

# DUTCH CONNECTIONS IN SWEDISH COLLECTIONS

A MATERIAL APPROACH TO THE DUTCH-SWEDISH BOOK TRADE

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## PREFACE

*A man feels the world with his work like a glove*

Tomas Tranströmer<sup>1</sup>

The dissemination of research material is arguably the best excuse a scholar can employ to travel the world. As a book historian from the Netherlands with a general interest in the international book trade, it is a comforting thought that I can knock on the door of any library across the continent and be assured to find something worth investigating. Early modern Dutch books are virtually everywhere, at least, in those countries that have a profound historical relationship with the Dutch Republic.

In this thesis I aim to demonstrate that books do not end up in specific collections by chance. There is often a historical contingency that explains why we find certain books in one library and not in another. The same principle can be lightly applied to the ways of book historians. Scholars all follow the trail of their research material, but there is usually a personal narrative connected to the topic of research. I have been asked repeatedly why I travel to Sweden to study Dutch books from the hand-press period. It is a fair question. I could have chosen to study equally interesting books in the Netherlands, or in the collections of Trinity College Library in Dublin, the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel, the Biblioteca Apostolica in the Vatican, or so many other famous institutions, but I ended up in the public library of Västerås instead. That demands an explanation.

At the congress ‘International perspectives on rare book librarianship’ hosted by the National Library of Sweden in October 2015, I casually explained to a group of international curators, book historians and rare book cataloguers that I suffer from the

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from the Swedish: ‘En man känner på världen med yrket som en handske’, the opening line of the poem ‘Öppna och slutna rum’, in T. Tranströmer, *Klanger och spår* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1966), p. 33.

‘Bullerby syndrome’, a term used for people that idealize Sweden along the lines of Astrid Lindgren’s *All about the Bullerby children* (Swedish: *Alla vi barn i Bullerbyn*, 1947). The imagery of red wooden houses, dark mysterious forests and crystal blue lakes had already been firmly established in my mind at a young age. When a Dutch friend fell in love with a Swedish girl and moved to Malmö a decade ago, I began traveling to Sweden on a regular basis. I got to know the country, the people, the language, the libraries and collections. My library visits gradually became more professional and eventually the National Library of the Netherlands provided financial support for my bibliographical itineraries to Sweden. They requested me to keep an open eye for Dutch books not yet included in the national bibliography 1540-1800, that is, the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN).

Over the years I stumbled upon a number of forgotten and unknown books that turned out to be valuable additions to our national bibliography, and learned that next to my personal motives there were some very good scholarly reasons to travel to Sweden. This master thesis proved to be a great opportunity to build on my professional experiences in Sweden. Rather than recording bibliographical data, as I used to do for the STCN, I could now focus on interpreting my discoveries. First and foremost I wanted an answer to the question why so many Dutch books have survived in Swedish heritage institutions, and furthermore, what their presence tells us about cultural relations between the Dutch Republic and Sweden in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with a specific emphasis on the book trade between the two countries.

It has become increasingly difficult, however, to distinguish between my personal affiliations in Sweden, my professional work as a bibliographer for the STCN, and my book historical research as a master student. Parts of this master thesis have already been published or are currently in press.<sup>2</sup> There is unquestionably some overlap between these articles and this thesis, but I would like to emphasize that the published articles are the offshoots of this unpublished master thesis and not the other way round.

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<sup>2</sup> A. Alsemgeest, ‘Dutch connections in Swedish collections’, *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* = *Yearbook for Dutch book history*, 23 (2016), pp. 33-52; idem, ‘How many roads? Chasing books for the national bibliography of the Netherlands’, in P. Sjökvist (ed.), *Bevara för framtiden: texter från en seminarierie om specialsamlingar* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, 2016), pp. 141-166.

Rather than problematic, I find this cross-fertilisation highly beneficial both to my research and my personal life. Swedish poet Tomas Tranströmer once wrote that ‘a man feels the world with his work like a glove’. Blatantly ignoring the figurative meaning of these words of the Nobel prize laureate I can safely say that the white cotton gloves that I use in the libraries indeed opened up Sweden for me. Thanks to my professional affiliations I got the chance to live for some time in the country that I had idealized along the lines of Bullerby. It is thanks to many friends that I really started to appreciate Sweden. They opened up their homes, taught me the language and provided me with home-baked *kanelbullar* or home-brewed *akvavit*, depending on what the circumstances called for.

Therefore, I would not only like to thank my family and friends at home, the staff and my fellow students of *Book and Digital Media Studies*, and my colleagues at the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands for their seemingly endless patience and support in the process of writing this thesis, but also everyone in Sweden who has made life up north so pleasant. A special note of thanks is due to the staff of Uppsala University Library, Stockholm University Library, Skokloster Slotts Bibliotek and Västerås Stiftsbibliotek for their valuable advice and support, as well as for granting me the privilege to go through the stacks myself and see literally every book in the library.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Ever since the Low Countries were famously named ‘the bookshop of the world’ book historians have picked up on researching the role of the Dutch in the early modern international book trade with great success.<sup>3</sup> Over the past twenty years, much has been discovered about some of the major publishers, book fairs, auctions, agents and commissioners that played a part in this international business. Surprisingly little, however, do we know about the actual books that were shipped from the Dutch Republic to customers across the continent and the British Isles. Surely, occasional titles are mentioned in account books, inventories, cargo lists, correspondences and other scattered sources, but there is no comprehensive bibliographical overview of Dutch books in foreign collections.<sup>4</sup>

In the summer of 2011 I travelled around Sweden as a bibliographer for the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN).<sup>5</sup> I was surprised to come across numerous titles and editions that were not yet listed in the Dutch national bibliography. Among the books that I recorded were the theological pamphlets of Swedish mystic Eva Margareta Frölich in Linköping,<sup>6</sup> a renowned work by Rutger Wessel van den

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<sup>3</sup> C.M.G. Berkvens-Stevelinck et al. (eds.), *Le magasin de l'univers: the Dutch Republic as the centre of the European book trade* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); L. Hellinga et al. (eds.), *The bookshop of the world: the role of the Low Countries in the book-trade, 1473-1941* ('t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> The Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands offers only limited insight in this matter. National union catalogues and OPAC's of the individual libraries are rarely sufficient. I will elaborate on this in the chapter 'Theory and methods'. For Dutch material in Swedish archives, there is J. Römelingh, *Een rondgang langs Zweedse archieven: een onderzoek naar archivalia inzake de betrekkingen tussen Nederland en Zweden 1520-1920* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1986). For a general overview of Swedish collections, C.M. Carlander's studies are still indispensable; C.M. Carlander, *Svenska bibliotek och ex-libris*, 2nd edition, 6 parts in 4 vols. (Stockholm: Iduna, 1904). Swedish book historians have stressed the absence of accounts of books that were imported to Sweden, see S. Sörlin, *De lärda republiken: om vetenskapens internationella tendenser* (Malmö: Liber-Hermöden, 1994), p. 85, and W. Undorff, *From Gutenberg to Luther: transnational print cultures in Scandinavia 1450-1525* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands', <[www.stcn.nl](http://www.stcn.nl)> (10-11-2016).

<sup>6</sup> A. Alsemgeest, 'The promise of a northern prophetess: Eva Margaretha Frölich in 17th-century Amsterdam', in: K. Albrecht et al. (eds.), *TxT Magazine: The changing ways of reading* (Leiden: Academic Press Leiden, 2015), pp. 16-23.

Boetzelæer that was long thought to be an unpublished mystification in the public library in Norrköping,<sup>7</sup> and a composite volume with unique dissertations from Franeker University in Västerås. These examples can be placed in a long series of remarkable discoveries of Dutch books in Swedish libraries, ranging from three unique works of Hugo Grotius that were rediscovered at Uppsala University Library<sup>8</sup> to the earliest issues of Dutch newspapers at the National Library in Stockholm.<sup>9</sup> The problem with these findings is that they were stumbled upon by chance and are not helpful in creating a larger framework that could explain how and why these books were shipped to the north.<sup>10</sup>

The perception of the Low Countries as the bookshop of the world makes it conceivable that thousands of Dutch books are indeed found in collections across Sweden, just as they are found elsewhere in Europe. Yet it is not very likely that we find the same types of books in Stockholm and Uppsala, as for example in Rome and Bologna, or in London and Cambridge. Books do not end up in a particular collection by chance. There is often a historical contingency that explains why we find certain books in one library and not in another. Moreover, books can be understood as ‘agents of cultural exchange’<sup>11</sup> and the various collections that hold these books are silent witnesses of cultural networks. Mapping collections and interpreting their build up and development over time can learn us a lot about the spreading of culture and ideas.

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<sup>7</sup> W. de Boetzelæer, *Meditations chrestiennes sur trois pseumes du prophete David* (The Hague: Aert Meuris, 1622). Copy: Norrköping Stadsbibliotek, Finnspong sammlingen 2002. See P.R. Sellin, ‘Bibliographical ghosts, false negatives, and snares of dialectic’, in M. Bruijn Lacy and Christine P. Sellin (eds.), *Crossing boundaries and transforming identities: new perspectives in Netherlandic studies* (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 2011), pp. 49-55.

<sup>8</sup> H. Grotius, *Batavia, sive Epithalamion Cornelio Mylio & Mariæ Oldenbarneveldiæ dictum* (The Hague: B. Nieulandius, 1603); H. Grotius, *Epithalamion viri clarissimi, amplissimique Casparis Kinschotii, & [...] Mariæ de Chantraines dictæ Broxavx* (The Hague: B. Nieulandius, 1603); H. Grotius, *Carmen in domumductionem nobilissimæ lectissimæque Mariæ van der Duyn viro prelvstri Reginaldo Brederodio [...] noviter nvptæ* (The Hague: B. Nieulandius, 1603). Copy: Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek: Westin rar. 417.

<sup>9</sup> Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, Tidning Nederländerna Fol RAR. Copy: *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* See F. Dahl, ‘Nya bidrag till Hollands och Frankrikes äldsta tidningshistoria’, in *Lynchos*, 3 (1938), pp. 53-94; idem, *Dutch corantos 1618-1650: a bibliography: illustrated with 334 facsimile reproductions of corantos printed 1618-1625, and an introductory essay on 17th century stop press news* (Göteborg: Göteborgs stadsbibliotek, 1946).

<sup>10</sup> The late Amsterdam book historian Piet Verkruijsse stated in 2009 with some concern that ‘there is a considerable amount of Dutch printed material in the public library of Linköping and nobody knows how it ended up there.’ P.J. Verkruijsse, ‘Waslijstjes en wenslijstjes: zwarte gaten in de Nederlandse retrospectieve bibliografie’, *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 16 (2009), pp. 45-51.

<sup>11</sup> L. Hellinga, ‘The bookshop of the world: books and their makers as agents of cultural exchange’, in eadem et al. (eds.), *The bookshop of the world*, pp. 11-29.

My aim in this thesis is to give insight into the Dutch books that are found in Swedish collections and show how underlying patterns of cultural exchange between the Dutch Republic and Sweden are connected to specific historical collections in Swedish libraries. This is of course overly ambitious within the limitations of a master thesis. Therefore, rather than covering all Dutch books in all Swedish libraries, which would take a lifetime, I have selected five collections that represent very diverse aspects of Swedish-Dutch relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the library of a military commander and statesman, the theological collection of a Lutheran minister, the collection of a count who acquired most of his books through auctions, the scientific library of a naturalist and the wide-ranging collection of a Swedish Baron with close connections to the Dutch Republic. These collections are exemplary for most Swedish collections, even though it is only a cross-section of the entire landscape.

I will build my argument on three layers that I label as bibliographical, material and contextual. Bibliographical description will provide basic insight into the question which Dutch books are preserved in these libraries. It will demonstrate which genres are most dominant and which publishers are best represented in the various collections. The STCN is the obvious platform for reliable bibliographical descriptions. Moreover, the bibliographical context of a database that contains half a million copies in over 200,000 records provides the perfect background to understand how Dutch books in Swedish collections stand out from their counterparts in collections in the Netherlands.

Subsequently I will use material aspects of the individual books, as well as collection history to show how specific copies that are today found in the five aforementioned collections have ended up in Sweden. Annotations, dedications, traces of former owners, bindings and decoration can open up the history of specific copies. Whereas finding one provenance is merely a curiosity, repetition of names, customs and decorations might indicate a pattern of cultural exchange. Any such patterns that emerge will be placed against the background of cultural history at large with the help



of Robert Darnton's 'communication circuit'.<sup>12</sup> It will be particularly useful to see whether the material aspects of physical books that rest in collections today will support, complement or contest existing notions about the intermediary role of the Dutch book trade and the dissemination of books in general.

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<sup>12</sup> R. Darnton, 'What is the history of books?', in *Daedalus* (Summer 1982), pp. 65-83; reprinted in idem, *The kiss of Lamourette. Reflections in cultural history* (New York: Norton, 1990), pp. 107-135; the communication circuit is illustrated on p. 112.

## 2. THEORY AND METHODS

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

So much of our research starts with bibliographies, catalogues, inventories and other structured lists of books.<sup>13</sup> Studies on the creation, production, dissemination and reception of books all largely depend on the availability of reliable bibliographical data. There are thousands of bibliographical overviews, local and national, on paper and digital, enumerative or analytical. They all have their own complicated histories, and let us not forget, they often serve different goals. The aim and extent of bibliography has been subject of a long methodological debate, evolving around the relation between bibliographical language and social understanding of books.<sup>14</sup> Bibliographical language is designed to reflect the things in the world, but obviously, it is not the world itself.

The compilation of any bibliography is a naturally a construction, shaped by a closed system of rules, practices and traditions. These systems are inevitably imperfect and most attempts to adjust the rules to reality are doomed to fail. I agree with Joseph A. Dane that the pursuit of a perfect catalogue is ‘often amusing’.<sup>15</sup> From my own experiences as a bibliographer I recognize the futile efforts to try and squeeze important contextual evidence in the assigned data fields. Practices in print culture are simply too complex to be fully represented in a catalogue record. Bibliographers tend to create miniature essays in a desperate attempt to cram all information about a

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<sup>13</sup> T.H. Howard-Hill, ‘Why bibliography matters’, in S. Elliot and J. Rose (eds.), *A companion to the history of the book* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 9-20.

<sup>14</sup> Arguably started by Tanselle, when he contested tradition bibliography by stating that the profession is a ‘related group of subjects’ that includes history, comparative literature, philology, sociology, and psychology. G.T. Tanselle, ‘Bibliography as a science’, *Studies in bibliography*, 27 (1974), p. 88. For more recent discussion on this matter, see for example J.A. Dane, *Blind impressions: methods and mythologies in book history* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 3-6; D. McKitterick, *Print, manuscript and the search for order, 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>15</sup> Dane, *Blind impressions*, p. 6.

particular copy into a single bibliographical record. Even though the resulting records are unmistakably works of scholarly minds, the absence of structured data makes them only useful for the casual reader and not in a linked data universe.

These random remarks on a discipline that has received lots of attention over the past decades merely serve as an introduction to the practical challenges that we face in selecting Dutch books in Swedish libraries. The only comprehensive database that is useful for this cause is the Swedish national union catalogue *Libris*.<sup>16</sup> Just like most union catalogues, *Libris* is a conglomeration of various library catalogues, and thus a strange mixture of enumerative and analytical records. This means that if we want to answer complex bibliographical questions or generate data with statistical value, we come across a number of problems.<sup>17</sup>

It seems to be the rule rather than the exception in libraries that not all books have been properly catalogued. Ephemera, rariora and difficult or incomprehensible books have generally been overlooked, ignored or swept aside. Sometimes for good reasons, as libraries with limited resources need to prioritize and it is perfectly understandable why Swedish institutions would start cataloguing and digitizing their own national heritage before they start with material from other countries. The consequence, however, is that it is impossible to give a realistic estimate of the number of Dutch books that are actually located in Sweden.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, the standard of cataloguing and the uniformity of bibliographical records in union catalogues is rarely on a level that is adequate to generate complex statistical information from the database. It is not so much the occasional bibliographical error or spelling mistake that causes problems, but the sheer absence of structured data in specific fields. In *Libris*, the names of printers have often been left

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<sup>16</sup> Kungliga Biblioteket, 'Libris', <<http://libris.kb.se/>> (10-11-2016).

<sup>17</sup> For an extensive discussion on this matter, see my essay 'How many roads?'.

<sup>18</sup> A search in Libris (land:ne OR spr:dut) for all Dutch books that would qualify for entry in the STCN generates just 20.000 results. It is unclear how this relates to the actual number of copies. At Uppsala University Library alone there are supposed to be thousands or even tens of thousands of Dutch books in the stacks. However, *Libris* generates less than 400 results in Uppsala, meaning that the largest part of the books that are supposedly held by Uppsala University Library are not traceable in the national union catalogue. The situation varies from library to library. Norrköpings stadsbibliotek claims that 98 percent of their rare collections have been catalogued, upon request Skokloster states that probably up to 90 percent of their books are present in *Libris*. Some collections included in my research, such as Leufsta library and the Bergius collection, are effectively not in *Libris*, nor in any other online accessible catalogue.

out, places of publication are alternately transcribed or standardised, and country codes have been ignored for nearly all anonymously printed publications. Querying the database still generates results, but it is hard to tell if these results have any statistical value to a researcher at all.<sup>19</sup>

Finally, even in the rare occasion that all books have been catalogued in a structured and uniform way at the highest possible standards, there is always a chance that the metadata are not complementary to data that exist elsewhere. Metadata standards diverge from country to country.<sup>20</sup> Despite all efforts to unify national standards, it is still problematic to derive data of rare book records without having to accept data loss and corruption.<sup>21</sup>

So where do we turn when the available bibliographical tools do not suffice? The absence of reliable and structured data means that I have generated my own data for this master thesis. Selection has been executed on the basis of autopsy, which effectively meant that I literally had to go through all books on the shelves of the selected collections and that I had to pick the Dutch books by hand before I could make a bibliographical description. The most obvious platform to record Dutch books from the hand-press period is the STCN. This database is not just an enumerative list of books, it is a database that is designed as a tool for book historical research.<sup>22</sup> In contrast to union catalogues, OPACs and mash-ups such as *Worldcat* and the *Heritage*

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<sup>19</sup> To support this claim with an example: in *Libris* the country-code is denoted in MARC21-field 008. Books published in the Netherlands get the code 'ne'; if the country of publication is unknown, the code is 'xx'. How problematic this can be is best shown by the collections in Skokloster castle. The code bib:(Sko) AND (land:ne OR spr:dut) should generate a list of all books published in the Netherlands and/or written in the Dutch language. The search generates 1671 titles on a total of 17726 records, meaning that roughly 10 percent of the collections of Skokloster consist of 'Dutch' books. However, the code bib:(Sko) AND (land:xx) generates another 5000 records, many of which are instantly recognizable as Dutch books with either mystified or anonymous imprints. It is plausible that the actual number of Dutch books at Skokloster is double or triple the amount that a simple search in *Libris* suggests.

<sup>20</sup> The standard in the Swedish national union catalogue *Libris* is MARC21. The Dutch national union catalogue NCC makes use of the Pica+ format.

<sup>21</sup> Take for example CERL's *Heritage of the Printed Book Database* (HPB). HPB is an integrated database that contains records from numerous research libraries, but poor matching of metadata means that records have been duplicated almost without exception. This disqualifies the database as a statistical tool. CERL, 'Heritage of the Printed Book Database', <<https://www.cerl.org/resources/hpb/>> (10-11-2016).

<sup>22</sup> Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'Aim of the STCN', <<https://www.kb.nl/en/organisation/research-expertise/for-libraries/short-title-catalogue-netherlands-stcn/aim-of-the-stcn>> (10-11-2016).

of the Printed Book Database,<sup>23</sup> all books in the national bibliography of the Netherlands have been checked on the basis of autopsy.

The concerns expressed above about the statistical value of bibliographies cannot be disregarded when it comes to the STCN. It has been argued that the STCN provides an overview of the Dutch book production that is not entirely accurate.<sup>24</sup> The core of the criticism is that the massive database of the STCN is impressive, yet needs further enhancement to live up to its full potential. The problem is not so much that there will always be books that are not yet in the database, but that there are specific areas that are either over or underrepresented. I agree with these concerns, however, it does not mean that statistics generated from the database are useless, just that they need interpretation.<sup>25</sup>

## MATERIALITY

The availability of reliable bibliographical data is a prerequisite to start any kind of investigation concerning Dutch books in Swedish collections, but it provides no answer to the question how books can be understood as agents of culture. Data from the STCN is useful to indicate trends, for example, to highlight the dominant genres, major publishers, popular authors and typographical features in specific periods of time.<sup>26</sup> Connected to the current and historical locations of copies this may lead to new questions, for instance, why the majority of seventeenth-century drama texts in Swedish collections are written in the Dutch language? Or why one Swedish library holds so many academic publications from Franeker and another library from Leiden?

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<sup>23</sup> OCLC, 'Worldcat', < <https://www.worldcat.org/> > (30-11-2016); CERL, 'Heritage of the Printed Book Database', < <https://www.cerl.org/resources/hpb/> > (10-11-2016).

<sup>24</sup> See the thematic issue of the *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 16 (2009), especially the articles of P. Verkruijsse, 'Waslijstjes en wensenlijstjes', M. Smolenaars, 'Bronnen over de grens: wat kunnen de STCN en nationale bibliografieën voor elkaar betekenen', pp. 53-62; M. van Delft, 'Kwantitatief onderzoek op basis van de STCN: mogelijkheden en aandachtspunten', pp. 63-80. Verkruijsse points out several lacunae, Smolenaars draws attention to additions that may be found abroad, and Van Delft stresses the implications that this has for statistical use of the database.

<sup>25</sup> In the case of my research it must be stressed that I do not work with pre-existing data from the STCN, I simply make use of the standing metadata framework to record data that I collect myself.

<sup>26</sup> See for example F. Maas, *Innovative strategies in a stagnating market: Dutch book trade 1660-1750*, < <http://www.centrefordigitalhumanities.nl/files/2013/09/ReportSTCN.pdf> > (10-11-2016); E. Stronks, 'Jeugdige overmoed: denkbeelden over jongeren digitaal duiden', < [https://www.kb.nl/sites/default/files/docs/pdf\\_jeugdige\\_overmoed\\_14\\_januari\\_2015.pdf](https://www.kb.nl/sites/default/files/docs/pdf_jeugdige_overmoed_14_januari_2015.pdf) > (10-11-2016).

Moreover, it might indicate relations between printers, publishers, binders, agents, booksellers, customers, libraries and collectors.

The number of possible questions is seemingly endless, but we need to take into account other material aspects of the book to find answers. Paper, type, illustration, binding, decoration, former ownership and traces of use all reveal a fraction of the history of the object from its days of production until the moment of collection. Material evidence has long had its place in book historical research, but structured data on material clues is still limited.<sup>27</sup> In the Dutch national union catalogue<sup>28</sup>, provenance data is arbitrary added to records as a plain text annotation. The STCN deliberately ignores most copy-specific information.<sup>29</sup> Swedish databases, however, comprise an incredible amount of structured data that is complementary to the data in the STCN. Databases and platforms like *Libris*, *ProBok* and *Alvin* contain exactly the kind of information that is not present in a STCN-record: data on bindings, provenances, book trade, historical context and collection history.<sup>30</sup>

In theory, the information from these various databases can be connected to the Dutch national bibliography. The data of the STCN has recently been converted into RDF-format, which allows searches with SQL-based language SPARQL.<sup>31</sup> As a result, far more complex searches are possible and the output is much more flexible. Queries can now be divided into periods, connected to external structured data, used for calculations and sorted in any preferable way. Just to give an example, we can now generate statistical information for the number of Swedish authors that published a book in the Dutch Republic between 1650 and 1700. And as follow-up questions, how many of them were female, what genres were most dominant and also where are these books found today?

The potential is massive, but there are still too many weaknesses in the existing RDF-framework to build my argument solely on statistics and calculations. All copy-

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<sup>27</sup> For an overview of important European online databases, see CERL, 'Online provenance resources', <<https://www.cerl.org/resources/provenance/geographical>> (10-11-2016).

<sup>28</sup> Nederlandse Centrale Catalogus (NCC), accessible via PiCarta, <<http://picarta.nl>> (10-11-2016).

<sup>29</sup> Only deviations from the ideal copy are recorded, such as missing or additional folia.

<sup>30</sup> Uppsala University, 'ProBok', <<http://probok.alvin-portal.org/alvin/>> (10-11-2016). Uppsala University, 'Alvin', <[www.alvin-portal.org/alvin](http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin)> (10-11-2016).

<sup>31</sup> Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'Zoeken in de STCN met SPARQL', <<https://www.kb.nl/organisatie/onderzoek-expertise/informatie-infrastructuur-diensten-voor-bibliotheken/short-title-catalogue-netherlands-stcn/zoeken-in-de-stcn-met-sparql>> (10-11-2016).

specific information is unfortunately ignored in the current RDF-model, meaning that relationships between located copies and editions (for example: Skokloster castle library *holds* a copy of Blaeu's *Atlas maior*) are not possible. Further relationships between specific copies and former owners (for example: Carl Gustaf Wrangel *owned* a copy of Blaeu's *Atlas maior*) are even one step beyond the current possibilities. Another major concern is that new additions to the STCN are not automatically converted into RDF. Consequently, scholars who make use of the existing RDF data should be aware that the STCN itself contains far more and better records. Obviously, I cannot solve this problem in the context of my master thesis, so I will have to lay connections between the STCN and other databases manually.

## SOCIAL CONTEXT

Most book historians will agree with the statement that 'analytical bibliography of the material object is fundamentally historical.'<sup>32</sup> There is, however, a giant gap between analysing the details of one particular copy to making claims about the role of the book in society at large. In one of the first successful attempts to reconcile the Anglo-Saxon tradition of analytical bibliography and the French approach known as 'histoire du livre' Tomas Tanselle argued that there is 'a natural meeting place between the examination of books as physical objects and the historical analysis of the role of books in society.'<sup>33</sup> It is a position that now may be widely accepted in book history, but what does that actually mean in practice for my research?

I deliberately decided to approach my subject in three layers, bibliographical, material and contextual, simply because they best resemble the stages I face in my research: record, connect and interpret data. Bibliographical records in the STCN show us exactly 'what is where', connected to provenance data we can understand how it got there, but ultimately I want to understand the dissemination of Dutch books in Sweden in a broad social and cultural context.

Understanding the history of books as a broad social and cultural phenomenon, explaining how ideas were transmitted through print and how this affected thought

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<sup>32</sup> Howard-Hill, 'Why bibliography matters', p. 13.

<sup>33</sup> T. Tanselle, *The history of books as a field of study: a paper* (Chapel Hill: Hanes Foundation, Rare Book Collection/Academic Affairs Library, University of North Carolina, 1980), p. 6.

and behaviour, unmistakably echoes Robert Darnton's ground breaking essay 'What is the history of books'.<sup>34</sup> Darnton claimed that books are not just carriers of information that recount history, but active forces in making history. The 'Communication circuit' (fig. 1) that he designed to study the life-cycle of a book is, with all its limitations, still a useful model to understand how physical books functioned as agents of cultural exchange. Especially if we take in account the revisions that Adams and Barker made to the model.<sup>35</sup> Rather than the relationships between actors, which are centralized in Darnton's circuit, Adams and Barker put the transmission of text at the centre of their model. The six stages that are distinguished in Darnton's model, emphasizing the roles of the publisher, printer, shipper, bookseller, reader and author, are in Adams and Barker's model replaced by five acts that describe the life-cycle of the book: publishing, manufacture, distribution, reception, and survival.

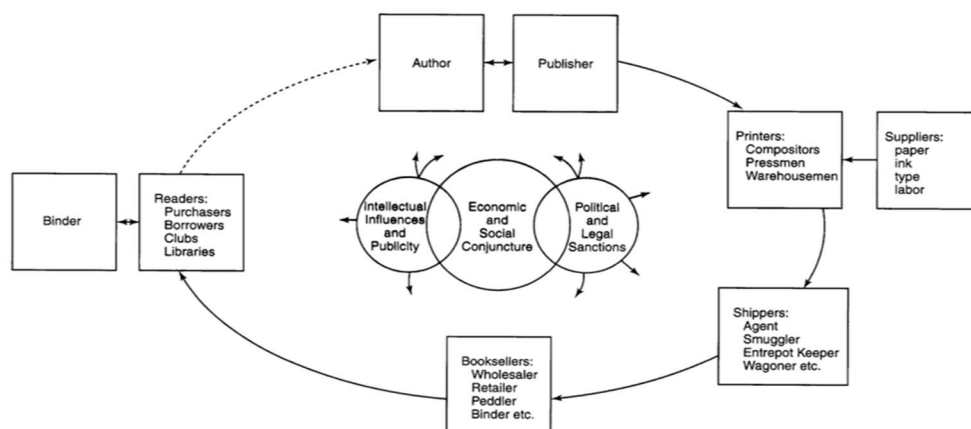


FIGURE 1: DARNTON'S COMMUNICATION CIRCUIT.

The survival of books in libraries and private collections is not covered in the model of Darnton, but it is a cornerstone of my thesis. As I stated above, there is often a historical contingency that explains why we find specific books in one collection and

<sup>34</sup> Darnton, 'What is the history of books?', in idem, *The kiss of Lamourette. Reflections in cultural history*, pp. 107-135.

<sup>35</sup> T.R. Adams and N. Barker, 'A new model for the study of the book', in N. Barker (ed.), *A potencie of life: books in society: the Clark Lectures 1986-1987* (London: British Library, 1993), pp. 5-43.



not in another. The explanation may be found at every different stage in the model. Books may have been written or published especially for the Swedish market, arguably distribution and reception play a role, and so does survival. There may be apparent reasons why certain books or certain genres survived better in a Swedish library than in a Dutch library. To understand this process, we need to take into account the outside pressures mentioned by Adams and Barker: the intellectual climate, social behaviour and taste, political, legal, and religious factors and commercial interests.

#### DEFINITIONS AND BOUNDARIES

In this thesis I will analyse Dutch books in Swedish collections. That may seem rather straightforward, but what actually is a ‘Dutch book’ and what is a ‘Swedish collection’? As a starting point I will work along the lines of the national bibliography and use the definition that the STCN uses to define Dutch books: ‘all printed publications that have appeared within the borders of the modern-day Netherlands and all books in the Dutch language that have appeared elsewhere.’<sup>36</sup> The main reason to adhere to this definition is that it will allow me to make use of the STCN and the structured data on half a million copies.

This definition arguably excludes specific parts of collections that could learn us a lot about the book trade and cultural exchange in the seventeenth century. For example, booksellers did not restrict themselves to the trade of books printed in the Netherlands or in the Dutch language. There is little doubt that there are hundreds if not thousands of German, French and British books in Swedish collections, that were once brought into the country by Dutch booksellers. Furthermore, publications of Dutch immigrants in Sweden that were not written in the Dutch language will not be accounted for. It is conceivable that a Dutch minister published a sermon in Latin in Stockholm, or that a Dutch merchant in Gothenburg had a stocklist printed in German. Shouldn’t those publications be taken in account? Surely we should not forget about them, but it would be impractical to include them in a structured research. The

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<sup>36</sup> Koninklijke Bibliotheek, *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands*, ‘Delimitation of the STCN’, <<https://www.kb.nl/en/organisation/research-expertise/for-libraries/short-title-catalogue-netherlands-stcn/delimitation-of-the-stcn>> (10-11-2016).

Dutch were simply involved in too many aspects of the production, dissemination and consumption of books, to work without some sort of delimitation.

The question ‘what is a Swedish collection’ largely depends on how we define Sweden. The borders of modern-day Sweden only vaguely resemble those of Sweden in its age of greatness (Swedish: *Stormaktstiden*, 1611-1721). For centuries Sweden controlled large areas around the Baltic Sea and that had an impact on the spread of Swedish culture in the area. Cities like Dorpat, Riga and Viborg were long considered much more Swedish than for example Malmö and Lund, which only became Swedish after the peace of Roskilde in 1658.<sup>37</sup> The best way to work around this problem would be to take the entire Baltic area into account: Sweden, Finland, parts of Russia, the Baltic States, Poland, Denmark and northern Germany. This would resemble historical trade networks that Dutch merchants employed but expands the workload far beyond the possibilities of my research.

A master thesis is obviously not the place for a full-scale investigation of the entire Baltic area and it is probably not necessary. Sweden functioned as a magnetic centre for people, knowledge, books and collections from large parts of northern and eastern Europe. Even though the Swedish book market in itself might have been small, we find evidence of Dutch books that travelled through Hamburg, Prague, Riga and other places before they ended up in collections in Stockholm and Uppsala. Moreover, in the course of the seventeenth century Swedish armies plundered libraries in Denmark, Germany and central Europe. Evidence of cultural war booty is found in historical collections all over modern-day Sweden, particularly in Skokloster castle and Uppsala University Library.<sup>38</sup>

The time-span of my research covers roughly the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As I will explain below, there are relatively few Dutch books from the sixteenth century in Swedish collections. It seems as if the Swedish-Dutch book trade only really took off after the establishment of mutual embassies in 1614. For that reason, I will take that year as the starting point of my research. Each chosen point is

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<sup>37</sup> Compare J. Chrispinsson, *Den glömda historien: om Svenska öden och äventyr i öster under tusen år* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 2011).

<sup>38</sup> E. Hagström-Molin, *Krigsbyttets biografi: byten i Riksarkivet, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek och Skokloster slott under 1600-talet* (Göteborg: Makadam, 2015). Compare Carlander, *Svenska bibliotek* vol. I, pp. 310-314.

of course arbitrary, but since I focus on books as agents of culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it makes sense not to look beyond the end of the eighteenth century. In fact, 1796 serves as a natural endpoint of my research. The last great donor of the five collections that are included in my research, Carl Fredrik Muhrbeck, died in that year. Naturally all books that were brought in to Sweden after that date fall outside the scope of my research. These boundaries have the additional advantage that the entire time-span is covered by the STCN. All Dutch books from the collections that are included in my research can be recorded in the national bibliography, and thus be used to make calculations and generate statistics.

### 3. SWEDISH COLLECTIONS

How do you select a handful of collections that reflect the multifaceted relations between the Dutch Republic and Sweden over a period of several centuries? The Swedish library landscape comprises the National Library in Stockholm, some forty university and college libraries and hundreds of public libraries, special libraries and private collections.<sup>39</sup> It would be logical to start a quest for old and rare books in the vast collections of the National Library and the older university libraries. In the light of my research, those parts of the collections that have been preserved in its original context, such as the Leufsta collection at Uppsala university and the collections of the Swedish Academy of Sciences and the library of the Bergius brothers at Stockholm University, are most interesting. There are, however, numerous public and special libraries with significant collections as well. Particularly the libraries that include old collections of the municipal dioceses and the grammar school cannot be disregarded.<sup>40</sup> Private collections throughout the country may contain surprising numbers of old and rare books. They should definitely be taken into account, even though some of them are not open for research.<sup>41</sup>

The description above immediately ends any hope or strive for completeness. It is of course not necessary to record all Dutch books in Sweden to demonstrate how underlying patterns of cultural exchange between the Dutch Republic and Sweden are connected to specific historical collections. In fact, each individual collection is

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<sup>39</sup> T. Barbro, 'Swedish Libraries: an overview', *IFLA Journal*, 36, no. 2 (2010), pp. 111-130.

<sup>40</sup> For an overview of the five most important diocese libraries, see C. Wallém (ed.), *Stiftsbiblioteken i Sverige: Rapport från en kartläggning av fem aktiva stiftsbibliotek med kommunal huvudman* (Stockholm: Kunliga Biblioteket, 2012).

<sup>41</sup> Twenty-five examples are listed in P. Wästberg et al., (eds.), *Resa i tysta rum: okända svenska slottsbibliotek* ([Stockholm]: Bonnier, 2004). A printed catalogue exists for one of the largest collections, that of Trolleholm castle: C. Trolle-Bonde, *Ex bibliotheca Trolleholmiae*, 2 vols. (Lund: [no publisher], 1896-1911).

historically layered in its own right. Only by exploring different collections and comparing their genesis and development over time, we can determine what is specific for one collection and what can be considered as a general pattern. If, for example, we would find large numbers of German language books in one collection, this might only indicate a preference of that specific collector. However, if we would find them in all collections connected to a certain period in time, it may well be a trend. The narrative power of both contradictory and complementary collections is exactly the reason why it would not suffice to study only one collection.

In making a selection I aimed for collections that were assembled in Sweden before 1800, have a clear provenance, cover different subjects and periods in time, and are accessible for researchers today.<sup>42</sup> These conditions ruled out some collections that are indisputably interesting from a Dutch perspective, such as the Elzevier collection at the National Library (formed in the nineteenth century),<sup>43</sup> the royal collections of Drottningholm (integrated in the general collections of the National Library),<sup>44</sup> the Finspång collection of Louis de Geer (rearranged multiple times)<sup>45</sup> and a private collection like Trolleholm castle (not open for research). What remained were some aristocratic private collections from the seventeenth century, the early acquisitions by Uppsala University, collections connected to the dioceses and grammar schools, and scientific collections from the second half of the eighteenth century. In the end, I selected five different collections that are very diverse in provenance and subject, but are all in some way connected to the international book trade.

## FIVE SELECTED COLLECTIONS

First on the list is the collection of statesman and military commander Count Carl Gustaf Wrangel (1613-1676). It is arguably the best-preserved aristocratic collection of seventeenth-century Sweden. The books are still located on the top-floor of Skokloster Slott, a baroque castle that Wrangel built on the banks of Lake Mälaren. Wrangel first

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<sup>42</sup> For a comprehensive overview, see Carlander, *Svenska bibliotek och ex-libris*, vol. I.

<sup>43</sup> G. Berghman, *Catalogue raisonné des impressions elzéviriennes de la Bibliothèque Royale de Stockholm* (Stockholm: Nordiska Bokhandeln, 1911).

<sup>44</sup> S.G. Lindberg, *Biblioteket på Drottningholm* (Stockholm: Skolan för Bokhantverk, 1972).

<sup>45</sup> B. Lundstedt, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Finspong* (Stockholm: Samson & Wallin, 1883), pp. xv-xvii.

placed his book collection in Skokloster in 1665, when he was already in his fifties. He had travelled Europe, visited Amsterdam on a number of occasions and had a vast network of agents that provided him with information and luxuries that he desired. In the Dutch Republic he kept close connections with the Swedish diplomat Harald Appelboom, while other agents such as Michel le Blon, Peter Trotzig and Gerhard De Geer were also part of his network.<sup>46</sup>

When Carl Gustaf Wrangel died in 1676, his book collection consisted of some 2400 works. Unfortunately the collection was later divided among his family and only one quarter of the original collection is still in Skokloster today. In combination with the correspondence, it nevertheless provides us with some insight in his collection strategy. The correspondence of Wrangel, preserved in the National Archives in Stockholm, consists of just over 900 letters from Appelboom. Many letters are enriched with printed material that Appelboom had gathered in the Dutch Republic, newspapers, pamphlets, catalogues and prints, to create some sort of clipboard with information on certain subjects.<sup>47</sup>

The collections at Skokloster were augmented by the successors of Wrangel in the following centuries. Arguably the most important addition came when Count Erik Brahe (1722-1756) inherited the collection of approximately ten thousand books that his uncle Count Carl Gustaf Bielke (1683-1753) had assembled at Salsta Slott.<sup>48</sup> Bielke had bought most of his books either on his travels in France or at auctions in Stockholm and Uppsala in the 1730s and 1740s. He may also have been in contact with several Dutch booksellers, possibly through an intermediary in Hamburg.<sup>49</sup> Bielke carefully wrote down the place and date of acquisition, as well as the price he paid for each book. Even though the collection is far too big to be completely included in my research, I took a random sample to get an impression of the library.<sup>50</sup> The sample suggests that the ratio of Dutch versus non-Dutch books in the Bielke collection is quite similar to that in the Wrangel collection.

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<sup>46</sup> A. Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1980), pp. 193-194.

<sup>47</sup> Stockholm, Riksarkivet SE/RA/720795: Skoklostersamlingen E 8127-9086.

<sup>48</sup> S.G. Lindberg, 'The Scandinavian book trade in the eighteenth century', in G. Barber and B. Fabian (eds.), *Buch und Buchhandel in Europa im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), pp. 234-237.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem, p. 235.

<sup>50</sup> Included are the Dutch books on shelves 75-84 and 100-114 of the Bielke library.

The third collection included in my research is that of Carl Fredrik Muhrbeck (1737-1796), preserved in the public library in Västerås. Muhrbeck obtained his academic degree of magister at the University of Greifswald in 1757, was appointed preacher to the admiralty in Karlskrona in 1775, and eventually became Doctor Theologiae in 1795. He was appointed bishop of the diocese of Visby in the same year but died in Västerås before he was formally installed.<sup>51</sup> His book collection was supposed to be auctioned in Lund in 1799, but the auction never took place. Instead, the entire collection was bequeathed to the Västerås grammar school and consequently ended up in the public library of the city, where it still is today. The auction catalogue contains 3218 entries, for the greatest part books on theology.<sup>52</sup>

Muhrbeck collected his books in the second half of the eighteenth century, yet a quick overview learns that most copies that are included in the collection were printed in the seventeenth century. Consequently, there are two complementary stories connected to his collection. First there is the story how these books travelled from the place of publication to the initial customers in northern Germany and southern Scandinavia. Subsequently there is the narrative how these books circulated for up to a century before they ended up in the collection of Muhrbeck. In addition to the Muhrbeck collection, which I catalogued in its entirety, I studied similar books in other diocesan libraries in Sweden to see if there was any overlap.

The next collection on my list is Leufsta library of the Swedish entomologist Baron Charles De Geer (1720-1778). De Geer was a descendant of industrialist and arms trader Louis De Geer, who is known as the ‘father of Swedish industry’. Charles grew up in the Dutch Republic in the family castle ‘Rijnhuizen’ close to the river Vecht in the province of Utrecht, where he learned to play the cello and harpsichord and was privately tutored by the likes of Pieter van Musschenbroek and Christian Heinrich Trotz.<sup>53</sup> When De Geer was considered old enough to lead the family’s ironworks in Sweden he was sent north and settled at an estate near Leufsta. This is where he built a scientific library that could rival any private collection in his time.

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<sup>51</sup> Carlander, *Svenska bibliotek och ex-libris*, vol. II, p. 675.

<sup>52</sup> *Bibliotheca Caroli Friderici Muhrbeck, olim s.s. theol. doctoris et episcopi dioeceseos Gothlandicae, publica auctione Londini Gothorum d. Maji, MDCCXCIX* (Greifswald: J.H. Eckhardt, 1799).

<sup>53</sup> T. Anfält, ‘Buying books by mail order: a Swedish customer and Dutch booksellers in the eighteenth century’, in Hellinga et al. (eds.), *The bookshop of the world*, pp. 265-266.

There is a lot of information available about the history of the collection. The account books that were kept by De Geer's father at Rijnhuizen have been preserved in the national archives in Stockholm.<sup>54</sup> Not only do these accounts give valuable insight in the types of books that De Geer collected in his early days, but even more so about the origin of the books. The Utrecht bookseller Broedelet appears to have supplied many of the books, the watchmaker Denijs Audebert constructed a pair of globes, and one musician named Visscher supplied music books. Once in Sweden, De Geer relied heavily on his Dutch network to further enlarge his scientific library. In the preserved booksales records of the Luchtmans firm in Leiden, which are now kept at the University of Amsterdam as part of the Brill archive, he appears as one of their best customers, ordering roughly 1500 books between 1746 and 1778.<sup>55</sup> De Geer also had subscriptions to more than a hundred periodicals and newspapers. Luchtmans supplied most of these titles and De Geer used them to keep track of forthcoming publications, which in its turn were ordered at Luchtmans again.

Leufsta library remained family property until the 1980s, when the collection was transferred to Uppsala university. The only available source of access to the collection is a privately printed catalogue that was printed in only fifty copies.<sup>56</sup> In my research I made a start with cataloguing the books at Leufsta and some ten percent of the entire collection is included in my investigation. Certainly enough to get an impression of the collection dynamics and answer the questions of my research, but not nearly enough to satisfy the curious mind of a Dutch book historian.

The Bergius collection at Stockholm University Library, finally, presents an interesting contrast to Leufsta. The collection was set up by medical doctor and botanist Peter Jonas Bergius (1730-1790) together with his brother, historian and banker Bengt Bergius (1723-1784). Both were respected members of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences (Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien). Peter Jonas had studied medicine and botany in Uppsala with Carl Linnaeus and Nils Rosén. In 1759 the brothers acquired an estate at the outskirts of Stockholm that became known as

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<sup>54</sup> Riksarkivet Stockholm, Leufstaarkivet 164.

<sup>55</sup> Anfält, 'Buying books by mail order', pp. 269-271. Luchtmans were the predecessors of the modern firm of E.J. Brill at Leiden. The archives are part of the library of the Koninklijke Vereniging van het Boekenvak (KVB) at the University of Amsterdam, Special Collections.

<sup>56</sup> E.G. Liljebjörn, *Katalog öfver Leufsta bruks gamla fideikommissbibliotek: nominalkatalog* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1907).



‘Bergielund’. Peter Jonas took care of the garden and herbarium, while Bengt set up the library. After the brothers’ death Bergielund, the herbarium and the book collection were bequeathed to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, on the condition that it would be further developed into a place of learning. Bergielund would evolve into the botanical gardens of Stockholm, or Bergianska Trädgården. The gardens were relocated in 1885 to a new location in the Frescati area, where they still are today under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences. The brothers’ will specified that no book could be given on loan, sold or in other ways removed from the collection.<sup>57</sup> This instruction was strictly obeyed for almost two centuries, resulting in a beautifully preserved, albeit somewhat inaccessible collection. The best way to explore it still is a manuscript catalogue that was compiled by Anders Johan Ståhl in the early nineteenth century.<sup>58</sup> The catalogue offers an extensive overview of the collection, but it is not complete. As usual, ephemeral printed material has been largely ignored.<sup>59</sup>

## STATISTICS

Three months of extensive field research in Swedish libraries led to an enormous amount of bibliographical data. All together I catalogued nearly three thousand copies of 2500 different editions in a dozen Swedish libraries (tab. 1). Five hundred of these editions were not yet recorded in the STCN. Further research confirms that most of these works are indeed not present in any Dutch library today, including the libraries that have not yet been visited by the bibliographers of the STCN.<sup>60</sup> This does not necessarily mean, however, that they are ‘unique’ in a literal way, that is, there is only one copy remaining worldwide. In fact, I came across editions that had not been seen

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<sup>57</sup> Carlander, *Svenska bibliotek och ex-libris*, vol. II, pp. 608-609.

<sup>58</sup> A.J. Ståhl, *Catalogus librorum Bibliotheca Bergianæ alphabeticus ordine digestus*, manuscript, c. 1830, Stockholm Universitetsbibliotek, Frescatibiblioteket, MAG MN Berg. bibl.

<sup>59</sup> See A. Holmberg, ‘Om Bergianska Biblioteket och dess uppkomst’, *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 32 (1945), p. 9.

<sup>60</sup> For example, Anon., *Der buyzen pronosticatie, ofte der teecken kegel* (Kampen: P Warnerssen, [c. 1550]). Copy: Norrköpings Stadsbibliotek, Finnspong Collection, 11698; M. Bandello, *Het vierde deel van de Tragische of claechlijcke historien* (Amsterdam: C.L. vander Plasse, 1612). Copy: Linköping Stadsbibliotek, 65718; S. Marolois, *Perspective contenant la theorie, et practiqve d'icelle* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonius, 1625). Copy: Skokloster Slotts Bibliotek I.4.10b:3; H. Ernst, *Phariseisches Babsthum* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonius, 1638). Copy: Västerås Stadsbibliotek, Teologi VIII Kyrkohistoria.

before in the Netherlands, but seem to be present in various collections around the Baltic.<sup>61</sup>

A number of tentative conclusions may be drawn from the generated statistics, principally concerning the distinct character of the Swedish (or Baltic) book market. Could it be that certain editions were specifically produced for the Swedish market and does that explain why some of these books are abundant in Sweden and non-existent in the Netherlands? And what can we learn from other statistics, for example the fact that I found nearly four times as many books published by the Amsterdam bookseller Johannes Janssonius than those produced by his eternal rival Willem Blaeu? And what conclusions may be drawn from the number of books in the Latin, German, Dutch or French language in specific collections? Or from the popularity of a small number of authors in a certain period?

Basically, not too much. The statistics generated from the STCN are generally useful to ask the right questions, but need careful interpretation. We should certainly not jump to conclusions on the basis of numbers alone. It is only in combination with material and contextual evidence that we can understand the dynamics of book production, dissemination and reception.

Library	Records	Copies	STCN Unique	STCN code
Linköping, Stifts och landsbibliotek	66	76	30	z-l
Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket	227	240	40	z-lu
Norrköping, Stadsbibliotek	22	22	18	z-n
Skokloster, Slottsbiblioteket	540	549	120	z-sk
Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket	65	82	57	z-skb
Stockholm, Universitetsbiblioteket	417	422	35	z-su
Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket	623	629	157	z-u
Västerås, Stadsbibliotek	657	773	115	z-v
Växjö, Stadsbibliotek	85	86	15	z-vs
Sweden, other libraries	36	40	32	z-
<b>Total</b>	<b>2535</b>	<b>2919</b>	<b>525</b>	<b>z?</b>

TABLE 1: TOTAL NUMBER OF STCN-RECORDS AND COPIES IN SWEDISH LIBRARIES ON 10-11-2016

<sup>61</sup> For example, the works of Eva Margareta Frölich, Swedish Bibles and *Nova et accurata astrolabii geometrici structura* by Bengt Hedraeus. An extensive discussion of these works follows below.

## 4. DUTCH CONNECTIONS

Long before printed books from the Dutch Republic were widely available on the Swedish market, economic relations between the lands around the Baltic Sea and the Netherlands flourished. Merchant ships from Holland and Friesland sailed to Poland, the Baltic States and Scandinavia for commodities as grain, timber, flax, wool, copper and iron. Already at the turn of the sixteenth century Dutch merchants executed the majority of all commercial passages through the Sound.<sup>62</sup> The Baltic trade was vital for the development of the prosperity of the Dutch Republic, therefore, it is often referred to as the ‘mother trade’.<sup>63</sup> Dutch merchants controlled the bulk trade and left the rich trades to others, mostly to the German cities of the Hanseatic League, such as Lübeck. Consequently, the Dutch played only a minor role in the more northern ports in the Baltic, including Stockholm, where the grain trade was less important.<sup>64</sup>

Books were undoubtedly luxury goods and despite the economic activities of merchants in the Baltic, it is not surprising that present-day Swedish collections hold relatively few Dutch books from the sixteenth century. In the diocesan library in Västerås there are just two Dutch books printed before 1585, and it is telling that these are a Low-German Bible from Halberstadt and a Dutch psalm book that was printed in Emden.<sup>65</sup> Books from Amsterdam, Leiden and other places that would play a leading role in the international book market of the seventeenth century, are completely absent. The contrast with the approximately two thousand sixteenth-century books from Basel, Strasbourg, and Paris in the same collection could not have been bigger.

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<sup>62</sup> J.I. Israel, *Dutch primacy in world trade* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 20.

<sup>63</sup> M. van Tielhof, *The ‘mother of all trades’: the Baltic grain trade in Amsterdam from the late 16th to the early 19th century* (Leiden: Brill, 2002). It has recently been suggested that the Baltic trade was more prosperous than that of the Dutch East India Company, cf. M. Lak, ‘De moedernegotie: handel met Oostzeegebied bracht meer rijkdom dan de VOC’, *Historisch nieuwsblad*, 16:6 (2007), pp. 26-29.

<sup>64</sup> Israel, *Dutch primacy in world trade*, p. 50.

<sup>65</sup> Z-V Teologi XV Biblar fol: *Biblia dudiesch* (Halberstad: [Stuchs], 8 July 1522). Z-V Teologi XV Biblar: *De psalmen Davids, ende ander lofsanghen* ([Emden: Gaillart], 1569).

The situation is alike in most other Swedish libraries. Norrköping, Skokloster and Linköping all hold no more than a handful of Dutch books from the sixteenth century.<sup>66</sup> The examples that we do come across are easily connected to practical use, such as Bibles, songbooks, almanacs, navigation guides and codes concerning the laws of the sea. Some of these were even locally produced and occasionally there is an obvious connection with the Dutch book trade. Illustrative is an early edition of the Visby maritime laws in a Low-German dialect, printed by Govaert van Ghemen in Copenhagen in 1505.<sup>67</sup> Van Ghemen was a printer from the Netherlands who had worked in Copenhagen from 1493 to 1495. When he returned to the city in 1505, he printed a text that was relevant to all those hundreds of Dutch ships that sailed through the Sound every year. It is a publication that makes sense commercially. No copies survive in Dutch libraries, but two are found in Uppsala, one in Stockholm and some more in Copenhagen, Kiel and Berlin. Since the book was printed outside the Netherlands and arguably intended for use in the Baltic area, the current geographical distribution is comprehensible.

Trade routes were firmly established, but the book production of the northern Netherlandish provinces was by all means modest in the sixteenth century. The STCN accounts for approximately 3.000 books up until 1585 and some 3.000 more for the remainder of the century. Even though these statistics should be interpreted with care, the difference with the nearly 70.000 books that are accounted for in the seventeenth century is telling. Things had changed rapidly towards the end of the sixteenth century. There was a huge influx of people, knowledge and capital in the northern provinces after the fall of Antwerp in 1585. Noteworthy individuals who moved north were printers such as Lodewijk Elsevier, founder of the eminent family of printers and booksellers in Leiden, The Hague and Amsterdam, and Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597), son-in-law of Christopher Plantin and from 1586 in charge of the branch of the Plantin press in Leiden.

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<sup>66</sup> It is extremely rare to find material evidence of some sort of Dutch-Swedish book trade in the sixteenth century. Some isolated examples based on archival sources are given by Wolfgang Undorf, see his *From Gutenberg to Luther*, particularly pp. 85, 136–137 and 281–284. It must be said that Swedish libraries hold numerous Dutch incunabula and post-incunabula. However, many of these books can either be identified as Swedish war booty from the seventeenth century or as later acquisitions.

<sup>67</sup> Uppsala UB: Danica vet. 90 (2): *Her beghynt dat hogheste water recht* (Copenhagen: Gotfried van Ghemen, 1505).

Another notable immigrant that exchanged the Southern Netherlands for the Dutch Republic was industrialist and arms trader Louis de Geer (1587–1652).<sup>68</sup> He would soon play a leading role in Dutch-Swedish relations. De Geer made a fortune in the Thirty Years' War with the cannons that he produced for the various armies. Sweden rapidly became dependent on the deliveries and the investments of De Geer. Following a delivery to the Swedish King Gustav Adolf in 1618 De Geer was allowed to lease estates near Finspång, where he set up an iron industry with improved blast furnaces and trip hammers. Subsequently he received a monopoly on the trade of copper and iron. De Geer eventually moved to Sweden, was ennobled and was involved in the establishment of the Swedish West India Company.<sup>69</sup>

The case of Louis de Geer demonstrates that changes in the social sphere in Sweden had an impact on the demand for Dutch capital, knowledge and eventually luxuries. Sweden was not a backward region at the edge of Europe, but a country on the verge of its 'age of greatness', a force to be reckoned with and a society eager to bring in investors, craftsmen and intellectuals. De Geer and other industrialists of Walloon descent, such as Willem de Besche (1573-1647) were raised to the peerage.<sup>70</sup> The shipyard in Stockholm was led by Dutch shipbuilder Henrik Hybertson from 1611 to 1627,<sup>71</sup> while Dutch classicism heavily influenced the construction of residences in the city by the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>72</sup> Dutch engineers were brought in to build the city of Gothenburg on the swamps along the western coast in 1621. They copied the blue-print of the street plan of Batavia and constructed a city that even today has a Dutch feeling. Gothenburg was long inhabited by Dutch merchants and governed by Dutch lawyers and burgomasters. Three decades after the founding of the city, Gothenburg was widely regarded as a Dutch commercial outpost.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Louis de Geer was born in Liège and moved north with his parents in 1595, following their conversion to Protestantism.

<sup>69</sup> See L. Panhuysen, 'Dertigjarige Oorlog was een zegen voor zijn portemonnee: wapenhandelaar Louis de Geer (1587-1650)', *Historisch nieuwsblad*, 16:6 (2007), pp. 30-35; J.T. Lindblad, 'Louis de Geer (1587-1652): Dutch entrepreneur and the father of Swedish industry', in C. Lesger and L. Noordegraaf (eds.), *Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in early modern times: merchants and industrialists within the orbit of the Dutch staple market* (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995), pp. 77-84.

<sup>70</sup> B. Eriksson, *Svenska adelns historia* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 2011), pp. 216-217.

<sup>71</sup> C.O. Cederlund, *Folket som byggde Wasa: en bok om Stockholms skeppsgård* (Stockholm: Liber, 1978).

<sup>72</sup> B. Noldus, 'De introductie van het Hollands classicisme in Zweden, aan de hand van twee woonhuizen van de familie De Geer', *Bulletin KNOB*, 98:4 (1999), pp. 152-164.

<sup>73</sup> A. Bäckström, *Studier i Göteborgs byggnadshistoria före 1814: ett bidrag till svensk stadsbyggnadshistoria* (Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 1923), pp. 13-14.

These examples are of course well-known and have above all a highly anecdotal value. However, if Swedish society was eager to import Dutch knowledge and luxuries, there can be little doubt that we find traces of this practice in the various Swedish book collections that were assembled by the nobility in the first half of the seventeenth century. Naturally, most of these collections have long been dispersed. Fragments now make up the oldest part of the collections in the National Library in Stockholm and some of the larger university libraries.<sup>74</sup> However, all over Sweden we find seventeenth and eighteenth-century book collections in castle libraries.<sup>75</sup> Most of them are not publicly accessible, but arguably the best preserved collection of the seventeenth century, the library of Carl Gustaf Wrangel at Skokloster castle, is available for research. It is predominantly in these aristocratic collections, combined with the fragments in the National Library and the university libraries, that we find evidence of the Dutch-Swedish book trade and the socio-political relations connected to it in the seventeenth century.

#### AGENTS, POLITICS AND INFORMATION

The National Library of Sweden holds the oldest surviving Dutch newspaper, a copy of *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*, issued on 14 June, 1618 in Amsterdam.<sup>76</sup> It is part of a large collection of seventeenth-century Dutch newspapers that was rediscovered in a pile of archival records in the 1930s by Folke Dahl. The discovery was celebrated in the Dutch press and it generated enthusiasm among historians.<sup>77</sup> A facsimile edition that comprised the oldest issues was made at the request of the National Library of the Netherlands.<sup>78</sup> The question connected to the discovery is how these Dutch newspapers ended up in the National Library of Sweden. Marginal annotations suggest that the collection was at some point transferred from the National Archives in

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<sup>74</sup> S.G. Lindberg, 'Boksamlarna gjorde biblioteket: några 1600- och 1700-talssamlingar som bildar huvuddelen av Kungl. bibliotekets äldre litteratur', *Biblis*, (1976), pp. 54-131.

<sup>75</sup> For a selection of 25 of these libraries, see Wästberg, *Resa i tysta rum*.

<sup>76</sup> Stockholm, KB, Tidning Nederländerna Fol RAR. *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.*

<sup>77</sup> See for example The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB C 98. 'Tijdinghe uyt Hollandt: waardevolle vondst te Stockholm: gave kranten uit onze Gouden Eeuw', *De Telegraaf*, 15-11-1938.

<sup>78</sup> F. Dahl, *Dutch corantos 1618-1650: a bibliography: illustrated with 334 facsimile reproductions of corantos printed 1618-1625, and an introductory essay on 17th century stop press news* (Göteborg: Göteborgs stadsbibliotek, 1946).

Stockholm, where they were part of the vast correspondence of Swedish agents and ambassadors in the Dutch Republic.<sup>79</sup>

Sweden and the Dutch Republic opened mutual embassies in 1614, at a time when both nations were on the verge of their respective Golden Ages. Sweden would arise from the Thirty Years' War as the dominant power in the Baltic and was eager to import expertise, information and luxuries from the Dutch Republic. Trade relations between both countries had existed for centuries, yet the establishment of persistent political relations triggered exchanges in a much wider cultural and social field. Swedish ambassadors and residents in Swedish service such as Michel le Blon (1587-1656) and Harald Appelboom (1612-1674) gathered information in the Dutch Republic and sent newspapers, pamphlets, price lists, state publications, maps and catalogues, to Sweden.<sup>80</sup> Not only did these agents operate as Swedish diplomats and intelligence officers, they also had a valuable knowledge of the market of luxury goods.<sup>81</sup> Notable Swedish statesmen as Axel Oxenstierna (1583-1654), Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (1622-1686) and Carl Gustaf Wrangel (1613-1676) made ample use of this knowledge to bring luxuries such as paintings, tapestries and books into Sweden. In the case of Wrangel, we can tell from his correspondence that he actively studied booksellers' advertisements in Dutch newspapers to learn about their latest publications.<sup>82</sup>

The collections of Wrangel have been partially preserved at Skokloster castle, a stately baroque castle that he built on the bank of Lake Mälaren, roughly halfway between Uppsala and Stockholm. Skokloster is known for its rich collections, which were assembled by Carl Gustaf Wrangel and augmented over the centuries by his successors. The castle is packed with approximately 50.000 objects from all over the world. There are books and maps, but also paintings, tapestries, furniture, statues, silverware, instruments and weapons. Wrangel started collecting luxuries in an attempt to confirm and express his own power and status and reflect the great

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<sup>79</sup> F. Dahl, 'Nya bidrag till Hollands och Frankrikes äldsta tidningshistoria', *Lynchos*, 3 (1938), p. 58. See also Römelingh, *Een rondgang langs Zweedse archieven*, pp. 33-35.

<sup>80</sup> A. Losman, *Carl Gustav Wrangel och Europa*, pp. 193-197.

<sup>81</sup> M. Keblusek, 'Book agents: intermediaries in the early modern world of books', in H. Cools et al. (eds.), *Your humble servant: agents in early modern Europe* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006), pp. 99-107; eadem, 'The business of news: Michel le Blon and the transmission of political information to Sweden in the 1630s', *Scandinavian journal of history*, 28 (2003), pp. 205-214.

<sup>82</sup> Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, p. 209.

aristocratic collections elsewhere in Europe.<sup>83</sup> The castle and the collections form a coherent story and the material context is indispensable in understanding them. Numerous objects in the castle can be directly linked to the correspondence of Wrangel with his agents that resided throughout Europe. One famous example concerns twelve paintings that Harald Appelboom acquired for Wrangel in 1651, including a winter landscape by Jan Steen.<sup>84</sup>

Wrangel's most important book agent in Amsterdam was Swedish merchant Peter Trotzig (1613-1679). Interestingly, Losman mentions that he served not only Wrangel, but also other members of the Swedish nobility, such as Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, Clas Tott and the Rosenhane family.<sup>85</sup> This demonstrates that the Dutch connections that we find in the collections of Skokloster may well be illustrative for other aristocratic book collections from the same era. Losman gives numerous examples, not only of books, but also of scientific instruments, building materials, furniture, weapons, tea and tobacco that Wrangel acquired with the aid of Trotzig.

Among the books that are listed by Losman the titles that reflect the Dutch presence in Asia stand out, for example Martino Martini's *Novvs atlas Sinensis*, published by Blaeu in 1655 and François Caron's *Rechte beschryvinge van het machtigh koninghrijck van Iappan* in the edition of 1661 published by the The Hague bookseller Johannes Tongerloo.<sup>86</sup> In the case of Caron's work, which was published numerous times in various languages all over Europe, we know the exact edition that Wrangel ordered, because he stated in a letter to Trotzig: 'as I have seen in the Haarlemsche Courant that was sent to me, a tract in quarto entitled *rechte beschrijvinge van het machtich Coningrijk van Japan* was issued by Joh: Tongerloo.'<sup>87</sup> Wrangel was certainly interested in travel accounts and maps in Asia, but he did not restrict himself to this genre. In fact, he appears to have ordered all kinds of books, ranging from the

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<sup>83</sup> Ibidem, pp. 45-55.

<sup>84</sup> Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, p. 195. For the painting, see Skokloster Slott, inv. nr. 10032. Compare: RKD-Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis, 'Jan Steen, Winterlandschap met ijsvermaak', <<http://rkd.nl/explore/images/27692>> (10-11-2016).

<sup>85</sup> Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, p. 197.

<sup>86</sup> F. Caron, *Rechte beschryvinge van het machtigh koninghrijck van Iappan* (The Hague: J. Tongerloo, [1661]); M. Martini, *Novvs atlas Sinensis* ([Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1655]).

<sup>87</sup> Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Skoklostersamlingen, E8277; 'såsom iagh aff dem migh communicerade Harlemske Couranterne seer, blir hos Joh: Tongerloo... oplagdh en tractat in 4to intitulerat rechte beschrijvinge van het machtich Coningrijk van Japan'. Quoted after Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, p. 201.



*Hollantse Mercurius* to the collected works of Jacob Cats ‘in folio, on the best paper in a French binding’.<sup>88</sup> On his own account, Trotzig sent political works to Wrangel, such as Pieter de la Court’s *Consideratien van staat ofte Polityke weeg-schaal* (Amsterdam: J.V. Zinbreker [= pseudonym], 1661). Clearly, the books that Wrangel ordered were mainly luxurious and expensive works in folio, whereas the books that Trotzig sent at his own initiative were informative, period documents that concerned current affairs.

Losman identified fifty volumes that Wrangel ordered in Amsterdam for the period from 1661 to 1666 alone. In 26 cases it can be derived from the correspondence that he used booksellers’ advertisements in Dutch newspapers to ask for these specific editions.<sup>89</sup> The correspondence between Wrangel and Trotzig provides us with a lot of insight about book trade practices, binding, shipping and collecting between the Dutch Republic and Sweden. Several works mentioned in the correspondence can still be found in Skokloster today, exactly with the bindings as described by Trotzig.<sup>90</sup>

Nevertheless, the majority of the books in the collection that are found in Skokloster today are not accounted for in the correspondence. It is striking that the Dutch publishers that appear most often in the collection – Abraham (I) and Bonaventura Elzevier and Johannes Janssonius – are not mentioned in the correspondence with Trotzig at all.<sup>91</sup> If these books were not acquired by Wrangel through the mediation of his Amsterdam connections, the question is, how did they end up in the Skokloster collections?

Wrangel resided only a couple of months each year at Skokloster, spending the rest of the time with his entourage in one of his other castles and mansions. A regular stop along the route was Bremervörde castle in northern Germany. Wrangel had good contacts in the nearby city of Hamburg and acquired many of his luxuries through mediation of agents and merchants in that city.<sup>92</sup> For example, in order to obtain his copy of Blaeu’s *Atlas maior* in 1675, Wrangel relied on the help of Hamburg-based Dutch merchant Jobst van Overbeck. He managed to order a French edition of the atlas in Amsterdam, specifically stating to Wrangel that the German edition was no

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<sup>88</sup> Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, pp. 200–202; J. Cats, *Alle de wercken* (Amsterdam: J.J. Schipper, 1658).

<sup>89</sup> Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, p. 209.

<sup>90</sup> For example the works of Jacob Cats mentioned in note 88. Copy: Skokloster Slotts Bibliotek: II.50.21.

<sup>91</sup> See appendix, table 3.

<sup>92</sup> Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, p. 164.

longer available. It may seem strange that Wrangel needed a Dutch agent in Hamburg to acquire a famous atlas from Amsterdam, but the example does not stand alone. From 1667 onwards, Wrangel's main bookdealer in Hamburg was Samuel König.<sup>93</sup> This is exactly the time when his agent in Amsterdam, Peter Trotzig, moved back to Stockholm.

König was a long-time commissioner of the Elzeviers in Hamburg and could easily provide his customers with the latest publications from the Dutch Republic.<sup>94</sup> Among the books listed in the correspondence between Wrangel and König are numerous French language books, ranging from Gabriel Naudé's *Considerations politiques sur les coups d'estat* to the theatrical dramas of Scarron, Corneille and Quinault. Interestingly, none of these publications carries the name of Elzevier in the imprint. In its place, we find phrases as 'suivant la copie imprimée a Paris'. Though most of these editions have been listed by Willems and identified as printed by the Elzeviers,<sup>95</sup> it is worth noting that some of these publications in the Wrangel collection are not found anywhere in the Netherlands. The evidence is too faint to jump to conclusions, but it does raise the question if certain editions in the Dutch Republic might have been specifically produced for a non-Dutch market.<sup>96</sup>

The examples that Losman provides in his studies are predominantly books that had recently been published. Wrangel studied the advertisements in newspapers and his agents in Amsterdam or Hamburg bought the books that he ordered. There are, however, numerous examples of copies that bear traces of former owners. The most interesting ones are a number of navigation guides, such as *De schat-kamer, des grooten see-vaerts-kunst*.<sup>97</sup> Facing the title-page of the copy in Wrangel's collection, a

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<sup>93</sup> Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, 189.

<sup>94</sup> B. Bennich-Björkman, 'De Leidse en Amsterdamse Elzeviers in Skandinavië 1630-1680', in B. Dongelmans et al. (eds.), *Boekverkopers van Europa: het 17<sup>e</sup>-eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000), p. 155.

<sup>95</sup> A. Willems, *Les Elzevier: histoire et annales typographiques* (Bruxelles: Van Trigt, 1880), passim.

<sup>96</sup> For example P. Scarron, *Le lodelet ou le Me valet comedie*. Suivant la copie imprimée a Paris ([Leiden: J. Elzevier], 1656). The copy of Wrangel at Skokloster I.68.553 is one of the very few worldwide; the only other known copy is in Trinity College Library in Dublin (OLS B-6-725 no.3). Another example: T. Corneille, *Le geolier de soy-mesme, comedie*. Suivant la copie imprimée a Paris ([no place: no publisher], 1657). Besides the copy in Wrangel's collection I.68.554, the copy in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel is the only known copy in a European library. More examples are available from books by Janssonius, I will elaborate on this in the chapter 'Dutch booksellers in Sweden'.

<sup>97</sup> Skokloster Slotts Bibliotek, I.20.78: C.J. Lastman, *De schat-kamer, des grooten see-vaerts-kunst* (Amsterdam: C.J. Lastman, [colophon:] printed by F. Pels, 1629).

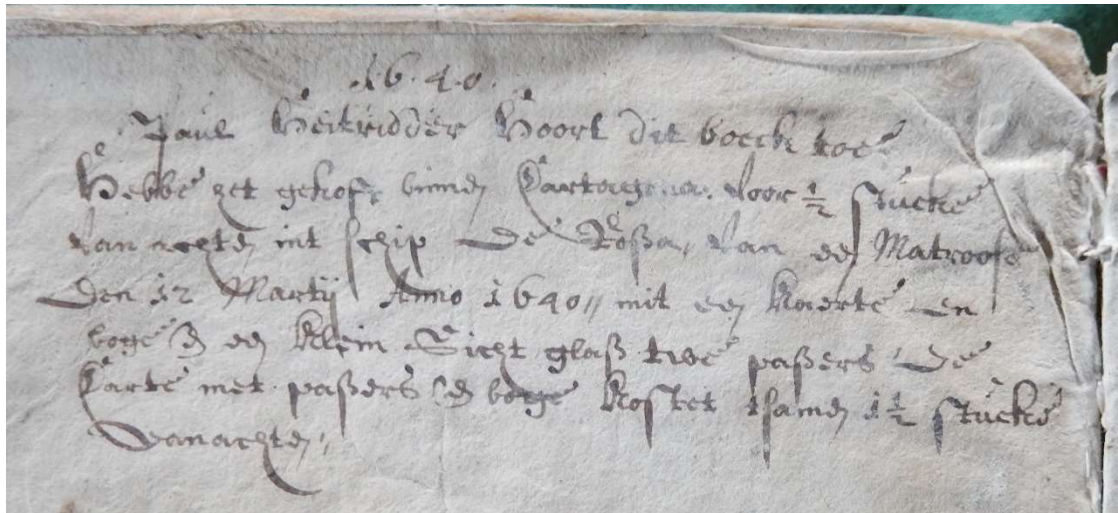


FIGURE 2: MANUSCRIPT ANNOTATION BY PAUL HEITRIDDER(?) IN C.J. LASTMAN, *DE SCHAT-KAMER, DES GROOTEN SEE-VAERTS-KUNST* (AMSTERDAM: C.J. LASTMAN, 1629). SKOKLOSTER SLOTT'S BIBLIOTEK, I.20.78.

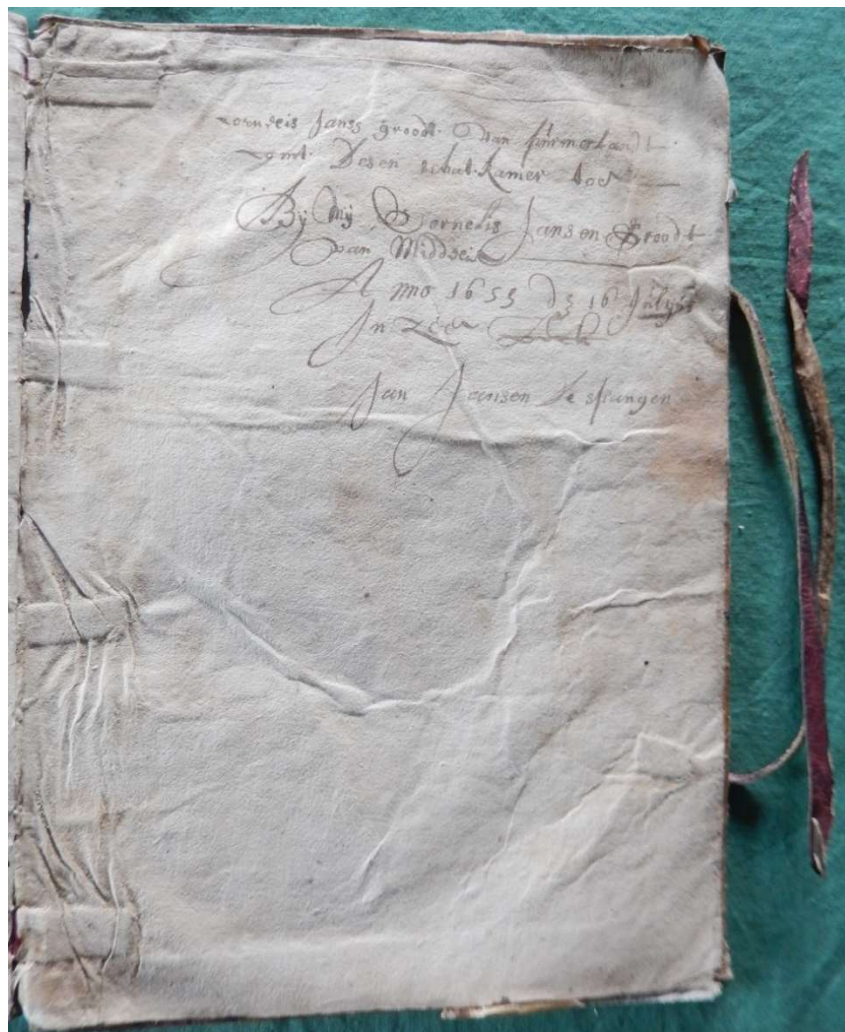


FIGURE 3: MANUSCRIPT PROVENANCES IN THE SAME BOOK BY CORNELIS JANSZ GROODT VAN PURMERLANDT (HE CAME FROM MIDDELIE) AND JAN JANSEN TE SPANGEN[?].

certain Paul Heitridder wrote that he had bought the book in 1640 from a sailor [fig. 2]. At the back of the book, it reads ‘Cornelis Jansz Groot van Purmerlant comt desen schatkamer toe. Bij mij Cornelis Jansen Groodt van Middelie. Anno 1655 den 16 Julij. In Zee Boeck Jan Jansen te [?] Spangen’ [fig. 3].<sup>98</sup> As for now, none of these people has been identified, but it does show that the book was in the possession of a number of Dutch owners before it belonged to Wrangel.<sup>99</sup>

There is no written evidence on how Wrangel acquired this navigation guide and similar books with manuscript annotations. In the catalogue of Skokloster the copy has been classified as ‘probable war booty’. This is a plausible explanation, considering that hundreds of books from Wrangel’s collection were indeed the result of plundering on his campaigns throughout the Baltic.<sup>100</sup> The problem is that this navigation guide cannot be linked to any particular collection that Wrangel seized in Germany, Denmark or Poland. He might have acquired it sometime during the Battle of the Sound in 1658, when he commanded the Swedish fleet against the Dutch.

When we reflect on the Wrangel collection in its entirety, we can conclude that he acquired the majority of his Dutch books through the book trade rather than through war plunder. The genres that he favoured range from construction, fortification and military science to geography and French drama. In his library we find most of the Elzevier republics, as well as a number of rare navigation guides and sea atlases. Notably absent are books on theology, apart from the occasional Bible. Wrangel was a statesman and military commander and this is reflected in the books that he collected. Occasionally, copies in his collection have a significant personal dimension, for example Nicolaas Witsen’s *Aeloude en hedendaegsche scheeps-bouw en bestier*.<sup>101</sup> Wrangel had asked his agent Gerhard de Geer over and over again to send him a copy. When the book finally arrived in May 1672, Wrangel was heavily disappointed with Witsen’s account of the Battle of the Sound on 8 November 1658. Wrangel had led the Swedish fleet that day and had a very different view on the course

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<sup>98</sup> Cornelis Jansz Groot van Purmerlant owns this treasure room. [Inscribed] by me Cornelis Jansen Groodt van Middelie. In the year 1655, 16 July. In Zee Boeck Jan Jansen te Spangen.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. a second navigation guide with the provenance of Cornelis Jansen Groodt van Purmerlandt: Theunisz Jacobsz [Lootsman], *’t Nieuwe en vergroote zee-boeck, dat is des pilots ofte loots-mans zee-spiegel* (Amsterdam: T. Jacobsz, 1650), Skokloster Slotts Bibliotek: I.11.152.

<sup>100</sup> Molin, *Krigsbyttets biografi*, pp. 53-56.

<sup>101</sup> N. Witsen, *Aeloude en hedendaegsche scheeps-bouw en bestier* (Amsterdam: Caspar Commelijn, 1671). There is another edition with the imprint: Amsterdam: C. Cunradus, 1671.

of events. Witsen acknowledged Wrangel's objections, sent him his apologies and cancelled the folium with the description of the battle in all unsold copies.<sup>102</sup>

Finally, we can say something more specific about the languages of the books in the library. According to Losman, Wrangel tried to avoid Latin as much as possible. He preferred books in German, but settled for Dutch if there was no German edition available.<sup>103</sup> From the 1650s onwards he conformed to a contemporary fashion to read Latin authors in French, Losman gives the example of Wrangel's search for the works of Justus Lipsius in French.<sup>104</sup> The preferences of Wrangel as described by Losman, however, do not comply with works that we find in his library. The books on the shelves that are printed in the Netherlands are mainly written in Dutch (75), Latin (67) and French (39).<sup>105</sup> Only fourteen of Wrangel's books published in the Dutch Republic are in the German language. It is significant that twelve of these fourteen German books are beautiful works in folio with engraved plates, for example Emmanuel van Meteren's *Niederländische Historien* ([Arnhem, J. Jansz], 1612), the *Novus atlas* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonius, 1647) of Johannes Janssonius and Andreas Cellarius' *Architectvra militaris* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonius, 1645). The plates for these works were the same as those used for earlier French or Latin editions. In several copies we can clearly identify an engraved title-page of the original French or Latin edition with a slip-cancel containing a typographical title in German pasted on.<sup>106</sup>

Wrangel did not restrict his acquisitions to a specific genre, and even though he preferred books in German or French, he settled for books in other languages if no others were available. Most important for Wrangel seems to have been that he received the latest publications that would keep him informed on current affairs. Over and over again he pleaded with his agents to send his books 'on the first possible ship'.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, p. 211. Losman says that from the eleven copies that he examined, seven had the folium cancelled.

<sup>103</sup> Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, pp. 182-183.

<sup>104</sup> Ibidem, pp. 191-192.

<sup>105</sup> The same picture appears when we use the (somewhat less reliable) data from *Libris* for all books from the library: Latin (863), German (507), French (155), Dutch (74). The number of works in Latin are arguably overrepresented because of the several hundreds of academic dissertations that he received after he was installed as chancellor of the University of Greifswald in 1660.

<sup>106</sup> For example: D. Uffanus, *Archeley, das ist, Gründlicher vnd eygentlicher Bericht, von Geschütz vnd aller Zugehör* (Amsterdam, J. Janssonius, 1659), Skokloster Slotts Bibliotek, I.19.52. See also the volumes of Janssonius's *Novus Atlas*, Skokloster Slotts Bibliotek I.35.34-37.

<sup>107</sup> Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, pp. 182-212.

Additionally, he had a predilection for the oversized, beautiful books that would show his status as a European potentate: the atlases, astronomical works, books on architecture and fortification, all in folio with engraved plates. These kinds of books were not locally produced, the technique and craftsmanship were simply not available in Sweden at the time. This technique was widespread in the Dutch Republic, however, and Dutch printers and booksellers started to recognize Scandinavia as a promising market. Arguably, not directly as a market of its own, but as part of the German hinterland.<sup>108</sup>

#### DUTCH BOOKSELLERS IN SWEDEN 1622-1680

For a long time, printing and publishing was a difficult enterprise in Sweden, hindered by technical and logistical problems.<sup>109</sup> Until the early seventeenth century there were only a handful of printers in Sweden, active only in Stockholm and Uppsala and, when compared to the centres of printing elsewhere in Europe, with a modest output. Printing offices were rarely continuous, professional knowledge was scarce and types and matrices were not locally produced. All of this contributed to the image of Scandinavia as a peripheral and backward area with regard to print culture. There is, however, as Wolfgang Undorf has argued, a difference between the history of printing and the history of books in Scandinavia.<sup>110</sup> A transnational study of books in Swedish collections, regardless of the place where they were produced, portrays a book culture that is anything but peripheral. Already before the Reformation, there was a well-developed Swedish and Danish book market, with dioceses, monasteries, cathedral

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<sup>108</sup> To what extent Dutch booksellers differentiated between a Swedish and a Baltic book market is not entirely clear. It is apparent that in the course of the seventeenth century hardly any books in Scandinavian languages were printed in the Dutch Republic. Since German was the *lingua franca* in the Baltic it is unlikely that a bookseller would target one specific place to sell German language editions. Moreover, the examples above indicate that books from the Dutch Republic were often first shipped to cities as Hamburg and Copenhagen, before they were further dispersed in the Baltic. Additional research on the transit trade of books in the Baltic is necessary, but a quick scan and comparison of Dutch, German and Swedish library holdings in the STCN, vdi7 and Libris respectively, suggests that several editions that are found in Sweden and Germany, are not around in the Netherlands. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to clarify whether that difference should be explained in terms of the book market in the seventeenth century, the survival of books in institutions, or coincidence.

<sup>109</sup> See: G.E. Klemming, J.E. Nordin, *Svensk boktryckeri-historia 1483-1883* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1883); H. Lagerström, 'Några af Sveriges första stilgjutare', *Nordisk boktryckarekonst*, 7 (1906), pp. 89-93.

<sup>110</sup> Undorf, *From Gutenberg to Luther*, p. 5.

schools and private persons that all required books. Naturally booksellers from across the Continent were eager to supply the books that could not be produced locally.

The Dutch played only a marginal role in the Baltic book trade during the sixteenth century, but this would rapidly change from the 1620s onwards. Relations between the Dutch Republic and Sweden deepened on various levels when both nations rose to their respective golden ages. On the Swedish side there was an increasing demand for information, science, literature and luxuries, not only by the aristocracy as we have seen above, but also by universities and local bookdealers, as will be shown below. In that respect it is understandable that Dutch booksellers tried to get a foothold in Scandinavia. In this section I will analyse how the Dutch books that are found in the various Swedish collections fit in with existing information concerning the Dutch-Swedish book trade.

One of the most illustrative examples of a Dutch bookseller who recognized the possibilities of new markets at an early stage is Jacob Marcus.<sup>111</sup> He was active as a bookseller in Leiden from 1607, was a regular visitor at the Frankfurt book fairs from 1613 to 1650, and had his own printing press from 1620 onwards. In the course of the 1620s he started to publish popular books in the German language, and a couple of years later steady sellers as Bibles and psalm books.<sup>112</sup> He published a German Lutheran Bible in 1631, with a second edition in 1632 and revised editions in 1636 and 1646. The success of his German Bibles and perhaps the presence of Scandinavian students in Leiden who frequented his bookshop, may have inspired him to explore the Swedish market. Marcus published a small quarto edition of a Swedish Lutheran Bible in 1633, a second edition in octavo in 1635, and a third edition in 1636, which was in fact a reissue of the second edition. The fourth edition never reached Sweden, as it was lost at sea.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> For an extensive discussion, see P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Leiden-German book-trade relations in the seventeenth century: the case of Jacob Marcus', in S. Rosenberg, S. Simon (eds), *Material moments in book cultures: Essays in honour of Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014), pp. 163-176.

<sup>112</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Leiden-German book-trade relations in the seventeenth century', pp. 169-170. Several of the editions in the German language mentioned by Hoftijzer are not present in Dutch libraries, but the STCN and VD17 both mention copies of the 1629 edition of *Zwolff Geistliche Andachten* and the 1640 edition of *Acerra philologica* in Wolfenbüttel.

<sup>113</sup> This story is mentioned in the foreword of the Bible of 1703. *Biblia, thet är all then heliga skrift på swensko* (Stockholm: Keyser, 1703). Compare: Hoftijzer, 'Leiden-German book-trade relations in the seventeenth century', p. 173.

On the title-page, Marcus stated that he had published the Bible at his own expenses ('på eghen bekostnat'), which has a strong connotation that he published it at his own initiative. It must have been a complex project in terms of text, type and proofreading. We can only assume that someone, possibly a Scandinavian student in Leiden, provided Marcus with a copy of the Gustav II Adolf Bible of 1618 and helped him with the corrections. This was a revision of the Gustav Vasa Bible and had some distinct and challenging typographical features, such as the use of å instead of aa.<sup>114</sup> Even though a ring diacritic could be applied in a style similar to the umlauted æ, ø and ū in German, we find very few examples of this practice in books printed in the Dutch Republic.

A setback for Marcus was that King Gustav II Adolf, who had apparently allowed him to import the book into Sweden, died in battle a year before the Bible was published. Marcus quickly added an engraved title-page with a battle scene, two mottos referring to the ongoing war in the German states and a central figure that clearly represents Gustav II Adolf, to honour the deceased king. Moreover, Marcus added a dedication to Gustav's only daughter Christina in the 1633 edition, followed by dedications in Swedish to both Christiana and her custodian Axel Oxenstierna in the edition of 1635. The engraved title-page with battle-scenes might well be the reason why this Bible is known in Sweden as the field Bible (*fältbibeln*), although the story that the size made it convenient to bring the Bible along on travels and in battle is persistent.<sup>115</sup> All copies in Swedish libraries have traces of intensive use, but there is no evidence that the Bible was actually used by soldiers on campaign in the Thirty-Years-War, as is sometimes suggested.<sup>116</sup>

Marcus is – as Hoftijzer states – 'one of the pioneers of the German-Dutch book trade in the seventeenth century.'<sup>117</sup> The publication of three or possibly four editions within the space of five years indicates that the Bible was a commercial success.

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<sup>114</sup> 'Å', in *Nordisk familjebok*, vol. 33 (Stockholm: Nordisk familjeboks förlag, 1922), pp. 905-907. Cf. G. Pettersson, *Svenska språket under sjuhundra år: en historia om svenskan och dess utforskande* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1996).

<sup>115</sup> See the foreword of the Swedish Bible of 1703. *Biblia, thet är all then heliga skrift på swensko* (Stockholm: Keyser, 1703). Compare I. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet*, 2 parts (Stockholm: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1942-1946), p. 67; E. Hellman, *Den svenska bibeln genom tiderna* (Stockholm: Sällskap Bokvännerna, 1968).

<sup>116</sup> Most copies lack either the title-page or (part of) the prelims. Usually the prelims were added last, probably the death of Gustav II Adolf encouraged Marcus to replace the original prelims.

<sup>117</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Leiden-German book-trade relations in the seventeenth century', p. 175.



Additionally, he was granted the privilege to import ‘other useful books’ into Sweden. It seems as if he made ample use of the privilege, with deliveries to the University of Uppsala and a probable visit to the St. Mikael’s book fair in Stockholm in 1636.<sup>118</sup> Interestingly, one year later Marcus published *De ordinanda republica* by the German jurist Johannes Loccenius (1598-1677). Loccenius was not only ‘professor skytteanus’ at Uppsala University, he also held the position of librarian at the university. There is a reasonable chance that Marcus and Loccenius had met before, as Loccenius received his doctorate in law in Leiden in 1625. Against the background of his commercial interests in Sweden, Marcus had every reason to please the acting librarian. Marcus’ 1637 edition of *De ordinanda republica* is not found in Dutch libraries. Seven copies have been recorded in Sweden, while the work appears frequently in German libraries.<sup>119</sup>

Jacob Marcus was one of the pioneers in Scandinavia, but he was not the only bookseller from the Dutch Republic who tried his luck in Sweden. Already from the 1620s onwards we see an increasing number of Dutch booksellers employing activities in the North, with a focus on Copenhagen. The Leiden Elzeviers came to Denmark as early as 1622 and travelled to Scandinavia on a regular basis in the next decades.<sup>120</sup> They supplied some of the major booksellers in Copenhagen and, at least for some time, had a bookshop of their own in the city. A stocklist from 1642 is often quoted as providing a valuable insight in the books they had for sale Denmark.<sup>121</sup> Though interesting enough, it is striking how modest the stock was in comparison to the thousands of titles as offered by their Amsterdam colleague Johannes Janssonius in his respective Copenhagen catalogues.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Ibidem, p. 173.

<sup>119</sup> I. Loccenius, *De ordinanda republica, dissertationum libri quatuor* (Leiden: J. Marcus, 1637). STCN lists copies in Skokloster, Uppsala UB, Lund UB and the National Library in Stockholm. *Libris* mentions additional copies in Roggebiblioteket, Linköping SB and Göteborg UB. The copy in Skokloster has been identified as war booty from Denmark. The copy at Uppsala UB was owned by Olof Arvidsson Thegner (1615-1689), a student at Uppsala.

<sup>120</sup> Bennich-Björkman, ‘De Leidse en Amsterdamse Elzeviers in Skandinavië 1630-1680’, pp. 145-163.

<sup>121</sup> *Catalogvs omnium librorum, quihoc tempore in officina Elseviriana prostant*, (Copenhagen: [no publisher], 1642), Copenhagen, KB: 50.12. Compare Bennich-Björkman, ‘De Leidse en Amsterdamse Elzeviers in Skandinavië’, pp. 146-148.

<sup>122</sup> Compare the catalogues from 1649 and 1664 with respectively 140 and 208 pages. An extensive discussion of these catalogues will follow below. *Catalogus librorum. Qui hoc anno 1649. Hafniæ prostant in officina Janssoniana & in ejus absentia apud Melchiorum Martzan academiae typographum repiruntur*

The Elzeviers were invited by chancellor Johan Skytte (1577-1645) to supply Uppsala University with books in the late 1630s. There is evidence in seventeenth-century catalogues of the university that some books were indeed delivered, probably not by the Elzeviers themselves, but through the mediation of Jacob Marcus.<sup>123</sup> Uppsala had a long-term problem with the supply of affordable scholarly books in Latin. There were no permanent bookstores in town and both Johan Skytte and Axel Oxenstierna relentlessly tried to persuade German and Dutch booksellers to establish a business in the city.<sup>124</sup> It was not until the late 1640s, however, that the Elzeviers seemed genuinely interested to employ activities in Sweden. The reason for this turnaround might be connected to the shifting power balance in Scandinavia, and certainly to the growing presence of European intellectuals in Stockholm. Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) and Nicolaas Heinsius (1620-1681) both were court librarians of Queen Christina and maintained warm contacts with the Amsterdam bookseller Daniel Elzevier. We know from their correspondence that Elzevier occasionally delivered books, and that there was even talk of the establishment of a printing office in Stockholm in the 1650s.<sup>125</sup>

The political situation in Sweden changed drastically when Christina abdicated the throne in 1654. Her successor to the throne was less interested in the supply of books and the Elzevier branch in Stockholm would never emerge. Nevertheless, business contacts between Dutch and Swedish booksellers were established and there is clear continuity of these relations in the second half of the seventeenth century. In the list of debtors that was compiled after the death of Daniel Elzevier in 1681, we can identify four Stockholm-based booksellers.<sup>126</sup>

It remains challenging to determine exactly which Elzevier books the Stockholm booksellers had in stock and who their customers were. Provenance data of early

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(Copenhagen: Martzan, [1649]), Copenhagen, KB: 50.18; *Catalogus librorum qvi Hafniæ in bibliopolis Janssoniano venales extant* ([Copenhagen: Junghans], 1664), Västerås SB, Bok- och biblioteksväsen.

<sup>123</sup> Bennich-Björkman, 'De Leidse en Amsterdamse Elzeviers in Skandinavië', p. 150.

<sup>124</sup> M.B. Swederus, *Boklådprna i Uppsala 1616-1907: ett bidrag till den svenska bokhandelns historia* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1907), pp. 20-32. Compare H. Schück, 'Anteckningar om den äldsta bokhandeln i Sverige', in *Festskrift med anledning af Svenska bokförläggareföreningens femtiårs-jubileum den 4 december 1893* (Stockholm: Svenska bokförläggareföreningens, 1893), pp. 1-80.

<sup>125</sup> Bennich-Björkman, 'De Leidse en Amsterdamse Elzeviers in Skandinavië', pp. 152-154.

<sup>126</sup> I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680-1725*, vol. III (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1965), pp. 111-120. See also, B.P.M. Dongelmans, 'Elzevier addenda et corrigenda' in B. Dongelmans et al. (eds.), *Boekverkopers van Europa: het 17<sup>e</sup>-eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier* (Zutphen: Walburg, 2000), pp. 45-58.

owners does provide some clues. In the diocesan library in Linköping there are at least 23 books published by the Elzeviers, that belonged to Bishop Eric Benzeliuſ (1675-1743), the Roggebibliotek in Strängnäs holds 46 Elzevier titles from the collection of Baron Johan Rosenhane (1642-1710), while Skokloster tallies 85 Elzevier publications in the library of Count Nils Brahe (1633-1699) and 66 in the library of the aforementioned Carl Gustaf Wrangel.<sup>127</sup> Several Swedish collections with a clear provenance in the seventeenth century evidently hold a large number of Elzevier publications. Moreover, the Elzeviers from the collections of Benzeliuſ and Rosenhane are all but one in Latin, in the Brahe collection over ninety percent is Latin. The exception is the collection of Wrangel, where approximately one quarter of the Elzevier publications is in French.

The connection to seventeenth century collections seems straightforward, considering the fact that the last branch of the Elzevier publishing house closed in Leiden in 1712. Nonetheless, we find a considerable number of Elzeviers in collections that were assembled in the eighteenth century, such as those of Carl Gustaf Bielke at Skokloster and Carl Fredrik Muhrbeck in Västerås.<sup>128</sup> Both these collections contain for the most parts books that were acquired at auctions in Sweden and northern Germany. Some of the Elzeviers in Muhrbeck's collection are works in Greek, Arab, Hebrew and Syriac that were still rarely published in his own days. Other eighteenth-century collections, such as Charles De Geer's Leufsta library and the Bergius collection at Stockholm University, contain only a handful of Elzevier publications. The emphasis in these collections is more on contemporary scientific publications.

The foremost competitor of the Elzeviers in Scandinavia was their compatriot Johannes Janssonius (1588-1664). He was the son of Arnhem printer Jan Jansz (d. 1629) who was a regular at the Frankfurt book fair from 1599,<sup>129</sup> married the daughter of the

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<sup>127</sup> Based on provenance data in *Libris*, actual numbers will be higher. The collections of noble families like Benzeliuſ, Rosenhane and others were obviously built up over a longer period of time. There is little doubt that the collection of Erik Benzeliuſ the Younger that is mentioned here, contains numerous books that had been acquired by his father, Archbishop Erik Benzeliuſ the Elder (1632-1709).

<sup>128</sup> The Elzevier editions were collectibles already in the eighteenth century. It cannot be ruled out that the early stages of this 'elzevirionomania' played a part in the survival of copies in Swedish collections. See O.S. Lankhorst, 'De elzevirionomanie en de ontwikkeling van de boekwetenschap' in B. Dongelmans et al. (eds.), *Boekverkopers van Europa: het 17<sup>e</sup>-eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier* (Zutphen: Walburg, 2000), pp. 19-32.

<sup>129</sup> For more on Jansz, especially his connections in Germany, see F. Reurink, 'Het uitgebreide netwerk van Jan Jansz, boekverkoper, uitgever en drukker te Arnhem', *Arnhems historisch tijdschrift*, 33:3 (2013), pp. 151-156.

acclaimed cartographer and publisher Jodocus Hondius (1563-1612) and was the neighbour and long-term rival of the renowned Willem Jansz Blaeu (1571-1638). Surrounded, raised, facilitated and challenged by people who knew the ins and outs of the business, Janssonius rapidly became an entrepreneur on a European scale. He opened a bookshop in Frankfurt am Main in 1623 and would expand his network with branches in Berlin, Genève, Lyon, Danzig, Königsberg, Copenhagen and Stockholm.

The Copenhagen branch of Janssonius' bookshop flourished in the early 1630s. French diplomat Charles Ogier visited the bookshops in the market hall (Børsen) in August 1634. In his memoirs, which were published twenty years later, he described that books were brought in from Leiden every year.<sup>130</sup> The fact that he mentioned Leiden might imply that he visited the shop of Elzevier that day, but in October 1634 he clearly states that he looked at some maps in the shop of Janssonius that was run by a caretaker. Ogier returned to the shops of Janssonius and Elzevier on several occasions and specifically mentions the fact that learned men would assemble in the bookshops.<sup>131</sup>

The activities that Janssonius would employ in Stockholm must be understood in the light of the ongoing Swedish struggle to attract skilled foreign printers and booksellers to the country. When Queen Christina issued a privilege in December 1647 that allowed Janssonius to establish a printing house and a bookshop in Stockholm, it explicitly stated that he would bring 'Greek and oriental type', quality paper and skilled people from Holland.<sup>132</sup> Furthermore, he would be allowed to publish 'good and useful books' in all languages except Swedish and open bookshops in Stockholm and Uppsala. The paper that he needed could be imported to Stockholm free of any tolls, but he was not allowed to transport it any further. It is a privilege that opened up a relatively closed market for Janssonius, ensured the Swedish that they would receive printing material, expertise and skilled labour, and at the same time protected the business interests of local printers and paper mills.

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<sup>130</sup> C. Ogier, *Ephemerides, sive iter Danicum, Svecicum, Polonicum, cum esset in comitatu Claudii Memmii, ad septentrionis reges extraordinarii legati* (Paris: Le Petit, 1656). On p. 39: 'Libri etiam ibi prostant, quos Batavi Lugdunenses singulis annis aportant.'

<sup>131</sup> See also H. Pummer, 'Johannes Janssonius: Buchdrucker und Buchhändler der Königin: mit nachstehender selektive Bibliographie', *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 69 (1982), pp. 33-48. Pummer does not quote the original memoirs from 1656, but a German translation from 1774, namely J.H. Schlegel, *Samlung zur Dänischen Geschichte* (Copenhagen: Sander, 1774).

<sup>132</sup> Klemming and Nordin, *Svensk boktryckeri-historia*, pp. 165-167.

The privilege granted to Johannes Janssonius would be extended to his son Jodocus in 1650. Neither Johannes nor Jodocus would run the business in Stockholm, however. In fact, it is questionable that they ever set foot in Sweden.<sup>133</sup> The printing office was initially superintended by the Dutchman Johannes Pauli. When Pauli was appointed printer of the University in Uppsala in 1650, he was succeeded by another apprentice of Janssonius, the German Henrik Curio (1630-1691). The involvement of Janssonius in Sweden would only last until 1656. Curio was quick to take over the privilege and, in 1661, the entire branch of Janssonius in Sweden.<sup>134</sup>

Though short-lived, the presence of Janssonius' printing office and especially his bookshops in Stockholm and Uppsala had an impact on the Swedish market. The stock catalogue that he issued in Stockholm in 1651 contains 148 pages, presenting an impressive array of the latest scientific and popular books.<sup>135</sup> The extension of 54 pages in the catalogue of 1652 adds to the impression that there was a continuous supply of books, as was suggested above for the Copenhagen branch. For the Copenhagen office, at least twelve catalogues survive, nine for the period from 1635 to 1642, that were probably printed in Amsterdam, and three more printed in Copenhagen in 1649, 1662 and 1664 (fig. 4).<sup>136</sup>

The abundance of catalogues from the Copenhagen branch allows to compare their offer. In fact, they provide us with a wonderful overview not just of what Janssonius offered in his shop, and how this might have changed over time, but moreover, how this differed from the supply in other branches across Europe and specifically in the Netherlands. Is it conceivable that Janssonius printed certain titles only for his Scandinavian or Baltic distribution outlets, simply because they were better suited for that market? An answer to that question would need a detailed

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<sup>133</sup> Pummer, 'Johannes Janssonius', p. 34.

<sup>134</sup> Klemming and Nordin, *Svensk boktryckeri-historia*, p. 183.

<sup>135</sup> *Catalogus librorum, qui in officina libraria Joannis Janssonii, regii typographi, partim à typis, partim ab impensis ejus prostant* (Stockholm: Johannes Janssonius, 1651), Stockholm, KB F1700 8.

<sup>136</sup> For the catalogues from 1649 and 1662, see Brill, *Book Sales Catalogues Online* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), <<http://primarysources.brillonline.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online>> (10-11-2016). The catalogue from 1664 seems to have gone unnoticed until now, a copy in the diocesan library in Västerås is the only one I could trace: *Catalogus librorum, qvi Hafniæ bibliopolio Janssoniano venales extant*. ([Copenhagen]: [Junghans], 1664). The motto on the title-page suggests that it was printed in Copenhagen by Matthias Jørgensøn Godiche. The provenance on the title-page reads 'Paul von Schoting junior'. This may be the Ronneby merchant Paul von Schoting (1629-1677) or his son (1657-1717) from Karlskrona.

analysis of several stock catalogues from across Europe, but the data that I recorded for the STCN does hint in that direction. In all the Swedish libraries that I visited, I found just one unrecorded edition of Willem Blaeu and his successors, only a few by the Elzeviers, but a spectacular 33 editions by Johannes Janssonius.<sup>137</sup>

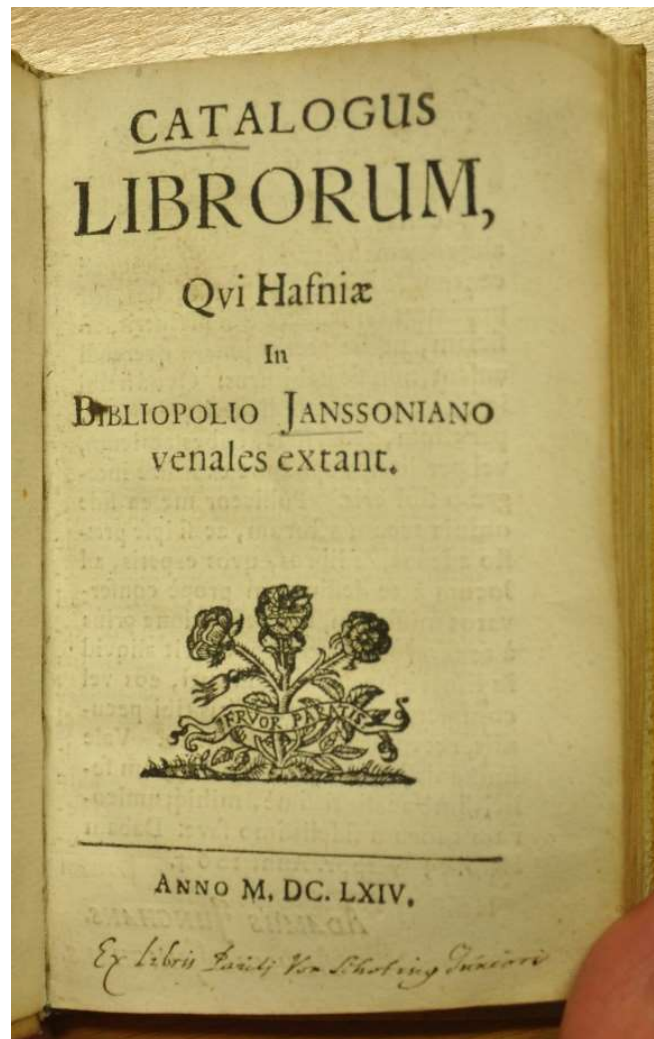


FIGURE 4: RETAIL STOCK CATALOGUE OF JANSSONIUS' OFFICE IN COPENHAGEN, ISSUED IN DECEMBER 1664.

The previously unrecorded editions of Janssonius in Swedish libraries fall in two distinct categories. As we have seen earlier in the collection of Carl Gustav Wrangel, there are a number of expensive works in folio with engraved plates of which the German language editions apparently were not preserved in the Netherlands. The

<sup>137</sup> The edition by Joannes Blaeu is: *Clélie, histoire romaine [...] quintiesme [...] partie* (Paris: A. Covrbé; Amsterdam: I. Blaeu, 1660). This edition is present in various libraries in the Netherlands, but has been overlooked in the past.

second category contains a wide array of theological works: British puritan authors as William Ames (1576-1633), Lewis Bayly (c. 1575-1631) and John Bastwick (1593-1654), some German Bibles and psalm books, and works by German and Dutch theologians as Heinrich Ernst (1603-1665), Hendrik van Diest (1595-1673) and Caspar Sibelius (1590-1658). The works of Ames were bestsellers in those days and no retail stock catalogue will help us to identify the precise Latin edition of his *Medulla theologica* that is found in Västerås.<sup>138</sup> However, the German edition of Bayly's *The practise of pietie* in the same library appears to be quite rare, as is the case with several other theological works in the German language.<sup>139</sup>

The retail stock catalogues issued by Janssonius in Copenhagen clearly show that the percentage of German theology drastically increased in the late 1630s (tab. 7). In the catalogues of 1636 they only make up some six percent of the total supply listed. This gradually increases to fifteen percent in 1664. Books in the vernacular were on the rise anyway, considering the sharp increase of French and Italian language books after 1649. The number of Dutch books in the catalogues decreased at first, but made a comeback in the 1660s. Titles in the English language were listed for the first time in the catalogue of 1662, no books in Scandinavian languages are mentioned.

The Janssonius retail catalogues obviously offer an imperfect impression of the actual supply and these statistics should be handled with care. Maps for instance, are only listed separately in the catalogue of 1662, but there is little doubt that they were available from the beginning. There is much more that could be said about supply, circulation, turnover, bound and unbound books, not to mention the books published by others. Blaeu might have been an eternal rival, but his *Zeespiegel* is listed, just as the republics of the Elzeviers, and no doubt hundreds of other books from his main competitors.

It is virtually impossible to point out copies that were bought at Janssonius' shops in Copenhagen or Stockholm beyond reasonable doubt. It is tempting to draw conclusions, for example when you find a book that was published by Janssonius with a

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<sup>138</sup> Västerås, Stadbibliotek, Stiftsbiblioteket Teologi XI Homiletik, uppbyggelse m.m.: W. Ames, *Medvlla theologica* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonius, 1634).

<sup>139</sup> Only two German editions published in the Dutch Republic are known, one by Janssonius of 1625, the other with the name of Jacob Marcus on the title-page of 1649. See for the copy in Västerås: L. Bayly, *Praxis pietatis: das ist, Vbung der Gottseligkeit* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonius, 1635), Västerås, Stadbibliotek, Stiftsbiblioteket Teologi X Liturgik, homiletik, m.m.

contemporary manuscript annotation 'Hafniae 1653' on the title-page.<sup>140</sup> At least it shows that this copy circulated in Scandinavia in the middle of the seventeenth century. Provenance information does not tell the entire story, but it does add to information from other sources. It is only in combination with the stock catalogues and scattered information in correspondence and memoirs, that an image of this Dutch-Scandinavian book trade emerges.

In this section I have focussed on the activities of Jacob Marcus, the Elzeviers and Johannes Janssonius in Scandinavia, but there must have been others that were active in the business. When Marcus left the stage in the late 1640s it is apparent that other booksellers were eager to take over. For example, Joachim Nosche and Christoffel Cunradus, both of them active as printer and bookseller in Amsterdam, Henricus Betkius, who operated from Amsterdam, Leipzig and Frankfurt am Main and travelled to Riga bringing with him a whole range of mystic and pietistic works to the Baltic,<sup>141</sup> and Andreas Luppilus, a German bookseller who was active in Wesel, Duisburg and Nijmegen, had a commissioner in Amsterdam and a retail outlet in Frankfurt am Main. They all published the same sort of steady selling German Lutheran titles as Janssonius and Marcus had done in the first half of the seventeenth century. In rare cases, there is evidence of a transnational continuity in the book trade. Andreas Luppilus for example, bought the remaining stock of both Betkius and, incidentally, of another publisher of radical pietists, Johann Stern from Lüneburg.<sup>142</sup> The contacts that Luppilus had in circles of Labadists and radical pietists suggest that he operated along the same lines as his predecessors.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> W. Ames, *Coronis ad collationem Hagiensem, qva argvmenta pastorum Hollandiæ adversus remonstrantivm, quinque articulos de divini prædestinatione [...] producta [...] vindicantur* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonius, 1636), Västerås Stiftsbiblioteket, Teologi IX Polemik, dogmatik, m.m.

<sup>141</sup> W. Heijting, 'Hendrick Beets (1625?-1708), publisher to the German adherents of Jacob Böhme in Amsterdam', *Quaerendo*, 3 (1973), pp. 250-280.

<sup>142</sup> S-P. Koski, 'Der Buchhändler Andreas Luppilus und die von ihm verlegten Gesangbücher', K.H. Bieritz et al. (eds.), *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 35 1994/95 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), p. 217.

<sup>143</sup> For some of these contacts, see Koski, 'Der Buchhändler Andreas Luppilus', pp. 217-218. More research on these pietist networks and the relationships between publishers such as Betkius and Luppilus and individual authors is necessary. As for yet, there is no comprehensive bibliographical overview of titles published by Luppilus. The STCN accounts for just 6 titles, 2 of which are only found in libraries outside the Netherlands. Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts (VD 17) comprises 55 editions by Luppilus, 18 of which with an Amsterdam imprint and several others with a Nijmegen imprint.



After the death of Johannes Janssonius in 1664 it is obvious that his business contacts were continued by his son-in-law Johannes (II) Janssonius van Waesberge, together with his father Johannes (I) and his brother Gilles. One of their main partners in northern Germany was Gottfried Schultze from Hamburg. In a retail stock catalogue of Schultze from 1668 we find hundreds of books in the Dutch language.<sup>144</sup> Several titles that are listed under the heading ‘Neederduytse boecken, boecken in de Godtheydt’ are not catalogued in the STCN and in some cases completely unknown.<sup>145</sup> The copy of Schultze’s stock list is bound in a composite volume at Uppsala University Library, complete with nine additions up to 1676.<sup>146</sup>

Finally, there is strong evidence that former apprentices of the Elzeviers and Janssonius continued to play a role in the book trade long after their masters had left the stage. Arguably the best example is a book named *De prodigiis liber* in an edition that was issued in Stockholm by Johannes Beuns in 1679 (fig. 5).<sup>147</sup> The fact that twelve copies of this edition are known in Swedish libraries and not a single one in a library in the Netherlands raises questions. The little known bookseller Beuns was the son of Isaac Beuns and Helena Hackius. He got his formal training with the Leiden Elzeviers and is later mentioned as a shop assistant of Janssonius.<sup>148</sup> In the inventory that was made after the death of Daniel Elzevier he is listed with a debt of f655.10.8. Furthermore, Stockholm is mentioned as his place of residence. Clearly Beuns had a business relation with the Elzeviers and probably sold their publications in Stockholm.

*De prodigiis liber* is the only book that is known with the name of Beuns in the imprint. As it turns out, it is another issue of the edition that was published in the same year by Dirk (I) and Hendrik Boom in Amsterdam. The original title-page was cancelled and replaced with a new one that carries the Stockholm imprint. This may suggest that Beuns had ordered a substantial part of the print run, but the printer’s device of Dirk and Hendrik Boom was retained on the title-page. The copies with the

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<sup>144</sup> *Catalogus variorum & insignium undiq; comportatorum librorum* (Hamburg: G. Schulzen, 1668). Uppsala UB, Utl. Rar. 149.

<sup>145</sup> Some examples: Theodorus van Eerst, *Een geduyrige biddagh* (Utrecht, 1654); Theodorus van Brenk, *Davidts dood ende begraeffnisse* (Tiel, 1666); Ludovicus Hondius, *Bericht over de pestilentie* (Amsterdam, 1655); Johannes Sprint, *Van den dagh des Heeren* (Utrecht, 1657).

<sup>146</sup> Uppsala UB, Utl. Rar. 149.

<sup>147</sup> Julius Obsequens, *De prodigiis liber* (Stockholm: J. Beuns, 1679).

<sup>148</sup> I.H. van Eeghen, ‘Three contemporaries in the service of Daniel Elzevir (Pieter le Grand, Johannes Beuns, Jacob de Zetter)’, *Quaerendo*, 9:4 (1979), pp. 337-342.

imprint of Boom were sold in the Dutch Republic and probably elsewhere in Europe, allowing Beuns to serve the Swedish market. It is worth noting that the current geographical spread of preservation reflects the historical distribution.

It is understandable why part of the impression of *De prodigiis liber* was intended for the Swedish market. This edition was edited by the highly-respected German-Swedish humanist Johannes Scheffer (1621-1679) and it is likely that his latest work would easily sell in Stockholm and Uppsala. Furthermore, Scheffer was no stranger to the Dutch publishers and booksellers. All scholarly work in Latin that he published in Sweden from 1650 onwards came from the press of Janssonius and his successors Pauli and Curio. An edition of *De militia navali veterum* that was published in 1654 was actually printed on the press of Janssonius that was installed at the house of Scheffer in Uppsala.<sup>149</sup>

Four more works of Scheffer were issued by the aforementioned combination of Janssonius van Waesberge in Amsterdam and Schultze in Hamburg between 1671 and 1675. A final cross connection that should be mentioned is that the father-in-law of Scheffer was Johannes Loccenius. As mentioned above, he had close connections with Jacob Marcus and Johannes Janssonius. Marcus published his *De ordinanda republica* in 1637 and Janssonius eight other books of Loccenius in the period 1643 until 1663.

We have seen above how versatile relationships between authors, publishers, printers, booksellers and customers were, ranging from Marcus who was inspired to publish a Swedish Bible in Leiden to Janssonius who had his press set up at the house of an Uppsala professor. It demonstrates that Dutch booksellers did not just travel to Scandinavia to sell the books that they had in stock, but actively engaged in the publication, production and distribution of books. Around the same time that the Dutch booksellers started to recognize Scandinavia as a market, Scandinavian immigrants from all walks of life travelled to the Dutch Republic.

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<sup>149</sup> Klemming and Nordin, *Svensk boktryckeri-historia*, p. 183.

JULII OBSEQUENTIS  
DE  
PRODIGIIS  
LIBER:

CUM ANNOTATIONIBUS  
JOANNIS SCHEFFERI  
ARGENTORATENSIS.

Accedunt

*Cont. Lycosthenis Supplementum Obsequentis; item  
Librorum à Scheffero editorum Index.*



HOLMIÆ,  
Impensis JOHANNIS BEUNÆ Bibliopole.  
MDC LXXIX.

*ni  
nisi vehe-  
as, iunta*

FIGURE 5: TITLE-PAGE OF *DE PRODIGIIS LIBER* IN THE EDITION ISSUED BY BEUNS,  
WITH THE PRINTER'S DEVICE OF BOON. SKOKLOSTER, SLOTS BIBLIOTEK, III.102.1060.

## SWEDISH CUSTOMERS IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

In the early 1660s there was popular talk that ‘Danish, Norwegian and eastern folks were swarming’ the eastern outskirts of Amsterdam.<sup>150</sup> With some irony we could say that when Dutch booksellers travelled up north to explore new markets, thousands of potential customers from Scandinavia lived right next to their shops in the Dutch Republic. Admittedly, the people that populated the ‘eastern islands’ were not the typical customers you would expect to see in an Amsterdam or Leiden bookshop.

It is hard to come up with reliable estimates for the real number of Swedish immigrants in the seventeenth century, but there must have been tens of thousands.<sup>151</sup> The peak in migration from Sweden to Amsterdam seems to have been in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Interestingly, data from the STCN suggests there was a significant increase in Dutch publications concerning Scandinavia from the 1650s onwards, with a decrease towards the end of the century (tab. 2).<sup>152</sup> This correlation between migration from Scandinavia and publications on Scandinavia may be coincidental, but it does show that publishers in the Dutch Republic considered it worth the effort to bring the news from Scandinavia, reflect on current affairs in Stockholm and translate letters of the ambassadors in the north. Apparently, there was an audience for these kinds of publications.

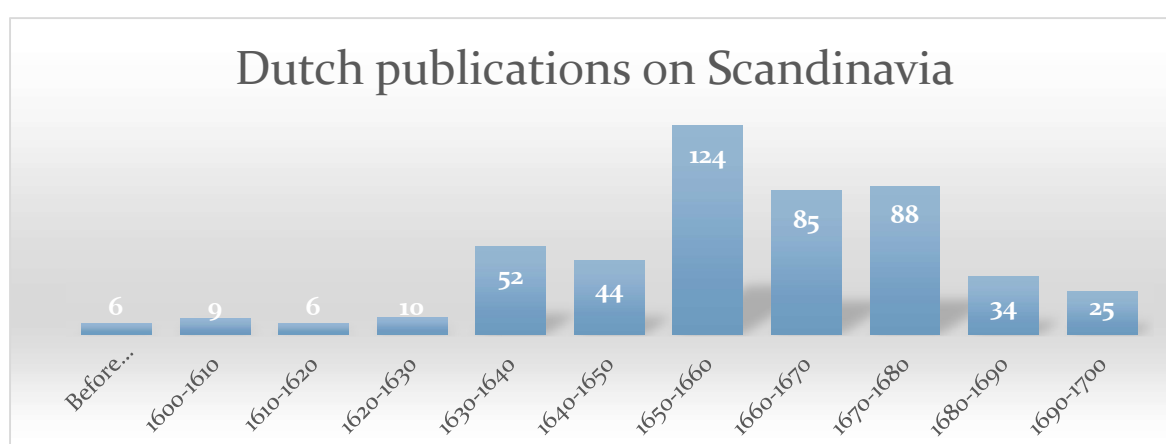


TABLE 2: NUMBER OF DUTCH PUBLICATIONS ON SCANDINAVIAN TOPICS IN THE STCN PER DECADE.

<sup>150</sup> E. Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad: immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e-eeuws Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Verloren, 1997), p. 139: ‘... dattet daer ende daeromtrent haest krielt en wimmelt van Deense, Noorse en Oosterse volckeren.’

<sup>151</sup> Kuijpers estimates that 36.000 Scandinavian immigrants migrated to Amsterdam in the course of the seventeenth century. Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad*, p. 374.

<sup>152</sup> See table 2. Data from the STCN, all publications with subject heading ‘History (Scandinavia)’.

The presence of Swedish immigrants in the Dutch Republic was significant in all social strata. Ambassadors resided in Amsterdam and The Hague, merchants were found all over the major trade centres, Lutheran ministers addressed their congregations and hundreds of students from the north enrolled at the universities of Leiden, Franeker, Utrecht, Harderwijk and Groningen.<sup>153</sup> Several of these students would become notable statesmen, diplomats, military commanders, scholars and ministers after their return to their home country. Halfway the seventeenth century it was hard to find a member of the Swedish nobility who had not spent at least a part of his education in the Dutch Republic.<sup>154</sup>

Merchants travelled back and forth, students typically stayed only for a couple of years and ambassadors naturally maintained close contacts with the homeland. It is hardly questionable that we can find material evidence of the presence of all these immigrants in present-day Swedish library collections. The question is what kind of evidence we are actually looking for. Surely, we can pile up provenance data, and I will definitely come up with some examples below, but what does that tell us about the transmission of ideas through print? Apart from all the Swedes that bought books during their stay in the Dutch Republic, there might be examples of people who came to the Netherlands to find specific knowledge, expertise and techniques that were not available at home.

These seemingly abstract questions can be personalized in the story of Swedish astronomer and instrument maker Bengt Hedraeus (1608-1659). Hedraeus was the son of a blacksmith, studied at Uppsala University and took part in fortification works for the Swedish military in Livonia. He received a grant from Queen Christina to study mathematics in the Dutch Republic and was enrolled at Leiden University from 1641 to 1644. During his stay in the Dutch Republic, Hedraeus published a book on astronomy,

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<sup>153</sup> Many examples are listed in E. Wrangel, *De betrekkingen tusschen Zweden en de Nederlanden op het gebied van letteren en wetenschap, voornamelijk gedurende de zeventiende eeuw* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1901). For the Scandinavian students in the Dutch Republic, see J.I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: its rise, greatness, and fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 900-901. For Leiden University, see M. Zoeteman, *De studentenpopulatie van de Leidse universiteit, 1575-1812: 'een volk op zyn Siams gekleed eenige mylen van Den Haag woonende'* (Leiden: University Press, 2011).

<sup>154</sup> Wrangel, *De betrekkingen tusschen Zweden en de Nederlanden*, pp. 51-52, especially note 1, where Wrangel explains that at least 800 Swedish students studied at Dutch universities in the course of the seventeenth century, with the highest concentrations in the period 1620-1670.

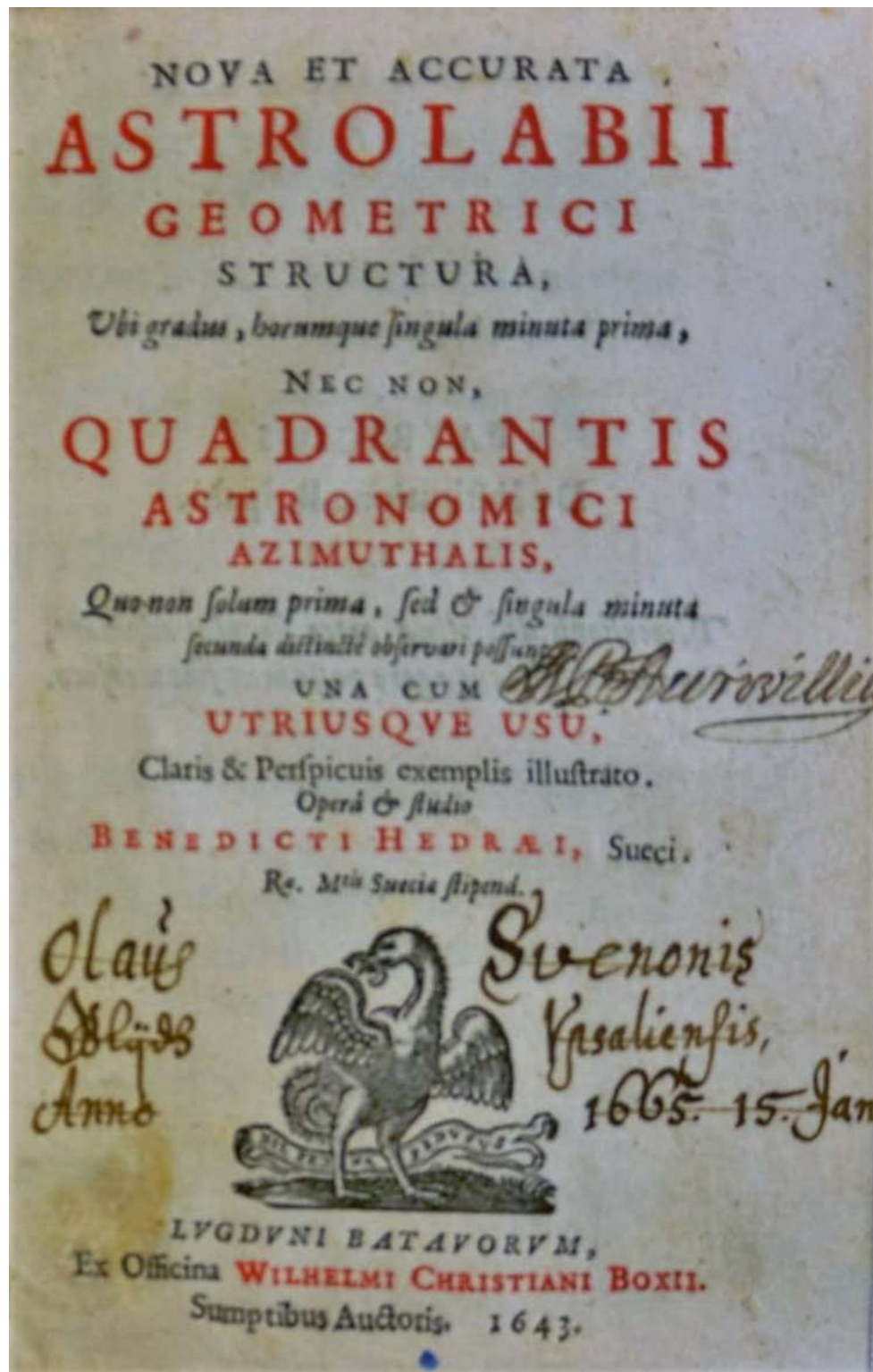


FIGURE 6: TITLE-PAGE OF B. HEDRAEUS, NOVA ET ACCURATA ASTROLABII GEOMETRICI STRUCTURA, STOCKHOLM, UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEKET, MAG MN R 96.

*Nova et accurata astrolabii geometrici structura* (fig. 6).<sup>155</sup> It turned out to be the only book he would ever publish. His international reputation as a scientist is sound but modest, at best his name is mentioned in the margins of a study on the history of science in the seventeenth century.<sup>156</sup> In Sweden however, Hedraeus is hailed as the first major designer of astronomical and geodetical instruments in the country.<sup>157</sup> When I first came across a copy of Hedraeus' book in Stockholm University Library, I was surprised to see that there were no copies listed in the Netherlands. Further research added to the surprise. There are at least eight copies in Swedish libraries, the book is frequently found in Germany and there are several other copies in Great-Britain, France and Denmark.<sup>158</sup> The book unquestionably circulated in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, there is for example a copy listed in the 1701 auction catalogue of the library of Constantijn Huygens jr. (1628-1697),<sup>159</sup> but evidently it did not survive in Dutch collections.

Hedraeus was already a respected Swedish mathematician and military architect when he was supported by Queen Christina to expand his knowledge in Leiden. Not only did the university of Leiden provide much better opportunities to study applied mathematics than Uppsala,<sup>160</sup> it brought Hedraeus in touch with fellow scientists, instrument makers and a book and print culture that was practically unknown in Sweden. The book on the construction and use of an astrolabe that he published in Leiden in 1643 contains five folded plates with copper engravings. It would have been challenging if not impossible to print a similar book in Sweden at the time. There were as yet hardly any skilful engravers in the country nor printers that produced books with copper engravings.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>155</sup> B. Hedraeus, *Nova et accurata astrolabii geometrici structura* (Leiden: W.C. van der Boxe, 1643).

<sup>156</sup> See M. Kallinen, 'Lectures and practices: the variety of mathematical and mechanical teaching at the University of Uppsala in the 17th Century', in M. Feingold and V. Navarro-Brotons (eds.), *Universities and science in the early modern period* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), pp. 111-125.

<sup>157</sup> A. Losman, 'Benedictus Christierni Hedraeus', in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/12749> (10-11-2016).

<sup>158</sup> *Libris* lists copies in: Stockholm KB, Roggebiblioteket, Krigsarkivet, Stockholm UB, Norrköpings stadsbibliotek, Stifts- och landsbiblioteket i Skara, Lund UB and Växjö SB.

<sup>159</sup> *Bibliotheca magna & elegantissima Zuylichemiana* (Leiden: Boudewijn (I) van der Aa & Pieter (I) van der Aa, 1701), pars secunda, p. 35 (8vo, 640).

<sup>160</sup> Kallinen, 'Lectures and practices', p. 112.

<sup>161</sup> H. Lagerström, *Keyser: en svensk boktryckarefamilj* (Stockholm: Nordisk Boktryckarekonst, 1916), p. 10. The first Swedish publication with copper engravings is *Sweriges rikets ridderskaps och adels vapenbook* (Stockholm: H. Keijser, 1650).

In the preliminary matter of *Nova et accurata astrolabii geometrici structura*, Hedraeus gratefully dedicates the work to Queen Christina, with further dedications to five notable members of the Swedish aristocracy.<sup>162</sup> Hedraeus returned to Sweden and was shortly after appointed professor of applied mathematics at Uppsala University in 1649. An academic position was exactly what he needed in order to share his knowledge on mathematics, fortification and scientific instruments, but he also continued to work on the practical applications of science. He is credited for the introduction of applied mathematics in the mining industry that was so important to Sweden. His brother Thomas Christersson, who worked as land surveyor in the mine in Falun, was among the first to use an astrolabe in the mining industry.<sup>163</sup>

It is farfetched to think that all those copies of Hedraeus' book solely survived in Sweden because they were of practical use in mining. Nevertheless, Hedraeus' work is a perfect example of ideas that were transmitted through print and ultimately affected thought and practice. The expertise that was available at a Dutch university in the seventeenth century could be dispersed in Sweden with the aid of printing techniques that were not locally available. Application of this newly acquired knowledge in mining, fortification and astronomy demonstrates a change in scientific, military and industrial practices.

The case of Hedraeus is not an isolated example of a Swedish scholar who utilized the Dutch proficiency in printing and engraving to transmit his ideas. Royal Swedish printer Henrik (II) Keyser travelled to Amsterdam in 1688 to print a Swedish Bible in octavo.<sup>164</sup> In the dedications to King Carl XI and Queen Ulrika Eleonora he specifically mentions the convenient size of the book, but he does not explain why he had to go to Amsterdam to print this Bible. The typography appears Swedish, the paper bears no visible watermark, but is far removed from the quality one would expect, the printer's devices are his own, and the woodcut illustrations of Jakob Morus that he used were already a century old and hardly worth a trip to Holland.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Count Per Brahe, Count Jacob de la Gardie, Baron Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm, Count Axel Oxenstierna and Bengt Gabrielsson Oxenstierna.

<sup>163</sup> M.B. Swederus, 'Bidrag till kännedomen om Sveriges bergshandtering 1612-1654', *Järn-Kontorets Annaler*, 65:3 (1910), p. 201. Christersson sometimes alternatively spelled as Kristiernsson.

<sup>164</sup> *Biblia thet är all then helga skriffte på swensko* (Amsterdam: H. Keyser, 1688 [= 1689]).

<sup>165</sup> A. Sjögren, 'Några varianter av Henrik Keyzers Amsterdambibel 1688', *Nordisk Boktryckarekonst*, 17:1 (1916), pp. 10-17.



A report that was made following an inspection of Keyser's printing shop in Stockholm in 1694 arguably sheds some light on his trip to Amsterdam. The inspectors noted to their surprise that Keyser's workshop overshadowed all other printing offices in Sweden. They described that he had brought matrices and all other necessary equipment from Holland to cut and cast all sorts of types, even Greek and Hebrew, and that he had learned to mix and prepare the metals to get the casting exactly right. Moreover, they noticed a series of copper engravings with Biblical representations.<sup>166</sup> There is every reason to assume that Keyser had gone to Amsterdam first and foremost to become a skilled type founder and type caster. Why he printed a mediocre Swedish Bible that was full of errors in the process is open to speculation.

One last example where Dutch expertise was required concerns the pinnacle of Swedish book production in the late seventeenth century, that is, Erik Dahlbergh's *Suecia antiqua et hodierna*. This portrayal of Sweden's greatness in its age of power comprises 353 engraved plates of cities, castles and monuments. Production was a slow process, mainly due to the lack of skilful engravers in Sweden. In the early years of the project Dahlberg had worked with engravers from France. In the late 1680s he turned to Amsterdam and managed to convince Dutch engraver Erik Swidde to come and work in Sweden.<sup>167</sup> Swidde engraved 84 plates and was succeeded by his compatriot Johannes van den Aveelen, who engraved another 143 plates.

Apart from these rare examples where the expertise on printing and engraving was the commodity, there are of course hundreds of Swedish students, scholars and travellers who bought books in the Dutch Republic. For example, the medical student Johannes Salomon Betulius, who acquired the works of Dutch medical doctor and Cartesian Henricus Regius (1598-1679),<sup>168</sup> or minister Erland Svenonis Broman (1632-1693), who bought two volumes of the works of Andre Rivet, possibly in Leiden or Rotterdam.<sup>169</sup> The Broman copy is particularly interesting, as it has his name on the title-page, with the addition 'Lugduni Battavorum 1661'. The book was published by

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<sup>166</sup> Lagerström, *Keyser*, pp. 16-20.

<sup>167</sup> Compare: J. Nordin, 'Erik Dahlbergh and the Suecia antiqua et hodierna', <suecia.kb.se> (10-11-2016).

<sup>168</sup> H. Regius, *Medicinæ libri IV* (Utrecht: D. van Ackersdijck, G. van Zijll, 1657), Stockholm, University Library. Bergian Collection: H.VIII:3.1.n.23:1. According to an annotation on the title-page, Betulius bought the copy in 1688 in Leiden.

<sup>169</sup> A. Rivet, *Operum theologicorum quæ Latinè edidit, tomus primus(-tertius)*, 3 vols. (Rotterdam: A. Leers, 1651-1660), Västerås Stadsbibliotek, Teologi XVI Exegetik m.m. fol. Västerås copy, vols. 1-2 only.

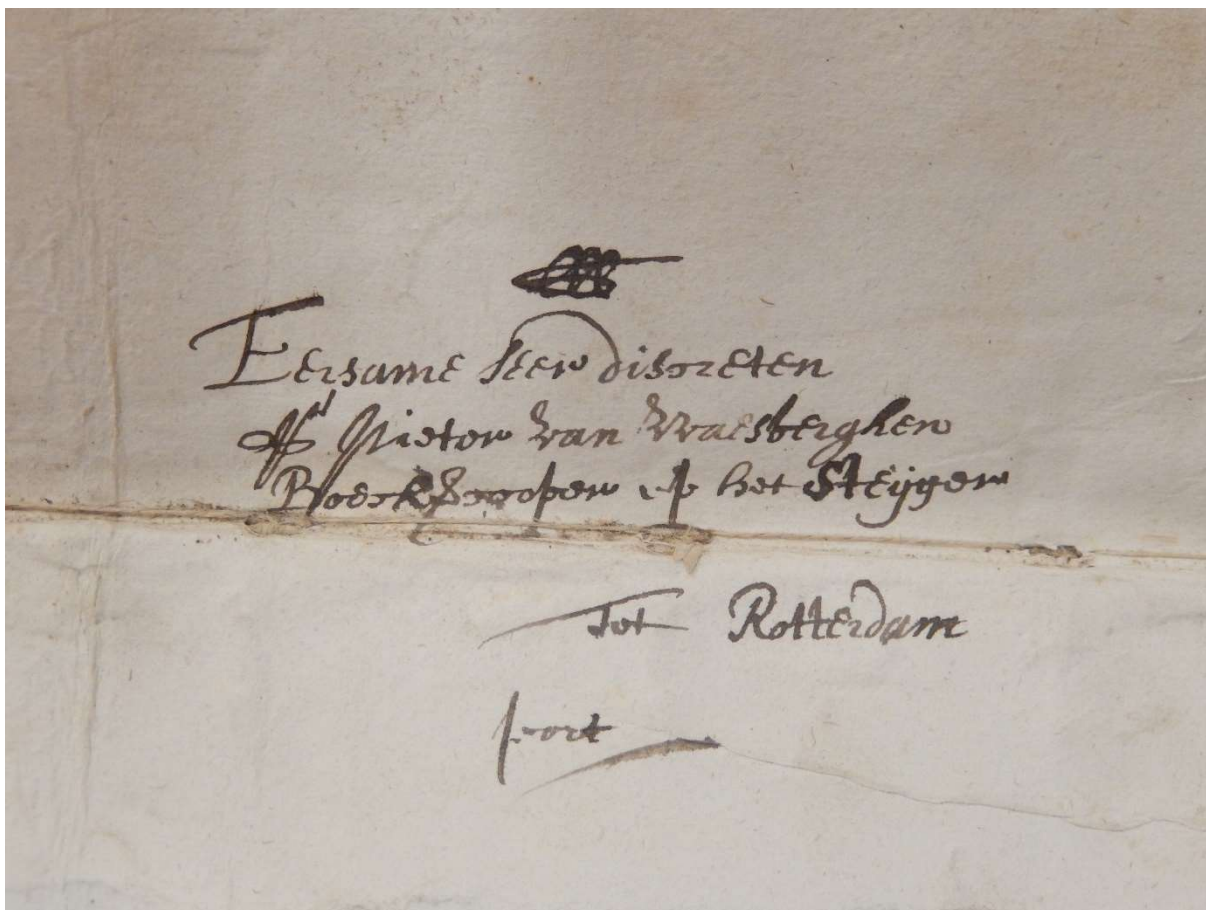


FIGURE 7: BINDER'S WASTE IN A COPY OF A. RIVET, *OPERVUM THEOLOGICORUM*, VÄSTERÅS STADSBIBLIOTEK, TEOLOGI XVI EXEGETIK M.M. FOL.

Arnout Leers in Rotterdam and both volumes have a custom-made vellum binding with the owner's initials E.B. on the front cover. The binder used a copy of Claude Salmassius' *Disquisitio de mutuo*, published in Leiden by Jan Maire in 1649, as binding material, as well as a fragment of Johannes van Vliet's *Parnassus Bredanus* from 1653. Remarkably, the binder's waste has an manuscript text: 'Eersame seer discreten Hr. Pieter van Waesberghen boekvercooper op het Steijger tot Rotterdam port' (fig. 7).<sup>170</sup>

There are many of such examples and occasionally it seems like we can get a glimpse of the sailors and immigrants who supposedly populated the poor neighbourhoods of Amsterdam. Lund University Library holds a copy of C.J. Vooght's navigation guide *De nieuwe groote lichtende zee-fakkel* from 1695.<sup>171</sup> The plain vellum binding carries an inscription which informs us that the book once belonged to a

<sup>170</sup> Which translates as: Honourable and discrete Mr Pieter van Waesberghen bookseller 'op het Steijger' in Rotterdam.

<sup>171</sup> C.J. Vooght, *De nieuwe groote lichtende zee-fakkel* (Amsterdam: J. van Keulen, 169[5]). Copy Lund Universitetsbibliotek, Storfol Utl Sjövn navig.

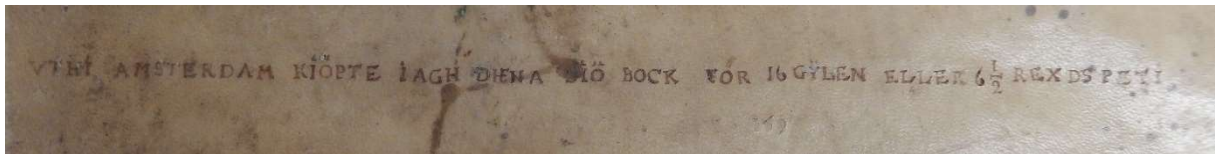
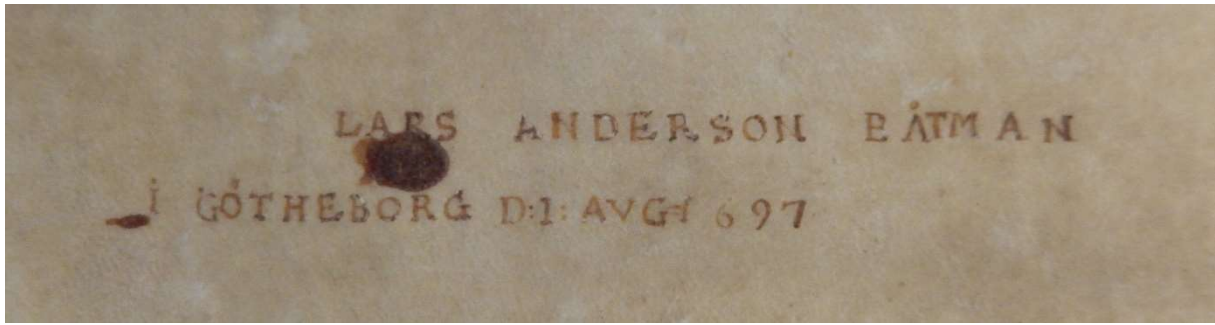


FIGURE 8 AND 9: PROVENANCE ON THE BINDING OF A COPY OF *DE NIEUWE GROOTE LICHTENDE ZEE-FAKKEL*, LUND UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEK, STORFOL UTL SJÖV NAVIG.

certain Lars Anderson, *Båtmán* (boatswain) from Gothenburg (fig. 8). He bought this *sjö bock* (sea book) in 1697 in Amsterdam for 16 guilders or 6½ Swedish riksdaler (fig. 9). It is an amount that arguably deprives us of any hope that this may be the acquisition of a common sailor. Very few of them would have been able to afford such an expensive navigation guide in folio as the *Zeefakkel*.

There are numerous examples of books that were brought home by students, scholars, travellers and a sporadic sailor in most Swedish collections that were assembled in the eighteenth century. There is, however, rarely a direct and demonstrable link between the original owner of the book and the collection in which it was incorporated. It is logical that the works of Henricus Regius, acquired by the medical student Betulius, ended up in the Bergian collection at Stockholm University Library. This eighteenth-century collection was assembled by the Swedish naturalist Per Jonas Bergius and his brother. The theological works of Rivet understandably ended up in a diocesan library, in this case through the collection of Carl Fredrik Muhrbeck in Västerås.

We need to take in account that many of these books circulated in private collections in Scandinavia and northern Germany for up to a century, before they ended up in a public library collection. It implies that these books were valued high enough to use, preserve and resell over a longer period of time. This automatically poses the question what happened to the books that did not circulate? Those books

that caused a spark for a brief moment in time, only to be forgotten shortly thereafter. What kind of books, what culture, and which connections vanished altogether?

#### POLITICS AND PROPHECIES: CULTURAL DISSEMINATION AND NON-CIRCULATION

The indication that a book is ‘written by a lover of the truth’ is a cliché in anonymous book publishing. Pamphlet wars in the Dutch Republic inspired generations of authors to present themselves as lovers of truth, God or *patria*. There is just one example of an equivalent of this phrase in a Swedish publication. Three works of the Bohemian theologian Paul Felgenhauer (1593-1677) were published by Christoffel Cunradus in Amsterdam in a Swedish translation that was executed by a ‘sanningenes elskare’. The translator who hides behind this mystification, which indeed literally translates as a ‘lover of the truth’, is the Swedish alchemist Anders Kempe (1622-1689).

Felgenhauer was a controversial Lutheran theologian who preached a pacifist pietism that was heavily influenced by German mystics like Johann Arndt and Jacob Böhme.<sup>172</sup> Following his exile from Bohemia in 1620, he spent the next two decades wandering through northern Germany, constantly haunted by public controversies and the fear of persecution. Interestingly, most of his works were published in the Dutch Republic by Johannes Janssonius.<sup>173</sup> His biography does suggest that he visited Amsterdam on numerous occasions in the 1650s, but it may well be that the initial contacts with Janssonius in the 1630s were maintained via intermediaries in Hamburg or elsewhere in northern Germany.

In the light of the turmoil that his books caused, it is likely that German publishers were reluctant to publish them. The Swedish translations of Kempe in 1664 and 1671 were no less controversial. His adaptation of the Lutheran pacifism of Felgenhauer was considered an attack on the Swedish campaign in Skåne. The publication of *Perspicillum bellicum* and *Probatorium theologicum* were not exactly

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<sup>172</sup> For an extensive overview on the origin of his Lutheran mysticism, see L. Penman, ‘Prophecy, alchemy and strategies of dissident communication: a 1630 letter from the Bohemian chiliast Paul Felgenhauer (1593–c. 1677) to the Leipzig physician Arnold Kerner’, *Acta Comeniana*, 24 (2010), pp. 115–132.

<sup>173</sup> Only a few copies are listed in the STCN. Cf. J. Bruckner, *A bibliographical catalogue of seventeenth-century German books published in Holland* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971).

applauded in his homeland, but the publication of *Troons harmonii* was considered so dangerous by the Swedish authorities, that the book was publicly burned.<sup>174</sup>

It is understandable that both the original works of Felgenhauer and the Swedish translations by Kempe were published in Amsterdam. The city was a last resort for many suppressed philosophers, religious freethinkers and self-proclaimed prophets in the seventeenth century. The intellectual climate and cosmopolitan attitude in the city tolerated divergent opinions to a large extent. Moreover, the relative freedom of the press and certainly the lack of effective censorship made it possible to publish and disseminate these thoughts.

A remarkable history that illustrates this process is the case of Swedish mystic and chiliast Eva Margareta Frölich (c. 1650-1692).<sup>175</sup> She was expelled from Sweden in 1685 for spreading false prophecies in Stockholm that she had picked up in Riga some years before.<sup>176</sup> Exile first brought her to Dresden, Eisleben and Hamburg, where she committed some of her prophecies to paper, quarrelled with the local authorities and complained about the struggle to print her work.<sup>177</sup> She moved to Amsterdam in May 1686 and managed to get her several of her works printed within the first weeks of her arrival. In the six years that she would stay in the city, Frölich issued 25 editions of her books, varying from broadsheets to lengthy theological tracts, in Dutch and German.

It is hard to understand what her targeted audience was. A banished prophetess from Riga who spread a chiliastic message about the upcoming world domination by Swedish King Carl XI, which public in seventeenth-century Amsterdam could possibly be interested in this? There are some indications that she tried to make a name for herself locally. She specified her current address in all of her books, preached from the doorway of her residence, sold books to people on the street, signed all publications by hand 'to prevent forgeries', used a mirror monogram of two capital C's with a crown as a printer's device, and, according to some sources, she had a sign above the entrance to

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<sup>174</sup> S.J. Alnander, *Historia librorum prohibitorum in Svecia* (Uppsala: [No publisher], 1764). More on Kempe, see R. Ambjörnsson, 'Krig och fred: om en glömd pacifist från de stora krigens tid', in G. Broberg et al. (eds.), *Svensk historia underifrån* (Stockholm: Ordfront, 1993), pp. 000-000; and C.J.E. Hasselberg, 'En jämtländsk mystiker och hans läroåskådning: några meddelanden om Anders Pedersson Kempe och hans tyske lärofader P. Felgenhauer', *Från ådalar och fjäll*, 10 (1921), pp. 21-36.

<sup>175</sup> For a more extensive biography of Frölich, see my article, 'The promise of a northern prophetess', pp. 16-23.

<sup>176</sup> Riksarkivet Stockholm, Svea Hovrätt, Huvudarkivet B IIa:55, nr. 182, d.d. 12 November, 1684.

<sup>177</sup> She describes the difficulties to publish her work in the preface of her *Eine warhaftige Propheceijung und Außlegung über 2 Pet. cap. 3* (Amsterdam: F. Förster [=F. Vorster?], 1686).

her house with the catchy slogan: ‘Hier wohnet eine tausendjährige Prophetin, welche heisset Eva Margareta Frölichin’ (Here lives a millennial prophetess, whose name is Eva Margareta Frölich).<sup>178</sup>

Eva Margareta Frölich was a visible and mystic in the city, almost like a brand, with business cards, catch phrases and a logo. Moreover, she published a number of prospectuses to outline her larger theological works and an advertisement with the title ‘Hier zyn prophecy-boekjes te koop’ (Here are prophecy books for sale) (fig. 10) that can only have been intended for a local clientele. The fact that she published these commercial brochures in Dutch also suggests that she targeted native speakers.

The problem is that not a single copy of her books appears to have survived in a Dutch library, whereas there are nearly a hundred copies of her works in six different Swedish libraries.<sup>179</sup> Moreover, there are no traces of her in the publications of her opponents in the Dutch Republic. Despite the fact that she vigorously attacked local Amsterdam ministers and made an appeal to her rivals to reply to her work in print, there are no examples of Dutch theologians who engaged in a debate with Frölich in any of their works.<sup>180</sup> It is as if the presence of Frölich had no impact in the Dutch Republic at all.

Eva Margareta Frölich was, however, well-known in the German Lutheran world. In several biographical dictionaries from the early eighteenth century, she is

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<sup>178</sup> See for example E.D. Colberg, *Das platonisch-hermetische Christenthum* (Leipzig: J.L. Gleditsch and M.G. Weidmann, 1710), p. 261; N.H. Gundling, *Vollständige Historie der Gelahrheit*, (Frankfurt am Main: Spring, 1735), p. 000; J.H. Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon* (Halle: Zedler, 1732-1750), Bd. 9, p. 1103.

<sup>179</sup> Most Swedish copies have been accounted for in the bibliography of Collijn. See I. Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi 1600-talet*, pp. 283-287. The title that is most often found in Germany, in four different collections, is *Der erneuete Himmel und die verjüngete Erde* ([Amsterdam]: No publisher, 1686).

<sup>180</sup> See E.M. Frölich, *Ik heb dit lied gemaakt op den Luyterse predikant. Johanni Colerus in de Luyterse gemeynte tot Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: gedrukt voor E.M.F., wonende in de Drie-hoek-straet, 1687). In this pamphlet, she attacks Johannes Colerus and other Lutheran ministers in Amsterdam, ending her argument with a call to her opponents to make any disagreements public and put them in print: ‘Is er iemand die wat tegen mijne boeken te bewijzen heeft, die laet het door een opentlijk druk bekend maken, gelijk als ik doe’ (If there is anyone who has something to prove against my books, he should announce this openly in print, just like I do).



# Hier zijn Prophecy-boekjes te koop.

**D**ie ick upt de geheele Bybel gemaect heb over de Openbaring Iohannis; Nu de selfde Plagen / so daer in staet / sullen verbult werden: en hoe het sal toe gaen met alle Koningen en Potentaten / nu dese Chri- stenheyt sal verstoort werden / Jeruzalem gebouwt / en de Joden tot het Chrijstelyck Geloof bekeert worden / en een Chrijstelyck Geloof in de Chriстенheyt / die nu in so veel dwase Religien bestaet. Ik heb Sweden / en heel Dupts- land geprofiteert en tot boete geroepen / en principael Stok- holm / Bresen en Hamburg: maer terwyl hare Predicanten haer het niet hebben willen geloben laten / heeft God haest met haer de straf aengehangen / en verkondige dat na dit jaer zwaerder zal komen; en die op den rechten weg der Sa- ligheyt willen en behouden blyben aen lijf en ziel / die moet van dese boeckjes koopen / en daer na de Bybel ondersoeken / Godes woort en deze myne uitlegging geloben / en daer na leven en wandelen / waer toe Christus Iesus de menschen raed in de Openbaring Iohannis derde cap. 18, 19, 20 vers. daer hy seyt: Ik rade u dat gy gout van my koopt / dat met vuur doozloutert is; en witte kleederen die gy aen- trekt / dat men u schande niet en siet; en Ogen-salf / daer mede gy sien moogt; ende nu open doet nu ik aenklappe / met dien wil ik het Abondmael houden / ende hy met my. Dit is het laetste Genaden-jaer / toekomende Jaer sullen de groote Straf-jaren aenhangen; daerom segt de Geest Gods door Paulo aen de Hebreen cap. 3. Heden / wanneer gy sijne Stemme hoort / soo verstoekt u herten niet / dat is de Stemme der Propheten Chrijsti.

Dese Schrift heb ik upt liefde tot mynen Iesu drucken laten / om hem heele Sielen toe te boeren; en die dese Schrift bederft / of upt hoogaerdigheyt scheurt / die geef ik over in de wrake van Gods Hant; waer voor sich een ieder Christo- lievende Siele wachte: sulks bidde ick /

*Eva Margareta Frölich*

kent staan in  
ankeert aen  
nt jaar sche-  
sent jaar sal  
jaar / en na  
/ en verboo-  
iter als den  
/ maar het  
e dubbel het  
/ en het volk  
ede op aarde  
den worden /  
penb. c. 20.  
ult: en ter-  
r de Gubba-  
gh noch ure /  
de plagen die  
komt op dese  
r gereet na

upbelse phi-  
ls Godt de  
geven heeft /  
n die nu wil  
al toegaan /  
Jerusalem  
pnte / moet  
ter douch ge-  
ndergeschre-  
er soeken en  
a doen / als  
doons Iesu  
en Diena-

Gedrukt  
tot Am-  
sterdam,  
1685.

FIGURE 10: BROADSHEET WITH ADVERTISEMENT BY EVA MARGARETA FRÖLICH. COPY: STOCKHOLM, KUNGLIGA BIBLIOTEKET, F 1700 254. REPRODUCTION CREDIT: ANN-SOFIE PERSSON.

described as a learned, well-read but foolish and irrational woman.<sup>181</sup> The ‘Father of Pietism’ Philip Jakob Spener (1635-1705) was remarkably mild, stating that she was ‘less harmful’ when she lived in exile in Holland.<sup>182</sup> It is understandable that she was considered less of a threat when she lived so far away from her potential following. On the other hand, it was in Amsterdam that she first succeeded to publish her works. Does this imply that she had problems to distribute her works in her natural hinterland, the Lutheran countries?

The fact that she was imprisoned, interrogated and expelled from Sweden in 1684 and 1685, and that she was instantly arrested and that her books were condemned to be burned when she returned to Stockholm in 1692 shows that the impact of Frölich was significant in Sweden.<sup>183</sup> It has been suggested that her prophecies influenced a group of faithful followers of Lars Ulstadius (1650-1732) at Uppsala University in the 1680s. Ulstadius was a radical pietistic theologian from Finland who would spend half of his life in a Stockholm prison.<sup>184</sup>

Some of her books can be identified in auction catalogues. Three titles are listed in the auction catalogue of Swedish lieutenant in Dutch service Gustaf Carlsson (1647-1708),<sup>185</sup> some more in the auction catalogue of German-Swedish minister Georg Friedrich Niehenck.<sup>186</sup> Manuscript annotations in copies in Lund, Skara and Skokloster reveal the names of some notable members of the Swedish nobility. The copy in Lund has the name of Bishop Andreas Olavi Rhyzelius (1677-1761) inscribed. He acquired his copy in 1709, around the time that he was offered professorships in Pärnu (Livonia) and Åbo (Finland). Rhyzelius could not travel there due to the Russian advance in the Great Nordic War, and stayed in Stockholm. He may have acquired the works of Frölich as reference material, so he would better understand the radical pietistic

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<sup>181</sup> See for example Colberg, *Das platonisch-hermetische Christenthum*, p. 261; G.S. Corvinus, *Nutzbares, galantes und curiöses Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1715), col. 584-585; Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, Bd. 9, p. 1103.

<sup>182</sup> P.J. Spener, *Theologische Bedencken*, Bd. 1 (Halle: In Verlegung des Wäysen-Hauses, 1700), p. 325.

<sup>183</sup> J. Kirschfeldt, ‘Eva Margaretha Frölich: ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts’, *Studien, Theologische, und Kritiken*, 101 (1929), pp. 209-210. Just like the translations of Kempe, the works of Frölich are listed in S.J. Alnander, *Historia librorum prohibitorum in Svecia* (Uppsala: [No publisher], 1764), pp. 27-29.

<sup>184</sup> J. Wallmann, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Zeitalter des Barock* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1995), pp. 265-275.

<sup>185</sup> *Bibliotheca Carlsoniana* (The Hague: Husson, 1711), p. 487: Libri theologici in duodecimo, no. 281.

<sup>186</sup> *Bibliotheca Georgii Friederici Niehenck [...] ad templum Christinae pastoris primarii quæ publicâ hastâ distrahenda est. die augusti 1753* (Gothenburg: Lange, 1753).



movement in Livonia and Finland. He probably was not too impressed with the works of Frölich, considering the text 'Frölichs deliria' on the title label.<sup>187</sup> The copy in Skara comes from the library of Count Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695-1770) and was later in possession of Baron Gabriel Posse. The Skokloster copy was part of the library of Carl Gustaf Bielke. He had studied in Leiden in 1702, but acquired the copy two years later when he was in the service of the army of Holstein. Even though all these names form an impressive group of names, lieutenant Gustaf Carlsson is the only one who could actually have acquired the books during Frölich's stay in the Dutch Republic.

Felgenhauer, Kempe and Frölich all have their unique personal narratives that largely explain their actions and publication histories. Still their writings can be placed in a tradition of devotional literature that flourished in the second half of the seventeenth century, with Amsterdam as its most important centre. As others have argued, this tradition has both a devotional and a commercial component.<sup>188</sup> Dutch publishers unmistakably played a significant role in the publication and dissemination of devotional literature for the Scandinavian market, firstly because they published a wide variety of Lutheran authors in their original languages, and secondly, because they provided German translations of English and French devotional texts.<sup>189</sup>

The spark that ignited the outburst of radical ideas and beliefs can in some cases be precisely identified. Radical pietism in Livonia got a strong impulse when Johann Fischer obtained a royal privilege to print books in Riga in 1675.<sup>190</sup> He published a pietistic bible in 1677 and directed the first edition in the Finnish-Baltic area of Arndt's classic *Wahrem Christentum*. Additionally, Fischer invited the Amsterdam bookseller Henricus Betkius to come to Riga. Betkius was the publisher of several reformed pietistic classics, including the works of Jacob Böhme. Even though there is no evidence that Eva Margareta Frölich bought and read any of these books, we know that she acquired her radical ideas at a time when these books had become available in the city where she lived and where others around her had similar ideas.

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<sup>187</sup> Lund UB, Sv Teol Sekt Kiliast.

<sup>188</sup> W. Heijting, *Profijtelijke boekskens: boekcultuur, geloof en gewin* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007). See especially the chapter on Henricus Betkius: 'Hendrick Beets, uitgever voor de Duitse Böhme-aanhangers in Amsterdam', pp. 209-242.

<sup>189</sup> F.W. Huisman, 'Puriteins-piëtistische invloeden in het lutherse Denemarken tot 1800', *Documentatieblad Nadere Reformatie*, 32 (2008), nr. 2, p. 171.

<sup>190</sup> A. Buchholz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga 1588-1888* (Riga: Müller, 1890; repr. Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1965), p. 147.

A spark is short-lived by nature and if it does not start a fire, it will soon fade away. Despite all the efforts to reach a local audience Frölich was forgotten in Amsterdam the day she left the city. Her works survived in Sweden because they had some sort of significance locally. What helped is that she was considered dangerous and that her books were forbidden by the Swedish state. Wherever the authorities light a bonfire of books, there are other people who understand that it is worth collecting them.

#### AUCTIONS AND COLLECTORS

Shortly after Swedish lieutenant Gustaf Carlsson (1647-1708) died in Terhorne in Friesland, his collection of nearly nine thousand books was auctioned by Pieter Husson in The Hague. The book collecting Swedish nobility could only stand by and watch how these 'Swedish' treasures were dispersed again. Count Carl Gustaf Tessin seems to have been particularly shocked by the low yield of the sale.<sup>191</sup> Although multiple copies of the auction catalogue have survived, some with manuscript prices, it is still hard to determine if the yield indeed fell short of expectations. The real pain might have been caused by the notion that such a grand and prestigious collections of a Swedish officer had slipped through the fingers of his compatriots.

Book auctions had been around in the Dutch Republic since 1599.<sup>192</sup> In Scandinavia they were first held in the 1660s following the Dutch example and rapidly gained importance in the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>193</sup> As I have mentioned before, some Swedish collections that seem to demonstrate direct connections to the book trade in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century were only assembled later in the eighteenth century. This particularly applies to the collections of Carl Fredrik Muhrbeck in Västerås and Carl Gustaf Bielke at Skokloster.

Consequently, we are facing two very different questions concerning the Dutch books in these collections. First of all, how were these Dutch books disseminated in the first place, and where did they survive all those years? Some of the books circulated

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<sup>191</sup> *Bibliotheca Carlsoniana* (The Hague: Husson, 1711); Carlander, *Svenska bibliotek* I, pp. 302-304.

<sup>192</sup> B.P.M. Dongelmans, 'Book sale catalogues in the Dutch Republic 1599-1800', in Hellinga et al. (eds.), *The Bookshop of the World*, pp. 255-262.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. for Denmark H. Ilsøe, *Biblioteker til salg: om danske bogauktioner og kataloger 1661-1811* (København: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 2007), p. 9

for up to a century before they were auctioned and they must have had multiple different owners before they ended up in the respective collections of Muhrbeck and Bielke. Moreover, is the context in which they were kept an explanation for their survival? Secondly, what kind of books did Muhrbeck and Bielke acquire at auctions and how does this compare to other acquisitions they made? Were they looking for specific types of books or genres, probably books that they were unable to acquire through other channels?

Biographical information about Carl Fredrik Muhrbeck (1737-1796) is scarce.<sup>194</sup> There are no studies or biographies on him, so little more is known than that he became a magister in Greifswald in 1757 and a preacher to the admiralty in Karlskrona in 1775. He was named bishop in Visby in 1796, but died before he was officially installed. His book collection of more than 3000 titles was planned to be auctioned in Lund, but for reasons that are unclear it was donated to the diocesan library in Västerås instead.<sup>195</sup>

The name of Carl Fredrik Muhrbeck is forever connected to the collection, first and foremost because it is the largest donation that the diocesan library in Västerås has ever received. There are, however, reasons to believe that a significant part of the collection was originally brought together by his father Lorentz Muhrbeck (1700-1769) and probably even his uncle Peter Muhrbeck (1708-1766). Carl Fredrik carefully wrote his name and the date of acquisition in all books of his collection and the most frequently found date of acquisition is 1770, coincidentally or not the year following the death of his father Lorentz. Moreover, there are several hundred of books in the collection that come from the collection of Georg Friedrich Niehenck (1678-1752), a minister in Rostock who later served the German community in Göteborg and was known as a 'light amidst the enemies of pietism'.<sup>196</sup> His collection was auctioned in Göteborg a year after his death, at a time when Carl Fredrik Muhrbeck was just sixteen. Even though a copy of the auction catalogue of the Niehenck collection is present in

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<sup>194</sup> Some basic facts are given by Carlander, *Svenska bibliotek och ex-libris*, vol. II:2, pp. 675-676.

<sup>195</sup> There is a catalogue of the auction that never took place: *Bibliotheca Caroli Friderici Muhrbeck, olim s.s. theol. doctoris et episcopi dioeceseos Gothlandicae, publica auctione Londini Gothorum d. Maji, MDCCXCIX* (Greifswald: J.H. Eckhardt, 1799).

<sup>196</sup> Carlander, *Svenska bibliotek och ex-libris*, vol. II, pp. 279-280.

the Muhrbeck collection, it is likely that either his father or his uncle acquired these books before they were bequeathed to him.

The Muhrbeck collection also holds copies of the auction catalogues of the collections of the German Lutheran theologians Johannes Fecht (1636-1716) and Johann Joachim Weidner (1672-1732), and of the German book collector Johann Moth (1639-1705). All copies have the manuscript names of both Niehenck and Muhrbeck on their title-pages and thus offer a kaleidoscopic perspective of different generations of owners, all having a background as Lutheran theologians. Moreover, it designates the geographical space where these books were dispersed, bought, read, collected, and ultimately, survived for decades. Just because the collection of Muhrbeck is a conglomeration of various older collections, it demonstrates that the books in the collection circulated in northern Germany, Swedish Pomerania and Skåne for generations.

The Muhrbeck collection principally contains publications on theology in Latin and German.<sup>197</sup> Approximately two-thirds of the entire collection consist of books that were printed in the seventeenth century. The Dutch books are almost all from this period. Some thirty to forty percent of all Latin language books in the Muhrbeck collection were printed in the Dutch Republic. They comprise some of the household names in Lutheran theology as may be expected in the library of a respected family of reformed ministers and theologians. Among the rare and sometimes even unique Latin titles in the collection we find a large number of theological disputations from Franeker University.<sup>198</sup>

Theology books in the German language that are found in the Muhrbeck collection are almost exclusively printed in Germany, although there is some reason to doubt the imprints of several pamphlets on radical pietism in the last quarter of the

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<sup>197</sup> The ratio between Latin and German books, approximately 55 to 45 percent. Books in other languages represent no more than five percent of the entire collection. Data derived from *Libris*.

<sup>198</sup> See particularly the composite volume with 38 dissertations supervised by Johannes Cloppenburg (Västerås SB, *Utlandska dissertationer, teologi*). More than half of them are unique. Among the authors are several students from Eastern Europe, Moravia, Hungary and, especially, Poland. The volume comes from the library of Johan Oelreich (1653-1700), who was a vicar in Southern Sweden. Most likely, it was acquired by his father Bernhard Oelreich (1626-1686), son of a Hamburg merchant and later superintendent of Swedish province Bremen-Verden. He visited Franeker university in 1649.

seventeenth century.<sup>199</sup> The theological books in the collection that were printed in the Dutch Republic are complementary to the bulk of conservative or mainstream titles that were printed in Germany. The Dutch books represent rare editions in the German language of the works of English, German and Dutch puritans, pietists and mystics, such as William Ames, Lewis Bayly, Paul Baynes, Johann Arndt, Johann Müller, Christian Hoburg, Quirinus Kuhlmann, Johann Horb and Antoinette de Bourignon. Some of these books were steady sellers, such as Johann Arndt's *Paradisgärtlein* and *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthumb*, but others were controversial and sometimes outright radical. These books were arguably a niche in the market and the aforementioned booksellers Nosche, Cunradus, Betkius and Luppius readily stepped in to meet the demand.

Theology from the seventeenth century makes up the largest part of Muhrbeck's collection. He acquired most of these books through auctions. Some books that were clearly not bought at an auction have provenances that reveal much about Muhrbeck's acquisition of new books. Moreover, it shows that Muhrbeck had no direct connections to booksellers in the Dutch Republic and was not interested in contemporary Dutch theological books. Two books that he received as a gift from Emmanuel Swedenborg in 1768 are in fact the only contemporary Dutch books acquired by him.<sup>200</sup>

A completely different story is presented by the collection of Count Carl Gustaf Bielke. The library that he formed in his castle at Salsta contains approximately 8,000 titles in 15,000 volumes.<sup>201</sup> After the death of Bielke it was inherited by his daughter Eva Bielke. Two years later the collection was purchased by Erik Brahe and incorporated in the Skokloster library, where it still is today. Most of the books in the Bielke library are

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<sup>199</sup> Some pamphlets with Reymers on the title-page were in fact printed and published by Betkius. Cf. M. Gierl, *Pietismus und Aufklärung: theologische Polemik und die Kommunikationsreform der Wissenschaft am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), pp. 361-362. For more on this, see my article 'Dutch connections in Swedish collections'.

<sup>200</sup> E. Swedenborg, *Apocalypsis revelata* (Amsterdam: [No publisher], 1766); idem, *Delitiæ sapientiæ de amore conjugiali* (Amsterdam: [No publisher], 1768), Västerås SB, Teologi IX Polemik, dogmatik, m.m. Some Dutch books from the 1740s entered his collection in 1770 and were most likely inherited from his father and his uncle.

<sup>201</sup> Lindberg, 'The Scandinavian book trade', p. 235.

in French on a variety of subjects, but there are hundreds of books in Latin, German, Swedish and Dutch as well.<sup>202</sup>

The collection was assembled in various ways. Bielke travelled around Europe for five and a half years around the turn of the eighteenth century, enrolling as a student in Angers (1698), Oxford (1701) and Leiden (1702), and it is obvious that he acquired many books on his travels. One comes across scholarly books, but also the occasional songbook, such as *De vrolyke bruidlofs gast*.<sup>203</sup> Moreover, from his correspondence and bookseller's catalogues in the collection it is known that Bielke had close connections to several internationally operating booksellers, like Petit & Du Moutier in Hamburg and François l'Honoré in Amsterdam. Manuscript annotations in several copies show that another bookseller from Amsterdam, the French Huguenot Pierre Brunel operated as Bielke's agent in the Dutch Republic. Based on these annotations, we can tell that he acquired at least forty titles in the Dutch Republic for Bielke, but it is likely that there were more. Interestingly Brunel bought not just monographs, but also periodicals such as the *Journal des sçavans* and *Bibliothèque choisie*.<sup>204</sup>

Bielke's third major channel for the acquisition of several thousands of books were the book auctions held in Stockholm and Uppsala in the 1730s and 1740s. Bielke carefully wrote down the date and location of the auction and the amount that he had paid for each individual book. French language and literature is the dominant genre among the books that Bielke acquired at auctions, however, that is the only shared characteristic that stands out among his acquisitions. It has been suggested that the Bielke library contains many rare editions, precisely because of this haphazard and varied formation of the collection, with practical handbooks and subjects of passing

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<sup>202</sup> Incomplete and insufficient data from *Libris* suggest that roughly 35 percent of all titles in the Bielke collection is in French, 25 percent in Latin, 15 percent in German, 10 percent in Swedish and 5 percent in Dutch. Only a small part of the Dutch titles in the Bielke collection has been entered in the STCN (this collection is searchable because all Bielke shelf marks at Skokloster begin with III), but already more Dutch titles have been found than are listed by *Libris*.

<sup>203</sup> J. Jonker, *De vrolyke bruidlofs gast: bestaande in boertige bruidlofs levertjes, en vermaakelyke minnedigten* (Amsterdam: D. van Dalen, A. van Damme, 1697).

<sup>204</sup> It is likely that not all volumes reached Bielke directly from the Netherlands. See for example Skokloster SB, III.995, *Bibliothèque choisie*, with the annotation 'Denn tomen kostar i Amsterdam aff Pierre Brunel 1 gyll. 2 st. holländsk' (this volume costs in Amsterdam by Brunel 1 guilder and 2 stuivers). Other copies were presumably bought in Stockholm or inherited from his family.

interest.<sup>205</sup> This is provisionally confirmed by the data that are now available via the STCN. More than one quarter of the 271 books that have so far been recorded turn out to be new additions to the national bibliography of the Netherlands.

Bielke has been credited for preserving many historical manuscripts and books on Swedish history.<sup>206</sup> However, also many of the Dutch books that he acquired at auctions are now extremely rare. For example, a composite volume with Dutch assortment lists from the 1640s, with a unique catalogue of the Amsterdam bookseller Henricus Laurentius and the obscure Utrecht bookseller Johannes van Doorn.<sup>207</sup> It is sometimes hard to understand why Bielke was interested in these types of books. Why did he buy Dutch bookseller's catalogues that were over a century old when he acquired them in 1753? And for what reason did he buy a composite volume with nearly fifty rare Dutch and Flemish state publications and period documents from the late sixteenth century?<sup>208</sup> Bielke is credited for preserving numerous manuscripts, books and ephemera that are valuable for Swedish history. It is likely that he was only interested in one specific detail in the Dutch catalogues and composite volumes that he acquired. Perhaps the name of a Swedish student, merchant or military commander, the correspondence of an ambassador or the account of a battle. However, in the process of doing so, he preserved a number of Dutch editions that possibly did not survive in Dutch libraries.<sup>209</sup>

#### SUBSCRIPTIONS, PERIODICALS AND MAIL-ORDERS

In 1751 the Amsterdam bookseller Pieter Mortier published John Arckenholtz' four-volume history of Queen Christina in French and German.<sup>210</sup> The lengthy list of

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<sup>205</sup> Lindberg, 'The Scandinavian book trade', p. 235.

<sup>206</sup> G. Carlquist, 'Carl Gustaf Bielke', in *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/18160>> (10-11-2016).

<sup>207</sup> Skokloster, Slotts Bibliotek: III.3.319.

<sup>208</sup> Skokloster, Slotts Bibliotek: III.76.906.

<sup>209</sup> Including two publications of Franciscus Raphelengius that are not mentioned in Valkema Blouw's *Typographia Batava 1541-1600: repertorium van boeken gedrukt in Nederland tussen 1541 en 1600*, 2 dln (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1998): *Oprechtinghe ende instellinghe gedaen by de heeren ridderschap [...] van t'collegium theologiae, inde hooge schole der stadt Leyden: mitsgaders de ordonnantie daer toe dienende* (Leiden: F. van Raphelengien, 1592); and *Tgoetduncken, believen en besluit der heeren, ridderschap [...] op de ordre voortsien inde universiteit der stadt Leyden zal werden onderhouden, om te geraecken totten staet [...] van licentie of doctoraet* (Leiden: F. van Raphelengien, 1592).

<sup>210</sup> J. Arckenholtz, *Memoires concernant Christine reine de Suede*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam and Leipzig: P. Mortier, 1751 [vols. 1-2]; J. Schreuder and P. Mortier le Jeune [vols. 3-4], 1759-1760).

subscribers found in the first volume of the French edition demonstrates that more than a hundred copies were shipped to Swedish customers (fig. 11). Among the subscribers we recognize Swedish aristocratic book collectors, university professors, merchants and government officials. We see the names of Count Bielke, Baron Oxenstierna, industrialist and entomologist Charles De Geer, scientist Olaf Celsius, Bengt Bergius, royal printer Peter Momma and many others. Surprisingly there is only one northern bookseller on the list, the Stockholm-based Johann Frédéric Lochner who signed up for ‘several copies’.

The book trade between the Dutch Republic and Sweden changed rapidly in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>211</sup> It is thought that the Dutch booksellers gradually lost ground to foreign colleagues from the 1720s onwards and at first sight, this seems definitely the case in Sweden. The central place of the Dutch booksellers in Stockholm and Uppsala had been taken over by German colleagues.<sup>212</sup> Georg Moritz Weidmann opened a branch of his Leipzig company in Stockholm in 1726. Johann Heinrich Russworm from Rostock settled in Uppsala in 1721 and moved to Stockholm two years later. Gottfried Kiesewetter took over after the death of Russworm and ran one of the most important bookshops in the country between 1735 and 1761. Equally important was the rise of Swedish printer and bookseller Lars Salvius (1706-1773) in the 1740s.<sup>213</sup> Salvius gained the right to print the *Acta* of the Royal Society of Sciences in Uppsala in 1743 and became the publisher of some of Sweden’s best-known scientists, most notably Carolus Linnaeus. Midway through the eighteenth century Sweden’s reputation in the natural sciences rapidly increased and Salvius, who held the rights to several Swedish publications that were in demand abroad, became an important trade partner for some of the larger European publishing houses. He had agents all over the continent and exchanged books with colleagues in Paris, Geneva, Verona, Amsterdam and Copenhagen.<sup>214</sup> In the light of the German and Swedish

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<sup>211</sup> For an extensive study into the changes in book distribution in the Dutch Republic, see H. van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen: veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720-1800* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1999).

<sup>212</sup> Lindberg, ‘The Scandinavian book trade’, p. 231.

<sup>213</sup> Ibidem, p. 230.

<sup>214</sup> Ibidem. See also B. Bennich-Björkman, ‘Eliternas gata och handeln på broar och marknader: systemen för spridning av böcker i Sverige 1600-1850’, in J.E. Petterson (ed.), *Bokens vägar* (Solna: Seelig, 1998), pp. 13-81.



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Augier (*Daniel*) à Amsterdam.

### B.

Balguerie (*Pierre*) Agent de S. M. le Roi de Suède pour 3 Exemplaires.  
\* ——— le même pour 2 Exemplaires.  
Barbault (*Theophile*) Chapelain de S. A. R. de Hesse.  
Barber (*Thomas*) à la Douane à Jarmouth.  
Bart (*Thomas Robinson*) }  
Bart (*Clement Cottrell Dormer*) } en Anglet.  
Bart (*Thomas Moflyn*) }  
Bartholomei & Fils, Libraires à Ulm pour 7 Exemplaires.  
Bauer (*J. G.*) Libraire à Strasbourg.  
Beaufort (*Louis de*) Gentilhomme.  
Beeman (*Jean Daniel*) Libraire à Rotterdam pour 2 Exemplaires.

## M E S S I E U R S.

Benzeltierna (*Laurent*) Professeur de l'Université d'Upsal.  
Berch (*Reinhold*) Secrétaire du Collège des Antiquités de Suède.  
Berckentin (*le Comte de*) Ministre du Conseil du Roi à Coppenhague.  
Berger ( ) Libraire à Rostock.  
Bergius (*Benoit*) Maître es Arts en Suède.  
Berkley of Stretton (*Mylord*) en Angleterre.  
Bernard (*Jean Etienne*) Docteur en Médecine à Amsterdam pour 3 Exemplaires.  
Bernstorff (*le Baron de*) Membre du Conseil Privé de S. M. Danoise & Secrétaire d'Etat au département des affaires Etrangères &c. &c. &c. à Coppenhague.  
Best (*Thomas*) Esqr. en Angleterre.  
Bibliothèque Royale de Suède.  
\* ——— d'Upsal.  
——— de Cassel.  
Bicker (*Mademoiselle*) à Amsterdam.  
\* Bielke (*le Comte Charles Gustave*) Président au Comptoir d'Etat, Chevalier & Commandeur des Ordres du Roi de Suède.  
Bielke (*Comte Thuro Gabriel*) Sénateur de Suède, Chevalier & Commandeur des Ordres du Roi.  
Bielke (*le Comte*) Chambellan du Roi de Suède.  
Blome (*Guillaume Baltazar*) Conseiller privé de Guerre à Cassel.  
Boey (*Tb.*) Secrétaire de la Cour de Justice à la Haye.  
Bohm (*Jean Daniel*) à Amsterdam.  
Bohn (*Jean Charles*) Libraire à Hambourg pour deux Exemplaires.  
Borck (*Frédéric Guillaume de*) Conseiller privé de S. M. le Roi de Suède.  
Bose ( *de* ) Chambellan de S. M. le Roi de Pologne Electeur de Saxe.  
Bordeaux (*Etienne*) Libraire à Berlin pour 12 Exemplaires.  
\* ——— le même pour 2 Exemplaires.  
\*\*\* 2 Bourgs-

FIGURE 11: FIRST PAGE OF THE LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS IN THE FRENCH EDITION OF ARCKENHOLTZ' *MEMOIRES CONCERNANT CHRISTINE REINE DE SUEDE*. COPY: VÄSTERÅS STADSBIBLIOTEKET, HISTORIA SVERIGE.

booksellers' dominance it would be easy to disregard the role of the Dutch altogether. However, the list of subscribers mentioned above unmistakably shows that there was still a market for Dutch books in Sweden by the mid-eighteenth century. So how did these books travel from the Dutch Republic to the north?

Booksellers used various methods to trade with each other.<sup>215</sup> The exchange of books as described above in the case of Salvius may have been common in the international book trade, but trade in commission and on credit certainly played a part as well. Customers could also place their orders either directly at the booksellers or through the help of commissioners. Baron Johan Gabriel Sack (1697-1751) ordered large numbers of books directly from the bookshop of François l'Honoré in Amsterdam.<sup>216</sup> In Sack's correspondence with Tessin, that is preserved in the National Archives in Stockholm, are 29 bills for a total of 466 titles that were delivered by l'Honoré.<sup>217</sup> Not only did he deliver books to Sweden that he had published himself, but also books from Paris and London. The books were shipped by Andries Pels & Fils, which by the mid-eighteenth century was one of the foremost banking firms in Europe. Sack was not alone in his business relation with l'Honoré. As mentioned above, in the Skokloster archives of Carl Gustaf Bielke we find a number of retail stock catalogues of the same bookseller.<sup>218</sup>

Probably the best example of a Swedish-Dutch mail-order relationship is that of Baron Charles De Geer of Leufsta with the Luchtmans publishers in Leiden. De Geer was a descendant of the seventeenth-century arms trader and industrialist Louis De Geer. He was born in Sweden in 1720, but moved to the Dutch Republic at the age of three. He grew up in the family castle 'Rijnhuizen' close to the river Vecht.<sup>219</sup> When De Geer was considered old enough to lead the family's ironworks in Sweden he was sent up north in 1738 and settled at an estate near Leufsta.

Charles De Geer may have been a baron and a wealthy industrialist, but he is best known for his contributions in the field of entomology.<sup>220</sup> His magnum opus

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<sup>215</sup> Van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, vol. 5, p. 54; Van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen*, p. 61.

<sup>216</sup> Lindberg, 'The Scandinavian book trade', p. 236.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. Ibidem; RAS, Tessinska samlingen. Carl Gustaf Tessin. (RA/720849.002), E 5737.

<sup>218</sup> RAS, Tessinska samlingen, passim.

<sup>219</sup> Anfält, 'Buying books by mail order', pp. 265-266.

<sup>220</sup> E. Hamberg, 'Entomologisk litteratur hos Charles De Geer', *Svenska Linnésällskapets Årsskrift* (2015), pp. 71-102

*Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des insectes* was published in Stockholm between 1752 and 1778.<sup>221</sup> Naturally, his library contains several of the great books in the field of natural history, including Willem Piso's *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* (1648), Louis Renard's *Poissons ecrevisses et crabs* (1754) and Albertus Seba's *Thesaurus* (1734-1765). Over half of all the folio-sized natural history books in the Leufsta collection are produced in the Dutch Republic.<sup>222</sup> The family background of De Geer surely played a role in the presence of these works in the collection, but the large numbers in which they are found in both this and other Swedish collections, demonstrate that scientific books in large format with engraved plates were a much-desired Dutch commodity in eighteenth-century Sweden.<sup>223</sup>

Natural history is just one of the topics covered in the Leufsta library. Religion, politics, philosophy, music and literature are all equally well-represented in the collection. The collection of engraved music books at Leufsta is renowned among musicologists, mostly because of the presence of fifteen unique pieces by composers such as Giovanni de Santis and Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch (1691-1765).<sup>224</sup> The music collection is also a good reminder of the fact that De Geer acquired part of his collection during his childhood years in the Dutch Republic. There is no reason to assume that he ordered music while living in Sweden. In fact, all music in the collection was published before 1738, coincidentally the year that De Geer moved with his books from the Dutch Republic to Leufsta. The only receipts for the purchase of music books are found in the account books that Charles De Geer's father kept in the 1730s.<sup>225</sup> On 26 November, 1736, for instance, a payment of 21 gulden and 9 stuivers was made to 'musician Visscher for music books'. In the same year, the Utrecht bookseller Johannes Broedelet was paid for delivering 'Italian music from Le Cene'. Le Cene was a well-known Amsterdam music publisher.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> C. De Geer, *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire des insectes*, 8 parts in 7 vols. (Stockholm: Grefing, Hesselberg, 1752-1778).

<sup>222</sup> This part of the collection is considered 'most valuable' by Uppsala University and has therefore been transferred from Leufsta to the University Library. All copies have been catalogued in both *Libris* and (where applicable) the STCN, and can be recognized by shelf marks starting with 'Leufstasaml.'

<sup>223</sup> See appendix, table 6.

<sup>224</sup> A. Dunning, 'Die De Geer'schen Musikalien in Leufsta', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 48 (1966), pp. 187-210.

<sup>225</sup> Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Leufstaarkivet 164.

<sup>226</sup> For more on Le Cène see: R. Rasch, 'Estienne Roger en Michel-Charles le Cene: Europese muziekuitgevers te Amsterdam 1696-1743, Holland, 26 (1994), pp. 292-313; for a comprehensive overview

A third dimension in the Leufsta library is the presence of Enlightenment literature.<sup>227</sup> De Geer subscribed to the *Encyclopedie* of Diderot and d'Alembert in 1751 and all volumes, including the supplements are in his collection.<sup>228</sup> Works by Voltaire and Rousseau are also present, even though his Dutch agent Luchtmans wrote to him on 19 March, 1763 that 'he had not been able to obtain *Du contract social* by Rousseau, because the authorities imposed such a high fine that no one could get it'.<sup>229</sup> The Enlightenment spirit is further reflected in the so-called 'forbidden French books', which are found at Leufsta in large numbers.<sup>230</sup> These clandestine publications where eroticism and slander were loosely combined with Enlightenment philosophy, were euphemistically listed by the booksellers as 'livres philosophiques'.

De Geer undoubtedly used different channels for the acquisition of his books. From the account books of his father, we can conclude that the Utrecht bookseller Johannes Broedelet supplied a few hundred books to the family when they were living in the Dutch Republic.<sup>231</sup> De Geer brought them with him when he moved to Leufsta in 1738. Upon arrival, moreover, he found that the housekeepers at his estates had already started to build a library with books they considered suitable for a young master. Finally, the Stockholm booksellers Kiesewetter and Salvius could easily deliver the latest French books, but more research is necessary to prove that they actually did.<sup>232</sup>

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of sources, see: Ibidem, *The music publishing house of Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles le Cène 1696-1743* (= *My work on the internet*, volume four),

<<http://www.let.uu.nl/~Rudolf.Rasch/personal/Roger/Roger.htm>> (1-12-2016)

<sup>227</sup> T. Anfält, 'Consumer of Enlightenment: Charles De Geer – savant and book collector in eighteenth-century Sweden', *The book collector*, 40, no. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 197-210.

<sup>228</sup> Liljebjörn, *Katalog öfver Leufsta bruks gamla fideikommissbibliotek*, p. 62.

<sup>229</sup> Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50, '25 numrerade räkningar/kvittenser över bokinköp som gjorts hos Luchtmans mellan 1758 och 1772', no. 13, manuscript, letter from S. and J. Luchtmans to Charles De Geer, 19 March, 1763.

<sup>230</sup> T. Anfält, 'Bad books and barons: French underground literature in a Swedish 18th century private library', in S. Hedberg (ed.), *Serving the scholarly community: essays on tradition and change in research libraries, presented to Thomas Tottie on July 3rd, 1995* (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1995), pp. 271-279. Anfält used a list provided by Darnton and found 108 of these titles in Leufsta library. Cf. R. Darnton, *The forbidden best-sellers of pre-revolutionary France* (New York: Norton, 1996).

<sup>231</sup> Anfält 'Buying books by mail order', pp. 266-268.

<sup>232</sup> Anfält gives several examples of books at Leufsta that were offered in the catalogues of Kiesewetter and Salvius. Even though it is not unlikely that De Geer occasionally acquired books from these Stockholm booksellers, there are no letters, invoices or delivery notes to prove this. See Anfält, 'Bad books and barons', p. 276-277. An answer to the question may be found in the handwritten catalogues that De Geer compiled. For example, the catalogue of 1750 contains acquisition prices. It seems likely that the prices with the currency symbol *f* (Florin) indicate books that were ordered in the Dutch Republic and the *c* (Carolin) point to books acquired in Sweden. See Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 42, manuscript, *Bibliotheca Caroli De Geer, med prisuppgifter*.

The main connection of De Geer, however, was the Leiden-based firm of Samuel and Johannes Luchtmans. In their preserved client books, which are kept at the University of Amsterdam, he appears as one of their best customers, ordering roughly 1500 books between 1746 and 1778.<sup>233</sup> Moreover, in the archives of Leufsta that are now in the collections of Uppsala University Library, there are 25 letters of Luchtmans to De Geer, covering the period 1759 to 1772.<sup>234</sup> An account book from the 1740s shows the delivery of some books, periodicals and even a small microscope by Petrus van Musschenbroek.<sup>235</sup> This renowned Dutch scientist was not only the former tutor of De Geer, but also the uncle of Samuel and Johannes Luchtmans.

The archival sources offer insight in the acquisition strategies of De Geer, the relation between the collector and his booksellers and, moreover, the intermediary role played by Luchtmans in the European book trade. Strikingly, numerous periodicals are listed in every invoice of Luchtmans. De Geer had subscriptions to the *Bibliothèque impartiale*, *Journal des sçavans*, *Le nouvelliste oeconomique et litteraire*, *Bibliothèque des sciences, et des beaux arts* and a whole range of other titles.<sup>236</sup> He usually received one or more recent issues per shipment, even though there are examples where he retrospectively ordered numerous backward issues of a periodical at once. The periodicals that are found at Leufsta today are beautifully preserved, uniformly bound and rarely carrying any traces of use. One would be forgiven to think that they are just placed in the library for decoration. The notebooks of De Geer reveal, however, that he meticulously studied the latest issues of several periodicals and kept notes on topics and books that interested him.<sup>237</sup>

Periodicals were important means to stay informed about newly published literature.<sup>238</sup> De Geer actively studied them, wrote down the titles of publications that caught his attention, and placed his orders with Samuel and Johannes Luchtmans in

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<sup>233</sup> Anfält, 'Buying books by mail order', pp. 269-271. See the archives of the Koninklijke Vereniging van het Boekenvak (KVB) at the University of Amsterdam, Special Collections. Cf. note 54.

<sup>234</sup> Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50, '25 numrerade räkningar/kvittenser över bokinköp som gjorts hos Luchtmans mellan 1758 och 1772'.

<sup>235</sup> Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 57, manuscript, *Memorial van allerlei saaken*.

<sup>236</sup> Anfält lists 76 periodicals, most of them in French, which were almost exclusively acquired through Luchtmans. Anfält, 'Buying books by mail order', pp. 272-274.

<sup>237</sup> Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 37, manuscript, *Bibliografiska anteckningar till artiklar i Journal des Sçavans, Année littéraire, Bibliothèque des sciences, Frérons lettres sur quelques écrits de ce temps m.m.*

<sup>238</sup> See especially for Scandinavia E. Krefting et al. (eds.), *Eighteenth-century periodicals as agents of change: perspectives on northern Enlightenment* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

Leiden. The majority of the books that we find on the cargo lists of Luchtmans had been published just one or two years before De Geer ordered them. An exception are the books that he ordered via Luchtmans from Great-Britain. In a letter from Luchtmans dated 14 November, 1759 we find among other things Francis Willughby's *Ornithology*, which is in the library in a London edition of 1676 and Hans Sloane's *History of Jamaica*, published between 1707 and 1725 (fig. 12).<sup>239</sup> On the same list is also Philip Miller's *The gardeners dictionary* in two volumes. This must be the edition of 1737-1739, which is present at Leufsta in two volumes. The edition of 1759, for which a proposal for reprinting was issued in 1756, is also in the library, but bound in one volume. Luchtmans clearly operated as an intermediary between De Geer and the British book market. When De Geer desired a work by George Edwards (1694-1773) in 1760, probably *Gleanings of natural history*, Luchtmans replied that he had written to England, and advised De Geer to put in some extra orders so these could be shipped at once.<sup>240</sup> Seven years later, Luchtmans had trouble finding another book of Edwards that De Geer had ordered, *History of birds*, stating that 'it could not be obtained in this country' and for that reason, 'he had written to London'.<sup>241</sup>

Luchtmans sometimes apologized for the books that he failed to obtain, especially in the case of missing issues of periodicals, but evidently went through great lengths to find the books that De Geer ordered. In a letter dated 11 September, 1767 Luchtmans mentions a book on insects by Admiral of which so far only one instalment had been published. This must be Jacob l'Admiral's *Naauwkeurige waarneemingen*, which according to all existing bibliographies was published in 1774, but as this letter by Luchtmans shows, was actually published in instalments from 1767 onwards.<sup>242</sup> With great efforts, Luchtmans managed to find an exquisite copy of the original edition of Admiral's work from the 1740s at the house of the author in Amsterdam. He acquired it assuming that De Geer would prefer a coloured copy over an uncoloured one.<sup>243</sup> It is an example that demonstrates the commitment of Luchtmans to acquire

<sup>239</sup> Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50, manuscript, invoice/letter no. 3.

<sup>240</sup> Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50, manuscript, invoice/letter no. 4.

<sup>241</sup> Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50, manuscript, invoice/letter no. 20.

<sup>242</sup> J. l'Admiral, *Naauwkeurige waarneemingen omtrent de veranderingen van veele insekten of gekorvene diertjes* (Amsterdam: J. Sluyter, 1774).

<sup>243</sup> Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50, manuscript, invoice/letter no. 20. The invoice included in the letter lists the book with coloured plates ('25 platen en afgeset') at a price of f 46:12.



1759 aande Hoogd. Ged. Heer Ch. de Geer  
gezonden door S. en J. Luchtman

Whor. Gardiners Dictionary fol: voll: —	36: —
Willugbey Ornithology fol: —	20: —
Debal Thefaurus fol: tom: 3 ius	40: —
Stans Sloane History of Jamaica fol: voll: —	55: —
Bible par Chais 1 <sup>o</sup> tome 5 <sup>e</sup> p. 1.	3: 5
Eloin Littéraire 1 <sup>o</sup> tom: 12	1: 5
Biblioth. German: 1 <sup>o</sup> t: 24. 2 <sup>o</sup> p. t. 25. 1 <sup>o</sup> p.	1: 4
Des Sciences 1 <sup>o</sup> t: 41. 2 <sup>o</sup> p. t. 12. 1 <sup>o</sup> p.	1: 10
1 <sup>o</sup> Deconomique tom: 29 et 30	2: —
1 <sup>o</sup> Année Littéraire 12. 1750 1 <sup>o</sup> partie	10: —
Journal Encyclop. 12. 1759 t. 1 p. 3. 4. 2. 3. 4 compl.	1: 5
Des Sciences 12. 1759 1 <sup>o</sup> t. 1-12	4: 10
Commerium litt. Nord: 4. Index 1741. 2. 3. 4. 5.	1: —
	<b>103: 19</b>

Denna räkning är befallt.  
Charles de Geer

FIGURE 12: CARGO LIST OF BOOKS DELIVERED BY S. AND J. LUCHTMANS TO CHARLES DE GEER ON 14 NOVEMBER 1759, INCLUDING BRITISH WORKS BY MILLER, WILLUGBY AND SLOANE. UPPSALA UB, LEUFSTA MS 50, NO. 3.

the ordered books, but even more that he was not afraid to rely on his own judgement. Moreover, he regularly included books in his shipment to Sweden that De Geer had not ordered, but might appreciate. If he was not interested, he could simply return them.

This transportation back and forth of books was not without risks. Books were frequently damaged during transport, in which case Luchtman would send replacements. On one occasion Luchtman mentions that an entire shipment was lost at sea.<sup>244</sup> To reduce the financial risks involved, Luchtman left transportation in the hands of trading company Jan & Carl Hasselgreen. The packages were usually marked with 'C.G. libri no.' combined with a package number. The fact that the numbers given in the correspondence are not consecutive, suggests that more shipments were made for which no records in the archives survive. De Geer bought the books on credit, but payment did not always go well. Luchtman had to remind De Geer several times about outstanding bills and started charging interest. Examples from 1769 and 1771

<sup>244</sup> Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50, manuscript, invoice/letter no. 8.

show that De Geer paid with a bill of exchange that was delivered in Amsterdam by Anthony Grill junior (1705-1783).<sup>245</sup> In fact, he was the owner of Antoni Grill & Sons Trading House in Amsterdam, part of a Swedish family business that included banks, trading houses, factories and ironworks.

The correspondence further demonstrates that the orders included books from a variety of publishers in the Dutch Republic. Now that cataloguing of the collection is slowly progressing, it becomes apparent that very few books at Leufsta were actually published by Luchtmans.<sup>246</sup> The best represented publishers in the collection are Pierre Gosse senior and junior (The Hague), Elie Luzac (Leiden), Jean Neaulme (The Hague) and Marc-Michel Rey (Amsterdam). Luzac, Neaulme and Rey are typical Enlightenment publishers with a large stock of contemporary French books. The Gosse family had relations in Paris and Genève<sup>247</sup> and it is possible that they are the connection to some of the French and Swiss books in the collection.<sup>248</sup>

Cataloguing produced another unexpected result. No fewer than 116 out of a total of 561 Dutch titles recorded at Leufsta so far, turned out to be new additions to the STCN. It is remarkable that a collection with such close ties to the Dutch Republic and which was compiled with the aid of one of the largest, best-known and arguably best-researched booksellers of the country, differs fundamentally from everything that bibliographers have recorded over the last thirty-five years in Dutch libraries. The additions from Leufsta to the STCN are rarely new or unknown texts, they rather comprise unknown or at least unrecorded editions of well-known texts. The question is if this is due to their dissemination in the eighteenth century or to their preservation in the following two hundred years. In other words, is there evidence of editions that were printed to be exported? Or did certain titles or genres simply survive better in the isolated setting of a private library in Sweden, and arguably other countries, than in

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<sup>245</sup> Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50, manuscript, invoice/letter no. 21 and 22.

<sup>246</sup> These statistics should be interpreted with care, since only 10 to 15 percent of the entire collection has been catalogued so far, both in the STCN and in *Libris*. The STCN accounts for only five Luchtmans publications at Leufsta, *Libris* does not have a single one for Leufsta.

<sup>247</sup> E. Geleijns, 'Niet gedrukt in Den Haag: achttiende-eeuwse Haagse boeken met een vals impressum', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 15 (2008), p. 117.

<sup>248</sup> Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50, manuscript, invoice/letter no. 15. According to a letter sent by Luchtmans to De Geer 12 April 1767, Gosse was responsible for the delivery of the maps of Vaugondy, presumably the *Atlas universel*, published by Gilles and Didier Robert De Vaugondy in 1757 that is in the collection at Leufsta. Luchtmans refers to 'the enclosed reply of Gosse', but this has not yet been found in the archives.



any Dutch library?<sup>249</sup> An answer to these questions cannot be given on the basis of the Leufsta collection alone. Comparison to other collections may also demonstrate to what extent the composition of Leufsta library and the network and collection strategies of De Geer are typical for this collection. In the administration of Luchtmans, he is the only customer of the firm in Scandinavia.

The mail-order relation between De Geer and Luchtmans came to an abrupt end when De Geer died in 1778. In the collection this is tangible in the incomplete copy of Pieter Cramer's *Uitlandsche kapellen* (1775-1782). De Geer had subscribed to the publication and even kept the proposal for subscription in his library. The copy found in his library is incomplete, lacking everything that was published after the thirteenth instalment.<sup>250</sup> De Geer had died on the 7<sup>th</sup> of March, shortly before instalments fourteen to sixteen would be shipped to Stockholm.

#### NETWORKS OF SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE

The Bergius collection at Stockholm University Library is in many respects a counterweight to the Leufsta library.<sup>251</sup> It was formed around the same time, covers roughly the same topics, but was compiled along completely different lines. The collection was set up by medical doctor and botanist Peter Jonas Bergius (1730-1790) together with his brother, historian and banker Bengt Bergius (1723-1784).

The emphasis in the Bergius collection is on natural history, including botany, zoology and medicine, but related subjects such as geography and travel are also well-represented. Literature and the 'livres philosophiques' found at Leufsta are absent in the Bergius collection. It is apparent that the collection was assembled by professional naturalists who had a tendency towards bibliophilia. Most works are in an excellent condition, their bindings are beautiful and the colouring is generally of a high standard. One of the finest examples is a copy of Merian's 'Raupenbuch' or *Erucarum*

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<sup>249</sup> Interestingly, very few private collections from the eighteenth century have survived in the Netherlands, whereas several can still be found in its original setting in Sweden. For Dutch collections, see P.J. Buijnsters, 'J.J. Björnsthål's bezoek aan Nederlandse boekverzamelaars in 1774/1775' in *Documentatieblad werkgroep Achttiende eeuw* 34/35 (1977), pp. 65-83; for Swedish collections, other than the ones discussed in this thesis, compare Wästberg, *Resa i tysta rum*.

<sup>250</sup> P. Cramer, *De uitlandsche kapellen voorkomende in de drie waereld-deelen Asia, Africa en America* (Amsterdam: S.J. Baalde, 1775-1782); Uppsala UB, Leufstasaml. q 56.

<sup>251</sup> The text of this chapter is a reworked version of my article: Alsemgeest, 'Dutch connections in Swedish collections'.

*ortus, alimentum et paradoxa metamorphosis* with counter-proof plates and an exquisitely decorated red moroccan binding.<sup>252</sup> Several other copies have interesting provenances of Swedish naturalists that remind us of the central position that the Bergius brothers had in the scientific life of their day.

The beautiful bindings and illustrated books of all the great eighteenth-century naturalists give the collection allure, but the collection stands out from other naturalist collections because of a number of rare publications that have survived in only very few copies. Take for example a unique sales catalogue issued by the Dutch florist Jacobus Gans.<sup>253</sup> The title-page suggests that he targeted a European clientele, by stating that the ‘trees and shrubs’ that he had to offer would flourish ‘anywhere in Europe’. In an advertisement in the *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant* he claimed to have brought them in himself from London.<sup>254</sup> Interestingly he had arranged his catalogue according to the system of Linnaeus. At a time when Linnaean taxonomy was still hotly debated among naturalists across the continent, a commercial florist in Haarlem had already embraced and implemented the new system. The decision to adhere to Linnaean taxonomy will undoubtedly have been welcomed in a country like Sweden, home of ‘nature’s bookkeeper’ Linnaeus and his apostles. The question is whether the Bergius brothers added the catalogue to the collection solely because of its taxonomic value, or whether they were in business with Gans and bought trees and shrubs for their Begielund estates. The answer might well be found in the vast archives of the Swedish Academy of Sciences, but we would never have asked the question if this catalogue had not surfaced in the Bergius library.

The Bergius brothers evidently benefited from their position in the sciences and acquired some of their best works through connections at the Academy of Sciences. Mark Catesby’s *The natural history of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands* (1731-1743) was donated by Petronella Psilanderhielm (1729-1802), who was married to the academy member, surgeon and court physician Herman Schützercrantz (1713-1802).

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<sup>252</sup> M.S. Merian, *Erucarum ortus, alimentum et paradoxa metamorphosis* (Amsterdam: J. Oosterwyk, [1718?]). Copy Stockholm Universitetsbibliotek, Frescatibiblioteket, MAG MN Berg. Bibl.

<sup>253</sup> *Catalogus van oranje-citroen-limoen en verscheide Americaansche en andere uitheemsche boomen en heesters [...] die [...] te bekomen zyn by Jacobus Gans, bloemist te Haarlem en Hillegom* ([No place: No publisher, c. 1775]). Copy Stockholm, Universitetsbibliotek H.IX:2.2.n.2. See also H. van der Eijk, ‘Harde en Evergreene Heester Trees, Shrobbes. De catalogi en kwekerij van de achttiende-eeuwse kweker Jacobus Gans’, *Cascade*, 24:1 (2015), pp. 9-33.

<sup>254</sup> *Oprechte Haerlemsche courant*, 24-11-1770.

Another name that appears regularly in the Bergius collection is that of the admiral and scientist Theodor Ankarcrona (1687-1750). Also royal physician Abraham Bäck (1713-1795) sent several books to Bergielund.<sup>255</sup> These are just examples, but it is telling that they were all members of the Academy of Sciences. Additionally, the correspondence of Bengt Bergius shows that he relied on former classmates such as Gustaf Sommelius, who was a lecturer in Lund, Jönas Lind, stationed in Uppsala and Daniel Annerstedt from Växjö, to send him academic publications.<sup>256</sup>

Compared to their seventeenth-century Swedish counterparts the Bergius brothers could obtain the latest scientific publications with relative ease. According to Linnaean student Clas Bjerkander (1735-1795) the mid-eighteenth century was the time in Sweden when ‘Linnaeus wrote, Salvius printed and Tessin bought’.<sup>257</sup> The intellectual creation, the printing, transport and collecting, now all took place in Sweden. Still, not every publication that the Bergius brothers desired was available in Scandinavia. Unlike Charles De Geer, the Bergius brothers had no mail-order relation with a renowned bookseller like Luchtmans. Their correspondence shows that they largely depended on an international scientific network for the acquisition of rare foreign publications. Their main connection in the Dutch Republic was the Hague, later Leiden physician and anatomist Eduard Sandifort (1742-1814).<sup>258</sup> Sandifort was fluent in Swedish and translated Nils Rosén von Rosenstein’s *Underrättelser om barnsjukdomar och deras botemedel* into Dutch.<sup>259</sup> One year earlier, he had introduced himself to Per Jonas Bergius in a letter, explaining that he had started to collect natural history and medical books some years ago. He requested Bergius to send him dissertations and other books and asked what Bergius would like to receive in return.<sup>260</sup> Bergius seemed eager to accept the invitation to exchange publications and

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<sup>255</sup> Holmberg, ‘Om Bergianska Biblioteket och dess uppkomst’, p. 28.

<sup>256</sup> Ibidem, pp. 26-27.

<sup>257</sup> Original quoted as ‘Linnaeus skrev, Salvius tryckte, och Tessin köpte’; cf. A. Burius, ‘Lars Salvius’, *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/6329>> (10-11-2016).

<sup>258</sup> Sandifort was the most important contributor of Dutch books to the Bergius collection, even though there were others that played their part. The Bergius brothers also corresponded with the Dutch botanist Nicolaas Laurens Burman (1734-1793), while German Johann Christian von Schreber (1739-1810) provided them with a copy of the magnificent twelve-volume *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*. See Holmberg, ‘Om Bergianska Biblioteket och dess uppkomst’.

<sup>259</sup> N. Rosén von Rosenstein, *Handleiding tot de kennis en geneezing van de ziekten der kinderen* (The Hague: P. van Cleef, 1768).

<sup>260</sup> Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien, Stockholm (KVA), historiskt arkiv (HA): E. Sandifort to P.J. Bergius, 4-6-1767.

asked Sandifort what he specifically needed: the journal of the Academy, a new edition of Linnaeus' *Systema naturae*, or some works by Wallerius?<sup>261</sup> Sandifort was mostly interested in contemporary Swedish publications that were hard to find in the Dutch Republic. In a letter dated 18 September, 1767 he lists fourteen Swedish works published between 1754 and 1765, among them Rosén von Rosenstein's work that he would translate into Dutch the following year, with the kind request to send it to Holland as quickly as possible.<sup>262</sup>

In his turn, Bergius did not necessarily ask for new publications. True, he was happy to request Job Baster's *Opuscula subseciva*, published in six instalments between 1759 and 1765, but among other things he requested Paulus Hermannus' *Paradisus Batavus*, a work that was originally published in 1698 and reissued in 1705, and François Kiggelaer's *Horti Beaumontiani exoticarum plantarum catalogus* from 1690.<sup>263</sup> Sandifort was likewise responsible for the beautiful copy of Merian's *Erucarum ortus* in the Bergius library, and after he had been installed as a professor in Leiden, he also sent numerous Leiden dissertations to Stockholm. It is remarkable that Bergius not only requested books that were printed in the Dutch Republic, but also a title like Richard Bradley's *The history of succulent plants*.<sup>264</sup> This work was printed in London between 1716 and 1727, and the fact that Bergius asked for it through one of his Dutch associates, confirms the image that came forth from the Leufsta library, namely that the Dutch book market in the second half of the eighteenth century was still a good place to turn to for British books that were hard to obtain on the continent. Another remarkable aspect of the correspondence is that it shows that Bergius and Sandifort started selling each other's scientific publications in Sweden and the Dutch Republic respectively. This practice soon expanded to the works of others. In 1778, Sandifort ordered twelve copies of the Swedish chemist and mineralogist J.G. Wallerius' *Systema mineralogicum* as well as six copies of the *Pharmacopoea Suecica*.<sup>265</sup>

The correspondence between the Bergius brothers and Sandifort lasted at least eleven years. During this time hundreds of books must have been exchanged in what

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<sup>261</sup> KVA, HA: P.J. Bergius to Sandifort, 10-8-1767.

<sup>262</sup> KVA, HA: Sandifort to P.J. Bergius, 18-9-1767.

<sup>263</sup> KVA, HA: P.J. Bergius to Sandifort, 10-8-1767.

<sup>264</sup> KVA, HA: P.J. Bergius to Sandifort, 20-9-1768.

<sup>265</sup> Holmberg, 'Om Bergianska Biblioteket och dess uppkomst', p. 39.

clearly was a two-way trade. The brothers had similar connections with scientists in other countries, in Germany with naturalist Johann Christian von Schreber (1739-1810) and medical doctor and botanist Alexander Bernhard Kölpin (1739-1801), in France with botanist Antoine Gouan (1733-1821), in Spain with Swedish clergyman, and former student of Linnaeus, Daniel Scheidenburg (1720-after 1772), and in Russia with Swedish naturalist and explorer Erik Laxman (1737-1796) and his more famous German counterpart Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811). Bergius even approached American naturalist Adam Kuhn (1741-1817) in an attempt to exchange publications with his colleagues in Philadelphia, but is not certain if this led to anything.<sup>266</sup> Most of these scientists had some sort of connection with Sweden, they either knew the language, had studied with Linnaeus in Uppsala, or were simply interested in the advancement of Swedish scholars in the field of natural history. Pallas certainly belonged to this last category, eager as he was to hear about the latest discoveries. He complained in his letters to Bergius that the recent reports of the Swedish Academy of Sciences were hard to obtain in Russia.<sup>267</sup>

It is significant in the build-up of the Bergius collection that the traditional networks of the book trade were largely left aside. Booksellers are not mentioned in the correspondence and shipping took place indirectly, with the help of intermediaries. In the exchange with Sandifort, Bergius at first offered to send the Swedish books to the pharmacist Adrian Gottlob Schultz at the Rokin in Amsterdam. In a later letter Sandifort suggested to send them to Hendrik Willem Nolthenius, bookkeeper of the Dutch East-India Company.<sup>268</sup> Bergius requested Sandifort to send his packages to Stockholm with the instruction that they contained books or dried herbs and should be delivered to the warehouse of inspector Hans Ekebon.<sup>269</sup>

The coherent ensemble of Bergielund, its botanical gardens and herbarium is crucial in understanding the Bergius collection. Dried specimens, living plants and garden architecture were arguably as important as the books themselves.

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<sup>266</sup> Ibidem, p. 37.

<sup>267</sup> Ibidem, p. 41.

<sup>268</sup> KVA, HA: Sandifort to P.J. Bergius, 18-9-1767. 'Aan den Heere Hendrik Willem Nolthenius, boekhouder de Oost-Indische Compagnie, op de Heeregragt tusschen de binnen Amstel en Utrechtse straat, te Amsterdam. Om te bezorgen aan den Heere Eduard Sandifort, Med. Doct. In 's Gravenhage.'

<sup>269</sup> KVA, HA: P.J. Bergius to Sandifort, 10-8-1767. 'Pacquet contenant des livres (: ou herbes seches:) pour Mr le Professeur P.J. Bergius à Stockholm. Aflämnas I Packhuset hos Herr Inspector Hans Ekebon.'

Consequently, the catalogue of florist Jacobus Gans mentioned above is not merely a curiosity. It is a valuable link in connecting books, science, specimens and gardens. Moreover, it is not the only piece of documentary information found in the library. So far, seventeen Dutch catalogues of book and naturalia have been identified in the Bergius collection.<sup>270</sup> Some of them were presumably sent by Sandifort to inform the brothers of an upcoming auction that might be of interest to them. Most of the catalogues, however, were already decades old when they came into the possession of the brothers. The only practicable use of these catalogues is that they served as a source of reference. Without the aid of a bookseller who skims the market for you, as was the case with Charles De Geer, a catalogue was a useful tool to get a comprehensive overview of the titles that were available in a specific genre or language.

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<sup>270</sup> Since only ten to twenty percent of the Bergius collection has been entered into the databases of *Libris* and STCN, the actual number of catalogues may be higher. The catalogues are generally not listed in the manuscript catalogue of Ståhl.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In the 1770s the Swedish orientalist and philologist Jacob Jonas Björnståhl (1731-1779) travelled around Europe. In his travel journal he mentions that he received a book from the Dutch philosopher Hemsterhuis in The Hague.<sup>271</sup> In the summer of 2016 I came across that exact copy in the Stifts- & landsbibliotek in Skara.<sup>272</sup> It has all the characteristics of a Hemsterhuis book: privately published, bound by the The Hague bookbinders Micke and Van Os, and a manuscript dedication on the flyleaf to either one of his friends or acquaintances. The Hemsterhuis copy in Skara is the material evidence of Björnståhl's narrative in his journal.

A search in the Swedish provenance database *ProBok* results in two more copies that Björnståhl received during his travels in the Netherlands.<sup>273</sup> One is an academic dissertation that he obtained from jurist Johannes Henricus Voorda (1732-1814) in Utrecht, the other a Dutch language school book that was given to him by the Rotterdam school master Kornelis van der Palm (1730-1789). These copies are not mentioned in the journal of Björnståhl, so an analysis of these books as material objects is complementary to the account in the travel journal. The manuscript dedications do not only fill in the blanks of Björnståhl's travels, they reveal a network of scientific and intellectual exchange that is similar to that of the Bergius brothers as described above. Without the aid of *Probok* I could only have stumbled upon these copies by chance.

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<sup>271</sup> J.J. Björnståhl, *Resa til Frankrike, Italien, Sweitz, Tyskland, Holland, Ängland, Turkiet, och Grekland*, vol. 4 (Stockholm: Nordström, 1780), p. 252.

<sup>272</sup> F. Hemsterhuis, *Description philosophique du caractere de feu Mr. F. Fagel* ([No place: no publisher], 1773), Skara, Stifts- och landsbiblioteket, Biogr. Nederl. [Fagel, F.].

<sup>273</sup> J.H. Voorda, *Dissertatio philosophica inauguralis de elementis* (Utrecht: Paddenburg, 1773), copy Uppsala universitetsbibliotek: Kulturarvet Uka Obr. 15:87, with ms annotation: 'Dono Nobilissimi Generosissimique Auctoris. / Trajecti ad Rhenum d. 15. Febr. 1775 / J. J. Björnståhl'; K. van der Palm, *Nederduitsche spraekkunst voor de jeugd* (Rotterdam: R. Arrenberg, 1769); copy Lunds universitets bibliotek: Äldre samlingen Utl Språkv Holl ProBok sl, with ms annotation: 'Present de M. L'Auteur Van der Palm à Rotterdam le 3 Sept. 1774. J.J. Björnståhl.' Cf. Uppsala University Library, Lund University Library, *ProBok*, <probok.alvin-portal.org/alvin/> (10-11-2016).

In this thesis I have tried to demonstrate how material aspects of one particular copy can tell us more about the context in which that book was produced, disseminated, sold, read and collected. Even if one provenance in one specific collection may be disregarded as anecdotal evidence, an investigation into more copies from multiple collections reveals patterns of cultural exchange. By applying the data from the STCN to a Scandinavian context, I have tried to take the history of Dutch and Scandinavian book production, trade and collecting outside the respective national frameworks. The paradox is that several examples in my thesis show that book culture is transnational to such an extent that any use of national bibliographies will give a distorted view of the complexity of the book trade. After all, what conclusions may be drawn from an investigation into the Dutch books in a certain collection if you fail to take into account the majority of books from other parts of Europe in the same collection? On the other hand, it is only thanks to the use of these databases as scholarly tools that we can fully grasp the transnationality of the subject. The question why we find certain titles, editions and copies in one library and not in another can only be answered if we start with an undisputed overview of ‘which books are where’. As we have seen in the cases of Hedraeus, Kempe and Frölich, the bibles of Marcus and Keyser, and the catalogues in the collections of Bielke, Muhrbeck and Bergius, the identification and localization of copies is an important factor in understanding the survival of books, and ultimately, patterns of cultural exchange.

The copy of Hemsterhuis’ book in Skara is a showcase for the promise that provenance databases hold. Unfortunately, this is a rare example where all data is recorded in a structured manner. Book historians have long stressed the need for provenance catalogues,<sup>274</sup> but even if the current state of technology allows a structured approach to studying the materiality of books, there are hardly any examples of databases where provenances are recorded as structured data. In my research, I have therefore laid the connections between bibliographical data and provenances by hand. This was painstaking and time-consuming, but could be done

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<sup>274</sup> In Sweden this call was heard already a century ago, see O. Walde, ‘Om bokanteckningar som källor och behovet af proveniens kataloger: några exempel och några önskemål’, *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 5 (1918), pp. 75-111.



because I only selected Swedish collections with a clear provenance that still exist as a unit today.

Each of the collections incorporated in my research obviously has its own peculiarities that are helpful to understand why it was formed in the first place, how it was built up over time and why it survived until this day. Carl Gustaf Wrangel had his agents in the Dutch Republic, Bielke acquired thousands of books at auctions, Muhrbeck inherited the collection of his father, De Geer had a mail-order relation with a Dutch bookseller, and the Bergius brothers fully relied on their network of scholars. Nevertheless, there are some shared characteristics that run through all collections, and they become apparent when we return to Darnton's communication circuit, with Adam and Barker's modifications.

First of all, we have seen that there was no significant book trade between the Dutch Republic and Sweden in the sixteenth century. External developments and pressures in both countries triggered relations on various levels in the early seventeenth century and the book trade was clearly one of them. The Swedish nobility could rely on the mediation of agents in the Dutch Republic to acquire the books that they desired. Books were published, manufactured and initially distributed in the Northern Netherlands. The role of intermediaries was vital to get the books to Sweden and we find evidence of this practice in seventeenth-century aristocratic collections, most notably in that of Carl Gustaf Wrangel.

It was not long, however, before Dutch booksellers employed activities in Scandinavia. The Elzeviers and Janssonius were the main actors on the market, but others had a share as well. The fact that Dutch booksellers were active on the Scandinavian market brought new dynamics to the transmission of texts in Sweden, primarily because they distributed affordable Latin books that were previously hard to obtain on a grand scale. In addition, their network of agents and bookshops brought continuity to the trade. Former apprentices of the Elzeviers and Janssonius later established businesses of their own and carried on the book trade. Similar forces are recognizable in the process of printing. This was long considered a difficult enterprise in Sweden, hindered by a lack of equipment, knowledge and skilled labourers, but things changed when Janssonius set up a press in Stockholm and brought exactly these three elements with him. Additionally, Dutch publishers came into contact with

Swedish scholars and started to publish their works. This happened first in the Dutch Republic, but from the late 1640s onwards also on the presses of Janssonius in Stockholm.

Another kind of dynamics arose from the influx of Swedish immigrants into the Dutch Republic. The immigration reached its peak in the third quarter of the century and this is particularly noticeable in the Swedish diocesan and the university collections. Interestingly, we do not only find books that Swedish migrants and travellers passively acquired during their stay in the Dutch Republic, there are also examples of Swedish scholars who specifically came to the Dutch Republic in order to have their work printed. They needed the combination of technology, craftsmanship and knowledge to produce works in the Dutch Republic that could never materialize in Sweden. Moreover, they returned home with practical knowledge and newly acquired skills. Others turned to printers in Amsterdam because of legal issues that prevented them from publishing their books at home. The production of the book was usually the only act that took place in the Dutch Republic. The book was published for a foreign market, it was distributed and read abroad and thus had better chances of survival in that place.

The German and Latin Lutheran theology that was published and distributed by a line of printers and booksellers that includes Marcus, Janssonius, Nosche, Cunradus and Betkius was a lucrative business for most of the seventeenth century. This can be concluded not only on the basis of findings in collections, but also on the increasing number of books from this genre that are listed in the retail stock catalogues of Janssonius. These catalogues additionally show that even though the production of books in the German language in the Dutch Republic was modest, the distribution covered many hundreds of titles. Provenances moreover indicate that many of the books that are now in Swedish libraries never circulated in the Dutch Republic. It is likely that the larger part of a print run was shipped abroad straight after production and that the books were sold in Swedish bookshops to Swedish customers.

The supply of Lutheran theology by Dutch booksellers to the Baltic came to an end in the first years of the eighteenth century. The genre did not disappear from the Swedish market altogether, but its production and distribution was taken over by German booksellers. Nonetheless, it is striking that the seventeenth-century Dutch

books survived in collections that were formed much later in the eighteenth century. The Muhrbeck collection in Västerås presents a good example of this practice, but the same can be observed in the collections of Linköping, Skara and to some extent Växjö. The books in these collections arguably survived because they circulated, sometimes for up to a century, in northern Germany, Swedish Pomerania and southern Sweden, that is, in circles of Lutheran theologians where these texts kept their meaning within a vibrant context. A key factor in the ongoing redistribution and thus survival of these books were the auctions that took place in cities like Lund, Copenhagen, Greifswald and Rostock. Some books in the Muhrbeck collection had gone through two or three auctions before they ended up in the collection of the library in Västerås. It demonstrates that even though the production and distribution of these books by Dutch printers and booksellers had long gone by, the reception and redistribution of these books went one for another hundred years.

The eighteenth century collections researched in this study portray a different image of Dutch-Swedish relations in general, and, subsequently, of the shared book culture of the two countries. Printing in Sweden had come into its own at the end of the seventeenth century, as is demonstrated by the activity of three generations of the Keyser family, and was further developed by Lars Salvius and others in the eighteenth century. Swedish publishers were increasingly capable to produce quality books for the domestic and foreign markets. Moreover, the rise of the natural sciences in Sweden meant that the works of Linnaeus and his apostles were internationally acclaimed and desired throughout Europe. Salvius printed many of these works. The emergence of a significant domestic book production and the presence of internationally acclaimed scientists were important factors in an international book market that was partially based on the exchange of publications.

At the same time, the Dutch book market was witnessing considerable changes in its own right mainly because of a deepening economic crisis in the course of the eighteenth century, resulting in new ways of trade and distribution. The emergence of periodicals, subscriptions, serial publication, and mail-orders all stimulated a system of distant selling. This is obvious in the case of Charles De Geer, who had a direct trade relationship with the Leiden booksellers Luchtmans, but can be observed in other collections as well. Bielke and Sack are known to have maintained relationships with

the Huguenot bookseller François l'Honoré in Amsterdam, the Bergius brothers relied on a network of scholars to obtain their books. The distribution and payments went either through banking firms and trade companies, such as Andries Pels, Carl Hasselgreen and Antoni Grill, or through local contacts varying from a bookkeeper of the Swedish East India Company to a pharmacist in Amsterdam.

These trade forms surely were complementary to the traditional wholesale trade from bookseller to bookseller. The principal eighteenth-century Stockholm booksellers Lars Salvius and Gottfried Kiesewetter both had large networks in Europe and Dutch books were absolutely present in their shops. Interestingly, there is evidence in several collections that Dutch booksellers continued to be intermediaries for the book trade between Scandinavia and Great-Britain. The fact that Bielke, De Geer and the Bergius brothers all explored different ways to acquire books, suggests that the bookshops in Stockholm and Uppsala could not supply everything they wished for. Further research is needed to understand the division between these different forms of distribution and acquisition.

The foundation of this research was the bibliographical data that were recorded for the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands*. It is an indispensable requisite when it comes to location of copies and identification of editions. Moreover, it is a valuable tool to indicate trends and understand the prevailing taste considering languages and genres. Nevertheless, restraint has been practiced when it came to the use of statistics in this thesis, out of an awareness that only a fraction of the Dutch books that survive in Swedish collections have been recorded so far. The fact that I have been able to identify and record over 500 new titles for the STCN in only a matter of months, should raise questions for anyone who intends to use this and other bibliographical databases for statistical purposes. On a grander scale, these new additions only account for a quarter of a percent of the total database. However, in more specific areas, such as Lutheran theology and pietism, engraved music, book and naturalia sales catalogues, German language editions in various genres, and arguably certain types of eighteenth-century French literature, it is obvious that the additions have a more significant impact on the statistics.

Notwithstanding that I would like to seize the opportunity to advocate for further expansion of the STCN, this study has demonstrated that it is only in

combination with the material aspects of books, provenance data and collection histories that we can start to understand why certain books have ended up in one collection and not in another. The Dutch books in Swedish collections are indeed silent witnesses of a shared cultural heritage. There are, however, still many untold stories and, more importantly, we still have to work with fragmented data. In a linked data universe there are opportunities on the horizon that go far beyond the possibilities that an individual scholar has. The questions that could be asked in such a digital humanities context are far more complex, combining bibliographical data with databases on provenances, type, paper and binding. But this is only possible if all this information is recorded as structured data. There is, in other words, much work to be done.

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UvA	Universiteit van Amsterdam
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag
KVA	Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien, Stockholm
RAS	Riksarkivet, Stockholm
STCN	Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands
Z-SU	Universitetsbiblioteket, Stockholm
Z-SK	Skokloster Slotts Bibliotek, Skokloster
Z-SKB	Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm
Z-U	Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala
Z-V	Stadbibliotek, Västerås

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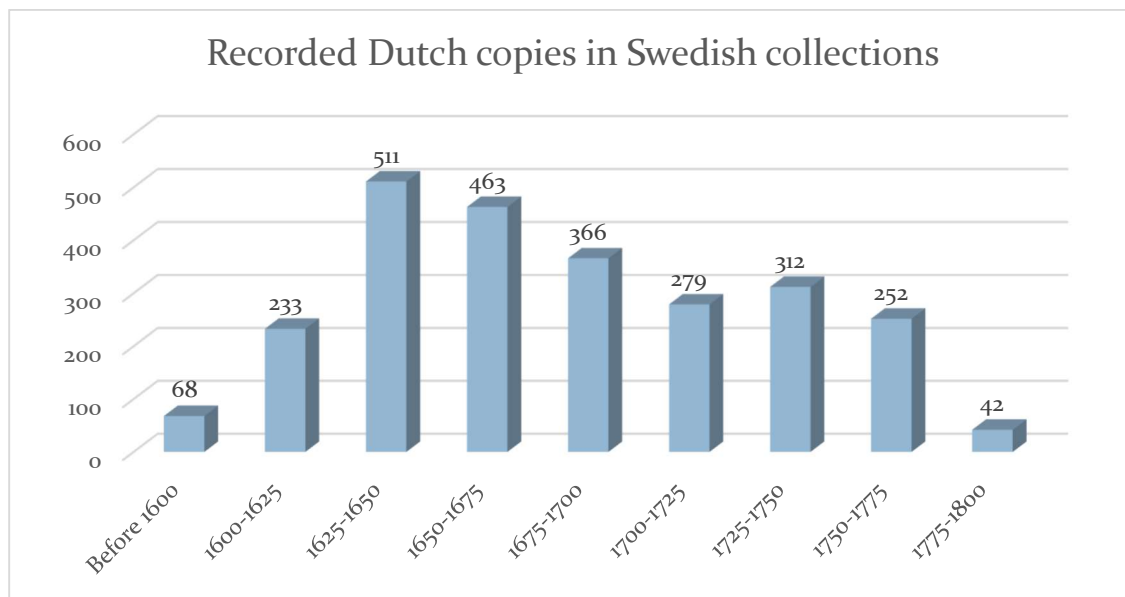
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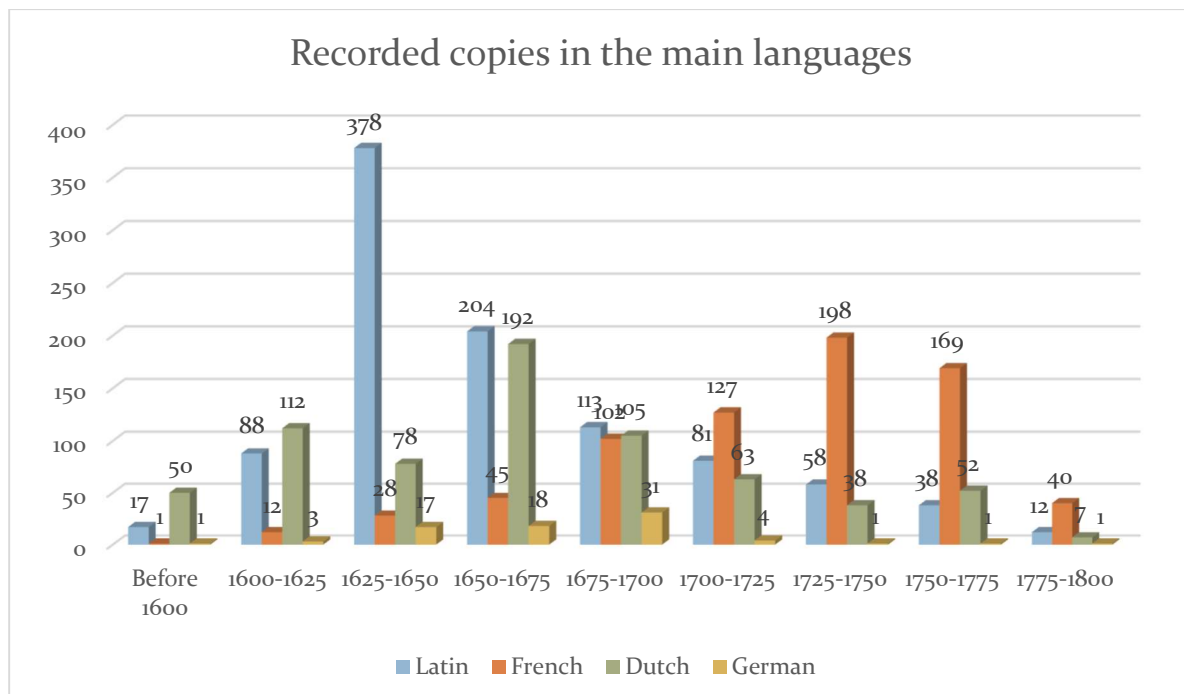
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## ANNEXES



**TABLE 3: OVERVIEW OF ALL RECORDED BOOKS PUBLISHED IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC THAT NOW ARE IN SWEDISH COLLECTIONS. ARRANGED PER PERIOD OF 25 YEARS.**



**TABLE 4: OVERVIEW OF ALL RECORDED BOOKS PUBLISHED IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC THAT NOW ARE IN SWEDISH COLLECTIONS. ARRANGED BY LANGUAGE OF PUBLICATION.**

<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Wrangel collection</b>	<b>Bielke collection</b>	<b>Muhrbeck collection</b>	<b>Bergius collection</b>	<b>Leufsta collection</b>	<b>All Swedish collections</b>
S.l.s.n.	20	36	37	5	6	169
Amsterdam, s.n.	1	24	17	16	37	127
B. Elzevier	34	4	12	4	11	118
A. Elzevier (I)	32	4	11	4	11	113
J. Janssonius	21	5	25	7	3	111
Ulderick Balck	0	1	41	0	0	45
For the author	1	13	7	3	6	40
Jean Neaulme	0	2	5	2	37	35
Lowijs Elzevier (III)	4	2	16	4	4	38
Joannes Maire	2	4	11	2	1	32
H. Laurensz.	0	2	7	1	1	31
Joan Blaeu (I)	7	0	14	1	1	31
Den Haag, s.n.	0	4	4	2	18	29
G.J. Saeghman	21	0	0	20	0	29
M.C. le Cene	0	0	0	0	26	28
Elie Luzac	0	1	1	4	20	27
P. van der Aa (I)	0	0	0	22	6	27
Daniel Elzevier	5	3	13	1	2	26
A. Wolfgang	5	7	4	3	4	25

TABLE 5: DUTCH PUBLISHERS THAT APPEAR MOST FREQUENTLY IN THE REGISTERED PARTS OF THE COLLECTIONS OF WRANGEL, BIELKE, MUHRBECK, BERGIUS AND DE GEER.

<b>Period</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Wrangel</b>	<b>Bielke</b>	<b>Muhrbeck</b>	<b>De Geer</b>	<b>Bergius</b>
Before 1600	1	0	1	0	0	0
1600-1625	19	3	3	5	0	1
1625-1650	43	13	2	3	1	12
1650-1675	86	26	4	18	8	24
1675-1700	78	0	11	13	20	28
1700-1725	85	0	2	15	26	37
1725-1750	63	0	6	7	36	16
1750-1775	67	0	0	6	36	23
1775-1800	7	0	0	0	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>449</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>143</b>

TABLE 6: NUMBERS OF DUTCH BOOKS WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OUTSIDE THE COLLATION IN SWEDISH COLLECTIONS.

	1636A	1636B	1638	1639	1641	1642	1649	1662 <sup>275</sup>	1664
Total pages	72	60	80	64	72	116	142	88	208
Total folia	36	30	40	32	36	58	71	44	104
Libri theologi	17	15	24	19	21	26,5	39	44	53,5
Libri juridici	7	6	2	3	1,5	2,5	6		9,5
Libri medici	5	4	8	7	4,5	8	11		15
Libri historici ac politici	9	8	11	10	10	15	None		None
Libri philosophici, mathematici, &c.	None	13	15	13	11	16	26		None
Libri historici	15	None	None	None	None	None	14		None
Libri astronomici, geom. & mathematici	None	None	None	None	2	4,5	None		None
Libri miscellanei <sup>276</sup>	None	None	None	None	None	None	None		63
Teutsche Theologische Bücher	2	2	8	5,5	7	12,5	14,5	13	16,5
Juristische Bücher <sup>277</sup>	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	12,5	None	14
Medicinische Bücher (1639: Artzney und Chymische Bücher)	0,5	0,5	2	1,5	1	2,5		None	
Historische Philosophische Bücher <sup>278</sup>	1,5	1	5	3,5	3	7,5		None	
Libri Gallici	6	5	3	None	3	5	11	8	16
Libri Italici	1	1	0,5	None	1	1	5		7,5
Libri Hispanici	0,5	0,5	0,5	None	0,5	0,5	None		0,5
Nederduytsche boeken / Libri Belgici	3	2	1	None	None	None	None	2	5
Libri Anglici	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	0,5	1,5
Libri compacti in folio, in quarto, in octavo	1,5	2,5	1	None	6	7	None	None	3,5
Libri Gallici, Italici & Hispan. Compacti	1	1	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
Teutsche gebundene Bücher	2	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
Libri musici	None	None	None	None	None	3	None	None	1,5
Tabulae Geographicae	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	16	None

TABLE 7: NUMBER OF PAGES PER SUBJECT LISTED IN THE COPENHAGEN STOCK CATALOGUES OF JOHANNES JANSSENIUS.

<sup>275</sup> The catalogue of 1662 combines several categories. There is one category for all Latin books, and one for all French, Italian and Spanish books. The last 16 pages comprise maps. It is highly likely that these were for sale all along, but this is the only catalogue where they were listed.

<sup>276</sup> The catalogue of 1664 includes 1 page with annotated editions of classical Latin literature, under the heading 'autores cum notis variorum'.

<sup>277</sup> In the catalogues of 1649 and 1664 the various categories of German language books are placed under one heading.

<sup>278</sup> Name of this category varies, sometimes with the addition 'Mathematische, Kriegs- und Künstbücher'.