Church and State in the Northern Baltic Region: The Transformation of Lutheran Church Governance in Estland 1561–1743

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Abstract
Under Swedish rule the bishop together with the consistory, composed only of clerical members, served as the highest church governance institution in the Duchy of Estland. However, during the final two decades of Swedish rule this institution was subordinated directly to the monarch. After Russian supremacy was established in 1710 central government support for the Lutheran clergy disappeared. The secular Ritterschaft [the corporation of the noble landlords] used the chaotic circumstances of the period following the Great Northern War to expand its sphere of self-governance and appointed a Landrat [councillor, a high Ritterschaft official] as the president of the consistory. Thus with a secular figure leading Estland's highest ecclesiastical institution for the first time the Swedish form of church governance was substituted by a variation of the German form. It took considerable time and efforts for the Ritterschaft to overcome the opposition of the clergy and to consolidate the new system of church governance.


The expanding jurisdiction of secular authority over ecclesiastical affairs has been one of the key issues in the longterm history of secular and ecclesiastical communities. In the
late Middle Ages the Church witnessed increasing and ever more successful attempts by kings and princes to control ecclesiastical affairs. During the early modern period with the emergence of territorial states, and especially as a result of the Reformation, these attempts became mainstream practice. The emerging territorial states tried to rule over every sphere of life, with church and religion being among the most important targets. Ecclesiastical organizations adapted to the emerging territorial states in a number of different ways. Although the new major confessions resulting from the Reformation, Lutheranism and Calvinism, never acquired the universal organizational form of the Roman Catholic Church, each developed very different relations to the state.

The focus of this chapter is on the Lutheran confession, which in every case was institutionalized with the decisive support of the secular state or a state-like authority. Thus a large number of Lutheran territorial churches came into being, each of which was bounded by the political borders of a state, territory, or free city. At the same time, these territorial churches came to be governed by representatives of state power. In numerous German Lutheran territories the prince, or in case of the free cities, the city council, became the head and actual ruler of the local territorial church. In the kingdom of Sweden, however, a different trend developed. Instead of the secular authority the high clergy played the most important role in the governance of the Swedish Lutheran church, which was a result of the clergy’s particularly strong position in the state’s political framework.

The German and Swedish types of church governance in early modern Lutheran states were supplemented by certain variations in the Baltic region. The study of these special cases discloses some new and important aspects of the highly complicated trans-European process of the expansion of state control over church and religion.

This chapter explores the case of the Duchy of Estland [in Swedish and German: Estland, in Estonian: Eestimaa] in the typological framework of Lutheran church governance. Governance of the local territorial church at the episcopal and consistorial levels forms the centrepiece of this chapter. It is argued that a change of fundamental principle, hitherto overlooked in previous studies, occurred in the Duchy of Estland’s church governance in the first half of the 18th century. The period examined opens with the establishment of Swedish supremacy in the northern Baltic region in 1561 and closes with the stabilization of a reorganized system of church governance in the Duchy of Estland under the Russian crown in 1743.

While a number of Baltic German, Estonian, Latvian, Swedish, Finnish, and German researchers have studied the relationships of the Lutheran church and state, as well as church governance in the Baltic region during the early modern period, much work remains to be done. In particular the studies of Hermann Dalton, Johan Köpp, Olaf Sild, Ludvigs Adamovičs, Erich von Schrenck, Wilhelm Lenz, Guntram Philipp, Martti Parvio and Riho Saard have provided a foundation for this area of study. The period of Swedish rule in the Baltic region (1561–1710) has been best researched. This is thanks to several
articles by Gustaf Oskar Fredrik Westling that have addressed some of the major questions related to church organisation in Estland and Livland7 [in Swedish and German: Livland, in Estonian: Liivimaa], and to three comprehensive monographs by Alvin Isberg that treat the church governance of Estland, Livland and Ösel [in Swedish and German: Ösel, in Estonian: Saaremaa]. The problems of church, state, and church governance in the 18th century, under the supremacy of the Russian Empire, have been much less well researched8. Moreover, during the Soviet era in Estonia (1940–1991) little could be done in the field of church history due to the severe ideological parameters that were imposed on scholarly historical research. However, since the end of the Soviet occupation the study of church history in Estonia has been gaining importance once again.

**Political background**

In the Middle Ages the political region of Old Livonia, consisting of four bishoprics and the territory of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, covered roughly the area of present-day Estonia and Latvia. All these Old Livonian political units disappeared in the course of the Livonian War at the beginning of the 1560s and consequently the political map of this region was thoroughly rearranged. In the northern part of present-day Estonia Swedish rule was established and the Duchy of Estland emerged. Until 1917 this duchy (also called a province or governorate) demarcated Estland as an administrative unit. South of the Duchy of Estland another new political unit, the Duchy of Livland, came into being under the Polish crown. On the island of Ösel Danish rule prevailed and finally, Kurland became a duchy controlled by Poland. After several wars lasting for decades both Livland in 1629 and Ösel in 1645 became Swedish dominions, thus uniting most of the Baltic region under the Swedish crown.

In the early modern composite state of Sweden the power of the monarch was restricted by the Riksdag [the diet which represented the nobility, the clergy, the citizenry and the peasantry] in Sweden proper9. The administration of the Baltic dominions differed significantly from the governance of Sweden proper. In the dominions power was divided between the state-run provincial government headed by the governor or governor-general and the local self-administrative bodies of the estates. The local estates were not represented in the Riksdag. The dual administrative system of the Baltic region employed by both Swedish and later Russian rulers, has been termed a Baltischer Landesstaat [Baltic provincial state]. Five major political units may be identified in this configuration: the Duchy of Estland, the Duchy of Livland, the province of Ösel and the two privileged cities, Tallinn [in Swedish and German: Reval] and Riga. Tallinn and Riga were governed by their own city councils. In Estland, Livland, and Ösel the Ritterschaft [the corporation of the noble landlords] was the privileged body. The nobility of Estland and the city of Tallinn had surrendered voluntarily to the Swedish crown in 1561, on the condition that the privileges of the city of Tallinn and Estland's local nobility be retained. As a result both Estland and Tallinn preserved considerably broader rights of self-government than the nobility of Livland and Ösel.
King Charles XI initiated a reform of government in Sweden at the beginning of the 1680s that led to the formation of an absolutist monarchy. His aim was to restrict the power of the nobility, to unify the provinces and dominions of the state, and to utilise their potential for the good of the entire state. Fundamental to this was the establishment of the king’s personal leadership, which seriously restricted the privileges of the estates in Sweden proper, as well as in the Baltic region. Another aspect of the reform was the **reduktion**, which converted large areas of land belonging to the nobility (more than 50 percent in Estland) into crown property.

During the Great Northern War (1700–1721) Sweden lost all its Baltic dominions and Russian supremacy extended over Estland, Livland and Ösel in 1710. In the 18th-century Russian Empire the Tsar was the sole ruler and the local estates had no impact on state governance. The Baltic region, however, constituted a separate entity in the empire. Up until the last quarter of the eighteenth century this period was the height of the **Ritterschaft’s** autonomy10.

**THE GERMAN AND THE SWEDISH TYPE OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH GOVERNANCE**

The dependence of church governance on a given territory’s secular power is the defining characteristic of the two main types of Lutheran church governance. German Lutheran territorial churches were subordinated to two secular authorities – in the territories to the prince, and in the free cities to the municipal council. The princes and civic councils used the institution of the consistory to govern the church. The consistory was composed of both secular and clerical members, all of whom, including the leading cleric known as the superintendent, were appointed by the prince or the city council. The principle of the Peace of Augsburg (1555) – *cuius regio, eius religio*, that is “whose rule, his religion” – gave the secular ruler the right to determine whether Lutheranism or Roman Catholicism would be the only official denomination of the territory. The peace thus confirmed the rights of the Lutheran secular authority as the head of the church. The system of consistorial church governance remained largely intact until the 19th century11.

Denmark also can be classified as following the German type of church governance as there the king controlled the church while the superintendents, also called bishops, were salaried employees of the crown12.

A different form of church governance developed in Sweden. The peculiarity of Swedish Lutheran church organisation was that it preserved the bishoprics and the posts of the bishops dating from Catholic times. Each bishopric was governed by a bishop, or superintendent, together with a special institution, the chapter (equivalent to the consistory), which comprised only clerical members. The king’s power over church organisation was considerably less. This situation is explained by the fact that the attempts by monarchs to control the church were successfully blocked by the bishops who preserved the same sort of political influence that they had enjoyed during the Middle Ages. Not surprisingly, the clergy continued to play a very important part in state matters. Although this episcopal type of church governance ended with the asser-
tion of royal control during the absolutist monarchy of Charles XI, the privileges of the clergy were largely re-established in 1718\textsuperscript{13}.

**THE EPISCOPAL GOVERNANCE OF THE TERRITORIAL CHURCH OF ESTLAND UNTIL 1692**

As mentioned above, the extensive privileges of the local estates were preserved as a result of the terms of the 1561 surrender to the Swedish king by the nobility of Estland and the citizenry of Tallinn. One of Tallinn's more important privileges was its city council's right to govern the church. The Lutheran territorial church of Tallinn had by then already been established and its governance matched the German type\textsuperscript{14}. In the province of Estland, however, the Reformation was still underway. Although a number of Evangelical pastors had already been preaching there for some time, the new confession had yet to become institutionalized.

The development of Evangelical church organisation in Estland began thanks to the initiative and support of the Swedish central government\textsuperscript{15}. As in the Swedish model, the bishop had to lead the church of Estland. The role of the state was mostly limited to the appointment of bishops, issuing instructions to them and (sometimes) supporting their work. Various factors hindered further development of church organisation for decades; particularly influential were the wars in Estland, which lasted until the end of the century, and the uncertain long-term denominational situation of the Swedish kingdom. Only after the 1593 Assembly of Uppsala did Lutheranism, based on the Augsburg Confession, become the one and only official denomination in the kingdom of Sweden. Other confessions were not tolerated. It took an unusually long period of time – about eighty years – for the Lutheran Church in Estland to become institutionalized under the supremacy of Evangelical Sweden.

In this process of institutionalisation the Ritterschaft of Estland had its own ambitions concerning control of the church. As the Ritterschaft had no experience in governing the Lutheran territorial church before the establishment of Swedish supremacy, the royal privileges of 1561 did not ensure them any rights in this regard. Nonetheless, the Ritterschaft strived for the German type of church governance. Its goal was to establish a consistory composed of pastors and some of the Landräte (twelve Landräte or councillors composed the Landratskollegium – the permanent executive body of the Ritterschaft), and to gain the right to propose a candidate for the post of superintendent\textsuperscript{16}. The territorial church of Tallinn under the control of the city council was an especially powerful example for the Ritterschaft.

The Swedish government had the upper hand in this conflict of interests and in the early 1640s the Lutheran territorial church was finally established in the Duchy of Estland, led by the bishop and a consistory comprising only clerical members\textsuperscript{17}. While the appointment of bishops was left to the king, when carrying out their decisions the bishops could to some extent rely on the state-run provincial government.
Unlike the high clergy in Sweden, the bishop of Estland played no part whatsoever in the political administration of the territory. Instead, he was limited to carrying out purely ecclesiastical functions. The Swedish monarchs conferred extensive privileges on the *Ritterschaft* in regard to Estland’s self-government and secular jurisdiction. The nobles also successfully blocked some of the state’s attempts to increase the influence of Swedish law in Estland and to improve the economic and legal situation of the peasants living on noble lands. The *Ritterschaft* even had considerable influence on ecclesiastical matters at the parish level. In fact governance of the territorial church was the only significant area of jurisdiction in the Duchy’s internal affairs that eluded the *Ritterschaft* throughout the Swedish era.

Every now and then conflicts between the bishop and the *Ritterschaft* flared up. In particular, serious tensions strained the relationships between the bishops and the Swedish central government on the one hand, and the city of Tallinn on the other. The bishops aspired to control over Tallinn’s territorial church, but for several decades the city was successful in defending its old privileges.}

**THE GOVERNANCE OF THE BISHOPRIC OF ESTLAND 1692–1710**

With the passage of time the absolutist monarchy began to interfere directly in the governance of the church. After decades of preparation in 1686 a church law was completed according to the personal instructions of Charles XI. This legislation unified and subordinated to the sole power of the king the church organisation of Sweden, Finland, and the Baltic region. All Swedish subjects were required to be members of this official Lutheran church. Furthermore, church governance became a part of state governance. The subordination of the church to the king’s absolutist rule eliminated the most unique feature of the Swedish episcopal church organisation, the clergy’s considerable independence from the monarch.

In spite of the opposition of the city council of Tallinn the territorial churches of Tallinn and Estland were united into a single bishopric of the Swedish church. The bishop and a consistory consisting solely of clerical members ruled this bishopric. The king, besides setting guidelines for the entire Swedish church, intervened mainly in matters of personnel, such as appointing new pastors and bishops.

**THE TRANSITION TO THE NEW SYSTEM OF CHURCH GOVERNANCE**

In September 1710 the city of Tallinn and the *Ritterschaft* of Estland surrendered to the Russian crown. Tsar Peter I agreed to extensive rights of self-government for the ruling estates. Soon after this change of government the absolutist reforms of Charles XI which had restricted the power of the nobility were abolished.

Before 1710 there were only a few Lutheran parishes in Russia. These consisted of foreigners and their offspring. These Lutheran parishes did not belong to any territorial
church, and the parish members themselves governed them without state intervention. During the 18th century Lutheran church governance in the Baltic provinces continued to remain, in general, outside the sphere of Russian state administration. However, the general status of the Baltic Lutheran churches as part of the Russian state differed fundamentally from the norm of the Swedish era. Under Russian rule the Lutheran territorial churches predominated within autonomous Baltic provinces and cities in a multi-denominational composite state, in which the Russian Orthodox Church was the official church.

A few days after the surrender to the Russians the city council of Tallinn seized the opportunity to restore its territorial church to its former basis. The bishop of Estland had left for Sweden in midsummer. The city council asked the two remaining members of the Estland consistory (the rest had either left the country, or died of the plague that hit the Baltic region in late summer of the same year) to become members of a new Tallinn city consistory. Justus Blanckenhagen, the chief pastor in both the city’s main church, as well as the Ritterschaft’s main church on the Tallinn Dome Hill, the Dome Church, was appointed the city’s superintendent.

The church of Estland remained without a governing institution for two years. As there was no acting state-run provincial government during the first years of the Russian reign in Estland, the Landräte performed most of the provincial government’s functions, as well as those of the Ritterschaft. In early 1713 the Landratskollegium instructed Blanckenhagen to take on the office of clerical president in the consistory of Estland and to revive the consistory according to Swedish church laws. The Ritterschaft had twice proposed the same to Blanckenhagen earlier, and while he had refused, this time he consented. The consistory of Estland, composed only of clerical members, was restored. The long-term plans of the Ritterschaft at this moment concerning the church are not clear, but it seems safe to suggest that the nobles had already given up on the idea of episcopal governance of the territorial church, even though the terms of their 1710 capitulation explicitly included the appointment of a bishop. An insightful comparison with these events is offered by the former bishopric of Viipuri (Vyborg) in Finland that had also ceded to Russian supremacy in the course of the Great Northern War. There a similar reorganisation took place in 1710, when the bishop and the chapter were replaced by a clerical consistory wherein a pastor served as president.

It should be stressed that the case of Blanckenhagen is exceptional in that he performed two different functions in two separate organisations at the same time. Firstly, he was superintendent of Tallinn’s territorial church. As a member of the city consistory the position of superintendent was subordinate to the consistory’s secular president, who was one of the Bürgermeister [a town chief official]. Secondly, Blanckenhagen was the clerical president of Estland’s consistory. Although one and the same person had a leading role in both Tallinn’s and Estland’s consistories, the governance of the two churches remained independent of each other. Had the situation been otherwise the interests of the citizenry of Tallinn and the Ritterschaft would have come into conflict with each other. There were probably two reasons why the leading cleric of one church organisa-
tion was – admittedly as an exception – elected to lead another church organisation. Firstly, besides being the chief pastor of the main church of the city of Tallinn since 1693, he had been the chief pastor of the main church of the *Ritterschaft* since 1701. Secondly, he was without any doubt the most authoritative cleric in Estland. Blanckenenhagen died in the autumn of 1713, but before that he had managed at least to revive Estland’s church and to some extent restore its governance through the revival of its consistory.

Two years later, in 1715, the *Landratskollegium* appointed the *Landrat* Adam Johann von Üxküll president of Estland’s consistory. Üxküll was instructed to preside over the consistory and lead the clergy. For the first time a secular representative led the central governing institution of Estland’s church. Given that the aspirations of the *Ritterschaft* dated back to the seventeenth century, and that Russian rule had opened new political opportunities, the subordination of church governance to one of the Landräte was only to be expected. It added the final missing element to the *Ritterschaft’s* dominance over Estland. In the following period the chief pastor of the Dome Church held the second position in the hierarchy of the consistory.

The nomination of a secular president of the consistory contravened the *Ritterschaft’s* legal powers as guaranteed by the terms of the 1710 capitulation, that of the Tallinn Swedish garrison, the Tsar’s confirmations of these capitulations, and certain provisions of the 1721 Peace of Uusikaupunki (Nystad). All these acts of law constituted the legal foundation of Estland’s autonomy in the Russian empire. The *Ritterschaft* was particularly concerned that the central government abide by these legal commitments and introduce as few changes in the Baltic provinces as possible. The terms of the capitulation of Tallinn’s Swedish garrison state very clearly that the entire church organisation and administration in Estland must remain unchanged. The Peace of Uusikaupunki stipulated that church organisation must remain as it had been under the Swedish supremacy. As mentioned above, the terms of the *Ritterschaft’s* capitulation contained the provision that a bishop had to be appointed. Given that the *Ritterschaft* needed to legitimise the changes made in the church governance of Estland, it submitted a request to this effect to the central Russian government. Empress Catherine I issued a decision in 1725 declaring that the consistory of Estland had to consist of secular and clerical members, “as it does at this moment”.

Present-day Estonian historians have quite uniformly accepted the earlier interpretation of church governance of Estland after 1710 that saw the establishment of Russian supremacy in Estland, Livland and Ösel as bringing about a return to the system of administration and governance of both state and church that preceded the great reforms of the Swedish king Charles XI in the 1680s. Thus they do not regard the reorganisation of church governance in the Duchy of Estland after 1710 to be a major change. However, judged from a perspective of church governance typology, the subordination of the consistory to a secular president meant a clear change of principle in church governance in comparison to the Swedish era.
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW SYSTEM OF CHURCH GOVERNANCE

Following the death of the first secular president of the consistory in 1729 all the clerical members of the consistory expressed very clearly their opinion that the secular president had been appointed only *ad interim* in tough and turbulent times. In their petition to the state-run provincial government the clergy argued that secular leadership of the consistory should henceforth be avoided and that the former church organisation under clerical leadership – as agreed to by the Russian monarchs in the 1710 capitulations, their subsequent confirmations and the Peace of Uusikaupunki – should be restored39.

In spite of the clergy’s protest the *Oberlandgericht* [a high institution of governance and jurisdiction, consisting of all the *Landräte* under the presidency of the governor] appointed a *Landrat* as the new secular president of the consistory. Nevertheless, the latter himself renounced the post under unclear circumstances40. During the next thirteen years the consistory consisted only of clerical members. This temporary retreat of the *Ritterschaft* probably resulted from several causes. Firstly, the chief pastor of the Dome Church and the clerical president of the consistory, Christoph Friedrich Mickwitz, a Pietist who had studied in Halle under August Hermann Francke, was held in very high esteem by the *Ritterschaft*. Secondly, the clergy had based its argument on a consideration that was most important for the *Ritterschaft* – the reference to the capitulations of 1710, their confirmations, and the Peace of Uusikaupunki. The fact that the *Landräte* themselves considered their retreat as temporary could be seen in, for instance, the *Ritterschaft*’s 1734 decision not to allow the consistory to perform church visitations without the attendance of its *Landrat* president41.

The relationship of the clerical consistory, on the one hand, and the *Ritterschaft* and the provincial government, on the other, began to deteriorate rapidly after 1740 with the emergence of a new factor: the expansion of the *Herrnhuter* [Moravian Church], which recruited more and more followers in Estland, Livland and Ösel, and started to create unrest among the peasantry. The Pietist pastors who favoured this religious movement made up the consistory, and thus did nothing to address this problem. The *Ritterschaft* and the provincial government, acting hand in hand in this case, used the situation to subordinate the consistory to the *Landrat* president once again. The secular powers of Estland also secured the support of the monarch and the Senate, imperial Russia’s highest judicial and governmental institution. In late autumn 1742 the clerical members of the consistory surrendered to the will of the *Oberlandgericht* and the provincial government and accepted the *Ritterschaft*’s candidate, again a *Landrat*, as the president of this institution42.

The following year these institutional rearrangements received their final legal confirmation from the *ukase* [decree] of the Senate of 6 July 1743. On special request from the *Ritterschaft* of Estland the Russian government confirmed its earlier decrees concerning the staff of the consistory39. A final decision was then taken concerning the institution of church leadership: the post of bishop was abolished and the territorial
church of Estland was thoroughly subordinated to the leadership of the consistory’s secular president.44

Following this dramatic restructuring, the clergy could only propose candidates in case of a vacancy in the presidency, which led to subsequent disagreements between the clergy and Ritterschaft. In 1766 the governor general solved this problem by deciding that in case of a vacancy in the presidency the consistory’s clerical members were to choose three candidates from among the Landräte. One of these candidates was then to be elected president of the consistory by the Oberlandgericht.45 As in earlier times, the vacancies of the clerical members of the consistory were to be filled according to the decision of the consistory itself.

CONCLUSION

The Duchy of Estland represents a special case in the typology of the early modern Lutheran church governance. During the Swedish era a variation of the Swedish model of governance was implemented. After Estland became a dominion of Sweden in 1561, the state appointed the bishop, who was to be assisted by the clerical consistory, to lead Estland’s church. The Duchy’s secular self-government remained the domain of the privileged Ritterschaft. The central government did not take into account the Ritterschaft’s ambition to participate in the governance of the territorial church. While the high clergy in Sweden proper had traditionally enjoyed a strong position in society and in the political establishment, the jurisdiction of the newly founded office of the Lutheran bishop in Estland was restricted exclusively to ecclesiastical matters. Just as the bishops in Sweden proper were subordinated to the sole rule of the king during Charles XI’s absolutist reform at the end of the 17th century, the same happened in Estland.

Soon after the establishment of Russian supremacy in 1710, the Landratskollegium appointed a high Ritterschaft official to head Estland’s consistory. The office of the bishop was abolished, first de facto and later de jure in 1743 by imperial decree. The subordination of the consistory to the secular president meant a change of principle in church governance in comparison with the Swedish era. The new organisation of church governance represented a variation of the German type: the secular president of the consistory was appointed by the secular authority while the consistory included clerical but no secular members, and there was no office of superintendent.

NOTES

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4 In English also known as the Duchy of Estonia, but following T.U. Raun’s example, to avoid confusion with the Republic of Estonia that covers the area roughly twice as large as the historical Duchy of Estland, the Swedish and later Russian duchy in the northern part of the Baltic littoral will be referred to by its Swedish and German name: Estland (see T.U. Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, Stanford 2001, p. 238).

5 The following argument is based on my PhD thesis “The Lutheran Territorial Church in Estland 1710–1832: Influence of State Authority on Church Administration, Church Institutions and Ecclesiastical Law” (A. Andresen, *Luterlik territoriaalkirik Eestimaal 1710–1832: Riigivõimu mõju kirkkualitsetisele, -institutionidele ja -õigusele, ”Dissertationes historiae Universitatis Tartuensis”, 7, Tartu 2004).

6 For a detailed overview of the historiography see Andresen, *Luterlik territoriaalkirik* cit., pp. 13-25.

7 Also known as Livonia in English, but again following T.U. Raun’s example, to avoid confusion with medieval Livonia, the province south of Estland will be referred to by its Swedish and German name: Livland.


11 In German the term *landesherrliches Kirchenregiment*, or “princely church governance”, is widely used, but I prefer the term “consistorial church governance”, as the latter can be used to denote territories as well as free cities, both of which had more or less the same system of church governance. The German historiography on the Lutheran church governance is quite extensive; for a brief introduction see for instance D. Willoweit, *Das landesherrliche Kirchenregiment*, in K.G.A. Jeserich, H. Pohl, G.-C. v. Unruh (eds.), *Deutsche Verwaltungsgeschichte I. Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Ende des Reiches*, Stuttgart 1983, pp. 361-369. For detailed discussion see A. Schindling, W. Ziegler, (eds.), *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, Vol. I–VII, ”Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung. Vereinschriften der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum”, 1989-1997, 49–53, 56–57.


Jurisdictions


19 See Westling, *Kirchengesetz* cit., p. 65.


23 Tallinna Linnaarhiiv (Tallinn City Archive) [archive] 230- [series] 1- [record] A.b.147, p. 1433-1434 [protocols of the city council].


25 Eesti Ajalooarhiiv (Estonian Historical Archives, hereafter EAA) 1187-2-27, p. 7p [protocols of the consistory].


28 See for example the instruction of the Landratskollegium to Blanckenhagen EAA 854-2-2910, p. 2p-3.


31 Paucker, *Ehstlands Geistlichkeit* cit., pp. 16-17. See also EAA 1187-2-28, p. 2, 2p, 4p [protocols of the consistory].

32 EAA 1187-2-28, p. 5-5p.

33 Published in Winkelmann (ed.), *Die Capitulationen* cit.

34 The capitulation of the Tallinn Swedish garrison, Arts 12, 13, 15-18.

35 The Peace of Uusikaupunki, Art. 10.


Jurisdictions

40 EAA 1187-2-35, p. 55p; EAA 1187-2-36, p. 2p [protocols of the consistory].
42 EAA 1187-2-49, l. 81p-82, 83p-86, 87p-88 [protocols of the consistory]; Ilja, *Vennastekoguduse (herrnahutluse) ajalugu* cit., pp. 178-179.
43 Although not explicitly expressed in the *ukase*, most probably the 1725 decree of Catherine I is meant.
44 Полное Собрание Законов Российской Империи, XI, Saint Petersburg 1830, № 8756. The Ukase of the Senate to the provincial government of Estland was issued on July 11 (EAA 854-1-841, p. 80).

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