On Literary Spoils of War in Private Libraries. The Case of Rålamb at Länna Gård

O literackich łupach wojennych w bibliotekach prywatnych. Przypadek zbiorów Clasa Rålamba w Länna Gård

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Abstract. After arriving in Sweden, the literary spoils of war taken from Poznań in the Swedish deluge in the 1650s ended up in the private country house library of nobleman Clas Rålamb (1622–1698), who had been sent by Swedish King Charles X Gustavus (reigned 1654–1660) to manage the difficult situation in this Polish town while it was under Swedish command. With the help of a still extant inventory from the 1690s drawn up at the country house before the books were donated to Uppsala University Library, where they remain today, the contents and possible arrangement of this library are briefly described and discussed in this article. Some notable characteristics are the sections on theology and duplicates being larger than what would normally be expected from a country house library of this kind. It is assumed that these factors, among others, indicate that Rålamb did not make any sort of selection when seizing the books from monasteries and churches in Poznań. In addition, it suggests that their primary role in their new environment was to increase the cultural capital of their owner. Large numbers of the confessionally Catholic books were of little practical use in a Sweden characterized by Lutheran Orthodoxy.

Keywords: Literary Spoils of War, Book History, Library History, Country House Libraries.

As shown by Otto Walde in his dissertation *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*, we can distinguish three major periods as far as books taken as spoils of war during the Swedish Era of Greatness are concerned.¹ In the first, Uppsala University Library received most of the collections taken. In the second, the

¹ O. Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten. En kulturhistorisk-bibliografisk studie*, Uppsala 1916–1920.

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books were mostly sent to the Royal Library in Stockholm. In the third, officers and nobleman commonly took books for themselves, and filled the shelves of their own estates and country houses with looted volumes. The attitude of Queen Christina was a significant factor in this development. She seems to have considered the spoils that arrived in Stockholm as private property rather than belonging to the state, and brought parts of them with her abroad after her abdication in 1654. The nobility then did similarly, enriching themselves privately with war-booty.² In several cases books from the collections of these private persons still ended up in publicly owned libraries through the inquisition of Charles XI or as donations. Members of the Rosenhane family provide one example where this happened. Another is Clas Rålamb (1622-1698) and his library at Länna gård, not far from Uppsala. Further cases include Magnus De la Gardie (1622–1686), most of whose books can today be found at Uppsala University Library, and Emund Figrelius Gripenhielm (1622–1675), whose collection eventually arrived at the University Library of Lund, although he had mostly received war-booty duplicates from the Royal Library as salary for his work there. In all three periods there were also cases where private persons seized books for themselves in the wars. There was, for instance, the case of a man who brought to the university council at Uppsala at the end of 1639 two folio volumes from Würzburg, which a student had received from a colonel. The university then decided to make an exchange, offering some of its duplicates.³ In terms of Rålamb, Walde was the first to demonstrate that the many of the books at Uppsala University Library that were taken from Poznań in the Polish wars of the 1650s had arrived there along with the donation in 1693 of Rålamb's library from Länna gård.⁴ Claes Annerstedt had hinted at the same earlier, after he had found catalogues from the Jesuit College Library of Poznań in an inventory from this estate.⁵ I would here like to take a closer look at the holdings of the library at Länna, but first let me say a few words about Rålamb himself and his connections to Poznań.

² H. Trevor-Roper, *The Plunder of the Arts in the Seventeenth Century*, London 1970, pp. 42 and 59.

³ Akademiska konsistoriets protokoll, vol. 2, 1637–1640, ed. H. Sallander, Uppsala 1969, p. 253.

⁴ For an overview of the spoils of war from Poznań at Uppsala, see A. Szulc & R. Wilgosiewicz-Skutecka, *O poznańskich rękopisach i starych drukach w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Uppsali*, "Biblioteka", 18(27), 2014, pp. 7–32; or P. Sjökvist, *Books from Poznań at the Uppsala University Library*, in: *Z badań nad książką i księgozbiorami historycznymi: Polonika w zbiorach obcych*, eds. J. Puchalski, A. Chamera-Nowak & D. Pietrz-kiewicz, Warszawa 2017, pp. 319–327.

⁵ C. Annerstedt, *Upsala universitetsbiblioteks historia intill år 1702*, Uppsala 1894, p. 19.



Fig. 1. Oil painting on panel depicting Clas Rålamb by David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl (1628–1698) Photo: Fredrik Andersson, Skoklosters slott/SHM.

Biographical notes

Clas Rålamb was born in Stockholm 1622, and matriculated at Uppsala University at the age of 16; he made a grand tour 1642–1644, during which, among other things, he visited Paris and matriculated at the university of Leiden.⁶ In the following decade, he devoted his time to his estate and studies. His withdrawn life in this early period has caused some speculation, and a possible conflict with Oueen Christina has been mentioned. During this period, he laid the foundations for his work Observationes juris practicae, a manual on practical law that was to become widely used, but which was not printed (in two editions) until the 1670s.⁷ In 1655 he was appointed war and court councilor, and was involved in the conflict with Poland. At the beginning of 1656, he was sent to Poznań – which a year earlier had surrendered to Swedish King Charles X Gustavus in July – with the mission to make the inhabitants there loval to the Swedish king. This was indeed a challenge, since Swedish troops had ravaged the city severely when the occupation began. For the enterprise, Rålamb had to expel some of the citizens as well as most of the monks, who had claimed that Charles X Gustavus wanted to introduce Protestantism. Rålamb describes this period himself in a letter to Arvid Forbus (1598–1665), dated 2 May 1656 and held today at the Lund University Library.⁸ It was most likely these events that led Rålamb to seize a large collection of books for himself, since they had now become derelict goods, formerly the property primarily of the Jesuits, but also of the Dominicans and Bernardines (Observant Franciscans). In September of the same year, the rule of Poznań was transferred to Brandenburg, and at the beginning of 1657 Rålamb was sent on a famous diplomatic mission to Constantinople in the Ottoman empire. Back in Sweden, he then became, among other things, County Governor in Uppsala, Counsellor of the Realm, Superintendent (överståthållare) of Stockholm, and President of the Göta Court of Appeal. He died in 1698. Worth noting is that Rålamb in his biography is normally described as a man of considerable education, and his large library at Länna gård is mentioned on several occasions as proof of this claim. We will return to this detail.

⁶ For Rålamb's biography, see B. Asker, *Clas Rålamb*, in: *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, vol. 31, Stockholm 2000–2002), p. 168; and S. Westerberg, *Clas Rålamb. Maktspelare i storhetstidens Sverige*, Stockholm 2012.

⁷ C. Rålamb, *Observationes juris practicae*, Stockholm 1674; C. Rålamb, *Observationes juris practicae*, Stockholm 1679.

⁸ C. Rålamb to A. Forbus, 2 May 1656. DIG saml. Forbus 15, Lund University Library.

Rålamb's Library to Uppsala

During the inquisition of Charles XI in the 1680s Rålamb became liable for damages done to the state of no less than 57 000 daler in silver, because of a purchase made that had been bad for the crown. Part of the payment was made in movable goods, including his library at Länna gård, which was simply redeemed by the crown and donated to Uppsala University Library by Charles XI in 1693. The books were retrieved after a formal decision by the university council and brought to Uppsala by the library assistant Johan Eenberg (?-1709) – who left behind some notes from this period – with the help of some farmers in March of the same year, but a receipt was not given until August of the following year.⁹ We would need a great deal of information to have a full picture of how things were arranged, both concerning how the books were actually taken from Poznań and why and how the library was to be used as payment, but for these purposes further investigation is needed. Crucial in this context are extant documents at Carolina Rediviva at Uppsala. In 1690 an inventory was compiled, titled inventarium och värdering på Kungl. Rådets högvälborne Hr Claes Rålambs bibliotek vid däss gård Länna ('inventory and valuation of the library of Royal Counsellor Lord Claes Rålamb at his estate Länna').¹⁰ Those who undersigned it, Samuel Stenson and Samuel Palmerus, noted that Stenson started the inventory efter hans excellens begäran ('at the request of his excellency') together with a student [Palmerus] during three days at the beginning of April 1690, and that Stenson then sent Palmerus back there, where he completed the compilation in eight days that same month. This is a fantastic document.

The Inventory

We find the entire library of Clas Rålamb at Länna gård described and valuated in the inventory. We cannot say for certain whether it mirrors the physical arrangement of the library or not, but there are some details that suggest its shape, including the truism that it is usually practical and time efficient to make an inventory in accordance with the ar=rangement of the objects. The entire inventory was carried out in only eleven days. To start with, the printed books were registered on a list according to subject: theology, philology, law, physics and logic, mathematics, as well as ethics and

⁹ These notes are accounted for in C. Annerstedt, op. cit., pp. 110–119.

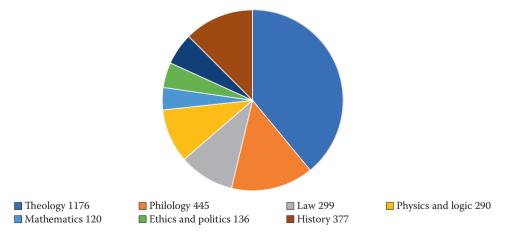
¹⁰ Shelf mark: U 281, Uppsala University Library. Digital version in Alvin: http://urn .kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:alvin:portal:record-146794 [Accessed 10 July 2023].

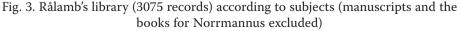
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Fig. 2. Inventarium åc wärdering på Kongl. Rådetz Högwälb:ne Her Claes Rålambs bibliothec vid däsz gård Länna [...] 1690, fol. [1r], U:281, Uppsala University Library

politics. The manuscripts, or *skrifne munkeböker* ('written books of monks'), as they are called in the inventory, have their own section. Thereafter follow medicine, history, and last a section with duplicates. In each section, the books have been accounted for according to size: folios first, followed by guartos, octavos and duodecimos. Only for the section concerning duplicates was it explicitly stated that the register mirrors the shelf arrangement. But the fact that the manuscripts quite illogically appear in the middle of the account could, among other things, reflect how the books were actually arranged, but also the arrangement according to the format in the inventory. For practical reasons, and for efficient usage of shelf space, books of more or less similar size were generally placed together. In the inventory it is even said that a group of books and objects have been lent from the library to a professor of theology, Laurentius Norrmannus (1651–1703). The librarian Eric Benzelius (1675–1743) had to remind the university council about these in 1707, since Norrmannus had brought them to Gothenburg when he was appointed bishop there, and they had been registered in the auction catalogue of his library when he died.11

Having divided the library according to subject and size, information is then given on every printed book according to a similar pattern: first title and author are syntactically connected in the same column. Then there follows printing place, printing year, format, and whether the book has a new or old binding, as well as an approximate valuation accounted for in two columns in the currencies *daler kopparmynt* and *ören*. The bibliographical information does not really live up to the requirements of our time, but is still





¹¹ C. Annerstedt, op. cit., p. 70.

helpful when we try to identify the title in other contexts. Individual items can usually also be found thanks to the observations of Otto Walde, and to the fact that we most often still have access to the physical copies at Uppsala.

Especially interesting, if we judge the library for what it actually is - a nobleman's private collection at his country house - are the subjects' proportions. If we count the number of titles under each subject heading, we see that theology is strongly predominant. The number is more than twice as large as philology, which is the second largest section. Thereafter follows history, law, physics and logic, followed by medicine, ethics and politics, and finally mathematics. When we look closer at the different subjects, we soon notice some further details. In theology, we find a large number of Latin titles with the Church fathers, Bible commentaries, controversial theology, and some other books by Catholic authors. But not only books from Poznań can be found here. We find here Bibles in Swedish (editions from 1541 and 1646), German (1572 and 1618) and French (1580); polemics by Olaus Petri; several prints of Petrus Johannis Gothus from Rostock; and Swedish postils and funeral sermons, just to give a few examples. Thus, the books from Poznań have been scattered among those that Rålamb had acquired from other places, i.e. among his own books. These are, however, very few in number in comparison. In other parts some additional titles can be found, which are not the spoils of war. This is the case, for instance, under the headings 'ethics' and 'politics', with some French and Italian titles. Not until the arrival of the books from Poznań did the library at Länna become really considerable. According to my estimates, approximately six-sevenths of the library at Länna comprises books taken from Poznań.

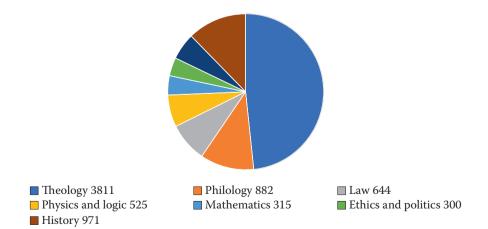


Fig. 4. Economic valuation of the books according to subject. 7613 daler copper coins in total

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Fig. 5. Inventarium åc wärdering på Kongl. Rådetz Högwälb:ne Her Claes Rålambs bibliothec vid däsz gård Länna [...] 1690, fol. 47r, U:281, Uppsala University Library

In the valuation that Stenson and Palmerus carried out at the same time, all sections became smaller, with the exception of theology, which is even more dominant. We would, of course, want to know on what grounds such a judgement has been made. According to Annerstedt, it is probably very much too low.¹² Presently, it is difficult to say much more than that, so simple details as the size of the books and their condition seems to have been important. The manuscripts were in general valuated very much lower than the printed books, and we could even suspect that not all manuscripts have been accounted for in the inventory.¹³

However, especially interesting here is that Rålamb in his own library created a separate section for duplicates, which, according to the customs of the time, have been counted in a broad sense. When going through the library the first time, Stenson and Palmerus seem to have overlooked them, but they have obviously been told by Rålamb to include these as well. The duplicates were located on the upper shelves, and according to the inventory the investigation was started on the side where theology was located, and continued on the shelf above the philosophers (*på långa hyllan* över *filosoferna*). The duplicates were not explicitly arranged according to subject, but we soon see that a certain order was decisive for their location. Theology is very clearly dominant here, as well. In reality, much more than previously.

Walde assumed that the high number of duplicates in Rålamb's collections, as well as their subjects, can be explained with the fact that the Jesuit College of Poznań was a teaching institution, and he is probably correct.¹⁴ The books to some extent may have served as text books, so several copies within theology, philosophy and philology would have been needed. But the duplicates also point to another important detail in Rålamb's library. He seemingly brought books from Poznań *without making any sort of selection*. However, country house libraries and libraries of teaching institutions normally have very different purposes. Duplicates meant to be used at a teaching institution would rarely be of use to private persons, and it is truly doubtful whether this large number of confessional Catholic titles¹⁵ in the library served any real purpose for Rålamb. The seventeenth-century antagonism between the Counter-Refor-

¹² C. Annerstedt, op. cit., p. 49.

¹³ When Eenberg later brought the library to Uppsala in March 1693 he rapidly made a new inventory, with the previous as the point of departure, which had been transmitted to him by the County Governor Gyllenborg, and then he could add some twenty books, which seemingly had been missed. This, however, does not affect the overall picture. Shelf mark: Bibl. Arkiv. K1 [7], Uppsala University Library.

¹⁴ O. Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära...*, vol. 2, pp. 97–98.

¹⁵ Confessional Catholic titles here refer to collections of sermons, liturgical books, dogmatics, controversial theology, etc., written by Catholic authors.

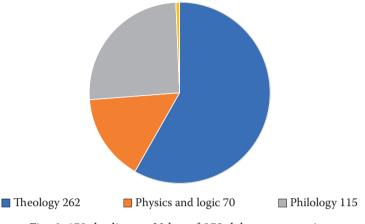


Fig. 6. 450 duplicates. Value of 853 daler copper coins

mation and Lutheran Orthodoxy was very harsh. This circumstance affected how books and reading were regarded on both sides of the conflict,¹⁶ although this fact has of late tended to be underestimated by Swedish scholars.

As far as more confessionally neutral subjects are concerned, such as Classic literature and books in medicine, mathematics and astronomy, as well as Church history, the situation is different. This kind of literature is shared more unrestrictedly in the learned world, regardless of the confession of the author or editor, in spite of the risk of being accused of engaging with the enemy.

In addition to showing how the books were arranged in Rålamb's library at Länna gård, another detail can be seen in the inventory, which is now useful at Uppsala. In the column on book bindings, it has been noted whether they are new or old. In fact, some books were rebound in Rålamb's library, presumably as a conservation measure. Thus, there was some active work performed on the physical collections. Walde noticed that a number of books from Länna

¹⁶ As far as Sweden is concerned, see for instance P. Sjökvist, *Literary Spoils of War in Uppsala in Practice – Controversial Theology*, "Biblioteka", 25(34), 2021, pp. 127–140; L. Veselá, *Czech Books in the 1765 Auction of the Strängnäs Cathedral Library*, "Knihy a dějiny", 29, 2022, pp. 6–42; and E. Andersson, "An Ornament for the Church and the Gymnasium". The War Booty in Strängnäs Cathedral and its Relation to the School, in: The Baltic Battle of Books. Formation and Relocation of European Libraries in the Confessional Age (c. 1500–1650) and Their Afterlife, eds. J. Nordin, G. Strenga & P. Sjökvist, Leiden 2023, pp. 242–264. From a Catholic perspective, see for instance *Church, censorship, and culture in early modern Italy*, ed. G. Fragnito, Cambridge 2001; *Catholic church and modern science. Documents from the archives of the Roman congregations of the Holy Office and the Index*, vol. 1, eds. U. Baldini & L. Spruit, Rom 2009; and P. Godman, *The Saint as Censor. Robert Bellarmine between Inquisition and Index*, Leiden 2000.

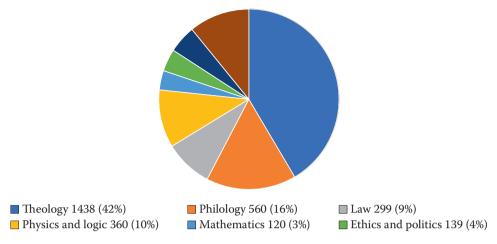


Fig. 7. All in all 3525 records, to the value of 8466 daler copper coins

now had bright vellum bindings with blue endbands, which had been cut rather clumsily.¹⁷ In terms of continuity with the catalogues of the Jesuit College, these rebindings can sometimes make identification more difficult. For example, Rålamb sometimes divided earlier Sammelbände and bound them separately. In the catalogues, only the first title of the Sammelband is normally mentioned, so the identification of the others thereby becomes considerably more difficult. Presently, there is a project ongoing at Uppsala University Library in collaboration with the University Library of Poznań to identify and catalogue the literary spoils of war from Poznań and to document their provenance. In connection with this work, specific details about other copies have been registered. It is striking that with ca 2100 records on books from Poznań in the Swedish Union Catalogue Libris, we have not found any obvious sign of direct usage by Rålamb, such as notes in the books written in his hand. It is true that the situation is often similar in other old book collections, but this does not support the idea that these books would have been of any special importance for the personal studies or work of Rålamb himself.

Rålamb's Library and the Books from Poznań

It sometimes happens among book historians that extant book lists and catalogues are used to describe the character of their owners, as if the contents of a bookshelf would be a short cut to his mental landscape. This method, supported by other known evidence, can of course give interesting results, but if

¹⁷ O. Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära...*, vol. 2, p. 103.

it is exaggerated there is a risk that false conclusions will be drawn. When we note the large number of titles on Catholic theology, Aristotelian philosophy and Canon law in Rålamb's private library, and, in addition, a significant number of duplicates, which for a long period seems to have contributed to his great reputation for erudition, we must ask what role these collections may have primarily played for him. That they gave him considerable cultural capital is obvious, and presumably this is also the answer.¹⁸ In Rålamb, we simply do not see signs of a personal theological interest of a syncretistic or Catholic nature, of which there are other examples from this time. In order to characterize Rålamb as a reader, it would be more rewarding to isolate the rather limited number of titles at Länna that were very rarely found in Polish ecclesiastical libraries in the seventeenth century, and which can be assumed to have been acquired by him out of his own interest. It is highly unlikely that Rålamb had a large library at Länna before the books from Poznań arrived there. The list of titles he used in Observationes juris practicae, which he authored himself, gives a better indication at least of his juridical reading.

When Rålamb's library then arrived at Uppsala, a problem became urgent. The university library had received a number of Catholic libraries since the 1620s, including the Jesuit College Libraries of Riga and Braniewo, the Chapter Library of Frombork, and the library of the Prince Bishop of Würzburg, among others. Now even more books of a similar kind arrived, both with Rålamb's and De la Gardie's collections, and sometimes even in several duplicates. At the same time, the old library building became too small, and the collections were moved to new rooms on the upper floor of the university's Gustavianum building, which is still extant next to the Cathedral. It seems, thus, that the arrival of Rålamb's library from Länna, together with the library of Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, which had arrived a few years earlier, were the final reason why duplicate auctions were held from the first decade of the eighteenth century onwards, in order to make room for other books and to raise money to buy them.¹⁹ Therefore, books taken in wars during the seventeenth century on the continent were spread to many more owners in and outside Sweden. But that is another story.

¹⁸ Cf. P. Sjökvist & K. Östlund, Bokliga krigsbyten som kulturtransfer?, in: Kulturarvsperspektiv. Texter från en seminarieserie om specialsamlingar i Sverige, ed. P. Sjökvist, Uppsala 2018, pp. 141–149.

¹⁹ See O. Walde, *Hur man sålde dupletter i forna tiden. Ett kulturdokument från 1710,* "Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen", 2, 1915, pp. 209–219; and P. Sjökvist, *Losy księgozbiorów zagrabionych w czasach wojen szwedzkich w XVII w.*, in: *Kolekcje prywatne w zbiorach książki dawnej*, vol. I, eds. D. Sidorowicz-Mulak & A. Franczyk-Cegła, Wrocław 2020, pp. 252–264.

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Peter Sjökvist

O literackich łupach wojennych w bibliotekach prywatnych. Przypadek zbiorów Clasa Rålamba w Länna Gård

Streszczenie. Po dotarciu do Szwecji literackie łupy wojenne zrabowane w Poznaniu w czasie potopu szwedzkiego w latach 50. XVII wieku trafiły do prywatnych zbiorów bibliotecznych w wiejskiej posiadłości Clasa Rålamba (1622–1698). Clas Rålamb wysłany został przez króla szwedzkiego Karola X Gustawa (panującego latach 1654–1660) z misją opanowania trudnej sytuacji w Poznaniu, w tym czasie znajdującym się pod okupacją szwedzką. Autor artykułu, korzystając z zachowanego oryginalnego inwentarza ksiag sporządzonego w latach 90. tego samego wieku, a jeszcze przed ofiarowaniem zbiorów Bibliotece Uniwersyteckiej w Uppsali, gdzie przechowywane są do dzisiaj, krótko opisuje i omawia zawartość i możliwy układ tej biblioteki. Godną odnotowania cechą charakterystyczną zbioru ksiąg są działy poświęcone teologii i dubletom, obszerniejsze i liczniejsze niż można by oczekiwać w przypadku księgozbioru biblioteki z wiejskiej posiadłości. Można zatem założyć, że to właśnie powyższe czynniki wskazują, że Rålamb nie dokonał wstępnej selekcji zbiorów przejętych z bibliotek klasztorów i kościołów w Poznaniu. Co więcej, fakt ten sugeruje, że ich główną rolą w nowym otoczeniu było powiększenie kulturowego kapitału właściciela. Duża liczba katolickich książek o charakterze modlitewnym nie miała wielkiego praktycznego użycia w ortodoksyjnie luterańskiej Szwecji.

Słowa kluczowe: literackie łupy wojenne, historia książki, historia bibliotek, biblioteki posiadłości wiejskich.

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