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**Traces of Reformation
around the Baltic Sea
– a virtual journey**

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Introduction

The following “journey” of Joachim, called “Joe”, a 14 years old German boy, and his aunt Catherine, called “Cathy”, who lived a long time in England, did not happen, but is based on literary and remembered travel experiences.

This small frame-story of these two different persons invites considering and remembering own experiences around the Baltic Sea, and particularly concerning traces of reformation in one's own biography and life.

Chapter one: A decision

As every year after Christmas, the family was waiting for the visit of aunt Catherine from England, particularly her nephew Joachim, called Joe.

Regularly, his name was Joachim, influenced by Joachim Slueter, the Reformer of Rostock, because his father was convinced about a very vague family relationship. 1990 the family has changed home – like many others – from Rostock to Flensburg, but returned every time, when the play about the marriage of Slueter was part of a town or church anniversary there.ⁱ

His aunt, whose name Catherine was influenced by Luther's wife, Katharina von Bora,ⁱⁱ was married in England with a travel manager, and, thus, had opportunities for free journeys, and was an expert for short trips.

Every year Joe was looking forward to this visit because his aunt was a well-informed and lively story-teller, especially about historical events. And she liked to listen to her nephew talking about his experiences during the last year.

“I have a very special invitation”, she started their conversation. “Because you have written about your school project concerning Melchior Hoffmann and Baltic reformation, I would like to invite you to accompany me, when I am travelling around the Baltic Sea. If you agree, we can start tomorrow, and return before school starts again. This is a very special offer for researchers of reformation and for adventurers”, she smiled.

“Of course, I agree”. Joe was excited.

This attitude was typical of his aunt. In his last letter, he had – beside of the school project – also mentioned that after Christmas his parents would be very busy, and he would have lazy times. Thus, her idea and invitation fascinated him.

Hofmann's journeys around the Baltic Sea motivated him to follow his traces to Copenhagen, Stockholm, Riga and Vilnius.

Chapter two: Searching in Copenhagen

The first arrival from Flensburg was Copenhagen.

On the way to the capital through a wonderful landscape by train, Cathy read a brochure, which she got from Joe's father, who was a teacher at the adult education institute in Flensburg and responsible for common projects with Denmark. It was about the church situation in Denmark. She was curious how a state church – like the Anglican church in England – adopted to modern times, and how the past, which Joe was exploring, was kept alive:

The state's support for the Church of Denmark today is primarily managerial and administrative in character. Since the Constitution of 1849 granted citizens full religious freedom, membership of the Church of Denmark depends on individual free choice. The Church of Denmark, which to a certain extent operates as an association in 2012 has nearly 80% of the population as members. Other religious communities are supported primarily via exemption from taxation on donations to recognised religious bodies. Denmark's next-largest religious group consists of immigrants and others with Islamic backgrounds. Around four percent of the population has roots in an Islamic culture, with considerably fewer individuals actually being practising Muslims. Globalisation and immigration has also led to significant growth in the memberships of Christian and Christian-oriented groups outside of the Church of Denmark, accounting for around three percent of the population today. There is also a large group of individuals, around 13%, without pronounced religious allegiances. This group contains individuals variously associated with, for example, Buddhism and Hinduism but consists primarily of non-religious individuals like agnostics. Similar beliefs are also common among members of the Church of Denmark.

Throughout 2017, the adult education institute marks the 500th anniversary of Luther's 95 theses with festive, innovative and educational events all across Denmark. The purpose is to give all Danes knowledge about the Reformation and its significance today. Further, it is the aim to create occasions where people can learn about the Reformation and its aftermath.¹

She remembered the visit of the Danish royal family in Wittenberg, where the castle chapel in Wittenberg reopened after restoration work in October 2016. The church has now a new frontal for the altar designed by the queen of Denmark.²

¹ <http://denmark.dk/en/society/religion/>

² <http://kongehuset.dk/en/news/visit-in-wittenberg>.

„It will be an interesting stay in Denmark“, she smiled to Joe.

He agreed, and read again his research results concerning the biography of Melchior Hoffmann, which he would finish during the journey.

Born in Swabia End of 15th century, he became Anabaptist after travelling as a furrier to Livland. Attracted by Luther's doctrine, he came forward as a lay preacher, combining business travels with a religious mission. Accompanied by Melchior Rinck, also a furrier, and a religious enthusiast, he made his way to Sweden. Joined by Bernard Knipperdolling, the party reached Stockholm in the autumn of 1524. Their fervid attacks on image worship led to their expulsion. By way of Livonia, Hofmann arrived at Dorpat in November 1524, but was driven thence in the following January. Making his way to Riga, and thence to Wittenberg, he found favour with Luther. He was again at Dorpat in May 1526; later at Magdeburg. Repairing to Holstein, he got into the good graces of Frederick I. of Denmark, and was appointed by royal ordinance to preach the Gospel at Kiel. At a colloquy of preachers in Flensburg (8th April 1529) Hofmann, John Campanus and others were put on their defence. Hofmann maintained (against the “magic” of the Lutherans) that the function of the Eucharist, like that of preaching, is an appeal for spiritual union with Christ. Refusing to retract, he was banished. At Strasbourg to which he now turned, he was well received (1529) till his Anabaptist development became apparent. Journeying to East Friesland, (1530) he founded a community at Emden (1532), securing a large following of artisans. Despite the warning of John Trypmaker, who prophesied for him “six months” in prison, he returned in the spring of 1533 to Strasbourg, where we hear of his wife and child. He gathered from the Apocalypse a vision of “resurrections” of apostolic Christianity, first under John Hus, and now under himself. The year 1533 was to inaugurate the new era; Strasbourg was to be the seat of the New Jerusalem. In May 1533 he and others were arrested.³

“Our other destinations are very interesting, too”, Joe was lucky, while Cathy read in the Book of Sir John Carr, about the differences between the two parts of the Danish imperium.

Carr (1772–1832) was an ancestor of her husband family who had made a lot of travels around Europe in the early 1800s, which he commented in his diaries. One of these journeys led him around the Baltic Sea, and had inspired Cathy to her adventurous idea.

Particularly considering the Euro- and Brexit-era and the fact, that three years after these lines, English troops destroyed Copenhagen and the Danish fleet.

³ http://www.theodora.com/encyclopedia/h2/melchior_hofmann.html.

With particular interest, she reads his illustration about the money:

*In Slesvig and Holstein, the only Danish money received is the Danish specie dollar, and the notes of the banks of Slesvig and Holstein, as also those of the bank of Norway. The specie dollar contains sixty shillings, or so many English pence, of the currency of Slesvig and Holstein is equal to five shillings English. Two or three times in the course of each post, our driver begged to have a little snap money. Snaps is one of the earliest and most frequent words which a traveller will pick up in Denmark; in plain English it signifies a refreshing glass of spirits. We always found our account in granting this request. The Danish driver is merciful to his horses: to equalize their labour; in the course of the station, he changes the situation of each of them.*⁴

Then, she noticed, that Joe was reading about Melchior Hoffmann, and asked him:

“Could you please teach me: How was the situation, when Hoffmann, went back in this region?”

And Joe explained: “So I can tell, why the next countries are also important for me:

*Melchior Hofmann, coming from Livland in 1527, reached this region as a furrier and preacher with his wife and child. Frederik I, the Danish king, was pleased by his sermons and had him given a position as preacher at the Nicolaikirche at Kiel along with the pastor Wilhelm Pravest. Before, he held his sermons in houses or on public places, which was a common ritual of Lutherans in this region (Husum, Flensbourg, Dithmarschen) since 1523, until King Frederic declared the Lutheran confession as obligatory. Melchior Hoffmann remembered later the disputation about his opinion and attitude concerning Eucharist in a imagined dialogue with a friend, where he described his journeys as a preaching furrer around the Baltic Sea by answering the questions by his partner by telling his story in the third person (“the furrer”).*⁵

He took some papers from his luggage. “My father gave me some copies from the archive in Flensbourg – it is not easy to read, but you can try.

Cathy took the papers and read:

4 Carr 22

5 [http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Hoffman,_Melchior_\(ca._1495-1544%3F\)](http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Hoffman,_Melchior_(ca._1495-1544%3F)) (cf. Krohn).

“You should hear everything. The furrer has been in Livland for some time, where God has opened him the eyes to see Christ as God's word and truth, and to preach his message. Therefore, he had begun preaching in Wolmar in Livland, where he got in trouble with the leader of the “German order”, who expelled him; thus, he had to escape to Dorpat, where he got by God's help. Also in this parish, as a lay person and a stranger, he got in trouble with Catholics and Lutherans because of his message. Thus, he was expelled again, but, with God's help, arrived in Reval, where he became “church servant”, but was expelled after some moths, too because of Lutheran accusations and rumours. Therefore, he had to go with God's help to Sweden, where he became the German preacher in Stockholm. Here, too, he was expelled after some months, influenced from Luebeck magistrate and under the danger of death. Thus, at least, he arrived with his family in Holstein, called by the king Frederick of Denmark, where he became an ordained preacher for the whole region, guarded by the king's order. Nevertheless, he again got in trouble with the authorities of Kiel, caused by his published interpretation of the Eucharist. Therefore, the mentioned disputation was arranged, organized by the King of Denmark.”⁶

She remembered that her brother told her about this issue. From a colleague in Kiel, he was taught about Hoffmann's troubles in this region, influenced by his allegorical studies of as "the last things", particularly with the senators of Kiel, calling them rogues and thieves from the pulpit. Therefore, Luther gave the advice Hoffmann should be silenced, for he was neither competent nor called to preach, but – at the same time – remarked in a letter to the mayor of Kiel that Hoffmann's intentions were good, but that his acts were hasty. When Hoffmann continued, Luther wrote to Duke Christian of Denmark, expressing the wish that Hoffman refrain from preaching until he should be better informed. Even more fraught with disaster for Hoffmann was his conflict with the Lutheran clergy of Holstein concerning the communion. This bitterness was the reason for the public disputation. This disputation held in the spring of 1529 at Flensburg Because his friend Karlstadt could not arrive safely, Hoffmann was indeed alone confronted with an audience of 400, including the nobility and clergy, met in the church of the monastery of the Barefoot Friars. The result: Melchior Hoffmann and those of like opinion must leave their home towns within two days after arriving there, and leave Danish territory within three additional days.⁷

As her thank, she gave Joe a paper, as a gift, where Sir John Carr described Flensburg 1804:
Joe read:

⁶ [http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Hoffman,_Melchior_\(ca._1495-1544%3F\)](http://gameo.org/index.php?title=Hoffman,_Melchior_(ca._1495-1544%3F)).

⁷ Following the information of Leendertz.

We passed some neat farm-houses, having the barn with two large folding doors in the centre, the offices belonging to the farm on one side, and the farm-house on the other; the whole upon a ground floor, and under one roof. As we approached Flensbourg, the country became more agreeable, and we observed the wonderful activity with which nature was every where exerting herself, in a climate which so much confines her to time : it was then the 30th of May, and the ground had been covered with snow only three weeks before, and some bitter winds very sensibly informed us that winter had not as yet retreated very far....., Flensbourg is a large commercial town, very neat and pleasantly situated ; it is well supplied with excellent water from fountains, which are placed at certain intervals in the centre of the principal street : the houses are like those at Husum, with the addition of strong braces of iron. The view from the quay, the river, and the opposite village, is very beautiful ; the language thus far is German, and the religion of the country throughout is Lutheran.⁸

“And what did he mention about the Danish people and towns?” he asked his aunt.

“Wait a moment.” She took her book and read him:

No respectable stranger can enter Copenhagen without speedily becoming the object of its frank, and generous hospitality. The day after our arrival enabled us to partake of the hearty profusion of a Danish dinner; it was given at the country house of one of the most respectable inhabitants of the city, and appeared in the following succession: soups top and bottom, Norwegian beef boiled, ham strongly salted, fish, pigeons, fowls, stewed spinach, and asparagus; the meat is always cut into slices by the master of the house, and handed round by the servants. Etiquette proscribes the touching of any particular dish out of its regular course, although the table may be groaning under the weight of its covers; this ceremony is occasionally a little tantalizing. Creams, confectionery, and dried fruits followed : the wines were various and excellent. Our party was composed of English, Norwegians, Flemish, Swiss, Russians, Danish and French.....

We found the population very thin, the land but little cultivated, and the solitary cottage, which appeared to cover more misery than industry, had rarely a little garden by the side of it. The only vegetables which we met with were small stunted asparagus and parsnips, both of which the good people here boil in their soup. The few houses which we saw on the road side, were, however, neatly built, with a light brown brick, and thatched. The steeple and the body of the church were everywhere divided from each other; whence their separation arose in Denmark can be no more

⁸ Carr 25.

accounted for, I should suppose, than their conjunction in England.... In Denmark as well as in Germany, the fireplace is raised about two feet and a half high from the door, and very much resembles that of a blacksmith's forge; the meat is baked, or, as they call it, roasted, in a sort of cheese-toaster, and having undergone the previous operation of three parts boiling: such is a Danish inn.... The Dane is a good natured, laborious character; he is fond of spirits, but is rarely intoxicated; the severity of the climate naturalizes the attachment, and his deportment in the indulgence of it, is inoffensive..... The population in both the provinces of Scania and Smaland is very thinly diffused ; except in the very few towns between Flensbourg and Stockholm, the abode of man but rarely refreshes the eye of the weary traveller. At dawn of day, and all day long, he moves in a forest, and at night he sleeps in one. The only birds we saw were woodpeckers. The peasantry are poorly housed and clad; yet amidst such discouraging appearances, their cheek boasts the bloom of health and the smile of content. Their clothes and stockings are generally of light cloth ; their hats raised in the crown, pointed at top, with large broad rim.⁹

“This is the interesting thing”, replied Joe, “what fascinated me, when studying the reformators of our region: Melchior Hoffmann, but also his accusator in Flensbourg, Hermann Tast from Husum, who was the first Lutheran preacher in Flensbourg and, Joachim Slueter in Rostock, who influenced my name and who became famous by a novel about his work, they all were interested in the everyday life of people: they used their language, and hold the worships on the market places or under a tree.”

Cathy: “As children your father and I have read the novel about Slueter. It was about a mixed couple, a Lutheran man and a catholic woman; their love overcame all frontiers with the help of Slueter.¹⁰ This message is very crucial for me – since I married an Anglican. Perhaps, it might become a model of intercultural relationships. But we will see – the next station of the train is Copenhagen.

When comparing with the diary of Sir Carr, they found, he was right in his descriptions over 210 years ago:

I remarked that their monuments were principally composed of a frame of an oblong square, divided by cross pieces of wood painted black, and the spaces between filled with atones.... At

9 Carr 33.

10 See the novel of von Wickede.

*Odense, which is a large respectable town, an Episcopal see, the richest in Denmark next to that of Copenhagen, and the capital of the island.*¹¹

Particular in Christina, they shared his impressions:

*I ascended by an external spiral staircase, the top of the church in Christiana-haven, one of the quarters of Copenhagen from this eminence the view was delightful; the city, its palaces, churches, docks, arsenals, and the little Dutch town which lay about two English miles off; the roads, the shores of Sweden, and the sound embellished with ships, lay like a map below me. Immediately underneath us we saw a funeral procession of a principal inhabitant, proceeding to that dark and narrow house, whose mark is one grey stone; the coffin, covered with a pall, was placed upon a bier, surmounted with a canopy, which moved upon four little broad wheels, and was drawn by a pair of horses. I regretted to observe that the Danes pursue the same pernicious custom which obtains in England of burying their dead in the city. There are people who live in the tower of the church, to give signals in case of fire breaking out, of which the Danes have a great dread, for no people have suffered more from its destructive visitation... This church was the only one which was worthy of notice. The Lutheran religion seldom arrays herself in the graceful drapery of the arts; confiding in the purity of her precepts, and the devotional spirit of her unambitious followers, she is satisfied if her shed but repel the storm of the heavens nor does she seek to attract the wanderer to her temple, by the elegant and expressive powers of the architect, the painter, and the statuary. The Exchange is a large ancient building of brick: within are little shops, very much resembling Exeter Change, in London, but more commodious and handsome. At the entrance nearest to the burnt palace the merchants assemble. A few miles from the capital, on one side of the public road, is a plain and simple monument, expressive of the condition of those who raised it: it was erected by the peasants of the late Count Bernstoff, in gratitude for their liberation : 'This liberty alone that gives the flower Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume And we are weeds without it.'*¹²

After taking a meal at a Turkish pizzeria and admiring the impressive multicultural atmosphere of the town, Cathy reminded her nephew of the situation 210 years ago by quoting an anecdote of Sir Carr:

11 Carr 26-27

12 Car 51

At Copenhagen I had an opportunity of observing, that a Turk in a Lutheran country can get as gloriously drunk as a Christian. At a table d'hote which I frequented, we were occasionally amused by a little fat follower of Mahomet, who had just arrived, with some appearance of consequence, but with a suspicious application to the Danish government: the musulman very soon forgot or defied the sumptuary provisions of the Alcoran, and became enamoured with some excellent port wine and English bottled porter; his libations, which were pretty copious, were generally followed by dancing and kidding his turban round the room; at length, he was suddenly told to look out for other quarters. A little facetious waiter was asked whether he had removed him to prevent his further augmenting the anger of the prophet? "I know nothing about his prophet," said he, all that I know is, that he has got no more money.¹³

Because his father had organized common projects with the university of Copenhagen, and some friends of the family were teachers or students there, Joe suggested visiting the main building, where pictures of the former rectors and professors were shown in the lobby.

One portrait reminded him of a similar one in the university in Kiel. Cathy noticed his considerations, and read the inscription:

Johann Andreas Cramer (1723-1788), the German crown preacher of king Frederik V. of Denmark, professor of theology in Copenhagen; later professor in Kiel.¹⁴

She remembered that during a conference at Cambridge about Lutheranism in the late 18th century, her brother had read a paper about Cramer as the Superintendent in Luebeck and professor and later university chancellor in Kiel, and had quoted a laudatio of Cramer regarding Luther's role as the leader of the souls.

Joe, meanwhile, found a portrait of Soeren Kierkegaard, and remembered a project in Flensburg 2013, organized by German and Danish universities and educational institutions, when the town was filled with figures of Kierkegaard, Also the schools were involved in the different events.

Concerning Kierkegaard's works, which they had studied in school, he was most excited by the work "For Self Examination/ Judge for Yourself, published in Copenhagen 1851, where Kierkegaard appreciated Luther for his defending the justice by faith against the justice by works.

¹³ Carr 61-62.

¹⁴ [https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:Cramer,_Johann_Andreas_\(geistlicher_Dichter\)](https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:Cramer,_Johann_Andreas_(geistlicher_Dichter)).

Kierkegaard mentioned Luther as “*only one solitary man ... disciplined in all secrecy by fear and trembling and much spiritual trial for venturing the extraordinary in God’s name*” For Kierkegaard a reformer must be a single individual with “an immediate relationship with God”, because God's word is *designed merely to jolt the senses or to stir up the masses, the crowd, the public, noise!* Therefore, silence to hear God is a core ability; thus, the reformer must be *disciplined in all secrecy by fear and trembling and much spiritual trial.*” Because of such conditions for a reformer *dabblers in reforming are more corrupting than the most corrupt established order, because reforming is the highest and therefore dabbling in it is the most corrupt of all.* Such spiritual trial, Kierkegaard describes as being someone who is *like a lion imprisoned in a cage; and yet what imprisons him is remarkable — he is by God or because of God imprisoned within himself.*¹⁵

Thus, Joe was very pleased being in Kierkegaard's home town, and having learned about such a famous critical follower – or at least trace – of Luther.

When he told it to Cathy, she answered: “You are lucky to have these opportunities. As you can read in Sir Carrs diary, that 1804 school education – not only in Copenhagen – was a privilege.

*There is a public school here, where a small number of boys are educated and maintained gratuitously, and a gymnasium for students of sixteen years of age.*¹⁶

And she added an invitation. “Are you interested in more pictures? I also got the suggestion of Carr to visit the painting academy.

*One of the large buildings in this place is the castle of Charlottenberg, part of which is devoted to the royal academy of painting, architecture, and sculpture it has eight professors and four masters ; the day for the annual distribution of the prizes is the 31st of March the birth-day of the prince, Frederic, who is the patron. Those pupils who obtain the golden medal are sent to travel at the expense of the crown. Such of the productions of the pupils and professors as I saw did not excite a very high-opinion of the arts in Denmark.*¹⁷

Joe thanked for invitation, but was more interested in Music, particularly, because his mother, who

15 <http://livingchurch.org/radical-call>; <http://sorenkierkegaard.org/for-self-examination.html>.

16 Carr 29.

17 Carr 39.

was responsible for the music in the church in Flensbourg, had asked him looking for the hymns of Hans Tausen. She had prepared him with some informations about this „Danish Luther" on a short paper:

In 1526 he Hans Tausen (1494 – 1561) was made a Lutheran chaplain by King Frederik I. Tausen was transferred to Copenhagen in 1529 and rapidly furthered the Reformation as well as his own reputation as a preacher. After the final triumph of the Reformation in Denmark in 1536, Tausen was made a lecturer of Hebrew at the University of Copenhagen and in 1542 became Lutheran bishop of Ribe. Papists began as early as 1527, to preach against “the sacrilegious custom of roaring Danish ballads at the church service”. As no collection of hymns had then been published, the hymns thus used must have been circulated privately, showing the eagerness of the people to adopt the new custom. The leaders of the Reformation were quick to recognize the new interest and make use of it in the furtherance of their cause.¹⁸

Joe's mother had added the order, also to look for a copy of the first Danish hymnal published at Malmö in 1528 by Hans Mortensen, or for hymns of Thomas Kingo, the first of the great Danish hymn-writers,¹⁹

From his father, he also had got a paper with an order. He had explained to his son that the idea of adult education institutes came from Grundtvig, who not only praised Kingo's hymns as the greatest miracle of the 17th century – therefore, the order of his mother, but was also a follower of Goethe, Schiller, Schelling, Fichte, von Kotzebue, Shakespeare and others, but first of all, of Northern mythology, the Crusaders and the biblical message, particular in the form of Luther's Catechism. All these topics were very interesting for Joe. He still remembered the verses of Grundtvig, his father has cited:

*My spirit opened its eyes,
Saw itself on the brink of the abyss,
Searched with trembling and fear
Everywhere for a power to save,
And found God in all things,
Found Him. in the songs of the poets,*

¹⁸ <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hans-Tausen>.

¹⁹ https://archive.org/stream/HymnsAndHymnwritersOfDenmark/aaberg1_djvu.txt.

*Found Him in the work of the sages,
Found Him in the myths of the North,
Found Him in the records of history,
But clearest of all it still
Found Him in the Book of Books.²⁰*

His father has explained that, also being professor of history in Oslo and other towns, the eight years Grundtvig served as an independent preacher at the Frederik's church were among the happiest in his life, and motivated him to become a pastor of Vartov, a large institution for the aged. Thus from 1839 until Grundtvig's death the chapel at Vartov became his home and that of his friends and the centre of the fast growing Grundtvigian movement. People from all walks of life, from the Queen to the common labourer, became regular attendants at the unpretentious sanctuary. Therefore, he, Joe, should also look for hymns of Grundtvig in Denmark.²¹

Thus, the next few days, both, Joe and Cathy, could be found in the many book stores and archives of Copenhagen, while the next destination was waiting: Stockholm

20 https://archive.org/stream/HymnsAndHymnwritersOfDenmark/aaberg1_djvu.txt

21 https://archive.org/stream/HymnsAndHymnwritersOfDenmark/aaberg1_djvu.txt

Chapter three: Swedish challenges

When Cathy and Joe arrived in Sweden, Cathy mentioned a quote from Sir Carrs diary:

*It is singular that- Sweden should abound with lakes and rivers, whilst Denmark, an adjoining country, should be so destitute of both.*²²

“Carr seems right”, she agreed, “but we are not here just for admirable landscape, but on the search for traces of Reformation and Lutheranism, aren't we?”

“Yes, we are”, Joe tried to remember the journey to Sweden with his parents some years ago, where they spent most time at a Swedish lake and in forests.

Now, he was curious for Stockholm and for their research.

“Perhaps, we have a key in Gustavus III, who, as a model for the age of enlightenment, also had familiar relationships with Prussia and Russia.”

Cathy interrupted his remembrance. She read from the diary of Sir Carr:

*Gustavus III., a prince, who, to the energies and capacities of an illustrious warrior, united all the refined elegances of the most accomplished gentleman: His active spirit knew no repose; at one time the world beheld him amidst the most formidable difficulties and dangers, leading his fleets to glory in the boisterous billows of the Baltic ; at another time it marked him amidst the ruins of Italy, collecting with a sagacious eye and profuse hand, the rich materials for ameliorating the taste and genius of his own country. What Frederic the Great was to Berlin, Gustavus the Third was to Stockholm : almost every object which embellishes this beautiful city arose from his patronage... It was one of the distinguishing marks of the policy of the modern Semiramis of the north, to embroil her royal neighbours in perpetual conflict with each other, or with their own subjects. The Swedes were too loyal, too good tempered, and too wise to quarrel with their Prince, and such a Prince as Gustavus III about the cut of a coat ; but they reluctantly adopted a fashion which had no similitude in the north, and assimilated them in appearance with a people who bear no analogy to them but in national honour, the subjects of his Castilian Majesty.*²³

22 Carr 85.

23 Carr 91.

“But probably all Swedish kings felt as defenders of Lutheranism in a very liberal way”, Cathy resumed and quoted again Sir Carr that *the national religion of Sweden is Lutheran, but without jealousy it is pleased with seeing every human worship his God in his own way.*

“Yes”, Joe agreed. In school, he had learned that before Stockholm, Upsala has been the capital of Sweden, and the residence of the high priest of Oden, He was told about the famous stone of Mora, on which the ancient sovereigns of Sweden were crowned ; the last in 1512 – some years before Reformation.

“I would like to find traces of Melchior Hoffmann”, he explained to his aunt. “Thus, Gustav Vasa, seems more important than Gustav III.” And again he cited from his notes on the school paper:

“The prospect of success in Hoffmann's trade took him to Sweden. The German Lutheran Church in Stockholm conferred the office of preaching upon him early in 1526. He married and a son was born to him there. He perhaps hoped that his position would be permanent. But King Gustav Vasa, fearing that the stormy nature of the preacher might embarrass the young government, requested his resignation (letter of 13 January 1527), and Hoffmann was compelled to move on. Melchior Hoffmann wrote three booklets in Stockholm.”²⁴

“And this was the time of Gustav Vasa?” his aunt asked.

“Exactly. Therefore, he might be a better key for our research”, Joe explained.

“Furthermore, also Olavus Petri or Olaf Peterson, the Chancellor under Gustavus Vasa and later appointed pastor of Storkyrkan (the Cathedral of St. Nicholas) in Stockholm is an important key.”

„I know“, Cathy answered. „He provided most of the literature for the Swedish Reformation movement, including a Swedish New Testament, hymnal, church manual, the Swedish liturgy, and many homiletical and polemical writings. His brother Laurentius became the first Protestant archbishop of Uppsala (1531-73) and responsible for the Swedish Bible of 1541 and for the church order of 1571 which facilitated establishing the independence of the church from the crown, which has been characteristic of most of the history of the Swedish Lutheran Church.”²⁵

²⁴ [http://www.gameo.org/index.php?title=Hoffman,_Melchior_\(ca._1495-1544%3F\)](http://www.gameo.org/index.php?title=Hoffman,_Melchior_(ca._1495-1544%3F)) (cf. Leendertz).

²⁵ https://archive.org/stream/olavuspetrichur00forsgoog/olavuspetrichur00forsgoog_djvu.txt.

And concerning Gustav Vasa“ - she looked into Carr's book: „also Carr mentioned Gustav Vasa, but only his tomb, buried together with his two wives – one of them also called Cathryne.

Joe smiled. “Olavus Petri and his work of translation show that language might be another key for our research for traces of reformation. In school, I learned that the main aspect of the influence of Luther was his translation of the Bible, and his emphasis on the mother tongue. This was not only successful in Wittenberg, but in many countries, including Sweden.

“You are right” , his aunt agreed. “Some years ago, we had a conference in Cambridge about this issue, and a participant from Sweden had a lecture about Olavus Petri. She gave me a paper with some quotes of him about the Swedish language”... “Here it is”.

Joe took the sheet of paper and read:

We now hear, good Christian readers, that the Swedish and Protestant masses, as they are held here in Stockholm and elsewhere, are not Christian, and that it is not right and proper that it should be in Swedish Especially because it has been kept in Latin for many hundred years. As we now hear that there is a lot of conflict and conflict between these matters, it seems to me to be good and useful to briefly mention some of the reasons which have contributed to the fact that the Mass is held in Swedish For the sake of those who would like to hear the Mass in their own mother tongue and yet can not defend them against their opponents and adversaries in the way they would be required. So that they know what to answer to those who are opposed to it, I would now like to show in their favour that the Swedish mass is by no means as loose as some believe.... Now improvement can not come from not knowing what is spoken, but the one who speaks in an incomprehensible language, speaks no one into the wind for any benefit unless he is translated immediately afterwards. And so Paul said he preferred to speak five words in the church, which are intelligible, than ten thousand words in foreign languages, for he wanted everything that was done in a Christian community to be spoken to be done for the better of them Listened Consequently, it must also be done in the language that the present person understands... Therefore, one must also admit that the Mass is not only for the one who holds it, but also for those who stand and listen to it. Yes, the show is primarily for her. Therefore it must be held in the language that is understandable, otherwise they do not benefit from it.... So you have now heard, more Christian Readers, why in Stockholm and some other cities the fair has been included in our mother tongue. And I hope that a well-meaning man, who can consider honest reasons, is content with such a reason. But he who is

*himself dishonest is not satisfied with a just reason, and with this one can not negotiate in this matter. But God give us all the right mind to recognize His holy will and to live with Him in this regard and in all other things. Amen.*²⁶

When he finished reading, his aunt added another paper:

“This is from a German participant, who researches about Johann Arndt. The historian from 19th century. Perhaps it is also important and interesting for your research.

Joe was very pleased and excited, because it was about language, music and reformation:

With the Reformation, and with the mighty and ardent spirit of Luther, the latter has taken a new and lofty impulse, and has retained this momentum for almost three centuries, to signify that where the spirit is, life must flourish and sound. For when many others have been dull or even dead, it has still flashed and faded. This sacred poetry of the evangelical was actually founded by Luther, who, together with his friends, made church singing one of the most essential parts of public worship. His disciples and disciples bore them to Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Hungary, Siebenbuergen, Livland, and so on. With her, and she propagated herself through her own enthusiasm in the following times. The Swedes, too, have in this serious genre many glorious names, which probably live in the most beautiful immortality, to be known and sung by all the people in the churches and houses. There are the brothers Olof and Lorenz Petri, Lorenz Jönson, Arrhenius, King Erich of the fourteenth, Brask, Rudbeck, Lagerlöf, Count de la Gardie, Lindsköld and Flemming, Samuel Columbus, Lorenz Johansson (usually Caffé Lucidor the Unfortunate) Gezelius, Kolmodin, Spegel, and still Bellmann around 1780 and 1790... The whole sixteenth century, and the greater part of the seventeenth century, was sent to the Protestant German universities by the nobles and citizens of Sweden. So there were few famous men and scholars of the country who did not read and wrote. Sweden's kings, who were connected to the German princes by family ties, did so in every way. But we know how people like to imitate those who are the highest. If this had already been the case in Gustav Erichsons, Erichs of the Fourteenth, Gustavus Adolphus, and Christianity, it was still more among the great rulers of the German Rhine Palatinate, who sat on the Swedish throne for sixty years. The possession of considerable German lands (as Estonia, Livland, Pomerania, Bremen), which were now connected with Sweden, and which in many trades brought German people (“Teutsche”) to Sweden and Swedish men to “Teutschland”, undoubtedly acted very much.

26 Information (facts) from Bächthold and Neumann,

Enough, the “Teutsche” always came right next to the Swedish, and very many Swedish poets of this period have also tried in some cases unhappily in German tones.²⁷

Cathy interrupted his reading: “ Before we go out to enjoy the modern Stockholm, I still have a few comments of Sir Carr about the issue of the Swedish language, which might give some hints.”

With these words, Cathy read from the diary the following lines:

The Swedish language, which is derived from the Gothic, has two different pronunciations ; one in which every letter in a word is heard just as it is written, such as it is used in the various branches of oratory; the other, established by custom for common use, has many abbreviations, and, in many instances, I was informed by an intelligent Swede, deviates from the rules of grammar. The language is very sonorous; it places, as does the Danish, the article at the end of the nouns, as in the most ancient languages, contrary to the English and German, as the man/ der Mann – Swedish mannen. Some of the national songs are said to be very sweet and to breathe the true spirit of poetry... The highest orders of the Swedes are highly cultivated, well informed, and accomplished. In consequence of every parish having a public school, almost every peasant can read, and many of the sons of the peasants are sent from these schools to the colleges at Upsala.²⁸

“Thank you!” Joe was very pleased. He had enough material for his own further studies on this topic. But now Stockholm was waiting, before, tomorrow, they had to depart to Estonia and Latvia. It was really a “motocross – journey” – but fascinating.

²⁷ <https://archive.org/details/reisedurchschwed04arnd>.

²⁸ Carr 127.

Chapter four: Livland – homeland

On the ferry from Stockholm to Riga, Joe reminds his aunt of his research on Melchior Hoffmann: He remembered his results from the school paper:

1523, Melchior Hoffmann arrived in Livland as a furrer; here he was soon drawn into the religious movement of the Reformation. In the shortage of Protestant preachers, Hoffman entered this service and preached at Wolmar until persecution caused his imprisonment and expulsion from the country. Nevertheless his influence here must have been lasting, for even from Sweden he wrote admonitions to his Wolmar friends.²⁹

“This is very interesting”, his aunt replied. “In England, we have a big Latvian community – more than have been in your DP-camp in Flensburg The pastor of this community is a friend of us, and thus, we learn a lot of their history, particular church history as Lutherans. Last meeting, he gave me a short booklet with letters between Luther and the town council of Riga. Perhaps it fits to your results concerning Melchior Hoffmann.”

Joe took the booklet and read:³⁰

In a letter to Luther, Lohmueller, the secretary of the town council in Riga, mentions Knopken and Tegtemeier as models:

Moreover, Riga, the most prominent among the other Livonian cities, with whom I am a secretary, is still more indebted to Christ. For we have two, tireless, and at the same time unconquerable, heralds of the divine word and of your teaching among us, one of which is one Andreas Tegtemeier from the city of Kuestrin, and the other Sylvester Tegtemeier from the city of Hamburg, brave, learned, devoted to Christ, and separated from the Gospel. For some time Andreas has been appointed for us by an apostolic letter from Philipp Melanchthon. Both are, however, of the same nature. Which one can only wish for a true Christian community.

In 1522 Luther wrote to the “dear Christians in Livonia, together with their parishioners and preachers”:

²⁹ Leendertz,

³⁰ <http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/martin-luther/luthers-correspondence-and-other-contemporary-letters-volume-2-htu/page-18-luthers-correspondence-and-other-contemporary-letters-volume-2-htu.shtml>.

We ought to thank God, the Father of all mercy, for all of you, gentlemen and friends, who have brought you to the treasury of His Word, according to the exuberant riches of His Grace, in which you have knowledge of His dear Son Of your life and salvation, which is in the future in heaven, and to all who persist continually to the end in pure faith and fervent love. As we hope and ask the merciful Father to keep you together with us, and to make you perfect in a sense to the same image of His dear Son Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

But it has come before me through honest witnesses that rottenness and disunion among you should begin from the fact that some of your preachers do not teach or act unanimously, but what seems to be the best for each one according to its meaning and distinction. And do not want to believe this badly, because we have to think that it will not be any better with us than with the Corinthians and other Christians in the time of Paul.

The town council answered:

Your paternal love letter, which, as we reported are written with your own hand and also Printed and which comprises the three main pieces: Faith, love, and hope as the entire sum of a community life, as well as fidelity, exhortation and irritation. Towards the Christian assemblies in Dorpat and Reval in Livland, we have especially eager devotion and great joy received. For what we are yours. Much love with full dedication. We also pronounce the holy time which our Lord Jesus Christ himself has predicted, in which the gospel of the kingdom of God Is said to be the most holy of all the world, the future and the completion of time; because the eternal divine word since our Lord Jesus Christ,

Cathy still was searching something, than she smiled and gave him another paper:

These are some notes from a Estonian participants' reading during the conference, which I have already mentioned. She was exploring the history of Anabaptists in Germany and Estonia. In this context, she mentioned a letter of Melchior Hoffmann to the Christians in Dorpat. Because I had heard about the disputation in Flensburg, and about his preaching about the new Jerusalem in Strasbourg, which influenced the so called Anabaptists, particularly in Muenster-Westphalia, I made some minutes of her lecture – unfortunately, I could not know about your current research, but perhaps, it might be helpful.

Joe was reading her notes and became almost enthusiastic: “Thank you very much, this is a treasure!” he shouted, and read further on:

Hoffmann wrote to „the Christian community in Dorpat in Lieflandt“ and wished blessings, grace and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

In this letter, he emphasized on what God has opened by his power, and by the wonder, and wonderfully miraculous, was opened to what was written long ago by the saints; therefore, his wisdom should be heart in all countries that nobody shall feel unguilty that Jesus Christ, whom they were waiting already born, and, thus, nearer, than people believe, all people in the world should rejoice. Also the parish of Dorpat should be happy and aware and watching, that they are not caught by the devil, who had had them for many times.

They should remain at the tree of life, which is Jesus Christ our Saviour; when he speaks, am the vine, ye are the branches: He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit: for without me ye can do nothing. he that hath not kept the host in me, as a vine, and perish, and they shall be put together, and they shall be burned, and burned If you stay with me, and my word will remain with you, you will ask what you are, and the host will give you rams.

Therefore they should be sure that who does not take Christ, may not please God, but who have attracted Christ, had crucified his flesh together with the lust, how the apostle writes, thus, they should become aware being justified alone by God's grace, and not from their efforts, because people will perish looking for justification by Christ, if they trust only trust in the works – even when as big as a ton (Fass), because the savior remains excluded; For the lamb has been slain from the world in the beginning, people have to trust in this that they are cleaned of their sins. Who does not confirm that, will be in the anger of God, but John said that everything is possible form whom who has trust. Therefore they had to pray together with the Apostles: God let us trust, because, as Christ said, nobody can trust unless driven by God. Thus, like Adam and Eva were clothed by God, they should be clothed with the Lamb Christ. People, who have been clothed with Christ, are made of God, and clothed with the sun of grace, they are born of the holiest of all holies; therefore, they should be diligent in love, and ask God that who had not yet been enlightened, would be enlightened by God's mercy, and did not care for her weakness, since she had been kind and since towards God., and pray without end to God before Christ as the altar of God, as Christ said: I you maintain in me and I in you you will bring fruit. Therefore, I suggest longing for peace and harmony, although for the moment there are quarrels between groups, which make his sun dark, because, there came enthusiasts who caused conflicts. The apostle said But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith.³¹

31 Krohn, 55-57.

In a small bookshop for antique and rare books, Joe found an old book called the Livonian Chronicle.

With the help of Cathy, he could buy the book, Both take places in a small Café, and Joe began to read: there was mentioned that the people of Riga sent their youngsters to the famous school of Treptow in Pomerania, where Bugenhagen und Knopken were teaching, but expelled by the Bishop Mannteufel. Thus, Knopken has to escape to his brother in Riga, where he hold his first sermon in October 1522 as an archdeacons at St. Peter, and get many followers from the parish- Catholics and Lutherans. As the „German Apostle“ he was particularly famous because of his hymns.

Thus, he succeeded during a disputation in St. Peter, coordinated by the Lord Mayer Durkp.

Later, Sylvester Tegemeier from Rostock became his colleague, who hold his first sermon at the first Sunday of Advent in St. Jacobi about Luc. 19,6 . When emphasizing the Lutheran freedom against serving and following pictures, many people began destroying pictures in churches.

Therefore, John Lohmueller, the chancellor of the town had written to Luther, who answered with his warning letters. These letters caused new conflicts with the Bishop, who tried to get the town into the old order – with the help of the Kaiser..

Although, most of the book consisted of anecdotes about the leader of the German Order in Livland, Joe was very happy about the treasure he found.

In this book Joe also found a paper with some remarks from the lost diary of Sylvester Tegemeier In the few lines, which could be found, Tegemeier explained that he was sent to Riga from Rostock 1522, where he was colleague of Andreas Knopken at St. Peter, but had his first Sermon (in Latvian) in St. Jacob at the first advent Sunday 1522, and returned there 1525, where he was a disputator for students and preacher in the Dome. In the year, when Luther was condemned by the Pope. He also confirms in this diary that Hofmann in 1525 was in danger to be arrested in Dorpat by the Bishop Waldis, while preaching the Lutheran message there. Influenced by this message, people destroyed pictures and statues in the churches of the town. He also mentioned own conflicts with the bishop Blankenfeld and his followers in Riga, who also was responsible for Dorpat.

His aunt interrupted his readings. „Look, what I have bought“. She gave him a book also showed a German book about the German Russian Baltic Sea provinces, written by J.G. Kohl, am member of the Courland literary society, and published 1848 in Germany. Cathy explained: „This guy wrote about his journey around the Baltic Sea only 40 years after Carr. But he didn't visit Denmark, Norway Sweden and Finland, but came from Luebeck, across Libau and Courland until Riga, and from there to Dorpat, Narwa and Saint Peterborough.

Similar to Carr, he emphasizes, the architecture, the commercial aspect, the hospitality, the countryside and the life there, particularly the noble houses of the German landlords, and also the noble and luxury life in towns, such as Mitau or Riga. He also mentioned the early times of Riga – and later similar of Reval as Dan-linna, the first Bishops and communities, and the conflicts between Germans and Russians, but also the social events and special days in the town of Riga and similar of Dorpat. His main focus is on the monuments of the town and the nature environment, particularly in the „Livonian Switzerland“ and the commercial aspect of the river and the forests. Similar to Carr, he also mentioned the journey between the towns, and he mentions some fairy tales or anecdotes, which belong to a particular place.

He seems very proud of the nature of his homeland and of the social status of the Germans; thus, he criticized the Russian influenced and is very interested in merchandising.

“If we had more time for travelling, we should have arrived in Tallinn the Dan-linna, Danish founded town – or Reval, as the Germans called it”, Cathy apologized when listening to Joe's interest in the letters. “There, you might have had a further opportunity for traces of Melchior Hoffmann.”

“No problem – do not worry”, Joe answered. “I have enough material, and I need our time here for writing.

“For a complete Baltic impression, also St. Peterborough had been a part of the journey – but we concentrate on Lutheran tradition.” Cathy completed the considerations, remembering the journey of Sir Carr, who spend most time in this fascinating town.

“So – let us have at least a virtual journey to Dorpat, which has been an important town for church history, because of its Swedish founded university, where many German pastors passed their studies – often combined with studies at German universities.

“This is sufficient”, Joe replied. I have already material about Hoffmann's stay there”.

He took his paper and read:

Hoffmann, who had written a letter for the parish of Dorpat, where he underlined his conviction of justification alone through faith and of sanctification of life, arrived there in the fall of 1524 he came to Dorpat where he preached against the use of images. This led to a fateful wave of

*iconoclasm (10th January 1525), in which he, however, did not participate . In the new state of affairs the city council was doubtful about permitting the furrier to continue his preaching, and demanded an approval of his doctrine by recognized theological authorities.*³²

“Thus, perhaps, it might be interesting, what Carr mentioned about the situation in Dorpat in Russian times.” His aunt took her book and read:

*After skirting a small portion of the Peipus lake, a vast space of water, eighty Werst wide and one hundred and sixty long, we arrived at Dorpat, which stands upon a small river that communicates with the lake. The town is extensive, has several good streets and handsome houses, and is celebrated for its university, in which there are twenty-four professors, and one hundred and forty students, one-third of whom are noble. Upon the summit of a hill that commands the town, are the remains of a vast and ancient abbey, which was founded by the knights of the Teutonic Order, now repairing for the reception of the university library: the palace of the Grand Master occupied the spot where the fortifications are building. The Teutonic Order was established in the twelfth century, and declined in the fifteenth... Two professors ladies had had a violent dispute at cards, and unfortunately they lived opposite to each other: one of them, upon a sunny day, when all things look clear and bright, ordered her maid, a plump, brawny, Livonian girl, whilst her opponent's husband, a grave gentleman, was looking out of his window, as a mark of scorn and contempt, to turn her back towards him in her chamber, and exhibit le derrière. It was a Livonian thought : the social condition of the country, the rash infirmity of human nature, the summary projects of pique, all plead for the urbanity of the lady, v/ho only in this solitary instance forgot the dignity of her situation. All Dorpat was at first convulsed with laughter, save the parties concerned, and their immediate friends. The most erudite civilians were sent for ; and after long and sagacious consultations, a bill was filed against the mistress and her maid, to which regular answers were put in, most ably drawn up. Nothing short of penance and excommunication were expected.*³³

“This sounds very interesting.” Joe was impressed. “But now I am curious what I can find here in Riga about traces of the Reformation.

“Then, I can help,” his aunt answered. “The Lutheran pastor of the Latvian community in London, in his own study about Reformation in Riga, did not only sample the letters, you have got, but also

32 Leendertz, 26.

33 Carr 291f.

material of Andreas Knopken, who was a colleague of Hoffmann. Here are some of his statements of faith for a disputation in Riga, which he has to pass – similar to Hoffmann – here in 1522.”

Joe read the paper, which she gave him:

1. *The true faith in Christ is contradicted by the works which seek to conquer the kingdom of God with their merits.*
2. *The second thesis deals with the thorny lamentation of those who here and there invoke various idols and attribute to divine life-force lifeless objects.*
3. *The so-called free will is sinful and comes upon all wickedness and infamy unless it is sustained by God's power.*
3. *Scripture does not measure works according to external signs, but according to the heart of those who do the works; For no one can work a good, unless he is good before. The good tree brings good fruit. And so the works do not make the good man, but the good man does the good works. But we are well, through the baths, of the rebirth and renewal of the Holy Spirit, which God has poured out abundantly upon us.*
5. *The priest's lips shall preserve the science, and the law shall be heard from the mouth of him that is a messenger of God to his host. But how is that? They are, therefore, crushed and dead, with unanswered commandments, that they have no time for healing study and reading, or when they have time, they spend the same way with beakers, games, and other infamies. .*
6. *The faithful are not justified by their works. That is, their works are righteousness, but through that righteousness which God gives through free mercy through Christ. For this reason, one does not come to God through works, and God is not reconciled by works, but by faith, which is subsequently revealed through love in works. For the believers, and not the works, are given the power to become children of God.³⁴*

“This is very interesting and important”. Joe already integrated the results into his research about Melchior Hoffmann. Thus, he could listen to his aunt only partly, who found a short text about Riga in the book of Sir Carr:

In the last stage to Riga we overtook a long line of little carts, about as high as a wheel-barrow, filled with hay or poultry, attended by peasants dressed in great slouched hats and blue jackets, going to market: the suburbs are very extensive. The town is fortified, and is a place of great

³⁴ Hoerschelmann,

antiquity; it is remarkable only for one thing, that there is nothing in it worthy of observation. The necessity of setting the washerwoman to work detained us here two days...

The Emperor Nicholas paid a visit to Riga; and during his stay, intelligence came of the capture of Erivan in Persia by his troops. He addressed the following letter to the governor upon the occasion:

“Marquess Philip Ossipovitch, My first visit to Riga, since my accession to the throne, has just been signalised by the receipt of the glorious news of the capture of Erivan by our troops. Wishing to leave to my dear and faithful city of Riga a remembrance of so happy an event, I give to it the arms which belonged to the chief of the Persian troops, Hassan Khan, made prisoner in the town of Erivan, of which he was the commandant. In sending you these arms, namely a lance and a poniard, I desire you to see them deposited in the Hotel de Ville, where they are to be preserved, and to inform the inhabitants of Riga of this my disposition.

Nicholas. Riga, October 26. 1827.”

The men are of short stature, with broad faces, heavy limbs, and long hair, which no scissors ever touch. They work, move, and do everything slowly, as though vitality were at its lowest ebb, and have no curiosity; are silent and sombre, yet pleased with music and song. They wear sheep-skin habiliments and live in one-storied, log-built houses, without compartments, reeking with wood-smoke, and bestrewed with fir-tips, hogs and poultry reposing beneath the same roof. Though strictly observing all the forms of Lutheranism, constant at church, whatever may be the weather or the distance, they retain many traces of Paganism, prefer black to any other colour, are superstitious with reference to trees, leaves, and shadows, and would rather have a grave by solitary river-banks or in silent woods, than lie beneath the churchyard sod. In these characteristics the effect of ages of depression may be seen. On the other hand, they are a sturdy race, not given to crime, and readily ease their consciences by confessing venial offences. They make dogged soldiers, and stand a fiery charge as well as any troops in the Russian army.³⁵

“Perhaps too much texts”. Cathy noticed his considerations. Thus, let us enjoy Riga with its combination of past, present and future, before we have to depart to Vilnius tomorrow.

35 Carr 295-96.

Chapter five: Luther in traces

On the way to Lithuania by Bus, Cathy read, what Sir Carr experienced on this tour 1804:

The country to Mitau, which is twenty-eight miles from Riga, is very luxuriant and gratifying. As this road is much travelled, we bargained with a man, who let out horses at Riga, to furnish us with six, which were excellent, and two skilful drivers, to carry us throughout to Memel... We placed ourselves under the wing of the Prussian eagle, and arrived to a late dinner at Memel... Memel is a large commercial town, lying on the shores of the Baltic, most wretchedly paved, and for ever covered with mud; yet the ladies figured away in nankeen (yellow) shoes and silk stockings, and displayed many a well-turned ankle. In the citadel, which commands an agreeable view of the town, we saw the prisons, which appeared to be very wretched. The men, and shocking to tell, the women also, were secured by irons fastened between the knee and calf of either leg.³⁶

“Although we are leaving the region of Melchior Hoffmann's journey, I hope, you will find also the last part of our short trip as interesting as I do?”, Cathy asked her nephew.

“Of course I do”, was the answer, “because we come into the challenge of Lutheran Diaspora.”

“What, Lutherans in Cologne, Muenster or Munich are more familiar than in the Northern part of Germany?” “Indeed”, Joe replied, “but such situation facilitates a particular kind of Lutheran religiousness, and this is interesting for me.”

“Then I can help again”, Cathy gave him a paper. “You remember the conference in Cambridge, I mentioned in Stockholm; it was about translation and Reformation. There was also a participant from Vilnius. She read about the first Lithuanian book, and she gave us the introduction of this catechism. Here it is.”

Joe read the paper he got from his aunt and again was excited:

Brothers, sisters, take me and read me, And reading, consider this: Your fathers fervently desired to have this doctrine But were not able to obtain it in any way. They wanted to see it with their eyes And also to hear it with their ears. Now ,what your fathers ever saw, Now all this has come to you. All men, look and pay attention, O Look the word of the kingdom of heaven is coming to you. Receive this word graciously and with joy And teach the family in your homes.

³⁶ Carr 298.

Your sons and daughters should know this.

Love the word of God with all their heart. If your brothers and sisters will not scorn these words, You will make God the Father and the Son dear to you. And you will be blessed under the eyes of God. You will have blessing in all things. With this doctrine you will truly know God And will come near to the kingdom of heaven. Brothers and sisters, do not delay to read me, If you wish to live according to the will of God.

If anyone wishes to sing a holy song, He should have me under his eyes. Hold me before yourself day and night And never cast me from you. If anyone will cast me from himself, He will not receive any benefit from me. I say that such a one must always go astray And must not know anything about his salvation.

Whoever should not wish to know and learn this doctrine Must be in eternal darkness. Therefore, you people come near to me And live according to this holy doctrine. You will drive away the old darkness from you You will rescue your sons and daughters from it If you will know this small doctrine of the Christians And will guide yourself according to it. Give up sprites, gnomes, and gnomes guarding the fields. Abandon all diabolic goddesses. These goddesses cannot give you any good But must destroy all eternally.

You have salvation and all things from this God Whose commandments you see here in me. This God created heaven and earth with one word And made men and all things in this way. He alone can help every man, He can give salvation and blessing. This God wishes to love all men greatly. He wishes to give the kingdom of heaven as a gift. The flying goblin and goddesses cannot do this But rather can push people into the fire of hell. Give up these goddesses, join the great God. All of you receive this doctrine joyfully.

This doctrine should correctly teach you How you should get to know God and also praise him. This doctrine shows the true way to the Son of God, Our Saviour Jesus Christ. You will truly know this Son and Father If you will know and understand this doctrine well. You see people without this doctrine erring And having a hundred goddesses (if this is large).

I know and dare to say this here That I would know one word of the commandment of God And would remember at least two words of the Lord's Prayer. If you ask a man, Do you know how to say the Lord's Prayer? Or whether he could remember the commandments of God, Or can you read the articles of the Creed of Christian? Or can you know anything about the salvation of the soul? The man must immediately reply to you That he knows better how to plough than to say the Lord's Prayer. I have never heard the Ten Commandments of God, he says, Nor have I read the articles of the Creed of the Christians. I have not been in a church for ten years, I have only looked at witchcraft with a soothsayer. It is better to eat a rooster with a holy soothsayer Than to listen to the

singing of disciples of the church. Oh, lords, listen and consider Hear these voices of your people. God will desire to have their souls from you Which he put into your hands to guide. O lords, all of you have a mercy on people. Send people to pastors and disciples. Order them to go to church every Sunday. Urge pastors to teach the people.

Ask preachers and pastors with one voice. Bet very much that they not hide this doctrine. If pastors should be too lazy to preach this doctrine themselves, You will be able to teach people in their homes. But it is the duty of pastors to teach people For all are appointed for this.

O you pastors, according to your old duty Teach people this: everyone has gone astray. Here you have a short doctrine of Christendom According to the custom of the old church. Read it and put it into the hands of every child, Both Low Lithuanian and High Lithuanian. Urge people to learn this short doctrine Without which a broader doctrine cannot stand.

If you delay to teach this short doctrine, You will eternally destroy your sheep. Therefore, O Pastors, have mercy on the sheep. Fear the strict judgement and anger of God. It is better to teach people the words of God here Than to have the strict judgement or anger of God. Therefore, take this short doctrine into your hands And feed your sheep with this small doctrine of God. In addition, await a broader doctrine every day.

And live long in the world with the will of God. See the word of God fervently day and night And accept my work as good. ³⁷

“I hope, you enjoyed the journey so far?” Cathy asked her nephew after arriving in the hotel in Vilnius. “Unfortunately, we have no opportunity to travel through East Prussia and along the German coast, when we depart tomorrow back to Hamburg by aeroplane, but perhaps, you will get some impressions from the experiences of Sir Carr. Here, take the book and read, you can keep it as a gift – I hope, I will receive your research results about Melchior Hoffmann in return.”

“Thank you very much”. Joe was very pleased. “Of course, I will send it to you.”

Then he began to read:

We waited at Memel two days, in hourly expectation of the wind changing, that we might proceed to Koningberg by water, instead of wading over a tract of mountainous sand, eighty English miles long, and not more than three in breadth in its broadest part, called the Curiche Haff, that runs up within half a mile of Memel, and divides the Baltic from an immense space of water which flows within one stage of Koningberg. During this period, I every day attended the parade and drills, and was shocked at the inhuman blows which upon every petty occasion, assailed the backs of the

37 Ford 14-15.

soldiers, saw no such severity in Russia, where some of the finest troops in the world may be seen. I observed, not only here but in other parts of Prussia, that every soldier is provided with a sword. The river which runs up to the town from the Baltic, was crowded with vessels; the market-boats were filled with butter, pumpkins, red onions, and Baltic fish in wells... Hoping for some fortunate change, I resolved to look about me, and after considerable fatigue, ascended one of those vast sandy summits which characterize this cheerless part of the globe: from the top, on one side, lay the Baltic, and on its beach the cordless masts and hull of a wreck, high and dry; on the other, the lake which had borne us thus far, and before and behind a line of mountains of sand, many of them I should suppose to be a hundred feet high, over whose sparkling surface the eye cannot wander for two minutes together without experiencing the same sensations of pain as are felt upon contemplating snow... About ten o'clock at night we reached the quay of the post-house called Nidden, and after supping, were brought into a large gloomy room to our crib-church, which was very simple: the priest joined the hands of the couple, and addressed them extemporaneously with considerable eloquence, as it was explained to me, invoking them to constancy, to love and cherish each other. The young bride and bridegroom seemed much affected, and shed many tears.... At the last stage, to my great regret, a majority of the party resolved upon seeing Danzig. It is impossible for an Englishman who has never left his own country, to form any notion of the Prussian roads in general, particularly of that which lay before us to Elbing: I cannot say that we moved by land or by water, but in a skilful mixture of both, through which we evaded, axletree-deep, over trees laid across each other at unequal distances... The houses are very singular; but, as they resemble those of Danzig, one description will be sufficient. The post from Elbing to Marienbourg is nineteen English miles, a tremendous long stage; indeed, an autumnal day's journey upon such roads, which were precisely the same as those we had already passed, except that we had the variety of an endless row of shabby sombre willow pollards. Our poor horses halted several times, when they had a copious libation of water, but nothing else. The German postilions seem to think with Dr. Sangrado, that nothing is so nourishing as water; and, what is more surprising, the horses seem to think so too. I have seen a German horse drink three large pails full, as fast as his driver could supply him. To cheer our postilions, we gave them occasionally some snaps, or glasses of excellent brandy, that we had with us, which the fellows drank... In the evening we reached Marienbourg, a small town once celebrated for being the principal residence of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, as I have before mentioned, who raised a castle, and several other structures, in a style of unrivalled Gothic magnificence, in the twelfth century. To these hallowed remains, so treasonable to the reflecting mind, Frederick the Great although a professed admirer of antiquities and of art, paid no veneration. The hoary pile has been beaten down, to furnish materials for building Prussian

barracks, hospitals, and magazines, and scarcely any vestige is left of this pride of ages but in the window of which, is a colossal wooden Virgin but little defaced...

We were thirteen hours in reaching Dantzic from Marienbourg, a distance of thirty English miles, through a country abounding with corn-fields, in one of which we counted nine bustards, each of them larger than a turkey. After passing several monasteries, beautifully embossed in trees, and the suburbs of Danzig, extending nearly two English miles, we reached the draw-bridge, and entered the capital of Pomerelia in the evening; and, at the Hotel de Lion Blanc, which was very crowded at the time of our arrival, we were very glad to resume our old quarters, to which we appeared to have a travelling prescriptive right, a vast bail and card room. Nothing can exceed the fantastic appearance of the houses, which are very lofty, and have vast sloping roofs, the fronts of which are surmounted with lions, angels, sons, griffins. The widows are very large and square; and the outsides of these edifices are generally painted with brown or green colours, with great softness and variety: in the streets, which are wretchedly paved, and narrow, and, if the atmosphere be damp, covered hankie-deep with mud, are several noble chestnut and walnut trees. The Rathhaus, or Hotel de Ville, is an elegant spiral structure of stone, with a variety of elaborate decorations. The prison is well arranged : on one side are felons; and, on the other, the house of correction, where the women are separated from the men. The feral prisoners, many of whom were servants, sent by their masters or mistresses for misbehaviour, to receive the discipline of the house, were employed in carding and spinning, and are obliged to produce, at the end of the week, a certain quantity of work; or, in default, receive a whipping: the prisoners looked healthy and clean. The Lutheran church is a noble structure: in one of the towers is a gloomy well, into which offenders against the catholic faith were brought and arrested; the stirrups and chains by which they descended were shown to us. The Bourse is most whimsically decorated with a marble statue of Augustus III., king of Poland, models of ships, heavy carvings in wood, and great dingy pictures. The Vistula, the largest and longest river in Poland, after springing from mount Crapach, on the confines of Silesia, and crossing Poland and Prussia, washes the walls of Danzig, and falls into the Baltic. Upon this river a stranger cannot fail being struck with the singular appearance of the Polish grain-boats, in shape resembling a canoe, many of which are eighty feet long, by fourteen broad, without any deck, and have a single elastic mast, tapering to the top, fifty, and even sixty, feet high, upon which they fasten a small light sail that is capable of being raised, or depressed, so as to catch the wind, above the undulating heights of the shores of the Vistula. We saw several store-houses of salt: the only salt merchant in the Prussian dominions is the King, who has the monopoly. The exportation of corn from this city are amazing; and it may justly be considered as the grain depot of Europe. The exportation of grain, for the preceding year, amounted to thirty-four

thousand one hundred and forty-nine lasts; a last being equal to eighty-four Winchester bushels that of the year before to fifty-two thousand four hundred and sixteen. The people appear to be at length reconciled to the loss of their hanseatic sovereignty, and, having no remedy, submit themselves “without repining to the Prussian sceptre”...

As we were walking by the Bourse, we requested a German Jew, who had the appearance of a gentleman, to show us the way to a commercial house to get some money exchanged... Having parted with my friend, who proceeded to Berlin, I went to Fare Wasser, with a view of embarking for Copenhagen, which would have considerably curtailed my journey to Husum... I returned to Danzig, where, without knowing a human being, for this city was not originally included in our route, I presented myself at the counting house of an elderly Englishman, a denizen of Danzig, and, in the presence of a host of clerks, detailed my story, and requested that he would be so obliging as to permit one of them, who spoke English, to attend me a few minutes to the post-house, that I might endeavour to overtake my friends.... The Danzickers keep a cash account of civilities, and never indulge in festivity without resorting to calculation.³⁸

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Epilogue: Joe's results

The next day, both departed to the airport, and by aeroplane, arrived some hours later in Hamburg. Arrived at home, Joe evaluated all his notes, which he made on the journey, and all the texts, and became again very thankful for all the experiences. Then, he began to write his essay in two versions – a longer one for the school, and a shorter one for his aunt (without the original texts).

Here is Joe's paper for his aunt:

Reformatio Baltica – what we can learn from a furrer:

Introduction:

When for Kierkegaard a reformer must be a single individual with “an immediate relationship with God”, than Melchior Hoffmann could have been such reformer, because all his rescues from troubles, he related to God's help. He reminds of Kierkegaard's illustration as being someone who is “like a lion imprisoned in a cage; and yet what imprisons him is remarkable – he is by God or because of God imprisoned within himself.”

Perhaps because he was no friend of hymns like Hans Tausen (1494 – 1561) the Lutheran chaplain by King Frederick I. and Lutheran bishop of Ribe, he could not pass a career as a reformer. But perhaps, he felt similar to Grundtvig, who found God in all things, in the songs of the poets, in the work of the sages, in the myths of the North, in the records of history, but first of all in the Book of Books. Perhaps, he would have appreciated the famous stone of Mora at Upsala, the place of archbishop Laurentius Petri, where the ancient sovereigns of Sweden were crowned.

Perhaps the difference between Swabia and Sweden was more a chance than a challenge for Hoffmann, because in Stockholm, he could found a family as husband and father, and could publish some books. Nevertheless, he had to depart again; perhaps he was a competitor to Olavus Petri, who published hymns and translated the Bible like Martin Luther.

Perhaps are Theologians like Cramer, Kierkegaard and Historians like Arnd right that Lutheran hymns indeed were of important influence on the efforts of Reformation – not only a strong faith and a particular temperament of a furrer.

Similar experiences he made in Livland, particular Dorpat and Riga as a “colleague” and perhaps

competitor of Knopken and Tegemeier, who both could enjoy the sympathy of the town council – Hoffmann, in the contrary, obviously became a danger for the Lutheran order. As a critique of images, he was seen as an iconoclast.

Perhaps, such experiences at last made him a critique of traditional Eucharist and baptism, and prepared his arrest and death in Strasbourg.

And perhaps his enthusiasm to look for a spiritual union with Christ gave him strength and forbearance. Many “perhaps”, which underline his complex personality.

In the following parts, original texts of Melchior Hoffmann will confirm, which lessons following generations can learn from the “Baltic experiences” of this extraordinary furrer-preacher.

Chapter 1 – three “Danish” lessons

What Hoffmann experienced during his stay in Denmark and Slesvig and Holstein, reminds on Luther's message of “solus Christus” and of the “general priesthood of all Christians”.

His disputation in Flensbourg reminds of Luther standing in Worms against Caesar and kings of the “Holy Roman empire of German nation” and became a famous picture of the “German hero” Luther, who emphasized alone on Christ's actions and message.

Lesson 1: Reformation means: Stay to your convictions.

(Text: from disputation)

While Luther in Worms had had noble assistance, which kept him save on the Wartburg after judgement, and allows him to protest, Melchior Hoffmann stood really alone against king and noblemen and theologians as a simple furrer in Flensbourg He stood to his particular spiritual interpretation of Eucharist, but got his power from his experiences of God's help in Livland and Sweden. Thus, he followed Jesus' suggestion answering “yes” or “no”, and to follow the Gospel in any situation.

For modern Christians, celebrating 500 years of reformation, such attitude motivates considering one's own priesthood and “preachhood” as a worker, educator, as parents, children, friends, colleagues, particularly concerning intercultural contexts.

Lesson 2: Reformation means: Make kings and beggars to followers.

While Luther took the position of the leading class (noblemen, administration) in his time – even to fight against the poor land worker (“Bauernkriege”), Melchior Hoffmann as a furrer kept in contact with the “working class” of his time – like Reformation in the Northern part of Germany took influence, because these groups followed a charismatic preacher, who spoke in their dialect, and invited to worship on market places, in private rooms, under trees (Slueter, Tast and others); thus, the authorities at last, had to make this movement an “official one”.

Thus, Melchior Hoffmann underlined Jesus' attitude of encountering with all “social classes” of his time, even as a little child, and, thus, of overcoming frontiers.

For modern Christians, celebrating 500 years of reformation, such attitude motivates considering one's own social background (“milieu”), and own resentments, stereotypes and fears concerning other milieus, in order to overcome them.

Lesson 3: Reformation means: Transform passion into music.

Learning from Melchior Hoffmann also means: learning from his mistakes and negative attitudes. One of them, which caused conflicts several times, was – ironically – his enormous passion for Christ. While Luther, the Petri brothers, Tast, Knopken and others could transform their passions into wonderful hymns, and, thus influence people's emotions and attitudes, he had only his enthusiastic words, which often led to be misunderstood and evoked fears and anger concerning lost of control.

For modern Christians, celebrating 500 years of reformation, such attitude motivates considering one's own coping with emotions and passions, and facilitates experiences with any kind of self made music – as a way to express and transform them.

Chapter 2 – three “Swedish” lessons

What Hoffmann experienced during his stay in Sweden, reminds on Luther's message of “sola scriptura” and of the “two regiments”. His books, published in Stockholm, explain, what his biography underline, and what Luther emphasized with his doctrine that each Christian lives in two worlds: as a member of church and of state. (Text: part of Hoffmann's book)

Lesson 1: Reformation means: Balance between public and private life.

Every person has different identities. This modern experience was already seen by Luther when describing a Christian as church- and state-member at the same time.

As already mentioned, such experience influences attitudes concerning beliefs and convictions, encounters and passions. Thus, it reminds on the current debate about “work-life balance”, which Hoffmann underlines by forming a family in Sweden, and by identifying himself not as a prayer, but as a furrer, who is praying.

For modern (adult) Christians, celebrating 500 years of reformation, such attitude motivates considering one's own coping with living in different spheres (job, family, between old parents and little children, as teaching and learning persons, between experiences from the past and expectations for the future, looking for new and fixed on old rituals).

Lesson 2: Reformation means: Share your experiences.

One of the core aspects of Reformation and its influence on many people, was publishing, and Luther was an expert of publishing and marketing.

Nevertheless, also Melchior Hoffmann, published his consideration as books, but without the appropriate marketing effort – being just a furrer, and not a theologian.

For modern Christians, celebrating 500 years of reformation, such attitude motivates considering one's own marketing and self-marketing:

Am I really able and ready to promote my beliefs and convictions, to explain them, and to defend them against critique? How am I – as a reader and listener to such message – influenced by the social status of the author? How important is it for me that he/she is a professional and expert, how am I influenced by academic titles, awards, by the academic style (statistics), and why?

Lesson 3: Reformation means: Learn foreign languages (not only grammar/words).

As already mentioned, Reformation was – first of all – a matter of communication and of translation – not only from the Hebrew or Greek language into the German (or Danish, Swedish, Latvian, Estonian....), but also from one real world into another, from one value-, world-view-, and belief-system into another one.

Learning a foreign language – which the furrer Hoffmann was probably missing – can become a

model for such particular kind of “translation”: Concerning past, present and future experiences, a “grammar of remembrance”, a “grammar of emotions”, and a “grammar of hopes and fears” is needed; concerning the different values, kinds of verbalization and communication are needed:
What do terms, such as “love”, “hope”, “trust” mean, when emphasized by

- a wealthy or a poor person?*
- a strong or weak, growing up or dying person?*
- An egocentric or a collective oriented person?*
- A (professional) religious or secular person?*

Chapter 3 – three “Latvian and Estonian” lessons

What Hoffmann experienced during his stay in Estonia and Latvia (“Livland”), reminds on Luther's message of “sola gratia” and of the “Liberty of all Christians”.

His letter to the parish of Dorpat underlines, what Luther had emphasized, when he suggested that every Christian person is free from external authorities but had to obey everyone, who needs help. (Letter to Dorpat)

Lesson 1: Reformation means: Think radically, act socially.

As learned in the previous chapters, Hoffmann's conflicts and expulsions mainly resulted from his radicalism, which at last made him an Anabaptist.

Learning from his biography means balancing between enthusiasm and self-control.

Although Martin Luther, too, was very sharp in his polemic against the church of Rome, against Jews, Turks, baptists and other radical reformers, he was assisted by sincere and integrative persons like Melancthon or Bugenhagen, who facilitated a “controlled” and “rational” promoting of his doctrines and thoughts.

Thus, very emotional, impulsive, and passionate people, who do not have such assistance, need strategies of self-control by systematic considerations and reflection.

Lesson 2: Reformation means: trust in God very deeply.

While his passionate enthusiasm was more a destructive than a productive attitude – and, therefore, also a learning model –, his deep trust in the help of God can be a strong example for further generations. It underlines that the intensity of faith does not depend on professional theological studies or on the life as a monk or priest, but can be lived in any situation in life. He also – as a furrer – encourages further generations, sharing such faith in intercultural situations and contexts – not as a contest, but as the conviction that this is a core aspect of life, even in a secular world. Therefore, the mentioned “secular” kinds of faith-communication (language, music, encounter, art, value debates) become more and more important.

Lesson 3: Reformation means: Live as a nomad.

The most characteristic symbol of Hoffmann's biography is the way – not the home.

Here, he is very near to the Gospel, which show Jesus as a “nomadic” person like Hoffmann, who promotes this message to follow this model.

Particularly for modern people, living in a “global village”, “jumping” from one continent to the other, and encountering in their virtual world across all boundaries of language and culture, such model might become attractive.

His biography underlines that theology, religiousness, values cannot be learnt from books but in real or virtual journeys and encounters.

Summary:

Why is it important, to celebrate 2017 not only the anniversary of the Reformation of Wittenberg, but also the “Baltic Reformation”? The biography of Melchior Hoffmann with its small traces and many “perhaps” gives some hints that there is something to learn from: together with Baltic people in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Estonia, Latvia and other countries, which – influenced by violent neighbourhood conflicts (Germany-Denmark), experiences of help and oppression (Sweden and Germany in the Baltic states), and of exile or Deportation in Russian and soviet times (Estonia, Latvia) – can only be found in this region, but completed the Reformation mosaic with valuable stones. Some of them are illustrated in this paper.

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Sources from the internet: see footnotes.

- i After the end of the GDR and the re-unification of Germany in one state, many inhabitants of the Eastern part changed into the Western part
- ii Katharina von Bora