A Warm Scent of Books
Private Libraries at Leufstabrick and Beyond

Edited by Marieke van Delft & Peter Sjökvist

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“Louis”, my father says, “can you take the key to the lower library and unlock it, select some books and expose them, and I will come down with some friends”. It is August in the 1950s, and the family is at Leufsta. I insert the key into the big grey door and open it. A warm scent of books receives me as I enter the beautiful sunlit library. The books I select are one volume of The Book of Flowers, the fascinating Book of Birds, and the Atlantica, all wonderful products of the brilliant members of the Rudbeck family.

Charles de Geer the Entomologist (1720–1778) had bought the books in Uppsala in his youth and later located them in a library that he had built at Leufsta at the end of the 1750s, which grew steadily throughout his life. The books were part of the Leufsta entailment and were kept in the library at Leufsta until the passing of my father in 1978, when the entailment was abolished. In 1986, the Swedish state transferred the entire book collection to Uppsala University Library. The head librarian, Tomas Tottie, appointed a young researcher, Tomas Anfält, to study my ancestor’s activities as an entomologist and book collector.

Tomas, who passed away suddenly in 2004, became a very good friend and kept me informed about the books my ancestors had collected. Charles de Geer’s greatest contribution to knowledge, a seven volume work on entomology, was written so that more people could learn from his research. Like his contemporaries, this work made a deep impression on me. Tomas’s knowledge of the life and scientific achievements of Charles the Entomologist were the foundation of many of our conversations about the scientists of the eighteenth century.
Almost twenty years later, Peter Sjökvist invited me to participate in a symposium on the Leufstabruk Library. The quality of the symposium was reflected in the many fantastic researchers who shared their knowledge of Charles the Entomologist as a scholar and the content of the library. This volume is a welcome result and memory of this event.

I would like to extend, on behalf of the De Geer family, a heartfelt gratitude to all presenters at the symposium as well as to the staff at Uppsala University Library.

Leufsta Bruk, October 2022
Louis de Geer
The Library of Leufstabric in northern Uppland (Sweden) is a true jewel. A small pavilion is located next to the manor house, on the canal of the estate where iron was produced for several centuries. The building, designed by Swedish architect Jean-Eric Rehn (1717–1793), was built at the end of the 1750s. The bulk of the collections were acquired when the estate was run by Charles de Geer (1720–1778), also called Charles de Geer the Entomologist, and they have been kept on the same shelves ever since then. De Geer came from a noble family of Dutch origin, and although born in Sweden, he grew up in Utrecht. He returned to Sweden when he inherited Leufstabric in 1738. The contacts he had made with scholars and book dealers in the Netherlands would follow him during his whole life, and the impact they had on the collections at Leufsta is considerable. Two-thirds of the titles in the library are French, but many of these French books were printed in the Netherlands and they were most often provided to him by the Luchtmans booksellers in Leiden. A quarter of these titles deal with the natural sciences. Later generations have added a limited number of books of other kinds, mainly De Geer’s son, who is usually referred to as Charles de Geer the Politician (1747–1805), and his daughter Hedvig Ulrica de Geer (1752–1813). Because much of the archive material – e.g. catalogues and book dealer receipts – are extant, we can easily follow how the collections grew. As an entailment, the library was kept within the De Geer family until the later part of the twentieth century. Since 1986, however, when the family had left the estate, the library has
been owned by Uppsala University, although the collections are still kept in their original location.¹ This is the brief history of the library that is at the core of the present volume. In this anthology, fourteen contributors share their expertise of the Library of Leufstabruk and other aristocratic libraries in Sweden or abroad. However, this anthology was created for several reasons.

An Infrastructure Project

During the existence of the Library of Leufstalbruk, several catalogues have been created that describe its contents. Until a few years ago, the most recent catalogue was compiled by E. G. Lilljebjörn in 1907. This catalogue was criticised immediately after its publication and, of course, had all the limits of printed text. To address these limitations, a three-year bibliographic project was started in January 2018 that aimed at a complete digital re-cataloguing of all the books in the library. Considering the large Dutch element in the library, Uppsala University Library and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (National Library of the Netherlands) worked together, with funding from Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, to complete the project. At the end of 2020, a little more than 10,000 titles had been registered in the Swedish national union catalogue, Libris, as well as in the local catalogue at Uppsala. All Dutch titles have also been added to the Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN). Books that had not previously been entered into the STCN were digitized and added to Alvin, a Swedish digital repository of cultural heritage material. Later, they will be added to the National Digital Library of the Netherlands (Delpher). In addition, the project describes the provenances and book bindings of special interest. The books previously owned by Olof Rudbeck the Elder and Olof Rudbeck the Younger, on which you will find an essay in this volume, were given particular attention. Plenty of material connected to the library – e.g. old catalogues, book dealer receipts, and auction catalogues – were also digitized. By linking the descriptions of resources in the different catalogues and repositories, a new infrastructure for research on the Library of Leufstalbruk has been created.

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A Symposium
To celebrate the end of the project and stimulate research on the Library of Leufstabruk and similar libraries using these new possibilities, we organised a symposium at Uppsala and Leufstabruk in June 2022. The symposium included participants from several European countries. During the symposium, nineteen speakers discussed various aspects related to Leufsta, the De Geer family, the library and its collections, and similar libraries abroad, giving a rich perspective on the history of this important estate in Swedish history. The event was kindly supported by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond. The first and the third days were spent at Uppsala University Library, with keynote lectures, presentations, and a viewing of the Leufsta material that had been moved to Uppsala. This material includes music scores, engravings, archival documents, and the most valuable printed items.
The second day took place on site at the estate of Leufstabruk, with a keynote lecture, presentations, and a tour of the library as well as the manor itself, which included the magnificent Cahman organ and the natural history cabinet. The day ended with a symposium banquet held in the grand hall of the manor.

The Publication

Fourteen of the nineteen participants were so kind to adapt their presentations into an essay for the present book. The book opens with a preface by Baron Louis de Geer – a member of the family who owned the manor before it was donated to the Leufsta Foundation. Baron Louis de Geer, who was an enthusiastic participant in the symposium, recalled spending summers at the house and providing books from the library when his father wanted to show these to his friends.

The essays follow a more or less systematic order, beginning with an essay on the importance of bibliographical work. In her essay, keynote speaker Marieke van Delft explains why it is so important to catalogue old libraries with cultural heritage collections. She notes that since the fifteenth century people have desired to catalogue everything that has been published to understand the times in which these books were published. For this, relatively small libraries such as the Library at Leufsta are important because these libraries very often hold publications not found in the major national and university libraries. In Leufsta, for example, more than 300 books printed in the Netherlands were found that, to our knowledge, are still not found in any other library, even in the Netherlands. Therefore, the additions to the STCN are important for our knowledge of Dutch culture and the exchange of knowledge and books between the Netherlands and Sweden.

The De Geer family is an example of the contacts between the Netherlands and Sweden. As mentioned above, Charles de Geer the Entomologist inherited the Leufsta estate in 1730 from an unmarried and childless uncle with the same name. He travelled to his new home
at the age of 18 together with two of his brothers and a sister-in-law. During his journey, he kept a diary. Based on this diary, Reinder Storm investigates his travels. The travel account stops at Roskilde. However, as Storm states, they must have reached Sweden, but how they travelled during the last part of their journey is not known.

Once in Sweden, De Geer became a successful manager of the iron making estate and was an ardent book collector and scientist. He expanded the library greatly and various essays in the second section of the book shed light on several aspects of the library and its contents.

Irene van Dijk discusses the importance of Charles’s contacts with Luchtmans, a Leiden bookseller he probably knew through his teacher Petrus van Musschenbroek (1692–1761). In addition to providing a history of the firm, van Dijk demonstrates how important this firm was for the expansion of the library, using the extensive unique archives of this firm kept in the Allard Pierson Museum, the Special Collections at the University of Amsterdam. The archives also show that his important seven-volume work on insects, *Memoires pour servir a l’histoire des insectes* (Stockholm 1752–1778), was sold via Luchtmans.

In general, when speaking of the books at Leufsta, they are called “the library”, but Peter Sjökvist shows that in Charles’s days there were in fact two libraries. The library as is known today and a second “working library” housed in a similar pavilion likewise floating on the water but on the other side of the driveway to the house. In this second pavilion, Charles kept his natural history cabinet and the books he used in his research. By analysing the shelf marks in the latest historical catalogue, which was probably in use until 1800, Sjökvist determined which books were placed in the working library (shelf mark *cabinet*) and characterises this working library with respect to its number of titles, formats, prices, and literature. This investigation reveals which books were used by Charles when writing his scientific books and which natural history books were placed in the other part of the library.
INTRODUCTION

The Leiden Luchtmans firm was important for the expansion of the library, but it was not the only source for the books in the library. In 1741 at the auction in Uppsala, De Geer bought two manuscripts written by Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) and 60 books from the collection of the botanists Olof Rudbeck the Elder and Olof Rudbeck the Younger. Their collection included 1,999 books and 99 manuscripts. Erik Hamberg discusses which books De Geer bought and how these books matched his interests.

Charles is best known for his library and his work on insects. But living at Leufsta was also living the leisure life of a nobleman. He was a devoted amateur musician who studied the harpsichord and the cello in his youth. His interest in music is also reflected in the collection. His interest in music is discussed in two essays. Monika Glimskär looks at the music scores kept at Leufsta and connects these to his biography. An example of these are the three Dutch tune books with dances discussed by Annika Windahl Pontén. Probably many of these were used in his upbringing in the Netherlands. Once in Leufsta, Charles continued adding music sheets to his collection, both printed and in manuscript, sometimes copied by himself. As such, these reflect both his Dutch and Swedish musical life.

As Sjökvist explains in his essay, not all of De Geer’s books were kept in the library during his life. For example, the natural history titles most important for his scientific work were kept in the natural history cabinet, as is written above. But these were nevertheless registered in the library’s catalogue. In his contribution, Alex Alsemgeest notes that many books were kept in the house rather than the library and therefore were not mentioned in any catalogue. A few were books that Charles ordered at Luchtmans as a present or gave away, but most were ephemeral prints such as newspapers and catalogues and other types of cheap printed matter that were used in everyday life. Alsemgeest points to these to make us realize that the library did not contain all the printed matter that influenced the De Geer family.
Charles de Geer the Entomologist was the most important collector and after his death the expansion of the library diminished. His son, Charles de Geer the Politician (1747–1805), was less interested in books than his father. However, one of his daughters, Hedvig Ulrica de Geer (1752–1813), apparently inherited his love of books. She was well-educated and married at the age of 22 to a much older man, Fredrik Carl Dohna (1721–1784). Her album amicorum, a gift from her father, reveals that she moved in intellectual circles. During her lifetime, she assembled a library, of which about 250 books are in Leufsta. In her essay, Carina Burman goes into the life of Hedvig Ulrica, investigates how these books returned to Leufsta, and analyses the contents of her books and how these can lift a little corner of the veil of her almost unknown life.
The Library of Leufsta is an important example of a country house library in Sweden, but it certainly was not the only library of this kind. Three essays compare the Library of Leufsta with other private libraries from the same period. Jonas Nordin investigates the late eighteenth-century country house library of Clas Frietzcky (1727–1803) at Säbylund manor, now in Kungl. biblioteket, the National Library of Sweden. This collection, which was much smaller than the Leufsta collection, differs in content and use. Charles de Geer the Entomologist’s library was devoted to the natural sciences although it did hold general books such as novels. Frietzcky’s library, however, was more general and intended for leisure and was used as a private lending library by his friends and neighbours. As the lending registers are extant, we know who borrowed books.

Another example is the private library of Schering Rosenhane the Younger (1754–1812) at the family estate of Torp. Rosenhane and his sister were childless. After their death, the library was divided between the gymnasium in Strängnäs (700 volumes), Uppsala University (1,400 volumes), and the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (1,820 volumes). In his essay, Henning Hansen makes it clear that this library is more like De Geer’s library as it specialised in a specific subject, in this case, history. It was also handed down over generations and acquired collections from several smaller private libraries. Like Carl Frietzcky, Rosehane opened his collection to others, but Rosenhane himself was the most important reader.

The third private library is explored by Elin Andersson: the library of Erik Wrangel af Lindeberg (1686–1765) at the Säby manor. This collection is now at the Rogge Library in Strängnäs, a part of the National Library of Sweden. Like the Frietzcky library, Wrangel’s library was a general library; however, unlike the Frietzcky library, Wrangel’s library consisted of titles mainly in Swedish (only 10% of all the titles were in French). Moreover, Wrangel’s library was not a lending library although researchers could request the books
and manuscripts on loan. When the collection was donated to the Rogge Library, cataloguing was started. It was finished in 2022.

These Swedish examples can be compared with country house libraries in other European countries. Mark Purcell inventoried country house libraries in England in *The Country House Library* (2017). Purcell spoke at the symposium but did not contribute to this volume because his findings can be found in his book. According to Purcell, many English country house libraries were not merely for show; as with De Geer and Frieretczy libraries, they were frequently used for intellectual pursuits.

Of course, other European countries had manor libraries. At the symposium, Pierre Delsaerdt discussed the libraries of a Belgian aristocratic family, the Arenberg family. This family owned several residences where they housed libraries. Delsaerdt concludes that these libraries were working libraries assembled to fulfil the need for instruction and information of the respective dukes as well as store the family’s leisure reading. Because they built a *Collection spéciale* for the history of printing, the Arenberg family played an important role in the preservation of early printed books in the Low Countries. The history of this collection also shows the wheel of history. During the World Wars, the collections were dispersed through Europe to keep them safe. Once back in Belgium, the family lost interest in the collection and sold the books. Now the books are again dispersed, but this time they have found homes in libraries in Germany and the United States.

Outi Merisalo offers a first attempt to inventory seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manor libraries in the Grand Duchy of Finland. In her essay, she describes four manor houses situated in the southern part of Finland: Åminne, Fagervik, Rilax, and Ispois. The first three manors still exist, but Ispois was auctioned in 1888. Merisalo describes the families and manors but in this first inventory does not make an in-depth analysis of the four libraries. In general, it can be concluded that most of the books in these collections were written in French and Swedish and that none were research libraries like the
De Geer library. However, a more elaborated study might give other conclusions.

What can we conclude of this all? First, country house libraries were a common feature in European history and these libraries shed light on the life of the inhabitants, who were often men of influence. Mark Purcell shows that an inventory of these libraries uncovers a hidden cultural heritage. Cataloguing these libraries, as was done in Strängnäs and Leufsta, adds to our knowledge of the printed past and therefore to our understanding of society in earlier days. The research on country house libraries also reveals the many ways they influenced noblemen, often men of state or otherwise important for the development of society. It is our hope that the Leufsta project and the symposium celebrating its completion will encourage more research on this topic in Sweden, the Netherlands and abroad.

The Hague & Uppsala, 17 November 2023
Marieke van Delft & Peter Sjökvist
In the eighteenth century, Charles de Geer built his important collection of books. Through these books, he got insight into the world of his days, its politics, economics, history, and of course, in natural history, the subject that interested him most. De Geer embodies the relationship between Sweden – his land of birth and later his homeland – and the Netherlands – the land of his childhood and youth. His library represents the same connection. The collection is housed at the estate of Leufsta and in Uppsala, but many of the books came from the Netherlands. This twofold nationality forms a contemporary link between Sweden and the Netherlands because during the project ‘The Library of Leufstabruk’, the Dutch books from this collection were described in the national bibliography of early modern Dutch books, the Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN). This was the start of a collaboration between Uppsala University Library and the KB, National Library of the Netherlands.

In this article, I demonstrate the importance of retrospective national bibliographies – i.e. a list of books printed in a certain country in the early modern period, described using well-defined description rules. I start with examples of some historical projects to explore why such a bibliography is considered important. In line with this, I com-
pare some important retrospective national bibliographies and assess the kind of research that can use these data. To compile these, international collaboration is important, as the Leufsta project shows. Finally, I discuss some integrated bibliographical systems and speculate about what could help make these systems more straightforward to create and use.

Early Bibliography Projects
In the middle of the sixteenth century, Swiss naturalist, philologist, and physician Conrad Gessner (1516–1565), overwhelmed by the growing output of books after the invention of the printing press, published the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, an alphabetical bibliography of all books printed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew since the invention of the printing press (Fig. 1). The subtitle of Gessner’s *Bibliotheca universalis* lists the types of works he wanted to include: “extant and not, ancient and more recent, down to the present day, learned and not, published and hiding in libraries”. His aim was to make sure that the existence of every title once published was registered so these texts were known and would not be forgotten. While visiting libraries in the countries around Switzerland, he noted titles of books and excerpted secondary sources. In 1545, he published the results of his research, which included about 12,000 titles by 3,000 authors. Later, he added more titles and subject and name indexes for better retrieval.

Gessner’s universal bibliography was an attempt to keep texts from being forgotten; however, in the early twentieth century, the Belgian lawyer and peace activist Paul Otlet (1868–1944) worked from another perspective. He believed world peace could be attained through documentation. That is, he was convinced that if humanity shared all existing knowledge, a mutual understanding would prevent future wars. In 1895, he and his fellow lawyer Henri La Fontaine (1854–1943) founded the Institut International de Bibliographie where they started working on their *Repertoire Bibliographique Universel* (Fig. 2). In 1913, La Fontaine was awarded the
Figure 1. Grosshans Thomann (artist), Conrad Gesner. Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 2. The card files of the remnants of the Institut Internationale de Bibliographie, now in the Mundaneum in Mons (Belgium).
Photo: Marieke van Delft.
Nobel Peace Prize for his presidency of both the International Peace Bureau in Bern and the Union of International Associations in Brussels, an overarching union of international non-governmental and governmental organisations. Both institutions were also dedicated to world peace.

Even the devastation of World War I did not keep him from his aspirations. On the contrary, this war and the unsatisfactory Treaty of Versailles, which he believed lacked a sense of mutual understanding between the former warring parties, convinced him even more of the necessity of his work. He envisaged a World City in the neighbourhood of the newly founded League of Nations in Genève, where all human knowledge would be brought together. Designs for the building were made by the famous architect Le Corbusier (1887–1965), but this project was not to be. Since 1910, his international bibliographical institute had been housed in the Mundaneum in a government building in Brussels. The collection of index cards with bibliographic information grew steadily to 15 million in 1934. For subject indexing, they adapted Dewey’s Decimal Classification scheme to the Universal Decimal Classification, a numerical and therefore language independent classification scheme. Otlet was a visionary. He envisaged a method that would share information and documents by telephone, a kind of internet *avant la lettre*.

Sadly, in 1934 the Belgian government ended funding and the initiative came to an end. During World War II, the Germans destroyed a large part of the collection and now the remains of it are housed in the Mundaneum Museum in Mons, Belgium. Otlet died in 1944 as a disillusioned man. Despite his strivings for world peace, his life was marked by two world wars. His great plans never materialized or were destroyed. Still, he might have been proud to know that his classification scheme, UDC, is still used worldwide today. And he might have enjoyed that what he envisioned became reality in what we now know as the internet.
National Bibliographic Control

While Otlet was working on his documentation plans, IFLA – the International Federation of Library Associations was formed. Founded in 1927, IFLA now has ca 1,700 members and affiliates from 155 countries. Within this international organization, bibliographies are highly valued. In the 1960s, the IFLA conceived the idea of National Bibliographic Control. Each country should set up a National Bibliographic Centre to produce authorised bibliographical descriptions based on a legal national deposit, where publishers would deposit one or more copies of their publications. Thus, at least one copy of every book that is published somewhere in the world would be saved and described, and in doing so every country would produce a national bibliography. Agreements were made about selection criteria for the legal national deposit and about internationally accepted description rules, the International Standard Bibliographic Description (ISBD). Ideally, every publication then needed to be described only once, and records could be reused in library catalogues and bibliographies worldwide.

In the 1960s, another important development had taken place. On initiative of the booksellers and stationers firm WH Smith, a numeral code to identify books was developed. This International Standard Book Number (ISBN) eventually was accepted worldwide. With this unique number, every publication can be identified and descriptions in different systems can be connected.

On its website, IFLA calls the national bibliographies based on modern titles in a legal national deposit a current national bibliography. Their importance is described as follows:

A current national bibliography is a mirror that reflects the culture of a country. By looking at the current national bibliography one is able to learn about the uniqueness of a country. The emphasis on agriculture and technology, the make-up of its society through its various language publications, particular customs and ceremonies important in the life of the nation, the importance of education, literature and science, prominent literary authors of the time and political, social and religious trends within a country are all discernible.
Retrospective National Bibliographies

The three examples described above – Gessner, Otlet and La Fontaine, and NBC – demonstrate various reasons to create overviews of books. Gessner wanted to keep track of all the titles ever printed to make sure their existence was recorded; Otlet and La Fontaine wanted to establish world peace through sharing knowledge for mutual understanding; IFLA argues that a national bibliography is a witness to the development and culture of a country. Gessner’s aim – making sure titles are not forgotten – Otlet and La Fontaine’s goal – bridging the gap between different peoples and nations – and IFLA’s objective – gaining insight into the culture of a certain country – can be applied to another kind of national bibliography: a retrospective national bibliography – a list of all publications that appeared within a specific country in a certain period. With such a bibliography, the gap between today and yesterday can be bridged. It provides a view on the past, on the culture and on the people of days gone by.

For the twenty-first century, Universal Bibliographic Control creates conditions that ensure that each publication in the world is kept and described, insofar as it falls within the defined selection criteria for the legal national deposits. For the early modern period, a very different situation exists. To create a retrospective national bibliography, preserved printed documents are needed. But these are not kept in a legal national deposit or not even present in the country of their origin. Thus, a retrospective national bibliography is not a library catalogue but collection independent. This makes compiling such a retrospective bibliography all the more difficult and important as I show later with the example of the collaboration between Leufsta and the STCN.

Thereby we must note that “country” is a difficult concept in this context. Nation states are a nineteenth-century development and national borders continually shift. Therefore, retrospective national bibliographies generally are not limited to a geographical area (the country that creates the respective bibliography), but additionally register all publications that were published in the countries’ national language anywhere in the world (Fig. 3).
Figure 3. Alexander Altenhof, Europe 1848–1849. Created 2016–2017. This map is an example of how the European borders have been reshuffled in times of unrest. This illustrates the problematic concept of the National bibliographies.
For each retrospective national bibliography, criteria must be defined regarding which publications to include, description rules must be designed, and a specific period must be agreed upon. For early printed editions, adapted sets of description rules were developed, such as the ISBD(A) and Descriptive Cataloging of Rare Materials (Books). Every edition, impression, and issue is described separately. For adequate identification, each description must be provided with a collation formula, specific characteristics of the publication, and preferably an image of key pages (title page, colophon) and a fingerprint.

Fingerprints
Fingerprints help ascertain whether a certain text is printed from the same type setting, or if the type setting is reused in a demonstrably different edition, or if the text is composed anew although the formal elements (author, title, imprint, and year) suggest that it is the same edition. Unfortunately, there is not an “International Standard Fingerprint”, a unique identifying system such as the International Standard Book Number for modern books.

In retrospective bibliographies, two methods of fingerprinting are used to identify separate editions, both dating from the 1970s when the first retrospective national bibliographies started to be created with computers. The first method is the LOC method (London-Oxford-Cambridge), which consists of a 16-character code derived from the last characters of the last line and penultimate line of four defined pages. The second method is the system used by the Dutch retrospective national bibliographies, STCN and STCV (Flanders), which was also developed in the Anglo-Saxon world and was adapted for STCN in the early 1970s. This method uses quire signatures of pages of the first and last quire of every part of the book such as Preliminary matter, Main text, and Postliminary matter. The formula consists of year and format of the book, an indicator referring to the part of the book, the quire signatures, and the text above it. All these elements are separated with defined punctuation. When integrating
datasets of different origin, the fingerprint is the ideal instrument for reliably determining whether titles can be merged. That two different systems of fingerprinting are used, complicates this process. Moreover, in most retrospective national bibliographies no fingerprint is given.

Some examples of retrospective national bibliographies
Here, I discuss a few retrospective national bibliographies of books printed in Europe in the early modern period to illustrate possible approaches.

In England, a national bibliography for the early modern period began to be compiled at an early stage. It started in 1926 with the publication of a printed bibliography for the period 1475–1640, followed twenty years later by a three-volume bibliography for the years 1641–1700. In 1977, when eighteenth-century publications were due to be described, computer technology had become available. Then, a database was developed: the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (ESTC). In the 1980s, the titles of the printed bibliographies for the earlier period were added to this database. The name then was changed to English Short Title Catalogue – the same acronym but representing the much broader content. Today, the bibliography is compiled by the British Library in London and the Center for Bibliographical Studies and Research (CBSR) at the University of California, Riverside. The file is still growing and now contains about half a million titles with millions of registered copies. The original file is based on autopsy (i.e., making descriptions with the book in hand), but now new techniques are being explored such as uploading library files and engaging researchers to deduplicate and comment on the contents of database.

From the second half of the twentieth century, various bibliographies of books published in a particular region or place in a particular period or century have appeared in France. These include a bibliography with descriptions of French prints from the sixteenth century, a second with French prints from the seventeenth century, and finally
one for the eighteenth century, all based on autopsy. All these repertoires are available on paper and cannot be consulted online. For the sixteenth century, there are two online files, one for Lyon and one for Paris. In addition, people of the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), more on this later, started cataloguing all sixteenth-century French editions book in hand, and included these in their online database. However, these initiatives have not led to an integrated retrospective bibliography for France.

Both England and France have a central, national library based on national deposit laws because of censorship dating from the pre-modern period. These legal deposits served as a starting point. In addition, descriptions of books in various other heritage collections were added, making the retrospective bibliography more complete.

For Germany and the Netherlands, the situation was different. For most of the early modern period, Germany consisted of a number of more or less independent states and small principalities; today Germany remains a federal state. There was no central national legal deposit and therefore a central collection of German editions from the early modern period does not exist. Therefore, in the 1980s, a distributed national library for the early modern period was established. Since then, six scientific libraries form the *Sammlung Deutscher Drucke*. Each is responsible for a given period (century) and purchases books that are not yet in a German public collection. In the meantime, bibliographies had already been made of the German language books printed in Germany and abroad in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries – VD16, VD17, and VD18, respectively – the letters VD stand for *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke*.

VD16 was published as a printed work (1983–2000) but has been converted to an online facility afterwards. VD17 and VD18 are both only available online. The files from the three databases are not integrated due to differences in cataloguing. The descriptions in all three databases are made book-in-hand and the files are still being supplemented. Editions are accurately distinguished from each other.
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VD16 contains facsimile transcriptions of the title pages. VD17 provides the descriptions with a fingerprint according to the LOC system. Many descriptions in VD18 include a link to a digitized copy.

The historical situation in the Netherlands was similar to Germany. In the early modern period, the Dutch Republic consisted of separate provinces that, although meeting in the States General, had a high degree of independence. There were large university libraries such as those in Leiden, Amsterdam, and Utrecht, but there was no national library with a legal deposit. It would take until 1982 before the KB Netherlands was formally appointed national library. A (voluntary) deposit was started in 1974, but older editions are spread over the country in libraries with heritage collections. After a period of preparation, work on the STCN started in 1982, inspired by the English Short Title Catalogue. Initially, the STCN was funded by the Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research but was housed in the KB. A database was created from which a bibliography was to be printed; however, when the computer and the internet became more accepted, that idea was abandoned and STCN became an online tool. In 2009, STCN became an ongoing service of the KB. Now 221,378 titles based on more than 620,000 copies are described in the system. All books are described book in hand.

Many more countries have compiled a national bibliography of the early modern period, but it is not my intention to give a complete overview. Because of Leufsta, I would have included Sweden in my overview if there had been a retrospective national bibliography for Sweden, but there is no such an undertaking. There are the printed bibliographies of Isak Collijn from beginning of the twentieth century and the SB17 from the 1970s and 80s. The titles of these bibliographies have been added to the Swedish national union catalogue, Libris, with the exception of the sixteenth century. This is an important catalogue for locating books, but it is not equipped with adequate specific characteristics for describing early printed books in a consistent way. Now, possibilities are explored for a Swedish retrospective national bibliography.
The national retrospective bibliographies of France, England, Germany, and the Netherlands serve as proof that the approaches vary from country to country. All four bibliographies aim to describe the books book-in-hand and to distinguish between different editions, impressions, and issues. The STCN and VD17 make use of the fingerprint. Sadly however, they do not use the same system. In addition, links to photos of title pages or digitized copies are often provided, so it is possible to determine which edition or impression is described. The form of the bibliographies differs. In France, for the time being, the retrospective bibliographies are mainly printed editions. The German VDs and the Dutch and English retrospective bibliographies are available online, but in Germany, there are three separate online services, one for each century. All four national bibliographies are based on large heritage collections. In Germany, the libraries participating in the Sammlung Deutscher Drucke are the main sources, and the ESTC and the STCN are based on scattered heritage collections. Reference to existing copies are mentioned as a proof that a particular copy has actually been seen and described. Describing multiple copies increases the quality of the bibliography: typesetting differences become clear, imperfections (missing titles, images, etc.) come to light, and small errors in descriptions are corrected. At the same time, an instrument is being created that indicates the number of copies of a specific book and identifies where copies of a book are located.

Why Must We Create Retrospective National Bibliographies?

Before, I already gave an answer to this question: to bridge the gap between now and then. But first I want to mention another reason, that is more straightforward but very important. A reliable retrospective national bibliography lists all known publications. For my work, as a curator of early printed editions in the KB, STCN was essential. I used the STCN daily to decide whether I should acquire a certain book. After checking our own catalogue, I turned to STCN because it registers
the collections of all major Dutch libraries and some abroad. With one search, I could ascertain whether a book was already in a Dutch public library and if so, how rare it was. Is it available in just one other library in the Netherlands or in ten? Because all books in STCN are described book-in-hand by well-educated bibliographers, STCN is very reliable, more so than huge integrated national and international catalogues such as WorldCat. In WorldCat, catalogues of libraries from around the world are integrated via an automated process of matching and merging titles. It has happened more than once that a certain edition in WorldCat turned out to be a completely different publication or issue once I viewed the description in the catalogue of the library of origin. So, for curators, antiquarians, and collectors, a high quality retrospective national bibliography such as STCN is essential.

Online retrospective national bibliographies allow for fast and multiple searches. For example, one can easily search how many books were printed in a certain city in a certain period by typing the location and limiting the search to specific years. The book production of certain cities can be compared, and graphs can be made. The same goes for authors, printers, and subjects.

In addition to these general search terms, both STCN and STCV also indicate specific characteristics of the book, for example, the type, format, and language and the presence of illustrations, printer’s marks, booklists, title page(s) and engraved title page(s), and ink colours used in the book. STCV has also added codes for maps, coats of arms, and portraits of authors. In STCV, for example, one can easily find all books that contain portraits and start a study of the development of the author’s portrait in books. IFLA’s belief, as noted on its website, that an up-to-date national bibliography reflects the culture of a country is also true for retrospective national bibliographies.

Digital Humanities
The structured data of national bibliographies can also be used in other ways as is done in Digital Humanities research projects. STCN data, for example, were used in the interdisciplinary project Golden
Agents, which developed an infrastructure to study relations and interactions between producers and consumers of creative goods such as paintings, prints, books, and other creative industries during the long Golden Age of the Dutch Republic. Distributed and heterogeneous resources (both existing and new) such as data of the STCN were curated, enriched, and made available as linked open data.

The STCN dataset has also been used in a PhD thesis by Rindert Jagersma, who defended in 2022 in Amsterdam. He used a large STCN dataset to research developments in the Dutch printing industry creating statistics based on his analysis. His research shows that the extra book historical characteristics added to STCN allow for more specific research, for example, the transition from Gothic to Roman type. He also used a novelty. Within the abovementioned Golden Agents project, a formula was developed to convert the collation formula into the number of leaves used to print an edition. This element was added to the STCN description, and Jagersma shows that this influences our view on the development of printing. This makes us realize that for this kind of research, the data collection and the applied techniques are very important for the outcome.

The data from the ESTC were used to analyse the publication trends of history in early modern Britain and North America between 1470 and 1800. One of the findings was that the average book size for history publications became smaller over time and that the octavo-sized book was the rising used format for history books in the eighteenth century, which points to widening audiences.

For Sweden, Finnish researcher Mikko Tolonen and colleagues used the data from the “Swedish National Bibliography” – probably the catalogue of the Swedish National Library – and Fennica, the Finnish Bibliography. They harmonized the data for the period 1640–1828, which in itself is problematic because they must have merged items that were NOT the same edition or not even the same publication. Based on the result, they found general trends in the development of printing in Sweden and related this to historical and cultural developments. They acknowledge that this dataset does not
cover the complete publishing output of the early modern era, but it was the best available data for their purpose. It should also be noted that this material consists of a general dataset that does not include extra book historical information. They advocate for the integration of catalogues from more libraries but acknowledge that automated merging of catalogues inevitably entails the risk of duplicates, erroneous merging, and the introduction of more inaccuracies.

International Dynamics of Retrospective National Bibliographies

International dynamics is the subtitle of my article. How does this relate to these nation-focused systems? With this question I again turn to STCN, because I know this system the best and because the Dutch Republic played such an important role in the early modern book world. It is said that in the seventeenth century more books were printed in the Dutch Republic than in the rest of Europe combined. Authors brought their writings to the Netherlands to be printed there, such as the Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus and the French philosophers Descartes and Voltaire. Moreover, the Netherlands had a strong connection with France. In the eighteenth century, French was the language of the upper class in the Dutch Republic. Dutch printers produced many books in French – books to be read in the country itself or to be exported to the French market, including books that were forbidden in France. On the other hand, French printers produced books with a false Dutch imprint to mislead French censors.

The most international book was the Bible. Thousands of copies of English Bibles were printed for the English market by Amsterdam printer Jan Fredericksz Stam, with sometimes ‘Amsterdam’ as its printing place on the titlepage, on other occasions ‘London’. Occasionally these are two issues of the same edition as the fingerprints irrefutable demonstrates. In the Dutch Republic, the Bible was not only printed in English. Joachim Nosche printed Bibles in German for export to Germany, and Jacob Marcus printed Bibles in Swedish to be exported to Sweden. This shows that there are strong rela-
Dutch printers, publishers, and booksellers were very important for the Swedish book world in other ways as well. They were key in providing Dutch books to Sweden. The Janssonius firm’s bookshop played a central role and even had a printing house in Stockholm and other Scandinavian places. All this is reflected in the STCN.

This brings me to another international aspect. The STCN project team started by describing collections in the Netherlands. But in the course of time projects have also been set up to catalogue Dutch books currently in foreign collections. The project celebrated with this conference, the description of the books in the library at Leufsta, must be mentioned here first (Fig. 4). This project added 2,159 copies to the STCN, of which about 400 (now 296) were new at the moment the title was added to the database. This illustrates the importance of an international view. Books may have been lost in their country of origin but may have survived abroad, indicating international relations in early modern times. In addition, books from other Swedish collections were added to STCN by Alex Alsemgeest, the most important being Skokloster but also those in Linköping, the
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university libraries of Stockholm, Uppsala, Lund and Kungl. biblioteket, the National Library in Stockholm.

The Importance of Describing Books in Collections Outside the Country

As mentioned above, Dutch titles from foreign collections were added to the STCN. For example, 29,647 from the British Library in London and 1,649 from other London collections; 13,631 from Trinity College Dublin including 13,595 from the Fagel Collection; 8,393 from Cambridge University Library; 2,393 of Uppsala University Library including 2,159 from the Leufsta Library; 1,708 from the Fondation Custodia in Paris; 964 from the Netherlandish Institute in Rome; 339 from the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel; 168 from the University Library in Göttingen; and 72 from the national library in Saint Petersburg. The libraries with the highest number of copies are libraries of which all Dutch books in the collection were systematically added to the STCN. This concerns the collections in Cambridge, the British Library, the Fondation Custodia in Paris, and Leufsta and at this very moment Dutch titles from the Fagel Collection in Dublin are added. These numbers show that Dutch books from the early modern period are found all over Europe and beyond. Clearly, retrospective national bibliographies cannot be based solely on national collections because of the trading networks that existed in the early modern period. We must keep in mind however, that books still travel the world, and some copies might concern recent migrations (Fig. 5).

What is the importance of describing so many foreign collections? First, every new collection adds new editions to STCN and with that our view on the Dutch printing landscape and our knowledge of the past improves. Returning to Sweden, we can establish that 296 of the 2,159 Leufsta editions represent books that we now only know because of the Leufsta project. Some are other issues of known editions or other editions of known texts, but others are completely new. This
may seem a small percentage considering the almost 221,378 titles now described in the STCN, but all those foreign collections together add a substantial number. In the STCN 63,604 titles from collections outside the Netherlands are described; of 9,811 of these only one copy is recorded in the STCN. On average, from every new foreign collection, 10 to 15% of the items catalogued are new additions.

This means that the Leufsta project and the Fagel project in Dublin provide important and necessary knowledge of the past, bridging the gap between then and now. These projects make the STCN a more reliable representation of what has been printed in the Netherlands and it shines a light on cultural relations and knowledge transfer between nations in the early modern period.

Integrated Library Catalogues
With the advent of automated library catalogues, it was thought that the complicated and time consuming bibliographical work would be speeded up by just integrating these catalogues and matching and merging titles that seem to be the same. This approach is acceptable for people who just want to read a certain text and are not interested in a specific edition. However, such a course of action frustrates thorough
historical research as it introduces too many mistakes. When a data collection is imperfect, the research based on it is imperfect as well.

The most encompassing system is WorldCat, OCLC’s integrated catalogue of libraries from around the world. WorldCat matches and merges titles, but still there are multiple descriptions for the same edition. The idea is great, but for bibliographical work, the result – if you don’t mind me saying so – is a mess. If you find a certain edition searching WorldCat, you do not know if this really is that edition until you have searched the book in the catalogue of the holding library where the book is kept. For book people such as collectors, librarians, and antiquarians, WorldCat is insufficient. The same goes for the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC), created in St Andrews in Scotland. Here titles are connected manually but again with many faults and uncertainties, which makes this instrument unreliable. The third system is the Heritage of the Printed Book (HPB) database of the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL). In this database, descriptions of pre-1830 books are brought together from major European and North American research libraries. CERL respects the original titles and does not match and merge, at least for now. The disadvantage is that multiple titles occur in the database – just as in WorldCat. This makes the database unsuitable for statistical research.

Idealistic Considerations
The attempts to integrate various catalogues show the differences between theory and practice. If every collection were described using standard description rules, integration would be more feasible. Moreover, all these projects show the lack of a unique identifier for early printed books such as an ‘International Standard Fingerprint’. If an accepted uniform system of fingerprinting had existed and had been added to every early printed book when it was described, the bibliographic descriptions of these books could be merged without the risk of a mistake. Then libraries would have been able to share titles and the registration of the national output in print would be
easier. In fact, this is the same idea that formed the basis of National Bibliographic Control.

In an ideal world within the National Bibliographic Agency of a country, a subdivision for retrospective bibliography should be created under the umbrella of IFLA or CERL, the organisation that in 2021 established a Working Group for Retrospective (National) Bibliographies. This subdivision for retrospective bibliography within the National Bibliographic Agency should stimulate the creation of retrospective national bibliographies following internationally accepted rules of description for early modern books including a description of material aspects, and ideally a unique identifier such as an International Standard Fingerprint. The National Bibliographic Agency should take the lead on these matters, especially in the development of this unique identifier for early modern books. Ideally, all books should be described book-in-hand and should include the unique identifier. For identification, it would also be profitable if images of key pages (title page, colophon) were linked to all descriptions. With the new image recognition techniques, these images could also help to identify identical copies from different libraries. Then books in libraries abroad could be connected to the national bibliography of that country and a reliable worldwide international bibliography would arise, offering an online source for national and international relations. In fact, it is a matter of getting started and gradually adding a unique identifier such as an International Standard Fingerprint and images of key pages to every early modern book in every automated library catalogue.

Advocating for this makes me feel like a dreamer, as if I were Otlet. In the real world, we must seize the opportunities that exist, such as the funding of a project to catalogue an important library like Leufsta, and hope that this will make people realise the importance of retrospective national bibliographies for every country. But we must also keep on dreaming.

*The numbers of titles in the STCN represent the situation on 28/29 May 2023.
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On the Road with Charles de Geer: His Journey from Utrecht to Stockholm, 1738

Reinder Storm

The Leufsta archives that are kept in the University Library in Uppsala include a small manuscript by Charles de Geer the Entomologist:¹ Kort journal van de reijs van Utrecht na Stockholm, die ik gedaan heb in het jaar 1738 (Short journal of the voyage from Utrecht to Stockholm that I did in the year 1738). Although the journal, written in a very neat and perfectly readable Dutch handwriting, is only twelve pages, it mentions the ins and outs of a journey that De Geer, two of his brothers, and a sister-in-law undertook together. At the age of eighteen, after his studies at the University of Utrecht, De Geer went to Sweden to govern the estates he had inherited from an unmarried uncle, also named Charles de Geer.

Apart from an impressive library and his responsibilities running an iron making estate during his lifetime, De Geer is probably best known for his research on insects, which led to the publication of the seven-volume Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire des insectes (1752–1778), where he describes almost 1,500 insects. The account of his 1738 journey was a bit more modest. In 1738, he was still a teenager and wrote the little account not to present something special as he did not consider anything in North-Western Europe to be special,

¹ Leufsta MS 56. I want to thank Alex Alsemgeest for drawing my attention to this manuscript. All translations of the quotations are made by the author.
at least not along the main roads. So, it was not a typical grand tour that Charles undertook. Moreover, the little journal is an incomplete account of the tour. The twelve-page journal only includes entries related to the journey from Utrecht to Roskilde on the Island Seeland in Denmark. Although the travellers reached Sweden, the journal does not mention how and when. The story ends in Roskilde.

Roads, Hostels, and Food

The first day of the journal goes like this:

I departed on 2 May 1738 at six o’clock in the morning from Utrecht, with hired horses, taking my route to Amersfoort, passing through the village of De Bilt. Between this village and Amersfoort one sees nothing but a barren plain, which is called the Amersfoortse Heijde. Finally, we arrived in Amersfoort. This road is four hours long. Here we agreed
with the Post to Osnabrug for 50 guilders for each pair of horses, which is not a little bit expensive.

From Amersfoort we travelled to Voorthuizen, which is nothing like a simple inn. This road is three hours long, and fairly sandy. Here again one gets fresh horses, that should bring us to Deventer.

However, this day we got no further than Appeldoorn, being but an inn that lays in the middle of the heather. Here we stayed for the night, reasonably well. From Voorthuizen to Appeldoorn you have to travel five hours, through a sandy and hazy road. Our horses stayed here too, which brought us to Deventer the next morning.

Topics that regularly appear in De Geer’s report are the quality of the roads and a rating of the hostels they visited, with special attention to the amount of food served. This is often the case in travel accounts as can be seen in the journal of the Portuguese journalist Ramalho Ortigão, who visited Amsterdam in 1883 (some 150 years later). One of Ortigão’s accounts describes a Dutchman eating in a restaurant:

Most guests order a plate of soup, a meat platter and vegetables. They mix the meat and vegetables on one plate, sit down wide, cut everything at once into small chunks, pour over the whole thing with the gravy that has been left on the dish, and then devour everything one after the other, by forks full, with a mechanical gluttony, demonstrating a tremendous appetite and an equally tremendous lack of gastronomic sensibility. Few guests eat bread, even less dessert, and hardly anyone drinks anything with it.

This observation shows how relevant travel accounts are: a foreigner sees objects, habits, and fashions that the local people do not notice.

German Towns
Let’s go back to De Geer. He mostly writes about himself; sometimes he writes “we” rather than “I” – other than this, De Geer does not mention his travelling companions. After Appeldoorn, they stayed
overnight in Delden and in Rheine, until they arrived in the German town of Osnabrück. In Osnabrück, the travellers did some sightseeing:

Osnabrück is in the middle of Munster-land, and is quite large, very old. We stayed here a full day, namely 6 May, to travel on again early in the morning the next day. In this town we saw some churches, some of which are Roman Catholic and others Lutheran; they were not very pretty, but acceptable. We also found in the Jesuit College, and in that of the Dominicans, that women are not allowed to enter to take a look. There is also a Palais here, where the bishops reside, which seems insignificant from the outside, but inside has beautiful rooms and galleries so that this Paleîjs [palace] still deserves to be viewed. In the Town Hall we saw the crown, under which the famous Westphalian peace was made.

In the following days, they continued their journey to Stockholm. They passed through Ipenau (what I presume we now know as Diepenau), Nienburg, and then the village of Tiessenhüven. I’m not sure where Tiessenhüven is located, but I it could be the village that we now know as Visselhövede, which is more or less on the right spot in the right direction. De Geer would have been amused that we are a little uncertain here, because he was not happy in Tiessenhüven at all:

After Rethem, we arrived in Tiessenhüven, a miserable village, where, however, we had to stay overnight, and where we were forced to put straw on the floor to sleep on. From this wretched place we travelled on very early the next morning, and after four miles we arrived at Wille, which is just such a place as Tiessenhüven.
Crossing the Elbe

On the 11 May 1738, the travellers and their two carriages were ferried across the river Elbe. A crane placed the carriages on the ferry and on the other side – in Hamburg – a crane was used to take the carriages off the ferry. In 1738, Hamburg had a population of around 70,000 – more than twice the population of Utrecht, the city they came from. The travellers remained in the city for four days taking in the sights:
REINDEER STORM

In Hamburg, we stayed in ‘the three Pheasants’ on the Mülenbruck, a very good accommodation. We stayed in this city for four days, not counting the day of arrival, namely the 12th–15th May. Here we have looked at the Churches, three of which are very beautiful, namely the Nicolai, Catharine and Pieters-Kerk. The Nieuwe Kerk [new church] is also quite beautiful and has a beautiful tower. The ramparts surrounding the city are very pretty, and the city is fairly well fortified. This is where we drove, and looked at the Catholic Church, which is a new building, and has beautiful architecture. This Church is also very beautiful on the inside, and well worth a look. Close to Hamburg on the Elbe is another town called Altona, which is about two musket shots from Hamburg, and comes under Denmark. This is where we drove, and looked at the Catholic Church, which is a new building, and has a beautiful architecture. This Church is also very beautiful on the inside, and well worth a look.

Travelling Denmark and Danish Waters
After Hamburg, the journey continued to Idsehoa, Rensburg, and Flensburg, until they finally arrived in Hatersleben, present day Haderslev in Denmark. From Hatersleben, they travelled to the Small Belt, where they embarked on a ship with the two carriages. In four hours, they sailed to Assens, which is on the Danish island Funen, where their luggage was checked for prohibited goods.

From Assens, they continued their journey to Odense, where they enjoyed the relatively comfortable hospitality of Erick Christersson. From Odense, they travelled to Nyborg, where they hired a sailboat to cross the Great Belt. The wind was against them, namely east southeast, so they had no choice but to beat up against the wind. They departed at noon and tacked for three hours. After three hours, the wind dropped and the strong currents stalled their progress, so they dropped anchor. Around 6 o’clock, the wind turned in a favourable direction (northeast), but occasionally the wind dropped completely. Finally, they reached Korsør at three o’clock in the morning the next day. The crossing of the Great Belt, which is four miles wide, took fifteen hours. The rest of 22 May the party stayed in Korsør to
rest in a very good lodging. The disadvantage of Korsør at the time was that there was no good water: it had to come from Nyborg, from where the weary travellers had left the day before.

After a day of rest, our travellers continued from Korsør to cross the island of Sjaelland via Slagelse and Ringsted to Roskilde. Unfortunately, this is where our dear 18-year-old De Geer ends his journal. At the beginning of his travel journal, De Geer stated that his journal
was not meant to reveal something special. He explicitly states this in his preface:

I wrote this down because I will be making this trip more often. Next time I can use all kinds of practical information from these notes:

- Where to get new horses.
- How much to pay.
- Which lodgings are good.

The data may be useful to travellers in this region and therefore to me, because, with God’s help, it won’t be the last time I’ll make this short journey.

Actually, the journey was not short: it took the travellers more than three weeks to reach Roskilde, a trip that we now can do by car in less than eight hours. What De Geer doesn’t state in his little preface is that he will also comment on the quality of the road. But once they’re underway, he mentions the state of the roads almost every day:

- From Amersfoort to Voorthuizen: 3 hours long, road is sandy.
- From Voorthuizen to Appeldoorn: 5 hours travel, road is sandy and heather-like.
- From Deventer to Delden: 8 hours, the road is sandy and clay-like in places, but without stones and large holes.
- From Delden to Bentheim: 7 hours, the road is sandy and stony and you have to pass some mountains. Leaving Bentheim, one has to descend from a mountain by a road paved with stones but unbearably bumpy.
- From Rheine to Ibbenburen 4 hours, road is mountainous and sandy.
- From there to Osnabrück 6 hours, road is stony, mountainous and sandy.
- Van Osnabrück to Boomten, road is bad and stony (as far as Harburg).
- From Boomten to Diepenau, 3½ miles; the road is very uneven and bad.
- From Diepenau to Leese: reasonable, but sandy road, of 3½ miles.
- From Leese to Nienburg: road not very good, but in the oak woods they drove through it was better.
From Rethem to Visselhövede 3 miles, the road here is quite good. Next day: the road here is not like heather, full of stones and holes. Through to Harburg (3 miles) road is mountainous, sandy and uneven. Further from Hamburg: the road is good, except one has to go up some sandy mountains.
From Idschoa to Rensburg. The road here is reasonable. Road to Flensburg: uneven and stony. From Flensburg to Hatersleben, 7-mile road, bad, mountainous, sandy, and stone-strewn; one even passes entire streets, which are very uneven. From Hatersleben to the ferry: the road, 2 miles long, is quite good. From Assens to Odense a 5 mile road which is excellently good, as everywhere on Funen. From Odense to Nyborg, a beautiful and good road of 4 miles. From Korsør to Roskilde: I never saw a more miserable and terrible road; sandy in places, but everywhere covered with cobblestones, which are worn very unevenly, causing one to be thrown to and fro in the carriage, and causing the carriages to suffer terribly.

So the roads actually were quite bad. It was not until the Napoleon era that systematic construction of paved roads was started.

In spite of these experiences, the travellers made it to Sweden, presumably no worse for the wear, but how and when I do not know. Did they continue by carriage or sailboat? Why didn’t they travel by boat in the first place? In 1687, the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728) travelled from Sweden to the Low Countries largely by boat. Moreover, the travellers never employed the famous and typical Dutch invention *trekschuit* (tow barge). From the early seventeenth to the nineteenth century, many connections with barges were maintained in the water-rich parts of the Netherlands. Statistical data for this period are not available, but it is estimated that almost 70% of travellers took advantage of tow barges in the second half of the seventeenth century. In 1808, there were 392 barges throughout the country.

In 1772, the Swedish king Gustav III travelled to Holland by tow barge so he could avoid an enthusiastic crowd in The Hague. Although many people in The Hague awaited the king with great
enthusiasm, they were only met with a carriage carrying the king’s luggage while the king, completely unnoticed, was quietly and easily conveyed by a tow barge just a short distance from the crowd.

Like De Geer’s journal, this essay is unfinished. How the journey continued is unclear. I hope this article inspires other researchers to unveil how they reached Sweden.

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Insight into the Eighteenth-century International Book Trade: The Leiden Booksellers Luchtmans and their Extensive Archive

Irene D. van Dijk

The Initial Contact between De Geer and Luchtmans
Luchtmans, academic publishers and booksellers in Leiden, played a leading role in the formation of the Leufsta Library. But how did this Dutch firm come to be the principal supplier of books for this particular library on the estate of the De Geer family at Leufstabruk, Sweden? The main connections between Charles de Geer the Entomologist (1720–1778) and the Leiden booksellers were the notable Dutch scientist Petrus van Musschenbroek (1692–1761) and the patrician van Musschenbroek family. De Geer spent his formative years in the Netherlands near Utrecht before moving back to Sweden when he inherited the Leufstabruk estate. During his studies, he was especially interested in natural history, an interest he cultivated when studying under van Musschenbroek and other prominent scientists. The Netherlands was also the place where De Geer bought his first books, initially from booksellers in his hometown of Utrecht. He later also contacted Luchtmans in Leiden. It is likely that the first contact between De Geer and Luchtmans was made through van
Musschenbroek. Moreover, a clear connection existed between the Luchtmans and the van Musschenbroek families. Jordaan Luchtmans (1652–1708), the founder of the firm, had married a cousin of Petrus in 1683, Sara van Musschenbroek (1647?–1710). In addition, their son Samuel Luchtmans I (1685–1757) married Petrus’ sister, Cornelia (1699–1784).

De Geer filled his library with books he received by post from two nephews of his former teacher Petrus van Musschenbroek – Samuel II (1725–1780) and Johannes (1726–1809) Luchtmans. Van Musschenbroek not only helped link De Geer to the Luchtmans firm but also was connected to Luchtmans in another way. His famous work on physics, the *Elementa Physicae*, was first published by Samuel Luchtmans I in Latin (1734) and Dutch (*Beginselen der Natuurkunde* [1736]). Two notes with calculations of the costs of publishing van Musschenbroek’s work survive in the Luchtmans archive.\(^1\) There is one note for each edition showing, for example, the cost of paper and the red printing ink for the title pages, giving us a small insight into the eighteenth-century publishing business. Unsurprisingly, two copies of this work – both the Latin and the Dutch edition – can be found in the Leufsta Library.

The Extensive Archive of the Leiden Booksellers Luchtmans

The Luchtmans archive is an exceptional primary source, not only for the history of the early modern Dutch book trade but also for the history of the Dutch Republic as it assumed the role of being the “bookshop of the world”. The firm’s extensive archive is now part of the collection of the library of the book trade, which is kept at the Allard Pierson – the Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam. The physical documents in this archive, which occupy approximately

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\(^1\) Calculations for the production of various titles such as Musschenbroek, *Elementa physicae conscripta in usus academicos* and *Cornelii Nepotis Vitae excellentium imperatorum*, 1715–ca. 1791. Amsterdam, Allard Pierson UvA, *Archive of the Firm Luchtmans*, UBA354.
eleven metres of shelving space, have been digitised and are now available online. These documents concern all aspects of the early modern book trade, especially its financial administration. This includes account books containing sales records of private customers – both those who ordered their books by mail like De Geer and those who visited Luchtmans’ bookshop in Leiden – and dealings with other booksellers in the Netherlands and abroad. Other documents include copies of incoming and outgoing correspondence, stock lists and auction catalogues, contracts for business ventures with other booksellers, travel logs, and other more personal documents.

The archive is, in a sense, complete. This does not mean that everything that has ever existed regarding the Luchtmans family and their company’s administration has survived, even though the archive contains information for its whole existence, from its founding to its last name change. In 1848, the company’s name changed from S. & J. Luchtmans to E. J. Brill. The archive is an incredibly valuable source as it gives unique insight into personal and professional networks in the eighteenth-century international book trade. It has, by no means, been neglected in research, but it contains so much information that one could author multiple books about its various aspects.

In the present context, the account books of private customers are quite interesting. These account books contain the information about Charles de Geer the Entomologist’s purchases and other dealings with Luchtmans. De Geer is first mentioned in the account books in 1746, and appears every year until 1778, when he died.2 These account books generally start with an index. Between 1770 and 1783, for example, the index of the account book shows the importance of De Geer as a customer when compared to the other names listed under the letter “G”. De Geer’s purchases and sales

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2 “Private customers”. Current account books of claims on private customers. With indices per volume, 1702–1842. Allard Pierson UvA, Archive of the firm Luchtmans, UBA354. For Charles the Entomologist see the books for 1742[–1765], 1756[–1772], and 1770[–1783], for Charles the Politician see the books for 1781[–1795].
takes up ten pages, whereas other accounts listed under “G” only require one to four pages.

The last account book mentioning De Geer the Entomologist, in 1778, contains a reminder to the Luchtmans brothers themselves regarding their future correspondence with Charles de Geer the Politician: “Reminder: in the future, write in French to Monsieur le Baron Charles de Geer […] and report every year how many volumes are left of the *Memoires sur les Insectes* [sic].” The account books and this reminder mention the volumes of De Geer’s magnum opus, which Luchtmans had on consignment. They distributed the best-selling volumes to other booksellers and customers. This meant that

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the sum owed by Luchtmans to De Geer quickly surpassed the value of the orders placed by their Swedish client.

Since Luchtmans still had many volumes on consignment, the business relationship between the Leiden booksellers and De Geer passed from father to son. The correspondence between Johannes Luchtmans and Charles the Politician (1747–1805) are still extant in the Luchtmans archive. The letters, dated 1786 and 1791, show that Luchtmans urged De Geer the Politician to order more books for the outstanding amount, so he would not have to pay the considerable sum in cash. Charles the Politician virtually stops ordering books, except for a small number of continuing titles: the larger sets of works or the periodicals he and his father had previously ordered were sent over at their convenience. Although we do not exactly know how Luchtmans and De Geer wrapped up their business dealings, it certainly ended around the turn of the century. Charles the Politician decided to expand the Leufsta Library with books on subjects he found interesting, which he ordered from booksellers in Sweden.

The Luchtmans Firm:
A Personal and Professional History

Who exactly were these Dutch publishers and booksellers supplying the De Geer with books? Jordaan Luchtmans moved from a small Dutch town to a true “city of books” – Leiden. Here, he started his career as a publisher and bookseller by registering himself as an independent bookseller with the local guild in 1683. In that same year, Jordaan married Sara van Musschenbroek. She belonged to a wealthy family with ties to the university, the most important employer of local printers and publishers, and therefore provided her new husband with essential connections for building his business.

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At the end of the seventeenth century, Luchtmans had established a good enough reputation and earned enough money by publishing scientific works to afford moving his business to the heart of the city, next to the university building. As a result, Luchtmans now conducted his business near his most important employer and customers – the university, its professors, and its students – as well as his main colleagues and competitors in the book trade. In a “book city” like Leiden, the competition was never far away. Failing or otherwise disappearing publishing houses and bookshops were quickly replaced, as others were eagerly waiting to take their business. Nevertheless, plenty of cooperation took place as this helped minimise the risks and costs of publishing extensive works.

Jordaan and Sara had four sons, but only one survived childhood, Samuel, named after his maternal grandfather, Samuel van Musschenbroek. Naturally, he was meant to succeed his father in the book trade. In 1708, after Jordaan died, Samuel took charge of the business. Two years later he also became the official, and only, business owner after the passing of his mother. Owing to the efforts of his father at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Samuel was the owner of a thriving business. Thus, he was able to focus his efforts on expanding the firm. At first, this took place in the shadow of his competitors, like the official publisher and printer to both the city and the university, Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733). After 1730, it was Samuel’s time to shine. He succeeded van der Aa as city and university printer, despite the fact that he did not own any printing presses, so he had to outsource the actual printing. Additionally, he had a leading role in the guild. Luchtmans published countless dissertations, disputations, and orations for the university and expanded his stock with works on science and natural history. In turn, the company’s profits increased and Samuel’s importance among his colleagues and competitors grew.

In 1721, Samuel married his cousin Cornelia van Musschenbroek, and the couple had nine children. Their two oldest sons, Samuel II and Johannes, were trained and prepared to succeed their father.
in the family business. To give them the best possible start, their father ensured the brothers received an education in the subjects that would provide them with the best training for the business — such as mathematics, bookkeeping, French, and Latin. In addition, their father made them study German, English, and Italian to make the firm more competitive in the international market. The plans for the succession were set in motion during the 1740s. In 1741, Samuel II joined the guild while still studying at university and, for good measure, was immediately appointed as his father’s successor as printer to the city and university. Johannes joined the guild in 1749, after which the firm was known by the name of Samuel Luchtmans & Sons. Samuel retired in 1755 and left the running of the firm to his sons. This required another name change, one that would last for almost a century: S. & J. Luchtmans.
The brothers were often mistaken for twins (see Samuel at age 30 in Figure 1 and Johannes at age 29 in Figure 2). The publishing house and its production largely remained the same, quite successful but not particularly special. The bookshop and related endeavours were the main focus of the firm’s operations and were developed and expanded significantly. The firm’s large and varied multilingual stock enabled Samuel and Johannes to conduct business internationally on a large scale. They cultivated an extensive professional network of authors, booksellers, publishers, printers, and – arguably most importantly – customers from all over Europe. The incredibly successful cooperation of the Luchtmans brothers ended in 1780 with the passing of Samuel, leaving Johannes to run the business on his own.

Samuel’s son, Samuel Luchtmans III (1766–1812), was destined to succeed his father and join his uncle Johannes in the family business, but in 1780 he was only fourteen years old, too young to run a business. He eventually joined the firm, but he was not extremely interested in the book trade and most of his time was taken up by fulfilling several administrative functions for the city of Leiden. Johannes remained responsible for the business, supported by an external company director from 1802, until his death in 1809, which left his nephew no other option but to run the business. Samuel, however, unexpectedly died in 1812.

Samuel did not have any children, so the firm eventually passed via Johannes’ oldest daughter, Magdalena Henriëtta Luchtmans (1769–1799), and her husband, Evert Bodel Nijenhuis (1766–1816), to their son Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis (1797–1872). Since Johannes Tiberius was only fifteen at the time of his grandfather’s death and therefore too young to assume any responsibility, the daily management of the bookshop and publishing house fell to the external company director, Johannes Brill (1767–1859). Brill was a printer in Leiden and had taken care of the actual printing of their published works. S. & J. Luchtmans was run successfully until 1848 by
Johannes Brill, Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis, and Brill’s son Evert Jan (1812–1871), who had joined the firm in 1831.

The year 1848 brought some significant changes to the Luchtmans firm, including a change in the company name. Both company directors, Brill senior and Bodel Nijenhuis, retired and left the business entirely to Evert Jan Brill. He took over parts of Luchtmans’ successful bookshop and printing house, combined it with the printing office he had inherited from his father, and set up shop under his own name: E. J. Brill. On the one hand, Brill continued in the tradition of Luchtmans by publishing humanistic, scientific, and natural history works. On the other hand, he clearly chose his own path by specialising in publishing and printing works in languages that were beyond the scope of his competitors, for example, Arabic, Sanskrit, Syriac, and Javanese. Evert Jan Brill can be seen as the founding father of the present-day renowned international academic publishing house Brill, but its roots can be found in the seventeenth century with Jordaan Luchtmans initial publishing efforts for Leiden University. A certain continuity can be traced from Luchtmans via E. J. Brill to the present day, since the firm’s publishing efforts today mainly focus on scientific (or more generally academic) works with a slight preference for Asian subjects and languages, working on a large, international scale.

The Leufsta Library as a Link between Sweden and the Netherlands

Charles de Geer filled his library with books he got by post from two nephews of his former teacher Petrus van Musschenbroek, Samuel Luchtmans II and Johannes Luchtmans. Thus, the notable scientist played a part in the origin story of the Leufsta Library and, in a broader sense, helped link Sweden and the Dutch Republic in the eighteenth century. As it turns out, the Leufsta Library has once again connected these two countries, now through the Leufsta project concluded by the symposium held in June 2022. Instead
of the dealings between an academic publisher and bookseller and a private customer, like the Luchtmans firm and Charles de Geer, the present connection is between the Dutch National Library (KB) and Uppsala University Library. In both cases, these partnerships helped establish an international network. In the eighteenth century, the network included publishers, booksellers, merchants, and other business connections. Today, the network includes general libraries, academic libraries, curators, scholars, and other authors from across Europe and the world.

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Some Notes on Charles de Geer’s Working Library

Peter Sjökvist

At the end of the 1750s, two similar pavilions designed by Swedish court architect Jean Eric Rehn (1711–1793) were erected by the canal at Leufstabruk, one to the north and one to the south of the manor house. Both had an entrance hall, one large room, and two smaller chambers. These pavilions replaced two earlier buildings with manorial roofs. Charles de Geer the Entomologist used the northern pavilion for his book collection and the southern pavilion for his collections of natural history specimens. Not all books, however, were kept in the northern pavilion. The nobleman Daniel Tilas (1712–1772), who visited Leufstabruk in 1762, described the new buildings in a written eye-witness account:

The natural [history] cabinet is housed in the southern wing […] In one of the chambers Mr De Geer [the Entomologist] located the part of the library that treats natural history, such as botanists, mineralogists, zoologists, and so on, and the other chamber has been arranged as a writing and working cabinet. The library is installed in the northern wing, which has the same plan, with the difference that the entrances to the chambers are going directly from the entrance hall, lest the large library hall should lose any room because of the doors to the chambers.¹

These observations are interesting for several reasons. In the southern pavilion, as noted above, Charles de Geer the Entomologist kept his natural history books in one of the small chambers and a working office space in the other small chamber. These books, which were separate from the main collection in the other pavilion, presumably were his working library. That is, these books included the volumes he needed for his research. As we see, Tilas only mentioned what this working library contained in general terms. Thanks to extant eighteenth-century catalogues, we can see in more detail the titles in the library stored in the natural history cabinet and compare these with the titles in the main library building (Fig. 1).

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*af Dörar til Camrarne*” (D. Tilas, Sokne-Skrifvare, 2, Kungl. biblioteket. Quoted from Ehrensvärd [1968], p. 167).
The Catalogue

In the latest of the historical catalogues from Leufstabruck (Leufsta MS 48), which was in use until about 1800, shelf marks in the margins indicate where all the books were located. In several places on the shelves, we can see the word “cabinet” rather than the number that refers to the library pavilion shelves. In addition, we see in the catalogue that almost all shelf marks were crossed out at some point, and so has also the word “cabinet”. After the death of Charles de Geer the Entomologist in 1778, there was a major rearrangement of all the books in the library: the volumes in the working library in the natural history cabinet were moved to the library pavilion, where the main collection was housed. At this time, all the books received new shelf marks. Thanks to this catalogue, we know which authors and titles were once part of Charles de Geer the Entomologist’s working library, the subjects the books covered, and how many books were moved to the new location, these titles can be compared with the main collection in the library pavilion. We also know their formats and prices. All this information provides clues to the history of the library in general terms. It also gives insight into De Geer’s own research and what books he valued most highly for his practical work on natural history. Like the references he made in his magnum opus, Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire des insectes (1752–1778), knowing what books he kept in the southern pavilion, serves as evidence of the literature he found especially useful. Before coming to the subjects and some examples of titles belonging to the small collection kept in this chamber, let us look at some basic facts regarding the size of this group of books (Fig. 2).

The Books

The working library housed 275 titles (66 in folio, 114 in quarto, and 95 in smaller formats). However, since several titles were in many volumes, the actual number of physical books was 357 (100 in folio, 152 in quarto, and 105 in smaller formats). As the complete library collection at this time contained approximately 7,000 books, the
working library was only 5% of the entire collection. The proportions of the book formats in the working library were very different than the proportions in the main library. In the working library, about 30% of the volumes are folios, about 40% are quartos, and about 30% are octavos or smaller. In the main library, about 5% of the volumes are folios, about 20% are quartos, and about 75% are octavos or smaller. Although rough estimates, these numbers indicate an essential difference in character between the main collection and the working library.

Moreover, several books – mainly folios and quartos – both in the working library and in the main library had cost a small fortune to acquire. In the working library, many titles include hand-coloured plates with images of plants and animals. These images, which were expensive to produce, might in fact explain why some books were stored in the working library. De Geer probably found these titles essential as reference materials while working on his own collection of natural history specimens. For example, the catalogue includes the following titles: Johann Daniel Meyer’s *Angenehmer und
nützlicher Zeit-Vertreib mit Betrachtung curioser Vorstellungen allerhand kriechender, fliegender und schwimmender, auf dem Land und in der Wasser sich befindender und nährender Thiere (Nürnberg, 1748), in two volumes, bought for 60 florins; Philip Miller’s The Gardeners dictionary (London, 1759–1760), in two volumes with images of plants, bought for 182 florins; Albert Seba’s Locupletissimus rerum naturalium thesaurus, four volumes. (Amsterdam, 1734–1765), bought for 176 florins and 12 stuivers; Hans Sloane’s A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, with the Natural History of the Herbs and Trees (London, 1707), in two volumes, bought for 55 florins; Mark Catesby’s The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands (London, 1731), in two volumes, bought for the incredible price of 255 florins; Johann Wilhelm Weinmann’s Phytanthoza-iconographia (Regensburg, 1737–1745) bought for 144 florins and 1 stuiver; and Maria Sibylla Merian’s Histoire des Insectes de Suriname (The Hague, 1736), which unfortunately is no longer at Leufsta, bought for 19 florins. When De Geer was acquiring titles, the basic annual salary of a minister of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands – a fairly well-paid position – was between 400 and 600 florins, a sum less than what he paid for Diderot and D’Alembert’s great multi-volume Encyclopédie (Paris & Neuchastel, 1751–1772) – 788 florins and 10 stuivers, kept in the main library collection at Leufsta.

Among the quarto volumes in the working library, there are several expensive natural history titles as well. For example, Charles paid no less than 172 florins and 19 stuivers for Eleazar Albin’s A Natural History of English Insects (London, 1720), A Natural History of Spiders (London, 1736), and A Natural History of Birds, 3 vols. (London, 1731), 82 florins for Mathurin Jacques Brisson’s Ornithologie, 6 vols. (Paris, 1760), 120 florins for Carl Clerck’s Icones Insectorum Rariorum (Stockholm, 1759), and 164 florins for George Edwards’s A Natural History of Birds (London, 1743), in three volumes, together with the Gleanings of Natural History (London, 1758), also in three volumes.
Since the percentage of books in the octavo format or smaller is very different from that of the main library, it is of special interest to see what titles in this group made their way into the natural cabinet chamber. Compared to the larger formats, this group of titles were far less expensive, often gifts or of not more than one florin or some stuivers. The following is a list of some of these titles: Petrus Artedi’s *Ichtyologia* (Leiden, 1738), one florin and 16 stuivers; Charles Bonnet’s *Traité d’insectologie* (Paris, 1745), in two volumes, as well as Henry Baker’s *Essai sur l’histoire naturelle du polype, insecte* (Paris, 1744), both gifts from René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur; Jean Etienne Guettard’s *Observations sur les plantes* (Paris, 1747), in two volumes, a gift from Guettard himself via Carl Linnaeus; and Jan Swammerdam’s *Histoire générale des insectes* (Utrecht, 1685). In addition, the collection includes Johan Gottschalk Wallerius’s work on mineralogy and more than 30 titles by Carl Linnaeus, predominantly in smaller formats, although a few are quartos or folios.

Finally, some natural history titles were kept in the main library, not in the working library in the natural cabinet – e.g., Buffon and D’Aubenton’s *Histoire naturelle générale et particulière avec la description du cabinet du roy* (Paris, from 1749 and onwards), in sixteen volumes, bought for the considerable price of 146 florins; Charles Bonnet’s *Recherches sur l’usage des feuilles dans les plantes, et sur quelques autres sujets relatifs à l’histoire de la vegetation* (Göttingen & Leiden, 1754), a gift from Bonnet himself; Nehemiah Grew’s *The Anatomy of Plants* (London, 1682), bought for 7 florins and 10 stuivers; and Juan Esebio Nieremberg’s *Historia naturae, maxime peregrinae* (Antwerp, 1635), bought for 4 florins and 4 stuivers. Thus, the entire section of natural history was not kept in the natural cabinet chamber, as Tilas had written. As mentioned, the titles De Geer placed in the working library presumably were the ones he considered especially useful and necessary for his regular work with the collections of natural history specimens stored in the natural cabinet, especially titles that would benefit his entomological research.
Concluding Remarks

Although the De Geer’s working library was only a small part of the entire library collection and kept in one of the natural history cabinet chambers, it deserves special attention. In this short article, I have delineated the main characteristics of this working library concerning numbers, formats, prices, and type of literature. The most important thing to remember, however, is that the books kept in the working library were not all his books that the deal with natural history, as Tilas notes in his account from the early 1760s. That is, these titles seem to have been carefully selected. The assumption is that De Geer chose these titles because he found them useful when studying his own collection of natural history specimens in the natural history cabinet as well as in his research on entomology.

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*Catalogue of the Leufsta Library*. Leufsta MS 48, Uppsala University Library.


Printed


Catalogues from book auctions are important sources for the study of old libraries and book collections. If we are lucky, auction numbers can be found in old volumes and linked to certain auctions. This article is the result of fortunate observations that linked auction numbers in some of Charles de Geer’s books in his Leufstabruck library with a book auction that took place in 1741.

Background

Born in Sweden, Charles de Geer was three years old when he moved to the Netherlands with his family in 1723. The family owned the Castle of Rijnhuizen, which is located near Utrecht, where he spent fifteen years. When Charles was sixteen years old, he identified and classified the plants in the family’s garden. He used the classification system of the Frenchman Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708), the dominant classification system used during the late pre-Linnean era. When he was fifteen years old, Charles bought Tournefort’s Institutiones rei Herbariae in an edition from 1719 in three volumes. These volumes, which guided his classification of the plants in the garden, were important additions to his own library.

In 1730, when he was ten years old, Charles inherited from his uncle the iron making estate of Leufstabruck, situated 80 kilometres northeast of Uppsala. The following years his education helped prepare him for his new life in Sweden. When he moved to Sweden in the early summer of 1738, the young baron brought a considera-
ble library as well as several scientific instruments. Although he was young, he was now prepared to be an educated gentleman as well as a leader of one of the most important industries in Sweden.

Charles stayed a little more than one year in Uppsala, where the De Geer family owned a house. While in Uppsala, he met Olof Rudbeck the Younger (1660–1740), a professor of botany. Rudbeck the Younger sold him the printed *Campus Elysii* and the manuscript *The Book of Flowers*, two projects started by Olof Rudbeck the Elder (1630–1702). Rudbeck the Elder intended to produce illustrations of all known plants of the world. This work started in 1689 and continued during the following years. Finally, *The Book of Flowers* consisted of twelve heavy folio volumes. The eleven extant volumes include hand painted illustrations of plants.

**The Book Auction in February 1741**

In March 1740 Rudbeck the Younger died, 80 years old, and the following year his library with 1,999 books and 99 manuscripts was sold at an auction in Uppsala. Charles took the opportunity to buy more than 60 books at this auction, but also two manuscripts by the young Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778). Most of the books that Charles bought were important works in the natural sciences, published during the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. They can be identified by Rudbeck’s name on the title pages (*Olof Rudb. Ol. fil.*) and the book auction number on the inside of each book cover. About 50% were books in botany, but there were also books in zoology, as fishes and birds, anatomy, geography, chemistry and metallurgy. In total, the number of botanical works that were sold at the auction were between 150 and 160 volumes. That also included a number of books about herbs, written from a pharmaceutical perspective.
De Geer’s Interest in Physics
While in the Netherlands, Charles was inspired by the famous physicist Pieter van Musschenbroek (1692–1761), well-known for his studies of electricity created with a Leyden jar. His older brother, Jan van Musschenbroek (1687–1748), built scientific instruments, including a microscope, a telescope, and an air pump for the young De Geer.

De Geer’s interest in scientific instruments helps explain why he bought a copy of Robert Boyle’s (1627–1691) Experimentorum novorum physico-mechanicorum continuatio secunda, published in London 1680 (listed as octavo 695 in the auction catalogue). In this work, Boyle, known for his study of gases, explains how he experimented with compressed air and vacuum. The book also has several illustrations of the instruments he used.

The Botanical Books
Of the botanical books, many had been used by Rudbeck the Elder as reference literature when working on the Campus Elysii and The Book of Flowers. In some cases, we know that certain volumes once belonged to Rudbeck the Elder, because they have evidence of the 1702 fire in Uppsala. Some parts of Rudbeck the Elder’s library survived the fire, but his house, situated at the main square in Uppsala, was turned to ashes. Rudbeck the Younger’s house in the botanical garden escaped the fire.

It is remarkable that De Geer, now almost 21 years old, bought a considerable number of important botanical books at the auction. He did so even though his main interest was entomology, not botany. Perhaps he wanted to know more about the host plants of various insects. However, he obviously had a more than a passing interest in botanical literature and used the opportunity to acquire important older botanical works at the auction.
A Selection of the Books De Geer Bought at the Auction

One of the most influential botanists during the seventeenth century was Carolus Clusius (1526–1609). For some time, Clusius was inspector of the imperial garden in Vienna, which was the home to many medicinal herbs. Later, he was responsible for the botanical garden in Leiden. He created four large quarters in the garden to represent the four continents. The plants were systemized (i.e., classified) according to their relationship rather than how they were used in pharmacy and medicine, which had been the most common method used to date. This change in classification was an important step towards a more scientific approach to botany. In *Rariorum aliiquot stirpium per Pannoniam, Austriam & vicinas quasdam provincias observatarum historia*, printed in Antwerp 1583 (octavo 485), Clusius described the plants of Austria and Hungary. In this copy, which obviously was used by Rudbeck the Elder when he was working on *The Book of Flowers*, the Swedish names of herbs depicted in more than twenty woodcut illustrations were written in ink presumably by Rudbeck the Elder or Rudbeck the Younger. Clusius was particularly interested in exotic plants; he brought the potato to the Netherlands and was an early cultivator of tulips in the Netherlands.

A contemporary of Clusius, Mattias de l’Obel (1538–1616), worked as a physician and botanist both in the Netherlands and in England. His classification method for plants was based on the shape of leaves. Four works by de l’Obel were bought by Charles at the auction, including *Eicones plantarum, sev stirpium, arborum nempe, fructicum, herbarum ... qua partim Germania sponte producit: partim ab exteriis regionibus allata, in Germania plantantur*. This work, printed by Nicolaus Bassæus in Frankfurt in 1590, depicts two plants on each page (quarto 264). Charles also bought a similar work, believed to be written by de l’Obel: *Icones stirpium sev plantarum tam exoticarum*, printed in Antwerp 1591 (quarto 263). This volume also has an oblong format with two plants depicted on each page, but it includes an index with plant names in Latin, French, Italian, Spanish,
German, and English. Charles bought two other works by de l’Obel, which were bound together: *Botanographi, siue plantarum historie physice* … and *Dilucide simplicium medicamen[torum explicationes & stirpium adversaria* …, both printed in London in 1605 by Thomas Purfoot (folio 313). The first volume is a pharmacopoeia and the second describes and systemizes different plants. A small number of notations in the margins indicate that the second volume was used by Rudbeck the Elder as he worked with *The Book of Flowers*.

Another work published in oblong quarto format, with text on the left and pictures on the right, is *Hortus floridus in quo rariorum & minus vulgarium flororum icones ad vivam … delineate*, which was published by the Dutch engraver Crispin de Passe the Younger (1595–1670). Printed in 1614 in Arnhem, this volume has 97 copper-plate engravings, organised by the seasons of the year. The auction catalogue lists the text under quarto number 266.

Books Damaged by the City Fire in Uppsala in May 1702

Rudbeck the Elder borrowed many books from the university library. After his death in September 1702, the estate returned more than 200 books to the library, although records show that he had borrowed 50 more books and two manuscripts. These works could not be found and probably were destroyed by the city fire a few months earlier.

Among the Rudbeck the Elder books damaged in the 1702 Uppsala fire was *Canadensium plantarum aliasium nondum editarum historia* from 1635 (quarto 214). This work, which provides an early description of the North American flora, was written by the French doctor and botanist Jacques Philippe Cornut (1606–1651). This copy has a dedication to Rudbeck the Elder from Anton Friderici, dated 1671. Friderici was a German physician living in Hamburg until 1672 when he moved to Stockholm, where he became a member of Collegium Medicum.
Figure 1. The parchment binding of the French physician and botanist Jacques Philippe Cornut’s *Canadensium plantarum aliarumque nondum editarum historia*, published in Paris 1635, shows water and soot damage presumably from the Uppsala fire on 16 May 1702. Photo: Erik Hamberg.

Figure 2. Cornut’s *Canadensium plantarum [...] historia* was a gift to Olof Rudbeck the Elder from the German physician Anton Friderici in Hamburg. The dedication is dated 1671. Photo: Erik Hamberg.
Waare oeffening der planten, a book by the Dutch botanist Abraham Munting (1626–1683) and printed in Amsterdam 1672 (quarto 230), has soot damage from the 1702 Uppsala fire. This work describes trees, shrubs, spices, and bulbous plants. Munting was a professor in Groningen, where he was responsible for the botanical garden, which was called “The Paradise of Groningen”. In his copy of Munting’s book, Rudbeck the Elder noted that information from this book had been transcribed in his own reference copy of Caspar Bauhin’s *Pinax theatri botanici*, the main work for *The Book of Flowers*. Rudbeck the Elder’s copy of Bauhin’s *Pinax* was sold to an unknown buyer at the auction but was later discovered by Ewald Ährling, famous for his early Linnean studies, at an antiquarian bookshop in 1884. The book now belongs to the Uppsala University Library.

Another imposing botanical work, which also has traces of soot from the fire, is *Plantarum Horti Eystaetensis* by Basilius Besler (1561–1629), a pharmacist and botanist from Nuremberg. This famous work, which describes the plants of a private garden in Bavaria, was printed in the early seventeenth century in four parts, one for each season of the year. At the book auction, two very different volumes of this work were sold – one bound in calf with soot damage and one in parchment without soot damage. The first, with the
flowers of the summer and the winter, includes painted illustrations, while the other, depicting the flowers of spring and autumn, does not. The latter volume may have been stored in a way that it was not damaged by the fire or purchased at a later occasion. Both volumes were bought by De Geer at the auction (folio 153:1–2). Besler’s work had also been used for *The Book of Flowers*.

“Exotica” and Catalogues of Plants

During the seventeenth century, the search for plants was extended to countries outside Europe, a consequence of the geographical discoveries that commenced during the late Renaissance.

The Italian botanist Prospero Alpini (1553–1617), a pioneer in the study of exotic plants, lived in Cairo between 1581 and 1584 and published several books on exotic plants. Charles bought two books by Alpini: *De plantis exoticis libri duo*, printed in 1629 (quarto 52) and Alpini’s most famous book, *De plantis Ægypti liber*, a second edition printed in 1640 (quarto 215). *De plantis exoticis libri duo* has many copperplate illustrations and several underlinings and marginalia, both probably made by Rudbeck the Younger. Alpini’s studies of the date palm reproduction made him one of the first experts on plant sexual reproduction.

One of the more important botanists of the sixteenth century was the Flemish botanist Rembert Dodoens (1517–1585). In 1583, he published *Stirpium historiae pemptades sex, sive libri xxx (triginta)*, a folio volume printed by Christoph Plantin in Antwerp (folio 336). He catalogued all plants into six groups with five subgroups in each. A copy of this book, bound in parchment and with partially coloured woodcuts, was bought by De Geer at the auction. Only a few of the illustrations in De Geer’s copy have been coloured. A possible reason for this is that it was undertaken by the Rudbeck family parallel with or before the work with the *Book of Flowers* had started.

Charles also bought a book with a dedication from James Petiver, a pharmacist, botanist, and entomologist in London: “To that most celebrated botanist Dr. Olaus Rudbeck”. This book was probably
Figure 4. Illustrations of carnations coloured by hand in Rembert Dodoens’s *Stirpium historiae pemptades sex, sive libri xxx*, printed by Christoph Plantin in Antwerp in 1583. The book was bought by Charles De Geer at the Rudbeck book auction in 1741 (folio 336). Photo: Erik Hamberg.
given to Rudbeck the Younger who visited London between 1687 and 1690. The actual book was the second edition of Christopher Merrett’s *Pinax rerum naturalium Britannicum*, printed in London in 1667 (octavo 665). Merrett was the first to describe the birds and butterflies of Great Britain and is remembered for a method to make sparkling wine.

At the auction, De Geer also bought four books written by the famous British botanist and zoologist John Ray (1627–1705). This purchase included *Methodus plantarum nova, brevitatìs & perspicuitàtis causa synoptice in tabulis exhibita*, printed in 1682 (quarto 19), and *Stirpiùm Europæarùm extra Britanniàs nascentium syllogùs* (octavo 75). The latter is a catalogue of plants found in Europe with an appendix covering rare plants from the Alps, Pyrenees, Greece, Crete, and Egypt, printed in 1694.

De Geer also bought *Introductio generalis in rem herbariam*, published in Leipzig in 1690 (folio 305), by the German physician and botanist Augustus Quirinus Rivinus (1652–1723). This book includes 125 copperplate illustrations and marginalia written by both Rudbeck the Elder and Rudbeck the Younger. All the illustrations were numbered by Rudbeck the Elder. In addition, many references to other important authors as well as to Joachim Burser’s herbarium are noted in the margins. This herbarium, a spoil of war, has been kept in Uppsala since the middle of the seventeenth century.

Another folio volume that De Geer bought is *Stirpivm icones et sciagraphia*, written by the Swiss physician and botanist Dominique Chabrée (1610–1669) and published in 1666 (folio 307). This folio is based on a manuscript written by Johann Bauhin (Caspar Bauhin’s brother) and is arranged in 40 chapters or classes with six woodcuts on each page. In total, there are more than 3,550 woodcuts and an index with plant names in Latin, German, Italian, and French.

De Geer also bought *Præludia botanica ad publicas plantarum exoticarum demonstrationes, dicta in horto medico* (quarto 219) by the botanist Caspar Commelin (1668–1731). The text is based on demonstrations of exotic herbs that Commelin carried out in the
Figure 5. Two specimens of Valerian. Olof Rudbeck the Elder made notations on the illustrations in his copy of Augustus Q. Rivinus’ *Introductio generalis in rem herbariam*, printed in Leipzig in 1690. Sold at the Rudbeck book auction as folio volume 305. Photo: Erik Hamberg.
Figure 6. Stephan von Schonefeld's *Ichtyologia et nomenclatvrae animalium marinorum* from 1624 was acquired by Anton Friderici in 1660 and at the book auction after him in 1692 bought by Olof Rudbeck the Younger. Acquired by Charles De Geer in 1741. Photo: Magnus Hjalmarsson, UUB.
botanical garden of Amsterdam between 1701 and 1702. Commelin made thorough descriptions of the plants accompanied with many copperplate illustrations. In his foreword, he refers to the modern botanists of his time – Tournefort, Rivinus, Ray, and Hermann.

Books on Fish
Among the books from the Rudbeck collection, we find Guillaume Rondelet’s (1507–1566) famous book about fish, *Libris de piscibus marinis*, published in Lyon 1554–1555 (folio 95). Rondelet was professor of medicine at the university of Montpellier. Rudbeck also bought Stephan von Schonefeld’s *Ichtyologia*, printed in Hamburg in 1624 (quarto 301), a volume that earlier was in the possession of Anton Friderici and after his death in 1692 bought by Rudbeck the Younger. Schonefeld was a physician in Hamburg. He died in 1632.

Most fascinating are the different works by Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), professor of natural history at the University of Bologna. He wrote books on mammals, birds, fish, insects, serpents, dragons, and even monsters. De Geer bought nine volumes at the same time (folio volumes 85–93). In the auction catalogue, number 93 is missing, volume two of *Ornithologiae*. The name “Rudbeck” was written with red crayon in the book by the auction staff so it would not be forgotten.

Concluding Remarks
It is not known whether De Geer was active at other book auctions in Sweden. However, when the books after the deceased professor Rudbeck were sold, Charles had the opportunity to buy a considerable number of important scientific books for his growing library. During the next decades and until his death in 1778, many volumes were continuously added to the library at Leufstabric.
Bibliography

*Catalogus bibliothecae … D:n Olai Rudbeck, archiatri et profess. med. Upsaliensis … ([1741]), Stockholm.*


The Leufsta Music Collection: Reflecting the Musical Life of Charles de Geer

Monika Glimskär

One can safely say that most musicians and singers who use sheet music when making music, professionals as well as amateurs, usually are owners of some kind of private music library. Most of it is acquired to be used, not stored as collection items, but one can assume that the music sheets still have been sorted into groups for various reasons; exercises for warming up, for practising, technically challenging pieces, favourite music, and works collected for reference. A collection of sheet music for private use can serve as a good information source for a musical life, for example, the technical level of the musician, what groups of instruments were played, and the preferred music style.

The numerous music scores included in the Leufsta library can be said to result from the rich musical life led by Charles de Geer (1720–1778) and his closest family. The collection of music scores in the library of Leufstabruk is one of the finer eighteenth-century music collections in Sweden, now named “The Leufsta Music Collection”. It includes several unique printed music sheets, hitherto not available elsewhere. The Leufsta music collection contains chamber music for the home environment, music for social dancing, vocal music and hymns for worship. There is also orchestral music in manuscripts, complete with all the parts, and printed music scores with works for the stage.
Assuming that most of these scores were in use, what can we understand from these sources concerning Charles’s habits as a music lover?

Early Years in Utrecht

Charles de Geer might have had his first musical experiences in his earliest childhood. He was born at Finspång Castle, situated in the province of Östergötland. There was a large library at the castle, including music manuscripts, that had been gathered by several generations of the De Geer family. His parents, Jean Jacques de Geer (1666–1738) and Jacqueline Cornélie van Assendelft (1682–1754), each had their own music collection. In 1723, when Charles was still a small child, his family moved to Utrecht and settled in the Castle of Rijnhuizen. At the age of ten, in 1730, he unexpectedly inherited Leufstabrick and its iron making estate from a childless uncle. From then on, one must assume that he was educated to manage his future role as Swedish landlord and entrepreneur. As a young boy, Charles showed interest in natural sciences and music, and he began creating his own library, including music books.

There is very little concrete evidence, for example receipts, that can be used for a detailed timeline of Charles’s early years. However, there are a few dates that indicate his interest in music. In a letter dated 6/17 July 1736, written by Jean Jacques to his oldest son Louis de Geer (1705–1758), who stayed in Finspång when the family moved to Utrecht, we get to know that Charles, then 16 years of age, played the harpsichord almost as well as his master and that he had learnt to play the cello almost by himself.¹ In 1736–37, according to Charles’s account book, several purchases of music books were made through different agents. One of the agents was a man named Fischer. This name probably refers to the local Utrecht organist Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer (c. 1670–1746), a director of the university orchestra in Utrecht at that time.

¹ Swedish National Archives, Leufstaarkivet 106
In the 1730s when Charles grew up, Amsterdam was a European centre of music that attracted musicians from all over the continent, hosting the renowned Italian violin virtuoso Pietro Antonio Locatelli (1695–1764) among others. The Leufsta Music collection includes, for instance, several copied Locatelli minuets in manuscript, and the printed bound score and parts for Locatelli’s violin works opus 4, published in 1735. The lively music life in Amsterdam must have been inspiring, making it easy for Charles to catch up on the music trends of the time.

The preferred repertoire from Charles’s time in Utrecht consists almost only of instrumental music. In 1763, his eldest son Charles de Geer the Politician (1747–1805) wrote a catalogue – **Catalogue de livres de musique** – of printed and bound music books, mainly from the early years in Utrecht. All the items in the catalogue still remain in the collection.²

At a closer look at the Utrecht part of the Leufsta Music Collection, it can be divided into two smaller groups. **Group A**, which consists of thirteen music books, includes some of the collection’s oldest music works. The uniform appearance of these music books and the unique serial numbers written with ink on the inside of the hard covers indicate that these thirteen albums are fragments of an originally larger and more complete music collection of at least 149 numbered sets of music books. Charles might have bought these books as one group, from a dealer, in a shop or directly from the former owner. The scores in **Group B** were printed approximately between 1710–1736. Many of these scores might well have been bought fresh from the press by Charles as a teenager. Some of the books are quite worn, indicating that they were used for playing. Eight of these books have been marked specifically C:D:G:, the initials of Charles de Geer. The repertoire of the music books marked C:D:G: in group B, consists mainly of cello and harpsichord compositions, the instruments Charles played himself.

² **Catalogue de livres de musique**, Uppsala University Library, Leufsta MS 53
The collection also contains music by unknown local composers, such as Carl Gottfried Geilfus (1704–ca 1740), who was an Utrecht composer and organist employed at the Lutheran church in Utrecht. Geilfus was also a good friend of Fischer, from whom Charles had bought some of his printed music books (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. *Prelude de Mr Geilfus*, probably written down by Charles de Geer. Leufsta Mus. MS. 37. Photo: Uppsala University Library
The Dutch musicologist Albert Dunning (1936–2005) visited Leufstabruk in the 1960s for research on Locatelli’s works within the Leufsta library. According to Dunning, the Leufsta sheet music related to Utrecht has likely been used for the purpose of Charles’s music learning.3

Music Assembled during the Leufstabruk Years

In 1738, after his father died, Charles started his journey to Sweden to take over the iron making estate at Leufstabruk in the province of Uppland. Once in Sweden, Charles was soon elected member of The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. He also led an active life as a natural scientist – he was an entomologist publishing several academic works on the topic. Charles was soon introduced to the royal court in Stockholm, where he came in contact with Swedish court music. It seems that when Charles moved to Sweden, he brought a considerable amount of printed sheet music and manuscripts with him, but after that, he also ceased collecting printed albums to the same extent as in his youth. His music library grew but was mainly expanded with manuscripts.

What was added to the collection in Sweden was a Swedish hymn book, instrumental arrangements of contemporary popular opera arias, a couple of handwritten beginners’ exercises in figured bass, a number of shorter anonymous works and copied works in manuscript by Swedish court musicians such as Ferdinand Zellbell the Elder (1689–1765) and Johan Helmich Roman (1694–1758). Within the collection is a copy of the first edition of Roman’s flute sonatas, published in 1727 and this is one of the first examples of printed Swedish musical works. Charles now also showed an interest in vocal music and opera, mainly through the works of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) within the collection. At the same time, the collection of fine musical instruments at Leufstabruk grew through the years.

Among the manuscripts, a cantata composed for and dedicated to Charles and his wife Catharina Charlotta Ribbing (1720–1787) stands out: H.P. Johnsen’s Church music composed to be played in Leufstabruck church on Easter day 1757. Henrik Philip Johnsen (1717–1779) originally came from Holstein-Gottorp. He was a court organist and later one of the institutors of The Royal Swedish Academy of Music, where he also held a position as librarian (Fig. 2).

Figure 2. The manuscript cover of H.P. Johnsen’s Easter cantata for soprano and chamber orchestra dedicated to Charles de Geer and his spouse. Leufsta Mus. MS 5. Photo: Uppsala University Library
The organists employed at Leufstabruk had different tasks. Some of them worked with the iron export administration, and some worked as music teachers for Charles’s children and other children of the high society in the Leufsta village. We do not know much about Johnsen’s activities at Leufstabruk. However, the father of one of his students worked as an organist at Leufstabruk, which might be the reason why many autographs of Johnsen are present in the Leufsta collection.

Very Good Music – and Poor
The printed music sheets in the Leufsta collection have a lot of notes and comments, such as pencil corrections of the figured bass and some personal remarks on the music. Among them, cross-marks or an “NB” (nota bene) is a common sight within the sheets. One handwriting is distinct and occurs on several of the manuscripts. A comparison of Charles’s handwriting in his written material, with the texting found in many of the items of the music collection, indicates that Charles himself copied music and maybe even composed his own music. Charles also carefully wrote registers of the highlights within some of the Händel music books, judging the pieces, for example, “fort bon”, but sometimes also as “médiocre” (Fig. 3 & Fig. 4). These traces of usage from the pencil inscriptions indicate

Figure 3. Les meilleurs Airs de cette Partie sont, les suivant … An example of notes with personal comments on the musical content in one of the Händel music books. Leufsta Mus.tr. 30. Photo: Uppsala University Library
Figure 4. An excerpt from the “Aire by Mr Handel” in Rodelinda, on which Charles De Geer commented “médiocre” (see Fig. 3). Georg Friedrich Händel’s beloved opera Rodelinda had its first performance in London in 1725. This version was published by J.Walsh in 1733 and is an arrangement of the soprano aria Morrai, si; L’empia tua testa. Leufsta Mus.tr. 30.

Photo: Uppsala University Library.
that the music sheets were used for playing and not mainly intended for exhibition.

To Conclude

Each time music scores are used, the music will sound differently, depending on parameters such as the tuning, the skill of the musicians, the condition of the instruments and the interpretation. Charles was a devoted amateur musician, eagerly studying the harpsichord and the cello in his youth. We do not know how it sounded when Charles made music, how often he played on his keyboard instruments, what his sense of rhythm was, or what he could do if an instrument was missing for a musical soirée.

However, there are many other things we can conclude from the existing sources. The selection of works in the Leufsta Music Collection reflects both the Dutch and the Swedish musical lives of Charles de Geer. His skills as a copyist of music sheets give us clues about how active he was in studying and performing music. He purchased printed scores and produced his own music sheets by copying. The wear and the traces of usage tell us that parts of the scores were or had been in use. Apparently, as an adult, he did not expand his collection of printed music.

The Leufsta Music manuscripts show great variability of genres, paper quality and style of handwriting. The great variety of musical content and the fashion of the items reflect that the music scores and manuscripts in Charles’s music library had different purposes connected to his musical life. Compared to his youth years in the Netherlands, the scores linked to Charles’s later period in Sweden show a change of taste in repertoire, from instrumental to vocal music. After the move to Sweden, Charles appears to go from being an active collector to a trustee of the printed part of the collection. However, his eldest son, Charles de Geer the Politician, and the later family members, continued to take care of the bound music books and the handwritten sheets, now included within the entailed estate.
The Leufsta Music Collection is today preserved at Uppsala University Library.

List of Suggested Reading


“Contredances are the most absurd dances in the whole world, because in them there are thousands of chimeras that encourage a lascivious life.”

This description of dance is given by Carl Linnaeus in a lecture in dietetics in 1742. It was taken down as lecture notes by a student and was later copied by Carl Friedrich Schultz (1709–1769) in 1748. Dances occur sometimes as examples in the lectures given by Linnaeus. Even if we cannot be exactly sure of which dances Linnaeus refers to, it is safe to assume that it is some kind of social dance for several couples, of the type that was popular and widespread over Europe at the time. The term contradance can refer either to a so-called longway (formation with dancers in two long rows/lines, each person with the partner opposite) or possibly to a square-formation. However, the longway was more common during the first half of the eighteenth century. In the Leufsta-collection there are three books with dance music, all three purchased in the 1730s by Charles de Geer the Entomologist and printed by Witvogel in Amsterdam. These books contain a mix of dances that were popular at the time. They

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1 KIB MS 339, 240: “Contradants äro the absurdaste af alla dantser i hela werlden ty theruti gifwes tusende chimerer som beforderer ett kjättiefult lefwerne.”
have different themes according to the titles: collection of “contre-
dances”, collection of “country” dances (literally “farmers dances”) and collection of “serious” dances. \(^2\) None of the dance books contain descriptions of the dances, but only the music. Melody, a bass line and a figured bass is given in the print. The dances have names in several languages, mainly Dutch but also titles in French and Spanish (even if the Spanish names are also common types of dances).

**Country Dances, Contredances and Serious Dances**

It is not so easy to see a clear difference between the dance themes, but there are some differences in the selection of dances in the three volumes. The volume with country dances or farmers’ dances has a large proportion of dance names including names of places in the Netherlands. Such examples are ‘t Inkomen van Harderwyk, Den Dom van Utregt or ‘t Beleg van Doornik.\(^3\) Most dances have names in Dutch, but there are some with French names. Even if the names of the dances in this volume sometimes are written in French, they do not seem to be dances of a type that originated from France. There were a number of popular and fashionable dances that originated from France, such as the minuet, bourré, passepied or gigue. The other two volumes both have a variety of that type of dances. There are for example Menuet en quatre, De Oude Passepied, De nieuwe Passepied and several bourées and gigues. Most likely this kind of repertoire was considered not as pertaining to farmers and the country but to other social contexts. This does not mean that

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\(^2\) Original titles: Versameling van eenige contra dansen met een bas continuo vermeerdert en onder malkander gedrukt, om voor de clavi-cembalo, viool, dwars fluit, en andere instrumenten te gebruiken. Eerste deel STCN 405335164; Versameling van eenige boere danssen met een bas continuo vermeerdert en onder malkander gedrukt, om voor de clavi-cembalo, viool, dwars fluit, en andere instrumenten te gebruiken. Eerste deel STCN 405335067; Versameling van eenige serieuse danssen met een bas continuo vermeerdert en onder malkander gedrukt, om voor de clavi-cembalo, viool, dwars-fluyt, en andere instrumenten te gebruiken. Eerste deel STCN 405335288.

\(^3\) The term “boer” might also refer to all inhabitants in the Dutch inland. See Koning (2010:2), p. 129
“farmers” are absent in the volumes with contredances and serious dances. There are six dances included where the title of the dance somehow includes “farmer” (in one case “paisane”). Some examples of these are *De Dolle Boer*, ’t Boere Ballet, *De Boere Mariée* and *De Boer op Klompen*.

This interest for music and dance associated with the countryside and farmers was not unique for these three tune books. Somewhat earlier, in 1651, John Playford (1623–1686/87?) published the first edition of *The English Dancing Master*. Another eighteen editions were then published to which dances were added as well as new steps and formations. *The English Dancing master* aimed to present “country dances”. It is not likely that John Playford documented what was actually danced in the countryside, rather this is a repertoire that was used by the elites and in towns. Dancing “country dances” was a fashion and some types of dances were considered faster, more lively.
and “rural”. John Playford’s collection of dances became very popular; not only was it published in many new editions, it was also spread across Europe and the dances also spread in various social groups in society. However, as far as I know, no copy of Playford’s collection exists in any Swedish archive or library. This does not mean that Playford-dances or country dances did not reach Sweden; the three tune books in the Leufsta collection is one evidence that they did.

Playford via Amsterdam to Leufsta

In two of the three tune books, there are dances with the same titles and music as in the Playford books. Most of these dances have the titles translated into Dutch, but in one case there is a dance that has a French name. It is called Carillon d’Oxford and it was introduced in the Playford-collection in 1679 under the name Christchurch Bells in Oxon. If this implies that this originally was a French tune/dance or that it was copied from some collection printed in France into the Dutch book is unclear. Many of the dances were spread all over Europe, but there is no information in detail on either exactly how Playford compiled his collections or how the printed collections in the Leufsta collections were compiled. It has been suggested that the difference between the volume with “farmers dances” and the other two is that the “farmers dances” were based on Dutch melodies.⁴ This may be largely so, but at least one melody was published in 1695 by John Playford. Most likely tunes were chosen from a selection of collections and copied into these editions. Sources used could for example be Raol Auger Feuillet’s Recueil de dances or Recueil de contredances.⁵ It is also possible that Playford, Witvogel and other editors were sent, given or in other manners collected new material for the collection of dances to be printed. Some melodies occur in other collections than the two mainly compared here, and some can be dated earlier than the publication of Playford’s first book. It would

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be possible to trace the music in the three Leufsta volumes in more detail, but the present aim is to focus on and identify the dances that also occur in John Playford’s publications. In all there are at least twelve Playford-dances in the Leufsta books, and all but one is found in the book with *contredanses*. One is in the volume with country/farmers dances. The total number of dances in the volumes are 48 in the *contredance* volume, 36 in the country/farmers dance volume and 37 in the *serious dance* volume. It is worth mentioning that the identification has been made mainly by comparison of the titles and if they match the music has been compared. (I have not compared all the tunes, possibly there are a couple more that can be found if this is done.) The Playford dances in the Leufsta books are the following (year in bracket indicates in which edition of Playford’s book the dance was first published):

From the *contredance* book:
- De Buffcoat/Buff coat (1670)
- Carrillon d’Oxford/Christchurch bells in Oxon (1679)
- Excuse moy/Excuse me (1686)
- The With Farewel/Whitneys farewell (1695)
- Martens lane/St Martins Lane (1696)
- De Soldjer en de Seljer/The soldier and the sailor (1696)
- Prince Eugene’s march (1710)
- Welhouse/Wellhouse (1710)
- Cerff Blanc/White heart cabbages (1718)
- De Nagtegaal/The Tunefule Nightingale (1718)
- De dolle Sergeant/John the Mad Man (1726)

From the country/farmer’s dance book:
- Ret house/Red house (1695)

Four of these dances are longways with progression involving three couples. The earlier longways have progression involving two couples, but towards the end of the seventeenth century the slightly
more complicated progressions for three couples became more popular and many versions of such dances evolved and were spread. It may be that type of dance that Linnaeus refers to when he describes contredances as “absurd” and encouraging a “lascivious life.” One explanation may be that you dance with more partners with that type of progression, or possibly they looked chaotic on the dance floor, particularly when they were new and the dancers were not used to the dance form and did not know it well enough. There are very few sources giving us information on how these dances were practiced or how a social dance event was actually performed. We can be pretty sure that the De Geer family did dance and that dancing occurred at dinners and festivities at Leufstabruk. Unfortunately there is very little or no information on when and how this happened. There are, however, some hints from other occasions and families. There is for example a very brief description of a social evening from the early eighteenth century given by a friend of the Moraeus family in Falun. Carl Linnaeus married Sara Elisabeth Moraea (1716–1806) in 1739. The brothers Axel and Gustaf Reuterholm (1714–1763 and 1721–1803) kept a diary, and in one entry they describe an evening hosted at Korsnäs by Sara Elisabeth’s maternal grandmother in 1736. During the evening they danced the dances in a particular order: minuet, polonaise (polska), longway (långdans) and contredance. After the dance, the guests performed a comedy together. It is likely that this or similar orders of dancing were widespread practices. The list of dances also includes many of the most popular types of dances from the time, including the well-known minuet. The minuet was danced by all social groups and was spread geographically and also danced well into the nineteenth century. The longway and contredance may have been dances of the type represented by the Playford dances in the Leufsta collection.

Playford Dances Today

Playford dances are danced today and there are various styles of interpretation and choreographies. Anyone who looks for video clips of Playford dances will find everything from dancers in fantasy clothing at renaissance faires to dance scenes in film adaptations of Austen novels or ballroom dancing in contemporary clothing. An important step in the modern tradition was Cecil Sharp’s editions of the Playford dances from the early nineteenth century. Today there are several websites listing all editions of *The Dancing Master* (the original title *The English Dancing Master* was later changed to *The Dancing Master*). One of the major sites gives both original dance descriptions, musical notation, and often modern interpretations of the choreographies. Even if we cannot know if the De Geer family actually used the tune books for dancing, or what it in that case looked like, we can get an idea of what dancing at the time may have been like.7

For Uppsala University Library’s quatercentenary in 2020/2021 a film was produced with the Uppsala dancegroup Branicula and musicians Cajsa Ekstav on *nyckelharpa* (keyed fiddle) and Roger Tallroth on guitar. Three of the dances from the Leufsta collection occur in the film, one French minuet and two Playford dances: The Soldier and the Sailor and Well house. The choice for this recording was to let Cajsa Ekstav and Roger Tallroth interpret the music from their angle and deep knowledge of folk music traditions from the Lövstabruk area, whereas the choreographies were kept as close to the originals as possible. The dancers also performed in costumes based on eighteenth century clothes. In this way the tune books from

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7 It is likely the books have been used, but it is not possible to know if dancing took place while the music was played or not. There is also a book in British Library with contredances published in 1723 in Haarlem by Gillis Lambert, *Een rechte en gemakkelijke Wegweyzer der Contra Danssen*. This has both music and dance descriptions in text, in Dutch and French. Some of the dances seem to be similar or the same as in the Leufsta books, but since this was brought to my attention very late during the work with this article is has not been possible to examine Lambert’s publication in any detail. This may however be one key to how some of the dances were interpreted and performed in the Netherlands.
the Leufsta collection can be used to add to a living dance tradition with roots in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

List for Further Reading
Lambert, G. *Een rechte en gemakkelyke wegwyzer der contra danssen, Un veritable et facile guide des contre dances, Verrykt met de muzyk, etc.*, Haarlem, van Hulkenroy, 1723 (copy in British Library).

Websites
https://playforddances.com
UUB400 film with dances from the Leufsta collection
https://youtu.be/aGJnLLBiqKg
De Niderlandse liederenbank
www.liederenbank.nl

Links to the Digitized Dance Books
Versameling van eenige contra danssen…
Versameling van eenige boere danssen…
Versameling van eenige serieuse danssen…
Historical libraries are frequently described as static entities that have been untouched and unharmed, covered with the dust of the ages, gateways to the past, or simply “frozen in time”.¹ This general misconception is often visually supported by the romantic setting, the classical architecture, and the general atmosphere of these libraries. Situated on an eighteenth-century estate, housed in the original library building, with all the charming leather and vellum bindings on the shelves, the Library of Leufstabruk appears to be an archetypical example of the seemingly perfectly preserved historical library. As curators, bibliographers, and friends of the library, we are cheerfully and consciously contributing to the myth: whenever we bring visitors to the library, we encourage them to “step into the eighteenth

¹ This image is arguably foremost presented in coffee table books, but the metaphors connected to perseverance, timelessness, and stagnation are widely used in academic literature such as Jackson (2016). See Alsemgeest (2019) for my own conscious contribution to the mythology by using the term “portal”. See Purcell (2017) for a discussion of how libraries are not static entities, but dynamic places used for intellectual pursuits. See Pettigree and Der Weduwen (2021) for a discussion of why historical libraries are more likely to fall into ruins within a few decades after assemblance than survive through the ages.
century”. This is all plausible for the sentimental minded, but how well-preserved and representative is the Library of Leufstabruk when we look closely at the collection? Is there any indication of books that have been lost, books that were detached from the library, or books that were never officially part of the library?

The Myth, the Family, and the Catalogues

The remnants of the eighteenth-century industrial estate of Leufstabruk are made for a romanticization of the past. The blast furnaces were demolished a century ago, the sound of the trip hammers is long gone, and all that remains is the mansion house with all the adjoining buildings, the village with a few dozen houses at the opposite end of the road, the pond, the stream, and the surrounding forests. It takes some imagination to understand what Leufstabruk must have been like in its heyday, when the town was populated with 1,200 people of whom a vast majority was involved in the production of bar iron. The library building seems to fit right in this romanticized past. The small pavilion at the edge of the pond that houses the collection has lost nothing of its appeal since its construction in the 1750s. Naturally, we know of some minor reconstructions and adaptations that have taken place over the years, but the expectation that the eighteenth-century Baron Charles de Geer could walk in and reclaim his place behind the desk is ever present.

What is true about the building and the setting can often also be applied to the library collection at large. The ideal of a library that is frozen in time can at best be true for a specific moment in time. Even in historical libraries, books were added to and detached from the collection at all times; at best, what we have today is the state of the library at the time the collector died. One of the aspects that makes the Library of Leufstabruk stand out from many of its peers is that an astonishing amount of documentary information about the library has been preserved. There are eight library catalogues and inventories from various times in the eighteenth century as well as vast archives with among other things 25 receipts for the acquisition of books.
at the Luchtmans company in Leiden. However, the books ordered by Charles de Geer in the Dutch Republic are all mentioned in the account books of the Luchtmans booksellers. This evidence allows us not only to reconstruct the library in its present state but also to track how it changed in the eighteenth century.

At least one question needs to be answered before we can look into the assumed completeness of the collection: Whose library are we reconstructing? The Library of Leufstabruk is an accumulation of books acquired by at least three generations of the De Geer family. The collection was started by Charles de Geer the Entomologist (1720–1778), here referred to just as De Geer, about twenty years before the current library building was constructed, and De Geer had already acquired many books from his father and uncle. After the death of De Geer, the library was expanded by Charles de Geer the Politician (1747–1805), which included books from Hedvig Ulrica de Geer (1752–1813). In addition, and there are traces of yet another generation, Carl de Geer (1781–1861) and his wife Ulrika Sofia (1793–1869). These later additions are valuable in their own right as all of them hold their own narratives, but it is safe to say that approximately eighty percent of the library in its present state is the collection that was left by De Geer at the time of his passing.

Books on the Shelves
A systematic check of the library catalogues that were drawn up by De Geer quickly shows that the vast majority of the books listed in the catalogues are still present on the shelves today. There are a few notable exceptions. Some titles have been crossed out in the catalogues, which implies that they were removed from the library in the eighteenth century or were, at least on paper, no longer regarded as part of the collection. These strikethroughs are rare; however, the books that were marked were probably removed simply because

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2 See Irene van Dijk’s article in this volume.
they were worn out due to heavy use.\textsuperscript{3} Among the possibly discarded books are, for example, a few schoolbooks, dictionaries, and an undated edition of *De cierlycke voorsnydinge aller tafel-gerechten* – a manual on how to set a table.

Occasionally, books seem to have been replaced by later editions of the same work. In a catalogue from around 1750, for example, a French edition of *Robinson Crusoe* printed in Amsterdam in 1720 has been crossed out.\textsuperscript{4} It was probably replaced, because the work is still in the library, but in an Amsterdam edition from 1742–1743. Other books that were crossed out in the catalogues, particularly Bibles, seem to have been given away by De Geer. A Bible from 1687, for example, was presented to his brother Anton de Geer, while a few other books in the catalogues are marked with the annotation *bortgifwit* (given away) without indication of the recipient.\textsuperscript{5} In the same catalogue, we also find a Dutch Bible from 1662 that has been crossed out and a French Bible that must have been present in two copies,\textsuperscript{6} as only one copy is remains in the library, the other presumably given away.

However, if we focus on the books sold by Luchtmans but never mentioned in any of the library catalogues, we come across some books that were not discarded from the collection as they were never part of the library in the first place. The entry in the Luchtmans archives for 22 December 1750 mentions a *Summaire de la Bible* with gilded letters and illustrations, bound in maroquin, and another copy of the same book bound in satin.\textsuperscript{7} Neither of these copies

\textsuperscript{3} There are a few schoolbooks, for example, dictionaries and an undated edition of *De cierlycke voorsnydinge aller tafel-gerechten* (see Leufsta MS 46: *Miscellanei, octavo et minori*, no. 25) that are no longer in the collection.

\textsuperscript{4} Leufsta MS 42: *Fabularum scriptores, octavo et minori*, no. 1.

\textsuperscript{5} Leufsta MS 42: *Theologi, folio*, no. 10; *Theologi, octavo et minori*, no. 6.

\textsuperscript{6} Ibidem, *Theologi, quarto*, no. 30. This particular French Bible, a Geneva version published by Jean Neaulme in The Hague in 1743, can also be found in the Luchtmans archives, but this seemingly double entry in the archives may refer to two consecutive instalments of the same Bible, see UBA 354, no. 475, 10 September 1748, 19 August 1749, and UBA 354, no. 476, 28 August 1753.

\textsuperscript{7} UBA 354, no. 476, fol. 221: ‘Een summaire de la Bible met goude letters en plaatjes en maroquin, Dito en in satijn geb’.
is present in the library, but we know exactly what book was meant by this entry. *Sommaire de la Bible*, also published in Dutch as *Kern des Bybels*, was a well-known and widely advertised miniature book with Bible texts issued by Anthoni de Groot in The Hague in 1750.8 This book measured less than three centimetres and was bound in maroquin or satin, which would have made it a fine gift.

In the ‘s Gravenhaegse courant of 30 December 1750, publisher Antoni de Groot printed the outline of the book in real size in an advertisement to proudly show the public what a remarkably tiny book it was. He also mentions all the different styles of binding and silverwork available – maroquin, silk, satin, tortoise, etc. Although

all sold out for the St. Nicholas celebrations on December 5, the publisher ensures in the advertisement that he had plenty in stock for the traditional New Year’s gifts. So, did De Geer order two copies from Luchtmans as a St. Nicholas or New Year gift for his children? This is purely speculative, but we do know that according to the Luchtmans inventories two copies were shipped to Leufstabric, and these copies did not end up in the private library according to the library catalogues.

The notion that we are focusing on these very particular stories of “lost” books demonstrates how complete and well-preserved the Library of Leufstabric actually is. Most of the books on the shelves
correspond one-to-one with the titles in the library catalogues, the Luchtmans archives, and other lists of books in the archives. Furthermore, more than ninety-nine percent of all books in the historical catalogues can still be identified in the library today.

A somewhat different picture arises if we concentrate on newspapers, pamphlets, auction catalogues, broadsheets, price lists, and other short-lived publications that were all part of the print universe in the eighteenth century. Nearly all ephemeral publications seem to have been omitted from the catalogues and were never considered part of the library. Yet, it is interesting to see if there are any traces of this foregone universe of print culture left as this evidence would help us understand the build-up, historical use, and survival of the Library of Leufstabruk in a wider spectre.

Ephemera
The Leufstabruk copy of a Latin schoolbook from 1701, *Linguae Latinae Rudimenta*, contains a small snippet from an old newspaper that seemed to have been used as a page marker. The fragment can be identified as an issue of the ‘s Gravenhaegse courant, dated 8 January 1734. This could well have been a day in the life of thirteen-year-old De Geer when he was studying Latin in the mansion house Rijnhuizen, outside Utrecht, home-schooled by the eminent Pieter Van Musschenbroek. There are no surviving newspapers in the Library of Leufstabruk, but it has been noted before that later in life De Geer had a subscription to the *Gazette de Leyde* and probably to other Dutch newspapers. The fact that they were never part of the collection – arguably for all good reasons – is a reminder that the first selection of what makes up the library was already made by the collector.

9 *Linguae Latinae rudimenta* (Amstelaedami: apud Janssonio-Waesbergio, 1701), Uppsala UB, Leufsta 139.8, contains a snippet from the ‘s-Gravenhaegsche Courant published on 8 January 1734.
Newspapers are not the only ephemera that did not survive in the library; in fact, virtually no examples of short-lived publications and other types of cheap printed matter that were used in everyday life are found in the collection. There is little doubt and some faint evidence that these kinds of prints and booklets constituted a significant part of De Geer’s print universe. From the sparse correspondence between De Geer and Samuel and Johannes Luchtmans that has survived, we know that the Leiden booksellers sent book and naturalia auction catalogues to Sweden. It seems plausible that he made use of these catalogues because the entries for Charles de Geer in Luchtmans’ account books frequently include a list of auction numbers connected to a specific sale. None of the corresponding auction catalogues survive in the library. Perhaps De Geer ticked the auction numbers of his choice and sent the catalogues back to Leiden; however, it would have been tight to send catalogues back and forth to Sweden in the time before the auction took place.

Figure 4. The snippet from ’s Gravenhagese courant, 8 January 1734, found in the Leufsta copy of Linguæ Latinae Rudimenta, Leufsta 139.8.
There are some catalogues that you would expect to be in the collection of Charles de Geer even if it were just for the sake of documentary information – for example, the auction catalogues of the books, naturalia, and scientific instruments of his old tutor Pieter van Musschenbroek from 1762. The library of Van Musschenbroek included between three and four thousand books and would certainly have had some gems for De Geer. The catalogue with naturalia and scientific instruments contains over 700 lots and has a few dozen entries of minerals and instruments that have a direct connection with Sweden and De Geer’s mining activities. There are, for example, dozens of references to rocks and minerals from the Dannemora mine. It is hard to imagine that such an auction catalogue of the collections of his old tutor Van Musschenbroek, with references to the mining activities in Sweden, published by the Luchtmans booksellers who were related to Van Musschenbroek and had such an extensive and long-standing business relation with De Geer, would not have been sent to Leufstabruk.

Tellingly, there is just one fragment of a booksellers’ catalogue from Luchtmans, and one other from a contemporary Swedish bookseller in the collection.¹¹ This is surprisingly little in the library of a man who had an eye for bibliographic detail, owned dictionaries on every subject, and kept close track of all the latest publications. He might have done so with the help of periodicals such as the *Journal des sçavans* and *Année littéraire* and advertisements in newspapers.¹² However, you would expect that booksellers’ catalogues also played a role in the acquisition of newly published books.

¹¹ Respectively: Uppsala UB, Leufsta 262.H.5: *Catalogus librorum, præcipue in Italia, Germania, Gallia, Anglia, Belgio et alibi editorum, qui inveniuntur apud Samuelem et Johannem Luchtmans. Bibliopolas Leidenses*, 1774 and Uppsala UB, Leufsta 109.5: *Catalogue de livres qui se trouvent à Stockholm, chez Halldin*. Additionally, there are two smaller catalogues of Arkstée and Merkus (Leufsta 40.17:2 and 116.4:2), one of Philippe Changuion (Leufsta 16.11:2) and one of L’Honoré and Chatelain (Leufsta 100.H.10:2), all bound with other works.

¹² Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 37: *Bibliografiska anteckningar till artiklar i Journal des Sçavans*. 
It is not just newspapers and auction catalogues that are not found in the collection. The same applies to all other forms of short-lived publications that may have been around at some point: pamphlets, broadsides, price and cargo lists, and printed invitations. None of these are found in the library. It is worth noting that there are virtually no ego documents either, no letters or diaries, no scribblings that allow us a peak behind the horizon of the learned entomologist, bruk-patron, and baron.¹³

The Mythology of Lost Books

We are left with the image of a library that Charles de Geer – and to a lesser extent his successors – created. That image can at the same time be beautiful to the eye and deceptive to the mind; after all, it was De Geer who decided what should be part of the library. The collection that makes up the library today is astonishingly complete when it comes to books – that is, books as they were listed in the catalogues at Leufstabruk, the booksellers’ records in Leiden, and various other lists of books that are still around. When you tick the titles listed in the eighteenth-century catalogues, the conclusion is that there are virtually no “lost” books apart from a discarded Bible or worn-out novel. The library would not have been more interesting if one specific edition of *Robinson Crusoe* was still present.

The pitfall of this frame of mind is that the titles in the catalogues, linked to the volumes on the shelves, automatically suggest that no printed matter is missing from Charles’s printed world. Snippets from newspapers and fragments of auction catalogues prove otherwise. Naturally, next to the books, other types of publications have been around throughout the eighteenth century and made up a proportional part of Charles de Geer’s print universe. These ephemera would certainly help us understand even more about the library and the De Geer’s household as well as intellectual culture at Leufstabruk and in Sweden in the eighteenth century. From a bibliographi-

¹³ The exception being a travel journal from 1738; see Reinder Storm’s article in this volume.
cal perspective, these books are indeed lost – not just at Leufstabruk but in many cases altogether.\footnote{Compare Bruni and Pettegree (2016).}

The paradox is that we are discussing the loss of “books” or printed matter that Charles de Geer would not even have considered to be a part of his library in the first place. I suppose that most of his contemporaries would agree with him that most publications that we consider to be ephemeral are simply not books. However, other collectors made other decisions. There is little doubt that our image of Charles de Geer would be more complete if more ephemeral publications would have survived as part of his library. However, the collection itself is as complete as he thought his library should be. Completeness is a mirror of the collector’s rationale. Perhaps the whole concept of “lost books” is just the other side of the mythology that libraries are frozen in time.

\section*{Bibliography}


Hedvig Ulrica de Geer (1752–1813) was the fourth of Charles de Geer’s and Catharina Charlotta Ribbing’s eight children. (Fig. 1) Like her father, she was a bibliophile, and part of her book collection is kept at Leufsta. No research has hitherto been done about her books or about her. When she is mentioned it is often in connection with the Swedish poet Carl Michael Bellman and their mutual friend Anna Charlotta von Stapelmohr, who belonged to the same intellectual circle. Here, my aim is to paint a picture of baroness De Geer through her books.
Hedvig Ulrica de Geer was probably educated by a governess. The family seems to have kept high standards and had intellectual expectations on the daughters. In March 1763, Hedvig Ulrica’s father gave her an *album amicorum* (now kept at Uppsala University Library). Students often brought their *alba amicorum* on journeys and let friends and famous persons make their contribution. This young baroness was no student, and at eleven she was also quite young to have her own album. However, the concept of gender was often modified by rank. Royal women were supposed to possess “masculine” qualities, and perhaps Charles de Geer had the same ideas about his daughter. On the first page of the *album*, he wrote a poem on the importance of being content with oneself. Further into the book her mother echoed the motto of Delphi (γνῶθι σεαυτόν) when giving the advice to reach “la Science supreme” through the knowledge of herself. Two older sisters also added adages. The album was used between 1763 and 1772.

With the exception of the family, everyone who wrote in Hedvig Ulrica’s *album amicorum* were intellectual men. The languages used are mostly French or Latin. French would later be Hedvig Ulrica’s preferred intellectual language, but there is no evidence that she understood Latin. Swedish is not used in the album, and there are no greetings from girls of her own age. This was an official album meant for wisdom and good advice.

In 1774, Hedvig Ulrica married count Fredrik Carl Dohna, thirty years her senior. He had two daughters from a previous marriage, at the time twenty-eight and twenty-one years old. Hedvig Ulrica had no children of her own, and her husband died in 1784, when she was thirty-two.

The Gustavian era is remarkable for the sudden blossoming of the arts. King Gustav III had a keen interest in literature, music, art and above all drama, and he became a great patron to Swedish artists. The literary system depended on patrons, where the king of course was the most important. One of the poets who viewed the De Geers as possible patrons was Carl Michael Bellman, probably the most
well-known writer of his time. He was also the great singer-songwriter of his age, and performed his poetry to an entranced audience.

In 1770, Bellman celebrated Hedvig Ulrica on her name-day with a charming little poem, depicting the young lively girl who wakes up and finds the name-day’s party, with presents, food and – above all – drink. The wine is sweet, no face should be sour, the poet says – or rather sings, because this poem was sung to the same melody as one of his most famous songs, “Gubben Noak” (Old Man Noah).

Hedvig Ulrica liked Bellman, or at least his poetry. Her friend Anna Charlotta von Stapelmohr shared her interests, and Stapelmohr was also a close friend of Bellman’s. We know that Stapelmohr made copies of Bellman’s works. These are now lost, but when Hedvig Ulrica decided to copy his poetry, she may have used Stapelmohr’s copies as a master text. Copying literary texts was not an uncommon pastime among eighteenth century nobility.

Hedvig Ulrica de Geer’s copies consist of four densely written volumes of between 120 and 200 pages each. These volumes are now kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm. She seems to have worked on the four volumes simultaneously. The first one starts with Bellman’s main work, Fredman’s Epistles, a strange and fantastic mixture between contemporary life among whores and drunkards in Stockholm and a lyrical, mythological world, where the same protagonists merge into gods and goddesses. Sometimes she discovered better versions of the texts and added stanzas by sewing them into the volume. In one instance, there is a correction made in pencil by another hand, which might be Bellman’s own. Hedvig Ulrica’s versions of the text are quite good, and unlike some copies made by women quite uncensored. She never shies away from drink, sex or other excesses – at least not in poetry.

Both the album amicorum and the copies of Bellman’s poetry carry Hedvig Ulrica de Geer’s ex libris with the coat of arms both of her husband’s family, the Dohnas, and of the De Geers. (Fig. 2) Her initials are handwritten, apparently in her own hand. She continued to use her maiden name, which was quite common in the eighteenth century. The ex libris was created after her marriage, and as it occurs
in the *album amicorum* we can be sure that she brought the book with her when she married. As for the copies of Bellman’s works, she probably started the work in the seventies and continued at least into the eighties. The latest dateable poem was composed by Bellman on Boxing Day 1787. By this time, Hedvig Ulrica was 35 years old and had been a widow for three years.

Sometime between Hedvig Ulrica’s death in 1813 and the publishing of Lilliebjörn’s catalogue in 1907, about 250 volumes from Hedvig Ulrica’s library were returned to Leufsta. (Fig. 3) Her niece Vilhelmina Gyldenstolpe had died in December 1858, aged 79, and might have inherited her books. At least we know that Hedvig Ulrica’s copies of Bellman were purchased by The Royal Library “at the Gyldenstolpe auction” in October 1859. A large part of the books
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now at Leufsta are represented in the catalogue from this auction and include both widespread novels and rare books like Joseph de La Porte’s clandestine *L’Esprit de L’Encyclopédie* (1769). Probably some of Hedvig Ulrica’s books were bought at that auction and donated to Leufsta, while some ended up in other collections. Seven volumes with her ex libris are now in the Borgström collection of erotica at The Royal Library. All these books are in French, published between 1789 and 1802 and perhaps more titillating than pornographic. At least one of these has later belonged to the librarian and bibliophile Christoffer Eichhorn (1837–1889), who had started his collection at the time of the Gyldenstolpe auction and might have attended it. Hedvig Ulrica De Geer’s *album amicorum* was purchased at an antiquarian bookshop in Uppsala in 1999.
Hedvig Ulrica’s books are kept in one of the smaller rooms in the library. The books are printed between 1655 and 1808, and every volume contains her bookplate. With two exceptions the books are in French, several of them translated from English or German. Nearly all the books are in pristine condition – they could have been delivered from the bookbinder yesterday – but this goes for most books in the Leufsta library. The De Geers were careful readers.

So, what did an aristocratic lady with literary interests read in the late eighteenth century? From the extant collection, we can surmise that Hedvig Ulrica had eclectic tastes. There are some works on the Enlightenment, to which I will return presently, but also many books that can be classified as entertainment, both novels and some memoirs and biographies. The latter could have some political implications.

There is no poetry preserved in Hedvig Ulrica’s library, but she owned Nicolas Ragots de Grandval’s comic-heroic epic Le Vice Puni ou Cartouche in an edition from 1761. This copy is exceptional in her library for being extremely well-loved. The epic had a reputation for being daring. It uses a lot of slang and even contains a dictionary of argot. Only two collections of drama belong to her library, the ten volumes of Goldoni’s comedies and nine volumes of Boissy’s Oeuvres de theatre (1766). These are among the oldest books in the collection, published when Hedvig Ulrica was a child and probably given to her or bought second hand.

In the Gustavian era, theatre and poetry were the dominant genres in Sweden. It seems unlikely that Hedvig Ulrica spent so much time copying Bellman’s works, but did not buy Fredman’s Epistles when they were printed in 1790. She probably also owned the works of other contemporary Swedish poets and perhaps the odd printed drama or opera libretto, that for some reason were not returned to Leufsta.

By far the largest group of books consist of novels. There are 30 titles and 80 volumes, printed between 1789 and 1808. All the novels are in French, some of which are translated from English. There are
imitations and sequels of famous novels, such as Le Suire’s *La Patôla Français ou Lettres d’une jeune Paysanne et d’un jeune ci-devant; Contenant leurs Aventures* (1803) and Dauphin’s *La Dernière Héloïse, ou Lettres de Junie Salisbury* (1790). Some seem rather racy, like *La Religieuse et sa Fille* (1808), *Alphonsine, ou les Dangers du Grand Monde* (1789) and *La Seduction ou Histoire de Lady Revel* (1795). Hedvig Ulrica’s copies of Bellman’s quite explicit poetry shows that she was no prude, and her library confirms this. It is hardly a coincidence that some books from her collection are included in the Borgström collection of erotica. Among her books at Leufsta are two novels — in ten volumes — about the charming libertine Chevalier de Faublas, whose sexual adventures include crossdressing and seducing women while disguised as a girl. These books were extremely popular and quite typical of the libertinage of the time. Some of the novels in Hedvig Ulrica’s library indicate a fascination for exoticism, such as *Thaira et Fernando ou Les Amours d’une Peruvienne et d’un Espagnol* (1801), *Bythis ou l’Elève de l’Africain* (1802) and *Odisco et Félicie ou la Colonie des Florides* (1803).

Most of the novels were published late in Hedvig Ulrica’s life, when she had been a widow for more than a decade. One could see these books as a way of escaping a woman’s dreary days, but it is important to remember that Hedvig Ulrica was a wealthy aristocratic woman who probably had a rich social life. During the same period, she bought more demanding books, such as of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* in French translation, printed in 1800. She also took an interested France itself, and seems to have concerned about the French revolution. Some of her books are biographies on royal women who were killed during the revolution, such as Elisabeth Guénard’s *Mémoires Historiques de Marie-Thérèse-Louise de Carignan, Princesse de Lamballe* (1801) and *Histoire de Madame Élisabeth de France, Sœur de Louis XVI* (1802). Charles Montigny’s book *Mémoires historiques de mesdames Adelaide et Victoire de France, filles de Louis XV* (1802) tells the story of the two unmarried princesses — “mesdames” — who left France in 1791 to make a pilgrimage to Rome, were briefly ar-
rested but released. They spent the rest of their lives abroad. Many of the books have beautiful plates, and in the first volume we see mesdames leaving their castle and in the second they visit the ruins of the Roman campagna (which does not look much like Rome at all). (Fig. 4)

Another book connected to the revolution is Correspondance amoureuse de Fabre d’Églantine (1796). Fabre d’Églantine was a revolutionary and the initiator of the new revolutionary calendar, but was himself executed by guillotine in 1794. Hedvig Ulrica
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also owned some novels set during the Reign of Terror, such as *Le voyageur sentimentale en France sous Robespierre* (1799) and Le Bastier’s *Dorbeuil et Célian de Valran. Leurs Amours et Leurs Malheurs pendant la Tyrannie de Robespierre* (1795). These books are anti-revolutionary, and perhaps one rather expects this view from a wealthy noblewoman.

Hedvig Ulrica also owned books on travel. De La Harpe’s *Abrégé de L’Histoire Générale des Voyages* (1780) in twenty-four volumes almost takes up a whole shelf. Moreover, there are books on a journey to Russia, about Englishmen in India and a *Voyage autour du Monde* (1750) by the British admiral George Anson.

Hedvig Ulrica de Geer was interested the Enlightenment and owned works on its ideas. She also owned two volumes by Francesco Algarotti on *Le Newtonianisme pour les Dames* (1739), a sort of eighteenth century popular science. Both her father and her eldest brother bought forbidden books: 108 of the 720 titles listed by Robert Darnton in *The Corpus of Clandestine Literature in France 1769–1789* (1995) are represented in the library at Leufsta. Among these “philosophical” books are the great works of the Enlightenment, such as *L’Encyclopédie*, Voltaire’s *Traité sur la Tolérance* and Helvetius’ *De l’Esprit*, but also scandalous and obscene literature. Her father bought Voltaire’s *La Pucelle d’Orleans* in two different editions, and it is possible that one of the few copies imported to Sweden of Thérèse *Philosophe* once belonged to the Leufsta library. Three of the works in Hedvig Ulrica’s library are to be found in Darnton’s corpus. One is *Correspondance de Monsieur Le Marquis de Montalembert* (1777). Montalembert was a military engineer, employed in the Swedish army during the Pomeranian war and an expert on fortification. Why this book interested Hedvig Ulrica de Geer escapes me, as does the reason why it was forbidden in France.

A much more obviously philosophical book is Joseph de La Portes *L’Esprit de L’Encyclopédie* (1769). This is “the best of L’Encyclopédie”, a selection of articles in four volumes. In Hedvig Ulrica’s copy, 24 pages are cut out of the article “Bibliotheque”. It is not a cancellation, and
it would seem likely that these pages were censored. No other copy of this book seems to exist in Sweden, but a copy at the Bodleian library is digitised and thus available. Except the kind of sallies against religion which one expects from *L’Encyclopédie* these pages do not appear particularly subversive. The criticism of contemporary Greece is a bit harsh, but otherwise it is just a history of libraries, from antiquity onwards, enumerating libraries in different corners of the world, most of them “très-belles”. I am at a loss as to why the pages were cut out.

The third clandestine work in Hedvig Ulrica’s library is a classic, not only due to its literary qualities but also as an erotic work:
AN INTELLECTUAL LADY?

Ten beautiful volumes of Boccaccio’s *Decamerone* in a new French translation, *Contes de J. Bocace* (1779), with plates by among others Boucher. The plates are sensuous, but not too daring, showing people in bed without being pornographic. (Fig. 5) An imitation, *Le Décameron Français* by Louis d’Ussieux, on the other hand, claims that all its stories are “agréable du morale”.

Just like the rest of the Leufsta library, Hedvig Ulrica de Geer’s collection is agreeable to the eye and mind, although perhaps not always to the morals. It is the library of a woman who took an interest in the world around her and in her own times, but also read extensively for pleasure. At the end of her life, she turned to novels, perhaps in a reaction to contemporary international events (like so many readers after her), perhaps just because she started to find the genre rewarding. She read her books with care, and wrote her initials in ink on their ex libris.

Hedvig Ulrica de Geer belonged to the most privileged class, but we know next to nothing about her life and thought. Only her books remain. There is no doubt that she was an intellectual lady.

Suggested Reading

Unprinted Material


Printed Material


*Nöteckning öfver framlidne överste-kammarjunkaren C.E. Gyldenstolpes efterlemnade rikliga samling af böcker, gravyrer m.m.*, Stockholms stads auktionskammare 1859:22/10
In 2017, Kungl. biblioteket/The National Library of Sweden, received a donation from the well-preserved late eighteenth century country-house library of Clas Frietzcky and Säbylund manor. Clas Frietzcky was an ironworks proprietor and politician, active in the Cap party during the Age of Liberty who, in his later years, became a leading voice in the opposition to King Gustav III. He was born in 1727 and died in 1803. At the time of his death, he had collected over 4,000 volumes in his library at Säbylund. Since the transformation of Säbylund into an entailed estate (*fideikommiss*) in 1786, Frietzcky’s library has been passed down through the generations, and the library remains virtually untouched to this day.

Säbylund manor is located in Närke, some 15 kilometres south of Örebro, and about 170 kilometres from Stockholm. The main building is a neat, but fairly simple, wooden house, and the library’s original setting was in a corner room on the bottom floor facing westward (Fig. 1). Apart from the 4,000 plus volumes, the library also contains paraphernalia that might be expected in such an environment, e.g. two globes made by the famous Swedish globemaker Anders Åkerman, a carved sixteenth century coffin, a series of engraved portraits of Swedish monarchs, and a relief portrait of the owner Clas Frietzcky sculpted by Johan Tobias Sergel.

The book collection reflects Clas Frietzcky’s interest in politics and history, and it is evident that he tried to follow the dramatic
events occurring in the European politics of his age, not least in rev-
olutionary France. What makes the library especially interesting,
however, are the contemporary catalogues and other records that
show how the library was used both by Frietzcky himself, and by his
friends and neighbours. In this essay I will point to the importance
and possibilities of some of these sources.

Catalogues and Arrangement of the Library

The primary access to the Säbylund library is via Frietzcky’s two cat-
alogues – the first is marked 1777 on the cover but was begun only
in 1779, the year after he moved in with his sister at Säbylund, and
the second was begun in 1798. In addition to the catalogues there
is also a borrowers’ register, with the first entries from 1791, and the
last from the 1840s, long after Frietzcky’s passing.
The majority of Frietcky’s books are in French, with Swedish coming in as a close second. There is also a substantial number of German books, a couple of dozen books in Danish, and the occasional book in Latin. Most of the books fall into the category of non-fiction, but there are also novels such as *Tom Jones* and *Don Quixote*, always in French or Swedish translation.

Frietzcky was clearly a man who took an active interest in maintaining and curating his collection of books. On the first page of his 1779 catalogue, he gave clear and useful instructions on how the library should be used. Beside the titles of the books there are three columns with meta-information. The first column contains a running number, the only use of which is to indicate how many entries there are under the different initial letters in the catalogue. The second column indicates on what shelf a book can be found. Many of these numbers have been altered by Frietzcky at a later stage, as his library grew from 19 to 97 shelves; each shelf was individually marked with a painted number on the front. The library measured a total of 146 shelf-metres, but many of the shelves held books stacked in double rows allowing Frietzcky to compress his collection-space by placing several of the books in multi-volume works behind the others, keeping only the first and last volume visible. The third column gives the total price for each book including binding. These column-entries provide us with an accessible overview of the whole collection (Fig. 2).

At the end of the catalogues, Frietzcky summarised his expenditure on books and bindings. If we combine the figures from the two catalogues, we can see how the collection more than quadrupled in little more than two decades, from 304 works embodied in 920 volumes in 1779, to 1,644 works in 4,049 volumes, by the end of 1802. (The probate record drawn up after his death counts a total of 4,116 volumes.) The black bars in Figure 3 show the number of works, and the grey bars show the total number of volumes. Together they indicate that there were on average three volumes to each work.
Figure 2. Sample from Clas Frietzcky’s 1798 catalogue. The second record from the top lists Louis Lavicomterie de Saint-Samson’s *Crimes des Rois de France, depuis Clovis jusqu’à Louis XVI*, in octavo, printed in Paris 1792. Lavicomterie was obviously not one of the “renowned” authors who was registered under his name in the catalogue. The first column records a running catalogue number (61); these were not registered in the volumes. The second column records the shelf number (36). Following the title is the number of volumes for this work (1), whereas the last two columns give the price: 1 riksdaler, 24 skilling. Photo: Jonas Nordin.

![Bar chart showing acquisitions to the Säbylund Library 1779–1802. Source: Säbylund catalogues, 1779–1797, 1798—, Kungl. biblioteket/The National Library of Sweden.](image)

Figure 3. Acquisitions to the Säbylund Library 1779–1802. Source: Säbylund catalogues, 1779–1797, 1798—, Kungl. biblioteket/The National Library of Sweden.
The 920 volumes acquired up until 1779 had cost a total of 903 riksdaler, which gives an average price of just below one riksdaler per volume. In 1802 the average price had risen somewhat, to 1 riksdaler 17 skilling per volume, and Frietzcky had spent a total of 5,071 riksdaler on his book collection. As a point of comparison, this was three times the cost of Carl Linnaeus’ epitaph in Uppsala Cathedral or equal to 1,000 barrels of rye.

To the total expenditure on books, Clas Frietzcky added the cost of a bookplate impressed with the family’s coat of arms (Fig. 5). The bookplate was commissioned from the engraver Fredrik Akrel, who worked with the well-known globemaker Samuel Åkerman, from whom Frietzcky had bought the two globes to his library for eleven riksdaler. The plate together with 3,600 impressions was ordered in 1778 for a total amount of twenty riksdaler. In 1799 Frietzcky had no bookplates left and had to order another 600 impressions, of which less than a hundred were left at the time of his death.
An inventory list drawn up by Frietzcky in 1786 (printed in Svenska slott och herresäten, 1911, pp. 24–27) situates the following items in the library (with price in riksdaler):

1 mahogany desk with cabinet and drawers 22,—
1 mirror with gilded frame and [candle] carriers 20,—
1 red dresser with fittings 6.32
1 red table with compartment inside 3,—
2 green roller blinds –,32
4 chairs 5,—
King Gustav III’s and his Queen’s portraits 4,—
Emperor Joseph on horse 2,—
King Frederick of Prussia d:o 2,—
Voltaire’s arrival in the realm of the dead 2,—
Rousseau’s d:o 2,—
Everything else in the same chamber, both portraits and paintings, belongs to the library, of which there is a separate description 4,—

Figure 5. Clas Frietzcky’s bookplate engraved by Samuel Åkerman and delivered in a total of 4,200 impressions in two instalments.
I have not been able to investigate the order of the books for this essay, and I cannot say how systematically they were arranged. The placing of books may be deduced from the information contained in the catalogues where the shelf numbers are recorded. I notice, for instance, that many descriptions of Swedish geography are placed on shelf 26, and books about the French Revolution on shelf 36 (cf. Fig 2), but a more thorough analysis will have to wait until another time.

At any rate, Frietzcky’s catalogue principles were not fully developed, and the catalogues were very much tools designed for an owner who was already familiar with the content of the collection. For example, he explained that only books by “prominent authors and great men” were placed under their proper names, and he had a narrow definition of prominence. Consequently, most of the books were arranged by their titles, and there are, for example, nine catalogue pages with titles beginning with *Oeuvres de*, and sixteen pages with *Histoire de*, which limits its usefulness for any outsider who wants to find a specific volume. I perceive the catalogue more as a tool for documenting and mapping the collection’s growth than as a guide for finding particular books.

**Private Lending Library**

What makes Clas Frietzcky’s book collection particularly interesting is that it was used as a private lending library by his friends and neighbours. Their borrowings were recorded in a register, which gives us an insight into the literary tastes of local polite society of the time. The information is difficult to extract, however, firstly because of the scribbled handwriting, secondly, because the notices have been crossed out once the loans have been returned, and thirdly because neither the borrowers’ names nor the title of the books are given in full. It is therefore a time-consuming task to decipher the information, and in the following I will only discuss information from the first page of the register in order to make some suggestions of what can be deduced from this information (Fig. 6).
The register seems to have been begun by Frietzcky some years into the 1790s, but it opens with a registration of older loans. The first notice registers the fact that Count Frölich borrowed six volumes of *Les contemporaines* in 1791. From his title, “Stable master”, we can deduce that the borrower was David Gustaf Frölich, born in 1757, equerry in 1792. A contemporary diarist, Berndt von Schinkel, characterised Frölich as “one of the least talented in the whole royal entourage”. The volumes in question, *Les Contemporaines, ou Aventures des plus jolies femmes de l’Âge présent*, comprised a collection of short stories by Restif de La Bretonne (1734–1806). From the catalogue entry we can confirm that Frietzcky had all forty-two volumes of the Leipzig edition.

The next entry concerns Count Claes Axel Lewenhaupt (1757–1808). Like Frietzcky, Lewenhaupt was one of the leading opponents of King Gustav III at the Diet in 1789 and he left his military service in protest soon after. Lewenhaupt, who was a generation younger than Frietzcky, borrowed a volume with pamphlets on constitutional matters published during the dynamic and dramatic last years of the Age of Liberty, but I have not been able to identify the volume by only using the catalogue. Lewenhaupt was the proprietor of Claestorp manor in Östra Vingåker, some 60 kilometres from Säbylund.

The next note is about a woman, the Baroness Gustava von Essen, née Rudbeck (1767–1828), who borrowed four volumes of French moral anecdotes and epigrams in prose and verse. Gustava von Essen resided at Kavlås manor in Västergötland, 130 kilometres from Säbylund. Her father, Ture Gustaf Rudbeck (1714–1786), was one of Frietzcky’s former political allies. He had been speaker of the nobility during the important session of the Diet in 1765–1766, which, among other things, adopted the Freedom of the Press Ordinance. As county-governor of Stockholm he was one of the few who, in vain, tried to take military action during Gustav III’s royal coup d’État in 1772. Gustava’s sister-in-law, Charlotta Elisabet von Essen (1758–1822), daughter of another of Frietzcky’s political associates, Fredrik Ulrik von Essen, had been
Figure 6. The first page of Clas Frietzcky’s borrowers’ register. The page is headlined “Older loans”, which probably refers to the first few records starting with 1791. There are a total of eight loans recorded between 1791 and 1795 on this first page. When the loans were returned, Frietzcky crossed out the note. Photo: Jonas Nordin.
made heiress to Säbylund in 1786 by Frietzcky and his widowed and equally childless sister.

The next person of interest is Eva Margareta Wrangel (1766–1839), the unmarried daughter of General Fredrik Ulrik Wrangel of Sauss, owner of Åkerby manor some 15 kilometres away. She was born in 1766 and was married only in 1795 to a man nineteen years her senior (Elgenstierna: Wrangel af Sauss, nr 279, tab. 1). She was obviously interested in reading stories by or about contemporary or near contemporary women. The memoirs and letters of Madame de Pompadour do not need any presentation, but the trials of Henriette de Gerstenfeld are not widely known today. The work is a fictional series of sentimental letters from the War of Bavarian Succession 1778–1779, attributed in the preface to Christopher Martin Wieland, but in reality written by Adam Beuvius. The German original was entitled *Henriette oder der Husarenraub*, but Frietzcky owned a French translation in three volumes: *Henriette de Gerstenfeld, ou Lettres écrites pendant la dernière guerre de 1779 pour la succession de la Bavière* (Genève 1782).

Next, we meet a cavalry captain “Hinric”, whose last name I have not been able to decipher, but he borrowed some books on the French Revolution. In the following record, however, we encounter a known mother and daughter. Madame Wennerstedt, or Brita Elisabet Tersmeden (1758–1810), was the wife of Major General Gustaf Philip Wennerstedt, and the mother of Brita Carolina Wennerstedt, born in 1776. The Wennerstedt family resided at Skogaholm manor, which today has been moved to the outdoor museum of Skansen located in Stockholm, where the couple’s portraits can be seen. The manor was originally located some 15 kilometres from Säbylund. The Wennerstedts only borrowed instructive books: William Robertson’s *L’histoire du règne de l’empereur Charles-Quint*, Carl-Gustaf Tessin’s *En gammal mans bref, til en ung prints* (An old man’s letters to a young prince), and all fourteen volumes of Anton Friedrich Büsching’s universal geography. There is reason to believe that these books were intended for the education of their young daughter. A few years later,
in 1798, the daughter married another general, Carl Armfelt, but even though she was married and came under the guardianship of her husband, she pursued a career as a painter and engraver in the early 1800s. Among her works is a painting of her childhood home Skogaholm (Fig. 7).

Baroness Beata Sofia Lagerberg (1759–1841) was married to lieutenant colonel Gustaf Didrik von Friesendorff. The couple were also Frietzcky’s neighbours and lived only eighteen kilometres away at Hjälmarsnäs manor. The baroness borrowed *L’art de rendre les femmes fidèles*, a contemporary title known in three eighteenth-century editions, containing marital and cohabitation advice. The baroness was also a consumer of Restif de La Bretonne’s moral stories, which we have already encountered.
The last entry of the first page names Baron and Baroness Ulrika Eleonora (1768–1829) and Jakob Otto Cronstedt (1766–1828). She was sister of the aforementioned Eva Wrangel while Jakob Otto, was nephew to Beata Sofia Lagerberg, the ardent reader domiciled at Hjälmarsnäs.

From this short sample we can deduce some general observations. We encounter both male and female readers, and as far as we can tell they were all members of the nobility. All of them were a generation younger than Frietzcky, but approximately the same age as his heiress, Charlotta Elisabet von Essen, who lived under the same roof from the late 1780s.

There also seems to be a pattern of gender specificity insofar as reading habits were concerned, but in general the books were also of an edifying nature, which of course depended on the content of the volumes that could be found in Clas Frietzcky’s library.

The borrowers were mainly local residents and neighbours, but not exclusively. Of the five individuals or families I have been able to locate, three lived within 20 kilometres of Säbylund, whilst one family lived more than 130 kilometres away. Nearly all borrowers were related to one another through friendship or family ties. It is easy to picture a regular intercourse within local polite society, but also one where more remote visitors stopped by on their way to and from Stockholm and their country homes.

These general observations from the first page of the borrowers’ register seem to be corroborated by a quick look at the following pages. Beside the predominantly noble borrowers we also find the local vicar, the dean (Carl von Rosenstein, admittedly a nobleman too), and a university professor, among others. One notice stands out for its detail: “the soldier Mossberg receives these books – he lives in Mosås by the road”. It is obvious that private Mossberg was no regular guest at Säbylund, but in May 1803 he borrowed no less than twenty-one volumes in both French and Swedish, mostly on travels to various parts of the world. These volumes were returned on 12 February 1804, four months after Frietzcky’s death.
The first page of the register contains records from 1791 to 1795, and appears to be an attempt to bring the list of borrowers up to date at one point, whereas the following pages record further loans. There are several instances where the loans are registered in another handwriting and confirmed with a signature, suggesting that trusted borrowers could visit the library even when its master was not present.

After Clas Frietzcky’s death there was an advertisement in the local newspaper, Örebro Weckoblad, requesting the return to Säbylund of all books that the borrowers had already read. Borrowers were also invited to give the title and number of volumes for all works anyone wanted to keep a while longer. The books could either be returned directly to Säbylund or to Frietzcky’s former caretaker in Örebro. It is possible that this routine existed already when Frietzcky was alive.

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Clas Frietzcky’s library at Säbylund was substantially smaller than Charles De Geer’s at Leufsta: some 4,000 volumes compared with over 10,000. The collections differed not only in scope, but also in content and use. Whereas the books at Leufsta to some extent formed the working library of an amateur and practitioner within the natural sciences, the collection of Säbylund was assembled only to satisfy the desire for reading and to inform its owner of the great events of the outside world. Frietzcky lived a life as a reclusive landowner with an apparently large circle of friends whom he supplied with reading material. In a word, De Geer seems to have had a more both professional and private relationship to his library than Frietzcky did, but both seem to have taken an equal amount of pride and joy in their books.

Through the research of, among others, Alex Alsemgeest, we have a fairly good knowledge of how and through which channels De Geer acquired his books. Our picture of Frietzcky’s book acquisition is sketchier so far, but the preserved documentation promises to provide a rich return for those who want to delve into the material. Many more such detailed studies are needed to give a more comprehensive picture of the collecting of books, of the transmission of information, of the acquisition of knowledge, as well as of social life and representative culture in the Swedish gentry of the eighteenth century.

References
Clas Frietzcky’s books from Säbylund together with catalogues, furniture and other inventories are kept at Kungl. biblioteket/The National Library of Sweden. The books are not recorded in the National Library’s ordinary catalogues. According to the donation agreement (3.3-2017-387), Kungl. biblioteket commits itself “to recreate and maintain de Frietzcky’s library on KB’s premises in Humlegården and to keep the library’s stock of books as a unified unit for the future”. This agreement is still waiting to be realised.
Literature
Svenskt biografiskt lexikon (1917–). Stockholm.
Schering Rosenhane’s Book Collection at the Library of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities

Henning Hansen

Schering Rosenhane

Charles de Geer the Politician (1747–1805) and the civil servant, historian, and collector Schering Rosenhane the Younger (1754–1812) were both members of the same generation of enlightened noblemen and shared a passion for learning, diplomacy, and books. Coming from similar backgrounds in terms of title and tradition, they were involved in the royal learned societies and the politics of the day at the highest level. Both owned significant personal libraries, which have been preserved to this day. However, Rosenhane favoured the humanities, while De Geer’s collections contained much natural history, because of the interests of his father Charles de Geer the Entomologist (1720–1778). Unlike De Geer, whose library remained in private hands until 1986, Rosenhane never fathered any children, so his books ended up in institutional libraries.

Rosenhane’s undispersed library, which included his collection of manuscripts and portfolios of maps, engravings, and drawings, consisted of at least 5,000 volumes.¹ A patron of the arts, he eventually

became an enthusiastic and loyal member of both the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities and the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. Rosenhane devoted much of his life to studying and promoting Swedish history. He was a systematic collector who appreciated disseminating the knowledge he had amassed. In a letter to the publicist Carl Christoffer Gjörwell (1731–1811), he noted that “assembling collections without communicating them to others is like hiding one’s light under a bushel”.2 Although never becoming quite the leading historian he had perhaps aspired to be, Rosenhane is still considered one of the most important scholars of the historical sciences during the Gustavian period.

In his capacity as kansliråd (chancellery counsellor) and eventually statssekreterare (state secretary) in Kunglig Majestäts kansli (the predecessor of Regeringskansliet or Swedish Government Offices), Rosenhane worked alongside prominent members of the cultural sphere. Among his closest colleagues were the archivist Gustaf Ribbing (1719–1811), author Gustaf Fredrik Gyllenborg (1731–1808), riksantikvarie (National Antiquarian) Gudmund Jöran Adlerbeth (1751–1818), musician and superintendent Carl Fredrik Fredenheim (1748–1803), and Royal Librarian Anders Wilde (1725–1795). In addition, Rosenhane corresponded with many of the leading scholars of the time and benefited from this network in both a professional and personal capacity.

Rosenhane divided his time between Stockholm and the family estate Torp, in Södermanland County. He never married nor had any children. When he died in 1812, he was the last remaining male member of the Rosenhane noble family, and he was buried in the family grave at the parish church in Husby-Oppunda. His only remaining relative was his sister, Sophia Rosenhane (1757–1837), who was also childless. On 15 September 1822, Sophia Rosenhane and her husband Johan Jakob Frans Jennings (1762–1828) signed a donor’s letter bequeathing Rosenhane’s library to three institutions that

had all played an important role in Rosenhane’s life: the gymnasium in Strängnäs, Uppsala University, and the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities.³

Rosenhane’s Book Collection
A series of articles published in Stockholms Tidning in 1825, written after a visit to the Rosenhane family estate in the summer of 1820, offer the following description of the library:

The upper floor consists of two library rooms and two guestrooms. […] The larger library room is covered with bookcases in oak from floor to ceiling, filled with precious works and books, arranged according to subject. […] On a table in the middle of room lie the catalogues for the library and the collections […]. The smaller library room houses material relating to Sweden and Swedish history. There is also a great collection of biographies and eulogies of more or less well-known men and scholars, nobility, and commoners, as well as noble and common women.⁴

The donation to the Academy included 1,820 volumes, consisting chiefly of books on Swedish and Nordic history and topography. Out of these, 48 volumes are currently deposited in the National Library of Sweden (since 1880). The rest of Rosenhane’s collection was offered to Uppsala University. Books already held by Uppsala University were to be given to the gymnasium in Strängnäs. According to Marie-Louise Bachman, some 1,400 volumes were donated to Uppsala University and around 700 volumes to Strängnäs Gymnasium.⁵

The donation to the Academy was initially underappreciated by the Academy’s secretary, Birger Rutström (1758–1826). Rutström stated that there was not enough space to accommodate the collection. His successor, Johan Gustaf Liljegren (1791–1837), recognised

³ For a fuller biography of Rosenhane, see Bergstedt (1813), Burius (2000), and Bachman (2005).
⁴ Quoted from Carlander (1904), pp. 42–43. [My translation]
the donation’s value and transferred the book collection from Torp to Stockholm. In accordance with the instructions of the donors, the book collection should “for all eternity remain undispersed, accessible and in proper order, under the name of the Rosenhane Library”.6 With the Rosenhane collection in place, the Academy’s library transformed from a minor book collection into a proper library.

Over the years, the Academy’s collection has been housed in various locations, including one of the wings of Stockholms slott (The Royal Palace), before being transferred to the National Museum in 1864, reportedly after being beaten against the windowsills to rid the volumes of dust. In the outline of the library room at the National Museum from the late nineteenth century, the Rosenhane collection occupies sections A through H, constituting the core of the Academy’s collection (Fig. 1). The books were kept in the original grand bookcases. At some point during the twentieth century, the books and the bookcases were separated, and the majestic bookcases were chopped into firewood in the 1960s. Only the decorative capital panels bearing the Rosenhane family crest were preserved. Today, the Rosenhane collection is still undispersed and in its original order, occupying an entire wall in the secure rare book room of the library, which is below ground level at Storgatan 43 in Stockholm.

Rosenhane’s donation to the Academy consisted of three parts: the great book collection (1,520 volumes); 300 Sammelbände, which Rosenhane called his Collectanea Historica (carefully structured, this collection is impressive both in its size and coverage and individual Sammelbände can even be considered small libraries in their own right as they includes dozens of dissertations, speeches, pamphlets, and Royal decrees, in some cases over one hundred in a single volume); and, the map, print, and drawing collections, which focus on topography, feasts and battle scenes. This collection has been

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Figure 1. Outline of part of the Library of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, in the National Museum. Undated, c. 1900. [SE/ATA/ARK2_1–4/D 1 B/1, Antiquarian Topographic Archive, The Archive of the Swedish National Heritage Board, Stockholm].
described in some detail by Wilhelm Odelberg and is currently subject to a digitization project.⁷

Provenance

Most books in Rosenhane’s library contain Rosenhane’s engraved bookplate (Fig. 2). Unsurprisingly, many volumes also feature marks of provenance from previous owners such as signatures, annotations, bookplates, stamps, and armorial bindings. Often it is possible to trace the provenance of books included in the collection back hundreds of years, sometimes to its very first owner. The oldest titles in Rosenhane’s library are from the sixteenth century, but most date from the latter part of the seventeenth century or later. Although there were several dedicated book collectors in the Rosenhane family, some even with literary ambitions, others seem to have been as keen on the task of scattering the collections. Rosenhane’s own father, for example, dispersed most of the library at Tistad, another Rosenhane estate, before demolishing the old mansion and building a new one in its place. A great deal of the family’s book collection is also believed to have been lost in a fire in 1699.⁸

Some books were passed down the generations in the Rosenhane family. For instance, a handful of books are marked with the discrete initials S. R. on the title page. These books belonged to Schering Rosenhane the Elder (1609–1663), one of the most well-respected Swedish diplomats and statesmen of the seventeenth century and an avid book collector. When he died, his large library was divided between his ten children. The best part of the collection ended up with his son Johan Rosenhane (1642–1710), who was something of a bibliophile. His signature is found in many books from Rosenhane’s library, most of them arguably originating from his father’s library.

At least one of the books in Rosenhane’s library has been inscribed by Beata Rosenhane (1638–1674), another of Schering Rosenhane

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⁷ Odelberg (1958).
⁸ Walde (1920), pp. 157, 161–162.
Figure 2. Schering Rosenhane’s engraved bookplate featuring the Rosenhane family crest, in a copy of his own work *Svea-rikes konunga-längd*, Stockholm, 1789. Rosenhane’s bookplate appears in two different sizes, and on both blue and white paper. The number on the library label below refers to Schröder’s catalogue.
the Elder’s children. Beata Rosenhane received an education at the same level as her brothers and accompanied her father on some of his trips to the continent. Considered one of the most learned Swedish women of the seventeenth century, she has been the subject of scholarly interest. The book that has belonged to Beata Rosenhane is Georges de Scudéry’s *Alaric, ou Rome vaincue* (Paris, 1654), which is bound in beautiful red morocco leather. The book, which in all likelihood was intended as a gift for Charles X Gustav of Sweden (r. 1654–1660), has been inscribed by the author. Subject-wise, most of the books from Rosenhane’s ancestors fit into the collection rather nicely, suggesting that Rosenhane appreciated them more for their contents than as family heirlooms. With that said, there are, however, exceptions. A copy of the Bible in Swedish, for example, which belonged to the diplomat and commander Bengt Oxenstierna (1623–1702), Rosenhane’s great-grandfather, contains records of important family events, presumably written in Oxenstierna’s own hand.

Some of the books in Rosenhane’s library were taken as war booty during the Swedish war campaigns on the continent. It is well-known that Schering Rosenhane the Elder’s library contained a great deal of books from the royal libraries in Warsaw as well as from several notable Jesuit libraries. Most of his books that have not been lost have ended up in other public libraries in Sweden and Denmark, sometimes without traces of their Rosenhane provenance. A handful of volumes of royal Polish provenance remain unscathed in the Rosenhane library to this day. Danish books also appear in Rosenhane’s library; some of these presumably also seized as war booty in Denmark. For example, Hans Svaning’s *Refutatio calumniarum* (1560) allegedly comes from an otherwise undocumented Jesuit College in Copenhagen. At least three books in the library have belonged to members of the Swedish royal family. One of them, Samuel von Pufendorf’s *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo* (1696), in a rather

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9 Hansson (1993); Meyer (1889).
10 Walde (1920), pp. 145–176.
11 Walde (1917), pp. 331–332.
splendid half calf binding with three guilt crowns as spine decoration, presumably comes from the library of Hedvig Eleonora of Holstein-Gottorp, Queen of Sweden (1636–1715).

The book collection also contains remnants of several notable private libraries. A few volumes come from the library of one of Rosenhane’s neighbours, Carl Gustaf Warmholtz (1713–1785), who was the owner of a famous book collection and the author of the monumental bibliographical work *Bibliotheca historica Sueo-Gothica* (1782–1817). Rosenhane and Warmholtz shared a passion for Swedish history, and they both systematically collected and amassed both books and knowledge.

Another personal library represented in the collection in several volumes is that of Johan Biörnstierna (1729–1797), a person whose signature and wax seal is found on many flyleaves and title pages and who was both Rosenhane’s childhood private tutor (*informator*) and King Gustav III’s personal librarian. Biörnstierna maintained close ties with the Rosenhane family throughout his life. Books written or published by Gjörwell, another of Rosenhane’s friends, often contain dedications from Gjörwell to Rosenhane. A few volumes in the library also carry the bookplate of Upfostrings-sälskapet (‘The Educational Society’), which was the Enlightenment brainchild of Gjörwell and some of his close acquaintances, with Rosenhane as a supporter and contributor. The society acquired the library of Warmholtz, but in 1794 their collections had to be sold at auction, and substantial parts of the collection ended up with Gjörwell’s son-in-law, Johan Niklas Lindahl (1762–1813), Uppsala University Library, or Rosenhane. Other books in the collection come from the libraries of Olof Rudbeck the Elder (1630–1702),¹² Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695–1770), Johan Gustaf Psilanderhielm (1723–1782), and Nils Nilsson Stiernflycht (1738–1778), only to mention a few.

¹² See the article by Erik Hamberg in this volume.
Reading and Readers
Rosenhane compiled the library catalogues mentioned in the 1825 article himself, and today they are kept at Uppsala University Library. Seemingly, it was important for Rosenhane to make his collection both useful and accessible. Rosenhane made a point of equipping his Sammelbände with detailed inventory lists, which can usually be found on the flyleaves. His thematic division of his books facilitated quick navigation of the collection, and it is evident that the order and documentation of the collection were made with reading and readers in mind. Rosenhane’s acquaintances were undoubtedly allowed to roam his library. However, Rosenhane was its primary user, and many of the books are filled with his annotations. Rosenhane kept the best part of the collection in his Stockholm apartment rather than at the family estate, a choice that allowed him to have immediate access to his most prized books.

Making the collection available to users was also a priority of Rosenhane’s sister and brother-in-law. Ahead of the donation, the librarian Johan Henrik Schröder (1791–1857) was assigned the task of compiling a separate catalogue of the part of Rosenhane’s library that would go to the Academy. Each volume was assigned a specific number corresponding to the catalogue, and this number was written on a slip of paper that was placed in the book. Schröder’s slips remain in place to this day. Following the instructions from the donors, the Academy also kept a loan catalogue, which recorded all loans from Rosenhane’s library. In accordance with the wishes of the donors, Rosenhane’s books could be checked out by library patrons residing in Stockholm, but items from the illustrations and drawings collection could only be viewed in situ.

The loan catalogue records the loans of the Rosenhane books between 1828 and 1862. It is striking that the number of loans is quite limited. Most borrowers are well-known members of the cultural sphere. Among the most frequently recurring borrowers were the historian Anders Magnus Strinnholm (1786–1862), politician Johan August Posse (1815–1865), cultural historian Nils Månsson
Mandelgren (1813–1899), medieval historian Carl Gustaf Styffe (1817–1908), diplomat and scholar Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius (1818–1889), antiquarian Richard Dybeck (1811–1877), Norwegian official Johan Fredrik Monrad (1799–1877), the Finnish political journalist and historian Adolf Ivar Awridsson (1791–1858), vicar to the Royal Court Anders Lagergren (1802–1867), and renowned zoologist and archaeologist Sven Nilsson (1787–1883).

The Legacy of Rosenhane
Rosenhane’s library was bequeathed to the Academy at a decisive moment. The Gustavian era of royal patronage was long gone, and economic and institutional stability were important for the Academy to prosper. Furthermore, the donation was consistent with how Rosenhane himself had supported the Academy over the years. In the hands of the Academy, the Rosenhane library constituted crucial research infrastructure. The Rosenhane donation was a well-needed injection to the Academy’s library, which ultimately ensured its long-term survival. As the subjects of the Rosenhane donation were aligned with the subjects of the Academy and the collection was large but not too large to cause storage problems, the library of the Academy avoided the same fate as the Swedish Academy Library, which was dispersed during the late nineteenth century.

Today, the Rosenhane collection can still be consulted by the library’s patrons, although they are no longer allowed to take the books home. Although the collection only represents a minor part of Rosenhane’s original library, it remains a collected entity, kept in the same order as it was during Rosenhane’s time and still with the format – folio, quarto, octavo, and so forth – as the primary guiding principle. Other libraries in Sweden have received similar donations over the years, but these book collections have mostly been scattered, making it difficult or even impossible to reconstruct the undispersed collections, even digitally.

Although containing many individual books that deserve to be the subject of studies in their own right, it is perhaps the collection in
itself that today constitutes the true attraction. To be able to use and browse the collection in the same way as its original owner once did may further our understanding of not only how a Gustavian scholar would arrange and use his library but also of how knowledge and books were amassed and used in Sweden in Gustavian times.

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The Wrangel Library from Säby: Some Observations on Readers and Users

Elin Andersson

The Säby manor house is located on the island Aspö between Strängnäs and Enköping, about an hour’s drive from Stockholm. The manor dates from the fourteenth century and originally was part of a group of estates under the manor at Lagnö. In the late seventeenth century, Säby belonged to the noblewoman Elsa Cruus af Edeby (1631–1716), who passed it on to her daughter-in-law, Anna Catharina Wrangel (1656 –1724). Anna Catharina made Säby an entailed estate (*fideicommissum*) and bequeathed it to her nephew Erik Wrangel af Lindeberg (1686–1765). Until 1977, when the entailment was discontinued, Säby was inherited by male members of the Wrangel af Lindeberg family. (Fig. 1)

In 2006, Christina Wrangel, widow of Helmuth Wrangel af Lindeberg (1894–1977), donated the manor’s library and archive to the Rogge Library in Strängnäs, which is part of the National Library of Sweden. Christina Wrangel wanted the collection displayed in its own room and available to visitors. The bookshelves from Säby were also included in the donation. (Fig. 2)

Christina Wrangel also donated toys, clothes, artwork, and various utensils from Säby to the local museum in Strängnäs. Following the closure of the museum, these objects were transferred to Sörmlands museum in Nyköping in 2017. Many of these items are accessi-
ble online via the digital catalogue. Some objects from Säby are also found at the Swedish National Museum and the Royal Armoury.

The Library at Säby Manor

The library from Säby is an impressive book collection, consisting of about 5,000 printed works, the oldest printed in 1493. Most of the books are from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – about 60% of the titles were printed before 1800. Books from the Säby collection in the Rogge Library are frequently requested as several titles are unique registrations in the National Union Library Catalogue, Libris. For example, the Säby collection includes many English seventeenth-century prints not registered at any other Swedish institutions. Some of these books may have been bought by Erik Wrangel (1686–1765), who worked in London in the 1710s. Swedish is the most common language in the collection (3,610 titles), followed by Latin (675), French (421), German (190), and English (101). However, there are less common languages represented in the collection, including one title in Welsh, *Perl y cymro* (1655).
Studies and Research on the Säby Collection

Since 2008, the Säby manor library has been accessible via Libris, although cataloguing work on the archive was not finished until 2022. Today, the archive is accessible via the National Library’s search service for private archives, Arken. Consequently, the Säby archive has not been subject to much research. However, according to letters and notes in the archive, documents from the Säby archive were to some extent known and made accessible to scholars in the nineteenth century, most likely via personal contacts with the Wrangel family.

Karl August Nicander (1799–1839), a Strängnäs-born Romantic poet and novelist, produced the first catalogue of the Säby collection (printed works and manuscripts) in the 1820s, when he was employed as a tutor for the Wrangel children. The first twentieth-century catalogue of the archive was conducted by the military officer and...
genealogist Karl K:son Leijonhufvud (1865–1952). However, in the nineteenth century, the archive was studied by the geographer and historian Wilhelm Tham (1812–1873). Tham wrote to Baron Carl Otto Wrangel (1811–1891) in 1850 to thank him for the volumes he had previously borrowed from the library at Säby: three parchment letters, Erik Wrangel’s register (jordebok), and his autobiography (in autograph manuscript). In his letter, Tham correctly points out that the printed edition of Wrangel’s autobiography (1843) was based on a copy kept at the Uppsala University Library and that some passages regarding family matters were left out.

Tham also requested a late fifteenth-century manuscript in Old Swedish containing Magnus Eriksson’s landslag (The Country Law of Magnus Eriksson). This manuscript was probably produced and bound in the Franciscan convent in Stockholm in about 1480. The earliest confirmed owner of the book is Nils Eriksson Ryning (ca 1502–1578), a relative of the Wrangel family. When Tham contacted Carl Otto Wrangel in 1850, he asked to borrow the manuscript to have it transcribed and edited and promised to send a receipt upon its arrival. Tham’s project was never realised, and the manuscript remained a well-kept secret until it was rediscovered when the archive was catalogued in 2016. Recently, Nordist Patrik Åström (2018) has published an academic article that focuses on the text. In addition to these examples, several mediaeval parchment letters in the archive were recorded in the Diplomatarium Suecanum at the Swedish National Archives, probably at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Erik Wrangel and his Family

Erik Wrangel af Lindeberg, who inherited Säby from his aunt Anna Catharina Wrangel, had a successful career as a politician and statesman and seems to have been well respected. He became a member of the privy council in 1739 and was chosen as escort for the new crown prince and future king, Adolf Frederick (r. 1751–1771), on his journey to Sweden in 1743. His own account of this venture is kept in the Säby archive.
Erik Wrangel and his wife, Elisabet von Rosen (1688–1751), had three sons and three daughters. In a family Bible, which is kept in the library, Erik wrote down the dates of birth of all of his children. (Fig. 3)] He was also proficient as an author. In 1736, he published a translation of Phaedrus’ fables; in the preface, he claims he published the fables “to amuse my children”. His two eldest children, Erik (1721–1760) and Ingeborg (1722–1773), both fell from grace in different ways. Erik, who was described by Carl von Linné as “quick-witted”, fled the country in 1756 when his support for the crown led to the displeasure of the ruling Hat party. In his autobiography, kept in an autograph copy in the Säby archive, Erik the Elder writes about this hard blow to the family name and to himself as a father:
1756 on 23 March a heart-wrenching sorrow hit me: my son Erik Wrangel, who had displeased the ruling party, and who had tried to help several criminal persons to flee, had to flee his fatherland himself. On 2 April, he crossed the Norwegian border. When are my sorrowful days going to end? [My translation.]

In the same year, 1756, Erik Wrangel the Younger published the political pamphlet *The State of Sweden* (*Swea Rickes Tilstånd*) under the pseudonym J. Schwedenschiöld. Very few copies of this pamphlet exist, and none are found in the Säby collection. However, there are other traces of Erik Wrangel the Younger in the archive. For example, there is an inventory of books, clothes, and other objects made after his death in Hamburg in 1760. Several of the titles on the list are books found in the Säby library today, which implies that his books were sent back to his father at Säby after his death. These books include Antoine Terrasson’s *Histoire de la Jurisprudence Romaine* (Paris, 1750), Johann Gottfried von Meiern’s *Instrumenta Pacis* (Göttingen, 1738), Johan Olivecrantz’s *Les Anecdotes de Suede* (The Hague, 1716), and *Lettre d’un Juif d’Amsterdam à un Juif de Londres* (London, 1759).

**Some Women Readers at Säby**

In his edition and commentary on a rare Swedish psalter (printed in 1582), which is found in the Säby collection, Otfried Czaika notes that this particular volume had been owned by several women – Ingeborg Trolle, Ingeborg Ryning, Christina Cruus, and Ingeborg Fleming – before Erik Wrangel, who also made a note of the provenance in the book. According to Czaika, the 1582 psalter, which shows signs of frequent use, is representative of female confessional culture in Lutheran Sweden. One of the owners of the psalter, Ingeborg Fleming (1657–1725) – the mother of Erik Wrangel the Elder – also produced a notebook (today privately owned) where she recorded births and deaths, political events, and various “strange” occurrences during the course of five centuries. Erik Wrangel’s oldest
daughter was named after his mother. When her daughter was born in 1722, Ingeborg Fleming wrote the following: “May God the highest hold his merciful hand over the dear child, that she may tread in the footsteps of her ancestors”. However, Ingeborg Wrangel became involved in some kind of personal but undefined scandal and left Säby at the age of 25 to live with friends of the family. Preserved letters in the Säby archive between Ingeborg and her parents as well as from family friends hint at the fact that the situation eventually became unbearable, which in the end led to her estrangement from her parents. In the 1750s, Ingeborg married the director Carl Telin (d. 1758), a man decidedly not of her position. After the marriage, she was more or less erased from family records. Her fall from grace was noted by Carl Linnaeus in the *Nemesis Divina*, which was written as a spiritual guide for Linnaeus’s son and as a warning to his son of God’s wrath towards the unjust.

In her youth, Ingeborg obviously received an advanced education: her handwriting and spelling are on a par with her brothers’ and her father’s. In a letter to her parents, dated March 1748, she wrote: “I have already finished Plutarch’s books and am only waiting for an opportunity to return them to you. I humbly thank my father for promising [to send] me Richelet’s dictionary”. There are seven versions of Plutarch’s writings in the Säby library in Latin and French. The copy borrowed by Ingeborg was probably a French translation, *Les Vies des Hommes*, a nine-volume publication printed in Amsterdam in 1724.

Ingeborg’s younger brother, Carl Otto Wrangel (1723–1775), inherited Säby after the death of his father in 1765. Carl Otto’s wife, the countess Hedvig Ulrika Posse (1737–1810), is one of the women who left the most traces in the Säby archive, with several accounts, receipts, lists, and letters. In the library, her signature is found in two volumes: *Andeskådaren* (*The Ghost-Seer*), a novel by Friedrich Schiller, and *Den Fattige Landtprästen* (*The Life of a Poor Village Pastor*) by August Lafontaine. Hedvig’s and Carl Otto’s daughter, Sofia
Benedikta (1770–1800), wrote some Latin exercises on the inside cover of a manuscript containing notes on mathematics and physics. (Fig. 4).

After the death of Carl Otto in 1775, Säby was transferred to his son Erik Carl Benedikt (1763–1798) and subsequently to the younger brothers, Arvid Ulrik (1764–1809) and Otto Ludvig (1768–1825). Brita Charlotta Wattrang (1775–1850), the wife of Otto Ludvig Wrangel, was definitely among the most productive letter writers and bookkeepers in the family archive. Brita Charlotta wrote several dossiers of letters and lists of production at Säby and other manors. However, in the library, I have not been able to find any books with Brita Charlotta’s signature.
Salons, Soirées, and Ghost Stories

As mentioned above, the Strängnäs-born poet Karl August Nicander (1799–1839) was hired as a tutor for the Wrangel children at Säby in the 1820s. In addition to the library catalogue, he also wrote plays and panegyrical poems for birthdays and other festive occasions during his stay at Säby. The Säby archive includes a few previously unknown plays by Nicander. The main characters of the plays were Wrangel family members, friends, and employees. Säby inspired Nicander to write a collection of ghost stories, *Syner och röster i det fördolda* (1838), in line with the contemporary fascination for mysticism. In fact, the archive from Säby contains several documents in line with this gothic theme: classical ghost stories and accounts of unusual noises and spiritual experiences. The library at Säby obviously provided some inspiration for Nicander as he mentions the autobiography of Erik Wrangel in one of his stories.

The library and archive of Säby covers a period stretching from the middle ages to the twenty-first century. Now that cataloguing the collection is finished, we may certainly hope for continued research about this interesting collection.

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Why invest precious time researching old aristocratic libraries? Are there reasons to believe that it is more than just an exciting activity for bibliographic sleuths? Using the example of one of Belgium’s major aristocratic families, the Arenbergs, I will show that this research can contribute to a better understanding of how representatives of the elites dealt with knowledge and information not only as private individuals but also as public figures with important civic responsibilities. More importantly, this case demonstrates that aristocratic libraries, by virtue of the fact that they usually remained in the same family for several generations, could play an important role in the preservation of a country’s written heritage. The intense and purposeful collecting activity of several dukes of Arenberg in the nineteenth century was fundamental. Its traces can be found in the family archives and in a long series of libraries in Belgium and abroad.

This chapter briefly presents the Arenberg family, discusses the libraries they assembled in their residences, and examines the activities of some dukes as collectors of rare books and the role they played in preserving Belgium’s written heritage. In doing so, this chapter
provides useful comparative material concerning the significance of aristocratic libraries in Europe.

Arenberg
The Arenberg name is connected with a small principality in the Eifel region, the Land of Arenberg, where they have ruled since the twelfth century. In 1576, the land was elevated to the status of prince-ly county, and the head of the family held a seat in the Reichstag of the Holy Roman Empire. This conferred on them the splendour of a sovereign lineage, a status that no other nobles residing in the Southern Low Countries achieved. In the seventeenth century, the county was raised to the rank of duchy. This gradual promotion of their core territory explains why the dukes of Arenberg considered themselves first and foremost as German princes and only secondarily as the first noblemen in the Low Countries, although their feudal domains were much more extensive in that part of Europe.

The expansion of land ownership, the basis of their wealth, was a constant concern of the Arenbergs. They first extended their holdings to properties in Liège, Luxembourg, and Brabant, and later in Holland. The main extension of the feudal estate took place at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the family came into possession of significant properties of the De Croÿ family, whose last descendant had died childless in 1612. Through this inheritance, the family became one of the most important noble landowners in the Habsburg Low Countries; they were also recognised as dukes of Aarschot, the oldest and for a long time the only ducal title in the Low Countries. In 1607, the family bought the town and fiefdom of Enghien, in the county of Hainaut, where they built a summer castle that later became famous for its park.

From the middle of the sixteenth century, the family’s position was mainly characterised by loyalty to the Habsburg sovereigns of the Southern Low Countries. The dukes acted as political advisers and diplomats, held posts of command in the army, or took on the administration of provinces in the country. Their prestige was also
evident in the capital city of Brussels, where they purchased the old Egmont Palace and converted it into a prestigious building complex.

The French Republic and the Napoleonic regime dealt the family heavy blows. The old principality of Arenberg in the Eifel region ceased to exist with the Treaty of Lunéville (1801), when the left bank of the Rhine was incorporated into France. The family was compensated with secularised church property on the right bank of the Rhine. In May 1815, however, their new principality was divided between Prussia and Hanover; in 1866, it was incorporated into Prussia. Despite all this, the dukes continued to prosper, retaining the right to ten per cent of the gross revenue from the mining of their
lands. The explosive growth of coal mining in the Ruhr region in the second half of the nineteenth century considerably increased the family’s fortune. In the Low Countries, the family estates remained largely intact after the decades of annexation by the French Republic. In independent Belgium, after 1830, the dukes were still very important landowners, and they could count on high rents.

In short, in the ancien régime, the oldest core of the family’s feudal estate was located in the German realm, but the dukes mainly owned land in the Low Countries. At the beginning of the twentieth century however, the family more explicitly turned towards Germany. When war broke out in 1914, the duke enlisted in the army of Emperor Wilhelm II. After the First World War, the dual nationality of the past proved to be irreconcilable with the sharp boundaries of twentieth-century nation states. In 1919, the Belgian government confiscated all the ducal properties in Belgium.

Over their long history, the Arenbergs brought together important libraries. Let us now examine some of the book collections they assembled in the course of three centuries.

Instruction and Leisure
A central place must be given to the large library in the Arenberg palace in Brussels. It was gradually formed over the eighteenth century. Most probably, the library was the result of bringing together books that had previously been collected separately in the various family residences. Unfortunately, the preserved archives are too fragmented to reconstruct this process with any precision. We can only glimpse at fragments of collections, and we do not know how they related to one another.

The first preserved list of books dates from 1616. After Charles of Arenberg (1550–1616) died, some of his volumes were listed as part of the post-mortem inventory of the family residence at Enghien. These 34 books, which were probably located in his bedroom, covered subjects as diverse as botany, navigation, astronomy, and mili-
tary science; they were published in Latin, French, Dutch, Spanish, German, English, and ancient Greek.

At the dawn of the eighteenth century, Duke Leopold-Philippe (1690–1754) systematically bought books not only in local bookshops but also from French and English booksellers. His purchases reflected a pronounced taste for literature, but his favourite fields seem to have been history, natural sciences, and the great intellectual debates of his time. He also subscribed to several scholarly journals.

The formation of a library in the Arenberg palace in Brussels is attested to in the second half of the eighteenth century. It appears to have been quite important. Duke Charles-Marie-Raymond (1721–1778) continued his father’s acquisition policy and had a large number of volumes of the Brussels palace library uniformly bound.

The development of the Brussels family library did not prevent other members of the family from buying books for their own personal pleasure. Thus, around 1763, a list was compiled of the 108 books (in 336 volumes) that Louise-Marguerite van der Marck-Schleiden (1730–1820), Charles-Marie-Raymond’s wife, kept in her flats at the castle at Enghien. Most of these books, published exclusively in French, were very recent and reflected a strong interest in literature and history.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, the management of the central family library needed to be improved. Between 1766 and 1768, the collection was catalogued for the first time by an anonymous, not very expert hand. Only one of the two volumes of this catalogue has been preserved: it lists the books under the headings of Théologie, Jurisprudence, Sciences & Arts, and Belles-Lettres and therefore refers to four of the five classes of the classification system known as “des libraires de Paris”. It can be assumed that the second volume listed the books on history. At the time, the library comprised between six and seven thousand volumes. It was intended for scientific purposes although titles about leisure, general education and the understanding of society were also listed.
A more professional approach to the library began in 1772 when a former professor and librarian at the University of Leuven, Jean-Noël Paquot (1722–1803), was hired. In addition, Paquot had authored the monumental book *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas* (1765–1770); he was an authority on bibliography and literary history. Using cards to describe each book, Paquot resumed the work of cataloguing the library. This catalogue, completed in 1778, lists nearly 5,000 titles for a total of some 12,000 volumes. Most of the works were published after 1670; the presence of numerous auction catalogues testifies to the duke’s habit of using the auction circuit to enrich the library.

Surprisingly, Louis-Engelbert of Arenberg (1750–1820), who was blinded by an accident in 1775, spent even greater sums on expanding the library, taking advantage of his many trips to visit bookshops abroad. Without neglecting law, history, and travel writing, his purchases concentrated on the Enlightenment, the natural sciences, the ecclesiastical polemics of his time, freemasonry, newspapers and magazines, and contemporary literature, published almost exclusively in French. Because of his blindness, the duke had his books read to him aloud by an assistant whom he called “his eye”.

In 1820, Prosper-Louis (1785–1861) took over from his father, and from the outset showed great interest in the organisation of the family library in the Brussels palace. As early as 1822, he had the ground floor of the main wing refurbished. The library was now set up in a luxurious neoclassical décor. A very detailed catalogue was compiled: the eight volumes describe approximately 15,000 titles in 23,000 volumes placed in no less than seven rooms on the ground floor.

**Bibliophily and National Heritage**

In 1850, Duke Prosper-Louis appointed the artist Charles de Brou (1811–1877) as librarian to the Brussels family library. De Brou, who had studied drawing, painting, and engraving, was originally hired to provide artistic education for the duke’s children. However, in
1841, he suffered from a serious back injury, from which he only recovered in 1863. As a result, the duke changed De Brou’s duties to managing the library. De Brou was very interested in the oldest books in the collection. In 1848/49, he published two articles on Dutch language incunabula and post-incunabula from the duke’s collection, which were unknown at the time. These texts certainly did not fail to arouse the interest of philologists, historians and bibliophiles. They were the first – and probably the only – contemporary accounts revealing some details about the collection. Later, Prosper-Louis moved the most valuable books from the library in the Arenberg palace to a smaller residence in Brussels, where De Brou lived. Thus, this *Collection spéciale* acquired the status of a separate, very exclusive collection.

In 1861, Duke Engelbert-August (1824–1875) inherited the library. He added to the collections, both to the large palace library and to the *Collection spéciale*. For the latter, he increasingly concentrated on early printed books from the Low Countries, where the Arenberg family had played such a prominent role. He purchased books from auctions in Belgium and abroad. But the main purchase that he made, the one that strikes the imagination for its scope and rarity, is the substantial set of volumes sold to him by the Ghent professor and bibliophile Constant-Philippe Serrure. This acquisition was spread over several years and illustrates one of the directions that bibliophily took in Belgium after the 1850s, concentrating on the written heritage of this country, which had gained the status of an independent kingdom in 1830.

The collector Constant-Philippe Serrure (Antwerp 1805–Moortsele 1872) was a historian and philologist typical of the first generation of professors at Ghent State University: he was appointed professor of mediaeval and Belgian history in 1835; later he was given a chair in Dutch literature. A passionate lover of the Dutch language and of the literary history of the Low Countries, he was particularly concerned with the publication of mediaeval Dutch texts. Above all, he was the owner of an exquisite library, which made his reputation
but also absorbed all his savings. From 1859, his lack of money forced him to sell his collection. Contacts with the Royal Library in Brussels were unsuccessful, but he found an interested party in the Duke of Arenberg’s librarian, De Brou, whose articles on the incunabula of his employer he had probably read. We are well-informed about the outcome of these contacts thanks to the extant correspondence between Serrure and De Brou (1862–1871). As early as 1862, they agreed that the major part of Serrure’s collection would be sold to the duke and that De Brou would act as a go-between. The transaction included a promise of exclusivity for De Brou, who would first be able to express his preferences (i.e., those of the Duke of Arenberg) for all the volumes Serrure wanted to dispose of, especially when the latter moved from Ghent to a spacious country house. Serrure explained this exclusivity as a result of his desire to keep most of his collection together and to be able to consult it from time to time.

The transaction’s main characteristic was the coherence of the collection purchased – a reflection of the coherence of Serrure’s private library. By his own admission, the Ghent professor had built up his library by buying at all the major book auctions of his time. He had purchased his first books at the age of eighteen and had bought volumes from the monastic libraries that had been scattered during the Austrian and French regimes. He had made friends with some famous book collectors such as the Ghent bibliophile Charles van Hulthem (1764–1833), whose library would form the nucleus of Belgium’s Royal Library in 1837, and the English collector Richard Heber (1773–1833), whose catalogue of books acquired in Belgium Serrure had compiled in 1835. In 1866, Serrure himself characterised his collection as “essentially Belgian”. It was divided into the following sections: books written and/or printed by Belgians in all genres, even abroad; everything related to Belgian history, including the lives of Belgian saints and a considerable number of pamphlets as well as all the major works, often high-quality and complete copies; everything related to the Dutch language and literature such as dictionaries and grammars, poets from the sixteenth to the nineteenth
century, theatre texts, songbooks, popular books, and especially romances of chivalry; and editions of the Bible and ascetic books published between 1540 and 1600.

A concern for completeness characterised Serrure’s collecting activities. As for incunabula, he made a distinction. Unlike most bibliophiles of his time, he did not value them as witnesses of the early days of printing; the value he imposed on them was related either to history, numismatics, or Dutch language and literature.

The profile of the books collected by Serrure directly influenced the collecting choices of the Duke of Arenberg and his librarian. When Serrure asked De Brou to be more specific about the acquisitions he wanted to make, De Brou explained that he was interested in all the categories Serrure had used to describe his personal collection. Clearly, the Duke of Arenberg had gradually made the profile of Constant-Philippe Serrure’s library his own. This explains how the Arenberg Collection spéciale became an indispensable resource for the history and philology of the early Low Countries, especially in the Dutch language.

An exhaustive catalogue of the Collection spéciale was compiled, probably by De Brou, around 1875, the year Engelbert-August died. The catalogue lists no less than 1418 entries, including numerous pamphlet volumes, totalling 1668 titles. This list probably followed the chronological order in which the volumes entered the collection. The first part mainly lists incunabula, probably the ones removed from the large family library in the Arenberg Palace in the 1850s. The second part mainly describes sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions published in the Low Countries; most of these books had been bought from Constant-Philippe Serrure.

The Arenberg Collection spéciale gradually gained in reputation, especially among bibliographers studying books printed in the Low Countries. For example, Jan-Willem Holtrop (1806–1870), director of the Royal Library in The Hague, cited the Arenberg Collection spéciale in his Monuments typographiques des Pays-Bas au quinzième siècle (1868). In 1913, Wouter Nijhoff visited the collection when he
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was preparing his bibliography of post-incunabula from the Low Countries. However, the outbreak of the First World War put an end to this opening to researchers. The volumes were packed in crates and stored in the safety of Nordkirchen Castle, a castle in Germany that Duke Engelbert-Marie (1872–1949) had bought in 1903. The boxes were returned to Belgium in the 1930s, when they were temporarily stored in an Antwerp convent. Engelbert-Marie intended to donate the collection to the University of Leuven, but his intention was aborted, first by the outbreak of the Second World War and later by his death.

Engelbert-Marie’s son, Engelbert-Charles (1899–1974), was not particularly interested in the collection. He had the boxes moved to the villa he occupied in Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat in the south of France, where he had the books catalogued one final time. In 1954, he decided to sell most of the titles and approached a number of American booksellers. The New York bookseller William Schab visited the duke in Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat in 1955. The two parties agreed on a first sale of 147 items. The set was purchased by the businessman, philanthropist, and bibliophile Lessing J. Rosenwald (1891–1979), who later donated the books to the Library of Congress in Washington D. C. William Schab sold an even larger set, 235 titles, to Bernard Brenninkmeijer (1893–1976), a London-based industrialist, philanthropist, and bibliophile. In 2013, his library landed in the Dreiflessen Collection in Mettingen, Germany, where the Brenninkmeijer family has its origins. Other sales followed; they explain why today the traced volumes of the Arenberg Special Collection are to be found in 38 libraries, both private and public, in six countries, mainly Belgium, Germany, and the United States. The copies can be identified either by mentions in antiquarian booksellers’ catalogues, by the presence of Serrure’s handwritten signature, or by the typical label attached to the upper part of the spines.

Clearly, the libraries once owned by the Arenberg family deserve to be studied in detail. They illustrate the successive dukes’ need for instruction and information in the context of their duties as lords.
and high-ranking officials. They reflect an intention to gain a better understanding of the society of their time and give an idea of the family’s leisure reading. Finally, by building their *Collection spéciale*, the Arenberg family played a pivotal role in preserving printed traces of Dutch cultural life in the Low Countries. Indeed, the volumes were scattered in the twentieth century, and they are now primarily kept in libraries in Germany and the United States. But they continue to reflect the ambition of some nineteenth-century collectors to preserve Belgium’s printed heritage and therefore deserve to be cherished both by their current owners and by the international research community.

Bibliography

The Arenberg Archives are in Brussels, State Archives, Arenberg Family, and at Enghien, Arenberg Foundation: https://www.arenbergfoundation.eu.
PIERRE DELSAERDT


Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Manor Libraries of the Grand Duchy of Finland

Outi Merisalo

This article examines seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manor libraries of the Grand Duchy of Finland, from ca 1150 until 1809 part of the Kingdom of Sweden. The Grand Duchy of Finland comprised modern-day Finland and the territories that were lost by Sweden in the peace of Nystad (Finnish: Uusikaupunki) in 1721, i.e. the region of Kexholm (Finnish: Käkisalmi) north of Lake Ladoga and the Karelian isthmus down to Ingria (Swedish: Ingermanland, Finnish: Inkeri). The sources for French-language manor libraries in the Grand Duchy are provided by both individual library catalogues, estate inventory deeds, and earlier research, in particular the lists in Magnus Björkenheim, Äldre fransk litteratur på herrgårdar i Finland (1929, reprint 1981) that covered the holdings of fifty libraries until 1852, unfortunately without indicating accession years.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the manors of the Grand Duchy were normally not main residences, which explains the relatively small size of the collections. There are, however, some notable exceptions, all in the south-west of the area, i.e. the library of the Armfelts at Åminne (Finnish: Joensuu) near Åbo (Finnish: Turku), that of the Aminoffs at Rilax (Finnish: Riilahti) in the parish of Bromarv, that of the Hisingers at Fagervik in the parish of

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1 For a concise history of the Grand Duchy, see e.g. Merisalo (2009), pp. 186–189.
Figure 1a. F. J. J. von Reilly, *Des Königreichs Schweden mittlere Provinzen Nro. 69*. From F. J. J. von Reilly (1791), *Schauplatz der fünf Theile der Welt 1–2* […]. Wien.

Figure 1b. Reilly (1791), detail.
Ingå (Finnish: Inkoo) near Helsinki (Helsingfors); and, last but not least, that of the Winters at Ispois (Finnish: Ispoinen) near Åbo. These manor libraries will be examined in this article.

Åminne (Finnish: Joensuu)

Åminne manor, established in the fourteenth century on a site already used for agriculture in the eighth century, belonged to the House of Horn from at least about 1400 until 1782, when it was acquired by the Scottish-born merchant and shipowner George Seton (1696–1785). In 1786, Seton sold the manor to Baron Magnus Vilhelm Armfelt (1725–1795) and his wife, Maria Catharina Wennerstedt (1728–1803). In the early 1790s, the couple oversaw the construction of a new main building in timber. In 1803 the manor passed to their son Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt (1757–1814), Gustav III’s favourite, general, member of the Swedish Academy and a powerful politician. From 1811 in Russian service, he enjoyed the favour of Czar Alexander I.² Armfelt, from 1812 Count, closely following

the operation, employed two celebrated architects, Carl Christoffer Gjörwell (1766–1837), later Stockholm city architect, and Carlo Bassi (1772–1840), who designed much of the neo-classical buildings of Turku. They were to enlarge and modernise the recent main building, the exterior of which was completed in 1811 (Fig. 2). Extensive work was also done on other buildings, gardens and an English garden, though all of Armfelt’s ambitious plans were never carried out. Even so, the result was a complex of rather exceptional architectural qualities and international flair. The manor remained in the family as a fideicommissum (entailed estate) until 1925, when it passed through the female line to the von Knorrings. In 2001, it was acquired and completely restored by the banker Björn Wahlroos.

G. M. Armfelt also largely transferred his library to Åminne, completing it with new acquisitions. The collection featured work-related texts, his own writings, such as *Précis de la campagne de Norvège l’an 1808* (Uppsala 1811), and literature in French, Italian, German, Swedish, and other languages. The books were placed in the eastern wing designed by Gjörwell as a kind of Gustavian sanctuary (Fig. 3). The library was further enriched by his descendants, in particular his son, Lieutenant General Gustaf Magnus Armfelt (1792–1856), from 1838 onwards, when he took possession of the manor together with his wife, British-born Louise Cuthbert-Brooke (1801–1865), part of whose own substantial book collection was incorporated into the Åminne library. There are three nineteenth-century and one modern catalogue published in 2002. The oldest one, covering the first decades until the 1820s, has fewer than 300 titles, whereas the second one, entitled *Catalogue de Livres contenus dans la Bibliothèque d’Åminne*, covering the 1820s until 1831, shows ca 500 titles. The third one, *Bok Catalog*, covering 1831–1833, has over 700 works listed. The second and third catalogue also show later additions.

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4 For the manor’s later history, see Lavonen (2006), pp. 42–110.

Approximately 95% of the works listed in these catalogues are still present in the library.\textsuperscript{6} The modern one lists altogether ca 2,300 volumes containing around 4,000 works printed between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{7} Björkenheim listed 2,753 French language titles, mainly printed in the latter half of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{8} In addition to French authors, such as Montaigne, \textit{Journal du voyage en Italie} (1775), the expected eighteenth-century bestsellers such as Abbé Prévost \textit{Manon Lescaut}, and significant Enlightenment authors such as Voltaire and Buffon, there is a series of French translations of ancient Classics, such as Plato, Horace, and Virgil, common in the eighteenth century. Even with post-eighteenth-century elements, the Åminne library reflects the Age of Enlightenment through the importance of French-language texts (almost 70%) and the choice of authors.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[8] Björkenheim (1929/1981), \textit{passim}. This reflects the general figures for the library, where the first half of the eighteenth century dominates, see Parland-von Essen (2002), p. v.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Fagervik

The Fagervik ironworks (Fig. 4) in Ingå near Helsinki (Swedish: Helsingfors) was established in 1646. Captain Johan Wilhelm Hisingh (1685–1751) acquired it and brought on his wealthy brother, Stockholm merchant Mikael (1687–1756), to help him run the company. In the 1730s, Fagervik had at times the monopoly for iron plate production in Sweden.⁹ Mikael’s son Johan Hisingh (1727–1790) made Fagervik into the most important ironworks (active until 1902) of the Grand Duchy.

In 1737, Johan Hisingh began his studies at Uppsala University. Starting in 1747, he served as in state administration, in particular mining, resigned in 1758 and took over the complex of ironworks in Fagervik, Billnäs, and Skogby. During the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763) Hisingh’s ironworks successfully provided iron plate to Western Europe, where demand was high because iron plate from Saxony

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could not reach the market.\textsuperscript{10} Hisingh, who had married in 1756 Magdalena Catharina Wittfooth (1734–1782), daughter of a wealthy Turku merchant, commissioned a new three-story main building in stone (termed \textit{castle}). It was constructed in 1762–1773 by the influential Turku city architect Christoffer Friedrich Schröder (1722–1789), who designed a series of manors in the Grand Duchy.\textsuperscript{11} Hisingh’s in-depth expertise in iron and his business acumen enabled him to gather a large fortune. In addition, his extensive intellectual interests made him an important patron of the \textit{Academia Aboica} and its scholars, as shown by the numerous dedications in dissertations (Fig. 5). In 1770, Hisingh was ennobled and took the name Hisinger. His son Baron Mikael Hisinger (1758–1829) studied science and languages at the Royal Academy of Turku between 1770 and 1777, and was tutored by Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804), Academy Librarian (1772), Professor of Eloquence (1777), and an important representative of Neo-Humanism in Finland. Mikael Hisinger subsequently made a career in the army, specialising in fortification and cartography. He undertook a grand tour in 1783 that included visits

\textsuperscript{10} Haggrén (1997).

to Prussia and France, among others, combining his military and cultural interests. Upon his return, he ran the ironworks with much success. The library, which is still *in situ*, has approximately 6,000 volumes. A catalogue was drafted by the poet Carl Jonas Love Almqvist (1793–1866) during his time at Fagervik as a tutor to Michael Hisinger’s children (1814–1821). Björkenheim lists 1,504 titles in French, with historical, political, and literary texts, libretti and opera partitions, as well as dictionaries and again numerous classical authors translated into French, with twelve titles including Cicero, Homer, Juvenal, Longus, Ovid, and Tacitus in late eighteenth-century (1780–1796) and early nineteenth-century (1807–1825) editions.

**Rilax**

The first mention of a tenant in the village of Rilax dates from 1437. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the fief was owned by Arvid Stålarm (1549–1620), governor of Finland, and Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654), among others, until it was acquired by the Körnings in 1643. During the Great Northern War, the naval battle of Gangut (Russian form of Hangöudd) was fought nearby in 1714, ending in a resounding victory for the Russian navy. In 1726, Christina Catharina Körning (ca 1707–1736) married Berndt Johan Aminoff (1697–1779), descendant of a Russian boyar, Fyodor Aminoff, who had passed to Swedish service in 1612 and had been ennobled in 1618. Aminoff was the forefather of an extensive dynasty of military men, scholars, politicians, businessmen, and journalists who are still active today in Sweden and Finland. Berndt Johan had lived in Russia, served Peter I, made a *peregrinatio* to the German universities, entered Danish service, and finally returned to Sweden in 1723. Rilax manor was Christina Catharina’s property.

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15 Autio (2002).
In 1749, their son, Sergeant Fredrik Aminoff (1727–1797), took over the manor, married money, and set up a cultured home of relative wealth, as testified by estate inventory deeds.\textsuperscript{17} Fredrik Aminoff was related to the Armfelts, who came to play a central role in the life of his son Johan Fredrik Aminoff (1756–1842). G. M. Armfelt (see p. #00) and Johan Fredrik played together in Rilax in their childhood, and this friendship was to last until old age. The loss of Rilax in 1774, when Fredrik Aminoff had to pledge it, was a deep trauma for his son, who finally managed to retake possession of the manor in 1798. Between 1803 and 1806, he had a new main building constructed in the neo-classical style. The building, designed by Aminoff himself and by future Helsinki city architect Pehr Granstedt (1764–1828), was surrounded by an English garden (Fig. 6).\textsuperscript{18}

Between 1769 and 1770, Johan Fredrik studied privately in Turku and was appointed page to King Adolf Frederick in 1770. At the artistic court of the King and Queen Louisa Ulrika, known

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} Wolff (2022), p. 25.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Wolff (2022), p. 183–184 and 196–197.
\end{itemize}
for her culture and patronage, he was schooled to become a courtier and was able to build networks that were to profit him later.\textsuperscript{19} Johan Fredrik made a brilliant career during the reign of Gustav III, was convicted for conspiring against the regency government during Gustav IV Adolf’s minority, imprisoned, and rehabilitated in 1797. He was subsequently entrusted with important military tasks in particular during the Finnish War of 1808–1809, entered Russian service in 1810, and played an important part in promoting the interests of the Grand Duchy in the Committee for Finnish Affairs established by Alexander I in Saint Petersburg until 1814.\textsuperscript{20} He then retired to Rilax, where he had started building up a considerable library mainly Swedish and French. It was placed in a dedicated room on the second floor.\textsuperscript{21} Most of the titles date from 1790–1840.\textsuperscript{22} The latest catalogue (2010) lists some 1,730 volumes,\textsuperscript{23} and Björkenheim registered 2,116 titles in French. The contents include Erasmus (1780) and Machiavelli (1692), among others, and the inevitable classical authors translated into French, with nine titles (Caesar, Juvenal, Pliny the Younger, Plutarch, Polybius, Sallust, Seneca, and Tacitus), in editions printed between 1729 and 1821.

\textbf{Ispois (Finnish Ispoinen)}

On the site of Ispois, now part of Turku, there was already a manor in the fifteenth century. Between 1658 and 1676, the estate belonged to one of the richest and most influential men of the realm, Admiral Count Lorentz Creutz the Elder (1615–1676).\textsuperscript{24} The main building was destroyed during the Russian occupation of Finland in the Northern War (1714–1721). Judge Simon Lilliegren (1666–1736),

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Wolff (2022), pp. 31–43.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} Wolff (2022), pp. 247–253; Björklund (2020), pp. 59–73.
  \item \textsuperscript{21} I have the pleasure of thanking Mikael Aminoff and Charlotta Wolff for this information.
  \item \textsuperscript{22} For a general analysis of the contents, see Wolff (2022), pp. 200–202.
  \item \textsuperscript{23} The library was catalogued in 2010, see \textit{Rilax bibliotek}, Svenska Litteratursällskapet.
  \item \textsuperscript{24} For Creutz, see Lappalainen (2005) and Merisalo (2007). For Ispois in his time and during the occupation, see Kallioniemi (2015), pp. 8, 12.
\end{itemize}
who owned the manor between 1723 and 1742, started the reconstruction. In 1742–1776, the manor belonged to Henrik Hassel (1700–1776), Professor of Eloquence at the Royal Academy in Turku and a powerful figure in ecclesiastical and university politics. He had a new main building constructed.25 His widow sold the manor to future Chamber Councillor Arndt Johan Winter (1744–1819 in 1783). Winter, son of a minister, made a brilliant career in local administration and was a founding member of the *Finska Hushållningssällskapet* (Finnish Housekeeping Society), enthusiastically promoting beekeeping, the cultivation of potatoes and other pursuits.26 He had a new main building constructed (Fig. 7). He and his son Councillor of State Johan Petter Winter (1788–1872) developed the manor with much love, often even refusing important posts in Stockholm and Saint Petersburg. In the 1910s, the manor belonged to Erik Rafael Ahlström (1877–1918), son of the influential industrialist and member of the Diet Antti Ahlström (1827–1896). Ahlström enlarged the main building. It was acquired by the city of Turku in 1951.

The Winter library was auctioned in 1888. The auction catalogue lists 8,897 titles, of which 373 on theology, 234 on philos-

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26 Teerijoki (2007).
ophy, 101 on pedagogy, 96 language manuals, 168 Roman and Greek authors in original and translations, 27 on Altertumswissenschaft, 968 on general history, 472 on Nordic history, etc. Björkenheim registered 1,100 titles in French, including Boileau, Bossuet, Corneille, Fénelon, Fontenelle, Molière, Montesquieu, Racine, Rousseau, Mᵐᵉ de Sévigné, Voltaire, and L’Encyclopédie (1781), all in eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century editions. Furthermore, there are again ancient classics translated into French, with fifteen titles: Aristotle, Caesar, Q. Curtius, Hippocrates, Homer, Lucan, Ovid, Plato, Plutarch, Seneca, Suetonius, Tacitus, Theophrastus, Thucydides, and Virgil. The dates of printing go from the seventeenth century (1667–1693) to the end of the eighteenth century (1727–1800).

**French-Language Literature in the Manor Libraries of the Grand Duchy: an Overview**

As we have seen, the seventeenth century works are often present in either eighteenth- or nineteenth-century editions. Thus, Bossuet, La Rochefoucauld and Corneille show up in nineteenth-century editions only; Mᵐᵉ de Sévigné, in two eighteenth- and twelve nineteenth-century prints; Molière in both eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions, and Racine and Fénelon in eighteenth-century prints, etc. Most often the eighteenth-century authors, such as Fontenelle, Marivaux, Marmontel, Maupertuis, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire, come in eighteenth-century editions as does Diderot and D’Alembert’s Encyclopédie, present in a few manor libraries.

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27 [Reuter] 1888.
Further Reading


Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland (2010), Rilax bibliotek.


Author Biographies

Alex Alsemgeest is curator of library collections at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. He has published on a wide range of book-historical subjects with a focus on international book trade, cultural transfer, the histories of libraries and collections, and Dutch-Swedish relations. He previously worked as project manager of the Unlocking the Fagel Collection project at the Library of Trinity College, Dublin and was involved as a cataloguer for the STCN in the project The Library of Leufstabruck of Uppsala UB and the KB, National Library of the Netherlands.

Elin Andersson received her PhD in Latin from Stockholm University in 2011. Her research mainly deals with medieval Latin texts relating to the Birgittine Order and Syon Abbey, but she also studies book history, early print culture, and war booty books in Swedish collections. At the National Library of Sweden, she is curator of two rare book collections – the Rogge Library and the Cathedral Library in Strängnäs – and cataloguer of medieval Latin manuscripts.

Carina Burman, Uppsala, is an author and academic. She wrote her doctoral thesis on the eighteenth century poet and philosophe Johan Henric Kellgren (1988) and has published more than twenty books, including four major biographies. The most recent is her acclaimed biography on Carl Michael Bellman (2019). She has written nine novels.
Dr Marieke van Delft, PhD, has been curator at the KB, National Library of the Netherlands and coordinator of the Short Title Catalogue Netherlands. She publishes on the history of the book in the Netherlands in various ages and subjects. With the publishing agency Lannoo, she has created several facsimiles such as Atlas de Wit and Maria Sibylla Merian’s *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium*.

Pierre Delsaerdt is a professor at the universities of Antwerp and Leuven, where he teaches the history of books and libraries. He researches the history of typographic design, the history of libraries during the *ancien régime*, and the history of bibliophily in Belgium, more specifically in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Irene D. van Dijk is a book historian (UvA) who practises her passion for books and history working for an antiquarian bookseller. Her master’s thesis about Luchtmans and the last great Dutch publishers and booksellers company of the eighteenth century is the basis of her book titled *Gedeelde winst – gedeelde smart* (2022).

Monika Glimskär works as music librarian at Svensk Musik in Stockholm. She earned her Master of Fine Arts degree from Uppsala University. In 2014 she finished preparatory studies in the baroque violin at the Utrecht Conservatorium. She is currently preparing a Master’s thesis in musicology on the Leufsta Music Collection.

Erik Hamberg has a PhD in the History of Science and Ideas. He has been librarian at the university libraries in Gothenburg and Uppsala as well as at the Postal Museum in Stockholm. With a focus on the history of science and book history, he has written several articles on Charles de Geer’s library in Leufstabruk. He is also secretary of the Swedish Linnaeus Society.
Henning Hansen, PhD, is a research librarian affiliated with the Library of The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, the Swedish National Heritage Board, and UiT The Arctic University of Norway. His research interests include historical reading habits, cartography, and library history.

Outi Merisalo (University of Jyväskylä) has published extensively on the history of the Latin script in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, on Old French documents, Old and Middle French translations from Latin, Italian humanism in Latin and vernacular, as well as Nordic Neo-Latin, among others. Secretary General of the Comité international de paléographie latine, she has led several international book historical projects, including Late Medieval and Early Modern Libraries as Knowledge Repositories, Guardians of Tradition and Catalysts of Change (Lamemoli, Academy of Finland and University of Jyväskylä, 2017–2022).

Jonas Nordin is Professor of Book and Library History at Lund University. He has previously worked as a researcher at Kungl. biblioteket / the National Library of Sweden.

Annika Windahl Pontén has a PhD in the History of Ideas and Science. Her thesis was on identity and materiality in the household of Carl Linnaeus. She is interested in historical dancing and leads the historical dance group Branicula in Uppsala. Currently Annika works as visitors coordinator at Uppsala University.

Reinder Storm studied Dutch Literature and Book History in Amsterdam and Leiden. He has worked in research libraries since 1989. In 2014, he was appointed curator of the map collection at Allard Pierson | The Collections of the University of Amsterdam.
Peter Sjökvist is Associate Professor of Latin at Uppsala University and Rare Books Librarian at Uppsala University Library. He is Curator of the Library of Leufstabruk and managed the project with the same name carried out between 2018 and 2020.
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