

## Books from Poznań at the Uppsala University Library

It was general practice in the 17<sup>th</sup> century for victorious troops all over Europe to take cultural artifacts as war booty<sup>1</sup>. However disgraceful such a behavior sounds to the modern ear, this was in accordance with the laws of war at the time, following the tradition of Hugo Grotius, if the booty was taken under certain correct circumstances<sup>2</sup>. Swedish armies used this possibility to enrich the book collections in their native country to a considerable extent, and among the countries that were affected was Poland<sup>3</sup>. My intention with this paper is to give a short history of the book collections that the Swedes took as war booty from Poznań in the middle of the 1650s, which is now to its major part kept at Uppsala University Library, and to sketch the background of an international project on this material that is about to begin, and that will be carried out in collaboration between Polish and Swedish librarians. But first a few words on the historical context<sup>4</sup>.

Since the last years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the removal of Sigismund Vasa (Zygmunt Wasa) from the Swedish throne, Sweden and Poland had been at war. Sigismund had been King of both Poland and Sweden at the same time, and always still claimed the Swedish crown. Peace with Russia and Denmark in the 1620s made an effort to strike strongly against Poland possible for the Swedes. During this period book collections were taken as war booty from the Jesuit College of Braniewo and the chapter library of Frombork in 1626, and they were soon sent to the recently founded university library in Uppsala. In 1629 a truce of six years was settled in Altmark, and this was prolonged with 26 years in Stuhmsdorf (Sztumska Wieś) in 1635. In 1655, however, six years before the truce would end, the Swedish King Charles X Gustavus attacked Poland again, and during this period important book collections were taken as war booty from colleges and monasteries in Poznań. In 1660 a peace treaty was eventually settled between the two countries in Oliwa.

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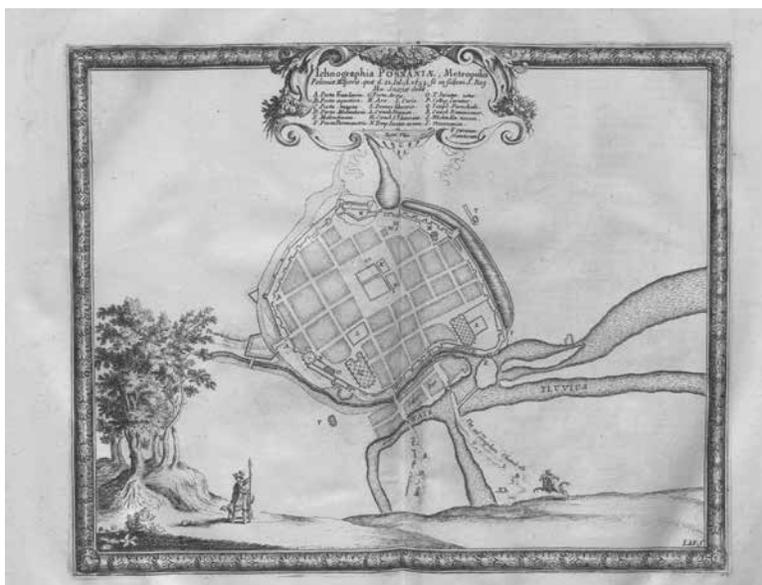
<sup>1</sup> See e.g. J. Bepler, *Vicissitudo Temporum: Some Sidelights on Book Collecting in the Thirty Years' War*, „Sixteenth Century Journal. The Journal of Early Modern Studies” 2001, Vol. 32, No. 4, pp. 953-968.

<sup>2</sup> U. Göranson, *Kulturarvskrigsbyten och den rättsliga utvecklingen från Grotius*, [in:] *Bevara för framtiden. Texter från en seminarierie om specialsamlingar*, ed. P. Sjökvist, Uppsala 2016, pp. 73-82 and O. Bring, *Parthenonsyndromet. Kampen om kulturskatterna*, Stockholm 2015, pp. 19-28. For the prehistory to Grotius's ideas on war booty, see H.W. Blom, *Booty around 1600: Christian Princes, Merchant Republics and «terra incognita»*, „Biblis” 2007, No. 38, pp. 25-30.

<sup>3</sup> See O. Walde *Storhetstiden litterära krigsbyten. En kulturhistorisk-bibliografisk studie*, Uppsala, vol. 1, 1916, pp. 53-107; vol. 2, 1920, pp. 1-205; but also e.g. *Krigsbyte – War-Booty*, eds. A. Grönhammar, C. Zarmén, Stockholm 2007; L. Munkhammar, *Dessa eviga krav på återställande*, [in:] *Bevara för framtiden...*, pp. 83-94; and E. Hagström Molin, *Krigsbytetts biografi. Byten i Riksarkivet, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek och Skoklosters slott under 1600-talet*, Göteborg 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Descriptions of the wars between Poland and Sweden in the 17<sup>th</sup> century are numerous. Especially important for the wars in the 1650s is, however, the volume *Polens krig med Sverige 1655-1660. Krigshistoriska studier*, eds. A. Stade, J. Wimmer, Stockholm 1973; P. Skowroda, *Wojny Rzeczpospolitej Obojga Narodów ze Szwecją*, Warszawa 2007.

It was decided there that the Polish King should give up all his claims to the Swedish crown, and that parts of the war booty should be restored to Poland<sup>5</sup>.



Phot. 1. Poznań in 1655. Copperplate in Samuel von Pufendorf's *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo Suecica Rege Gestis...* (Nürnberg 1696). Source: Uppsala University Library. Shelfmark: Cr. fol. 6:17. Picture: Roger Magnusson

In 1655<sup>6</sup>, however, the Swedish field marshal Arvid Wittenberg had crossed the border to Poland 11 July with a part of the Swedish army, and the palatinates of Poznań and Kalisz surrendered to the Swedish King three days later. Wittenberg entered Poznań July 21, and the city was held by the Swedes until the end of September 1656. The most important library there belonged to the Jesuit College, which had been founded in 1572 by Bishop Adam Konarski, who also donated many books to it at that time. The sources do not say exactly *how* the booty was taken, according to Otto Walde, but as he asserts, the majority of the books from the Jesuit College must have reached the university library in Uppsala via Clas Rålamb, a Swedish nobleman with literary interests, who had been sent to Poznań by the Swedish King at the beginning of 1656. The books came to Uppsala with the acquisition of Rålamb's library in 1693. In this acquisition two catalogues from 1609 and 1610 on the Jesuit College library were included, but also a catalogue of the contents of Rålamb's own library in 1690. These three catalogues have all been digitized, and are now fully available for free on the Internet, in our digital repository Alvin<sup>7</sup>. Although most

<sup>5</sup> P. Sjökvist, *Freden i Oliwa och restitutionen av bokliga krigsbyten*, „Biblis” 2014-2015, No. 68, pp. 20-23.

<sup>6</sup> As for all the literary war booty that eventually ended up in Sweden, the inevitable and fundamental study is the abovementioned *Storhetstiden litterära krigsbyten...* by Otto Walde, published in 1916-1920. Several details in the following relation has been taken from his work, pages 93-144.

<sup>7</sup> Uppsala University Library (UUB), Shelfmark: U 275, *Catalogvs librorvm Collegii Posnaniensis Societatis Iesv per patres Societatis eiusdem editor. Anno reparatae salvtis M DC X. die XXV martii factvs, MS*, [online] <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-104235> [access 19.09.2017]; Shelfmark:

of the books are from the library of the Jesuits, there are also books from the libraries of the Dominicans and the Bernardines, but while the number of books originating in the later libraries is relatively limited, those from the Jesuit College are several thousands. The reason why we do not know the exact number, is that the collection has not been kept together according to provenance, but split up and inserted into the general collections of the library according to subject. This circumstance is also why we still miss a good overview of the contents of the collections from Poznań. Another fact that complicates the picture is that many duplicates have been discarded or donated to other libraries in Sweden during the centuries. Since the Jesuit library from Braniewo was already in Uppsala, several of the titles from Poznań could already be found in the collection and accordingly not needed, and therefore sorted out or given to other libraries<sup>8</sup>. Some colligate bindings have been split and rebound by Rålamb himself; Walde can point at and reconstruct several items, although identification can often be very difficult. But also in the later history of Uppsala University Library colligate bindings have been split and rebound. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, for instance, the librarian Per Fabian Aurivillius rebound several items from Poznań, and inserted them in other collections at the library.

Our intention, however, is to start a project shortly, together and in collaboration with some distinguished colleagues from the University Library of Poznań, which aims at identifying, locating and virtually reconstructing what remains of the book collection from Poznań at Uppsala University Library. The initial conditions for such a project – a state of research, as it were – with some preliminary investigations into the Uppsala collections, were reported for some years ago in a very valuable article by Alicja Szulc and Renata Wilgosiewicz-Skutecka<sup>9</sup>. As they state, the model for a project of this kind would be the splendid catalogue that was initiated by the late professor of Slavic languages in Uppsala Józef Trypućko and completed some years ago by Michał Spandowski on the books from Braniewo at our library<sup>10</sup>. But although the scope and purpose is basically similar to the Braniewo-project, we have now new technologies that enable us to add further perspectives when describing the material, and to make a deeper documentation when this is considered necessary. I will soon give some examples of items from the collection, which illustrate how multi-faceted these books can be both in terms of materiality and provenances.

Before doing so it is important to stress that the work does not have to start completely from scratch. As I said there are some 17<sup>th</sup> century catalogues that will be very important, and O. Walde's research has given information on a few items. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, how-

U 276, Catalogvs vniversalis librorvm Collegii Posnaniensis Societatis Iesv. Scriptus Anno a partu vircineo MDCIX. xxxi Julii in die B. P. N. Ignatii, MS, [online] <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-104186> [access 19.09.2017], and Shelfmark: U 281, Inventarium äc wärdering på Kongl. Rådets Högwäl:ne Her Claes Rålamb's bibliotheq vid dász gård Länna [...] A.i 1690 [...], MS, [online] <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-146794> [access 19.09.2017].

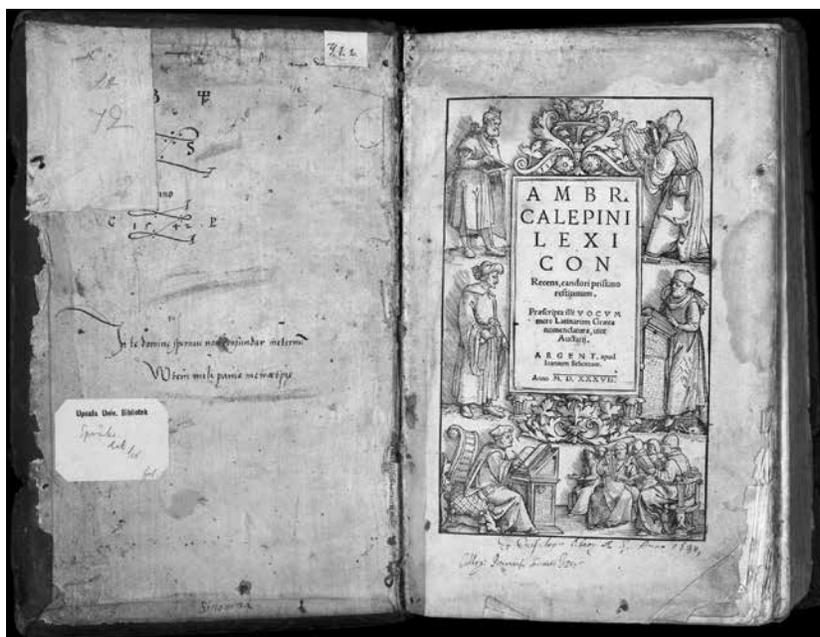
<sup>8</sup> O. Walde, *Storhetstiden litterära krigsbyten...* Vol. 2, 1920, p. 103.

<sup>9</sup> A. Szulc, R. Wilgosiewicz-Skutecka, *O poznańskich rękopisach i starych drukach w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Uppsali*, „Biblioteka” 2014, Vol. 18 (27), pp. 7-32; J. Wiesiołowski, *O najstarszej bibliotece poznańskich jezuitów w świetle zachowanych w Szwecji katalogów bibliotecznych*, [in:] *Najstarsi dawni jezuitci*, ed. by J. Wiesiołowski, „Kronika Miasta Poznania” 1997, No. 4, pp. 126-143.

<sup>10</sup> J. Trypućko, *The Catalogue of the Book Collection of the Jesuit College in Braniewo held in the University Library in Uppsala = Katalog księgozbioru Kolegium Jezuitów w Braniewie zachowanego w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Uppsali*. Vol. 1-3, extended and compl. by M. Spandowski, ed. by M. Spandowski, S. Szyller, Warszawa-Uppsala 2007. For the story on the completion of the catalogue, see T. Tottie, *Braniewokatalogen – ett mångårigt projekt*, [in:] *I lag med böcker. Festskrift till Ulf Göranson*, ed. K. Östlund, Uppsala 2012, pp. 369-385.

ever, the most important work on this material was performed by J. Trypućko as well. He spent many years trying to locate and describe the Polish material at Uppsala. In 1958 this resulted in the catalogue *Polonica vetera Upsaliensia...* (Uppsala 1958). He laid the foundation of the Braniewo-catalogue. And in the archive from professor Trypućko there are also no less than fourteen folders containing notes on early printed books originating in Poznań, although these do not by far cover all of the books from this place<sup>11</sup>. Walde had in his time estimated the number of books from Poznań in Uppsala to be approximately 2000. Szulc and Wilgosiewicz-Skutecka thought that this number must be too low, since the Jesuit library alone was supposed to contain 6000 items at the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the material from Poznań in Uppsala also contains books from the libraries of the Dominicans and the Bernardines<sup>12</sup>. The exact number can only be established by a thorough investigation of the stacks in Uppsala, with some additional research into the collections of other old libraries in Sweden. And in spite of all the previous investigations that have been carried out, there seems to remain no other alternative than to go through almost the entire collection of early printed books at Uppsala book by book, in a project that aims at completeness and exhaustiveness.

So, when all the books are gone through, we must soon learn what to look for and how to interpret the material evidence, when wanting to establish a certain provenance from Poznań. It is not enough that a title has been mentioned in one of the previously mentioned catalogues from this place, since duplicates have often been discarded earlier in the history of our library, as I already mentioned.

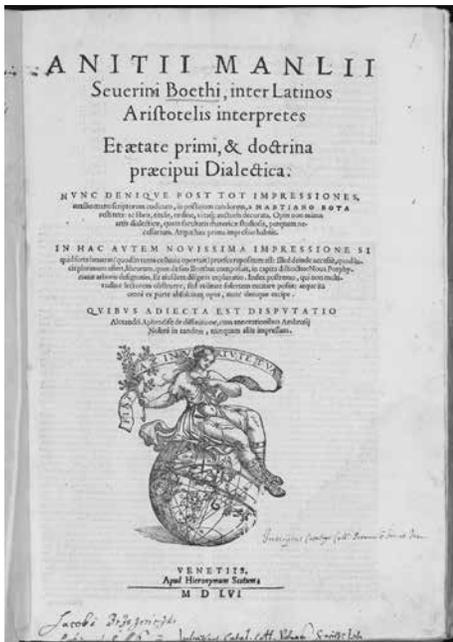


Phot. 2. Title page and inner cover of Ambrogio Calepino's *Lexicon...* (Strasbourg 1537). Source: Uppsala University Library. Shelfmark: Språkvet. Lat. Lex. Fol. Picture: Magnus Hjalmarsson

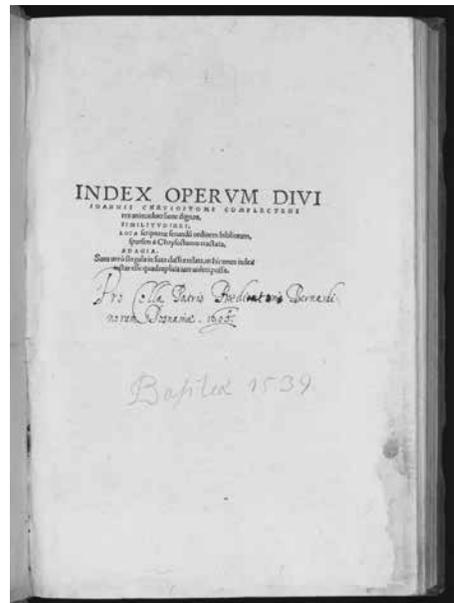
<sup>11</sup> UUB, Shelfmark: NC1208-1223.

<sup>12</sup> A. Szulc, R. Wilgosiewicz-Skutecka, *O poznańskich rękopisach...*, p. 57.

Let me begin with some obvious, but yet illustrative and interesting, examples. A copy of Calepinus's dictionary, printed in Strasbourg in 1537<sup>13</sup> and bound in a much used binding in brown leather with rich decoration in blind tooling, shows the evident marks of ownership of the Jesuit College of Poznań. On the lower part of the title page we read „Ex catalogo librorum A. S., anno 1538” and „Collegii Posnaniensis Societatis Jesu”. The Jesuits owned it in 1656, but as we can see the book had been part of another book collection before that, and there it had been added to the catalogue in 1538, one year after the publication, but 34 years before the foundation of the Jesuit College. On the inner cover we can find several more traces from the previous destiny of the book. On the upper part, we see to the right a yellow note carrying the old shelf mark at Uppsala University Library, which is still useful when working with older catalogues. Unfortunately, this note has been attached to the page somewhat too carelessly, since it covers a handwritten annotation, starting with „anno Domini”. Even worse, however, is the paper that has been attached on the left side, and which now covers a part of the other handwritten annotation, among other things carrying the initials „G.P.” and „1542”. A removal of the paper must certainly be considered in this case. On the lower part of the inner cover we see a yellow note with the present shelf mark at Uppsala University library, which in translation is „Languages, Latin, Dictionaries, fol.”. Above that we see a handwritten annotation in Latin: „In te Domine speravi, non confundar in eternum”, with a similar saying in Polish. Lowest on the page is short annotation „Sinonima”. In this case the provenance



Phot. 3. Title page of Boethius's *Dialectica*... (Venice 1556). Source: Uppsala University Library. Shelfmark: Script. Lat. Fol. Picture: Magnus Hjalmarsson



Phot. 4. Title page of the index volume of Ioannes Chrysostomos's *Opera* (Basel 1539). Source: Uppsala University Library. Shelfmark: Teologi, Patres, Ensk. Grek. Picture: Magnus Hjalmarsson

<sup>13</sup> UUB, Shelfmark: Språkvet. Lat. Lex. Fol.

from the Jesuit College is easily established, but as we can see there are several other material aspects that must be considered as well when this book is described. These could give essential additional information on the history and provenance of the collections from Poznań, in relation to what has been revealed so far in previous research.

The next example is a copy of Boëthius's dialectics, printed in Venice in 1556<sup>14</sup>, and bound in a contemporary vellum binding. From annotations on the title page we can establish two previous owners: the Jesuit College of Poznań („Inscriptus Catalogo Collegii Posnaniensis Societatis Jesu”), and the suffragan bishop of Poznań Jakub Brzeźnicki. Apparently, though, the book has been rebound at the College. The edges have been cut in such a way that parts of the annotations lowest on the title page have been damaged. A number of more books have this provenance, and as Walde has noted, those with Brzeźnicki's signature were all bought during his time as a student in Padua 1561-1562. He died in 1604, and his books are then to be found in the catalogues that were made five years later from the College, and which are now in Uppsala<sup>15</sup>. The Boëthius-copy shown here is the first title in a colligate binding mentioned on page 388 in the abovementioned catalogue of 1609. But since the binding was made at the college, we cannot know for sure if the two remaining titles in the volume have also been owned by Brzeźnicki or not only from this annotation on the first title page.

An example from the library of the Bernardines is a beautiful copy in five volumes of Chrysostomos, printed by Hervagius in Basle in 1539<sup>16</sup>, and with a preface by Erasmus Roterodamus, among others. The first volume starts with the index, and there we find the provenance „Pro cella patris praedicatoris Bernardinorum Posnaniae” and the year 1605, the time when the book was added to their collection. On the binding, however, we can see plenty of information from its previous history, in spite of the very ugly reparation of the spine that has been made at our library some centuries ago.

Printed in the brown calf leather we first find information on the contents of the volume: „Primvs tomvs opervm d. Ioan. Chrysostomi”, and lower on the cover „cvm indice” and 1545, the year when the binding was made. But in the decoration we also find another date. In the rolls, which depict the savior and the four evangelists, among others, the 1541 can be discerned, the year when the tool must have been made. In the middle section of the front cover, moreover, a part of the leather has been cut out, and replaced with a piece in darker skin.



Phot. 5. Binding of the index volume of Ioannes Chrysostomos's *Opera* (Basel 1539). Source: Uppsala University Library. Shelfmark: Teologi, Patres, Ensk. Grek. Picture: Magnus Hjalmarsson

<sup>14</sup> UUB, Shelfmark: Script. Lat. Fol.

<sup>15</sup> O. Walde, *Storhetstiden litterära krigsbyten...* Vol. 2, 1920, pp. 117-118.

<sup>16</sup> UUB, Shelfmark: Teologi, Patres, Ensk. Grek.

There we read, with some difficulty, the initials „B” and „C”, „C” and „G”, and „ET P”, below which we see an emblematical representation with Samson and the lion. Under that is the quotation from the Vulgate (Judges 14:14): „De comedente exivit cibus, et de forti egressa est dulcedo”. As Walde has found, the owner was probably a certain Bonaventura Chobieński, a canon in Poznań in the 1540s. The books were then probably part of a donation made from the church of Mary Magdalene made in 1605<sup>17</sup>.

After these three brief glimpses into items from our collections that have so far only been catalogued in our national union catalogue on a regular level, and briefly treated in Walde, I would like to draw attention to a database developed at our library, which will be particularly useful when material evidence of a more detailed kind is documented. Most of the items will of course only be registered in a simpler, but yet satisfactory, way once the books from Poznań have been located, but in some cases there will be good reasons to go further. Since some years we have the database ProBok<sup>18</sup> for this purpose. So far two copies from Poznań have been registered there, and in the following these will be examples of what the records look like in this database.

ProBok record no. 12, for instance, contains information on a volume that was once owned by the Jesuit College. As we can see, the layout is divided into four different areas. To the top left we first find the general bibliographical details, such as author, title and place and year of publication of the printed copy. Underneath is an area for a detailed description of the book binding, including aspects such as binding technique, material and decoration. Under that we see the area for the description of provenances. To the right we find the relevant pictures that support the information given in the fields for the book binding description and provenance. In this case we notice that the binding is in brown calfskin, it is a full binding with a spine with three bands. The board material is wood. There are two defect clasps. The decoration has been blind tooled with a roll and a straight line tool. The title is gold tooled on the front cover. In the provenance information we see that the book has an inscription in black ink by the previous owner Johannes Cossius on top of the title page.

ProBok record no. 255 is also on a book from Poznań, and we recognize the structure from the previous record. Worth noticing in this case is that the proof of provenance has been taken from the binding. On the front cover we find the supralibros and coat of arms of



Phot. 6. Supralibros of the binding of Ioannes Chrysostomos's *Opera* (Basel 1539). Source: Uppsala University Library. Shelfmark: Teologi, Patres, Ensk. Grek. Picture: Magnus Hjalmarsson

<sup>17</sup> O. Walde, *Storhetstiden litterära krigsbyten...* Vol. 2, 1920, p. 140.

<sup>18</sup> ProBok, [online] <http://probok.alvin-portal.org/alvin/home.jsf?cid=1> [access 19.09.2017].

Jacobus de Obornik in gold tooling. The pictures show the book binding from all angles, but also instances in the copy with hand-written annotations.

It goes without saying that a database of this kind could prove very useful in the project that we are preparing, which is so much depending on material evidence. But there is one more possibility that should be considered as well in special cases, and that is full digitization of certain copies. Copies with Poznań provenance that are unique, or that are of special interest for any other reason, could certainly deserve to be documented in their entirety, and published on the Internet in our previously mentioned digital repository Alvin. Previously we have, for instance, considered the books associated with Nicolaus Copernicus, which were part of the war booty from Frombork in 1626, to be of such interest. All books in this Copernicana-collection can now be found completely digitized in Alvin<sup>19</sup>.

The work that lies ahead of us in the project is of course enormous, and we will need a good portion of both time and patience. But the material is fantastic, and the possibilities countless. All enterprises of this kind starting now also have a much better access to relevant reference material thanks to the Internet and the many similar projects that have already been started. Finally we are very pleased to know that we will be able to work closely together with several eminent colleagues from Poland. The books from Poznań at Uppsala University Library are part of a common European cultural heritage, and they are international by their very nature. From this perspective a statement on the importance of international collaboration for a fruitful result seems to be nothing but a truism.

### Summary

In the collections of the Uppsala University Library there are many books that were owned by libraries in Poznań until 1655, when Swedish forces took them as war booty and sent them to Sweden. In this article the aim is to recapitulate the history of this Poznań-collection, i.e. the library itself, the capture in 1655, its transport to and later destiny in Sweden, partly by means of material evidence. Traces from all these events are still visible in the books themselves and they are of course essential for understanding the collection in its present context. In addition, there are catalogues and registers from the time that help us in the reconstruction of this important historical library.

**Key words:** war booty – Poznań – cataloguing – material evidence.

### Streszczenie

## Książki z Poznania w Bibliotece Uniwersytetu w Uppsali

W zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Uppsali znajduje się wiele książek, które do roku 1655 należały do Kolegium Jezuickiego w Poznaniu, a które wojska szwedzkie zagrażyły i wysłały jako łup wojenny do Szwecji. W artykule prezentuję historię tej po-

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<sup>19</sup> *Copernicana*, [online] <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-112222> [access 19.09.2017].

znańskiej kolekcji, opracowaną na podstawie śladów materialnych: historię samej biblioteki, jej zagrabienie w 1655 r., przetransportowanie do punktu docelowego w Szwecji. Fizyczne ślady tych wszystkich wydarzeń są ciągle widoczne na samych książkach i są one oczywiście w dalszym ciągu najważniejszą podstawą dla zrozumienia istnienia kolekcji we współczesnym kontekście. Dodatkowym wsparciem są tutaj katalogi i rejestry z epoki, które pomagają nam w zrekonstruowaniu tej ważnej historycznej kolekcji.

**Słowa kluczowe:** łupy wojenne – Poznań – katalogowanie – rejestracja materiałów.