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## Building a Nation through Books

### From Military to Cultural Armament in Seventeenth-Century Sweden

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# The Baltic Battle of Books

*Formation and Relocation of European Libraries in the  
Confessional Age (c. 1500–1650) and Their Afterlife*

*Edited by*

Jonas Nordin  
Gustavs Strenga  
Peter Sjökvist



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## Building a Nation through Books

### *From Military to Cultural Armament in Seventeenth-Century Sweden*

*Jonas Nordin*

The Swedish empire in the seventeenth century was a precocious and over-stretched creation. In less than a generation, Sweden went from being an unnoticed peripheral state on the outskirts of Europe to dictating the terms of continental politics. Long-term reputation and real influence, however, could not depend on weapons alone. In an international order based on authority cultural renown was also vital to gain admiration and respect from other states, and Sweden had a long way to go to meet this requirement. The Protestant Reformation had created a spiritual divide between Sweden and large parts of Europe, having disassembled much of the cultural and educational infrastructure, including libraries. The present study explores the ideological background to the large-scale confiscations of libraries and looting of books in the Swedish wars of the seventeenth century. How were the objectives of these acquisitions formulated and by whom? In what environments did the pillaged books find new homes? To what extent were the purposes of the lootings fulfilled and the books put to use in their new surroundings?

Historian Andrew Pettegree has argued that books had lost their role as status objects already in the sixteenth century. If a private individual, such as a middle-rank official of the Paris *Parlement*, Antoine du Prat, by 1550 could have accumulated a personal library of 4,000 volumes, ‘then Europe’s crowned heads had to look to other forms of conspicuous consumption to awe foreign visitors and their subjects.’<sup>1</sup> What was the situation then, when we turn to countries like Sweden, where not even the largest public library could boast of having 4,000 volumes? Here, the collecting of books was not about conspicuous consumption but rather a matter of meeting practical needs. By the end of the sixteenth century, there was only one printer in the Swedish realm and he rarely produced more than two or three books per year. Private book

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1 Andrew Pettegree, ‘The Renaissance Library and the Challenge of Print’, in Alice Crawford (ed.), *The Meaning of the Library: A Cultural History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 72–90, here pp. 75–76. The argument is expanded in Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Library: A Fragile History* (London: Profile Books, 2021), ch. 4.

collections were insignificant and no public libraries existed. There was no substantial knowledge production in Sweden and, from the Reformation on, even much of cultural importation had come to a halt.

To be sure, Swedish scholars had rarely contributed in any substantial manner to European learning in the medieval centuries. Saint Bridget (c.1303–1373) stands out as one of very few Swedes of some international renown. The monastery that she founded in Vadstena became a hub for manuscript production and around 1500 held what was probably the largest library in Scandinavia, with somewhere between 900 and 1,300 books. The core of the library was a vast collection of sermons and the monastery had a unique standing as a centre for religious instruction, but mainly it served the immediate needs of the brothers and sisters. Certainly, through tomes containing Aristotle and the Church Fathers, Avicenna and Raimundus Lullus, as well as books on metaphysics, astronomy and mathematics, the mainstay of European education was represented in Sweden, but it was a thin stream and it only ran in one direction.<sup>2</sup>

The late medieval centuries brought strong expansion of learning with many newly established universities and not least thanks to the art of printing, but the intellectual drive that Europe experienced came to a halt in Sweden. Scandinavia's first university was founded in Uppsala in 1477, but its activities were discontinued in the 1520s. Swedish customers had already had books printed in Northern Germany some years before the first book was printed in Sweden in 1483 by the Lübeck craftsman Johann Snell. He and another itinerant printer, Bartholomeus Ghotan, successively installed their print shops in Stockholm in the 1480s. In spite of a promising start in that decade, however, Swedish print production all but crumbled in the early 1500s and saw only slow progress in the following years. Some production of books intended for domestic use continued to be outsourced to print centres outside Sweden, especially Lübeck and Rostock. These printings are included in the graph below (Figure 7.1). Until 1580, foreign-printed items represent twenty-five percent of the corpus in the Swedish national bibliography edited by Isak Collijn, and their proportion rises to just under fifty percent in the last two decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup> When considering these figures, we need to bear two

2 Ville Walta, *Libraries, Manuscripts and Book Culture in Vadstena Abbey* (Helsinki: Helsinki University, 2014). For a new estimate of the size of the library, see Jonas Nordin, 'Hur stort var klosterbiblioteket i Vadstena?', *Biblis: Kvartalstidskrift för bokvänner*, 94 (2021), pp. 34–44.

3 Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600* (3 vols., Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1934–1938). Cf. Henrik Schück, *Den svenska förlagsbokhandelns historia* (2 vols., Stockholm: Norstedts, 1923), 1, pp. 95–102; Wolfgang Undorf, 'Buchhandel und Buchsammeln in Schweden

things in mind. First, much, if not most, of the material printed abroad that has been included in Collijn's bibliography was not intended for the Swedish market; some examples of this are the many Dutch, German or English translations of Saint Bridget's writings. The most successful Swedish book of the era was undoubtedly Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (see below). All thirteen editions of this book before 1599 were printed abroad, but only the first was aimed at a Swedish audience, and then only partially. Second, the fact that a part of Swedish book production was located abroad rather underlines my argument that Sweden was on the cultural fringe of Europe and unable to meet even a comparatively modest demand for books. With these observations having been made, I will concentrate on domestic printing. The poor output is especially visible during the reign of King Gustav I Vasa (1523–1560), and by the end of the century a mere 429 titles, or thereabouts, are certain to have been printed in Sweden.<sup>4</sup> Of the 429 known domestic titles, the privileged Royal Printer in Stockholm, who in effect was the sole printer in the realm after 1526, had produced 382, or almost ninety percent.<sup>5</sup>

Using international research, church historian Otfried Czaika has argued that the real print output in Sweden might have been twice as large as the surviving print items suggest.<sup>6</sup> This is an arbitrary although by no means unreasonable assumption, but it is based on international comparisons and, if the model is correct, it does not change the relative proportions of the Swedish and foreign print output. If we only include identified domestic titles, the number of printed works did not rise above five per year on average, and with all the foreign works included, the figure would still not exceed 5.5. Even if we double these figures the number would remain unimpressive, especially in the first half of the century.

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zur Zeit der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung', in Otfried Czaika and Wolfgang Undorf (eds.), *Schwedische Buchgeschichte: Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021), pp. 13–54, esp. pp. 14–23.

4 For single volumes detected since Collijn's bibliography, cf., e.g., Otfried Czaika, *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582: Utgåva med inledande kommentar* (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2016), pp. 22–24. The print output in sixteenth-century Sweden is discussed by, e.g., Wolfgang Undorf, Remi Kick, and Otfried Czaika, in Czaika and Undorf (eds.), *Schwedische Buchgeschichte*.

5 The Uppsala Chapter printed a circular letter in 1535, and Jürgen Richolff was commissioned to print the Swedish Bible in 1540–41; he produced four other print works during the same period.

6 Otfried Czaika, *Några wijsor om Antichristum [1536] samt handskrivna tillägg: Utgåva med inledande kommentarer* (Skara: Skara stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2019), pp. 17–38.



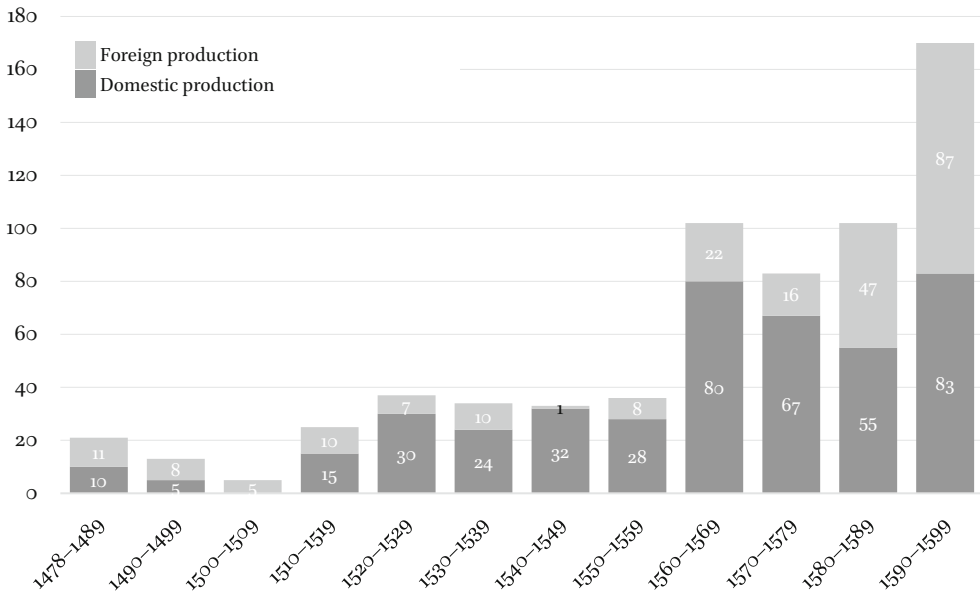


FIGURE 7.1 Swedish domestic and foreign print production 1478–1599: number of titles  
 SOURCE: ISAK COLLIJN, *SVERIGES BIBLIOGRAFI INTILL ÅR 1600*, 1–3 (UPPSALA: SVENSKA LITTERATURSÄLLSKAPET, 1934–1938). NOTE: ALTHOUGH SOME ADDITIONAL PRINTED WORKS FROM THE PERIOD HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED SINCE COLLIJN'S BIBLIOGRAPHY, IT DOES NOT AFFECT THE OVERALL PICTURE. THE NUMBERS IN THE BARS ONLY REFER TO PRINTED MATTER REGISTERED IN COLLIJN.

The main, not to say only, accomplishments of domestic printing in the century were the Swedish translation of the New Testament in 1527, of the whole Bible in 1541, and of the New Testament into Finnish in 1548. In fact, the two most important works of Swedish book production of the period and the only two examples of Swedish renaissance humanism were printed in Rome by two exiled Catholic archbishops, the brothers Johannes and Olaus Magnus. Their magna opera, *De omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus* (1554) and *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555), were fine representations of the very few vestiges of Nordic erudition. As expatriates, the Magnus brothers longed for their native country, and as deposed representatives of the proper Catholic faith, they felt the urge to remind the world that there existed an exposed part of Christianity in the far North. Both works were highly successful and had a disproportionate influence on the image of Sweden and the Swedes internationally. Two Rome editions of *De omnibus* were followed by another three in Basel, Cologne, and Wittenberg, and a Swedish translation was printed in Stockholm

in 1620. *Historia* was an even greater success, with no less than twenty-one editions and translations into French, Italian, Dutch, German, and English.<sup>7</sup> The influence of these two books far exceeded anything that may have been produced by the Royal Printers in Sweden, and, ironically, left a long-lasting negative mark on the image of Sweden abroad.<sup>8</sup> The urge for information about the rising European great power was such that as late as 1669 Johannes van Ravesteyn in Amsterdam could print a 12:0 edition of *Historia*, long after the passing of its best-before date. Through its inability to utilize the printing press, the Swedish Crown had left much of the prerogative of interpretation to its enemies.

## 1 A Nation Poor on Books

King Erik XIV (ruled 1560–1568) and his brother and successor Johan III (ruled 1569–1592) were not unaffected by renaissance humanism and they both eagerly read the works of the Magnus brothers, but their cultural activities had little effect outside court circles. One of the largest private book collections in the realm belonged to Councillor Hogenskild Bielke (1538–1605) and comprised around four hundred printed and manuscript books, of which about 290 are known to us. It was primarily a reference library of contemporary books in the fields of theology and law.<sup>9</sup> The only comparable private book collection in the realm is supposed to have been that of Per Brahe the Elder (1520–1590). In his instruction for the upbringing of aristocratic boys to be perfect courtiers, he stressed the value of reading, which nevertheless came second to horsemanship and the use of arms. Brahe's advice was sturdy and practical:

7 Elena Balzamo, *Un archevêque venu du froid: Essais sur Olaus Magnus (1490–1557)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2019); Erling Sandmo, 'Historien om en Historia: Olaus Magnus i et bokhistorisk perspektiv', in Aasta M. Bjørkøy etc (eds.), *Litterære verdensborgere: Transnasjonale perspektiver på norsk bokhistoria 1519–1850* (Oslo: Nasjonalbiblioteket, 2019), pp. 56–80.

8 Cf. Otfried Czaika, 'Det svenska riksrådets censur av David Chytraeus' krönikor på 1590-talet', in Otfried Czaika, Jonas Nordin and Pelle Snickars (eds.), *Information som problem: Medianalytiska texter från medeltid till framtid* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 2014), pp. 78–95.

9 Otto Walde, 'En svensk boksamlare från Vasatiden: Hogenskild Bielke och hans bibliotek', in *Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks minnesskrift 1621–1921: Med bidrag av bibliotekets forna och nuvarande tjänstemän* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, 1921), pp. 193–267; Wolfgang Undorf (ed.), *Hogenskild Bielke's library: A catalogue of the famous 16th century Swedish private collection* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, 1995); Arne Losman, 'Adelskap och boklig bildning', in Jakob Christensson (ed.), *Signums svenska kulturhistoria: Renässansen* (Lund: Signum, 2005), pp. 151–179, here pp. 151–155.

He [the noble student] must also have some experience in the seven liberal bookish arts, although they may not be fully perfected since other chivalric exercises may stand in the way; however, there are some parts a courtier cannot dispense of, and, understandably, no one can be eloquent without *artes discendi* [learning skills, viz. *artes liberales*]. ... If we are to begin with the reading of useful books, it is above all important to know that the world is full of books on many things that human reason has conceived, authored and comprehended, but not all of them are of the same value, as is stated in *Ecclesiastes*, twelfth and last chapter. Therefore, one must choose the very best and most judicious *autores* that one can read.<sup>10</sup>

According to Brahe, the important subjects were liberal arts, Latin, theology, political science, warfare, law, rhetoric, history, and ethics. Beside two modern writers, Philip Melanchton and Jean Bodin, he mentioned Erasmus and Petrarch, while the rest consisted of around a dozen classical authors, from Aristotle to Justinian. 'More useful authors could certainly be enumerated, but these are sufficient for a courtier (*aulicum*), who, for the sake of other chivalric exercises, cannot spend time on reading many books.'<sup>11</sup> As stated in the referred passage in *Ecclesiastes* (12:12): 'of making many books *there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh.*'

Indeed, the future King Charles IX (ruled 1604–1611) revived Uppsala University as a decidedly Protestant school in 1593, but operations did not begin to prosper until the reign of Gustavus Adolphus (ruled 1611–1632). The latter introduced a new and determined cultural policy that also affected libraries.

10 'Så måste han ock hafwa någon Förfarenheet uthi the Siu frije Booklige Konster; Kan thet icke blifwe så fullkomligt för andre öppningar skull, såsom thet kunda förhindra, så är thet lijkwäl något ibland hwart Styckie, såsom een *Aulicus* ingalunda kan wara föruthan, som man kan förstå ther uthaff, at ingen kan blifwa något Wältalande, *Artes discendi* föruthan. ... Och effter nu till thet första, här effter förmält warder om nyttige Bökers Läsning. Så skall man thet weeta, at Werlden är full aff Böker, om allehanda Ting, som Menniskligit Förmuft hafwer kunnat uptänckia, författa och begripa, och äro icke alle gode, effter såsom *Ecclesiastes* skrifwer uthi thet 12. och senaste Cap: Så måste man uthwälia sig the aldre bäste och förståndigeste *Authores* som man hafwa kan, at läsa uthi', *Gamble Grefwe Peer Brahes, Fordom Sweriges Rijkets Drotzet, Oeconomia, eller Huuſholdz-Book, För ungt Adels-folck. Skrifwin Anno 1581* (Visingsborg: Johann Kankel, 1677), pp. 11–12. Cf. the modern critical edition: John Granlund and Gösta Holm (ed.) *Oeconomia eller Hushållsbok för ungt adelsfolk* (Stockholm: Nordiska museet, 1971), pp. 15–20, with commentary pp. 229–232.

11 'Mera nyttige *Authores* kunde wäl upräcknas, men thesse äre nogh för een *Aulico*, som för andre Ridderlige öppningar icke kan gifwa sig Tijd at läsa många Böcker igenom', *Gamble Grefwe Peer Brahes, Fordom Sweriges Rijkets Drotzet, Oeconomia*, p. 16.

In 1611, he appointed the first royal librarian, two years later Uppsala University received its first printer, and a university library was founded in 1620. Thus, both the king's capital city and the rehabilitated university had new libraries created for the benefit of the realm, but neither of them had any collections to boast of. The foundation for the library in Uppsala consisted of books from the discontinued Franciscan convent at Gråmunkeholmen in Stockholm. It had been the home of a productive scriptorium in the medieval period, and both Johann Snell and Bartholomeus Ghotan seem to have installed their temporary print shops within its premises in the 1480s. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the abandoned properties were used as storehouse for the book collections that at the time of the Reformation had been confiscated from churches, monasteries, private individuals (including Hogenskild Bielke), as well as from the Catholic King Sigismund (ruled 1592–1599), among others. This motley collection, possibly exceeding 4,000 volumes, and consisting largely of scholastic writing and Catholic liturgy, became the core of the university library.<sup>12</sup> In addition, the books of the early Vasas were brought from Stockholm to Uppsala, but their numbers were probably quite unimposing. According to a list from 1568, Erik XIV owned 217 printed and handwritten books, and according to another list from 1571, Johan had 56 volumes in his possession.<sup>13</sup> Admittedly, none of these lists shows the full extent of their respective collections, but one biographer's conclusion, that King Erik 'gathered a library that equalled or even surpassed those of contemporary Northern European princes', does not convince.<sup>14</sup> The Danish King Christian III (ruled 1536–1559) mustered some 2,000 books during his lifetime, and his subject

12 Otto Walde, 'Konung Sigismunds bibliotek och Gustaf Adolfs donation 1620–21: Ett bidrag till Upsala universitetsbiblioteks äldsta historia', *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 2 (1915), pp. 317–332.

13 'Concept till Inventarium öfver konung Erik XIV:s böcker; uprättadt den 27 september 1568', in *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*, 27 (Stockholm 1845) pp. 380–390; 'Konung Johan III:s boksamling år 1571: Ett hittills otryckt bokförteckningskoncept av Rasmus Ludvigsson', *Lychnos: Lärdomshistoriska samfundets årsbok* (1937), pp. 212–220. See also Claes Annerstedt, *Upsala universitetsbiblioteks historia intill år 1702* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1894) pp. 6 ff., and Harald Wieselgren, *Drottning Kristinas bibliotek och bibliotekarier före hennes bosättning i Rom jemte en öfverblick öfver de kungl. biblioteken i Sverige före hennes regeringstid* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1901), pp. 3–13; on Erik's library: Astrid Nilsson, *Royal Marginalia: King Eric XIV of Sweden as a Reader* (Lund: Centre for Language and Literature, 2021), pp. 39–41.

14 'han hade samlat ett bibliotek som tälde jämförelse med eller överträffade samtida nord-europeiska furstars': Ingvar Andersson, *Erik XIV*, fourth ed. (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1979), p. 162.

Henrik Rantzau (1526–1598), governor of Schleswig and Holstein, had a library of more than 6,300 volumes, to name but two examples.<sup>15</sup>

Beside the donation of books, Gustavus Adolphus assigned 200 silver *daler* per year, a sum that was raised to 300 *daler* in 1621, for the university library's maintenance.<sup>16</sup> This sum, about 3.6 percent of the university's annual budget, had to cover not only the procurement of books, but also the upkeep of the library building.<sup>17</sup> The grant remained at the same level until the middle of the century, and during the years 1641–1649, it was only enough to buy fifteen books per year.<sup>18</sup> Admittedly, acquisition rose to nearly sixty-five books annually during the next five years, but had this been the only way of obtaining books, it would have taken a very long time to create a library collection of any significance. The war with Poland in the 1620s, however, initiated a new and determined way of procuring books wholesale.

## 2 Organized Looting of Books

When he was a child, Gustavus Adolphus was taught that the same hand maneuvered the pen and the sword. In 1604, the crown prince's teacher, Johan Skytte, published 'A Short Treatise: On the Crafts and Virtues That a Young Prince Should Strive to Attain':

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- 15 Harald Ilsøe (ed.), *På Papir, Pergament og Palmeblade ... Skatte i Det Kongelige Bibliotek* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 1993), p. 13; S. Birket Smith, *Om Kjøbenhavns Universitetsbibliothek før 1728, især dets Håndskriftsamlinger* (Copenhagen: Reitzels, 1982 [1882]) p. 20; M. Posselt, 'Die Bibliothek Heinrich Rantzau's', *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgische Geschichte*, 11 (1881), pp. 69–124, pp. 82–83; Nan Dahlkild and Steen Bille Larsen (eds.), *Dansk Bibliotekshistorie: Biblioteker for de få. Biblioteker for de få; tiden før 1920* (2 vols., Århus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2021), 1, p. 84.
  - 16 Gustavus Adolphus' resolution on the University and the order of the school system, 13 April 1620; idem, ordinance on the number of professors, salaries, and several other matters at Uppsala University, 7 July, 1621; Claes Annerstedt, *Uppsala universitets historia*, Bihang 1: Handlingar 1477–1654 (Uppsala: Schultz, 1877), pp. 155, 175.
  - 17 A financial plan from September 1620 set the annual budget of the entire university to 8,210 silver *daler*; Annerstedt, *Uppsala universitets historia*, Bihang 1, pp. 158–160. In 1652, when Mazarin's former librarian Gabriel Naudé was hired to cater Queen Christina's books in Stockholm, he received an annual salary of 3,000 silver *daler*; Wieselgren, *Drottning Kristinas bibliotek*, p. 38; Christian Callmer, *Königin Christina, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften: Beiträge zur europäischen Bibliotheksgeschichte* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 1977), pp. 73.
  - 18 Annerstedt, *Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks historia*, p. 76.

According to the most learned and wise Masters' faithful advice and opinions, a young Lord and Prince should train himself thoroughly in the following exercises: firstly, in a true and proper religion and worship; secondly, in the wonderful and fine adornments that the study of books abundantly informs, delivers and bestows on us all; and lastly, in all those chivalric bodily exercises, which are a foundation and preparation to all things martial, and which makes a good soldier and an illustrious warrior prince.<sup>19</sup>

Gustavus Adolphus took the lesson to heart, and war, religion, and bookish exercises merged from his very first campaign onwards and became a matter of national pride. Typical is the king's motivation for establishing a domestic paper production:

Since God the Almighty has gifted us Swedes with soul and reason and skills, in equal measure with other nations, and here in the kingdom nothing is lacking that paper can be made of, we are determined to set up a paper mill in Uppsala.<sup>20</sup>

He also drew attention to the fact that

many much-needed books are in demand, both in the schools and academies here in the kingdom, which is a big reason why studies and bookish ingenuity cannot reach the perfection that it rightfully should and we would like to see.<sup>21</sup>

19 'Effter the Höglärde och klokaste Mästars trogne Råd och Betänckande, skal en vng Herre och Furste vti thesse effterföljande Stycker, sigh flijteligen öfwa och bruka: Först vthi en rätt och sannskyllig Religion och Gudztjänst: Sedan vthi the Härlige och sköne Prydningar, som the Boklige Konster rijkeligen oss allom medhdela, skäncke och förähre: Och til thet sidste vthi alle Ridderlige Kropsens öfningar, hwilke äre ett Fundament och Præparatif til alle Krijgsaker, och göra en godh Soldat och berömmelig Krijgz-Furste.' Johan Skytte, *Een kort Vnderwijsning: Vthi hwad Konster och Dygder en Furstelig Person skal sigh öfwa och bruka then ther täncker med tiden lyckosamligen regera Land och Rijke* (Stockholm: [Anund Olufsson], 1604), USTC 253116, p. 11.

20 Gustavus Adolphus' letter 8 January 1612, quoted from Schück, *Den svenska förlagsbokhandels historia*, 1, p. 120.

21 'många högnödige böker, både Vthi skolerna och Academierna här Vthi vårt Rijke desidereres, och sådant wara een stoor orsaak, hwarföre studier och Boklige kånster icke kunne komma till den profection, som det sigh med retta borde och wij giärna såge', privilege for the book printer Johan Matthiæ, 21 February 1628, quoted from Henrik Schück, *Bidrag till svensk bokhistoria* (Stockholm: Föreningen för bokhandtverk, 1900), p. 29.

This attitude prevailed during the whole, so called, age of imperial greatness and the looting of books continued through the Thirty Years' War, the wars of Charles x Gustav, and the wars of Charles xii in the early 1700s. A pattern can be discerned, however, in the different directions taken by the looted books at different times. Most of the books seized by Gustavus Adolphus became public property, principally through the university library in Uppsala; under Queen Christina (ruled 1644–1654), the flow of books was redirected to the royal library in Stockholm (and eventually to Rome and the Vatican Library); whereas from the 1660s onwards, most books ended up in private collections. There are, of course, exceptions to this general pattern during each period.<sup>22</sup>

It is impossible to say how large a share of the books in Swedish libraries in the seventeenth century was made up of war booty. The field marshal and royal councillor, Count Jakob De la Gardie (1583–1652), erected the most sumptuous palace, known as *Makalös* (Sans pareil), in Stockholm in the early seventeenth century. He left a select library of some 229 titles, arranged by the four 'faculties' of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy, including history and fortification. Although he made his living from warfare and spent most of this time in the field, there are no signs of booty among his books. They seem to have been carefully handpicked to suit the owner's needs and interests; for instance, among his books there were only works on Lutheran theology, a feature rarely encountered in the looted libraries.<sup>23</sup> Jakob De la Gardie's consumption might have been conspicuous in some ways, but this did not extend to his books. It was a different situation with his son, Chancellor Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (1622–1686), who amassed the largest private library in the realm with perhaps as many as 8,000 books, cared for by several librarians.<sup>24</sup> In the 1680s, when it was sequestered by the Crown, the library had an estimated value of 14,866 Swedish *daler*, a sum which would buy 1,650 barrels of rye or 6,500 barrels of beer when a copy of Johannes Schefferus' newly published *De antiqvis verisqve regni Sveciæ insignibus, liber singularis* (Stockholm: Nicoalus Wankijff, 1678), 325 pages with 47 copper engravings, cost 2 *daler*, 16 *öre*.<sup>25</sup> A large portion of

22 The fundamental account of Sweden's looting of books is found in Otto Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten: En kulturhistorisk-bibliografisk studie* (2 vols., Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1916, 1920); Swedish looting of manuscripts in the Thirty Years' War is especially considered in Callmer, *Königin Christina, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften*, pp. 94–147.

23 The handwritten catalogue is published in Göran Axel-Nilsson, *Makalös: Fältherren greve Jakob De la Gardies hus i Stockholm* (Stockholm: Kommittén för Stockholmsforskning, 1984), pp. 237–242.

24 Losman, 'Adelskap och boklig bildning', pp. 176–179.

25 Nils G. Wollin, 'Karl xii:s torg', *Samfundet Sankt Eriks årsbok* (1925), p. 76. All price comparisons taken from Lars O. Lagerqvist, *Vad kostade det? Priser och löner från medeltid till våra dagar* (Lund: Historiska media, 2013), p. 121.



this library consisted of war booty, but we cannot tell to what extent. De la Gardie let his underlings scout private libraries during the Swedish campaigns in Denmark in 1658–1659. Among the more important collections he claimed for himself were those of Jørgen Reedtz, Gunde Rosenkrantz, and Anders Sørensen Vedel. Reedtz's library contained some 550 items; of the others, we have no reliable figures, but it is assumed that they were substantially larger.<sup>26</sup> In the late 1650s De la Gardie already had a substantial basis for his book collection in the great library of the Danish historiographer Stephanus Johannis Stephanius (1599–1650), which he had bought and paid for already in 1652. About a thousand of Stephanius' books can be identified in Uppsala University Library, in the National Library of Sweden, as well as in private collections, but these are only a fraction of the original number.<sup>27</sup> To complicate matters even more, Stephanius' library contained books from the former Jesuit colleges in Erfurt and Heiligenstadt, which were ransacked by the Swedes in the 1630s.<sup>28</sup> How these books found their way to Denmark has not been established, but their presence there make it even more difficult to single out proper booty in De la Gardie's library. At any rate, De la Gardie was a cultured and well-read person, but he also used architecture, art, and books as a means of displaying his influence and fortunes on a hitherto-unprecedented scale.<sup>29</sup>

Another great collector, Count Per Brahe the Younger (1602–1680), was procurator of the realm (*riksdrots*, nominally the highest office under the Crown) and Sweden's largest landowner. He saw himself as a sort of viceroy and behaved almost like an independent prince in his own county around Lake Vättern in southern Sweden. Brahe was the actual founder of the university in Turku (Åbo) in Finland, and in 1666 he established a private printing works at the island of Visingsö in Lake Vättern, employing the printer Johann Kankel from Gdańsk (Danzig). Between 1667 and 1685, Kankel produced a total of 53 printed items of various thicknesses and sizes, ranging from single sheets to tomes of more than 500 pages.<sup>30</sup>

Brahe was one of the most impressive representatives of a new generation of Swedish aristocrats, possessing cultural interests and an urge to establish

26 Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 2, pp. 234–235, 242, 270–271, 319–322, 315–357, 367–370, 372–373, 377, 382–383.

27 De la Gardie paid 1,700 *riksdaler* for the printed books and an additional 200 *riksdaler* for the manuscripts. The library was transported to Stockholm in ten large chests. Otto Walde, 'Stephanii bibliotek och dess historia', *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 4 (1917), pp. 261–301, here pp. 298–301; *idem*, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 2, pp. 244–247.

28 Walde, 'Stephanii bibliotek och dess historia', pp. 265–266.

29 Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 2, pp. 233–381.

30 Sven Almqvist, *Johann Kankel: Per Brahes boktryckare på Visingsö* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1965), with bibliography of Kankel's works, pp. 131–147.



themselves on the same level as their counterparts on the continent. He had travelled through Denmark, Germany, England, the Netherlands, and Italy, and had spent a total of six years at the universities of Giessen and Strasbourg, where he supplemented his German and Latin with studies in French, Hebrew, and some theology. Following his father's intervention, he turned his focus to more noble exercises, and learned to ride, dance, fence, and play the lute. Throughout his travels, Brahe bought books and gathered a library of some 1,500 volumes in all areas of knowledge, ranging from pharmacology to fortification but with special emphasis on theology, history, law and *philosophia naturalis*. About a hundred of his books were war booty, which he had acquired in 1653 when he married Beata De la Gardie, widow of the Field Marshal Lennart Torstenson (1603–1651), commander of the Swedish troops in Germany during the Thirty Years' War and a notorious looter. Brahe had served as colonel for four and a half years under Gustavus Adolphus but did not pursue a military career. Through indirect conduits, he nevertheless got his share of the war booty that circulated in Sweden. The amplitude of his library also illustrates the remarkable expansion of book culture since Hogenskild Bielke's days, two generations earlier.<sup>31</sup>

One of the best-documented book collections of the era was located in Skokloster Castle. This residence has been described as a giant *Kunstschränk* or museum with its interior decorations, art, handicraft, scientific instruments, maps, and books.<sup>32</sup> At the death of its creator, Carl Gustaf Wrangel (1613–1676), the Skokloster library consisted of about 2,400 volumes, which were divided into four inheritance lots.<sup>33</sup> One of them is still stored at the castle (supplemented with several books from the other lots). Modern estimates suggest that

31 Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 2, p. 438; Jonas Nordin, 'Per Brahe d.y:s Tänkebok', *Personhistorisk tidskrift*, 88 (1992), pp. 75–95, here 82–87; Losman, 'Adelskap och boklig bildning', pp. 166–170. For Brahe's estate holdings and building activities, see Fredric Bedoire, *Guldålder: Slott och politik i 1600-talets Sverige* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 2001), pp. 37–46.

32 Arne Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa: Studier i kulturförbindelser kring en 1600-talsmagnat* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1980), p. 234.

33 For an overview of the library collections at Skokloster, see Arne Losman, 'Tre rekonstruerade 1600-talsbibliotek på Skokloster', *Livrustkammaren: Journal of the Royal Armoury*, 11:8 (1969), pp. 227–240; idem, 'Skoklosters slotts bibliotek i ett östersjöperspektiv' in Kerstin Abukhanfusa (ed.) *Mare nostrum: Om westfaliska freden och Östersjön som svenskt maktcentrum* (Stockholm: Riksarkivet, 1999), pp. 228–240; Arne Losman and Elisabeth Westin Berg, 'Skokloster', in Bernhard Fabian et al. (eds.), *Handbuch deutscher historischer Buchbestände in Europa*, 7:1 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1998), pp. 217–221, also available at [www.fabian.sub.uni-goettingen.de/fabian](http://www.fabian.sub.uni-goettingen.de/fabian) (last accessed 6 December 2022); Janis Kreslins, 'Skokloster Castle Library', in David H. Stam (ed.), *International Dictionary of Library Histories* (2 vols., Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001), 2, pp. 695–698.

only about 10 percent of the book stock was war booty, but this estimate is certainly too low. Emma Hagström Molin has pointed out that scholars have underestimated the amount of booty because of the lack of sources, whereas Wrangel's orders through contacts in Hamburg, Amsterdam, The Hague, Frankfurt am Main, and London, have been minutely recorded.<sup>34</sup>

A contemporary catalogue divided Wrangel's books into ten subject areas, and, within the subject of theology, more than 75 percent of the preserved volumes consist of war booty. This is indeed not characteristic of the whole collection, and if we had the opportunity to examine its full extent, the total size of the booty would probably end up more towards the lower part of the wide range. Since almost three quarters of Wrangel's original library has been scattered, however, this can never be more than a guess.<sup>35</sup> How representative the Skokloster library was of aristocratic book collections in general is even harder to surmise. The best we can say is that the influx of looted books in Sweden was significant, but its share of the realm's total book stock at any given time may never be known, especially in the case of private collections. What the robbed books in turn may have meant for the edification, reputation or entertainment of the new owners is of course even more difficult to determine. The Italian philosopher and diplomat Lorenzo Magalotti, who met Carl Gustaf Wrangel on several occasions in the 1670s, portrayed him thus: 'He delights in many things, likes books and letters, although, to tell the truth, he is not very well educated. He is never idle: he either reads or works at his lathe or models houses and fortresses'. Historian Arne Losman has described Wrangel as 'increasingly educated but never learned'.<sup>36</sup> On a different note, Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna's brother Gabriel was certainly not alone when he lamented about his son: 'he has absolutely no inclination for his books, but only to war, and whatever he studies it is of no use'.<sup>37</sup>

34 Emma Hagström Molin, *Krigsbyttets biografi: Byten i Riksarkivet, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek och Skokloster slott under 1600-talet* (Göteborg: Makadam, 2015), pp. 176, 196. Cf. Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, pp. 182–192.

35 Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 2, pp. 249–263; Elisabeth Westin Berg, 'Krigsbytesböcker i biblioteken på Skokloster', in Sofia Nestor and Carl Zarmén (eds.), *Krigsbyten i svenska samlingar* (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 2007), pp. 109–111; Hagström Molin, *Krigsbyttets biografi*, pp. 196–198.

36 'Si diletta di molte cose: ama i libri ed i letterai, benché, per dirne il vero, non sia troppe delicato; non sta mai ozioso, o legge o lavora al tornio, o modella case e fortezze': Lorenzo Magalotti, *Relazioni di viaggio in Inghilterra, Francia e Svezia*, ed. Walter Moretti (Bari: Laterza, 1968), p. 319. 'alltmer bildad men aldrig lärd': Losman, *Carl Gustaf Wrangel och Europa*, p. 234.

37 'han slett ingen lust haffuer till sin book, uthan till kriget, och alt hvadh han studerar ähr uthan nytta': Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna to Axel Oxenstierna, 13 January 1633, in

As far as public libraries are concerned, the data are somewhat better, although we can only estimate the size of the collections even in them. As indicated above, Uppsala university library at its founding in 1620 may have received a nucleus of somewhere between four and five thousand volumes. Thirty years later, the library is estimated to have had somewhere in the region of 8,600 volumes or more, with the lion's share of the increase consisting of war booty. Looted books may thus have accounted for about 40 percent or more of the library's collections. Of the around 1,165 manuscripts, well over half would have come from foreign pillaging.<sup>38</sup> For the royal library in Stockholm, the proportion was probably even higher until the middle of the seventeenth century. The books of the previous kings had been sent to Uppsala and what arrived instead, before Queen Christina began to buy large foreign collections, was to a large extent war booty.<sup>39</sup> For example, of the 953 manuscripts listed in the royal library's oldest catalogue from 1651, only four are known with certainty to have been there already in the sixteenth century.<sup>40</sup>

The looted books sent home by Gustavus Adolphus to Uppsala (and to a lesser extent to Stockholm) were taken mainly from Riga, Braniewo (Braunsberg), Frombork (Frauenburg), Würzburg, and Mainz. In all cases, these were libraries that belonged to the religious institutions and persons that were the Swedish king's adversaries: Jesuit colleges, chapters, monastic and mendicant libraries, prince bishops, and other Catholic dignitaries. This was important from both a legal and a moral point of view. On the one hand, goods were being seized in accordance with the laws of war; on the other, enemies of the evangelical faith were deprived of spiritual sustenance, which instead was now put into service of the unadulterated religion.<sup>41</sup> According to the Bishop of Strängnäs, Laurentius Paulinus, it pleased God if Swedish weapons succeeded in conquering 'the renowned colleges and magnificent libraries of our enemies, which they abuse for the suppression of the true faith, but which

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*Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas skrifter och brevföreläsning* (15 + 12 vols., Stockholm: Norstedts, 1890), 2:3, p. 284.

38 Annerstedt, *Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks historia*, pp. 14–15. Otto Walde thought that Annerstedt's estimation was too low both in the number of books and the proportion of booty; idem, 'Konung Sigismunds bibliotek', pp. 317–318.

39 Eva Nilsson Nylander, *The Mild Boredom of Order: A Study in the History of the Manuscript Collection of Queen Christina of Sweden* (Lund: Lund University, 2011), pp. 45–63.

40 Cf. Christian Callmer (ed.), *Katalog över handskrifterna i Kungl. biblioteket i Stockholm skriven omkr. 1650 under ledning av Isaac Vossius* (Stockholm: Kungliga biblioteket, 1971).

41 See, e.g., Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 1, pp. 15–19; Hagström Molin, *Krigsbytenets biografi*, pp. 47–56; Ulf Göranson, 'Kulturarvskrigsbyten och den rättsliga utvecklingen från Grotius', in Peter Sjökvist (ed.), *Bevara för framtiden: Texter från en seminarieresa om specialsamlingar* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, 2016) pp. 73–82.

in our hands could be brought again to their proper use, which is to honour God, strengthen the defence of our Christian faith, and continue all commendable and useful studies.<sup>42</sup>

To identify and retrieve and, when necessary, select particular items from the captured book collections required some expertise. If a selection had to be made, manuscripts and celebrated authors were preferred, but, if possible, the entire library should be sent home to be sorted and assessed in peace and quiet. Archives that could provide information about the enemy's actions, facilitate the administration of conquered areas, and provide historical edification were sought after. While Gustavus Adolphus was alive, the king himself took active part in the selection, assisted by field preachers. Later, the selection process was transferred to the secretaries of the field chancellery, trained in languages and political science.<sup>43</sup> In early 1643, Axel Oxenstierna issued the following order to the Commander-in-Chief Lennart Torstenson:

Likewise, if the Lord Field Marshal conquers any Papist cities, where any grand and costly libraries are being kept, as happened last summer with Neus, [and] Olomouc, he should command the secretary, or else some certain, trustworthy, experienced, and knowledgeable man, who knows how to use the opportunity to collect and preserve the said libraries, and to ship them here at a safe moment, in order to improve the libraries of the Realm's academies and gymnasiums.<sup>44</sup>

Oxenstierna's instructions contain several interesting pieces of information. The purpose of the cultural policy was paramount: the books would be used to fill empty school libraries. The army must use the skills at hand to carry out

42 'våre Fijenders nampnkunnige collegia och sköne Bibliotheker, hwilke the missbruke till then sanne Religionens vndertryckellse, men här kunne föras till genuinum usum igen, som är Gudhi till ähra och vår christelige Religions kraftigare förswarelse sampt alle berömmelige studiers nyttige fortsettning'; Paulinus to Axel Oxenstierna, 1 Aug. 1634, quoted from Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 1, p. 25.

43 Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 1, pp. 19–25. For the importance of archives, cf. Inger Dübeck, *Fra gammel dansk til ny svensk ret: Den retlige forsvenskning i de tabte territorier 1645–1683* (Copenhagen: Rigsarkivet, 1987).

44 'I lijka mätto ther her Fälldtmarskalkken får några papistiske orter in, ther sköne och kostelige bibliotheker ähre till finna, som uthi förledne Sommar skedde medh Neus, Olmitz [Olomouc], at han wille befalla Secreteren, eller elliest någon wiss, godh, förfahren och förtrogen man, som weet till taga den legenheeten i acht, at sambla och conservera samma bibliotek, och låta widh säker legenheet sända dem hijt öfwer, at ther medh förbättra bibliotheken uthi Rijkzens academier och gymnasier.' Memorial for Gabriel Oxenstierna, 21 Jan. 1643, quoted from Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 1, p. 345.

the mission and the books should be handled with care. Furthermore, it was explicitly declared that only the libraries of the *enemy* could be looted in this way. Depriving the 'papist' and the Jesuit of his intellectual tools was not only a just punishment; it was also a protective measure for the evangelical side and an opportunity to allow the books to be used in the service of the true faith. To what extent Catholic liturgical manuals and other 'papist' books could really fulfil their intended function in Lutheran Sweden and, above all, in its educational institutions is a question that to some extent divides scholars. The dominant view, however, is that the benefits were severely limited by the somewhat haphazard methods of acquisition. The university library in Uppsala had two floors with separate entrances. The upper floor contained the proper working library where useful and representative books were kept. The lower floor was more of a storage room for less valuable or damaged books. Some of the duplicates or books otherwise deemed useless were sold or traded for other books, whereas several parchment manuscripts had to sacrifice their pages to the university bookbinders and the city's organ builders. More than four hundred manuscripts were destroyed this way before 1691. In view of the large influx of unusable literature, the Consistory's ordinance of 1646, that the scarce acquisition grants should only be used to purchase pure doctrinal gospel books, is understandable.<sup>45</sup>

### 3 Might or Right?

Was the seizure of war booty justified or legal at the time? The seventeenth century was an era of continuous warfare, but it also witnessed the birth of international law. The right of the strong that had previously prevailed was increasingly being replaced by principles based on natural law, according to which there were certain fundamental rights and obligations that must be taken into account even in war and diplomacy. In this context, reference is often made to the Dutch lawyer Hugo Grotius and his *De jure belli ac pacis* ('On the Laws of War and Peace'). If a war was legitimate, it was also lawful for the victor to take booty under certain conditions, according to Grotius. This concerned, for example, munitions but also the public property, including cultural

45 Peter Sjökvist, 'On the Order of the Books in the first Uppsala University Library Building', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 6 (2019), pp. 315–326, also in Swedish as 'Om böckernas ordning i Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks första byggnad', *Biblis: Kvartalstidskrift för bokvänner*, 85 (2019), pp. 65–71; idem, 'Litterära krigsbytenas öden i Sverige', *Biblis: Kvartalstidskrift för bokvänner*, 89 (2020), pp. 21–26.

objects, of the defeated enemy. Such transfers of ownership were afterwards regulated in peace agreements and were thus approved by both parties.<sup>46</sup>

Grotius published his influential treatise in 1625, while the large-scale Swedish book robberies had begun already in Riga in 1621.<sup>47</sup> Then again, these matters had occupied lawyers already in the medieval centuries (e.g. Thomas Aquinas) and Grotius had pondered the subject in previous works.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, the Italian jurists Pierino Belli in his *De re militari et de bello* (1563) and Alberico Gentili in his *De jure belli commentatio prima* (1588; extended and revised as *De jure belli libri tres*, 1598) had already laid the groundwork for the law of nations (*ius gentium*), including for the laws of war. Gentili drew heavily on Greco-Roman natural law and Jean Bodin's theories on sovereignty, and there is reason to believe that his work inspired the articles of war issued by Gustavus Adolphus in 1621, to which all soldiers in his armies were bound by oath. These articles emphasized the military chain of command and the soldiers' duty of obedience; articles 90–101, especially, contained regulations on looting and the treatment of civilians.<sup>49</sup>

46 Fritz Redlich, *De praeda militari: Looting and Booty 1500–1815* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1956), on Swedish practices, see esp. pp. 10–11, 25, 31–32, 35, 44, 47, 54–56, 61; Philippe Contamine, 'The Growth of State Control: Practices of War, 1300–1800. Ransom and Booty', in idem (ed.), *War and competition between states* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), pp. 163–193.

47 About the Riga spoils, see *Catalogue of the Riga Jesuit College Book Collection (1583–1621): History and Reconstruction of the Collection = Rīgas Jezuītu Kolēģijas Grāmatu Krājuma (1583–1621) Katalogs. Krājuma Vēsture un Rekonstrukcija*, eds. Andris Levāns and Gustavs Strenga (Riga: Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka, 2021).

48 Callmer, *Königin Christina, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handsschriften*, pp. 94–98; Bo H. Lindberg, 'Spoils and trophies', in Fred Sandstedt et al. (eds.), *In Hoc Signo Vincas: A Presentation of the Swedish State Trophy Collection* (Stockholm: The National Swedish Museums of Military History, 2006), pp. 37–49; Hannes Hartung, '"Praeda bellica in bellum iustum?" The Legal Development of War-Booty from the 16th Century to Date: A Chance of Bettering Museum Practice?', esp. pp. 25–30, and Claudia Reichl-Ham, '"Keiner soll auf Beuth gehen ohne Wissen und Willen seines Hauptmannes": The War-Booty Laws of the Holy Roman and Habsburg Empires in Theory and Practice from the 16th to the 19th centuries', both in Sofia Nestor (ed.), *War-Booty: A Common European Cultural Heritage* (Stockholm: Royal Armoury, 2009); Hans Blom (ed.), *Property, Piracy and Punishment: Hugo Grotius on War and Booty in De Iure Praedae* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Ryan Greenwood, 'War and Sovereignty in Medieval Roman Law', *Law and History Review*, 32 (2014), pp. 31–63, e.g., pp. 50–51; Andrew Blom, 'Grotius and Aristotle: The Justice of Taking Too Little', *History of Political Thought*, 36 (2015), esp. pp. 101–107; Ove Bring, 'Kulturella krigsbyten och folkrättslig utveckling', *Svensk juristidning*, 102 (2017), pp. 274–288, here pp. 274–279.

49 *Krijgs articular som firdom then stormechtigste furste och herre, herr Gustaff Adolph then andre och store, Sweriges, Göthes och Wändes konung, storfurste til Finland, hertig vthi*

Gustavus Adolphus issued the articles of war on 15 July 1621, shortly before the siege of Riga. In line with their spirit, the repossession made after the fall of the city included only the so-called cadukes. This term, *caducus*, originated in Roman Law and referred to property without a legal heir or, in a figurative sense, orphaned property in general.<sup>50</sup> After the conquest of Riga in September 1621, the officials of the Polish king and the city's Jesuits were expelled. The property they left behind was considered forfeited to the Swedish Crown, while the rest of the city's population was left in peace, at least to the extent that the royal judiciary could exercise control. Procedure of this kind governed the book plundering undertaken by the Swedish Crown; a prerequisite for the booty to serve its intended use was that it be captured in a reasonably good order. During the Thirty Years' War, the Swedish government, headed by Axel Oxenstierna, came to lean on Grotius' authority. It was, of course, helpful that Grotius was engaged in Swedish diplomatic service during the last ten years of his life.<sup>51</sup> What licentious soldiery and unruly officers did, however, was not easy to control in all situations. A Lutheran pastor near Dresden fled into the woods when Swedish troops ravaged his hometown during the Thirty Years' War. When he returned, he discovered that the Swedish army chaplain had taken thirty-two of his private and most valuable books from the church vestry.<sup>52</sup> This was clearly no orderly confiscation, neither was it an action against an enemy of the evangelical faith.

In some instances, the Swedes saw their spoils as the restoration of Swedish property. The sixteenth-century library on Gråmunkeholmen in Stockholm 'was looted by the Jesuits, who during the time of King Johan III ravaged our church and our Helicon [i.e., our literature]', wrote Uppsala university library's chronicler Olof Celsius in 1745.

In Uppsala library you will find books, which in the margin of the title page have the following note: 'Inscribed in the catalogue of the Jesuit order's in Sweden library', where they [the Jesuits] have crossed out the words 'in Sweden', but so poorly that they can be easily read, and written

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*Estland och Carelen, herre vthöfwer Ingermanland, etc. loffwärdigst i åminnelse, hafwer låtit göra och författa, A. M. DC. XXI* (Stockholm: Peter van Selow, 16[42]), USTC 252255.

50 On the concept of cadukes in this context, see Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigshyten*, 1, p. 46; Hagström Molin, *Krigshytets biografi*, pp. 59–60.

51 Cf. Henk J.M. Nellen, 'Hugo Grotius's Political and Scholarly Activities in the Light of his Correspondence', in *Property, Piracy and Punishment*, pp. 16–30, e.g., pp. 19–20, 27.

52 Pettegree and Weduwen, *The Library*, p. 137.



'Braunsberg' instead, after they left the country and secretly went to Braunsberg with this loot.<sup>53</sup>

Interestingly, Celsius did not see this Jesuit institutional library as the property of the Catholic order, but as national Swedish property. Provenance marks show that some of these books had already travelled between Jesuit colleges in northern Europe and Stockholm as many as three times in the sixteenth century.<sup>54</sup> Another book with an itinerant history was an edition of Thomas Aquinas's *De veritate catholicæ fidei contra errores infidelium*, printed by Henricus Ariminensis in Strasbourg in 1479, and bound by the bookbinder Niels in Vadstena not long thereafter. It must have been confiscated during the Reformation and ended up in the Crown's book warehouse on Gråmunkeholmen, where a short-lived counter Reformational seminar was formed in 1576 under a Jesuit headmaster, Laurentius Nicolai Norvegus. In 1580, Laurentius and his colleagues were expelled together with fifteen apostates, the departing persons taking many of the books with them. The present volume is marked 'Ex Biblioth. Cath. Ecclæ Olom.' for Olomouc, where it was captured by the Swedes in 1642, brought back to Stockholm and finally placed in Uppsala University Library.<sup>55</sup>

The largest and most infamous Swedish plunder took place in the so-called Lesser Town in Prague in the summer of 1648, just a few months before the Westphalian peace agreement was signed. Through this last advance, not only did the Codex Gigas ('Devil's Bible') and the Codex Argenteus ('Silver Bible') fall into Swedish hands, the total spoils, according to contemporary estimates, amounted to an astonishing 7 million *riksdaler*'s worth. By comparison, France's subsidies to Sweden in 1638–1648 amounted to 5.4 million *riksdaler*, which was just above the monetary settlement the Swedish Crown was granted

53 'Inveniuntur libri, in Bibliotheca Upsaliensi, hoc signo notati ad marginem titularis folii: *Inscriptus catalogo Bibl. Soc. Jesu in Suetia*, ubi expunctis vocibus *in Suetia*, ita tamen ut facile legi possint, vocabulum *Braunsberg* reposuerunt postquam, relicto Regno, Brunsbergam se clam, cum hac præda, contulissent.' Olof O. Celsius, *Bibliothecæ Upsaliensis historia* (Uppsala: Regiæ academici Ups. impensis, 1745) pp. 16–17. Swedish translation by Sten Hedberg, *Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks historia* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1971). Cf. Isak Collijn, 'Bibliotheca "Collegii Societatis Jesu in Suetia": Några bidrag till kännedomen om jesuiternas boksamling på Gråmunkeholmen', *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 1 (1914), who enumerates 54 works in 34 volumes, now in Uppsala, that belonged to the Jesuit school.

54 Collijn, 'Bibliotheca "Collegii Societatis Jesu in Suetia"', pp. 157–158.

55 Isak Collijn, 'Råd och anvisningar till en svensk bokbindare under medeltiden', *Sammlaren*, 24 (1903), p. 144–145.



in the peace treaty for the disbandment of its troops.<sup>56</sup> The Osnabrück Treaty included special stipulations regarding booty. Goods and possessions that were still in their original place were to be restored, but everything that had already been removed would be kept by the new owners (article XVI:15). All previous conflicts, claims and suffered injustices were to be disregarded after the ratification of the treaty.

#### 4 The Spoils of Charles x Gustav

Peace did not last long and in the summer of 1655, Sweden broke the truce with Poland that had been concluded in Stuhmsdorf in 1635. The reasons were many and cynical, but the formal points included religious schisms and unresolved claims in relation to the Polish Vasa branch. Archival documents of Swedish provenance were thus on the lists of desired booty when administrative centres were conquered.<sup>57</sup> As before, there was also an interest in larger book collections. Books were brought to Uppsala especially from Jesuit colleges and monasteries in Vilnius and Poznań; they were also extorted from the royal library in Warsaw.<sup>58</sup> According to the peace treaty, all archives and official documents as well as the royal library from Krakow were to be returned unless they had already been shipped to Sweden.<sup>59</sup> This last provision was overlooked by Otto Walde, which has led to much misunderstanding in later research. Regardless of moral viewpoints, it was in full accordance with the peace settlement that the books already brought to Stockholm remained there. Many of these books were later destroyed when fire demolished the royal castle in 1697.

Some of the Swedish schools and universities sought to reserve future book acquisitions for their own libraries. Soon after Charles x Gustav had declared his second war on Denmark, he received the following petition from Johannes Terserus, bishop in Turku in Finland:

56 Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 1, pp. 308–333; *Från Femern och Jankow till westfaliska freden* (Stockholm: Generalstabens litografiska anstalts förlag, 1948), pp. 369–399.

57 On the devastation in Poland, including libraries and archives, caused by Swedish troops during the wars of Charles x Gustav, see Mirosław Nagielski et al., *Förödelse utförd av svenskarna i Polen under åren 1655–1660* (Warszawa: Solar, 2011); also published in Polish as *Zniszczenia szwedzkie na terenie Korony w okresie potopu: 1655–1660* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2015). The authors remark that the destruction of archives makes it difficult for historians to reconstruct the extent of the devastation even today.

58 Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 1, pp. 1–176.

59 Treaty of Oliwa, 23 April 1660, § 9. See also Peter Sjökvist, 'Freden i Oliwa och restitutionen av bokliga krigsbyten', *Biblis: Kvartalstidskrift för bokvänner*, 68 (2014/15), pp. 20–23.

if it so pleases the good Lord to continue to bless His Royal Majesty's victorious arms and to place Copenhagen in the hands of His Royal Majesty, [it is hoped that] His Royal Majesty should remember the Academy in Turku with [a donation of] some print items as well as libraries.<sup>60</sup>

As a rule, however, during the wars of Charles x Gustav it seems that booty ended up in private hands to a greater extent than before. 'Following the example of the ancient Romans, the illustrious men of Sweden also installed libraries on their estates, where they could rest their weary minds', wrote Olof Celsius with reference to this period.<sup>61</sup> Among the most distinguished of these collections he listed those belonging to Schering Rosenhane, Per Brahe the Younger, Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, and the diplomat and councillor Clas Rålamb. All of them contained varying amounts of war booty. A significant part of Rosenhane's collections is today kept at the National Library of Sweden, while De la Gardie's and Rålamb's books came to rest in Uppsala after the Crown's 'reduction' (re-acquisition) of noble estates in the late seventeenth century. Per Brahe's books were for the most part scattered or consumed by fire, but remains can still be found at Skokloster, which is also home to portions of Carl Gustaf Wrangel's spoils from Poland and Denmark, mentioned earlier. As secretary of the chancellery, Emund Figrelus Gripenhielm (1622–1675) was inspector for the royal library and was thus able to secure duplicates from its collections. This way, he formed an impressive library of 6,000 volumes, including many books looted from Poland and Denmark. Gripenhielm's book collection was purchased by Charles XI and donated in 1684 to the library of the newly established university in Lund, where it still remains. The fortifications officer Erik Dahlbergh, who carefully sketched the Polish cities before they were just as carefully burned down by the Swedes, liked to pilfer individual volumes in the subject areas that interested him: topographical works, architecture, engineering, martial arts, classical writers, among other subjects.<sup>62</sup> It should be added

60 'där den högste Gud än ytterligare välsignar H. K. M:ts segersälla vapen och gifver Köpenhamn uti H. M:ts händer, H. K. M:t ville då ihågkomma akademien i Åbo med något tryck såväl som bibliotek', quoted from Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigshyten*, 1, p. 29.

61 'Erexerunt etjam illustrers in Svecia viri, more Romanorum veterum bibliothecas in Tusculanis suis: ubi animos curis defatigatos relaxarent'; Celsius, *Bibliothecæ Upsaliensis historia*, pp. 37–38. On looted books in private collections in Imperial Rome, see Christian Jacob, 'Fragments of a History of Ancient Libraries', in Jason König et al. (eds.), *Ancient Libraries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 57–82, p. 73.

62 An extensive inventory list of Dahlbergh's books, paintings and engravings in October 1654 is printed in Ernst Ericsson and Erik Vennberg, *Erik Dahlbergh: Hans levnad och verksamhet* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1925), pp. 159–167.

that much booty ended up in other countries via foreign officers in Swedish service.

Rich profits were amassed also during the wars with Denmark, not infrequently from private libraries. Charles x Gustav's first Danish campaign lasted only six months, from August 1657 to February 1658, and its rapid course limited the possibilities for pillaging. The second Danish war, which began in August 1658, however, meant that Swedish troops were stationed on Danish soil for a year and a half, creating a good opportunity for both sanctioned and improvised looting. As before, the Swedes tried to uphold the principle of only confiscating 'orphaned' goods. This included collections that had been abandoned after the flight of the owners, and collections that had been evacuated from their original location in order to be hidden. Particularly rich loot was taken in conquered fortresses that served as depots for refugees. The Danish wars brought home magnificent trophies of historical and artistic value to the Crown, such as Queen Margaret's robe, Frederik II's canopy and a large number of bronze sculptures from Frederiksborg Castle.<sup>63</sup> The existence of book pillaging we know primarily by reference to objects that ended up in private collections and that arrived in public institutions only indirectly. Most of the Crown's confiscations, on the other hand, were probably destroyed when the royal castle in Stockholm burned down, which makes its actual extent difficult to estimate.

## 5 Charles XII's War in Poland

It is not always possible to determine with certainty whether the books with Polish provenance that can be found in Sweden today were originally taken during the campaigns of Charles x Gustav in the 1660s or during those of Charles XII (ruled 1697–1718) in the early eighteenth century. It seems, however, that book plundering was less common during the later war. This may have several explanations: the Swedish public collections were already saturated after almost a century of replenishment; the tastes of the Swedish officers had become more refined, and they were no longer content with books in bulk unless their more specific interests could be met in the Polish libraries;

63 Görel Cavalli-Björkman, 'Krigsrov från München, Prag och Fredriksborg i Nationalmuseum', in Sofia Nestor and Carl Zarmén (eds.), *Krigsbyten i svenska samlingar* (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 2007), pp. 79–91; Barbro Bursell, 'War-Booty in Swedish Collections', in Ann Grönhammar (ed.), *Krigsbyte – War-Booty* (Stockholm: Royal Armoury, 2007), pp. 35–48.

increasingly mobile warfare did not allow for accumulation and shipping of a large volume of booty. Among those who are known to have brought books back with them from the campaign is Olof Hermelin, professor of law in Tartu (Dorpat), chancellor and royal historiographer. Charles XII had his headquarters in Heilsberg 1703–1704 and during this stationary period there was plenty of time for a connoisseur to choose books in peace and quiet. Hermelin sent home two coffers to Stockholm with books taken from the bishop's library. Among his spoils were several older manuscripts, of which at least a few over a dozen were donated by his son Carl Hermelin to the library of the Turku Academy, where they were destroyed in the great city fire of 1827.<sup>64</sup>

Charles XII's Polish campaign offered the last opportunities for the soldiers of the Swedish great power to plunder libraries of any significance. One or two Russian books have evidently found their way to Sweden, but mostly the Russian campaign passed through areas that did not present any real opportunities for literary spoils. The last large collection of books that was shipped to Stockholm and enriched the royal library was not the result of pillaging, but of a rescue operation. The Swedish university in Tartu near the Russian border had already been disturbed by warfare in the reign of Charles X Gustav, and in 1699 the university was moved to greater safety to the coastal town of Pärnu (Pernau). Due to the war, the university library's books never came to rest in the new environment but lay packed in coffers until 1709 when they were rushed to Stockholm together with the entire academic consistory. This can stand as a thought-provoking epilogue to the whole Swedish book-robbery era, meaning that not even the books that the Swedish authorities themselves had collected necessarily met all the needs in the home country. 'The Pärnu Library was certainly rich in older books,' wrote the royal librarian Magnus Celsius in 1751, 'which in any case have their value; but with these also came a number of textbooks and others of insignificant value, which are unlikely to find their place in the magnificent hall where the royal library will be set up shortly.'<sup>65</sup> For almost a century, Swedish librarians had had to deal with this tension between

64 Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, 2, pp. 184–189; Sven Olsson, *Olof Hermelin: En karolinsk kulturpersonlighet och statsman* (Lund: Gleerupska universitetsbokhandeln, 1953), p. 569.

65 'Dives quidem erat Pernaviensis supellex librorum antiquiorum, ... quibus utique suum pretium est; at comitabatur hos multitudo Scholasticorum, aliorumque vilioris pretii librorum, qui quum etiam ab aquis damnum acceperint huc transportandi, in splendido atrio, quo brevi collocanda erit Bibliotheca Regia, locum vix obtinebunt.' Magnus O. Celsius, *Bibliothecae Regiae Stockholmensis historia brevis et succincta* (Stockholm: Lars Salvius, 1751), pp. 187–188; Pettegree and Weduwen, *The Library*, p. 156.

useful and useless books. However, at the same time Sweden ceased to be a great power, it could no longer be considered culturally backward.

## 6 Successful Cultural Rearmament

As we have seen, the early sixteenth century was a period of rapid cultural transformation in Sweden with the reopening of Uppsala University, the establishment of public libraries, and several reforms promoting studies both domestically and abroad. The university in Uppsala was followed by new universities in Tartu 1632, Turku 1640, Lund 1668, as well as the university in Greifswald (founded 1456), which came under Swedish dominion with the Peace of Westphalia. There had not been any regular book traders in Sweden in the sixteenth century. The royal printer vended his own products, and the occasional German peddler travelled the country, but from the 1530s onward, book import was generally restricted. The first stationary bookseller cum publisher settled in Stockholm in the 1590s. To promote the university, Gustavus Adolphus issued a privilege for a book trader in Uppsala in 1616. Although there were many changes and interruptions within the trade, at least Stockholm and, for most of the time, Uppsala had permanent purveyors of books from then on.<sup>66</sup>

There was also a rapid growth in the number of printing establishments. From 1613 there were two print shops in Stockholm, and from 1630 there were three. The numbers fluctuated from three to five during the rest of the century, but from the 1690s there were never fewer than six. Uppsala had a printer from 1613, and for long periods, there were two. Other cities with printing presses were Västerås (from 1621), Strängnäs (1622–), Linköping (1635–), Turku (1642–, two from 1668), Gothenburg (1650–), Lund (1664–), and Viborg (1689–). Other cities had printers for shorter periods: Kalmar (1626–1635), Norrköping (1682–1683), Nyköping (1645–1650), and Malmö (1659 through the 1690s with interruptions). Count Per Brahe had a private printing press at his residence on Visingsö (1667–1685).<sup>67</sup> In the conquered provinces, Sweden either acquired

66 Isidor Adolf Bonnier and August Hånell, *Anteckningar om svenska bokhandlare intill år 1935*, 2: Stockholm och Uppsala (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1935); Magnus Bernhard Swederus, *Boklådorna i Uppsala 1616–1907: Ett bidrag till den svenska bokhandelns historia* (Uppsala: Lundequistska bokhandeln, 1907).

67 Gustaf Edvard Klemming and Johan Gabriel Nordin, *Svensk boktryckeri-historia 1483–1883 med inledande allmän öfversigt* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1883), pp. 156–222. See also Per S. Ridderstad, 'Tryckpressens makt och makten över tryckpressen: Om tryckerietableringar i det svenska riket 1600–1650', in Sten Åke Nilsson and Margareta Ramsay

or established new print shops. Riga had had a printer on permanent basis since 1588 and received a second one in 1675, equipped with royal privilege. The Swedish governor general installed a printer in Tartu in 1630, and the gymnasium in Tallinn (Reval) employed its own in 1634.<sup>68</sup> The residential city Szczecin (Stettin) in Pomerania had a printer from 1533, as did the university in Greifswald from 1582. The Swedish Crown established yet another in Stralsund in 1628. In 1651, shortly after the Swedish takeover, a printer was called to Stade, the Swedish residential city in Bremen, whereas Wismar, the seat of the Swedish appeals court in the German provinces, got its first printer in 1663.<sup>69</sup>

The output in the amount of printed matter consequently saw a continuous growth. The yearly average of titles printed within the realm, which was eight or nine in the 1590s, more than tripled in the following decade and the numbers increased at a steady pace throughout the century (apart from a short stagnation during the reigns of Queen Christina and, perhaps less surprising, Charles x Gustav). There was an average of a hundred titles printed per year in the 1600s, as compared to less than five each year in the 1500s. According to Eltjo Buringh and Jan Luiten Van Zanden, the total output of printed matter on a European scale increased by 131 percent in 1601–1700, as compared to 1451–1600. The equivalent rise in Sweden, according to the same source, was more than 6,400 percent, from 89,000 to 5.8 million copies! These numbers call for some caution. Buringh and Van Zanden admit that the margins of error for their estimates ‘are no doubt relatively large, especially for the earlier period,’ but even if we were to substantially increase the earlier output and decrease the later, the growth would still be extraordinary.<sup>70</sup>

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(eds.), *1600-talets ansikte* (Nyhamnsläge: Gyllenstiernska Krapperupsstiftelsen, 1997), pp. 345–356.

68 Arend Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga 1588–1888* (Riga: Müller, 1890), pp. 17–18; Martin Klöcker, *Literarisches Leben in Reval in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (1600–1657): Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit und Genese städtischer Gelegenheitsdichtung* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), ch. 5.

69 Gottlieb Mohnike, *Die Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Pommern* (Stettin: Bülow, 1840), pp. 49–65, 72–84; Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, second ed. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982), pp. 165–167, 428, 431–435, 495.

70 Eltjo Buringh and Jan Luiten Van Zanden, ‘Charting the “Rise of the West”: Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe, a Long-Term Perspective from the Sixth through Eighteenth Centuries’, *The Journal of Economic History*, 69 (2009), pp. 409–445, pp. 416–417. If Buringh and Van Zanden’s quantities are combined with the numbers in my figures 7.1 and 7.2, the average print run before 1600 would be just above 200, and in the seventeenth century about 490, which does not seem unreasonable.

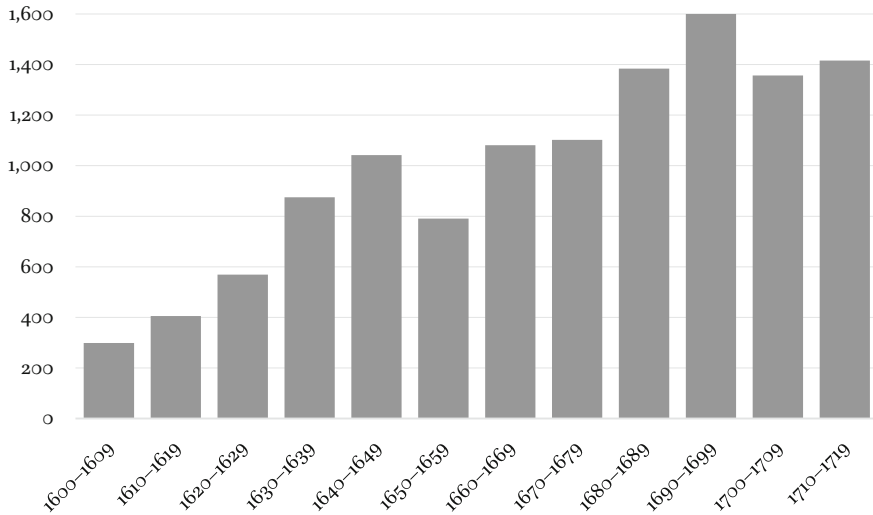


FIGURE 7.2 Swedish domestic print production 1600–1719: number of titles  
 SOURCE: THE SWEDISH NATIONAL UNION CATALOGUE LIBRIS, DATABASE: SVETRYCK. NOTE: PERIOD PRINTED MATTER WITHOUT KNOWN YEAR OF PRODUCTION HAS BEEN OMITTED FROM THE CHART.

Ironically, or perhaps consequently, the growth of printed matter is also reflected in the number of censorship laws. In the sixteenth century, when the realm had only one printer who worked on royal assignment, there was no need for legal restrictions; his work was properly supervised by the corrector, appointed by the king. In 1630, the printer Eric Schroderus received royal privilege to print books without interference from the Crown. He was a trusted individual who had the support of the authorities and could thus be his own corrector.<sup>71</sup> The first real censorship law was issued only in 1661.<sup>72</sup> It required all printers to submit two copies of every book to the Chancellery of the Realm before dissemination. A ban on a book could mean a substantial economic loss to the printer, and therefore within a year it was ruled that, instead, the authors' manuscripts should be submitted for consideration and approval *before* printing. Religious books were examined by the episcopal consistories and academic books by their university equivalents. But in 1684, all other

71 Klemming and Nordin, *Svensk boktryckeri-historia 1483–1883*, p. 164; Schück, *Den svenska förlagsbokhandels historia*, 1, pp. 66–69.

72 Procedures for the Chancellery of the Realm, 22 September 1661, printed in *Samling af instructioner rörande den civila förvaltningen i Sverige och Finland*, 1, ed. Carl Gustaf Styffe (Stockholm: Hörberg, 1856), pp. 327–365, cf. esp. §§ 8 and 14.

printing was left to a newly created *censor librorum*, who was to oversee the print shops within the realm as well as the importation of books. It became customary that the *censor librorum* doubled as custodian of the royal library.

There can be no doubt that the Swedish Crown pursued a very conscious cultural policy and actively strove to emulate the more advanced European nations. In light of the Crown's objectives, the result must be described as nothing less than a success. In the eighteenth century, Sweden lost its great-power status and was still located very much on the European periphery, but it was no longer considered a backward and underdeveloped country. The favourable portrayal that the Swedes received in 1723 in the *Neu-eröffnetes Amphj-Theatrum*, a compilation of ethnographic accounts, would most certainly not have been bestowed on them a century earlier.

The Swedes have fine features, large bodies, strong limbs, are courageous, resistant and sincere, polite and mannerly in conversations. Nature has destined them to become soldiers, and for a century, the nation has gained a tremendous reputation in warfare. In those studies, they are quite successful, as well as in other useful arts and sciences. The only thing they have been accused of, this far, is their good fortune, which has made them unbearable to other nations.<sup>73</sup>

It is perhaps telling that Sweden lost its great-power status in the North to Russia, another nation that aspired to gain recognition in the eyes of her neighbours. Like Swedish rulers a century earlier, the Russian sovereign, Czar Peter I (ruled 1682–1725), took all the inspiration he could from the most advanced European nations and sought to replant their practices in his homeland. Many solutions, including bureaucratic names and titles, were copied from his Swedish foe. Swedish was even one of the three modern languages (besides French and German) that was taught at the ambitious Glück Gymnasium that operated in Moscow between 1703 and 1715. From being only a receiver, Sweden

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73 'Die Schweden sind fein vom Gesichte, groß von Statur, starcken Gliedmassen, am Gemüthe tappfer, beständig und aufrichtig, in Conversation höfflich und artig. Die Natur hat sie gleichsam zu Soldaten gebohren, und die Nation hat sich von einem Seculo her im Kriege ungemein renomirt gemacht. In denen Studien bringen sie es zum Theile ziemlich hoch, wie auch in andern guten Künsten und Wissenschaften. Das einzige, was man bißher an ihnen ausgesetzt hat, ist, daß sie bey ihrem Glücke hochmüthig, und daher frembden Nationen underträglich worden.' *Neu-eröffnetes AMPHJ-THEATRUM, Worinnen Nach dem uns bekanten gantzen Welt-Kreits, Alle NATIONEN Nach ihrem Habit, in saubern Figuren repräsentiret ...* (Erfurt: Johann Michael Funcken, 1723), 'Europa', no. 41.



had transformed into a provider and bestowed the model for Russia's military reforms and new state bureaucracy.<sup>74</sup>

A generation later, in 1756, the Professor of Physics at the university in Turku, Carl Fredrik Mennander, amazed at the progress of Swedish learning compared to the previous century. Then all but the simplest books had been imported from abroad, and a learned man's library consisted of little more than the Bible, Aristotle, Plutarch, and Ptolemy.

Today our printing presses are operated by Swedish hands. They do not toil exclusively with translations alone, but also with the works of our native scholars, who now find previously absent publishers as well as rewards; and not only spread learning and wisdom at home, and make us into an enlightened people, but also give us the same reputation among foreign peoples. The works of our scholars are so desirable to the foreigners, that many, the wisest of them, out of impatience to acquire their contents, do not have time to wait for them being translated to their own languages, even though they are effectuated with adequate haste, but begin to learn Swedish.<sup>75</sup>

Mennander also acknowledged the importance of spoils of war in the building of large public libraries under Gustavus Adolphus and Queen Christina, 'although that, which had arrived under the beat of drums, soon mostly went away under the sound of pipes'. But those methods of procurement were now no longer necessary, he concluded.<sup>76</sup>

74 Erik Anners, *Den karolinska militärstraffrätten och Peter den stores krigsartiklar* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1961); Claes Peterson, *Peter the Great's Administrative and Judicial Reforms: Swedish Antecedents and the Process of Reception* (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 1979); Lindsay Hughes, *Russia in the Age of Peter the Great* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) pp. 102, 107, 110, 117, 119–120, 127–128, 138, 143, 181, 218–219, 305, 328–329, 347, 371. Cf. also Ylva Haidenthaller, *The Medal in Early Modern Sweden: Significances and Practices* (Lund: Mediehistoriskt arkiv, 2021), pp. 192–193.

75 'Våra Prässar röras nu af Svenska händer. De svettas icke under blåtta öfversättningar, utan ock under våra Inhemska Lärds arbeten, som nu finna så länge saknade Förlags-män och belöning; samt icke allenast utsprida Lärdom och Vitterhet hemma, och göra oss til et uplyst folk, utan ock sätta oss i samma anseende hos främmande Folkslag. Våra Lärds arbeten äro för Utlänningarna så begärlige, at åtskillige, de vittraste ibland dem, af otålighet at inhämta deras innehåll, icke hunnit afbida öfversättningarna deraf på sina språk, hvilka ske nog skyndsamt, utan begynt lära sig det Svenska.' Carl Fredrik Mennander, *Tal om bok-handelen i Sverige, hållit för Kongl. Vetenskaps Academien vid præsidiu afläggande, den 8 maji 1756* (Stockholm: Lars Salvius, 1756), pp. 14–15.

76 Mennander, *Tal om bok-handelen*, p. 10.