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The Reception of Books from Braniewo in the 17th-century Uppsala University Library

Abstract. It is well known that Swedish armies took a number of literary spoils of war from Poland in the 17th century, among others, the library of the Jesuit College in Braniewo in 1626. This article discusses how the collections from Braniewo were received and arranged in the first library building of Uppsala University, to which they had been donated by the Swedish King Gustavus II Adolphus. Books with contents related to theology are discussed in particular. As is shown in the article, books from Braniewo by Catholic authors or editors that were of a more neutral nature, such as books on Church history, Bibles and Bible concordances, were generally considered more useful at this Lutheran university than books by Catholic authors containing, for instance, Bible commentaries, sermons and dogmatics.

Keywords: Spoils of War, Library History, Classification, Jesuit College of Braniewo, Uppsala University Library.

It is well-known among book historians in Sweden and Poland that Swedish armies took several libraries as spoils of war from Polish territories in the 17th century. Most notable were the Jesuit College Library in Braniewo and the Jesuit Chapter Library in Frombork in 1626, and the Jesuit College Library in Poznań in the mid-1650s. The first two were donated to the Uppsala University Library by Gustavus II Adolphus (r. 1611–1632) and transported there as early as 1627. The last collection mentioned was brought to the same library in 1693, when Charles XI (r. 1660–1697) had the private library of the Swedish nobleman Claes Rålamb (1622–1698) sent there¹. The books taken from Braniewo will be the

¹ The most important and inevitable work on Swedish literary spoils of war is still Otto Walde's *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten* (Uppsala 1916–1920). The collections from Braniewo and Poznań have been or are the subjects of recent projects at

focus of this article. By comparing some early registers, we will see several examples illustrating how these books were received and reclassified in Uppsala once they arrived. The basic underlying assumption here is the truism that libraries and the arrangement of libraries say something about their owners. Since Uppsala university was the foremost school for higher education in the Swedish realm at the time, a place where many clergymen and future servants of the state were trained, the order of the books in its library naturally mirrored the values ascribed to different kinds of literature, learning and religious ideas at this institution, which influenced generations of students. A discussion of the reception at Lutheran Uppsala of books taken as spoils of war from Catholic institutions on the continent, based on extant book lists from the time, must therefore be firmly rooted in their historical and ideological context. Only in this way can one fairly show how books and groups of books were selected according to content and authorship, and physically moved around in the library building at a small but significant university on the outskirts of Europe. In addition, such an analysis will contribute to the ongoing documentation of the early modern book world within a broader European perspective². Only by piecing together the wider dynamics of book arrangement and the organization of knowledge at this time can the book be properly understood.

I have previously treated the first university library building in Uppsala in an essay in the *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, so I will not go into great detail on this subject here³. Let it suffice to mention that this building

Uppsala University Library, in collaboration with librarians from Poland. A catalogue of the Braniewo collection was published in 2007; see J. Trypućko, *The Catalogue of the Book Collection of the Jesuit College in Braniewo Held in the University Library in Uppsala = Katalog księgozbioru Kolegium Jezuitów w Braniewie zachowanego w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Uppsali*, 3 vols., ed. M. Spandowski, S. Szyller, Uppsala–Warsaw 2007. Modern catalogues of the Poznań collections are being created presently. As regards the Polish collections in Uppsala, see also P. Sjökvist, *Polish Collections at Uppsala University Library: A History of Research*, in: *Książka dawna i jej właściciele*, vol. 2, ed. D. Sidorowicz-Mulak, A. Franczyk-Cegła, Wrocław 2017, pp. 237–244. For information on the Poznań project, see P. Sjökvist, *Books from Poznań at the Uppsala University Library*, “Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiórami Historycznymi”, 2017, vol. *Polonika w zbiorach obcych*, ed. J. Puchalski, A. Chamera-Nowak, D. Pietrzakiewicz, pp. 319–327.

² Several valuable case studies on the importance of book lists of the time for this purpose, not only being limited to books that have survived in modern library collections, can be found in the conference volume *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, ed. M. Walsby, N. Constantinidou, Leiden 2013.

³ P. Sjökvist, *On the Order of the Books in the First Uppsala University Library Building*, “*Journal of Jesuit Studies*” 2019, vol. 6, pp. 315–326.

was a rather small edifice, finished in 1628, located next to the Cathedral in Uppsala. It was a two-storey, split-level structure with three rooms on each floor. The building was clearly of poor quality: there were recurring complaints at the university council concerning the conditions that books had to endure there. The lower floor suffered badly from moisture, and the roof tended to leak onto the upper floor. According to the history of the library written by Claes Annerstedt, the books from Braniewo and Frombork were stacked on the lower floor as soon as the building was finished in 1628, after having been temporarily stored in small sheds close to the Fyris River in Uppsala⁴. It took another decade, however, for catalogues to be made of the collections of the library. The librarian at the time, Laurentius Tolfstadius (d. 1650), compiled a handwritten catalogue in two volumes between 1638 and 1641, one covering the *bibliotheca superior*; the other covering the *bibliotheca inferior*⁵. From this catalogue the structure of the collections can easily be discerned, since the catalogues were in reality shelf lists. What we see is that the books in the upper library were arranged according to the four faculties and professorial chairs, while the lower level was more of a storage room for less useful literature, where the Jesuit classification of theology from Braniewo had been reserved for most titles by Catholic authors. When the books were taken, they were immediately placed in chests according to subject, supposedly according to how they had been arranged in Braniewo; it seems at first that the books were initially arranged on the shelves in Uppsala in the same order, then bit-by-bit, the most useful books were selected and moved to other sections of the library. In fact, large portions of the books from Poland written by Catholic authors and aimed at Catholic readers can by default be assumed to be rather useless at this very Lutheran university, where the Pope in dissertations of the time was compared with the Antichrist, and the Jesuits were generally described as his deceitful, cunning and blood-thirsty followers⁶. However, books labelled Calvinist (*libri Calvinianorum*) were also stored on the lower floor⁷. According to the catalogues there was thus a separation of the library

⁴ C. Annerstedt, *Upsala universitetsbiblioteks historia intill år 1702*, Stockholm 1894, pp. 11–12.

⁵ Uppsala University Library (UUB), Bibl. arkiv K2 and K3. Both are available online: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-270360> (K2), and <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-270365> (K3).

⁶ See P. Sjökvist, *Literary Spoils of War in Uppsala in Practice* [forthcoming]; cf. H. Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620–1720: Stylistics, Vocabulary and Characteristic Ideas*, Uppsala 2004, pp. 321–336.

⁷ UUB, Bibl. arkiv K 2, 119–122.

into one floor for the actual and current university library, containing the best and most useful books, and one where less useful books were stored. This division can also be verified in contemporary sources, such as a poem by the Uppsala Professor of music and poetry Jonas Columbus (1586–1663) on the Swedish victory at Braniewo (*Victoria Brunsbergensis*):

Hic ubi nubiferas alte est educta sub auras
ingentis precii libros quae continet aedes,
et duplex ample librorum conficitur grex.
Dividuus paries omnes qui ponitur inter
foetibus a sanis scabiosa peculia nobis
plurima quae data sunt abs te Brunsberga repellit⁸.

There is also a short note stating the same thing in prose in a history of Uppsala by Johan Eenberg (d. 1709), a former employee of the library, from the beginning of the 18th century:

Det förste akademiske bibliothek är [...] inrättadt åhr 1620, uti det huset, som står uti nord-wäst på domkyrkiogården (därest nu är Consistorium Academicum), hwarest uti öfre våningen de förnämste, och i under våningen de sämbre böcker blefwe då planterade, och stode til åhr 1691⁹.

Taken together, these quotes say two things: that the less useful books were located on the lower floor, and that the assumed confessional content of the books was the main criterium for deciding what was useful or not¹⁰. The intention of the present text thus is to investigate whether the essence of these quotes can be verified, and to follow up in more detail how some titles on or related to theology in the looted collections from

⁸ "Here, where a building has been raised high under the cloud-bearing / skies, which contains books of great value, / and the herd of books in abundance is made twofold. / A dividing wall that is placed between them all keeps / the scabby cattle, which has been given by you, o Braunsberg, / in great number, away from our sound offspring". Jonas Columbus, manuscript at Linköping Diocese Library, W 28. Apograph at UUB, R 383.

⁹ "The first library of the academy was [...] founded in the year 1620, in the building that is located to the north-east of the yard of the cathedral (where Consistorium Academicum is now situated), in which the foremost books were placed on the upper floor, and the worse books on the lower floor, and they stood there until the year 1691". Johan Eenberg, *Kort berättelse af de märkwärdigste saker som för de främmande äre at bese och förnimma uti Upsala stad...*, Uppsala 1703–1704, p. 56.

¹⁰ See my abovementioned article (P. Sjökvist, *On the Order of the Books...*) for more circumstances and arguments supporting this claim.

Braniewo were treated and arranged in the first university library building at Uppsala during its first decade. Books on or related to theology have been chosen since these are naturally the ones in which the confessional aspects matter most for purposes of classification if the aim was to keep 'the scabby books away from the sound ones', to paraphrase Jonas Columbus.

There are no less than three extant registers of the books that arrived in Sweden from Braniewo (I have intentionally omitted the modern one from 2007), but unfortunately none of them is complete. There is a library catalogue from Braniewo (started in 1570 and last updated in 1605) that was part of the spoils¹¹, and there are two registers that were made by Johannes Bureus (1568–1652) at Stockholm Castle before the books were sent to Uppsala in 1627¹². All of them have obvious omissions – all contain books that cannot be found in the other ones – and the bibliographical details do allow for absolutely precise identification. This does not prevent their usage for the present purpose. By comparing these three registers of books from Braniewo, but mainly the one with the shelf mark U 273¹³, with the above-mentioned first two catalogues of the Uppsala library, compiled a decade after the arrival of the collections, we can see plenty of examples of how books from Braniewo were received at Uppsala, how they were considered, and how they stayed or circulated in the new environment in response to current needs. We will see under which heading in the first library catalogues, and on what floor of the library, the books labelled in a certain category on Bureus's list ended up. Although we cannot always say for certain that the copies on Bureus's list and the catalogues are the same books, we will see how the contents were judged and considered in this new classification system and new environment. Since several thousand books were taken from Braniewo, and we can give only a limited number of examples here, nothing more than a general tendency can be indicated. Nevertheless, this will provide clear information about the basic arrangement.

In the following section, the titles of the books are rendered as they were mentioned in the different original registers, with no attempts at normalization, with the exception of abbreviations like the *linea nasalis* and

¹¹ UUB, U 274.

¹² UUB, U 272 and U 273. The latter is available online: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-251151>.

¹³ In U 273 the pages 1–17 and 37–56 cover the books from Braniewo, while the pages 18–36 cover the books from Frombork, according to C. Annerstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

the *r* with a stroke for the Latin genitive plural. The number given in bold characters within square brackets refers to the record in Trypućko's above-mentioned catalogue from 2007, which covers the books from Braniewo that are still in Uppsala today¹⁴. Unfortunately, a number of books from Braniewo were discarded or sold over the centuries, so this reference cannot always be given¹⁵. When such a reference is possible, the information on place, publisher and year given in Trypućko is repeated here within parenthesis.

As we can expect from what we have read of the arrangement of the library thus far, many books from Braniewo in rather neutral fields of church history and secular history were located on the upper floor of the library. On pages 37–43 of Bureus's list (U 273) we see books under the secular heading 'historians' (*Historici*), which had been placed in chests K and L, according to annotations in the same list. We find here, for instance, the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais (Nürnberg: Koberger, 1483 [431]), located under 'secular historians' (*Historici seculares*)¹⁶. Furthermore, the book *Livij decas 3 et 4*, by the Roman author Livy, in Bureus's list has a probable parallel under the same heading as the previous item: *Titi Livii 3 et 4^{ta} decades*¹⁷. The simple note *Isidorus* in Bureus, i.e. Isidore of Seville, could correspond to the *Isidori opus, quod Etymologiarum intitulatur. Paris 1509* under the heading 'church historians' (*Historici ecclesiastici*) on the upper floor¹⁸. The title *Historia Lombardica* (which is in fact Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*) is probably the *Lombardica historia seu legenda sanctorum, editio antiqua* [280 or 281?] under the heading 'writings of the fathers' (*Scripta patrum*) on the upper floor¹⁹. Notably, the librarians at Uppsala did not agree with the classification of this book in Bureus's list as being primarily on a church-related historical subject, and moved it to another section. The *Annalium Ecclesiasticorum] Baronij tomi 12, 6 band* of Cesare Baronio in Bureus's list can be found under church history on the upper floor as *Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Caes. Baronii Tomus [1–12] Moguntia 1601* (Mainz: Gymnich & Hierat, 1601–1608 [1168]) in six volumes²⁰. The collection of Greek

¹⁴ J. Trypućko, op. cit.

¹⁵ See further P. Sjökvist, *Litterära krigsbyttens öden i Sverige* ('The Destiny of Literary Spoils of War in Sweden'), "Biblis" 89, 2020, pp. 20–26.

¹⁶ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 92.

¹⁷ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 94.

¹⁸ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 98.

¹⁹ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 15.

²⁰ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 49.

writers on church history *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Scriptores Graeci cura Joh. Christoforsoni*, edited by John Christopherson, in Bureus's list is likewise found there as *Historia Ecclesiastica eorundem Autb. Lat. Facta a Joh. Christophorsono. Colon. 1581* (Köln: Birckmann, 1581 [1134])²¹. The title *Platina de Vitis Pontificum* by Bartolomeo Platina appears on Bureus's list under church history on the upper floor in a colligate binding as *Platina de Vitis Pontificum Norimb. 1481* (Nürnberg: Koberger, 11 VIII 1481 [380])²². The entry *Johan[n]is Maffei Historiae Indicae* of the Jesuit historian Giovanni Pietro Maffei, located on Bureus's list, ended up in the secular history section as *Maffei Bergomatis Historia Indica, Colon. 1589* (Köln: Birckmann: Mylius, 1590 [2328])²³.

Summarizing these eight examples from the history section of Bureus's list – we must keep in mind that the total number of books in this section of the list is almost 200, and that the examples here are thus only a small portion – we notice that all volumes were located on the upper floor of the library building, and that the collections that were arranged according to the four faculties and meant for regular usage at the university. The books in the examples have mainly been separated from Bureus's one section of history into two, viz. secular history and church history. One book, Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, received a more accurate classification and was moved from the other books on history, to the *scripta patrum* section. Notably, this also differed from how this book had been classified in Braniewo, where we find *Historia Lombardica* as the second entry under *Historici Ecclesiastici* in the catalogue²⁴. Bureus's list accordingly followed the Braniewo classification.

Moving on to the field of law, we see in the catalogues of the library in Uppsala that there were two sections, one on the upper floor, another on the lower floor. The section on the upper floor much bigger (approximately 650 entries) than the one on the lower level (approximately 125), which supposedly originally held the books on law from Braniewo, which were 118 in number according to Bureus's list. In the catalogue, less relevant books on Roman and Canon law were at this point still on the lower floor. There were also some cases where copies were on the upper floor, and duplicate titles on the lower floor. The latter was the case with books containing the *Decretales* of Gregory IX, some of which we find on Bureus's list (U 273) on law, covering pp. 46–51.

²¹ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 48.

²² Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 49.

²³ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 98.

²⁴ UUB, U 274, fol. 31v.

There were many books containing the *Decretales* both on the upper²⁵ and lower floors²⁶ of the library, among the latter was a copy from Braniewo printed in Venice in 1482 (Venice: Torresano, de Blavi & de Paterbonis, 1482 [241]). On the lower floor we can furthermore identify the *Angelus super Institutiones* on Bureus's list, probably referring to Angelo Gambiglioni d'Arezzo's *Angeli de Aretio in institutionib. Comment. Venet 1488*²⁷. Bureus's note *Joh. Petri de Ferrarijs Practica* could refer to either of two copies on the lower floor of Giovanni Pietro Ferrari's *Joan Petr de Ferrarijs Practica Mediolani 1507*²⁸, or *Joan. Petr. de Ferrarijs Practica Papiensis Lugd. 1530*²⁹. On the upper floor, we find from Bureus's list Filippo Decio's *Decius super Decretales*, written in the catalogue as *Philippus Decius super Decretalib. Lugd. 1544*³⁰. We find in Bureus Niccolò Tedeschi's *Abbas super primo Decretalium* on the upper as *Nicolai Abbatis Panormitani Comm. sup. 1m. [...] Decret. Aug. 1577*³¹, and also in Bureus Andrea Alciati's *And. Alciati coment. in 2m tom. Pandectarum* on the upper as *Alciati in 2.dum Tom. Pandect. Juris Civilis Comment. Lugd. 1550*³². Law studies at this Protestant university at Uppsala still strongly concerned Roman and Canon law, and this was clearly mirrored on the shelves of the library. In 1620 it was decided that there would be two professors of law at Uppsala, and this was later confirmed in the constitutions of the university. One was a lecture on Swedish law in comparison to Roman law, and the other was a lecture on Roman law and moral philosophy³³. The fact that most books in this field were still useful can also be seen by the simple fact that the upper floor of the library held so many more books than the lower. What is worth noticing here is that the books on law on the lower floor were almost exclusively old manuscripts and old printed items, in contrast to the other sections where no such pattern can be discerned. No less than 25 of them are in fact indicated as being printed in the 15th century, 17 are labelled as manuscripts, and all the remaining books were printed before 1549. On the upper floor there are also a few books

²⁵ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 70.

²⁶ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 4.

²⁷ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 2.

²⁸ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 2.

²⁹ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 4.

³⁰ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 59.

³¹ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 58.

³² Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 72.

³³ Å. Malmström, *Ur den juridiska fakultetens historia*, in: *Uppsala University 500 years: 11*, Uppsala 1976, pp. 20–21.

printed in the first part of the 16th century, and at least one incunable, but most books are of a later date. Since the contents of the books on the upper and lower sections are in this case quite similar, we can assume that the lower level held the books considered more outdated.

As we have seen, on Bureus's list there is an additional section labelled 'writings of the fathers' (*Patrum scripta*) on pp. 17–18, listing authors such as Augustine, Jerome, Origen, Irenaeus, etc., without any closer descriptions of the editions. These are all listed under the heading *Scripta patrum* in the catalogue and found on the upper floor of the library³⁴. The Church Fathers were a part of the common Christian tradition that continued to be fundamental to Protestantism. The same is the case with several Bibles and concordances from the register of Bureus (pp. 1–2), which are found on the upper floor. We find there, for instance, a *Latina Biblia [...] Nürnbergh 1480* entered in the catalogue as *Biblia Latina Hieronymi Nürnberg 1480*³⁵. We find an *Opus veteris et novi Testam. Nürnberg 1475* entered there as *Biblia Renati Benedicti. Latina Nürnberg 1475* (Nürnberg: Koberger, 16 XI 1475) [162]³⁶. We find a *Biblia cum concordantijs* entered there as *Biblia Latina cum concordantiis. 1491* (Basel: Amerbach, 1491) [164]. Moreover, we find four Biblical concordances called *Concordantiae majores* (Nürnberg: Koberger, 27 VI 1485 [199], Basel: Froben, 1523 [1558], Basel: Froben, 1525 [1559], Strasbourg 1530) which are all found on the upper floor under the heading 'theologians' (*Theologi*) described as *Concordantiae Biblicae majores*³⁷, while the book that Bureus labelled *Oeconomia Bibliorum Georgij Ederi* is found on the upper floor under *Scripta patrum*, described as *Oeconomia Bibliorum, per Tabellas, Georgii Ederi. Colon. 1568*³⁸. The book from Braniewo with this title accounted for in Trypućko [1737] has the printing year 1571, so either there were duplicate copies, or the wrong year was listed in the catalogue.

As can be seen from this short description, Bibles, Bible concordances and the writings of the Church fathers from Braniewo all seem to have been considered potentially useful at the Uppsala library. Again, it should be noted that only a few examples have been given here. In all, these sections contain almost 90 entries on Bureus's list. However, in comparison to the sections we will now take a look at, these will suffice in order to show how different types of literature on or related to theology appear to have been considered and treated.

³⁴ Bibl. arkiv K3, pp. 7–24.

³⁵ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 5.

³⁶ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 5.

³⁷ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 25.

³⁸ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 15.

As one peruses the sections on Bible commentaries on pp. 3–7 of Bureus's list, it soon becomes apparent that most works written by Catholic authors were kept on the lower floor, under the heading 'commentators on the Holy Scripture' (*Commentatores in S. Sacram*). There is even a sub-heading for the quarto-volumes in the commentaries section in the catalogue titled 'Catholic commentators in quarto' (*Commentatores Catholici in 4.to*). Among the books in the quarto-format we notice that, for instance, *Bened. Ariae Montani Com. in Josuae* by Benito Arias Montano on Bureus's list was placed on the lower floor as *Ben. Ariaemontani in Josuam [...] Antver. 1583* (Antwerpen: Plantin, 1583 [1094])³⁹. The same is true of Theodoor van Pelt's *Theodori Peltani [...] Com. in Proverbia* on Bureus's list, which was entered under the same heading as *Theodori Peltani paraphrasis in proverbia Salomonis. Antwerp. 1606* (Antwerpen: Verdussen, 1606 [1252])⁴⁰. Jules Mazarin's *Julij Mazarini Conciones in Psalmum* on Bureus's list, can be found on the lower floor as *David Julii Mazzarini 100 discursus in 50 Psalmum [...] Colon. 1612* (Köln: Wolter, 1612 [2372])⁴¹. On the other hand, Martin Luther's *Martini Lutheri coment, in Eptam ad Galatas*, Erasmus Roterodamus's *Erasmi Roter. Enarratio in Psalmos 33 et 38*, and the Lutheran Johannes Bugenhagen's *Johan[n]is Bugenhagij Pom. in Psalterium Comentarius et auctarium* on Bureus's list are all found on the upper floor under the heading *Theologi*, as *M. Lutheri Comment. in Epistolas ad Galatas. Witten. 1538*, as *Enarratio Erasm. Rot. in Psalmos 33 et 38. Bas. 1531*, as *Bughenhagij interpretatio in Psalmos Davidis. Bas. 1524* and as *Bughenhagij in Psalmos Davidis auctarium. Bas. 1535*⁴². Interestingly, a commentary by the Jesuit Francisco de Toledo on Bureus's list *Francisci Toleti com. in Eplam ad Romanos et Sermones in Psalmum 31* is found on both the upper floor as *Toleti Comment. in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos et psalmum 31. Moguntiae 1603* under *Scripta patrum*⁴³ and on the lower floor as *Toletus in Epistolam ad Romanos et in psalm. 31 David. Mogun 1603* under *Commentatores in S. Sacram*⁴⁴. The entry in the catalogue on the lower floor has been underlined. If this indicates that the book had been selected to be moved to the upper floor, it would thus be the same book and not a duplicate copy of the same edition – but is merely speculation. Otherwise, one can notice

³⁹ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 14. But, a copy of the same author's commentary on the 12 prophets (Antwerp, 1571) was located on the upper (Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 11).

⁴⁰ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 14.

⁴¹ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 14.

⁴² Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 35.

⁴³ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 17.

⁴⁴ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 13.

here a striking pattern in that the books from Bureus's list were registered in the catalogue and placed on the shelves on the lower floor in the same groups as in the chests. We find, for instance, works by Diego de Estella, Cornelius Jansenius, Cornelius a Lapide, Francisco de Toledo, François Titelmans, Gaspar Sánchez, Gerhard Lorich and Francisco de Ribera next to each other in a chest with commentaries on the Bible, according to Bureus's list⁴⁵. We then find them on the same shelf on the lower floor of the library at Uppsala⁴⁶. Such occurrences support the assumption that the books from Braniewo in the lower library at Uppsala had been placed in the same sections as they had been located in Braniewo, since they had been put in the chests according to subject.

Summarizing this section, which is a rather vast one on Bureus's list, with approximately 140 entries, we can thus notice that almost all of the works written by Catholic authors were located on the lower floor of the Uppsala library, more or less as they had been placed in the chests in Braniewo. Worth stressing, however, is that Catholic books could sometimes have been considered useful enough to be moved to the upper floor. This was the case with the book by Francisco de Toledo mentioned above, although the reason for it being moved remains unknown, though we also saw such a move previously in the section on law. Additional examples will be provided below.

The pattern is very similar for the next four categories examined below, which are all confessionally coloured. The section in Bureus's list on pp. 8–11 with sermons (*Conciones anniversariae*) contains books that were placed on the lower floor of the library. There we find books such as Friedrich Nausea's *Euangelicae veritatis homiliaru[m] centuriae tres* (Köln: Quentel, 1532 [2470])⁴⁷, Josse Clichtove's *Sermones* (Köln: Quentel, 1535 [1522])⁴⁸, Johann Fabri's *Homiliarum centuria 1. Colon. 1541*⁴⁹, two volumes of Jean Royaerds's *Homiliarom ... in omnes epistolas et euangelia* (Köln: Neuss, 1550 [2765])⁵⁰, and Johann Slotan's *Homiliarom ... de praecipuis mysteriis diuinae incarnationis ... libri tres* (Köln: Gennep, 1557 [2883])⁵¹. These books were next to each other in the chests from Braniewo, and were next to each other on the shelves at Uppsala, just as in the previous example.

⁴⁵ U 273, p. 4.

⁴⁶ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 13.

⁴⁷ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 37.

⁴⁸ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 37.

⁴⁹ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 37.

⁵⁰ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 38.

⁵¹ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 37.

Interestingly, there are also instances here where the librarians at Uppsala judged books differently and reclassified them to other sections. Denis le Chartreux's *Dionysij Carthusiani Enarrationes in evan. et eptas partes 2* on Bureus's list is found on the lower floor under Bible commentaries⁵², but the same title in another edition is also located on the upper floor under the heading *Scripta patrum*⁵³. There are approximately 100 entries in Bureus's list covering sermons, and the few examples here indicate how these were treated at Uppsala. This case is very similar to that of Bible commentaries, where the books were placed on the shelves at Uppsala more or less as they had been taken out of the chests. When we look at two more groups of books from Bureus's list, we see that such a pattern can also be discerned there.

All the works under the heading *Påweske kyrkeböcker* on Bureus's list (pp. 11–12), with the sub-heading *Sacristiae Libri*, covering Catholic liturgical books, have been placed in the middle room on the lower floor among other collections containing Catholic content, but were arranged according to format⁵⁴. We find here titles such as *Missale Varmiense* (Cracow: Januszowski, 1587 [2423])⁵⁵; *Missale pro itinerantibus secundum cursum ecclesie cathedralis Cracouien[sis]* (Cracow: Scharffenberg, 1545 [2422])⁵⁶; the *Breviarium Warmiense* (Köln: Cholinus, 1581 [1323])⁵⁷; as well as *Missae propriae Patronorum et festorum Regni Poloniae* (Cracow: Piotrkowczyk, 1606 [2420])⁵⁸. We again notice that the contents of this chest from Braniewo were placed close to one another when moved to the shelves.

The next heading, from pp. 13–16 of Bureus's list, was *Catecheses, Loci Com., Confessiones, Summae, Examina*, i.e. books dealing with Christian dogmatics; the same pattern from previous sections can be discerned here, as well. We find on Bureus's list such books by Catholic authors as Johann Hoffmeister's *Loci communes rerum theologicarum* (Ingolstadt: Weisenhorn, 1555 [2070]), which was placed on the lower floor under the heading *Locorum Communium et Cathec. Lib. in 8.vo*⁵⁹. We find here also Georg Eder's *Cathecismus Catholicus* (Köln: Calenius & Quentel, 1569 [1432])⁶⁰,

⁵² Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 13.

⁵³ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 16.

⁵⁴ Bibl. arkiv K2, pp. 96–97, 99, and 103–104.

⁵⁵ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 96.

⁵⁶ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 97.

⁵⁷ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 103.

⁵⁸ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 97.

⁵⁹ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 29.

⁶⁰ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 29.

and Peter Binsfeld's *Enchiridion Theologiae Pastoralis. Augsb. 1594*⁶¹. What we do *not* find on the lower floor together with other books from the same chest are books by, for instance, the Lutheran authors Philipp Melancthon, David Chytraeus and Matthias Hafenreffer. Several copies of these works were contained in the collections from Braniewo according to Bureus's list, but can no longer be found on the shelves on the lower floor together with their Catholic counterparts. Books by such Lutheran heroes were seemingly by default selected and moved to the upper floor for confessional reasons.

An important heading in the catalogue of the lower floor of the library that is missing from Bureus's lists U 273 and U 272 (but partly overlaps with his section on catechisms) is 'controversial Catholic theologians' (*Controvertistae Catholici*), or 'writers of controversies' (*Controversiarum scriptores*)⁶². However, we find books under the heading *Controversiarum scriptores* in the catalogue of the Braniewo library that was part of the spoils⁶³, with books from this section normally ending up in the corresponding one in the lower library. We find there, for instance, Stanislaus Hosius's *Confutatio prolegomenon Brentii* (Köln, Cholinus, 1560 [2091])⁶⁴; Marcin Kromer's *De vera et falsa religione* (Dillingen: Mayer, 1561 [2217])⁶⁵; Johann Dietenberger's [...] *Contra temerarium Martini Lutheri de votis monasticis* (Köln, Quentel, 1525 [1666])⁶⁶. Not least, we find there books by the most controversial theologian of all, viz. Robert Bellarmine, whose *De controversiis Christianae fidei* (Ingolstadt: Sartorius, 1589–1593 [1211–1214]) could be found on the lower floor in multiple volumes⁶⁷. If the classification had been taken from Braniewo and the books arranged accordingly at the Uppsala library, it is worth stressing that books by Catholic authors on this subject could have been occasionally placed on the upper floor as well. One of the professors of theology was responsible for polemics, and he surely needed the books of his main antagonists. This can be seen in dissertations from Uppsala at the time, where Bellarmine and his false Catholic doctrine are a frequent subject⁶⁸. We see, for instance, that the first part of Bellarmine's *De controversiis*, which

⁶¹ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 29.

⁶² Bibl. arkiv K2, pp. 16–28.

⁶³ UUB, U 274, fols. 25–27.

⁶⁴ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 19.

⁶⁵ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 18.

⁶⁶ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 27.

⁶⁷ Bibl. arkiv K2, p. 25.

⁶⁸ See further P. Sjökvist, *Literary Spoils of War in Uppsala in Practice* [forthcoming].

deals with the word of God, was moved to the upper floor and placed under *Scripta Patrum*⁶⁹. This was the subject of three dissertations on theological polemics at Uppsala from 1635 to 1636⁷⁰.

However, several books by Catholic authors are found on the upper floor – we have already seen some examples above, not least in the rather neutral sections on history and law. Another example is the metaphysical treatises of the Spanish Jesuit Francisco Suárez⁷¹. His treatment of metaphysics was apparently relevant also in a Lutheran context, especially for the branch of Protestant theology that has been labelled Lutheran scholasticism⁷². What we should not do, however, is to allow ourselves to be misled and think that the presence of Catholic books on the upper floor is a sign of religious tolerance. The constitutions of the university from 1626 explicitly stated that pure doctrine and theology must not be distorted by any metaphysical and scholastic argumentation⁷³. If it is not uncommon to see books by Catholic authors among the useful books on the upper floor, though it should be stressed that I have as yet not seen a single book by a Lutheran author on the lower floor.

We can thus confirm, I believe, the correctness of the general statements made by Jonas Columbus and Johan Eenberg on the basic arrangements for dividing this library into two floors. A similar impression is given by comparing the subjects on or related to theology in the early registers of the book looted from Braniewo with the first catalogues of the university library at Uppsala. The upper floor held a library meant for practical usage at the university, while the lower floor was more of a storage site for less useful books. If the Jesuit college library from Braniewo had initially been unloaded onto the lower floor, as Annerstedt claims and the first catalogues seem to indicate, this did not mean that all books from Braniewo stayed there. As we have seen in this short essay, several groups of books were rather quickly considered useful and moved to the upper floor. This concerns the sections for secular and

⁶⁹ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 16.

⁷⁰ Laurentius Olai Wallius (pr.) *Disputatio prima [-tertia] Roberti Bellarmini libro 1[-3] de verbo Dei opposita...*, Uppsala 1635 [-1636].

⁷¹ Bibl. arkiv K3, p. 16.

⁷² E. Sellberg, *Kyrkan och den tidigmoderna staten. En konflikt om Aristoteles, utbildning och makt*, Stockholm 2010, pp. 70–71.

⁷³ *Noverint vero theologiae professores, hac constitutione sibi severe esse prohibitum, ne metaphysicarum et scholasticarum disputationum, unde pontificiae tenebrae et abominaciones olim exortae sunt, commisione doctrinam suam, scripta adeoque theologiam ipsam deforment.* Cited from *Uppsala universitets historia. Bihang I. Handlingar 1477–1654*, ed. C. Annerstedt, Uppsala 1877, p. 276.

church history, Roman and Canon law, Bibles, Bible concordances and the church fathers. When looking closer at the sections for Bible commentaries, sermons, liturgical books, dogmatics and controversial theology, however, another pattern is visible. Books by Catholic authors in these sections usually remained on the lower floor, though sometimes single titles were moved to the upper floor when the subject was of greater importance than the confession of the author. As it seems, however, no books by Lutheran authors were found on the lower floor, although there were many such copies in the spoils from Braniewo.

In this era of confessional division, when theological ideas always had political implications, and when religious conflicts were harsh, as much in academic discussion, literature and propaganda, as on the battle field, it is not surprising to find that confession also mattered greatly in terms of the arrangement of the first Uppsala University Library. It would, in fact, have been strange if the case had been otherwise.

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Książki z Braniewa w Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Uppsali w XVII wieku

Streszczenie. Jest rzeczą ogólnie wiadomą, że podczas potopu szwedzkiego w wieku XVII wojska szwedzkie wywiozły z Polski łupy wojenne obejmujące także liczne księgozbiory, w tym, w roku 1626, zbiory biblioteki kolegium jezuickiego w Braniewie. Artykuł omawia, w jaki sposób dokonano uporządkowania i organizacji zbiorów z Braniewa w pierwszym budynku biblioteki Uniwersytetu w Uppsali po ich przekazaniu przez króla szwedzkiego Gustawa II Adolfa. W szczególności omówiono dzieła o treści teologicznej. Jak pokazuje autor, książki z Braniewa napisane przez autorów katolickich lub redagowane przez wydawców katolickich, o bardziej neutralnym charakterze, tj. książki dotyczące historii Kościoła, wydań Biblii czy koncordancji biblijnych, uznano ogólnie za bardziej przydatne na luteranśkim uniwersytecie niż dzieła autorów katolickich zawierające np. komentarze do Biblii, kazania czy pisma dogmatyczne.

Słowa kluczowe: łupy wojenne, historia bibliotek, klasyfikacja i organizacja zbiorów, kolegium jezuickie w Braniewie, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Uppsali.

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