

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRINTING IN PRESENT-DAY FINLAND AND ESTONIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



By Tiiu Reimo

*This article aims at giving a comparative overview of the early stage of printing in the areas of present-day Finland and Estonia. The overview is based on the analysis of scholarly literature and on book data registered in retrospective bibliographies. In the development of printing in Finland and Estonia, many similar features are observable: the foundation of printing shops took place approximately at the same time, and printing shops were established by the same institutions, i.e. universities and gymnasia. The output of the printing houses cannot be fully reconstructed as much printed matter has perished. The analysis of the surviving print production shows likeness in typology of academic publications as well as of books in vernacular languages.*

## **Introduction**

For centuries, books have been the main medium in communicating knowledge and fostering intellectual development. Books from the past preserve cultural memory and are therefore also important for the future. The history of books and printing has been of interest to many scholars both in Finland and Estonia. The large amount of scholarly literature in this field reflects the importance assigned to the printed word in the development of national cultures. Thus, it is not a coincidence that the history of vernacular (Estonian- and Finnish-language) book culture should have been one of the preoccupations of scholars involved in the National Awakening movements on both sides of the Gulf of Finland in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The dawn of the printing age in present-day Finland and Estonia is connected to the period when both constituted a part of the Swedish realm and the role of vernacular books in print production was insignificant. The establishment of printing offices had a great impact on social life. They made broader distribution of information possible, providing schools with required textbooks and inspiring local scholars to write and publish books.

This article aims at comparing the early stages of printing in the Grand Duchy of Finland (including the Karelian Isthmus), in the provinces of Estonia and Northern Livonia (modern Estonia) with the emphasis on developments in the latter. The two – Estonia and Livonia – were new provinces in the seventeenth-century kingdom of Sweden. The study is based on the analysis of scholarly literature and data on books, registered in retrospective bibliographies.

### Historical background

The successful wars (with Russia 1610–1617; with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1600–1629, 1655–1660; with Denmark 1643–1645, 1657–1658, 1658–1660) raised Sweden to the position of the leading power in the Baltic Sea area.

Finland, including the Karelian Isthmus, had been a part of the Swedish realm since the Middle Ages. The northern part of modern Estonia – Harjumaa (German *Harrien*), Virumaa (German *Wierland*) and Järvamaa (German *Jerwen*) – came under the control of the Swedish crown in 1561 through treaties (*per pacta*). The truce of Altmark in 1629 secured Livonia (the southern part of present-day Estonia, together with present-day Northern Latvia), for the Swedish crown. This territory had been conquered in the war between Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1645 the largest island, Saaremaa (German and Swedish *Ösel*), was incorporated into the Swedish realm.<sup>1</sup> Although the Baltic nobility and town magistrates maintained former privileges and opposed the enforcement of Swedish general laws, the role of the Swedish government increased and several administrative and economic measures of reorganization (court practice, taxation, customs duties, a postal service, compulsory conveyance etc.) were carried out.

The population of the new provinces consisted of different social layers (noblemen, merchants, *literati*, artisans, and peasants) and linguistic groups (Estonians, Germans, Swedes, Finns, and Russians). The palette of the locally spoken languages was diverse. German was the official language used in administration and court. It was the language of the nobility and town citizens, clergy, *literati* and merchants who had also some knowledge of the Estonian language. The Estonian language was divided into two main groups of dialects – North Estonian and South Estonian. Both dialects are also represented among the earliest vernacular books – reading primers, catechisms, hymnals and prayer-books. In addition, there were numerous Swedish villages on the islands and Western coast of the Baltic Sea, villages

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<sup>1</sup> Anonymous 2002, 11, 282.

of Russian Old Believers on the shores of Peipus Lake and smaller groups of Finns on the Northern Coast. The linguistic diversity was reflected in church and school organization. Education in town schools was given in Latin and German, until the Swedish Church Law of 1686 eventually led to the opening of primary schools for peasant children where teaching took place in vernacular languages.

The largest towns had separate German, Estonian and Swedish congregations, in smaller towns and in rural regions Estonians and Germans (or Swedes, Estonians and Germans) belonged to the same congregation and the Lutheran pastors were obliged to master the languages spoken in the parish.

To administer the new territories, educated and loyal officials were needed which the existing school system was not able to ensure. For this purpose, higher-level schools – *gymnasia* – were established in Tartu (German *Dorpat*) and Turku (Swedish *Åbo*) in 1630, as well as in Riga and Tallinn (German *Reval*) in 1631. The foundation of universities in Livonia and in the Grand Duchy of Finland – the *Academia Gustaviana* of Tartu in 1632 and the *Academia Aboensis* of Turku in 1640 – provided a strong impulse for the development of written culture, of course prevalently in Latin and in German, the vernaculars playing a very small role in the educational system at this point.

### **Printing shops and printers in the Grand Duchy of Finland, in Estonia and Northern Livonia in the seventeenth century**

The first printing shops in the region were established by the universities and for the universities: the printing shop of the *Academia Gustaviana* in Tartu was opened in 1632; the printing shop of the *Academia Aboensis* ten years later, 1642. The printing shops were owned by the universities, which provided printing machinery. Printers were given free accommodation and fixed annual salaries, in Turku to the amount of 100 silver thalers,<sup>2</sup> and in Tartu 100 copper thalers (33 1/3 state thalers or 50 silver thalers).<sup>3</sup> Both shops were obliged to print academic publications of the university: works by professors, student's disputations, academic speeches, programs, syllabi, invitations etc. The *Academia Aboensis* printing shop was allowed to print also books by authors outside the university<sup>4</sup> and its production is therefore more diverse compared to Tartu.

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<sup>2</sup> Häkli 1988, 99.

<sup>3</sup> Jaanson 2000, 23, 26.

<sup>4</sup> Jaanson 2000, 24.

Grand Duchy of Finland	Years of activity	Estonia and Northern Livonia (present-day Estonia)	Years of activity
Printing shop of the <i>Academia Aboensis</i> in Turku	1642–1713, 1727–1827	Printing shop of the <i>Academia Gustaviana / Academia Gustavo-Carolina</i> in Tartu and Pärnu (German <i>Pernau</i> )	1632–1656, 1690–1710
Printing shop of Bishop Johannes Gezelius in Turku	1669–1713, 1715–1827	Tallinn city and <i>gymnasium</i> printing shop	1633/34– 1828
<i>Gymnasium</i> printing shop in Viipuri (Swedish <i>Viborg</i> , German <i>Wiborg</i> , Russian <i>Vyborg</i> )	1688–1710	Narva printing shop	1695–1705

**Table 1**

## Printing shops in the seventeenth century

In Tallinn and Viipuri, the printing shops were established by *gymnasia* (the second most important institution of higher education after the university); they also catered for town magistrates and the needs of the province. The privileges related to printing shops and printers depended on the will of higher officials as well as on state and town laws.

The preliminaries for establishing the printing shop in Tallinn were started by the town magistrate as early as 1631 and resulted in a contract with the Stockholm printer Christoph Reusner in September 1633.<sup>5</sup> The privileges of the town printer consisted of a fixed annual salary (50 state thalers), tax advantages and exemption from civic duties. The printer had free rooms for his family and for a printing shop.<sup>6</sup> After carrying out his official duties (i.e. printing of magistrate laws, regulations and orders, *gymnasium* and official publications), a printer was free to take orders from private individuals and institutions, and to publish books for his own profit. The printing equipment was the printer's personal property, to be passed on to his heirs.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Robert 1995, 35.

<sup>6</sup> Robert 1995, 35.

<sup>7</sup> Robert 1991, 7.

The Viipuri *gymnasium* printing shop was established by Bishop Peter Bång (1633–1696; tenure 1681–1696), much of it on his own funding at the beginning.<sup>8</sup> The Viipuri printers also catered for Eastern Finland and Viipuri County, and printed official announcements, ecclesiastical texts and occasional publications.

The Narva printing shop was established on the initiative of the local magistrate, with funds provided by Johann Köhler, a printer established at Riga. Charles XI, King of Sweden, authorized the printing shop with *ett simpelt privilegium* on 22 July 1695; the specific terms of the contract, such as free accommodation and tax advantages, were left for the magistrate to decide.<sup>9</sup>

A printing shop similar to the one run by Bishop Johannes Gezelius The Elder (1615–1690; tenure 1664–1690) in Turku was established by the Superintendent of Livonia, Johann Fischer (1633–1705; tenure 1674–1699), in Riga in 1675.<sup>10</sup> Both Gezelius and Fischer were intent on printing religious books and textbooks in vernacular languages, i.e. in Finnish, Latvian and Estonian.

The printers active in the Grand Duchy of Finland were mainly of Imperial German or mainland Swedish origin, whereas those working in Estonia and Northern Livonia were of Imperial German or Baltic German stock. Table 2 gives an overview of the printers and printing shop owners documented for these regions in the seventeenth century.<sup>11</sup>

The printing shop owners listed here were skilled printers, except for Jacob Becker, the first manager of the *Academia Gustaviana* printing shop, who had been post-master in Riga.<sup>12</sup> Many printers had worked or spent their journeyman years in mainland Sweden: Reusner in Stockholm, Wald in Uppsala and Västerås;<sup>13</sup> Christoph Brendeken had been a journeyman in Keyser's printing shop in Stockholm.<sup>14</sup> The opposite was true for Johan Winter from Örebro, who had spent his journeyman years in Tartu, and was appointed printer at Gezelius's Turku printing shop.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Perälä 2000b, 41.

<sup>9</sup> Küng 2005, 130–131.

<sup>10</sup> Anonymous 1978, 40.

<sup>11</sup> Perälä 2000a, 27–29; Robert 1991, 26.

<sup>12</sup> Jaanson 2000, 24.

<sup>13</sup> Häkli 1988, 100.

<sup>14</sup> Jaanson 2000, 32.

<sup>15</sup> Jaanson 2000, 31; Laasonen 1988, 105.

BOOK IN CONTEXT

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Grand Duchy of Finland	Printers	Estonia and Northern Livonia	Printers
<i>Academia Aboensis</i> printing shop	<b>Peder Erikson Wald:</b> 1642–1653 (Wald’s widow): 1653–1654 <b>Peter Hansson:</b> 1654–1679 (Hansson’s widow): 1679–1680 <b>Johan Larsson Wall:</b> 1680–1710	<i>Academia Gustaviana</i> / <i>Academia Gustavo-Carolina</i> printing shop	<b>Jacob Becker</b> / <b>Jacobus Pistorius:</b> 1632–1635 – inspectors and <b>Michael Törlitz:</b> 1636–1642/44 <b>Johann Vogel:</b> 1642/44–1656 <b>Johann Brendeken:</b> 1690–1710
Printing shop of Bishop Gezelius	<b>Johan Winter:</b> 1669–1705	Tallinn city and <i>gymnasium</i> printing shop	<b>Christoph Reusner:</b> 1633–1637 (Reusner’s widow): 1637–1638 <b>Heinrich Westphal:</b> 1638–1653 (Westphal’s widow): 1653–1654 <b>Adolph Simon:</b> 1654–1675 (Simon’s widow): 1675–1676 <b>Christoph Brendeken:</b> 1676–1710
Viipuri printing shop	<b>Daniel Medelplan:</b> 1689–1693 <b>Matthias Syngman:</b> 1693/94–1697 (Syngman’s widow): 1697–1704 <b>Unknown owner</b> (Johan Limatius?): 1705 <b>Thomas Abbor:</b> 1708/09–1710	Narva printing shop	<b>Johann Köhler:</b> 1695–1705

**Table 2**

Printers and printing shop owners in the seventeenth century

The beginnings of printing in both the Grand Duchy of Finland and in Estonia were connected with the Reusner family. Christoph (Christoffer) Reusner, born in Neustadt, Mecklenburg, in 1575, was active as printer in Rostock from 1597 until 1612. He was married to Anna Ferber, the daughter of the Rostock printer Augustin Ferber Sr. In 1608 Reusner was invited to become the Royal printer in Stockholm; he worked in Stockholm as a printer, bookbinder and bookseller from 1612 until 1634.<sup>16</sup> After signing a contract with the Tallinn magistrate in September 1633, he established his printing shop in spring 1634 in Tallinn.<sup>17</sup> The original negotiations on the establishment of a printing shop in Turku in 1617 involved Reusner's son Johann (b. 1598),<sup>18</sup> who turned down the offer, and later established himself in Rostock (1632–1639) and Königsberg (1639–1666; now Russian *Kaliningrad*), where in addition to the printing shop he also opened a type foundry.<sup>19</sup>

At the *Academia Aboensis* and in Tallinn, the printing shop was a hereditary property. After the death of a master-printer (owner of the printing shop), the shop passed on to printer's widow, who after her year of mourning married a journeyman printer or a manager. In Turku, Wald's widow Ingeborg Pedersdotter married the printing shop manager Peter Hansson, who survived her. Hansson's second wife and later widow Elisabeth Thuron subsequently married Johan Larsson Wall, who succeeded to Hansson at the head of the printing shop.<sup>20</sup> In Tallinn, the journeyman Heinrich Westphal married Reusner's widow and took over the shop in 1638.<sup>21</sup> After Westphal's death his widow married the journeyman Adolph Simon. Simon's second wife, Christine Wichart, survived him and eventually married Christoph Brendeken.<sup>22</sup> The Narva printer Johann Köhler was married to Simon's daughter Marie Elisabeth.<sup>23</sup> This connection turned out to be of great importance when the Tallinn magistrate was looking for a new printer in 1716.<sup>24</sup> In the case of the *Academia Gustaviana* printing shop in Tartu, the printing shop was owned and the staff employed by the university; the activity of the shop was inspected by two Senate-appointed officials chosen among the university professors.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Benzing 1982, 395.

<sup>17</sup> Robert 1995, 31–32, 35

<sup>18</sup> Häkli 1988b, 99.

<sup>19</sup> Benzing 1982, 261.r.

<sup>20</sup> Perälä 2000a, 27–28.

<sup>21</sup> Klöker 2005 2, 184, no. 165.

<sup>22</sup> Robert 1991, 7–9.

<sup>23</sup> Puksoo 1939, 6.

<sup>24</sup> Reimo 2001, 52.

<sup>25</sup> Jaanson 2000, 23.

The printing shops were quite small, the staff traditionally consisting of a master-printer, one or two journeymen printers, generally specializing as compositors or pressmen, and one or two apprentices. Usually the work was done on only one printing press. The stock of type fonts was rather small: according to Häkli, the Turku printing shop had at the beginning of its activities such a small amount of type that it was possible to set only half a sheet at a time.<sup>26</sup> Type and decorative materials were purchased from different foundries, in the case of the Turku printing shops, mainly from mainland Sweden and the Empire, and in the case of the Estonian and Livonian printing shops, from the Empire. It is very likely that both new and used type were bought. According to Perälä, the first type for the *Academia Aboensis* printing shop was obtained from Peter von Selow in Stockholm.<sup>27</sup> The printing shop of Bishop Gezelius used type and decorative materials originating in both mainland Sweden and the Empire. Perälä further suggests that in the beginning Gezelius would have borrowed decorative type from the Academy printing shop.<sup>28</sup> The type for the *Academia Gustaviana* printing shop in Tartu was purchased in Stettin, Pomerania, in the summer of 1631.<sup>29</sup> Later, several documents indicate Lübeck as an important provider. Johann Brendeken had the worn-out type of the *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* printing shop re-cast there in 1690.<sup>30</sup> The type for the Narva printing shop and the decorative materials for the printing shop in Viipuri may also have come from Lübeck.<sup>31</sup>

The protocols of the Senate of the *Academia Gustaviana* document the daily work load of a pressman as varying between 1000 and 1200 sheets per day; a compositor had to manage

Eine forme Cicero, Eine gemeine forme Mittel oder Antiqua, 1 ½ form Tertia, 2 formen Parangon undt Text.<sup>32</sup>

Printing shop owners also tried to obtain publishing and book trade privileges. In Stockholm, Christoph Reusner acquired in 1614 a publishing privilege prohibiting re-printing of his output by other printers and allowing him to establish a bookshop to sell his production.<sup>33</sup> In 1637 Reusner applied for the right to publish ABC books (i.e. reading primers) and other textbooks, and to sell imported almanacs and calendars in Tallinn. He died, however, before

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<sup>26</sup> Häkli 1988b, 100.

<sup>27</sup> Perälä 2000a, 46.

<sup>28</sup> Perälä 2000b, 31.

<sup>29</sup> Jaanson 2000, 18.

<sup>30</sup> Jaanson 2000, 32.

<sup>31</sup> Küng 2005, 135–136; Perälä 2000b, 43.

<sup>32</sup> Jaanson 2000, 27.r.

<sup>33</sup> Reimo 2000, 190.



obtaining the authorization.<sup>34</sup> The third Tallinn printer, Adolph Simon, managed to secure a publishing privilege in 1672. In conformity to such privileges, it forbade other printers to re-publish his output:

[...] daß alle die Bücher und Schriften, welche von Ihme, seinen Kindern oder Erben, falls Sie die Kunst fortsetzen und gebrauchen, zum ersten neu aufgeleget, oder aufs neue wiederumb übersehen und verbessert, es sey in welcherley Sprache es auch seyn könne, und in Druck ausgehen werden, kein ander hier im Reiche weder nachzudrucken noch feil zu haben erlaubt seyn soll [...].<sup>35</sup>

The same year, Simon printed a list of his publications, which included 26 books in German, Swedish and Estonian, mainly primers, catechisms, hymnals and prayer books<sup>36</sup>. The first such lists regarding the Grand Duchy of Finland were printed by Gezelius in 1683 and 1688.<sup>37</sup>

The activity of the printing shops was set back by the Great Northern War 1700–1721. The equipment and the staff of the Academy printing shop and Gezelius's printing shop were evacuated from Turku to mainland Sweden in the summer of 1713,<sup>38</sup> and the equipment of the *Academia Gustavo Carolina* printing shop, active between 1699 and 1710 in Pärnu (German *Pernau*), was removed, together with other university facilities, to Stockholm in 1710. Stored in the capital until 1726, it was then donated to the *Academia Aboensis*.<sup>39</sup> Both printing shops of Turku resumed their activities after the Northern War. In 1715 Gezelius's printing shop had been sold to the Merckell family, who also acquired the Academy printing shop in 1750. The head of the family enterprise, Jacob Merckell (? – 1763), then merged the two enterprises.<sup>40</sup>

The Viipuri and Narva printing shops perished in the war. The former was plundered during the capture of Narva in 1704. Köhler applied to the magistrate for help to rebuild it. Though the new Governor General, Alexander Menshikov, first agreed to support the printer, Köhler was soon forced to move his business to Moscow.<sup>41</sup> The Viipuri printing shop was destroyed during the capture of the town in 1710.<sup>42</sup> Only the Tallinn city and *gymnasium* printing shop stayed in business during the war. It was to remain

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<sup>34</sup> Robert 1995, 36.

<sup>35</sup> Reimo 2000, 191.

<sup>36</sup> Anonymous 1978, 39.

<sup>37</sup> Laasonen 1998, 105.

<sup>38</sup> Perälä 2000a, 27.

<sup>39</sup> Jaanson 2000, 36.

<sup>40</sup> Häkli 1988b, 103.

<sup>41</sup> Küng 2005, 144.

<sup>42</sup> Perälä 2000a, 27.

the only printing shop in the territory of modern Estonia until the establishment of a second one at Põltsamaa (German *Oberpahlen*) in 1766.<sup>43</sup>

### The output of the printing houses

It is impossible to establish the volume of the books produced by the early printing shops because much of the printed matter has not survived. Analyses and comparisons are based on surviving items and information available on titles that have perished.

The Finnish national bibliography 1488–1700 lists 4463 works 1) in Finnish or 2) printed in the Grand Duchy of Finland or 3) written by authors originating in that region.<sup>44</sup> Considering works printed in the territory of the Grand Duchy, the number is considerably smaller, i.e. 3574 items printed in Turku and 58 in Viipuri. Of the Turku publications, 950 were produced by the Gezelius printing shop.<sup>45</sup>

Estimating the output of the printing shops established in Estonia and Northern Livonia is not easy. At the moment, the retrospective national bibliography covers only the Estonian-language publications. According to the bibliography, up to the end of the Swedish era, i.e. 1710, 48 Estonian-language books were printed in Tallinn.<sup>46</sup> No Estonian-language books are known to have been printed in Tartu and Narva. The retrospective bibliography of publications in other languages printed in the territory of modern Estonia is not yet complete. The bibliography of the *Academia Gustaviana / Academia Gustavo-Carolina* printing shop lists 1389 publications from the years 1632–1710.<sup>47</sup> The output of the Narva printing shop is estimated at about 40.<sup>48</sup> At the end of 2018, the work version of the retrospective national bibliography of foreign language books listed 1040 publications printed in Tallinn before 1711.<sup>49</sup> According to Kyra Robert, specialist of the history of printing in Tallinn, the printers also produced some 2200 issues of the newspaper *Revalsche Post-Zeitung*, of which only 145 have survived.<sup>50</sup>

A typological analysis of the output of these seventeenth-century printing shops shows several common features, in particular as regards university printers. Fig. 1 presents the yearly production of Turku and Tartu printing

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<sup>43</sup> Anonymous 1978, 68.

<sup>44</sup> Laine & Nyqvist 1996a.

<sup>45</sup> Laine & Nyqvist 1996b, 616–621.

<sup>46</sup> Annus 2000, 66–148.

<sup>47</sup> Jaanson 2000.

<sup>48</sup> KÜng 2005.

<sup>49</sup> Data from the Centre of the national retrospective bibliography of the Tallinn University Academic Library.

<sup>50</sup> Robert 1995, 49.

shops until 1656.<sup>51</sup> The figures are based on the number of surviving publications. The yearly output numbers show considerable divergence.

In 1656 Tartu was besieged and captured by the Russian army, after which the activities of the *Academia Gustaviana* were suspended, the professors and students fleeing to Tallinn. The printing shop, together with the library and the university archives, were left in Tartu. Pro-Chancellor Johannes Gezelius had the printing equipment brought to the Church of the Virgin Mary in 1661 where they stayed until 1690.<sup>52</sup>

The professors failed to resume teaching in Tallinn. The university was only reopened in 1690, under the name *Academia Gustavo-Carolina*, and moved to Pärnu in 1699. War, either current or imminent, was not conducive to boosting either teaching or printing. A comparison of the surviving yearly output of the printing shops in the 1690s (see Fig. 2) clearly reflects the situation: while Tartu produced circa 29.54 publications per year, the output of Turku was 43.8 publications.

The university publications may be divided into three main categories:

- 1) disputations, i.e. written (usually published) essays titled *disputatio*, *dissertatio*, *specimen*, *exercitatio*, *thesis* etc., on which *viva voce* debates took place at the university
- 2) academic speeches,
- 3) official and regulatory publications, such as invitations to public presentations and inaugurations, syllabi and programs.

The main difference between the output of the *Academia Gustaviana* / *Gustavo-Carolina* and the *Academy Aboensis* lies in the number of disputations. The figure for Turku is about three times as high as that for Tartu. It reflects the difficulties in organizing teaching in Tartu in the unstable political situation – after the first successful decades the university stayed closed for 34 years and lost its professoriate and students, while *Academia Aboensis* could carry on teaching. Table 3 presents the number of main types of university publications by categories.<sup>53</sup>

Academic publications were predominantly in Latin, sometimes in Greek or Hebrew. To the above-mentioned categories should be added works by professors, textbooks and publications of occasional poetry – different kinds of poems or little prose texts to congratulate friends and co-students, and expressions of condolences on the death of a colleague or friend. In the

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<sup>51</sup> The chart is based on the data given by Jaanson 2000, 40 and the printers' index of the Finnish national bibliography.

<sup>52</sup> Jaanson 2000, 31.

<sup>53</sup> Jaanson 2000, 40 ; Laine & Nyqvist 1996b, 616–621.

academy printing shop in Tartu and Pärnu, for example, 22 books, 15 textbooks, 21 sermons and 306 occasional publications were printed.<sup>54</sup>

Type of publication	<i>Academia Gustaviana / Gustavo-Carolina</i> (1632–1656; 1690–1710)	<i>Academia Aboensis</i> (1642–1700)
Dissertations / disputations	595	1,767
Disputations in book form <sup>55</sup>	6	42
Academic speeches	232	218
Invitations, programs etc.	143	99

**Table 3**

Academy publications in Tartu and Turku

Academy professors were the first authors whose books were printed in Tartu. Johannes Gezelius The Elder (1615–1690), professor of Hebrew and Greek, later professor of theology at *Academia Gustaviana* in 1641–1649, published four textbooks. His *Grammatica Graeca* (1647) gained great popularity, was re-edited 16 times and was used as a textbook in Sweden and Finland as late as the nineteenth century. He was also the author of a Greek and Latin lexicon (*Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, 1649) and the editor of Martin Trost’s grammar of Hebrew (*Grammaticae Trostianae epitome*, 1647), Jan Amos Comenius’ textbook of Greek (*J.A. Comenij Janua linguarum reserata aurea*, 1648) and poems of Greek authors (*Poemata Pythagorae, Phocylidis et Theognidis*, 1646).<sup>56</sup> Friedrich Menius (1593/94 – 1659), professor of history, initiated research on local history and laws, publishing the *Historischer Prodromus des Lieffländischen Rechtens und Regiments* in 1633.<sup>57</sup> The number of educated men in Tartu grew constantly and at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century a bio-bibliographical list of local men of letters titled *Dorpatum in Livonia literatum, anno M.DC.XCVIII exhibitum*, was put together and published by the rector of the Tartu trivial-school, Daniel Eberhard (? – 1710).<sup>58</sup>

Finnish and Estonian-language publications are rare in the print production of the academy print shop. In Tartu, only a Latin-language grammar of South

<sup>54</sup> Jaanson 2000, 38.

<sup>55</sup> Collection of several disputations on a certain topic, printed as one book.

<sup>56</sup> Jaanson 2000, 50–51.

<sup>57</sup> Jaanson 2000, 50.

<sup>58</sup> Jaanson 2000, 52.

Estonian language, *Observationes grammaticae circa linguam Esthonicam*, written by the pastor Johannes Gutsclaff, was printed in 1648.<sup>59</sup> The output of the *Academia Aboensis* printing shop covered non-university publications, including partly or entirely Finnish-language publications, in significant bigger quantity, especially before Bishop Gezelius opened his printing shop. The partly or entirely Finnish-language publications included the *Manuale Finnicum* of 1646, the Turku chapter circular of 1656, the church manuals of 1647 and 1669, two sermons, the passion of Christ according to the four Gospels by Abrahamus Abrahami Ikalensis, published in 1659,<sup>60</sup> and other religious books and booklets.

The texts in the North Estonian dialect were mainly printed in Tallinn, whereas Riga catered for those in South Estonian. The Finnish and Estonian-language volumes are typologically similar: primers, catechisms and other religious works (Gospels, hymnals, prayer-books etc.). Due to the absence of printing shops in the Grand Duchy, Estonia and Livonia, the first vernacular books were printed outside present-day Finland and Estonia – the Finnish-language books were printed in Stockholm and the Estonian-language books in the German-language parts of the Empire. Contrary to what happened for Finnish-language books, the first ecclesiastical ones in Estonian were bilingual, with title pages and prefaces in German as well as either parallel texts or at least chapter titles in that language. This may be explained by the ministers' poor proficiency in the Estonian language. Bilingual books were characteristic of Estonian book production until 1686, when a New Testament in South Estonian (Tartu dialect) was printed in Riga without any texts or paratexts in other languages.<sup>61</sup>

An interesting phenomenon in seventeenth-century vernacular book production is the religious handbook, consisting of several parts. In Finland, the first surviving Finnish-language books on Lutheran dogma were published in 1620–1630. The first handbook – *Manuale Finnicum* – came out 1646.<sup>62</sup> According to Knuutila and Laine, it was modeled on the Swedish handbook, consisting of a hymnal, catechism, prayer book and extracts from Gospels and Epistles.<sup>63</sup> For Estonians, Heinrich Stahl, the most productive author of seventeenth-century religious literature, compiled a bilingual handbook entitled *Hand- vnd Hauszbuch für das Fürstenthumb Esthen in*

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<sup>59</sup> Jaanson 2000, 290, no. 592.

<sup>60</sup> Laine & Nyqvist 1996a, 466, no. 2539; 744, no. 4126; 405, nos. 2185, 2186; 49, nos. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>61</sup> Annus 2000, 102–105.

<sup>62</sup> *Manuale finnicum, se on: muutamat tarwittawat ia aina käsillä pidettävät suomenkieliset kirjat, nyt consistoriumin suosioist ia suomast ahkerasti cadzotutu.*; Laine & Nyqvist 1996a, 466, no. 2539.

<sup>63</sup> Laine 1997, 140–141.

*Liffland* in North Estonian. Its first part, a catechism, was printed in Riga in 1632, and the following parts – a hymnal, extracts from the Gospels and the Epistles as well as a prayer-book – appeared in Tallinn in 1637–1638. Joachim Rossihnius produced a version of the handbook in South Estonian consisting of the catechism and the section with the Gospels and the Epistles. It was printed in Riga in 1632.<sup>64</sup>

A similar handbook in Latvian was first printed in Königsberg in 1586–1587. Similarly to the first partly Estonian-language books, its title page was in German. The third edition of this handbook – *Lettisches Vademecum* – was edited by the scholar Georg Mancelius and printed in Riga in 1632.<sup>65</sup>

In the Grand Duchy of Finland, Estonia and Livonia, the handbook was not only an important instrument for ministers but also a reading primer for common people. A commercial success made it possible for master-printers of Stockholm (Meurer and Keyser) and Tallinn (Simon and Brendeken) to finance the printing on their own. Until the end of the Swedish era, altogether six full editions of the handbook in North Estonian (1654–1656, 1673–1674, 1688–1689, 1693, 1694–1695 and 1700–1702) and two in South Estonian (1690–1691 and 1698) were brought out.<sup>66</sup> The Finnish-language handbook saw ten editions in the same period.<sup>67</sup> Unlike the Finnish-language handbook, the Estonian-language one never included a church calendar.

The first grammars of the Estonian and Finnish languages were also printed in the first part of the seventeenth century. The first grammar of Estonian, the *Anführung zu der Esthnischen Sprach*, was published by Heinrich Stahl at his own expense in 1637,<sup>68</sup> whereas the first grammar of Finnish, the *Linguae Finnicae Brevis Institutio*, was compiled by Aeschillus Olai Petraeus and printed in Turku in 1649.

Calendars and almanacs were among the first secular publications for the local inhabitants. The first calendars for the Grand Duchy were printed in Stockholm; for the provinces of Estonia and Livonia in the German-language parts of the Empire. Calendars were not in vernacular languages, but in Swedish and German. Later on calendars became staple products of the local printing shops. The seventeenth-century calendars are known by the names of their compilers. Those by the astronomer and natural philosopher Sigfrid Aronus Forsius (c. 1560–1624), one of the most famous calendar authors, were published in Stockholm and were popular all over the Grand Duchy of Finland, Estonia and Livonia. In Turku, seventeenth-century calendar authors

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<sup>64</sup> *Annus* 2000, 63–70, nos. 11–12, 13–16.

<sup>65</sup> Šiško 1999, 40, nos. 3–5; Krēsliņš 1992, 132.

<sup>66</sup> *Annus* 2000, nos. 24–27, 34–39, 51–54, 56–59, 63–68, 72–75, 79–82, 86–91.

<sup>67</sup> Laine & Nyqvist 1996a, 465–472, nos. 2538–2547.

<sup>68</sup> *Annus* 2000, no. 17.

include the clergyman and scholar Simon Svenonis Kexlerus (1602–1669), professor of philosophy and physics Andreas Thuronius (1632–1665), the scholars and clergymen Johannes Henricus Flachsenius (1636–1708) and Laurentius Gabrielis Tammelinius (1669–1733).<sup>69</sup>

In Tallinn, the German-language calendars were first authored by Lambertus Kemmerling (ca 1559–1603), the pastor in Kadrina (German *St. Katharinen*), Narva and Tallinn. His first known calendar and predictions for 1585, titled *Almanach* and *Prognosticon*, were printed in Rostock and dedicated to Johan III, the king of Sweden.<sup>70</sup> Probably he produced new calendars each year, but only few unique copies are nowadays known. His last calendar and predictions for 1602 were printed in Magdeburg.<sup>71</sup> Kemmerlings work was carried on by Gebhard Himsel (Himselius) (1603–1676), professor of mathematics at Tallinn *gymnasium*, city doctor (*Stadtphysicus*) and fortification engineer.<sup>72</sup> His first known calendar was printed in Berlin in 1635.<sup>73</sup> The exact date of his first Tallinn-printed calendar is not known, but the first surviving one was published in 1645.

In the regions considered, the output of the local printers mainly comprised publications of official (laws, orders, announcements) and practical nature (textbooks, religious literature, calendars and occasional publications). As to scholarly works of well-known European authors, they were mostly imported, which confirms the existence of an active book trade.

### Book design

The design of seventeenth-century books features three main aspects: typefaces, typographical decoration and illustration. The most important scholarly publication on the book design of the Baltic Sea region is the typographical atlas of Finland by Perälä.<sup>74</sup> The author presents an analysis of typefaces, initials, symbols, ornaments and vignettes used by printers active in the Grand Duchy of Finland between 1642 and 1827. This imposing work is particularly useful to scholars working on anonymous, undated and non localized publications possibly originating in the Baltic Sea region. Some years later Perälä published also her research on masters of woodcut technique in Finland.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Laine & Nyqvist 1996, nos. 1117–1118, 1197–1198, 2128–2130, 3722–3723.

<sup>70</sup> Borchling & Claussen, no. 2314.

<sup>71</sup> Treumann 1977, 32–34.

<sup>72</sup> Treumann 1968, 114–115.

<sup>73</sup> *Alter und Newer SchreibCalender* [...]; *Gross Prognosticon Astrologico-Physicum* [...], see Klöcker 2005, 2, no. 592, 1–2.

<sup>74</sup> Perälä 2000a, 2000b.

<sup>75</sup> Perälä, 2005.

Unfortunately, there is no such solid material on typographical material used by the seventeenth century printing shops in Estonia. Only in autumn 2016 the Centre of retrospective national bibliography at the Tallinn University Academic Library started to scan the decorative elements of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century print production. The so far gathered material enables comparison with publications from the same period in neighboring countries and give evidence of widely spread common esthetical understandings and symbols. Occasional comparisons prove that same kind of typefaces and vignettes were used in the Grand Duchy and the territory of present-day Estonia. According to Perälä, the same typographical decoration appears in volumes printed in Tallinn and in Tartu in the first half of the seventeenth century and in the output of the Viipuri printing house at the end of the century.<sup>76</sup> Perälä has also found ornaments used in Tartu in 1632 and in volumes printed by Gezelius and the Academy of Turku printing shop later in the century.<sup>77</sup>

In general, book design in the Baltic Sea region followed the trends of European book production: the main format was in-quarto; the title page was filled with text, with different typefaces used to offset the most important parts. The illustrations usually consisted of an engraved title page or frontispiece. Decoration was printed by means of wooden blocks or cast compositions of decorative elements. Occasional publications were adorned with rich ornaments and vignettes. Unlike the Western Europe, title page texts were rarely printed in black and red ink.

Latin texts were printed in *antiqua*, whereas for Finnish and Estonian, Gothic typefaces, mainly *Fraktur* and *Schwabacher*, were used. Printing shops would also buy second-hand type and initials, ornaments and vignettes from other printers.

At present there is very little research on early modern book design in the countries around the Baltic Sea, despite the fact that books as material objects call for this kind of study. Book design will hopefully attract more scholarly attention in the future, especially as regards common artistic taste and connections between printing shops. A study of book design may yield important information completing that retrieved from archival documents.

## Conclusion

An overview of the early stages of printing in modern Finland and Estonia reveals many common features between the regions. It is understandable, as

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<sup>76</sup>Perälä 2000b, 43.

<sup>77</sup>Perälä 2000a, 133, no.2; II, 267, no. 5; Jaanson 2000, 176, nos. 6, 7.



the printing and publishing enterprises operated within the same legal, ethical and practice standards throughout the Swedish Empire.

The first printing shops were established in the same period and by the same institutions, i.e. universities and *gymnasia*, with similar ownership and publishing privileges. Most printers came either from mainland Sweden or the German-language parts of the Empire; the master-printers were skilled laborers and had gained work experience from different printing shops. The 'local' book printing established the basis for formation of new authors and literary activities. The development of the educational system brought up the need for textbooks and the strengthening of church organization and catechization fostered publishing books in vernacular languages.

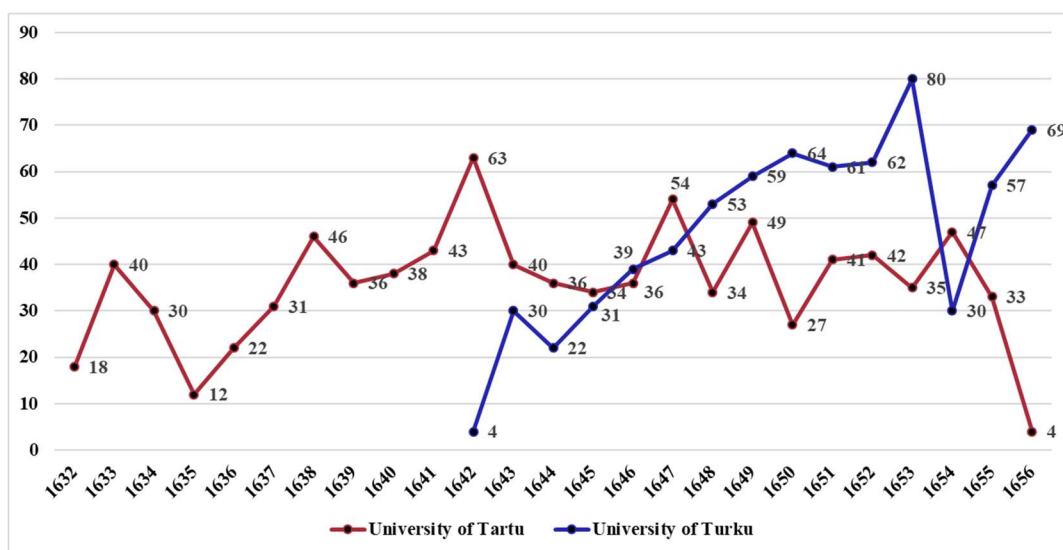
Due to the fact that much printed matter has perished, it is impossible to give an exact re-construction of the output of the printing houses. Conclusions based on surviving publications must be cautious. The typological analysis of the print production proves great similarity. University and *gymnasia* publications (disputations and dissertations, works by professors, invitations, speeches, course programs etc.) were mainly in Latin language. The *Academia Gustaviana / Academia Gustavo-Carolina* printing shop produced no books in the Estonian language, and the *Academia Aboensis* printing shop printed but few in Finnish. The vernacular output, where it existed, mainly consisted of primers, catechisms and religious literature. Unlike Finnish-language books, the first printed volumes containing Estonian were bilingual (German-Estonian). In Tallinn and Narva, the majority of the print production was in German, primers and catechisms were also printed in Swedish and Finnish. Typographical elements of the book design show the use of similar decorative elements. The contacts between printing shops in the region seem to be more intensive than indicated by archival documents.

Book culture has always been closely connected with the political, economic and social development of the society. In order to better understand the role of the political power in book production and distribution, to find out institutional and personal contacts between authors, publishers and book sellers and to examine book ownership and changes in reading interests in the Baltic Sea area in the period of the Swedish rule further research collaboration will be essential.

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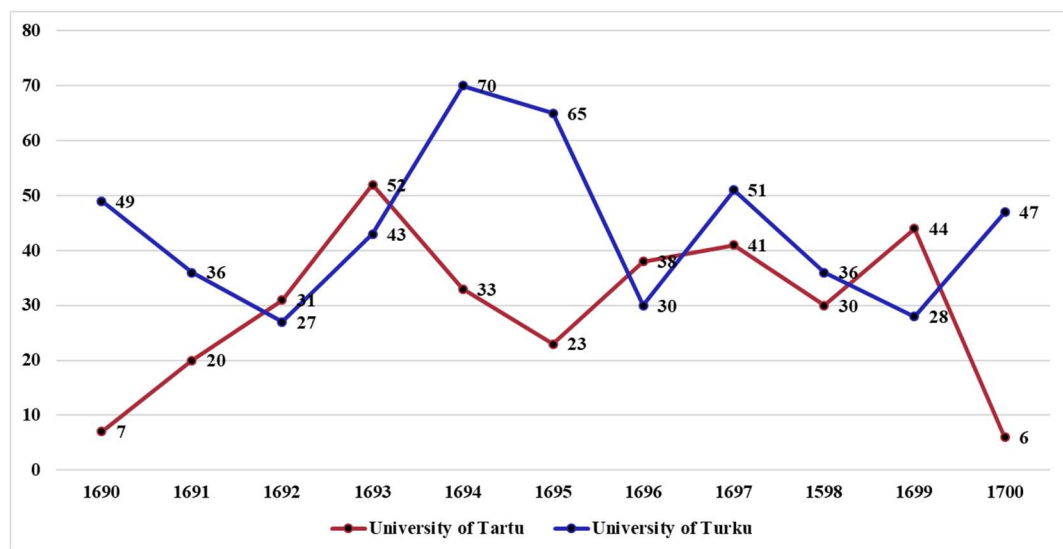
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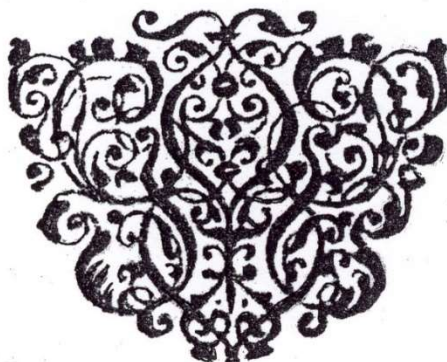
**Fig. 1**

Print production of *Academia Gustaviana* (1632–1656) and the *Academia Aboensis* (1642–1656) printing shops



**Fig. 2**

Print production of *Academia Gustavo-Carolina* and the *Academia Aboensis* printing shops 1690–1700



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**Fig. 3**

Tail-piece vignette used by the *Academia Aboensis* and the *Academia Gustaviana* printing shops.<sup>78</sup>



**Fig. 4**

Title-vignette of the same style used by the Tallinn printing shop in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>79</sup>

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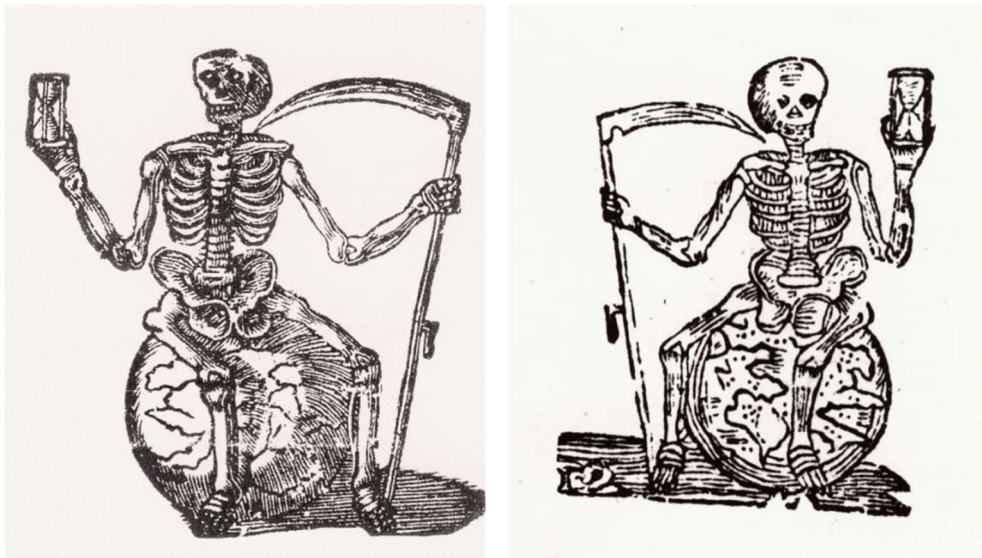
<sup>78</sup> Perälä 2000a, 133, no. 2; Jaanson 2000, 130.

<sup>79</sup> Annus 2000, 80, 84, nos 24, 27.



**Fig. 5**

A border ornament typefaces, often used in the decoration of title-pages and as head-pieces in Turku, Tartu, Tallinn and Viipuri. Variations occur in position of flowers (up, down or on its side) and in number of rows in head-pieces.<sup>80</sup>



**Fig. 6**

Woodcut vignettes for funerary publications: left, Gezelius (c. 1678–[1695]); right, Tallinn [1686].<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Perälä 2000a, 429, no. 1; Annus 2000, 122, no. 66, 67; Jaanson 2000, 118.

<sup>81</sup> Perälä 2000b, 129, no. 2; Alttöa & Valmet 1973, 67.