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ESTONIANS AND DANES  
IN PAGAN, CATHOLIC AND REFORMED TIMES.

(MEN AND CHRISTIANS.)  
(MEN OR CHRISTIANS?)

Parallels and differences by

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## PREFACE

This paper can be only a very short summary of the longer work that I have intended to be ready next summer and to be written in Estonian. So I apologize for this superficiality the reasons for which are lack of time as well as my lack of ability to express myself in English (I studied it last about 15 years ago on the level of an ordinary lazy high-school pupil: enough for listening and comprehending, but not enough for discussions or research work). Also I ask you to accept my estocentrism in this paper and take it like something as the constructive elaborating of Grundtvig's ideas.

Fortunately I noticed already in the beginning of writing that all this plentiful material has prevailed over me (contrary to right way) and so I can warn you: here you will find some separate ideas and opinions, not the finished and entire written work.

So - good luck! Try to understand something, anyway.

## PREHISTORIC TIMES

The end of the last Ice Age in the territory of present Estonia was around 9000 B.C.

The first known human settlements here date back to 7500 B.C.

About prehistoric times a well-known and generally appreciated theory tells that Finno-Ugrians' primary home was somewhere around the Ural Mountains. From there they came in ancient times - so 3500 B.C. - and divided into several branches. The ancestors of the Estonians stopped at the coast, likewise happened also on Finnish territory on the other side of the gulf. The more diligent forefathers of the Hungarians went further, leaving between themselves and their kinsmen quite a lot of land and also became strange in the course of their further development.

In the second half of III millenium B.C. all Middle and North Europe was shaken by the migrations of Indo-European tribes. At the latest around 2200 B.C. a big immigration wave arrived from the South also into Estonia. It was the warlike wanderer tribe, who used stone axes shaped vaguely like boats, and spoke language ancestral to the present Lithuanian and Latvian. Some of them traveled through Finland all the way to the Arctic Ocean. They brought along with them herds of domestic animals.

The two cultures mixed and fused. The Finnic language prevailed in Finland and Estonia, the Baltic language in Lithuania and Latvia, where local tribes fused into Indo-Europeans. The borders of two big different cultural areas was established on the line of the river Vaina (Daugava) approximately 2500 years ago. Later it has moved North under the pressure of Baltic tribes. Though the people of the boat-axe culture adopted the language of Finno-Ugrians, they still kept domestic animals and many Indo-European original words. Probably the beginning of agriculture on this territory was also connected with arrival the boat-axe tribes, "but progress was slow in these northern climes. By 500 B.C. Estonia began to shift from the stone and bone age to the iron age, largely bypassing the bronze age because the metal is not native to the Baltic region." (7, p.14)

The racial differences between two big tribe-groups are expressed in the burial mounds: Finno-Ugrians had noticeably mongoloid lineament, boat-axe people had perceptibly more European features. Until nowadays

has mixing-process continued through conquest and wars, Estonians have successfully assimilated Danes and Swedes, even more Germans and Russians, just a little Finns, Poles, Jews and Latvians; in the last 50 years the nations from Great USSR altogether. So is very difficult to speak about established antropological type, but the most important thing that turns a man into an Estonian - that's his language. And also certain way for reception of world that is different with every different language.

"For one to understand the frame of mind of present-day Estonians, these prehistoric considerations are important. The Estonians live on ancestral grounds where their language can be tracked back for perhaps 5000 years. When they talk about hills and forests, they may even use the only words used for those features ever since humans arrived in Estonia. (...) Compared with Estonians, even most other European people are relative newcomers to their lands. This is not a value judgement regarding the proper mix of orientation toward the present and past. For better or for worse, Estonians have a sense of their permanence in Estonia. The emphasis is on language rather than race. Those newcomers who learn Estonian will fit in; those who don't remain aliens."(6, p.13)

Danish prehistory was a relatively confused time. Different tribes came into Jutland and the islands and then left again or stopped and at length mixed with previous settlement. Still is distinctly secreted the people named 'the forest farmers' of new stone age, who lived in peculiar longhouses. In about the year 2000 there was a sudden new wave of immigrants bringing unsettled and disturbed times and so interrupting the steady course of development. The newcomers introduced other customs and they seem to have been a vigorous and aggressive people, who soon concluded that they had come to stay in this rich, settled farming land and to take possession of it. This cannot have happened without growing resistance from the local population.

From far away in the South, perhaps right up from the steppes of Southern Russia, came a tribe of horsemen (the first evidence of horses in this area) and invaded central and Western Jutland. With them they brought large numbers of sheep and cattle, together with heavy plate-wheeled wagons - the first in Northern Europe - drawn by oxen or bullocks. There and then also extended their existence the local hunting people, named by their burial-places 'passage-grave people'. The newcomers - the battle-axe people or single-grave people, as they are also called - are recognizable by both their characteristic features in the mounded graves. Each is a single grave and the men's grave goods include their in-

separable companion, the elegant battle-axe, revealing them as proud and self-conscious warriors while indicating that their intensions in migrating North were not altogether peaceful.

There were other invasions, also of the islands, including the smaller ones, this time by the single-grave people. For me it is of special interest that the single-grave people of the Danish islands had their own types of battle-axe, often reminiscent of an inverted, canoe-like boat, and to judge from the appearance of some of the skeletons the axes will certainly have been used.

### LEGENDARY TIMES

The Bronze Age (c.1500-500 B.C.) marks a rich and independent phase. The flat graves of ordinary people are rare, and the large mounds represent monumental tombs to men and women of the aristocracy. Aspiring to the grandiose, they must have been active and creative people. A rich and powerful upper class, probably developed from large farmers and small chieftains, were greatly interested in extensive and safe trade, that was a way to procure the metal, that was in turn the way to their richness and prosperity.

Since Estonia was probably in this time less active in trading-undertakings and bronze was rather unusual - is probably reason to insufficient prominenting Estonian noble. The situation was approximately same also in following Iron Age. Their everyday-life was close to level their subordinates. Title 'king' or 'prince' was not in use, Estonians named themselves 'country-people' and their leaders 'elders' (and at least in the beginning they were elected - early appearance of democracy). But we can see that such equality, that was very well in everyday-life, was also one of reasons why "mission-armys" in 13. century were able to realize their policy of conquest in rather short time: everybody of small chieftains wanted first of all to defend his own lands and people, cooperation was accidental and unsuccessful. Seems to me that crowd of very equal people (who everyone means that he is a little bit better than all others) could be never able to grandiose actions as building the pyramids, travelling over the ocean, making their escape from Egypt or gaining the victory in defensive war against the prevailing enemy. They need the outstan-

ding vigorous leader or the unique inspirative idea in order to carry out incredible miracles.

I have already read, heard and seen some of these in Denmark : as marvellous cathedrals in Ribe, Roskilde and Lund; the raids of Vikings; success and multitude of archeological researches - realizing of this kind needs stabile (or at least temporary) central government. Also the great invasion of Cimbrians, that began from Jutland and snow-balled through the countries another barbarian tribe into much of Europe between 113 and 101 B.C. needed a kind of motive power. Though the Jutland tribes got no further than the Elbe, even the Roman Empire got headache from process initiated by Cimbrians, until the Roman Legions finally annihilated the Northern barbarians. Probably it was one of the earliest wide campaigns of Danes tribes.

Then followed the raids of the Vikings. Really grandiose affairs in the extent from South-Greenland in the North to North-Africa in the South. Through the Mediterranean, and also by another way - through the Baltic and the big Russian rivers, they reached across the Black Sea to Byzantium and across the Caspian to the Arabian Orient. And in the West, to America? It was the great empire of the Vikings.

What is interesting - the Vikings have mostly passed with a wide sweep past Estonia although it will be a nice settlement into their way to the Slavs countries. We don't know exactly what has been a reason - either the ill nature and dangerousness of local "small Vikings" (as would so pleasant to think), or the poverty of this area (as is less pleasant to think). Anyway - we can see this fact clearly on the map.

In the Bronze Age ~~have~~ Estonian coast-areas were in frequent intercourse with Scandinavian countries, from there came example to the burials into the stone mounds. Also have come from Germanic culture area the small-hollow cult-stones what are in connection with fertility-magic and with birth- and death-beliefs. In the Middle Iron Age have become more lively again connections between Estonia and Scandinavian countries, unfortunately in the way of military pressure. The finds from 5.-6. century refer to the rise of Scandinavian settlements on the Estonian coasts and Scandinavian sagas now began to describe the campaigns to Estonia. Yngling-saga tells that king of Svea Ingvar came about 600 with big army into Estonia and fell in the battle of "at Stein"-named place. His son Onundr came after that on revenge-campaigns in the first half of 7. century and left from Estonia with big booty. Hervarar-saga

tells that the King of Denmark and Sweden Ivar Vidfadme, who died in 675, reigned also in Estland, Livland and Courland. About 750 occurred the battle between people of Göta and Svea in Bråvalla; in this half-legendary battle participated also Estonians and Livonians on the side of victors (from Svea), that supposedly would be a reason of their victory - who knows?

SOMEWHERE HERE WOULD BE NOW THE BEGINNING OF HISTORY.

#### PAGAN TIMES

About 800 began Viking raids through Finnish Gulf and Ladoga, also through Livonian Bay and the river Vāina (Daugava) to the Black Sea. Along the water-rich river Volga flowed Arabian silver under the coloured sails into the forests of Northland. In Estonia have been found oriental silver-coins from 9.-10.centuries and oversea's weapons, that refers to trading, but after all the Vikings have been here more for the campaigns. Scandinavian sagas tell about raids and counter-raids; so have in 10.century Estonian pirates arrested and sold into slavery the Norwegian Queen Astrid with her son, later the king Olaf Trygvesson. At the end of the 10.century have the Swedish King Erik the Victor reigned again also over Estonia, Livonia, Courlandia and Finlandia. Though the campaigns of enemies were hard and excausting, still the troubled Viking-time didn't bring about the lasting loss of freedom - the ships of Estonians had adventures also in coastal waters of Denmark and Sweden, bringing death and destruction. Most famous example about could-be-extermiation of Swedish capital Sigtuna is in 1187, when "the pagans from Eastern Sea" burnt also all the churches and killed the Archbishop; Sigtuna didn't rise up from the ashes more and Stockholm became a new capital. (I have heard that Finns are pretending also to get "the honour" of Sigtuna-burners, but I'm sure that they didn't need it in 12.century, when Swedes were really angry.) The chronicler Henry of Livonia wrote also about the raid of 16 Estonian ships into Sweden in 1203, when oversea pagans burned the church and took away the bells and the goods of church "as the Estonians and Couronians are in the habit of doing" (15, p.23). The inhabitants of Saaremaa, Estonia's largest island, sailed to Sweden to bring the booty and women even in 1226, when all the rest of Estonia was calmed and baptized already.

So we can see that the same way of action as the Scandinavian Vikings were in the habit of doing during two centuries, about from 800 to 1000, was now converted against themselves. The Vikings liked to raid when on trading expeditions just as much as they liked to trade when raiding. They wielded the warrior's sword and handled the merchant's scales, it has been said, with the same dexterity as they worked the farmer's plough and the sailor's tiller. Piracy on the open seas and forays ashore were definitely acts of private enterprise, jobs that would be carried out when they were playing, anyway, the great trade routes. They showed no respect for sacred things and "none could tell whether the smoke from plundered, burning churches and monasteries would go on drifting over European countries for perhaps another two or three hundred years. But the cries of the many monks and nuns, murdered in their churches or dragged off as slaves, resounded throughout the Christian world, which listened stupefied. They echoed also in the contemporary annals, so that these dreadful massacres have come down in history as manifestations of the Viking period as a whole." (4, p.99)

Understandably it was imperative to put an end to such situation.

The Frankish King Ludovic the Pious and Pope Pashalis I turned their's attention to northern mission, rights to it got the Archbishop of Reims EBBO and his assistant ANSGAR, who is known later as "the Apostle of the North". For Danes began the history of church in 826, when Ebbo got the permission from Danish King Harald for mission-work and by the some sources also baptized the king. Ansgar went forward to Sweden, he worked 40 years very hard with mission problems in the North, he is also the founder of archdiocese of Hamburg, of which he was the first Archbishop until his death in 865.

Scandinavia was apparently a difficult mission-field - a further century was to pass before the Danes became Christians, but the chronicles affirm that it happened in full peaceful way and relate it with monk Poppo and king Harold Bluetooth, whose conversion to Christianity was about 960.

With acceptance of Christianity began to weaken the vitality of Scandinavian Vikings' raids. The travels to the Orient ceased about in the middle of 10. century and travels to the areas of the Baltic Sea about 1050.

In the 11.-12. centuries made a start with leading in the Baltic Sea the aggressors from its Eastcoast. The young states Denmark and Sweden took many pains with repelling the fast robber-ships what came from the East. In order to drive away the East-sea pagans Denmark was

forced to install the special system of coast defence in the beginning of 11. century. For subjugating and baptizing the Estonians were undertaken several campaigns and though King Canute II (StCnut) in 1080 "thoroughly exterminated the states of Couronians, Semgals and Estonians" (as says the chronicle) - still the success of Danes had not the durable results. Again and again appeared the strange ships into coastal waters and the villages and churches caught fire. In 1170 was all the navy of Denmark only with great trouble able to win the military forces of Estonians and Couronians, which had come to ravage the island Öland. This victory is mentioned as extraordinary. The chronicler Saxo Grammaticus told about east-vikings as about the dangerous and very sly enemies, whose retreating is as dangerous as offensive.

Understandably it was imperative to put an end to such situation.

The Danish King and the Archbishop of Lund tried repeatedly in the second half of the 12. century and in the beginning of the 13 to subjugate the Estonians to Christianity and royal power. Still the several campaigns done in 1190-thiety didn't reach the results desired. Also the raid in 1206 on the island Saaremaa ended with the crushing of fenced fortification, built by Danes.

It is clear that the changing of the manner of thought and of the ideology proceeded length, not overnight. Christianity seemed surely strange to the previous warlike Vikings by its passive, joyful surrender - they were so far used to be the subjugators, after all. But now they must give up their previous "Viking-doings" - of course, it was difficult. At the same time must they tolerate continuously the robber-raids, turn in front the other cheek and begin even to love their enemies - it was still more difficult. Especially getting on their nerves was that the churches, cloisters and Christian settlements what burned down, lay now in the own homeland of Vikings. It was probably also the most important reason why the previous Vikings now rushed into the mission-wars with great pleasure. But the crusades were not the beginning of christianization of Estonian pagans.

The first contacts between Estonians and Christianity have been probably in connections with the trade and dealers, as it is ordinary pattern of mission for native peoples. Steady intercommunication with Russian tradesmen caused likely the building of some Russian-orthodox churches into the most important strategic points. Already at this time started the running race of mission-work of different creeds. By the graves we can see that the Russians have had in the Eastern and Southern

parts of Estonia quite often success. But since 997. relations with the Russians started to worsen.

The Chronicler Adam of Bremen wrote that the Danish King was the initiator of the church into the land of Couronians in 1070, this indicates to us that slowly and peacefully Christianization from the South had begin coming. In 1104 arose the archbishopric of Lund and in 1120 wrote the Document of Florence that under Lund are subordinated also dioceses of Findia and Hestia (probably Finland and Estonia). Lund represented the Danish mission, but in 1164 was established the archbishopric in Uppsala that represented the Sweden mission and began also pretend on the region Estonia. We don't know, of course, what was Estonian diocese in practical life, but any way, now Archbishop of Lund ESKILD was in a hurry to ordain also the bishop of Estonia. The Benedictin FULCO from the monastery Montier-la-Celle, France, got this post. (That can be supposed - again all of them knew each other. This monastery lay near Reims, from where came the first missionary into the North - Archbishop Ebbo. And Eskild was travelling in France when he found Fulco and ordained him.)

The abbot of monastery Petrus Cellensis (who later also was related with Reims and later also became a bishop in Chartres) at first sent Fulco to Rome to Pope Alexander III. Now the Pope took seriously in hand the Estonian-business, he sent out several letters to the North.

In 1171 the Pope Alexander III asked the Archbishop of Norway to send for helping Fulco from the monastery of Stavanger the Estonian monk Nikolaus who is the pious and trustworthy man.

In another letter from 1171 he admonished the Danish believers to help the Bishop of Estonians Fulco, who was bearing the great poverty and penury. He told also about Fulco's diocese, which people Fulco was trying to convert with all his power and care.

In the last and the most serious letter the Pope appealed to kings and princes of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and also to Gothic kings to move against the Estonians and another pagans for the protection the truth of Christianity and the Christians. The Pope promised them the same redemption of offences as the visitors of Holy Grave.

It means the beginning of the end of the peaceful mission.

Fulco died about 1180. Unfortunately we don't know where was exactly his diocese in our land. But for long and patient work he got the title 'the Apostle of Estonians'. Fulco's peaceful religious way of mission which proclaimed the truth and love of Christianity with word and act, apparently didn't give these outer results, that the administrators of the

church and the states hoped. So started forced mission, that happened through war, especially through the crusade. And already in 1197 noticed the Danish king Knud VI, that he had heard nothing about Fulco. So.

Now the Germans undertook almost all the troubles of mission-work themselves. In the mean time were some relatively peace-loving bishops, but since 1199 began a period of really active mission: from the East came the Russians, from the South the Germans with their auxiliaries of other countries of Europe, from the West and North came Swedes and Danes. As can be supposed the Germans were the most successful, but they were also the best supplied for the mission-work (they had the armours, good arms, many war-horses and fighting men), as well had they the best experiences of the crusades to the Holy Land, to the Land of Jesus. Now the Pope proclaimed the last citadel of Northern paganism also as a kind of some holy land and consecrated Estonia and Livonia to the mother of Jesus, to Maria. Maybe it is the best that our people has got from this zealous mission-work - the celebrating our land to Virgin Maria and also the name Maarjamaa (Maria's land), what our people have remembered up to now and what has helped us to survive the hard times. This name still is in use as poetical or devout form.

#### CHRISTIAN TIMES

So also the Germans were the most zealous they also got the biggest piece of the cake. The smaller piece belonged to the Danes, who had a mind to carry out only some petty actions (in 1206 on the islands and in 1208 into South-Estonia, where according to L.P.Fabricius have seen the first time also Danebrog coming down from the heaven, but later this legend is alleged to be carried into the great battle under the citadel of Lindanise /now Tallin - the Danish Town/. Any way, the legend said that Danebrog fell down directly on the up-lifted hands of Andreas Sunesen, then got the defeating Danes the new force and Valdemar II could be further the Victor.) The Pope got in the beginning also something, but times changed, followed the years of portioning and redividing, and at last has the Germans got the whole (for this time) and the others could only feel joy about the successful action. I mean the Christianization, after all, it was the aim.

Further are now mostly the political history into what I'm too lazy to go deep systematically just now. Say only that the Danes lost their authority in 1346, when the king Christoffer II sold their part of Estonia to the Germans. In 1561 got the Danes though back the island Saaremaa, but only for the century. (Then was there in force also the Danish church-rule). There was believed to have been pleasant life under the Danish rule. May be, I don't know. But mainly Estonia was the responsibility of Germans.

I think that the missionaries are really seriously responsible for all actions that they have realized in the other countries. And if they have done something wrong they would try to make amends for it. But perhaps is hopeless to wait it, because the missionaries are usually convinced fanatics who don't want to understand their mistakes, even if they are able to see these. They just must be convinced - otherwise they can't convince anybody. Even if the religion is atheism, fanatics must propagate it. And if their conviction become watery - then is all over. That remains to correct the mistakes and results only. If it's possible more.

Though the beliefs of forefathers have prevailed in Estonia in the end of the pagan times, still seems that among Estonians have been these, who have taken themselves for the Christians. Probably have been the place for both beliefs in the mind of many. Seems that in the mixed belief of the period of transition the different beliefs endured peacefully one beside the other or were interwoven. The burials of both kinds are discovered sometimes in the same barrows. Doubtless the tolerant and open nature of our ancient belief has facilitated the adopting of the new God aside many old ones. Two circles of beliefs had also essential contact points. The nature-gods of the ancient belief were humanshaped - that opened the way for the cult of the saints which was very wide spread in medieval Europe. The knowledge about impersonal might in the nature was the key for understand Holy Spirit and for believe into blessing of consecrated things and miraculous force of baptism. Common to both is to believe in the power hidden in the word - it must be similar in the Latin prayers and in the old incantations. Though for the ancient belief was specific the lacking of higher personified Gods and the plentifulness and relative impersonality of smaller ones, probably just this let free the place for the Christian God. Also practical nature of the ancient belief has lightened the smooth changing of religions : maybe the Estonians saw the God of the Christians as the firm and trustworthy contractor, with whom it was better to be in alliance than in war.

Doubtless the prevailing of the new God over old ones became especially evident during the crusades. Probably began the Christianity still then

connected with fire and sword. The bloody acts under Christ's flag and missing the freedom accompany the belief-changing - decreased essentially the previous readiness of people to adopt Christianity. Before the Crusades Estonia was slowly but inevitably converting into Christianity. But the war of conquest cut steeply through the natural spiritual, cultural and political development of the country. The violent forcing of Christianity and the strong connection of the church with the strange new masters of the country - these were probably some of the reasons why the relics of the ancient beliefs have stayed alive somewhere still until the beginning of the present century.

In the mind of the Estonian people the temporal course of the faith-life formed one, not quite smooth process, and both phenomena of Christianity - Catholicism and Reformation, one after another - were the moderate shock for the heathen simple-minded natural people. No sooner was our ancestor able to get back his balance under the Catholicism that fallen on his head suddenly, than he got the next blow. It was the Reformation. Luther has thought it in the best way, no doubt, and he was himself in the pains and doubts (is his theory right or not), but this didn't help our ancestor in his sad situation. Instead of the previous polycolored world, that was securely placed around him, he glowered now the bleak, pitiless white-painted wall of the church. And was demanded that he must think himself, with using his own head. Must think - and as the result of this - must also believe. But believe in what? - it has been a very muddled question for the Estonians until today. One after the other have the dearest ideals and the holiest truths proclaimed to lies, and so has hung the fog of pretence and lie upon this little piece of ground actually until today. Also this is happening now isn't free of the wrong, but - oh, how human!

"To the 16. century the belief of Estonians had probably adapted itself to the Christianity and accustomed itself to sacred buildings. Taken into the bosom of the Catholic church they could continue the making a sacrifice, at least symbolically. The blessing by priest called to their mind the giving of might to the things or the persons by the magical words. The Latin prayers were surely incomprehensible, but with good will could believe that they sounded quite similar to the incantations". (15, p.55) The saints had found for themselves nice places between or instead of the previous gods and by their days now calculated the calendar. Into the old holy places were all over the land risen the numerous little chapels and the same people who had been there before continued now diligently. All of them felt very well already - and then suddenly must make all over again. Why or for whom

all this was needed, the Oldestonian probably didn't understand. But understood these, who wanted to make full use of the Reformation for themselves.

It's funny - if in Germany were the reasons for the Reformation: the degeneration of church-life, the excessive interest in wordly aims, pushing the spiritual side in the background - then on the territory of the Old-Estonia the towns and nobility wanted to make full use of the Reformation for themselves just for getting the secular, wordly goods and privileges. Just the same wanted our reformed pastors and the same aims have some of them as well at present. What about the aims of Reformation in Denmark?

Was so nice to read the words of king Frederick I at the diet in Odense 1526 to the catholic bishops:

"The Christian faith is free. None of you desires to be forced to renounce his faith, but you must also understand that those who are devoted to the Holy Scriptures, or to the Lutheran doctrine as it is called, will no more be forced to renounce their faith. Both parties believe that they are right, but as yet there is no judge. His majesty is king and judge and has power over life and property in his kingdom, but not over souls... Therefore shall every man conduct himself in a way which he can justify before Almighty God on the Day of Judgement, until a final decision is made for all Christendom."

Supposed that proper to Estonian nature is digging in own soul, exploring and boring and grumbling at own feelings- and thinkings-world until becoming mad. In this sense must be new reformed religion more suitable for the Estonians. But, so sorry, the time was for this a little bit wrong. Too early. The majority of country-people didn't understand at all what is the question. No explanations, at best they only heard that in connection with conversion of their seigneur also they are now reformed. So no reasons to wonder at the passive protest against protestantism. And they tried to conserve the religious forme that had become proper to them. So could the legate of Pope pater Antonio Possevino rightfully mean and write that by hearts are Estonians good and sincere, but into bad conditions fallen Catholics. Very funny, if now anybody from outside would come and make the similar analogical decisions: by hearts are the Estonians good and sincere, but into bad conditions fallen Communists.

It is not funny. It is unfortunate.

In 16.century the churches changed their look. The instruments of Lord, the Catholic priests and monks, relieved by the extremely venerable Lutheran German-birth pastors. But the social position of Estonians didn't become

better. On the contrary - if before the German and the Estonian languages both were subordinated under Latin, then now the German changed into the primary language, quite soon was printed also the first Bible in German, according to the Lutheran principles. But there was no the Bible in Estonian, even doubted that God's words could be mediated in so strange language. Of course, the same Lutheran principle brought about rise of written Estonian, and the further ascent of people's educational level at all. But we don't know - maybe the good Jesuits (or the other or the third) might have been able to do the same (and maybe better). And the preachings in Estonian, which were compulsory for the poor wretches Oldestonians, were not at all so effective as some other later religious undertakings.

I think that the complaints of pastors, which described the bad condition of churches after the big wars and miseries (like Livonian War, the Northern War), represent concise and symbolically the nature of local Reformation and reformed pastors. To write ever, to weep more and more, to bear all this bad situation with lament - instead of moving themselves and doing something concrete. Of course - noblesse oligé - and real church-master couldn't lavish his power of soul and body for so trivial things as the roof-repairing of God's (or his own) house. And so rained the heaven's water directly into the churches (or into his bed) and unpious animals walked unhindered in and out. But a church-master used his ability in more-noble way and poured out his indignation into the long tearful complains, wondered at the same time, why the peasants were so indifferent. But here is good to remember, that already from the first days of christianization the peasants liked much more the Dominican beggar-monks (who walked all over the country and probably intercommunicated as equal to the natives) as the elite and haughty Cistercians (though these arrived before the others and found out the untouched ground for mission-work). Something similar happened in Denmark, the Cistercians were the first, but they closed themselves into their cloisters for the reading and the best perception of God. They were not the good missionaries.

Here unwillingly come into my mind also the parallel with the natives of distant America, who respected more the Pater, who was able to protect his God also with the hammer and shingles, than the selfish bossy church-master.

Over are the times when the pastors' position in the Estonian society was on the grass-roots level. It seems that from the past is carried till to-day also the attitude of our Lutheran "Paters" (just a little from above to down). I'm afraid - this kind of persons are not the good missionaries.

What was fit for the humble brothers who did also the practical works

themselves for the praise of God, that wasn't fit more for the Lutheran pastors (in Estonian named also 'soul-shepherd'). And so they missed the souls for shepherding.

Here become evident the weakest side of the Lutheran church in Estonia. Lack of the mission-work. And so it has begun slowly, but continuously to lose its monopoly status in our religious life. Short-duration pressing of common-people into church during the 1989-91 (the culmination of the baptisms and confirmations) - are over. The curiosity what brought them out of their homes to watch <sup>before</sup> forbidden fruit, little by little subsides now, without all the Estonians converted into Christians. "The circumcision of heart" (according to Paul) didn't happen.

Mission - it is the going amongst people. And if the Lutheran pastors don't want to go themselves, so not the reasons to be angry if the others do.

The Dominicans of 13. century were the first in Estonia, who went amongst the people with their God. They found the good reception.

In the same way, maybe even more effectively, acted the Jesuits. Quickly they souked into national-language milieu, and prepared in their effective school-systeme the local missionaries, who knew better than the Lutheran pastors and preachers how to find the best ways to convert the country-people. For the Estonian peasants was not important whether the missionary is Catholic or Protestant. But if he came to him and spoke with him in his own language - in the language what was understandable - it had the indisputable results. Also today for the Estonian is not important WHO comes to him, but the fact of coming itself. And the fact of speaking the language, that is the most understandable for somebody - is it the language of money, of consolation, of miracles or of second-hand rags.

In the same way acted the Pietists. They went amongst the people, walked from village to village and found the supporters on the spot. The parallel with wandermonks are evident. Like the monks, who were only the instruments THROUGH which the God acts, so the wandering brothers didn't think that they were better than their mission-objects. And the people caught fire. The same apathetic and stupefied Estonian people, who even today needs the sticks to drive them into the church (of course, not in case if there are distributing something). The same unsociable, alone-glower Oldestonian was full of inspiration so much, that the new brotherhoods remained together for days. And voluntarily, not compulsory. The authorities must now take pains to disperse the people. They lived together in this faith, which nature and idea they now understood maybe for the first time.

In the same way are acting (maybe just in the same time when I'm doing here my more-noble written work, as suitable to the good Lutheran) - who?

The Catholic church is finding the good ground in Estonia again.

The Russian orthodox church is interesting for the young people since there is possible sometimes to heard the Estonian service.

New Age is interesting for intelligent educated people who affirme themselves that it's not religion.

Have arisen and now are strenghtening ever the religious phenomens, which are supported on the oversea material base, and cultivate the aggressive fighting mission: the Mormons, Jehovah-witnesses, the Word of Life, the bahai's, the new prosperity-religions, the fictions of old orient-religions, the Satanists, and others, and others...

And sometimes appear from somewhere some suspicious ever-smiling persons who seem as if don't belong to any religion, but who even have their own believers. For some time.

What would do now our Lutheran church?

To stay cool and watch how the last lambkins disappeare? - No, the lonely shepherd is not shepherd more.

To go amongst the people? - Yes, but it needs the work and efforts. It needs more workers than we have today. It needs the inspiration and a little fanaticism.

So what is right? - Who knows.

Maybe we can know it only after the years. Or we can't.

At present still we can pray. So let's do it.

I don't give you the references (otherwise as only in case direct quotations), because some of the books that influenced me strongly I haven't here and it would be unjust to leave out them.

So here are some titles of works that I read and that had effect on me.

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