 which stood at a height of about one and a half (1 ½) metres. This would have made the screen slightly lower than the standard height,⁶⁸⁷ enough to partly obstruct the view of the chancel while seated, but not otherwise. Flanking the screen gate were two tall narrow pyramids, about three (3) metres tall.⁶⁸⁸ There are still a few, simplified, rural examples of this type of screen with pyramids, and Hamberg makes a note of the inspiration this screen had on new partitions installed in churches in the country (see Plate 2).⁶⁸⁹

According to Wittingh, the pyramids had inscriptions, which are of interest here. On the west side of the north pyramid (facing the congregation) ⁶⁹⁰ was an epitaph in memory of Andreas Gyldenklou, and the name of his wife, the donor, Anna Gyldenklou Bure. On the east-facing side of the same pyramid (facing the altar) was an inscription that alluded to God guiding the people of Israel through the desert. As the light and the cloud that guided the people, the screen would illuminate and prepare the way for God's advent in the holy house of St Jacob. The inscription underlines the difference between the Old Testament and the New, for while the road in the desert only led to a worldly and transient home, the path through the screen doors led to the blessed sacraments, through which

⁶⁸⁶ Sandström, *Konsten*, p. 83. The church has a gothic cruciform shape with three naves, pillars and tall pointed windows, see Lundmark, *S. Jacobs*, p. 276.

⁶⁸⁷ The measurement Wittingh used was *aln*, an archaic Swedish measurement of about 59,5 cm. According to Wittingh, the screen was 2 ½ *aln* tall, see Wittingh, *St. Jacobs*, p. 61.

⁶⁸⁸ Or 5 ½ *aln*, loc. cit.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 60-63; Hamberg, *Norrländska*, p. 194.

⁶⁹⁰ Wittingh uses the phrase, 'to the west' (åt väster), rather than a reference 'on the west or east side'. The Swedish preposition is ambiguous, but the context clarifies that he talks of the inscription as facing west or east, and not being on the west or east side, see Wittingh, *St. Jacobs*, pp. 60-63.

God himself is received.⁶⁹¹ Wittingh then refers to the ‘middle of the pyramid’, which probably means the side facing the passage between the gates. On the middle of the north pyramid were Scripture references: Ps 61.5, 1 Cor 6.20, 1 John 1.7. These verses talk of how we can abide in the Lord, the light, and trust in his protection. God has paid our ransom and cleansed us from sin. We should therefore glorify God in body and in spirit, and walk in fellowship with one another.

On the middle of the south pyramid are: Lev 19.30, Ps 84.5, 1 Cor 15.57. These passages talk of how we should keep the Lord’s Sabbath, how we should praise and thank the Lord in his house for giving us victory through his son. The words on both these pyramids summarised the divine gifts imparted in the Sacrament of the Altar, and the sacrifice of worship, praise and godly fellowship with which the people of God could respond. Notable here is how the church is likened to the tabernacle in the desert and the temple in Jerusalem: ‘abide in my tabernacle’, ‘blessed are they that dwell in my house’, ‘revere my sanctuary’. But it is also the place where God leads and guides his people, like the light in the night and the column in the day. These are all Bible selections that stress both the idea of the church as a new temple, as well as God’s presence in the church through the sacrament. God’s presence in the Eucharistic moment is further underlined by the inscriptions on the south pyramid. Facing west (towards the congregation), was a paraphrase of verses from Revelations, which talks of Jesus walking among his people.⁶⁹²

⁶⁹¹ Ut luxit Populo fax nocte dieque columna, Quando Ægyptiacum flexit Hebræus iter; Sic opus hoc Sancti JACOBI, illuminat ædem Inque Adytum DOMINI dat reseratque fores, Per lunæ solisque vias tantum illa patentem, Duxere in Patriam, quæ peritura fuit, Limina Cancellique sed hic veneranda recludunt, Sacramenta, quibus sumitur Ipse DEUS. Ibid., p. 62; I have been aided in my translations by a thesis on screen pyramids from 1989, Lars-Erik Sundin, ...*Och pyramiderna visade vägen; Korpyramider i Sverige under 1600- och 1700-talet*, (Uppsala: unpublished Master thesis at Uppsala University, Faculty of Theology, Kyrko- och samfundsvetenskap, 1989-05-30); and with the kind assistance of Professor Stephan Borgehammar and Latin student Max Cheung.

⁶⁹² In English the passage reads: ‘So says the one who walks in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks. I will give to the victorious to eat from the Tree of Life that is in Paradise. I will give of the hidden Manna. And I will give him a white stone, and on the stone a new name will be written, which no one knows except the one who receives it.’ See, Wittingh, *St. Jacobs*, pp. 62.

The inscription itself referred to Rev 2.17, but the passage (in italics below) also alludes to Rev 1.12-13 and 2.7.

Revelations 1

12 And I turned to see the voice that spake with me. And being turned, *I saw seven golden candlesticks; 13 And in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man*, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.

Revelations 2

7 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; *To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life*, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

17 He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; *To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it.*

The Son of Man is the one who invites the Church to the Sacrament, to eat of the tree of life and the manna, the one who gives access to a new, heavenly life. Thus, the congregation was invited to the holiest of the holy, the sanctuary.

Once inside the chancel, the south pyramid (facing east), held a Latin paraphrase of the *Nunc dimittis*.⁶⁹³ The Swedish text to the *Nunc dimittis* is frequently present in spiritual literature, and recommended as a prayer for the moment of Communion.⁶⁹⁴ This Latin paraphrase on the other hand, signals a learned pedigree, and indeed formal theology, as these kinds of paraphrases and Latin songs were common in schools. A collection of music from the school in Västerås shows works in Latin, German, Italian and Swedish.⁶⁹⁵ There was also a school attached to St Jacob's Church, and the Sunday duty of the boys was to

⁶⁹³ Wittingh simply refer to this paraphrase as Cant. Simeonis: '*Nunc tuo, juxta tua dicta, servo, Solve vitales, Pater alme, nexus, Cernit Authorem mea lux salutis Excipit ulna, Quem tuo Regem populo parasti Gentium lumen tenebris fugandis Gloriam David, Decus & perenne Isacidarum.*' Wittingh, *St. Jacobs*, p. 62.

⁶⁹⁴ See Laurentius, *Clenodium*.

⁶⁹⁵ Wilhelm Molér, *Förteckning över musikalien i Västerås högre allm. läroverks bibliotek till och m. 1850* [Elektronisk ressource], (Västerås: A.F. Bergh, 1917) <http://opac.bibliotek.vasteras.se/services/servlets/services.servlets.ResourceDb?res_id=232&data_source=jdbc/bookit7> [accessed 3 November 2018].

act as choristers, supporting the congregational singing.⁶⁹⁶ Bohlin mentions the longevity of Gregorian chant in Latin in cities with Latin schools, at least a century after the Swedish Mass was introduced.⁶⁹⁷ In this context, the Latin text on the Eucharist would have been natural, and a presence, perhaps, that we can attribute to clerical influence, since they were in charge of the school as well as the parish.⁶⁹⁸ So, while St Jacob had affluent and noble patrons,⁶⁹⁹ that does not necessarily mean they were responsible for the doctrinal aspects of the newly decorated church; the clergy may well have had a strong input. The *Nunc dimittis* paraphrase was a reminder to the congregation who returned from Communion at the altar. 'For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,' just as Simeon said in the temple. They return from having gazed at God and partaken of salvation.

The idea of the sacrament as the axis of the holy in the church space is particularly interesting if compared to Norwegian and Danish formal theology. It seems that Swedish formal theology connected the Word with Christ's presence in the Eucharist instead of linking it mainly with the sermon. By comparison, the visitation book of the Danish Superintendent Peter Palladius (1503-1560) marks the pulpit as the centre between the two sacramental objects of font and altar. It should be placed in the middle, so the minister could point towards both, like the cherubs on either side of the Ark of the Covenant.⁷⁰⁰ The words are of the Reformation, and predate the Swedish Lutheran Orthodoxy and its quest for the Holy, and yet they affected West Nordic churches in the next century as well. Øystein Ekroll has studied the make-up of post-Reformation Norwegian churches and found that many of them have the pulpit placed in the screen wall. That put the pulpits just between the altar to the east and the font in the west, just like Palladius had ordained. The

⁶⁹⁶ Quensel, *S. Jakobs*, pp. 135-136.

⁶⁹⁷ Bohlin, 'Gregorianik', p. 42, p. 47.

⁶⁹⁸ Quensel, *S. Jakobs*, pp. 129-131.

⁶⁹⁹ The main contributors to the actual building phase of the church were first of all the Crown, then the leading men and families of Sweden, and the council men of Stockholm. There were also national collections for St Jacob's construction, which was the norm for important church and civic developments. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-25.

⁷⁰⁰ Ekroll, 'State', p. 302.

Swedish Archbishop Laurentius Petri (1499-1573) did stress the importance of installing pulpits in the 1571 Church Ordinance (KO1571), but says little about the placement except that the pulpits should be placed in an appropriate position. And, although he prescribes that altars, chairs and idols (Swe: *beläten*) should be removed to make room for the pulpit, he also must have assumed these traditional items would still be *in situ*.⁷⁰¹ The instruction was more pragmatic than dogmatic, with directions on the proper height of the pulpit and that a sound board should be installed to ensure that the priest was most easily heard and seen. Hence, the execution was also practical, and the first pulpits were either placed on an old redundant side-altar, or fixed to a pillar or wall.⁷⁰² This would point to two Nordic Lutheran doctrinal approaches to the church lay-out, and two different uses of the screen. One (the western Nordic) often used screens to elevate the Word, in the pulpit and the sermon. The other (the eastern Nordic) had the screen enclose the real presence of the Word in the Eucharist, the place where the congregation can see and partake of God's salvation.

Consideration should also be given to the writings on the screen at St Jacob's, which have a most sacramental meaning. Five of the mentioned passages, are a direct or indirect reference to the sacrament. The Christian is redeemed and given life through the Eucharist. (S)he enjoys Christ's victory and the presence of God in Communion. By comparison, two references are about praising God as the community of God. The remainder are about being in God's house, keeping the Sabbath (holding the Law), and about the Word (Jesus inviting to and offering the Sacrament). It is interesting to note that there were no words of warning on the screen, the counsel that was so common in devotionals. Compared to the lengthy preparation manuals in prayer books, the lack is almost conspicuous. The screen focuses on joy, not preparation and confession. The

⁷⁰¹ Laurentius Petri KO1571, pp. viii-viii.

⁷⁰² For further information on the first post-Reformation pulpits, see Nilsén, 'Reform', pp. 269-272.

inscriptions guided the communicant to move on from inner preparation to receive the sacrament in faith and joy. This screen is only one example of a church interior, but it can still give an insight into how formal theology used the sacrament to invoke an awareness of the holy (in the sanctuary) as a separate sphere to the secular (outside the church and the service). The Word made the Sacrament a reality, and the Church used preaching as a tool to nurture good faith in this tremendous gift of salvation, but the Eucharist was the heart of the Communion service. It is also plausible that the laity had another understanding of the screen, not as a barrier, but as something which brought the sacrament closer to those in the nave, but vicariously through its iconography. Barbara Haeger maintains this view in a study of a screen in Antwerp.⁷⁰³ This is a possibility that will be further explored in the chapters on espoused and operant theology and popular belief (Chapters Eleven and Twelve).

10.3 Where Heaven and Earth Meet – Reredos

Moving through the divide of the screens and the chancel arch, the reredos becomes visible without interruptions. As mentioned, altarpieces went through a change during the seventeenth century, from a horizontal display with winged doors to the towering vertical lines of the baroque. The reredos in Stockholm Cathedral, called the Silver Altar, is a good example of the new display (see Plate 3). Installed in 1652, the reredos was donated in the memory of Chancellor Adler Salvius. The scenes on the piece are in silver on a backdrop of ebony. These vertical altarpieces appear in many other compositions in Sweden at this time, though in less costly materials and some with provincial designs.⁷⁰⁴ The tiered design

⁷⁰³ Barbara Haeger, 'The Choir Screen at St. Michael's Abbey in Antwerp: Gateway to the Heavenly Jerusalem', in *Munuscula Amicorum: Contributions on Rubens and His Colleagues in Honour of Hans Vlieghe*, ed. by Katlijne van der Stighelen, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp 527- 548 (p. 541).

⁷⁰⁴ Hamberg, *Norrländska*, p. 44.

is yet another feature that emphasises the holy; as if to say that here, in this place, heaven meets earth.

The symbolism of heaven and earth are also seen in the composition of the pieces, with more human iconography at the base and divine imagery at the top. The church, with its towering reredos in the chancel, was the place where holiness could be felt, touched and tasted. As a poignant reminder, predellas in both medieval and post-Reformation altarpieces most commonly depicted the Last Supper, the sacrament that is the link between our humanity and the divine life God offers. At the moment of distribution, the predella would have been at eyelevel with those kneeling at the altar-rail, completing the half-circle with Christ and the disciples. On the post-Reformation reredoses, the images are then placed on a vertical axis, with the Last Supper as a worldly foundation to a heavenly crown. The reredoses in the churches of Falu Kristine, All Saints at Nyköping and Eskilstuna Fors, are some excellent examples of this display (see Plates 4, 1a and 5).

Falu Kristine is possibly the grandest reredos in this study. Ångström describes it as the tallest Baroque reredos in Sweden, standing at four levels, not counting the predella or the top sculpture. It was finished 1669 by the German sculptor Ewerdt Friis and the Swedish carpenter Jöns Gustafsson. Friis also did the reredos for the church in Gävle, and Ångström believes he was inspired by the reredos in the Jesuit church of St. Maria Himmelfart in Cologne, because the Swedish reredoses share great similarities with the one in Cologne.⁷⁰⁵ Beginning with the Last Supper in the predella, the different tiers of the reredos in Falun illustrate the passion narrative on an axis from worldly to heavenly. Jesus, the son of man, surrounded by his disciples, eats the Last Supper. Even though it portrays the institution of the Eucharist, and a sacramental mystery, a meal is a most human experience. The next level shows the crucifixion. Here the Son of Man is lifted up on the

⁷⁰⁵ Ångström, *Altartavlor*, pp. 176-180.

tree, the cross. He dies for the sins of humanity, and thus becomes the mediator between heaven and earth. Directly above, the second tier illustrates the resurrection. Returning victorious from the realms of death, Christ opened the doors to heaven for humankind. The third tier shows the moment of ascension, when the Son of God returns to his rightful place in heaven. In the fourth and last tier we face the Day of Judgement, when the earth has ceased to exist and only the heaven remains. On top of the entire piece is Christ Pantocrator, holding the orb and the sceptre in his hands. Thus, from the meal of the man Jesus, the piece points upwards, towards the heavens, to a time when the world has ceased and there is only God.

The churches of Fors, in Eskilstuna, and All Saints (Alla Helgona), in Nyköping, have simplified versions of this installation, with some distinct variations. The piece at Eskilstuna Fors, is shaped like the baroque reredos, with three illustrations on a vertical span, but the iconography is different (see Plate 5). The current central image of the Ascension is a later acquisition, from 1938, which replaced an illustration of the flagellation of Jesus. Christ stands in abandonment at the pillar, and Ångström theorises about a counter-Reformation influence in this illustration as well, which she calls an 'Ecce Homo' image, since these depictions of a solitary Jesus was common among seventeenth-century French and Italian artists.⁷⁰⁶ Of interest here, however, are the two other paintings. The predella originally held a portrait of the Ironmaster Henrik Lohe. Lohe's relatives donated the piece in his memory, probably in 1655 for a newly rebuilt chancel. The portrait has been removed, leaving a blank oval where the picture used to be.⁷⁰⁷ Flanking the oval on either side is a dedication from Lohe's relatives, and a passage from Romans 5, 'For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.'⁷⁰⁸ The painting of Lohe would then represent this life, a human being and

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 141.

⁷⁰⁷ Bennett, *Fors*, pp. 40-41.

⁷⁰⁸ Rom 5.19.

a sinner, made righteous only by the sacrifice of Jesus, man and God. In this context, the original flagellation scene made perfect sense as the mediator between the earthly man and God's kingdom.

The second illustration of interest is at the top, and original to the piece, which is meant to represent God the Father. Illustrations of the Father are not unusual on altarpieces, but they often contain something that denotes his divinity: the Trinity as a whole, a cloud, or rays of light. In this image, however, we gaze at the face of an old, dignified man. Only the setting of the upraised position, and three sculpted putti above him, one with a banner 'Glory to God in the highest' gives us clues as to the man's true identity. God Almighty is the ruler of all that is, seen and unseen; to him only be the glory. Instead of Christ Victorious, it is the putti that signal the heavens here, seen as they are only on the top tier. They are the heavenly host that surrounds God the Father. Flanking the lower tiers are the four evangelists. Their accounts of the Gospel give us access to God's kingdom in this earthly existence.⁷⁰⁹ Thus we have a painting of an ordinary man in the predella – a sinner even as the inscription admits – redeemed only by the sacrifice of the Son (first tier) at the will of the Father (second tier). We can also see it as a reinforcement of the ideal world order at the time, with the Father of All above, the head of the family of Christendom. An order that is mimicked on a worldly level, here exemplified with the portrait of an upstanding man in the community, and the head of the Lohe family.

The reredos of All Saints, Nyköping, has a different style from many others of the same period. Rather than a vertical display, the altarpiece (from 1674) makes the most of the wide chancel space and spreads out, almost like a classic triptych altarpiece (see Plate 1a). Ångström describes the design as rather old-fashioned for its period, because of the

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 40-41.

abundance of wooden sculptures, carvings and paintings.⁷¹⁰ The central and vertical illustrations are a traditional selection: Last Supper (predella), Crucifixion (first tier), resurrection (empty tomb on second tier), and Christus Victor (top sculpture). On the first tier, wooden sculptures flank the Crucifixion on either side. To the left is John the Baptist holding the lamb, and on the right is Moses with the tablets. Below these, on a level with the predella, are two Bible passages. John the Baptist is ascribed his own words from John 1.29, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.' Below Moses is a verse from John 1.17, 'For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.' The juxtaposition of Moses and John the Baptist, representing Law and Gospel respectively, are an often recurring theme in the iconography of Swedish seventeenth century reredoses. However, by connecting the verse from John with the statue of Moses, the illustration brings to mind to the sacramentally focused inscriptions on the screen at St Jacob's in Stockholm. Moses is not portrayed so much as a representative of the Law (and by knowing the law realising the need for preparation before Communion), instead Moses points towards Jesus much like John the Baptist. Jesus is the one who liberates humanity from the consequences of the Law, which turns Moses into a reminder of the grace found in Jesus.

Combining the design of these reredoses, we find the Passion Narrative at the heart of northern European evangelical-Lutheran imagery. Formal theology here had a sermon in images. Inspired by the *Silver Altar* at Stockholm Cathedral, the iconography can be entirely dedicated to the passion story, as in Falun. It can also adopt a more theocentric theme of the Father as in Eskilstuna, or focus on the grace found with the Eucharist, and in Christ, as in Nyköping. Hamberg refers to these compositions almost as theological shorthand,

⁷¹⁰ Ångström, *Altartavlor*, p. 166.

and in being static – as compared to the medieval cabinets that could be open or closed – a constant instruction on correct Faith.⁷¹¹

10.4 The Awesome Presence of God – Chasubles

In the study of Eucharistic iconography, vestments offer rich material for research.

Vestments were in continued use from medieval times in Sweden. The production of vestments must have halted during the Reformation, however, because very few chasubles from this time survive. Inventories from the late sixteenth century frequently refer to old [medieval] chasubles, and only rarely mention new examples. Further indication to the medieval heritage is that the post-Reformation chasubles resemble the older vestments, and are decorated with similar crucifix and Calvary motifs. By comparison, the previously Danish areas of Sweden (Gotland), has no chasuble with a Calvary motif from the Reformation or post-Reformation era.⁷¹² Again we have here an example of two different modes of Lutheranism in the Scandinavian region.

The production of vestments started anew in the seventeenth century, something which both Inger Estham and Bengt Stolt attribute to the stability and economic upswing that followed peace in both religion and politics. In Sweden, warfare tended to be a greater danger to such fragile objects as vestments than theological disputes.⁷¹³ Archbishop Laurentius Petri (1499-1573) wrote in KO1571 that the priest should dress as they were accustomed to when celebrating Mass.⁷¹⁴ Sixteenth century visitation records from the region of Kalmar count as many as forty-two vestments, with red and brown the dominant

⁷¹¹ Hamberg, *Norrländska*, p. 43.

⁷¹² Estham, *Figurbroderade*, p. 14, p. 19.

⁷¹³ Bengt Stolt has studied the development of vestments in Sweden, and shows records of church inventories from two regions in Sweden during the seventeenth century. In a border-region like Västergötland, which saw skirmishes between Danish and Swedish troops on numerous occasions, most churches owned only one chasuble. Further north, and unaffected by wars, the churches in Uppland had an average of five to ten chasubles in their possession. Vestments were either destroyed or taken as loot. Stolt, *Kyrklig*, pp. 30-31. Estham, *Figurbroderade*, p. 15.

⁷¹⁴ Laurentius Petri KO1571, p. xxxvii.

colours.⁷¹⁵ The 1686 Church Act adopted a sentiment similar to the 1571 Church Ordinance. But vestments had been contested. In 1608 Karl IX tried to abolish them. Arguing that the Swedish liturgy differed from the Roman, clergy attire should also differentiate, in order to distinguish the proper faith of a Swedish service from the Roman. The king had already removed chasubles in the Royal Chapel.⁷¹⁶ The clergy objected, however. They claimed vestments were important for maintaining good order in the service, and contributing to the beautification of the service. Since the service was a holy, Christian duty, the quality of the clergy robes should not be dependent on the individual wealth of the priest.⁷¹⁷ Vestments could hide all manner of tatty clothes. Thus, where the liturgical freedom of the Reformation made way for change and the abolition of vestments in some countries, that same freedom was used to keep various liturgical traditions in Sweden. The reasoning of the clergy also shows that the beauty of the holy place had its own *raison d'être*, and was possibly seen as an aid in marking the church as the holy place.

The idea of the holy, the church as a temple, and the prominence of the Eucharist could all be exhibited on the vestments. One such distinct example is a chasuble from Bärbo parish, Diocese of Strängnäs (now at the History Museum, Stockholm). On a backdrop of purple or red velvet with the cross and flowers embroidered in gold thread on the back, one chasuble shows flowers growing from the cross and the bottom of the

⁷¹⁵ Fourteen out of forty-two vestments in the visitation records from Kalmar were red. This seemed to be the designated liturgical colour for ordinary time. Brown and gold brocade came second, with eight each. There were also a few green, blue and yellow vestments in the inventory, as well as one white, see Stolt, *Kyrklig*, pp. 31-32. Whether the brown vestments were brown, purple, or even red, is difficult to gauge, though. The Swedish word *lila* (purple) was first recorded in 1805. From the sixteenth century onwards, any nuance of red, dark red, reddish blue, violet and purple, was called brown. For more on the colours brown and purple see the Dictionary of the Swedish Academy, *SAOB*, <www.saob.se> [accessed 9 November 2015].

⁷¹⁶ For more on the discussion between the king and the clergy, see Stolt, *Kyrklig*, p. 38. On the liturgy and the ceremonies in the Royal Chapel, see Lindquist, *Hovförsamlingens*, pp.4-6. Lindquist talks of the chapel as being liturgically ascetic until Queen Kristina's reign in the mid-century, *ibid.*, p. 32. Notably, King Karl's own liturgy is much more Scripture based than the official liturgies of KO1571 and HB1614, by using Matthew and Mark as alternatives for the preface. He also consistently refers to ministers as preachers, whereas HB1614 uses 'priests', see Karl IX. *Christelig ordning och sätt, huruledes hålles skal, ..., hofvörsambling medh gudstjenesten*. ..., Stockholm, aff Andrea Gutterwitz.... 1602.

⁷¹⁷ Stolt, *Kyrklig*, p. 38.

vestment, turning the cross into a living plant, a tree of life on a summer meadow (see Plate 6).⁷¹⁸ The decoration brings to mind the Eucharist likened to the tree of life mentioned on the screen at St Jacob's, Stockholm, as well as in bishop Johannes Matthiae's prayer book.⁷¹⁹ The Church of Rättvik has a beautiful example of another common chasuble motif: a Calvary image on the back (see Plate 7a). This particular rendition has the addition of Mary and John at the foot of the cross. Estham notes that the passion motif creates a bridge between the medieval vestments and those of post-Reformation, but whereas the medieval vestments display some variation in motives the Crucifix is the dominating motif in the seventeenth century.⁷²⁰ The chasuble at Rättvik also clearly demonstrates the wealth of the parish. It is made of purple velvet and embroidered in gold and silver, and has the year 1650 on either side of the cross along with the letters TR: *Templum Rättvikensis*.⁷²¹ Despite the year on the back, Estham dates the chasuble to 1674.⁷²² Owing to the fact that the chasuble does not display a crest or initials of a donor, this chasuble may be regarded as an acquisition by the parish for the 'temple at Rättvik', and most probably with the input of the local rector. The embroidery is richly made in stumpwork, where several layers of padding make the bodies of characters stand out against the backdrop. The figures are embroidered in silver thread, with details of haloes and clothing stitched in gold thread. Even though the gospel passage this image refers to (John 19.26-27) has Jesus looking at and talking to Mary and John, Jesus is here depicted with his eyes closed. Instead, the couple are the active agents here, looking at the body of Jesus with their eyes wide open. This design has most probably been inspired by other Calvary renditions,⁷²³ but the motif is

⁷¹⁸ More information and photos of the Bärbo chasuble can be found at the Swedish History Museum website, <<http://kulturarvsdata.se/shm/object/html/95609>> [accessed 26 November 2015].

⁷¹⁹ Johannes Matthiae, *Strengnäs, Barnabook*, pp. 46-47.

⁷²⁰ Some popular medieval motives that Estham have recorded are Jesus's childhood, the apocalyptic Madonna, and hagiographic stories, see Estham, *Figurbroderade*, pp. 38-39.

⁷²¹ Garmo, *Rättviks*, 2014, pp. 14-15.

⁷²² Estham also gives another example with the same motif, a chasuble from Söderala, which dates back to 1670. See Estham, *Figurbroderade*, p. 92, p. 196, p. 198.

⁷²³ Ibid.

also a vivid reminder of the Eucharist as the moment when we can see God's salvation with our own eyes, just as the mother of Jesus and his disciple did by the cross (see Plate 7b).

As mentioned, the Calvary motif dominated, and similar imagery is found on a vestment at Falu Kristine. This chasuble is made of white silk with a Calvary image on the back and the JHWH on the front. The chasuble dates from 1666, and flanking the cross are the crests of the donors, rather than the figures of Mary and John. Yet another example is in the collections of the History Museum, a seventeenth-century chasuble originally from the parish of Norrsunda, Uppsala Diocese.⁷²⁴ This chasuble is made of red silk with embroidery in gold and silver. Both the chasuble at Falun and the one at the History Museum have the cross standing on a skull with crossed bones underneath. A symbol of how Jesus is the victory lamb, and the Eucharist as a viaticum (see Plates 8 and 9).

Although these chasubles were made within an evangelical-Lutheran context, there is a continuity of design from the medieval church.⁷²⁵ In *The Imitation of Christ*, Thomas à Kempis reminds the priest that he literally wears Christ's cross when he dons the chasuble. The cross on the chasuble speaks of the passion of Christ and urges the priest to walk in Christ's footsteps.⁷²⁶ The Swedish seventeenth-century translation – a Lutheran edit – slightly alters the meaning of the text. The translation moves the message from personal contemplation to the priest's duty in the community. The cross should remind the priest of his duty to preach Christ's death, passion and victory for the sake of all mankind.⁷²⁷ In the Lutheran version, the priest's sacramental place is in the midst of the congregation.⁷²⁸

⁷²⁴ For a fuller description of the Norrsunda chasuble, see the Swedish History Museum website, <<http://mis.historiska.se/mis/sok/fid.asp?fid=95685&g=1>>, [accessed 8 November 2018].

⁷²⁵ Estham, *Figurbroderade*, p. 19.

⁷²⁶ 'Habet ante se et retro dominicae crucis signum; ad memorandam jugiter Christi passionem. Ante se crucem in casula portat; ut Christi vestigia diligenter inspiciat et sequi ferventer studeat.' *De imitatione Christi*, 1892, pp. 402-403.

⁷²⁷ Tomas de Kempis, IV:5 p. 497.

⁷²⁸ 'Christ's cross on his back signifies that he should deny himself, take his cross and gladly, for the sake of Christ and in the glory of his name suffer whatever might befall him. Yes, with his entire being, in his social

Generally speaking, the differences between the two versions lie mainly in that the Lutheran priest no longer celebrated private Mass. The Swedish text highlighted this change by emphasising the communal aspect, and that the Lutheran priest celebrated Mass as a congregational duty.

The vestments thus spoke both of continuity of design, with the cross, but also of change in context and use. The main change was that hagiographic images were exchanged for biblical characters.⁷²⁹ What this might have meant for the laity is something that will be explored further in the next chapter, but the continuity of design and use does raise the question of whether it made it harder for the congregation to understand the changes in Eucharistic theology. Normative theology stated that the purpose of vestments was to maintain order and beauty in the service; these were the words of KO1571 and the clergy estate. Formal theology, however, used the designs of the past to teach and preach on the passion narrative. Some motifs are drawn from several sources of formal theology, such as the Tree of Life, which we have found in prayer books, on the screen at St Jacob, and here adorning a chasuble. The dominant motif, however, was of Calvary, with the salvation of the Cross and Communion depicted clearly before the congregation. The drawback of using familiar medieval designs was that it may well have made it difficult for the congregation to discern a development from traditional and popular religion. How were they to tell that the Eucharistic dogmas had changed, when everything looked the same?

10.5 Heaven in a Tiny Piece of Bread and a Drop of Wine – Church Silver

The Eucharistic vessels take us to the heart of the sacramental moment. The chalice, paten, ciborium and the flagon were instrumental to the Eucharist. During the 1540s, when

circumstances and daily living, he should shine among the people as he in his holy order has publicly in God's congregation been gloriously and holy exalted.' My translation. Ibid, IV:5 p. 497-498

⁷²⁹ Estham, *Figurbroderade*, pp. 38-39.

Gustav I (Vasa) confiscated all superfluous church silver – an act with both political and religious overtones – some regions responded with outright rebellion.⁷³⁰ But the Reformation did not just mean loss of church silver. Existing vessels were transformed, and new objects incorporated in church collections. The consequence of the Reformation, and Communion in both forms, was that the chalice needed to be big enough for a congregation. The previously small cups had to be replaced and enlarged to serve a larger group, but the medieval stems were frequently retained.⁷³¹ The flagon was also introduced as a practical container for the wine used in the service.⁷³² Sometimes these were made specifically with the Eucharist in mind, but just as often they were household objects gifted to the church.⁷³³

This chapter will focus on vessels designed specifically for Mass, with the next two chapters concentrating on the non-ecclesial designs. Some designs stand out through their frequency, which may indicate that they supported the rituals and dogmas of the official church, both normative and formal. Common designs were probably not only approved of, but endorsed by the clergy. The odd items, in contrast, were often the result of individual gifts or initiatives, a circumstance which will become clear in the next chapter. The more generic style had a victory lamb adorning the lid of flagons and ciboria. The chalice, on the other hand, tended to have a hexagonal base with a consecration cross as its only decoration.⁷³⁴ The same cross is often found on the rim of the paten, effectively connecting

⁷³⁰ The rebellions had other causes as well – economic and social – but the loss of the silver might well have been a trigger point. Seeing their treasures and community legacy taken would have been a stark signal for the people of the religious change that was happening, one which they had not signed up for. The uprising in the region of Småland (the *Dacke War* 1542-1543) was one of the most successful rebellions against Gustav Vasa's rule, and it made the king call for parliamentary support for the religious reforms. With the estates of the Riksdag, that meant a broad agreement by the populace. For a general overview, see Andrén, *reformationstid*, pp. 108-110; Martin Berntson looks at the issue in more detail, see his article, Berntson, 'Popular', in particular p. 59, and Berntson, *Mässan*.

⁷³¹ Andrén, *reformationstid*, see the image of a chalice on the front cover and its description. For common techniques and designs of the sixteenth century, see Holmquist, 'Guldsmeskonsten', 1996, p. 388.

⁷³² Holmquist sees a connection in design between the medieval cruet and the Protestant larger flagon, see Holmquist, 'Guldsmeskonsten', 1996, p. 389. For European designs, see Foley, *From Age*, p. 280.

⁷³³ Holmquist, 'Guldsmeskonsten', 1997, p. 477.

⁷³⁴ Holmquist describes the typical sixteenth-century chalice as having a round base, spherical knob, and an unadorned cup. The seventeenth-century version develops the hexagonal base, a knob often decorated with

the chalice and the paten. Fors Church, in Eskilstuna, has a flagon as well as a chalice in this design. Although a sixteenth-century make, the chalice was bought and donated to the church in 1946.⁷³⁵ The church of Falu Kristine also has a chalice and paten of this model (see Plate 10a). The victory lambs on the flagons and ciboria are a poignant reminder of *Agnus Dei*. As Decius's paraphrase of the liturgical song says, Jesus who takes away the sin of the world is the sacrificial lamb, our most personal saviour and viaticum.⁷³⁶ By placing it on the most visible spot – on top of the lid of the wafer box and the flagon – it could be likened to an apothecary's sign: this container holds the medicament against the evil foes of sin and death (see Plate 10c).

The box went through quite a significant design change from the medieval ciborium and the post-Reformation wafer box. The medieval ciborium was a cup on a stem, much like the chalice. It was meant to be held up in view so the body of Christ could be beheld.⁷³⁷ The parish church of Skokloster – an old convent church – has one of these medieval ciboria on display (see Plate 11). With the Reformation the traditional ciborium was no longer necessary. The seventeenth century instead introduces the wafer box, which could be rectangular, square or oval, but never on a stem as the ciborium.⁷³⁸ The box was clearly not designed for processions, but as a container to stand on an altar during Communion (see Plate 12 for the seventeenth-century ciborium at Stockholm Cathedral). That is, the body of Christ was not to be revered outside of *usus*. However, the consecrated bread was to be kept separate from unconsecrated bread, which Archbishop Laurentius

six buttons, and a larger cup that was sometimes decorated, see Holmquist, 'Guldsmedskonsten', 1996, p. 388.

⁷³⁵ Bennett, *Fors*, p. 52.

⁷³⁶ 'Lamb of God, pure and holy, Who on the cross didst suffer, Ever patient and lowly, Thyself to scorn didst offer. All sins Thou borest for us, Else had despair reigned o'er us: Have mercy on us, O Jesus!' N. Decius, 1490?-1541.

⁷³⁷ Foley, *From Age*, pp. 221-222.

⁷³⁸ These boxes have been known since the first half of the seventeenth century, see Holmquist, 'Guldsmedskonsten', 1996, p. 389.

Petri Gothus stipulates in his *Thesaurus*.⁷³⁹ This instruction was unconditional (as compared to other ceremonies that he deemed merely conditional). Ideally, nothing should be left from Communion, but any bread or wine that remained must either be consumed or kept apart, in order to keep the sanctity of the Lord's Supper, and to avoid any provocation.⁷⁴⁰ The Church Act of 1686 is less detailed in its instructions, but it gives a stern warning to keep consecrated wafers under lock and key.⁷⁴¹ When we previously discussed the Real Presence the bishops were in agreement on the existence of the Real Presence, they only varied in their opinions on when it happened. They either emphasised the mystery, or the participation and *usus*.⁷⁴² Bishop Emporagrius is the one who is most specific. The wine and bread supernaturally turned into Christ's body and blood during the Eucharist, but the communicant came in contact with these holy gifts only during the distribution, not while gazing at the silver containers of flagon and box.⁷⁴³ The adornment then, might have been used to direct the human vision to a symbolic image of Christ, as he is met at the Eucharist, not beheld at a distance. The medieval ciborium, by contrast, needed no such reminders and adornment. Salvation came with reverence and in beholding Christ present in the sacrament.

Another difference to note is the adornment of the two pairs: flagon and box, and chalice and paten. The former pair (flagon and box) often had the victory lamb on the lids, the latter (chalice and paten) were instead adorned with consecration crosses. So while the flagon and box directed the thoughts and vision to the redeeming qualities of the bread and wine, the chalice and paten contained the consecrated holy gifts. Formal theology is in

⁷³⁹ *Thesaurus* was Laurentius' larger catechism produced in 1631 for the edification of the clergy, unlike the smaller *Clenodium*, which was meant for the laity. Laurentius, *Thesaurus*.

⁷⁴⁰ Laurentius does not mention whether the bread had be re-consecrated or not, but instructs only that, 'The blessed wafers should carefully be stored until it was once more needed for Sacramental use.' Laurentius, *Thesaurus*, pp. 334-336.

⁷⁴¹ The regulation is ambiguous. It can either point towards a reverence for the sacrament, or be an attempt to suppress lay practice and belief in the blessed host's magical properties, see KL1686 Chap. 11 §10.

⁷⁴² See Chapter 1:2 for the discussion and sources.

⁷⁴³ Emporagrius mentions the supernatural eating of Christ's body and blood under the bread and wine. Emporagrius, *Catechesens*, on the Lord's Supper, section 5.2.5

agreement (as is noted in the previous discussion on the bishops), it is the contents of these two objects, the chalice and the paten, that will bring salvation. They did not need much decoration, just two simple consecration crosses, which were visible only when the viewer was close enough to partake of the gifts. It points to the distinction of the sacrament that is only a sacrament when it is in use. During the Eucharist, the chalice held the consecrated wine, the blood of Christ, but the congregation had only recently got access to this sacramental gift. A sixteenth-century chalice at the church of Falu Kristine quite possibly makes a point of this. This chalice has the standard design, with a hexagonal base and a matching paten, both decorated with consecration crosses. The knob on the chalice makes the design stand out, as it is decorated with tiny faces of men and women (see Plate 10b). The base was made in the middle of the sixteenth century, so at a time when the Reformation brought about changes to the Eucharistic practice. Could these figures possibly be a reminder to the celebrating clergy of the people who were invited to participate in both Eucharistic gifts? He, as their priest, was there to serve the people, and part of his sacramental duty was to make certain that the people of the church had access to the wine as well as the bread. Since the knob would be obscured by the priest's hand it would not have been visible to the communicant. Only the stem on the chalice is original. As the city grew, the parish needed a bigger vessel; instead of buying a new chalice, the cup was enlarged. The current cup is from 1746 (see Plate 10a).⁷⁴⁴

Normative theology defined the place of reverence and praise to *usus*, when the Eucharist was in use. Normative theology also invited the priesthood of all mankind to the altar, to partake of Communion in both kinds. This was interpreted in formal theology to produce the shapes and designs of the Eucharistic vessels. We have noted the change of form of the ciborium, a change that talks of two different uses for the box. The medieval

⁷⁴⁴ Boëthius, ed., *Sveriges*, p. 132, p. 136

version, shaped like a chalice, was meant to be carried and meant to be seen. The post-Reformation version, on the other hand, was crafted for the practical use of holding the wafers in a rectangular box, fitted for stationary use on the altar or in storage. The victory lamb on ciborium and flagon pointed towards the salvation found in the gifts of bread and wine, whereas the consecration cross on the paten and chalice spoke of a more intimate moment, when Christian is united with Christ in the body and blood of the sacrament.

10.6 Summary

Formal theology of the ecclesial space gives further insight into the more practical aspects of Eucharistic theology. Normative theology may set the parameters, but formal theology interprets and puts theology into practical ecclesial use. This chapter put three questions to formal theology: 1) What value and meaning did ecclesial objects have for the clergy? 2) How were these objects and images put in use? 3) What ownership did the clergy have over the ecclesial space? The discussion of vestments gives a good overview of these questions. The dogmatic foundation of the Lutheran churches gave freedom both to use or abolish vestments, to keep decoration image-based or letter-based, and the clergy lead the Church in Sweden towards the former choices. To the Swedish estate of the clergy, the inherent meaning of vestments is one of practicality, to keep good order and to beautify the service. The beauty of the church building had its own *raison d'être*. It would have been an aid in marking the church as the holy place, but it would also have been an efficient mode of communicating proper faith. Not only did the towering baroque reredoses reinforce the holy, with the church as the temple and a glimpse of the heavenly realm, the images also promoted a Christocentric faith by retelling the Passion and salvation narrative.

The specific themes of the Eucharistic moment, which was approved and endorsed by the Church tell us more of formal theology. These themes speak of a merciful saviour in Christ, and of the Communion as a life-giving well or the tree of life. The tree of

life is prevalent in the Calvary images on vestments. It was sometimes interpreted literally with chasubles decorated akin to a tree full of blooms. The tree of life was also mentioned on the screen in St Jacob's Church in Stockholm, a theme that correlates with episcopal writing, such as Johannes Matthiae's instruction to children on the Eucharist.⁷⁴⁵ The screen and episcopal writings further emphasise the presence of God by continued reference to the *Nunc dimittis*.⁷⁴⁶ God sets a table for his believers, where they can see, touch and taste the heavenly gifts of salvation and viaticum. Through Christ, the holy makes a dwelling place among us, thereby creating a separation of secular and sacred. The themes contain few or no reminders of confession or repentance, instead the focus is on God's mercy and the rich gifts offered in Communion. The fact that new adornment tended to stay true to the gospel and the Lutheran faith probably indicates the ownership that the Church had over the ecclesial space.

The next chapters will show the impact a strong patron could have on church interior, something which can put the power and influence of the clergy in question, but in general the decoration in the chancel area stays true to the gospel. Where the Old Testament appears, it is in reference to the redeeming Christ in the Eucharist, such as Moses pointing to the lamb of God. The iconography and the writings also tend to be reassuring: Christ victorious, the Lamb of God, the tree of life, who invites the sinner to a meal that is forgiveness and the cure for death. The theology of the ecclesial space should also be compared to formal theology in literature, which has much more material devoted to the act of waking the sinner and the need for redemption. Perhaps an analogy can be made to what Luther wrote on a good death. Death is not the time to think of one's sins but on Christ's redeeming power. Repentance and admittance of sinfulness is for life, but

⁷⁴⁵ Johannes Matthiae, *Strengnäs, Barnabook*, pp. 46-47.

⁷⁴⁶ For an example, see Laurentius, *Clenodium*.

at the moment of death one should only find comfort in Christ and his grace.⁷⁴⁷ It is with the same faith one should approach Communion. Before the divine meeting at the altar one must prepare oneself and contemplate one's need for redemption, but at the Eucharistic moment one should take heart and comfort in God's merciful presence.

⁷⁴⁷ See Luther's *Ein Sermon von der Bereitung Zum Sterben* (1519), Martin Luther, *Luthers Werke in Auswahl. Unter Mitwirkung von Albert Leitzmann herausgegeben von Otto Clemen, Erster Band*, ed. by Otto Clemen, (Berlin: Verlag von Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1950), pp. 161-173. See also his many consoling letters, for example to his father in 1530 when he wrote, 'I herewith commit you to Him who loves you better than you do yourself, having paid the penalty of your sins with His blood, so that you need have no anxiety. Leave Him to see to everything.' Furthermore to his mother in 1531, '... He is the Saviour of all who in their deep need call upon His name. He says, "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world." And now that death and sin have been overcome, we may be full of joy, and when sin frightens us we may say, "I will not listen to thy alarms, but to my Saviour's word of consolation, 'Be of good cheer.''" See Martin Luther, *The Letters of Martin Luther. Selected and translated by Margaret A Currie*, (London: Macmillan & Co., 1908), pp. 202-203, pp. 265-266, for quotations see p. 203, p. 265.

Chapter 11 – Lutheran Donations of the Laity

11.1 Introduction

The parish church of Ytterjärna, Strängnäs diocese, sports a rendition of the Mass of St Gregory on a mural. The image is fifteenth-century work, and even though it was whitewashed (probably in the seventeenth century), the mural is once more uncovered and clear (see Plate 22).⁷⁴⁸ Miri Rubin explains how the legend of St Gregory celebrating Mass became an edifying story for the theology of transubstantiation, and it has also been associated with indulgences.⁷⁴⁹ Thus, it may seem out of place in a post-Reformation Lutheran parish church. The retention of this image is a poignant illustration and backdrop to the following two chapters. These chapters will unravel espoused and operant theology in the liturgical space, but the image above causes a conundrum, because we do not know the reason why it was kept, or who had the authority to decide about church decorations. An added problem in the quest for espoused and operant theology is our scant knowledge of how the images were understood and used. The presence of an image in a church does not automatically tell about how this image was perceived, nor its place in worship.

⁷⁴⁸ The windows in the church were enlarged in the first half of the eighteenth century; the walls were probably whitewashed at the same time. See Schnell, *Ytter-Järna*, p. 8, pp. 11-13. When Mereth Lindgren writes about whitewashing it is generally an eighteenth-century occurrence and often when windows were enlarged, see for example, Lindgren, *Att lära*, p. 45, p. 52, p. 72, p. 81, p. 91, p. 105, p. 155, p. 160. She also refers to eighteenth-century visitation records that mentions whitewashing as common. Her only example of whitewashing in the seventeenth century (1666, Storkyro/Isokyrö, in Finland) is something she comments of as extremely rare, see *ibid.*, p. 59.

⁷⁴⁹ The legend tells of Christ appearing before St Gregory as he celebrated Mass. Christ showing his wounds was the answer to Gregory's prayer for a proof of transubstantiation to convince unbelievers. The story became popular with the emerging celebration of Corpus Christi, and the legend was often retold in images on altarpieces or murals, devotionals or even cheap prints for personal use. See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in late medieval culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 116, pp. 121-123; Duffy, *The Stripping*, pp. 238-239.

How are we to make a distinction between how the laity described their faith (espoused theology) and how they lived out their beliefs (operant theology)? The legacy of the laity in the ecclesial space does give a starting point, however. From here it is possible to explore what changes were promoted or resisted on a parochial level. With these considerations in mind, for the upcoming two chapters the following distinctions between what qualifies as Espoused or Operant theology will be made with regards to donations for church space. Espoused theology will be used for sanctioned religiosity, that is donations of the laity that were in concordance with formal theology. Operant theology will be used to describe objects that cannot be explained by normative or formal theology, objects that bear the mark of either popular belief or culture. By making these distinctions the aim is to understand what aspects of normative and formal Eucharistic theology were accepted and adopted by the people. Since the official Eucharistic theology was taught and endorsed, the assumption is that these thoughts were also more readily expressed by the people. The question will be which images of formal theology were favoured by lay donors, and thereby trace to what degree official teaching had been incorporated by the laity.

11.2 A Most Lutheran Laity?

Some understanding of espoused theology of the ecclesial space can be gained from records of court cases and political debates. Low culture considered the holy to be accessible to them. Oja's study on the practitioners of magic gives evidence of a lay religiosity where everyone could call on the good powers of God, in effect the holy.⁷⁵⁰ It seems as if the people (of low culture) did not regard God as confined to the holy space of the church. Court cases from the seventeenth and eighteenth century show how the authorities of both Church and Government tried to undermine this belief by associating

⁷⁵⁰ Oja, *Varkeen Gud*, pp. 189-192.

white magic with demonic forces. White magic was deemed as *Satan's play*, and Oja points out that superstition was seen as a crime against God's law, but also the teachings of the clergy. Oja records a rector from Vänge who in 1734 talked of a ritual (of unharmed magic) as "such a Satan's power".⁷⁵¹ These examples may illustrate a power struggle over the holy and God's good powers, in a social order where *ecclesia* saw themselves as the sole authority on God. High culture, on the other hand, seemed to be influenced by religious ideas from the continent. These ideas both recognised the superiority of the nobility in religious rites, as well as inspired a privatisation of religion. In order to mark their elevated social status, the nobility wanted a distinguished place during the distribution of the Communion, and they also suggested specific distribution formulas (the body/blood, which is given/shed for you) for high-born communicants so they would not be addressed in second person singular (Swe: *dig*) but in plural (Swe: *eder*).⁷⁵² Another development among the nobility was a desire for separate Communion, so that they would not have to mingle with the common parishioner. These private Communion services were much opposed by the clergy who argued for the Christian fellowship of the parish.⁷⁵³ Simultaneously, there was an influx of house chaplains, which surely resulted in private household Communion services despite the complaints by the clergy.⁷⁵⁴

It seems that the laity did not approach the liturgical space as a cohesive group, but with cultural diversity. It follows then that espoused theology is as diverse as the people, and that the objects the laity donated will illustrate this. By looking for the themes that frequently appear in these donations, we may clarify which doctrines of normative and formal theology had taken root in the expressed faith of the population. To the same

⁷⁵¹ My translation. Ibid, p. 183.

⁷⁵² Lindquist, *Nattvarden*, pp. 80-81, 86, 90.

⁷⁵³ The chaplains at the court wrote to Queen Christina in 1646, pleading with her to admonish the nobles who had in effect created private chapels, and celebrated Mass with their house chaplains. Ibid., p. 23, pp. 25-26, p. 81.

⁷⁵⁴ The local clergy complained that neither the nobility nor their household attended services in the local parish churches, and described it as a widespread contempt for the Church as a whole. Ibid., p. 27, p. 30. See also, Pahlmblad, 'Gudstjänstliv', pp. 268-269.

extent, the donations or inventories that divert from formal theology, would illustrate the lived out faith of the people, operant theology. There is also a need to consider how much authority the laity had over church interiors, and how much power rested in the hands of the clergy. In the previous chapter it was laid out how the church was fitted for the purpose of the ritual for Lutheran Orthodoxy. The analysis in Chapter Ten started in the main church with the screens and moved continuously closer to the moment of Eucharistic *usus*. The Church seems to have tried to impart an understanding of the holy through the sanctity of the Eucharist, and both screens and reredoses played their part in this campaign. In this chapter we will instead explore how this instruction was received by the laity. In order to survey the possible effects of the Church campaign, it is the laity's understanding of the concepts of holy, sacred, and secular that is the focal issue here.⁷⁵⁵

A factor not to be forgotten in this discussion is politics and power. During the seventeenth century, Sweden emerged as a powerful war-faring nation and an active agent in European politics. The century is marked by big building projects and grand architecture, which is notable also in the church space. Memorial chapels, grave ornaments and other social markers were added to churches around the country, all of them clearly indicating the status and familial connections of the benefactor.⁷⁵⁶ The church building in itself conveyed power, not just heavenly but also worldly, both in the interior and exterior. Quite apart from its divine aspects, or its homiletic character, the reredos gave the aristocracy a chance to publicly display their status in society. The nobility also obtained a dominating place in Swedish society and governance, this was due to several long regencies at times when the monarch was a minor.⁷⁵⁷ The monuments erected by those with

⁷⁵⁵ For a discussion on the attempts by the Church to emphasise the Holy, see Sommerville, *Secularization*, pp. 6-7. For the secularisation process of art in early modern England, see *ibid.*, Chapter 7; and Alexandra Walsham, *Recycling the Sacred: Material Culture and Cultural Memory after the English Reformation*, in *Church History* 86:4 (December 2017) < <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009640717002074> > accessed 14 December 2018, 1121-1154.

⁷⁵⁶ See Ellenius, 'Kyrklig', pp. 197-200.

⁷⁵⁷ The first regency, which lasted from 1632 to 1644, followed on the death of King Gustav II Adolf and until Queen Kristina reached her majority. The second lasted from 1660 to 1672 when King Karl XI came of

influence and wealth illustrate the political language of the day, expressed in the public space of a church building, but it may also display a desire and need to associate one's name and family to a holy place. Of course, donating to the church fabric was nothing new, and the rich and powerful of the post-Reformation period stood on the shoulders of the patrons and guilds of the late-medieval era.⁷⁵⁸ However, the motivation behind medieval church donations was often meritorious, so that one's name would be remembered before God, and one's soul prayed for after death.⁷⁵⁹ Neither meritorious faith, nor praying for the dead would not sit well in a Lutheran context, so the question is what the incentive was for lay donations to the church space. Had a new motivation been found, or did medieval piety linger. This will be a recurring consideration in the following sections.

11.3 Proximity to the Holy

The erection of family memorials may indicate how the laity responded to the idea of the church as a holy place, a temple. Maria Deiters argues for the status of proximity, by noting which placements of epitaphs were deemed as prominent and in demand in post-Reformation churches in Berlin. The epitaphs she describes portrays the deceased with their family, often painted with the church as the backdrop. According to Deiters, the epitaphs gave the donor a place in the community also in the afterlife, which makes the congregation a community of the living and the dead. Furthermore, by buying a place close to the pulpit or the altar, the donor would, even in death, retain the hierarchical place they held in life.⁷⁶⁰ But Deiters also brings up a more mystical reasoning for the positioning. She writes that, 'their proximity to altar and pulpit rendered them [the epitaphs] much more

age. About the regencies and the consequences thereof, see Anthony F. Upton, *Europe 1600-1789*, (London: Arnold, 2001), pp. 168-169.

⁷⁵⁸ On late medieval lay religiosity, see Duffy, *Saints*, in particular chapter 3.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 65-66.

⁷⁶⁰ Maria Deiters, 'Epitaphs in Dialogue with Sacred Space: Post-Reformation Furnishings in the Parish Churches of St Nikolai and St Marien in Berlin', in *Lutheran Churches in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andrew Spicer, (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 63-96 (pp. 75-77).

“active”. Through their likenesses, the deceased continue to participate in liturgical rituals.⁷⁶¹ By placing one’s likeness close to the liturgical centres, the parishioner remained part of the congregation through the sacramental ritual and the Word.

In Sweden, however, it would seem that the altar was regarded as more prestigious than the pulpit. Where possible, memorial chapels were placed close to the altar. Ytterjärna, Jäder, Skokloster, and Eskilstuna Fors are but a few examples with chapels in or around the chancel. Falu Kristine Church (inaugurated 1652) has a plan for church burials, all clearly numbered, but those in the chancel were reserved for the county governor (centre), the rector, and other high-ranking officials. Thus the hierarchy of the world was mirrored in the sanctuary.⁷⁶² A similar arrangement is found at St Jacobs, Stockholm, where the epitaphs of the county governor and the rector can be found on the south and north wall of the chancel.⁷⁶³ These memorials exemplify a lay religiosity where ‘death’ held a central role, as a motivator for their spirituality, and in how they express their faith. Death is also a major theme in operant theology (lived out faith), as will be considered in the next chapter. Epitaphs and memorial chapels were not the only way to get a place in the chancel, however - church silver and vestments were also common gifts to the church. Since these would be used to hold the gifts, they would be at the heart of the sacramental rite. Some gifts of silver were designed specifically with the church in mind, while other pieces clearly had a more worldly origin. As has been discussed, these gifts showcase both espoused and operant theology, that is both the consciously expressed faith and the lived-out faith, the latter of which had a more obscure incentive and origin, and the diversity of silver vessels that were donated indicate a complexity within the concept of holiness.

One example of an object with a religious use in mind (espoused theology) is a chasuble donated to Falu Kristine Church by regional governor Gustaf Duvall and his wife

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., p. 77.

⁷⁶² Boëthius, *Sveriges*, p. 145.

⁷⁶³ Lundmark, *S. Jakobs*, pp. 369-370.

in 1666. Estham remarks that it is of very high quality, and probably made in Stockholm. The chasuble is of white silk with a Calvary motif (see Plate 8).⁷⁶⁴ The décor is Christian, meant for a holy ritual, and yet the crests on either side of the cross ties it to the secular world, highlighting the donor of this very prestigious piece. In contrast are the objects that were the undoubtedly secular (operant theology). A centre piece for a wedding banquet was once gifted to the Church of Tyresö, despite being decorated with the bare-breasted allegorical figures of Hope and Charity (see Plates 13a and 13b).⁷⁶⁵ It seems as if the sacrament and the chancel held a revered position in lay religiosity, but the church in itself may have had both secular and sacred purposes.⁷⁶⁶ Thus, espoused and operant theology do not disregard the service or the sacrament, as is noted with Deiter's proximity theory, but the lay understanding of the holy seems to have differed from formal theology. The sacrament was holy indeed, but the building in which the sacrament was administered, the church, could be both *holy* and *practical* at the same time. Rather than being distinct and separate from everyday life, the religious sphere existed in parallel with the secular. It was a communal building for the worship of God, as well as communal space for village affairs. It was in this mind-set that the Church elite tried to stress the holy space of the church, and possibly caused tension, by emphasising the sanctity of the chancel.⁷⁶⁷

11.4 Donations

The laity may have had a different understanding to the sanctity of the church from the Church leadership, but they were still influenced by the new religious teachings of the Church. This is particularly noticeable in donations with iconography that is well in accordance with formal theology. These images that support formal theology, though

⁷⁶⁴ Estham, *Figurbroderade*, pp. 90-91.

⁷⁶⁵ The wedding goblet was gifted to Tyresö Church to be used as a flagon, since 1961 at the History Museum, Stockholm. See Tyresö flagon.]

⁷⁶⁶ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, p. 36, pp. 48-65.

⁷⁶⁷ For more on the screen, see Chapter 10.2, and Wittingh, *St. Jacobs*, pp. 61-62.

gifted by the laity, will here be defined as espoused theology: the expressed faith of the congregation.

11.4.1 Vestments

The at Falun gives us a good example of espoused theology (see Plate 8). The white silk is decorated with a large Calvary motif, which is flanked by two sets of initials and crests. These denote its lay origin, but also the identity of the benefactor. In gold threads, the number 1666 marks the year of production or donation. As mentioned, some vestments continued the medieval tradition with a Calvary scene. Another common design in the seventeenth century put the focus on the donor with crests as the only decoration, but this chasuble travels a middle road with both the cross and the crests. The Calvary is stitched in stumpwork and stand out in thick relief against the white silk background. In a subdued moment, Christ crucified has his eyes closed, and head bent in death. The cross rests on a large skull. While the motif has clear medieval counterparts, the skull is much more prominent than most traditional renditions. This is apparent also on other post-Reformation chasubles.

The symbol for death is one that was both conspicuous and frequent in seventeenth century ecclesial art. In this, espoused theology also differed from formal theology. In general, the Eucharistic imagery of bequests made by the laity (espoused theology) followed much the same vein as formal theology, keeping to the main themes of the Passion narrative and the Resurrection. The focus, however, differs by concentrating on the ultimate enemy 'death' and the sacrament as a viaticum. Where Christ stands victorious in formal theology's rendition of the Eucharist, it is as if espoused theology casts a sombre veil of mourning crepe over the sacrament. A tombstone at Tuna, Strängnäs diocese, show this to great effect. The year on the tomb shows 1668, and it is placed in the chancel on the south side, just to the left of the altar. The tomb is decorated with a skull

and an hourglass, but also a chalice; thus the symbols combine those of death and divine life (see Plate 14).⁷⁶⁸ The images juxtapose the limitations of human life and the liberation in God's life. Since the tombstone was made for the incumbent of the parish, Olaus Bononis Palmbergh (b. c.1599), it may also be an indicator of the overlap between the different cultural layers of society, here in particular between espoused and formal theology. The preoccupation with death and its association with the sacrament (enemy and viaticum) is evident in the great many hatchments and memorials that were installed and positioned close to the sanctuary.

At Ytterjärna church, there is another interesting chasuble that exemplifies espoused theology. The chasuble was given to the church by Katarina Bååt in 1645.⁷⁶⁹ On the back narrow ribbons draw the lines of a large cross. This space is then filled with embroidered motifs (see Plate 15). The centre motif is Christ on the cross. At all four ends of the cross are symbols of the evangelists: man (foot), lion (right arm), oxen (head), and eagle (left arm). At the base of the cross is St Andrew, holding a St Andrew's cross. Wedged between him and the symbol of St Matthew are the conjugal coat of arms of Katarina Bååt and her husband. The front of the chasuble holds a stylised cross, made of silver and gold embroidery.⁷⁷⁰ Estham has found this very design with the Calvary and with the apostle Andrew at the bottom on a chasuble at Stockholm Cathedral, which she dates to 1610.⁷⁷¹ The above mentioned chasuble at Falun also has a twin in a vestment donated to Upplands Tuna Church by the noble family of Fleming, and Estham concludes that both must have been made in the same atelier in Stockholm.⁷⁷² These links point to the connections that existed in the higher echelons of society and that went beyond parochial borders.

⁷⁶⁸ Schnell, *Tuna*, p. 12.

⁷⁶⁹ Schnell, *Ytter-Järna*, p. 14.

⁷⁷⁰ Estham, *Figurbroderade*, p. 39.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid., p. 37.

⁷⁷² Ibid., pp. 89-91.

Another link that Estham maintains is the similarities between post-Reformation vestments and the designs of medieval pieces, the difference is that the apostles took the place of saints after the Reformation. Jesus childhood and images of saints were common on medieval vestments, but on the post-Reformation versions the Calvary was the dominating motif.⁷⁷³ Again, Ytterjärna can serve as an example, because it resembles yet another chasuble, a medieval vestment at Strängnäs cathedral (see Plate 16). This version shows the gradual development from saints to Gospel based iconography. Wide ribbons shape a cross on the back, on which details are embroidered. Central to the motif is Jesus on the cross. A dove and a father figure at the top completes the image of the Trinity. Both horizontal arms are adorned with an angel. Below Jesus on the vertical arm is Mary holding an urn, and underneath her is the apostle John with a chalice.⁷⁷⁴ On the surface these are very similar motifs, a Calvary with characters from the Gospel. Mary is certainly not a stranger in evangelical-Lutheran decoration. The difference here lies in the individual activity of the characters. In the medieval depiction of Mary she is someone we can turn to as an intercessor for the church. She stands alone. Mary holding the urn, reminds us of the mother who intervened and pleaded with her son at Kana, Galilee. By comparison, in the post-Reformation imagery she is there to emphasise Christ, the mother of Jesus standing by the cross (as on the chasuble at Rättvik, see Plate 7a), or as a Christian role-model, the mother nursing her child. Bridget Heal makes the same observation of images of Mary, but in a German Lutheran context. Portrayals of Mary were not uncommon in Lutheran circles, but her character had been reinterpreted as the *Hausmutter*, a godly woman to be honoured but not adored. Instead of being rendered as the Queen of the Heavens she is pictured in everyday scenes with her son.⁷⁷⁵ Mary as a saint, praying for and upholding the

⁷⁷³ Estham, *Figurbroderade*, pp. 38-39.

⁷⁷⁴ According to Estham this composition with crucifix, trinity, angels, Mary and John, was one of the more common motifs on medieval chasubles, *ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

⁷⁷⁵ Bridget, *The cult*, pp. 94-99.

Christian community, is a striking difference from Mary the mother of Jesus in post-Reformation iconography. On the chasuble at Ytterjärna, evangelists take the place of angels. The bottom part differs too, with a skull forming a poignant hill that holds the cross. This large skull can be compared to the pebble size skulls and bones that adorn the medieval version in Strängnäs; the enemy (death) is augmented in the seventeenth century, but so hopefully is also the trust in the victor on the cross.

The question is whether the differences between medieval and post-Reformation iconography were so marked that they would have made an impact on the layperson's understanding of a change in theology, especially when so many of the traditional objects were still *in situ*. This is one of the more pressing questions to be explored in the next chapter on operant theology, as well as a discussion on the experience of liturgical space. Here it can instead be noted how some items were conveniently reinterpreted to fit into a new religious context. Many objects with Roman-Catholic iconography ended up in Sweden as spoils of war, and a mid-seventeenth century Polish chalice veil that used to be at the church of Barva, Strängnäs Diocese, can explain how these objects were seen and treated (see Plate 17).⁷⁷⁶ The veil is made of white silk with an embroidered crucifix at its centre. The cross stands on a red heart, fed by the blood that pours from Jesus's hands and feet. From the heart grows a vine with clusters of ripe grapes that twine around the cross, forming a tree of life. Flanking the crucifixion scene are two figures, a man and a woman, both in black robes carrying staffs. These two can easily be thought of as Mary, the mother of Jesus, and John, the disciple, a most biblical image. Indeed, looking at the description of the object typed up by the History Museum in 1946, the characters were first named John and Mary. Both figures carry staffs, however, which is unusual, and a closer study of the female figure reveals she is dressed in the habit of a Carmelite nun. At an unknown date

⁷⁷⁶ Now at the History Museum in Stockholm. See Barva chalice veil, the Swedish History Museum website <<http://kulturarvsdata.se/shm/object/html/96306>>, [accessed 1 June 2017].

the museum updated the description of the chalice veil, and drew a line across Mary's name. Written by hand at the bottom of the page is an amendment identifying the characters as John of the Cross and St Theresa of Avila.⁷⁷⁷ It would not be farfetched to assume that the local Swedish parish would have identified the two characters as John and Mary, and thus be able to repurpose this Roman Catholic piece of ecclesial art for the beautification of a Swedish Lutheran service, a tradition that would later work itself into the description made by the History Museum. A similar Lutheran attitude to reinterpretation has been noted by Heal in her study of German prints of Mary. Traditional imagery of Mary could be used on woodcuts, but they were accompanied by explanatory Protestant commentaries. Thus old, familiar images found a new pedagogical purpose within the Lutheran faith.⁷⁷⁸

11.4.2 Silver Vessels

The Bible based iconography comes into its own on silver vessels. Here we find both the passion narrative and sacramental images. Other common motifs are Old Testament passages that offer a symbolic explanation of the Eucharistic sacrament, such as Moses and the serpent of brass (Num 21. 9). The newcomer among church silver vessels, the flagon, became a popular item for decoration. The larger size objects would have been particularly suitable for elaborate images. This is a limited study of fourteen churches, but this small number still offers three versions of such flagons.

Stockholm cathedral has a flagon donated in 1636 by Johan Banér. The cathedral owned at least two flagons prior to Banér's donation, so the context called for a design that held its own. The flagon is probably of a Swedish make, but it is similar to another flagon from Augsburg that Banér gifted to another church.⁷⁷⁹ The images are all from the Old

⁷⁷⁷ The chalice veil was donated to the museum in 1942. Ibid.

⁷⁷⁸ Heal, *The cult*, pp. 94-97.

⁷⁷⁹ Roosval, *J. Nikolai*, pp. 451-454.

Testament. Starting at the handle the images are from left to right: Moses raising his staff with the snake while the people of Israel succumb from illness around him (see Plate 18); Jonah thrown into the sea with the great whale waiting in the waves below; Samson, his long hair flowing, carrying two doors over his shoulder. The flagon is topped with a victory lamb, flag intact, on the lid. The Old Testament images all alluded to the salvation we obtain in the Eucharist through Jesus. Jesus shields us from death, like Moses in the desert. He returned from death, like Jonah from the depths of the sea. Jesus, like Simpson, tore down the gates of the realms of death, and set his people free. Banér also donated the wafer box that was discussed above, with scenes of the passion engraved on the sides, which can be seen as a counterpoint to the Old Testament images on the flagon (see Plate 12). The ciborium is a typical post-Reformation rectangular box, and the four sides show the foot washing, the Last supper, Jesus praying in Gethsemane, and his arrest. On the lid is the crucifixion. The donor is identified with his crest on the underside of both these vessels.

Old Testament allegories were common both in popular devotionals and in other renditions in churches, but flagons frequently depict New Testament images. A flagon in Falu Kristine Church, for example, shows three scenes pivotal for sacramental ministry: Jesus' baptism, the last supper, and Jesus in Gethsemane alongside an angel holding a cup (see Plate 19). The scenes show the foundation of both baptism and the Eucharist, as well as the moment when Jesus willingly puts his life in God's hands, thus making the sacraments a possibility for the Church. The fourth side has the year 1669, and the initials of the donor Councillor Hans Ersson Geflebo and his wife. All Saints in Nyköping has yet another example of a flagon with embossed motifs made by a local silversmith, Henning Petri (see Plates 20a and b).⁷⁸⁰ The images on the flagon portray the major events of

⁷⁸⁰ About Henning Petri, his artistry, and Swedish Baroque silver, see Carl Hernmarck, *Silversmeden Henning Petri: med en katalog över mästarens kända arbeten*, (Nyköping: 1959), pp. 19-22, p. 24; Holmquist mentions the

Triduum: the angel with the chalice at Gethsemane, the Crucifixion, and the risen Christ above the empty tomb. Ornate garlands surround the central medallions, and a cluster of grapes crowns the lid. The image of the Crucifixion in particular offers a good rendition of justification by faith. On the image, Jesus's body is turned towards the people on his right: the criminal who has asked to be remembered by Jesus, and Jesus's mother and the John, the disciple. On the other side of the image are soldiers with their attention turned away from Jesus, as well as the second criminal. The cross of the unrepentant criminal is turned the other way so we, the spectator, only see the back of the cross. The symbolism of the image is a stark reminder that the Christian soul is in communion with Christ through faith, and through faith alone gains salvation. The flagon has a companion piece in a baptism bowl, which portrays a fuller story of the Gospel, from the nativity to the resurrection on the rim. The central image in the bowl shows Jesus' own baptism.

The first two of these pieces have clear indications of the lay donor with crests and initials. There is no identifier on the flagon at All Saints, Nyköping, but the baptism bowl has a named donor, the Baroness Maria Silfverhielm in 1688.⁷⁸¹ Since all the other vessels in this study were gifted by the laity, then a lay involvement with the flagon is more than probable. Alongside the biblical stories in devotionals, these gifts may indicate just how central biblical allegories and interpretations of the Eucharist had become in espoused theology.

11.5 The City Church

The objects studied in this chapter must be understood as part of a whole, of the church and the community they belonged to. Many of the objects above shared the liturgical space

flagon as a particular good example of Swedish Baroque silver work, see Holmquist, 'Guldsmidskonsten', 1997, p. 480.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., p. 24.

with other pieces that would have been incongruous to a Lutheran church, which will be evident in the next chapter. One type of church building was more purposefully decorated, however, due to the fact that they were built during the post-Reformation era. The history of the city church tells of a new, more urban society, but also a unified Lutheran nation. This social development is evident in places of industrial growth like the fast expanding mining town of Falun, or where the government intervened because of city expansion like St Jacob in Stockholm. In these new city churches the iconography was more intentionally evangelical-Lutheran. In places with a medieval (and rural) background, like the combined country and city parish of Fors, Eskilstuna, the Protestant additions instead lived side by side with medieval sculptures.⁷⁸² It is the new buildings, however, that offer a particular opportunity to study lay Eucharistic Lutheran piety, through the manner in which these churches were decorated. The chancels of city churches mainly showcased the Passion narrative that was so dominant in formal theology, even when the features were donated by the laity. Examples from Falu Kristine Church that show this to great effect are the reredos, donated by Chancellor Anthony Trotzig and his wife Maria Lemmens; and the white chasuble with Calvary motifs and the crests of the donors (see Plates 4 and 8).⁷⁸³ St Jacob's Church in Stockholm demonstrates it in the above mentioned brass screen.⁷⁸⁴ A trend common in both city and rural churches, are the many memorials and epitaphs that were erected, which give evidence of the other major strand of espoused theology: death and the Eucharist as a viaticum. Two memorials stand out at Falu Kristine, as they flank the chancel opening: one is topped with symbols of time and death (from 1711, see Plate 21), the other has a picture of *Ecce Homo* (from around 1712).⁷⁸⁵ Though all of these objects are in concordance with the Lutheran confession and formal theology, they still highlight

⁷⁸² See, chapter 9.2; and Bennett, *Fors*, pp. 9-10.

⁷⁸³ See earlier sections: 10.3 for the reredos; and 11.4.1 for the chasuble at Falu Kristine Church.

⁷⁸⁴ See chapter 10.2.

⁷⁸⁵ Boëthius, *Sveriges*, pp. 146-147, pp. 150-152.

lay piety and concerns (espoused theology) with their individualistic traits (family crests and inscriptions) and the need to place these personal markers and memorials as close to the sanctuary as possible.

Yet, even newly built churches, with a more consistent evangelical-Lutheran character, still had features that spoke of societal power-play, such as gifts from benefactors that can seem out of place in a church setting. Operant theology came into play here, with donations that may or may not be explained by espoused theology as items of religious significance. The donations illustrate that few considerations were made on what was seen as suitable aesthetics for the ecclesial space. Many simply donated the most impressive pieces they had. The incongruous gifts of operant theology is where the discussion will turn to next.

11.6 Summary

When studying the Eucharistic objects, and other donations made by the laity to enhance and beautify the chancel, the Lutheran reformation has made a notable impression on popular religion. These aspects of the ecclesial space, which give evidence that official doctrine had influenced the populace, have here been defined as espoused theology (the expressed faith of the laity). For example, biblical motifs began to replace the traditional hagiographic material on objects bestowed by the laity. These images are mainly of the New Testament, but there are also Old Testament references alluding to the mystery of the Sacrament.

The main difference between espoused and formal Eucharistic theology, tends to be the lay preoccupation with mortality and the afterlife. Whereas formal theology had a wider understanding of sacramental theology, which often portrayed the Eucharist as a joyful, life-giving celebration, the iconography of espoused theology focused more on the sacrament as a viaticum, a comfort and an insurance against fear and death. This aspect of

popular religion is also made manifest in the multitude of memorials that were erected during the seventeenth century. These memorials were frequently placed in close proximity to the altar, possibly pointing to a lay understanding of the chancel as a special and holy place. This definition of holy does not necessarily equate to the definition held by the Church leadership. Formal theology emphasised the church building – and especially the chancel – as a new temple, sacred and separate from the profanities of worldly life. For espoused and operant theology, on the other hand, the building was both holy and practical, depending on what the community needed. God was not confined to the church, nor was everyday life left outside the church walls.

Espoused theology also frequently added clear markers of the identity of the donor, with crests, initials or portraits. This too, is an example of bringing worldly status, hierarchy and position into the sacred place of the church. Since church bequests were nothing new, and since many medieval donations were still *in situ*, seemingly forever showcasing the status of past benefactors, then the new pieces became part of a fabric that already carried traditions and meanings. The question is both what particular meaning these objects (new and old) harboured, and what was the possible incentive behind the donations. When so many bequests in the sanctuary were connected with mortality, what does it say about lay Eucharistic piety? I would not go so far as to say that it was a reinterpretation of the medieval requiem Mass, but it may indicate a need to remember a person before God and his congregation. The planning for the memorial may have become a way to process mortality in a safe and holy place, and even though the expressed faith would no longer allow praying for the dead, the actual object may in practice have become a silent prayer. These features, with their obvious display of status and wealth, may also point to some kind of meritorious belief, where the donation (alongside faith) aided one's spiritual health. Speculation on personal motivation can only be theories, however, but this strain of

popular belief, which deviated from official dogmas, will lead from espoused theology to operant theology in the next chapter.

Chapter 12 The Legacy of the Laity

12.1 Introduction

The post-Reformation city churches display clear examples of the Lutheran faith in early modern Sweden, and yet even these newly decorated churches have features that are incongruous with the dogmas of a protestant state. In this chapter the focus is on practical religion and the lay bequests (operant theology) that seem to counteract Church doctrine (normative and formal theology). The features of lay activity can be divided into three main categories: medieval objects, secular pieces, and donations with a Roman-Catholic origin. The decoration on some of these donations highlighted the donor, more than doctrine or a liturgical function. Other donations clearly display a non-ecclesial origin. The question is whether these 'less than Protestant' features were any different in the churches of farming communities as compared to churches with a noble patron. Any possible disparities may well tell of distinct traits in low and high operant theology, and variations of Eucharistic understanding in various layers of society. Since operant theology deals with religiosity that is expressed more with actions than words, an important consideration for this chapter is *experience*, and whether that experience can be traced in the fabric of the church building. How did the laity experience the liturgical space of a post-Reformation church? What might it tell us of their Eucharistic understanding? This question, however, could easily veer into speculation. To maintain a discussion tethered in historical facts, it will be based on how the laity equipped their churches, along with recorded behaviour of parishioners, and the history of specific localities.

12.2 Use of a Holy Space

The laity had many different uses for the church and its grounds. The grounds were seen as a communal space for meetings, feasts and commerce, as well as a place of worship.⁷⁸⁶

Malmstedt's study reveals a relaxed attitude even during the service. There seems to have been a constant ruckus: dogs running loose, and pranks played out from the galleries.⁷⁸⁷

Personal and worldly status also played out in the church building, with pew rights assigned depending on one's rank. This in turn caused pew disputes, which is a frequent complaint in diocesan records.⁷⁸⁸

Malmstedt has researched diocesan chapter records that offer a good insight into the conflicts that arose in parochial life, especially conflicts between practical belief on the one hand (operant theology) and established religion on the other (formal theology). The chapter records show that a common lay grievance against the clergy was mismanagement of the sacrament and access to Communion. Interestingly, Malmstedt finds no cases where the laity complained about poor preaching. He concludes that the sacramental duties of the priest seem to have been of greater import for the congregation than pedagogy and theological knowledge. The two main complaints for mismanagement were, first, if the priest failed to administer Communion to the dying, and secondly, if the priest had excluded someone from the Sacrament on – what the community thought were – unjust causes.⁷⁸⁹ Malmstedt elaborates on the significance placed on being admitted to the sacrament. Being able to receive Communion was a public signal of adulthood and responsibility, and a ban or exclusion affected a person's standing in the community. The exclusion was not just from the altar community, but quite possibly from the larger

⁷⁸⁶ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 59-61.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36, pp. 48-54, pp. 59-65.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-42.

⁷⁸⁹ One example mentions a excommunication that allegedly drove a farmer to commit suicide. His priest had banned the man from the sacrament on causes the congregation deemed unjust. Malmstedt also remarks on the fact that the congregation did not see it as an overreaction that the excommunication would lead to suicide. *Ibid.*, p. 98, p. 139.

community as well.⁷⁹⁰ Linda Oja's study on magic furthermore illustrates the attitude to the sacrament among the laity. As late as 1686, Communion hosts and wine would have been used in some magic rituals, since the Church Act from that year charges the clergy to deal properly with unconsumed Communion wafers and wine.⁷⁹¹ Several court cases give examples of the blessed hosts used in magical rites.⁷⁹² The powers of the holy (the host) did not decrease when it was removed from the church building, or from certain ceremonies, instead magical rites reveal a belief that God worked regardless of human activity or boundaries.

Practical religiosity (operant theology), and the expressed faith of the lower orders that is found in diocesan records (espoused theology) both indicate the essentially communal significance of the Eucharist. This also broadens the concept of communal ecclesial life. There was the fellowship of faith, which was very much centred in the sacrament, but there was also secular community life with dancing, husbandry and commerce. Neither operant nor espoused theology seemed to isolate the holy to the church building. On the contrary, as much as everyday life infringed on the church grounds, so was sacramental life and the holiness of God embedded in everyday life. Thus, the new Church distinction of the holy as separate and exclusive did not seem to have made a greater impact on the general population – farmers, nobility, or burghers. Secular affairs such as power and status, or traditional legacy and novelties, play out in a church setting just as it did in regular life, of which the church interiors give ample examples.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 140-141.

⁷⁹¹ KL1686 Chap. 11 §10.

⁷⁹² Oja, *Varken Gud*, p. 155, p. 158, p. 174.

12.3 Donations of the Laity

12.3.1 Medieval

Images of Mary and saints were not uncommon in Swedish churches. Ångström shows that medieval altarpieces were not just kept, they were refurbished and even repurposed for reredoses created in the seventeenth century. This practice was also common in Finland, Denmark and Germany. In Germany and Denmark, however, Ångström has found early reactions against the images of Mary. A mural of Mary in Marbach, Germany, was replaced by Christ on the cross in 1565, and at the end of the sixteenth century a reredos with Mary was removed in Brylle, Denmark. In Sweden, the first written complaint about a reredos with Mary's image is from 1673.⁷⁹³ The Uppsala resolution of 1593 also states that it was better to work for slow progress of ceremonies, through exhortations, clergy cooperation and good example, if it meant keeping the peace.⁷⁹⁴ The wording emphasises the continued trust the Church leadership put on pedagogy, but it also highlights the state of lay religiosity, and acknowledged the common reluctance towards change and reformation. The church interior was one such marker of traditional popular belief.

The church in Rättvik retained much of its medieval décor, for example an altarpiece dedicated to the life of Mary (including images of her ascension). The piece was replaced in 1705 with a reredos picturing a victorious Christ holding the cross. The old medieval altarpiece was not put in storage however, but moved to neighbouring Boda church, and was in use for another century.⁷⁹⁵ The church was subject to several renovations and enlargements during the seventeenth century, and the parish was a good living, so the retention of the old object was probably not due to economy.⁷⁹⁶ The murals at Ytterjärna, among them the Mass of St Gregory, is another example of medieval décor (see

⁷⁹³ Ångström, *Altartavlor*, pp. 234-236.

⁷⁹⁴ Eckerdal, *Confessio*, p. 13.

⁷⁹⁵ Garmo, *Rättviks*, 2014, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

Plate 22). Some saints also found a place in post-Reformation murals, and Lindgren gives five examples of murals with St George. Lindgren writes how St Christopher and St George were used almost like allegories, with Christopher thought of as ‘carrying out’ Christ in the world, and Georg as the one who fights with the Spirit in the world.⁷⁹⁷

When planning for which churches to visit in this study, one essential aspect was to look for buildings with a rich heritage of the seventeenth century, but churches with a pre-Reformation origin would without exception also display a strong link to the medieval tradition. All Saints Church, Nyköping, still has pieces of an alabaster altar made in Nottingham in the fifteenth century. The two intricately carved panels show the Annunciation and the Assumption of Mary (see Plate 23). The Swansea Altarpiece (1460-1490) at the Victoria and Albert Museum is a complete version of this design.⁷⁹⁸ Torsvi church also had a medieval altarpiece from Silesia. The display has three central figures, from left to right, St Hedwig of Silesia, the Blessed Virgin and child, and St Elizabeth. On the doors are twelve smaller statues of the apostles (see Plate 24). The altarpiece in Torsvi is one of the refurbished objects that Ångström has researched. Perhaps to balance out the traditional saints inside the reredos, the evangelists were added to the outer doors in 1600.⁷⁹⁹ As with Rättvik, poor finances are probably not the reason why the medieval objects were kept, since Ytterjärna, All Saints, and Torsvi all had noble and influential patrons who donated other costly gifts to the churches.

It is in this tradition that Count Axel Oxenstierna acquired the medieval altarpiece for his church at Jäder. The altarpiece is a late-Renaissance winged polyptych altarpiece from Brussels (around 1515). Until 1655 it had been in the possession of Stockholm

⁷⁹⁷ Lindgren, *Att lära*, p. 241.

⁷⁹⁸ For detail images and more information on the Swansea Altarpiece, see V&A collections <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O70204/the-swanea-altarpiece-altarpiece-unknown/#.WTGDXym6-r4.gmail>> [Accessed 10 November 2018].

⁷⁹⁹ Ångström, *Altartavlor*, p. 224; Ångström also refer to Tuulse’s study, see Tuulse, *Torsvi*, p. 6.

Cathedral, when it was replaced by the Silver Altar.⁸⁰⁰ Paintings of donor groups on the doors connects the origin of this piece with rosary guilds. The different panels tell the story of the two major Christian festivals, Easter and Christmas, but Mary is the main theme and the scenes include legendary tales of Mary's birth and her being brought to the temple (see Plate 25 for a detail). When the altarpiece is closed, further examples of non-Biblical narrative appear of the apocalyptic Madonna and the Mass of St Gregory.⁸⁰¹ Despite an abundance of medieval iconography, the altarpiece was acquired during the post-Reformation era. The acquisition is particularly interesting when one considers that Oxenstierna had studied theology in Rostock, Wittenberg, and Jena. He spent over four years (1599-1603) in Germany.⁸⁰² Oxenstierna, though a lay person, was assuredly part of the literate high elite with a thorough knowledge of Lutheran-Orthodox dogma, and yet the splendour of this altarpiece must have meant more to him than keeping with an evangelical-Lutheran iconography. There may also be a more emotional reason behind the acquisition. The original position of the altarpiece was most likely in a side-chapel of Stockholm Cathedral called St Andreas's Chapel, which Oxenstierna had turned into a memorial chapel for three of his children.⁸⁰³ The donor illustrations on the front may imply a one of the medieval guilds that used to support St Andreas's.⁸⁰⁴ Bringing this altarpiece to Jäder, and placing it in the chancel Oxenstierna had built as a memorial chapel for his

⁸⁰⁰ This altarpiece was mainly placed on a side altar, on the north side of the chancel, but it could have been used on the high altar for a few years. See Flodin, *Jäders*, pp. 113-114.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 102-114. Since reredoses developed towards a 'static' display of the Passion narrative, it seems probable that the medieval altarpieces also remained open throughout the church year. The images on the closed doors would therefore not have been easily accessible, see Hamberg, *Norrländska*, pp. 43-44.

⁸⁰² Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, pp. 51-52.

⁸⁰³ The exact placement has been a matter of discussion, but this is the most plausible hypothesis. The St Andreas's Chapel was supported by a Corpus Christi Guild and a Rosary Guild. Records of the Corpus Christi Guild also notes the purchase of an altarpiece for St Andreas's Chapel in 1513, see Johnny Roosval, ed., *S. Nikolai eller Storkeyrkan. 1, Konsthistoriskt inventarium*, (Stockholm: 1924), p. 28; Johnny Roosval, ed., *S. Nikolai eller Storkeyrkan. 2, Byggnadshistoria*, (Stockholm: 1927), pp. 354-355. See also Flodin, *Jäders*, p. 114. Ångström describes the different theories behind the positioning of this altarpiece. Some say it was not made for St Andreas's Chapel, others think it is war booty. She is somewhat hesitant that it was commissioned by the Corpus Christi Guild, but thinks that it probably still had its place in St Andreas's Chapel, and that it momentarily (before 1633) was positioned at the high altar, Ångström, *Altartavlor*, pp. 51-52. For its use at the high altar, see Roosval, *S. Nikolai 3*, (p 406).

⁸⁰⁴ The children died in 1617-1620, and Oxenstierna bought the altarpiece c. 1655. See Flodin, *Jäders*, p. 114.

family, may have created a personal link between the two burial sites. This is another example of the time, cost and consideration that went into planning for one's mortality, funeral rites and memorials.

Thus the Eucharist in this Swedish Lutheran context was frequently celebrated against the backdrop of medieval iconography, not because alternatives were not available, but because it was the choice of the people.

12.3.2 Secular

The Oxenstierna family graced Jäder with other objects too, pieces that are interesting for their non-ecclesial imagery. A chalice stands out among these donations, as it was clearly meant to be the centre piece for grand banquets. Stylised pomegranates decorate the greater part of the goblet, and round the rim are four elaborate medallions with bathing nymphs (see Plate 26a). The chalice was adjusted before being donated to the church. Four medallions were added to the foot, depicting the evangelists. Another set of four medallions were incorporated in-between the nymphs showing: the Crucifixion, then two crests of the Oxenstierna family, and finally the inscription, 'Gifted to Jäder's church 1701' (see Plate 26b). The goblet is probably of early seventeenth-century German make.⁸⁰⁵ The adjustments made to the chalice indicate that profane images, even evocative ones, were not a deterring factor when making an ecclesial donation for Eucharistic use. Instead of removing the scantily clad nymphs they got company of the evangelical kind, thus turning a household object into a liturgical vessel. That three of the added eight medallions referred to the donor – and not the sacrament! – also suggests that the profanity of the object was a minor issue, and not something that needed to be balanced out by biblical iconography. Instead the donation turned into a mark of status, wealth and generosity. The wafer box,

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 130.

with the year 1681, follows the same pattern of highlighting the family. It does have a beautifully crafted victory lamb on the lid, but also a large golden toned crest on the box that is otherwise in silver. An antependium is yet another example of a family donation. On a background of rich red velvet, surrounded by a wide border in gold appliqué, are two large and intricate crests flanked by initials and the year 1689.⁸⁰⁶ St Jacobs Stockholm, too, has comparable versions of these antependia similarly rich in fabric and decoration, and without any religious imagery.⁸⁰⁷ While some of these objects had a non-ecclesial background (like the goblet), or were made specifically for liturgical use (the antependia and the wafer box), they were clearly meant to be conveyors of status.

A flagon that belongs to the collections at the History Museum in Stockholm, looks like a match for the chalice at Jäder. Once a worldly piece it was gifted to Tyresö church. The flagon was used as a centre piece at a wedding, and the design was made to suit the occasion (see Plate 13). The central engraving shows a couple with joined hands, and Christ standing behind them, blessing the union. Surrounding them however, is a myriad of symbols and decoration. There are the obvious symbols of fruitfulness with flowers and fruit, but there were also two bare-breasted women. These can be identified as *hope* and *charity*, the former standing on an anchor, the latter nursing two babies.⁸⁰⁸ That would in turn make the central image with Christ into a symbol for faith. It is possible that where a modern eye would stumble on the nakedness, a person of the baroque era would not even register the evocative image and instead only recognise the symbols of hope, faith and charity. If that was the case, then the flagon would have been a most suitable gift for a church, and possibly seen as a blessing for the couple and their union.

⁸⁰⁶ For more information about the red antependium and detail images, see *ibid.*, pp. 138-141.

⁸⁰⁷ Efraim Lundmark mentions two antependia from the seventeenth century. One is from 1657 of gold cloth with woven flowers in green and red, the other was donated 1689, in red velvet with golden garlands. Both have initials or crests as the central motif. See Lundmark, *S. Jakobs*, pp. 318-320, pp. 352-353.

⁸⁰⁸ The flagon was donated to Tyresö church, and is probably of early seventeenth-century German or Dutch make. The donors were identifiable by having their names 'Christofer Kits Dorthea Lars Dot' and the year 1638 engraved on the lid. More images and further details on History Museum website, see Tyresö flagon.

To gift something beautiful, or something that would denote status, seems to have been more important than if the chalice or flagon was decorated with unsuitable and/or secular motifs. The number of objects decorated with a crest is quite overwhelming in churches that had one clear patron, such as Jäder and Torsvi, but the development of using the church to showcase family status is apparent also in other churches, as have been seen with the city churches of St Jacobs Stockholm, and Falu Kristine Church. Especially for the wafer box, Holmquist comments, ‘A noticeable feature is that the engraved crests of the noble donor commonly dominates over Christian symbols such as the lamb and the HHS-monogram.’⁸⁰⁹ Thus, the family signifier became more important on these pieces than sacramental symbolism. The theory of proximity is also something to keep in mind. What did it mean to the families who donated these pieces, that the sacrament would be celebrated with gifts bearing their names? When a family member had died, it may have felt particularly meaningful that the Eucharist was the professed medication against death and damnation.

It has to be considered too, if the donations – by being costly rather than religiously appropriate – demonstrated a degree of theology of merit. Even without indulgencies, a person’s willingness to make a sacrifice for the church, would be a public display of the donor’s devotion to God. The laity may never have used such terms as ‘meritorious faith’, but operant theology is the strand of faith that is noticed in behaviour, not in what is said. If there is a case to build for theology of merit, based on these family oriented gifts, then operant theology may here give an example of lingering medieval religiosity.

⁸⁰⁹ My translation, see Holmquist, ‘Guldsmidskonsten’, 1996, p. 389.

12.3.3 Roman-Catholic

Even more than medieval or secular objects, donations with Roman-Catholic provenance should be difficult to justify in a Lutheran-Orthodox context. These objects were mainly war bounty, and Ångström calls them the *rara avis* of the Swedish church interior. She believes that they could be introduced first of all because of the power position the donor (the patron) had over church and parish, which did not leave the incumbent much room to object. The second reason is the status these objects projected, both for the homecoming victor, and as bounty from a righteously fought religious war.⁸¹⁰

The church of Skokloster is a prime example of decoration introduced in the seventeenth century by a patron, despite its Roman-Catholic symbolism. Count Carl Gustaf Wrangel (1613-1676) celebrated his wartime success by equipping the church of which he was the patron with loot from Poland (after the Second Northern War, 1655-1660). The centre piece in the church is a reredos from Oliva monastery, flanked by a pulpit and intricately carved wooden baptismal font (see Plate 27).⁸¹¹ The richly decorated reredos is an early seventeenth century piece, and a prime example of counter-Reformation art with Mary as the central character. An original detail on this reredos is the German verse written on the predella. In translation it reads: The blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, cleanses us from all our sins.⁸¹² As has been noticed before, most altarpieces carry depictions of the Last Supper in the predella. Øystein Ekroll has pointed out the significance of this placement in a Norwegian Lutheran study of seventeenth century churches, as it brings Jesus and the apostle into the circle of the parish community at the moment of Communion.⁸¹³ Although this verse alludes to the Eucharist and in a manner that does not contradict Lutheran doctrine, the regular parishioner would hardly have understood the

⁸¹⁰ Ångström, *Altartavlor*, pp. 122-123.

⁸¹¹ Sundberg, *Skokloster*, p.8, pp. 10-11.

⁸¹² In German the text reads, 'Das Blut Jhesu Christi des Sohnes Gottes Reiniget uns von allen onsern Sünden.'

⁸¹³ Ekroll, 'State', pp. 303-304.

German phrase, if indeed they were literate. The first tier contains a painting of the crucifixion. This is a familiar image, but one executed in a more fantastical manner than other renditions in this study. The cross stands on a globe, with a snake circling around the foot, and two angels holding up the globe. Although the message – of Christ’s death crushing the snake, and thus sin and death – is biblical, the image does use more artistic freedom than on the average Protestant rendering. It also brings to mind the Virgin Mary, the mother of he who would crush the serpent’s head.⁸¹⁴ Just above is a carving of Mary on the second tier. She stands on a crescent, the Queen of Heaven, surrounded by gleaming golden rays, and holding the infant Jesus. There is a movement here, from worldly to heavenly, but the scene is played out with other characters than those used in evangelical-Lutheran displays. Mary takes the place of both Christ Pantocrator and God Almighty. She stands as the foundation of Jesus’s birth and final victory over evil, but also as our human link to heaven. Ångström concludes that the central aspect of Mary was because of Oliva was a Cistercian monastery, and the important role that Mary played in the Cistercian community.⁸¹⁵ I will not speculate on how this image of Mary was received or understood by the local community of Skokloster, but it is worth noting that Skokloster had been one of the largest Cistercian convents in Sweden. The crown appropriated the land in the 1540s, but the sisters were allowed to remain and according to records there were still nuns there in 1588.⁸¹⁶ Surely both worship and piety had changed at Skokloster when the Oliva reredos was installed in the latter half of the seventeenth century, but the altarpiece with Mary came to a context where medieval religiosity had been kept alive close to the adoption of the Uppsala Resolution of 1593. Even though the worship of Mary would have changed in the post-Reformation era, also at Skokloster, her former title of the Queen of Heavens was probably still familiar to the older members of the local community.

⁸¹⁴ Gen. 3.15

⁸¹⁵ Ångström, *Altartavlor*, p. 159.

⁸¹⁶ Sundberg, *Skokloster*, p. 5.

That the familial aspect, its status, achievements and wealth, was an important aspect in church decoration, is emphasised by the layout of the chancel at Skokloster. Just opposite the pulpit is the box pew for the estate with a back panel showing the family tree of the patron. These two, pulpit and patron family, thus flank the altar and the sacraments. Adjacent to the chancel and close to the family pew, Carl Gustaf Wrangel also added a memorial chapel with murals showing his battles in great detail (see Plate 28). Much like the secular pieces, these donations placed the family of the patron, past and present, at the heart of the Eucharistic moment.

12.3.4 *Farmers and their Church*

Was the motivation behind the decoration of the church interior the same for all church communities and members? We have previously noted two layers of popular culture, the higher and lower orders. Both Peter Burke and Robert Scribner have pointed out that these layers were not independent but interdependent. High culture in particular both knew of and was part of the oral tradition usually associated with low culture.⁸¹⁷ The seventeenth century also saw some upward mobility from low to middle class, and from middle class to the higher orders.⁸¹⁸ However, both farming communities and the nobility do display some differences in religious behaviour. The higher orders more and more attempted to privatise religion, even such public rituals as baptism and Communion by suggesting the use of specific elements, vessels and wording for the nobility.⁸¹⁹ We will explore how the farming community and the nobility generally equipped their churches and whether differences in religious behaviour also left a mark on the churches in which they worshipped. Here we will start with the farmers and their churches.

⁸¹⁷ See Burke, *Popular*, pp. 49-56; and Scribner, *Simple Folk*, Chapter 4 on Popular Culture pp. 69-94.

⁸¹⁸ Magnus Mörner has written about the social developments during the seventeenth century, which was mainly due to warfare, immigration and industrialisation. Officers and civil servants who benefited greatly from social mobility. Immigrants, army officers and industrial entrepreneurs, made up a significant portion of those who gained rank or fortune. See Mörner, *Människor*, p. 24; and Mörner, 'Seventeenth', 23-36.

⁸¹⁹ See Lindquist, *Nattvarden*, which addresses this development.

As a representative of the farming community, Rättvik stands out for its good finances. The parish continued to invest in the church even after King Gustav I had confiscated many of their valuables. The church was gradually extended over time to meet population growth, and additions were made to both silver and vestments during the seventeenth century.⁸²⁰ But despite an aptitude for change and obvious affluence, medieval statues and an altarpiece remained in place in the church until the eighteenth century. A visual testament to traditional hagiography, the statues still adorned the sacred space of the chancel.⁸²¹ The medieval heritage was not abandoned despite a transformation of faith. The other side of the coin shows that where funds were scarce, only the most necessary changes were made. Västermo parish (in the unpopulated border region between the dioceses of Strängnäs and Västerås) spent their limited funds on a pulpit.⁸²² The change that came with the Reformation was not to retract objects, but to add that which was essential to the Lutheran service. They invested in a pulpit, even though letters the parish sent to the bishop suggest that their greatest need was in fact an extension of the church and additional seating.

It seems we have two strands of theology working in parallel here. According to espoused theology, the congregation were striving to be a good Lutheran parish, and yet operant theology was also probably at work, ensuring that the traditional fabric was retained, even when it jarred with the new doctrine. One explanation for them to remain *in situ* was possibly their sentimental value. In a German and English context, both Heal and Walsham have shown how some pieces were saved from iconoclasm and removal because of their connection with members of the local community. Heal has discussed the attachment that guilds and patricians in Nuremberg had towards their bequests, which may

⁸²⁰ Garmo, Rättvik, pp. 2-5, pp. 12-13.

⁸²¹ Ibid, pp. 3-4

⁸²² Bergman, *Västermo*, p. 4.

well be a reason that they remained part of the church fabric.⁸²³ Walsham, on the other hand, gives examples of individuals who safeguarded religious objects during turbulent times, only to return them to the church when the regent favoured a Roman rite.⁸²⁴ In Sweden there is no evidence of local iconoclasms or lay Protestant fervour. The only disturbance to church fabric during the Reformation came from above, by royal decree and the taxation of ecclesial objects. Many of these objects were deemed superfluous in a new Protestant era, such as the monstrance, extra Communion sets used for private masses, and extra church bells. The motivation for Protestant changes was provided by certain leading reformers. It may be that this intrusion in the local parish community by Crown and Church increased the attachment for the pieces they were allowed to keep. Even though the liturgy and the teaching changed, the church interior preserved a sense of familiarity. A second explanation for the retention of medieval objects also needs to be considered, which is that they still carried an innate holiness – especially if they were kept for sentimental reasons. Following a slow-paced Reformation and no iconoclasm, it is possible that the old hagiographic objects were associated with the rites of medieval tradition, even in the seventeenth century.

Anna Nilsén has written about popular religion during the long Reformation, 1520-1650, basing her studies on church interiors. Her conclusions differ from the arguments here however; she places the ownership of the church interior mainly in the hands of the clergy, much to the upset of the laity.⁸²⁵ Based on the Marian images that remain during the Reformation, Nilsén does claim that the population retained the traditional faith. She describes the Reformation as a time of aesthetical restraint, even decline, mainly because the clergy were pragmatic and put their emphasis on instruction. Communion was certainly important to the reformers, but Nilsén also argues that preaching had a higher significance,

⁸²³ Heal, *The cult*, p. 81, p. 114.

⁸²⁴ Walsham, *Recycling*, p. 1145.

⁸²⁵ Nilsén, 'Reform', pp. 253-254, p. 263, p. 269.

based on the fact that pulpits were the only real innovation during the sixteenth century.⁸²⁶ She also argues that the clergy attempted to suppress elevation devotion with the new picket-style choir screens, and bases her theory on the fact that these screens fell out of fashion by 1650, when the Lutheran faith had been well established.⁸²⁷

This article merits a number of comments. One could argue that the Lutheran faith was incorporated among the population earlier than 1650, but more in the official verbalised religion of espoused theology. The churches were equipped with pulpits in the sixteenth century, but these installations were funded by the local congregation, even in less wealthy communities such as Västernorrland.⁸²⁸ The investment in pulpits does not necessarily mean that the sacrament was demoted in comparison with preaching, either by the clergy or the laity, but since altars and vestments of older times could be used in a Lutheran service, these were kept in use until the economy would allow any further purchases. Nilsén herself, as well as Geijer and Estham, point out that the sixteenth century was a time of economic recession, whereas the following century experienced financial growth.⁸²⁹ The Reformation also saw the churches taxed of their valuables, and yet, at the same time, the congregations invested in new books. Just recently several previously unknown liturgical books have been unearthed in the Cathedral library in Strängnäs, containing medieval liturgical music but translated into Swedish. Thus the parish church could celebrate Mass at every major festival of the church year with familiar music, but in the vernacular. These books were not just obtained for the music however, but were an expensive investment taking pride of place in the churches.⁸³⁰ So, when we consider the theological implications of using scarce resources for pulpits, we must not forget the other investments made to celebrate a Swedish Lutheran High Mass. *Stigtomta Manuscript*, which

⁸²⁶ Ibid., p. 269.

⁸²⁷ Ibid., pp. 272-275, p. 284.

⁸²⁸ Bergman, *Västernorrland*, p. 4.

⁸²⁹ Nilsén, 'Reform', p. 277; Geijer, *A history*, p. 250; Estham, *Figurbroderade*, p. 15.

⁸³⁰ See, *Een liten* for an early example of liturgical books from 1553.

was previously mentioned in the hymnody chapters, is such a recent find that it is yet to be researched, but Professor Mattias Lundberg has preliminary dated it to c. 1580 to 1620.⁸³¹ It seems that the local communities invested in the necessary items for a Lutheran service such as the pulpit (which in modern day is the most notable acquisition), but also service books for Mass (which have often decayed or are lost), and kept the medieval fabric that could still be used: the altar, silver and vestments. This points to a balance between old and new religious attitudes, and of a worship focused on both sermon and sacrament.

Nilsén finds further evidence that the Lutheran Reformation has been fully introduced by the mid-seventeenth century because church interiors give her little evidence of Marian devotion after c. 1630-40.⁸³² She bases this mainly on the transformation of motifs on church murals. But again, if oral tradition is incorporated in an overview of the century, prayers to the Virgin Mary and other saints seem to have been in use much longer, and older images were kept in place well into the eighteenth century.⁸³³ Furthermore, there are several references to *kakaltare* (Eng: cake altars) in church descriptions. These were the old side altars dedicated to Mary, and they were used as a place to leave offerings in connection with churchings and baptisms. Records indicate that local women took a special responsibility for the upkeep of the altar.⁸³⁴ We can only speculate on whether the post-Reformation laity still associated the side altars with Mary, but considering the connection with childbirth and women it is certainly a possibility. Inventory lists at least tell us that the altars were well maintained with linen, antependia and vessels well into the eighteenth century.⁸³⁵ High culture also had no reservations about incorporating Marian

⁸³¹ *Stigtomta Manuscript*.

⁸³² Nilsén, 'Reform', p. 278, pp. 281-284.

⁸³³ Linderholm, *Signelser*, pp. 96-97, p. 99.

⁸³⁴ Lindgren, 'Reformationen', p. 317.

⁸³⁵ An inventory list from 1686 at Tuna Church (Diocese of Strängnäs) mentions a linen altar cloth on a 'cake altar', see Ivar Schnell, *Tuna kyrka*. 3rd rev. ed., (Nyköping: Södermanlands hembygds- och museiförbund, 1973), p. 12. Jäder had a 'cake altar', which was mentioned in an inventory list in 1657, and was removed no later than 1788, see Flodin, *Jäders*, p. 100. Eskilstuna Fors had a medieval 'cake altar' that was rebuilt in 1670; the same year a new chalice was purchased for the altar, see Bennet, *Fors*, p. 40.

iconography in the churches after 1630, as is seen at the churches at Jäder and Skokloster.⁸³⁶ Operant theology, it would seem, was able to retain traditional religion, even after espoused theology had adopted the Lutheran faith at an earlier date.

On the question on when the Lutheran faith was implemented, it seems that the answer depends on what aspects of popular religion we study, that is if we look at espoused theology (expressed faith in the ecclesial space) or operant theology (lived out faith in the ecclesial space). Espoused theology often strove to adapt to church doctrine well before the long Reformation was over, whereas operant theology kept the medieval tradition alive well after the height of Lutheran Orthodoxy. But, of course, even operant theology went through a transformation with time. The treatment of the medieval statues in Rättvik can serve as an illustration. Rättvik retained their statues and medieval altarpiece until the eighteenth century, when they were put in storage.⁸³⁷ Whether the statues were still connected with any sort of devotion or piety cannot be known. However, a prayer that mentioned saints was recorded in the same county in 1668, so it is possible that some areas or people still included this traditional element in popular religion.⁸³⁸ After the statues in Rättvik had been in storage for many decades, the collective memory of their inherent religious value was lost. In 1890, local youth found the statues and used them in pranks.⁸³⁹ By then, saints had evidently lost their sacred position both in operant and espoused theology. Thus, while the Church tried to push the sacredness of the church space by emphasising the sacramental rite, lingering medieval traditions seem to have retained the ‘specialness’ of some objects regardless of their place in the Lutheran service. To summarise, the two strands of theology, espoused and operant, offered two different

⁸³⁶ The two altarpieces at these churches, one a late medieval piece and the other a continental counter-Reformation reredos, are both dedicated to Mary. See Flodin, *Jäders*, pp. 102-114; and Sundberg, *Skokloster*, pp. 8-9.

⁸³⁷ Garmo, *Rättviks*, p. 4.

⁸³⁸ Linderholm, *Signelser*, pp. 96-97, p. 99.

⁸³⁹ Garmo, *Rättviks*, pp. 4-5.

motivations for the farming community. Espoused theology urged them to implement new features in the church, such as new liturgical books for the Lutheran Mass, and pulpits, as a complement to the vestments and vessels the church already owned. Operant theology, on the other hand, put restraint on change so that features that expressed a medieval tradition, such as statues and paintings of saints, could still remain *in situ*.

12.3.5 Nobility and their Church

This study includes a limited number of churches from the dioceses of Strängnäs, Västerås and Uppsala, but even with a small sample it is apparent that churches with a noble patron were places of historical importance.⁸⁴⁰ Various stages of renovation in the churches also testify to the close links between the patron and the church. The churches of Jäder, Ytterjärna and Julita show the rather dramatic impact a patron can have on the church footprint and fabric. The Lord High Chancellor, Count Axel Oxenstierna (1583-1654), rebuilt the chancel at Jäder to accommodate his family tomb underneath the chancel floor.⁸⁴¹ In addition, the family continued to build memorial chapels and add to the fabric of the church, both secular and medieval pieces. The donations show how practical religion can depart from what is expressly believed, a subtle dichotomy between operant and espoused theology. The reasoning behind it may be practical, aesthetical or subconscious. These changes also point toward a non-religious use of the church building. The beautification of the churches would have been an opportunity for the nobility to show their position in society – more so than religious observance. The churches were equipped

⁸⁴⁰ Julita and Skokloster had been prominent religious houses, see Schnell, *Julita*, p. 3; Sundberg, *Skokloster*, pp. 5-6. Other churches like Jäder and Ytterjärna give evidence of the earliest Christian footprint in Sweden, see Flodin, *Jäders*, p. 13, p. 67; Schnell, *Ytter-Järna*, p. 3. Or they were places of pre-Christian religious importance. The name Torsvi is a combination of Thor's name and a place of sacrifice, see *SAOL*, (Smaller Dictionary of the Swedish Academy) <<https://svenska.se/tre/?sok=vi&pz=1>> [accessed 17 November 2018].

⁸⁴¹ Flodin, *Jäders*, pp. 40-41, pp. 71-73.

with memorial chapels and hatchments, decorations and reminders of *Ars moriendi*.⁸⁴²

However, as has been noted previously, although a religious motivation may not be apparent at first glance, the idea of proximity argues that epitaphs convey a reverence for the sacrament, a desire to remain in the Community of the faithful, and as a static prayer of deliverance from death and hell.⁸⁴³ This may hold true even when the iconography lacked religious motifs. Both in low and high culture, secular and sacred constantly merged. The familiar and secular could be used to either beautify the ecclesial space, or bring the memory of loved ones into a holy place. Field marshal Herman Wrangel's memorial chapel is an example of worldly life depicted in the church. The stuccowork on the chapel walls illustrate his battle victory in Poland in 1629 (see Plate 28). The son, Carl Gustaf Wrangel, further beautified the church with treasures from his own victories in war, even though the donations also displayed counter-Reformation iconography.⁸⁴⁴ Then, as with Torsvi Church, which is a small estate church, the families of the estate will remain in the collective memory of the community thanks to all the features bearing their coat of arms.⁸⁴⁵

The reasons for the visual changes in the church might thus have religious overtones, but they were not necessarily dogmatically correct. Some donations may well have been motivated by politics and hierarchy, more than observance of faith, but we must not dismiss the fact that personal religion also played a role. In our day and age, it might be considered that this is a secular use of the church, but in a society where the boundaries between religion, governance, and culture are blurred, these distinctions cannot easily be made. Indeed, since the faith was full of hierarchical tropes, the patrons may well have seen the church as an extension of themselves, a place to mark their position, duty and right

⁸⁴² Ellenius, 'Kyrklig', pp. 195-201.

⁸⁴³ See, section 11.3; Deiters, 'Epitaphs', pp. 75-77.

⁸⁴⁴ Ellenius, 'Kyrklig', pp. 199-200; Sundberg, *Skokloster*, pp. 8-11, pp. 17-18.

⁸⁴⁵ Torsvi was a small estate in a small community and there were few changes to the actual building, but it was perhaps more closely tied to the family. Even if the building did not change, the interior was richly supplanted. See, Tuulse, *Torsvi*. This can be compared to the parish of Västermo, who had to look for benefactors in order to find the funds to reorder and furnish the church. One patron, Strokirch, offered 100 Daler on the condition that he was given the burial rights in the chancel. See Bergman, *Västermo*, p. 4.

within the religious community.⁸⁴⁶ As Sommerville remarked in his study on secularism, the boundaries between what is secular and sacred is culturally relative, and sometimes the two are so integrated that it is easier to define what is religious, than what is secular.⁸⁴⁷ This behaviour also highlights the fact that the clergy's attempt to make the church a holy space (and holy by their definition as something set apart from the ordinary), was still in its infancy. Thus we cannot really talk of *secular* as opposed to *sacred*, but it is still interesting to explore what was deemed proper and appropriate in a place of worship.⁸⁴⁸

The motivation behind the donations or retention of objects, however, seems to differ between high and low culture. In farming communities the medieval fabric was kept, even in places with good finances, which speaks more of local pride or lingering traditional practices. In noble circles donations seemed to have more to do with familial pride and the opportunity to showcase status. It is possible, though, that all donations, and especially those with an ambiguous iconography, were offered to gain spiritual merit.

12.4 The Experience of the Lord's Supper

At the parish church of Tuna, outside Nyköping, a screen no longer exists – if indeed it was ever in place – but the low-slung chancel arch still creates a partition between chancel and nave. On the wall above the chancel arch is a mural painting that depicts Christ's face on Veronica's veil (see plate 29). The veil itself is surrounded by an elaborate pattern, as if petals of a flower burst out in bloom around Jesus. On either side of Christ are slightly damaged images, of saints Peter and Paul. The figure to the left is surrounded by stars and seems to be holding a key in his hand. On the right, a similar figure has fragments of 'Paul' over its head. The mural dates to the fourteenth century.⁸⁴⁹ Around 1620 a new mural of

⁸⁴⁶ Ellenius, 'Kyrklig', p. 200.

⁸⁴⁷ Sommerville, *Secularization*, pp. 6-7.

⁸⁴⁸ Even though secularisation was in play, which Sommerville's book shows (loc. cit.), the actual definitions of sacred as something opposite of secular are also of a younger date and discussion.

⁸⁴⁹ Schnell, *Tuna*, pp. 6-7, p. 9.

the final judgement was painted on the chancel arch, covering the medieval illustration. According to Lindgren, a judgement scene traditionally belonged on a west-facing wall, or from the 1500s in the south or north; painting the judgement in the east was very unusual. At the same time the chancel was painted with apostles and biblical scenes. The seventeenth-century painting was removed along with whitewash in 1943.⁸⁵⁰ Thus two scenes – the medieval with Peter, Paul and the suffering Christ, and the later Judgement scene – looked down on the congregation from the chancel arch. On the other side of the chancel arch, however, is the 1620 image of Christ Pantocrator, who is holding his hand in a gesture of blessing (see Plate 30). These two seventeenth-century murals should perhaps be considered as supporting images, with Christ as the king of the heavens, and a merciful judge.

Much like screens, the images on this low-slung arch would have been the focal point during a large part of the service. Any attempt to recreate how the individual experienced the mural during worship will be speculative and ambiguous at best, but what can be done is to explore the popular belief of the laity. There are reactions to ritual and worship that are documented, and from there we may piece together an approximation of what impact the visual scope had on sacramental understanding. Here at Tuna Church, Christ gazes down at the congregation from the entrance to the sanctuary, either from the Veronica veil now seen, or as the ruler and judge of the heavens in the seventeenth-century mural. This image of Christ would have reminded the parishioners of whom they were to meet on the other side of the chancel arch, in the Eucharist. A similar reminder of God's presence can be found in the parish church of Julita, also Strängnäs Diocese. At Julita, the Trinity takes pride of place over the chancel arch (see Plate 31). On the other side of the arch – the chancel side – is another image of Jesus, here carrying his cross and a banner

⁸⁵⁰ Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 136-137.

saying, ‘Salvator Mundi’(see Plate 32).⁸⁵¹ The question is whether the congregation saw these images as a reminder of judgement, or of God’s mercy and redemption? The juxtaposition in this question is based on the traditional understanding of the sacrament, which focused on judgement, and the one taught by Lutheran formal theology of a merciful God, ready to sacrifice his life for the salvation of his people. So far we have noticed that espoused and operant theology rarely focuses on the merciful God, or the victorious Christ. The laity instead kept the focus more on a personal level: how to deal with death; how to emphasise or maintain one’s status in the community of the church; how to live a moral life. It is from these motivational factors that we have to start looking for religious experience of the laity.

In Duffy’s exploration of late medieval parish life in England, lay piety frequently centred around concepts such as purgatory, judgement and the afterlife.⁸⁵² The same preoccupation with judgement and sin appear in Alec Ryrie’s study of Reformation Britain. Fear of receiving in an unworthy state kept the laity from the Communion table. Preparing oneself for the sacrament was likened to preparing oneself for death. Communion itself filled some with such terror it brought them to tears, and some to call it a dreadful sacrament. Though Mass had been celebrated more frequently in medieval times, the frequency of receiving Communion remained a constant even after the Reformation with one to a couple of times a year.⁸⁵³ The studies of Duffy and Ryrie may be from a different era and cultural context, but they can still point to the issues that were prevalent in popular belief also in seventeenth-century Sweden. Malmstedt’s research corroborates this. There were instances, for example, when the laity corrected each other’s moral conduct. Malmstedt tells of parishioners who stopped neighbours from approaching the altar,

⁸⁵¹ The chancel was extended to the east during the eighteenth century, so the arch described here is now at the centre of the church. See Schnell, *Julita*, pp. 2-8, pp. 10-11. For more information on the painter and origin of the murals, see Lindgren, *Att lära*, pp. 104-110.

⁸⁵² Duffy, *The Stripping*, p. 72, p. 75.

⁸⁵³ Ryrie, *Being*, p. 336, pp. 338-339.

because of bad blood between them. It was perceived as spiritually dangerous to take Communion if one had unresolved conflicts.⁸⁵⁴ God, the judge, saw and remembered. These convictions would have been reinforced by the images over the chancel arch at Tuna: of Christ as the eternal judge; or at Julita: in the eyes of God the Trinity.

That is not the only way to consider the image on the chancel arch, though. Barbara Haeger's posits that the laity might in fact have felt closer to the sacrament through the visual display on arches and screens. The screen in the Counter-Reformation church of St Michael's in Antwerp had images, which showed the mystery of the divine in detail, when the sacrament itself was on the altar and thus too far away to be observed and revered. Rather than separating the laity from the holy, the screen thus had the potential to bring the sacrament closer to the congregation.⁸⁵⁵ Haeger's study on the iconography of a Counter-Reformation screen offer obvious differences to a Lutheran church where the laity would have had admittance to the altar, and yet, her analysis reminds us of the ambiguity of visual features and their interpretation. Some experience may have rung true for both a Lutheran and a Catholic congregation. The language in the Swedish Mass was in the vernacular, the congregation responded through after-chanting, which (though discouraged by the clergy) would have made the laity an active part of the liturgical moment, and when the elevation was abolished with HB1614 (though individual priests may have continued to elevate the host), the only visual stimuli was the image on the chancel arch. Words, music, and images surrounded the congregation, even over the pandemonium that often was commonplace during the services.⁸⁵⁶ So, during the Eucharistic prayer, when Christ was made present, the image of his face would be a stark and perpetual presence. Recalling Pattison's description of haptic vision, where all the

⁸⁵⁴ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, p. 37, p. 141.

⁸⁵⁵ Haeger, 'The Choir', p. 532, p. 539, p. 541.

⁸⁵⁶ Malmstedt describes services disrupted by pew conflicts, unleashed dogs, drunk parishioners, and galleries with youngsters playing pranks on the adults in the pews below. See, Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 37-56.

senses collaborate, the image may have been akin to the touch of God, even before the moment when the sacrament was a taste on the tongue. Pattison also points out that this may be the reason why just seeing the sacrament, was considered a blessing.⁸⁵⁷ This reasoning compares well with Bob Scribner's idea of the 'sacramental gaze', where seeing was a sensual experience.⁸⁵⁸ The common man or woman may not have articulated either piety, sight or senses in these terms, but their relationship to sacred objects and the ecclesiastical visual world may in practice have been one of intimacy.

Whether the presence and touch of God was one of comfort, or one that invoked fear of Judgement, is very much down to the individual. We should, however, be open to the possibility that both espoused and operant theology were transmitters of the medieval tradition well into the post-Reformation era. That is, both in what people said and did, traditional religiosity may have lived on. One example from Tuna Church could possibly indicate this. As mentioned, Tuna had a *kakaltare* (cake altar). We do not know exactly where it was placed, but the church also has in its possession a fifteenth-century altarpiece dedicated to Mary. This altarpiece used to be on the north side of the chancel arch until it was replaced by a new pulpit in 1849.⁸⁵⁹ Lindgren describes how the traditional side-altars to Mary often transitioned into the Protestant *kakaltare*, which were used for the churching of women. Both were generally positioned on the north side.⁸⁶⁰ The 'cake altar' at Tuna is therefore very probably one and the same as the side-altar to Mary. While the existence of a side-altar to Mary does not attest to the existence of Marian devotion, it does indicate the prevalence of some form of traditional lay piety.

Other indicators of traditional religion in popular faith are elevation prayers, and prayers calling on protection from saints. Many have been documented, from the sixteenth

⁸⁵⁷ Pattison, *Seeing*, pp. 42-44.

⁸⁵⁸ Scribner, 'Perceptions', pp. 85-103.

⁸⁵⁹ Schnell, *Tuna*, p. 12.

⁸⁶⁰ Lindgren, 'Reformationen', p. 317.

to the nineteenth century, with specific saints used as wards for travel, cattle, child birth and times of the day. The Blessed Virgin Mary was most commonly called on. Jesus' mother is popular also in what is called passion prayers, contemplating the death of Jesus. Here she gets the first mention, with the epithet 'mother of all'.⁸⁶¹ Some were documented with instructions on how many times they must be repeated (typically three) to be effective. Usually they had to be said together with the signing of the cross or the Lord's Prayer. The instructions imply prayers that were regarded more as conjuration than supplications used to strengthen a personal relationship with God – which begs the question, did the laity see a difference between the two?⁸⁶² God's powers, and the intermediary aid of the saints, seemed to be equally important in a life filled with too many dangers. In this light, the Eucharistic experience would have been particularly potent, and it is unlikely that the experience was equated with *usus* – the reception of the sacrament – but rather the entire Eucharistic celebration, from preface to the final blessing. God was present, touching and sanctifying, even if one did not go to the altar. To receive the sacramental gift would then have been another level of closeness to God. The custom of checking who was allowed at the altar however, shows that it was necessary to achieve reconciliation and be of good moral standing before that level of closeness with God could be reached. By upholding a certain degree of moral order, the laity illustrated an unspoken belief, an operant theology, of morality, judgement and worthiness.

God, however, also had the ability to reach outside the confines of the church building, and reside within the community. Oja mentions practitioners of magic who claimed to have been gifted their magical abilities by God himself.⁸⁶³ For them the holy had no set boundaries, nor the magical potency of a Communion wafer, and the church did not

⁸⁶¹ Linderholm, *Signelser*, pp. 111-117.

⁸⁶² Saints that were most frequently called on were the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Peter, St John the evangelist, St Bridget and the archangels. Ibid., pp. 96-111, pp. 119-130.

⁸⁶³ Oja, *Varken Gud* pp. 189-191.

have the sole authority over God's rites.⁸⁶⁴ The host, as the body of Christ, became a conduit for divine powers also outside the Eucharistic moment. Peaceful conduct in the service was not a prerequisite for the presence of the holy, because the holy also had a place in common life, but conflict broke the peace and life within a community, hence the need to settle conflicts before the partaking of God in bread and wine. Malmstedt highlights the rare occurrence of serious violence in churches. Reports of injuries and drawing blood are almost non-existent. The church building and the Eucharist should be a place of reconciliation and community.⁸⁶⁵

But did the congregation experience *Salvator Mundi* as benevolent, and the sacrament as joyous gifts of life? These were themes that formal theology (the clergy) frequently expressed in prayers, hymns, and images, like the chancel-side murals at Tuna and Julita. As previously noted, it is not possible to draw any definite conclusions; however, if keeping the peace – to not draw blood and to mend broken relationships – was indeed used to demonstrate the worthiness of the community in the presence of God, would it not be because Jesus was seen as the ultimate judge and ruler of all? Espoused theology (the expressed faith) was also preoccupied with symbols of death, and the Eucharist as a viaticum, a protection against both the consequences of death and of divine judgement. This bridge between the traditional and the post-Reformation religion of the laity would explain why the common people were more concerned with death and moral behaviour, than a newly imposed idea of the holy. If so, we can assume that popular belief would have had little understanding of the Eucharist as a joyful occasion. Espoused theology was more preoccupied with finding a cure from death in Communion, at the risk of eternal damnation, and operant theology (in low culture) seemed more concerned with community behaviour and moral living, than Communion as a personal experience of faith. In this

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 174, pp. 206-207.

⁸⁶⁵ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 65-70, p. 149.

belief system, screens and arches would have marked a separation between what was good and sinful. It would not, however, have marked a distinction between the Holy place of God and the secular world. Thus its purpose would have been as a marker between those too sinful to approach the altar, and the good who deserved a place among their peers to receive Communion. A secondary purpose would have been as a way for God to come close to everyone, even in the nave, either as a judge or a saviour. A Christ Pantocrator, that is, God *above* to judge the living and the dead, but also present, to warn and to bless.

To conclude, even though much of what has been said of lay experience has to be conjecture, there are indications in both visual displays and behaviour patterns of lingering medieval traditions. Religious practice (operant theology) gives us the retention of medieval iconography as one marker, as well as the preoccupation with moral conduct in community life as another. Peace in the community was important when that fellowship came to meet God in the Eucharist, a God seen more in the light of a judge than a merciful father. The worthiness (or unworthiness) of one individual seemed to be paramount for the entire community if they were to celebrate Communion. Another aspect of operant theology (in both low and high culture) is the familial closeness to God through bequests. The donations were a 'safe' way to come to close proximity to God. Alongside the bequests, public reconciliations, and the conjunction-like prayers – whose efficiency was dependent on the number of repetitions – all speaks of a religion of merit, which encouraged more a certain behaviour than a change of heart. The people needed the Eucharist, both as protection in a struggle against evil, and against the ultimate evil: death. But the most powerful ward did not come without a cost, since the divine meeting in Communion did not seem to be a joyful gathering as much as one of trepidation before an almighty judge.

12.5 Summary

Whereas espoused theology showed that the Lutheran faith had taken root among the population, operant theology gave scope for traditional religion in a Lutheran society. These two strands of religiosity seem to have existed in parallel for a large part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When the laity expressed the new Lutheran faith in iconography (here called espoused theology) it shows which parts of normative and formal theology (official dogma and teaching) had been implemented among the populace. Lutheran narrative of the Passion and biblical characters dominate espoused theology, albeit with its own spin. It was Protestant iconography with a preoccupation of mortality and the afterlife.

A large portion of seventeenth-century imagery and features cannot be explained or understood from a Lutheran point of view however, and in this practice we find traces of operant theology. These objects ensured that both traditional and secular iconography found a home in Swedish churches. The objects of operant theology can be divided into two groups. There are those features that linked a community to their past, medieval chasubles or altarpieces, or old murals and statues, or even newly commissioned pieces with imagery copied from traditional items. Secondly, there are the pieces that were status objects. If these were secular or of a Roman Catholic origin, it mattered little, as long as their grandeur showed the donor in a perpetual light of benevolence and glory. The motivation behind these features can possibly be explained by traditional religion and Eucharistic piety still being in play and/or a wish to beautify the ecclesial space. In high culture a strong motivation was also to reaffirm the hierarchy of both heaven and earth, where the different ranks of human society mirrored the heavenly order. These two groups of objects points to different understandings of community, which in turn is mirrored in two distinct Eucharistic fellowships. In the lower orders, the local community was the hub

of religious life. For the higher orders however, family was the community that mattered, also in the context of religion.

Within the ecclesial space, there seemed to be a hierarchy of position, not just for the living with pew placements, but also in the placement of epitaphs and memorials. The status of proximity shows the importance of the sacrament of the altar, since graves, especially for patrons, are often found as close to the altar as possible, not the pulpit. An important factor of these donations is that the donor was often clearly marked on the object. This in turn may indicate a wish to be part of the sacramental celebration, in life as in death, by placing the person or family at the heart of the ritual. Whether this points towards a certain degree of meritorious faith is certainly possible, but can only be speculation.

The *ars moriendi* pieces create a link between espoused and operant theology (the Lutheran faith as expressed by the laity and the popular belief of traditional religion) as they are both preoccupied with judgment, sin and death. High culture may have veered towards an individualistic proto-Pietistic faith as the seventeenth century progressed, with private Communion and house chaplains, but their donations point to a faith centred around death and creating a legacy. Low culture, on the other hand, kept their religiosity rooted in the community, but on the basis of traditional morals and belief to avoid God's wrath. Thus, stepping up to the altar was a fearsome event, both for the individual Christian and the community.

This idea of community went counter to the Church campaign of the holy. The sacrament of the altar was of utmost importance to the community, the chancel was an awesome place, but God was not confined to the church building, nor was God's power the prerogative of the clergy. In operant and espoused theology alike, holy and secular could not be distinguished as separate entities in the community.

Conclusion

In 1617 Gustav II Adolf was crowned king of Sweden, but only after he offered guarantees to be a Lutheran ruler over a Lutheran country. The Estates of the Riksdag demanded this assurance before a coronation could take place.⁸⁶⁶ Sweden was officially a Lutheran nation, a century after the Protestant faith had been introduced. But dogmas and faith can steer people in various directions and be expressed in different ways, and it has been my aim to explore Lutheran Eucharistic belief and expression in the diverse layers of early-modern Swedish culture. According to the Uppsala Resolution of 1593, Sweden was a Lutheran nation on the confessional foundation of the Scripture, the ecumenical creeds and the traditional CA, and in the traditions of Gustav I Vasa and Archbishop Laurentius Petri. But how did the clergy understand these confessional documents, and how was the Protestant faith taught by the Church? And how did the laity adopt and express the new confession? The study is in many ways an exploration of how the Lutheranism of the Uppsala Resolution had been implemented and was understood in Swedish society during the post-Reformation period.

The question has been studied from four perspectives: normative (official dogma), formal (the teaching of the Church), espoused (how the laity expressed their faith), and operant (lay religious practice). These terms have been adopted from the TAR methodology, a method used to define and narrow the search of different religious expressions.⁸⁶⁷ What follows is a summary of how I have explored Eucharistic belief in spiritual literature, hymnody, and the ecclesial space, by utilising the perspectives from the

⁸⁶⁶ Montgomery 1995, p. 167-168.

⁸⁶⁷ See Cameron, *Talking*, p. 49.

TAR model. With the conclusions garnered from that study I will then respond to the main three questions posed at the beginning: how Church and laity alike understood the Eucharist, and to what degree the Reformation had been adopted by the Swedish population in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The summary of the four perspectives of the TAR methodology will highlight the inter-relational aspects of the society, as they interact and overlap with each other. There are, however, areas where the perspectives diverge, which will be further discussed here.

Normative Theology

The Uppsala Resolution of 1593 gives a firm foundation to stand on when it comes to the normative theology of what would become the Church of Sweden. It mentions Scripture, the original CA, and the 3 creeds. Curiously it also defines good Swedish Lutheran practice, specifying good practice as it was in the days of late King Gustav Vasa, and according to Laurentius Petri's Church Ordinance of 1571. While Luther's catechisms are not named, they were surely implied, since teaching and instruction were repeatedly mentioned as the only peaceful cure from old 'superstitions'.⁸⁶⁸ The catechism also plays a great role in the publications the episcopacy wrote, as simple theological fare for the laity. Together with carefully chosen verses from the Bible, the catechism offered simple guidelines to foster a Lutheran population. But normative theology is not just the sources mentioned in the 1593 Resolution or the catechism. Some diocesan publications, and in this study that includes *Enchiridion* and Emporagrius's catechism, leaned on other sources too. Petrus Rudbeckius seemed to be inspired in by a theological textbook by the German theologian Hafenreffer for *Enchiridion*, and Emporagrius by the FC.

⁸⁶⁸ Eckerdal, *Confessio*, pp. 11-15.

The main Eucharistic theme that comes through in these normative sources is Redemption. That too is the corner stone of the catechism's description of the Lord's Supper. However, with the inclusion of Laurentius Petri's Church Ordinance of 1571 in the Uppsala Resolution, the liturgy also became a normative text, and with it the Communion Songs that were mentioned in the service. The texts of these hymns offered a few more Eucharistic themes than those found in the above-mentioned normative sources; *redemption* and *proper preparation* may have been the main focus, but there were also more joyous Eucharistic themes such as: *praise*, *thanksgiving*, *fellowship*, and *Fruits of the Spirit*. Since these Eucharistic themes also appear in episcopal publications (formal theology), the question one might ask is if Communion hymns served as a normative source and inspiration for the Church leadership, much in the same way as Hafenreffer's textbook did for Rudbeckius. Another similarity between the normative text of the hymns and the writings of the bishops is the pedagogical nature of both works. The language reveals a desire to foster and nurture the Lutheran faith in all aspects of religious life.

A didactic tendency can also be seen in the transformation of the ecclesial space, making it fit for purpose for Lutheran worship. Or, as is the case with Swedish Lutheran churches, the lack of transformation. Normative theology, according to Luther's interpretation of the Decalogue, offered freedom to either retain or remove images, and the Swedish strand of Lutheranism opted for images. As long as the Gospel was properly preached, and the sacraments rightly administered, traditional pieces and imagery were allowed alongside a new biblical and Protestant iconography. The biblical images offered yet another way to explain the Lutheran faith, but in allowing the retention of old material, normative theology may also have thwarted reactionary responses and set a scene of familiarity whereupon Church officials could preach the new faith. The rebellions that occurred in the sixteenth century (mainly in the first half) were caused both for political and economic reasons, but as Martin Berntson has shown they were also protests against

Protestant changes in rituals and faith.⁸⁶⁹ The Swedish Church leadership seems to have come to the conclusion that revolts were a detriment to a proper Lutheran transformation of faith. The Uppsala Resolution (1593) at least, keeps repeating that preaching and teaching about the faith is far preferable than sudden changes that can cause conflict and quarrels. Berntson also points out that the Swedish liturgy, along with the English, had more continuity with the medieval liturgy than what was the case in Denmark or the German Protestant churches.⁸⁷⁰ Here are several indications – both in the wording of the resolution and the retention of medieval material – that a slow transformation of rituals was a conscious choice by the Swedish Reformers and Church leaders, a choice that set a normative foundation of continuity for the post-Reformation era.

Formal Theology

So how did the seventeenth-century Church understand and use the tools that normative theology offered? One development during the post-Reformation era (though indeed not limited to Protestant churches) was for the church officials to draw up demarcation lines between what was sacred, and what was not.⁸⁷¹ The focus was not so much on the secular, as what was holy. In the seventeenth century, the church building was gradually seen more as the holy temple of God than a practical place of worship, and in Sweden the idea of the holy seemed centred on the holiness of the sacrament of the altar. This interpretation of the sacrament comes through in episcopal publications and in the iconography of the ecclesial space. The Real Presence is not contested by the bishops in this study, albeit the specific moment of divine presence was a matter for discussion.

⁸⁶⁹ Berntson, *Mässan*, pp. 224–234.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 224.

⁸⁷¹ Sommerville, p. 6.

The descriptions found in the bishops' works are of a sinful humanity that should prepare properly for a divine meeting, and by divine invitation enter the holy of holies for a foretaste of the heavenly kingdom. The sacrament is frequently termed as a moment of grace, as a time for praise, and a means for God to bestow on his people the Fruits of the Spirit. The same message appears on the murals and texts that adorned the eastward facing chancel arches or screens. In the chancel space we have come across pictures of *Salvator Mundi* and the *Nunc dimittis*, reminders all of having seen, touched and been saved by the Lord. Compared to the themes of the Eucharist found in normative texts, the bishops' descriptions are surprisingly joyful and reassuring. As long as the Christian is properly prepared, the sacrament will give him or her a share in a benevolent and merciful saviour. Which is why Communion hymns were most likely an important pedagogical tool. Here, in the song texts, the joyful themes were incorporated, the Real Presence explained, and an easy mode of instruction already present in the nature of communal singing. Swedish Communion songs were from their very first didactic translations set in a plural pronoun; they were addressed to a group and meant to be sung as 'we' the congregation. We cannot with any certainty answer how these songs were used outside worship in the seventeenth century. If, however, they were sung by the congregation when very few owned a hymnbook, and when Communion was only celebrated a few times a year, they must surely have been learned at another occasion outside the service. The emergence of after-chanting in the seventeenth century may at least point to a connection between reading, singing, and learning through memorising and repeating after the pastor. The usage of hymns in catechetical teaching is a topic that would benefit from further research.

Finally, the fact that Eucharistic formal theology contains so much of reassurance and sacramental joy deserves another mention. Except for warnings in preparation texts, damnation was not of interest to the bishops, and the devil makes no appearance in any of the diocesan publications studied here. Compare this to popular religion (espoused and

operant theology) where death, hell and the devil were common themes. The fact that the texts and images that were produced by formal theology for the moment of Communion contained few warnings, and instead focused on reassurance, can possibly be compared to Luther's thoughts on a good death; when facing the awesome God at the Lord's table, Christ should be front and centre in our mind's eye, not the Tempter.

Espoused Theology

Death, hell and the devil are recurring images in Eucharistic espoused theology. Another notable aspect of the espoused perspective (as is the case for the operant) are the two layers that emerge here: those of the lower and higher orders. These two cultural strains seemed to both understand and express the espoused themes in ways that fitted their own civic spheres. Naturally, this is an over-simplification: not only were there more than two cultural circles, the various cultural spheres were also overlapping and inter-dependent. Still, there seemed to be two different espoused theological attitudes where the higher and lower orders were concerned.

First, the Eucharistic espoused theology of high culture tended to be centred around family and social status. The literature and songs created in popular devotionals nurtured the small community of family piety and house chapels. Privatisation comes through both in Communion prayers of devotionals, where the language was homocentric more than theocentric, and in the donations that highlighted family connections and status, as much as the new Protestant faith. In all three mediums studied here – literature, songs and church iconography – it is clear that the Lutheran faith has been adopted. There are prayer books and hymnals constructed to support a Protestant faith and ritual. The donations to churches were meant for a Lutheran Communion service – flagons, rectangular wafer boxes and large chalices – and decorated with biblical scenes, often the Passion. Unlike formal theology, however, these mediums also highlighted the individual

and their family. The prayers described Communion as a spiritual armour of the heart, and a help to prevail against temptation and evil. The only aspect of Fruits of the Spirit that appeared was invocations to increase a person's faith, but not neighbourly love nor fellowship. The appeal was for inward-looking gifts of God, not outward-looking. The Eucharist, then, was not a communal affair, but very much a private moment to safeguard a Christian's spirit.

The spiritual aspect is also a hallmark of Eucharistic espoused theology of high culture. In the Communion songs of devotionals, matters of faith seemed to be played out in the spiritual realm: the temptations of the devil were a mental fear; the presence of Christ in the Eucharist was felt by the heart; the salvation was a spiritual washing in Christ's blood; and faith in God was described as love for Jesus. The higher orders were part of a larger community than the local, and received inspiration from the literature on the Continent, an influence that spread the way for Pietism and privatisation. It is possible, too, that this influence worked itself into PB1695, as is indicated with Spegel's Communion hymn. Death was another recurring Eucharistic theme in high culture literature, songs and iconography alike. The great memorial chapels that were erected can be seen as a physical manifestation of the fear of mortality. But, placing them close to the altar also seems significant, since the only salvation from death was found in Communion. The nobility frequently built crypts under or around the sanctuary, and churches would bury the most prominent people in the chancel. High status gave close proximity, or the other way around. This custom may possibly point to a desire to connect the family to the spiritual realm of Christ, by being interred or having one's familial symbols as close to the Communion rites as possible.⁸⁷² The practice to add family crests to donations and to build lasting memorials was not a new custom, however, and it is possible that we here see signs

⁸⁷² See Deiters, 'Epitaphs', in particular pp. 76-79.

of meritorious faith, akin to those of medieval times. Would it be farfetched to think the donors expected something good in return for their Christian generosity to God and the Church?

In the lower orders, however, the wider parish community seems to have been as important as the smaller family circle. This is noticeable in particular when the community came together for the Lord's Supper, since the group was quite as important as the individual when they prepared for Communion. More than soul searching and self-reflexion, the laity focused on the moral behaviour of the community when they prepared to go to the Lord's Supper.⁸⁷³ By comparison, formal theology defined 'lack of faith in God' as the greatest sin. Despite the fact that the catechetical definition of sin and preparation before Communion would have been mandatory for First Communion, and thus the espoused (expressed) faith of the lower orders, they understood the words in a different light. To them the greatest sins seems to have been everything that caused a rift in the community. Which was why the community needed to be at peace when they went to Communion. Death and the devil were feared, and they found protection from these evil forces in Communion, but in association with Communion was also damnation and God as a judge, which seemed to have been an equally dominant fear. Records show how those who lived in conflict were prevented from approaching the altar. So, while the lower orders were taught the Protestant faith in the words of the catechism, and possibly adopting it as their espoused theology, the interpretation of it seemed tinged with medieval religiosity with God as the judge, and sin as an immoral act in the parochial community.

In general, the physical realm was of greater importance in low culture, than in high culture and formal theology. To be a moral individual was to take the side of God, in a battle played out against the evil forces that tormented the world. This also had a bearing

⁸⁷³ Malmstedt, pp. 140-143.

on the lay understanding of the holy. God may have been felt most strongly at Communion, and only those who were deemed worthy should approach the altar, but the battle of good and evil was played out in the world, and God too was present in the world. There was no real separation between holy and worldly. The ecclesial space, while holy and special, could also be a communal meeting place, both sacred and practical. Even the manner in which the ecclesial space was transformed to function with Lutheran worship bore a mark of sacredness tinged with a sense of practicality. The sixteenth century saw new features installed: pulpits, service books, flagons and chalices, but older objects were kept and used. Eventually, generally in the seventeenth century, old or worn-out items were replaced: murals and vestments. These new objects, and some of them were expensive investments for poorer communities,⁸⁷⁴ point to an outward adoption of the Lutheran faith, also in the lower orders. Medieval objects were not categorically exchanged for Protestant pieces, however, even when the iconography communicated traditional religion. With the dawn of post-Reformation in Sweden, there had been no dramatic changes to the church building; the Lutheran faith was instead noticeable in the gentle transformation of the room and in new practices, such as biblical iconography, congregational singing, and after-chanting. It is also in songs that we can trace a possible overlap between espoused high and low culture. The songs of the higher orders, with themes of blood mysticism and the devil may have resonated with the medieval and traditional religion of the lower orders, and the strength of songs is that they are easily memorised, and easily transmitted, especially in an oral culture.

⁸⁷⁴ See the discussion on Västermo parish, Chapter 12.3.4.

Operant Theology

As the discussion move from espoused to operant theology, the distinction between the lower and higher orders is still evident, but not as clearly. Whereas espoused theology of high culture emphasised spiritual faith – noticeable in the introspected language of popular devotionals – the lived-out faith (operant theology) gave allowance for demon forces in the physical realm, with witch trials being a prime example.⁸⁷⁵ The fear of the devil, death and hell seems to be as predominant in all social layers of operant theology. The lived-out faith of low culture would gradually adopt the individualistic spiritual language of the higher orders, as the seventeenth century turned to the eighteenth. At the middle of the seventeenth century, however, moral oversight and practical life was still the core of operant theology of the lower orders. This also had a significance for the lay understanding of the sacrament. Admittance to Communion was a step into adulthood, as much as it was a guarantee for a person's good standing in community life.

But it is the two threats, death and demonic forces, that unite the higher and lower orders in operant theology, since the devil seemed to play a more active part in practical religion for the literary classes, than in their verbally expressed faith. The devil tempts faith and disturbs the spirit, but the evil one also affects the physical world through magic and witches. The lived-out faith of the laity shows how the sacrament is a protection both of flesh and the spirit. The lower orders take this even further in their use of hosts for magical wards, and medieval prayers to saints to invoke God's protection. The Communion songs of the higher orders may have used a new literary style, and they appeal to Christ himself, but the sentiment of the sacrament as protection against evil and death resembles those of traditional religion. Another indication of long-lived traditional practice is the retention of the *Discubuit Jesus* in the High Mass liturgy. Considering the song's connection with

⁸⁷⁵ Montgomery, *enbetskyrkans*, pp. 176-179.

sacramental processions and requiem Masses, its continued use post-Reformation may indicate both the strength of lay Eucharistic piety and the importance of remembering the dead.

There seemed to have existed a parallelism of confession: the Lutheran and the traditional. In espoused theology, the Protestant faith was adopted to a degree by the laity during the sixteenth century, which is shown by investments in pulpits, new service books and vessels, and a gradual openness to services in the vernacular. Operant faith, however, kept traditional religion alive well into and possibly all through the seventeenth century. Even though parish churches acquired new service books in the sixteenth century, the practical execution of the Lutheran service was not realised until the next century, with congregational singing, a decrease of elevation piety, and the abolition of exorcism prayers at baptism. And even though the Lutheran services were more or less achieved in the seventeenth century, traditional religiosity may still have been transmitted. Features in the church space show the continued use of side altars dedicated to Mary (in connection with churchings).⁸⁷⁶ Traditional objects were also frequently kept in Swedish churches, even churches with good finances that invested in other costly objects. As we have seen, traditional objects (such as the medieval altarpiece at Jäder) were even acquired in the seventeenth century, and by the affluent and influential. The laity may have used the Lutheran confession and worship to express their faith (espoused theology), but practical religiosity (operant theology) also contained medieval rituals, behaviour and belief.

My premise is that there are two reasons behind the traditional displays in the church space, the first has to do with the location, the second with familial ties. The first motivation would have been more common in low culture, which upheld the importance of the local community. Traditional features were a visual confirmation of the community,

⁸⁷⁶ See the discussion of Tuna Church, Chapter 12.4.

and not just the living: the objects also linked the present community to the past. The same can be said for oral culture (rituals, songs and prayers) that were transmitted through the generations, they upheld and reasserted community life. The second motivation, by contrast, was centred around family. With monuments and costly gifts – whether old, new or foreign – familial ties were highlighted, and hierarchy affirmed. Again, it is these two diverging ideas of community that we meet in operant theology, and two different focuses on the sacrament, one where the sacrament is at the centre of a parish community, the other where family ties are re-asserted. If we allow ourselves a moment of generalisation, this divergence becomes understandable, considering that high and low culture lived in different spheres. The nobility had both national and international ties often based on family connections, whereas the farmers could live their entire lives in one location. When Peter Burke writes about the great and small tradition, he describes the great tradition as that of the learned elite who had access to both the local and the international communities, both the oral and the literary spheres, whereas the small tradition tended to inhabit mainly the local and oral culture.⁸⁷⁷ And yet, the most pressing concerns for all laity seem to have been the same: judgement, fear of the devil and death. As a consequence, the sacrament was the only means of salvation from the great human threats, with the slight conundrum that God too was feared as the awesome judge.

Based on these four perspectives, we may now stipulate answers to the main discussion points of this thesis.

⁸⁷⁷ Burke, *Popular*, pp. 50-54.

1. Eucharistic theology as described by the Church hierarchy.

The four bishops that are part of this study all display both a sense of duty and freedom, in their treatises on the Eucharist. There are surprising similarities in how they describe Communion for the laity, despite the differences between themselves as men of the cloth and theological academics. The publications studied here are the simple fare for the uneducated, this is true, and do not show the full range of their theological adherence and deliberations. Nonetheless they all keep to a fairly narrow definition of the Eucharist. The Real Presence of Christ is not disputed, and the actual moment of the mystery is only the concern of one of the bishops in this study. Lutheran normative theology only allowed celebration of the Eucharist in the centre of the parish community, so the Real Presence *in usus* – at the moment of reception – was probably uncontested among the Church leadership. And yet, three of the four bishops in this study seemed unwilling to define the exact moment of the Real Presence, focusing more on the mystery as a continuous event during the celebration of Mass. Archbishop Laurentius Paulinus Gothus even gave detailed instructions on how to keep the blessed hosts separate and safe after Mass was over – albeit in his larger catechism, which was not written for the common lay person. So even though the Real Presence may have been undisputed, the actual moment and consequences of the Real Presence seem to have been less distinct.

The definition offered to the laity was much more cohesive, however. The sacrament was a means for redemption, divine grace, and a joyful, lifegiving meeting with God. The theory sometime expressed that absolution took the place of the sacrament as redemptive holds no bearing in the writings of these bishops.⁸⁷⁸ The Real Presence was the mediator of God's grace, and without Christ's body and blood there was no true salvation. The importance of the redemptive sacrament is also reflected in the ecclesiastical space.

⁸⁷⁸ See Lindquist, *Studier*, p. 344.

The Swedish churches never seemed to lose sight of the altar as the heart of the building. The pulpit was important, certainly, but according to Laurentius Petri (in KO1571) it was as a practical object to ensure that the sermon was heard,⁸⁷⁹ and for the laity it turned into another object that could beautify their church. But, practical and beautiful did not a holy space make. The Word was immortal, this is true, but the sermon was transient in a way the sacrament was not.

Another factor that should not to be forgotten is how these bishops generally portrayed the Lord's Supper in a positive light. This tends to be overlooked, since the focus naturally falls on the preparation material that dominated the sections on Communion in popular devotionals. Church officials surely endorsed these preparation manuals, but their own material is less stark, and much more reassuring, both on a personal level and for community building. The language used ranges from redemption and a sinful humanity to a merciful God and Father, a sweet brother in Jesus, joyful grace and a loving fellowship. And Communion should always end with songs of praise. The joyful mystery of the sacrament also comes through in other channels, such as the decoration of the chancel where the clergy must be considered to have had an input on the motifs. Both the Churches of Tuna and Julita had cautionary seventeenth century murals of biblical tales in the main church (the judgement, the parable of the ten virgins, and the apocryphal Heliodorus),⁸⁸⁰ but the chancel arch (east side) depicted reassuring images of Jesus (saviour and victor) for those who returned to their seat after they left the altar.

The sacrament of the altar, though celebrated rarely, seemed to have been the heart of holiness for church officials in post-Reformation Sweden. For the bishops of this study, the sacrament was as momentous and solemn as it was joyous and hopeful, and all due to the fact that Christ was truly present in body and blood to redeem his people.

⁸⁷⁹ See Nilsén, p. 270.

⁸⁸⁰ The parable of the ten virgins and Heliodorus (2 Maccabees 3) are found in the nave at Julita Church, see Lindgren, *Att lära*, p. 105, p. 110.

2. Religious practice, and how the Eucharist was perceived by the laity.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the laity seemed to have adopted the main points of Lutheran Eucharistic doctrine. Comparing the first Protestant Communion songs (c. 1530s), to the publications of early seventeenth-century bishops, and the new Communion hymns of PB1695, the instruction they contain moves gradually away from matters of Protestant change (Mass as a sacrifice, communicating in both gifts, and liturgy based on Scripture) towards focusing on the Eucharistic experience (of grace and love). That these early instructions were no longer necessary would indicate that they were no longer contested. In the seventeenth century congregational singing also – and finally – became a common practice, demonstrating lay involvement with the new vernacular liturgy. But as we have seen, this does not mean that traditional religion or practices were a thing of the past, they just seemed to have found a new home in a Lutheran context.

First of all, there is the preoccupation with death, which in medieval times had found a religious outlet in Masses for the dead. In the sixteenth century, the retention of *Discubuit Jesus* in the liturgy may have been a way to appease families who had donated money in order for the *Discubuit* to be sung, but the retention of the song also – albeit indirectly – legitimised traditional practices and meritorious faith. Although there was no longer a possibility of willing money to Masses for the dead, one could still invest in one's church. A memorial, an ornate grave and objects bearing the family crests, were all a lasting legacy to a person or family, and often placed in close proximity to the altar. Or one could join several memorials into one, as Oxenstierna did in Jäder. He acquired the medieval altarpiece of Stockholm Cathedral that had had its place in the side chapel where Oxenstierna's other children had been interred and placed it in the family memorial chapel

that was the new chancel of Jäder Church.⁸⁸¹ The reasoning behind the behaviour can only be speculative, but both Masses for the dead and visual reminders of a deceased person indicate a human desire to remind God of someone dearly departed. This theory is further supported by the fact that these habits centre around the altar and the ritual of Christ's redeeming, lifegiving power in the Eucharist. Remembering the dead, possibly reminding God of the dead, and linking the present family and community to that of the past, all these desires seem to converge around the altar and the Lord's Supper. In village life, too, Malmstedt has shown how farming communities constantly prioritise a minister's ability to administer the sacrament (in particular to the dying) over his preaching ability.⁸⁸² The sacrament of the altar was of utmost importance to the laity, and while some ritual was practised according to the Lutheran doctrine, other religious practices rested on a traditional foundation.

Another link to medieval religiosity was the low frequency in Communion attendance, which was a couple of times a year. For the seventeenth century, this has sometimes been explained by the rigorous practices of preparation that were promoted,⁸⁸³ but it is unlikely that attendance numbers ever picked up during the Reformation. What happened in post-Reformation times was a decrease of actual Communion services as the main Sunday service, not a decrease of communicants. This can be explained by the seriousness with which the laity regarded the sacrament, largely due to traditional religiosity. Salvation from death may have been the main concern for the laity, and the reason why Communion was of the utmost importance, but damnation and fear of judgement was another great preoccupation. The sacrament was perceived by the lay population with an equal measure of awe and trepidation. To receive the sacrament was to be liberated from the threat of eternal death, but it was also a real meeting with the

⁸⁸¹ Flodin, *Jäders*, p. 114.

⁸⁸² Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 98-99, pp.103-104.

⁸⁸³ Lindquist, *Studier*, pp. 334-335.

Almighty Judge. As we have seen in community practice and the importance of moral oversight, in prayer material and in the imagery of churches, the final judgement and immortality was very much on peoples' minds as they approached the altar. There seems to have been very little reassurance in participating in the sacrament, and yet it was a necessary medicine from death and hell, hence the need to receive Communion a few times a year, but without any desire to increase the frequency.

We have also discussed the impact the sight of the host had during medieval times, how looking at the host could feel like a blessing and touch of God. The Protestant clergy saw this as *opus operatum* (that the action worked as spiritual efficacy) and in their mind action without proper faith, but for the people it was probably a genuine experience of faith and communion with God. The Archdeacon of Turku/Åbo, Melartopaeus, claims to have witnessed the use of elevation prayers at the cathedral in 1596.⁸⁸⁴ The question is what happened once the elevation was removed with the service book of 1614? Did behaviours change rapidly, or did a mere reinterpretation take place? Malmstedt has suggested that listening to the sermon and after-chanting took the place of observing the host as a lay service to God.⁸⁸⁵ As is proposed in this study, the actual depictions of God in the church may also have taken the place of seeing the host, especially combined with singing and after-chanting. Malmstedt also talks of this behaviour as meritorious.⁸⁸⁶ It is possible that for many it was simply *opus operatus*, but perhaps there was also a genuine desire to feel close to God and partake of his blessings without the danger of participating in Communion while unworthy. Fear of death and damnation would have been strong emotions that needed an equally strong emotional remedy, such as the touch of God through sight, and without risking his judgement.

⁸⁸⁴ Laitinen, 'Church', p. 317

⁸⁸⁵ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 160-162.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid.

The latter half of the seventeenth century also saw an increase in privatisation of faith. The upper classes led the development with house chaplains and private house services. The nobility suggested specific distribution words for the higher orders to be used in the two Lutheran sacraments. Furthermore, there was an increase of published prayer books to support individual preparation before public confession. As mentioned, the Church did teach the importance of preparation and healing of conflicts before receiving Communion, but for most parts of the seventeenth century the majority of the population seemed to put more weight on moral life and peace in the community over personal introspection and spiritual sins. This changed with time. In cities the lower orders were likely influenced by their superiors and tried to mimic their behaviour. With the increase of publishing houses and better access to books, devotionals also became more common among the general population, and with them an introverted spirituality. Before books, however, it is possible that pietistic songs paved the way for individualised piety. This kind of Eucharistic piety did not truly make an impact on the broader population until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

3. Exploring to what degree the Reformation had been adopted by the population, and if traditional religion was still at play?

So, as we can see, there is no clear answer to the question on how well Lutheranism⁸⁸⁷ had become integrated among the general population in post-Reformation Sweden. Instead we can talk of a parallelism, where both traditional religion and the Protestant faith existed, perhaps not in symbiosis, but in the same religious worldview. We have here talked of it as the parallelism of espoused and operant Eucharistic theology. Some traditional religion may have supported Lutheran piety, other aspects of it may have contradicted it, and vice versa.

⁸⁸⁷ Lutheranism is here defined according to the confessional documents of the Uppsala Resolution of 1593, see Eckerdal, *Confessio*.

In a similar vein, Scribner writes about the human ability to be contradictory in faith, and to create worldviews that in themselves are illogical.⁸⁸⁸ Malmstedt corroborates this reasoning in his study of the Swedish post-Reformation context.⁸⁸⁹ Instead of talking of the long Reformation (which indeed it was), or looking for the gradual changes (of which there were plenty), perhaps we need to change our perspective of popular religion into something unfixed, contradictory, and illogical. If we look for certain behaviour and rituals, the population of Sweden became more Lutheran with the years. If on the other hand we study some habits of traditional religion, they too seem strong, and well into the eighteenth century. Yet, at the same time, Pietism gained a foothold in lay piety. A simplified and somewhat logical proposal with this study is that the expressed faith of the people (espoused theology) had traces of Lutheran confession from the middle of the sixteenth century, whereas the lived-out faith (operant theology) kept medieval religiosity strong until the late seventeenth century, and alive well into the eighteenth century. Indeed, we may call it parallel religiosity, with sometimes conflicting, and sometimes supportive elements, in one faith-based worldview.

⁸⁸⁸ Scribner, 'Reformation', pp. 86-91, in particular p. 90.

⁸⁸⁹ Malmstedt, *Bondetro*, pp. 166-167.

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ewangelier och epistler, sampt en fullkombligh psalmbook., I Stockholm tryckt aff Henrich Keyser, kongl. booktr. med egen bekostnad, åhr 1682., 1682.

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anhang förökt af m. Georg Johan Conradi. Af tyskan öfversatt. Med kongl. maj:tz allern. privilegio. Stockholm, : trycket af Job. L. Horrn. Kongl. ant. archiv boktr. åbr 1724., Stockholm, 1724.

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Olearius, Johannes, *D. Johannis Olearii, Christelige Skriftermåhls-Book / Innehållandes Månge beweckelige doh uthi korthet författade Bööner och Påminnelser / nyttige och tiänlige för them / som til HERrans Högnärdige Nattward willia sigh Gudeligen bereeda / och thensamma värdeligen undfä;*

Fäderneslandet til wälmeent tjenst på Svenska uthsatt Aff Petro Brask / O-Gotho, Och med Christoph Reuszners (hoos hwilken hon finnes til kiöps) bekostnad / I Stockholm Tryckt af Niclas Wankijff / Kongl. Booktryck. Åhr 1679., 1679

Ogier, Charles, *Från Sveriges storhetstid – Franske legationssekreteraren Charles Ogiers dagbok under ambassaden i Sverige 1634-1635*, (Stockholm: Nordiska museet och Liber förlag, 1978).

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Appendix 1
Illustrations – Plates 1 to 32



Above, Plate 1a, reredos at All Saints, Nyköping, 1674.
Below, Plate 1b, detail of the reredos at All Saints.
Left, Plate 3, reredos at Stockholm Cathedral, installed 1652.





Plate 2, Alnö Old Church, with a version of seventeenth-century screen and pyramids.

Plate 4, reredos at Falu Kristine Church, c. 1655.



Plate 5, reredos at Eskilstuna Fors Church, c. 1655.





Plate 6, chasuble from Bärbo Church, now at the History Museum, Stockholm, 17th century.



Plate 7a, purple velvet chasuble from Rättvik Church, possibly 1650 or 1674.

Plate 9, red silk chasuble from Norrsunda, now at the History Museum, Stockholm, c. 1650s, possibly German make.

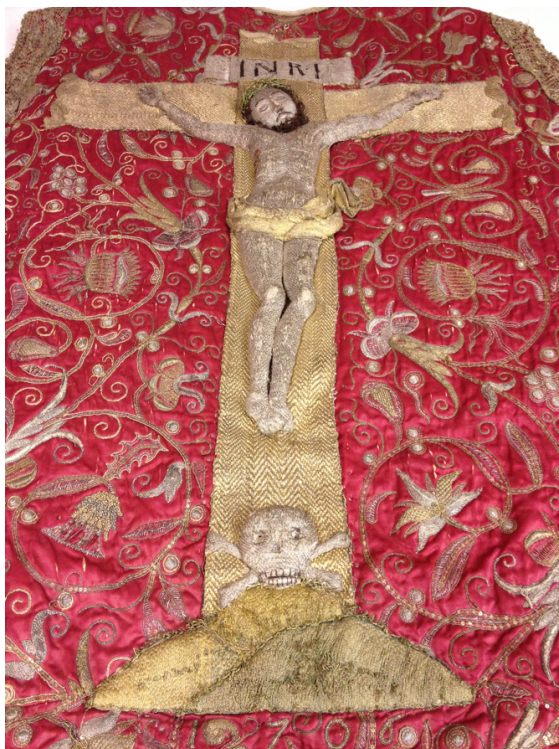


Plate 7b, detail from the chasuble at Rättvik.





Plate 8, chasuble from Falu Kristine Church, 1666.



Plate 10a, chalice (stem late 16th century, cup from 1746) and paten from Falu Kristine Church.
Below, Plate 10b, detail of the 16th century knob on the chalice at Falu Kristine Church.





Plate 10c, flagon with victory lamb, Eskilstuna Fors, donated 1703.



Plate 11, medieval ciborium, on display at Skokloster Church.

Plate 12, wafer box at Stockholm Cathedral, the back detail showing the Jesus being arrested in Gethsemane, early 17th century.





Left Plate 13a, wedding goblet and detail (above Plate 13b) of a woman symbolising Hope. Tyresö Parish, now at the History Museum, Stockholm, early 17th c.

Plate 14, detail of tombstone at Tuna Church, Nyköping, c. 1668.



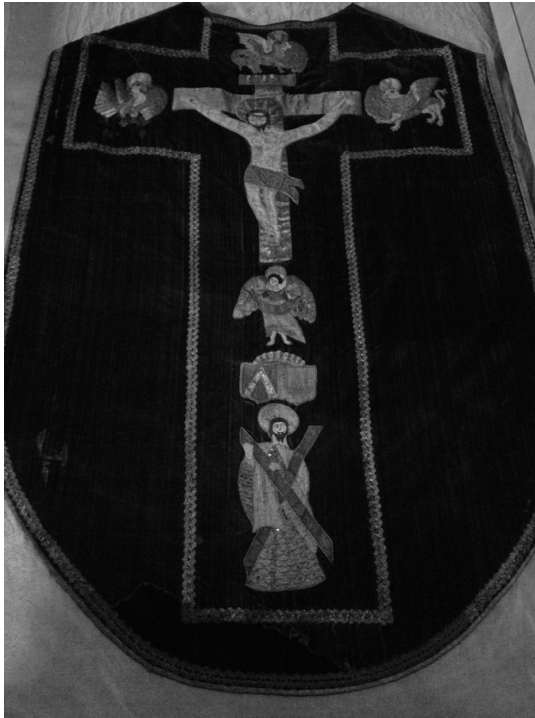


Plate 15, chasuble, Ytterjärna Church, 1645.

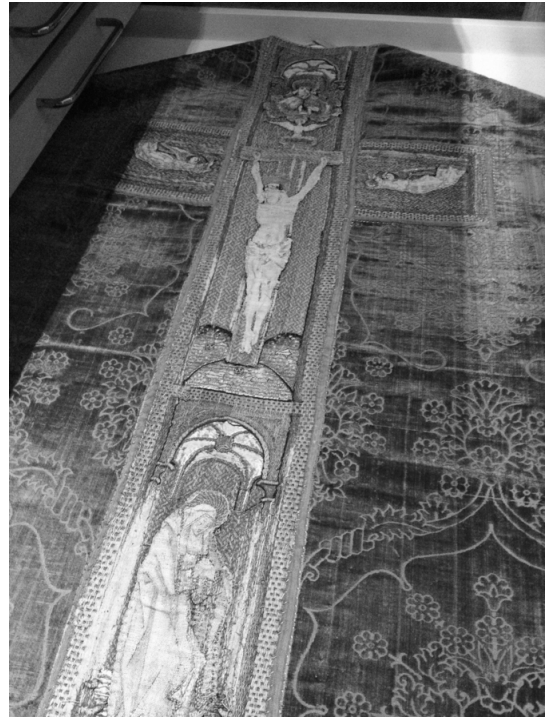


Plate 16, chasuble, Strängnäs Cathedral, late medieval.

Plate 17, Chalice veil, Barva Church, now History Museum Stockholm, probably Polish, c. 1650.





Plate 18, flagon, Stockholm Cathedral, c. 1630s.



Plate 19, flagon, Falu Kristine Church, 1659.



Left and below, Plates 20a and 20b, flagon and detail of the Crucifixion. All Saints, Nyköping, latter half of 17th c, by local silversmith Henning Petri (d 1702).





Plate 21, memorial, Falu Kristine Church, 1711.



Plate 23, Alabaster altar, All Saints Nyköping, Nottingham make, late 15th c.

Plate 22, mural with the Mass of St Gregory, Ytterjärna Church, possibly c. 1460s.





Plate 24, altarpiece, Torsvi Church, silesian, late 15th century.



Plate 25, detail of altarpiece at Jäder Church, made in Brussels, c. 1515.

Plate 26a chalice, Jäder Church, early 17th century.



Plate 26b, detail of chalice at Jäder Church.





Plate 27, reredos, Skokloster, possibly Polish, early 17th century.



Plate 28, memorial chapel, Skokloster.

Plate 29, chancel arch mural, Tuna Church, Nyköping, probably early 14th century.



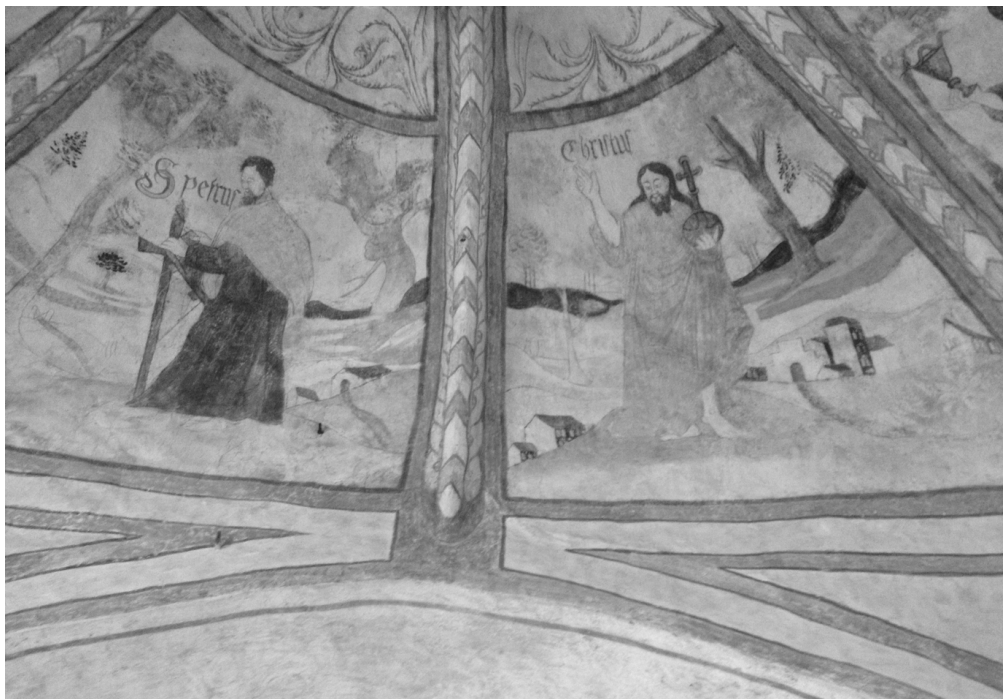


Plate 30, mural of St Peter and Christ Pantocrator, east-facing chancel arch, Tuna Church Nyköping, 1620s.

Plate 31, mural of the Trinity, west-facing side of chancel arch, Julita Church, c. 1600.



Plate 32, mural of Salvator Mundi, east-facing chancel arch, Julita Church, c. 1600.

