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*Volumes Crossing the Sea.
Book Contacts between the (Magnus) Ducatus of Finland
and Continental Europe from the Fifteenth
to the Seventeenth Century**

ABSTRACT

This article will examine book contacts between the (*Magnus*) *Ducatus* of Finland, then part of the Kingdom of Sweden, and Continental Europe, mainly the HRE, between the middle of the fifteenth century and the middle of the seventeenth century. In this period, Sweden went from being a member of a Scandinavian union dominated by Denmark to becoming a major political player in Europe.

Sono qui prese in esame le relazioni attivate dal libro a stampa tra il (*Magnus*) *Ducatus* di Finlandia, all'epoca parte del Regno di Svezia, e l'Europa continentale, in particolar modo il Sacro Romano Impero, tra la metà del XV e la metà del XVII secolo. In quel lasso di tempo, infatti, la Svezia entrò a far parte della Lega anseatica, dominata dalla Danimarca, ponendosi così in una posizione privilegiata che le consentì di acquisire un ruolo politico sempre più rilevante, anche dal punto di vista della produzione e della circolazione del libro tipografico.

There had been intense contacts between the HRE and Scandinavia since the Ottonian times (tenth century). The continental influence was intensified through the Hanseatic League that established trading posts all over the Baltic Sea, not only on the Southern coast that had been conquered by the Teutonic Order up to Estonia starting in the thirteenth century, but also in the Kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden. The political contacts were particularly important in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when Albert, Duke of Mecklenburg (1338-1412) was King of Sweden between 1364 and 1389, and Eric, Duke of Pomerania (1382-1459) ruled as King over the Union of Kalmar, uniting all of Scandinavia under his sceptre, between 1412 and 1439.

* Abbreviations

HRE, Holy Roman Empire

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Present-day Finland, since the 1947 Peace treaty of Paris, only partly coincides with the easternmost part of the Realm of Sweden from the twelfth century onwards. The area covered kept changing between the period considered in this article, i.e. the fifteenth and the middle of the seventeenth centuries, as Sweden was expanding towards the East and the South. By the seventeenth century, it included the region of Käkisalmi (Swedish, *Kexholm*) north of Lake Ladoga, and the Karelian isthmus down to Ingria (including the region where Saint Petersburg was to be established in 1703). As early as 1293 Sweden had undertaken a crusade in the south-east of the Gulf of Finland, establishing the fortress of Viipuri (Swedish *Viborg*, German *Wiburg*, Russian *Vyborg*) in the Northern part of the Karelian isthmus. Viipuri rapidly developed into a centre of international commerce with a community of tradespeople originating in the HRE. In the sixteenth century Sweden went on to conquering Estonia and Livonia. In the Peace of Westphalia (1648) Sweden emerged as the main political power of Baltic Sea region, with territories down to the South-western shores, such as Wismar, Rügen and Greifswald.¹

Finland was a Duchy of the Kingdom of Sweden in the thirteenth-fourteenth and again in the sixteenth century. From 1581 until 1809 it had the rank of a Grand Duchy (*Magnus Ducatus*), the Kings of Sweden bearing the title of Grand Duke.

Most Finnish tribes had been converted to Catholic Christianity in the twelfth century by the Kingdom of Sweden and one tribe, the Karelians, to the Orthodox faith by the missionaries of the powerful city of Novgorod. The Dominican order arrived in Finland in 1249, taking over the church organization to the point that the liturgy observed in Finland was Dominican. The order established three monasteries in the most important cities of the *Magnus Ducatus*, i.e. Turku (Swedish, *Åbo*; Latin, *Aboa*), Viipuri and Rauma (Swedish, *Raumo*), with libraries attached. The Franciscans played a somewhat lesser role despite their convents in these cities, and the Brigittine order arrived as late as 1441 in Naantali (Swedish *Nådendal*, Latin *Vallis Gratiae*).² Finland, just as the rest of the Kingdom of Sweden, was consequently part of the Western European cultural sphere, with ecclesiastics studying at continental universities, especially Paris, and bringing back to their parishes both learning and books.³

¹ For more details, see e.g. OUTI MERISALO, *Classical and humanist works in the libraries of early modern Finland between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries*, «Journal of Renaissance Studies», XXIII, 2009, 2, p. 186-188.

² For more details, see O. MERISALO, *Classical works*, cit., p. 186-8, and bibliography.

³ For Finns studying at different continental universities before the establishment of the *Academia Aboensis* (see below p. 00), see JUSSI NUORTEVA, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun Akatemian perustamista 1640*. Suomen Kirkkohistoriallisen Seuran Toimituksia, 177, Helsinki, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1997. For Mediaeval book culture in Finland, see ANJA INKERI LEHTINEN, *The Apoeciae of the Manuscripts of Hugh of St Cher's Works*, «Medioevo», XXV, 1999-2000, p. 1-27; *Kirja Suomessa. Kirjan juhluvuoden näyttely Kansallismuseossa 25.8.-31.12.1988*, edited by Esko Häkli et al., Helsinki, Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto, 1988 and *Bibliotheca Academica. Helsingfors universitetsbibliotek -*

The art of printing reached Scandinavia in the second half of the fifteenth century. Until the middle of the sixteenth century there was hardly any need for local printing houses, as Continental imports from the HRE and the Apennine Peninsula, especially Venice, later even France and the Netherlands, saturated the market.⁴ Latin was of course the language of instruction in schools and, until the Reformation, the language of the Church, so there was no problem of comprehension as far as educational, theological and liturgical works were concerned. Low German (*Niederdeutsch*), closely related to the Scandinavian languages (though not to the Fenno-Ugric Finnish), was the language of non-scholarly communication all around the Baltic Sea. The Universities, i.e. the University of Uppsala (est. 1477) and the University of Copenhagen (est. 1479) as well as the institutions and schools of the Church were the main customers of booksellers.⁵ The earliest preserved catalogue of the Cathedral Library of Uppsala contains numerous works on Canon law printed both in the HRE and the Apennine peninsula.⁶ Among the few local printing houses were those established by Johann Snell of Lübeck, who was first active in Odense, Denmark (1482-1483)⁷ and then in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1483, as well as that of Bartholomaeus Ghotan from Magdeburg in the HRE,⁸ who ran a successful business in Stockholm in 1486-1487. Among Snell's prints figure the bestiary *Dyalogus*

Finlands Nationalbibliotek. Helsingfors, Helsingfors Universitetsbibliotek, 2001; the Finnish-language web exhibit *Kirjava keskiaika* [Colourful Middle Ages], edited by Tuomas Heikkilä, Jonatan Hildén, Ilkka Jokipii, Jesse Keskiäho, Juuso Koponen, Tapio Nurminen, Jaakko Tahkokallio, of the National Library of Finland at <<http://keskiaika.kansalliskirjasto.fi/>> (last consulted on 27 August 2012).

⁴ Up to 62 out of the 252 printing houses active in 1500 were located in the HRE; out of the c. 25 000 incunables produced in Europe, 37% were printed in the Apennine peninsula, 32% in the HRE, 17% in France, 7.5% in the Netherlands, 3.5% in Spain und 2% in England, FRIEDEMANN KAWOHL, *Commentary on Imperial privileges for Conrad Celtis (1501/02)*, in *Primary Sources on Copyright (1450-1900)*, edited by Lionel Bently, Martin Kretschmer, 2008, <www.copyrighthistory.org> (last consulted on 29 July 2012); W. UNDORE, *From Gutenberg to Luther*, cit., p. 104-23

⁵ See W. UNDORE, *From Gutenberg to Luther*, cit., p. 126, 338, 352, 368ff. There were but few important private libraries in fifteenth-century Scandinavia, see OUTI MERISALO, *Sapere aude. The book as a vehicle of Classical culture in Northern Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Budapestinensis. Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Budapest, 2006)*, edited by Rhoda Schnur, David Money et al., Tempe, AZ, ACMRS, 2010, p. 80.

⁶ See W. UNDORE, *From Gutenberg to Luther*, cit., p. 368ff.

⁷ Snell printed GW 06010 GUILLELMUS CAOURSIN, *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* (1482) and GW 05418 *Breviarium Othoniense*. [ca. 1482/83] in Odense; *Sermones Vademecum de dominicis et de sanctis* (M41845) was produced either in Odense or in Lübeck.

⁸ According to ISAK COLLIJN, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, 1, Uppsala, Svenska Litteratursällskapet, 1934-1938, p. 55, the Ghotan family originally came from Lübeck or had relations there.

creaturarum by Magnus de Mayneriis (printed between 1483 and January 1485),⁹ *Remigius*,¹⁰ a grammatical treatise, and the *Missale Upsalense*.¹¹

Ghotan's career as a printer had started in Magdeburg¹² in 1479, where he had produced, together with an experienced printer, Lukas Brandis,¹³ an almanac in Low German¹⁴. As regards the Premonstratensian Missal¹⁵ for Magdeburg, it was probably Ghotan who was responsible for the contents, whereas Brandis took care of the printing involving the use of red and black, a technical tour-de-force at the time.¹⁶ However, in 1480 Ghotan was probably participating in the printing of the *Missale Magdeburgense*.¹⁷ From 1481 he had learnt the trade.¹⁸ Between 1484 and 1486 and again in 1488-1492 he was active as printer in Lübeck,¹⁹

⁹ M22267 MAGNUS DE MAYNERIIS, *Dialogus creaturarum*, (20 December 1483).

¹⁰ *Remigius*, or (*Remigii*) *Regula(e) puerorum*, with the incipit *Dominus q(ue) pars*, was a grammar modelled on Priscian, *Partitiones*. The first preserved manuscripts are most probably French from the twelfth century, see ROBERT BLACK, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy. Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 45-6. On the titles, also see *Remigii Autissiodorensis in Artem Donati minorem*, edited by Wilhelm Fox, Lipsiae, Teubner, 1902, p. vi, n. 3. The treatise was extremely popular in the fifteenth century, with 81 editions printed mainly in the HRE but also in the Netherlands and Paris (GW 11123-11204).

¹¹ M24824 [ca. 1484].

¹² According to I. COLLIJN, *Svensk bibliografi*, cit., p. 59 a source calls him *clericus Magdeburgensis diocesis*; also see *Kirja Suomessa*, cit., p. 61.

¹³ Brandis was the first printer active in Lübeck, *Kirja Suomessa*, cit., p. 61. He was one of the successful promoters of the *littera Venetiana*, a type modelled on the Italian Gothic *rotunda*, in Northern HRE and Saxony (Merseburg, Leipzig). It was Brandis who introduced this type in Denmark, whereas Ghotan first used it in Sweden, see URSULA ALTMANN, *Die Leistungen der Drucker mit Namen Brandis im Rahmen der Buchgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Berlin-Humboldt-Universität, Berlin, s.e., 1971 (reprint 2005), <<http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/dissertationen/altmann-ursula-1974-12-18/PDF/Altmann.pdf>>, p. 24 (last consulted on 29 July 2012).

¹⁴ GW 01341 *Almanach auf das Jahr 1480, niederdeutsch*, [Magdeburgae, Bartholomaeus Ghotan and Lukas Brandis 1479/80].

¹⁵ M24181 *Missale Praemonstratense*, Magdeburgae, Lukas Brandis and Bartholomaeus Ghotan 1479.

¹⁶ U. ALTMANN, *Brandis*, cit., p. 32.

¹⁷ M24521 *Missale Magdeburgense. Ordo Brandenburgensis*, Magdeburgae, Bartholomaeus Ghotan and Lukas Brandis, 1480.

¹⁸ Further Missals: M24450 *Missale Hildensemense*, Magdeburgae, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1480; M24407 *Missale Hamburgense*, Magdeburgae, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, after 1484(?); a breviary: GW 05505 *Breviarium Verdense*, [Magdeburgae], Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1483; a psalter, M36170 *Psalterium cum canticis*, [Magdeburgae], Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1481 and M36173 *Psalterium Latinum*, Magdeburgae, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1481; letters of indulgence M27166 JOHANNES NIXSTEIN, *Ablassbrief zum besten des Kampfes gegen die Türken*, Magdeburg, Bartholomäus Ghotan [ca. 1480], and M27167 JOHANNES NIXSTEIN, *Ablassbrief zum besten des Kampfes gegen die Türken*, Magdeburg, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, c. 1482. Considering Ghotan's later production, we may also mention a medical volume in Low German, M35662 *Promptuarium medicinae*, niederdeutsch, Magdeburg, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 31 July 1483 (reproduction in *Kirja Suomessa*, cit., p. 63).

¹⁹ U. ALTMANN, *Brandis*, cit., p. 33 n. 221 (last consulted on 29 July 2012); *Kirja Suomessa*, cit., p. 62, 64.

producing almanacs, missals, texts on popular medicine,²⁰ morals,²¹ the Crusade bull of Innocent VIII as well as the original Latin and a Low German translation (*Openbaringen*) of the *Revelaciones* of St. Bridget of Sweden.²² Ghotan's work was well-known in Sweden since the *Psalterium cum canticis* printed in Magdeburg in 1481,²³ which had been disseminated in parishes by the Cathedral Chapter of Uppsala.²⁴ Ghotan quite naturally took over from Johann Snell in Stockholm in October 1486. For his printing-house he could count on the custom of the Cathedral Chapters of Uppsala and Strängnäs as well as the monastery of Vadstena, the mother house of the Bridgetin order. He seems to have been active in Stockholm until September 1487. Between October 1486 and September 1487 he did not print anything in Lübeck.²⁵ Among the first volumes printed in Stockholm there is the *Life* of St. Catherine of Sweden, by Ulf Gudmarsson, father of the saint and husband of St. Bridget.²⁶ In addition to the *Missale Strengnense* (for the use of Strängnäs),²⁷ two psalters and two rituals for Uppsala and Strängnäs,²⁸ he printed the essential Latin grammar book, the *Ars minor* by Donatus.²⁹ Though he himself left Stockholm for Lübeck as early as the end of 1487, his Stockholm printing-house, now as a filial of his newly-established Lübeck business, run by a Johannes Fabri (Smedh) went on producing books until 1496.³⁰ The volumes contained liturgical texts, a Swedish-language translation of the 1488 Crusade bull of Innocent VIII (c. 1489/1490),³¹ which was printed in the Lübeck printing-house in

²⁰ M28465 ORTOLF VON BAYERN, *Bock der arstedien van allen krankheyden*, Lübeck, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1484; M49054 VALASCUS DE TARANTA, *De epidemia sive peste*, niederdeutsch, Lübeck, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, s.a.

²¹ M43114 *Speculum virtutum*, niederdeutsch (*Speygel der dogede*), Lübeck, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1485.

²² 04394 BIRGITTA, *Revelationes*, niederdeutsch. *Gebete*, niederdeutsch, Lübeck, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, [ca. 1485].

²³ See above n. 19 (M36170, *Psalterium cum canticis*, [Magdeburgae], Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1481).

²⁴ The Cathedral chapter bought a great number of volumes and resold them to the parishes, *Kirja Suomessa*, cit., p. 61. On the role of the Cathedral Chapter in book trade, see TUIJA LAINE, *Kolportöörejä ja kirjakauppiaita. Kirjojen hankinta ja levitys Suomessa vuoteen 1800*. Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seuran toimituksia 1098, Helsinki, Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 2006, p. 42-3.

²⁵ *Kirja Suomessa*, cit., p. 64.

²⁶ GW M48835 ULFO MONACHUS, *Vita sive legenda Catharinae. Miracula Catharinae*. Holmiae, [Bartholomaeus Ghotan, before 26 July 1487].

²⁷ On the relationship between the *Missalia Upsalense* and *Strengnense*, see W. UNDORF, *From Gutenberg to Luther*, cit., p. 55-8.

²⁸ M3614810 *Psalterium Upsalense*, [Stockholm, Bartholomäus Ghotan, 1487]; M36348 *Psalterium Upsalense*, [Holmiae, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, ca. 1487]; M3828810 *Rituale Strengnense*, Holmiae, Bartholomäus Ghotan, [ca. 1487]; M38290 *Rituale Upsalense*, [Holmiae, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, ca. 1487].

²⁹ GW 08862 DONATUS, AELIUS, *Ars minor*, [Stockholm], Bartholomaeus Ghotan, [ca. 1487].

³⁰ *Kirja Suomessa*, cit., p. 65.

³¹ GW 02700 *Articuli abbreviati der Kreuzzugsbulle Innozenz' VIII. vom 11.XII.1488*, Fassung b, schwed, [Stockholm, Mit den Typen des Bartholomaeus Ghotan, ca. 1489/90].

Latin in 1489. The Stockholm printing-house also produced the Swedish translation of the *Tractatus de diversis diaboli tentationibus* of Jean Gerson.³² Ghotan went on working for Swedish institutions in Lübeck, where he printed the *Missale Aboense* for the Bishop of Turku, Konrad Bitz (r. 1460–1489).³³ The *Missale Aboense* was a regional version in c. 120 copies of the *Missale Fratrum Praedicatorum*³⁴ published at the same time by Ghotan's printing-house, adapted for the use of the Bishopric of Turku. The edition *ad usum Aboensis diocesis* contains a letter by Bishop Konrad Bitz and the famous wood-cut showing St. Henry, patron saint of Finland, Bishop Konrad Bitz and the Provost of the Cathedral of Turku, Magnus Stiernkors (Särkilähti), with Henry's murderer, the Finnish peasant Lalli, being trampled on by the saint. The *Missale Aboense*, far from being *the first Finnish book*, as it is sometimes still characterised, is thus a striking piece of evidence on the international character of the Late Mediaeval book culture around the Baltic Sea. It was produced in Lübeck by the international organisation of the Dominicans for a Dominican-dominated bishopric as a regional edition of the missal of that organisation.³⁵

The Lutheran Reformation reached the North-Eastern Baltic Sea region soon after 1517. The first Lutheran preachers were active and Lutheran books were circulating in Reval (Tallinn, Estonia) and Dorpat

³² GW 05467 *Breviarium Strengeense*, Hrsg. im Auftrag von Konrad (Rogge), Bischof von Strängnäs, Holmia, Johannes Fabri, 18 July 1495; GW 05499 *Breviarium Upsalense*. Im Auftrag von Jakob (Ulfsson), Erzbischof von Uppsala, hrsg. von Andreas Simonis. Holmia, Johannes Fabri, 30 September 1496; GW 10844 JEAN GERSON, *Les tentations de l'ennemi*, schwed. Übers. und mit Beig. von Erich Nicolai, Stockholm, Johannes Fabri; also see *Kirja Suomessa*, cit.

³³ M24188 *Missale Aboense secundum ordinem fratrum praedicatorum*, Lubecae, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, [not after 17 July] 1488.

³⁴ M24154 *Missale Fratrum Praedicatorum*, Lubecae, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 1488 and M24155 *Missale Fratrum Praedicatorum*, Lubecae, Bartholomaeus Ghotan, 17 August 1488; also see *Missale Aboense. Lübeck: B. Ghotan 1488. Pergamenttikappale*, *Kirja Suomessa*, cit., p. 167. On Ghotan producing parallel prints, see W. UNDORF, *From Gutenberg to Luther*, cit., p. 58.

³⁵ In 1522 Lorenz Stuchs printed the *Manuale Aboense* in Halberstadt, *Manuale Aboense*, in *Kirja Suomessa*, cit., p. 168; on L. Stuchs, s. ROBERT PROCTOR, *An index to the early printed books in the British Museum*, 2, MDI-MDXX, Section I. Germany, London, Paul & Trench & Trübner, 1903, p. 170, HERMANN-JOSEF SCHMALOR, MICHAEL REKER, *Zum Jahr der Bibel. Präsentation wertvoller Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Erzbischöflichen Akademischen Bibliothek Paderborn im Schalterraum der Darlehnskasse im Erzbistum Paderborn vom 22. Juli bis zum 3. August 1992*, <http://www.eab-paderborn.de/aus_dlk Bibel.htm> (last consulted on 29 July 2012), and *Manuale Aboense*, cit. p. 168; ISAK COLLIJN, *Laurentius Stuchs i Halberstadt tryckaren av Manuale Aboense 1522*, «Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen», XXIV, 1937, p. 1-18.

(Tartu) by 1523.³⁶ Sweden adopted Lutheranism in 1527 and Denmark in 1536.³⁷

There were little changes to the book market of the Kingdom of Sweden during the first half of the sixteenth century.³⁸ In 1539 King Gustavus I Vasa (1496-1560), inspired by the Edict of Worms of 1521 that had introduced censorship in the HRE, ordered censorship of all the works to be printed by the only printing-house of the realm.³⁹ At the end of the century, only one printing-house was active in Stockholm. International agents from the Empire on the one hand,⁴⁰ the numerous subjects of His Majesty studying at the Lutheran universities of the Empire, first Wittenberg, then also Rostock, Greifswald etc., on the other, were running the book market of the Kingdom of Sweden since the 1520s. The best-known Wittenberg student was the Lutheran reformer of Finland, Michael Agricola (c. 1507-1557). In the 1520s he attended the school of Viipuri, directed by the Lutheran headmaster Johannes Erasmii, and also became acquainted with the Lutheran chaplain of Viipuri castle, Johannes Block (c. 1480-1545), from Stolp in Pomerania (now Słupsk, Poland),⁴¹ whose extensive library (180 both manuscript and printed volumes) contained mainly theological works, among others humanist editions of patristics, Erasmus' commentary on the New Testament and works by Luther's friend and collaborator, the reformer and humanist Philipp Melancthon, also known as *Praeceptor Germaniae*.⁴² Agricola most

³⁶ *Religious life in the late Middle Ages. The Reformation*, in *Estonica*, <http://www.estonica.org/en/History/ca_12001558_Estonian_middle_ages/Religious_life_in_the_late_Middle_Ages_The_Reformation/Estonica> (last consulted on 29 July 2012).

³⁷ *Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Nationalbibliotek og Københavns Universitetsbibliotek. Hovedpunkter af mere end 500 års historie*, in *Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Danmarks Nationalbibliotek og Københavns Universitetsbibliotek*, <<http://www.kb.dk/da>>, p. 4 (last consulted on 29 July 2012).

³⁸ W. UNDFORF, *From Gutenberg to Luther*, cit., p. 369-472.

³⁹ BENGT ÅHLEN, *Ord mot ordningen. Farliga skrifter, bokbål och kättarprocesser i svensk censurhistoria*, edited by Agneta Åhlen, Lillemor Widgren Matlack, Christer Hellmark, Stockholm, Ordfrontsförlag, 1986, p. 16.

⁴⁰ The first documented book-seller from the HRE active in the Duchy of Finland was Lorenz the Bookbinder, probably Lorenz Beckmann Jr., who was selling books in Viipuri in 1573. His father Lorenz Sr. had been active in Reval. T. LAINE, *Kolportöörejä*, cit., p. 46.

⁴¹ He had converted to Lutheranism during his stay in Livonian Dorpat (1514-1528). From Viipuri he left for Barth in Western Pomerania in 1532, introducing Reformation in the town, SIMO HEININEN, *Mikael Agricola. Elämä ja teokset*, Helsinki, Edita, p. 36-39. His manuscripts have been catalogued, see RENATE SCHIPKE, KURT HEYDECK, *Handschriftencensus der kleineren Sammlungen in den östlichen Bundesländern Deutschlands. Bestandsaufnahme der ehemaligen Arbeitsstelle ZIH*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, p. 33 no. 7: Fol. Lit. E 20, an index of the Bible and an abridged version of St. Bonaventure, written in 1481 in Reval, purchased according to the catalogue «ca. 1512» (p. 34); also see p. 34 no. 8: Fol. Lit. F 26, a theological compendium written between 1445 and 1487. The library is now at the Niederdeutsches Bibelzentrum St. Jürgen in Barth, see *Niederdeutsches Bibelzentrum St. Jürgen*, <<http://www.bibelzentrum-barth.de/block.html>> (last consulted on 29 July 2012).

⁴² S. HEININEN, *Agricola*, cit., p. 36-7.

probably had access to this library. As regards his own book collection, he would regularly mark the price, the time and place of purchase in his volumes.⁴³ These entries show that during his study at Wittenberg university under Luther and Melanchthon in 1536-1539, he purchased at least five large volumes, among others Aristoteles, *Opera* 1-2. Basileae: Johannes Oporinus 1538, with the ex libris *Michaëlis Agricolae de Torsby Liber Wittemb(er)gae tribus aureis cum dimidio Emptus. Anno d(omi)ni .1539. Februarij vigesima [sic] Quinta*. Further, a volume of Strabo, *Geographicorum commentarii*. Basileae: Valentinus Curio 1523, contains the annotation *Michaëli<s Ag>ric<o>lae liber Emptus Wittem(er)gae Aureis tribus cu(m) dimidio: Anno <1>539. April(is) .3*. Simo Heininen, one of the leading Agricola specialists of the world, has identified ten volumes having belonged to Agricola.⁴⁴ It is possible to trace the subsequent history of many of these books.⁴⁵

A collection of 74 Mediaeval Latin songs particularly well preserved in Finland was published under the title *Piae cantiones* by Theodoricus Petri Rutha in Greifswald in 1582 (A. Ferber).⁴⁶ Rutha, identified as *Wiburgensis Suecus* ('from Viipuri of the Kingdom of Sweden'), had been studying at the University of Rostock since 1581.⁴⁷ The song texts had been purged of Catholic doctrine by Jacobus Petri Finno, headmaster of the Cathedral school of Turku as well as author of a catechism and a prayer-book in Finnish.⁴⁸ The students originating in the *Magnus Ducatus* of course produced usual academic publications at their respective continental universities, e.g. dissertations, such as *De rationali hominis anima metaphysicae propositiones*, by Marcus Henrici Helsingius, the later headmaster of the school of Turku, for his doctorate at the University of

⁴³ He possibly adopted the habit from Block, who also entered these details in his books. I have the pleasure of thanking Dr. Jürgen Geiß for the information on Block's annotations (Berlin, August 2011).

⁴⁴ His research was funded by the Academy of Finland project 121785 *Books in Transition* (2008-2011). The volumes contain 12 works having certainly belonged to Agricola, O. MERISALO, *Classical works*, cit., p. 190 and n. 19.

⁴⁵ For example his Diogenes Laertius, bought in Wittenberg in 1537, was sold on to a Clemens Fabrinus by a Laurentius Thomae Aboensis in 1601. Clemens Fabrinus gave it as a present in 1607 to a school mate of his, Olaus Georgii Suomalainen ('the Finn'), S. HEININEN, *Agricola*, cit., p. 342; for Suomalainen's (also known as *Suomalenius Suecus*, born c. 1580) successful studies at Wittenberg between 1608 and his violent death in 1613, see O. MERISALO, *Classical works*, cit., p. 191.

⁴⁶ REIJO PITKÄRANTA, *Latina Suomen kirjallisuudessa*, in *Vieraskielinen kirjallisuus Suomessa Ruotsin vallan aikana*, edited by Tuija Laine. Tietolipas 159, Jyväskylä, Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, p. 15; GUDRUN VIERGUTZ, 8. *Titelblatt* (1582) in EAD. ET AL., *Piae cantiones. Das älteste gedruckte Liederbuch der nordischen Länder*, <<http://jyk.jyu.fi/jyk/kokoelmat/cantiones/deutsch/main.html>> (last consulted on 29 July 2012) and GUDRUN VIERGUTZ, 10. *Titelblatt* (1616), *ibid*.

⁴⁷ Matriculated for the summer term of 1581 at Rostock, *Rostocker Matrikelportal*, <<http://matrikel.uni-rostock.de/index.php?c=db&id=100036609&from=search>> (last con-sulted on 29 July 2012).

⁴⁸ *Theodoricus Petri Rutha Piae Cantiones*, in *Book in Finland*, cit., p. 186-7.

Wittenberg in 1593,⁴⁹ and *Oratio de optima republica* [...], by Nicolaus Magni Viburgensis Finno,⁵⁰ later headmaster of the school of Viipuri and Bishop of the same diocese, for his degree at the University of Rostock in 1599.

As to the book market in the Kingdom of Sweden in general and in the *Magnus Ducatus* in particular, selling bound books was since 1630, the year when the Swedish Guild of bookbinders was founded, in the hands of this group. Printers and book agents were only allowed to sell unbound volumes.⁵¹ The presence of bookbinders from the HRE in the Magnus Ducatus is well-documented. Among them there were Michael Pintzer (d. 1642?), established by 1623 in Turku as bookbinder and bookseller,⁵² and Friedrich Elers from Bremen, who ended up in Turku in 1642 after working in Hamburg (apprentice in 1633) and Stockholm (1636).⁵³ The rivalry between bookbinders on the one hand, and printers and book agents on the other, was to persevere until the end of the eighteenth century.

The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) wreaked havoc in European book trade through printing-houses shutting down and booksellers being unable to travel out to the Frankfurt book fair, since the beginning of the sixteenth century the central venue of the business. Frankfurt did not manage to regain a leading position even after the war, other book fairs, especially Leipzig, proving more successful. Book production and book trade flourished now in the tolerant United Provinces, the protestant Netherlands.⁵⁴ Book collections were also exposed to the wars of the seventeenth century. After the victorious Thirty Years' War, Sweden went on to conquer territories belonging to Poland and Denmark in the latter half of the seventeenth century, libraries being a significant form of booty. Important book collections were transported from the continent to the Kingdom of Sweden (see below p. 00).

An important need for old and new books arose with the foundation of the Royal Academy of Turku/Åbo (*Academia Aboensis* oder *Auraica*) in 1640. Although subjects of the Magnus Ducatus would continue travelling abroad for study, their stays would now take the form of shorter-duration *peregrinationes* for completing their education and discovering Europe. The Academy established a printing-house of its own for the production of the usual academic texts (dissertations and occasional texts). Since the

⁴⁹ Christianus Hastaeus *De rationali hominis anima metaphysicae propositiones*. Resp.: Marcus Henrici Helsingius, in *Book in Finland*, cit., p. 187.

⁵⁰ Nicolaus, matriculated at Rostock in the summer term of 1598, *Rostocker Matrikelportal*, <<http://matrikel.uni-rostock.de/index.php?c=db&id=100046130&from=search>> (last consulted on 29 July 2012).

⁵¹ T. LAINE, *Kolportöörejä*, cit., p. 59.

⁵² JORMA VALLINKOSKI, *Suomen kirjansitojamestarit - Finlands bokbindarmästare - Die Buchbindermeister Finnlands 1514-1868*, edited by Jarl Pousar, Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston julkaisuja 54, Helsinki, Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto, 1992, p. 178.

⁵³ J. VALLINKOSKI, *Suomen kirjansitojamestarit*, cit., p. 179.

⁵⁴ L. FEBVRE - H.J. MARTIN, *L'apparition du livre*, Paris, Michel, 1958, p. 232-3.

printing-house could not cater for all the needs of the new academic body, books continued to be purchased outside the *Magnus Ducatus*. Lorenz Jauch from Lübeck was appointed official bookseller of the Academy in 1642. He was so successful that his services were required eight years later in 1650 by another Swedish university established in 1632, the *Academia Gustaviana* of Dorpat in Livonia, and he opened a filial in Reval. He obtained a Royal privilege conferring him exclusive rights to sell books in the whole of Swedish-owned Baltic territories. As early as 1652 he transferred his headquarters to Reval, keeping his shop in Turku until 1655. In that year he obtained a second Royal privilege securing him the right to sell books in all the cities and towns of the *Magnus Ducatus*.⁵⁵ Until the middle of the 1660s he kept on providing the Academy of Turku with books.⁵⁶ In Turku his main customers were professors and students.

Until the end of the century the Academy library, the nucleus of which had been a part of the Cathedral library and the library of the Cathedral school, was very small (c. 2000 volumes),⁵⁷ despite some important collections originating in war booty being incorporated in it. Here should be mentioned the library of General Torsten Stålhandske (d. 1644 at Hadersleben), which had formerly belonged to the Bishop of Aarhus, Denmark, Martinus Matthiae (Danish Morten Madsen). His widow decided to donate the 900-volume library to the newly-founded Academy.⁵⁸ Another important donation was that of Peter Brahe, General governor of Finland, who bestowed 87 volumes of historiographical works on the Academy in 1648.⁵⁹ In 1653 the Royal library sent further 315 volumes with 295 works originating in Olmütz (Slovak *Olomouč*), Nikolsburg (Czech *Mikulov*) and Prague.⁶⁰

Conclusion

The peripheral geographical position of the (*Magnus*) *Ducatus* of Finland, part of the Kingdom of Sweden, between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, does not seem to have led to absence of contacts between the continent and the North-Eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. In the Middle Ages students had travelled out to continental seats of learning, such as Paris, Naples and the universities of the HRE, bringing back books needed. In the early decades of the printed book agents from the Empire discovered the Scandinavian book market, and provided access to the production of continental printers. In 1488 Bartholomaeus Ghotan printed

⁵⁵ T. LAINE, *Kolportöörejä*, cit., *passim*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ For H.G. Porthan, see *Henrici Gabrielis Porthani Historia Bibliothecae Regiae Academiae Aboënsis & Appendix I et II*, edited by Heikki Koskenniemi, Esko Matinelli, Martti Nyman. *Henrici Gabrielis Porthan Opera omnia* 5, Turku, 1974, p. 9-10.

⁵⁸ Cf. RAIJA SARASTI-WILENIUS, 'Noster eloquendi artifex'. *Daniel Achrelius, Latin Speeches and Rhetorical Theory in Seventeenth-Century Finland*, Diss. Helsinki, Helsinki, s.e., 2000, p. 93ff.

⁵⁹ OTTO WALDE, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten. En kulturhistorisk-bibliografisk studie*, I, Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1916, p. 28.

⁶⁰ O. WALDE, *Krigsbyten*, I, cit., p. 28-29.

in Lübeck a regional version *ad usum Aboensis diocesis* of the Dominican Missal, whereas the 1522 *Manuale Aboense* was printed by Lorenz Stuchs in Halberstadt. The Lutheran reformer of Finland, Michael Agricola attended the University of Wittenberg, was tutored by both Luther und Melancthon and acquired the basic works of Humanist and Protestant literature. The *Piae cantiones*, an important document on Mediaeval culture in Finland, were published in Greifswald in 1582 by a Viipuri student matriculated at the University of Rostock. Crossing the Baltic Sea was the rule rather than the exception, both for ideas and for people.

