Eva Nyström, »Permeable Boundaries: Manuscript and Print in Concert in Early Modern Sweden«

**ABSTRACT**

This article intends to show how manuscript and printed texts continued to co-exist during the first centuries following the invention of the printing press. The two media depended on and nourished each other in various ways. The handwritten text usually precedes the print, but often the print also becomes a model for handwritten copies. Furthermore, there are texts – and books – which were never intended to be printed due to their personal character, or which could not be printed due to their particular or provocative contents. Variations within this concomitance of printed and handwritten material are discussed on the basis of a number of manuscript books from Skara Stifts- och Landsbibliotek. The examples include authors’ originals, miscellanies, study compendia, interfoliated and annotated prints, and books that display manuscript and printed text items bound together. The creation of apographs by Swedish war prisoners during their Siberian captivity is referred to as a case where sheer necessity brought about manuscript book production in the early eighteenth century.

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**Keywords:** manuscript, autograph, apograph, miscellany, interfoliation, annotated print, Skara Stifts- och Landsbibliotek

http://lir.gu.se/LIRJ
A shift in evaluation is taking place when it comes to the printed book and its relation to its predecessor, the handwritten codex. The previous view of printing as initiating a revolutionary shift as early as the mid-fifteenth century is being replaced by a focus on the gradual and more mutually fruitful connection and interrelation between the two media, on how they continued to co-exist and influence each other for a long time, operating partly in different arenas, partly still in the same. As David McKitterick states: »Whether one considers scribal texts or illumination and decoration, the boundary between manuscript and print is as untidy chronologically as it is commercially, materially or socially.«1

The view of printing as the great transformer of early modern Europe was put forward by Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin in 1958, in their vastly influential study *L’apparition du livre*, and by Marshall McLuhan a couple of years later (*The Gutenberg Galaxy*).2 Elizabeth Eisenstein followed suite with her two-volume work *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*.3 Even though Febvre’s and Martin’s work is of the greatest distinction, it must be deemed peculiar to take as one’s starting point the sudden »appearance of books« in the 1450s, as if books in the form we still know them had not existed for at least a millennium by the time the first printing presses were set up in Western Europe. Admittedly, Febvre and Martin had their focus set on the impact of printed material, but the fact remains that much of early modern book history is set aside if we fail to include handwritten texts.

Eisenstein’s work has spurred many subsequent studies on the history of printing, but she has also been heavily criticized for its sweeping arguments and for basing her theses on hand-book accounts rather than primary source material.4 For anyone who has studied late medieval manuscript culture, Eisenstein’s generalizations seem wide of the mark. To claim that printing completely transformed the conditions for intellectual enterprise, for lay reading, for religious reform – in short, that printing revolutionized early modern Europe – is to underestimate what was already in the making during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In addition, one cannot escape the fact that scribal activity did not in any way cease in the centuries after the invention of the printing press.5 This is not in itself a new insight; at the same time as McLuhan proclaimed an
evolutionary replacement of oral culture with manuscript and manuscript culture with print, as if these means of expression could not exist simultaneously, Curt F. Bühler astutely treated the relationship between manuscript and early print as parallel and interdependent realms. Needless to say, the latter scholar’s close experience with the topic vouches for more interesting insights than McLuhan’s speculations.

What has changed, though, since the time of Febvre, Bühler et alii, is a heightened awareness of and interest in readers’ reception. Book history is not only about production, it is about how the products – written or printed – were received, treasured, and used. Book owners before the eighteenth century did not find it necessary to separate the two media from each other in their shelves: the contemporary bindings accommodating both manuscript and printed units bear ample witness to this. That circumstance alone may be seen as an invitation to reconsider our view of the two related arts, not putting one in opposition to the other.

It has often been said that printing is just another and more efficient way of writing by hand. But for that notion to be accurate one has to consider when and why printing is more efficient than manuscript, when it is faster and when not. The hand-press production was still quite a labour-intense business, which demanded a considerable investment of money in advance and well-functioning distribution channels. This means that there was still room for handwritten documents and books even in pre-modern and modern times. The hand-copied books were, for example, those that were not commercial enough to justify printing, those that demanded special types and alphabets, and those that were dangerous or even forbidden. To this one may add that handwriting was still necessary in courts and administrative functions, at schools and universities, and certainly in correspondence and in news networks. This article will present some examples of this co-existence of writing and print in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mainly on the basis of manuscript books located in Skara Stifts- och Landsbibliotek.

---THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION IN SKARA---

Skara Stifts- och Landsbibliotek is a provincial library with its roots in early medieval times, which has stored quite a few treasures over the years, for instance the Skara Missale, the oldest book in Sweden, and Västgötalagen [the Westrogothic law], which is a legal manuscript and the oldest Swedish text preserved (not counting the rune stones). The library has a history mainly of serving the diocese and the local grammar school. And yet, by the end of the Middle Ages it was actually one of the larger libraries in Sweden. Initially the library was situated in the cathedral itself, but in the eighteenth century a
separate library building was built to store all the accumulated holdings from the church and the school and also the external donations, which were quite extensive in that century and the following one.9

To give a comprehensive sketch of the manuscript holdings in Skara is not easily done. The collection encompasses a great variety of manuscripts: books, notebooks, treatises, and single leaf documents of all sorts; official communications as well as personal letters and entire personal archives.10 Some might be tempted to deplore a certain »provinciality« in the holdings of a small library, but one can just as well turn this around and claim that it is the local connection of many manuscripts that is of the greatest value for tracing networks between parishes, families, and generations, as well as for charting the relations between representatives of church and state organizations.

More often than not manuscript documents are personal, created in a very specific geographical and historic setting. A collection like the one in Skara, where many volumes and documents may display to us a discernible provenance record, is thus an exciting field to explore.

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**CATEGORIES OF PRODUCTION — CATEGORIES OF BOOKS**

If we look at the form and function of texts and explore which texts were of necessity still handwritten in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one may firstly distinguish two main categories: autographs and apographs. The first category covers the »authors’ autographs«, i.e. instances of first-hand creation of texts, texts which are not copied from a model. The second category is the copies, whether copied from printed models or manuscripts. Even this superficially simple division is not always easy to define: how does one assess lecture notes that are taken down in class but most probably correlate to a teacher’s version? What about excerpt collections, so-called florilegia, where one could say that an »authorial« selection process and ordering to the material creates a »new« text, although it is all based on the scribe’s reading material at hand? Moreover, many a time there is no way of knowing whether a prototype existed for a certain manuscript or not.

But, as Curt F. Bühler states, for manuscripts from the fifteenth century onwards one has to keep in mind that a manuscript may very well have been copied from print, even if today we have no specimens left from a particular edition.11

Common authorial texts, autographs, in Skara manuscripts are letters, poems, sermons, and speeches. You also find scientific works, lecture notes by both students and teachers, and drafts for future publications. An interesting sub-category here is the dissertation: disputation took place not only at the academy or university, but also at high schools, and at synods.
In Skara there are both handwritten ones, especially those from Skara Grammar School, and printed ones. The printed dissertations may be short, just a couple of pages or a folded double-leaf, where only the theses are put down. Usually they fill a sheet, sixteen pages, and some are even longer than that. It seems to have been common practice to bind printed dissertations — and other texts as well — with interfoliated blank leaves, for the reader to take notes on.

Hand-copied books and treatises, *apographs*, are also common in the Skara collection: A person happened to have access to a model text, printed or otherwise, and the easiest way to get his or her own specimen was to copy it by hand. There were special occasions when such copying was required, when there was no other way of getting hold of the text. One reason could be that you wished to copy court documents or other official records, or maybe the book you wanted was not on the market. Perhaps it was a dangerous, prohibited book, which never made it past censorship to the printer’s shop. Or your own circumstances were such that the printed object was unattainable, too far away or too expensive. A couple of prohibited texts in Skara Library may be mentioned here: one is a defence written by Nils Nilsson Grubb (1681–1724), Dean of Umeå parish and Professor in Greifswald, who was accused of Pietism and heresy, and of not having impeded the conventicles from flourishing in the Umeå area around 1720. His defence was printed by Johan Laurentius Hornn in Stockholm, but was immediately countered by new accusations from Reverend Johan Telin. In the Skara collection there is a meticulously written copy of Grubb’s print and also two copies of Grubb’s next pleading in the same case — his answer to Johan Telin’s accusations. At the Parliament proceedings in 1723, the clergy suggested that all specimens of Grubb’s print should be confiscated, and neither Telin’s allegations nor Grubb’s second defence were approved for print, whether on grounds of being lampoons or because the case was too embarrassing for the diocese. Grubb was only freed from all charges after his death. Another example of a forbidden print is Jonas Odhner’s Swedenborgian catechism, *Andelig Wägwisare* (Spiritual Guide), which was printed anonymously in Copenhagen to avoid censorship and was imported secretly, in quires, in order not to be noticed by customs authorities. The Skara item is a print, but is kept in the manuscript collection since it is bound interfoliated and carries copious notes by Pehr Hemming Odhner, the author’s son.

Categorizing texts on account of the potential existence of prototypes is one way of looking at our manuscripts. This tells us something about the originality and uniqueness of a text. Another, and perhaps more rewarding approach, is to consider the types of books that became the result of people’s writing activities. This would leave us with the following options:
Monographs, containing only one text. Depending on the amount of material, they will take the form of books or booklets. They may be either first-hand creations (autographs) or copies (apographs).

Composite books or miscellanies, where two or more texts are combined in the same volume. They may also be termed multitext books. These miscellaneous manuscripts may be more or less coherent and may have been created over a shorter or longer period of time by one or more scribes. The volumes may be either autographs or apographs, or a combination of both, when authorial creations and copied material are to be found together. The manuscript texts may even be combined with prints.

Annotated prints, when the main text is a print enriched with handwritten notes. These notes may be put in between the lines, in the margins, or in other blank spaces such as endleaves. In many cases the printed books are also interfoliated, i.e. the printed insert was bound together with new blank leaves distributed throughout the volume to allow more profuse commentary.

Monographs is a fairly straightforward category. The multitext books entail greater variety, and we may include a number of subgroups here which are of interest in the Skara collection: the housebook, the personal miscellany, the study compendium, and the _album amicorum_. The housebook belongs to the autograph category: sometimes an author combined several of his specimens into a larger collection, a so-called housebook (_Hausbuch_). This book could be created over an extended period of time and would often include the author’s personal documents and correspondence as well as literary works. If works by other authors were added as well, the result would be a more ordinary miscellany. The collective manuscript, or miscellany manuscript as it is often called, is governed by individual choice in its combination of useful texts or favourite texts. That is why it is a form of book which would never be printed, at least not in its full complexity. The miscellany manuscripts may contain anything and everything; different genres and subject matter often come together in a very personal mixture. There is a long tradition of this kind of manuscript, and it still contained the same types of texts in the eighteenth century as it did in the Middle Ages.

A less haphazard textual mix is displayed in the study compendia, which is also personal, but with a clearer focus in origin and use. The so-called _album amicorum_ (stambok) may be compared to scrap-books or commonplace-books. They are tiny albums in which students or other travellers collected...
signatures, poems, citations, sketches, et cetera, from friends or from prominent persons whom they encountered or actively approached. As is commonly known, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was not unusual for young men of a certain standing to end their study period with an edifying journey around Europe.19

The annotated print is a category often found among Skara’s eighteenth-century manuscripts. Often these manuscript additions to printed books and treatises are unknown to and unattainable for researchers, since the books have been catalogued as mere prints, or else they may have been put among the manuscripts but without any declaration of their duplicate nature as both printed items and manuscript add-ons. Library custom is not always transparent here.20 Sometimes one is surprised to find that a printed book with just a few handwritten notes in it is catalogued among the manuscripts in a library. This is the case with a German bible printed in Wittenberg in 1541, which now has its place among the manuscript holdings in Uppsala University Library (MS T 306): the reason for its extraordinary location among manuscript books is the autograph notes on the flyleaves by Protestant Reformers Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, and Johannes Bugenhagen.21

A COUPLE OF AUTOGRAPHS AND ANNOTATED PRINTS

After this overview I would like to focus on a few more detailed presentations starting with a couple of examples of author’s originals. One such example is a work by Martin Aschan (1575–1641), MS Språkvetenskap 15. The slim volume encompasses two works, the titles of which are (1) *Collectaneum Monumentale Runicum, eller, Steen och Runa Cronica, medh dess Declaratione öfwer Edhz sochn*, and (2) *Sollanda Twna Runa, och Monumentz Cronica, Sunnan om Rootho skoug, nampknunnoa Broo Ström och Wandh*.22 Aschan was a vicar in Hammarby, Uppland, during the first half of the seventeenth century, but he was also known for his engagement in and knowledge of Nordic archaeology, especially rune stones and old graves and monuments. The book is a documentation of these ancient monuments in the parishes of Ed and Sollentuna, north of Stockholm. This kind of manuscript, with all its sketches and runic signs, was not easy to print. So, even though Aschan did publish a couple of other books during his lifetime, this manuscript stayed as a draft; it was never printed.23 But it may still be valuable for archaeologists to study, since some of the monuments that Aschan documented have since disappeared. In 1925, Gunnar Gihl wrote his dissertation on two other manuscripts by Aschan, dealing with Sigtuna and Norrsunda, in which Gihl states: »The description of Norrsunda constitutes the first part of a three-part work. The second and
third parts treat the parishes of Ed and Sollentuna, but they have gone missing. As we can see, Gihl’s assumption was incorrect: those two presumably lost parts are today present in the Skara Library collection (Image I).

Another example of an author’s autograph, Andreas Knös’ dissertation, is to be found in the Skara Library collection. It may seem unexpected to include a printed dissertation in this overview of manuscripts in the age of print, but his dissertation is interfoliated with blank leaves which were totally cluttered with autograph notes. After studies at Uppsala in theology, philology, mathematics, and philosophy, Knös had in 1742 finished his dissertation in philosophy. The subject was *De principiis et nexu religionis naturalis et revelatae*, on the connection between natural and revealed religion. The well-known Professor Johan Ihre agreed to preside; the dissertation was duly censored by the philosophical faculty, and then printed and officially announced. But suddenly, just before the disputation was supposed to take place, the Vice-Chancellor demanded that it should be postponed and, as a consequence, the theological faculty disallowed the disputation. This was in May 1742, the same date as the print. Ihre was never officially informed about this decision, so the next term, in October, he decided that the dissertation should nevertheless be examined. The stormy disputation, with three opponents, took seven hours. Knös, however, defended himself skilfully and was awarded his degree. In the margins of the dissertation copy in Skara we may thus find some of the arguments he used in his disputational act. These notes could have been written either in response to the veto in May or as a preparation for the October event, or even afterwards, as a summing up (Image II).
Another printed dissertation is MS Teologi 104. Unfortunately the title page is missing, so the author’s identity is not known. But from the account of persons mentioned in the annotations it may be concluded that it probably originates from a synod in Gothenburg in the mid-1790s. This is evident from the handwritten paratexts, the speeches and comments surrounding the printed text. These give us information on the setting, on the rhetorical frame for such an occasion, and are probably written by the person who was the chairman of this synod. Just like the dissertation discussed above, this one was also bound interfoliated with leaves which were then used both to formulate speeches to various participants and to prepare comments on the theses and on the subject matter of the dissertation. Not only were the blank leaves filled with notes, but so too were the margins of the print, and there were also interlinear glosses. Examples of paratexts include an oration to Praepositus Brunius, a conclusion at the end of the first day, and a speech to introduce the preface. Further examples are speeches to the two Extra Ordinarii Opponentes Wetterberg and Aurelius, ad Professorem Malm forte, speeches to Praepositus Molin, an invitation to vicar Banck, addresses to Grimberg forsitan, Blomdahl forte aut alius quispiam, Beijer forte, and an Invitatio auditorum. From these paratexts we can thus gather information on who was present at the synod, and what roles some of them played, and sometimes also get an insight into their respective relations (reference to their years together at school, at the academy, et cetera). The addition of words like forte, forsitan, aut alius quispiam to some of the addresses seems to show that the texts were prepared prior to the occasion; the chairman needed to make sure that he had some alternatives or extras just in case someone did not turn up or more contributions were needed (Image III).
The first miscellany deliberated on here is an autograph as well: it is Johan Otter’s housebook. Otter was a vicar in Gökhem and a teacher in Skara. His book contains mainly his own works from the 1780s, speeches, letters, and notes from various disputations and exams where he had the role of examiner or praeses. There are also some printed dissertations inserted, some of which have Otter’s notes to the theses appended. In the first text the heading reads: *Oratiuncula de conservanda probitate et innocentia juventute morum*, and Otter comments that this was supposed to be translated by the students: »A small oration on how to preserve the young ones’ integrity and innocence of manners. To be translated: dictated in spring 1781 for the young ones who were about to depart for the Academy.« The second item in the volume is a handwritten dissertation, the title page of which is designed in the style of a print. The person responsible for it, Sven Breding, would later marry into the Otter family. Then comes a printed dissertation followed by Otter’s handwritten notes to it. Finally we have Otter’s speech before his parish on the day of thanksgiving for peace between Sweden and Russia in 1790. A small curiosity concerns the binding. As can be seen, it has a cover of coarse unbleached paper, attached with longstitch on two stations (Images IV–V). At the spine it seems that Otter had decorated it with a wreath of some sort. But a closer look reveals that it is a stamp that says »manufactured at the paper mill in Skeen.« So it is just an example of intelligent use of a very cheap binding material – the wrapping paper from the mill in Småland.
Another interesting example of the miscellany is Herman Möller’s study compendia. Herman Möller (1726–1793) came to Skara as a young boy from Bremen, to live with his namesake uncle who was the printer in town. The nephew had a keen interest in medicine and botany, subjects that had become very popular due to Linnaeus’ achievements. With this intent he enrolled as a student at Lund University in the mid-eighteenth century, but his foster-father had other plans in mind and wanted the young man to become a clergyman. Young Möller accordingly became a teacher at Skara Grammar School for a few years, was ordained clergyman, and became a vicar in
Södra Björke in 1763. Even so, he was very much in demand as a doctor in the area, according to the diocesan annals. That his interests were extensive is shown also in his study compendia, which he bound together after ending his studies. Given that many of the leaflets are explicitly dated on the first page, it becomes evident that the whole book took at least a decade to assemble (1747–1757). This book is now catalogued under the heading »theology« in Skara, but according to its varied contents it could obviously with good reason have been put on another shelf. To take a few examples: the first leaflet contains theological notes gathered from Professor Marcus Wöldike’s teaching; the next few texts all deal with Hebrew. One of them is a printed plate on grammar (printed by Carl Gustaf Berling, s.d.); one is a Hebrew grammar which looks as if it could have been copied from a printed model (Image VI). Johan Engeström (1699–1777), professor in Greek and oriental languages, and later bishop in Lund, did publish a Hebrew grammar in 1733, but that book is 350 pages long. So what we encounter here is probably a copy of an abridged version of Engeström’s grammar, compiled by docent Petrus Rubens and circulated among the students.
Following these texts in Möller’s miscellany we find leaflets dealing with philosophy, logic, mineralogy, physics, and much more. Finally, there are some mathematical treatises, among them a piece on geometry, with numerous marginal sketches to illustrate the geometrical problems.31

A third example of the miscellany is Carl Kämpe’s *album amicorum* in two volumes, one of the prettier albums in Skara Library. Carl Kämpe (1738–1816) later became one of the library’s most generous book donors. His donation of printed volumes amounts to more than 3,000 items. In the 1770s he went on several trips around Europe and brought this album with him (Image VII).

Image VII. Skara Stiftsbibliotek, MS Biografi Stambok 2 (Carl Kämpe’s *album amicorum*, 1774–1776).

The album opens with Kämpe’s own mottoes, which he put down in Hamburg in June 1774: first a citation from John Chrysostom, Ὑδεύομεν καθ’ ἡμέραν, ἕως ἡ φύσις ἐπιτρέχει (»We travel each day as far as nature allows us«); then one from an epistle by Alexander Pope, »Let us since life can little more supply Than just to look about us and to die Expatriate free.« In addition to the more common greetings that are accompanied by proverbs or quotations, this album also contains a number of exquisite watercolours, some of which are by prominent artists, like Elias Martin (1739–1818).32 In the example below, down by the roots of the tree, Martin has noted where and when it was painted: London, the 25th of March 1776 (Image VIII).
A second watercolour shows an angel trumpeting a Virgil citation, *extendere factis* (to extend one’s fame by valiant deeds), and the appended note reads »so wishes to Mr Kämpe his sincere Frend and wellwisher John Miller« (Image IX). This may be by the Nuremberg-born botanical artist and engraver (1715–c. 1790), who is otherwise known for having illustrated Linnaeus’ work in his *Illustratio Systematis Sexualis Linnaei*. The mixture of classical, Christian, and contemporary culture seen in these citations, is an instructive example of what a young man’s education in the eighteenth century was expected to comprise.

**Mixed books**

Adding notes and paratexts to a printed text is one way of mixing manuscript and print. Above we encountered a couple of these »mixed« books, in the form of dissertations with
annotations. Another way of mixing manuscript and print is to collate texts in both media into the same volume with regard to the contents rather than the form in which they were fabricated. Yet another important feature of old book volumes is that they may have been altered during their existence in their character and contents, as if someone decided to add texts, split certain items or bind others together. Thus books at that time were more fleeting and flexible than today. Here is one example of both phenomena: MS Juridik 9 contains a collection of decrees from the late seventeenth century up to around 1710. The book is covered by a laced-case parchment binding which was originally created for an insert only about three centimetres thick. At the original spine one can see holes for where the sewing supports were laced through the cover. Then someone decided to put more material into the same volume, a lot more, so that now the book is about three times as thick (Image X). The original insert was all print: royal decrees mainly from the late seventeenth century. The added material is of the same kind, still royal decrees and regulations, but most of it is handwritten, with occasional prints interspersed (Image XI). Thus, even though the volume in its present shape is absolutely homogeneous in content, it is varied in medium (print manus-cript), and it probably has a history as two different books, since the edges are sprinkled on the larger, later insertion but not on the original part.

Image X. Skara Stiftsbibliotek, MS Juridik 9.
Let me end my discussion with a couple of examples of apographs, copies of whole printed books. To produce such copies was by no means an uncommon phenomenon, but the occasion referred to here was somewhat exceptional. In 1709 King Charles XII and the Swedish army were defeated at the battle of Poltava in today’s Ukraine. What followed thereafter was a twelve-year-long captivity for thousands of Swedish soldiers, officers, and even women and children. Initially there were about 25,000 prisoners; of these, only one out of four returned to Sweden after peace was proclaimed in 1721. From Poltava the prisoners were taken to Moscow, and from there most of them were brought to the city of Tobolsk, the capital of Siberia, some also to the smaller town Tomsk.

Religion took on an important role for the Swedish contingent in Siberia. On the one hand, the Swedish authorities saw the usefulness of employing the familiar church organization to keep an eye on the people in exile and establish some kind of order in their frightful predicament. On the other hand, people really needed faith to pull through, and the Pietistic movement influenced the exiled Swedes even more than was the case at home. At home in Sweden, Pietism was looked upon with great suspicion by the church authorities, but in Russia the prisoners were allowed a little more leeway. An important eyewitness and source to everyday life in Tobolsk is Captain Curt Friedrich von Wreech (1650–1724), who started a school for the children in the camp, and who wrote a diary which was published shortly after the war. In this diary he describes how the children’s education is accomplished and how important the catechetical assemblies are. In the statutes for the school it is stated that all the children should join in the singing from the printed or copied hymn books, either reading from the page or singing by heart. The wording reveals that there was a shortage of printed
literature in the camp. Hence they also had to copy out books by hand. In the Skara collection there is such a handwritten hymn book, executed by one of the war prisoners. One can see how he strove to copy even the layout precisely (Image XIII). The title page is in every detail identical to the printed model, except for the last line, where it usually says »printed in Stockholm in the year of 1697«; this is replaced by »replicated in Tobolsk Anno 1714 by Lieutenant Johan Matias Hageman.«

— Image XII. Skara Stiftsbibliotek, MS Teologi 105: Johan Matias Hageman’s hymn book from 1714.

Another book, which was not only copied but also translated by the Swedish prisoners, was Philipp Jacob Spener’s *Einfältige Erklärung der christlichen Lehr, nach der Ordnung des kleinen Catechismi des teuren Manns Gottes Lutheri* (Franckfurth, 1677). This was one of several important Pietistic books, which were definitely needed in more than one copy in Tobolsk. Von Wreech explicitly says that Spener’s book was used regularly at the two weekly assemblies for catechetical examination. The Swedish translation of the work is extant in three copies: one in Uppsala, one in Borgå Lyceibibliotek in Finland, and one in Skara: MS Teologi 33 (Image XIII).
A note in the book explains that it came to Skara Library as early as 1787 and that the translator’s name is to be found at the end. But the latter claim is unlikely, considering the wording in the colophon (Image XIV). Captain Jacob E. Staare’s colophon says »Began to copy this on the 9th of April and ended on the 30th of August 1715 in Tomsk, in the sixth and seventh year of our captivity and affliction« (my italics). On the basis of a passage in von Wreech’s account, it has been suggested that the translation was rather initially made by battalion preacher Jonas Österberg. The Skara specimen would thus most likely be a copy of Österberg’s translation, created in Tomsk by the hand of Jacob E. Staare. Both Österberg and Staare died in captivity.
Staare’s copy of Spener’s catechism is bound in a coarse and hardened leather wrapper, attached only at one side of the spine (Image XV). On the inside of the leather there is a small note in Russian: »Pripisal Fedor Propopopov« (»Fedor Propopopov wrote this«).43

The Skara manuscripts presented in this article differ from each other in date, genre, scope, and format. However, taken together they show how – even after the invention of print – it was useful and necessary to continue to write one’s own texts, to copy by hand, and to enrich printed books with handwritten additions. There is still plenty to explore in these and other manuscripta recentissima, but the least we can do is to recognize them as valuable in their own right, even though they have long lacked the revered status that is granted their medieval counterparts.
Photos by Helena Backman, Skara Stifts- och Landsbibliotek.

ENDNOTES

1 David McKitterick: Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830 (Cambridge, 2003), 12.


7 Paul Saenger and Roger Chartier stress that enhanced reading skills and the practice of silent reading were as essential for changing late medieval and early modern society as were the ever increasing number of available (printed) books; Paul Saenger: »Silent Reading. Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society« in Viator 13 (1982), 367–414; Roger Chartier: »The Practical Impact of Writing« in Chartier (ed.): A History of Private Life. Vol. III: Passions of the Renaissance (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

8 The latter manuscript is not in Skara or even Väster-


10 Examples of important personal archives are the ones after Olof Andersson Knös, Jesper Swedberg, and Sven Wilskman.


12 Nils Grubb: *En sanfärdig och på bewisliga skähl sig grundande berättelse om det så kallade owäsendet i religion och kyrkio-disciplin*, för hwilcket dessa Uhmo församling, igenom någras, dehls argsinndes, dehls oförståndigas falska tidningar kommit i förklehnligit rychte (Stockholm, 1721) (the handwritten copy in Skara, MS Teologi 12, is from 1737); »Högst rättmätige Beswär inför hela then Swänska Christeliga församlingen öfwer the öfvermåttan Ogrundade, Smädefulla och Ochristeliga, Anmärckningar som under Hr Magister Telins Namn Utkommen Åhr 1722, emot min Sanfärdige Berättelse af Åhr 1721. Om thet så kallade Owäsendet i Religionen och Kyrkio Disciplinen uthi Uhmeå församblings* (Skara Stiftsbibliotek, MS Teologi 7 and MS Teologi 11).

13 Bengt & Agneta Åhlén: *Censur och tryckfrihet. Farliga skrifter i Sverige 1522–1954* (Stockholm, 2003), 50; Prästeståndets protokoll den 28 maj 1723, punkt 14 (the parliamentary protocol has been consulted through excerpts in Bengt Åhlén’s archival records at Uppsala University Library: UUB, Åhlén 17.44).

14 Leonard Bygdén: *Hernösands stifts herdaminne* (Uppsala, 1925), 197f, 224.


16 Miscellanies and composite manuscripts have, unfortunately, often been defined in different ways by different scholars, depending on whether attention has been given primarily
to the contents or to the codicological structure. It is vital to make a distinction between these criteria if we are to know what kind of object we are dealing with. In this article I will use the term *miscellany* to denote mixed contents in a multitem text volume. I use the term *composite* to indicate clearly if a multitem text volume consists of more than one codicologically independent unit. Cf. the discussion in Eva Nyström: *Containing Multitudes. Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8 in Perspective* (Uppsala, 2009), 42-48 (also available online: http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-100643).


18 The term »collective manuscript« corresponds with the Swedish term *samlingshandskrift*. Another term which is applicable in many cases is »composite manuscripts« (*samlings-band*); the difference between the two categories is that the composite manuscript is more obviously put together from independent units, while a collective manuscript could have been written »in one go«, so to speak.


20 On library organization and the gradual shift towards separating printed and manuscript items in various book collections, see McKitterick: *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, 12f.


22 [Collection of runic monuments, or, stone and rune chronicle, with an account over the Parish of Ed; Chronicle over Sollentuna’s runes and monuments, south of Rotebro].

23 The theological tracts were published as early as the seventeenth century. Other kinds of works, poems on courtesy and manners, for example, were published in print as late as the 1920s.

24 »Norrsundabeskrifningen utgör första delen af ett arbete i tre delar. Andra och tredje delen hafva behandlat Eds och Sollentuna socknar men åro nu förkomna« (Martinus Laurentii Aschaneus: *Sigtuna och Norrsunda. Tvenne*)
On the controversy surrounding Andreas Knös’ disputation, see Ruben Josefson: *Andreas Knös’ teologiska äskådning med särskild hänsyn till försoningsläran* (Uppsala, 1937), 18–20.

That the notes are in Andreas Knös’ own hand has been corroborated by comparing it to other specimina in his handwriting.

»Perchance Grimberg; perhaps Blomdahl or someone else; perhaps Beijer; invitation to the audience.«

»Att översätta. Dichterad 1781 vårterminen för den delen av ungdomen som då skulle resa till Academien.«


Carl Gustaf Berling was the academic printer in Lund 1745–1789; Gustaf E. Klemming & Johan G. Nordin: *Svensk boktryckeri-historia 1483-1883*. Jubileumsutg. med tillägg 1983 (Bromma, 1983 [1883]), 257f.

Herman Måller also had some of his own texts on botany, mineralogy, and metaphysics published. Some of them were printed at the Skara printing house which his foster-mother managed after her husband’s death, a couple of others in Gothenburg and Stockholm.

Elias Martin is famous for his landscape paintings and was one of the best watercolour artists of his time. He came from Stockholm but spent many years abroad, mainly in London, 1768–80 and 1788–91. See further Mikael Ahlund: *Landskapets röster. Studier i Elias Martins bildvärld* (Stockholm, 2011). For more information on Carl Kämpe’s album, see Sallander: *Stamböcker*, 19–47. An overview of Kämpe’s library donation is found in Carl Vilhelm Jacobowsky: *Boksamlare. Möten och minnen* (Stockholm, 1965), 96f.


Curt Friedrich von Wreech: *Wahrhaffte und
Eva Nyström. Permeable Boundaries


38 »Åhr 1697 i Stockholm af trycket uthgången« has been replaced by »Afskrifwen i Tobolsca A:o 1714 af Johan Matias Hageman artillerielieutenant«.

39 Een kort och Eenfaldig den Christeliga Lähras förklaring Efter den ordning som finnes uti den dyra Gudz Mannens Lutherij Lilla Cathechismo I frågor och Swar författadt, och med nödige Skriftenes wittnesbörder bekräfftadt af Philip Jacob Spener ... Gudi till Ähra och de swänska fångarna i Tomski till uppbrygelze, förswänstat uti Siberien och bemälte stad Åhr 1715 (Skara Stiftsbibliotek, MS Teologi 33).

40 Einar Lilja even suggests that all three copies in Swedish of Spener’s work represent independent translations (Einar Lilja: Den svenska katekestraditionen, 221f).


43 In addition to Hageman’s hymn book and Staare’s catechism, there is in Skara a third volume stemming from the Siberian captivity: a musical manuscript which the oboist Gustaf