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*"Kell' on siis vapaus?
Vain viisaimmalla,
ken aina hallitsee himojaan,
ken ei kuoloa, köyhyyttä pelkää,
ken oma herransa on
sekä valtaa ja loistoa vieroo,
itse on kyllin itselleen,
oman mittansa täyttää,
niin että kimmahtaa hänest' iskut kohtalon
kaikki ulkoa suunnatut."*

Horatius (65–8 e.Kr)

Lähde: V. A. Koskenniemi: Roomalaisia runoilijoita. 3. p.
WSOY: Porvoo & Helsinki 1953.

Efforts of the Ingrian Lutherans to Exhibit Their Own Liturgical Expressions before the October Revolution

Unlike other Lutheran groups in the Russian Empire, the Ingrian Lutherans never developed their own unique Ingrian liturgical tradition. Despite this, there were attempts to add Ingrian elements to divine services. This article examines the circumstances under which the Ingrian Church attempted to establish and exhibit their own liturgical expression.

In the 17th–19th centuries, the territory of Ingria found itself under Swedish and Russian jurisdictions. This directly influenced the form of worship in Ingrian Lutheran congregations. As a result of the Treaty of Stolbovo in 1617, when Ingria was annexed to the Kingdom of Sweden, the region came to be regulated by Swedish church law and the liturgy set by the Swedish handbook. According to the Finnish edition of the 1614 Swedish handbook, published that same year in Stockholm under the title *Käsikiria Jumalan Palveluksesta, ja Christillisestä Kirvon menoista, jota meidän seurakunnan pitää pidettävän, etc.* (“Handbook of the Divine Services in our Christian Congregations, etc.”),¹ the same services were to be used in the Ingrian territory every Sunday and on holidays according to a form identical to that used in Sweden.² The handbook was republished in Finnish in 1629 and 1669.³ A new Finnish agenda, *Käsi-kiria, jossa käsitetty on, ainega jumalan-palvelus, christillisten ceremoniain, etc.* (“Handbook, Describing how the Divine Service, Christian Ceremonies Are to Be Performed, etc.”), appeared in 1694. It provided a Finnish translation of the new 1693 Swedish handbook.⁴

Ingria was ceded back to Russia in 1710, and supervision of the region was given to the College of Justice for Livonian and Estonian Affairs (Rus. Юстиц-Коллегия Эстляндских и Лифляндских дел).⁵ The 1786 Swedish church law and the 1693 Swedish handbook would remain the official standard in the annexed Baltic provinces, however, and Ingrian congregational worship continued to be regulated by the 1694 Finnish edition of the Swedish handbook. In the second half of the 18th century, however, congregations gradually departed from the provisions of the church law and the official liturgy.

1 *Käsikiria* 1614.

2 Admonition to Confession – Confession – Prayer for Grace – Declaration of Grace in prayer form – *Kyrie – Gloria in excelsis Deo* (*Laudamus te* or “All glory be to God on high”) – Salutation and response – Collect – Epistle – Gradual or Hymn – Gospel – Creed (Apostolic or Nicene Creed, or “We all believe in one true God”) – Hymn (“Come, Holy Spirit” or “We now implore God, the Holy Ghost”) – Pulpit Office (Prayer, gospel, sermon, confession of sins, absolution, prayer of the Church with intercessions or Litany and collects, Our Father) – Hymn – Preface and *Vere dignum* – Consecration (*Verba* without elevation) – *Sanctus* – Our Father – Luther’s admonition from the *Deutsche Messe* – *Pax Domini* and response – Communion and hymns (*Agnus Dei* and others) – Salutation and response – Post-Communion Collect – Salutation – *Benedicamus* – Aaronic Benediction with Triune Invocation – Hymn stanza (*Förläna oss Gudh så nådelig* or “Grant peace, we pray in mercy, Lord”) – Hymn stanza for the monarch and those in authority. An alternative ending was provided when there were no communicants, but the complete service with Communion was the norm.

3 Rimpiläinen 2007, 56.

4 *Käsi-kiria* 1694. The Mass followed this order: Exhortation and General Confession – Declaration of Grace in prayer form – *Kyrie – Gloria in excelsis Deo* and *Laudamus te* (congregation may sing “All glory be to God on high,” “O Lord God from heaven above,” or “All glory laud and praise”) – Salutation and collect – Epistle – Hymn – Gospel – Creedal Hymn (“We all believe in one true God”) or Nicene Creed on high feast days – Pulpit hymn invoking the Holy Spirit, or a proper hymn on high feast days – Sermon – Confession of Sins – Admonition to Prayer and Thanksgiving – Prayer of the Church or Litany – Hymn verse – Eucharistic Preface – *Verba – Sanctus and Benedictus* – Our Father – Exhortation to communicants – *Pax Domini* – Distribution (*Agnus Dei* and Communion hymns) – Salutation and Post-Communion collect – Salutation – *Benedicamus* – Aaronic Benediction with Triune invocation – Hymn stanza and hymn for the king and all in authority.

5 In 1762, the words “...and Finnish Affairs” were appended to the title of this College: Юстиц-коллегия Лифляндских, Эстляндских и Финляндских дел.

“Enlightened” pastors individually made what they believed to be necessary changes in the liturgy. Not only did the highest Lutheran Church officials in the Russian Empire approve of this, these officials themselves called the development and implementation of a modern, up-to-date worship the expression of the new learning. By the beginning of the 19th century, some members of the nobility in Livonia and Courland were becoming increasingly disturbed by this new direction, and they were compelled to take steps to put an end to it.⁶

The 1805 Imperial Liturgical Directives

In 1805, a decree by the College of Justice created a liturgical committee.⁷ Included in its membership to represent the Ingrian Finns were Pastor Dr. August Gottfried Wahl, consistorial assessor and pastor of the German parish at Vyborg (Rus. *Выборг*), and Dean Adolph Penzelius, consistorial assessor and deacon (*pastor secundarius*) of the Finnish congregation in the same city. The work of the liturgical committee was issued in 1805 as the *General Liturgical Regulation for Evangelical-Lutheran Congregations in the Russian Empire*. Unfortunately, it was the work of children of the Enlightenment, who knew little of Lutheran liturgy in any traditional sense. The handbook was little more than a general outline of the services with mandatory church prayers, which included the required intercessions for the czar and his household. While the 1805 book was meant to provide a single form of worship for use in all Lutheran churches throughout the empire, it was unable to fulfill its task. Pastors used the directives as a regulatory document as though it were a skeleton upon which they could lay the flesh of the prayers and forms with which the people were already familiar.

Handbook for the Finnish-Speaking Congregations

The Finnish-speaking Ingrians were required to follow the 1805 liturgical directives; so, too, were the churches in the Vyborg and Hamina regions, which had come under Russian control in 1710 and 1743. After examining the new regulations and the procedures set down for their implementation, the Hamina Consistory wrote to the College of Justice in St. Petersburg, asking that the churches in that region be exempted from these new regulations since there was no proper order to them and they did not contain one word about the divinity of Christ and his all-sufficient sacrifice of atonement for the sins of mankind. They explained that conservative and ordinary folk who were not highly educated would be offended by these omissions.⁸

The consistory received in return a strongly worded rejoinder, accusing them of holding backward and unscientific views, and insisting that the 1805 liturgical directives must be implemented without further delay. The consistory found a rather unique way of complying. In 1808, it issued a brief agenda entitled *Käsi-kirja jossa käsitetty on kuinga jumalan-palmelus kristillisten ceremoniain ja menoin kansa, Friedrichshaminan hippakunnan Ruotsin ja Suomen seurakunnissa pidettämän ja toimitettaman pitää* (“Handbook Describing How the Divine Service with Christian Ceremonies Is to Be Performed in the Swedish and Finnish Parishes of the Friedrichshamina Diocese”), which attempted to build a proper service on the bare-bones outline provided by the 1805 liturgical directives.

The book provided both Finnish and Swedish language services. It was in effect two books bound together in a single volume. The Swedish section, *Om Guds tjänsten på Sönd- och Högtidsdagar Guds tienst begynnes med en Morgon- Psalm och med efterföljande bönen ifrån Altaret* (“Concerning the Divine Service on

6 Sonntag 1805, 2; Dalton 1887, 220; *Ueber das neue Gesetz* 1833 (140), 2.

7 Sonntag 1805, 7.

8 Rimpiläinen 2007, 68.

Sundays and Festal Days, Beginning with a Morning Psalm and Followed by a Prayer from the Altar”), does not contain either a Swedish translation of the title of the work or the preface provided by the consistory. Included are the Divine Service for Sundays and feast days, the additional directives for the celebration of the Lord’s Supper, the service of confirmation, the banns of marriage and the marriage service, baptism, the churching of women after childbirth, the churching of unmarried mothers, and the burial of the dead.

The Divine Service begins with a morning hymn and a lengthy prayer that the pastor makes at the altar. Based upon the prayer included in the 1805 directives itself, this prayer is followed by a second hymn and the proper collect for the day or a general collect included in the rite. The pastor then reads the epistle from the altar, and after a hymn or some hymn verses the preacher makes his way to the pulpit. The announcement of the text may be followed by more hymn verses. After the completion of the sermon the preacher reads the prayer of the church from the pulpit. The lengthy 1805 prayer appears in translation, along with a much shorter prayer of the church from the same book, which might be used instead of it. Intercessions, thanksgivings, and the banns are read at the conclusion of the prayer of the church, and these are followed by the Our Father. After announcements of matters of great importance, the priest concludes the pulpit office with the apostolic blessing.⁹

When the Lord’s Supper is celebrated, the priest goes to the altar and turns to the congregation to read a short admonition. This is followed by the Our Father and the Lord’s Words over the bread and wine. During the Words of Institution, he holds the paten and then the chalice in his hands. Communion follows the *Pax Domini*: “The Lord’s peace and grace be with you,” to which the congregation responds: “May the Lord fulfill your desire.” The words which accompany the administration of the Sacrament include, in addition to the command to eat and drink, the non-committal formula: “Our Lord Jesus Christ said: ‘This is my body which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.’” During the distribution of the wine, the priest states: “Our Lord Jesus Christ said: ‘This is the cup of the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you. Do this in remembrance of me.’” There is no mention of the forgiveness of sins or the death of Christ.¹⁰

The remembrance of Jesus here is not a remembrance of his death but of his person. The dismissal blessing, which is not found in the 1805 rite, exclaims: “May this remembrance of the Lord Jesus Christ ever strengthen your faith, give you power to live a pious, upright life, and make firm your hope concerning an eternal life. Amen.”¹¹ After the post-Communion collect, the pastor says: “O give thanks and praise to the Lord, for he is good. Alleluia.” The congregation responds: “And his goodness endures forever. Alleluia.” The service concludes with the Aaronic Benediction and a hymn verse.¹²

It appears that weekly celebration of the Lord’s Supper was still the norm among these Finns and Swedes. No special form without Communion is provided, nor are rubrics given for a shortened service with no Communion.

Although it perpetuated the weekly Communion as found in the Finnish translation of the Swedish 1693 handbook, this service was greatly impoverished. The preparatory service had been replaced. There is no General Confession, no *Kyrie*, and no *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. The prayer of the church is the verbose version from 1805. There is no Preface, no *Sanctus*, and no *Agnus Dei*. The 1805 liturgical directives had discouraged using the Our Father more than once but the Hamina Consistory managed to use it twice. Nowhere is the sign of the cross referred to, neither in the Words of Christ over the bread and wine nor in the benediction.

Procurator Georg Friedrich Sahlfeldt and others in the College of Justice had no real objection to these Finnish and Swedish versions of the 1805 rite. What was provided was little changed from what

9 *Käsi-Kirja* 1808, 11–14.

10 *Käsi-Kirja* 1808, 11–14.

11 *Käsi-Kirja* 1808, 11–14.

12 *Käsi-Kirja* 1808, 15.

they had written in German. Jesus is remembered but no reference is made to what about him should be remembered. No mention is made of his atoning sacrifice for sin, the outpouring of his blood, or the Sacrament as a means by which proper remembrance of Jesus is made, sins are forgiven, and faith is strengthened. One might well posit that the appearance of the 1808 agenda obligated the pastors subject to the Hamina Consistory to a Divine Service which was strongly influenced by Rationalism. Compared with other regions such as Ingria and Vyborg, where pastors were left to interpret the new directives as they saw fit, the appearance of the 1808 Finnish agenda was not a step forward. Elsewhere the Finnish-speaking pastors were able to retain some important elements of Christian doctrine by blending the 1694 Finnish rite together with the new directives, holding the 1694 Finnish handbook in one hand and the 1805 directives in the other.¹³

Unification of the Imperial Church under a Single Agenda

The provisions of the 1805 liturgical directives became null and void when the new church law and imperial agenda were adopted in 1832. The *Agenda for the Evangelical Lutheran Parishes in the Russian Empire* was strongly influenced by the Swedish handbooks of 1693 and 1811 and the Prussian Union liturgy of 1829. Despite the Prussian influence, the 1832 liturgy was largely successful in maintaining Lutheran theology and practice.

The committee of pastors assigned with the responsibility of translating the agenda into Finnish published the results of their work in 1835 under the title *Kirkko-menoin Käsi-kirja Evangelisille Lutheruksen Seurakunnille Wenäjällä* ("Handbook of Services for Evangelical-Lutheran Parishes in Russia").¹⁴ The leading members in the committee were Gustav Renvall, Reinhold von Bekker, and Karl Niklas Kekman.¹⁵ The book regulated liturgical life in the Ingrian congregations up until the end of the 19th century.

Introduction of the 1897 Imperial Agenda into the Finnish-Speaking Congregations

In 1897, the new *Agenda for the Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in the Russian Empire* was published to officially replace the 1832 rite. Most of its directives followed the 1893 St. Petersburg revision of the Livonian agenda of 1885, representing the thoughtful and thorough work of Dr. Theodosius Harnack and the Livonian liturgical committee.

Yet, the introduction of the new rite in the Finnish-speaking congregations did not go smoothly. There were grumblings about it even before the 1897 book came off the press. Ingrian Finns were not Russians, and neither were they Germans. They would have been far more pleased had they been permitted to use the Finnish agenda of 1886, which had appeared in print in 1888. The Finnish congregations in the St. Petersburg consistorial district had been aware of the new book, and in 1889 the St. Petersburg Synod asked its consistory to petition the General Consistory for permission to use it.¹⁶ In 1890, the special session of the Finnish-speaking pastors in the synod was told that steps were being taken to secure permission to use the new Finnish rite in that district.¹⁷ One year later, in 1891, Dean Carl Eduard Palander announced that the General Consistory would not give its permission and that the congregations were forbidden to use the new Finnish rite.¹⁸

13 The preface to the Finnish translation of the 1832 Russian imperial agenda stated that the 1694 Finnish handbook remained in use and its provisions had never been rescinded. Rimpiläinen 2007, 67.

14 *Kirkko-menoin käsi-kirja* 1835.

15 Rimpiläinen 2007, 73.

16 *Protokoll der St. Petersburgischen Synode von 1889*, 11.

17 *Protokoll der St. Petersburgischen Synode von 1890*, 14.

18 *Protokoll der St. Petersburgischen Synode von 1891*, 12.

Grumbling and complaining continued until in 1897 Pastor Otto Rokkanen, a member of consistory, again brought the matter before the synod. He stated that the manuscript of the new imperial agenda had been turned over to the Ministry of the Interior and for that reason any talk of the adoption of the rite of the Church of Finland in the Finnish-speaking congregations was out of order.¹⁹

When the new imperial liturgy appeared, it was necessary to translate it into Finnish. Assigned to this task were Johann Saarinen and Adolf Hakkarainen, who were assisted in their work by I. Schwartzberg, Prof. Arwid Genetz, Cantor Paavo Räikkönen, and St. Petersburg school inspector P. Toikka. Bishops Gustaf Johansson and Otto Immanuel Colliander served as consultants to the committee.²⁰ The fruit of their labors, *Kirkko-käsikirja Wenäjän keisarikunnan evankelis-luterilaisille seurakunnille* ("Handbook for Evangelical-Lutheran Parishes of the Russian Empire"), appeared in Kuopio in 1900.²¹

As members of the Imperial Church, the Finns were expected to order their public worship according to this translation of the imperial rite. However, they complained bitterly about it, stating that among other things the music of the 1897 rite simply did not fit the Finnish text.

The "Putro Mass"

Organist Moses Putro of St. Mary's Church in St. Petersburg took it upon himself to correct this situation by providing a more appropriate musical setting for use in St. Mary's Church. This was, in fact, nothing less than an alternative Divine Service. It appeared in 1900 under the title *Jumalanpalvelus Inkerin messun mukaan* ("The Divine Service or Mass of Ingria"). Putro's work was unofficial, and it made arbitrary changes in the wording and structure of the liturgy. Much admired by pastors and organists, however, it came to be called the "Ingrian Mass."

Putro's service dropped the Introit altogether, leaving only the *Gloria Patri*, as in the old 1832 book. He augmented the *Kyrie* to fit his music: "Lord, have mercy, have mercy on us..." In the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, he dropped the option of singing all stanzas of "All glory be to God on high." He also omitted the optional versicle before the Salutation and collect during high feasts. The service continues with the epistle, threefold Alleluia, and Apostles' Creed. Putro used the first person singular form of the creed instead of the first person plural found in the 1897 agenda. As usual, the threefold Amen follows. The gospel proceeds after a hymn, and at its conclusion the congregation sings: "Praise to you, O Christ," or during Lent: "Amen."

The first option for the consecration of the bread and wine by means of the Our Father and *Verba* makes no provision for the sign of the cross. Although the 1897 liturgy directed that the congregation should sing the Doxology of the Our Father, Putro directed that the whole prayer should be read by the congregation.

The exhortation "As often as you eat this bread..." before *Pax Domini* is omitted, and the wording of the *Agnus Dei* is altered to fit the music: "O Christ, Lamb of God, you take away the sin of the world; have mercy, have mercy on us." The sign of the cross was eliminated from the Communion dismissal and an extra hymn was added between the distribution and the post-Communion collect.

No sign of the cross is made at the Aaronic Benediction. In fact, there is not a single sign of the cross in the whole of Putro's liturgy.²²

Some of these changes may have been made to accommodate the text of Putro's musical settings, but other omissions seem to have been made for the sake of convenience, since it would have been no small task to prepare choral music for the Introits every Sunday in the church year and on high feast days for

19 *Protokoll der St. Petersburg'schen Synode von 1897*, 19.

20 Rimpiläinen 2007, 79.

21 *Kirkko-käsikirja 1900*.

22 Putro 1900, 4–15.

use by the choir. Another possibility is that Putro preferred the “simpler” 1832 rite to the elaborate 1897 service and sought to pattern his service after it.

Although Putro’s work was unofficial, other pastors, musicians, and congregations were drawn to it by its simple, folksy, and romantic melodies. As a result, the hopes for the unity that the 1897 rite was meant to create did not come to fruition. Instead, there was variation from one Ingrian parish to another. The synod would need to take some action if order were to be brought out of chaos. At the 1902 synod in St. Petersburg, the president of the assembly stated that all knew that many Ingrian pastors were changing the wording of the new liturgy, the pastoral acts, and the prayers. He noted that this was contrary to the church law and that violators might be called to account.

The 1902 synod decided to establish a committee to prepare a booklet of excerpts giving the proper use of the responsories and prayers of the Divine Service. A committee consisting of pastors Otto Rokkanen, Konstantin Siitonen, and Hermann Hansen was instructed to prepare a draft before the next meeting of the summer pastoral conference.²³

The situation did not much improve, however. At the 1903 synod, the assembly president stated that he knew from his parish visitations that irregularities were continuing. He also noted that there was still no supplement with proper music for the Finnish Divine Service. The synod established a new committee to undertake this work. Included in the committee, along with pastors Hermann Kajanus, Otto Rokkanen, Karl Broms, and Arthur Hanson, were musicians Putro and Paavo Räikkönen. In addition, Adolf Hakkarainen assigned the responsibility to present the completed draft to the general superintendent for his study. The 1903 synod also discussed the present Finnish hymnal and its failure to provide a Finnish version of the 1897 rite. A separate Ingrian edition would be needed. In response, the synod established yet another committee, consisting of pastors Adolf Hakkarainen, Johann Saarinen, and Paul Watanen and headed by the general superintendent, to deal with this matter.²⁴ It was not until 1905 that Pastor Rokkanen could announce to the synod that the Finnish musical supplement had been completed and that 1,000 copies would be printed.²⁵

Musical Supplement for the Finnish Handbook

The supplement was published in 1906 under the title *Sävelmistö Venäjän keisarikunnan evankelis-luterilais-ten seurakuntain suomalaisen kirkkokäsi-leirjaan* (“Melodies for the Finnish Handbook of the Evangelical-Lutheran Parishes of the Russian Empire”). It conformed to the provisions of the 1900 Finnish translation of the imperial agenda. Only such alterations were allowed as the musical settings required. Despite its shortcomings, the supplement was received enthusiastically.²⁶ It became very popular and remained the mainstay of Ingrian services for many decades.

Putro’s influence could still be heard in the music. Modern Finnish musicologists have asserted that although the music of Putro’s service is reminiscent of Finnish musical sources, he evidently knew little of the church music traditions of the Church of Finland and he was arbitrary in his use of the old chorals. For this reason, his music is regarded as overly Romantic in style, being the work of one who had not studied deeply the history of liturgical music. Putro himself stated that he had not intended that his work should be used forever. It was his hope that in the future other composers would take up the challenge and that the church government would not impede but instead encourage them to do better than he had.²⁷

23 *Protokoll der St. Petersburgischen Synode von 1902*, 27.

24 *Protokoll der St. Petersburgischen Synode von 1903*, 21–22.

25 *Protokoll der St. Petersburgischen Synode von 1905*, 30.

26 Rimpiläinen 2007, 90–91.

27 *Благинин* 2001, 62.

The efforts of the Ingrian Lutherans to provide an adequately unique Ingrian liturgical expression would come about only when the region was re-annexed to the Russian Empire in 1710. These efforts were largely unsuccessful, however, because the 1805 directives and the 1832 and 1897 agendas were meant to unite all Lutherans in the empire, regardless of their ethnic roots. It was only in the employment of a characteristically Ingrian liturgical musical tradition that the liturgy in the Ingrian congregations would stand apart from the liturgies of fellow Lutherans of other ethnicities in the Russian Empire.

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Käsi-kirja

1694 Käsi-kirja, josa käsitetty on, cuinga jumalan-palvelus, christillisten cerimoniain ja kircon-menoin canssa, meidän seuracunnisam pidettämän ja toimitettaman pitä. Parattu ja enätty Stockholmis vuonna 1599, yliten catzottu vuonna 1608. Ja wielä enämmin uuden kireko-ordningin jälken ojettu, vuonna 1693. Uloskäy nyt suomexi, hänen cuning-scen majtins armolisella crinomaisella privilegiumilla. Vuonna 1694.

Käsi-Kirja

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