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## The Livonian Church Ordinance from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century

Aleksi Lehtonen's *Die livländische Kirchenordnung des Johannes Gezelius* (1931)

### 1. Introduction

**M**y dear colleague, Professor of Theology and Philosophy Jouko Talonen, is an expert on the Baltic ecclesiastical history of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. He is also, of course, familiar with the earlier phases of Baltic history. With this article, I would like to congratulate my friend by contributing to the *Festschrift* in his honour and bringing to light a German study from 1931, a very essential document at the time, which to date has received little attention.<sup>1</sup> This 352-page work by Aleksi Lehtonen, Th.D. on the Livonian Church Ordinance was included in *Die Publikationen der Kirchengeschichtliche Gesellschaft Finnlands* No. 32.<sup>2</sup>

In my paper, I would like to approach my subject at two levels of history. First, I would like to present “Die livländische Kirchenordnung” – that is, Johannes Gezelius’s Livonian Church Ordinance or Order – by asking the following: what kind of document was it, for what purpose was it drawn up, and who was its author? For reasons of space it is not possible to provide a detailed picture of this Church Ordinance or its author, but the outlines of the document with a brief overview of its context, background and development, as well as a concise presentation of the author, will be given.

Secondly, I would like to pay attention to the scholar, Aleksi Lehtonen, and discuss why his study of Gezelius’s work was published in 1931. I would hence like to reflect on the Livonian Church Ordinance as an original document and as an interpreted work.

This paper is divided into four sections and a summary. The first presents Johannes Gezelius himself within the Livonian context. The second section focuses on the Livonian Church Ordinance, the third on the author Aleksi Lehtonen, and in the fourth the commentary concerning the Livonian Church Ordinance is discussed.

### 2. Who was Johannes Gezelius and what were his connections with Livonia?

Johannes Gezelius (1615–1690) – or, to be exact, Johannes Gezelius the Older or Senior (henceforth Gezelius) – had a significant ecclesiastical life and career in the Swedish Church during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. For example, he served as a lecturer, parish rector (Pastor Primarius), professor, vice chancellor, superintendent and bishop in Sweden, Livonia and Finland in 1649–1690. He was a learned man in many ways, who, among other things, knew how to read and understand the original languages of the Bible.

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1 Kjöllerström 1944, 301–302, 318 and Laasonen 1977, 436–439 discuss the Livonian Church Ordinance only briefly, mainly in the light of Lehtonen 1931b. In addition, the research in question is not mentioned in Lehtonen’s biography, which was published in 2001 (see Lauha 2001, 1). Concerning ecclesiastical life in Livonia, Doc. Dr. habil. Darius Petkūnas has brought to light in his doctoral thesis at the University of Helsinki (2004, published in 2007; see also Petkūnas 2012; 2015) the mass orders with supplements used throughout Livonia, including Courland, Estonia and Oesel in the 16<sup>th</sup> and the early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In addition to those liturgical documents, other documents concerning ecclesiastical legislation do exist, namely, several 16<sup>th</sup>-century Church Ordinances of German origin with liturgical contents.

2 The name of the publication series in Finnish is “Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia”, in Swedish “Finska Kyrkohistoriska Samfundets Handlingar” and in English “The Publications of the Finnish Society of Church History”. **Photo by the author.**

He was familiar with the ecclesiastical legislation of his time, as well as the common educational system and especially elementary education.

From 1632, Gezelius studied at Swedish universities, first in Uppsala and then in Tartu, where he was transferred in 1638. In 1625, the Swedes took Tartu from Polish control. Gaining the Tartu diocese of Livonia, Sweden needed young talent and ambitious men there. Gezelius, who knew about the circumstances in Livonia, was an ideal candidate to serve the Swedish administration. Gezelius graduated from the University of Tartu with a Master's degree in Philosophy in 1641.

After his graduation, Gezelius stayed in Tartu to consolidate Swedish power there. Between 1642 and 1649, he served as Professor of Greek and Oriental Languages at the University of Tartu. In addition, Gezelius worked as an extraordinary Professor of Theology at the same university from 1643 to 1649. He was appointed a member of the Main Consistory of Livonia in 1645 and kept this post until 1649.

During the 1640s in Tartu, Gezelius was enthusiastic about a common understanding between Lutherans and Calvinists concerning doctrinal issues. In 1645, he participated in the religious debate in Thorn (Toruń), Poland on such matters. The intention was to become a member of the theological Conciliation Committee, which was to be established at the end of the 1640s. Although this committee was not yet established in 1645, this same goal was one reason why Gezelius left Tartu in 1649, in order to further qualify himself for the task.

Concurrently, the leading men of the Swedish government and Church considered Gezelius suitable for the most important positions. When he travelled back to Sweden in 1649, he served first as Lecturer of Theology and as Rector in 1650–1660. During this period, he had time to do postgraduate studies. In 1661, Gezelius completed these by gaining a doctoral degree in theology at the University of Uppsala.

During the 1650s, Gezelius served as an assistant to Bishop Olaus Laurelius (Bishop of Västerås, 1647–1670). Bishop Laurelius was a member of the committee to draw up a new Church Act and Ordinance for the Church of Sweden. As an assistant and later as a member of this Committee, Gezelius studied the principal ideas and practical issues concerning ecclesiastical legislation. In addition, along with Bishop Laurelius, he drew up a proposal for the new Church Act and attempted to get support for it among the clergy.

In 1660, Gezelius was needed for significant positions in Livonia. Hence, he returned to Tartu, where he was appointed the Superintendent of Livonia and Vice Chancellor of the University of Tartu. In the following year, Gezelius began to serve as Rector of the Swedish parish in Riga. He worked in this position for three years. In this way he fulfilled all expectations placed upon him because he was considered a scholar and an accomplished theologian, despite the fact that he had not studied abroad. One of his duties was to draw up proposals in order to organize the ecclesiastical conditions in Livonia and to organize the ecclesiastical legislation for this purpose.<sup>3</sup>

### 3. “Die livländische Kirchenordnung”

The geographical area called Livonia was a historical territory in the Baltic region covering the southern parts of modern-day Estonia, present-day Latvia, the northern parts of modern-day Lithuania and Oesel (Saaremaa) (see map below).<sup>4</sup> The name Livonia comes from the people known as Livonians, who inhabited this area.<sup>5</sup>

The political domain of Livonia was created by the Teutonic Order, who conquered the territory at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when it was called Old Livonia. It was held by the Livonian Confederation until the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Livonia was fought over by Russians, Swedes, Danes and the

3 The second section of this paper is based on Laasonen 1997, 1; Zetterberg 2007, 236, 237.

4 ~~The map is based on <https://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vironmaa#/media/File:17cenBaltic.jpg>. Accessed 15.3.201~~

5 Chrisholm 1911, 816–817.

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As a result of these wars, Livonia, including the city of Riga, was controlled by the Swedes from 1629; Oesel was won in 1645.<sup>6</sup>

Estonia and Livonia were ruled by the Swedes as two administrative territories, the Duchy of Estonia and the Governorate-General of Livonia. The administration was organized according to the Swedish model, and this political territory was called Livonia to distinguish it from the “old Lithuania”.<sup>7</sup>

The Livonian Church Ordinance was part of ecclesiastical legislation in which Church acts or laws, as well as mass orders, agendas for ecclesiastical activities, and hymnals are all included. The common feature of such legislation was that the decision-making authorities and organizations of the Church had decided it to be necessary; having accepted it, they ordered it to be brought into effect. The concept of the Church Ordinance contains orders and directives of different kinds given by the Church for implementation in everyday life.<sup>8</sup>

After the annexation of Livonia in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Swedes made several attempts to formulate and establish a form of ecclesiastical legislation which would also regulate liturgical worship in the congregations. In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there was no official printed Church Ordinance at all. However, the Church Ordinance used in Courland from 1568 also served as an ordinance in Livonia, although it was considered an outdated one. It is in this context that Gezelius’s Livonian Church Ordinance can be understood. His draft for the document is the most notable attempt.<sup>9</sup>

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the problem concerning church legislation became an issue in Sweden as well. Archbishop Laurentius Petri’s Church Ordinance from 1571 was falling out of date and a new one did not exist. This problem was solved by giving detailed orders and directives, which were drafted in dioceses to supplement the 1571 Church Ordinance from 1571. For example, Bishop Johannes Gezelius drew up such a document called “Perbreves commonitiones” for his bishopric in the early 1670s when he served as Bishop of Turku (1665–1690). Thus, the Livonian Church Ordinance was not the only document concerned with the ecclesiastical legislative draft in those days.<sup>10</sup>

Gezelius started to prepare and compile this order in 1660 when he was Superintendent of the Livonian Church. Thus, he knew about the practical problems of not having ecclesiastical legislation. In addition, he was very familiar with Baltic issues because of his studies, his professorship and his membership in the Main Consistory in Tartu during the 1640s. In 1662, he compiled short specific diocesan regulations for the Livonian Church based on corresponding Swedish models. The regulations especially concerned the practices of baptism, marriage and funerals. In the same year, while was visiting Stockholm, Gezelius proposed the compilation of a new Church Ordinance for Livonia. He initially received a positive response from the Swedish authorities, but he was later ordered to comply in Livonia with the Swedish Church Ordinance from 1571. The reason for this was for common ecclesiastical legislation to be complied with everywhere in Sweden. However, Gezelius interpreted this order to mean that the future Church Ordinance should be integrated with Swedish national legislation. For this purpose, in 1663 he compiled some outlines regarding certain parts of the Church Ordinance.<sup>11</sup>

In 1664, Gezelius tried to create a new ecclesiastical legislation for Livonia by bringing up his concern about the lack. Furthermore, he compiled minor orders (for example, a synodal agreement, comprising orders given by the Superintendent). He continued his efforts to secure the new Church Ordinance even after becoming Bishop of Turku. On the basis of a proposal by Governor-General Bengt Bengtsson

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6 Zetterberg 1995, 36–55.

7 Zetterberg 1995, 55–57.

8 See, e.g., Kjällerström 1971, 201–248; Parvio 1986, 94–104.

9 Lehtonen 1931b, 9–24; Petkūnas 2018. The author of this paper is grateful to Doc. Dr. habil. Darius Petkūnas for his observations and comments concerning the compilation process that Gezelius employed to draw up the Livonian Church Ordinance.

10 Lehtonen 1931b, 55–56.

11 Lehtonen 1931b, 71–73, *passim*; Kjällerström 1944, 301–302, 318; Laasonen 1977, 436–437.

Oxenstierna (1591–1643) made to the regime of King Carl XI (reigned 1660–1697), the administration ordered Gezelius and Superintendent of Gothenburg Zacharias Klingius (1610–1671) to compile the new Church Ordinance for Livonia. Gezelius carefully attended to this work by studying corresponding German Ordinances. Furthermore, he asked for a copy of “a new Church Ordinance”, that is, the proposal compiled by bishop and professor Erik Emporagrius (1606–1674; Bishop of Strängnäs, 1664–1674). In addition, Gezelius travelled to Livonia to study earlier orders and the regulations found in local archives. The final proposal for the Livonian Church Ordinance was completed in autumn 1668.<sup>12</sup>

The Livonian Church Ordinance was sent to the royal regime in Stockholm, the Superintendent of the Livonian Church and other distinguished theologians, as well as to the General-Governor of Livonia. Despite Gezelius’s expertise, political and ecclesiastical leaders did not accept his draft. Notwithstanding this, it is thought to have been in use in Livonia. One reason for the negative reaction to Gezelius’s proposal might have been the controversy between King Carl XI and clergymen concerning the monarch’s absolute authority over the Church. This dispute was not solved until the 1680s, when the king accepted a new Swedish Church Act and Ordinance in 1686. Although the Livonians had no proper ecclesiastical legislation until the publication of this new Swedish Church Act and Ordinance, the process of acquiring new ecclesiastical legislation in Sweden was ongoing throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup>

Why did the regime of King Carl XI choose Gezelius to draw up a Church Ordinance for the Livonian Church? Likely, he was the best man for this work, because he was very familiar with the principal ideas and practical issues concerning ecclesiastical acts and orders. He had served as an assistant of Bishop Olaus Laurelius and as a member of the committee to compile a new Church Act and Ordinance for the Church of Sweden. Accordingly, he knew the exact conditions of the Livonian and Swedish Churches and could compare them. He was also well aware of the problems of drafting ecclesiastical legislation in Sweden in the 1660s, being well aware of the dispute between the king and the clergy over the former’s absolute authority of the Church.<sup>14</sup>

This dispute was in turn connected with the policy to construct a centralized, unified superpower – an empire, so to speak – in the region of the Baltic Sea. The aim here was to have solid and robust support for the government by means of a common faith coordinated by the state-controlled Church. Therefore, the King claimed a mandate given by God for absolute authority.<sup>15</sup> In fact, the same ideological policy seems to have been followed in the Baltic countries during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as Professor Talonen has demonstrated in his studies.<sup>16</sup>

Because Gezelius’s draft was not accepted, it was never published. According to Lehtonen, the extensive manuscript was found in the Archiv der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga, Handschriftsammlung Msc. 559. Even though searches have been made during the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and early 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, this document has not been found.<sup>17</sup>

The document in question was called “Die Kirchenordnung” in German (that is, the Church Ordinance), a title which could be explained by the tradition in Livonia and Sweden, as well as in Germany. That is to say, there were several Church Ordinances of German origin used in Livonia and a Church Ordinance from 1571 in Sweden. The concept of a church act or law was not used in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and during the three first quarters of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as it was interpreted as referring to canon law, that is, the legislation of the Catholic Church from which the Lutheran and Protestant theologians wanted to be separated.

Gezelius divided the Livonian Church Ordinance into two books (*libri*). In addition, each book was divided into several chapters, together making ten. In turn, the chapters were divided either into sections

12 Lehtonen 1931b, 75–76; Laasonen 1977, 437–438.

13 Lehtonen 1931b, 76–77; Laasonen 1977, 438.

14 Lehtonen 1931b, 57–60; Parvio 1986, 94–104.

15 See, e.g., Parvio 1984, 247–257.

16 See, e.g., Talonen 1997; see also Petkūnas 2011; 2014.

17 Lehtonen 1931b, 5.

or parts (*partis*) with sections. Gezelius wished to add a third and fourth book, but those books only existed as fragments in the manuscript.<sup>18</sup>

Space does not allow a detailed discussion of the Livonian Church Ordinance in detail, but the table of contents gives an idea of what the two books contained. The first book consisted of chapters concerning Christian doctrine, Christian education during the ecclesiastical year, sermons, the catechism, hymns and songs, prayers and ecclesiastical ceremonies, baptism, the churching of women who had recently given birth, Confession, Holy Communion, church discipline, matrimony, visiting the sick and imprisoned, and funerals.<sup>19</sup> The second book consisted of chapters regarding the office of the minister (*Predigtamt* in German), the installation of the pastor, the election of superintendents, members of the parish council, miserable times of plague and war, the consistory, the synod, visitation, and members of the parish (*Zuhörer* in German).<sup>20</sup>

In sum, the Livonian Church Ordinance can be considered to contain a collection of directives and orders concerning belief, ecclesiastical life and worship. It also included a doctrinal basis regarding all issues articulated in the cited twenty chapters. In substance, the Livonian Church Ordinance was arguably a typical Lutheran Church Ordinance of the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries used in Germany and Sweden.

#### 4. Who was Aleksi Lehtonen and why did he publish *Die livländische Kirchenordnung des Johannes Gezelius*?

In 1931, Aleksi Lehtonen (1891–1951) was Docent of Practical Theology at the University of Helsinki. Applying for a professorship in the same subject,<sup>21</sup> *Die livländische Kirchenordnung des Johannes Gezelius* being one of his merit studies for a professorship, he expressed in his foreword (*Vorwort* in German) that he could not publish the entire manuscript of Johannes Gezelius's draft because of its length. Therefore, he chose to include only the main issues of each chapter, and he omitted numerous Biblical quotations and notes.<sup>22</sup>

According to Lehtonen, the purpose of his study was to bring to light a document which had not been studied earlier, which deserved to be studied and analysed because of its importance to the history of the Livonian Church. The Livonian Church Ordinance offered proof of ecclesiastical development during the Swedish era in Livonia, demonstrating both Swedish and German influences in Livonia and in the Livonian tradition.<sup>23</sup>

At the end of his foreword, Lehtonen expressed a hope that his study would unify the whole of “the Protestant Churches in Latvia, Estonia, Sweden and Finland”. For some reason, he did not mention Lithuania. Lehtonen emphasized that those four Churches around the Baltic Sea had a significant effect on each independent state as well as on all the states. According to him, the Church had a national and political mission to strengthen these states, individually and collectively. In addition, he felt that this mission would renew the unity of the Common Church in its own way. With these words, Aleksi Lehtonen expressed the ecumenical thinking of the time and the hope at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s to construct Nordic cooperation between Sweden and the newly independent countries of Estonia, Finland and Latvia.<sup>24</sup>

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18 Lehtonen 1931b, 77, 79–328.

19 Lehtonen 1931b, 79–220.

20 Lehtonen 1931b, 221–328.

21 Aleksi Lehtonen's career and stages in life are discussed in Lauha 2001, 1.

22 Lehtonen 1931b, 5.

23 Lehtonen 1931b, 5–6.

24 Lehtonen 1931b, 6.

Along with his *Kirkon pyhät toimitukset* (1931, “The Sacred Rites of the Church”), Lehtonen’s work on Gezelius was, as mentioned above, among the merit studies written to support his application for a professorship in Practical Theology at the University of Helsinki. Working on the Livonian Church Ordinance was a suitable topic because ecclesiastical legislation was in those days – and still is – one of the most important disciplines of this professorship. Ecclesiastical legislation was considered to contain everything essential concerning ecclesiastical life, a major research subject for Practical Theology. Christian doctrine and education, sermons, catechisms, hymns and songs, prayers and ecclesiastical ceremonies or activities, the Confession, Holy Communion, Church discipline as well as Christian doctrine concerning matrimony can all be studied from the perspective of Practical Theology. Furthermore, ecclesiastical legislation can be seen to be a research topic that illuminates the doctrinal base of the Church and its relations with the state and society. In this regard, the study in question was a significant area of research for Lehtonen in view of his future duties as a bishop.<sup>25</sup>

Another reason for the publication of this work was brought up by Lehtonen himself. To him, research should be focused on issues that demonstrate the miscellaneous connections and relations between the Baltic states, as well as Sweden and Finland, that existed in the past. Thus, to him the Baltic states were to be understood in a Northern European and Scandinavian context. Moreover, the Baltic states can be argued to have the same cultural, Protestant background as Sweden and Finland. Hence, the Baltic Sea can be considered an inland body of water which connects rather than separates the Baltic states, as well as Sweden and Finland.<sup>26</sup>

This can be seen as one political view at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, when, ten years after independence, Estonia, Finland, Latvia and Lithuania tried to find a way between the past and the future. To Lehtonen, despite German influence and political power in the Baltic states in the previous centuries, it was necessary for the connections with other Western European countries to be brought to light. As an Anglophile, Lehtonen wished to emphasize the importance of the English-speaking world throughout Sweden.<sup>27</sup> These views should also be understood within the context of the threat of the Soviet Union. Thus, it was seen as very meaningful to underline the fact that the Baltic states belonged to Western Europe politically, ecclesiastically and religiously.

Lehtonen was also excited about ecumenism. Because Gezelius was familiar with the same phenomenon, the Livonian Church Ordinance can be viewed as an ecumenical document. The ecclesiastical circumstances in Old Livonia were multilateral because of Catholicism and, to a lesser extent, the Orthodox Church. Lehtonen argued that the Livonian Church Ordinance established and stabilized ecclesiastical life in this area.<sup>28</sup>

## 5. The commentary in *Die livländische Kirchenordnung des Johannes Gezelius* by Alekski Lehtonen

The commentary on the Livonian Church Ordinance is divided into four chapters. The first is the introduction, which concerns the development of Livonian ecclesiastical legislation from the days of the Reformation up to 1668, when the draft was completed. This chapter has three parts: the beginning of Lutheran ecclesiastical legislation in Livonia, the construction work of the Church administration, and the prearrangements of Gezelius’s Livonian Church Ordinance. The second chapter, the main part of the commentary, contains selected parts of the draft in printed form, presenting a short commentary on the text and a discussion of the sources of Gezelius’s draft. The third chapter has the title “The importance

25 Lehtonen 1931a. For the relations between ecclesiastical legislation and ecclesiastical activity, see, e.g., Knuutila 2005, 75–89.

26 Lehtonen 1931b, 6.

27 See, e.g., Pajunen 2008, 20–27.

28 See, e.g., Ripatti 1990. 35–37.

of Gezelius's Church Ordinance". A summary of the study, text samples concerning sources, and the "Nachbemerkungen" (that is, some remarks made after the completed study was published) are given in the fourth chapter.<sup>29</sup>

In the third chapter, Lehtonen emphasized first that the Livonian Church Ordinance was a family member of the older Lutheran Church Ordinances. He characterized it as an "almost" Swedish Church Ordinance with indigenous Livonian elements. However, Lehtonen stressed that the Livonian Church Ordinance was not a preparatory compilation designed to smooth the way for the new Swedish Church Act and Ordinance in 1686. According to Lehtonen, Gezelius used his knowledge concerning the Livonian way to understand doctrine, belief, church life and worship in his other duties as a member of the committee that was drawing up a new Church Act and Ordinance for the Church of Sweden.<sup>30</sup>

Lehtonen noted that the sources of the Livonian Church Ordinance are not easy to find. However, the German Church Ordinances mentioned by Gezelius himself were an agenda entitled the "Kurtz Ordnung" by Johan Briesmann of Gottbus (1530) and the Courlandian Church Ordinance (1568). In addition, according to Lehtonen, two Swedish drafts for a new Church Ordinance, written by Olaus Laurelius and Erik Emporagrius in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (1559–1660), had an impact on Gezelius's draft. He used royal Swedish declarations concerning religious issues, and he also took into account existing Livonian legislation sources in accordance with Livonian ecclesiastical customs. For this reason, Gezelius's draft differed from Laurelius's and Emporagrius's drafts. Whereas Gezelius gave instructions concerning the institution of the Consistorium, Laurelius and Emporagrius ordered the institution of a Cathedral Chapter. A common feature of all three drafts was the need to create the office of a minister, which would perpetuate Lutheran doctrine, education and ecclesiastical life.<sup>31</sup>

Lehtonen's study demonstrates that he had familiarized himself well with the topic. The most essential sources for "Die livländische Kirchenordnung" from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries were studied with a source-critical view and set in their historical contexts.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, he was familiar with "modern" German as well as Swedish research from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Research into ecclesiastical legislation and the liturgical historical tradition of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries is also found in Lehtonen's other study, *Kirkon pyhäät toimitukset*, from the same year. In this work he demonstrated his expertise and knowledge regarding both historical and theological ideology and the practice of ecclesiastical activity more widely. From this perspective, Lehtonen confirmed or verified the significance of ecclesiastical legislation as a basis for baptismal, matrimonial and funeral rites; this was the same topic he explored in *Die livländische Kirchenordnung des Johannes Gezelius*.<sup>33</sup>

## 7. Summary

This article discussed Lehtonen's *Die livländische Kirchenordnung des Johannes Gezelius*, a study on a Church Ordinance that is little known among scholars in the Baltic states, Sweden and Finland. To shed light on this historical document, it examines the life of Johannes Gezelius, the Livonian Church Ordinance, the scholar Alekski Lehtonen, and his comments concerning "Die livländischen Kirchenordnung".

Alekski Lehtonen's study is an important work that should lead to further investigations of ecclesiastical legislation in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Livonian Church Ordinance provides significant evidence from the 17<sup>th</sup> century regarding issues related to Lutheran or Protestant doctrine, belief, church life

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29 Lehtonen 1931b, 348–350.

30 Lehtonen 1931b, 329–334.

31 Lehtonen 1931b, 334–336; Laasonen 1977, 438. For different Swedish proposals for Church Ordinances, see Kjällerström 1944, 226–282. On Church Ordinances used in Livonia, see Petkūnas 2015, I, 14–15, 112–122.

32 Laasonen 1977, 439.

33 Lehtonen 1931, passim, especially 463–477 (sources and references).

and worship, as well as the Protestant ministry and church administration. By means of this document, the history of the Livonian Church can be studied from the perspective of influences from Germany, Poland, Courland, Estonia and Sweden. Finally, the history of liturgy and the history of ecclesiastical administration based on the Livonian Church Ordinance can be investigated. These are just some of the possible lines of research that this document raises.

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