

ON CULTURAL CONTACTS AND THEIR IMPACT ON LITERATURE IN TALLINN IN THE EARLY 17TH CENTURY

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Abstract. The present paper describes the literary field in Tallinn in the early modern period, specifically the early 1630s.¹ It was a time when several cultural innovations reached this region (via social carriers as well as via the book trade). Hereby, the professors of the newly founded gymnasium (1631) played a crucial role. Thanks to these scholars completely new genres (such as the autobiography) are documented. Furthermore, new core texts were introduced, which had a huge impact on further cultural developments in Tallinn and in Northern Estonia: the formation of German-language (occasional) poetry and the emergence of Estonian-language literary culture.

Keywords: early modern era, 17th century, Tallinn gymnasium, German-language casual poetry, early Estonian-language literature, autobiography, Timotheus Polus, Reiner Brockmann, David Gallus

¹ The present article is based on the results of the project “Cultural Contacts and Their Reflection in the (Auto)Biographical Texts from the Early Modern Period” (2012–2016), funded by the Estonian Science Foundation (grant 9026). This was an original study that explored German-language literature and culture in Tallinn in the early 17th century and described the role of both literature and culture, and present literary texts in a broader, cross-border context. The main sources included unpublished archival materials and printed texts from the 17th and 18th centuries. A more detailed overview of the main outcomes of this project (in German) can be found in Heero, Saagpakk, Tarvas (2016).

Introduction

Nowadays, in the age of globalization, it is common for knowledge to spread across state borders – for example within the framework for cultural exchanges and international cooperation. However, this phenomenon is in fact nothing new. As we know, in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, knowledge was distributed through the movement of people (e.g. travelling artisans) settling in another region or country. This is also true for Tallinn (Reval) – in the early 1630s, the town was invigorated by the multiple cultural impulses that accompanied the newcomers, who were mostly escaping from the Thirty Years' War happening in German lands. The literary life of the town began to flourish. Here one is referred to Klaus Garber's works on early modern German-language literature in Tallinn. Garber has shown that it is possible to restore and interpret the cultural environment in Tallinn in the early modern times by using papers and documents from the archives of Tallinn (e.g. Garber, Klöker 2003, Garber 2007). Another important publication is Martin Klöker's monumental work "Literary Life in Reval in the First Half of the 17th Century" (2005).

This paper will firstly discuss how knowledge from central Europe was disseminated to the Baltic region in the early modern era. Thereafter, the main characteristics of the literary field in Tallinn in the 1630s will be outlined and the process of cultural transfer from Germany to the German-speaking minority in this peripheral area are explained. Finally there will be a brief discussion of how these developments influenced Estonian-language literature in the early modern age.

The Literary Field of Tallinn in the Early 17th Century

At the beginning of the 17th century, Tallinn, a member of the Hanseatic League, situated at the crossroads of important trade routes, was part of the Swedish Empire. The town was also a meeting point

of different cultures and languages. Its ethnic composition was varied: there were German artisans and merchants, representatives of the Swedish king, Estonian craftsmen with a low social status, and a few Russian merchants and craftsmen. The cultural environment of the town was, therefore, rather diverse. The official language of the town was German and the municipal institutions were controlled mainly by Germans. The countryside was divided between the German landowners who virtually owned the Estonian peasants, who were bound to the land. Paul Johansen has described the linguistic situation in the town as follows: “The lower class spoke Estonian; the middle class spoke poor Low German and to some extent also Estonian and Swedish; the higher class spoke decent Low German as practiced in the Hanseatic League.” (Johansen 1973: 376) It should be pointed out that the language of academic communication and scholarship was traditionally Latin.

The present article will focus on the first half of the 17th century. This period is one of economic decline for Tallinn: Hanseatic prosperity was fading and the town became a province of the Swedish Empire, suffering from economic hardship. The King of Sweden, Gustav Adolf, who was engaged in continuous warfare (for instance with Poland in 1600–1629) and actively participated in the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1649) in Europe (Burkhardt 2018: 146–153), required ever greater resources (Klöker 2005 I: 63–65, Junckelmann 1997: 204). However, as there was no direct military action taking place in Tallinn, the situation in the town could be described as relatively peaceful. Such a situation was conducive to the rise of a distinct, high-level literary culture.

With regard to literature in the early 17th century, it was a time when many significant cultural innovations were imported into literary life. We can claim that the literary texts from the early 17th century represented, on the one hand, the imitation of great masters so typical of the age of humanism; on the other hand, they represented a desire for innovation, i.e. willingness to adopt and try out new ideas. As aforementioned, novelties and innovations usually

spread with the movement of people. This is also true in the case of Estonia. Modern ideas were brought to this region by social carriers, that is, by scholars or pastors travelling to Estonia chiefly from Northern Germany, which was under the control of the Swedish King. In some cases, these migrants had private reasons, but mostly they were searching for a refuge from the Thirty Years' War. Many immigrants had lost everything during war in Germany and sought a new beginning in Tallinn. The city became their destination of choice mostly because it was oriented towards German culture and the language was familiar. Some of the immigrants learned to speak Estonian. Therefore, when analyzing the discourse of the literary life in Tallinn at the beginning of the 17th century, we cannot disregard the cultural contacts developing between the Baltic area and Germany, or Western Europe in general. Cultural contacts were of utmost importance for literary life in Tallinn, because German-language core texts and also literary texts arrived in Estonia with the migration of peoples. This means that immigrants brought their cultural heritage with them.

The Gymnasium of Tallinn and the Emergence of new German-language Poetry

The early modern era is seen as a time that was economically difficult for the Baltic provinces. However, during that period cultural and educational life flourished. The early 17th century especially impresses with its very active cultural life. When speaking about the cultural and knowledge transfer that started in the 1630s, we have to mention the founding of the University of Tartu (Dorpat) in 1632 by King Gustav Adolf. In the context of Northern Estonia, another institution, which played a crucial part in this process, should be highlighted. This was the Tallinn Gymnasium, founded in 1631, which embodied the new scholarly culture of the town and functioned as an important cultural establishment. In 1634, a printing house of the gymnasium was also launched (Klöker 2005

I: 350–352). Four professors of the gymnasium – Heinrich Vulpius, Timotheus Polus, Reiner Brockmann, and Heinrich Arninck – laid the foundation for a new high-quality academic education, wherein much attention was paid to the teaching of rhetoric and poetics.

The phenomenon whereby new knowledge was disseminated by specific people was clearly visible in Tallinn. We should once again mention the establishment of the gymnasium and its so-called human resources policy. The first rector of the gymnasium was Sigismund Evenius, one of the best-known German educators in the 17th century and a reformer of the school system, which was at first implemented at the Gymnasium of Magdeburg (Nahrendorf 2015: 272–309). After becoming rector of the Tallinn Gymnasium, he set out to make significant changes in the educational life of Tallinn as well. His reforms entailed, *inter alia*, a thorough curriculum update and the application of new teaching methods. For instance, Evenius introduced the practice of teaching part of the subjects in German after the third year in the Gymnasium. This had never happened in Tallinn before, since the language of instruction in the local schools (such as monastery and church schools) had traditionally been Latin (Klöker 2005 I: 220–223). Evenius regretfully left Tallinn soon after his inauguration, but the after-effect of his innovations persisted in the cultural field of Tallinn even years later (Pöldvee 2011: 159–170).

The transfer of cultural changes to Tallinn can be associated with another man connected with the gymnasium, namely Timotheus Polus, a renowned poet and a professor of poetry, who arrived in Tallinn at the invitation of Evenius. Owing to his position at the gymnasium, Polus enjoyed great influence in the educational and cultural life of the town. In the first place he should be recognized for his innovations in literary language – it was Polus who wrote the first poem in the German literary language in Tallinn. According to Martin Klöker, no earlier trace of a poetical text in High German has been found in Tallinn, neither handwritten nor printed (Klöker 2005 I: 282–283). As concerns Polus' literary activity, it is even more important to emphasize the theoretical background of his texts. For

example, when creating his German-language poems, Polus relied on the book of Martin Opitz “*Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*” (1624), which profoundly reformed German-language literature. In his book, Opitz proved that German is suitable for the creation of high-class literature. Polus accepted Opitz’s principles, disseminated them among his students and encouraged them to write in German. Hence, we can state that Polus advocated the wider use of Opitz’s poetic rules for the creation of literature in Tallinn, laying the basis for the formation of the so-called “school of Reval”. This was a literary movement connected with Tallinn, which valued Opitz’s teaching and complied with his instructions and rules for literary work (Viiding 2008: 153). The introduction of Opitz’s poetic concept had a particularly long-lasting impact on literary life in Estonia. This is demonstrated by the fact that although only very few gymnasium professors wrote poetry in German in the beginning, such practice spread quickly, especially in the 1640s, when the former gymnasium students started their own careers and also wrote occasional poetry (Heero 2011a: 331–333).

There is another important aspect of Polus’ work we cannot overlook – his German-language poems often refer to the town of Leipzig, its literary and musical life. In the early 17th century, the so-called “*Leipziger Dichterkreis*” (the Poetic Society of Leipzig) – a circle of young poets such as Georg Gloger, Martin Christenius, Gottfried Finckelthaus, Christian Brehme and others led by the renowned Baroque poet Paul Fleming – achieved great success. The noted pedagogue and composer Johann Hermann Schein was a teacher of many young poets in the society (see Frey 2009). These poets wrote mainly occasional poetry in German as a rule. A strong relation to music can be perceived in their writings; for instance, some texts were composed so that they could be sung to the melodies of certain well-known songs (Frey 2009: 62–63). As a student Polus had spent some time in Leipzig; thus we can assume that he was familiar with the literary life of the town. Here we need to mention the friendship between Polus and Fleming that started when Fleming

was in Tallinn from 1635 to 1636 with the diplomatic and trading expedition from Northern Germany to Persia. It was initiated by the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp and later depicted by Adam Olearius in his famous travel account (known as “Orientalische Reise”, published in 1647 and 1656). No doubt Fleming’s German-language poems had an influence on the works of Polus. A good example here would be Polus’ funeral poetry. Traditionally funeral poems fell into three parts: *laudatio*, *lamentatio* and *consolatio*, or praising the dead, mourning the loss, and comforting the bereaved. Depending on the wish of the survivors, the first or the second part was emphasized in a poem. However, Fleming and several other poets began to stress the consolation part (i.e. made it the longest) (Heero 2011b: 198–207). Also many of Polus’ funeral poems emphasized the comforting part. Furthermore, his poems, especially later funeral poems, were clearly influenced by music (i.e. they were written so that they could be sung to the tune of certain hymns); this gave his texts a brighter and more hopeful attitude (Heero 2011b: 207–212).

From the examples of Evenius and Polus we understand that global cultural contacts promoted the spread of the modern views and opinions that were considered relevant in Northern Germany to the Baltic region, as well as literary and literary-theoretical core texts, which in turn affected the literature produced in Tallinn and had a powerful impact on the further cultural developments in Northern Estonia.

Libraries of the Town

As we can see, the new core texts were distributed in Estonia thanks to the establishment of new cultural contacts and the establishment of the completely new school system. However, new knowledge was also shared in a more traditional way: via books. Therefore, in the given context it is interesting to explore what kind of literature was being read during that period. A good source would be the booklists included in the probate inventories from Tallinn, dating from the late

17th or early 18th centuries, which listed every piece of the personal property of a deceased person. Of special interest to researchers are the booklists contained therein. On the basis of these data it is possible to form a picture of the book and library culture in early modern Tallinn and to learn what was read and when, how many books people had and how these books were obtained (Tarvas 2014: 7–10).

These booklists offer interesting insights into the library culture of the town. The libraries were mostly small, composed first and foremost to meet the owner's professional needs. Compared to the libraries in Germany, certain differences can be identified. The 17th century libraries in Germany contained books in almost all major languages spoken in Europe. The libraries in Tallinn, however, contained mostly German and Latin books even at the beginning of the 18th century. It is interesting to note that the libraries in Tallinn also bear a strong relation to Northern Germany and the Lutheran culture prevailing there (see Garber 2007, Pullat 2016: 252–279).

What kinds of books were represented in Tallinn? The share of fiction in the libraries was small; the majority of books could be listed under the category of professional literature (medicine, law and other fields). Of Latin books, the works of Cicero and other classical authors dominated. An interesting feature was the popularity of German-language Baroque literature: many libraries contained the works of Opitz and Fleming in German, which proves that the Baroque tradition became deeply rooted in the literary field of Tallinn in the early 17th century and manifested its surprising vitality over the years. Also, the amount of religious literature was remarkable. This shows, on the one hand, that the literary field of early modern Tallinn was open to innovations and the cultural impulses of the 17th century found fertile soil here. On the other hand, we can observe that after an intense period of reform in the early 17th century, a certain conservatism or adherence to traditional cultural practices began to gain ground – the Baroque discourse also seemed to be tenacious in the early stages of the Enlightenment (Tarvas 2014: 26).

The earliest Autobiography in Tallinn

When speaking about innovations in the literary life of the 17th century in Tallinn, another document representing a completely new genre in Estonia should be mentioned. It is a German-language manuscript contained in the Tallinn City Archive: David Gallus' "Anotationes" (written ca. 1650–1659),² which is considered as one of the very first autobiographical writings in Estonia. Here it should be pointed out that in this time many pre-forms of autobiographical writings existed. For instance, two notebooks of Caspar Meuseler, merchant and alderman of the Great Guild in Tallinn, (written in 1610–1621 and 1621–1641) primarily deal with the matters of the Guild; however, some reflections from the author about himself can also be found therein. Therefore, Meuseler's notebooks can be considered a transitional form between non-literary writings and literary ego-documents (Saagpakk 2012: 378–379). Gallus' "Anotationes", however, already represents an exemplary "ego-document" of the 17th century, which can be viewed as the result of a "retrospective, mediated, intertextual process" (Smyth 2010: 3).

Gallus also came to Tallinn in 1631 from Northern Germany at the invitation of Sigismund Evenius. From 1634 to 1658 he worked as the cantor of the Tallinn Gymnasium. In "Anotationes", he portrays his daily life, his family relationships and various problems, mainly associated with his work, and, concurrently, he gives an overview of the general situation in the Tallinn Gymnasium and the city of Tallinn in the middle of the 17th century. Even though Gallus depicts his life by describing mainly the relationships within the social groups, such as the staff of Tallinn Gymnasium, to which he belongs (Heero 2014: 81), or analyzes certain incidents (such as an argument between himself and his first mother-in-law), his perspective remains deeply personal. Also, his mode of expression seems

² TLA 230-1-Ak 9a. A part of this manuscript was published in 2016, see Heero, Kõiv (2016: 215–242).

to be quite straightforward concerning his feelings and opinions, especially when he is speaking about the cases where he was treated unjustly, e.g. in terms of his remuneration (Heero 2014: 89). Though certain discourses in autobiographical writings from Western Europe are present in Gallus' text with regard to the structure and manner of descriptions, it certainly is a text in which, despite all the conventionality, the identity and personality of the author clearly find their expression. For this reason, this text can be definitely read as one of the first autobiographies in the cultural field of Estonia (Heero 2017: 213).

The Emergence of Estonian Literary Culture and the first Estonian-language Poems

At this point we can conclude that in the early 1630s a sort of cultural explosion occurred in the literary and cultural field of Tallinn, entailing transition from Latin to German as the language of literature and culture. Needless to say, Latin maintained its leading role as the language of scholarship; but over subsequent years, national languages gained ever greater importance, as seen for example by the development of the Estonian language and its transformation into a literary language over time. In this process a vital role was played by the Germans arriving from Europe, in particular the German pastors undertaking Lutheran missionary work among Estonian serfs.

As the mission work necessitated an Estonian translation of the Bible, a group of German Lutheran clergymen who were interested in the Estonian language united their efforts on the Bible translation, with a view to preaching to local peasants in their native language. Also, the translation of the hymns into Estonian should be pointed out in this context. The German missionaries considered Estonians a music-loving nation and assumed that they would accept religious truths more readily through church songs (Ross 2015: 457). Hence, we could say, Estonians received their literary language and culture,

which can be seen as a hybrid combining the old genuine oral tradition and the newer European written culture mediated by German clergymen, thanks to the Lutheran mission and the effort of German pastors (Ross 2015: 466). In this time, also some textbooks for learning Estonian, targeted at German missionaries were published. One of those was Heinrich Stahl's "Introduction to the Estonian Language" (1637). This book is particularly interesting because in this work two poetical dedications by Timotheus Polus form the preface to Stahl's explanations about Estonian grammar. In the first poem, Polus gives honorable mentions to Stahl's translations from German to Estonian, referring to Estonian-language catechism, translated by Stahl and printed in 1632. Polus wrote: "What Luther has done for his language and therefore for his whole country, now you, Mr. Stahl, have done for the language of the Estonians" (Stahl 1637). In this poem, Polus considers the transfer of Lutheran ideas to the Estonians as vital; however, it seems more important to him that German scholars have the possibility to study the Estonian language and thereby further develop their intellect (Heero 2012: 368–369). In the second poem, Polus introduces several famous European scholars like Ronsard, Plautus, Caesar, Luther and others, who had made an important contribution to the development of their native languages. According to Polus, Stahl should also be one of those men, because "he has elevated the Estonian language to its rightful place among the languages of the civilized world" (Heero 2012: 369), making it possible for Estonians to learn the word of God in their country and in their own language.

Amongst the people interested in Estonian was Reiner Brockmann, who also came from Germany. In the beginning he worked at Tallinn Gymnasium as professor of Greek; thereafter he became a pastor in Kadrina. He was interested in Estonian and actually learned the language; furthermore, when already working in Kadrina, he translated several hymns into Estonian. Marju Lepajõe points out, that the "trend towards use of the mother tongue inevitably led to attempts to write verse in Estonian, [...]. This was obvious

from contemporary descriptions about the dismal conditions in which Estonian peasants lived, as well as in Brockmann's own correspondence" (Lepajõe 2009: 20).

That means that Brockmann is an important figure in the literary history of Estonia, because he wrote the earliest surviving Estonian-language poem, which signifies the moment of birth of Estonian literature in general (Klöker 2005 I: 310–313, Hasselblatt 2006: 119–121). The title of this poem "Carmen Alexandrinum Esthonicum ad leges Opitij poëticas compositum" refers to the "Book of German Poetry" by Martin Opitz. Hence, Brockmann demonstrates that one is capable of writing poetry in Estonian, providing that the writer has knowledge of proper and proven poetic techniques and rules as well as good writing skills (Heero 2012: 372). At the same time, Brockmann's poem demonstrates the efficiency of Opitz's poetic rules – they can be used in German as well as in Estonian. Of course, we must observe here that the early structure and patterns of written Estonian were very similar to German – the particular features of the Estonian language, such as its 14 grammatical cases were discovered by translators only later.

Concerning the topic of the "Carmen Alexandrinum Esthonicum ad leges Opitij poëticas compositum", it is a traditional nuptial poem, which praises the integrity of the bridegroom, the beauty of the bride and the nobility of the guests at the beginning; at the end of the poem, however, a couple of rather suggestive lines can be found, e.g. "Now go to play [with the bride], and very soon we will see what your play tonight will have accomplished." (Brockmann 2000: 93–94) The pious beginning and the salacious ending of a nuptial poem was in fact common at this time. The composition of two opposite motifs in the same text was one of the most popular features of Baroque poetry (Meid 2000: 64) and sexual allusions in a nuptial poem were neither meant to be nor considered offensive (Alttoa, Valmet 1973: 11–12, Heero 2009: 43–44). It is possible that this poem was read aloud during the nuptial festivities amongst other texts written for this specific occasion to entertain the guests.

Hence, Brockmann's Estonian poetry was rather a linguistic game, a whim to demonstrate to his friends and colleagues that besides Latin, Greek and German it was possible to write in another language. This intention can also be seen in another Estonian-language poem by Brockmann, "Lectori carminis Esthonici", in which the author illustrates the widespread knowledge of Estonian language in all strata of society. According to Brockmann, peasants, noblemen, scholars, ladies, young and elderly people as well as "those people who came from Germany" (Brockmann 2000: 95) – they all are supposed to speak Estonian fluently. Of course, the author is here clearly exaggerating, probably with the intention of creating a humorous atmosphere and entertaining the reader. Next, Brockmann emphasizes that Estonian is widely used in church and the word of God can be spread from now on in Estonian as well. This can be read as the author's compliment to himself, a little inside joke, as we know that he translated a number of religious texts into Estonian and was influential in the Lutheran mission – a fact which was known to his audience, probably his closest friends or co-workers (Heero 2012: 373–374).

This means that Brockmann's Estonian texts were not meant for Estonian readers. Even the Estonian version of the Bible was meant primarily for Germans, who wished to educate the local people. Nonetheless, its ultimate target group was Estonians; hence, communication with Estonians was important for Bible translation and for the Lutheran mission in general, whereas Brockmann's Estonian-language poems were more a linguistic pastime to entertain friends. In this context, Brockmann's Estophile friends, Martin Giläus, Heinrich Göseken, and Georg Salemann, should also be mentioned. Together they established a poetic society, "Lasnamäe Lamburid" (Lasnamäe Shepherds), which cultivated Estonian-language written poetry and formed the basis for Estonian-language secular literature (Altöf 1987: 1556–1562).

Conclusions

To conclude, Tallinn, and Estonia in general, were multi-cultural and multi-lingual places in the early modern period. The dominant upper class (landlords, merchants, scholars) was mostly of German origin and German-speaking. The German-language culture in Tallinn was closely connected with Northern Germany, because the majority of the leading cultural figures were born and educated there. Only towards the end of the 18th century do we see the formation of a distinct Baltic German culture.

Owing to close links with Germany in the early modern period, cultural innovations and modern ideas reached and rooted in both Tallinn and the rest of Estonia (e.g. the establishment of High German as literary language). Although these currents arrived in the Baltic area with some delay, they turned the region into a meeting point for different cultures. Specific people played significant roles in this process. For instance, Paul Fleming's sojourn in Tallinn must have inspired several local men of letters. Likewise, many culturally important core texts were introduced to our region thanks to the arrival of certain persons and their cultural knowledge.

Therefore, we can conclude that in the early modern period Estonia was not a secluded territory, but rather an outer margin of German cultural space, a periphery of Lutheran Northern Germany. At the same time, the relationship between the center and the periphery was rather weak; thus we can only speculate whether Timotheus Polus would have become a famous poet in his own homeland if he had not been so active in the faraway Baltic rim.

The German upper class treated the Estonian-speaking population as primitives, who needed to be continuously developed and educated. The growing interest in popular languages and the effort to enlighten the Estonians led to the translation of the Bible into Estonian and the use of the language for the creation of literature. All this laid the basis for the emergence of the Estonian written language and Estonian literature.

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RESÜMEE

KULTUURIKONTAKTIDEST JA NENDE MÕJUST TALLINNA KIRJANDUSVÄLJALE 17. SAJANDI ALGUSES

Käesolev artikkel käsitleb kultuurimuudatusi Tallinna ja Põhja-Eesti kultuuriväljal varasel uusajal, täpsemalt 1630. aastate esimesel poolel. Kuigi majanduslikult pigem vilets, oli see aeg murranguiline piirkonna kultuurielus. Nimelt saabus siia sel ajal hulgaliselt põgenikke peamiselt Põhja-Saksamaalt, kes põgenesid Euroopas möllava Kolmekümneaastase sõja eest keeleliselt-kultuuriliselt lähedasse paika. Koos sisserändajatega saabusid ka uued, värsked ideed ning kultuurilised tüvitekstid, mis said määravaks järgnevate aastate kultuuriliste arengute kujundamisel. Eraldi tuleks välja tuua 1631. aastal asutatud Tallinna Gümnaasiumi, mille professorid löid tänu hariduslikele uuendustele soodsa pinna moodsate ideede levikuks. Poeesiaprofessor ning tuntud luuletaja Paul Flemingi sõber Timotheus Polus oli esimene, kes tutvustas Tallinnas Martin Opitzi poeetilist programmi, kasutas seda oma õppetöös ning pani seeläbi aluse kõrgsaksa-keelse kirjanduskeele tekkele ja levikule. Barokiaegse kirjanduse populaarsus ning olulisus ja tihedad kultuurilised sidemed Põhja-Saksamaaga kajastuvad ka Tallinna raamatukogudes, mis veel sada aastat hiljem sisaldasid hulgaliselt teoseid tollest perioodist (nt Paul Flemingi luulekogusid). Gümnaasiumi kantor David Gallus koostas teadaolevalt esimese autobiograafia siinses kultuuriruumis. Tänu kreeka keele professori Reiner Brockmanni aktiivsele tegevusele eestikeelsete kirikutekstide koostajana ning esimeste eestikeelsete juhuluuletuste loojana võime rääkida sellest perioodist ka kui eestikeelse kirjanduse koidikust.

Võtmesõnad: varane uusaeg, 17. sajand, Tallinna gümnaasium, saksa-keelne juhuluule, varane eestikeelne kirjandus, autobiograafia, Timotheus Polus, Reiner Brockmann, David Gallus