



TUCEMEMS

ANNUAL REPORT 2016

TURKU CENTRE FOR MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN STUDIES



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Turku Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (TUCEMEMS) is a multidisciplinary centre funded by the University of Turku. It promotes interdisciplinary and cross-cultural studies of topics from Late Antiquity to the eighteenth century. The Centre aims at facilitating medieval and early modern studies at the University especially by coordinating international collaboration and encouraging interdisciplinary debate.



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University of Turku 2017

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EDITORIAL

Reformation was the buzzword for 2016. In October, years of planning and preparation came together as the Reformation's 500th anniversary was launched. In Turku, this took place in the cathedral, where the Turku Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies had the great honour of organizing a festive seminar after the opening Mass. Dozens of lectures, talks, exhibitions and a great book on the Northern Reformation have been organized, given and published. It has been busy but extremely interesting throughout. I wish to thank the TUCEMEMS Reformation Year organization committee for its great and selfless work.

Reformation means re-formation. 2017 means changes in the Centre's organization. It is high time for me to make way for new leadership, as Professor Kirsi Salonen has promised to step into my boots. Thus, it is time for me to thank everyone for the past years. Many, many thanks to the committee members and our great interns, coordinators and volunteers who have made the growth of the Centre possible and, admittedly, have done all the hard work.

For me, it has been a pleasure to see how wishful thinking can become reality, and form into something like TUCEMEMS. Sometimes it is worthwhile to dream.



Marjo Kaartinen, Director
Professor of Cultural History

PUBLICATIONS

Crossing Boundaries: Turku Medieval and Early Modern Studies

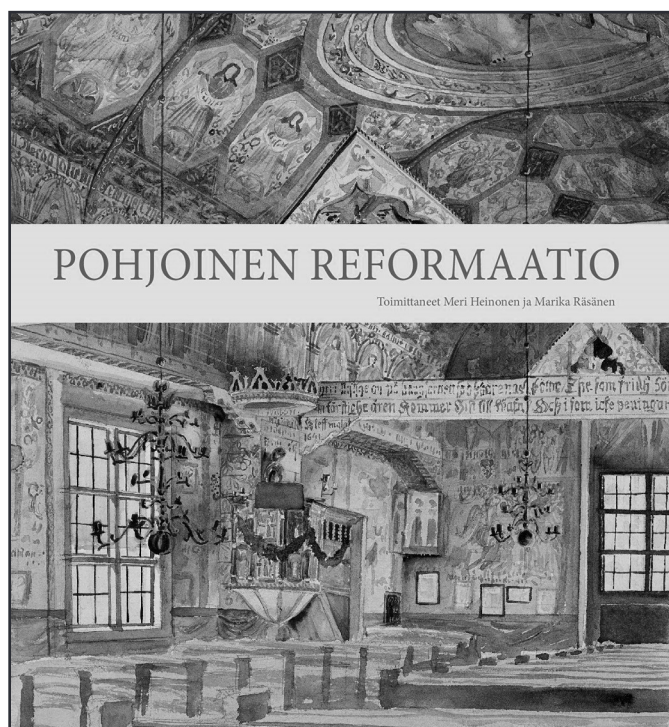
Our peer-reviewed book series with an international Advisory Board is published by Amsterdam University Press. The first title came out in 2015 (Same-sex Sexuality in Later Medieval English Culture by Tom Linkinen). The past year saw a considerable amount of activity with four new titles published in the series in 2016. These comprise one monograph and three collected volumes, all providing fresh angles on various medieval and early modern topics:

- Popular Romance in Iceland: The Women, Worldviews, and Manuscript Witnesses of *Nítíða saga* (by Sheryl McDonald Werronen);
- Church and Belief in the Middle Ages: Popes, Saints and Crusaders (edited by Kirsi Salonen and Sari Katajala-Peltomaa);
- Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North (edited by Linda Kaljundi and Tuomas Lehtonen);
- Imagined Communities on the Baltic Rim, from the Eleventh to Fifteenth Centuries (edited by Wojtek Jezierski and Lars Hermanson).

Four further titles will be appearing in the winter/spring of 2017. The Editorial Board is looking for high-quality manuscripts of monographs or collected volumes placed at the intersection of disciplinary boundaries to introduce fresh connections between established fields of study. For further information, please visit <http://en.aup.nl/series/crossing-boundaries-turku-medieval-and-early-modern-studies>.

Matti Peikola, Editor-in-chief

Pohjoinen reformaatio (The Northern Reformation)



The cover of the Northern Reformation book.

TUCEMEMS, together with the Turku Historical Association (Turun Historiallinen Yhdistys) published a book on the Reformation in Finland and Sweden, aimed at a lay audience. The book explores the Reformation from different perspectives. It is organized around seven major themes, which are Nobility and the Reformation; Churchly practices; The Texts of the Reformation; The City of Turku during the Reformation; The Reform of the Interior of the Churches; The Dominican Convent of Turku; and the House Rules of Luther. The book was written by over 30 specialists from TUCMEMS and from other Finnish Universities, and its contents are of scholarly standard even though they are written to be also easily read by non-specialists. In addition, the book is abundantly illustrated to make it more easily approachable.

TUCEMEMS received a financial grant for the publication of the book from the City of Turku and from the Turku and Kaarina Parish Union. TUCMEMS is very grateful for this financial aid and also for all the fruitful cooperation we have had with the Parish Union and the City of Turku during the planning for the 500th anniversary of the Reformation.

Ristimäki

Archaeological excavations at the oldest known church in Finland, 1 August–31 October 2016

With the help of the grant from TUCEMEMS and with the support of the University of Turku, and several other organizations, the Department of Archaeology organized archaeological excavations at the Ristimäki site in Ravattula near Turku. The remains of an early medieval church were found in 2013. The church has been dated to the late 12th to early 13th century. The burial ground surrounding the church had already been in use a century before the construction of the church began. During the excavations in 2016, almost 30 inhumations were studied and the remains of the stone foundations of a wall that surrounded the churchyard were also partly excavated.



The stone foundation of the Church partly excavated.
Photo by Juha Ruohonen/ Ristimäki in Ravattula Project.

CONFERENCES AND EVENTS

Riimuraati - Runråd 18 April, 2016 Runes in Finland

What is probably the first runic conference ever held in Finland took place at TUCEMEMS on April 18, 2016. This “Riimuraati - Runråd” was the 11th full-day runic colloquium in the Runråd series, which is coordinated by Uppsala University in collaboration with various host organizations. The seminar was organized by Kendra Willson (University of Turku) in consultation with Henrik Williams (Uppsala University). The themes of the seminar were “Runes and cultural contacts” and “Runes and Finland.” The thirty-five participants included five visitors from Sweden and virtual participants who connected from Ukraine and Colombia via Google Hangouts, as well as staff and students from the University of Turku and Åbo Akademi University.

Although Finland is geographically close to the heartland of runic activity in central Sweden, fewer than twenty runic inscriptions have been recovered from Finnish territory, apart from around 200 post-medieval runic calendar sticks (Fi. riimusaauva/Sw. runstav or primstav) (Oja 2015:81) and some seals and signature marks (Fi. puumerkki/Sw. bomärke) that may be based on runes. The few inscriptions dated to the Viking Age (a brooch found in Tuukkala, a runestone fragment from Hiittinen/Hitis, and a handful of amulets and coins) are generally thought to have originated elsewhere and been imported to Finland. Three finds from the 1980s and 1990s of inscriptions on stave vessels in Turku point to a limited role for runes in medieval written culture (Harjula 2008, 2016). The age of the inscriptions from Sund and Kastelholm in Åland is disputed. The oldest Finnish runic calendar is dated to 1566 (Clerc 2015:104). A few modern inscriptions or forgeries were carved in the 19th and 20th centuries, and three inscriptions from Vöyri/Vörå, regarded by the majority of runologists as modern, caused controversy in the 1980s. Most of the known runic inscriptions from Finland were discussed at the conference.

The morning session sought an overview of Finland’s connection to runic culture. Kendra Willson (University of Turku) spoke about “Runes and rhymes: Finnish runo ‘poem’ and riimu ‘rune’.” The Finnish word runo is a loanword related to rune. It has been regarded as a loan from Proto-Germanic into Proto-Finnic, but its dialectal distribution and the attested meanings in Germanic and Finnic suggest that it was borrowed later, perhaps from Early Norse towards the start of the Viking Age, likely with the meaning of ‘charm, incantation’. This would

correlate with the spread in North Finnic cultures of incantational magic, which is thought to reflect Germanic influence.

Heikki Oja (University of Helsinki) described his adventures “In search of Finnish runes.” Oja’s Riimut: viestejä viikingeilä (Runes: messages from the Vikings) (2015) is the first scholarship-based popular book on runes published in Finnish, containing an introduction to runology, a detailed section on runic calendars, and information about runes in Finland. His presentation gave a survey of runic inscriptions found in Finland as well the story of how a retired astronomer came to write a book on runes. Oja showed the audience a runic calendar stick that he had carved for the occasion of his retirement from the University Almanac Office in Helsinki.

Alla Kurzenkova (University of Donetsk), presenting long-distance via Google Hangouts, emphasized the potential for using runic inscriptions as an information source on the eastern trade route from Scandinavia to Byzantium during the Viking Age. References to places along this route in runic inscriptions demonstrate its importance for trade and its salience in the mental geography of Scandinavians. The Viking trade was important for the development of Kiev. By contrast, Finland remained by the wayside, less a destination for the Vikings than a stopover on the way east.

After lunch at Upseerikerho, the seminar continued with presentations on specific runic inscriptions from Finland. Magnus Källström (Swedish National Heritage Board) pondered the question “Vem kan ha ristat runstenen från Hitis?” (“Who might have carved the runestone from Hitis?”). A sandstone fragment with part of an inscription (si : raþi : ma ... þorfas... ‘may one solve ... Thorfastr’) was found underwater at Stora Ängesön in 1997. Källström had investigated the stone and was inclined to view it as a genuine Viking Age artefact. He noted similarities between the carving technique of the runestone fragment from Hitis and that of the carver Balle from Löt, near Enköping in western Uppland; the inscription might have been carved by Balle or someone from the same school. Källström wrote about this investigation on his blog (Källström 2016).

Janne Harjula (University of Turku) spoke about “Medieval stave vessel bottoms with futhorc from Turku,” providing information about the find contexts and interpretation of the three inscriptions found in Turku in the

1980s and 1990s, likely from the 14th and 15th centuries. Two of them contain Ave Maria prayer formulae in Latin; the third, Bualæ combining runes with a decorated Roman capital, has been interpreted either as an Old Swedish word for 'bowl' or as a Latin blessing b(ene) vale (see further Harjula 2016). In "Medeltida runformer i Åbo" (Medieval rune-forms in Turku), Alessandro Palumbo (Uppsala University) continued the discussion of the Turku inscriptions, focusing on the letter forms and orthography, in which they seem to pattern with Västergötland.

Henrik Williams, in his talk "Biskop Unnis runristade gravmonument på Åland - saga och sanning" (Bishop Unni's runic grave monument in Åland - story and truth), discussed the Sund cross and Kastelholm inscriptions from Åland. Åland provincial archaeologist Matts Dreijer (1901-98) regarded the Sund inscription *uini·ilis* as a memorial for Bishop Unni; according to Adam of Bremen's 11th century account Unni died in Birka in 936 AD and his body is buried there (but his head in Bremen). The inscription was the inspiration for Dreijer's (1969) theory that the Viking town of Birka was not located on Björkö near Stockholm, but in Åland, a view that later scholar-

ship has rejected. However, it is unlikely that the Sund inscription is that old. The inscription on the cliff near the Kastelholm castle appears to be a later copy of the Sund inscription.

Tapani Rostedt (University of Helsinki) reported on collaborative work with Antti Lahelma and Jouko Pukkila under the title "Fake or not - some notes on runic inscriptions in Finland proper." They emphasized the need to distinguish between forgeries and modern inscriptions that make no attempt to deceive, such as the Sauvo inscription, which gives the year of carving, 1920. They focused on the inscription in Naantali/Nädendal, which is in a variety of Old Norse and either a very unusual 12th century inscription or (more likely) a modern imitation.

The seminar concluded with a visit to the Turku Museum Centre to inspect the stave vessels with runic inscriptions, followed by a dinner at the restaurant Blankå. Plans are underway for a volume *Runes in Finland - Runor i Finland*, to appear in the series *Runrön* from Uppsala University. It is hoped that this will stimulate further interest in runes in Finland.

Kendra Willson

Crisis or glory? Cultural turning points and continuums at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Early Modern period. A half-day seminar in the Medieval Market of Turku, 30 June 2016

Once again, TUCEMEMS organized a seminar for the visitors of the annual Medieval Market of Turku. The theme of the seminar was to reflect upon the differences and similarities between the medieval and early modern periods. The 15th century has traditionally been seen as a period of cultural decline, as the "autumn of the Middle Ages". The six presentations in this seminar challenged this clear-cut picture of the period by looking what really did change during the 15th and 16th centuries.

Mikko Kauko emphasized the fact that the role of Latin did not change as drastically in the 16th century as has sometimes been suggested. It was still used in academia and in the church even after the Reformation, although its role gradually changed. Maria Kallio spoke about the medieval copybooks of the chapter of Turku diocese. The significance of copybooks changed during the Reformation, as they no longer protected the estate of the chapter but instead were used to aid the process of seizing the property of the church for the Swedish crown.

Aino Liira examined the shift from manuscript culture to printed book culture. She underlined that printing was

not the first revolution in the history of the book. For example, a similar turning point occurred when papyrus rolls were replaced by codex-format books in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Nor was the change from handwritten books to printed ones a quick one, as handwritten copies of books continued to be produced until the 18th century, and even in the printed books there were many elements written by hand, such as red coloured initials.

Janika Aho presented the wall paintings in the old church of Isokyrö. In Finland, they are a rarity, as no such massive paintings from the Reformation period exist elsewhere. In Sweden, some examples are to be found. The paintings are a fine example of the cultural continuum from the Middle Ages to the early modern period, even if some minor changes do occur in the style and theological content of the paintings.

According to Mari Välimäki, the process of engagement did not change radically during the Reformation era. Changes came about in the 17th century as parents gained more power over the marriage process of their



Audience in the seminar Crisis or Glory.

children. The last presentation was by Liisa Seppänen, who talked about the changes that the urban space in Turku went through during the Reformation. The number of ecclesiastical properties decreased drastically during the Reformation, which must have had a very large mental effect on the contemporary culture.

TUCEMEMS at the Turku Book Fair, 30 September – 2 October 2016

TUCEMEMS participated in the annual Turku Book Fair. One of the themes of the event was the anniversary of the Reformation, and TUCEMEMS organized two discussions on its history. The first discussion concerned the role of vernacular languages, German and Finnish, in the Reformation, and the second discussion covered the

themes of power, nobility and everyday life in the midst of the change from Catholicism to Lutheranism. Both discussions also promoted TUCEMEMS' new book "Pohjoinen reformaatio" (The Northern Reformation), on the history of the Reformation in Finland. The book attracted positive attention at the fair.

The 950th anniversary of the Norman Conquest, 14 October 2016.

On Friday 14th October, 1066, William the Conqueror won the battle of Hastings, thus beginning the conquest of England. Without doubt, this event has been one of the most defining events in the history of England, having a huge impact on the language and culture of the kingdom. TUCEMEMS, together with the Department of English, commemorated this event with a half-day seminar on the 950th anniversary of the battle. Janne Skaffari first held a lecture on the events leading to the conquest and on the linguistic transformations the English language went through in the centuries following the conquest. After a short pause, our invited guest, Laura Ashe from the University of Oxford, gave a presentation on the cultural transformation that the conquest generated, emphasising in particular how the role of the king changed and how the idea of knighthood altered.



Dr. Laura Ashe giving her lecture.

The opening seminar of the 500th anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation in Turku Cathedral, 30 October 2016.

The 500th anniversary of the Reformation started officially on the 30 October, 2016, with an opening Mass organized by the Lutheran Church of Finland and an opening seminar organized by TUCEMEMS later on the same day. The seminar explored different aspects of the Reformation and the impacts it had on European and Finnish culture. Professor Matti Peikola gave a presentation on the change in the book culture at the time of the Reformation, and Professor Kaisa Häkkinen described how the Reformation contributed to the birth of Finnish literary language. Tenure track professor Kirsi Salonen gave

a presentation on the reform that the administration and jurisdiction went through in the wake of the ecclesiastical Reformation. Adjunct professor Riitta Laitinen described how the Reformation shaped anew the interior of the Turku Cathedral. The final presentation was given by the Archbishop of Finland, Kari Mäkinen, who reflected on the influence the Reformation has had on Finnish culture as a whole. The Vox Silentii ensemble, together with Doctor of Music Jorma Hannikainen, delighted the audience with songs from the time of the Reformation.

Variantti-colloquium 2016: Manuscripts as materials for study 4 November, 2016.

Variantti is a national network for researchers in the fields of textual criticism and textual sciences. Variantti, in collaboration with TUCEMEMS, organized its ninth annual colloquium in Turku at the beginning of November. The theme of the colloquium was manuscript studies, and

it attracted the attention of 13 scholars willing to give a presentation at the colloquium. The presentations were interesting, and some 40 people attended the event to discuss these topics.



Discussion in the Variantti-colloquium.

Seminar: Turku, Vyborg, Stockholm, and other Finnish Cities of the Reformation, 11 November 2016.

The aim of this seminar was to look at the local and international sites where the Reformation took place and to enquire into the international networks by which the ideas of the Reformation circulated in Northern Europe. Liisa Seppänen gave a presentation on the transformations that the city of Turku was subjected to in the wake of the Reformation. Ilkka Leskelä gave a fascinating talk on the contacts that the merchants and peasants of Finnish cities such as Vyborg, Rauma and Turku had with Hanseatic towns like Tallinn and Danzig. Leskelä wanted to emphasize the fact that the common people had probably heard of and even participated in the reformatory events taking place in these cities long before the Reformation started officially in the kingdom of Sweden.

Reima Välimäki spoke about a diary entry Martin Crusius (1526-1607) wrote when he was a professor at the University of Tübingen in 1585. In the short entry, Crusius writes about Thomas Laurentii, the vicar of Turku, “the metropolis of Finland”. He also writes what Laurentii has told him about Finland and the progress of the Reformation there. After Välimäki, Mikko Hiljanen gave a presentation dealing with the economic changes that the vicars were subjected to during the Reformation, and concluded that although the Reformation certainly lowered the income of priests, it was nonetheless a change that affected all the parishes equally, and did not create regional inequality.

Janika Aho also spoke about a priest, Jakob Geet, (d. 1589), who was the vicar of Isokyrö, a wealthy commune

in the Ostrobothnia region of Finland. Geet was himself a relatively rich and powerful person, and ordered frescos to be painted in his church, thus creating a unique work of art from the Reformation era.

Kaisa Häkkinen gave a presentation on eastern influences in the language of Mikael Agricola. Agricola had been schooled in Vyborg, the central city of eastern Finland at the time of the Reformation, and was therefore susceptible borrowing some words from eastern Finnish dialects and from Russian for his works, even though he consciously wanted to use the western dialects of Finnish as the basis for the new literary language. Tanja Toropainen’s talk came close to that of Häkkinen, as she presented eastern influences in other Reformation period texts from other writers than Agricola. They had close contacts with Vyborg, and this might suggest that Vyborg was a central city of the Reformation at the beginning of the Reformation era.

Jyrki Knuutila gave a presentation in which he analysed the influence that Stockholm and its sizeable Finnish-speaking minority might have had on the Reformation in Finland. After all, there were very close contacts between the capital of the kingdom and the area of Finland. The last speaker was Marja Hartola, who spoke about the changes in the culinary culture in Finland during the Reformation period.

Felix Thomas Lumen Mundi, concert and Christmas get-together, 16 December 2016



Felix Thomas Lumen Mundi, concert in the Church of the Turku Castle.

TUCEMEMS and the project Touching, Tasting, Hearing, Seeing and Smelling. Sensory Experiences in the Feasts of St Thomas Aquinas, funded by the Kone Foundation, organized an event at which the Vox Silentii ensemble sung medieval songs from the feasts of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Marika Räsänen gave a short presentation on the subject, and after the concert, steaming hot mulled wine was served.

PRESENTATIONS AND LECTURES

TUCEMEMS Monthly Talks 2016

Kalle Knaapi: Theatre in the Byzantium at the time of the Comnenos Dynasty? The Katomyomakhia of Theodoros Prodromos, 15 January

Knaapi presented the Katomyomakhia of Theodoros Prodromos, and pondered whether we can talk about theatre in Byzantium. In the Byzantine world, theatre, viewed from the modern perspective, did not have a clear and well-understood position. Sources are scarce and the research tradition is modest in size. Nevertheless, some sources have been preserved for us that do contain theatrical elements. These are mainly short stories in the form of dialogues, misleadingly resembling drama. The major-

ity of these texts are from the 12th century, from the time of the Comnenos dynasty. The texts have been defined in different ways as poetry or satires, etc. Frequently, such labels have been given very lightly and without any further justification. These genre-labels have, however, a great impact on how we approach these texts, and how much attention they receive from researchers. Knaapi exemplified this problem with the Katomyomakhia text he has been studying.

Mari-Liisa Varila: The transmission of scientific texts in the English manuscripts and printed books of the 16th century, 19 February

Varila talked about scientific texts from the early modern period and about the boundaries of what can be called a scientific text in the 16th century context. Research on medieval and early modern science has lately attracted considerable interest among scholars of different fields. The scope of the research is largely defined by what we think science is. For example, medicine is a discipline that has preserved its scientific status up to our own age. Astrology, however, is now viewed as a pseudoscience, even if in the early modern period it was seen as being in connection with astronomy. Research on scientific texts requires us to reflect on how science is defined.

The early scientific texts have not been widely edited, when compared to religious and literary works, even if a considerable number of scientific writings have been preserved for us. Research on the transmission and copying history of these texts is challenging as the textual tradition can often cover hundreds or even thousands of years, and the work has usually been altered in many ways, for example, by shortening or by translating the text. The concept of a 'book' is therefore problematic in the context of early scientific writings. Varila illustrated these problems with examples from 16th century English material.

Meri Heinonen: Black, white or shades of grey - the relationships of religious women and their counsellors in Late Medieval Germany, 18 March

To define the relationship of religious women (nuns and beguines) to men (priests, monks and friars) who served them by celebrating Mass, hearing confessions, giving absolutions and by distributing the Holy Communion was a central part of the rule of every medieval religious community. It is however, remarkably difficult to study these relations, because normative sources apart, we do not have much material in which the matter is being discussed. In contemporary stories, only the two extremes are represented: on the one hand, we know descriptions

of nuns breaking their vows of celibacy with monks or priests, and on the other side, we encounter legends about holy women who became instructors to their male teachers. In her presentation, Heinonen dealt with some depictions of relations between religious women and men falling between these two extremes. Heinonen also pondered what these descriptions tell us about the contacts between religious men and women, and how literary conventions and genres affected the narratives.

Juha Ruohonen: From grave field to churchyard. Ristimäki in Ravattula and the early phases of the ecclesiastical organization of Finland, 15 April

The remains of the oldest known Finnish church are located on the Ristimäki hill along the river Aura in the village of Ravattula, Kaarina. The church was discovered in the autumn of 2013. It was in use at the end of the crusading period in Finland, at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries. In addition to the stone foundation of the church, the stone base of a fence surrounding a vast

churchyard has been found. The church was built during the crusading period in a location already used as a grave field. The next oldest known church buildings in Finland are from the 13th century, and as a result the findings at Ristimäki will sharpen the picture we have of the early history of the Finnish ecclesiastical organization.

Dr Elisa Pallottini (University of Utrecht) gave a talk on the 5th of December, 2016, entitled In-scribing Sanctity. Issues on approaching relics through writing and materiality, c.700-c.1150.

Lecture Series and Courses

Old Norse-Icelandic reading course. 11th of January to 2nd of May, 2016

Teacher: Kendra Willson

The course trained students in the reading of Old Norse and Icelandic texts. During the course, different texts in the aforementioned languages were read, analysed and translated into Finnish or English. Grammatical and cultural topics were covered during the translation process.

Medieval and Renaissance Literature, autumn semester 2016

Teacher: Arto Rintala

The course introduced students to the world of medieval and renaissance literature. The course consisted of lectures and selected readings for the students. Each participant was required to read and introduce a book during the course. The titles discussed included the Confessions of Saint Augustine, My Secret Book by Petrarch, the Laxdæla saga, the Mabinogion, Beowulf, Wolfram von Eschenbach's Parsifal, Dante's Divine Comedy, Celestina by Rojas, Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Villon's Testament, Boccaccio's Fiametta, Mandeville's The Travels of Sir John Mandeville, Montaigne's Essays, Shakespeare's The Tempest and Rabelais' Pantagruel.

PUBLIC LECTURES: STUDIA GENERALIA 2016

Tuomo Fonsén (Adjunct Professor, University of Turku): The Luther Bible inspiring composers in the 17th and 18th centuries, 25 January

Music has always been the dominant part of the Lutheran tradition from the very beginning. After all, the reformer Martin Luther himself was a musical person and wrote and composed several hymns. During the following centuries, an unparalleled musical culture was built on the foundation laid by Luther, as Lutheran composers created music for ecclesiastical purposes. Luther's Bible

translation has been characterized as a linguistic masterpiece, and it has been credited especially for its musicality. Therefore, it offered an excellent source of inspiration for composers. The presentation demonstrated how music and language unite in different compositions exploiting texts from Luther's Bible translation, as short samples of the oratories, cantatas and motets were listened to.

Matti Peikola (Professor, University of Turku): Pearls before swine? Controversies around vernacular Bible translations from late medieval England, 22 February

Vernacular Bible translations diffused with the help of printing technology are among the most well-known texts of the 16th century Reformation. Theological and linguistic debates that had originated earlier in the Middle Ages surrounded the publication of these translations. The entire Bible had been translated into English as early as the 14th century by the students of the theologian John Wycliffe, but accusations of heresy potentially awaited the readers of the translation. Many leading clergymen

thought that reading the Bible without clerical guidance risked promoting heresies. Thus, translating the Bible was forbidden in England until the 1530s, when the first Bible translation approved by the authorities, the Great Bible of 1539, was published. Peikola discussed opinions both in favour of and against translating the Bible from the 14th century and illustrated the debate with examples from contemporary texts.

Kaisa Häkkinen (Professor Emerita, University of Turku): The origin of Finnish written language in the Reformation period, 4 April

Finnish was first used in church services around the year 1537, and thus Orders of Worship, songs, readings and other texts needed in the service had to be translated in Finnish. The oldest writings from this period circulated only as manuscripts, and the printed written language was born only in the 1540s, when Mikael Agricola, the principal of the Cathedral school of Turku, published an ABC book, a prayer book, the New Testament and three liturgical books, a Hand book, a Mass and a Passion.

Turku was the religious and administrative centre of Finland in the Reformation period, but Finnish was also used in Stockholm, where many Finnish-speaking people resided. A Finnish-speaking preacher was appointed to the parish of Stockholm as early as 1533, and the necessary literature was also translated into Finnish in Sweden. The apparently oldest text in Finnish, a fragment of a

Gospel Book, was found in the library of Uppsala University.

During the Reformation period, Finland was the eastern province of Sweden, meaning the kingdom had a considerable Finnish-speaking minority that did not speak Swedish at all. King Gustav I of Sweden made sure that he had Finnish-speaking officials in his secretariat, as from time to time it was necessary to address his Finnish subjects in their own language.

Even though very few Finnish manuscripts and books were produced during the early phase of the Reformation, the existing texts were actively used and thus laid a solid foundation for the spiritual and administrative written language. Many old expressions have even made their way into present-day Finnish in their original form.

Janne Harjula (Adjunct Professor, University of Turku): Books and parts of books from 17th and 18th century graves, 25 April

In his presentation, Harjula examined the books and parts of books found during excavations of the layers of earth under the floors of some Finnish churches. The findings include book clasps that can be dated from the late 17th century to the 19th century. The majority of the findings are probably from the personal hymnbooks of churchgoers, some even from books used by the clergymen, such as Bibles. Harjula pondered the reasons why books, or parts of them, ended up under the church floor. Some of the clasps and other book parts may be from books buried with the deceased, a practice known from Northern folklore. It has been suggested that some-

times a part of a book – a clasp, or a page from a hymnal, for example – may have substituted for the whole book. The majority of the book parts cannot, however, be connected to burials. As loose book clasps in particular have been found in abundance, it has been suggested that in addition to accidental losses, the clasps may have been dropped through floorboards on purpose as some sort of offering. These findings form a whole, which enlightens one field of Finnish literary culture, namely using books as parts of religious beliefs and rituals from the beginning of the early modern era up to the 19th century.

Liisa Steinby (Professor, University of Turku): Jehovah and the Hebrew poets. From Luther up to Herder's enlightened Biblical exegesis, 23 May

Luther wanted to restore the authority of the Church Fathers to the Bible, which he held to be the speech of the Holy Spirit. Luther's viewpoint did not, however, mean a promotion of the human intellect, but quite the contrary, the acknowledgement of the absolute authority of the Bible, as the Biblical dogmas should be accepted with child-like faith, not with rationalizing. Herder, representing the Age of Enlightenment and the historical approach to Bible, believed that intelligence should be used when examining the Bible, as with anything. To Herder, the Bible was human discourse about God and human matters, and it reflects the worldview and living conditions

of near eastern nations, especially those of the Jewish (or "Hebrew", as Herder put it), people. In his study on the Old Testament as poetry (*Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, 1782-83), Herder advances the argument that the Old Testament should be seen as a creation of Hebrew poets, who have given form to a religious mentality with close connections to the patriarchal way of life of a nomadic people. The conception of intimacy between religion and poetry explains the positive attitude that the late-Enlightenment and Romanticism in Germany had towards religion.

Maria Kallio (Master of Arts, University of Turku, National Archives of Finland): Re-used books? Medieval copybooks in the midst of the Reformation, 26 September

Medieval copybooks were manuscripts in which were copied different documents in order to ensure their safe-keeping and to facilitate their further usage. The copybook tradition began in the early medieval monasteries and the earliest exemplars known are from the 9th century. From the monasteries, the use of copybooks spread to bishops' secretariats, chapters and gradually also to city councils. Outside monasteries, however, copybooks were generally not used until the 13th century.

The chapter of Turku cathedral was founded in 1276, and after the mid-15th century several copybooks were compiled for its use. Into these books were copied hun-

dreds of documents concerning the diocesan chapter and the cathedral. The documents form, besides an economic guarantee, a diocesan archive that had huge importance as a maintainer of a literary tradition and of a communal memory.

In her presentation, Kallio examined the copybooks that have survived in Turku and the changing meanings they had from the late Middle Ages to the beginning of the early modern period, demonstrating the various developments the texts had after the Reformation, and how they ended up in their present depository in the Swedish National Archives.

Irmeli Helin (Professor Emerita, University of Turku): Luther's hymns - a part of European cultural heritage, 24 October

The Reformation sought to purge the Christian faith of different extraneous elements that had adhered to it over the centuries. Above all, the Reformation raised the vernacular language to the core of congregational life and service, and in many countries, it contributed significantly to the creation of a unified written language from differing dialects. At the same time, it brought the singing of vernacular hymns to the service. The first vernacular hymnbook had already been published in 1501, that is, before the actual Reformation; it was a hymnal in Czech containing 88 hymns. The first German hymnbook, the *Erfurter Enchiridion*, was published in 1525. Martin Luther did not participate in the making of the hymnbook, although it did contain some of his hymns. Not until four years later was the Wittnberg hymnbook published, in the making of which Luther had a say, and which did contain a foreword from the reformer.

According to the hymn researcher Markus Jenny, Martin Luther wrote 45 hymns, of which he himself also composed the majority, or at least searched for a suitable melody for. Seven of these hymns have been entirely lost, but the German hymnbook of 1994 still has 36 of these hymns, and even the latest Finnish hymnbook has 18 of them. For comparison, the first Finnish hymnbook by Jacobus Finno from 1583 had 22 hymns by Luther.

Luther's hymns have become a part of the European and even global cultural heritage. His hymn *Ein feste*



Prof. Irmeli Helin giving her lecture in the Turku Cathedral

Burg ist unser Gott has acquired a special status in western culture. It is known as a congregational hymn and as an encouraging song used at fateful moments of national history, but classical composers have also used it in their great works, and soon it will also be heard as part of a brand-new pop-oratory.

Mikko Kauko (PhD, University of Turku): Jöns Budde and the literature he translated, 28 November

Jöns Budde was a monk at the monastery of Naantali in the latter half of the 15th century who translated a considerable number of texts from Latin to Swedish, thus being the first professional translator in the Swedish-speaking realm with an extensive number of works. Saint Bridget of Sweden is the only medieval Swedish writer whose oeuvre is larger than Budde's.

In his presentation, Kauko discussed the scarce information that we have of Budde's life and displayed in outline the texts that Budde has translated, examining the

aspects of the content, linguistic form and cultural context of the texts. Kauko positioned Budde in the broader context of late medieval literary culture, taking cultural contacts and medieval multilingualism into account. He also discussed the nature and significance of translation in the pre-Reformation period, and compared the translations by Budde to other Bridgettine texts, such as the visions of Saint Bridget and the book of the Naantali cloister.

TRAVEL GRANTS

The Centre has provided funding for members to attend conferences and carry out research trips relating to their PhD theses or other research projects. During 2016 the following members received financial support from TUCEMEMS.

Aali, Heta: At the beginning of April, 2016, I participated in the fifth international conference of the Royal Studies Network, entitled 'Kings and Queens 5: Dynastic Loyalties'. The organizing university was Clemson University in Greenville South Carolina. My paper was entitled French Historians' Loyalty and Disloyalty to the French Monarchy between 1815 and 1848, and I examined the way two early nineteenth-century historians considered the July Revolution of 1830 in their historiographical works. How did they present their loyalty or disloyalty to the current monarchy in their writings, especially about the early Middle Ages? The conference had a large variety of approaches to the theme and the presentations drew from all periods of history and from a variety of cultures all around the world. Women's role was emphasised in many papers since they often had to choose to offer their loyalty to one of two families, the birth family and the husband's family. The conference proceedings will be published and my paper will appear in these as an article.

Arponen, Aki: The aim of the travel in May 2016 was to research medieval Hailiggrab (Easter Sepulchre) constructions. A total of eight localities were visited: Reutlingen and Schwäbisch Gmünd in Baden-Württemberg, Nuremberg in Bavaria, Saalfeld and Erfurt in Thüringen, Zwickau and Chemnitz in Sachsen, and Esztergom in Hungary. In particular, the Heiliggrab constructions in Sachsen and Hungary resemble the outer part of "the double casket" of Blessed Hemming in Turku Cathedral. The dating and the details in the constructions confirm the writer's theory, according to which "the double casket" is two separate caskets, of which the outer one is related to the medieval passion plays.

Büdi, Regina: During the summer of 2016, I travelled to Germany for a research trip. I visited the Library of Herzog August in Wolfenbüttel to collect proper names for the database of my PhD thesis. I was very satisfied because I was able to see many variations of Habermann's Postille. This is the main source of Sorolainen's Postille, which is the the subject of my research. In addition, I saw other old Postilles, too. During my research trip, I also

went to the University of Munich, where I met with the lecturer of Finnish language. We had a discussion about life in the department. Finally, I went to Greifswald, where I researched several old Finnish texts from the 17th and 18th centuries in the old library of Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University. I have gained substantial further knowledge during this trip, for instance, how one must handle very old and precious prints. I also had the opportunity to network with other researchers.

Hartola, Marja: I participated in and presented a paper at the 23rd IMC (International Medieval Congress) in Leeds in England from the 4th to the 7th of July, 2016 (supported by TUCEMEMS). The special thematic strand in the congress programme was Food, Feast & Famine. 2205 medievalists from 49 countries participated at the IMC in 2016, and 550 sessions were held, of which 180 were discussing the food theme. My paper was in the session 'Famine and Food Culture in the North' with Christian Krötzel as moderator. In my paper "The Changes in the Finnish Food Culture after the Reformation", I gave some examples of how the eating and everyday lives of people changed when there were no more Lenten Days and the religion no longer stipulated when you were allowed to eat only fish, bread and vegetables or when you could eat also meat, eggs and milk products.

Helenius, Visa: Course at the Finnish Institute at Rome, from the 24th of May to the 6th of June, 2016. The course was organized by the Department of Classics of the University of Turku. I received a travel grant from the Turku Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (TUCEMEMS). Mrs Jaana Vaahtera, university lecturer at the Department of Classics, was the leader and mentor of the course. The content of the course focused on the material history of Ancient Rome. The course included seminar, excursions and lectures by experts. The course topics varied from the history of Villa Lante (our accommodation) to inscriptions of Rome and the Etruscan tombs of Cerveteri. The excursions were also diverse: the course included almost all the essential ancient landmarks in the heart of Rome and in Ostia Antica and Cerveteri.

The course provided fresh ideas and new data for my research with respect to Ancient Rome.

Lahtinen-Kaislaniemi, Maria: TUCEMEMS awarded me a scholarship to attend the 'Relics @ the Lab' seminar in Brussels between the 26th and 28th of October, 2016. This meeting gathered more than a hundred relic researchers from the Western World. The topic of this meeting was supposed to be the scientific analysis of relics and the call for papers was intended to bring new results together.

Unfortunately, most of the presenters did not have scientific results, but as there is a clear lack of a forum for relic studies, this meeting was turned into more general relic conference. This, however, was my good fortune, as it gave an insight into the state of relic studies around the Western world.

My presentation was well received and many researchers gave positive feedback personally. Despite the destructive nature of my research method, many researchers suggested future collaboration and offered samples for analysis. It seems that isotope analysis in relics could be an interesting and important approach for future studies and applications.

Latva, Otto: Latva received a grant for research at the archives at Nantucket, a small island in the American state of Massachusetts, in April, 2016. During this stay in Nantucket, Latva had an opportunity to observe whaling log books in the Research Library of Nantucket Historical Association. Latva searched for sources for his dissertation *The Giant Squid: Imagining and Encountering the Unknown in 1763-1896*, which among other matters focuses on the perceptions of whalers regarding these deep-ocean dwelling squid. The research trip was a success for Latva in various ways. For instance, he found a considerable amount of new material for his dissertation, material that previous research related to the giant squid has not paid any attention to before.

Lehmusjärvi, Niina: I received a travel grant from TUCEMEMS to participate in the conference 'Gender and Generations: Spaces, times and relationships in cultural-historical perspective', organised by the International Society for Cultural History (ISCH) at the University of Trieste, Italy, from the 18th to the 22nd of July, 2016. While there, I had a session paper 'Ladies of Iron and Frail Widows. Acts and Presentation of Power and Powerlessness by Female Iron Works Owners in Eighteenth-Century Sweden.' The conference was excellent and varied, and the presentations gave me several insights into the cultural history of gender and generations that will help me to work on and write my PhD thesis.

Muhonen, Timo: In a wide sense, my PhD thesis project focuses on cairns in the context of Finnish-Karelian folk belief. As milieu-dominant structures, cairns had an important place in the landscape and gathered many different meanings over time. Landscape is one of the key points in my study for I examine how cairns fitted into the general folk perception of the concrete world, especially the surroundings of human habitation. For this purpose, I have also gathered a substantial amount of comparative material which describes folk mentality regarding different spatial categories and their interaction. For example, springs are represented in the material and that is one of the reasons why I attended the 4th international Landscape Archaeology Conference (LAC 2016) in Uppsala, Sweden from the 23rd to the 25th of August, 2016. Altogether, there were 323 participants from 36 countries. I gave a presentation with the title *Springs of Cure: Finnish-Karelian Spring Tradition and the Perception of Water* which belonged to session C1: Perceptions, Use and Engineering of Water. The presentation discussed the spring practices and beliefs that intertwine around the folk idea of space or rather spaces and the different beings which inhabit them. The offering of the conference was multifold: in addition to making new valuable contacts, I found several of the theoretical tools presented very useful for my study and gained knowledge of several cases around the world which can be employed as ethnographic parallels in my thesis.

Silva, Tiago: "Intercultural Marriages and Moorish Vices: Christian-Islamic Confluence in Count D. Pedro's Book of Lineages", a research paper presented at the symposium *Historians of Medieval Iberia: Enemies and Friends*, Stockholm, 14-16 March, 2016.

The purpose of this trip was to present a paper at the symposium *Historians of Medieval Iberia: Enemies and Friends*, Stockholm, from the 14th to the 16th of March, 2016. My paper was entitled "Intercultural Marriages and Moorish Vices: Christian-Islamic Confluence in Count D. Pedro's Book of Lineages" and it dealt with representations of Christian-Islamic cultural confluence in this fourteenth century Portuguese genealogical compilation. My paper will be proposed for publication in a volume on *Co-existence and Competition in Medieval Iberia*, to be published with Cambridge Scholars Publishing, in a projected new book series on *The History of Medieval Iberia*. The subject of this paper will also be part of an extended article that will be incorporated in my doctoral dissertation, which is composed of four articles dealing with historiographical representations of the war against the Muslims in medieval Portugal.

INTERNSHIP AT TUCEMEMS

February– April 2016

Janne Aakko worked as a trainee for TUCEMEMS in The Northern Reformation book project from February to the end of April, 2016. The Northern Reformation is a popular nonfictional book about the consequences of the Lutheran reformation in Finland and the region of Turku mainly in the 16th century. Professor Marjo Kaartinen and Meri Heinonen were his immediate superiors in the project.

Janne Aakko's first part in this project was editing the endnotes and the bibliography of the articles. After this process, that data had a uniform structure. Secondly, he took part in the visual editing of the book in cooperation with the entire editorial team, especially with Meri Heinonen and Aki Luotonen, who designed the layout for the book. Janne Aakko organized the bulk of the pictures for the book, made his own proposals and sought places for all of them. Some of the pictures were even taken by him. Some paper work was also involved in his work in addition to proofreading the articles.

Janne Aakko

MEMBERS' DOCTORAL THESES DEFENDED IN 2016

20 February, 2016, **Mikko Moilanen** (Archaeology): Marks of Fire, Value and Faith. Swords with Ferrous Inlays in Finland during the Late Iron Age (ca. 700–1200 AD)

20 February, 2016, **Jani Sinokki** (Philosophy): Descartes' Metaphysics of Thinking

23 April, 2016, **Kreetta Ranki** (Philosophy): Animal Experience in Kant's Philosophy

14 May, 2016, **Veli Pekka Toropainen** (Finnish history): Päättäväiset porvarskat. Turun johtavan porvariston naisten toimijuus vuosina 1623–1670.

28 May, 2016, **Mari-Liisa Varila** (English Language): A case study on the transmission of scientific writing in 16th-century England.

8 October, 2016, **Reima Välimäki** (Cultural History): The Awakener of Sleeping Men. Inquisitor Petrus Zwicker, the Waldenses, and the Reteologisation of Heresy in Late Medieval Germany

12 November, 2016, **Sonja Hukantaival** (Archaeology): "For a witch cannot cross such a threshold!" Building concealment traditions in Finland c. 1200–1950

INTERVIEWING NEW DOCTORS

Jani Sinokki

Jani Sinokki defended his doctoral thesis *Descartes' Metaphysics of Thinking* at the University of Turku on 20 February, 2016. The official opponent was **Professor Denis Kambouchner** from the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, and the custos was **Professor Olli Koistinen** from the University of Turku.

Jani Sinokki began his research by examining a philosophical problem, namely the veil of perception. Sinokki explains this problem in the following way: “The problem consists basically in the observation that all our perceptions are ontologically mental, that is, depend on our minds, but the object we perceive (or seem to perceive) are not mental. The following question arises: if only something mental is present to us in perception, how do we know that by those perceptions we are in contact with something outside ourselves?”

He wanted to trace the historical ideas that have discussed this problem, and discovered something interesting: “Although **Locke** borrows plenty from **Descartes** (he acknowledges this openly in his early drafts for his famous Essay, but removed the mentions from published versions), he omits borrowing a crucial component, namely a feature of ideas Descartes labels their objective reality.”

According to Sinokki, this feature omitted by Locke is “the component which explains the relation between a mental entity (perception or thought) and the object it is of, or which it represents.” This means basically that all ideas have an objective reality as ontological beings, which must necessarily have some sort of cause. For example, I cannot think about a horse without that idea having come to my mind from somewhere, such as from seeing a horse in a field. Without understanding the objective reality of ideas, Descartes’ famous arguments are difficult to understand correctly.

Sinokki believes that this feature of Descartes’ philosophy was not correctly understood by Locke and many following philosophes: “It is Locke’s omission of this metaphysically indispensable idea that makes his account

vulnerable to the veil of perception, and at the same time made his philosophy quite disappointing. In terms of discernment and insight about thought, it seemed to me that Western philosophy reach its apex in Descartes, and has not recovered since. And I feel this way still.”

World famous arguments re-visited

Sinokki holds that Descartes’ famous “cogito ergo sum” argument has been misunderstood in many ways. Not least because it is often quoted incorrectly. “Textbooks and reviewed articles are being written which claim that Meditations make this false claim. Namely, in the Meditations Descartes says something completely different, namely that the thought or proposition “I am, I exist” (Ego sum, ego existo) is necessarily true whenever I think of it or pronounce it. At least here there’s hardly any inference there, but rather something like a realization of an undeniably true thought from which all metaphysics has to begin. Or should begin, at least if you understand metaphysics like Descartes did, as the only mode of human inquiry that cannot rely on previous assumptions but has to begin truly from scratch.”

The cogito can also be understood as a primarily epistemological claim, but Sinokki does not share this interpretation. “Descartes philosophizes by using methodical doubt, that is, by treating anything doubtful as if it was false. Probably this aspect of his philosophy leads many to assume that Descartes uses cogito as a foundational cornerstone on which he piles up later pieces of knowledge. But of course, this fits rather poorly with what Descartes writes.” Instead, Sinokki believes that “Descartes was trying to explain a metaphysical view of

the world, which when understood correctly, would also vindicate our knowledge claims. The point is that there's a huge difference whether we think "cogito" as the foundation for knowledge or rather as foundation for a metaphysical worldview that serves as the foundation of the other sciences."

As for the famous examples about the dream hypothesis and the evil demon hypothesis, Sinokki does think Descartes uses them mainly instrumentally. "For Descartes, metaphysics is that form of inquiry that cannot rely on any ungrounded assumptions, so scepticism is needed as a kind of industrial strength solvent that gets us rid of our previous preconceptions and theories."

However, Descartes does not think that thinking is disconnected from the actual world. On the contrary, according to Sinokki, Descartes' argumentation presupposes the idea that the actual world and thinking are connected causally. His argument for God's existence, for example, requires this connection, as Sinokki points out: "This argument is at the core of Descartes' metaphysics, and it speaks heavily against the view often attributed to Descartes that thought is somehow independent of the other created things."

Sinokki explains that Descartes proceeds first from the notion of existence in general to look for the very limits of existence that we find in God and in nothingness. "The distinction he draws between thinking and extension is merely a distinction to two different kinds of existence inside one and single domain." This does not, however, explain how Descartes thought thinking actually was connected to the body. "I think that he didn't have a well-worked out solution to the issue. But I think he was very much on the right track in both thinking that the mind and body are part of one and the same causal

network and that they are still so different from each other that we should not confuse them."

The concept of God Descartes uses needs still some clarifications. According to Sinokki, Descartes thinks that God's powers are not restricted in any way. God is not restricted even by logic, and could have created truly contradictory things. In this respect, Descartes departs from most of his contemporary philosophers, who thought that even God is somehow restricted by the laws of logic.

Descartes' quite absolute view follows from his conception of God and existence. According to Sinokki, Descartes holds that actual infinity is a central feature of God. "He seems to view God as the actually and absolutely infinite being, on which the existence of all the rest there is depends, including the laws of logic and the like."

Descartes also believes that God cannot change and that he is a simple being, which means that miracles cannot take place – a perfect being knowing and deciding for all eternity how everything will happen would not have any reason to make changes in the course of events.

Sinokki says that these views are not entirely compatible with the teachings of the Church, and it is unclear how religious instances placed themselves vis-à-vis Descartes' theological views. "Many certainly have had their reservations. Blaise Pascal, for instance, considered Descartes' conception of God as amounting to sheer atheism. After all, Descartes' God is merely the source and upholder of existence, and it leaves no room for divine providence. Pascal thought it significant that here's little consolation in this metaphysically robust view of God, and it indeed fits poorly to religious aspects that are important from the humane point of view, like purpose, providence and prayer."



Jani Sinokki

Kreeta Ranki

Kreeta Ranki defended her doctoral thesis *Animal Experience in Kant's Philosophy* at the University of Turku on 23 April, 2016. The official opponent was **Adjunct Professor Martina Reuter** from the University of Jyväskylä and the custos was **Professor Olli Koistinen** from the University of Turku.

Kreeta Ranki researched in her doctoral thesis on how **Immanuel Kant** has treated animal experience in his writings. The question also has contemporary applications, as animal right issues are being debated from many perspectives. Ranki's research opens up a new viewpoint on this complicated problem.

Kant was already the subject of Ranki's Master's thesis. At the time, she researched Kant's philosophy of the mind, which was a very theoretical subject. In her doctoral thesis, she continued with Kant, but took the question of animal experience for the main focus of her dissertation. To understand Kant better, Ranki wanted to position Kant in his historical context, and in her dissertation she views Kant's argument together with **René Descartes'** and **David Hume's** ideas.

Descartes thought that animals are just machines, that is to say highly complex, mechanical devices that have no

mind whatsoever. If one were skilled enough, one could build an animal, but constructing a human person would not be possible, because humans have an immaterial soul in addition to their material body. All the interaction animals have with the world is, according to Descartes, merely mechanical responses, not the result of any kind of thinking. Hume, instead, took the opposite stand, and stated that it is obvious that animals have reason and that they think as well as humans do.

Kant saw that, like humans, animals have a sensibility, meaning that they can have perceptions and sensorial experiences from the world. However, unlike humans, animals do not have the abilities of reasoning and understanding which enable us to conceptualize our sensorial experiences. Animals can have experiences, and even remember them, thus enabling them to anticipate and plan their actions in a limited way, but they do not have reason,



Kreeta Ranki.

which would enable them to analyse their experiences or become conscious of themselves.

It seems that Kant and Hume are here at odds when discussing the question of animal reason, but according to Ranki, this contradiction is due to the fact that Kant uses the terms 'reason' and 'thinking' in a different way than Hume. In practice, Kant and Hume agree on what animals can or cannot do. Here, Ranki emphasizes the importance of accurate definitions of focal terms for contemporary discussion as well. If we are discussing whether animals can think or not, we first have to agree on what we mean by thinking.

Ranki's dissertation also has other new perspectives to offer to contemporary discussions on animal ethics. Of course, Kant's ideas on animal experience are not entirely up-to-date with modern scientific knowledge on the mental abilities of different species. For example, the behaviour of all species (such as the great apes, dolphins or cows) cannot be reduced to Kant's model, but seem to have more complex mental abilities than Kant sup-

posed. Even so, Kant's ideas give a new perspective to the ethical discussion on animal welfare. How animals and their minds are conceptualized affects the way humans treat animals. Even though he does not believe animals to have intrinsic value, Kant is of the opinion that we need to take care of animals and treat them well because, like humans, animals seek pleasure and avoid pain. Therefore, it can be argued that humans have indirect moral duties towards animals.

In our society, the question of animal ethics is often approached from a utilitarian perspective, especially in the context of animal production. As the idea of moral duties towards animals does not have direct consequences for the benefit of the industry, the question is not raised in the debate. According to Ranki, this is a very topical issue, as the new law on animal welfare is being discussed, and the concept of the intrinsic value of animals has been brought forward in the new Animal Welfare Act in Finland.

Veli Pekka Toropainen

Veli Pekka Toropainen defended his doctoral thesis *Päättäväiset porvarskat. Turun johtavan porvariston naisten toimijuus vuosina 1623–1670* (Determined burgess ladies. The agency of women from the leading bourgeoisie of Turku during the years 1623-1670) at the University of Turku on the 14th of May, 2016. The official opponent was **Professor Marko Lamberg** from the University of Stockholm and the custos was **Professor Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen** from the University of Turku.

Toropainen has had a long acquaintance with the bourgeoisie of 17th and 18th century Turku, as he has researched them for many projects since the 1980s. First, he encountered the bourgeois men, as he did his Master's thesis on internal social control of the social class. When reading his source material through, he did however see that the burgess ladies were very active in many fields of life. That sparked his interest, because it was common to think that ladies in the premodern era were not at all active in the public or business sphere of life. Therefore, Toropainen decided to investigate the question more thoroughly, and began his PhD on the subject.

In the first place, Toropainen systematically went through the existing sources from the 17th century, mainly law records from the city court and tax rolls, as well as other materials. The process was laborious, but the effort

paid off in the end, as he could easily write more on questions he had not planned to treat in the first place. All in all, he found much more information on burgess women than he had anticipated, and had to compress the material greatly. There is still material untreated or only summarily referred to, and Toropainen plans to write more about the existing material.

Women were active in financial and business matters

The women of the bourgeoisie were well educated by the standards of the time. They knew how to read, write and count and they spoke different languages and participated in their father's and husband's commerce. According to Toropainen, women actually managed the finances

and the business together with their men, and when the man died, the widow was immediately able to continue the business independently. It is significant that creditors did not seek to collect business debts immediately upon the death of the men but instead trusted that the widows could manage the business all by themselves. The women were not only able to keep the business going, but they could even raise slumbering businesses to new bloom.

Not all women, however, wished to continue the business of their deceased husband, and chose to live off their capital. This clearly shows that the women were active agents of their own destiny, and could make different decisions regarding their finances. Of course, when the husband was still alive, the women were officially represented by the spouse in business and other public occasions, but even then they were active partners in the common business. They also had full rights to represent their husband if the latter was, for example, on a trip and could not be reached. Toropainen tells of one merchant, who, going on a journey, told the city council not to listen to his accountant, but instead to his wife. This shows how the women were trusted by the men also in financial and business questions.

Many times the women could even be better acquainted with the business and have wider networks than their husbands, because many men came from the southern shores of the Baltic Sea, and were not as familiar with the situation in Turku as their wives. It made no sense to waste the huge potential women had in terms of business; therefore, they were allowed to participate in the financial and business activities of their husbands.

Social networks

The city council, representing the bourgeoisie of the town, protected and supported the widowed merchant women, as they were part of the common estate. It is interesting that women sometimes saw their relatives as a threat to their welfare and that of their children, and in such cases could be supported by the city council against their own relatives. The relatives were of course important for the women, but they could be also a threat. Widowed women wanted first and foremost to secure a livelihood for themselves and their children, and after the death of the husband relatives could become a threat, wanting to split the property in order to benefit from it.

This demonstrates that the bourgeoisie had tight connections in the relatively small city of Turku, and these networks were very important for the merchant community. Toropainen has a small example from the sources that shows the everyday connections that the bourgeois women had with each other. One interesting example is that every woman in the community knew the origins

of a given piece of jewellery very well. New jewels were showcased and admired together at soirées, compared and talked about. This is just one, but a significant example of the close relations that the bourgeoisie of the town had with each other. The women also met in other circumstances, chatted and played cards together and made deals and lent money to each other.

Merchant women often wanted to have a strong hold on the whole business. They had many shop assistants, messengers and lawyers working for them, as they often ran businesses that encompassed multiple shops, ships and farms in the countryside, but at the same time they could pay minute attention to small details and themselves assist in court proceedings and negotiations. Toropainen tells of a merchant woman, **Elin Säger**, the head of a large-scale enterprise, who had time to peep through a chink in a wall at a blacksmith who was reported to be stealing iron from her. Säger also let her sons take charge of the business, but was ready to step in if the sons were not up to the task. She was, for example, present in court with one of her sons, and when the proceeding did not go well for them, she intervened.

All in all, the women of the bourgeoisie in Turku were much more active than Toropainen had thought beforehand. This can be seen most clearly when the women are widowed, and they gain autonomy in financial terms, but many women also took part in the family business when their husband was still alive and in some cases were clearly pulling the strings behind their husband's back.



Veli Pekka Toropainen.

Mari-Liisa Varila

Mari-Liisa Varila defended her doctoral thesis *In search of textual boundaries: A case study on the transmission of scientific writing in 16th-century England* at the University of Turku on the 28th of May, 2016. The official opponent was **Professor Daniel Wakelin** from the University of Oxford and the custos was **Professor Matti Peikola** from the University of Turku.

Mari-Liisa Varila first had the spark to research early books and texts from her inspiring professors and teachers while doing her undergraduate studies. When it was time to pick a subject for her MA thesis, she wanted to find a topic related to early English books and texts. She ended up doing her study on an unedited manuscript compilation from 16th-century England (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library MS 558), which had received little scholarly attention.

Varila describes the manuscript as containing multiple astrological and medical texts and belonging originally to a merchant named Thomas Butler. The research process proved fruitful to her: “During the research process, I found out that there are two other manuscripts related to Beinecke 558, both currently in another Yale library (New Haven, Yale University, Medical/Historical Library MS 26 and MS 45). The connection between these manuscripts had been noted in earlier research, but nobody had focused on the manuscript group before.”

The manuscripts had not been researched much before, and Varila wanted to find out how the different manuscripts and texts were connected to each other. The source material also made it possible for her to study other interesting features of 16th century book production, such as the interaction between manuscript and print.

The interaction of these two media have been noted by researchers, but in practice research is often concentrated on only one type of source material. According to Varila, this can be problematic because both media were used side by side. “For example, manuscripts were used as copy-texts in printing houses, readers had manuscript and print gatherings bound together – and texts were copied from printed books into manuscripts, as is the case with some texts in my material.”

Varila wanted to focus her research upon the scribes who copied scientific texts because little research has been devoted to the Early English scientific writings from the perspective of scribal practices. According to Varila, scribes copying scientific material may have been more concerned with the accurate reproduction of information content rather than the linguistic and visual form of a given text. “For example, information on planets or medicines could be circulated in a table as well as in prose form. By utilising methods from manuscript studies, codicology, palaeography, historical discourse analysis, and

textual scholarship, I was also able to determine that the boundaries of texts were often treated rather flexibly.”

The scribal activity also consisted in the selection and organization of different subsections of the texts. “Such sections could be moved around, omitted, or added according to the interest of the intended reader or the scribe. The spatial constraints, for example the physical limits set by the space of the manuscript page, also play an important part in how the texts of the Yale group manuscripts were copied and organised.”

The concept of ‘text’ is thus quite different from what we are accustomed to. Varila believes that the concept is often linked to ‘authorship’, as we think that texts are the expression of the thoughts of an individual person or of a group. In her source materials, the same information is repeated by many authors in many different works, the scientific writings are often compilations of materials from many authors. “For example, each zodiacal sign is associated with certain characteristics, and this kind of information could be presented in an illustration, in a table, in verse, or in prose. It is often not possible to be



Mari-Liisa Varila.

certain of who the ‘author’ behind such associations is, as similar information was circulated in different languages during millennia of years.” The information was treated as general knowledge, not as the insights of a certain author. “The traditional terminology of author-centred and

work-centred textual scholarship is not, perhaps, ideally suited to discussing texts that are subject to such extensive reworking and selective copying.” Sounds a little bit like a 16th century Wikipedia, doesn’t it?

Reima Välimäki

Reima Välimäki defended his doctoral thesis *The Awakener of Sleeping Men. Inquisitor Petrus Zwicker, the Waldenses, and the Retheologisation of Heresy in Late Medieval Germany* at the University of Turku on the 8th of October, 2016. The official opponent was **Professor Peter Biller** from the University of York and the custos was **Professor Marjo Kaartinen** from the University of Turku.

Reima Välimäki came across his topic when he wrote his Master’s thesis. He was interested in the Inquisition in northern Europe and found an edition of the Stettin protocols from the Inquisition of **Petrus Zwicker**. After writing his Master’s thesis, he saw that the subject had been only touched upon by previous scholars, and wanted to continue research on the inquisitor Petrus Zwicker. The source material has not been easily accessible for previous generations, and Välimäki acknowledges that his work has been immensely eased by the digitalization of the past years. Many manuscripts are today in digitized format and easily accessible via internet; thus, Välimäki has been able to consult them using his computer. Even so, Välimäki has carried out an enormous amount of work in going through virtually all different manuscripts of his main sources, the *Cum dormirent homines* and the *Refutatio errorum*, written by Petrus Zwicker.

Petrus Zwicker was a Celestine monk living at the turn of the 15th century in the Archdiocese of Prague. He was one of the most significant inquisitors of the period, even though he is not as well known as, for example, Bernard of Gui. He wrote an influential tractate against the Waldensian heresy that was circulated in numerous copies during the next century. This tractate, the *Cum dormirent homines*, is directed against the Waldensian heresy and is remarkable for its Biblicism. In other words, Zwicker seeks to demonstrate the truth of the Catholic doctrine solely by referencing the Bible, not to Church fathers or other theologians.

Zwicker thus sought to overcome the heretics with their own weapons, as the Waldensians did not accept other authorities than the Bible. Of course, implicitly he is still heavily indebted to the Catholic theologians and their Biblical commentaries. Nonetheless, Zwicker is quite atypical for a Catholic theologian of his time in this respect. According to Välimäki, the entire question of Biblical authority was a debated and much discussed one in the Bohemian reform-spirituality of the late 14th cen-

tury, as the ideas of John Wycliffe came from Oxford to Prague early on and gained much support from Jan Hus and other local intellectuals. The Waldenses were not thus the only group questioning the authority of the Catholic Church during that period.

Another important source besides the tractates of Zwicker are manuscripts containing the *Processus Petri* text, a sort of manual for inquisition, albeit these texts



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are problematic in nature, as they do not contain such features as conventional inquisitorial manuals; therefore, scholars have hesitated to label them as proper manuals for inquisition. For example, they do not contain detailed descriptions of the inquisitional process, and they lack juridical commentaries, commonly found in manuals for inquisition. Instead, the manuscripts containing the *Processus Petri* present lists of questions to be asked of the examinee, descriptions of common errors in the Waldensian theology and quite often one of the two tractates Zwicker wrote. Välimäki interprets these texts as having had a more pastoral and didactic function than a juridical one. They were intended for common parish priests, who supervised the sanctions of the penitent heretics and preached against the heresy in their own parish church. It is also significant that Zwicker's tractate survives in circa 50 manuscripts, which is a very exceptional number for an inquisitional text, usually conserved in only few manuscripts. The great number of surviving texts points to the fact that it was used by common priests rather than by only professional inquisitors.

This is part of a phenomenon that Välimäki names the retheologisation of heresy. It is a rather complex phenomenon that can be followed throughout many occurrences. Heresy is encountered as a theological problem, and is preached and written against with renewed zeal. The laymen were questioned much more thoroughly, and greater emphasis was placed on the actual beliefs held by them. This can be seen especially in the writings of two contemporary inquisitors, Petrus Zwicker and Martinus of Prague.

From a wider perspective, the retheologisation of heresy is a part of the theological debate between laymen and clergy at the end of the 14th century concerning the authority of the Church and the position of the priesthood. It is a feature of the Great Schism, which was tearing Western Christendom apart. In the tense atmosphere of the Schism these questions about laity and clergy and the authority of the Church became important in a new way, and greater care was devoted to the instruction and control of the laymen.

Sonja Hukantaival

Sonja Hukantaival defended her doctoral thesis *‘For a witch cannot cross such a threshold!’ Building concealment traditions in Finland c. 1200–1950* at the University of Turku on the 12th of November, 2016. The official opponent was *Adjunct Professor Peter Carelli* from Lund University, and the custos was **Professor Jussi-Pekka Taavitsainen** from the University of Turku.

While doing her undergraduate studies, Sonja Hukantaival was working at archaeological excavations in Turku during one summer. She was digging the foundations of a stove from the 17th century, when in two corners of the stove she found the bones from two paws of a hare. Hukantaival wondered whether she could do her MA thesis on the “superstitions” of the past. To her surprise, there was enough material on the subject not only for her MA thesis, but also for her doctoral thesis.

In her MA thesis, Hukantaival used Finnish folklore recorded in the 19th century as comparison material for the archaeological findings, but the folklore material proved so large and interesting that she took it as one of her main source materials in her doctoral thesis. The folklore depicts rituals and beliefs associated with the concealments made when building a new house. In addition to the archaeological findings and the folklore material, Hukantaival also analysed a few historical documents, namely some records of witchcraft trials in which concealed objects were at issue. The multifaceted source material made it possible for her to approach the subject from many different perspectives.

What kinds of objects were concealed then? According to Hukantaival, three objects are more common by far than others in the folklore tradition. These are mercury, money and animal bones. The use of mercury is probably a later custom, but money and bones are to be found also in the archaeological evidence from the entire period under investigation. Sharp artefacts, such as axes, sickles or knives have also been concealed.

The concealed objects are of the same kind as normal objects seen as having some sort of magical powers. The objects were chosen to protect the place from evil powers. For example, demonic creatures called *mares* were believed to be afraid of sharp objects. Money was used to trade with the home genius, and horse skulls, the most common form of concealed bones, were believed to repel vermin.

The concealments could be made almost anywhere in the building, but some spots were, according to Hukantaival, more common than others. In particular, thresholds, corners and fireplaces have been popular spots for concealments. During her research, Hukantaival came to the conclusion that mercury concealments were often lo-

cated in the threshold and horse skulls in the fireplace. Money was concealed in corners more often than elsewhere in the building.

According to Hukantaival, the folklore tradition gives us clues as to the kinds of significances that were associated with these concealments. By far the most common reason for the practice was their use as protective magic against different kinds of evils. Typically, what was feared was the noxious effects of the envy of neighbours. It was believed that envious people could harm the house or its cattle by means of witchcraft. This fear was more common in densely populated areas. In more sparsely populated areas, magic was used to protect the house from vermin and to communicate with the house spirit.

The concealment tradition continues to this day, although the meanings associated with the practice have greatly changed. For example, during the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of public buildings, a time

capsule is often concealed, containing a newspaper of the day, a series of coins from the same year and the charter of the building. These concealments are thus aimed at the future, for possible later finders of the concealments. The significance of the concealment is therefore quite different from the everyday life worries that arise in the material Hukantaival used in her research.

Private persons also continue the tradition. Hukantaival explains that she has heard, for example, that one family concealed a bottle of champagne and a family photo inside the wall of their house in the 1980s. This tradition has not yet received attention in research thus far. Perhaps this tradition is not so far from the past. After all, there is something quite magical in the idea of concealing something in a building for future generations to discover...



Sonja Hukantaival.

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