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Some New Facts Regarding the Dorpat Brawl of 1641.

By Anton Blanck.

In the year-book *Svio-Estonica* (Tartu 1937) Professor P. Wieselgren recently published a study "Stiernhielm och Wranglarne", which threw some most interesting light on the fates of the greatest Swedish poet of the seventeenth century, during the time he lived in the Dorpat of that age as a Swedish official. Most remarkable is the tale of how Stiernhielm was insulted, assaulted and severely injured in the course of a banquet on July 13th 1641. On the same occasion a young Swedish student was killed. Stiernhielm got his right hand mutilated. By a lucky chance with which my friend Professor Wieselgren is not quite unconnected, I have found a source yielding some additional information regarding this episode in the history of the old university. On May 2nd of the following year, when a judicial inquiry into the matter was in progress, a commemorative speech was held in the university in honour of the slain student, which is at the same time a contribution to the struggle to bring about the just punishment of the young gentlemen of the house of Wrangel, who were suspected of manslaughter. The full title reads: "Oratio De Homicidio: Quam, Deo Duce & Auspice, In Regiâ Academia GUSTAVIANA, quæ Dorpati Livonorum est ad Embeccam, die 2. Maij, Anno 1642, publicè in Auditorio Magno enarrabat Johannes Anberg / Smolandia Suecus. Dorpati, Typis Acad. Anno M. DC. LII" (Upsala Universitetsbibliotek, *Orationes variæ suecorum*, vol. 4).

The author, who was introduced in a preface by his teacher Laurentius Ludenius, *juris, oratoriæ et poeseos professor*, came from Markaryd in the extreme South-West of Smoland. This is

made clear by the dedication, where he describes himself as the son of Brodde Jacobsson, "finium Svecorum versus Daniâ inspector", which title in contemporary Swedish sources corresponds to those of "länsman" and "fogde" (bailiff). Brodde, himself son of a bailiff (Wieselgren Ny Smålands beskrifning II 935), was evidently a trusted and well-to-do man in the place and had had many opportunities of meeting both the King and the high lords of the realm during the numerous assemblies that were held at Markaryd in the beginning of the century, the most remarkable of these being that where Gustavus Adolphus and Christian IV met in 1629. Brodde is also referred to as an innkeeper. It might well be possible, that such connections had something to do with the fact that a surprising number of Smolandians chose Dorpat for their studies. Without intervention from higher quarters this could scarcely be accounted for. Evidently it was not vagrants that came over. Johannes Anberg was inscribed at the university on September 6th 1639 under the name of Johannis Brodonis, Smolandia-Suecus. (Maybe it was a brother of his who was already on Sept. 5th 1633 matriculated as Benedictus Broddén, Smolandus.) One day earlier Johannes had "deposed" at the home of Ludenius — all this according to the printed matriculation lists in the "Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Ehst- und Kurlands, B. 8." At Dorpat Johannes Broddeson evidently provided himself with a family name, derived from the small lake of And in Markaryd, in about the same manner as a Dorpat fellow-student of the same age, the Vestrogothian Petrus Caroli Udenius, got his name from his native lake of Uden.

On the same day as Anberg was taken to the bosom of Alma mater, a near relation of his, Josephus Pauli Ulspeckius, similarly inscribed at the university. This was a son of the recently deceased vicar of Markaryd, Paulus Eri. He had taken his name from the historically famous vicarage Ulfsbäck, where his brother Erlandus Paulinus had succeeded his father in office. Erlandus was the brother-in-law of Anberg, married to Brodde Jacobssons daughter Sara. (Cf. *Virdestam Växiö stifts herdaminne* III 87 and the dedication in the oration.) Typical of the intermarriage conditions among the protestant clergy is the fact that the vicar of Rydaholm, Torsten Larsson Lohm, to whose

daughter Ingrid Brodde Jacobsson was married, was the grandfather of the vicar's wife at Markaryd. Thus nothing could be more natural than the circumstance that the two relatives, Johannes and Josephus, ventured together on the long journey from that remote outpost near Denmark on the *Lagan Path* to the Swedish colonial country, or than their calling upon the university officials together and their sharing a chamber during their years of study. "Sympatriotam & Contubernalem meum non solum Amicitiae & Necessitudinis, sed & propinquioris affinitatis vinculo mihi arctissimi conjunctum" Johannes Anberg called him in the oration, where he expressed his feelings regarding the ghastly event which so unexpectedly and instantaneously had deprived him of a kinsman and friend.

From the account of Stiernhielm, as retold by Wieselgren and later to be printed in the collected works of the poet, now being edited by the Swedish Society of Belles-Lettres ("Svenska Vitterhetssamfundet"), it appears that Stiernhielm during a pause in the above-mentioned celebration was standing outside the door of the house, trying to make up his mind as to how to revenge himself for the insult which the young Wrangels had already brought upon him. Josephus, whom he evidently knew, then went up to him, lightly dressed and without weapons. They conversed for a while, Stiernhielm relating what had happened to him, when all at once the enraged young nobles came rushing out from the banquet, getting sight of some students, whom they assaulted, in which row they must plainly have stabbed Josephus, without Stiernhielm's being able to see how it was done. According to his own statement he was heavily drunk. Anberg gives a similar description. His relative had walked out of their students' chamber to get a little fresh air in the summer night and then the lugubrious accident had happened: "Ah! cum valetudinis curandæ, Liberioris aëris hauriandi causâ in publicum inermis è musæo prodiisset; nescio â quibus, è tumulto alibi excitato advolantibus, innocuus punctim in oculo dextro percutitur."

This event gave our young Smolandian the materials for an oration which certainly observes the rules and where the divisions and rhetorical figures are stated on the margins in the customary manner, but which yet turns out to be more than a

usual school-exercise. His feeling is strong and not to be misinterpreted. The speech has doubtless had an aim. It must have been intended as a statement in the case of manslaughter then in progress. The matter went on very slowly and the runaway young Wrangel gentlemen, who were suspected, could easily gain the protection of their mighty family. A special commission for the legal inquiry had been appointed, and Anberg's teacher Ludenius sat in it as the representative of the university. Surely public opinion was meant to be influenced by this mourning festival in the form of an academic oration. By the way, a few days later another member of the Markaryd family circle, which had still more representatives at the university, Nicolaus Psilander, defended his doctoral thesis "De placido Congressu & in specie De urbanitate et Humanitate", with Ludenius in the chair. This matter, too, had a certain actuality for those most intimately concerned. After a preliminary account of the event, Anberg's oratory exercises itself in high-tuned addresses to the mother of the deceased, the widow who had lost her youngest son in a foreign country, and to the seven brothers and sisters at home. Then follows a partly juridical, partly moral treatise on manslaughter, with *loci communes* from the Bible and the classics, which offers very little interest. But the conclusion presents a direct contribution to the discussion of the case. Having shown with all the devices of rhetoric and much skilful quotation what an awful crime manslaughter is, he yet states that rumours are abroad about manslaughter not being a crime. People talk, maintaining that evil-doers escape from punishment and that justice is to be got only with sword in hand. Moreover, to control oneself is impossible, when one is in the right and has been insulted. This, though, as the orator puts it, is not a Christian's art of reasoning, "sed impij Cyclopi". Gods law is clear. For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. A criminal shall be punished by public justice. If anyone kills a criminal himself, this is to be looked upon as manslaughter. It is illicit to usurp the power that God has reserved for the Government. The *peroratio* of the speech then begins with the quotation of two classical scenes, the descriptions in the *Metamorphoses* of the manslay-

er Sisyphus and the righteous punishment of the *Danaides* for their misdeeds. Having thus proved that even the heathen trembled for such acts the orator comes to his last rhetorical question. Should not we Christians then begin to tremble and shrink from manslaughter, "cane & angve pejus"? Perhaps that question, easy enough to answer, need not have been put thus sharply at a Christian university, even during that age of the Thirty Years' War and of inveterate duelling, had the offence in question not been an unusually reckless case of manslaughter, committed by persons, who, the orator said, according to rumours might possibly succeed in shirking their punishment. In his sorrow he must doubtless have thought of how, in the case of his relative, no sentence had yet been passed, though nearly a year had gone by, and this must have added vigour to his eloquence. He also knew that he had his comrades and the whole of the academic world on his side. That the Wrangels, apparently by aid of their father the Lord Lieutenant, had succeeded in escaping from the town, though the gates were closed, had caused violent indignation among the students. New rows had occurred and the whole town was passionately engaged in the matter. (Cf. the statement given by Biemann *jun.* in the "Baltische Monatsschrift" XLIX 293 ff.). It is hardly too bold to assume that Anberg had a large audience in the *auditorium magnum* of the university on May 2nd 1642.

In conclusion, I would like to venture at least one question. Is it not possible that the experience of this brawl, where Stiernhielm, in a clash with some greenhorns of the nobility who dodged trial and sentence, had lost the writing power of his right hand and almost his life to boot, may, to some extent at least, lie behind that passage in the *Hercules*, composed by him not long afterwards, where he ironically says to Brother Drink and his followers:

- 252 "Giör hwad dig rinner i hug : ty dig och dijn-lijka Funkar,
 Skrifwen är ingen Lag, för larwor löpa små gossar,
 Bönder och dylijka pack, man plägar skräckia med Lagen.
 Spinnelen i sijn Garn bestrickar spinkote Myggar;
 Gettinga snorra sig vt; och slippa de brummande brömssar.

Sådan är almena Lag; de fattige fasna, besnärias:
Stolte och store gå frij, och slippa de trotzige Drottar ¹."

"Snorrhande getingar" ('buzzing wasps') and "brummande brömssar" ('growling gadflies') are in any case figures that are well in keeping with the situation at Dorpat ².

Uusi andmeid Tartu mürglist 1641.

Autor on ühest Upsalas leiduvast akadeemilisest kõnest 1642. aastast leidnud andmeid asjaolude kohta, mida üldiselt tuntakse Tartu 1641. a. mürglina. Selle mürgli ajal tapeti Smålandi üliõpilane Josephus. Nüüd ilmneb nimelt, et mainitud kõne on viimase mälestuseks ja et tema autor Johannes Anberg oli Josephuse lähedane sõber ning stuudiumikaaslane. Kõne ülesandeks on üles kutsuda kõiki õigluse sõpru, et mõrvarid — paar aadlivõsu —, kes ühtlasi olid haavanud rootsi luuletajat Georg Stiernhielmi, ei pääseks karistuse käest. Autor arvab kõnesoleva juhtumi kajastust leidvat ka Stiernhielmi varsti pärast seda kirjutatud luuletises „Hercules“, kus apostrofeeritakse võimsate ohjeldamatust ja seadustepõlgust.

Autor viitab ka huvitavale faktile, et õige palju Academia Gustaviana üliõpilasi põlvnes Smålandist ja nimelt selle edelaosast. See nähtus on selektatav kõrgemalt poolt tuleva mõjuga. Niihästi Gustav Adolf kui riigi nõunik said taanlastega läbirääkimisteks kokku Markaryd'is, kus Johannes Anbergi isa pidas kõrtsi. Viimane oli sugulane paljude vaimulikkudega, kes saatsid oma pojad Tartu akadeemiasse.

¹ Rendered into modern English this would be:

'Do what enters your mind: for you and birds of your order
Law is not written. Peasants, small boys and similar rabble —
those might be frightened by law and run away from the spectre.

In its net the spider the puny small gnats may capture,
Wasps buzz out and away and escape the growl of the gadflies.
Such is the common law; the poor are frightened, entangled:
But the proud and the great get rid of defiant rulers.'

² After this was written the author has found that Brodde Jakobsson kept up a regular correspondence with no less a person than Axel Oxenstierna himself. This is a proof of what was said above about the Government taking an interest in the Smolandian migration to the new university.

En. hist. o. ü. inst.

