THE LATVIAN LORD’S PRAYER, TWO FOLK SONGS AND SOME PHRASES BY JOHANN ARNOLD BRAND FROM 1673 REVISED

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350 years ago Johann Arnold Brand (1647–1691), professor of law at the University of Duisburg, took part in a legation to the Tsar in Moscow in 1673–1674 and wrote an extensive travel report. The report, published posthumously in Wesel in 1702, provides examples of the Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian and Russian languages.

Full title of the book (8°, 516 p.):

1 This research was funded by Vilnius University under the post-doctoral project “Comparative Studies of 16th–17th Century Writings in Baltic Languages”. The authors would also like to thank Professors Lidija Leikuma (Riga) and Pēteris Vanags (Stockholm/Riga) as well as Markus Falk (Berlin) for their insights and helpful comments.
More than fifty copies of the book are known today, many of which have been digitized. Most are kept in libraries in Germany, e.g. Halle (Saale; ULB, AB 40 25/i, 23), Heidelberg (UB, A 2089 RES4), or Regensburg (Staatliche Bibliothek, 999/Hist. pol.262)5, but there are also several copies in the Baltic states, e.g. Rīga (LNB, B91; RB/101), Tartu (TÜR, R Est. A–605)6, Vilnius (VUB, IV 5676), etc. It can therefore be assumed that a large number of copies were printed and distributed widely. Contemporaries soon noticed the book: a year after its publication, it was translated into Dutch and published in Utrecht.7 Its linguistic material was also used by peers,

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2 'Johan Arnhold von Brand’s, formerly Juris Utriusque Doctor and Professor Ordinarius at the University of Duisburg on the Rhine, TRAVELS through the Mark of Brandenburg, Prussia, Courland, Livonia, Plescovia, Great Naugardia, Tweeria and Moscovia: in which much is remarked on account of the reported countries, as also of the Lithuanians’ way of life, worship, all kinds of ceremonies, dress, government, administration of justice, and the like; enclosed is: A strange and very remarkable description of SIBERIA. All revised and embellished and increased with necessary translations, annotations and copperplate engravings; also with the funeral orations delivered on the deceased’s funeral by Henrich-Christian von Hennin, doctor of pharmacology, and Professor Publicus of the same, as well as of history, Greek and Latin rhetoric at the above-mentioned Royal University.'


such as Paul Jakob Marperger, who republished the list of phrases in 1706\(^8\) or even as late as 1805 when Jean Joseph Marcel republished Brand’s Latvian prayer\(^9\), etc.

Since contact with the Baltic languages prior to Brand’s stay in the Baltics in 1673 is neither attested nor probable, Brand must have written the book between 1673 and his death in 1691. The Latvian material was almost certainly recorded during his stay in the Latvian-speaking area in 1673. Saareste and Cederberg (1925–1931: 161–163) date the Estonian material also to 1673.

In the following, we will discuss only the parts relevant to the history of Old Latvian writings, starting with the dated description of the journey through the cities (1) and moving on to the Latvian material provided (2) and a brief description of the spelling of Brand’s Latvian texts (3). Facsimiles can be found at the end of the publication (5).

### 1. The Travel Schedule in Courland and Livonia

Brand’s travel began on August 12\(^{th}\), 1673 (Gregorian calendar; Julian calendar August 2\(^{nd}\)) in Berlin. On August 22\(^{nd}\), he reached Danzig and stayed in Königsberg from September 4\(^{th}\) until October 7\(^{th}\). From Königsberg he travelled along the Curonian Spit via Nidden (Nida, Oct. 10\(^{th}\) (Brand 1702: 49)) and Memel (Klaipėda, Oct. 11\(^{th}\) (Brand 1702: 50)) to Palangen (Palanga), where he arrived on October 13\(^{th}\). Further stations in the territory of contemporary Latvia and Estonia, of which not all could be identified, are listed in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arrival</th>
<th>Name given by Brand(^{10})</th>
<th>Hist./modern name</th>
<th>Distance(^{11})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 13(^{th})</td>
<td>Palangen (50)</td>
<td>Palanga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heiligen A (50)</td>
<td>Sventāja</td>
<td>2 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rudzow (51)</td>
<td>Rutzau/Rucava</td>
<td>2 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 14(^{th})</td>
<td>Uber=Bertow (51)</td>
<td>Bartau/Bārta</td>
<td>3 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 15(^{th})</td>
<td>Tadeicken (51)</td>
<td>Tadeiken/Tadaïķi</td>
<td>4 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 16(^{th})</td>
<td>Drogen=Krueg (51)</td>
<td>Schrunden/Skrunda</td>
<td>3 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schronden (52)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 17(^{th})</td>
<td>Saeedenkrueg (53)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3½ miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{9}\) Marcel, Jean Joseph. 1805. Oration dominica CL linguis versa, et propriis cujusque linguæ characteribus plerumque expressa, Parisiis, typis Imperialibus. It is interesting that Brand’s Lord’s Prayer is included without doxology.

\(^{10}\) In brackets: the page in Brand 1702.

\(^{11}\) As given by Brand. It is unclear to which norm he referred; the distance may vary between 7,400 (Dutch mile) and 10,044 m (Westphalian mile).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arrival</th>
<th>Name given by Brand</th>
<th>Hist./modern name</th>
<th>Distance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 18th</td>
<td>Frauwenburg (53)</td>
<td>Frauenburg/Saldus</td>
<td>½ miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bis Autzen (54)</td>
<td>Autz/Auce</td>
<td>4 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 19th</td>
<td>Pockain (54)</td>
<td>Pokaiņi</td>
<td>4 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 20th</td>
<td>Dobblyn (55)</td>
<td>Doblen/Dobele</td>
<td>¼ mile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mitaw (55)</td>
<td>Mitau/Jelgava</td>
<td>3 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 23rd</td>
<td>Rothen Kruegh (61)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lieffland** (Livonia)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arrival</th>
<th>Name given by Brand</th>
<th>Hist./modern name</th>
<th>Distance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 24th</td>
<td>fluß Dûne (61)</td>
<td>Dûna/Daugava</td>
<td>4 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 25th</td>
<td>Rigaer Vorstadt (117)</td>
<td>Riga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Riga (117)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 27th</td>
<td>Graven=Kruegh (120)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3½ miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rudfit (120)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 28th</td>
<td>zu Stallmeister=Hoff (121)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 29th</td>
<td>Wölmerichen Kruegh (121)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3½ miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 30th</td>
<td>Wölmer (121)</td>
<td>Wolmar/Valmiera</td>
<td>½ miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frantzen=Kruegh (123)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3½ miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrangels=Kruegh (123)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1¼ miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 31st</td>
<td>Prachen Kruegh (123)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Landmaetïchen=Kruegh (124)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1st</td>
<td>Mentzenbachs=Kruegh (125)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 2nd</td>
<td>Budbergic[r] Kruegh (126)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inkemer (126)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 ½ miles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neuhausen (127)</td>
<td>Vasteseliina</td>
<td>3 miles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vilnis Pāvulāns (1971: 179, 181), describing the old roads in Latvia, noted that in the 17th century there were many more inns in Livonia than Courland; they were mostly intended for travelers and located next to main roads at intervals of roughly 2–3 kilometers. Brand’s list of locations perfectly reflects this, as he was mostly staying in inns (German Kruegh\(^{13}\)) in Livonia, while mentioning only few in Courland.

In the text Brand himself uses neither the term “Latvian” nor “Latvia” when referring to the Latvian material or the area where he collected it, but calls the area Churland (Courland) and the language Churländisch (Brand 1702: 74). This implies that the Latvian texts in the book must have been collected before October 23rd, the day Brand entered Livonia (Brand 1702: 116, 133–134). Brand uses the term “Latvia” only to refer to Livonia: “Das Lieffländische, eigentlich (Lettiam.)”\(^{14}\).

\(^{12}\) Dunsdorfs (1962: 466) thinks this place is in the Turaida region, which in the revised edition of 1688 is called Latzeem.

\(^{13}\) Standard German Krug ‘inn’, a regional term used in the northern parts, cf. Grimm (Bd. 11, col. 2434).

\(^{14}\) “Lieffland [...] wird [...] eingetheilet [...] in zwey theyle: Das Eftiiche / (Eftioniam.) [Das] Lieffländische / eigentlich / (Lettiam.)” ['Livonia is divided into two parts, the Estonian [and the] Livonian proper, that is Latvian.']
2. The Latvian material in the book

Brand’s book contains 43 (48–90)\textsuperscript{15} pages on Courland and 53 (116–168)\textsuperscript{16} on Livonia. Both parts contain a description of prominent towns and rivers, the local inhabitants, their religious customs and other local peculiarities Brand observed. The chapter on Courland also includes examples of the local Latvian language in addition to the ethnographical issues discussed. The Latvian material includes a Lord’s Prayer (see 2.2), two folk songs (2.3), several single sentences and a glossary of travel phrases (2.4). All texts are presented with a German translation (see part 5 of this article). Actually, the Latvian prayer is found twice in the book, on pages 74–75 and 362. However, only the first version is provided by Brand, the second is given in a note by the book’s editor, with the famous Cosmography by Sebastian Münster clearly stated as its source. The two versions of the prayer are very different and only Brand’s is the subject of this paper.

As mentioned before, Brand’s book contains vernacular examples of Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian and Russian. In the total amount of text included, Latvian makes up the smallest portion. Interestingly, there are five times as many Lithuanian examples as Latvian ones, despite the fact that Brand travelled through Latvian-speaking regions. In the case of Lithuanian, however, he clearly had written sources which the quoted.\textsuperscript{17} This difference suggests that, while travelling or preparing his report, Brand did not find any Latvian books he could quote. Otherwise he would probably have included more examples of texts, as in the other languages.

2.1. Discussion by previous authors

Although a relatively large number of copies of the book survived (several copies in Riga alone), the Latvian text in it has not been analyzed in detail. The ethnographical description itself attracted much more attention (see Reinharde 1938; Dunsdorfs 1962), while the Latvian material is mentioned in passing. The book is briefly mentioned or quoted by many authors in periodicals throughout the 20th century (Paegle 1926: 459; Mazvēršītis 1942; Zanders 1982: 25). Lautenbahs (1928: 188) seems to be the first to have mentioned the Latvian text in Brand’s Reysen, but he only provides a very small excerpt that consists of one sentence with a brief comment. The following year, a longer fragment was edited by Zēvers (1929) in the form of a transcription of the Latvian Lord’s Prayer with a German translation. A year later, Augstkalns also mentions the text published by Zēvers in one of his publications (1930) and analyses it further in another article (1930[2009]). His comments indicate

\textsuperscript{15} P. 48–62 contain the description of his travel from Königsberg to Riga and the places he stayed, 62–90 a description of the land, local and religious customs, and the government.

\textsuperscript{16} P. 116–133 contain the description of his travel from Riga to the border of the Muscovite state, 133–168 a description of Livonia with a focus on local clothing, food as well marriage and funeral customs.

\textsuperscript{17} For the discussion of the Lithuanian material, cf. the critical edition by Hock and Feulner (in preparation).
that he has not seen the original but discusses the text from Zēvers’s publication (see Augstkalns 1930[2009]: 106). The comment made by Augstkalns (1930[2009]) was reused word for word in the publication of Ozols (1965: 61–62). In a chronological review of 17th century Latvian books, Ozols (1965: 105) briefly mentions not only the Lord’s Prayer in Brand but also two Latvian folk songs. It seems that these songs were first published by Bērziņš (1940: 25) and later repeated by Dunsdorfs (1962: 418), but again without much commentary. Therefore, celebrating the 350th anniversary of Brand’s visit to the Latvian lands, we want to consistently discuss the complete Latvian text presented in the book in the order of its appearance, starting with the prayer, followed by the songs and finally phrases.

Each transcription will be followed by a critical apparatus, in which we will refer to reprints and previous editions by the following abbreviations: B – Bērziņš 1940: 25; D – Dunsdorfs 1962: 418; L – Lautenbach 1928: 188; N – Nieuwe ... Reis-BEschryving 170318; Z – Zēvers 1929: 517. Differences between Fraktur and Schwabacher are not marked in the transcriptions.

2.2. The Lord’s Prayer by Brand

It is not surprising that Brand gives the Lord’s Prayer as an example of the language of the region. As it is one of the most important prayers that must be memorized by every Christian, it had been used for such purposes for many years before (Münster 1550; Gessner 1555; Pistorius 1621 etc.). The importance of the prayer was mentioned also by Brand himself. In the description of Courland (Brand 1702: 83) he writes that no peasant in Courland has the right to marry or become a godfather unless he knows the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed and the Decalogue. But in his description of religion in Livonia (Brand 1702: 156), he mentions that some inhabitants do not even know this prayer in their own language.19

Brand’s description of the prayer includes the following version (see facsimile in 5.1):

7423 Churländisch Vatter unfer.
Vatter unfer der du bißt im himmel / geheiligt

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18 In this Dutch translation, the Lord’s Prayer and the folk songs are found on p. 95f., the Latvian phrases on p. 104 and 117f.
19 “Die Bauren feyn zwaer grob genug / mûßen dennoch / wobenn fie heyrathen / oder zu Gevattern fehen wollen / ihr Vatter unfer / den Glauben / und die zehn Gebott / außwendig wißten” [‘The peasants are quite rough, but if they want to marry or became godfathers, they must know their Lord’s Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments by heart.’]
20 “[…] daß die Bauren offt etliche meilen von denen weit abgelegenen Kirchen abgelegen feyn / und dannem-hoer lehr trâg zum Gottes=dienst gefunden werden / […] wie wir dan unterchiedliche angetroffen / welche nicht einmahl auf ihrer sprach das Vatter unfer / sprechen konten […]” [‘that the peasants often reside several miles away from the distant churches and are thus found to be very lazy to go to the service […] as we met several which could not even recite the Lord’s Prayer in their language.’]
25 Tews mûs, kut tu efch in debbes, fweér–
werd dein nahm / zukom uns dein reich /
ttu to tau waërtfch, inaëkas moms tau walftieb,
dein will geschehe im himmel / als auff erden /
tau fpaepts noteék in debbes, kavërffu femes,
75 unfer täglicher (heutiges) brot gib du uns
mûs fchjodênyfch to maifyd do tû moms
heut / vergib uns die schulden / gleich
fchjodeéen, pommetês mus parradâus, kamês
5 wir vergeben unfern schûldigern / nicht fûhr uns
pommet tôm fau paradnêkem, nêwêt moms
in verfuchung / fondern erlôfe [u]ns vom ûbel: dan
eck fchjan, laune kaedênâefchjên: ais
iît dein das reich / dein die krafft / dein die macht /
tau to tês tau walstybê, tau fpaeax, tau gõetfch,
dein die herrlichkeit in ewigkeit. Amen.
tau mûfiga besgtat. Omen.

As already mentioned by Augstkalns (1930[2009]: 106), Brand’s version of
the prayer is unique in the context of the 16th and 17th centuries. It is different from
all other known printed versions in Latvian and is distinct from other catechisms up
to and including 1685.21

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21 See also Kazakénaitė 2020; 2021.
22 Abbreviations used in the dendrogram mean: the year of publication, then the author (if any) and part of
the title (Cat – Catechism, Ench – Enchiridion, Orat – Oratio). Authors: Brand – Johann Arnold Brand,
Dresel – Georg Dresel, Elg – Georgius Elger, Mn – Georgius Mancellius, Reut – Johannes Reuter. VLH
stands for Vermehretes Lettisches Handbuch (1685; editor Heinrich Adolph).
First, the dendrogram\footnote{The dendrogram was made by using the Lexos tool (Distance Metric: Euclidean, Linkage Method: Average). The result is obtained using the original spelling of the texts, but when the spellings are standardized, the result is essentially not changed and all the groupings are the same, only the distances of the cluster differ.} shows that no Latvian publication of this prayer is identical to another; so there is a wide variety of styles in which prayers are written in printed texts. Second, similar editions naturally cluster together, e.g. editions by the same author (see MnCat). Earlier ones edited by Mancelius himself (1631, 1643) are grouped together, while later ones edited by other editors are separated from them. There is also a separate cluster of 16th century editions, both Catholic and Protestant, which are different from the later ones. Third, there are no significant overlaps between Brand’s prayer and any particular catechism. This clearly indicates that Brand’s version has not been copied from an existing book.

Augstkalns (1930[2009]: 105) states that the prayer in Brand was written down by ear and not transcribed from a book or manuscript. This seems to be supported by the fact that there are instances where syllables of a single word are written separately (\textit{eck fchjan} instead of \textit{iekšan} ‘in’) and also cases where two distinct words are written together (\textit{kamēs} instead of \textit{kā mēs} ‘as we’). However, this is not a very strong argument, because the Lithuanian examples, which were copied from written sources by Brand, also contain strange syllabic divisions of words.\textsuperscript{24} In some cases this seems to follow the German text. A slightly stronger argument is the spelling of the individual sounds, which differs from the usual Latvian orthography (see also discussion in part 3), e.g. diacritic marks on the words or \textit{fch} for \textit{s} like in \textit{gōetfch} (: gods ‘honour’) but \textit{fchj} for \textit{s} like in \textit{fchjodeēn} (: \textit{šodien} ‘today’) etc. This suggests that it might have been written by a person unfamiliar with the tradition of printed Latvian texts, which was already quite well established in 1673.

But at the same time it raises the bigger question of why Brand would have written down the text himself, rather than, as in the case of the Lithuanian examples, copying it from a book or manuscript, or, in the case of the Estonian examples, asking for help from someone who knows the language.\textsuperscript{25} Therefore, it is difficult to completely exclude the alternative hypothesis that the text was written down for Brand by a local, who was not connected to the Church and knew only spoken Latvian, but had no experience in writing it. In any case, he had an informant and had not just overheard it at a service, otherwise it would be difficult to justify an interlinear translation to German that is broadly consistent with the Latvian text.

\subsection*{2.2.1. Comparing the Text to other Latvian Prayers}

For the analysis we compared all the Lord’s Prayers in Latvian publications, but here we only present comparisons with five of the most representative ones. These are

\textsuperscript{23}E.g. \textit{at fi gifu, brān gāfīs, neuz pulu}; all should be written together.

\textsuperscript{24}Brand (1702: 164) mentions that the Estonian text was dictated to him by a Neuhausischer (Vasteseliina) priest. However, it is difficult to understand what exactly he means by saying \textit{dictiret}.
two Catholic and three Protestant catechisms from the 16th and 17th centuries. More Protestant ones were chosen because it is important to take into account the Courland and Livonia areas. A version from 1685, which is later than Brand’s visit, was chosen because no earlier editions representing Courland were printed in the 17th century.

1. **Brand1673: Tews mūs, kut tu efch in debbes,**
   Cat1585: Thews mues katters tu es exan debbes.
   Elger1672: TEws múfu/ kas tu efsi debbefis:
   Ench1586: Muufje Thews / exkan tho Debbes.
   Manc.1643: MVfó Thâws eekîchan Dâbbâffu /
   VLHI1685: MUhfú Tewhs Debbfís/

2. **Brand1673: fweërti to tau waërtfch,**
   Cat1585: Schwetitcʒ toep tons26 wartcʒ.
   Elger1672: Swætits topu tauws wârds.
   Ench1586: Sweetyttʒ thope tows waerdtcʒ.
   Manc.1643: fwehtietʒ tohp taws Wahrdz /
   VLHI1685: fwehtihts tohp taws Wahrdz/

3. **Brand1673: inäēkas moms tau wafftibeb,**
   Cat1585: Enak mums touwe walfittib
   Elger1672: Enaka mums tauwa wáltitiba.
   Ench1586: Enakas mums touwe wâlftibe.
   Manc.1643: Eenahkahs mums tawa Wallîtiba /
   VLHI1685: laid nahk pee mums tawa Wallîtiba/

4. **Brand1673: tau fpraets noteék in debes, kavérffu femes,**
   Cat1585: Touws praetç notek / lîdfe ka exan debbes / tha wurfcon femme.
   Elger1672: Tauws pràts notek kà debbefís/ ta áridçan wyrff ʒemmes.
   Ench1586: Tows praetç noteke / ka exkan Debbes / tha arridtcʒan wuerffon femmes.
   Manc.1643: Taws Prahtʒ noteek ka eekîchan Dâbbâffu / tha arridfàn wirffu Semmes.
   VLHI1685: Taws Prahts laid noteek kà Debbefís/ tà arridfàn wîr Semmes/

5. **Brand1673: mûs fchjodênyfch to maïfyd do tû moms fchjodeën,**
   Cat1585: Dode mums fchoden denîfke maïfe.
   Elger1672: Muťa denîfâk a maïjâ dôd mums ðôden.
   Ench1586: Muĵe denîfke maybe dode mums fchodên.
   Manc.1643: Muhffu deenîfchku Mais dohd mums fchodoon /
   VLHI1685: Muhffu deenîfchku Maîfî dohd mums fchoodeem/

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26 It may be *tous*, the surviving copy at Uppsala University Library is difficult to read because of a chipped letter.
6. **Brandl1673**: pomettēes mus parradūs, kamēs pommēttẽm fau paradnēkeem,
   *Cat1585*: Vnde pammette mums muſe parrade / lidfe ka mes pamettem fcouwems parradenekems.
   *Elger1672*: Vnd pamette mums muſa para đa / ka mæs pawettam fauwem paradnekeems.
   *Ench1586*: Vnde pammet mums muſfe parrade / ka mehs pammettams muffims paradenekims.
   *Manc.1643*: Vnd peedohd mums muhffu Parradu / ka mehs pedohdam muhffeem Parradneekeem /
   *VLH1685*: in pamett mums muhffus Paradu / kà mehs pamet tam fauem Paradneekeem/

7. **Brandl1673**: néwét moms eck ſchjan, laune kaedẽnãeſchjẽn:
   *Elger1672*: Vnd ne ewedde mums ekßan kardinaßanas: Bet peſti mums no to liaunu. Amen.
   *Ench1586*: Vnde nhe wedde mums exkan kaerdenaſchenne. Beth atpe ſtymums no to loune.
   *Manc.1643*: Vnnd nhe eewedd mums eekſchan Kahrdenaſchanas / Bett atpeſti mums no to L̷aunu /
   *VLH1685*: in ne eewed muhs eekſ̷ch Kahrdinaſ̷chanas/ Bet atpeſti muhs no wiſ̷ſ̷a L̷auna/

8. **Brandl1673**: ais to tés tau wältibẽ, tau ſpeax, tau gõetſch, tau muſiga besgat. Omen.
   *Cat1585*: –
   *Elger1672*: –
   *Ench1586*: Aeſto thouwa gir ta walſtibe / vnde tas ſpeex vnd tas Goodtcʒ tur muſſige / Amen.
   *VLH1685*: Jo tew peedarr ta Walſtiba/ tas Spehs/ in tas Gohds/ muhſchigi muhſcham/ Amen.

One of the most difficult tasks in analyzing this text is to read it correctly. There are several aspects to bear in mind when evaluating the texts published in this book. First, Brand did not know Latvian. Second, almost 30 years had passed between the time Brand wrote down the prayer and the publication of the book. Third, the book was published eleven years after Brand’s death and it was edited and proofread by another person, generating conditions that lend themselves to proofreading errors in the Latvian text.
As Brand (1702: 74) himself stated, the prayer is from Courland, therefore we might expect it to be a Protestant variant. The doxology can serve as a litmus test here, as it has tended to distinguish the Protestant versions, which add it, from the Catholic versions, which omit it. The prayer by Brand has this doxology (section 8), so formally it could be considered Protestant. However, when we look at the text itself, things are not as clear. While some parts follow the Catholic tradition, others follow the Protestant tradition, and still others follow neither of these. For example, the first petition of the prayer (section 1 in the example) is more aligned with the Catholic tradition and differs from every printed Protestant text. But the reflexive use of the verb *ienākt* ‘to enter; come’ is found only in the earlier Lutheran editions (section 3), and the last word of the prayer besgat (most likely *bezgal*) is not found in any of the publications at all. Therefore, a more detailed analysis is needed to draw conclusions.

The spelling of Brand’s Latvian text is not consistent (see discussion in part 3 of this article). The same word in the same collocation can be written in different ways: *tau walſtieb* and *tau walſtybẽ* or *in debbes* and *in debes*. There are also obvious errors in the text, like besgat instead of *besgal*. It is a mistake that is common to other texts provided in Brand’s book; the same can be seen in the Lithuanian text (*watia* instead of *walia*, *gat* instead of *gal*). Furthermore, this word seems to have been written separately in the original form *bes gal*, or at least perceived as two words (prepositional construction), as this is the only case where the round form of the letter s is written in the middle of a word rather than at the end. The words *kut* (: *kur*), *inaẽkas* (: *ienākas*) and most likely *ſweérti to* (: *svētīts*) seem to have been misread from the handwritten text too. One of the words most difficult to interpret is *tēs* in the last fragment (section 8). It is distinct from anything we would expect to find in that place regarding the other Latvian sources.

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27 In Courland, the official church was the Augsburg Lutheran confession (Dunsdorfs 1962: 376). Also Brand mentions in his description (page 86) that there are only five Catholic churches in Courland.

28 Admittedly, this is not an absolute rule. For example, even Georgius Mancelius, a prominent Latvian Lutheran writer, in his 1643 translation of the Catechism, gave two versions: the first with the doxology, but later repeating the prayer alongside explanatory pictures, did not include it, according to protestant tradition.

29 In the Lithuanian text it can be easily explained as a confusion with a stroked ī, which was typical to denote the ‘hard’ Old Lithuanian ɨ-sound. However, in the Old Latvian tradition such a use of the stroked ɨ is not known, rather, since Mancelius and later authors, it marked the opposite, a ‘soft’ (palatalized) ĭ (Bergmane, Blinkena 1986: 76).

30 Round s is used 17 times at the end of the word. In the middle of a word there occurs only f.

31 There are several possible explanations for *to* in phrase *ſweérti to tau waêrtſch* (see section 2): one that should be *top* ‘becomes’ but *p* is missing, and the other that instead of *ts* it is read to (the letters s and o are quite similar in the manuscript text of that time). The second explanation is more likely, as otherwise not only is the *p* in *top* omitted, but the first word would be shortened.

32 Looking at the Lithuanian example *nes tawo, Pone, yra karalyſte* (German translation: *dan dein / Herr / ift das Königreich* ‘For thine, O Lord, is the kingdom’, Brand 1702: 103), it seems that perhaps in Latvian it is a misspelled, mispronounced or dialectical form of *tēvs* ‘father’. However, this is just speculation and it may
Augstkalns (1930[2009]: 105) thinks that in the phrase mûs fchjodênyfch to mâifyd do tû moms fchjodeën (section 5) the marked word should be read as a diminutive maizīti ‘little bread’. We have to admit that the use of diminutives in spoken Latvian is indeed perhaps overdetermined, but there is no known recording of the prayer that uses a diminutive. If the interpretation as a diminutive is indeed true, it would be a very interesting case of the use of diminutives in a religious text, but it could also be an erroneous repetition of the following consonant. Overall, this section 5 in the example raises numerous questions. Several words seem to be written separately when they should be together, as fchjodênyfch to (sodienisko or sodienišķo ‘today’s’). Also do tû moms is very questionable as it can be read dod mums ‘give us’ or dod tu mums ‘you give us’ as indicated by the interlinear translation.

However, not all spelling differences from the printed books should be considered errors. There are some interesting patterns and unifications, for example, phonetic patterns, such as labialization. Short back vowels in a stressed syllable before the consonant m are written as o: twice pommēttēm (pamest ‘forgive’), Omen (amen), three times moms (mums ‘to us’). In the word kamēs (kā mēs ‘as we’) we do not see labialization which might be because it actually consists of two separate words written together and the quantity of the vowel, at least in Standard Latvian, is different. Similarly, the shortening of words like mûs (mūsu ‘our’) or walstīeb (valstība ‘kingdom’) most likely reflects a spoken version of the prayer.

As Augstkalns (1930[2009]: 106) noted, an interesting feature is that in all cases the corresponding forms of the inflected word tavs ‘your’ are replaced by the unified tau. He thinks it is due to the influence of the German language, since in all cases the translation uses German dein ‘your’. However, Latvian dialects record similar usage (see Rudzīte 1964: 226–228). But in section 4, there is one example that conflicts a bit with this assumption of a uniform tau; that is tau sprāets (tavs prāts ‘your will’). There is no such word in Latvian as sprāts and it probably shows that the informant used tavs prāts and not tau prāts.33

It is impossible to speak with certainty about the dialectical basis of a text, especially when it is a religious one with a long tradition. As Kušķis (1998: 70) pointed out, one can only look for traces of one dialect or another. Knowing the places in Courland that Brand visited, it is possible to try to make some comparisons. In his comment on the prayer Augstkalns (1930[2009]) also raises this question without giving an answer.

33 In all fairness, one more very dubious speculation needs to be mentioned. A small part of the Couronian subdialect has the dialectal feature of adding a mobile s in front of a word, e.g. tiegelis/stiegelis, but this is more common in other parts of Modern Latvia. Works on the topic (see Endzelins 1974: 434, Sarkanis 1985 or Jansone 1997: 50) do not attest the variant sprāts. But Sarkanis (1985: 129) mentions another interesting case where in the dialects of Courland s was added, if the following word ended in s, e.g. sīs(s)pīkis. However, given Brand’s spelling (see part 3 of this article), it is more likely to be a spelling error rather than a dialectal feature.
He mentions only one form which is similar to the Couronian subdialect – vēršu. This feature is present in almost all regions of the Couronian subdialect nowadays (LVDA: 252). Another feature of that region is that the short vowels in disyllabic endings after voiced consonants are either very short or lost, as we may see in *gal (<gala) (LVDA: 260). However, this applies to quite a large part of Latvia. Another feature seen in Courland, as well as other areas, is the loss of tautosyllabic r after a long vowel like in vārds ‘word’ (it can be vāds or vāds, LVDA: 181, 298). However, although this word is used in the prayer, it retains the consonant (waêrtʃch), but there is another word kaedēnaefchjēn (: kārdenāšana) that omits the r.

If one combines the distribution of all the (potential) dialectal features mentioned above as perhaps visible in the text with the places visited by Brand in Courland, one place stands out quite clearly. Therefore, if this spelling of the words is not merely a mistake in Brand’s text, it could be concluded that the Lord’s Prayer reflects a variant of the language spoken in the Saldus/Sātiņi region today. It is impossible to say whether such features would have been found in the 17th century around that area, but in any case, this makes it possible to regard this text as representative of the Courland region.

A few grammatical and lexical features should also be mentioned. First, it is clear that piedot ‘to forgive’, introduced by Mancelius between 1631 and 1643, did not spread in Courland, and the use of pamest ‘to abandon’ continued (section 6).34 In the same section we find fau ‘our’ as in the Catholic variant and the later Courland edition, but again different from the book by Mancelius. There is one more coincidence with the first Catholic publication, but only a partial one. In the Catechism of 1585 we find lounan ‘evil’ next to kardenafchen ‘temptation’ (section 7 in the example), but no other printed catechism contains such an adjective.35 Another interesting difference can be seen in the doxology (section 8). In comparison with other texts, we see a lexical difference, where instead of tas ‘this’, used in the Latvian books, we find word tau (from the pronoun tu ‘you’ or tavs ‘your’).

As mentioned by Augstkalns (1930[2009]: 105), it is very unusual to see the word in in the role of the locative. No similar usage is recorded in the entire corpus of Latvian Old Texts.36 In appears only as conjunction un ‘and’. Augstkalns thinks that this can be attributed to the influence of German.

When discussing this prayer, it is important to mention not only the various nuances within a word or its form, but also the structural differences. And among these are omissions. Some are not clear because of the spelling of the prayer, but a few are quite certain. In all printed versions of the Lord’s Prayer in Latvian, the sixth petition begins with a sentence five words long: un pamet mums mūsu parādus ‘and

34 See the discussion of this word in Pokrotniece 2012.
35 The adjective launs is present however in another collocation in the Cosmographia by Sebastian Münster (1550 etc.) as well as in the handwritten text of the Lord’s Prayer by Simon Grunau.
36 https://senie.korpuss.lv/
forgive us our trespasses’, but in Brand’s version we see only three of them *pomettēes mus parradūs*. The plural dative pronoun *mums* is omitted only once in the text, but the omission of the first word *an* ‘and’ is regular. Brand consistently did not use any of the conjunctions *und/un* ‘and’, although there are four in the earliest Lutheran editions. Perhaps this reflects the differences between spoken and written prayer. Another reflection of colloquial language could be the omission in the fourth petition (section 4). The clumsy comparative construction (e.g. *Ench1586: noteke / ka exkan Debbes / tha arridczan wuerffon femmes*) is shorter, we find only the essential words (Brand: *noteēk in debes, kavērffu femes*).

The seventh petition raises the most questions. Augstkalns (1930[2009]: 105) regards this as an unintentional omission made by Brand. However, under the assumption that this prayer was not written down from a book, it cannot be excluded that this is how the speaker remembered it, as there is no accidental omission of a distorting part of the text except for the comma, which should not have been there in the Latvian text, but is probably due to the alignment with the German translation.

The German interlinear translation is also worth commenting on as it differs from the canonical German text:37

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interlinear German text</th>
<th>Canonical German text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vatter unfer der du biſt im himmel / geheiligt wird dein nahm / zukom uns dein reich /</td>
<td>Vnſer Vatter / der du biſt im himmel.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dein will gefchehe im himmel / als auff erden / unfer tägliſches (heutiges) brot gib du</td>
<td>Geheiliget werde dein name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uns heut / vergib uns die schulden / gleich wir vergeben unfern schulfidigern /</td>
<td>Zukomme dein reich.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nicht fůhr uns in verſuchung / fɔndern erlőfe [u]ns vom ſeful:</td>
<td>Dein Will gefchehe / auf erden wie im himmel.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan iht dein das reich / dein die krafft / dein die macht / dein die herrlichkeit in</td>
<td>Vnd vergib vns vnfer ſchuld / als auch wir vergeben unfern schulfidigern.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ewigkeit.</td>
<td>Und fũhre vns nicht in verſuchung / Sondern erlőfe uns vom bōſen.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen.</td>
<td>Denn dein iht das reich / vnd die krafft / vnd die herrlichkeit in ewigkeit /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37 The book does not explicitly state whether Brand was Lutheran or Calvinist. The latter is likely, as his grandfather moved from the Catholic Flanders to the Reformed Netherlands (Brand 1702: 478) and Brand taught at the university of Duisburg, which was founded by Frederick William of Brandenburg. Therefore, the canonical German text is cited after the Calvinist *Heidelberger Catechismus* from 1609 (HC 1609) as a contemporary edition. (The original edition of this catechism is referred to as HC 1563). Where the Lutheran formular, cited after a reprint of Luther’s *Enchiridion* (Luther 1671), differs, it is marked in a footnote.

38 *Vatter unfer der du biſt im Himmel* (Luther 1671).

39 Also *Dein Reich komme* (HC 1563, Luther 1671).

40 *wie im Himmel / aſfo auch auff Erden* (Luther 1671)

41 *vom ſebel* (Luther 1671).
The German translation is rather close to the canonical Protestant (Calvinist) version, in part due to the fact that the Lutheran Latvian Lord’s Prayers were translated from German. However, some deviations make it clear that Brand did not write down the canonical German text, but adapted it to the Latvian prayer: *zukom uns dein reich* (7426) matches the word order of Latv. *inaēkas moms tau walfstieb* (7427). The absence of *wie* in 7428 (*im himmel, not wie im himmel*) and the presence of *du* in *gib du uns* (751, not *gib uns*) are also unusual for the German prayer, but match the Latvian text: *indebes* (7429), *do tũ moms* (752). The doublet *tägliches* (heutiges) (751) seems to combine the canonical German *täglich* with a more literal translation *heutig* ‘today’ of Latv. *fchjodēnyfch to* (752), which is clearly related to Std. Latv. *šodien* ‘today’.

Only in 756–11 does the interlinear translation deviate clearly from the Latvian text, most likely because of the omission of the petition ‘but deliver us from evil’. Thus Latv. *eck ſchjan* ‘into’ is explained as *in verfuchung* ‘into temptation’, *laune* ‘evil’ as *fondern* ‘but’ and *kaedẽnãeſchjẽn* ‘temptation’ as *erlõfe uns vom ūbel* ‘deliver us from evil’.

It is difficult to conceive how this could have happened. If a Latvian speaking person wrote down or dictated the word-for-word translation for Brand, he must have observed the omission. On the other hand, Brand could not have translated the text himself. Or did Brand note the translation on a different sheet of paper and observed the omission only in writing the manuscript, trying to rematch the German text to his Latvian material?

It is very remarkable that the doxology usually consists of three elements (Backes et al. 63), but in the German translation we see four elements: *reich, kraft, macht* and *herrlichkeit* (759–11). However, only three elements can be identified in the Latvian text: *walfybē, jpeax* and *gõetfch* (7510), Standard Latvian *valstība* ‘realm, state’, *spēks* ‘power, might’ and *gods* ‘glory’. Four elements also occur in the Lithuanian Lord’s Prayer in Brand: *nes tawo, Pone, yra karalyſte, ftiprybe, macis, ir fzlowe, nugi amziû ikki amziû* (Brand 1702: 103) ‘For yours is the kingdom, the strength, the power and the glory, from eternity to eternity’. These four elements are Lith. *karalystė* ‘kingdom, realm’, *stiprybė* ‘strength’, *macis* ‘power’ and *šlovė* ‘glory’. A similar variant occurs in the Lithuanian Lutheran catechism of 1670 from Königsberg: *Nęſa tawo yra Karalyſte / ftiprybe / macis ir garbe nûg amziu ikki amziu amziu ūjį Amen* (Luther 1670: 23b). Here, the four elements are *karalystė*, *stiprybė*, *macis* and *garbė* ‘glory’. Lith. *garbė* is a synonym of *šlovė* used by Brand.42 Such a doxology “Denn dein ist das Reich, und die Kraft und die Macht und die Herrlichkeit in Ewigkeit” is also attested in German texts from the 19th century43, it seems to have had a certain popularity in German speaking areas. It might have been influenced by the text of 1Chr 29,11–12: “thine

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42 All parallel texts in the Königsberg Catechism show three elements: Germ. *Reich, Krafft, Herrlichkeit*; Latin *regnum, potentia, gloria*; Polish *Kroľstwo, Moc, Chwala*.

43 E.g. in Friedrich Schneider’s oratorium *Das Weltgericht* from 1820, and in a short story *Über das Gebet, an meinen Freund Andres* by Matthias Claudius from 1857.
is the kingdom, O LORD [...] and in thine hand is power and might” (Luther: “Dein ist das Reich [...] In deiner Hand stehet kraft vnd macht”).

### 2.3. Two Folk Songs

Right after the prayer, Brand gives two Latvian songs with correct translation into German and says he has heard them while the Latvians were entertaining (see facsimile in 5.2):

75.13 In ihrer luft hörrete ich die folgende Lieder finde gen / welche gemeinlich alle kurz feind / und wer die / etliche mahl wiederholet / schier alle auf einer arth und ein-ümmiger melodey:

17 Drebbo drebbo tauto meid
18 Apux manne métëlyt,
19 Katu tade né drebeye.
20 Kato man roku dëwe?
21 So viel alß:
22 Zitter / zitter / du frembdes mädgen
23 Unter meinem mätelchen:
24 Warumb haftu nicht gezittert/
25 Als du mir die Hand gegeben?
26 Hernach folgendes:
27 Patzelees tau tődëhls (Sie:)
28 Leyês lëed apûxe:

76.1 Tades tau nomâxas (Er:)
2 Schjavourarés jadium.
3 So viel alß:
4 Hebe dich auf / du feiner Sohn /
5 Laß mich unter dich kriechen:
6 So will ich dich bezahlen
7 Dieles fommers reittend.

‘In their enjoyment I heard them sing the following songs, which usually all are short and are repeated several times, almost all in the same way and with a unisonous melody:

Which translates as:
Tremble, tremble, foreign girl
Beneath my coat;
Why did you not tremble,
When you gave me your hand?
Thereafter the following:

Which translates as:
Arise, fine son,
Let me creep beneath you:
This way I will pay you,
Riding this summer.’

These Latvian folk songs are not the only ones in the book, but it is interesting to note that, unlike for example the Estonian ones, their themes are not religious and they are not meant to be sung in church. On the contrary, they are rather indecent. According to Dunsdorfs (1962: 421), they could have been chosen for publication because Brand’s translators liked them.

Even though the text slightly deviates, both folk songs can be identified in the collection of Latvian folk songs by Barons and Wissendorf (BW).
The language of the songs shows that they are typical Latvian folk songs, consisting of four lines, using their characteristic grammatical forms and syntax (see more in Ozols 1961). However, there are several parts of the publication that raise doubts, for example, the atypical division of words like tau tõdẽhls (: tautu dēls ‘foreign son, suitor’) or Leyõs (: lai es ‘let me’). Also Brand’s drebbu must be a mistake, as he translates it correctly as an imperative and not a 1st sg. prs. ‘I tremble’.

Brand has mētelīts ‘coat’ (dim.) instead of kažociņš ‘fur, fur coat’ (dim.) resp. villainīte ‘woollen blanket’ (dim., attested in Baron’s handwritten source) and kā tu ‘how [did] you [not tremble]’ instead of kālab ‘why [did you not tremble]’. The present stems lied and lien of the verb līst ‘to creep’ are variants. This kind of variation is very characteristic of folk songs as they spread from mouth to mouth and were sung from memory (Freimanis 1933: 139). Brand’s variant nomãxas can be interpreted as a 1st sg. fut. (nomaksāju), although the form itself is 3rd sg. fut.47, while in the collection by BW 6 the 1st sg. prs. (aizmaksāju, variant nomaksāju) is used.

Brand’s jadium is not fully clear; a misspelling of Latv. jājumiņu (with shortened ending) seems unlikely. It could be derived from the verb jādīt ‘to ride around’, a frequentative formation of the verb jāt ‘to ride’, which is the basis of jājumiņš (jāj-um-iņš), by the same suffix -ums (jādīj-ums), even though this word is not attested in MEV.

The songs show a certain parallelism: the first is directed to a girl (tautu meita), the second to a young man (tautu dēls). Brand’s translation frembdes māgden ‘foreign girl’ is accurate, cf. MEV s. v. tauta (3b): ‘not belonging to the own living places; from a foreign region (of a suitor)’. Brand’s translation feiner Sohn ‘fine son’ might

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44 Variant; main BW text has Pacelies tu, tautieti.
45 Variant; main BW text has aizmaksāju.
46 Variant; main BW text has sā rudeņa.
47 This is a fairly common feature in Livonian subdialects, see more Rudzīte 1964: 231.
be a mistake for either *Freierssohn* ‘son of a suitor’ or for *fremder Sohn* ‘foreign son’. The accuracy of Brand’s translations once again confirms that he must have had an informant.

### 2.4. Phrases

Longer Latvian phrases appear in three different places in the text. For the first time, we find the phrase of two words in the description of the land (see facsimile in 5.3.1):


‘This country, which belongs to the crown of Poland as a peculiar lord, and is subject to Duke Jacob as a fief, is commonly divided into *Sem-Gallen* [Semigallia], and *Churland* [Courland], actually so called: *Sem-Gallen* (in their old language: *Semmes Galle*, as much as: the country has an end). It stretches from Dobblyn, Mitow, Bausk, Neuståttgen, Zelburg, Dûneburg, Sistroms=Zlabodde to Druy, where its borders are. The rest is considered as Courland, about which in the following.’

The explanation of *Semgallen* (Latv. *Zemgale*, Lith. *Žiemgala*) as Latv. *zemes gals* ‘end of the land’ is a folk etymology. As the Lith. form shows, the first element was most likely ‘north’, so the original meaning must have been ‘northern borderlands’ (Karulis 1992: 555).

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48 Jacob Kettler (1610–1682), duke of Courland and Semigallia from 1642 till 1682.
49 The modern names of the towns are Dobeļe, Jelgava, Bauska, Jaunjelgava (alternate German name Friedrichstadt, cf. Brand 1702: 64), Sēlpils, and Daugavpils.
50 Unclear. The double dash could also be a misprint for a virgula, in which case it would be two separate places *Sistroms* and *Zlabodde*.
51 The Latvian town on the northern shore of the Daugava is called Piedruja, the Belarusian town on the southern shore Druja.
The second Latvian phrase by Brand is a sentence spoken during a ritual (see facsimile in 5.3.3):

Thus many among them secretly on January 4th (new style) on All Souls’ Day prepare a long table with their typical best meals, in a locked chamber, and say in their language:  

\[ \text{Mūs si weczāke dwēsely mēlāmi}, \text{ that is: we nourish the souls of the forebears.} \]

This sentence looks like it was really written down by Brand himself. The endings most likely aren’t correct and here, again, we see the word written separately (Mūs fi) rather than together. However, the accentography reflects the long vowels quite accurately.

\[ \text{mēlāmi must be a form of Standard Latv. mielot resp. dial. mielāt ‘to cater, entertain, nourish, feed’ (cf. MEV), it could be a 1st pl. prs. mielojam resp. mielājam in accordance with Brand’s translation. However, the whole sentence is difficult to interpret; a literal translation from German into Std. Latvian would be } \]

\[ \text{mūsu vecāku dvēseles mielojam ‘we nourish the souls of our elders’}, \]

in which case no ending reflects the actual form. An acc.sg. dvēseli would match Brand’s sentence better.

At the very end of the description of Courland, Brand gives a few more handy phrases (see facsimile in 5.4):

\[ \text{‘In addition, we want to give here some Courlandish sayings and questions related to travelling, with their translation:’} \]

\[ \text{‘Drive away’.} \]

\[ \text{‘Hold the horse tight for me.’} \]

\[ \text{‘Keep the things well for me.’} \]

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52 The ritual itself was commented on a lot by editor von Hennin, see Brand 1702: 341–343.

53 The Latv. sentence  

\[ \text{Mēs paēdinam senču dvēseles} \]

by Reinharde (1938) also looks like a translation of Brand’s German sentence and not an interpretation of the Latvian.

54 Cf. the parallels fahr fort / brautz projam (Mancelius 1638: 364 11) and brautz nu projam : fahre nü fort (Mancelius 1638: 429b 16/429a 19).
16 Kato musjis ffautz, Wie heißt der hoff? | *How is the homestead called?*

17 Kato uppe ffautz, Wie heißt diefer fluß? | *How is this river called?*

18 Kato musjis ffautz curmēs nakos nakt ftavēfim, | *How is this place called, where we will stay the coming night?*

19 Wie heißt der orth, da wir künftige nacht | 20 itehen werden? | *Drive with care so that you do not fall over.*

21 Proos tu arpraat kato nabōgaes, Fahr mit ver= | 22 itand, daß du nicht umwirfest.

The phrases show a strong reduction of final syllables, cf. fircks (: zirgus); ryck (: rīku), nakos nakt (: nākošu nakti), arpraat (: ar prātu). Latv. brauc twice written as Proos which might indicate a strong labialization au to ou, or even a monophthongization of au to ŏ. According to Endzelīns (1923: § 56; 1951: § 56), this development au > ŏ is attested only in the Livonian dialects of Northern and Northwestern Courland.

musjis (90₁₆, 90₁₈), which Brand translates as both hoff ‘homestead, yard, court’ and orth ‘place’ most likely is a form of Std. Latv. muiža ‘estate, homestead, farmstead, building’ (cf. MEV), as Brand’s spelling s̱ can indicate the sound š. The final s is best interpreted as an incorrect separation of muižu sauc (or muiži sauc of an e-stem not attested in MEV?).

The interpretation of Brand’s nabōgaes is not clear. If Brand translated literally, its meaning must be ‘fall down, fall over’ or ‘turn over (the cart)’. Thus it could be a misspelling of a 2nd sg. prs. neapgāz (‘you do not fall down’, inf. apgāzt), with b representing the assimilation of morphological underlying /p/, or nepagāz (‘idem’, inf. pagāzt) or nenogāz (inf. nōgāzt ‘to overthrow, turn over, throw down, fall down’).⁵⁶

There are also few places in the text where a word is highlighted by a different font (Schwabacher) because Brand considers it as the language of the locals. The first one is this (see facsimile in 5.3.2):

77 [...] Nachdem | 28 nun die Braut alda ange- | 29 langet / wird der Brāu= | 30 tigam in einem | 31 dazu verordnetem ſtūbchen / bey ||

781 ihnen Klēte genant / hingeführ / [...] After the bride has arrived there, the bridegroom is led into a small chamber therefor designated, which they call Klēte [...] 

However, it is difficult to say whether this is actually Latvian, as the same word with the accent is also used in Brand’s description of Lithuania (1702: 93–94). If it is Latvian, most likely it is the dialect form klēte (Rudzīte 1964: 118–120), corresponding to Standard Latvian klēts (fem.) ‘barn’.

⁵⁵ German umwerfen usually is a transitive verb, meaning ‘knock over, turn over, throw over’. However, it could also be used elliptically when referring to a cart, resulting in a meaning ‘fall over, fall down’ (cf. Grimm, Bd. 23, col. 1268 s. v. umwerfen, 3d).

⁵⁶ For an Old Latvian parallel, cf. ſtūrte niecicht vmb / nhe apghahs (Mancelius 1638: 364₋₂₄).
Another word is even more debatable:


They make do with very scarce food, as coarse or black dry bread and salt, to which they drink their Pottack, which consists of water that they let stand for several days on the treads, until it acquires a sour taste, this enjoy commonly those who are needed for socage; if one is a little more endowed than others, he enjoys sauerkraut and cucumbers with his dear bread and Pottack.

If this word is in Latvian, Pottack may refer to Latv. patakas ‘weak beer’ (cf. Lith. patãkos), as similar Slavic *potokъ (in Polish potok, Ruthenian potok / patok) has an incompatible meaning ‘stream, small river’.

Interestingly, in several places of the text Brand refers to non-Latvian words as local:

72  Sie gebrauchen sich keines talchs oder unfchlichts / sondern tragen des abend und nachts dünne gefpaltenne fichten=hältzerne angezündete Spehnen in der hand herumb / welche fie Lucinen / nennen / fetzen auch diese / wann fie arbeiten / auff ein im unterstehenden block eingefafetes eyfen oder ftecken / welchen fie Sckall nennen.

They don’t use any tallow or animal fat, but carry around in their hands in the evening and at night thin split lit chips of spruce wood, which they call Lucinen; when they work, they put them on an iron or pin set in the block below, which they call Sckall.

A luchina (Proto-Slavic *lučina, reflected by Polish łuczyna, Ruthenian lučina / lučyna) was a long thin chip of wood, sometimes resinous or soaked with pitch, used as a slowly burning source of light. As Brand describes, they were used instead of oil lamps. The word is not attested in Baltic.

Brand’s word Sckall seems to refer to either Latv. skals resp. skala or Lith. skalà. All these terms also refer to a chip of wood, usually resinous, used for kindling a fire.
The meaning described by Brand, a holding device for a *luchina*, is not attested in the Baltic languages and might have been a misunderstanding.

72_{18} Ihre kleyder und šchuh / welche fie

_Pareysker |_ ^{19}nennen / vertfertigen fie

alle felbsten; [...] Their clothes and shoes, which they call _Pareysker_, they all make themselves.

*Parêške* 'bast shoe (from linden bast)' is a dialectal German term used in Prussia (Frischbier 1882–1883: II 122). According to MEV, the Latvian term is _peterenes_. German dialectal _Parêške_ is thought to be a loan from a derivative of the Baltic root *riś−*, attested in Lith. _riši_, Latv. _rist_ ‘to bind’ and Old Prussian _perrëist_ ‘to bind together’.

3. Brand’s orthography

As mentioned above, Brand’s orthographic system is not fully clear and is not closely related to the traditions of early written Latvian. It is therefore not easy to describe and identify patterns. His inconsistency in writing was already noted by the book’s editor, von Hennin. He did not, however, change or unify the spelling, but only complained about it in his commentary, saying that “Man hat urſach in der _Geographie_ und _Hitorie_ zu klagen / über die wunderliche verworrrene krūmm-=zerftūmmel=verbalter= und ūbel=ſchreibung der fremden nahmen. z[um] ex[emplum] Unſer H[er] Auctor ſchreibt. p. 207. _TZerkiſowa_ p. 245. _Tzerkizowa._” (Brand 1702: 425).^57^ Von Hennin observes such inconsistencies especially in the writing of Russian places names, which he takes as an indication that Brand wrote them down as he heard them, but he does not comment on the Latvian spelling. Brand himself provides some explanatory comments on the spelling and pronunciation of Lithuanian and Russian to the reader, but he does not clarify his spelling of Latvian despite the fact that examples of this language appear first in the book.

All clear examples of Latvian text are written in Latin letters in the book. Particularly noticeable in Brand’s writing are the _diacritic marks_ and their wide variety. Five diacritics can be identified with certainty, of which four are used in the Latvian material. Here they are exemplified with the letter _a_: an acute (á), a pointed circumflex (â), a wavy circumflex resp. tilde (ã), as well as a single (ā) and a double dot (ā).^58^ A breve (ă) cannot be distinguished from the tilde (ã) with certainty; they might be allographs of one another. Brand himself does not comment on these signs

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^57^ “There is reason to complain about the peculiar, confused, crooked, mutilated and bad spelling of foreign names in the _Geography_ and _History_. Our author e.g. writes:’

^58^ Single and double dot seem to have been introduced by the editor. They replace the nasalized vowels (o̞) in the Lithuanian texts and one Polish example. Dotted ū occurs only once in the Latvian texts (mēlами 81_{17}) and might be a misprint for another diacritic.
or their function, so it is not certain whether they have the same function(s) in noting Lithuanian and Latvian.\textsuperscript{59}

The four diacritics used in the Latvian material, sorted by frequency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diacritic</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e-</td>
<td>ē (15x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u-</td>
<td>ū (4x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ā (4x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-</td>
<td>ō (3x)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although in the Lithuanian material the diacritics mark in most cases the accented syllable\textsuperscript{60}, in the Latvian texts the marked vowel often corresponds to a long vowel in Standard Latvian, e.g.: curmēs (: kur mēs 90\textsuperscript{18}), weczāke (: vecāki 81\textsuperscript{17}), ķtuvežīsim (: stāvežim 90\textsuperscript{18}). However, not all long vowels are marked this way, e.g.:

- kurmēs (kur mēs 90\textsuperscript{18})
- vecāke (vecāki 81\textsuperscript{17})
- stāvežīsim (stāvežim 90\textsuperscript{18})

Also, we cannot know for certain the quantity of vowels in the regions Brand travelled.

Other ways of marking long vowels seem to be ‹ae›, ‹aa› (for /ā/), ‹ea›, ‹ee› (for /ē/), ‹ie› (for /ī/), sometimes combined with a diacritic: wārds (: vārds 74\textsuperscript{27}), ķuwēts (: kūvēts 74\textsuperscript{25}), ķūmēt (: kūmēt 74\textsuperscript{25}); waltībe (: valstība 74\textsuperscript{27}), a lengthening ‹h› is used in only one case: tau tožēls (: tautu dēls 75\textsuperscript{27}).

Compared to Standard Latvian, the letter ‹y› can correspond to a long, short, or even non-syllabic i-sound, cf. long valstībe (: valstībe 75\textsuperscript{10}), mētelīti (: mētelīti 75\textsuperscript{18}), ryk (: riku 90\textsuperscript{13}); short fēktēns to (: šodienisko 75\textsuperscript{2}), dvēsely (: dvēseli 81\textsuperscript{17}); non-syllabic as second element of a diphthong Leyēs (: lai es 75\textsuperscript{28}), and as consonant /j/ drebēja (: drebēja 75\textsuperscript{19}).

As in early Latvian orthography, the Latvian diphthong uo is written as ‹o›, e.g. noteēk (74\textsuperscript{29}), rokū (75\textsuperscript{20}), projam (90\textsuperscript{13}), nakos (90\textsuperscript{18}), with the exception of ‹oe› in gēktē (75\textsuperscript{10}). The letter combination ‹ee› stands for /ie/, e.g. noteēk (: noteik 74\textsuperscript{29}), lēed (: lied 75\textsuperscript{28}), with the exception of fēvērtī (74\textsuperscript{25}), where it probably marks a long /ē/.

In accordance with German orthographic norms, the doubling of consonants can mark a preceding syllable as short (cf. debbes 74\textsuperscript{25}, 74\textsuperscript{29}, parradūs 75\textsuperscript{4}, drebēj 75\textsuperscript{17}, Semmes 63\textsuperscript{24}, uppe 90\textsuperscript{17}), in which case a single consonant in an open syllable would have to be interpreted as long (ftavēfīm 90\textsuperscript{18}, nakos 90\textsuperscript{18}).

\textsuperscript{59} For a detailed discussion of the use of the diacritics in the Lithuanian text, cf. Hock/Feulner (in preparation).

\textsuperscript{60} However, there is no coincidence between the use of acute and circumflex and the Lithuanian intonation, cf. Smākras (110\textsuperscript{2}), Std. Lith. smākras ‘chin’; Mieščūnis (115\textsuperscript{28}), Std. Lith. miesčūnis ‘citizen’. The accentography used by Brand is without parallel in the Old Lithuanian texts; no other print from Königsberg uses identical or similar diacritics (cf. Šinkūnas 2010). In his grammar, Klein describes acute, (pointed) circumflex and grave after the model of Ancient Greek, although the grave is hardly used in the accented texts presented there. The circumflex is usually used to mark morphological forms that would otherwise be homographs (e.g. genitive plural as opposed to instrumental singular). Thus, it must remain open whether Brand’s tilde was actually intended as an acute and was misinterpreted by the editor of the manuscript.
Since the spelling of Latvian examples is not explained, it could be inferred that Brand’s writing system should be intuitively understood by a German reader. Therefore, it is to be assumed that the trigraph ‹ſch› stands for the sound /š/.\textsuperscript{61} But it seems that this is not always the case, since the sound /š/ is written as ‹ſh›\textsuperscript{62} like in eck fchjan (‘iekšan ‘inside’) or fchjodeën (‘šodien ‘today’), but ‹ſch› is used in efch (‘esi ‘you are’), waértfch (‘vārds ‘name’), fchjedënyfch to (‘šodienisko), göetfch (‘gods ‘honor’), and most likely means /s/.

In German, initial and medial /s/ is always voiced, as in Latv. fircks (‘zirgus ‘horses’) or ais (‘aiz ‘behind’), so the doubling of the initial f in ffautz (‘sauve ‘called’) can be seen as a means of expressing initial voiceless /s/.\textsuperscript{63} It should be noted that the German orthography has no means to express the sound /ž/. However, Brand uses ‹ʃ› twice to denote /ž/ in Latv. musjis (‘muiža ‘manor’), on a similar basis to /s/ and /š/\textsuperscript{64}. Note however that e.g. in mufiga (‘mūžīga ‘eternal’) /ž/ is represented by a single ‹ʃ›.

Besides the letter ‹w›, the letter ‹v› is attested three times. Interestingly, it occurs only after an ‹a›, so maybe ‹v› is a misinterpretation of Brand’s handwriting in this special combination: kavërffu (74\textsuperscript{29}), Schjavaffarés (76\textsuperscript{2}), ftavëffim (90\textsuperscript{18}). Otherwise, the use of ‹v› is difficult to explain and might be free variation.

It is difficult to find major spelling differences between the different Latvian texts, as they are also very different in volume. Among the letters used more than once, the writing ‹ſch› for /s/ is used in this way only in the Lord’s Prayer. Also we see fewer diacritics in phrases. But again, there are not enough examples within the material to paint a clear picture and there are counter-examples.

4. Conclusions

The Latvian text published by Brand is a unique relic of 17th-century Latvian writing. It consists of a Lord’s Prayer, two songs and some single phrases and words. They all appear in the description of Courland and are referred to as Churländisch. This implies that the Latvian texts in the book could have been collected between 13 and 23 October while he was staying in Courland.

\textsuperscript{61} In Brand’s transcription of the Old Russian names of the Cyrillic letters (Brand 1702: table XI after p. 258), this trigraph ‹ſch› is seen to have both the phonemic value /š/ and /ž/.

\textsuperscript{62} The same can be seen in Lithuanian examples such as „ſė pronuncia[tur] Schjén” (Brand 1702: 103), where fšč corresponds to modern Lith. šiq, so Brand’s spelling ‹Schj› marks a (palatalized) š.

\textsuperscript{63} The doubling of the letter s can be found in the Russian material, but it seems that it refers to two sounds /s/ and /š/, e.g. Sfjeëtvēfe (Brand 1702: 263, Russ. cœvâ/svēcâ) ‘candle’ and Sfleapa (Brand 1702: 260, Russ. wâńna/sļāpa) ‘hat’.

\textsuperscript{64} The same is described by Brand (1702: 103) for Lithuanian: “atlēidzem pron[untiatur] atlēdįsm”, so dsj corresponds to (palatalized) dž.
The single Latvian texts should not be considered separately, as done by previous authors, but in toto, as the peculiarities of their transmission can only be understood by considering the whole picture. This analysis makes clear that none of the Latvian texts had a printed source, but that they reflect the living usage of the period. Brand himself did not speak Latvian, so he must have had informants. However, whether they dictated or wrote down the text remains an open question, as there are no indisputable arguments for or against. The peculiar orthography, which has no parallel in the early Latvian tradition, but is rather similar to Brand’s system of writing Russian words might indicate that they were dictated word by word. In providing the songs, Brand clearly states that he has heard them, but does not provide such additional references to the prayer and phrases. However, the Lord’s Prayer and the songs are written according to the same orthographic principles and with more or less correct separation of the words, so it is unlikely that Brand wrote down the songs correctly by ear without any knowledge of Latvian. More likely they were slowly dictated or written down by the informant(s) in the same way as the other texts. The phrases slightly differ and show a greater reduction of sounds, which might be a hint that Brand recorded them himself.

The version of the Lord’s Prayer published by Brand is distinctive because it differs from all other known published transcriptions of the prayer. It probably reflects the older variant of a prayer and way in which the person knew the Lord’s Prayer in Latvian by heart. The two included folk songs are attested in Baron’s collection in only slightly altered form, which again shows how stable their tradition was. It is interesting to note that they differ from the songs published in other languages in Brand’s book by their nature: while the Estonian and Lithuanian examples are hymns, the Latvian ones are folk songs of a more indecent nature. This might be a hint that Brand was not in close contact to a Latvian speaking clergyman, as he was with the priest of Neuheusen and those of Königsberg, who provided him with these texts.

Due to the distorted spelling and the posthumous redaction, it is impossible to say to what extent the writing reflects phonetic reality. However, the peculiarities of the text more or less match the dialectal features of the modern dialect in the region of Saldus/Sātiņi, which coincides with the places where Brand stayed and had the opportunity to collect his samples.
5. Facsimiles

5.1. Lord’s Prayer, p. 74–75

5.2. Two folk songs, p. 75–76
5.3. Words and phrases

5.3.1. (Folk) etymology of Zemgale, p. 63

5.3.2. Word Klēte, p. 77–78

5.3.3. A sentence, p. 81

5.3.4. Phrases, p. 90
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KOPSAVILKUMS

JOHANA ARNOLDA BRANDA 1673. GADĀ PIERAKSTĪTĀ LATVIEŠU TĒVREIZE, DIVAS TAUTASDZIESMAS UN DAŽAS FRĀZES

Ernesta Kazakēnaitė, Felix Thies


Pierakstītā tēvreize atšķiras no visām zināmajām pirms 1673. gada iespiestajām tēvreizēm latviešu valodā un drīzāk atspoguļo vecāku variantu, kā teicējs to pratis no galvas. Pretējā ir ar tautasdziesmām, jo abas ir fiksētas vēlākajos krājumos, tikai ar sīkām atšķirībām. Gan tēvreizei, gan tautasdziesmām bija diezgan ilga tradīcija, taču sniegtajām frāzēm bija jābūt noklausītām konkrētā vietā. Lai gan par dialektālo pamatu 17. gs. datu trūkuma dēļ runāt ir grūti, kā arī jāņem vērā neviennozīmīgais Brands pieraksta veids, dažas īpatnības mudina domāt, ka tas varētu būt saistīts ar Saldus apkārtni.