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AN EARLY LORD'S PRAYER IN A SOUTHERN VARIETY OF SAAMI

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Abstract: Among the holdings of the National Library of Sweden there is a manuscript titled *Pater noſter: Varijs Linguis* 'Lord's Prayer: in various languages', which contains 20 translations of the Lord's Prayer. The last page of this manuscript is very defective, and its language was not identified in the first study to mention this manuscript (Biezais, Haralds. 1955. Ein neugefundener Text des lettischen Vaterunsers aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. *Nordisk Tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 42. 47–54). However, last year it was found to be a southern variety of Saami. Earlier manuscripts of the Lord's Prayer in Saami are unknown, making this potentially the oldest known Saami text in manuscript form that has survived to the present day. Although it has not been possible to decipher the entire text, this article provides a tentative transcription and compares it to the first known published Lord's Prayers in Saami from 1619. Additionally, it briefly presents the manuscript and its history, and gives some background on the activities of the church in northern Sweden during the 16th century when such translations came into existence.

Keywords: Lord's Prayer, a southern variety of Saami, Georg Bruno, manuscript, Nicolaus Andreæ, history of written Saami, catechism

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1. Introduction

In 1955 the Latvian pastor and theologian Haralds Biezais discovered a manuscript in the National Library of Sweden that he dated to the late 16th century titled *Pater noſter: Varijs Linguis* 'Lord's Prayer: in various languages' (call number N 74), consisting of 20 translations of the Lord's Prayer. Biezais was interested in the Latvian translation, and though he briefly listed 18 other languages occurring in the manuscript, the articles he published in 1955 (Biezais 1955a, 1955b) focused solely on the Latvian translation, without paying further attention to

the other translations (which were, in order of appearance in the manuscript, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, Arabic, Armenian, Middle Kipchak/Cuman, [Ottoman] Turkish, Old Church Slavonic, Syriac, Latvian, Finnish, English, Danish, Swedish, French, Spanish, Italian, and Czech). In addition, there was one more translation on the last page, the language of which Biezais did not recognize, as the text was to a great extent illegible and the paper also very dark (see Biezais 1955a: 47–48). However, the first author of the present article recognized this last text as a (southern) variety of Saami. Since the manuscript seems to date to the end of the 16th century, it may therefore be one of the oldest handwritten records of the Lord's Prayer in Saami.

To our knowledge Biezais' 1955 articles have not been mentioned outside of Baltic linguistics, and even there reference has always been made to one of the 1955 Biezais articles, and not to the original manuscript. Kazakėnaitė & Kallio (2024) have analysed the Finnish translation of the Lord's Prayer in the manuscript, but the other translations have not been discussed in the relevant disciplines. None of these translations are the very first extant translations of the Lord's Prayer (perhaps only the Saami one), though they are of interest for the history of the languages and the history of religious texts in those languages. Translations of the Lord's Prayer in the languages occurring in the manuscript are already found in 16th century compilations of the Lord's Prayer such as, e.g., Gessner 1555 and Megiser 1593; these polyglot compilations are obviously also not the first publications where these translations first occur, though their sources are not always easily located. However, Kazakėnaitė & Kallio have been able to show for the Finnish translation in the manuscript that, even if it is probably copied from the 1561 edition of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, it is not identical to it, and therefore worthy of study, also for stemmatological reasons. Similarly, the other translations are related (to varying degrees) to the ones found in the Gessner and Megiser compilations, but are not identical. It is, however, beyond the scope of this article to establish the exact sources of the other translations and discuss the differences between the translations occurring in the manuscript and their sources; here we will only look at the Saami translation.

The present article briefly presents the manuscript, its history and reassesses Biezais' suggestion of who the compiler could be (Section 2), gives some background on the activities of the church in northern

Sweden in the 16th century which brought about the need for such translations (Section 3), attempts a first analysis of the text (Section 4), and advances a number of questions that we have as yet not been able to answer (Section 5).

2. The manuscript and its history

2.1. The manuscript

The manuscript consists of 22 pages and a cover which was added later, probably in the middle of the 19th century (cf. Biezais 1955a: 47); its original size is 200 × 170 × 5 mm. The copy appears to be defective; although the watermarks show that the first page most likely is missing, it is difficult to say whether there were more prayers after the Saami one, as the number of prayers is an even twenty, as is typical for such collections, and this page seems to have been the last page of the manuscript for a long time, which is why it is so dark and worn (see Figure 3 below).

The author of the collection is not evident. The first page of the manuscript bears a number of names in 19th-century writing (see 2.2 below), and one name on the second page, 'Georgius ſ. Bruno, Banensis Pom̄eran[us]', which is written in much older handwriting and ink. The number (year?) '1?5?' (perhaps 1650 or 1656; see below) is barely visible under the word 'Banensis' and which seems to have been erased for unknown reasons; the '5' is clearly legible, but the other numbers are not. Bruno was considered by Biezais (1955a: 48) to be the author of the manuscript, chiefly because his name, which occurs twice in the manuscript, is in the same hand and ink as the rest of the text. Biezais (1955a: 48–49) identifies this Bruno with a 'Georg Bruno' who lived in Pomerania in the 16th–17th century and who was rector of the school in Anklam in Pomerania, but Kazakėnaitė & Kallio (2024: 33–34) show that this Bruno was probably not the author of the manuscript, as the demonym should be read as 'Banensis Pom̄eran[us]', i.e., 'from Bahn in Pomerania' (today's Banie, Poland), and not 'Bar[n]ensis Pom[m]eran[us]', i.e., 'from Bernau in Pomerania' (today's Bernau bei Berlin, Germany) as read by Biezais (1955a: 48).[1] The identity and background

1 Bernau near Berlin is in Brandenburg and has never been part of Pomerania.

of the author of the manuscript (henceforth: 'the Bruno manuscript') therefore remains unclear as we were unable to find anybody with this name in historical university registers or other Pomerania-related works.[2]

The *Pater nofter: Varijs Linguis* **collection** contains translations of the Lord's Prayer in 20 languages. Each of them is written on a separate page and all are identically numbered into seven petitions (see below). The whole manuscript was written by the same hand, and the constancy of the penmanship indicates it was done in one sitting; i.e. not written over a longer period of time. All the headings of the translations are in Latin. As is common of such collections of the period, Bruno starts with the Lord's Prayer in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The fourth translation is in German, the only one written in cursive script and followed by statement "Hae fuerunt sum[m]ae et principales Linguae in Orbe Terraru[m]" ('These were the most important languages in the world'); both the demonym and the fact that only the German translation is written in cursive script point to Bruno being of German origin. These are followed by translations into Arabic, Armenian, Middle Kipchak/Cuman, Ottoman Turkish, Old Church Slavonic, Syriac, Latvian, Finnish, English, Danish, Swedish, French, Spanish, Italian, and Czech; the last translation is the one in Saami. The reason for this order is unclear; it does not follow Gessner's 1555 collection, where the languages are listed by their Latin language names in alphabetical order, nor the Megiser's edition of 1593, which in general follows genealogical language groupings; it is, however, closer to Megiser's order.

With its **numbered petitions**[3] Bruno's collection of prayers is original in its structure, as known collections of the Lord's Prayer from this period did not typically include numbered petitions.[4] The numbering

2 Bülow (1877: 255) notes a 'Marcus Bruno' in Bahn in 1640, and Friedlaender (1887: 766) a 'Daniel Bruno Banensis' in 1645, so the surname at least is recorded there. On the other hand, Georgius/Georg is a common first name and Bruno/Braun a common surname, so permutations thereof are common enough.

3 The Lord's Prayer is usually divided into segments called petitions, of which there have been seven since the time of the apostles, unlike the common numbering today of the Lord's Prayer in Matthew 6, with five verses (9–13), and in Luke 11, with three (2–4).

4 Numbering of the separate verses in the New Testament has only been common since the middle of the 16th century, and the most common numbering used today in the New Testament (in most languages) goes back to the 1555 Latin-language Bible published by Robert Estienne.

used by Bruno for the translations is not derived from a source we know of and shows no direct similarities with published collections of the period, cf. Hieronymus Megiser (1593) or Claude Duret (1613); it also differs from the well-known collection of Conrad Gessner (1555). Similarly, a study of the Finnish prayer shows that Bruno himself divided the prayer into petitions (based on a parallel translation into German and punctuation), as his source had not done so (Kazakėnaitė & Kallio 2024). It is therefore likely that the Saami prayer was divided into petitions by the author himself; it also may have reached him via a source with parallel translations.

Biezais (1955a: 47–50) provisionally **dated** the manuscript to the late 16th century; we concur with Biezais that the technical aspects of the manuscript (the paper, the watermark, paleographic analysis) all indicate that the manuscript is probably from around the 1590s. A *terminus post quem* is 1561, as Kazakėnaitė & Kallio 2024 have been able to show that the Finnish translation of the Lord's Prayer is a copy of a Lord's Prayer in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographei* from 1561.[5] Similarly, both the English and Spanish versions seem to have been copied from the *Sex linguarum*, *Latinae*, *Gallicae*, *Hispanicae*, *Italicae*, *Anglicae*, & *Teutonicae*, *dilucidissimus* dictionaries that were printed many times, mostly in the mid-16th century.[6] Though for a number of reasons (see below) we assume a date from the end of the 16th century, the manuscript may also be from the beginning of the 17th century. More detailed comparisons of the other translations and their sources may help in obtaining a more precise delimiting of the date of compilation of the manuscript.

According to Biezais (1955a: 50) **the watermark** (see Figure 1) indicates that the paper was produced in Bautzen (Germany) between 1586 and 1596. We agree that the paper comes from Bautzen, but, based on later studies on these types of watermarks (Laucevičius 1967: 194; Piccard 1970: 324–327), we have to be slightly more tentative than Biezais with regard to the dating, as there is in fact no identical

5 The first edition of Münster's *Cosmographia* was published in 1544 and the last one in 1628. It has been reprinted some 40 times in various languages, with additions over the years (see Mclean 2007).

6 This question still requires a separate study, as the book was published in a very large number of copies and by different publishers. Its dynamics have not yet been investigated, but for an overview see Gallagher 2019.

watermark[7] in the existing catalogues. The most similar watermark is number 673 in Piccard (1970: 327), which is dated to 1595 and 1596, located in Schaaken, in former East Prussia, now Königsberg. Interestingly, another one that is also very close graphically (no. 672) is from the same region and similarly dated: Berlin,[8] Schaaken 1593–1596. This suggests that the present manuscript probably was composed in the area and around that time. Biezais (1955a: 50) suggested that the manuscript was compiled in what is now northern Germany and came to Sweden later, but as said above, we assume Bruno came from Bahn, in what is now Banie in Poland.

Figure 1. Two watermarks (turned 90 degrees) of paper made in Bautzen: photo from the original manuscript (on the left and in the middle),[9] and number 673 in the catalogue by Piccard (1970: 327) (on the right).

2.2. The Rosenhane family

It has been generally accepted in Baltological circles (cf. Biezais 1955a, 1955b; Draviņš 1965; Kazakėnaitė & Kallio 2024) that a 'Georg Bruno' was the author of the manuscript. However, after Bruno, the

7 Watermark dating is not always as infallible as has sometimes been assumed (cf. Bange 2015: 115). It also does not take into account the fact that the paper may have been left unused for a long time. However, research has shown that more than 70% of 16th century paper was not stored unused for more than 5 years; the other 15% was used within 5–10 years (Laucevičius 1967: 149). It is therefore unlikely that paper dated to around the middle of the 1590s would not have been used by ca. 1605.

8 'Berlin' here refers to the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz* in Berlin where the relevant archives are now kept, not to the location where the paper was made.

9 The two watermarks that are found in the manuscript are slightly different (cf. the graphic ornament between the letters N and B), but this is common. The watermark's filigree deformed very quickly and even paper of the same run already had visible differences (Laucevičius 1967: 148–149).

first incontrovertible proof we have of the manuscript's ownership and location is from more than 200 years later. Namely, the manuscript is listed in a publication from 1819 (Forsslund 1819: 17) as part of the manuscript collection of Schering Rosenhane the Younger (1754–1812), a prominent figure in Swedish history. He was a civil servant and author and was well-known for his interest in books and manuscripts, of which he was an avid collector. Sometime before his death he compiled a list of the manuscripts he owned and kept at one of his manors (Torp in Södermanland); this list was published seven years after his death by W. Forsslund. In this inventory the manuscript is listed as 'Pater Noster variis lingvis; a Georg. S. Bruno Barthensis Pomerano. A:o 1650' (see Figure 2).

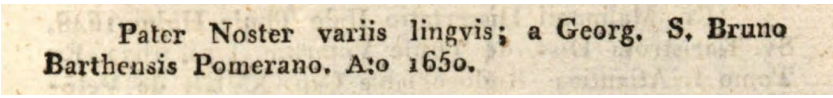
Pater Noster variis lingvis; a Georg. S. Bruno Barthensis Pomerano. A:o 1650.

Figure 2. The manuscript as described in Forsslund 1819.

As Kazakėnaitė & Kallio (2024: 33–34) point out, 'Barthensis' is here an incorrect reading of what we read as 'Banensis'. In addition, Forsslund (1819: 17) reads the <ſ.> as <S->, though Biezais (1955a: 47) reads it as <f>, an abbreviation for Lat. *filius* 'son'; we read it is as <ſ.>. It is not known how Rosenhane came into possession of the manuscript, but we can make some informed guesses, as there are a number of connections between the Rosenhane family, northern Germany, and book collecting and/or looting.

The manuscript may have already belonged to Rosenhane's great-grandfather Schering Rosenhane the Elder (1609–1663). Like his great-grandson, Rosenhane the Elder was also a serious collector of books and manuscripts, and we know that in 1656 he obtained a large number of books (11 barrels and a number of chests) looted from Polish libraries during the Second Northern War, which lasted from 1655 to 1660 (cf. Walde 1920: 149). If the Bruno manuscript was among these materials, then the erased date in the manuscript under the name and demonym on the second page, which could perhaps be read as '1656', may refer to this time. During this invasion, also known as the Swedish Deluge (*potop szwedzki* in Polish), the Swedes carried out extensive looting of Polish libraries; the books thus appropriated by Rosenhane

the Elder are mostly from the libraries of Jesuit in Toruń, Bydgoszcz, Łuck (now Луцьк/Lutsk in Ukraine), Ostróg (now Острог/Ostroh in Ukraine) and from the royal library in Warsaw (cf. Walde 1920: 148). We regrettably have no proof that the manuscript came into Rosenhane the Elder's possession at that time, but as we think the manuscript was written in the 1590s (somewhere) in Pomerania it is not impossible that it had made its way to a Polish library. In addition, Rosenhane the Elder also spent more than four years in Münster (1643–47) as the Swedish representative at the peace talks that ended in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648; during his time there he also bought many books.

Another possibility, but perhaps less likely, is that it was already obtained by Rosenhane the Elder's father, Johan Jöransson (Rosenhane) (1571–1624), as we know he spent long periods of time in Germany in the 1590s and also bought books there (Walde 1920: 145); we know he was in Jena, Wittenberg, and Leipzig (cf. Upmark 1894: 144–145), cities which are not very far from Pomerania.

A third possibility was proposed by Biezais (1955a: 50), who suggested that the manuscript may have ended up in Sweden during the Swedish Intervention, i.e., the Swedish invasion of the Holy Roman Empire, which lasted from 1630 to 1635. However, our and Biezais' suggestions are, regrettably, nothing less than speculations, and the fact remains that we have no proof whatsoever of when the manuscript was brought to Sweden (though it perhaps most likely took place in the 17th century during one of the numerous incursions by the Swedes to what is now northern Germany and northern Poland[10]), by whom, and who might have possessed the manuscript between the 1590s and some time before 1812, when we can show it belonged to Rosenhane the Younger; more research on the libraries of the Rosenhane family might shed light on the matter.

10 On the large-scale and professionalized looting of European libraries by the Swedes in the 17th century, which had it among its aims both the enlargement of the relatively insignificant Swedish libraries and the purging of religious institutions of 'erroneous' material to deny the enemies of the true faith (i.e., Catholics, especially Jesuits) access to them, cf., e.g., Walde 1920, Wåghall Nivre 2017, and Nordin, Strenga & Sjökvist 2023.

2.3. Early 19th-century owners: Westerberg, Nicander & Mellin

After Schering Rosenhane the Younger the next owner we know of is a certain Reinhold Westerberg, who, according to the inscription on the first page of the manuscript, gave it to Karl Aug[ust] Nicander in 1835 at Täckhammer, an estate close to Nyköping in south-eastern Sweden. Nicander (1799–1839) was a well-known Swedish writer, but we know much less about Westerberg. In 1955 Biezais wondered who he was and how he had obtained the manuscript (Biezais 1955a: 48), but we now know that Reinhold Westerberg was a court chamberlain ('Hofcamererare') (Calender 1844: 391). There is, in fact, also a connection between Westerberg and the Rosenhane family: in the early 19th century (it is not known exactly when, but after Schering Rosenhane the Younger's death in 1812) Westerberg bought a manor called 'Lunds gård' (northwest of Nyköping) from Sophia Rosenhane, Schering Rosenhane the Younger's sister (1757–1837), who had inherited it from her brother (Björksten & Stenberg 1947: 262). This manor had already belonged to Schering Rosenhane the Elder, who is registered as its owner in 1657, and from 1676 it belonged to one of his sons, Johan Rosenhane (1642–1710). It seems to have changed hands then, as it for a time also belonged to the military officer Hans Ulfsparre (1632–1688). The manuscript may therefore have remained at Lunds gård from the 17th century onwards, but, seeing as Schering Rosenhane the Younger registers it in his collection of manuscripts located at Torp manor sometime before 1812, it must have been brought to Torp at least temporarily. Schering Rosenhane the Younger died in 1812 and his sister Sophia sold Torp in 1815; before that she must have transferred the manuscript (back) to Lunds gård, which she had obtained in 1800 from her parents, and thus Westerberg probably acquired the manuscript along with the household effects when he bought Lunds gård from Sophia Rosenhane.

As Biezais (1955a: 48) states, the Swedish author Gustaf Henrik Mellin (1803–1876) obtained the manuscript in 1839 after Nicander's death; the two were close friends and Mellin inherited his possessions. In 1851, before he needed to move house, Mellin decided to donate the manuscript to the National Library of Sweden in Stockholm, where it has remained since. Table 1 gives an overview of the ownership of the manuscript since its creation.

Table 1. Owners and location of the manuscript.

Year	Owner	Location
~1590s	Georg f. Bruno	Pomerania, Germany
????–1812	Schering Rosenhane the Younger	Torp manor, Södermanland, Sweden
1812–18??	Sophia Rosenhane	Lunds gård manor, Södermanland, Sweden
18??–1835	Reinhold Westerberg	Lunds gård manor, Södermanland, Sweden
1835–1839	Karl August Nicander	?
1839–1851	Gustaf Henrik Mellin	Stockholm, Sweden
1851–	National Library of Sweden	Stockholm, Sweden

3. The Swedish church in northern Sweden and earliest written Saami

As mentioned above, we know nothing with certainty about the location of the manuscript before it was in the hands of the Rosenhane family in the 19th century. There is, however, another very close link to Sweden, one that dates back to before the compilation of the manuscript: although the Saami text in the manuscript is difficult to read (see Section 4 below), we can nevertheless immediately see that a) it is, like the other texts in the manuscript, a Lord's Prayer, and also b) that, notwithstanding the partial illegibility, it is very similar to the Lord's Prayer in (a variant of) Saami as it occurs in a 1619 primer (*A B C Book på Lappesko Tungomål*) and a 1619 songbook (*En lijten sångebook*). These were both written by Nicolaus Andreæ[11] (1557–1628), a priest in Piteå in northern Sweden from 1581 to 1600 (and parish priest from 1600 until his death in 1628), and are the first known printed books in

11 Also known as Nils Andersson (Söder 2001: 561), Nils Andersson (Rehn) (Bergsland 1984: B1), Nicolaus Andreæ Rhen (Rhén 1962: 42–45). 'Andreæ' is his patronymic and not his surname, the Latin equivalent of 'Andersson'; here, following a suggestion made by one of the reviewers, we will use 'N. Andreæ' to refer to him.

Saami (see Qvigstad & Wiklund 1899: 9–10),[12] compiled for the religious edification of the Swedish Saami.

In the late 16th and the early 17th century the Swedish state started showing more interest in its northern territories; reasons include ensuring its authority over these territories with a view to possible competition for them with Denmark-Norway and Russia, partially with the aim of obtaining access to the Arctic, of acquiring access to ore deposits in northern Sweden (from the 1630s), but also of increasing the taxation of the Saami (cf. Fur 2016: 247; Laine 2024); this already started in the 1550s (Kvist 1992: 64–65). The Saami had already had contacts with Christianity from the 11th century onwards (Lundmark 2016: 225), and occasional efforts to convert the Saami to Christianity already occurred in the 14th century. The first serious attempts by the Swedish state to convert the Saami, however, commenced in the late 16th century (Lundmark 2016: 229; Fur 2016; Laine 2024); in his mandate to the *lappfogde*, i.e., the bailiff whose function it was to oversee and represent the Saami, king Charles IX instructed the bailiff to read the catechism with the Saami, so "that they may have some knowledge of God and the Holy Trinity"[13] (Fur 2016: 247). The Church required that everyone who took communion, got married, or wanted to become a godparent was to be familiar with the basic tenets of Christianity, which included learning the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the sacraments, especially after the 1596 decree. In the first primers the order was usually such that the alphabet was immediately followed by the Lord's Prayer (in Luther's Small Catechism the Ten Commandments come first); this was the order in which children learned the catechism in Catholic times (cf. Forsgren 1988: 10).

For the conversion of the Saami both buildings for worship and literature in Saami were necessary. There are indications that the first chapels in northern Sweden were already built in the 16th century (Korhonen 2016: 740), but specific plans for building a church (in Lycksele) are from 1605; a priest from Umeå was to hold services there for local Saami and for those from Arjeplog and Arvidsjaur, where a

12 The first known Saami wordlist is a list of 95 words (and a few brief sentences) in Kildin Saami dating from 1557 and published in 1589 by Richard Hakluyt (Abercromby 1895; more recent articles such as, e.g., Szalóczy 2020 present no new information).

13 Sw. *på det att de må få någon kännedom om Gud och den heliga Trefaldighet.*

church was then also built in 1607 (Rasmussen 2016: 291; Korhonen 2016: 740). N. Andreæ was the priest who had visited these areas before, who 'knew the Saami language' (cf. Nordlander 1905: 309; Bygdén 1925: 67; Korhonen 2016: 740), and in 1614 in a letter to the king he promised to 'complete a handbook and the Small Catechism[14] and some separate Gospels which can best serve for the enlightenment and instruction of the Gospels in their language'.[15] Interestingly for us, N. Andreæ also mentions that he was in possession of material that had belonged to his father that would be useful for carrying out this work;[16] here he uses the Latin word *monumenta*; in older Swedish (cf. SAOB: *monument*) this can also refer to written work. N. Andreæ's father, Andreas Nicolai (?–1600) was a chaplain in Luleå and a priest in his home parish of Piteå from 1566 onwards. It is known that he understood Saami and that he 'provided the Saami of Pite and Lule with God's word'[17] (Nordlander 1905: 308). Taking into account A. Nicolai's language knowledge and the fact that his son refers to what we assume is his father's written material in Saami we can make the case (as has been done before; see e.g., Wiklund 1922b: 26; Nordberg 1973: 59) that N. Andreæ was perhaps not the original compiler of the primer and the songbook he published in 1619, but that these are at least partially adaptations of translations his father had already carried out (or obtained) before 1600; indeed Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden from 1611 to 1632, writes in a letter dated the 26th of September 1617 that N. Andreæ had 'renovated' the ABC book (Nordberg 1973: 57), and N. Andreæ himself refers to having 'reformed' it (Wiklund 1922b: 19). However, as N. Andreæ had already been ordained in 1581 and probably worked closely with his father before the latter's death in 1600 (cf. Nordberg 1973: 53), we cannot with certainty say which of them might have translated the Lord's Prayer into Saami, or if they perhaps collaborated on it, or, as is perhaps most likely, they already had access to an older manuscript translation which one of them adapted.

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14 I.e., Luther's Small Catechism from 1529, (probably) translated into Swedish already in 1544.

15 Sw. [...] ferdig giöra handboke*n* Item then lilla Catechismum och några besynnerliga Euangelia, som them best kunn*a* tiena till Euangelij wplysning och lärdom på theras tungomåål [...] (Nordberg 1973: 55).

16 Sw. [...] Effter iag här på haffuer min salige faders monumenta [...] (Nordberg 1973: 55).

17 '… försörjde Pithe och Lule lappar med Guds ord.'

4. The Lord's Prayer in Saami and its transcription

The first published version of the Lord's Prayer in Saami (or an attempt at Saami) are those in the 1619 books by N. Andreæ; this translation was most probably based on an existing manuscript (see 5. Conclusion). These published versions and the 1638 version of the Lord's Prayer were then already early on included in the polyglot collections of the Lord's Prayer which were so popular between the mid-16th and 19th centuries; these were often copied from other sources which had reproduced the Saami translations, usually not directly from the Saami-language sources themselves. One of the earliest instantiations seems to be in Johann Reuter's 1662 *Oratio Dominica XL Linguarum* (reprinted in 1675), where the language is called *Lapponicè*.[18] Although the book does not cite a source, it is almost certainly copied from Michael Olai Wexionius' 1650 *De antiquitate et origine gentis Sveo-Gothicae & Fennicae* (see *Cap. XII: De Lappicâ seu Lapponicâ lingg*). Wexionius writes he had copied from a Saami 'ABC book'; a comparison of the texts shows us that this refers to the anonymous 1638 ABC book (the language of which is, according to Bergsland 1982, probably Lule Saami), not the 1619 N. Andreæ one.

Later we find different versions of the prayer titled 'Lapponice' in, e.g., John Chamberlayne's polyglot collection of 1715, and 'Lappon. Umenſ.' in Olof Rudbeck the Younger's *Specimen usus linguae Gothicae* from 1717. Although a Lord's Prayer with a heading where the root *lapp-* occurs appears much earlier in polyglot collections, the text referred to is actually in Finnish, thus, e.g., *Lapponienne* in Duret (1619), *Lappones* in Gramaye (1622), *Lappländisch* in Pistorius (1627), *Lappian* in Wilkins (1668), *Lapponica* in Lüdeken (1680), etc. This is undoubtedly due to copying of the Finnish-language Lord's Prayer from one of the many editions of Münster's *Cosmographia*, where this is

18 Two editions are known to have been published: one in Riga in 1662 and one in Rostock in 1675. No copies of the first edition are known to exist, but the Uppsala University library has a copy of the 1675 edition (see https://uub.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/46LIBRIS_UUB/d23b4h/alma991018405170607596). It is presumed that the two did not differ in text. The Rostock copy seems to have been better known; e.g., it was used by G. W. Leibniz, who recommended it as a source for the languages of northern Europe (Gensini 2021: 377).

referred to as being both in Saami and Finnish (see, e.g., Münster 1561, p. 1225).[19]

Chamberlayne's 1715 version certainly ultimately derives from the Lord's Prayer in Andreae's 1619 ABC book, although it is much corrupted.[20] If the Saami Lord's Prayer in fact only appeared in polyglot collections in the second half of the 17th century then Bruno's collection is of even greater significance because it is the first such collection to include it.

In the abovementioned prayer collections, the Saami version was presented adjacent to Estonian, Finnish or Latvian prayers, but not in the Bruno manuscript, where it is the last one (the 20th), after the translations in French, Spanish, Italian, and Czech. As the text is not very legible due to fraying of parts of the page and very darkened paper, we therefore present two versions: the original (Figure 3) and one lightened version (Figure 4) for improved readability.

As can be seen from Figures 3 and 4 the state of the last page of the manuscript does not (as yet) allow an unambiguous reading. Table 3 is our attempt at a *de visu* reading,[21] with the Lord's Prayer in N. Andreæ 1619a[22] given for comparison; the petitions in N. Andreæ 1619a have been slightly changed to line up with the numbering in Bruno to the extent that it is possible. The asterisk [*] indicates that the letter or combination of letters is at least for now unreadable; guesses with reference to a letter or word are in brackets [ ]. We did not take the N. Andreæ Lord's Prayers into account in our reading, i.e., we did not allow the N. Andreæ texts to influence our reading.

19 Cristina Wis already pointed this out in 1987 (Wis 1987: 177).

20 The N. Andreæ translation was prolifically copied: Niurenius has a practically identical version (1633: 17–24), and from Rudbeck (1717: 4) onwards it was often used in compilations of translations of the Lord's Prayer, most recently by Németh (1990: 32).

21 We worked both with the facsimiles and with the original in the National Library. Holding up the original to the light allowed us to see details not visible in the facsimiles.

22 The two Lord's Prayers in the 1619 books by N. Andreæ are not absolutely identical, differing very slightly in their orthography: for example, in N. Andreæ 1619a the spelling <koc**h**t> and <päi**v**e> corresponds to <koc**k**t> and <päi**u**e> in N. Andreæ 1619b.

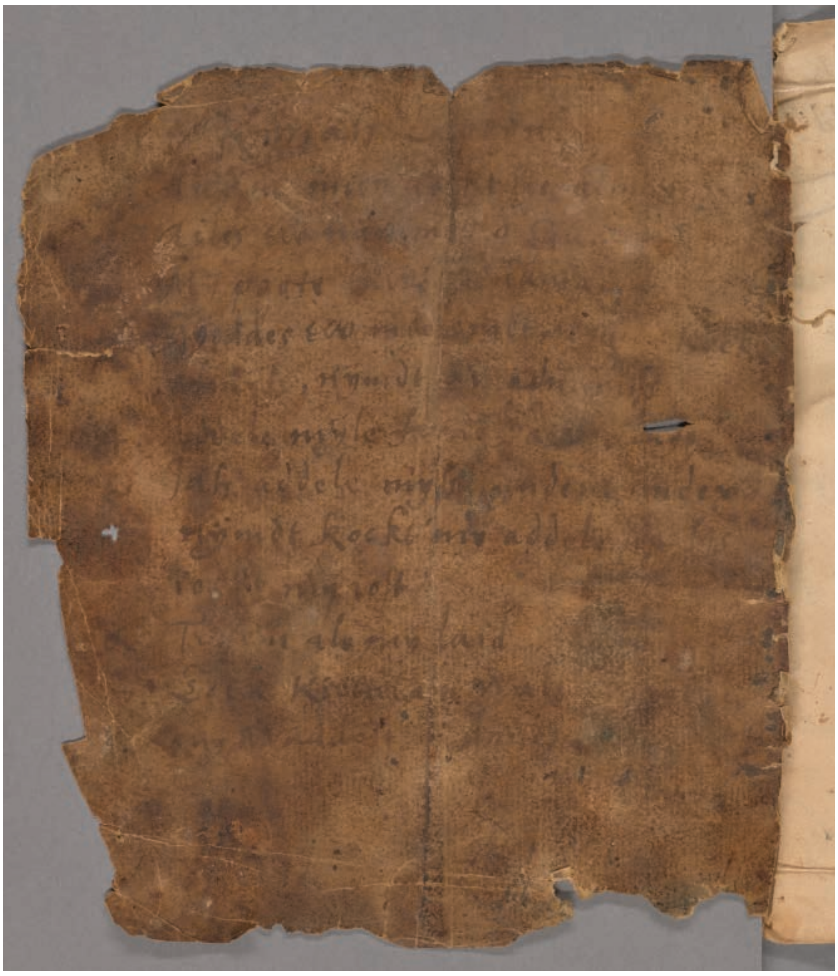

Figure 3. An original facsimile of the Lord's Prayer in a southern variety of Saami (National Library of Sweden; call number N 74). The original size of the page is 200 × 170 × 5 mm.

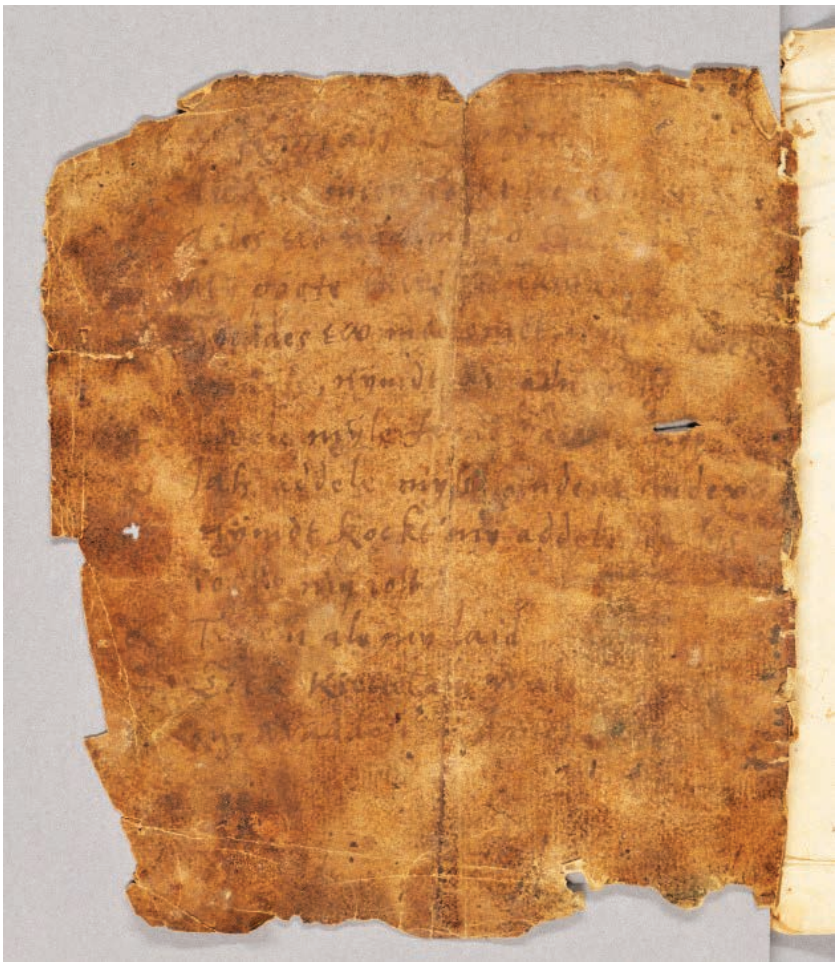

Figure 4. A lightened facsimile of the Lord's Prayer in a southern variety of Saami (National Library of Sweden; call number N 74). The original size of the page is 200 × 170 × 5 mm.

Table 3. Comparison of Bruno and N. Andreæ 1619a.

Line number (Bruno)	*Georg Bruno manuscript*	*N. Andreæ 1619a Sångbook*
{1}	[*] K[ÿ]riäh Lappkÿn [*]	–
{2}	Aie[kia] mien iockt lye almen [*s]	ACkia mijen iucht lie almen ſis/
{3}	Ailes t[*v] [h/n[23]*a*me]. [?][24]	ailes hiedde tdu Namme
{4}	Mÿ poote t[*] [*]ania.	Quo̊ik pote tdu Rijkie
{5}	3. Hÿeddes t[*]o mie emet, [*ÿm*] kock[*]	Hiedde tdu ſijte/ nimpt
{6}	almÿſs, nÿmdt ai ädnamiſs.	almis kocht ai ä̊dnamis
{7}	4. Addele mÿle ferne paive layp	Addele mijs vdnaig mijen ferne pä̊ive laip.
{8}	5. Jah addele mÿſs ſyndeni andexÿ	Ja addele mijs ſyndin andix /
{9}	nÿmdt kockt mÿ addele [*] ſÿs	nimpt kocht mij addel ſijs
{10}	io[cht] mÿ voſt	iucht mijs vo̊ſt
{11}	6. Ta[*]em alo mÿ laid	tacke Å̊le mij laidhe
{12}	7. T[*]ck Kiettelam wali [?]	tock freſte. Wal va ri le
{13}	mÿ waddoſt Amen	mi vaddoſt / Amen

Though the page is clearly defective and difficult to read, its close relationship to the N. Andreæ texts is nevertheless unmistakable. We will briefly discuss each row separately, where we will compare the Bruno text to the Lord's Prayer in N. Andreæ 1619a (*En lijten sångebook* = 'SB'; p. 42–44) and 1619b (*A B C Book på Lappesko Tungomål* = 'ABC'; p. 3). We also compared the Bruno text to the Lord's Prayer occurring in later (17th century) Saami-language publications, but due to limited scope and because the Bruno manuscript in our opinion predates the N. Andreæ texts we have not included them in this article.[25] The words in the Bruno manuscript have been glossed (to the extent possible), as have the ones in N. Andreæ 1619a and 1619b; for comparison

23 <h> or <n>.

24 It is not certain if there are still words here, because there seems to be a full stop after "[a*me].

25 The Lord's Prayer in Niurenius 1633 is practically identical to the ones in the 1619 N. Andreæ books; there are some minor orthographical differences.

the words in the 1619 N. Andreæ texts have been aligned linearly from left to right where possible with the Bruno Lord's Prayer and are therefore not necessarily cognates.

Table 4. Row 1 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	***[*]***	***K[ÿ]riäh***	***Lappkÿn***	***[*]***
gloss	–	?book/letter	Saami	–

The first line of the text does not seem to match other translations in the Bruno manuscript. The others are identified in Latin by the following principle: the name of the language and then Latin *sic*, *sic sonat*, *sic dicas* etc. Here, however, we cannot discern any Latin. The words themselves also raise many questions. *K[ÿ]riäh* reminds one of the common Saami words for 'book' or 'letter'; cf. e.g., modern Ume Saami *girjjie* (pl. *girjieh*) 'book; letter'. It also vaguely resembles the word Κύριε 'Lord' as it occurs in a common Greek name of the prayer – Κυριακή προσευχή (literally 'Sunday prayer', Lat. *Oratio Dominica*),[26] though there are no other links to Greek in the manuscript. *Lappkÿn* undoubtedly refers to Saami, but what form this is is unclear; one reviewer suggested it could be a corrupted form of Sw. *lappskan* '(in) Saami'. These words are perhaps also another indication that Bruno probably did not copy the text directly from the 1619 N. Andreæ texts, as there are no words immediately above the Lord's Prayer in N. Andreæ 1619a or 1619b which resemble <K[ÿ]riäh Lappkÿn>.

Table 5. Row 2 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**Aie[kia]**	**mien**	**iockt**	**lye**	**almen**	**[*s]**
gloss	father.NOM	we.GEN	who	be.PRS.3SG	heaven.GEN	–
1619 SB	*ACkia*	*mijen*	*iucht*	*lie*	*almen*	*ſis*
1619 ABC	*ACkia*	*mijen*	*iucht*	*lie*	*almen*	*ſis*
gloss	father.NOM	we.GEN	who	be.PRS.3SG	heaven.GEN	in

26 The more common name in Greek would be from the prayer's incipit – Πάτερ Ημών 'Our Father' –, cf. Lat. *Pater Noster*.

In this row the manuscript probably has /sis/ 'in' at the end of the sentence. All other words are legible and correspond closely to the 1619 texts, though the spelling is different in all words except for <almen>. *Aie[kia]* in Bruno resembles *ACkia* in the 1619 texts; <e> and <c> are very similar in handwritten text and can be easily confused.[27] This could also be an indication that the text was not been directly copied from one of the N. Andreæ texts (though a brief comparison of the Lord's Prayer in the other languages in the Bruno manuscript with their possible sources show that they were also not faithfully copied).

Table 6. Row 3 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**Ailes**	**t[*v]**	**[h/n*a*me]**		
gloss	holy	–	–		
1619 SB	*ailes*	–	*hiedde*	*tdu*	*Namme*
1619 ABC	*ailes*	–	*hiedde*	*tdu*	*Namme*
gloss	holy	–	be.named.PRS.3SG	you.GEN	name

The first word is the same as in the 1619 translations, and <t[*v]> and <[h/n*a*me]> evidently include parts of <hiedde tdu Namme>. There might be more letters after <[a*me]> which are not legible. <*hiedde*> is cognate with, e.g., Ume Saami *sjaddá* 'become'; for the spelling <hi> /š/ in <hiedde> in the 1619 texts see Bergsland (1982: 11).

Table 7. Row 4 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**Mÿ**	**poote**	**t[*]**	**[*]ania**
gloss	we.NOM	come.PRS.3SG	you	?
1619 SB	*Quo̊ik*	*pote*	*tdu*	*Rijkie*
1619 ABC	*Quo̊ijk*	*pote*	*tdu*	*Rijkie*
gloss	to	come.PRS.3SG	you.GEN	kingdom

27 There are many instances in Bruno's text of <e> and <c>; a comparison shows that here an <e> is written. One of the reviewers also reads the word in Bruno as <A*ck*> with a <c>.

<Mÿ> looks like ‘we’ in the nominative, but would be out of place here. For <t[*]> we would expect <tdu>, but the second letter is not a ‘d’ (as a comparison of Bruno’s other <d>’s shows). Anything similar to the expected <Rijkie> is not legible; <[*]ania> is unclear.[28]

Table 8. Row 5 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**3. Hÿeddes**	**t[*]o**	**mie**	**emet,**	**[*ÿm*]**	**kock[*]**
gloss	be.named.PRS.3SG	you.GEN	–	–	–	as
1619 SB	*Hiedde*	*tdu*	*ſijte*	–	?*nimpt*	–
1619 ABC	*Hiedde*	*tdu*	*ſijte*	–	?*nimpt*	–
gloss	be.named.PRS.3SG	you.GEN	will	–	thus	–

Here the first two words are clearly comparable with <Hiedde> and <tdu>, but the next two are very unclear: <mie> or <emet> does not resemble <ſijte>.[29] [*ÿm*] looks like <nÿmdt> in the following line and could be the same as <nimpt> in the 1619 books; this is cognate with, e.g. South Saami *nimhtie* ‘in this way’, Ume Saami *navtie* ‘id.’, Pite Saami *navte* ‘id.’. <kock[*]> is undoubtedly <kockt> ‘as’; cf. e.g. Ume Saami *gukttie* ‘(such) as’.

Table 9. Row 6 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**almÿſs,**	**nÿmdt**	**ai**	**ädnamiſs**
gloss	heaven.INE	as	also	earth.INE
1619 SB	*almis*	*kocht*	*ai*	*ädnamis*
1619 ABC	*almis*	*kockt*	*ai*	*ädnamis*
gloss	heaven.INE	as	also	earth.INE

The words in this verse are legible and similar to 1619 SB and ABC except for the second word. <nÿmdt> is here clearly the same as <nimpt> in the 1619 N. Andreæ texts. Interestingly, it is repeated twice

28 One of the reviewers suggested <[*]ania> could be ‘land’; cf., e.g., South Saami *laande* ‘land, country, earth.’

29 One of the reviewers suggested <mie> and <emet> could be read together as <miälen mete> ‘to (sb’s) will’; cf. *Kuttes mattitja ſo miälen mete takket?* ‘quis possit ad nutum ejus facere? vel ad voluntatem ejus se componere’, *Mo miälen mete le tatt* ‘ad votum meum sive ex sententia istud est, det är just som jag vill’ (Lindahl & Öhrling 1780: 255).

in this petition (cf. Tables 8 and 9), although we do not see this usage in the N. Andreæ texts. Cognates of Bruno's <nÿmdt>/N. Andreæ's <nimpt> do occur in this position in slightly later translations of the Lord's Prayer, e.g., in the anonymous 1638 *Swenske och Lappeske ABC Book*[30] (*almen* ***nau*** *ai ådnemen naltne* heaven.INE as also earth.GEN on 'in heaven as on earth'; p. 3) and in Tornæus' *Manuale Lapponicum* (*Almesn* ***nau*** *ai Edname aln* heaven.INE as also earth.GEN on 'id.'; s. 500). This would indicate that the Bruno text was almost definitely not copied directly from either of the 1619 translations.

Table 10. Row 7 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**4.**	**Addele**	**mÿle**			**ferne**	**paive**	**layp**
gloss		give.IMP.2SG	?we.ALL	–	–	every	day	bread
1619 SB		*Addele*	*mijs*	*vdnaig*	*mijen*	*ferne*	*päive*	*laip*
1619 ABC		*Addele*	*mijs*	*vdnaig*	*mijen*	*ferne*	*päiue*	*laip*
gloss		give.IMP.2SG	we.ILL	today	we.GEN	every	day	bread

<Addele> is a subitive derivation (cf. North Saami *addilit* 'to give (in haste)') of common Saami **ẹntē-* 'to give', a borrowing from Finnish *antaa* 'to give' (Lehtiranta 1989: 10–11); Bergsland here assumes (later) inference from Finnish (1984: B1) *antaa* to explain the initial *a-* (cf. South Saami *vedtedh* 'to give', Ume Saami *vaddiet* 'id.', Pite/Lule Saami *vaddet* 'id.', but North Saami *addit* 'id.'; cf. also Lehtiranta 1989: 20–21). <mÿle> may be one of the cases already noted by Wiklund (1922b: 25) where N. Andreæ seemed to have combined a Saami pronominal stem with a Finnish case suffix (cf., e.g., Ume Saami *mïjjije* we.ILL ~ Finnish *meille* we.ALL '(to) us'); similar cases where a Saami pronominal stem is used with a Finnish case suffix occur elsewhere in N. Andreæ too (e.g., *munele* ~ *munile* 'to me'; cf. Wiklund 1922b: 25), although <mÿle> may of course also simply be copying mistake for <mijs>.[31] The equivalent to N. Andreæ's *vdnaig* 'today' and *mijen* 'our' is missing in Bruno. Interestingly, <ferne> 'every' has only

30 The 1638 translation is not based on the 1619 N. Andreæ texts, though we can see the author had access to them and partially utilized them (Bergsland 1982: 11).

31 As Olle Kejonen (Uppsala) points out, the (Parkalompolo) North Saami form *miṅṅile* we.ILL (Lagercrantz 1939: 481, §3845) is not related.

been recorded in South Saami (cf. Lagercrantz 1939: 140; Juutinen & Mettovaara 2021: 12).

Table 11. Row 8 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**5.**	**Jah**	**addele**	**mÿſs**	**ſyndeni**	**andexÿ**
gloss		and	give.IMP.2SG	we.ILL	(see below)	
1619 SB		*Ja*	*addele*	*mijs*	*ſyndin*	*andix*
1619 ABC		*Ja*	*addele*	*mijs*	*ſyndin*	*andix*
gloss		and	give.IMP.2SG	we.ILL	(see below)	

The words differ from the 1619 books only in their spelling. <ſyndeni andexÿ> is a Finnish insertion into the text; cf. modern Finnish *ja anna meille meidän syntimme anteeksi* ‘and forgive us our sins’ (cf. Wiklund 1922b: 25; Söder 2001: 564).

Table 12. Row 9 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**nÿmdt**	**kockt**	**mÿ**	**addele**	**[*]**	**ſÿs**
gloss	thus	as	we	give.PRS.1PL	–	they.ILL
1619 SB	*nimpt*	*kocht*	*mij*	*addel*	–	*ſijs*
1619 ABC	*nimpt*	*kockt*	*mij*	*addel*	–	*ſijs*
gloss	thus	as	we	give.PRS.1PL	–	they.ILL

Here the text is very similar to the N. Andreæ texts, but there seems to be a word, illegible to us, between <addele> and <ſÿs>, where there is nothing in that position in the N. Andreæ texts.

Table 13. Row 10 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**io[cht]**	**mÿ**	**voſt**
gloss	who	we	against
1619 SB	*iucht*	*mijs*	*vo͡ſt*
1619 ABC	*iucht*	*mijs*	*vo͡ſt*
gloss	who	we.ILL	against

Here <mÿ> seems to be in the nominative, though the N. Andreæ texts have an illative (cf. the *s*-illatives of pronouns in Lars Rangius' 1713 Ume Saami translation of the Gospel of Mark; Wilson 2008: 94).[32]

Table 14. Row 11 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**6.**	**Ta[*]em**	**alo**	**mÿ**	**laid**
gloss		do.PTCP	PROH.2SG	WE.NOM	lead
1619 SB		*tacke*	*Äle*	*mij*	*laidhe*
1619 ABC		*tacke*	*äle*	*mij*	*laidhe*
gloss		do.PRS.3PL	PROH.2SG	WE.NOM	lead.CNG

<Ta[*]em> seems to be closer to <tackam> as in the anonymous 1638 translation (*jocko mijan wåstan tackam lein* who we.GEN against do.PTCP.ACT be.PST.3PL 'those who had acted against us').[33] If read as <tackem> it would also mean Bruno incorrectly divided the petition, but this would not be unexpected; an incorrectly divided petition also occurs in the Finnish translation in the Bruno manuscript (cf. Kazakėnaitė & Kallio 2024: 37), as we can assume he did not know Finnish (or, indeed, many of the other languages in the manuscript). The sentence … *iucht mijs vo̊ſt tacke* who us against do 'those who act against us' in the N. Andreæ texts is at first sight unusual, as in nearly all likely sources that N. Andreæ could have used (i.e., versions of the Lord's Prayer in Swedish or Finnish from before the late 16th century/early 17th century) have constructions with the meaning 'forgive our debtors' (e.g., Sw. [1567]: *Och förlåt oss wära skuld såsom ock wij förlåte* ***them oss skyldiga äre*** 'And forgive us our debt such as we forgive **those who are in our debt**'; Fin. [1548]: [*Ja anna meille synnime andexi ninquin*] *me annama meiden* ***welgholisten*** '[And forgive us our sins as] we give our **debtors**'). However, in Swedish translations of the Lord's Prayer from the Middle Ages this is translated as follows: *Och fför lath os wara syndher, som wi fför Lathom* ***them os mothe britha*** 'And forgive us our sins, such as we forgive those **who transgress against us**' (ca. 1520; cf.

32 Illatives in -*s* occur in the possessive declension in those Saamic languages that still have a possessive declension, but in the absolute declension they only occur in South and Ume Saami (cf. Sammallahti 2009: 9–10).

33 We are grateful to one of the reviewers for this hint.

Ejder 1978: 111). This would indicate that an older Swedish translation of the Lord's Prayer was used for the Saami translation.[34]

Table 15. Row 12 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**7.**	**T[*]ck**	**Kiettelam**	**wali**	**[?]**
gloss		there	temptation	but	–
1619 SB		*tock*	(*freſte*)	*Wal*	
1619 ABC		*tock*	(*freſte*)	*Wall*	
gloss		there	temptation	but	

Here too the text does not follow the conventional petitions of the Lord's Prayer, and sentences seem to have been divided rather haphazardly. <T[*]ck> refers to <tock>. A cognate of <Kiettelam> does not occur in the N. Andreæ texts, but is found, e.g., in the anonymous 1638 translation (*kiåggielabma*)[35] and in Fiellström (*försökning – gåttelem*; 1638: 60); another indication that the Bruno text is not a copy of the N. Andreæ texts. The sentence in row 12 in principle should start with *wali*, as in N. Andreæ 1619a (*Wal*) and 1619b (*Wall*). Whether there is any text afterwards in this row is not visible to the naked eye.

Table 16. Row 13 of the Bruno manuscript.

Bruno	**–**	**–**	**–**	**mÿ**	**waddoſt**	**Amen**
gloss	–	–	–	we.NOM	danger.ELA	Amen
1619 SB	*va*	*ri*	*le*	*mij*	*vaddoſt*	*Amen*
1619 ABC	*varile*			*mij*	*vaddoſt*	*Amen*
gloss	protect.IMP.2SG			we.NOM	danger.ELA	amen

34 Uusitalo (2016: 164) shows that the Finnish Lord's Prayer in Sebastian Münster's 1544 *Cosmographia* was probably also translated from an older Swedish Lord's Prayer, also because it here has *vastahan rikkojillen* 'against violators', rather than *welgholisten* 'to debtors' as in, e.g., Agricola's 1548 translation of the New Testament; cf. also Kazakėnaitė & Kallio 2024: 39, 41.

35 We would like to thank Torbjörn Söder (Uppsala) and one of the reviewers here for pointing this out.

Anything similar to <varile> is not legible in the Bruno manuscript; the faded words in the line before were not visible. Otherwise this line is practically identical to the one in the N. Andreæ texts.

5. Conclusions

The manuscript presented here is, as far as we know, the oldest known Saami text in manuscript form which has survived to the present day.[36] The comparison of the Lord's Prayer in this manuscript with the Lord's Prayer in Saami in the earliest printed books in Saami, namely in Nicolaus Andreæ's *A B C Book på Lappesko Tungomål* and *En lijten Sångebook*, both from 1619, show that the Bruno Lord's Prayer must have the same origin: the text to the extent that it can be read is, despite the orthographical and the occasional lexical differences, very similar. We therefore have to assume that the Bruno and N. Andreæ translations are related. However, as we also assume the Bruno translation is from the very end of the 16th century and, in our opinion, predates the 1619 books,[37] it logically cannot have been copied from them. In addition, there are a number of differences between the translation in the Bruno manuscript and translations on the 1619 N. Andreæ books that indicate the Bruno translation was *not* copied even indirectly from the N. Andreæ books (which we anyway do not assume because of chronological reasons based on the paper, the watermark and the handwriting). Rather, rows like *almÿſs, nÿmdt ai ädnamiſs* (see Table 9 and the analysis there), and *T[*]ck Kiettelam wali* (see Table 15 and the analysis there), which are partially more similar to the corresponding rows in, e.g., the 1638 anonymous *Swenske och Lappeske ABC Book* rather than to the 1619 N. Andreæ books, indicate that both the Bruno translation and the 1619 N. Andreæ translations go back to an older manuscript which was then

36 We know of a Lord's Prayer in manuscript form in (a very corrupted) Saami from 1704; this was published by Wis in 1987.

37 Korhonen (2016: 740) writes that 'Before the period in question (= when N. Andreæ was active; EK & RB), we are not aware of any written texts in Saami having been used in church contexts.' (Sw. *Före den tid det här rör sig om känner vi inte till att skrivna texter på samiska skulle ha förekommit i kyrkliga sammanhang*.). If Korhonen, a renowned expert on older Saami, was not aware of any older manuscripts then we can assume the Bruno manuscript is indeed a rarity.

separately used and adapted by both N. Andreæ and/or his father, and a copy of which, in a manner unknown to us, reached Bruno.

As stated above, N. Andreæ seemed to have used the Saami material that had belonged to his father for his 1619 books. It is therefore possible that his father had translated the texts himself or, as is perhaps more likely, had access to existing translations circulating in manuscript form. The Saami translation in the Bruno manuscript can therefore be a copy of 1) the translations of the Lord's Prayer occurring in N. Andreæ's 1619 books (if we are wrong about our dating), 2) the Lord's Prayer in manuscript form as translated by N. Andreæ and/or his father, or 3) a translation of the Lord's Prayer in manuscript form translated by a person or persons unknown, which Bruno obtained in some manner unknown to us, and on which the translations in the N. Andreæ books and in the 1638 anonymous *Swenske och Lappeske ABC Book* are also based. We assume 3) is most the likely.

This leads us to a stemmatological question: how old is the manuscript? At present two main hypotheses are possible. One, which we reject, is that the Bruno translation is a careless copy of the Lord's Prayer in one of the two N. Andreæ books, which then must be dated *after* 1619. The other is that it is *older* than the two 1619 N. Andreæ books. On the basis of an analysis of the paper watermarks and the date of the source of the Finnish prayer (cf. Kazakėnaitė & Kallio 2024), it could be assumed that this version of the manuscript dates from the 1590s, i.e., the end of the 16th century. In addition, this style of cursive of the handwriting of the German Lord's Prayer points to the end of the 16th century or the very beginning of the 17th century. As mentioned above, if the paper can be dated to around the middle of the 1590s it is unlikely that it would not have been used by 1619, and so it is in fact not at all unlikely that the text is earlier than the two N. Andreæ books (of which, as mentioned before, it cannot be a direct copy because it also shows some similarity to the 1638 translation). Similarly, a perfunctory look at the sources identified for the other prayers (Finnish, English, Cuman, Turkish, etc.) show that the Bruno translations were not directly copied from the printed sources, but rather copied from copies of those sources.

We think that we have been able to make a plausible case, for the reasons explicated above, for dating the manuscript to the end of the 16th century or very beginning of the 17th century. This would then

mean that the Lord's Prayer in Saami already existed in manuscript form before 1619. That such texts existed in manuscript form before the first books were published is, of course, to be expected; see, e.g., the history of written Swedish (Carlquist 2002), Finnish (Häkkinen 1994: 79), Estonian (Ehasalu et al. 1997), Latvian (Ozols 1965: 57), or Lithuanian (Zinkevičius 1988: 237). If we assume that the manuscript is indeed older than the books this fact leads us to the next question, namely: how did Bruno (in Pomerania) acquire a version of the Lord's Prayer in Saami which is very similar to the N. Andreæ Lord's Prayer? Due to their profession we in fact know a great deal about the background of both N. Andreæ and his father, but the background of Bruno remains a mystery, as we do not, as Biezais does, identify him with the aforementioned Georg Bruno of Anklam. As we wrote above, we assume that the Georg Bruno who was the compiler of this manuscript came from Bahn. As mentioned above the name itself is relatively common, which complicates ascertaining who he was, but there are indications of other 'Georg(ius) Bruno's having been active in the area in the 17th century (thus Töppen [1898: 404] refers to a 'Georgius Bruno' visiting the diet at Thorn [now Toruń in Poland] in 1576; with regard to time and place this could be our author).

The Saami in the Bruno manuscript and in the 1619 N. Andreæ publications is clearly not the antecedent of any modern-day variety of Saami, though the elements in it point rather to southern varieties of Saami rather than northern ones. It has been considered southern Saami (Qvigstad & Wiklund 1899: 11), South Saami, possibly from Jämtland (Wiklund 1922b: 22), 'southern Swedish Saami' (Korhonen 1981: 54), a distortion of South or Ume Saami mixed with Finnish (Bergsland 1982: 11), Ume Saami, with some more northern elements (Bergsland 1984: B1), Ume Saami (Korhonen 2016: 744), a mix of South and Pite Saami with Finnish and Swedish influence (Nystad & Lund 2009: 167), an 'obscure mixture of South Saami, Swedish and Finnish' (Siegl 2017: 4), etc. Line 6 (*Addele mÿle ferne paive layp*; see Table 10) is an instructive example: <*Addele*> points to a variety north of Lule Saami, whilst <*ferne*> has only been recorded for South Saami. This already shows that it is not the direct antecedent of any modern-day variety of Saami, and N. Andreæ's Saami has generally been considered very poor (cf. e.g., Wiklund 1922b: 24–26; Korhonen 1981: 54; Bergsland 1982: 11; Korhonen 2016: 743–744), to the extent that it has been

called ‘inadequate and incomprehensible’ (Wiklund 1922b: 28), a sort of ‘Chinese’ with no inflection and ‘gibberish’ (Qvigstad & Wiklund 1899: 11; Wiklund 1922b: 25), and ‘miserable’ (Korhonen 2016: 744). Wiklund (1922b: 25–26) also lists a number of in the N. Andreæ texts Fennicisms (not occurring in the Bruno translation): in addition to loanwords (e.g., *rackas* ‘dear’ < Fin. *rakas* ‘id.’), morphologically Finnish derivations of Swedish loans (*kroppelinen* ‘bodily’ < Sw. *kropp* ‘body + Fin. adjective suffix -*llinen*),[38] adpositions (*pääl* ‘on’ < Fin. *päällä* ‘on’), and possibly a perfect passive participles (*riegatu* ‘born’, cf. Ume Saami *riägádit* ‘to be born’, Fin. perfect passive participle affix -*ttu*); we already mentioned the mixed forms such as *munele* ‘to me’. For these reasons Penttilä (1924: 80) assumes that N. Andreæ’s native language must have been Finnish.

The abundance of Finnish forms has led some to consider N. Andreæ’s Saami to be a pidgin (thus e.g., Sköld 1984: 15; Korhonen 2005; Korhonen 2016: 744–745), where Sköld compares it to *Borgarmålet*, a pidgin which has been recorded in the 18th century in the Lule Lapmark area (recorded in Högström 1747: 77). However, Broch and Jahr (1984: 69–71) show that *Borgarmålet* was a Swedish-based pidgin with a typically simplified grammatical structure. In addition, the very little extant material in *Borgarmålet* exhibits no Finnish influence; neither are there indications that this trade language between Swedes and Saami was used earlier and/or elsewhere. We agree here with Wiklund (1922b: 26), who assumes that N. Andreæ knew Finnish well, and, as he must have realized that Finnish and his ‘Saami’ were related, added Finnish endings to Saami words when his knowledge of that language deserted him.[39] We can, however, say little with certainty about any knowledge of Saami (or Finnish) by either N. Andreæ or his

38 Fin. *kropallinen* ‘bodily’ also occurs sporadically in modern colloquial Finnish, but this is a new derivation from the Swedish loan *kroppa* ‘body’. South Saami *kråahpe* ’body’ and Ume Saami *kråhppie* ’id.’ are certainly newer loans.

39 Olle Kejonen (Uppsala University) and Mikael Parkvall (Stockholm University) are currently working on an article on this topic, preliminarily entitled ‘Pidgin, interlanguage, or just bad translations? The language of the first Saami books’. For this reason no exhaustive etymological analysis and pan-Saamic comparison of the Bruno and N. Andreæ lexicon has been given here.

father. Andreas Nicolai is generally thought to have been of *birkarl*[40] origin (Rasmussen 2016: 294); though there has been a great deal of debate about the ethnic origin of the *birkarl*s (cf. Steckzén 1964, Luukko 1967), the multilingualism of the *birkarl*s and that many of them knew Finnish is not disputed (cf. Bergman & Edlund 2016).

A number of questions remain, and those to which we have not been able to present an answer include the following: What was the exact source used for the translation? Was there a translation circulating in manuscript form that was the source for both the Bruno Lord's Prayer and the N. Andreæ Lord's Prayer? Who was Georg Bruno, if he was not Georg Bruno of Anklam? How did he obtain a copy of the Lord's Prayer in Saami? We hope that the easy access to the manuscript[41] will lead not only to answers but also to more questions, and in general to more research on this Lord's Prayer in Saami, and indeed, on the Lord's Prayer in the other languages in the Bruno manuscript as well. Possible dating of these translations may also be of help in dating the Saami translation.

Until we have more answers and better technology for deciphering older texts we have to content ourselves with stating that the present manuscript titled *Pater noſter: Varijs Linguis*, kept at the National Library of Sweden (call number N74), includes a Lord's Prayer in an attempt at (southern[ish]) Saami which is very closely related but not identical to the Lord's Prayer as occurring in the two books published by Nicolaus Andreæ in 1619, written on paper made in Bautzen (Germany) probably at the end of the 16th century, and which can be attributed to a Georg Bruno, a resident in Bahn in former Pomerania (today's Banie). Despite the difficulties in dating the manuscript, it seems to be the oldest known manuscript in a Saami language that survives to this day.

40 Tradesmen who had been given the royal privilege to tax the Saami between the 13th and 17th century (Lundmark 2016: 228–229); see map in Luukko 1967, p. 149.

41 Available online: https://manuscripta.se/ms/101704.

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Abbreviations

ACT – active, ALL – allative, CNG – connegative, ELA – elative, GEN – genitive, FIN. – Finnish, ILL – illative, IMP – imperative, INE – inessive, LAT. – Latin, NOM – nominative, PL – plural, PROH – prohibitive, PRS – present, PST – past, PTPC – participle, SG – singular, SW. – Swedish

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Kokkuvõte. Ernesta Kazakėnaitė, Rogier Blokland: Varajane Meieisapalve lõunapoolses saami keele variandis. Rootsi Rahvusraamatukogu kollektsioonis on käsikiri pealkirjaga *Pater nofter: Varijs Linguis* „Meieisapalve: erinevates keeltes", mis sisaldab 20 meieisapalve tõlget. Käsikirja viimane lehekülg on osaliselt loetamatu ja selle teksti keelt ei tuvastatud esimeses uuringus, milles käsikirja mainiti (Biezais, Haralds. 1955. Ein neugefundener Text des lettischen Vaterunsers aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. *Nordisk Tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 42. 47–54). Aastal 2023 avastas artikli esimene autor, et tegemist on ilmselt lõunapoolse saami keele variandiga. Muid varaseid saamikeelseid meieisapalve käsikirju ei ole teada, seetõttu on kõnealune käsikiri potentsiaalselt vanim teadaolev saamikeelne tekst, mis on tänapäevani säilinud. Kuigi kogu teksti ei olnud võimalik dešifreerida, esitatakse käesolevas artiklis selle esialgne transkriptsioon ja võrreldakse seda esimese teadaoleva, 1619. aastal avaldatud saamikeelse meieisapalve tekstiga. Lisaks tutvustatakse lühidalt käsikirja ja selle ajalugu ning antakse mõningaid taustteadmisi Rootsi kiriku tegevusest Põhja-Rootsis 16. sajandil, mil selliseid tõlkeid tekkis.

Marksõnad: Isameie palve, lõunapoolne saami keel, Georg Bruno, käsikiri, Nicolaus Andreæ, saami kirjakeelte ajalugu, katekismus